

# PHAROS

Volume IX (2001)

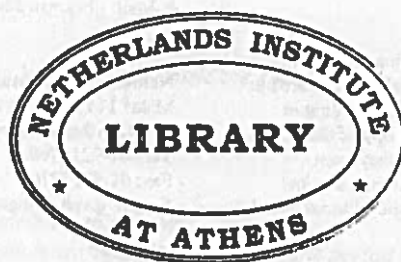


GIEBEN

# PHAROS

Journal of the Netherlands Institute in Athens

Volume IX (2001)



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## EDITORIAL PREFACE

HELEEN W.A.M. SANCISI-WEERDENBURG  
(1944-2000)

The year 2001 has seen some important changes with regard to the Netherlands Institute in Athens and with regard to *Pharos*. A new director of the NIA has been appointed in Athens, Dr Gert Jan van Wijngaarden. The previous director, Drs Margriet Haagsma has accepted a post as assistant Professor at the University of Edmonton in Canada. The current issue of *Pharos* is the last one published by Gieben Publishing House. For more than ten years, Mr Han Gieben has taken care for the publication of *Pharos*, which he did with much enthusiasm and generosity. Starting next year, *Pharos* will be published by Van Gorcum Publishers in Assen, The Netherlands.

The contributions to this volume consist of two reports on ongoing archaeological fieldwork in Greece and of three other papers. The first fieldwork report is by Joost Crouwel *et al.* on the seventh season of work at the acropolis of Geraki in Lakonia in 2001. It details the excavation results of Field 17 in which new trenches were opened. Particular attention is given to habitation in the Early Helladic II period and the Middle Helladic periods, with some preliminary notes on the Early and Middle Helladic pottery appended. Again a number of coins were found during the excavation, which are presented by Dr Jos van der Vin.

The next report by John Bintliff *et al.* Presents the preliminary results of the second season of the surface survey in the city of Tanagra in Boeotia and its immediate rural surroundings. The two seasons of field survey within the city have thus far covered two-thirds of the city surface. Although the study of the finds is still in progress, some first impressions on the Classical ceramics are presented. There are also reports on results of a topographic survey with the aid of a Total Station and on the geopropection and geoarchaeological surveys.

The three other papers have a rather wide range of subjects. Gert Jan van Wijngaarden discusses the cultural significance of Mycenaean pictorial kraters in their wider Mediterranean context. He investigates the contexts in which these sumptuous pots were found in Cyprus, Syria and Italy. Rogier van der Wal presents a study of Cicero's attitude towards the Greek and Greece. Although he had a deep respect for Greek culture, Cicero remained firmly rooted in his Roman world. Athanasios Vionis' article consists of a review of recent methodological approaches to the study of pre-modern buildings and focuses on the evidence from the Cyclades in the post-Byzantine period.

In this issue of *Pharos* we mourn the loss of two distinguished colleagues and fellow philhellenes. In the year 2000, Professor Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg from the University of Utrecht passed away; she is commemorated here by Professor Josine Blok. In 2001 we learned of the tragic death of Professor Jos A.K.E. de Waele of the University of Nijmegen; he is commemorated by Professor Joost Crouwel.

## IN MEMORIAM

### HELEEN W.A.M. SANCISI-WEERDENBURG (1944-2000)

All who have met Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg can easily imagine the widespread sense of loss caused by her premature death on May 28th, 2000. She radiated energy, enthusiasm and willpower, stimulating all around her to join her in new projects. She was always full of plans, for herself, for others, for everyone with whom she worked together. Clear of purpose and non-nonsensical in her approach, she would sketch the best way to reach the common goal in the split of a second. Her talent for organizing was absolutely extraordinary. Administration, teaching, and research may be quite different occupations, and each can be obstructive to the others in daily university life. Heleen Sancisi, however, not only excelled in all three, but also succeeded in combining them without apparent effort. Her clear mind, her knack for organisation and method and her devotion to whatever task she set herself were the qualities that made her an excellent historian, a creative teacher and a effective administrator. Among the numerous institutions, committees and groups in which she played a vital role, the Netherlands Institute at Athens ranked high in her loyalty and esteem.

Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg studied History, specializing in Ancient History, at Leiden University, after having read Archaeology in her freshman year. She retained a deep interest in archaeology and her visit to an exhibition of ancient Persian art made her choose definitively ancient Persia for her main field. Studying Persian archaeology at Gent and taking Ancient Persian for a minor, she graduated in Leiden in 1967. After working for nine years as a teacher of history at secondary schools, she became assistant professor at Groningen University in 1975. Meanwhile, the ideas for her doctoral dissertation were acquiring a clearer shape, ideas she proceeded to substantiate into a coherent group of essays. Initially, the main question of her thesis concerned the reasons why and how the biased image of Persia had been created in Greek sources and had been continued in scholarly literature almost uncriticized ever since. This question, however, was relatively easy to answer. It was more difficult to create a viable alternative, which required a methodological innovation to replace the established views, both of ancient Persia itself and of the ways in which it had been studied. This is what she aimed at in her dissertation.

Her thesis, *Yauna en Persai, Grieken en Perzen in een ander perspectief* (Groningen, 1980), offered new interpretations of much-debated themes. The methods she applied to this reassessment these were a systematic confrontation of written and archaeological material, and the application of anthropological models to Persian phenomena culled from their Greek narrative contexts. As a result, patterns of Persian culture emerged which in their turn made sense of data hitherto misrepresented and misunderstood. For instance, character traits ascribed by Greek authors to individuals such as Atossa, Xerxes or Otanes, descriptions often mirrored in modern writings, were replaced in Heleen Sancisi's analysis by coherent patterns of socially expected behaviour rooted in the Persian royal tradition. By applying anthropological models to

literary and visual sources, she was among the early proponents in the Netherlands of the internationally influential tendency to employ the social sciences for the study of history.

A major facet of her work with anthropological methods was her research on oral traditions and the ways in which they appear to operate when turned into literate records. A notable case-study of this methodological problem was her work on the historiography of the Peisistratid tyranny (H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, ed. *Peisistratos and the Tyranny: A Reappraisal of the Evidence*, Amsterdam, Gieben, 2000), a wide-ranging project she undertook in the years at Utrecht University in close collaboration with philologists, archaeologists and fellow ancient historians. In her own contributions she pointed to patterns of social and political behaviour the accounts of which were preserved beneath the narrative surface of the historical writings of Herodotos and Thucydides. Such a pattern included the power of self-made judges over those who became dependent on their arbitration, thus creating an elementary type of political authority conducive to formation of an early state, a procedure which she recognized to have been influential both in archaic Persia and in the reign of Peisistratos.

Soon after finishing her thesis, Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg founded the international Achaemenid History Workshops, together with Amélie Kuhrt (London) and Pierre Briant (then Toulouse, now Paris). She was convinced that Persian history needed to be refounded systematically, a process to be realized in a series of specialist workshop dealing with sources, methods, *Nachleben*, and other clearly defined themes. In the Achaemenid group, she worked in the way she liked most: a close collaboration with like-minded colleagues, a constant dialogue in which she created the organizational and methodological points of departure, her friends providing professional feed-back and occasional warnings that others might not be able to keep up with her speed. In the course of the 1980s and early 90s, eight volumes of *Achaemenid History* appeared which definitely changed the work on and contents of Persian history. The Achaemenid series brought Heleen Sancisi an international reputation which in due course resulted in rising academic positions: in 1988 the personal title of senior lecturer in Groningen, in 1989-90 the Holland Professorship at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, and in 1990 the chair of Ancient History at Utrecht University.

In the 1990s, she became increasingly interested in the Netherlands Institute at Athens, because of her own growing work on archaic Greece, because of her duty as a professor of Ancient History to be involved in the Netherlands Institutes in general, and certainly also because she found in drs. Margriet Haagsma, then Director of the NIA, again the kind of like-minded colleague she enjoyed to work with so much. She saw to it that spare copies of books in the Utrecht University Library were passed on to the NIA, then just having moved into its new premises. And as a matter of course she organized new projects for the NIA, together with Margriet Haagsma: a series of conferences focusing on *Nachleben*-studies (with professor dr Pim den Boer, UvA), and a project to found a teaching program analogous to that of the Netherlands Institute at Rome. Tragically, she did not live to see these projects materialize. In the Fall of 1996, the first symptoms of breastcancer became manifest. After an operation and with continuous medication, she asserted that the worst was over. She struggled valiantly for several years, trying never to give in to pain or fatigue, and even after a second, more radical operation insisting that this was only a temporary set-back. It was indeed difficult to believe that she, always so strong and energetic, was mortally ill. By the end of May 2000, however, she had to give up. Her loss is deeply felt by all who knew her. The NIA will keep her memory alive, also being fortunate in preserving a tangible token of Heleen Sancisi's commitment: the greater part of her library henceforth resides at Makri 11, Athens.

Josine Blok  
University of Utrecht

30 June 2001  
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## IN MEMORIAM

### JOS DE WAELE (1938-2001)

30 June 2001 Dr J.A.K.E. de Waele, Professor of Classical Archaeology at the Catholic University of Nijmegen, began his annual journey to Pompeii, accompanied by a group of students. That evening their minivan had a fatal accident on the German motorway, in which de Waele and two of the students, Boukje Niewold and Roos de Jong, perished.

Jos de Waele had been teaching at Nijmegen for many years and had held since 1996 the same chair as his father once had. An *Altertumswissenschaftler* by training and vocation, he concentrated in his research on study and fieldwork at Agrigentum and later at Pompeii, where he investigated early house remains and the so-called Greek temple. It was the understanding of the design of ancient temples and other buildings in Italy and Greece, through a close study of foot-standards and proportions, that was his great passion and about which he published widely.

De Waele was half-Greek, his mother being the daughter of the mayor of Corinth. He loved Greece, and was from an early stage actively involved in the affairs of the Dutch Survey School and then Institute there. He served on its Scientific Advisory Committee, and contributed papers to *Pharos* 6-8 (1996-1998), as well as publishing a monograph, *The Propylaea of the Akropolis in Athens* (1990), to the Institute's publication series.

Jos de Waele had been looking forward to his retirement in 2001 in order to have more time for all his planned writings. Just before the fateful journey he had learnt that his Chair at Nijmegen University was to be retained and that a successor would be appointed.

The death of this energetic, warm and altogether unforgettable man is mourned by his colleagues and friends in many places.

Joost Crouwel  
Chair, Scientific Advisory Committee  
of the Netherlands Institute at Athens



**GERAKI**  
**AN ACROPOLIS SITE IN LAKONIA**  
**Preliminary report on the seventh season (2001)**

*Joost H. Crouwel, Mieke Prent, Stuart MacVeagh Thorne  
and Jos van der Vin*

**Introduction (J.H. Crouwel and M. Prent)**

In the summer of 2001, the Department of Classical Archaeology of the University of Amsterdam undertook a seventh season of archaeological investigations at the acropolis of Geraki (ancient Geronthrai) in Lakonia. The preceding campaigns entailed two seasons of intensive survey of the acropolis hill and adjoining slopes (1995-1996), a season of trial excavations (1997), a study season (1998) and two seasons of systematic excavation (1999-2000).<sup>1</sup> As with the preceding campaigns, the 2001 excavation took place under the auspices of the Netherlands Institute at Athens and with the kind permission of the Greek Ministry of Culture and the Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities of Lakonia and Arkadia.

The 2001 season continued the systematic excavation of Field 17 (on the northwest part of the summit; Figure 1, Plates I-II). New trenches were opened in both the northwestern and northeastern portion of this field, which are labelled Area I and II respectively. These two areas, under investigation since 1997, have yielded evidence for human activities ranging in date from the Final Neolithic to the Hellenistic/Early Roman periods (1st century BC).<sup>2</sup> The best-preserved architectural remains belong to the Early Helladic II period, when much of the fortified summit of the acropolis seems to have been inhabited, and to the Classical-Hellenistic phase of habitation. For the 2001 excavation, the following goals had been set:

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<sup>1</sup> For a description of Geraki, the history of research and preliminary reports of the 1995-2000 campaigns, see Crouwel *et al.* 1995-2000.

<sup>2</sup> The masonry of the acropolis wall also indicates some kind of activities in the Late Roman or Medieval period. For a more detailed overview of the history of occupation of the acropolis hill, see Crouwel *et al.* 2000, 67-70.



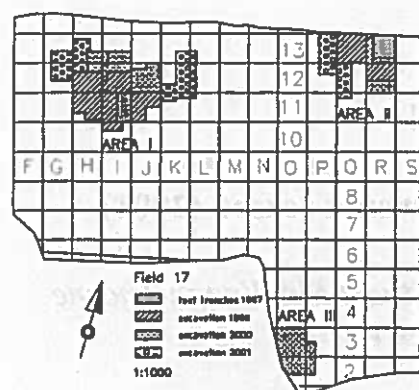


Figure 1. Geraki, Field 17 with position of excavated trenches and 5x5 grid system

specifically, we hoped to find a continuation of the earliest, megalithic defensive wall and associated structures in Area II, which date to the Early Helladic II period.<sup>4</sup>

- To elucidate the character and date of the Middle Helladic occupation in Area II. So far finds from this period consisted of a fill with considerable quantities of pottery, but no architecture.

Although we were not able to fulfil the first of these goals, the 2001 campaign was successful in that it has led to significant progress in our understanding of the architectural phasing of both the prehistoric and historical periods. Pending further study of the Classical-Hellenistic pottery, which is scheduled for the summer of 2002, this year's report will be relatively brief with regards to the later periods of occupation. Instead emphasis will be on the two main phases of prehistoric habitation, which can now be dated more precisely to the late Early Helladic II period (corresponding to Lerna IIIC) and to the Middle Helladic period.

The 2001 campaign lasted for six weeks, from Monday 11 June to Friday 20 July. Actual excavation took place for four weeks and two days, i.e. from Monday 11 June to Tuesday 10 July. During this period a new area of nearly 100 m<sup>2</sup> was opened up. In addition, excavation continued in three Classical-Hellenistic rooms uncovered in previous seasons. Work was done with four teams, consisting of a trench supervisor (an experienced archaeologist or advanced student), a trench assistant (an undergraduate student) and two to three local workmen.<sup>5</sup> The excavation was followed by a two-week period of find processing and

- To expand the excavation in Area I in order to establish the perimeters of the Classical-Hellenistic building there. Work during the previous seasons had shown that this building consisted of at least seven rooms, which served both domestic and industrial purposes (i.e. metalworking).<sup>3</sup>

- To further explore the various different phases of Classical-Hellenistic and possibly earlier occupation in Area I and Area II by means of a number of tests.

- To acquire more insight in the complex history of construction, abandonment, repair and reconstruction of the acropolis wall in both Area I and Area II. More

preliminary study material and other and officially have been covered with rains.

#### Preliminary re

In Area I, excavation and I), as well as to define the full exposed (or perhaps more than 60 m<sup>2</sup> was northwest and the building, with at least 12 x 25 m badly disturbed of the extant (I where the continuation was found

Despite our established, as the presence of a building running across the building's east immediate expansion west, the Classical wards. Whether uncertain. In the walls, most notably had been lost to

In general, the and varying orientation certain different multi-phased history three major buildings well as the position

<sup>3</sup> See Crouwel *et al.* 2000, 42-48.

<sup>4</sup> See MacVeagh Thorne in Crouwel *et al.* 2000, 60-64.

<sup>5</sup> The team consisted of J.H. Crouwel (director), M. Prent (field director), S. MacVeagh Thorne (architectural study of the acropolis wall and trench supervisor), L. Schram, M. van Dijk, J. Brouwer and M.

Wijker (trench supervisor), Dooijes (conservation), Kelder (photography), Wieringa (student-pickmen), I. Ma Kourlas and Th. M. Crouwel-Bradshaw Langridge-Noti (C. See Crouwel *et al.*

preliminary study, which was concluded on Friday 20 July. On Monday 23 July the sherds material and other artefacts found during the excavation were brought to the Sparta Museum and officially handed over to the Ephoria. As at the end of previous seasons, Areas I and II were covered with large sheets of plastic to protect the excavated remains against the winter rains.

#### Preliminary results of the 2001 excavation (M. Prent)

In Area I, excavation was expanded to the east (trenches 17/11k and l, 17/12k and l, 17/13k and l), as well as the north/northwest (trenches 17/12g and h, 17/13g and h), in an attempt to define the full extent of the Classical-Hellenistic building, of which seven rooms had been exposed (or partially exposed) during previous seasons (Figure 1; Plate I). An area of more than 60 m<sup>2</sup> was newly opened, revealing portions of at least two additional rooms in the northwest and an open area or court in the east (Figure 2). Of interest for the definition of the building, which can now be seen to consist of ten or more rooms in an area measuring at least 12 x 25 m., was the discovery of part of its north wall (Wall 14). Although this was badly disturbed by later robbing activities, its line, which runs some 4.5 m. behind the line of the extant (Hellenistic and later) acropolis wall, can still be reconstructed. In the east, where the continuation of the south façade of the building (Wall 1) was traced, a door opening was found, showing where the main access of the building was from the street.

Despite our intentions, the full extent of the Classical-Hellenistic building has not been established, as both its western and eastern perimeter remain to be discovered. In the east, the presence of the open area, separated from the street by Wall 1, but unpaved and probably running across the whole width of the building, may indicate the proximity of the building's east limit. Lack of time and the presence of our growing soil dump prevented immediate expansion of the excavation in this direction to uncover the east perimeter. In the west, the Classical-Hellenistic walls (9, 4, 16, and 17) all appear to have continued westwards. Whether we can expect to define a west perimeter in future seasons is, however, uncertain. In this area the bedrock rises fairly steeply to the southwest and several of the walls, most notably Walls 4 and 9, could only be partially traced because their continuations had been lost to erosion.

In general, the building makes a haphazard impression, with rooms of irregular shape and varying orientation. While all walls are constructed with relatively small field stones, certain differences in execution and masonry may be observed, suggesting a complex, multi-phased history of construction and repair. In earlier reports, the occurrence of two to three major building phases within the Classical-Hellenistic period has been described, as well as the possibility of incorporation and reuse of walls of earlier, pre-Classical date.<sup>6</sup>

Wijker (trench supervisors), H. Jansen (architect), E. Hom (find processing) M. Overeem (conservation), R. Dooijes (conservation of sealings and metal finds), W. Westerveld (computing), (A. Hom (drawing), J. Kelder (photography and trench assistant), M. de Rooij, P. Bruyel, I. v.d. Graaf, W. v.d. Meer, M. Wieringa (student-assistants), O. Nieuwenhuysen (photography assistant). The local workmen consisted of our pickmen I. Maroudas, P. Kourtesis, P. Piliouras and I. Tsiouras, assisted by T. Piliouras, P. Saris, L. Kourlas and Th. Mitris, D. Kritikos, M. Michaelis, C. Marouda washed the pot sherds, while C.W. Crouwel-Bradshaw and A. Thomas acted as cooks and housekeepers. Brief visits were paid by Dr L. Langridge-Noti (Classical-Hellenistic pottery) and T.F. Cunningham (aerial photography).

<sup>6</sup> See Crouwel *et al.* 2000, 45-46.

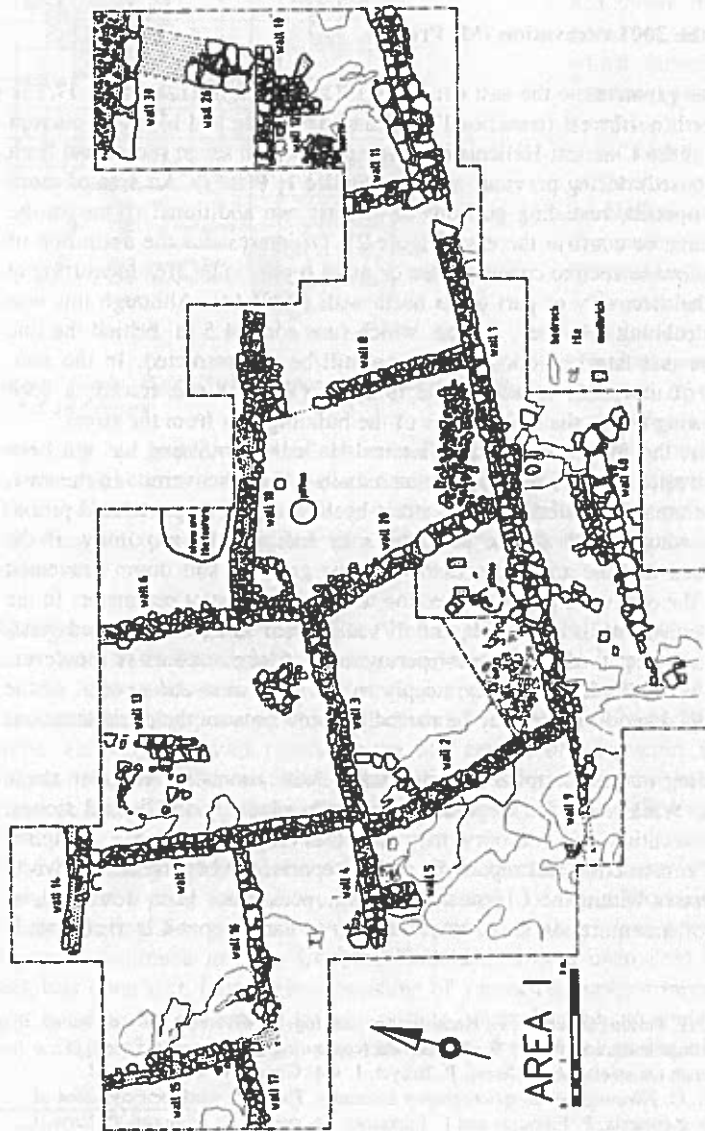


Figure 2. Geraki, ground plan of Area I



Plate I. Geraki, as  
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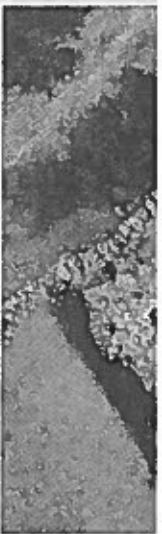


Plate II. Geraki, as

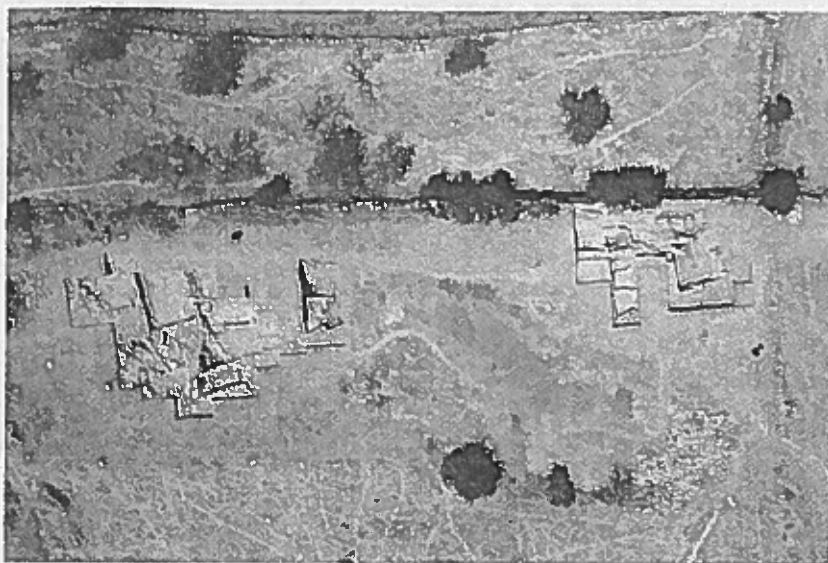


Plate I. Geraki, aerial photograph of the lower terrace of Field 17 (north up), T.F. Cunningham, Université Catholique de Louvain



Plate II. Geraki, Area II, aerial photograph (north up), T.F. Cunningham, Université Catholique de Louvain





Plate III. Geraki, Area I, deposit with West Slope krater against Wall 7; from west

The clearest example of the latter phenomenon was provided by Wall 20, whose origin seems to go back to the Early Helladic II period.<sup>7</sup> This year's excavation added another possible instance of reuse, with the appearance of Wall 10' in the east. The orientation of this wall, which clearly belongs to a phase antedating the Classical-Hellenistic building, is followed by Wall 10 further west, suggesting similar reuse. As for the different phases of construction and use of the Classical-Hellenistic building, the 2001 campaign added considerably to the existing picture.

The newly discovered room in the northwest, defined by Walls 7, 14-16, yielded evidence for two destructions. The earliest of these, which was only partially explored, seems to have been accompanied by fire. The impression of a badly burnt wooden bowl, one of its handles still visible and containing several bones of a small animal and some olive stones, was found amongst rubble in the corner formed by Walls 7 and 16. The deposition over this rubble of a reddish wash layer suggests that this destruction was followed by an episode of abandonment and erosion. A depression formed roughly in the middle of the room, which had to be filled when the room was prepared for reoccupation later in the Hellenistic period. This was done by adding two or three discrete layers of cobbles of varying size. A similar levelling operation took place in the two rooms directly to the south, defined by Walls 16, 7 and 4 and Walls 4, 2 and 9 respectively. Of these two rooms the latter, which was excavated in 1999 and 2000, is believed to have been a late addition to the Classical-Hellenistic

<sup>7</sup> See Crouwel *et al.* 1998, 98.



Plate IV. Geraki, Area I, deposit with pottery (a) over wash layer; from west of Wall 7; from east

walls, the association with another episode of destruction or eventual collapse of the building. The collapse layer was found in the room of the Dioskouroi.<sup>11</sup> As known in a domestic building, the roof of a cult building

<sup>8</sup> See Crouwel *et al.* 1998, 15.

<sup>9</sup> Inv. nos. 4460/SF7, 4461/SF7.

<sup>10</sup> A similar situation was found in the room of the Dioskouroi, 46-47.

<sup>11</sup> A comparable impression was found in the room of the Dioskouroi, see Crouwel *et al.* 2000, 46-47.





Plate IV. Geraki, Area I, fill with small stones, tile fragments and pottery (a), over wash levels (b), over tile collapse (c) in the room west of Wall 7; from east

walls, the associated floor or occupation surface could not be identified, indicating yet another episode of erosion, this time between the abandonment of the building and the eventual collapse of the roof.<sup>10</sup> Worthy of note is that several of the roof tiles from the collapse layer were impressed with a stamp showing the so-called dokana, a symbol of the Dioskouroi.<sup>11</sup> As kindly suggested by Dr H.W. Catling, the presence of such stamped tiles in a domestic building may well indicate that they were reused and had originally covered the roof of a cult building in the vicinity.

building.<sup>8</sup> On the basis of the similarities in floor lay-out, it may be proposed that this addition happened at the time when the northern room was repaired and reoccupied.

Indications for the final use of the northern room and the date of its abandonment are provided by the remains of several vessels (a krater with West Slope decoration, a jug with lead repairs and a cooking pot), five (nearly) complete drinking cups and fragments of others,<sup>9</sup> which were found especially along the interior faces of Walls 7 and 16 (Plate III). The position of these vessels and the observation that they were embedded in the fine, whitish soil that derives from the disintegration of unfired mudbrick suggests that most of them were left behind on shelves or in niches in the mudbrick upper structures of the walls. (An exception is the cooking pot, which was set in or on the floor in the northeast corner of the room.) Except for some very small patches up against the

<sup>8</sup> See Crouwel *et al.* 1999, 29-30; 2000, 43-44.

<sup>9</sup> Inv. nos. 4460/SF7, 4460/SF3, 4603/SF1. Cups: Inv. nos. 4497/SF1-3, 4499/SF1, 4512/SF2.

<sup>10</sup> A similar situation was noted in 2000 in the room northeast of Walls 6 and 10: see Crouwel *et al.* 2000, 46-47.

<sup>11</sup> A comparable impression occurs on a rectangular piece of terracotta found in the room to the east in 2000: see Crouwel *et al.* 2000, 47 fig. 5.



Plate V. Geraki, Area I, remnants of possible industrial installation: from west

After the abandonment and roof collapse a new wash layer was deposited over the room and there is no evidence for later reoccupation of this part of the Classical-Hellenistic building. Human activities in the immediate area may, however, be indicated by the presence of a layer with small stones, tile fragments and pottery, which was found over the tile and wash levels in the far western part of the room (Plate IV). The character and date of this layer are as of yet unclear, as is its relation to the Hellenistic and later acropolis wall not far to the north. A possible explanation for its presence, however, is that of a filling or levelling operation after the abandonment of the Classical-Hellenistic rooms to the east.

Work also continued in the room defined by Walls 3, 6, 7, where in the previous season we had found traces of metalworking in the form of (iron) slag and some fragments of furnace bottoms.<sup>12</sup> As in the neighbouring room to the west, this year's excavation provided evidence for a burnt destruction predating the period of industrial use, this time in a test in the corner between Walls 6 and 3. The top of this destruction level, which was exposed but not yet further probed, seems to have been used as an occupation surface during the subsequent period.

This subsequent period is, as previously mentioned, characterised by evidence for metalworking. In the northwest, several pits, one of them full of tile fragments and calcified pieces of limestone (perhaps the remnants of small furnaces), had already been found last year. This year's excavation revealed a small wall (Wall 13), running north-south, which separated the area with the pits from the east half of the room. In the latter area several

<sup>12</sup> See Crouwel *et al.* 2000, 47-48 and plate II.



Plate VI. Geraki, building; from south

den tile fragments deposited, with surrounding wall

In the eastern part of the court, provided of several layers associated Classical-Hellenistic separate buildings

These two very different alignments of the western compared to the northwest corner or bench of stone



Plate VI. Geraki, Area I, earlier walls below Classical-Hellenistic building; from south

burnt spots were noted, as well as a small ash pit further south along the interior face of Wall 6. Abundant tile fragments were found scattered through the different layers of debris, which accumulated as time went on, but these do not present a homogenous layer of roof collapse of the kind encountered elsewhere. Instead, these tiles may derive from dismantled furnaces, the area having been either partially roofed or not at all. Of interest in this context is the presence of a denser concentration of larger tile fragments with some medium-sized stones and red (burnt) earth in a small rectangular area in the southeast corner of the room (Plate V). Amongst the tile fragments and stones was also an enigmatic terracotta object (Inv. no. 4608/SF2), possibly an architectural piece but here perhaps reused as a chimney in a small roofed installation.

The features described above, including Wall 13, were covered by a level with trodden

tile fragments later in the Hellenistic period. On top of this a series of wash levels was deposited, with traces of burnt as well as unburnt mudbrick and stones fallen from the surrounding walls, suggesting abandonment or only sporadic use of the area.

In the eastern portion of Area I the presence of a relatively large open area, a garden or court, provided an easy opportunity to explore any underlying structures. After the removal of several layers of fill and cleaner earth, which appear to be related to the occupation of the associated Classical-Hellenistic building, two earlier walls, Wall 10' and 12, belonging to a separate building, were discovered (Figure 2).

These two walls are neatly built, joined at right angles (Plate VI) and have a slightly different alignment from the walls of the superimposed Classical-Hellenistic building. In the western compartment a round concentration with cobbles may represent a fire place, while the northwest corner of the eastern compartment was provided with a rectangular platform or bench of small-stones. An associated destruction layer contained some fallen tiles,



Plate VII. Geraki, Area I, bone or ivory inlay (Inv.no. 719/SF2)

fragments of unburnt mudbricks, pottery, several small pieces of bronze and a finely carved bone or ivory head of a duck (probably an inlay for a wooden object, Plate VII). The pottery still awaits study, but is clearly different from the pottery from the superimposed layers. The relatively frequent occurrence of fragments of black-glazed cups with concave bases may point to a (Late) Archaic date.

Walls 10' and 12 had been founded on the remains of a much earlier building, whose existence is indicated by the preserved portion of a one-meter wide wall, Wall 26. Since the construction of Walls 10' and 12 was preceded by extensive levelling operations, not much of the contents of this earlier building was left intact. However, up against the east face of Wall 26 was a thin layer of burnt mudbrick debris, which contained enough pottery to establish a date in the late Early Helladic II period (corresponding to Lerna IIIC). Perhaps Wall 26 belonged to the same complex as the storeroom with large pithos, burnt sealings and seeds that were discovered in a test trench in 1997 ca. 13 m. to the west.<sup>13</sup>

Of special interest was also the discovery of Wall 30, an east-west running wall some 1.20 m. to the north of Wall 26. The alignment of Wall 30 and its construction - it is a double wall, at least one metre wide, and has an inner core of rubble - correspond to those of the Early Helladic II fortification wall (Wall 180) uncovered in Area II in 1999, 2000 and 2001. However, since the wall was found on the last day of the excavation, its precise date and stratigraphical relationship with Wall 26 could not be established. A small test into its rubble core did not yield an unambiguous prehistoric assemblage. Two possibilities therefore remain: Wall 30 was built at the same time and in connection with Walls 10' and 12, or it indeed forms the continuation of the Early Helladic II defensive wall, but saw some repairs in the (Late) Archaic period.

<sup>13</sup> Crouwel *et al.* 1997, 58-62; 1998, 96-101.



Figure 3. Geraki,

In Area II, new together covering the area directly above the excavation particularly, or

The new road section, is defined by Wall 105 to the north. The levels yielded: disturbed prehistoric seems that the out of an early historical sherd

The first occurrence to trace, probably This destructive



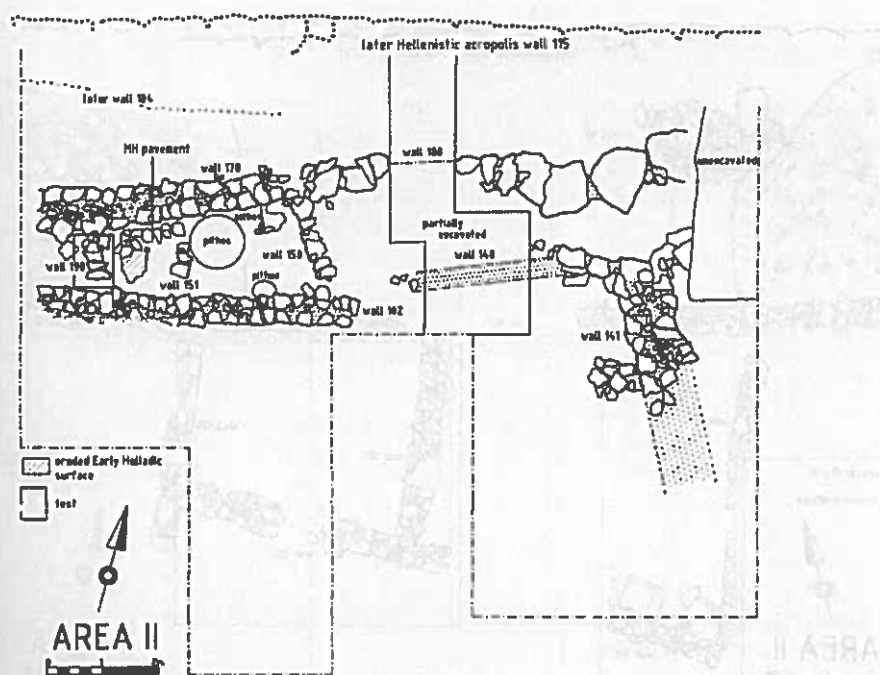


Figure 3. Geraki, ground plan of Area II, prehistoric remains

In Area II, new trenches (17/12 and 13p, 17/12g) were opened in the west and south-west, together covering an area of ca. 36 m<sup>2</sup> (Figure 5, Plate II). Work here concentrated both on the area directly behind the acropolis wall (to be discussed in the next section) and on the area of the Classical-Hellenistic building to the south. Here, a third room was discovered, the excavation of which provided more information on the lay-out of the building and, more particularly, on the different phases of its construction and use.

The new room, of which only the western half was excavated to provide us with a cross section, is defined by the north wall of the building, Wall 102, by Wall 107 to the west and Wall 105 to the south. The excavation of the northwest portion of the room to prehistoric levels yielded a well-defined sequence. More study will be needed to understand the much disturbed prehistoric stratigraphy in the area of this room, but a safe preliminary conclusion seems that the construction of the first phase of the historical building involved the laying out of an earth fill containing Middle Helladic with some Early Helladic II as well as historical sherds (perhaps associated with the soil fill behind Wall 104, see below).

The first occupation surface of the historical period was an earth surface and was difficult to trace, probably because it was ruined by the heavy stone fall that was found on top of it. This destruction may well have involved the wholesale collapse of Wall 107, as in the



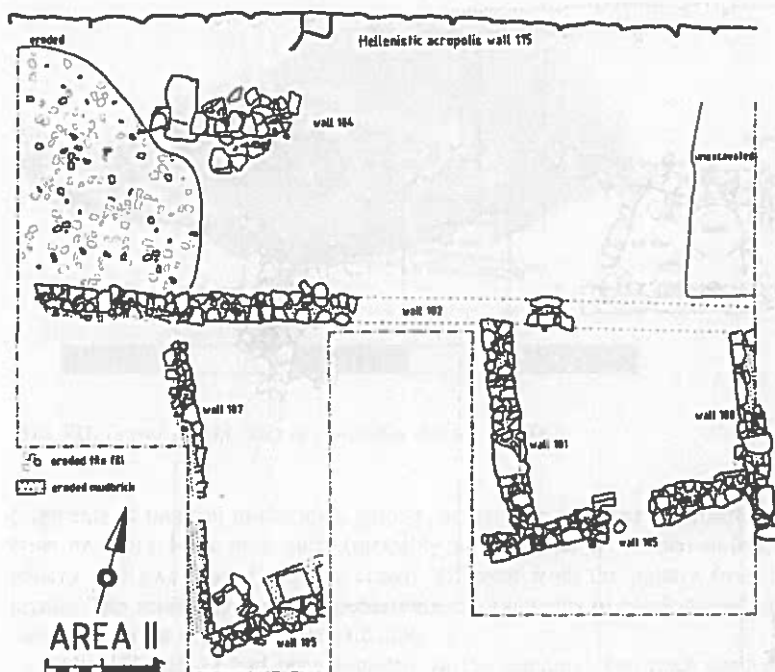


Figure 4. Geraki, ground plan of Area II, pre-Hellenistic remains

succeeding period it was rebuilt on a slightly different line. The traces of burning found in the collapse may indicate, as with the earlier destruction layers in Area I, that this destruction was accompanied by fire. The superimposition of a layer of wash or eroded destruction again suggests an episode of abandonment.

The second occupation surface of the historical period likewise consisted of earth with a few trodden tiles in it (Plate VIII). In this phase Wall 107 was rebuilt, using its precursor for a foundation but on a line slightly more to the west; a door opening led to the west. In the northwest corner of the room Wall 107 was provided with a small cross wall, which enclosed a protruding pile of rubble from the preceding destruction. In the southeast corner of the room, against Wall 105, a rainstorm during excavation made visible the impression of a rectangular mudbrick feature, perhaps some kind of bin.

On the second occupation surface several concentrations of building stones and tile were found, especially alongside the walls. Their presence may be evidence for a second, albeit much less severe, destruction during the historical period.

In the final period of use a new earth floor, with a pebble packing, was laid out c. 0.35 m. above the surface with the trodden tiles. In this phase, the doorway in Wall 7 was blocked and a stone-built bin was placed in the southwest corner. A stone on edge was set

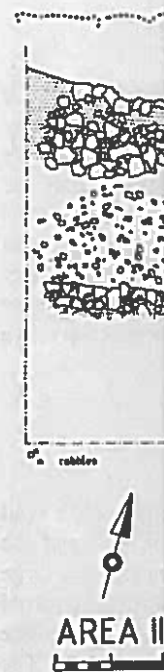


Figure 5. Geraki, ground plan of Area II, pre-Hellenistic remains

against Wall 105, which served as a support for the roof.

This latest floor, following south erosion and collapse, consists of a layer of sherds from a collapsed wall, followed by a layer of trodden tiles and stone. The individual sherds and stone concentrations were found during excavation and are shown in the plan. The floor has been covered gradually. As it was covered, the result was a level surface.

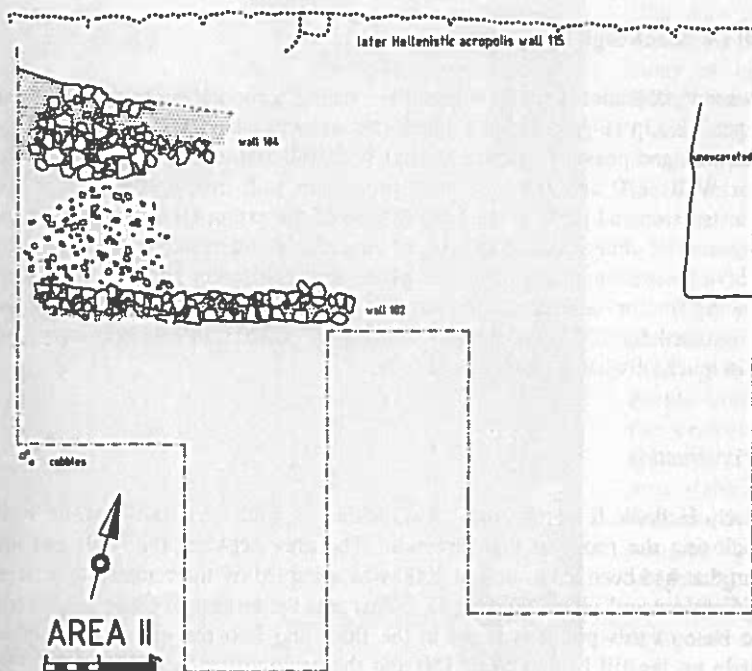


Figure 5. Geraki, ground plan of Area II, Hellenistic remains

against Wall 107 in the northwest, providing a small protected niche, which may have served as a cupboard or cooking place.

This latest floor was only preserved in the northern portion of the room, while in the south erosion had disturbed the strata as deep as the earlier collapse. A thick layer of collapse, consisting of tiles at the bottom and stones in the top layers, slopes from north to south, following the underlying line of erosion. Scattered through the collapse layer were sherds from a cooking pot (Inv. no. 2583/SF1) and other vessels, including an unguentarium (Inv. no. 2618/SF1) preliminarily dated to the 1st century B.C. The careful plotting of the individual sherds of these vessels showed their wide distribution and association with the tile and stone collapse, leading to the conclusion that they derived from an upper floor. The excavation and interpretation of the upper levels in the Classical-Hellenistic building in Area II has been complicated by the fact that the building was abandoned and then collapsed very gradually. As in Area I severe erosion of the earth floors took place before the roof collapsed. As a result, the upper floor contents ended up at a lower absolute level than the earth

floor at the ground floor, in a matrix of silty soil, which hardly differed from the floor make-up itself.<sup>14</sup>

### The acropolis wall (S. MacVeagh Thorne)

During the 2001 season excavation directly behind the existing acropolis wall was continued to the west, in trench 17/13p (Figure 1). Our intentions were to examine further the Early Helladic II storage room and possible casemat behind Wall 180 and to evaluate and provide dating evidence for Walls 170 and 104, the most prominent wall lines installed after the Early Helladic II destruction and prior to the construction of the extant Hellenistic acropolis wall, Wall 115 (Figures 3-5, Plate II).<sup>15</sup> We were, of course, also interested in attempting to trace all these walls to the west and to assess their place, in the different periods which they represent, in terracing and/or defending the acropolis hill. While detailed study of the ceramic evidence, planned for 2002, and further excavation in 2003 will be necessary, we can claim success in much of what we had set out to do.

### Early Helladic II construction

The floor of the Early Helladic II storage room was cleared. A wall, 151, ran opposite Wall 150 in the west, closing the room in that direction. The area between this wall and the section of the room that had been excavated in 2000 was occupied by the remains of a large Early Helladic II 'Geraki ware' pithos (Figure 3).<sup>16</sup> This was the largest of three discovered in this room. The base of this pithos was set in the floor and into the gravel and rubble packing which made up the fill behind Wall 180 and the packing for the floor itself. The base and much of the body of the pithos, though broken, remained in situ, the fragments held in place by the soil which had silted up around the pithos before breakage (Plate X). The base itself rested some 0.32 m. below the floor level. The use of this method of sinking the base of the pithos in the make-up of the floor suggests that the fragmentary pithos containing burnt seeds, which had been found in this room in 1999, may have been similarly placed.<sup>17</sup> Here, as in the latter case, silting action and holes or vacancies leading into the gravel fill below were in evidence. A number of complete or almost complete vessels were found in association with this pithos, some placed on the floor outside and some from the interior.<sup>18</sup> Patterns of erosion found in 1999 and 2000 were confirmed, with washed destruction material flowing, in this case, from the southwest to the northeast into the storage room and subsequently over Wall 180 to the north after that wall had collapsed.<sup>19</sup> Also



Plate VIII. Geraki ware pithos formed by walls 1

ted with the er stones, similar west, Walls 1 built up and es had, resting on broken off and taken to mean ring the gradua (above) may be

In the west, double faced, 1

<sup>14</sup> We will therefore have to review our interpretation that the upper earth floor in the room to the east consisted of different relayings: see Crouwel *et al.* 2000, 50.

<sup>15</sup> MacVeagh Thorne in Crouwel *et al.* 2000, 62-66.

<sup>16</sup> For 'Geraki Ware' see Crouwel *et al.* 1998, 100-101, 105; 1999, 33.

<sup>17</sup> MacVeagh Thorne in Crouwel *et al.* 2000, 63 and note 22 for the pithos excavated this year.

<sup>18</sup> These will be discussed in the next section. Fragments of an askos were found in the upper levels of silted material in the pithos; a saucer, broken but almost complete rested inside on the bottom; two saucers and a cup came from the floor next to the pithos.

<sup>19</sup> MacVeagh Thorne in Crouwel *et al.* 2000, 63-64; Crouwel *et al.* 1999, 33.

<sup>20</sup> For earlier finds 1999, 357-379.





Plate VIII. Geraki, Area II, second occupation surface in room formed by walls 102, 105 and 107; from south

found in this room were forty-eight fragments of the clay bands used to seal pithoi during this period, twenty-two of these retaining the impressions of lentoid seals (Plate XII).<sup>20</sup> Some of these were found at different absolute heights within the pithos, some directly on the floor and some in the silted material which had gradually built up over the floor.

The patterns of erosion and the contents of the pithos itself give us a picture of events immediately following the destruction of the Early Helladic II occupation in this area of the acropolis. A saucer was found resting on the bottom of the pithos, perhaps suggesting the storage of liquids, though seeds and other dry goods could perhaps have been as easily transferred with such a tool. In any event, the pithos itself was empty of solids at the time of the destruction. Over the saucer was a thick layer of the fine silted red soil that we have associa-

ted with the eroded remains of burned or fired mudbrick. In this material lay several large stones, similar to those used in the construction of the walls of the room on the east and west, Walls 150 and 151. These stones will have fallen in over time as the silted material built up and established the different levels on which they were to fall. The uppermost stone had, resting on it, several large sherds of the body of the pithos itself, which will have broken off and fallen into the interior only after considerable time had passed. All this was taken to mean that this area of the site sat empty for some time after its destruction, suffering the gradual processes of erosion and collapse. The disposition of the sealing fragments (above) may be seen to confirm this analysis.

In the west, Early Helladic II Wall 180 was found to continue in the form of a fine double faced, rubble filled wall. The presence of the heavy stone fill behind later Wall 104

<sup>20</sup> For earlier finds of sealings from Geraki, see Crouwel *et al.* 2000, 63 and note 25; J. Weingarten *et al.* 1999, 357-379.



Plate IX. Geraki, Area II, area behind the acropolis wall, from west

directly to the north made exploration of the outer face of this wall line impractical, but small tests were made both behind the interior face and in the rubble which had been used as fill between the two faces. While here again further study will be necessary, preliminary indications confirm that this section of the wall is a contemporary continuation of Wall 180 from trenches 17/13r and p, as seems to be indicated architecturally (Figure 3, Plate II). In the southwest, as far as could be ascertained by the limited areas of excavation permitted by different wall lines, a heavy large stone fill (stones ca. 0.25 by 0.30 by 0.40 m.) had been placed behind the exterior face. The interior face of the wall had been constructed on this large stone fill and the area between the two faces filled with rubble to provide a protective parapet. The area south of Wall 180 was levelled with small stones and gravel and, as in the storage room to the east, sealed with a hard clay packing, much of which had later eroded into the stone fill below. This area formed a walkway or corridor along the interior of the parapet. Taken with the massive nature of the construction now visible for some 15 metres along the north slope of the acropolis hill, this may be seen to confirm its defensive nature and intent.<sup>21</sup> The west wall of the storage room described above, Wall 151, was founded slightly below the level of the floor and based on the large stone packing. Here the packing gave way to the small stone and (largely) gravel fill which made up the sub flooring of that area. Such a fill was undoubtedly more effective for the installation of pithoi in depressions in the floor and this may well have been its purpose.

<sup>21</sup> It must be noted that several other walls from the same period, probably house walls, 26 and 141, are of similar construction.

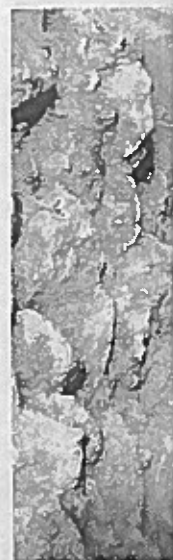


Plate X. Geraki, Area II, area behind the acropolis wall, from west

In the small large stone fill exposed another 0.25 m.) and rubble fill and presumed packing behind.

While much area some quest the storage room Wall 102 in the ly remain unclear of another m run parallel to the metres to the south to Early Helladic walls are on record implication that

<sup>22</sup> Crouwel *et al.* 1991.

<sup>23</sup> MacVeagh Thorpe.

<sup>24</sup> By analogy with made that this might W-69, dating to Late (Phase IIIC early to





Plate X. Geraki, Area II, pithos; from west

In the small test undertaken in the southwest corner of the trench, which revealed the large stone fill behind the continuation of Wall 180, removal of a number of large stones exposed another wall below (Wall 190). It was made of smaller stones (0.20 by 0.20 by 0.25 m.) and ran roughly north-south (Figure 3, Plate II). This wall had been buried by the fill and presumably predates it. Another such construction, Wall 160, was found below the packing behind Wall 180 in trench 17/13r in 1997.<sup>22</sup>

While much has been added to our understanding of the Early Helladic II horizon in this area some questions remain and some surprises have added to these questions. The floor of the storage room has been cleared - as far as this is allowed by the presence of Hellenistic Wall 102 in the south. The superstructure and surrounding architecture of the room presently remain unclear.<sup>23</sup> Complicating the question of plan in this area was the surprise discovery of another massive wall, 181, directly underneath later Wall 102. Wall 181 would have run parallel to the inner face of the newly revealed section of Wall 180 between one and two metres to the south. More of this wall will be discussed later, but whether it can be related to Early Helladic Wall 140 in the east must await further excavation.<sup>24</sup> Although these two walls are on roughly the same alignment, only the inner face of Wall 140 remains, with the implication that it, like the east wall of the pithos room, was built to contain the rubble and

<sup>22</sup> Crouwel *et al.* 1997, 57; 1999, fig. 3.

<sup>23</sup> MacVeagh Thorne in Crouwel *et al.* 2000, 64.

<sup>24</sup> By analogy with recent analysis of the construction of the defensive walls at Lerna the suggestion has been made that this might represent an earlier EH II perimeter; Wiencke 2000, 91-96, 646 with plan 18 (Wall W-69, dating to Lerna phase IIIC early or IIB late). For Lerna casemats see *ibid.*, 644-649 with plans 5-7 (Phase IIIC early to late).

stone fill placed behind Wall 180. Only the outer face of Wall 181 has been exposed, and this only where its exposure would not put the remains of the Hellenistic wall that was built over it, Wall 102, in peril.

#### *Middle Helladic construction*

Wall 170, built on the line of Wall 180 but partially founded on the eroded Early Helladic II destruction material which had filled the pithos room, was first fully exposed by excavation in 2000.<sup>25</sup> In 2001, Wall 170/180 was traced and examined further to the west.

Tests in the southwest corner of 17/13p, done to examine the substructure of Wall 180, confirm the Early Helladic II construction date implied by the presence of the storage room and pithoi (see previous section). When the remains of the wall were cleared, however, the pottery found behind and on top of it was almost entirely Middle Helladic, with only the infrequent inclusion of any expected earlier material. Two different Middle Helladic wash levels were identified as the preserved top of the wall was revealed. As wash levels these strata were variable, indistinct, and difficult to trace due to the lack of uniformity in the processes of collapse and erosion that had created them. Different longitudinal sections of the outer and inner faces of the wall had fallen at different times during the long process of collapse, creating a series of continually changing routes for the evacuation of water and the concomitant erosion, and different opportunities for the build up of silted soil behind temporarily preserved fragments of wall. The clearest example of this is in the east of trench 17/13p and includes where several courses of the outer face of the Early Helladic wall (180) remained standing and were incorporated into the exterior face of Wall 170, the interior of which, at this point, was built on the silted Early Helladic II material which, after the destruction, had filled the storage room, built up against the preserved wall fragment and then proceeded to spill over the remains of Wall 180 directly to the east.<sup>26</sup> In Plate X the construction of the inner face of Wall 170 over the fragments of the broken pithos can be seen clearly. The outer face in the same area (Plates II and IX) rests on, or is itself a reused part of, the earlier wall. In this section of walling also the original double-faced, rubble-filled nature of Wall 180 to the west has been lost in the new Middle Helladic reconstruction.

A rough 'pavement' or stone packing laid against the inner face of Wall 170/180 seems to have been placed there to fill sections of the surface of the Early Helladic II pathway which had eroded into the stone fill below. Some of the repairs are associated with the construction of the interior face of Wall 170 in the area of the pithos room (Figure 3, Plate IX). This is again consistent with the suggestion that the area was allowed to disintegrate gradually after the Early Helladic II destruction, the ruins being patched up again when the site was reoccupied.

While any stratigraphy behind Wall 180 in the west was, in fact, the result of erosion, pottery fragments at the lowest levels were large, sometimes joining sherds, and had not travelled far. They were found up against the remains of the inner face of Wall 170/180 and their position indicates that here the inner face, and the walkway behind it - on which these

<sup>25</sup> MacVeagh Thorne in Crouwel *et al.* 2000, 64, fig. 7, plate XII.

<sup>26</sup> See previous note.



Plate XI. Geraki, As south

#### *Wall 181*

While clearly in concealed, until it have been an Ear on the order of t 17/13r in 1997 ( Wall 181 to the e 180 and 170 wer corridor that ran width. After the have passed large silted mudbrick f the pithos room a



Plate XI. Geraki, Area II, cobble packing behind Wall 104; from south

sherds were found - had been open and exposed during the use of the wall in the Middle Helladic period and subsequently during the initial stages of collapse after that period.

This lowest level of washed or eroded material was also characterized by the presence of much charcoal and bone. The bone was, primarily, in large fragments, some showing signs of butchery and burning. The charcoal fragments were discrete pieces, often recognizable as large twigs and small branches. This, and the predominance of cooking vessels among the sherds collected, may suggest that this eroded material was from domestic contexts. Whatever their original context, the size and condition of the finds here suggest that this context will have been in close proximity (see below, Wall 181).

#### Wall 181

While clearly in use during both periods, Wall 181, the megalithic wall that had been concealed, until this season, by the superimposition of Hellenistic Wall 102, must originally have been an Early Helladic II wall. It appears to have been built of extremely large stones, on the order of the 'boulders' which first alerted us to the presence of Wall 180 in trench 17/13r in 1997 (Plate II). Typological comparisons are not the only reasons for assigning Wall 181 to the earlier period. During the Early and Middle Helladic periods, when Wall(s) 180 and 170 were in use, Wall 181 would have formed the south wall of the pathway or corridor that ran along the interior of those walls, this pathway being about two metres in width. After the Early Helladic II destruction, material eroding from behind Wall 181 will have passed largely to the northwest, into the open casemat, providing the source for the silted mudbrick fabric found in the pithos excavated this year, and for that which had filled the pithos room and eventually cascaded over Wall 180 as it collapsed over time (see above,

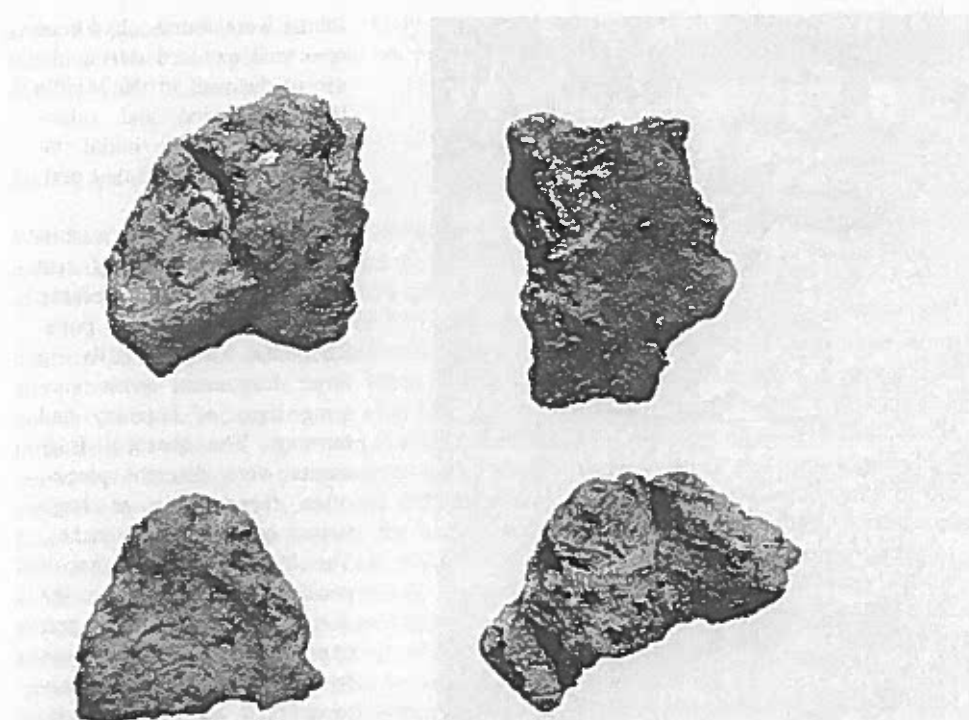


Plate XII. Geraki, Area II, Early Helladic II sealing fragments (Inv. no. 1699/SF2, SF4, SF5, SF9)

Early Helladic II construction). Many large architectural stones lay before Wall 181 in the south. These had fallen at various levels in the Middle Helladic wash levels which had gradually covered the remains of Wall 170/180. These stones represent portions of the superstructure of Wall 181 which gradually collapsed during the period of abandonment after the Middle Helladic occupation of the site, the stones coming to rest on the growing bank of material that had eroded from behind them. As elsewhere on the acropolis hill silt levels resulting from such gradual processes of collapse are difficult to trace precisely, but, just as with Wall 180 or the current acropolis wall, the processes are clear. One or two stones of an upper course will fall, perhaps due to pressure of the fill behind them;<sup>27</sup> soil will erode through the space provided, building a 'fan' or bank of silted soil at the foot of the wall below and weakening and putting pressure on adjacent stones which fall in their turn and allow more erosion.<sup>28</sup> It was interesting to note that, while the lower levels of the material eroded from behind Wall 181, like those large sherds which had silted up against the remaining inner face of 170/180 (see above), were clearly and distinctly of Middle

<sup>27</sup> MacVeagh Thorne in Crouwel *et al.* 1996, 96, fig. 6, plate II.

<sup>28</sup> The gradual collapse of the superstructure of 181 on the gradually rising ground level before it provided, once again, a bank of large fallen stones which eventually, some 1200 years later, were to provide a foundation for 102.

Helladic date with small 'fans' of colour of baked after the Middle levels from being buried by Middle excavation behind that wall strongly much to confirm

#### Historical remain

The Middle Helladic 180 and 181, was. As with the Helladic citadel se and the subse wall, that which fell from both V eroded soil was buried remains contour which t ted (Plates II, I. ty of other con excavation difficult placing large shaped or cut i materials for th courses of the were extremely especially to th their proximity material necess the same operat a mixed soil, pottery. Its con Both the very (ry) and a higher

<sup>29</sup> See, for instance not yet been able on its own as does

<sup>30</sup> Build up of EH

<sup>31</sup> For erosion to 2000, 65; 1999, 2 Behind this patch



Helladic date with little or no earlier material in evidence. At several places along Wall 181 small 'fans' of eroding Early Helladic II material, the soil the characteristic bright red colour of baked mudbrick, lay over the brown silt of the later period. This indicates that, after the Middle Helladic abandonment of the area, continuing erosion of Middle Helladic levels from behind Wall 181 eventually exposed the earlier destruction levels, formerly buried by Middle Helladic occupation debris, and allowed them to erode in turn. While excavation behind Wall 181 in the south is required, the material eroding through breaks in that wall strongly suggests both Early and Middle Helladic occupation to the south and does much to confirm the early date for the wall that is suggested typologically.

#### *Historical remains: Wall 104*

The Middle Helladic construction, which had reused the remains of Early Helladic II Walls 180 and 181, was eventually allowed to collapse in much the same way as had its predecessor. As with the earlier wall, all indications here suggest that the final stages of the Middle Helladic citadel were abandoned and allowed to collapse gradually over time.<sup>29</sup> This collapse and the subsequent erosion of soil from behind Wall 181 augmented, in this section of the wall, that which had remained from the earlier period.<sup>30</sup> Large stones and building blocks fell from both Wall 181 and 180/170 and a bank of fallen stones, lost rubble fill, and silted, eroded soil was formed over and to the north of the gradually disintegrating and eventually buried remains of 170/180. This considerable bank of soil and fallen stone then formed the contour which the next substantive wall in this area, Wall 104, was built against and protected (Plates II, IX, Figures 3-4). At present evidence (and once again the immediate proximity of other construction - in this case Wall 115, the standing acropolis wall - makes full excavation difficult) Wall 104, at its lower levels, consisted of a single face constructed by placing large stones against the existing bank of eroded debris. This bank may have been shaped or cut in places to accommodate the new wall, perhaps even to provide occasional materials for the new construction. Where necessary, fill was then placed behind the upper courses of the new wall - to raise or level off the resulting interior ground level. Here we were extremely fortunate. Although erosion had disturbed much of the fill behind Wall 104, especially to the northwest and northeast of the area, those places most vulnerable due to their proximity to the face of the wall itself, enough stratigraphy remained to provide material necessary for dating the construction of Wall 104.<sup>31</sup> Three levels, clearly part of the same operation, were preserved or partially preserved. The first, or lowest, of these was a mixed soil, largely brown in colour, containing a high percentage of Middle Helladic pottery. Its consistency, where it had remained undisturbed, made clear its character as fill. Both the very occasional inclusion of sherds from the historical period (black-glazed pottery) and a higher percentage of earlier sherds (Early Helladic) than was found in the Middle

<sup>29</sup> See, for instance, wall 181 above, and the discussion of the stones fallen to the north of this wall. We have not yet been able to identify unequivocally any reason for the MH abandonment that would stand so clearly on its own as does the widespread destruction for the earlier period.

<sup>30</sup> Build up of EH II erosion, see MacVeagh Thorne in Crouwel *et al.* 2000, 63-64.

<sup>31</sup> For erosion to the northeast and the use of Wall(s) 121, 123, 122 in attempts to stop it, see Crouwel *et al.* 2000, 65; 1999, 33. For erosion to the northwest, see Type 2 patching in fig. 4 in Crouwel *et al.* 1996, 94. Behind this patch lies the northwest corner of trench 17/13p.

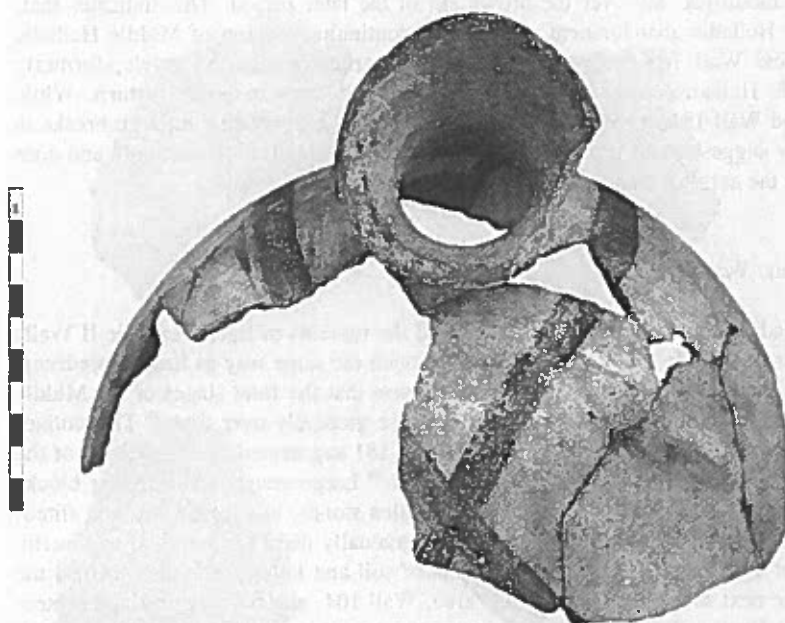


Plate XIII. Geraki, Area II, Early Helladic II duck-askos (Inv.no. 1696/SF2)

Helladic wash levels below would suggest that this was a mixed soil taken from elsewhere on the acropolis hill and used to fill the more pronounced variations in level behind the new Wall 104. As part of this level, but closer to the face of the wall, a heavy stone fill was used, probably for purposes of drainage (Plate II). Over this level of soil and stone fill lay a thin layer of pottery clearly associated with the construction of Wall 104. The sparse admixture of roof-tile fragments is reminiscent of fills found elsewhere in the examination of the Geraki wall systems, but never so unequivocally stratified.<sup>32</sup> All this was sealed by a thin layer of tightly packed cobbles, ca. 0.05 by 0.05 by 0.08 m. in size, which had been laid over the level of strewn pottery fragments (Figure 4, Plate XI). In places these stones had been packed so tightly that they came up not one by one but in whole pieces, as if one were removing a carpet. While this level at some places had also become subject to erosion, it was preserved so well in the southeast quadrant that, due to the careful way in which it had been installed, it not only sealed the pottery below but retained ground moisture above, its eventual appearance being telegraphed by the moisture that it retained, that area of the trench being damp for several levels above it. It was largely only one stone thick, though in places depressions in the sherd and soil fill beneath had been levelled by the addition of more cobbles. On top of this cobbled pavement or surface behind Wall 104 was the heavy

<sup>32</sup> Once again, it is to be hoped that a study of this pottery, exclusively the waste sherd material used in fill, will provide a date for the construction and use of Wall 104.



Plate XIV. Geraki

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Wall 115: the st

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<sup>33</sup> Crouwel *et al.* 1

<sup>34</sup> Crouwel *et al.* 2

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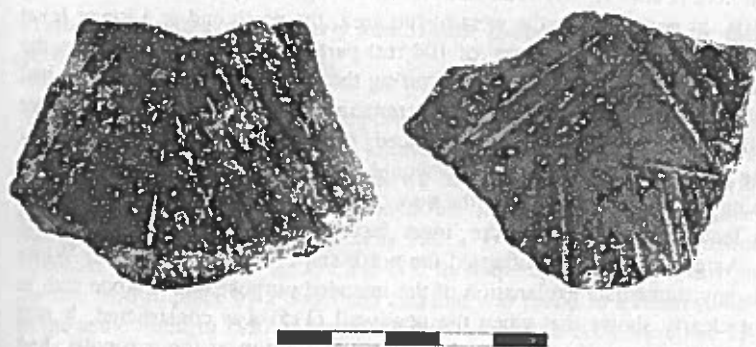


Plate XIV. Geraki, Area II, Middle Helladic polisherds (Inv. no. 1677/1 and 1710/1)

tile, sherd, and rubble fill that we have seen used in the construction of that wall's successor, the standing acropolis wall, Wall 115.<sup>33</sup>

#### *Wall 115: the standing acropolis wall*

Excavation in 1999 had exposed the upper courses of Wall 104 in trench 17/13q. That portion of the wall fragment which extended into the northwest corner of 17/13q from the northeast of 17/13p had been briefly explored in 2000.<sup>34</sup> Only the interior face was found standing, raising the question as to whether it had been the interior face of the currently extant acropolis wall - the remnants of a Hellenistic defensive parapet for 115 - or the remains of a wall previous to the final construction. Excavation in 2001 exposed, as noted above, the exterior face of Wall 104, which had been buried - and thereby protected - by Wall 115. This, with the fortunate discovery of a stratified fill behind 104, established that wall as a precursor to the existing wall, which itself is a product of the Hellenistic period.<sup>35</sup> Excavation in the northeast of trench 17/13p also traced the puzzling fragment of the interior face of Wall 104 that had been examined during the previous season. This fragment was followed for some two metres to the west before it was lost in the general collapse of both Wall 104 and Wall 115, witnessed in the eroding fill found in that area and by the patching visible in the face of the standing acropolis wall.<sup>36</sup> The fortuitous appearance of a

<sup>33</sup> Crouwel *et al.* 1997, 53, 57.

<sup>34</sup> Crouwel *et al.* 2000, 66.

<sup>35</sup> The masses of pottery found in the Hellenistic sherd, tile and rubble fill behind Wall 115 present a substantial project for study. It is to be hoped that completion of this study and further evaluation of the corresponding levels on the acropolis will be able to put a date to the construction of this wall during the often troubled history of Hellenistic Laconia. See Crouwel in Van der Vin 1998, 80-81.

<sup>36</sup> For patching in Wall 115, see note 19, above.

large slab of fine local limestone, well finished on top and bottom but chipped and broken on at least one side and hence most likely in reuse from some other place and function, now seems to allow us to choose conclusively between possibilities for the explanation of the wall fragments found here (Plates II, IX). The slab lies at an angle with its south end resting on the top of Wall 104, as excavated in the west of the area, the north end at a lower level over Wall 115. Stones from the 'interior face' of 104 rest partially on top of the slab in the south, leaving a small opening between them but assuring their placement after the slab had been put into position. These stones fit well with the remaining stones in the wall fragment ('interior face' of 104), but have been slightly displaced, or lifted up, it would appear, by the subsidence of the north end of the slab, which would have originally rested at closer to the horizontal, running from Wall 104 over to the new construction, Wall 115. The slab, in other words, was a feature built into both the 'inner face' of wall 104 and into the next acropolis wall, 115. As portions of 115 collapsed the north end of the slab subsided. While none of this gives us any immediate explanation of the intended purpose of the stone slab in this configuration, it clearly shows that when the new wall (115) was constructed, it was here joined to the earlier construction, which, at least in this section of the acropolis, had remained standing. Perhaps this was done for purposes of strengthening or stabilization, perhaps for drainage or access, but, in any case, a new wall - the interior face for the new construction, 115 - was built simultaneously, using the exterior face of the older wall for its foundation (Figure 5, Plate IX).

### Conclusions

Excavation behind the Acropolis wall during 2001 cleared the floor of the Early Helladic II storage room behind Wall 180, which had been exposed and partially excavated in 2000. This yielded a third pithos, a number of associated vessels and forty-eight fragments of the clay bands used to seal pithoi in the Early Helladic II period. While the ground plan of the room is now clear, the superstructure cannot, at this point, be reconstructed. Wall 180 was traced to the west and the date of its construction confirmed by preliminary study of small tests both behind and within the wall. Wall 180, in this section, appears as a double faced, rubble filled wall.

An earlier wall, Wall 190, was found in testing below the large stone fill which backed Wall 180.

Wall 181, partially constructed of immense stones in the manner of Wall 180 in 17/13r, was revealed beneath Hellenistic Wall 102. Wall 181 may have been in use during both Early and Middle Helladic occupation.

Wall 170 was shown to be the remnants of a Middle Helladic rebuilding and reuse of the Early Helladic II Wall 180, following much the same alignment but obscuring little of the damage that had occurred during a long period of abandonment and disuse following the Early Helladic II destruction. Wall 170 was abandoned and allowed to collapse in much the same way as had its predecessor, Wall 180.

Wall 104 was shown to have been built against the collapsed wreckage of the earlier walls. It provided evidence of two phases of construction. The first of these predated the appearance of Wall 115 and consisted, at present evidence, of a single face built against the collapsed remnants of the previous (prehistoric) walls. The second phase represents the

reuse of this earlier final, Hellenistic

### Preliminary notes on the acropolis wall

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<sup>37</sup> For this pithos a

<sup>38</sup> See Crouwel et al.

<sup>39</sup> See Wiencke 2001

<sup>40</sup> Wiencke 2000, 1



reuse of this earlier wall as foundation for the interior face of a protective parapet for the final, Hellenistic Wall 115.

**Preliminary notes on the Early and Middle Helladic pottery from the area of the acropolis wall (J.H. Crouwel)**

The newly found Early Helladic pottery includes the lower part of a large pithos sunk into the floor of the casemat (see the contribution by S. MacVeagh Thorne). The coarse-ware pot is an excellent example of what we have come to call Geraki Ware. In this case, the plastic decoration starts directly above the flat base (0.25 m. in diameter) and consists of neat, closely spaced zigzag patterns and a group of applied horizontal bands (Inv. nos. 1696/SF 7 and 1996/SF 2, 3; Plate X). In shape and decoration this pithos comes close to the one held in place by a clay band and that was found in a room some distance to the west in the same Field in 1997.<sup>37</sup> Inside the pithos found in 2001 were two Early Helladic vessels - a small bowl of a type commonly known as saucer and a so-called duck askos. The almost complete saucer, which was lying at the bottom of the pithos, is of medium fine fabric and unpainted (Inv. no. 1699/SF 6; Ht. 0.046, Diam. rim 0.147. Figure 6). It has a good parallel, for its fabric, indented base and shallow profile, in a saucer that was found outside the pithos. This small vessel, of which the complete profile is preserved, has a slightly inturned rim (Inv. no. 1702/SF 1. Ht. 0.0344, Diam. rim 0.153. Figure 6). Rather different is another almost complete saucer that was found outside the pithos (Inv. no. 1702 /SF 2. Ht. 0.055, Diam. rim 0.10. Figure 7). Of medium coarse fabric, this vessel has a low ring base, a fairly deep profile and an inturned rim.

Saucers were a standard shape in the ceramic repertoire of Early Helladic, in the Peloponnese as well as in the central Greek mainland. They are also well-known at Geraki itself.<sup>38</sup> At Lerna, a major site during this period, the best parallels for the two saucer variants represented by our three examples occur side by side in contexts of phase IIIC, *i.e.* late Early Helladic II.<sup>39</sup>

The so-called duck askos from inside the pithos represents the first find of its kind at Geraki. Of this asymmetrical, pouring vessel a large part of the spout and upper body are preserved, along with most of a small free-standing handle on the top of the body and a non-joining - fragment of the lower body and flat base (Inv. no. 1696/SF 2. Ht. maximum existing ca. 0.175. Figure 8; Plate XIII). The vessel is of medium coarse fabric and bears painted decoration of simple linear patterns in black of a light-brown slip. The shape does occur outside Geraki but is never common. At Lerna, the few, also dark-painted duck askoi again belong to phase IIIC.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>37</sup> For this pithos and for Geraki Ware, see Crouwel *et al.* 1998, 98, 100, fig. 3 and plate II.

<sup>38</sup> See Crouwel *et al.* 1998, 98, 100, figs. 4-5.

<sup>39</sup> See Wiencke 2001, 592-601 with fig. II.93 (types 1 and 2), citing many parallels from elsewhere.

<sup>40</sup> Wiencke 2000, 529-534 with fig. II.72 (askos type 6), citing parallels from other sites.

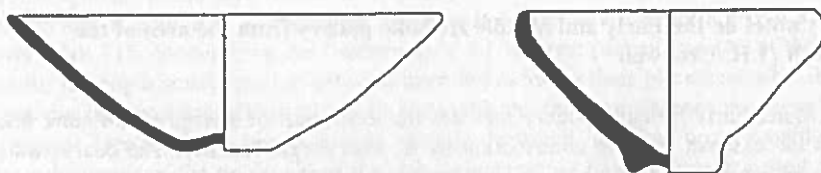


Figure 6. Geraki, Area II, Early Helladic II saucers (left: Inv. no. 1702/SF1; right: Inv. no. 1699/SF6)



Figure 7. Geraki, Area II, Early Helladic II saucer (Inv. no. 1702/SF2)

There is another almost complete vessel from outside the pithos. It is a medium-coarse, unpainted small bowl on a ring base and with a deep profile and tapering rim (Inv. no. 1702/SF7. Ht. 0.089, Diam. rim ca. 0.11. Figure 9). Surely of similar date to the saucers and duck askos, it cannot be so easily matched at Lerna or elsewhere.<sup>41</sup>

The 2001 excavations in the area of the acropolis wall also produced much Middle Helladic pottery, unfortunately all fragmentary. This material can be added to the steadily growing corpus of ceramics of this period from Geraki. Some of the finds can be attributed to classes known from elsewhere in Laconia or from other sites, such as Lerna. They include several sherds of Dark Burnished bowls and of closed vessels painted in Lustrous Decorated. True Grey Minyan is virtually absent, as it is at other sites in Laconia, while Matt Painted is not well represented.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Wiencke 2000, 604f. with fig. II.96 (pedestalled saucer, mostly found in Lerna phase IIIC).

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Cavanagh and Crouwel 1996, 17-26 (Middle Helladic pottery from the Laconia Survey, where possible classified according to the work of C. Zerner at Lerna and Ayios Stephanos).



Figure 8. Geraki, duck-askos (Inv. no. 1702/SF7)



Figure 9. Geraki, small ring-based bowl (Inv. no. 1702/SF7)

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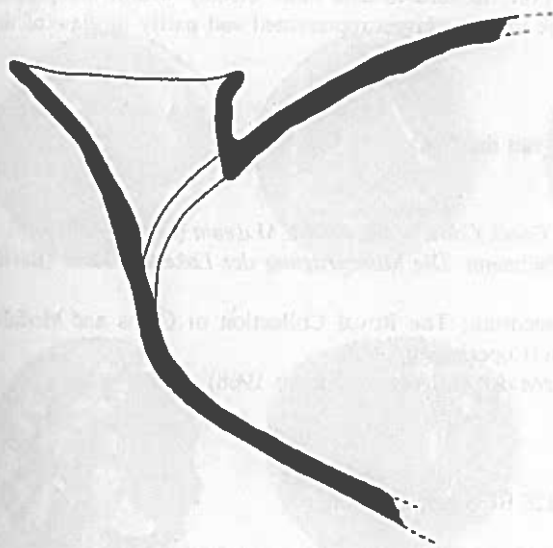


Figure 8. Geraki, Area II, Early Helladic II  
duc-askos (Inv.no. 1696/SF2)

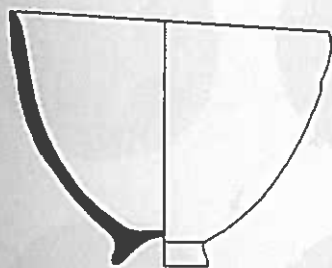


Figure 9. Geraki, Area II, Early Helladic II  
small ring-based bowl (Inv.no. 1702/SF7)

The great majority of the Middle Helladic potsherds belongs to coarse fabrics which need classification. Among the more notable coarse-ware fragments are those bearing a densely incised decoration in a style that in the past was often referred to as 'Adriatic'. Some of these sherds probably belong to a vessel shape that occurs at sites in different parts of the Peloponnese and in the central Greek mainland: a wide-mouthed jar with a high-swung strap-handle (two examples, Inv. nos. 1677/1 and 1710/1, are illustrated in Plate

XIV). Elsewhere such incised jars are attributed to Middle Helladic I, while at Lerna they go back to the Early Helladic III period (Lerna IV).<sup>43</sup> At present, most of the new Middle Helladic pottery from Geraki, however, is hard to date more closely within the period, partly because of the longevity of the various classes represented and partly in view of the lack of well-stratified deposits.

#### Coins found in 2001 (Plate XV) (J. van der Vin)

Abbreviations used:

*BMC* *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum* (London 1873).

*Grunauer* S. Grunauer-von Hoerschelmann. *Die Münzprägung der Lakedaimonier* (Berlin 1978).

*SNG Cop.* Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Danish National Museum (Copenhagen 1942).

*Svoronos* J.N. Svoronos, *Die Münzen der Ptolemaeer* (Athens 1908).

#### Peloponnese

1. Inv. no. 1486/SF1. Argos 343 - 228 BC silver tetrobol.  
Obv. forepart of wolf l.  
Rev. A in shallow incuse square, above II Y, below, eagle standing r. on harpa.  
Weight: 2.00 grams  
Cf. *SNG Cop.* 36; cf. *BMC* 79-80.  
Without Θ on obverse (above wolf).
2. Inv. no. 4517/SF6. Argos 343 - 228 BC aes.  
Obv. forepart of wolf l.  
Rev. A, below, bucranium or Y.  
Weight: 1.50 grams.  
*SNG Cop.* 61 ff; cf. *BMC* 104.
3. Inv. no. 4413/SF4. Sicyon circa 370 - 250 BC silver obol.  
Obv. head of Apollo laureate r.  
Rev. dove flying r.  
Weight: 0.5 grams.  
*SNG Cop.* 67-68; *BMC* 163 ff.
4. Inv. no. 4581/SF1. Sparta 35-31 BC aes.  
Obv. heads of the Dioscuri jugate, wearing laureate pilei; dotted border.  
Rev. AA within laurel-wreath.  
Weight: 45 grams; diameter: 34 mm.  
*SNG Cop.* 592; *BMC* 163 ff.

<sup>43</sup> See a.o. Zerner 1978, 188f.; Rutter 1995, 632-634, shape XXI.1 with ill. S-21; Forsén 1996, 67, nos. 105-107 with fig. 10.1



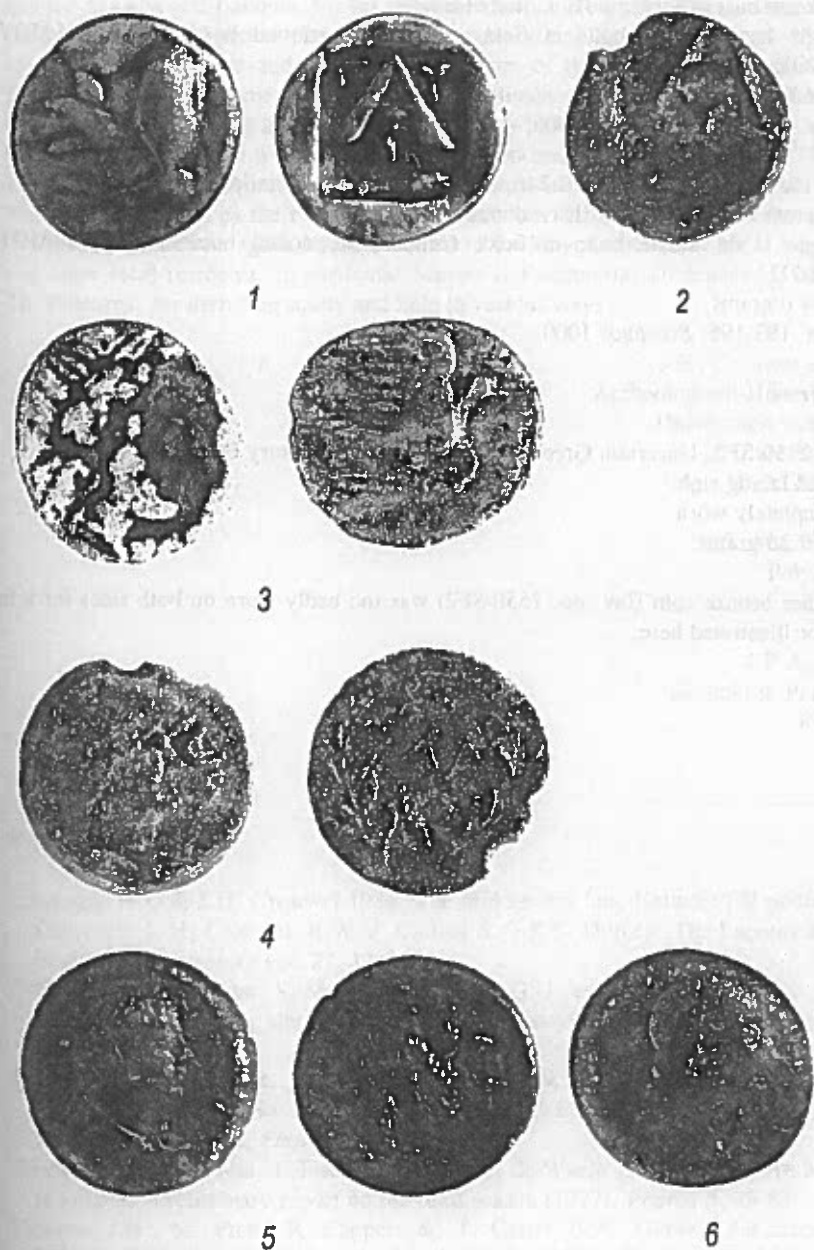


Plate XV. Geraki, coins found in 2001

*Ptolemaic Egypt*

5. Inv. no. 4538/SF1. Ptolemaios III 246 - 221 BC aes Alexandria (probably circa 244 BC).  
Obv. laureate bust of Ptolemy III r.; dotted border.  
Rev. eagle l. on thunderbolt; in field, cornucopiae; dotted border; ΠΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ  
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ.  
Weight: 6.0 grams.  
SNG Cop. 193-195; Svoronos 1000.
6. Inv. no. 1529/SF1. Ptolemaios III 246 - 221 BC aes Alexandria (probably circa 244 BC).  
Obv. laureate bust of Ptolemy III r.; dotted border.  
Rev. eagle l. on thunderbolt; in field, cornucopiae; dotted border; ΠΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ  
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ.  
Weight: 4.0 grams.  
SNG Cop. 193-195; Svoronos 1000.

*uncertain Greek*

7. Inv. no. 2550/SF2. Uncertain Greek city circa 4rd - 2nd century BC aes.  
Obv. head facing right.  
Rev. completely worn.  
Weight: 6.25 grams.

Note: Another bronze coin (Inv. no. 2550/SF2) was too badly worn on both sides for it to be studied or illustrated here.

**Acknowledgements**

We are most grateful to Arkadia Zaffou and Mr N. Zaffou for the loan of the coins. We also thank Professor A. F. V. V. as Dr H. W.

As in 1995-2000, the Foundation and the author was also again given the opportunity to study the coins.

Finally, we are grateful to the other local residents, Th. Piliouras, for the loan of the coins.

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<sup>1</sup> Bintliff et al. 2000a.



**THE LEIDEN ANCIENT CITIES  
OF BOEOTIA PROJECT:  
Preliminary Report on the 2001 Season**

*John Bintliff, Niki Evelpidou, Emeri Farinetti,  
Branko Mušič, Igor Rižnar, Kostas Sbonias,  
Lefteris Sigalos, Božidar Slapšak,  
Vladimir Stissi, Andreas Vassilopoulos*

From mid-July to mid-August 2001 a team from Leiden University under the direction of Professor John Bintliff, together with Greek colleagues (Dr K. Sbonias, Dr K. Sarri) and a small team from the University of Ljubljana under the direction of Professor B. Slapšak, undertook a second season of surface survey in the city of Tanagra, Eastern Boeotia and in its immediate rural surroundings. The first season at Tanagra, in summer 2000, has seen a detailed preliminary report published in this journal.<sup>1</sup> It is intended that each season will produce a similar report for *Pharos*. The co-directors of the Project are John Bintliff and Božidar Slapšak, the assistant director is Kostas Sbonias. The Geoprospection team is led by Branko Mušič, the Total Station topographic recording team are Lefteris Sigalos and Emeri Farinetti, and the GIS data integration of the artefacts, architecture and topography is carried out by Emeri Farinetti. In 2001 the prehistoric finds were studied by Kalliope Sarri, those of Geometric to Hellenistic by Vladimir Stissi, and the Medieval and Postmedieval by Joanita Vroom. Work on the Roman to Late Roman ceramic finds will commence in May 2002 with a new member of the Project, Dr Jeroen Poblome from Leuven University.

As usual we would like to express our fulsome gratitude to the Ephor of Classical Antiquities for Boeotia, Prof. Vassilis Aravantinos, for his constant support, encouragement and interest in our

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<sup>1</sup> Bintliff *et al.* 2000a.

work, and to Bishop Hieronymus and his assistant Mr. G. Kopanyas for the wonderful facilities offered to our team at the Ecclesiastical Research Centre at Evangelistria. The staff at the Dutch Institute in Athens were a perfect support team for us and our students. Professor L. Louwe Kooijmans, Dean of the Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University has given enthusiastic support for the Tanagra programme, not least through making available major funding for the main field season and the collaborative Geoprospection season by the Ljubljana team.

Our 2001 preliminary report begins with a general overview of the Project's work, focussing chiefly on the archaeological surface artefact survey of the city and its rural hinterland (directed by J. Bintliff and K. Sbonias). There then follows a discussion of the Greco-Roman finds by V. Stissi (University of Amsterdam), a contribution by E. Farinetti and L. Sigalos on the Total Station survey, and finally a report on the Geoprospection by Branko Mušič and Božidar Slapšak. Further information on the prehistoric finds and those of Roman-Late Roman and Medieval-Postmedieval date will be offered in the next preliminary report, when more work has been done on them.

#### General overview of the surface artefact survey (John Bintliff and Kostas Sbonias)

In the 2001 season, within the ancient city walls, another major sector of the surface was systematically planned topographically using a total station (directed by L. Sigalos and E. Farinetti), with careful note being taken of the location of all wall lines and architectural fragments. In total now over the two seasons 2000-2001, some 13 hectares of the city have been exhaustively planned in this fashion, with the main aims being to reveal microtopographic variations in the surface which can be connected to buried structures, roads, the variation in soil depth and surface artefact finds, as well as to provide a firm and absolute recording surface for locating the surface collection grid placed over the city interior by the archaeological teams. In conjunction with the results of Geoprospection, carried out by Ljubljana specialists led by B. Mušič, the plan of the city blocks and roads is gradually being elucidated, to compare with the differential spreads of ceramic surface finds of various occupation phases of the town, and with the tentative city plan published in 1987 by a previous team working at the site.<sup>2</sup> These different kinds of spatial information are being linked together using sophisticated computer technology (a Geographical Information System) by E. Farinetti. More detailed reports on these studies are given in the specialist sections later in this article.

The surface artefact survey of the ancient city interior achieved its aim for 2001 of reaching some two-thirds of the total surface area. Thus of the approximately 30 hectare city interior, some 12 were surveyed artefactually in the first season, a further 8 in 2001. The final one third will be covered in 2002. A slightly slower pace was the result of two factors. Firstly, whereas the 2000 surface survey technique had deployed a collection and recording grid of ca. 50 metre by 50 metre squares across the city, with a subsample in each quadrat corner of 30m x 10m as an intensive control on the data from the large squares, we decided to move in 2001 to a more refined control of the data, by continuing with the 50 x 50 m base grid but subdividing it into four mini-quadrats for recording and collection (see Figures 1-2). As in 2000, density of artefacts (almost entirely ceramic and tile) was

<sup>2</sup> Roller 1987.

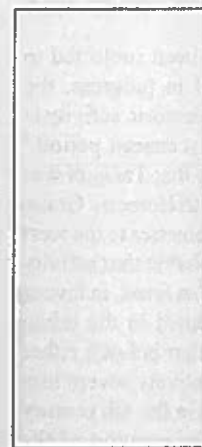


Figure 1: The planned field seasons.



Figure 2: Ceramic density in the 2001 four quadrants.

measured and a representative sample of feature sherds and fabric types collected for each of the 4 units within each large grid square, with the ultimate aim of identifying variation in the chronological spread of material across the city area and its indications for functional zonation and trade activities. Some very provisional comments on finds from the 2000 season of Greco-Roman date are given below in the section by V. Stissi.

Thus, so far in two seasons (2000-2001) two-thirds of the city surface have been subjected to intense surface artefact survey. Although study of the finds collected is still in progress, the following tentative comments may be offered. The overall impression is that prehistoric activity is widespread over large areas of the ancient city from Neolithic times to the Mycenaean period.<sup>3</sup> However the virtual absence of LHIII finds from the town makes it very unlikely that Tanagra was a major Mycenaean settlement, thus ruling out the equation by some of the site with Homeric Graia. Since the famous Late Mycenaean cemeteries of this district lie mainly several kilometres to the west around the modern village of Tanagra (formerly Bratsi), it would seem more probable that activity at the prehistoric settlement on the ancient city site faded away in climax Mycenaean times, in favour of a major settlement near that modern village. Likewise very weakly represented in the urban surface finds are Dark Age and early Archaic sherds (study by V. Stissi, see further below), either suggesting a late foundation of the town at least in its current location, or alternatively severe loss or burial of the material of that period due to the complete replanning of the city in the 4th century BC. Although massive topographic disruption indeed must be assumed with the creation of the gridplan town in the latter period, there is the problem that prehistoric sherds are surprisingly widespread in most parts of the town so far surveyed. To try and resolve this contradiction, it may be pointed out that sherds of Geometric to Archaic date which have lost their paint due to the kind of subsequent site disruption as here postulated in the 4th century BC, are commonly believed to get classified in with the much more common surface assemblages of Classical-Early Hellenistic date.<sup>4</sup>

Classical Greek, and especially Late Roman finds are abundant from all areas so far studied, but there are some indications of a reduction in activity during later Hellenistic and Early Roman times – not predicted from the ancient sources but compatible with previous research at other Boeotian urban sites such as Thespieae and Hyettos.<sup>5</sup> Medieval activity is extremely rare and no evidence yet has been found to suggest significant occupation within the urban area in Byzantine times. But a major discovery of 2001 was a group of four linked (end-to-end) longhouses on the acropolis hill, of traditional Boeotian domestic type, associated with ceramics of the Middle Ottoman period – a small hamlet, perhaps a ciftlik lay at the heart of the ancient city in the 16th-18th centuries (preliminary dating J. Vroom).

The surface ceramic density across the city, corrected for visibility variation (Figure 2) shows that most quadrats range from 30-80,000 sherds per hectare. Although, not surprisingly, this is sensibly greater than the density at our rural estate centre sites (see below) this is significantly depressed compared to densities recorded by John Bintliff at other city sites surveyed by the Cambridge-Bradford Boeotia Project in the 1980s (Thespieae, Hyettos, for example). The chief reason is certainly

<sup>3</sup> pers.com. Dr K. Sarri, see also our previous report (Bintliff *et al.* 2000a)

<sup>4</sup> previous urban survey in Boeotia has also recorded apparent underrepresentation of the G-A centuries – cf. Bintliff and Snodgrass 1988

<sup>5</sup> see Bintliff and Snodgrass *op cit.*

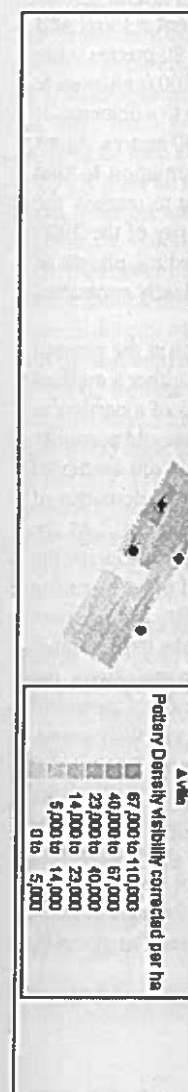


Figure 3: Off-site

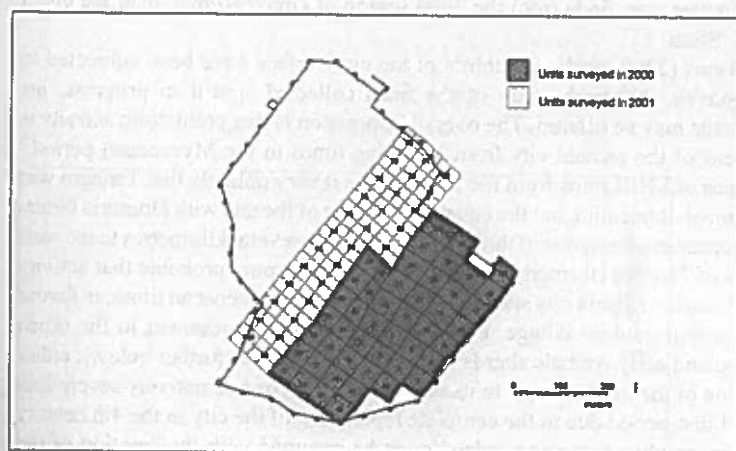


Figure 1: The plan of the city grids surveyed in 2000 and 2001 fieldseasons.

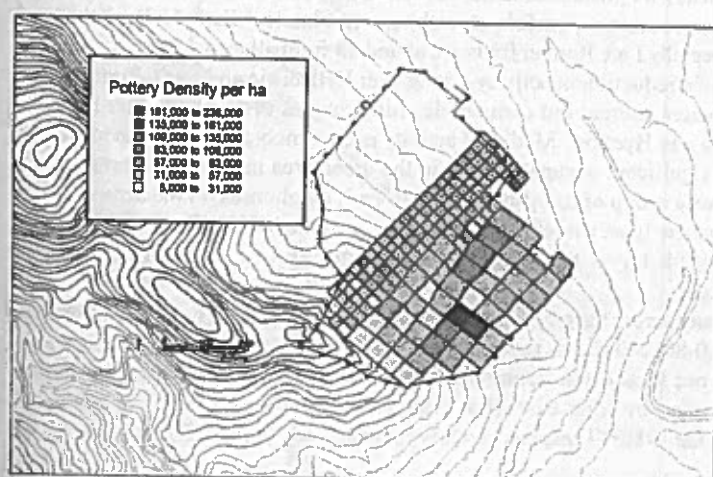


Figure 2: Ceramic densities of the 2000 survey season city units and the 2001 four quadrants.



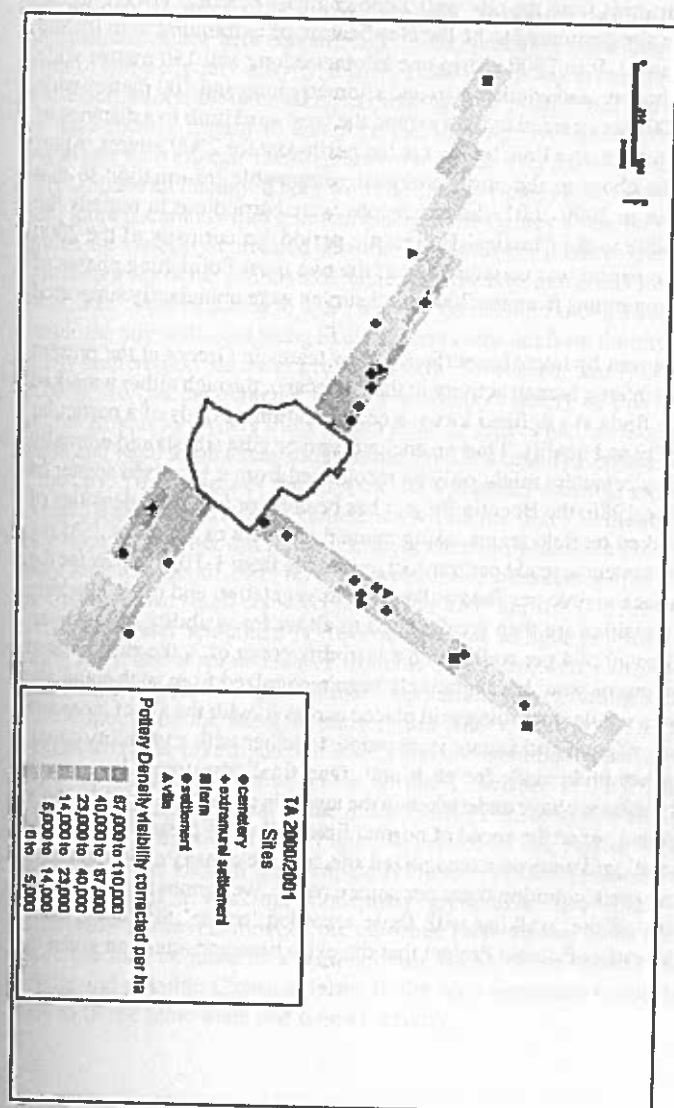


Figure 3: Off-site activity and extramural settlement.

the site protection unique to Tanagra, in that the area inside the enceinte has been taken out of cultivation and is merely lightly grazed by a flock of sheep based beside the city in sheds. Instead of annual cultivation stirring up rich assemblages of pottery, typical for these other cities, what can be seen on the surface of Tanagra remains from what had been brought to the surface in cultivation some years ago, or has been disturbed by much lighter processes of natural weathering and the process of grazing since then.

At the same time as we were conducting urban survey, our fieldwork in the immediate rural surroundings of the site, its inner chora, continued and with the method deployed in 2000, *i.e.* long strips or transects were walked outwards from the city wall along compass bearings not far off the cardinal directions (Figure 3). The aim continued to be the clarification of extramural activity and representative signs of rural settlement. If in 2000 a strip one kilometre long and 150 metres wide had been walked south-east from the city, and another also one kilometre long and 100 metres wide had been walked north-west, for 2001 we decided to both extend the westward limb to a distance of 1900 metres from the city wall, and open up a limb transect to the north-east for 2000 metres. Apart from the desire to see whether the chora to the north provided comparable information to that obtained in the east and west zones in 2000-2001, the extensions were carried out to remedy the absence of rural sites hitherto datable to the Classical-Hellenistic period – a curiosity of the 2000 fieldwalking results, given that that period was certainly one of the two most flourishing phases of the city site's occupation. All our intentions from the 2001 rural survey were abundantly supported by the interesting results obtained.

The standard methodology deployed by intensive surface survey teams in Greece at the present time is to identify 'sites', or foci of intense human activity in the landscape, through either a marked increase in the quantity of surface finds at a defined locus, a concentration of finds of a particular quality, or a combination of quantity and quality. Thus an ancient farm or villa site should normally stand out through quantity, whilst a cemetery might only be recognised from a localised scatter of distinctive types of ceramics. Since 1980, the Boeotia Project has been recording total densities of all finds across every transect walked by field teams, using manual counters or 'clickers'.<sup>6</sup> At the same time, a surface visibility assessment is made per transect, on a scale from 1-10, to allow for the varying amount of actual soil surface visible per fieldwalker due to vegetation and other blocking cover. The raw surface artefact densities are then recalculated to allow for visibility – thus in an overgrown vineyard with a sherd count of 4 per walker and a visibility count of 2, the extrapolated count becomes 20. Once such a locus or 'site' has tentatively been recognized from such signs, the site is returned to, in order to have a regular recording grid placed across it, with the aid of tapes and ranging-poles. The artefact density of each grid square is recorded, together with a visibility count, and a sample of ceramics and other finds made for each unit. One final adjustment has proved necessary from the very detailed studies we have undertaken in the analysis of the data from the older Cambridge-Bradford Boeotia Project: since the speed of normal fieldwalkers is greater than that of students and staff studying the small grid units on a recognized site, and the density of artefacts one records is proportional to the time spent counting them per square metre, we cannot make a simple comparison of sherd densities in 'offsite' walking with those recorded 'onsite' through gridded analysis. We have found from the earlier Boeotia Project that the extra time and attention given by

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<sup>6</sup> cf. Bintliff and Snodgrass 1985.

the teams in site grid counts is approximately 2-3 times that typical for normal fieldwalking, thus in the Tanagra Project we have divided the recorded densities on our rural sites by a factor of 2.5 to make them directly comparable with the figures obtained from fieldwalking the surrounding transects in which the site was discovered. The importance of this correction lies in the need to try and identify the edges of rural sites, and since there is here as in the rest of Boeotia, a very notable density of finds in almost all fields due to the urban manuring phenomenon, it is only through quantitative comparisons which are as reliable as possible that we can hope to define the borders of sites and hence calculate their maximum size. Since we have also shown in previous work in Boeotia that residential rural sites are consistently associated with a 'halo' or surrounding zone of intermediate values between site and offsite, probably signalling refuse areas, gardens and other forms of site-periphery activity, it is even more necessary to be as precise as possible about the levels of artefacts which are to be taken as marking 'site', 'halo' and 'offsite'. In this preliminary analysis we have merely sought to calculate the site edge and hence its maximum area, and will later investigate halo effects. The diagrams of the grids over the rural sites studied in 2001 (Tanagra Sites = TS 1-5), are all displayed here with site density figures lowered by a factor of 2.5, in order to locate them more accurately into comparison with the figures given for the associated field transects (all figures are visibility-corrected densities of sherds per hectare) (see Figures 4-8).

In the survey of the countryside adjacent to the city, numerous small cemetery scatters of Classical Greek date could be added to those discovered in 2000, and these are both as expected immediately outside the city walls and along likely ancient roads out from the city to neighbouring towns, but also widely scattered across the entire countryside. Most seem family cemeteries. In the easterly transect of 2000, we had encountered just one isolated cemetery of this date, but it lay not far from the famous Kokali hill where the Tanagra figurine graves had been thickly clustered (according to the illegal and legal tomb excavations of the late 19th century), both locations being within 500 metres of the city. To the west of the city, the 2000 transect was now extended to 1900 metres; this had revealed a series of Classical cemeteries within the first 750 metres out from the wall in 2000, but none occurred further out in the transect extension walked in 2001. To the north, the new, 2000-metre long transect of 2001 revealed a cluster of such cemeteries within the first 800 metres from the city, then two small cemetery scatters at 1200 and 1600 metres respectively.

Classical rural settlement however only came to light as a result of our long transect strategy during 2001, and at some distance from the city. There were indisputably two small Classical farms of typical 'family farm' scale, familiar from surface survey throughout Southern Greece, at a distance of 1700 metres on the westerly transect and 1600 metres in the northerly transect. But there were suggestions (to be investigated in 2002), that one additional Classical farm of a similarly small scale may lie at some 1200 metres on the northerly transect. In 2001 only one of these farm sites was gridded and analyzed – that in the outer limits of the northerly transect some 1600 metres distant from the city. This site (TS 1) (Figure 4) proved in size typical for presumed 'family farms' of a wealthier peasant class in Classical-Early Hellenistic Greece: a mere 0.2 hectare in size, with all the natural finds of a working, moderately prosperous agricultural and residential base in the countryside. However, most of the evidence now appears to be Early Roman, and the Classical Greek use may be more as a seasonal base for an urban farmer. The finds observed at the other definite and possible Classical farms in the west and north transects, awaiting analysis for 2002, seem to fit the same scale and type of activity.

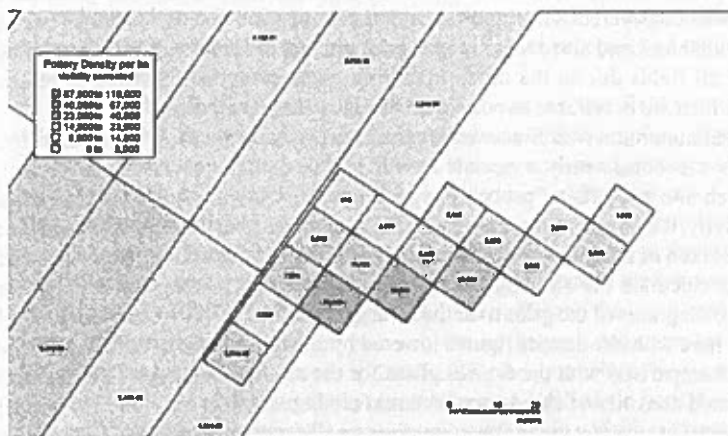


Figure 4: TA\_TS1 visibility corrected, site grid reduced by a factor of 2.5.

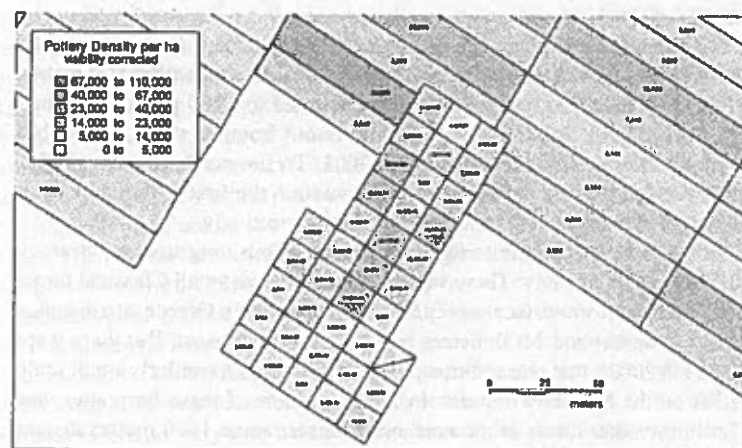


Figure 5: TA\_TS2 visibility corrected, site grid reduced by a factor of 2.5.



Figure 6: TA\_TS3 visibility corrected, site grid reduced by a factor of 2.5.

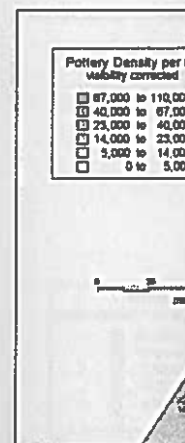


Figure 7: TA\_TS4 visibility corrected, site grid reduced by a factor of 2.5.



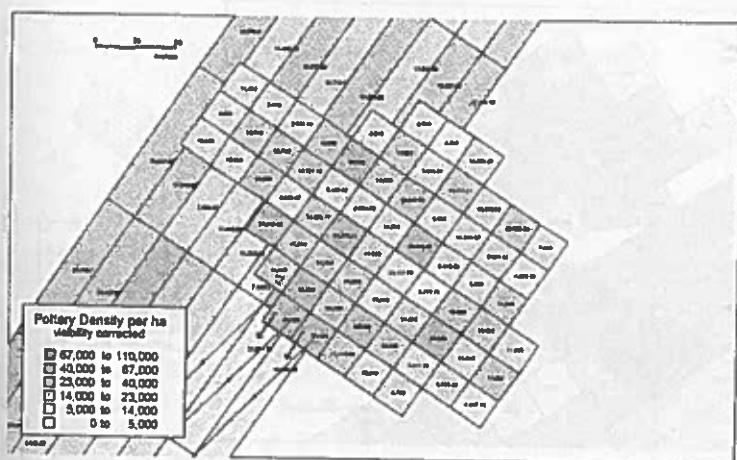


Figure 6: TA\_TS3 visibility corrected, site grid reduced by a factor of 2.5.

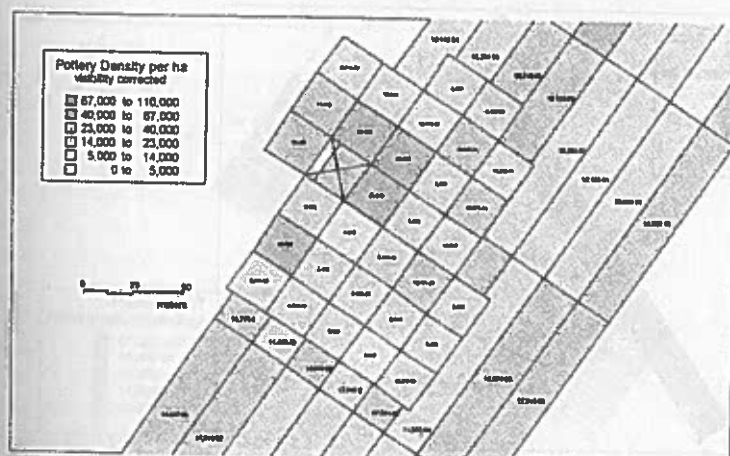


Figure 7: TA\_TS4 visibility corrected, site grid reduced by a factor of 2.5.

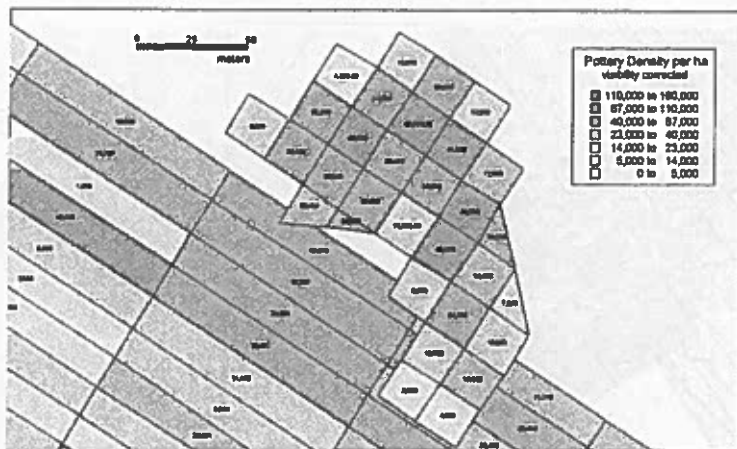


Figure 8: TA\_TS5 visibility corrected, site grid reduced by a factor of 2.5.

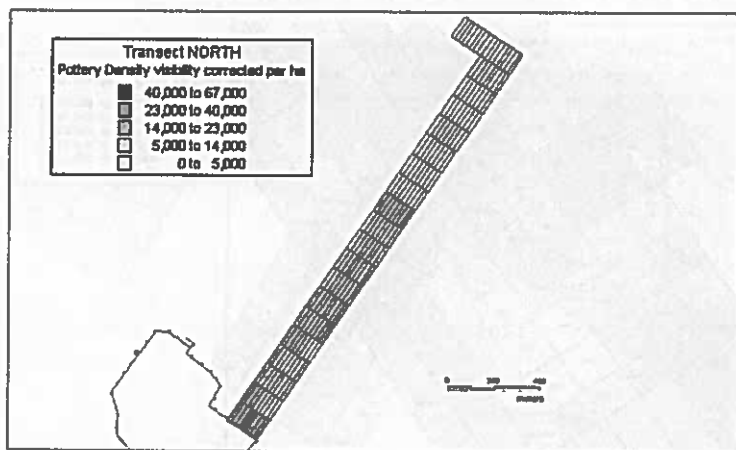


Figure 9: North Transect.

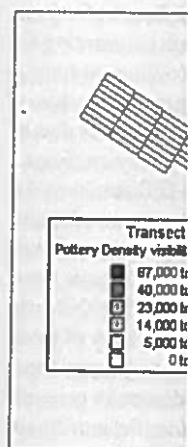


Figure 10: West Transect.

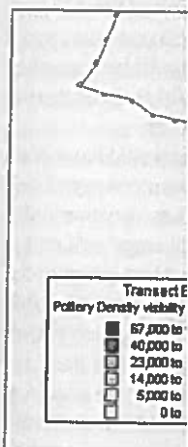


Figure 11: East Transect.

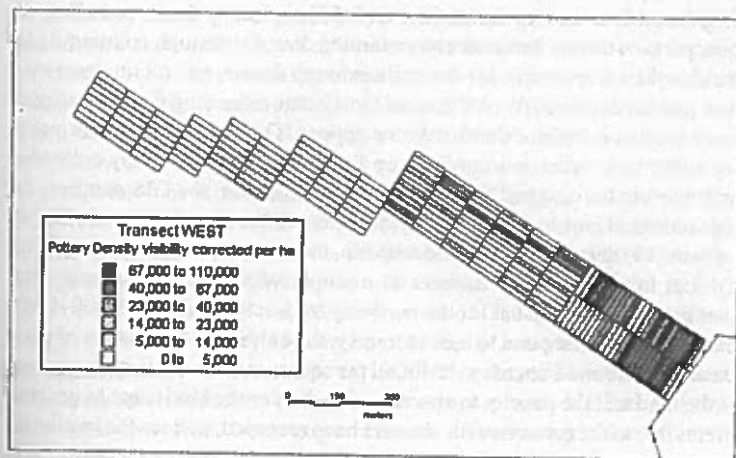


Figure 10: West Transect.

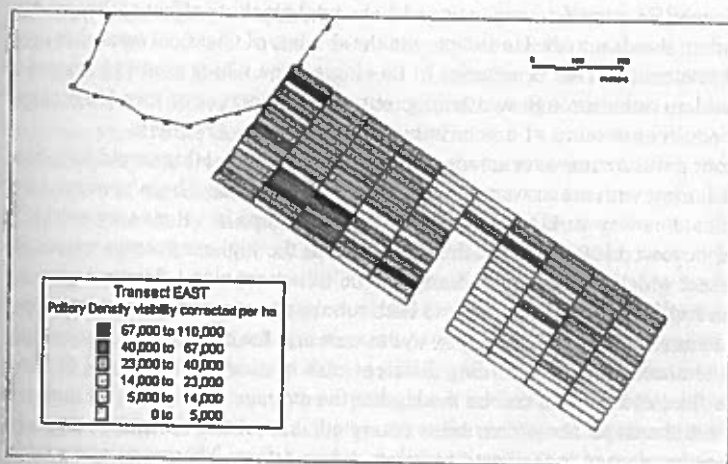


Figure 11: East Transect.

We can draw attention to the coincidence of information for the Classical-Early Hellenistic period: a concentration of small cemeteries and an absence of rural farmsteads within the first kilometre radius around the city, then the appearance of farms within the second kilometre. Such a pattern has been observed elsewhere eg the inner and outer chora of the city of Thespieae, by the Boeotia Project. This signifies that the closer parts of the ancient chora were farmed directly through commuting by urban residents, who were also then responsible for the extraordinary density of 'offsite' pottery – a continuous carpet of worn potsherds primarily of Classical Greek date extending from the edge of the city up to and then beyond the point where the first farms appear. The 'offsite' carpet is due to urban manuring using city rubbish, in order to improve crop fertility in the intensively cultivated inner chora. Emeri Farinetti has kindly supplied the following statistics from the GIS database for our offsite ceramic densities (corrected for surface visibility/vegetation): the average ceramic density for the eastward transect was 19,000 sherds per hectare (with the area of the major medieval settlement site excepted); that for the westerly transect as a whole was 12–13,000 (again rural settlement sites taken out of the calculation); that for the northerly transect was almost 9,000 sherds per hectare, settlements excepted. The first point to bear in mind is the extraordinary density of finds between rural sites – between about 1 and 2 sherds to be found per square metre over very large areas (Figures 9–11). The lie of the land and the paucity to absence of sites over the landscape in general, rule out any significant effects due to the erosion of the sites we have recorded, as does the inordinate density of finds in a carpet-like layer across every field. For those few Aegean survey specialists who continue to believe that such carpets are not the result of deliberate ancient manuring,<sup>7</sup> the evidence from the first kilometre outwards from Tanagra city should mark the nail in the coffin of their skepticism, at least as far as the Boeotia data are concerned.<sup>8</sup> The total blocking effect of the standing city wall on dispersal of urban sherds into the landscape, and the absence of Classical rural sites apart from very thin localized scatters from the cemeteries in this large zone which could be argued to likewise produce some wider scatter through weathering, removes all sources of this dense carpet material except the deliberate conveyance of urban rubbish by ancient city-dwellers.

In this inner sector farming was a commuter activity from the city itself, and this would have been the prime zone where manuring with urban waste could most effectively have been conveyed and distributed across the fields. It is very striking that the offsite carpet drops in values very markedly beyond 1 km to the west, beyond 1300 metres in the north, whilst the highest average values for offsite are in the east transect which only ran to 1 kilometre. The values are also 1.5 times higher for the westerly transect than for the northerly one despite both running to comparable distances; this is almost certainly a reflection of the level topography to the west and the existence of steep slopes in the further sector of the north transect, affording different ease of access to carts and donkeys carrying urban waste.<sup>9</sup> A final observation can be made, that the average density for all transects walked hitherto – 13–14,000 sherds per hectare visibility corrected, is some 5–6 times as dense as the contemporary manuring carpet plotted in the first two kilometres out from Thespieae city – a much larger town by far (and, moreover, perhaps 3–4 times the size and population of Tanagra at this

<sup>7</sup> cf. Alcock, Cherry, *et al.* 1994.

<sup>8</sup> but see already Snodgrass 1994.

<sup>9</sup> a distinction verified in the access analysis GIS work by Phil Howard of Durham University for comparable data in the chora of Thespieae city – see Bintliff and Howard 1999.

period). Given that it produces manure to this article, VI alongside the see Late Roman manuring around than urban manure seen a very wide Thespieae, where could still have intensify rural agriculture. An alternative explanation: Tanagrans compared times of the country border), depriving unparalleled crop zone, to the south varies in any way interest the fuller out that offsite demography and

A final observation: occasional hints directions out from recorded on the intensive survey evidence available very centre of our town on the north uncovered and certainly well planted. They are both kinds of regular. And yet all around cemetery materials mutually exclusive people, buried at without such consequences perhaps or. Alternatively, the time the sewer

<sup>10</sup> *Arch. Delton* 195



period). Given the reasonable assumption that both towns had an equal potential per family to produce manurable rubbish, this would seem to demand additional explanations. In his contribution to this article, Vladimir Stissi points out that the dating of the offsite finds is only provisional, but alongside the seemingly-dominant Greek era pottery there is a lesser but significant component of Late Roman material. It remains however to be seen if this is in large part the 'halo' effect of manuring around and emanating from the three Roman villa sites found and gridded in 2001, rather than urban manuring, although his analysis of the city itself does seem to indicate that it may have seen a very widespread occupation, comparable to Greek times, in contrast to the situation at Thespieae, where the Late Roman city was a shrunken shadow of its Classical Greek extent. Thus it could still have been necessary at Late Roman Tanagra, in a way no longer so for Thespieae, to intensify rural agricultural production for city inhabitants, maybe involving renewed rural manuring. An alternative explanation for the greatly enhanced manuring seemingly carried out by Classical Tanagrans compared to contemporary Thespians might be sought in the appropriation at various times of the countryside immediately south of Tanagra by Athens (using the River Asopos as border), depriving our city of a large percentage of cultivable land, and perhaps creating a need for unparalleled crop production efforts. In 2002 we intend to walk a transect exactly in this disputed zone, to the south of the city and across the Asopos, to see if offsite activity in Classical Greek times varies in any way from the more permanently Tanagran agricultural hinterland. We also await with interest the fuller study of the rural offsite material to clarify these important issues, but would point out that offsite finds can now be seen to offer very significant information for questions of demography and land use history where ancient sources are weak or non-existent.

A final observation is required concerning the Classical-Early Hellenistic rural cemeteries (with occasional hints of late Archaic beginnings). Within the narrow corridors fieldwalked in three directions out from the town walls, up to 15 putative or definite cemetery scatters have now been recorded on the surface (Figure 3). Although such rural cemeteries are relatively well-known from intensive survey, the density found around Tanagra is quite exceptional. Equally striking is the evidence available from a recent Ephorate excavation of an extensive sector of such graves in the very centre of our densest distribution focus of such cemeteries, around 600 metres out from the town on the northerly transect and immediately south of the two Roman villa locations.<sup>10</sup> The tombs uncovered and still visible as an open excavation till 2001 are deep below the modern surface, certainly well below the depth of ploughing, and came to light during the construction of a sewage-plant. They are built cist tombs in which the burials and associated gifts would be protected from the kinds of regular agricultural disturbance which normally brings ancient site deposits to the surface. And yet all around the sewage-farm enclosure we found several distinct scatters of characteristic cemetery material on the modern ploughsoil surface. Two explanations offer themselves, not mutually exclusive. Firstly, the dug graves seem mainly elaborate and perhaps represent wealthier people, buried at greater depth and in more expensive great cist chambers. Thus shallower burials without such constructions might be far more prone to reveal themselves within the ploughsoil, and hence perhaps our surface cemetery scatters reflect the latter rather than the former type of graves. Alternatively, the surface scatters we find all around the dug graves may also have been evident at the time the sewage-farm was laid out and on its groundsurface too, and hence there would have to

<sup>10</sup> *Arch. Deltion* 1994, 49, 286.

be another way that such deep cists betray their presence. Two additional forms of behaviour spring to mind. One is the offerings made over and around burials at the time of the funeral but also later in acts of regular commemoration of the dead by friends and family, which could form a deposit of shallower depth available for plough disturbance. The other factor, known from the historic records, is the way in which in the late 19th and early 20th century AD local tomb-robbers pillaged the Tanagra district cemeteries.<sup>11</sup> Thousands of tombs were discovered and ransacked, the valuable figurines being the main target, but significantly for us accounts stress the vandalistic smashing of accompanying pottery vessels. Either through ancient associated deposits, or through very recent robbing-debris, or both, we can imagine then how even such graves as the deep-dug excavated tombs can create detectable surface traces. The generally otherwise limited surface density of cemetery finds can thus also be explained, perhaps, an observation typical of rural cemeteries discovered by intensive surface survey.<sup>12</sup>

We have already passed some comments on the growing evidence for vigorous activity in the city in Late Roman times (4th-6th centuries AD). The Late Hellenistic and Early Roman Imperial periods are however more obscure than those which bracket them. Vladimir Stissi (below), suggests from very provisional study of the 2000 city finds that urban activity is reduced in scale in 'H-R' times. This is striking, and we look forward with interest to the future results from our new Roman ceramic specialist Jeroen Poblome for fine-tuning of these initial readings of the finds. Whereas writers of the final centuries BC and early centuries AD such as Polybius, Strabo and Pausanias routinely describe Boeotia as in urban and rural decay, it is precisely the cities of Thespieae and Tanagra that are isolated as exceptional in their prosperity.<sup>13</sup> Having already demonstrated that nonetheless, Thespieae city shrank to some one third of its Classical Greek size by Early Roman times,<sup>14</sup> one of the aims of the selection of Tanagra for research was to verify if a similar fate had befallen the other partner in the ancient source pairing. The first indications do indeed seem to bear out the more negative picture which has emerged from archaeological study, as far as the city is concerned. Let us now turn to the Roman countryside around Tanagra.

In 2000 we had discovered an impressive Roman villa site at some 900 metres out in the westerly transect (site TS2, see Figure 5). This small villa was gridded in 2001 and found to be approximately 0.35 hectares in size, but it nonetheless showed clear signs of status pretensions with several fluted stone columns recorded in stone piles within the site. Within the new northerly transect of 2001 we came across more evidence for Roman rural settlement: two further Roman villas/farms were found at a comparable distance, 600 and 700 metres out from the town and very close to each other (some 100 metres or less apart). The southerly site (TS3, see Figure 6) is approximately 1.6 hectares large, its neighbour close to the north (TS4, see Figure 7) much smaller at some 0.2 hectares. The signs of wealth observed at TS2 were now matched by complementary indications of status at TS3 and 4 - mosaic tesserae, wall-painting fragments and much recycled Classical grave architecture. Although it is quite possible to suggest that the two small, and one very large, villa/farm sites merely reflect status differences within a non-peasant landowning class, the close spacing of TS3 and 4 might also

lead to an alternative (furnishings) and associated. The change of land-use, wealthier villa land-use, close dating of the tile in urban activity, due to quite contrasted con-

Immediately around the finds is especially high were identified with our specialist for this as burial assemblage surface pottery in the outside the defence has to be rejected, with Hellenistic times, with extramural ring of pre-industrial and craft areas are there still possible nearest cemeteries; the

The important medieval Byzantine church of was gridded and also provisionally) of the in the field by the information that the converted into a Frank collection has so far the site, give us another the incoming Frank has only very isolated research reasonable times and replaced a to one of the numerous 13th century AD, with

As has been shown AD saw general abandonment by a planned recolonization

<sup>11</sup> R. Higgins, *Tanagra and the Figurines*, London, n.d.

<sup>12</sup> cf. also Bintliff and Howard 1999.

<sup>13</sup> cf. Bintliff and Snodgrass 1985; Alcock 1997.

<sup>14</sup> Bintliff and Snodgrass 1988.

<sup>15</sup> provisional comments Athens, 1993, 54-55; in

<sup>16</sup> see the publication of members of our Project

lead to an alternative model – does the pair represent rather an elite residence (TS4, small including furnishings) and associated more functional estate centre (TS3, a hamlet) for a single Roman estate? The change of land-ownership in country residents from modest family farms in Classical times to wealthier villa landlords in Roman times seems in any case clearly marked in these sites. We await close dating of the three Roman rural sites, as to whether they arose at the time of apparent decline in urban activity, during the Early Imperial centuries, or during the Late Roman revival of the town, quite contrasted contexts.

Immediately around the edge of the city walls for several hundred metres, the density of surface finds is especially high, almost at urban levels. Some small areas with high quality Classical pottery were identified within this zone and raised the question of sanctuary or cemetery origin. V. Stissi, our specialist for this period, provisionally suggests that the types present are more plausibly seen as burial assemblages rather than those from shrines. This has a wider significance, because the high surface pottery in the immediate extramural zone could also have been suggesting domestic suburbs outside the defence walls. Since we now seem to have graves on most sides of the walls, then this has to be rejected, with the conclusion being that domestic occupation, at least in Archaic through Hellenistic times, was confined within the 4th century BC surviving enceinte. We interpret the dense extramural ring of pottery as indicating a number of discrete burial zones, and more diffuse areas of industrial and craft activity and especially market gardens. Only in the eastern rural transect of 2000 are there still possible signs of extramural domestic buildings near the walls, some distance from the nearest cemeteries; these will be closer studied in 2002.

The important medieval settlement (TS5, see Figure 8) discovered in 2000 around the Middle Byzantine church of A. Thomas some 1 kilometre east of the city (at the end of the easterly transect), was gridded and analysed in 2001, proving to be a village site of some size (1.5 hectares provisionally) of the 11th–13th (–14th?) centuries AD (provisional dating J. Vroom). A helpful visit in the field by the Ephor of Byzantine Antiquities Mrs. Chilakou provided us with the vital information that the Byzantine church of Thomas (constructed in the mid-12th century AD) had been converted into a Frankish feudal tower with chapel in the 14th century.<sup>15</sup> Although the ceramic collection has so far only been very partially studied, this may with study of the total collection from the site, give us another Boeotian example of an older Byzantine village taken into close control by the incoming Frankish minor lords during the 13th–14th century.<sup>16</sup> Since the ancient city site itself has only very isolated sherds of Byzantine–Frankish date hitherto, it would seem at this stage of our research reasonable to suggest that the town of Tanagra was abandoned during post-Late Roman times and replaced as a local farming settlement by the village at Agios Thomas; this was awarded to one of the numerous petty feudal lords of the Frankish Duchy of Athens and Thebes in the early 13th century AD, who took over the village church as both residence and chapel.

As has been shown to have been characteristic for Boeotia and Attica, the troubled 14th century AD saw general abandonment of Greco–Frankish villages in the lowlands of these regions, followed by a planned recolonisation by Albanian clans at the invitation of the final Dukes and subsequent

<sup>15</sup> provisional commentary in the *Abstracts of the 13th Symposium of Byzantine and Postbyzantine Archaeology*, Athens, 1993, 54–55; information from Kostas Sbonias.

<sup>16</sup> see the publication of a similar situation in the Valley of the Muses and the village of Askra from earlier work by members of our Project in Bintliff 1996; and in the paper by Vroom 1998.

early Ottoman Turkish authorities. The bulk of the Attic-Boeotian countryside by the time of the detailed Ottoman village tax archives of the mid-15th century AD is revealed as settled by a dense network of small Albanian hamlets.<sup>17</sup>

In these 15th century AD Ottoman records, the Tanagra district is covered with such small Albanian hamlets, including the direct ancestor of the modern village, today renamed Tanagra in honour of the ancient town, but till recently retaining its original 'Arvanitic' name of Bratsi. The localised locational discontinuity between the Agios Thomas hamlet and these Albanian hamlets is also repeatedly observable across this transition, but nonetheless is not so great that considerable overlap of land use was possible between the indigenous farming centres and those established as a result of the planned recolonisation. In contrast, the reasonable possibility of a Greco-Roman population continuity across the much earlier localised settlement shift from the ancient city site to A. Thomas, should warn us of the ambiguity of interpreting movements around natural areas of fertility from period to period as clear evidence either for population continuity or rather for population change.<sup>18</sup> However, the context of the four-longhouse hamlet we found in 2001 on the acropolis of the ancient city needs now to be considered.

If modern Tanagra village several kilometres west of the city was a 'Bratsi' Albanian village in the Early Ottoman tax records, we are unsure which one of several 'Bratsi' hamlets in these records (although on rather circumstantial evidence it may be 'Bratsi Todor/ Theodore'). Just one survives into the fuller documentation from the late 19th century, later becoming 'Tanagra' village. Usually we can see a thinning out of numbers of villages and hamlets from its peak in the 16th century AD, during the 17th-19th centuries, due to the economic, political and security problems of the Late Ottoman and Early Greek Independence eras.<sup>19</sup> The provisional study of finds from the Tanagra Acropolis hamlet by J. Vroom identified most datable sherds as Post-Medieval, 16th-17th (-18th?) century in age, but there was also a small component of the (12th-13th) - 14th centuries, Frankish and perhaps even Byzantine. It thus might be possible that in Byzantine times the city was at first abandoned for the Agios Thomas hamlet, which formed the focus for local farmers around ancient Tanagra. In the 12th, when the Thomas church was built, perhaps a dependent farm - a tiny rural site, began on the ancient city Acropolis. Probably both the larger Thomas hamlet and the tiny city farm coexisted in Frankish times, at some point of which the church was adapted for feudal purposes by the lord of the manor. In the troubled late 14th to early 15th centuries there was probably abandonment of both sites till the recolonisation of the whole district by incoming Albanian clans. They almost certainly refounded an abandoned Byzantine-Frankish village at or near modern Tanagra village (there is a fine Frankish feudal tower to its north). Our dating of the refounding of the Acropolis hamlet will be rather critical in its final form, because its current hypothesized date is rather mature Ottoman. Although settlement expansion out of existing Arvanitic colonies (often distinguished in the archives as 'Greater/ Lesser' or 'Upper/ Lower' for daughter villages close to their founders) characterized the 16th century boom, the 17th century decline of settlement is associated with fragmentation of a declining number of villages into discrete estates or 'ciflikis', indicating a very different process of demographic and economic downturn. The longhouse group

<sup>17</sup> cf. Kiel 1987; Bintliff 1995; Kiel 1997.

<sup>18</sup> see further on this Bintliff *et al.* 2000b.

<sup>19</sup> Bintliff 1995.

with its provisional resolve the historic

One final mini-p very low recovery ( many thousands of ought to be a very countryside long ex one problem long fieldwalkers' eyes a Palaeolithic lithic look only for stone of lithics observed recover what in the Bronze Age times ( in taphonomy whi agricultural surface retouch, hence mak did notice that one c up lithic tools, reco gift confined to ver 2002.

#### The total station t

In the framework o mapping of the mc features visible on 1 survey seasons is 1 2000 campaign (Fig 2000 and 2001 seas as well as the areas reach the city wall c also now been cove

The base unit for lithic collection tea at regular 4 metre in depressions or bun Elevation Model (I the different data s continuous represe features (discussed



with its provisional dating could reflect either process, so we await more refined analysis to seek to resolve the historical processes at work.

One final mini-project carried out in 2001 deserves mention. In 2000 we had been struck by the very low recovery of surface lithic artifacts, both from the city site and the countryside. Given the many thousands of years of prehistoric farming activity represented at the ancient urban site, there ought to be a very considerable cover of such lithics, and the same might be expected from a countryside long exploited before metal tools dominated in agricultural and pastoral activities. Since one problem long recognized by field surveyors has been the difficulty of seeing lithics when fieldwalkers' eyes were trained to ignore stones and identify pottery fragments, we decided to invite a Palaeolithic lithic specialist student from Leiden, Yannick Henk, to walk alongside the teams but look only for stone tools. To our surprise, this experiment did not significantly increase the number of lithics observed and collected. We are uncertain as to the reasons for this continuing failure to recover what in theory must have been a vast discard of used artifacts from later Palaeolithic to Late Bronze Age times (with low amounts in use even later as threshing flints). There may be some factor in taphonomy which discriminates against lithic tools and makes them less likely to lie on agricultural surfaces. Alternatively, the tools may have been made on local stones with limited retouch, hence making them very hard to see separately from natural stone cover. Or again, since we did notice that one or two students had rather more success than the Palaeolithic specialist in picking up lithic tools, recognition of such material in agricultural land with dense ceramic cover may be a gift confined to very rare individuals. We intend to carry out further experiments on this problem in 2002.

#### **The total station topographic survey (Emeri Farinetti and Lefteris Sigalos)**

In the framework of the surface survey, during the 2001 field season, we continued the intensive mapping of the morphology of the city surface and the careful recording of all the architectural features visible on the surface, using a Total Station device. The total area covered during the two survey seasons is 129,000 sqm, which shows a progression from the 59,300 sqm surveyed in the 2000 campaign (Figure 12). We tried to cover as much as possible of the total area surveyed in both 2000 and 2001 seasons by the ceramic collection team, moving towards the Western part of the city, as well as the areas examined by means of geophysical prospection, moving towards the North to reach the city wall outline. In fact some 13 of the 20 hectares surveyed by the archaeology team have also now been covered by topographic survey.

The base unit for the recording was the 50 by 50 metre unit grid, used by the surface ceramic and lithic collection team, as in the previous season. Within each unit we took detailed measurements at regular 4 metre intervals, and special attention was paid to topographical features such as terraces, depressions or bumps. The result of the intensive mapping is an interpolated surface, a Digital Elevation Model (DEM), which is used within a GIS environment as a base over which to display the different data sets produced by the survey project. In figure 13 we present in 3D a virtual continuous representation of the surface morphology together with plotted surface architectural features (discussed below).

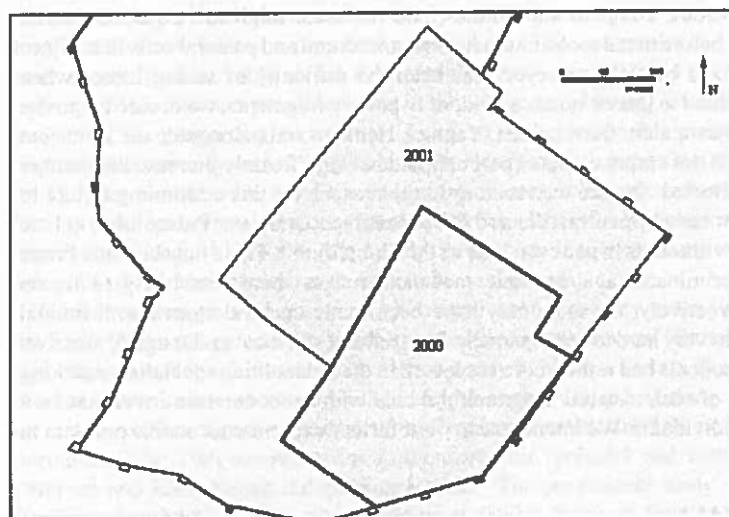


Figure 12: Situation map (TA0 & TA1 surveyed areas).

In certain areas, we employed methodologies slightly different from the previous season, as far as densities in measurements are concerned. In fact, some areas were covered by a grid of points at 5 by 5 metres. These areas are characterised by minor topographical anomalies and gentle or abrupt slope difference, such as the very steep slope coming up the highest part of the central ridge, or the Northern part of the walled city extending from the foot of the central ridge to the city wall. Towards the North approaching the theatre, on top of the Classical and Hellenistic acropolis ridge, which is slightly sloping towards the West, a group of four houses dating back to the Ottoman period was discovered. The location of the buildings is detectable on the surface with dry-stone walls and piles of rubble forming the rectangular outlines of the houses (see the line of these structures in the lower left corner of Figure 13). This area, being of special interest, was surveyed with much more topographical detail. A denser grid of points (1 by 1 metre) was applied for the recording of these features. The result of the intensified mapping was a micro-detailed Digital Elevation Model, clearly showing, through microvariation of *z* values, the outline of the buildings, terraced in relation to one another. Their pattern of arrangement closely fits to surviving examples of Ottoman rural houses in most Boeotian villages.<sup>20</sup> These so-called long houses are built alongside each other and in rows.

<sup>20</sup> Dimitsantou-Kremezi 1986

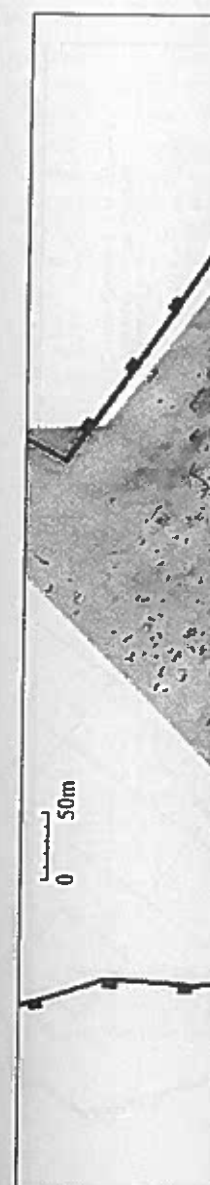


Figure 13: DEM TA

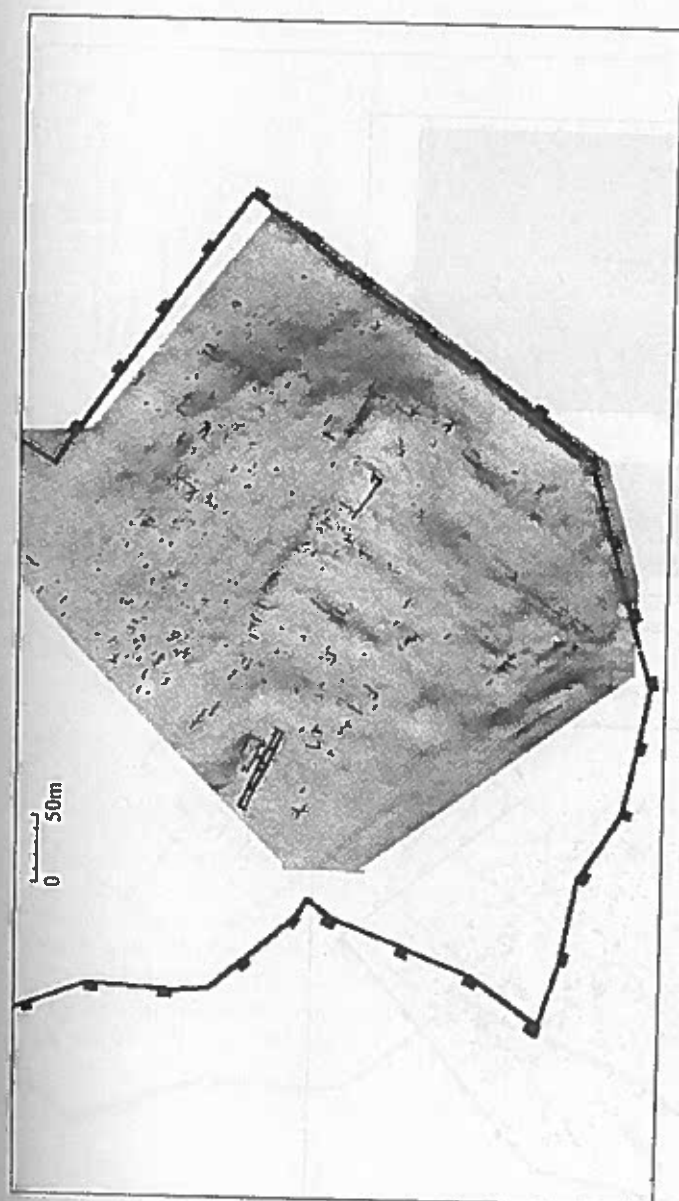


Figure 13: DEM TA0 & TA1 (surface) with architectural features (walls).

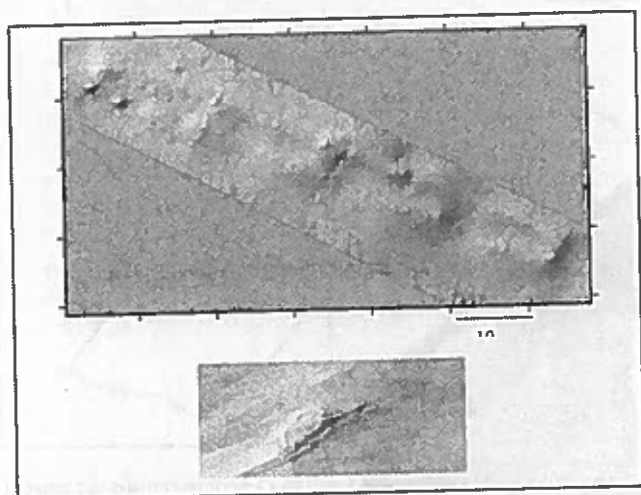


Figure 14: Ottoman houses (2D and 3D).

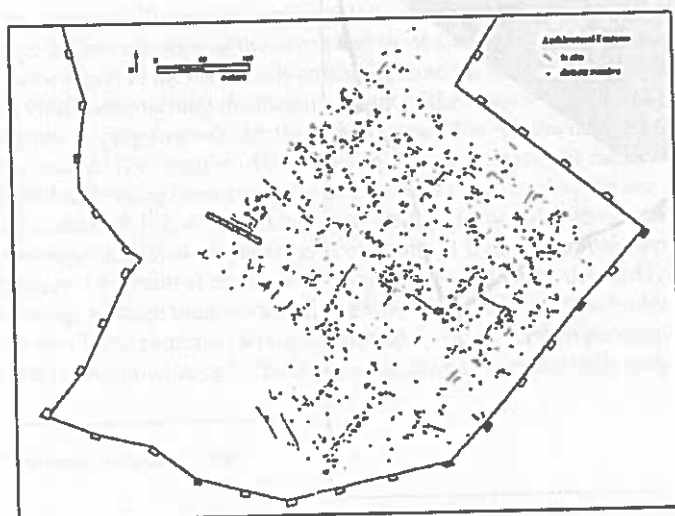


Figure 15: Architectural features recorded (*in situ* and *disiecta membra*).



Figure 16: Geophysics.



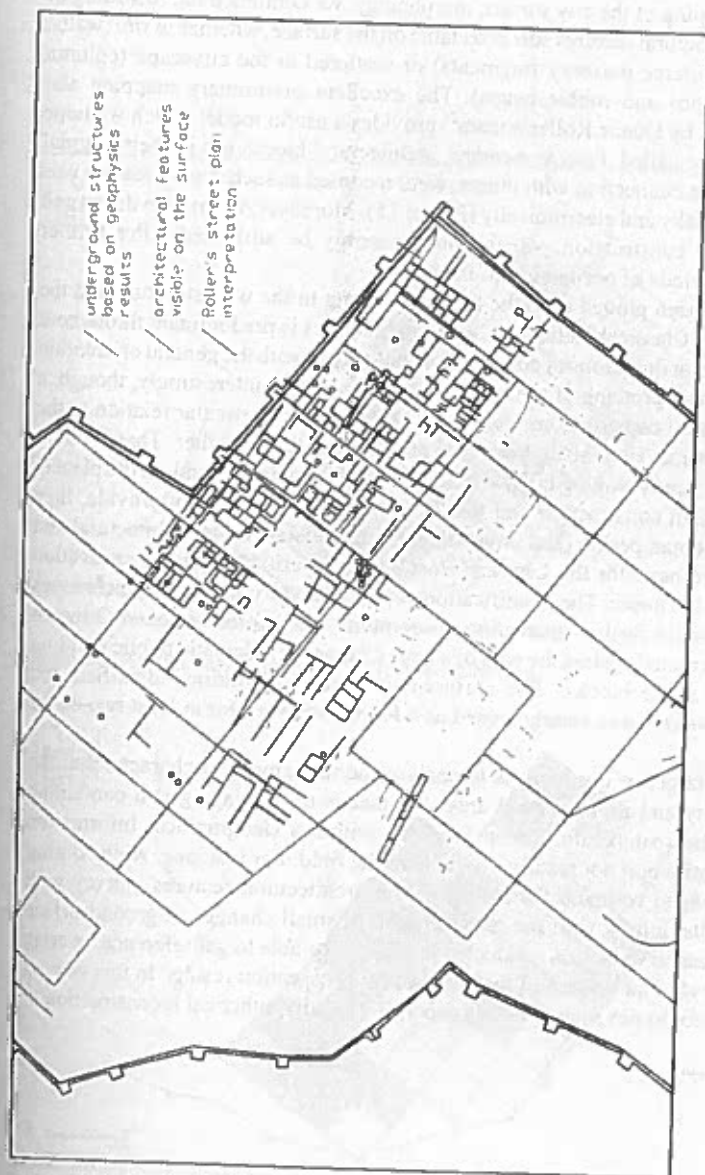


Figure 16: Geophysics and Architectural features (walls).

Both *in situ* observation and analysis of the detailed topographical data further revealed the possible location of the doorways (Figure 14), placed off-centre along the Southern long side of the structures and complying with the majority of façade orientations noted elsewhere in the wider region. Since the ceramic assemblage associated with these houses also lies almost entirely to their south, a very clear idea emerges of the main working area of these presumed farmhouses of related families.

Alongside the intensive mapping of the city surface morphology, we continued the recording of the precise location of the architectural features still detectable on the surface, whether *in situ* (walls, terrace walls, cornerstones and large masonry fragments) or scattered in the cityscape (column drums, capitals, friezes, triglyphs and rubble heaps). The excellent preliminary mapping and interpretation of these elements by Duane Roller's team<sup>21</sup> provides a useful model which we hope to test and refine. What we have called *disiecta membra*, architectural blocks not in their original place or, if *in situ*, not in evident connection with others, were recorded as such. Every feature was located and recorded both manually and electronically (Figure 15). Moreover, we tried to detect and record different types of wall construction, which could possibly be attributed, after further architectural study, to broad periods of occupation of the site.

Thus, their distribution has been plotted onto the DEM according to the wall structure and the masonry types. The presence of Classical/Hellenistic walls and features is predominant throughout the site, often indicating particular directions of construction that may fit with the general orientation of the street plan and the internal terracing of the individual *insulae*. Most interestingly, though, a series of insubstantial rubble wall constructions were recovered, with no particular relation to the strict arrangements of the Classical/Hellenistic town plan and often with each other. They seem to be mainly concentrated on the gently sloping hillside below the Ottoman houses and on the plateau above them. Despite their rough construction and the little information they may provide, they should be dated to the Late Roman period (and onwards?), fitting closely to the architectural and constructional information we have for the Late and Post Antique periods from the excavation records of other major centres in Greece. The identification of possible wall construction techniques with particular periods allowed a further interesting observation. The aforementioned Ottoman period long houses were constructed against the wall of a large Classical/Hellenistic public building built of regularly cut large stone blocks. The northern wall of this building identified and reconstructed by Roller as a *stoa*,<sup>22</sup> was clearly reused as a foundation wall for at least two of the Ottoman houses.

Concluding, the ultimate target of our work is to analyse the topographical character and the spatial distribution of the city and its functional areas, by means of overlaying and combining different data sets and all the spatial information available within a Geographical Information System, producing fresh information not readily available in the field. For instance, whilst during the 2000 season the goal was to compare the results of our architectural features' survey with Roller's map of surface walls, jointly with the interpretation of small changes in ground surface elevation, during the 2001 season work was conducted in order to be able to georeference, overlay and therefore analyse jointly also the dataset of the geophysical prospection results. In this way, as we will see in detail in the Geophysics section of this paper, Roller's hypothetical reconstruction of

<sup>21</sup> Roller 1987.

<sup>22</sup> Roller 1987.



Figure 17: Archaic

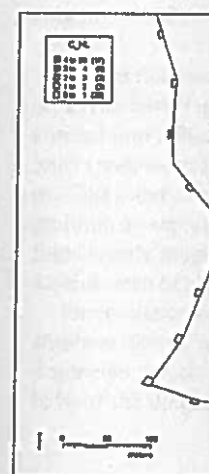


Figure 18: Classical

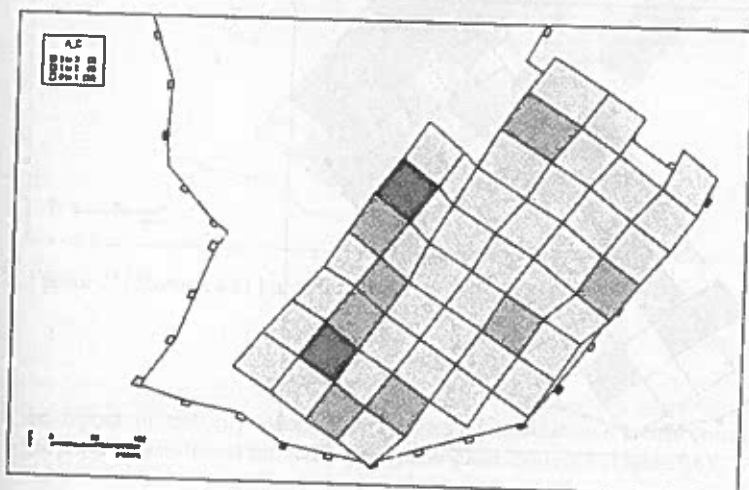


Figure 17: Archaic and Classical Pottery distribution.

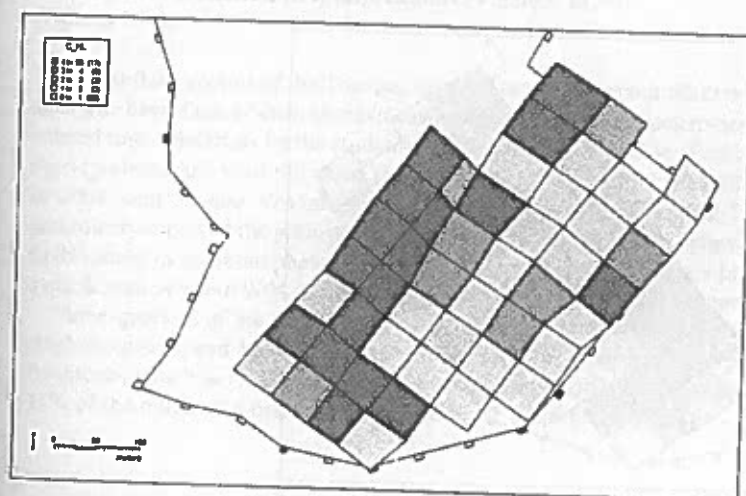


Figure 18: Classical and Hellenistic pottery distribution.

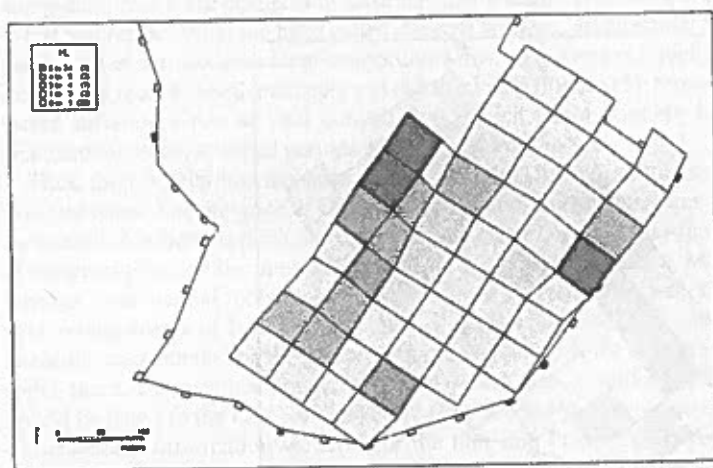


Figure 19: Hellenistic Pottery distribution.

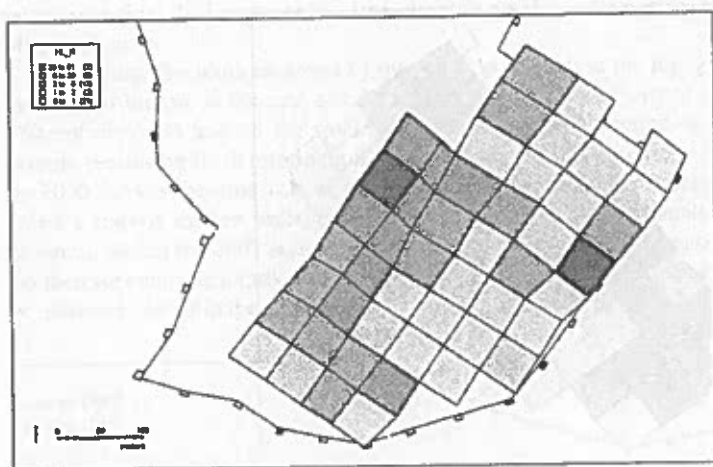


Figure 20: Hellenistic and Roman pottery distribution.

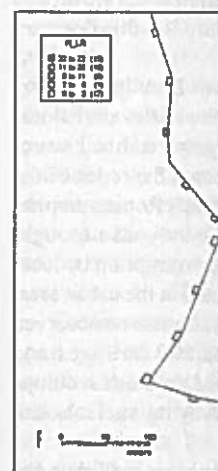


Figure 21: Roman and Hellenistic pottery distribution.

the layout of the city. The geophysics results are

#### The classical ceramic assemblage (Figures 17-21)

The 2000 field season was the first time that the basic facts concerning the site were entered into a database. The preliminary report of the finds is only in its initial stages. A quick scan of about

Three-quarters of the site has been completed. Three-quarters of the amphora-sherds and fragments, which are 15% of the diagnostic



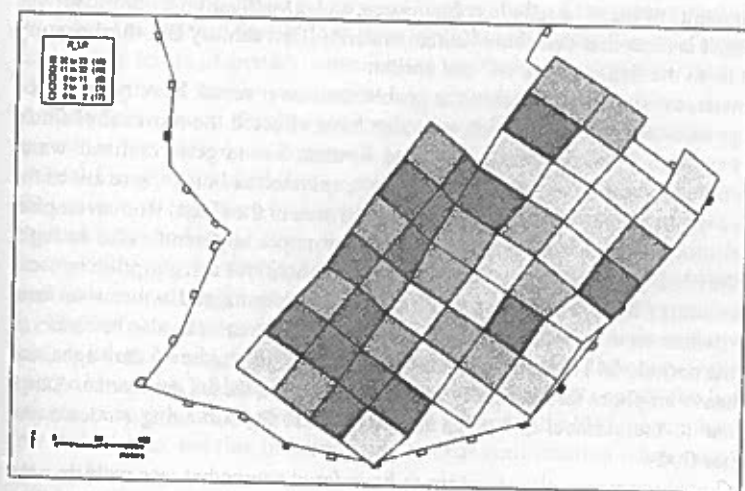


Figure 21: Roman and Late Roman pottery distribution.

the layout of the city street plan was tested against our architectural 2000/2001 survey, the geophysics results and the terrain morphological evidence (Figure 16).

#### The classical ceramics: first impressions (Vladimir Stissi) (Figures 17-21)

The 2000 field season of the Tanagra survey has yielded about 8000 pottery sherds from the city area. The basic facts of each sherd (measurements, general characteristics of fabric and shape) were entered into a database by the students. The material was then studied by three 'specialists': Popi Sarri (prehistoric), Vladimir Stissi (Early Iron Age to Hellenistic in 2000, Early Iron Age to recent in 2001) and Joanita Vroom (Roman to recent in 2000, Medieval-Postmedieval in 2001). A preliminary report of the prehistoric material can be found further below; study of the other pottery finds is only in its initial phase. What follows should be regarded as a provisional report, based on a quick scan of about 90% of the finds, of which about one-third has turned out to be diagnostic.

Three-quarters of the 'diagnostic' material, moreover, consists of 'Late Roman', merely large amphora-sherds and handles. Besides these chunky relatively well-preserved items, the other fragments, which are much more shattered, are less significant in quality and quantity. About 10-15% of the diagnostic material appears to be of Classical-Hellenistic or Hellenistic date (mainly

fourth-third centuries BC), and about 10% Hellenistic or (Early) Roman (third century BC-first century AD). More precise dating of many of these finds is as yet difficult, as most consist of very small, often shapeless fragments of black or red gloss fine wares, and classification by fabric proves problematic. Nevertheless, it is clear that definitely Roman material (first century BC-third century AD) is rare, just as finds from the fifth century BC and earlier.

The chronological pattern just sketched is somewhat problematic as it seems heavily biased by depositional and post-depositional processes, which may also have affected the retrieval of finds. The situation is clearest regarding the dominance of Late Roman, i.e. largely 'combed ware' transport amphorae. Historically, their large numbers are easily explained as being the result of the flourishing of Tanagra as a regional centre of a strong agricultural area in the (East) Roman empire. The ships that took local produce from nearby ports to Constantinople apparently also brought foodstuffs from all over the Mediterranean (many fabrics are represented) for consumption by local elites. The containers were simply thrown away, but much of the rubbish remained in the urban area. Similar discard strategies, which seem to imply large intramural dumping areas, can also be observed in other urban centres of the period. As Tanagra was abandoned in the early medieval dark ages, and the well-fired, thick and heavy amphora fabrics hardly suffer from erosion, these Late Roman dumps have remained on or close to the surface, and offer attractive finds for surveying students and specialists, obscuring other finds.

Contemporary fine and cooking wares already seem to have fared somewhat less well than the Late Roman amphorae, but are still found in significant numbers. The troubles really come with the earlier material, first covered and/or moved around by subsequent occupation, then suffering more from erosion than later items, as they are generally less robust and lighter in weight, and finally also, to some extent, lying in the shadow of the mass of Late Roman. It is clear that all earlier periods are underrepresented in the finds, and some categories have (almost) entirely disappeared. Most problematic in this regard is the near-absence of finds prior to ca. 400 BC. Although it is possible that some of the barely diagnostic fragments classified as Classical or Hellenistic are in fact earlier, the match with the historical and stylistic date of the presently visible city walls (shortly after 400 BC) can hardly be coincidental. The reorganisation of the city presumably coinciding with the building of the walls (and perhaps reflected in the city plan revealed by geophysical research) appears to have obliterated all earlier ceramic traces – at least of the historical period: the presence of prehistoric finds remains a riddle in this context. In any case, the situation is strange. Indeed, if the presently visible city would not have been surrounded by Archaic and Classical cemeteries one might even have argued that the pre-400 city had a different location. An alternative solution may be that the survey has not reached the original city, but with two-thirds of the walled area covered now, not much space remains for that.

That obliteration is not entirely impossible may be confirmed by the finds of the late Classical and Hellenistic periods. The shattered black gloss fragments are barely accompanied by the plain and cooking wares and the amphorae that must have gone with them, and tile of the same period is also rare and very worn. Initially, it was thought that sampling biases and lack of specific expertise of the staff could have influenced the limited range of Classical-Hellenistic finds, but during the extra-urban survey of the 2001 season two to three isolated farmsteads of the same period were easily spotted and recognized. The coarse wares from these sites, moreover, appear to have few equivalents in the city. The fact that much of it proved to be quite brittle and thin-walled, may at least partly

explain its near absence.

The relatively few finds of fine wares as the situation is needed to confirm at least in terms of concentration of the material may have tentatively concluded possible. The same densities in overgrowth statistics can be helpful in the sector of the city, just as the sintered wall fragments.

The far more scarce possibilities. Although the material is marked than that of the sherds. A possible explanation of the walled area, but it cannot be available.

The pottery of the dating of sites, has not been found in Boeotia. The city related to extra-urban sites has been found. At some Roman villas have been found areas full of heavily decorated pottery, most of which is Late Roman.

The pottery from the city, i.e. it consists of both the fine and the coarse pottery, clearly, contents of the city, shapes and sizes and somewhat more.

Besides the many finds of material (decorated and plain) found. They are generally of the same pottery: quatrefoil and other bits of them, are still found. Modern pillaging. In sites are large, very

explain its near absence in the city.

The relatively few later Hellenistic and early Roman finds seem to show the same concentration on fine wares as the earlier pottery, but further study of the material by a specialist of this material is needed to confirm this. It does seem clear, however, that this was a period of decline of the city, at least in terms of pottery consumption and/or deposition. The finds moreover may suggest a concentration of the city occupation into a smaller area during this period, but this again is only a tentative conclusion. Further geographical and functional differentiation of the finds hardly seems possible. The same Late Roman is simply everywhere, with some concentrations in areas where material may have rolled down, or where building remains seem closer to the surface, and lower densities in overgrown or relatively exposed and eroded areas. Perhaps detailed classification and statistics can be helpful here. In the meantime, the 2001 campaign brought to light in the northern sector of the city, just behind the wall, a possible area of kilns and/or forges, recognizable by burnt and sintered wall fragments and wasters. Otherwise, nothing can be said of specific activity areas yet.

The far more scanty remains of the Classical and Hellenistic periods are unlikely to offer any such possibilities. Although the geographical differentiation of the quantities of finds is somewhat more marked than that of later material, this appears to reflect mostly the limited number of retrieved sherds. A possible exception is a slight but general fall off of the numbers towards the periphery of the walled area, but this first impression needs confirmation when statistics for more squares will be available.

The pottery of the extra-urban survey, which has been mainly used for density counts and rough dating of sites, has not yet been studied comprehensively. As a first impression it can only be noted that the material seems to confirm excavation data from the area and survey results from elsewhere in Bocotia. The city itself is surrounded by a high-density halo of, presumably, rubbish and pottery related to extra-urban building (sheds, workshops?) and graves. Clear sanctuary material has not been found. At some distance from the city, some probable Classical-Hellenistic farmsteads and Late Roman villas have been found, as concentrations of better preserved sherds and other small finds in areas full of heavily worn, small bits, arguably remains of manure. As far as it can be determined from the pottery, most of the manuring seems to have taken place in the Classical-Hellenistic period, but some is Late Roman.

The pottery from the rural settlement sites is generally poorer than that from the contemporary city, *i.e.* it consists of more coarse and plain wares, and less fine table pottery. This may be explained by both the find circumstances in the city as just sketched and different pottery consumption patterns: clearly, contents of rural sites are more strictly utilitarian. As the state of preservation is better than in the city, shapes and fabrics can be recognized more easily, however, so that further interpretation and somewhat more precise dating will be possible.

Besides the manure and the probable villas and farms quite some concentrations of funerary material (decorated pottery, including Corinthian and Attic, and statuette fragments) have been found. They are generally similar to the well-known Tanagra finds all over the world, that is, for the pottery: quatrefoil aryballoi, skyphoi, kantharoi, palmette cups. The Hellenistic figurines, or even bits of them, are surprisingly missing – surely because they were too precious to escape Early Modern pillaging. In contrast, even now, some of the sherds that have been left behind at cemetery sites are large, very well preserved and freshly broken.

### The geoprosection

In May 2001, a 2 week by the team led by di the assistance, also addition, from Leir University Polytechn and Andreas Vassile through promotional planned partnership Support Programme Leiden and Ljublj undergraduate stude

Based on the resu by caesium magneto In 2001, 5.25 hectar (Figure 22) to verify the 2000 results. 1.7 should be mentioned rising well above 3 geophysical prospec to permit good read circumstances, geor site, and permits ide

Graphic interpret topographic base (D and Lefteris Sigalos. that only the most of Further analysis of tl will be compared wi come to reliable idei typological affiliatic

*Magnetic methods* (Magnetometry by G in 2000. In terms of of readings is lower. to cover the totality

<sup>23</sup> see Bintliff *et al.* 200

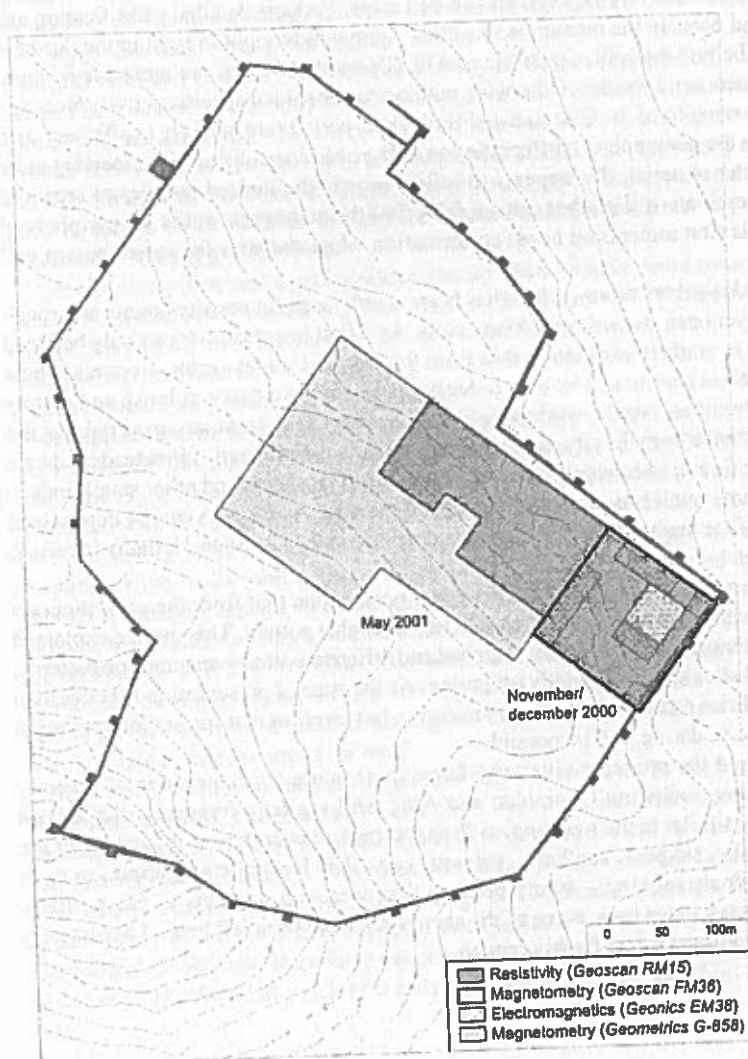


Figure 22: Area surveyed and geophysical methods applied.



### The geoprospection survey (Branko Mušič and Božidar Slapšak)

In May 2001, a 2 week geophysical survey was conducted at Grimadha, the site of Ancient Tanagra, by the team led by dr. Branko Mušič and Professor Božidar Slapšak of Ljubljana University, with the assistance, also from Ljubljana, of Jure Soklic, archaeologist and Igor Rižnar, geologist; in addition, from Leiden, Emeri Farinetti, computer-archaeologist; and finally, from the Athens University Polytechnic School Geology Department, students under the tutorship of Niki Evelpidou and Andreas Vassilopoulos of the Remote Sensing Laboratory. The research was made possible through promotional funding by the Faculty of Archaeology, University of Leiden, in view of our planned partnership within the IUAP programme, and through the International Collaboration Support Programme of the University of Ljubljana, in view of the collaborative agreement between Leiden and Ljubljana (involving graduate student exchange and the joint field training for undergraduate students from both Universities, mainly during the main Summer season).

Based on the results of the 2000 preliminary prospections,<sup>23</sup> measurement of total magnetic field by caesium magnetometer Geometrics G-858 was chosen to eventually cover the totality of the site. In 2001, 5.25 hectares were surveyed in the NE part of the city, adjacent to the area tested in 2000 (Figure 22) to verify further the complementarity of the results in specific situations as suggested by the 2000 results. 1.72 ha were mapped by a Geoscan RM15 resistivity instrument (Figure 22). It should be mentioned at this point that May 2001 was unseasonably hot in Boeotia, with temperatures rising well above 35° C. While this was obviously a hindrance to the team, conditions for geophysical prospections were in fact excellent, because there was enough moisture in the subsoil to permit good readings of georesistivity. We could therefore confirm that under such favourable circumstances, georesistivity is indeed a valuable complementary method to magnetometry at this site, and permits identification of further features pertinent to ancient architectural remains.

Graphic interpretation of the results of both methods combined is displayed on Figure 31. The topographic base (DEM) was produced by Emeri Farinetti based on 2000/2001 surveying by herself and Lefteris Sigalos. It should be noted that the interpretation is purely geophysical at this point and that only the most obvious linear features (of both 2000 and 2001 campaigns) are represented here. Further analysis of the results is planned for field inspection during August 2002: geophysical results will be compared with surface micromorphology, architectural survey and surface survey results to come to reliable identification of architectural units within city blocks, and eventually propose their typological affiliations.

### *Magnetic methods (Geometrics G-858)*

Magnetometry by Geometrics G-858 (Figure 23) was done by transects at 1 m, compared to 0.5 m in 2000. In terms of detectability of typical anomalies, the results are comparable, but the resolution of readings is lower. The decision was taken based on our calculations of time and manpower needed to cover the totality of the site: We thus expect to get adequate overview results at half labour input.

<sup>23</sup> see Bintliff *et al.* 2000a.

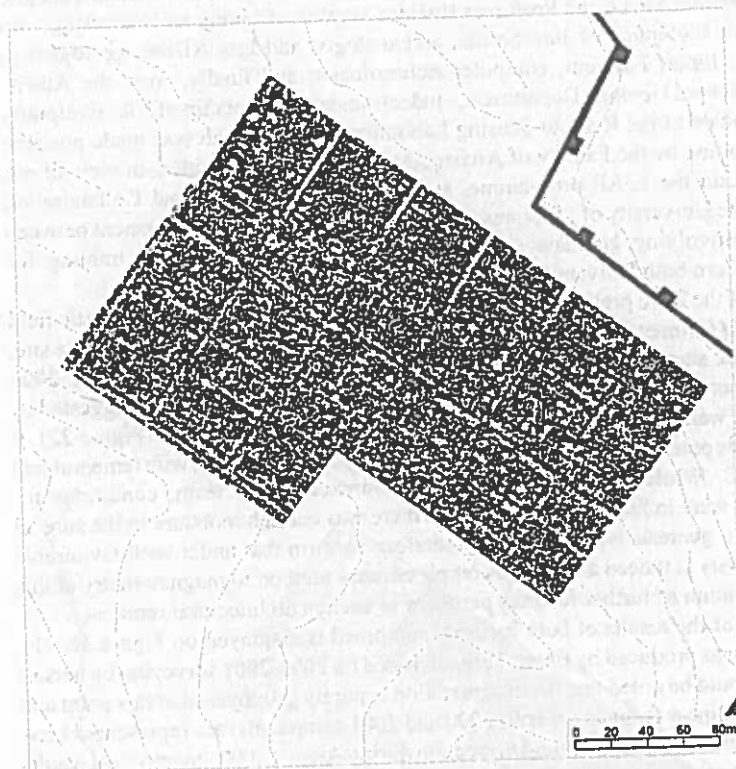


Figure 23: Vertical gradient of magnetic field (Geometrics G-858).



Figure 24: Vertical sensor results (b)

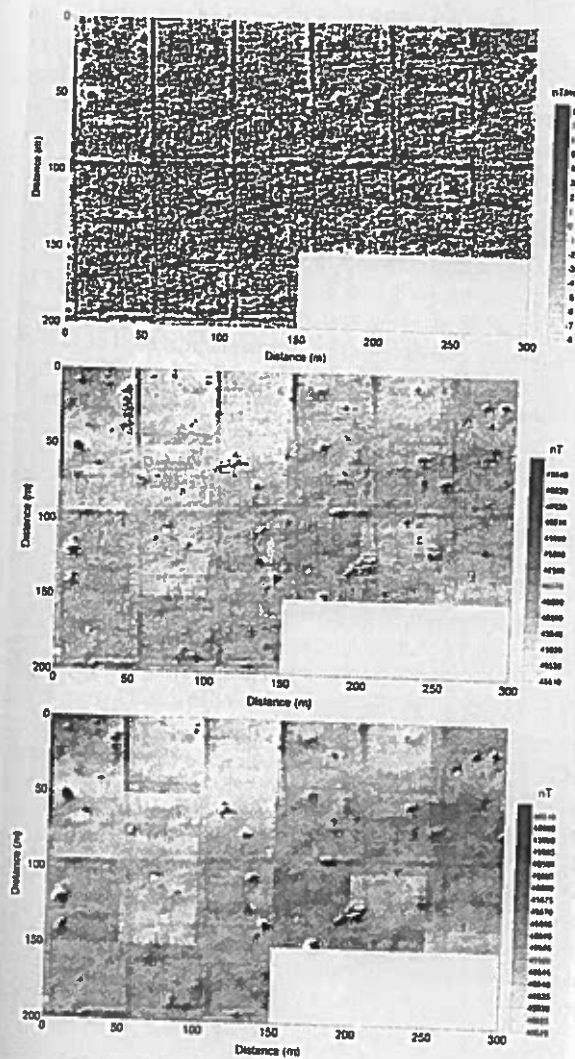


Figure 24: Vertical gradient (above), bottom sensor (middle) and top sensor results (below).

The procedure applied and the precision of the positioning of the grid, will permit a subsequent densening of the grid at 0.5 m wherever needed. For interpretation of architectural features it is important to consider, besides changes in vertical gradient, also the values for total magnetic field (separate readings on both sensors) (Figure 24). A mosaic-like structure of the the magnetograms of the total magnetic field reflects units of measurement by days as well as changes in the Earth's magnetic field in the course of the day. This could be corrected by the use of a base sensor which measures change throughout the day. Unfortunately, such a sensor was not available to us. Nevertheless, the magnetograms give important additional information about structural features, and notably about areas of thermoremanent magnetisation.

The Magnetic methods allow us to detect linear features of induced magnetisation resulting from difference in magnetic susceptibility between soil and stone used for building walls. The strongest of these linear features are those caused by the alignment of the streets between city blocks (Figures 23, 24 and 25). In Figures 24 and 26 we can see a number of areas of thermoremanent magnetisation, which would normally indicate larger architectural features which include tile/burnt clay, as well as industrial areas which involve activities at high temperatures (pottery kilns, furnaces, smithing areas, slag dumps). On Figure 27, a 25 x 25 m square is shown in the south-western part of the surveyed area, with predominantly thermoremanent magnetisation. Magnetic anomalies 1 and 2 display high positive and negative values and a clear bipolarity oriented towards the North, and therefore indicate well preserved objects in situ. The values of anomalies 3 and 4 are comparable, but differ in orientation of the above features, possibly because of some sort of destruction of the objects involved. We can therefore conclude that all four anomalies represent the magnetic record of an area connected with industrial activity. Further information is needed to confirm our interpretation of this and a number of other areas of thermoremanent magnetisation, possibly through functional analysis of surface material.

#### *Geoelectric resistivity methods*

Our expectations concerning the difficult conditions for geoelectric resistivity survey (Geoscan RM15) (Figures 22, 28-30) were only partially confirmed. While in 2000, by carrying out our survey in November-December when first rains after a long period of drought soaked the site, we did avoid high contact resistivity which is typical of dried-out soil surfaces during the summer months, the real value of the method could only be judged in May 2001. Admittedly, the extreme, unseasonably high temperatures and constant wind produced a shallow crust of dried-out soil at the surface, which made reading of resistivity difficult and slowed down the surveying process, but the results were much better than those of the first season. In November/December 2000 the rain water did not manage to penetrate the deeper layers, so the majority of the electric current was directed through the better soaked surface layer and did not reach the underlying archaeological layers. Consequently, the amplitudes of archaeologically relevant signals were weak compared to the noise of the surface soil and rubble. In May, after several months of winter rains, the site was ready for optimal reading of archaeologically pertinent geoelectric resistivity anomalies (provided the electrodes successfully penetrated the surface crust). The contact resistivity does contribute to background noise, but we can recognize this noise and eliminate it with adequate use of filters, and enhance the high resistivity signal of archaeological remains. Besides linear features, obviously pertaining to well preserved undersurface walls, there are roughly rectangular areas of identical values, possibly rubble between



Figure 25: Vertical



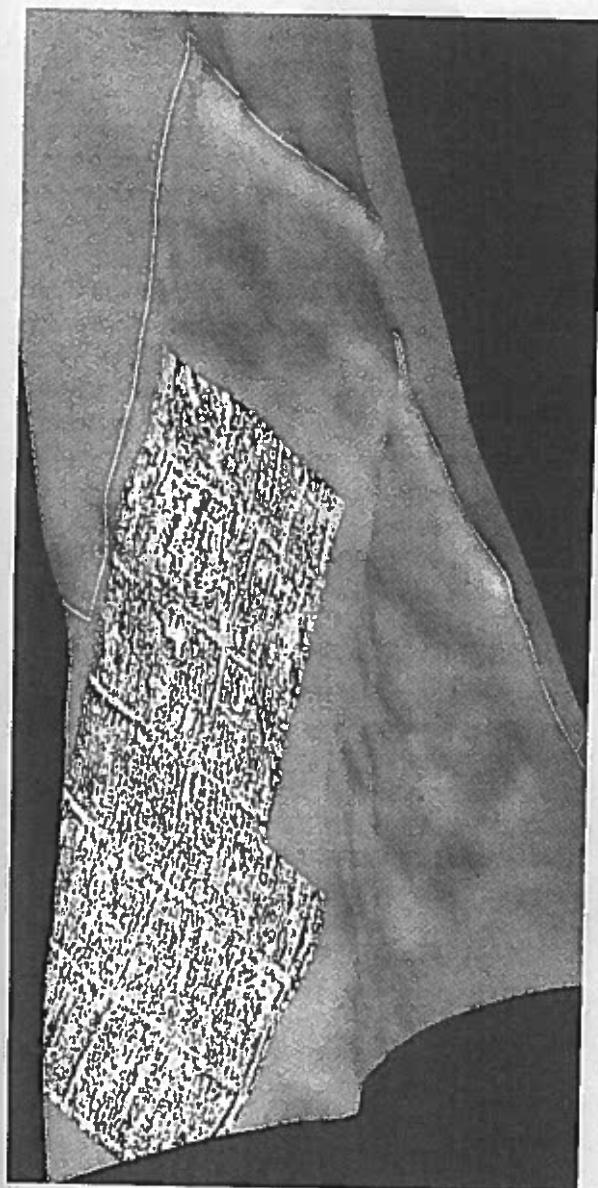


Figure 25: Vertical gradient of magnetic field against DEM.

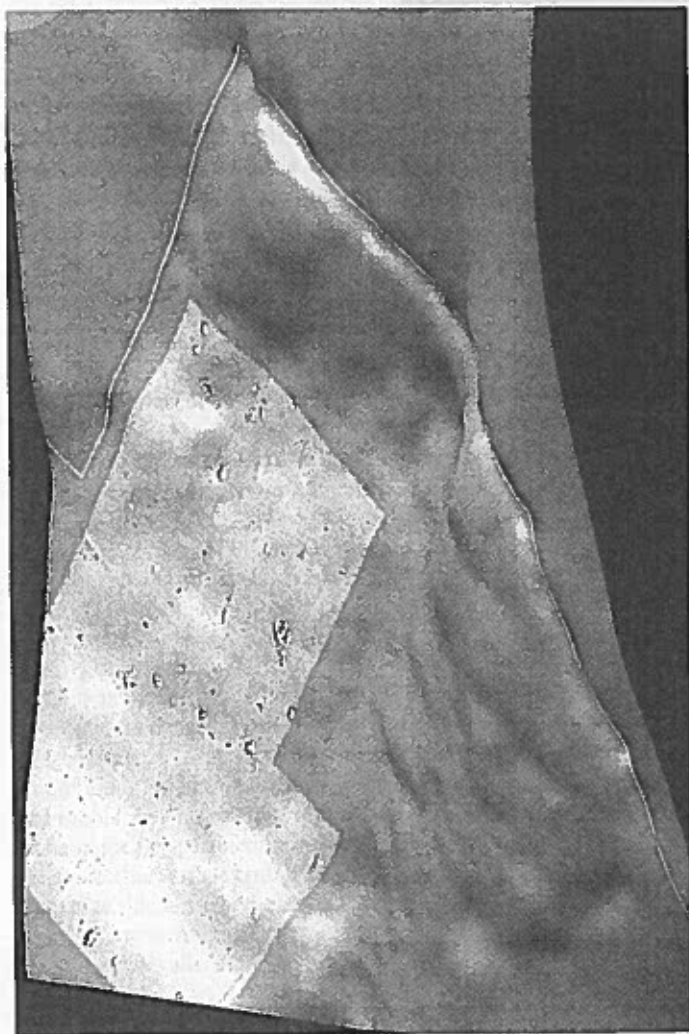


Figure 26: Areas of thermoremanent magnetisation against DEM.



Figure 27: Sample a western part of the thermoremanent magnetisation (thermoremanent magnetisation destroyed object).

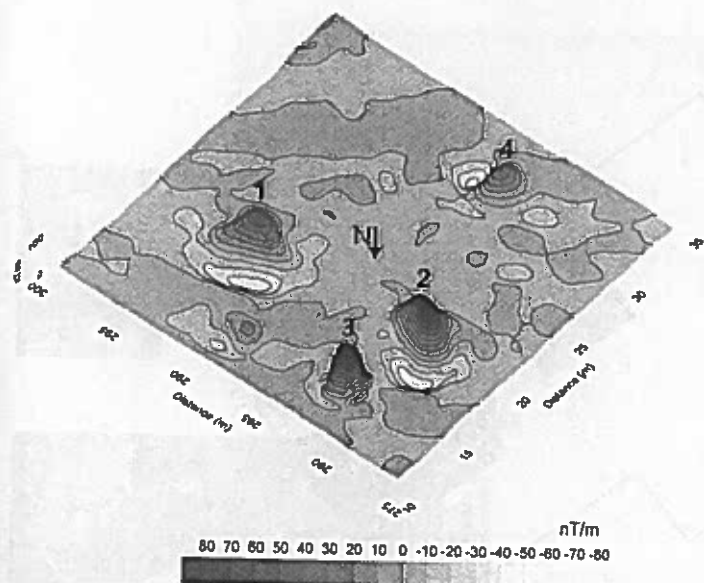


Figure 27: Sample area of thermoremanent magnetisation in the southwestern part of the area surveyed; 1, 2 – well preserved object with thermoremanent magnetization in situ; 3, 4 – remains with thermoremanent magnetisation in secondary position (dumping area or destroyed object).



Figure 28: Geoelectric resistivity mapped (Geoscan RM15).



Figure 29: Phases in



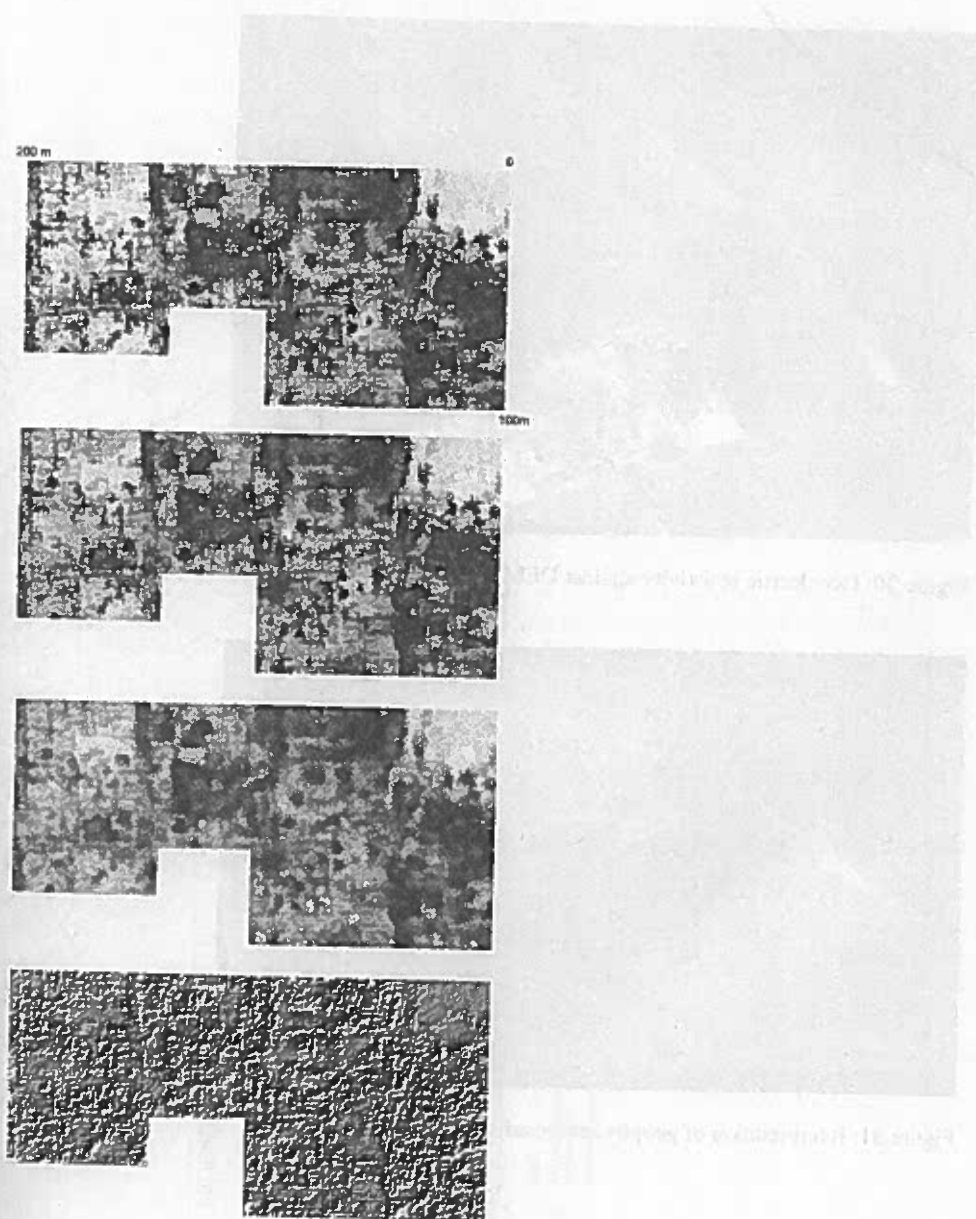


Figure 29: Phases in filtering of geoelectric resistivity results.

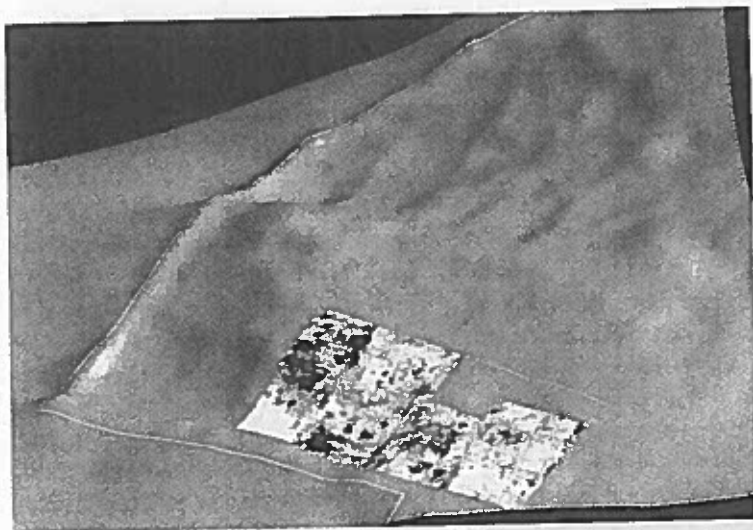


Figure 30: Geoelectric resistivity against DEM.

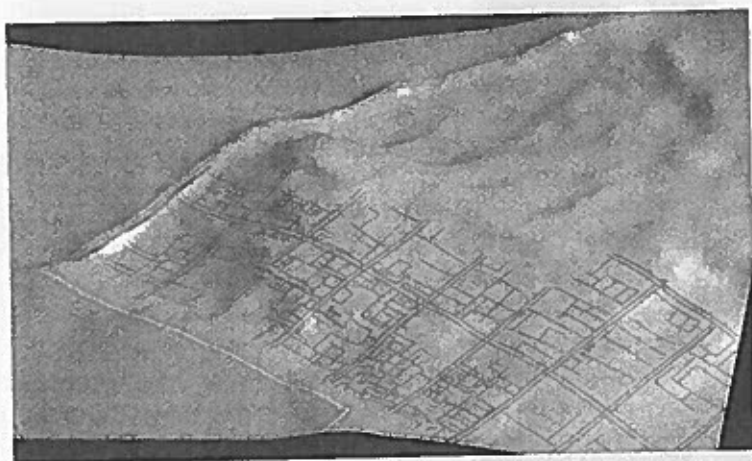


Figure 31: Interpretation of geophysical results against DEM.



Figure 32: Geological

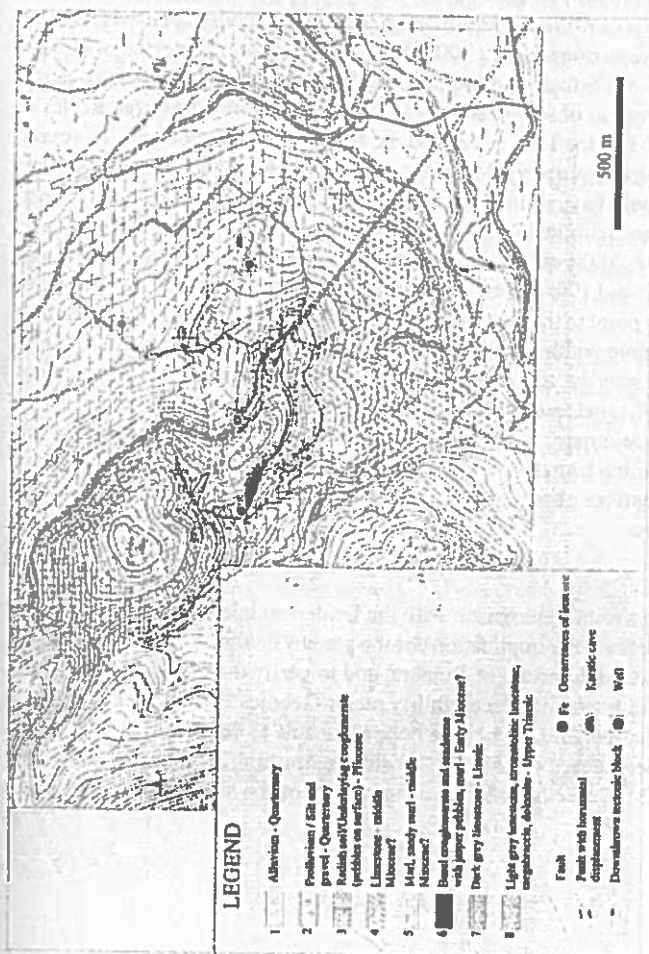


Figure 32: Geological map of the site and its environs.

walls or, more likely, preserved pavements. Comparison of geoelectric mapping and magnetometry should permit even better interpretation of such areas. This is true also of the spatial context of the objects with high thermoremanent magnetisation, either structures built of brick (including pavement and collapsed tile covered roofs) or nuclei of industrial activity areas (kilns, furnaces and similar) (Figures 24, 26 and 27). Therefore a further step needed for information building would now be the introduction of statistical procedures for evaluation of composite images of independently applied prospection methods.

#### *Archaeological implications*

Clearly, the team would wish to avoid hasty interpretation before detailed comparative analysis of the results of geophysics, surface mapping, architectural survey, archaeological surface survey and aerial photography, such as is planned to start in Summer 2002. We will therefore limit our comments to the most obvious observations (Figure 31).

The results show clearly the validity of Roller's identification of the basic module of urban design, which is the city block of 150 x 300 feet (roughly 50 x 100 m). All four sides were detected of blocks 6/4, 7/4, 8/4 and 8/3 in 2001. 3rd – 8th Streets and 3rd and 4th Avenues were identified, all parts fitting into the grid perfectly. However, as observed already in 2000, our results differ from Roller's in the positioning of the Avenues. While the 1st Avenue and the North wall have not been surveyed and our observations there cannot yet be properly documented, it would seem that the Intervallum North was narrower than Roller would have it. In any case, the 2nd Avenue lies more to the North and the blocks 6/4-9/4 are full and are delimited in the South by 3rd Avenue parallel to 2nd Avenue, not by the Northern support structure of the Agora and the Central Avenue West, which according to Roller connects the Main Boulevard (9th Street) and the Agora at an angle. As for the inner structure of the blocks, we will only point to the fact that in blocks 3/3 and 3/4, there are architectural features which stretch across the whole width of the block, which might suggest the existence there of public buildings, and the same may be true for block 8/3. Other blocks show rather regular division by house units. Combined magnetometry and resistivity features within house units are rich in detail and very promising. Magnetometry results give intriguing linear features oriented at an angle to the main grid, slightly declining from the East-West direction towards the North-East. They seem to correspond to the feeble features observed within the 2000 test area and will be the object of our special attention in the future.

#### *Further work planned*

In August 2002, the team will have a joint field season with the Leiden archaeological survey team and with architectural experts, to discuss the implications of the geophysical results in terms of our understanding of urban structure and architecture in Tanagra, and to verify the data so far obtained through the use of conductivity and magnetic susceptibility meter Geonics EM38. A further and longer field season is planned in October 2002, when we hope to be able to do a more considerable area by caesium magnetometer Geometrics G-858 and, weather permitting, continue geoelectric resistivity mapping by Geoscan RM15. We hope to have the totality of the site covered by Spring 2003.

The geoarchaeologist  
and Božidar Slapšal

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**The geoarchaeological survey (Igor Rižnar, Niki Evelpidou, Andreas Vassilopoulos and Božidar Slapšak)**

Detailed understanding of geological context is crucial to any research which involves archaeological geophysics. Geological survey of the site and its environs was conducted by Igor Rižnar, in collaboration with Niki Evelpidou and Andreas Vassilopoulos of the Remote Sensing Laboratory of the Geology Department at the Polytechnic School, University of Athens. Among the students who participated, Kostas Theofilis was involved more intensely and must be mentioned at this point.

On Figure 32, we present the resulting geological map of the area of roughly three square kilometres around the site. Besides geological mapping, geomorphological and geological observations were made which were potentially relevant to the archaeology of the site, such as concerning the Agora ridge and the valley within the walled area, the terrace on which the northern wall was constructed, the karstic cave within the site, the natural setting for the theatre, and the presence of iron ore in the surroundings. All building stone found within the walled area was identified, including allochthonous material, geophysical properties of the main types of building stone taken and their possible quarrying sites identified.

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#### Cultural significance

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<sup>1</sup> This article is a revised the Netherlands Institute and helpful suggestions.

<sup>2</sup> Åström 1972; Mee 1971 2002, 8-21.

<sup>3</sup> Veblen 1899, 97-101; B.

## The Cultural Significance of Mycenaean Pictorial Kraters<sup>1</sup>

*G. van Wijngaarden*

Mycenaean or Late Helladic pottery made on mainland Greece during the Late Bronze Age (ca. 1600-1050 BC) has been found at some four hundred sites in Anatolia, Cyprus, the Levant, Egypt and the central Mediterranean (Figure 2).<sup>2</sup> This body of archaeological artefacts constitutes one of the main sources for the study of contacts between the Aegean and other areas of the Mediterranean. Another way of viewing these finds is as objects found in cultural settings other than those in which they were produced. In this article I have focused on a specific body of Mycenaean pictorial kraters to discuss the variations in cultural meaning which occur when objects cross cultural boundaries.

### Cultural significance

The way in which an object is used and appreciated is the result of far more than just its functional and material properties.<sup>3</sup> The relationships of a material object to social groups and cultural

<sup>1</sup> This article is a revised version of papers delivered at an ARCHON conference in Leiden (December 1999) and at the Netherlands Institute at Athens (November 2001). I thank the participants of these meetings for the discussions and helpful suggestions. I thank Sam Herman for correcting the English at such short notice.

<sup>2</sup> Åström 1972, Mee 1978; Hankey 1993; Vagnetti 1993, 1999; Leonard 1994; Özgünel 1997; Van Wijngaarden 2002, 8-21.

<sup>3</sup> Veblen 1899, 97-101; Bourdieu 1984; Miller 1985, 51-74; 1987, 112-118; Appadurai 1986.

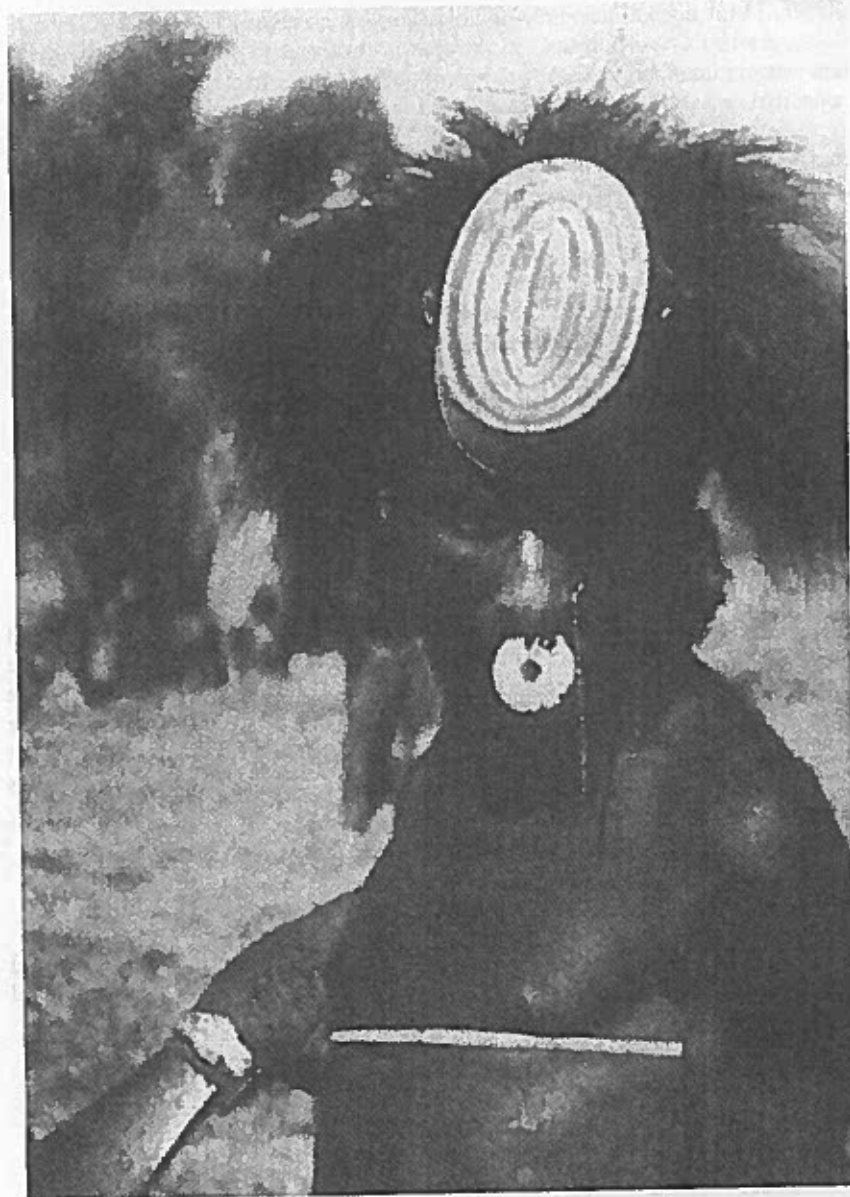


Figure 1. Papuan chief wearing an empty fish tin as ornament (photograph by M. Leahy)

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<sup>4</sup> Thomas 1992, 35-36.

<sup>5</sup> Van Dongen *et al.* 1996.

<sup>6</sup> Bradley 1987; Axtell 199

<sup>7</sup> Merrifield 1987, 128-136



practices impose meanings it which are crucial for its significance. Ideas about a specific artifact depend not solely on its original function, but on variables such as honour, local tradition, material needs and individual beliefs. These may differ considerably between one culture and the next. Thus an object's meaning in relation to a specific social reality and cultural practice determines its *cultural significance*. In this way, imported objects are often recontextualised by the imposition of indigenous cultural associations.<sup>4</sup> As a result, the cultural significance of similar physical objects can differ considerably from one cultural context to another.

Many examples of changes in the cultural significance of objects can be found in anthropological research.<sup>5</sup> In 1930 Australian gold miners in central New Guinea encountered a tribe of Papuans that had never met anyone from beyond their immediate surroundings before. Immediately an exchange of gifts, goods and services began. The Papuans supplied the miners with fresh food and topographical knowledge, while the Australians gave the Papuans glass beads and trinkets such as empty sardine tins (Figure 1). Although they were of no value to the miners, these items were considered highly desirable prestige items by the Papuans. The pride with which the man in figure 1 is wearing an empty fish tin, shows that the tin had acquired a completely different meaning than it held for the Australian miners.

The changing meaning and significance of objects is a phenomenon that has been closely studied in relation to early colonial America.<sup>6</sup> Written records show that axes were worn as ornaments by native Americans, while kettles were used to obtain sheet metal for projectile points. Archaeological assemblages from native American sites also show that ceramics, such as pieces of majolica or Delftware were used by Indians primarily for decoration. European items were interpreted from the perspective of Indian culture, with objects that could fit into an existing ideological system being accepted more readily than those valued for their technical function. These objects were re-worked, re-interpreted and re-distributed in order to acquire meaning in the existing cultural framework.

In medieval and early modern Europe, it was customary to protect houses against evil by presenting a building offering, such as an old shoe.<sup>7</sup> Native-American leather moccasins have been found beneath the floors of colonial houses, showing that these Indian artefacts were endowed with the significance of a European charm. This demonstrates that changes in cultural significance are not confined to objects obtained from highly developed societies and employed in societies with less sophisticated technologies. These changes take place whenever goods or objects move from one cultural setting to another. Modern examples are the numerous exotic objects that find their way into modern homes in Western Europe and America through tourism and the art market.

It seems probable that changes in cultural significance also took place in relation to Mycenaean pots that were exported from Greece to other areas in the Mediterranean. Evidence that this is indeed the case comes from Minet el-Beida, the harbour town of ancient Ugarit on the coast of Syria. Beside a pit, apparently within a house, eight Mycenaean pot fragments were found which had been secondarily used: holes had been pierced through the centre of the sherds and their sides

<sup>4</sup> Thomas 1992, 35-36.

<sup>5</sup> Van Dongen *et al.* 1996 (with many refs).

<sup>6</sup> Bradley 1987; Axtell 1992; Hamell 1993.

<sup>7</sup> Merrifield 1987, 128-136; Rothschild 1995, 193-195.

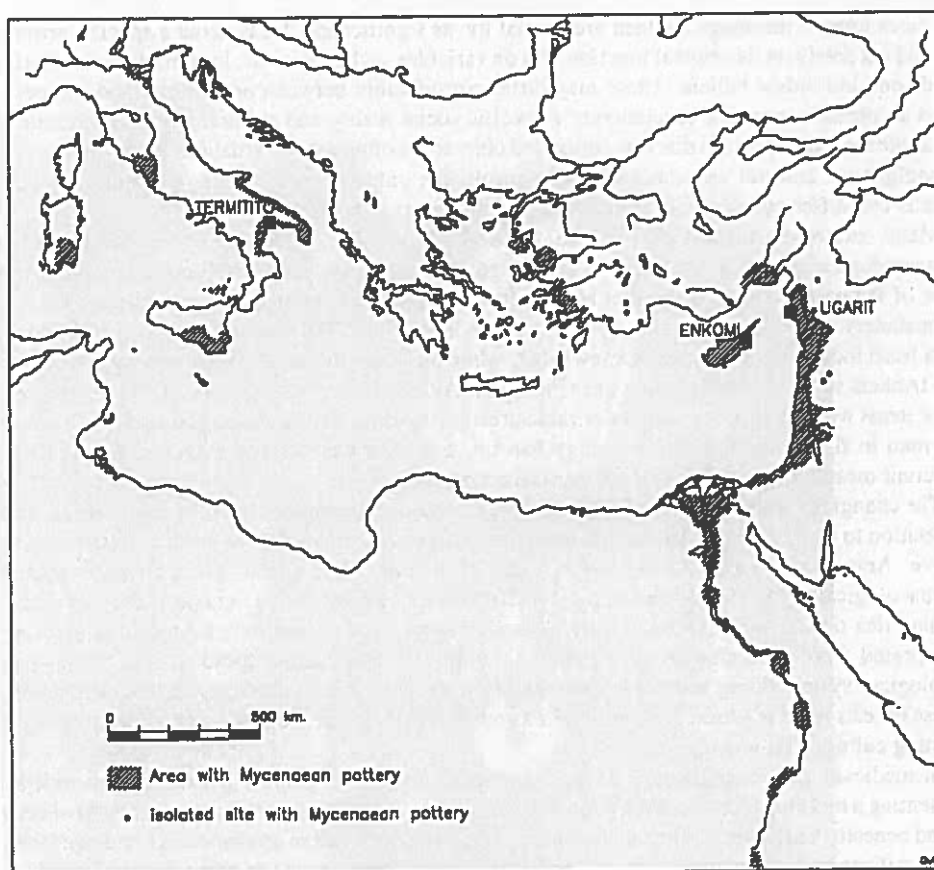


Figure 2. Distribution of Mycenaean pottery in the Mediterranean

had been smoothed.<sup>8</sup> The function of these implements is not known.<sup>9</sup> Similar pierced pottery fragments are known from Syrian pottery at Ugarit, but these were not found in the near vicinity. What is interesting about this deposit is that it consists exclusively of pictorial krater fragments; they do not come from the same pot. Apparently, someone chose a particular Mycenaean vessel type for a purpose other than its original function. Even though this purpose is unknown, the context of the fragments suggests that they had become part of some native practice.

<sup>8</sup> Schaeffer 1949, 232-33.

<sup>9</sup> Schaeffer postulated that they might have been used as *esthèques*: potters' tools to scrape clay from vessels. No other evidence for the activities of potters has been reported from Minet el-Beida.

## Mycenaean pottery

Beyond the Aegean, in the central Mediterranean, which is traditionally dated to the LH IIIA (ca. 1400-1300 BC), all found in geographical Italy. Each of these

During the Late Bronze Age, the Egyptian Empire of Egypt was divided into several provinces, each subject to Hittite rule. The Egyptian Empire of Egypt was divided into several provinces, each subject to Hittite rule. The Egyptian Empire of Egypt was divided into several provinces, each subject to Hittite rule.

On the island of Cyprus, the rise of urban nuclei is attested by the discovery of copper.<sup>14</sup> A complex mining and agricultural system is indicated by the material culture. The material culture indicates that the élite of subordination to a central authority was found. During the Late Bronze Age, the élite of subordination to a central authority was found. During the Late Bronze Age, the élite of subordination to a central authority was found.

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<sup>10</sup> The absolute chronology, for example, Betancourt 1990, uses the traditional chronology.

<sup>11</sup> Leonard 1989; Gonen 1991.

<sup>12</sup> Foster 1987; Liverani 1988.

<sup>13</sup> Negbi 1986; Cadogan 1987.

<sup>14</sup> Steh 1982, 113; Keswa 1983.

<sup>15</sup> Bietti Sestieri 1983, 66-67.

## Mycenaean pottery in the Mediterranean

Beyond the Aegean, Mycenaean pots have been found in Anatolia, Cyprus, the Levant, Egypt and in the central Mediterranean. The earliest of these can be classified stylistically as Late Helladic I, which is traditionally dated to the sixteenth century BC.<sup>10</sup> The latest Mycenaean vessels stylistically date to LH IIIC, the period after the collapse of the palatial system on the Greek mainland. In this article, I have focused on vessels which can be dated to the Mycenaean palatial period: LH IIIA (*ca.* 1400-1320) and LH IIIB (*ca.* 1320-1200). The vessels discussed here were all found in geographical areas far away from Mycenaean civilisation: Cyprus, the Levant and Italy. Each of these areas had a different level of social organisation and complexity.

During the Late Bronze Age, the Syro-Palestinian littoral, commonly known as the Levant, was divided into several city states.<sup>11</sup> The southern Levant was under the political control of the Egyptian Empire of the New Kingdom, while northern Syria and a large part of Lebanon were subject to Hittite rule. Despite of these foreign powers, the city states in the Levant could operate with relative autonomy. Many were governed by a royal court whose power was often tied to religious legitimisations.<sup>12</sup> These courts sustained sizeable religious, military and economic institutions, requiring substantial administration. Large archives with cuneiform records on clay tablets are the tangible archaeological results in several places. In the Levant, in other words, societies were historical and had a long history of urbanisation and complex networks of interaction among many social groups existed.

On the island of Cyprus, processes of urbanisation began during the Late Bronze Age.<sup>13</sup> The rise of urban nuclei on the island appears to have been fuelled by the production and exchange of copper.<sup>14</sup> A complex network existed on the island, involving coastal centres, inland centres, mining and agricultural villages, which were linked through exchanges of luxury and staple goods. The material culture in Cyprus during the Late Bronze Age is fairly homogenous and there are indications that the élites on the island expressed a common ideology. However, there are no signs of subordination to a central authority and extensive administrative records have, so far, not been found. During the Late Bronze Age, Cyprus was clearly a complex proto-historic society, but altogether different from societies in the Levant.

Societies in the central Mediterranean during the same period can be characterised as truly prehistoric in the sense that signs of literacy and urbanisation are lacking.<sup>15</sup> In many areas, there appears to have been an interdependency between upland and lowland sites based on agriculture and pastoralism. A modest number of sites, generally located along major routes of communication, show signs of centralisation, such as their large size, elaborate tombs, defensive

<sup>10</sup> The absolute chronology of the ceramic styles of the Late Bronze Age Aegean is by no means undisputed; see for example, Betancourt 1990; Manning 1990; Warren 1996; Wiener 1998, 313-15. Until consensus is reached, I will use the traditional chronology as proposed by Warren and Hankey 1989.

<sup>11</sup> Leonard 1989; Gonen 1992; Falconer 1994; Bunimowitz 1995.

<sup>12</sup> Foster 1987; Liverani 1987, 1988.

<sup>13</sup> Negbi 1986; Cadogan 1993, 92; Keswani 1996.

<sup>14</sup> Stech 1982, 113; Keswani 1993, 74-76; Knapp 1997, 46-47.

<sup>15</sup> Bietti Sestieri 1983, 66-102; Malone, Stoddart and Whitehouse 1994.





geometrical and floral designs. Interestingly, the type of vessel found is not limited to ceramic containers. A substantial part of the ceramic repertoire consists of Mycenaean tableware, such as cups, bowls and jugs.

A number of pot shapes have been found in large quantities in the eastern Mediterranean which are comparatively rare in Greece itself.<sup>18</sup> Examples of these types include shallow bowls, chalices, angular jugs and zoomorphic rhyta. This distribution pattern of specific Mycenaean vessel types suggests that a specialised production of pottery for the markets in the eastern Mediterranean took place in the Mycenaean world during the LH IIIA2-LH IIIB period.<sup>19</sup>

Among the classes of specialised Mycenaean pottery, kraters decorated with pictorial scenes (Figure 3) make up not more than one percent of the total body of Mycenaean pottery outside the Aegean. These kraters occur from the LH IIIA1 period on.<sup>20</sup> The so-called deep, or handleless krater (Furumark Shape 7) can generally be assigned quite early in the LH IIIA period; the amphoroid krater (FS 53-55) dates to LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB, while the ring-based or bell krater occurs from the LH IIIB period on. All these vessels are fairly large: varying between 30 and 50 cm in height. They are always decorated, often with pictorial scenes in which men or animals are depicted.<sup>21</sup> A favourite subject was chariot processions; bulls in various poses were also popular. In addition, hunting scenes, men and women engaged in various activities and a wide variety of animals were depicted on these kraters.

It is not known whether the artists who made these vessels and their decorations, meant to attach specific meanings to the figurative scenes. Many are of a generic character and often lacking in action. It has been argued that these pictorial vessels were prestige imports in Cyprus and the Levant.<sup>22</sup> Chariots had a prestige character in the urban societies of the Levant, while the bull may have fulfilled an important role in Cypriot cultic practices. Arguments against elite connotations, however, have also been put forward.<sup>23</sup> The roles these vessels played in the societies that imported them is the subject of the remainder of this article.

### Enkomi in Cyprus

The island of Cyprus has yielded by far the majority of Mycenaean pictorial kraters. From the site of Enkomi alone, 136 of these kraters have been published and it is possible that many kraters without provenance in museums throughout the world derive from the island. Enkomi is situated a few kilometres from the eastern coast of Cyprus. Archaeological research at the site began in 1896, when a team from the British Museum investigated some hundred tombs.<sup>24</sup> Since then, the

<sup>18</sup> These pot shapes have been referred to as "Levanto-Helladic", see Karageorghis 1965, 204-28.

<sup>19</sup> Sherratt 1982, 183; Jones 1986, 599-600.

<sup>20</sup> Furumark 1941, 431; Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982, 12-13.

<sup>21</sup> Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982, 1; Crouwel and Morris 1985.

<sup>22</sup> Leonard 1987, 264-66; Keswani 1989, 58-69; Steel 1998, 292-94.

<sup>23</sup> Notably, Sherratt 1999.

<sup>24</sup> Murray, Smith and Walters 1900, 1-54.

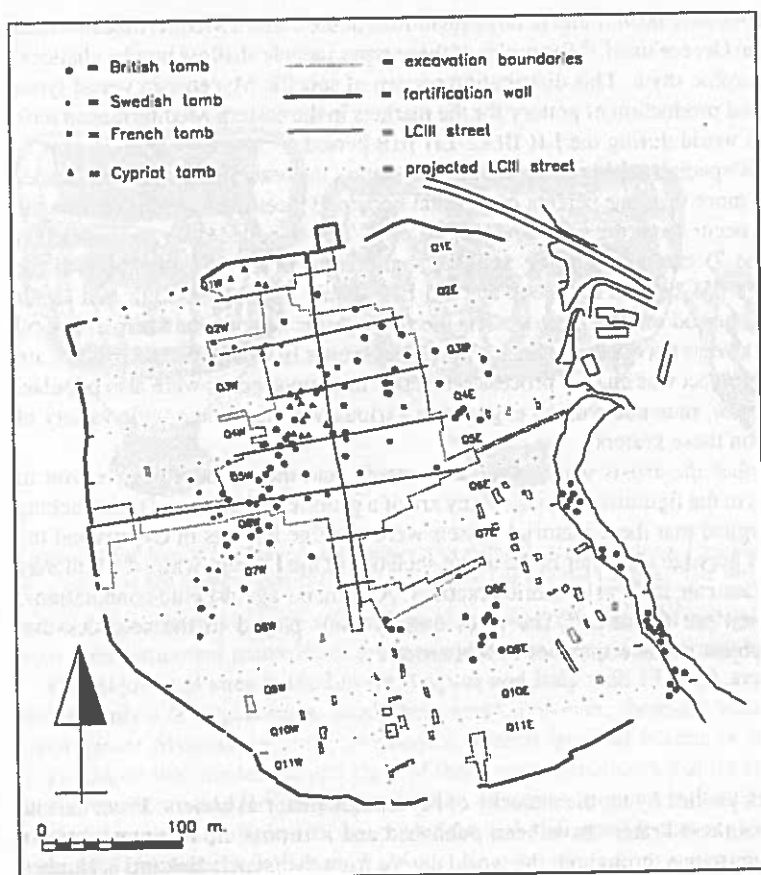


Figure 4. Enkomi: site plan

site has been visited frequently by British, Swedish, French and Cypriot expeditions.<sup>25</sup> They have revealed a substantial town, which flourished during the whole Late Cypriot Bronze Age, roughly from the sixteenth to the eleventh century BC (Figure 4). It had a fortification wall and houses

<sup>25</sup> Myres 1945, 70; Gjerstad et al. 1934, 467-575; Schaeffer 1936, 1952; Courtois 1981, 1984; Lagarde and Lagarde 1985; Dikaios 1969, 1971. Enkomi has been inaccessible since 1974 due to the occupation of northern Cyprus by Turkish military forces.

were built close to buildings and a number of a ruling centre or a structure at Enkomi groups. Probably the outlying communities.

Many imports have been found. In all, around one thousand (Figure 5) have been found in the areas. The substantiality of the excavations at Enkomi by the Cypriot team and the spatial distribution of pottery in general. It is scarce; in Q3W and (

The unequal distribution of pottery in general may be related to Q5W (Figure 4). The less systematically, as a few have a built up in some cases several the tomb robbing and groups or families. Not distinguished by P. K. well as varying degree

Mycenaean pictorial decoration on a few tombs with a large British tomb 12. Swedish Keswani to belong to a correlation between a However, there are also as British tombs 20 and a tombs without a part concluded that the furniture within the town of Enkomi suggests that the inclusion

<sup>26</sup> Keswani 1989, 1996, 22

<sup>27</sup> The rectangular street layout and many Mycenaean

<sup>28</sup> Dikaios 1969, 1971.

<sup>29</sup> For an overview, see Keswani 1989.

<sup>30</sup> Keswani 1989.

were built close to each other. Each archaeological phase of the town features a few large buildings and a number of wealthy tombs, testifying to a certain social stratification.<sup>26</sup> However, a ruling centre or a palace-like structure has not been found. It seems likely that the social structure at Enkomi was not hierarchical. Within the town there were various competing élite groups. Probably the whole population of the town was regarded as élite by the residents of outlying communities.

Many imports have been found at Enkomi, but the most frequent by far are Mycenaean pots. In all, around one thousand five hundred Mycenaean ceramic finds distributed widely in the town (Figure 5) have been published.<sup>27</sup> In general, Mycenaean pottery occurs in all the major excavation areas. The substantial quantitative differences between the areas are due mainly to the intensity of the excavations and the extent of publication. Only Q1W and Q4W, both excavated by the Cypriot team and published admirably by P. Dikaïos, can be considered fully published.<sup>28</sup> The spatial distribution of the pictorial kraters at Enkomi is not the same as that of the Mycenaean pottery in general. In the areas Q5E and Q1W Mycenaean pictorial pottery is comparatively scarce; in Q3W and Q5W this pottery is relatively abundant.

The unequal distribution of Mycenaean pictorial kraters compared to Mycenaean pottery in general may be related to its use in tombs, since there are quite many tombs in both Q3W and Q5W (Figure 4). The tombs at Enkomi, of which over a hundred have been excavated more or less systematically, are notable features at the site.<sup>29</sup> They are chambers, dug into the ground and a few have a built superstructure. They were all used for collective burial and for long periods, in some cases several centuries. In addition, many have been pillaged. Because of their long use, the tomb robbing and the poor state of conservation, it is difficult to relate tombs to specific social groups or families. Nevertheless, variability in tomb architecture and find assemblages have been distinguished by P. Keswani, who has been able to distinguish chronological groups of graves, as well as varying degrees of material wealth.

Mycenaean pictorial kraters have been reported from 32 tombs at Enkomi (Figure 6). There are a few tombs with a large number of Mycenaean pictorial kraters, notably Swedish tomb 3 and British tomb 12. Swedish tombs 3 and 18 are rich in other respects as well and are considered by Keswani to belong to a group of wealthy tombs.<sup>30</sup> In these cases, therefore, there appears to be a correlation between a wealthy funerary inventory and the presence of Mycenaean pictorial kraters. However, there are also some extremely wealthy tombs with no or very few pictorial kraters, such as British tombs 20 and 93. In addition, Mycenaean pictorial kraters have been reported from tombs without a particularly wealthy inventory, such as British tombs 12 and 48. It can be concluded that the funerary use of Mycenaean pictorial kraters was not the same for everybody within the town of Enkomi. The concentration of many of these vessels in a minority of tombs suggests that the inclusion of large numbers of them in funerary rituals had a special significance.

<sup>26</sup> Keswani 1989; 1996, 221-27.

<sup>27</sup> The rectangular street lay-out is used here to investigate spatial distribution, even though this lay-out dates to I.C IIC and many Mycenaean finds pre-date the town plan, see Courtois, Lagarce and Lagarce 1986, 3-5.

<sup>28</sup> Dikaïos 1969; 1971.

<sup>29</sup> For an overview, see Keswani 1989, with many references.

<sup>30</sup> Keswani 1989.

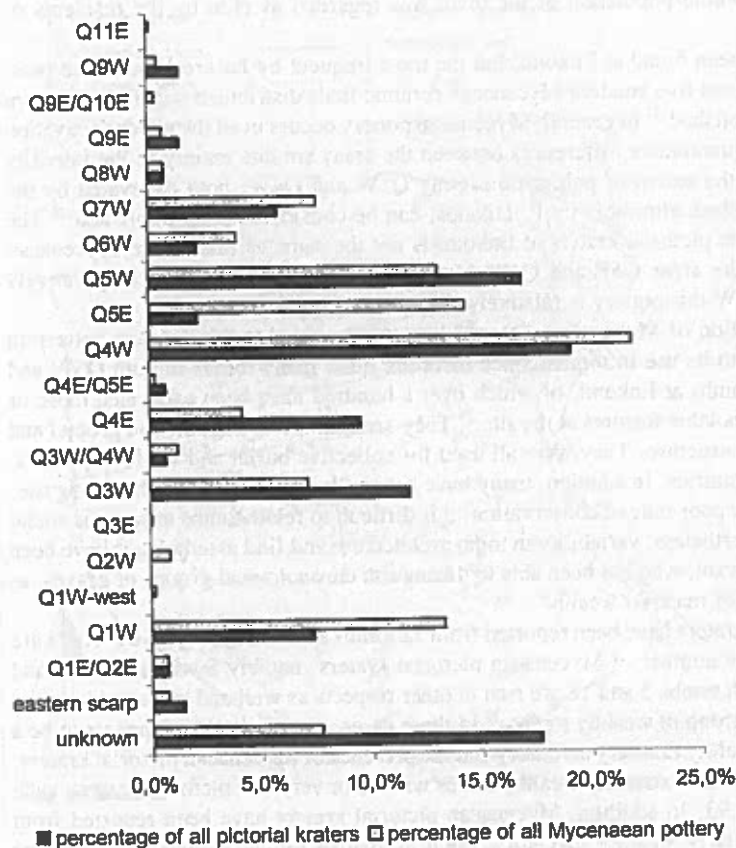


Figure 5. Enkomi: spatial distribution of Mycenaean pottery and of pictorial kraters

It is impossible, however, to state if this applied to a particular group of people.

In addition to occurring in tombs at Enkomi, pictorial kraters have also been found in settlement contexts. In each case, they have been found together with local handmade pottery and sometimes with other Mycenaean vessels. In an LC IIC structure in Q4W, for example, a Mycenaean krater with a chariot scene was found together with an LH IIIB kylix and local White Slip II and Base

Tomb
British tomb 12
British tomb 17
British tomb 20
British tomb 43
British tomb 45
British tomb 48
British tomb 51
British tomb 54
British tomb 66
British tomb 67
British tomb 68
British tomb 70
British tomb 81
British tomb 82
British tomb 83

Figure 6. The distribution of Ring vessels.<sup>31</sup> In Q working.<sup>32</sup> A chariot found together with settlement contexts have been found in the significance of inherent to the vase specific funerary rit

Elsewhere on Cy quantities of Mycenaean in small quantities, social complexity in Mycenaean pictorial the coast suggests th defining their positio

<sup>31</sup> Dikaios 1969, 163-70.

<sup>32</sup> Dikaios 1969, 239.

<sup>33</sup> Dikaios 1969, 247.

<sup>34</sup> Steel 1998.



Tomb	Mycenaean pictorial kraters
British tomb 12	12
British tomb 17	1
British tomb 20	2
British tomb 43	1
British tomb 45	3
British tomb 48	5
British tomb 51	1
British tomb 54	3
British tomb 66	1
British tomb 67	1
British tomb 68	1
British tomb 70	1
British tomb 81	1
British tomb 82	1
British tomb 83	2

Tomb no.	Mycenaean pictorial kraters
British tomb 89	3
British tomb 91	1
British tomb 93	2
British tomb 94	2
Cypriot tomb 10	3
French tomb 2	3
French tomb 7	1
French tomb 12	2
Swedish tomb 3	16
Swedish tomb 5	1
Swedish tomb 7	4
Swedish tomb 11	1
Swedish tomb 17	1
Swedish tomb 18	8
Swedish tomb 19	1

Figure 6. The distribution of Mycenaean pictorial vessels in tombs at Enkomi

Ring vessels.<sup>31</sup> In Q1W a handle and part of a krater was found together with remains of copper working.<sup>32</sup> A chariot scene has also been reported from a copper workshop in Q1W, where it was found together with coarse ware pottery.<sup>33</sup> There is no evidence that pictorial kraters found in settlement contexts were restricted to specific types of houses; nor do the contexts in which they have been found indicate that these pictorial vessels were in some way special. This suggests that the significance of Mycenaean pictorial kraters found in certain tombs lay not in characteristics inherent to the vases themselves. Their significance was acquired by their incorporation into specific funerary rituals.

Elsewhere on Cyprus, tombs in the major coastal centres have also produced substantial quantities of Mycenaean pottery.<sup>34</sup> At smaller sites in the island's interior, these vases only occur in small quantities, usually in single pieces and always in tombs. During the Late Bronze Age, social complexity increased on the island, both at a local and a regional level. The significance of Mycenaean pictorial kraters in the funerary rituals of certain individuals in the large centres along the coast suggests that these vessels played an active role in the cultural strategies of people defining their position in the complex fabric of Late Cypriot society.

<sup>31</sup> Dikaios 1969, 163-70, 264.

<sup>32</sup> Dikaios 1969, 239.

<sup>33</sup> Dikaios 1969, 247.

<sup>34</sup> Steel 1998.

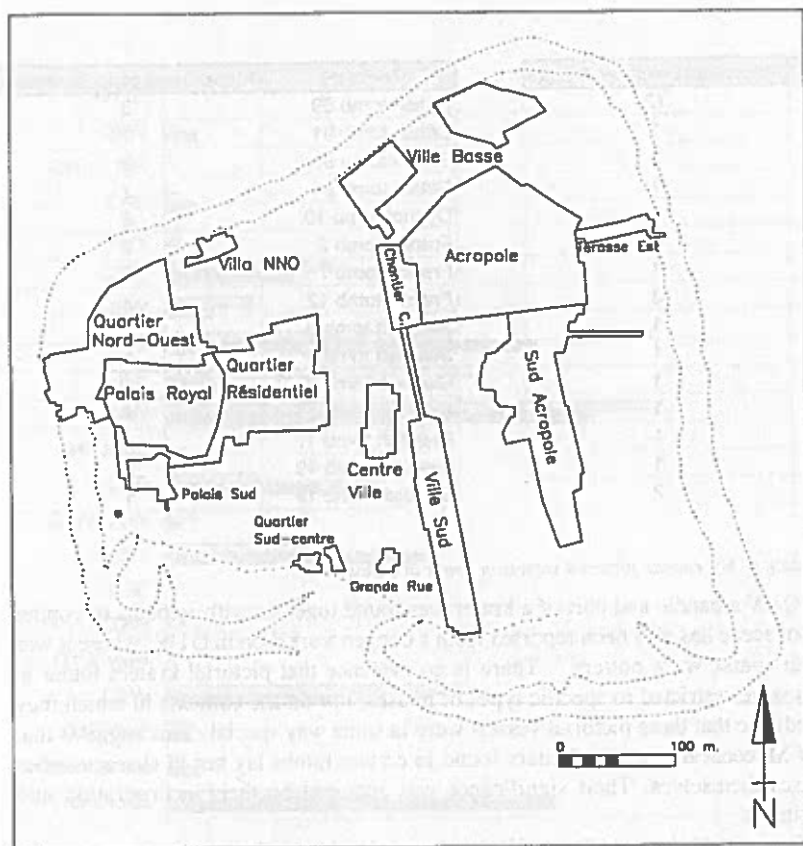


Figure 7. Ugarit: the excavation trenches

### Ugarit in the northern Levant

The sites of Minet el-Beida and Tell Ras Shamra are situated along the Mediterranean coast of Syria, some twelve kilometres north of the modern harbour town of Lattakia.<sup>35</sup> Ugarit has been excavated since 1929 to the present day by successive French expeditions.<sup>36</sup> On the tell of Ras

<sup>35</sup> Ras Shamra was ancient Ugarit, the capital of a kingdom by the same name. In this article, the name Ugarit refers to both sites.

<sup>36</sup> For an overview and bibliography, see Yon 1997a.

Unknown  
Ville Suc  
Ville Basse  
Terasse Est  
Tombe SW  
Quartier SC  
Sud Acropole  
Quartier Résidentiel  
Palais Sud  
Palais Royal  
Quartier NO  
Villa NNO  
Centre Ville  
Chantier C  
Acropole  
Minet el-Belda

Percentage of all

Figure 8. Ugarit: the dis

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<sup>37</sup> Astour 1981, Heltzer 19

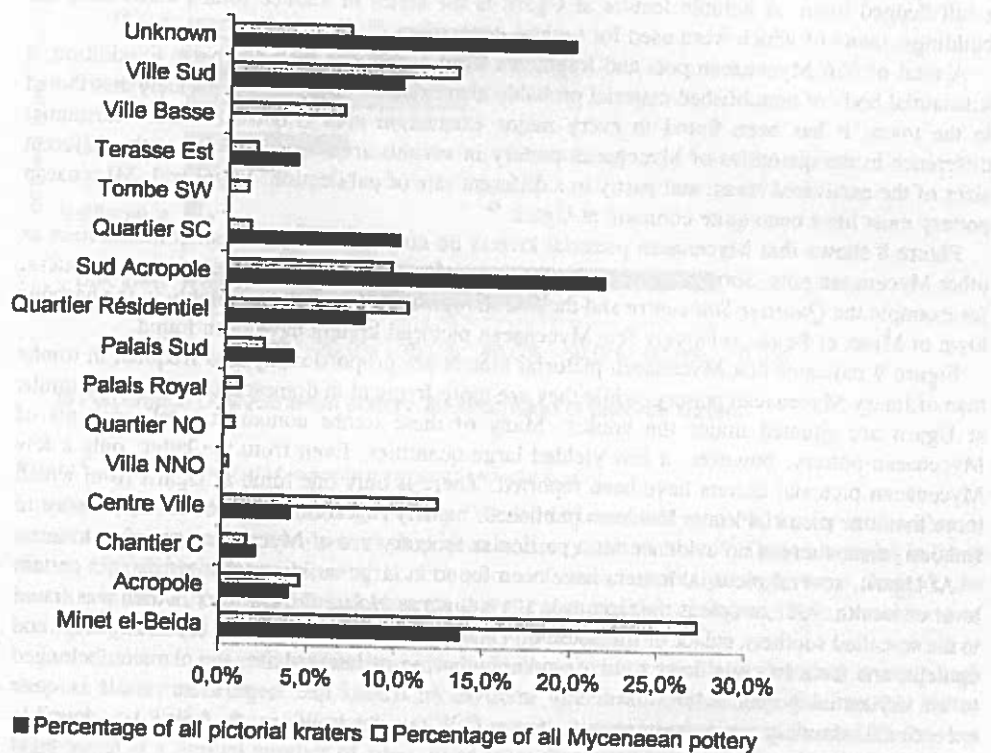


Figure 8. Ugarit: the distribution of Mycenaean pottery and pictorial kraters

Shamra, the excavators uncovered a substantial town which had existed from the Neolithic to the end of the Bronze Age. The town was an important node in international trade networks, especially during the Late Bronze Age. This is clear, for example, from the many imports in the archaeological record.<sup>37</sup> Large cuneiform archives have been discovered in the town, which shed light on the socio-economic organisation. These texts have revealed a complex urban society with a strict hierarchy originating in the royal court. The city state was ruled by a dynasty of kings and maintained diplomatic ties with states elsewhere in the Levant and beyond.

The western part of the site of Ras Shamra was occupied entirely by a vast royal palace for the

<sup>37</sup> Astour 1981; Heltzer 1978; Courtois 1979, 1284; Yon 1997a.

exclusive use of specific social groups and functions (Figure 7).<sup>38</sup> The other excavation trenches have exposed tightly-knit urban zones, in which buildings meant for habitation were interspersed with shops, workshops and religious structures. In Minet el-Beida, houses and storehouses have also been discovered, in addition to places reserved for ritual practices.<sup>39</sup> Clearly, the harbour was a full-fledged town. A notable feature at Ugarit is the series of vaulted tombs underneath the buildings, many of which were used for several generations.<sup>40</sup>

A total of 616 Mycenaean pots and fragments from Ugarit are included here; in addition, a substantial body of unpublished material probably also exists.<sup>41</sup> This pottery is widely distributed in the town; it has been found in every major excavation area (Figure 8). The substantial difference in the quantities of Mycenaean pottery in various areas is partly due to the different sizes of the excavated areas, and partly to a different rate of publication. In general, Mycenaean pottery must have been quite common at Ugarit.<sup>42</sup>

Figure 8 shows that Mycenaean pictorial kraters do not have the same spatial distribution as other Mycenaean pots. Some excavation areas reveal of relatively large amounts pictorial kraters, for example the *Quartier Sud-centre* and the *Sud Acropole*. In other areas, notably in the harbour town of Minet el-Beida, relatively few Mycenaean pictorial kraters have been found.

Figure 9 indicates that Mycenaean pictorial kraters are proportionally less frequent in tombs than ordinary Mycenaean pottery, while they are more frequent in domestic contexts. The tombs at Ugarit are situated under the houses. Many of these tombs contained small amounts of Mycenaean pottery; however, a few yielded large quantities. Even from the latter, only a few Mycenaean pictorial kraters have been reported. There is only one tomb at Ugarit from which more than one pictorial krater has been published, namely two from tomb 2698.<sup>43</sup> In contrast to Enkomi, then, there is no evidence for a particular funerary use of Mycenaean pictorial kraters.

At Ugarit, several pictorial kraters have been found in large buildings that testify of a certain level of wealth. An example is the famous krater known as *Maître des chevaux*, which was found in the so-called southern palace or the house of Yabninou.<sup>44</sup> This building was especially large and opulent, and from its cuneiform archive we know that, in its latest phase, the mansion belonged to an influential person who was deeply involved in trade. The large krater itself is quite exceptional, showing a man training with horses.<sup>45</sup> Within the building, the krater was found in

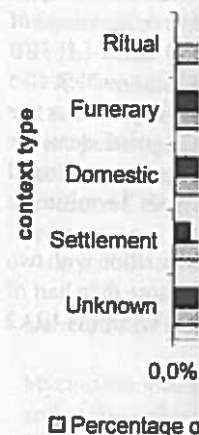


Figure 9. Ugarit contexts. A cellar, together with a scene was found in which that at Ugarit Mycenaean location in which there was no consequence for. In the Levant in general they are widely distributed. el-Bassit and Tell A. have been found at a limit in Israel, only a few contexts of these vessels Mycenaean pots.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Courtois 1979, 1218-22; Callot 1986, 753-54; Callot & Yon 1995, 161.

<sup>39</sup> Courtois 1979, 1283-87; Saadé 1995; Yon 1997b.

<sup>40</sup> Marchegay 1999.

<sup>41</sup> Most of the pottery has been published in two *corpora céramiques*, see Schaeffer 1949, 131-301; Courtois & Courtois 1978, 192-370. I have not been able to take into account in the figures mentioned here the recently published finds from the Louvre, see Yon, Karageorghis and Hirschfeld 2000. I have, however, incorporated the main conclusions of their important book.

<sup>42</sup> Yon 2000, 19.

<sup>43</sup> Courtois and Courtois 1978, 332-33, fig. 46: no. 9; 344-45, fig. 53: no. 2.

<sup>44</sup> Courtois 1973, 155-61; 1979, 1235-40; 1990.

<sup>45</sup> Courtois & Courtois 1978, 346-47, fig. 54: no. 1; 348-50: nos. 54 P, B, C.

<sup>46</sup> Yon (2000, 8) suggests the cellar by tomb robbery deposition.

<sup>47</sup> Schaeffer 1949, 214-1.

<sup>48</sup> Leonard 1994, map 5.

<sup>49</sup> Van Wijngaarden 2000.



### Termitito in southern Italy

In the central Mediterranean, large collections of Mycenaean pottery have been discovered at several sites, for example Scoglio del Tonno in Apulia, Thapsos on Sicily, the castello at Lipari and Antigori on Sardinia.<sup>50</sup> The Mycenaean pots at Scoglio del Tonno include several vessels of types that may have been produced specifically for export.<sup>51</sup> However, the LH IIIA2-LH IIIB vessels at most sites in Italy comprise a range of alabastra, jugs, cups and amphorae, which also occur frequently in Greece.<sup>52</sup> Mycenaean pictorial pottery in general and kraters in particular are rare in Italy. In her recent survey of Mycenaean pictorial pottery in Italy, L. Vagnetti identifies only two sites where kraters with these decorations have been found.<sup>53</sup> One fragment was found in a cave at Avetrana in Apulia; three other pictorial kraters were reported from Termitito in Basilicata.

At Termitito, a large deposit of LH IIIB-LH IIIC pottery was discovered in association with two deep pits.<sup>54</sup> Among this pottery are ten Mycenaean pictorial finds, representing more than half of all the pots in this style in Italy. The earliest specimen is a fragment of an octopus on an LH IIIA2

krater.<sup>55</sup> Another being with a two-l vessels were fou numerous bones manufacture. The meals, which wer

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### Concluding remarks

Mycenaean pictor archaeological art Bronze Age Lev different meanings; evident on Cyprus; defining their role the Levant, the de for the way they w they could become

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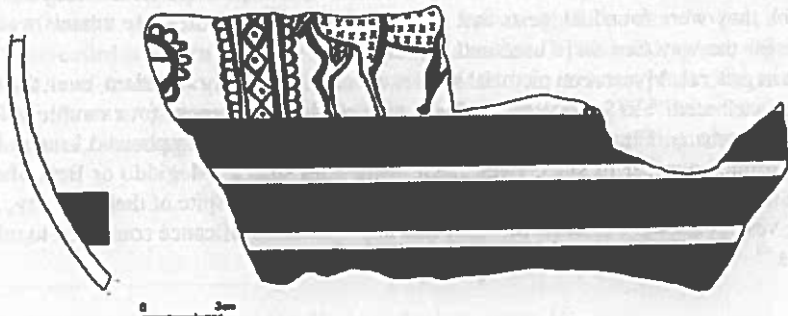


Figure 10. Krater from Termitito showing a bull or stag - after Vagnetti 2000-2001, fig. 2

<sup>50</sup> For overviews, see Taylour 1958; Biancofiore 1967; Vagnetti 1982, 1999.

<sup>51</sup> Taylour 1958, 128-33; Biancofiore 1967, 44; Fisher 1988.

<sup>52</sup> Sherratt 1999, 194.

<sup>53</sup> Vagnetti 2000-2001.

<sup>54</sup> De Siena & Bianco 1982; De Siena 1986, 43-45.

<sup>55</sup> Vagnetti 2000-2001.

<sup>56</sup> Voutsaki 1997, 38-41.

<sup>57</sup> Crouwel and Morris

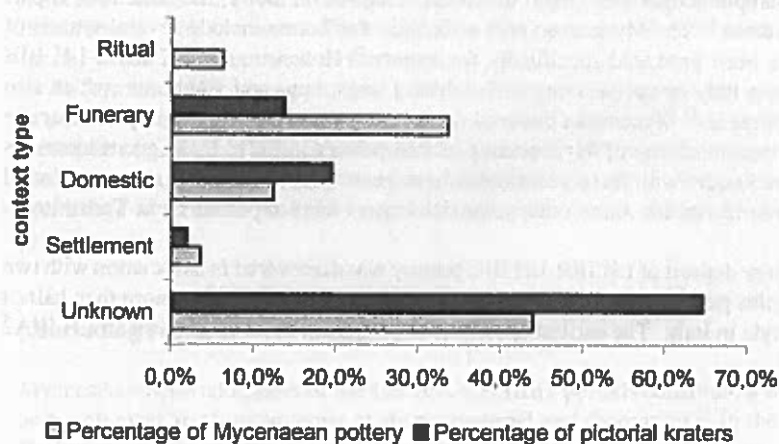


Figure 9. Ugarit: contexts of Mycenaean pottery and pictorial kraters

a cellar, together with local storage pottery.<sup>46</sup> Another famous Mycenaean krater with a chariot scene was found in an artisan's workshop in an ordinary part of town.<sup>47</sup> These examples indicate that at Ugarit Mycenaean pictorial kraters were not considered as prestige items. Indeed, the location in which they were found suggests that the pictorial decoration on these vessels was of no consequence for the way they were used and appreciated.

In the Levant in general, Mycenaean pictorial kraters are not particularly abundant, even though they are widely distributed.<sup>48</sup> In Syria, they do occur with relative frequency, for example at Ras el-Bassit and Tell Atchana. Elsewhere in the Levant, a small number of amphoroid kraters has been found at a limited number of sites. Even from major sites such as Megiddo or Beth Shean in Israel, only a few Mycenaean pictorial vessels have been reported. Despite of their scarcity, the context of these vessels does not indicate that they had any special significance compared to other Mycenaean pots.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Yon (2000, 8) suggests that the vessel may have been part of the inventory of the nearby tomb and was dropped in the cellar by tomb robbers. The completeness of the vessel, however, suggests that it was in its original spot of deposition.

<sup>47</sup> Schaeffer 1949, 214-17, figs. 89-90; Yon 2000, 13.

<sup>48</sup> Leonard 1994, map 5 especially.

<sup>49</sup> Van Wijngaarden 2002, 119.

krater.<sup>55</sup> Another krater shows a bull or stag (figure 10); a deep bowl depicts a bull led by a human being with a two-handled vessel standing between the two figures. The pits in which these pictorial vessels were found were associated with unimpressive architectural structures. In both pits, numerous bones were found, as well as seeds and a large variety of open dinner vessels of local manufacture. The contents of both pits have been interpreted as remains of feasts or copious meals, which were deposited in former storage pits.

At Termitito, Mycenaean pictorial kraters, which were especially rare, appear to have been used in exclusive dining rituals, after which they were discarded in pits. It is possible that these vessels were part of a ritual of conspicuous consumption, in which exclusive objects were displayed and then taken out of circulation by being deposited in a large silo.<sup>56</sup> The cultural significance of the specialised Mycenaean pictorial vessels in Italy appears to have been related to its exclusivity and prestige.

### Concluding remarks

Mycenaean pictorial kraters of the LH IIIA-LH IIIB1 periods constitute a homogeneous body of archaeological artefacts in terms of shape, material and decoration.<sup>57</sup> In the societies of the Late Bronze Age Levant, Cyprus and Italy, however, these pictorial vessels were endowed with different meanings. The active role Mycenaean pictorial pots played in cultural strategies is most evident on Cyprus, where they may have been elements in the strategies of specific individuals defining their role within the increasingly complex fabric of Late Cypriot society. In contrast, in the Levant, the decoration of the same types of pots does not seem to have been of significance for the way they were used and appreciated. However, in Italy, these vessels were so special that they could become part of rituals of conspicuous consumption.

Because of the changes in meaning that take place when objects cross cultural boundaries, the significance of archaeological artefacts is never self-evident. By investigating the cultural contexts in which the objects functioned, their role in ancient societies can be revealed. In this article, I hope to have it made clear that pictorial kraters whose functional and artistic origins lay in Mycenaean Greece, subsequently acquired specific Levantine, Cypriot and Italic meanings.

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<sup>55</sup> Vagnetti 2000-2001, 108-109.

<sup>56</sup> Voutsaki 1997, 38-40.

<sup>57</sup> Crouwel and Morris 1985, 97-99.

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**"THEY MAY HAVE THE BRAINS,  
BUT WE HAVE THE CHARACTER"**  
**Cicero and the Greek<sup>1</sup>**

*Rogier L. van der Wal*

Cicero's attitude towards the Greek<sup>2</sup> and Greece is a story in itself, and turns out to be much more complex than one is inclined to think. At first sight, Cicero's point of view seems very unequivocal. Cicero calls himself a philhellene *expressis verbis*. In one of the letters he wrote to his good friend Atticus, for example, he refers to himself and to his brother Quintus in the following manner: "we, more than (the) others philhellenes, are and are held to be lovers of what is Greek."<sup>3</sup> In addition, Plutarch claims that Cicero was regarded as a Greek and a scholar (*Graikos kai scholastikos*),<sup>4</sup> particularly in the days he had just begun his career as a barrister. But when one studies the matter in detail, some reservations seem to be justified. In contrast to positive judgements on the ancient Greek scholars, such as Homer, Sophocles and Plato, and on the Greek achievements in the cultural field in particular, there are rather harsh negative judgements on contemporary Greek scholars in general and on individual contemporary Greek scholars in particular. The sympathy the Romans felt for ancient Greece contrasted sharply with the Romans' criticism of what they called Greek luxury resulting in moral degeneration. In another letter to his brother Quintus, Cicero urges him explicitly to be on his guard against the Greek and

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<sup>1</sup> This article is a (slightly adapted) part of the second chapter of my dissertation, which deals with the fourth and fifth book of Cicero's ethical treatise *De finibus bonorum et malorum*.

<sup>2</sup> The concept *Graecus* displays in Cicero's time a certain flexibility, due to the lack of a fixed definition. In the broadest sense it stood for all those who spoke Greek, including the people in Asia Minor. The regular concept exclusively referred to ethnic Greek plus 'hellenised' people. This left room for the development and exploitation of prejudices. Cf. Petrocheilou (1974), 17-21.

<sup>3</sup> Att. 1.15.1: *praeter ceteros philhellenes et sumus et habemur*.

<sup>4</sup> Plut. Cic. 5; both epitheta are in a context where Plutarch uses them in an uncomplimentary way.





Plate I. The Platonische Akademie in Athens, now a city park where one can see more dogs than men (in the ancient days, they would have gone to another school...). Here Cicero must have walked in the footsteps of Plato and the other great Academics. (Photo: Erika Winkler)

not to become closely involved with them.<sup>5</sup> In this letter Cicero also wrote that he himself always makes sure he keeps his distance from the Greek. To sum up, there seems to be no end to Cicero's list of characteristic traditional vices of the Greek.

#### Greek vices

Something that is often mentioned by the Romans is the vice of *ineptiae*. It is difficult to translate this word, but to what it boils down to is a kind of pathological 'bad timing', in combination with a bad feeling for what is appropriate behaviour in certain circumstances. What is absolutely remarkable in this respect are the arguments Cicero gives to Crassus in the *De oratore*. In the *De oratore* II.18 Crassus claims that the absence of an adequate Greek equivalent for *ineptiae*<sup>6</sup> is the ultimate evidence of the fact that the Greek were not aware of this particular vice.

<sup>5</sup> *Q. fr.* I.1.18.

<sup>6</sup> In *De or.* II.18.



Plate II. Another view of

Another Greek virtue of *gravitas* (stability).

With regard to the value judgement, which was considered *volubilitas*, *volubilitas* may be translated between words and deeds into action faster. To resulting in instability.

Other stereotypical vices as well, are *arrogantia* (craving for luxury) and its companion *luxuria* (wealth and luxury in a Roman considers this in court. To the Roman

<sup>7</sup> See the monograph by

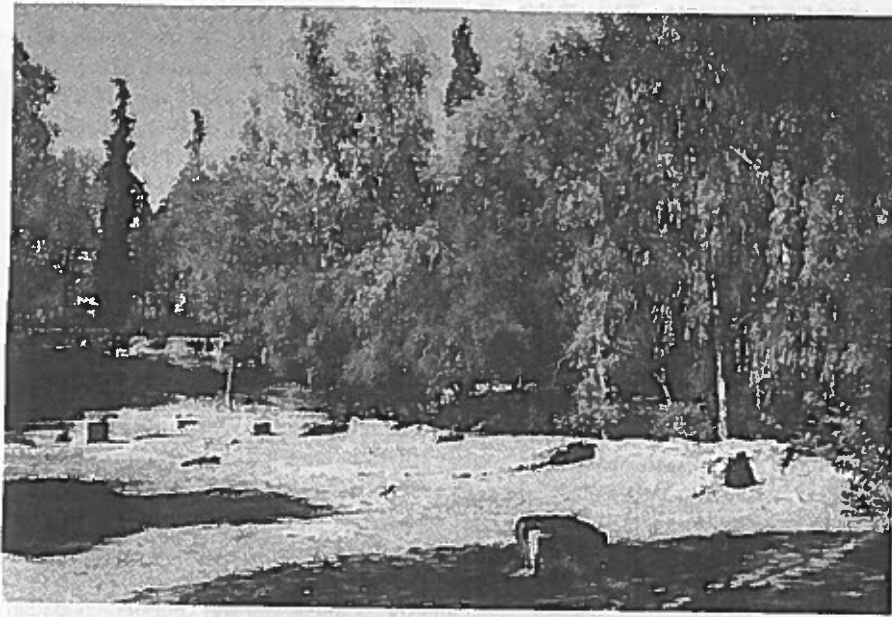


Plate II. Another view of the park. (Photo: Erika Winkler)

Another Greek vice according to the Romans is that of *levitas* (frivolity, lack of seriousness), a quality which they did not appreciate at all, because it contrasted sharply with the chief Roman virtue of *gravitas* (seriousness).

With regard to the vice of *volubilitas*, the Greek and the Romans come to a completely different value judgement, which is an interesting topic to pursue here. Whereas the Greek themselves considered *volubilitas* as a plus, because it stood for their great verbal talents - in this light *volubilitas* may be translated as flexibility - the Romans regarded it as involving a sharp contrast between words and deeds, which they did not approve of. The Romans were more inclined to come into action faster. To a Roman *volubilitas* may be characterised as a lot of words, but no action, resulting in instability.

Other stereotypical Greek vices according to the Romans, and which turn up in Cicero's work as well, are *arrogantia* (arrogance), *impudentia* (shamelessness), *desidia* (inactivity) and *luxuria* (craving for luxury). With regard to *luxuria*, one may think of the verb *graecari* ('to imitate Greek ways') and its compounds, and of the many fruitless efforts to restrain the ostentatious display of wealth and luxury in Rome by *leges sumptuariae* (laws against extravagance).<sup>7</sup> However, what a Roman considers the worst vice of all, according to Cicero, is that the Greek swear false oaths in court. To the Roman the Greek, almost by definition, are not to be trusted. Two quotes from

<sup>7</sup> See the monograph by E. Slob, *Luxuria*, Zutphen 1986.

Cicero's oration *Pro Flacco* may illustrate this:

"Will you, gentlemen of the jury, listen to other witnesses about men for whom you should yourselves be witnesses to others? What witnesses? You say. I shall first say - for this is the common factor - that they are Greek. Not that I more than anyone else would disparage the trustworthiness of this nation. If ever there was one of us Romans not averse to that race in interest and by inclination, I think that I am he, and the more so when I had more leisure. There are among them many reliable, well-educated and honourable men who have not been summoned as witnesses to this trial, but there are also many with no sense of shame, uneducated and shifty who, I see, for various reasons have been stirred up. Still, I do say this for the Greek people as a whole: I grant them literature, the knowledge of many sciences, I do not deny the attractiveness of their language, their keenness of intellect or richness of expression; and in short, I do not reject any other claims they make; but that nation has never cultivated a scrupulous regard for honesty when giving evidence, and it is quite ignorant of the meaning, the importance or the value of anything to do with it. Where does the saying come from 'May I have a loan of your evidence'? It's not from Gaul or Spain, is it? It is so completely Greek that even those who do not know the language know the Greek for this saying."<sup>8</sup>

And a little further down the same speech:

"If these men had been Greek and if Roman character and training did not count for more than animosity and enmity, they would all have said that they had been plundered, harassed and evicted from their property. When a Greek witness has come forward and is in the box with the sole intention of injuring someone, he does not think of the words of his oath but of words that can injure. To get the worst of it, to be proved wrong, to be refuted, he thinks quite disgraceful; he prepares himself against this and this is the only thing he worries about. For this reason it is the case that not all the best men and those who carry the most weight are chosen, but the most shameless and the fastest talkers."<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Cicero, *Pro Flacco* 9-10: *De quibus vos alii testes esse debetis, de iis ipsi alios testes audietis? At quos testes? Primum dicam, id quod est commune, Graecos; non quo nationi huic ego unus maxime fidem derogem. Nam si quis unquam de nostris hominibus a genere isto studio ac voluntate non abhorrens fuit, me et esse arbitror et magis etiam tum cum plus erat otii fuisse. Sed sunt in illo numero multi boni, docti, prudentes, qui ad hoc deducti non sunt, multi impudentes, illiterati, leves, quos variis de causis video concitatos. Verum tamen hoc dico de toto genere Graecorum: tribuo illis litteras, do multarum artium disciplinam, non adimo sermonis leporem, ingeniorum acumen, dicendi copiam, denique etiam, si qua sibi alia sumunt, non repugno; testimoniorum religionem et fidem numquam ista natio coluit, totiusque huiusce rei quae sit vis, quae auctoritas, quod pondus, ignorant. Unde illud est: 'da mihi testimonium mutuum'? Num Gallorum, num Hispanorum putatur? Totum istud Graecorum est, ut etiam qui Graece nesciunt hoc quibus verbis a Graecis dici soleat sciant.*

<sup>9</sup> Cicero, *Pro Flacco* 11: *Hi si Graeci fuissent, ac nisi nostri mores ac disciplina plus valeret quam dolor ac simulas, omnes se spoliatos, vexatos, fortunis eversos esse dixissent. Graecus testis cum ea voluntate processit ut laedat, non iuris iurandi, sed laedandi verba meditatur; vinci, refelli, coargui putat esse turpissimum; ad id se*

In addition, the way indicated earlier, that it is relatively easy to do so, however, is almost always depreciating conno Greek sentiments.

However, the opinion of unreasoned prejudice Cicero's stereotype respect.<sup>10</sup>

#### Cicero's views

Despite his praise of the Greek superior to the Roman because it did not have the *classicus* - the quality of *disputationes*, but a lack of it. In Cicero's view of the state, religion, Romans even belittled for example, as a people.

In one field in particular that Latin was superior to this later. Cicero with regard to the prejudices, such as

"Since we cannot judge by weight, and if

Quite characterizes the Greek may have the stresses what is type

parat, nihil curat aliud deligitur.

<sup>10</sup> See Petrocheilou (1977).

<sup>11</sup> Lucr. I.832 and III.2

<sup>12</sup> Quint. XII.10.36: *No Proprietas penes illos est*

<sup>13</sup> Guite (1962), 53.

In addition, the words the Romans use to describe the Greek contain many value judgements. As indicated earlier, the concept *Graecus* in Cicero's time was defined ambiguously, which makes it relatively easy to use it to express certain prejudices. The diminutive *Graeculus* (little Greek), however, is almost exclusively used pejoratively. It had always had a more or less patronising or depreciating connotation, and orators found it to be an excellent tool for invoking popular anti-Greek sentiments.

However, the opinions of scholars differ as to the evaluation of all these qualifications as merely unreasoned prejudices or as more than that. Whereas Trouard tries to do her utmost to prove that Cicero's stereotypes were based on facts, Petrocheilou remains exceedingly sceptical in this respect.<sup>10</sup>

### Cicero's views

Despite his praise for the Greek cultural achievements, Cicero considers the Roman culture superior to the Greek one in all fields. If Greece dominated in one or more fields, it was only because it did not have any competition; the Romans simply were not that advanced yet. The *locus classicus* - the quotation that is always referred to - is the prologue of the *Tusculanae disputationes*, but also in Cicero's political writings is this viewpoint to be found quite frequently. In Cicero's view the Roman achievements were greater by far in the fields of the constitution of the state, religion, law and defence. To emphasise the Roman superiority over the Greek, the Romans even belittled the Greek achievements in these fields. They only saw Alexander the Great, for example, as a positive exception to the rule, but they have described even him ambiguously.

In one field in particular, language and its power of expression, Cicero stubbornly maintained that Latin was superior, even though it turned out that his view was incorrect. I will come back to this later. Cicero's view in this respect contrasts sharply with Lucretius' renowned complaint with regard to the poverty of the father tongue (*patrii sermonis egestas*),<sup>11</sup> and with more balanced judgements, such as Quintilianus, who wrote:

"Since we cannot be so delicate, let us be stronger. If they beat us as to subtlety, let us prevail by weight, and if they have greater precision, let us outdo them in fullness of expression."<sup>12</sup>

Quite characterizes the dominant sentiment in Cicero's works in the following terse manner: "the Greek may have the brains, but we Romans have the character."<sup>13</sup> In his writings Cicero strongly stresses what is typically Roman, doing this, amongst other things, by lavishly throwing in

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*parat, nihil curat aliud. Itaque non optimus quisque nec gravissimus, sed impudentissimus loquacissimusque deligitur.*

<sup>10</sup> See Petrocheilou (1974), 48 nt. 1.

<sup>11</sup> Lucr. I.832 and III.260; cf. I.139.

<sup>12</sup> Quint. XII.10.36: *Non possumus esse tam graciles; simus fortiores. Subtilitate vincimur; valeamus pondere. Proprietas penes illos est certior: copia vincamus.* The translation is Butler's (Loeb).

<sup>13</sup> Guite (1962), 53.



*exempla* taken from Roman national history. When one searches for the motives underlying these inconsistencies, it turned out that there is a substantial difference between Cicero's orations and his other works. This is all the more remarkable since Cicero had had a traditional Greek education - including a 'Bildungsreise' to Greece - just like all young men from Roman well-to-do families. An explanation for this substantial difference between Cicero's orations and his other works may be that, when Cicero was addressing the people in the tribune, he was tempted to cunningly play with the people's anti-Greek sentiments. Cicero sometimes honestly admitted to the fact that he had done so. From Plautus' works it appears that ordinary Romans did have anti-Greek feelings. These feelings, however, were not just aimed at the Greek, but also at intellectuals in general (anti-intellectualism). An example from Plautus' work is his use of the verb *philosophari*. In his orations Cicero made it a habit to belittle his Greek education in every way possible. This was a common practice for politicians in that time, which is shown by Jax who claims that this practice "nur der öffentlichen Beruhigung dienen [soll], ohne an der persönlichen Neigung und Beschäftigung auch nur das Geringste zu ändern."<sup>14</sup>

In Cicero's other works (the philosophical essays, written for his peers, and the letters, in which he can be totally himself) I have regularly found a completely different picture (*Tusc.* I.1-3 forms a remarkable exception). Here Cicero is amongst equals - more or less - and is neither afraid nor reluctant to show his good mastery of the Greek culture and language.

### Cicero: how it works in practice

As an illustration of Cicero's skill in playing with the differences between rhetorics and philosophy, I will now elaborate upon two examples, one taken from his oration *Pro Murena* and the other from the philosophical treatise *De finibus*. In both works Cicero talks about the same person, his contemporary Cato the Stoic.<sup>15</sup>

Cicero delivered his *Pro Murena* oration in Rome, at the end of November or the beginning of December in 63 BC. At that time the situation in Rome was very tense. Cicero had just been consul himself, and just before the end of his term he had managed to thwart a coup d'état. But the threat of a new coup had not yet vanished. In order to maintain the peace in Rome, Cicero realised that a strong central authority was essential. When one of the recently chosen consuls for the year 62, Murena, was accused of bribery, Cicero immediately saw the danger and helped him. In doing so, he had to be very careful, for among the accusers were men with whom he was on friendly terms. Murena did not know it yet, but he would soon find out that in Cicero he had a loyal friend.

One of the accusers was the rigid, uncompromising traditionalist and diehard Stoic Marcus Porcius Cato. Not an opponent to be underestimated. In his speech Cicero introduces Cato as an unworldly knight in defence of morality. But Cicero makes a brilliant move by putting the most

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<sup>17</sup> See especially Koste  
Cf. Schneider (2000).

<sup>18</sup> *De orat.* II.216-290  
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<sup>19</sup> Plut. *Cato Minor* 21

<sup>14</sup> Jax (1959), 155.

<sup>15</sup> These examples are taken from an article of mine in the Dutch magazine *Filosofie Magazine* vol. 9 nr. 10 (dec. 2000/jan. 2001), 28-30, dealing with Cicero's strategic use of rhetorica.

he first wrote the laudation to Cato that provoked Caesar's *Anti-Cato*. Subsequently, Cicero chose Cato as a spokesman for the Stoa in the third book of *De finibus* in 45 BC., and in doing so he portrayed Cato as a very moving person. And though Cicero disagrees with Cato as to the content of the Stoa - he considers the Stoa much too rigid in its exclusion of everything except virtue - and criticises it, he now shows respect to Cato as a person. In this manner he does not only implicitly apologise for his behaviour towards Cato in *Pro Murena*, but he also explicitly apologises for the way he himself behaved at the time, and admits that it had something to do with the public. Towards the end of *Pro Murena*, Cicero also explicitly shows his sympathy for the Stoic point of view, praising it for its internal consistency and high moral level. In other works as well, for example in *Tusculanae Disputationes*, Cicero shows his approval of the Stoa, although he usually presents himself as an adherent of the (sceptical) New Academy.<sup>20</sup>

### Cicero as a Roman

Nevertheless Cicero keeps emphasising the Roman character of his work rather strongly: although the Greek do their utmost to win, the Romans always beat them in all fields. Trouard claims that the reason for Cicero's patriotism may be the difficult task he had set for himself. He did not only feel it his obligation to 'Romanise' every aristocratic Roman, who up to then had amassed all knowledge from the traditional Greek education, without wondering whether that was what they really wanted, but he also had to legitimise it. In order to do that convincingly, he had to employ a rather hypertrophied patriotism, which was more than he could properly justify to himself. This suggests that, in reality, Cicero was not so convinced of Roman superiority as he wanted us to believe.<sup>21</sup>

And in trying to convince us of the correctness of his attitude, he consciously employed the Roman tendency to idealise ancient Rome and its *mores maiorum* (the Roman ancestral customs and habits). Cicero himself had a rather arch-conservative grandfather.<sup>22</sup> He also made sure he did not stray too far from the point of view that he used to have as a politician. What presumably has contributed to this to some extent is the fact that the Greek, with the exception of Polybius and later Plutarch, persisted in seeing the Romans as *barbari*,<sup>23</sup> or even worse as *Opici*.<sup>24</sup> The Greek had always considered themselves as the spiritual and cultural centre of the world, which is why they hardly felt the need to learn other languages. Werner expresses this in the following way:

<sup>20</sup> See Powell (1995), esp. the introduction by the editor.

<sup>21</sup> See Trouard (1942), 94 e.v.

<sup>22</sup> This we know from *De or.* II.265.

<sup>23</sup> Here not in the original sense 'un-Greek', 'foreign', but with a negative connotation: 'barbaric', 'uncivilized'.

<sup>24</sup> *Opici* goes back on the Osci, a tribe in Campania with its own language (Oscian). *Osci* was in Old-Latin still *Opsci*, hence the derivation. Apparently the Osci had a reputation for being particularly rude and uncivilized. Cf. Juv. III.206.

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<sup>26</sup> See K. Schöpsdau  
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orthodox Stoic dogmas into Cato's mouth and subsequently ridiculing it. Let's listen to part of what he has to say:

(61) Gentlemen of the jury, the extraordinary qualities which we see present in Cato, are his own, but for what we miss in him not nature is to be blamed, but his master: Zeno. A few examples of the Stoic doctrines: no emotions, benevolence nor pity nor forgiveness; all evils are equally great; one is either wise or foolish; a wise man never 'opines', is never wrong and never comes to a different view.

(62) Cato has made this a 'way of life'. What follows therefrom is absurd. A request of the tax collectors? No benevolence! Poor devils as supplicants? No pity! Somebody acknowledges his guilt and asks for forgiveness - no way! It was only a small mistake, but small mistakes do not exist. Everything one says is solid as a rock and can not be turned around - but, I thought... wise men don't 'think'. I was angry - wise men are never angry, etcetera.

(63) My own masters from Academy and Peripatos are far less absolute.

(64) They could have made you, Cato, a bit more friendly, so that this accusation against Murena would not have come into your mind.

(65) You are now carried away by your own fanaticism, but in the long run you will become more gentle. Take Scipio or Laelius as an example, or your own great grandfather Cato the Censor - even he was a lot more moderate and friendly than you are now. Mix your severity with his charm and your qualities will stand out even better.<sup>16</sup>

What is especially brilliant in this speech is Cicero's comparison of Cato with his great grandfather Cato the Censor, who was a very conservative and blunt man. Cicero was a past master at finishing a person off, and humour was one of his sharpest weapons.<sup>17</sup> This is why in *De oratore* he paid much attention to humour as a means of persuasion.<sup>18</sup> In this case his humour proved to be an effective weapon, because the jury unanimously acquitted Murena, although he was almost certainly guilty of the bribery he had been charged with. Cato shrewdly reacted to Cicero's mockery; according to Plutarch he supposedly said: "What a funny consul we have!"<sup>19</sup> The relationship between Cato and Cicero, however, did not seem to have suffered any permanent damage.

In some way, however, Cicero must have felt that he had been a bit unfair to Cato and that he had pushed matters a bit too far. Moreover, when Caesar and Pompey were in (civil) war, and more and more people showed very opportunistic behaviour, Cicero came to appreciate Cato's conscientious attitude very much, especially after his heroic suicide in Utica in 46 BC. This is why

<sup>16</sup> This is my paraphrase of Cicero's *Pro Murena*, §61-66, somewhat abridged.

<sup>17</sup> See especially Koster's second part ('Invektivisches und Invektiven'), section B2 ('Die Zeit Ciceros'), 113-44. Cf. Schneider (2000).

<sup>18</sup> *De orat.* II.216-290 gives Cicero's opinions about the use of humour in rhetorical contexts. See also Syme (1939), 151-52: "The victims of invective did not always suffer discredit or damage. On the contrary. The Romans possessed a feeling for humour and a strong sense of the dramatic; and Cicero enjoyed among contemporaries an immense reputation as a wit and as a humourist. (...) It was a point of honour in a liberal society to take these things gracefully."

<sup>19</sup> Plut. *Cato Minor* 21.5.

"Die Griechen brachten vermutlich nicht einmal eine Floskel wie 'Je ne parle pas français' heraus. Sollten doch die anderen Griechisch lernen!"<sup>25</sup>

In Cicero's time, the Roman upper classes were *utriusque linguae* (bilingual). Moreover, at that time grammarians believed that Latin originated from an Aeolic dialect, which made it inferior to Greek.<sup>26</sup> Thus, in this field as well, Greek was the Roman point of reference.

The setting of Cicero's dialogues is typically Roman and differs from its Greek sources of inspiration (Plato, Aristotle and later Peripatetic) in at least one important respect: the conversations are not spontaneous or unexpected, but carefully planned, and the participants come from a fixed group of people - the Roman upper class, the members of which were usually friends or relatives, and who all had a high level of education and common interests. Cicero chose fixed locations (mostly villas) and fixed dates, religious holidays, for example, when the Roman upper classes enjoyed their *otium* (spare time), and the talks are regulated by conventions to a large extent, such as that people must respect older persons, that they are not allowed to be stubborn, that they must compliment other people and so on. The dialogues always end with all people going home cheerfully. There is no *agôn* (competition) whatsoever, which usually is the case in Greek texts; instead, conversations are exclusively aimed at passing time as agreeably and usefully as possible, and at finding general agreement on the most common topics.

What is also typically Roman is the emphasis on political activity. This makes them approach the ideal connection of *theoria* to *praxis* as closely as possible. This is how Cicero puts himself on the same level with illustrious Romans, such as Scipio and Laelius, although they do not have a philosophical oeuvre. In this respect it may be argued that Cicero's achievements surpass those of Scipio and Laelius.

In Rome there were, in spite of the bilingualism and the Greek orientation within the *nobilitas*, quite a few reservations with respect to Greek culture and education; to the Romans music, theatre and the visual arts had a more entertaining than an educational value. What was especially frowned upon was the Greek cult of the body as practised in the gymnasia. The Roman tendency towards *aemulatio* of the Greek achievements was in the beginning only confined to linguistic utterances and was even more practical, aimed at teaching and religion, than it was prestigious in nature. The Roman national consciousness grew and developed very slowly and gradually, and in the field of philosophy Cicero was the first Roman to measure himself against the great Greek predecessors.<sup>27</sup>

This issue also plays a role in *De finibus*, not only in its prologue, in which Cicero defends his efforts to promote the Latinization of Rome, but also elsewhere in the work. It certainly was no

<sup>25</sup> J. Werner, Zum Fremdsprachenproblematik in der griechisch-römischen Antike, in: C.W. Müller, K. Sier und J. Werner (Hrsg.), Zum Umgang mit fremden Sprachen in der griechisch-römischen Antike, Stuttgart 1992, 13.

<sup>26</sup> See K. Schöpsdau, Vergleiche zwischen Lateinisch und Griechisch in der antiken Sprachwissenschaft, *ib.*, 115-36.

<sup>27</sup> Thus for instance Long (1974), 229-31. Compare, however, Rawson (1985), in her chapter on Philosophy, where she writes on p. 282: "But there was perhaps more philosophic writing in Latin, even if mostly untechnical, before Cicero than is always remembered, and its character is perhaps rather different from what might be expected." With the lack of sources we have, it is difficult to establish whether this is indeed the case.



coincidence that Cicero chose the stereotypically Stoic Cato as the spokesman for the Stoa. His entire exposition of the Stoic doctrine is strongly Roman in nature, and is expressed through the use of many examples and references. What is remarkable, however, is that the setting of the fifth book is in the former Academy in Athens, and that it begins with an ode to the great Greek ancient intellectuals. In the light of what was said before, it is worthwhile to take a closer look at Cicero's point of view in *De finibus*.

### De finibus bonorum et malorum

In the preface to *De finibus* (I.1-12), Cicero pays ample attention to the issue Greek versus Latin. In §4-10 Cicero is amazed at those people who look down on all works written in Latin (*Latina scripta*), especially when they do appreciate the literal translations of Greek tragedies into Latin. In §5 he characterises the people who do not know their own (Roman) literature as either extremely lazy, or too sophisticated in taste. The argumentation Cicero's uses here is a bit confusing, because he mixes up two strands of argumentation. On the one hand he says: why read literary works in Greek when you may also read them in Latin. On the other hand, why should you read *even more* Greek authors, who all virtually say the same, instead of reading Latin authors.

At the same time, Cicero states that his own work is more than just a translation;<sup>28</sup> he added his own judgement and structure to it and does not understand why these *splendide dicta... neque... conversa de Graecis* (works that were written beautifully and were not (merely) translated from the Greek originals) should in any way be inferior to the Greek works. What is a condition for this, though, is a good style. Badly written Latin is as bad as badly written Greek. But if the Latin equivalent is written well, why should you prefer the Greek? And if you do so, Cicero claims that you deserve no less of a dressing-down than silly Albucius<sup>29</sup> got. In his search for arguments in favour of works in Latin, Cicero even claimed that Latin was richer (*locupletior*) than Greek, which was an argument even he could not support with evidence.

In book II we eventually find an example of Cicero's quest for Latin equivalents for Greek technical philosophical terms (*termini technici*). According to Cicero, *hèdonè-voluptas* are perfectly equivalent terms. Somewhat further on Cicero compares several Greek and Roman *exempla* of courageous and self-sacrificing men, and it is hardly surprising that, according to him, the Greek only have Leonidas, Epaminondas and maybe a few other heroes, whereas the Romans have so many more. Cicero wisely refrains from mentioning them.<sup>30</sup> What is under discussion in the same part of the book is the example of happiness, in the context of pleasure versus happiness

on the basis of Epicurean perspective.

In II.80 Cicero enters the *perverse* category. He deprecates *perverse* respect, though,

The main issue is jargon. In §5, he (*copia verborum*). He considers Greek he mentions 'the *lingua*'.<sup>33</sup> In book as manifestly as care.<sup>34</sup>

### Book V

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<sup>28</sup> However, Cicero says in §7, even if he would only translate, it would still be a service to the fatherland, to make the works of Plato and Aristoteles accessible to his fellow Romans.

<sup>29</sup> Who exaggerated grossly his love for everything Greek and coupled it with contempt / disdain for things Roman; notably the latter was severely criticized and Cicero cites with visible pleasure the remarks that Albucius received from the venerable Roman Mucius Scaevola.

<sup>30</sup> II.60-62.

<sup>31</sup> Cicero gives here examples see Brinton

<sup>32</sup> He names the arti

<sup>33</sup> *Fin.* III.5: *Et quo, qui se Graecos magi in ea etiam superior assequamur.* Cf. *Cat nobis in hac inopi li*

<sup>34</sup> Cf. §§65-66 and 77 hair splitting.

on the basis of virtue.<sup>31</sup> Cicero only mentions three Roman examples of the latter, because the Epicurean person he is talking to, Torquatus, has no examples at all to come up with.

In II.80 Cicero begins by taunting the Greek, accusing them of putting everyone in the same category. He describes this as 'the wrongdoing of the perverse Greek frivolity' (*ista in Graecorum levitate perversitas*), and by doing so he explicitly condemns the Greek. What is ambiguous in this respect, though, is that Cicero only gives Greek examples when dealing with the artes in §115.<sup>32</sup>

The main issue in book III is Cicero's search for the correct equivalents of the Greek Stoic jargon. In §5, he ventilates his anti-Greek feelings again by claiming that the Latin vocabulary (*copia verborum*) is richer than the Greek vocabulary. Cato, however, does not agree with him. He considers Greek to be richer in vocabulary than Latin, as appears from the paragraph in which he mentions 'the rich language' (*in lingua copiosa*) and 'this (our) poor language' (*in hac inopi lingua*).<sup>33</sup> In books III and IV, however, Cicero chooses not to ventilate his anti-Greek sentiments as manifestly as he did in his earlier books, though he keeps choosing the Roman examples with care.<sup>34</sup>

### Book V

The fifth book is situated in Athens. On the sacred ground of the Academy, Cicero is immediately reminded of renowned Greeks from ancient times, and so are his interlocutors. Cicero almost seems to tumble over the number of ancient Greek scholars he mentions: Plato, Speusippus, Xenocrates, Polemo, Carneades, Sophocles, Epicures, Demosthenes, Aeschines en Pericles: He lets Lucius say that he is torn between the views of Carneades and Antiochus of Ascalon. Piso joins the conversation by frankly admitting that he even wants to convince Lucius' uncle, Cicero, to switch from the New Academy of Carneades to the Old Academy of Antiochus. In response to this, Cicero asks Piso on behalf of his cousin to explain in detail what exactly the views of the Old Academy and Peripatos were, after which Piso starts talking. A more associative composition technique is nearly impossible, but the link of theme to location is absolutely convincing.

In the middle of Piso's argumentation there is a lyrical passage on the noble character of knowledge, which he calls *cognitionis amor et scientiae* (love for knowledge and science). Restricting himself to Greek examples, he sums up: Ulysses in Homer, Archimedes, Aristoxenus, Aristophanes, Pythagoras, Plato en Democrite, but he also lets the passage breathe pro-Greek

<sup>31</sup> Cicero gives here the stock examples of Regulus, Lucretia and Verginius. For Cicero's use of historical examples see Brinton's useful article (1988).

<sup>32</sup> He names the artists Phidias, Polycleitus and Zeuxis.

<sup>33</sup> *Fin. III.5: Et quoniam saepe diximus, et quidem cum aliqua querela non Graecorum modo, sed eorum etiam qui se Graecos magis quam nostros haberi volunt, nos non modo non vinci a Graecis verborum copia sed esse in ea etiam superiores, elaborandum est ut hoc non in nostris solum artibus sed etiam in illorum ipsorum assequamur.* Cf. Cato in III.51: ...cum [Zeno] uteretur in lingua copiosa factis tamen nominibus ac novis, quod nobis in hac inopi lingua non conceditur; quamquam tu hanc copiosiore etiam soles dicere.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. §65-66 and 77. Also Marcus Piso behaves in §73 as a true Roman by poking fun at the Stoic bad habit of hair splitting.

feelings.<sup>35</sup> Apparently Cicero, alias Piso, deals with such 'un-Roman' issues that he automatically adapts a 'Greek' tone. Exactly the same happens somewhat later in the passage, in which he deals with the natural tendency to be active all the time and the unbearable eternal sleep in Endymion's way,<sup>36</sup> although these activities, which besides contemplation also refer to political and military service, bring us clearly back to Rome. I will now briefly digress and say something about Cicero's own point of view with regard to *vita activa* and *vita contemplativa*, and about the difficulty in choosing between the two.

Cicero was not always as interested in philosophy as he was later in his life. It was not until 60 BC that Cicero portrayed himself in his works as a philosopher.<sup>37</sup> His personal growth is best seen in the prefaces (*prooemia*) to his philosophical works, in which he testifies to his inner development. The fact that his interest in philosophy has increased over the years also has to do with the political situation in Rome. The more the political situation in Rome deteriorated, the more philosophy filled a need in Cicero. If at first Cicero considered philosophy a frivolous entertainment (*delectatio*), he later came to consider it as a necessity, the point at which he started to speak of philosophy (or *studia* or *litterae*, which may either be literature or science) as a refuge (*medicina* or *perfrugium*) or even as salvation (*salus*). It was a means for him to escape into a kind of 'inner exile'.<sup>38</sup> This may also be seen in the image in *Tusculanae* V.5 of the *portus philosophiae* (the heaven of philosophy), which developed into a topos after that.<sup>39</sup> After the death of his daughter Tullia, Cicero became a philosopher in heart and soul, so much so that he could not seem to let go of it in his *Philippicae*, in which he is the brilliant politician one last time and tries to give voice to the Republic's death agony. Cicero himself indicates that his inability to do nothing also plays a part in this. In this respect he must definitely acknowledge Scipio's superiority.<sup>40</sup> One may conclude that, to Cicero, philosophy is both a refuge and a surrogate for active politics, and this is how we should consider his plea in *De finibus*.

The fact that Cicero always remained in two minds about this issue is something many scholars have acknowledged. Not only does Cicero state that politics "nie verdrängt, sondern nur zeitweilig überdeckt"<sup>41</sup> philosophy, but in letters to Atticus he sometimes also states that he should never have left the haven of philosophy, but that he should have chosen the *vita contemplativa*.<sup>42</sup> Boyancé has shown how much Cicero's choice was hampered by two paradoxes at the same time:

<sup>35</sup> MacKendrick (1989), p. 147 calls this "one of the most attractive positions taken in Book 5", and thinks of Panaetius as a source.

<sup>36</sup> For the figure of Endymion, see Bos (1989), 81-82 and 201-18. Endymion, who made his own choice for eternal sleep without growing old or dying, appears according to Bos not only in Aristotle's *EN* 10.8 1178b, 18-20, but also in one of the lost works, presumably Eudemus. Endymion is considered to be the key example of somebody who has perfect happiness (*theōria*) within reach, but lets it go of it and thus only achieves the potential possession of *theōria*. Note that Endymion occurs in the works of Cicero also in *Tusc.* 1.92.

<sup>37</sup> In *Att.* I.18.3.

<sup>38</sup> Graff (1963), 50.

<sup>39</sup> This is amply demonstrated by Görler (1990), 62-63.

<sup>40</sup> See *De off.* III.1-2.

<sup>41</sup> Görler (1990), 62.

<sup>42</sup> *Att.* II.7.4 and esp. II.16.3.

on the one hand, on the other hand choice between 1 Since Cicero wa as a curse, beca something. Alth

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## Conclusion

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<sup>43</sup> In *Att.* II.16.3 Cic viewpoints in this disj

<sup>44</sup> "Si l'on cherche à Cicéron n'a guère var la vérité, que là est ur que, d'autre part, tout obligations poliiques ont amené Cicéron à p sérénité d'un sage, m en dépit de sa vanité. autre. Mais qui ne voi contemplative?" P. Bo 1970, 113.

on the one hand, the paradox between the Roman pattern of values and the call of philosophy, and on the other hand the arguments within the Peripatetic school in particular, as to the fundamental choice between the *vita contemplativa* and the *vita activa*.<sup>43</sup>

Since Cicero was gifted with both talents, this choice was even harder. Cicero must have felt it as a curse, because, no matter what choice he made, it would always feel that he had lost something. Although Cicero tried heroically, he never succeeded in linking his two talents.<sup>44</sup>

When Piso stresses the link between philosophy and the *vita beata* once more in his peroration, he again chooses to solely mention Greek examples: Plato, Pythagoras, Democrite, Socrates. This means that the fifth book in the end may be considered as the book of the *De finibus* that is most Greek in nature.

## Conclusion

In conclusion, Cicero tried to make us understand that the one ancient Greek philosopher was not the other unreliable witness to him. He had a deep respect for the Greek intellectual heritage, but never failed to stress the typical Roman character with which he wished to deal with it. Cicero felt that the simple translation of Greek into Latin would do injustice to Latin, which is why he presented us with his own structure - which is strongly rooted in rhetorics and judgement - with an open eye to the *praxis*. And it did make a difference to what audience he addressed himself. In his study he was more Greek and philhellene than he was in court. But even there Cicero was the proud Roman. He boasted about his own language, people, exempla and achievements, and in doing so he tried to show that the Romans were also a proud nation in the literary field.

<sup>43</sup> In *Att.* II.16.3 Cicero even explicitly names Theophrast and Dicaearch as representatives of the different viewpoints in this dispute.

<sup>44</sup> "Si l'on cherche à dégager de toutes ces oscillations une ligne d'ensemble, on est amené à constater que Cicéron n'a guère varié sur deux points: que la nature humaine est celle d'un être qui aspire à la connaissance de la vérité, que là est une de ses noblesses et là personnellement pour lui une aspiration profonde et sincère, mais que, d'autre part, tout homme et plus particulièrement un Romain trouve dans la vie de la cité et dans ces obligations politiques le plus impérieux des devoirs. Autour de ces deux constantes, les circonstances de la vie ont amené Cicéron à pencher tantôt plus d'un côté et tantôt plus de l'autre. Il ne l'a pas fait avec la sérénité d'un sage, mais souvent, peut-être trop souvent, avec bien des faiblesses. Lui-même en a eu conscience, en dépit de sa vanité. Dans un temps divisé et déchiré, il a été un homme plus divisé et déchiré peut-être qu'un autre. Mais qui ne voit qu'il a senti mieux que bien d'autres toute vraie grandeur, et notamment celle de la vie contemplative?" P. Boyancé, Cicéron et la vie contemplative, in: *Études sur l'humanisme cicéronien*, Paris 1970, 113.



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### Introduction

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This article's approaches to the

<sup>1</sup> A version of this paper was presented at the Symposium held at Leiden in 1998, organized by Professor J.L. Bintl

# THE MEANING OF DOMESTIC CUBIC FORMS

## Interpreting Cycladic housing and settlements of the period of foreign domination (ca.1207-1821 AD)<sup>1</sup>

*Athanasios K. Vionis*

"... Flourishing United States and European economies have provided in recent years the background for the 'discovery' of the Aegean Islands and their settlements by a prospering and sophisticated middle class. Such western visitors are impressed by the evocative forms of the Aegean towns, and at the same time they ponder about the success of a non-affluent and less developed technologically society than theirs in creating a humane environment..."  
C. Michaelides (1974, 53)

### Introduction

Whether there is an archaeology of medieval and post-medieval housing and households in the Aegean, is a question that has formed the introduction of many papers on the archaeology of the medieval Greek lands. Indeed, not much attention has been given to remains of the more recent periods of Greek history. Our knowledge of domestic architecture and settlement layouts of the last eight hundred years of 'Greek' history derives from studies of architects, architectural historians and folklorists. No excavation of late medieval and post-medieval settlements or houses has ever been carried out on the Aegean Islands. Yet, this geographical unit and area of research are marked by the good fortune that evidence for post-Roman settlements, domestic organisation and the use of domestic space comes from above rather than below the ground. However, pre-modern housing in the Mediterranean has never been treated as a subject for archaeology in contrast to prehistoric and classical below ground evidence.

This article's contribution is a review of some previous and recent methodological approaches to the study of pre-modern standing buildings together with an attempt to test

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<sup>1</sup> A version of this paper was delivered at the "Archaeology of the House" ARCHON International Symposium held at Leiden University, the Netherlands (9th-10th May 2001). The Symposium was organised by Professor J.L. Bintliff (Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University).

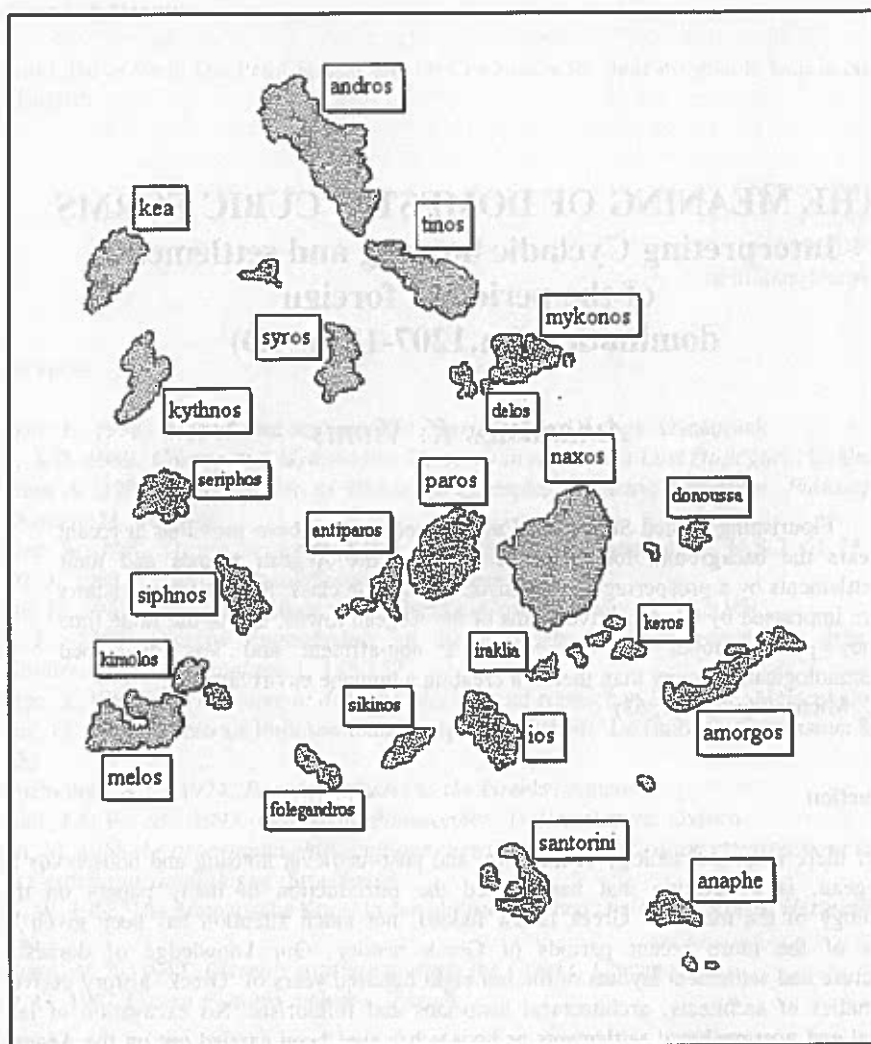


Figure 1. The Cyclades Islands-group

these approaches on evidence from the Aegean-Island late medieval and post-medieval housing. This paper mainly uses case studies from the Cyclades, where development does not seem to have altered the built environment very much.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> This paper explores aspects of my PhD thesis, which I am currently carrying out at Leiden University, the Netherlands (previously at Durham University, UK), under the supervision of Professor J. L. Bintliff. My research aims at the reconstruction of life-ways on the Cyclades Islands through the examination of domestic material culture and the built environment of the late medieval and post-medieval periods (early 13th - late



Plate 1. The town of t

#### Geographical and

The Cyclades islands for their fine coast and gentle hills to as well as fertile islands are exposed provide safe anchorage climatic conditions geographical and s the West to Mainland due to the struggle

Marco I Sanudo after the fall of Constantinople and founded a dukedom Naxos became the

19th c.). A Survey Project the Cyclades as part of CY.RE.P. (Cyclades Research by the 2nd Ephorate of Classical Antiquities, N

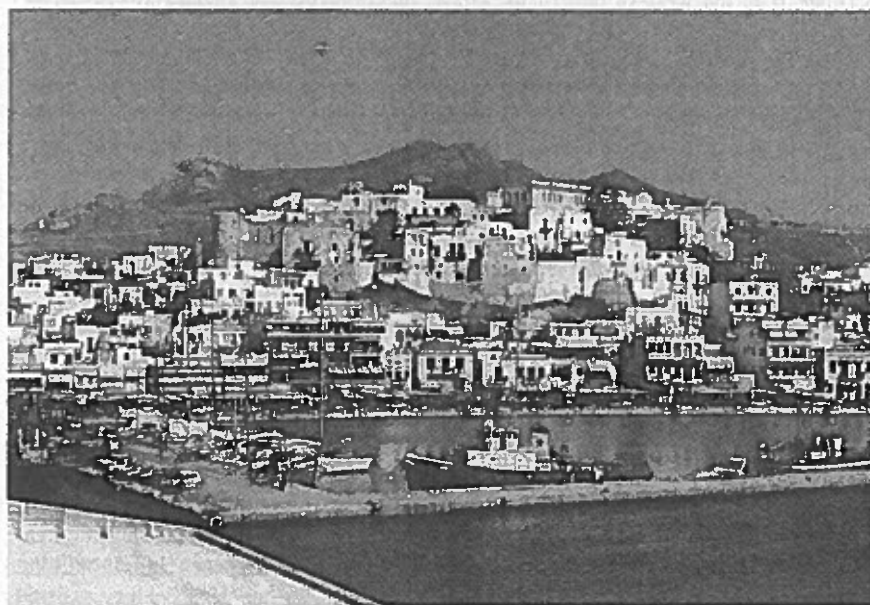


Plate I. The town of Chora in Naxos with its port and the late medieval Kastro crowning the hilltop.

#### Geographical and historical background

The Cyclades islands (Figure 1) are known to travellers and visitors from all over the world for their fine coastlines and mild weather. Their coastlines vary from smooth sandy beaches and gentle hills to extremely rocky, with sheer cliffs rising from the sea. Mountainous areas as well as fertile valleys between mountain ranges mark the Cycladic landscape. Most islands are exposed to strong winds throughout the year, whilst small and larger bays provide safe anchorage-refuges. Marble and schist rock formations, limited woods and local climatic conditions have to a great extent influenced the built environment. The Cyclades' geographical and strategic position in the south Aegean Sea and within shipping routes from the West to Mainland Greece, the Black Sea and Asia Minor have played an important role due to the struggle over their possession by certain Foreign Powers.

Marco I Sanudo established Frankish or Venetian rule in the Aegean in 1207, three years after the fall of Constantinople to the Latins of the 4th Crusade. Sanudo occupied 17 islands and founded a dukedom known as the 'Duchy of Naxos' or 'Duchy of the Archipelago'. Naxos became the Seat of Venetian administration in the Cyclades and the defended Chora

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19th c.). A Survey Project was undertaken in selected late medieval and post-medieval deserted settlements in the Cyclades as part of my PhD research in 1998 and 1999. A survey and study permit was granted to CY.RE.P. (Cyclades Research Project) with the collaboration of the British School of Archaeology at Athens by the 2nd Ephorate of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Antiquities and the 21st Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Ministry of Culture, Greece.



or Kastro (Plate I) in the western part of the island functioned as the primary town of the Archipelago. Moreover, it provided residence for an imported Latin aristocracy. Whether previous Byzantine institutions and life-ways continued to exist after the arrival of the Westerners is not the subject of this paper.<sup>3</sup> It is noteworthy, however, that the most intriguing characteristic of this period of Venetian domination in the Cyclades was the absolute 'gulf' in mentality between locals and the foreign elements.<sup>4</sup> It seems that both social groups (Greeks and Latins) preserved their characteristics and distinctiveness probably as a result of the major role played by the Greek-Orthodox and Roman-Catholic Churches respectively as well as by economic, social and political conditions.<sup>5</sup>

Most of the Cyclades Islands were eventually conquered by the Ottoman fleet and their leader Khayr-ad-Din Barbarossa in 1537/8.<sup>6</sup> Ottoman control was formally established in 1579, while a year later the *Sublime Porte* assured the complete tolerance of Ottoman administration as well as other political, economic and religious privileges to the island-communities by the issue of the so-called *ahdname* or "privilege grants".<sup>7</sup> The Ottomans did not suppress the Venetian ruling caste but made use of it as a convenient means for collecting taxes. No regular Ottoman officials resided in the Cyclades<sup>8</sup> and Turkish presence during the first years of Ottoman rule<sup>9</sup> was confined to the 'ornamental' existence of an *Aga* (commander) and *Cadi* (representative of the Islamic Law). The relative tolerance of Ottoman administration formed sufficient encouragement for the development of a community government-system and its legislation and an intense church-building activity.<sup>10</sup> More stable conditions prevailing in the Aegean during the 18th century assisted the development of sea-trade and the emergence of a Greek middle class of merchants and traders.

In 1821 the Cyclades joined in the Greek War of Independence against the Ottoman Empire. A number of distinguished Cycladic families became members of the Friendly Society (*Philike Hetaireia*) or Secret Society for Greek Revolt. During this period (the formative era of the Greek State) most of the Cyclades (e.g. Syros, Naxos, Paros, Amorgos) received refugees from various parts of the Ottoman Empire, mainly Crete and Asia Minor.<sup>11</sup> In 1830 the Cyclades were incorporated into the Kingdom of Greece with the town of Ermoupolis in Syros being their capital.

<sup>3</sup> For a relevant discussion concerning continuity and change in socio-cultural expression and identity after the arrival of the Franks see Vionis (in press), *Much ado about... a red cap and a cap of velvet: in search of social and cultural identity in medieval and post-medieval insular Greece. Constructies van Grieks verleden: identiteit en historisch bewustzijn van oudheid tot nu*. Colloquium, Groningen, 16-18 mei 2001.

<sup>4</sup> W. Miller's *The Latins in the Levant* (1908) provides a 'romantic' view of the political and social events of the Venetian dominated Aegan. B. J. Slot's *Archipelagus Turbarus* (1982) is a detailed and up-to-date economic, political and social study of the Venetian and Ottoman ruled Cyclades. P. Lock's *The Franks in the Aegean* (1995) is a very good introduction to Frankish Greece.

<sup>5</sup> Miller 1908; Slot 1982; Kouroupaki *et al.* 1988; Lock 1995.

<sup>6</sup> Slot 1978.

<sup>7</sup> Koukou 1980; Davis 1991.

<sup>8</sup> Slot 1999, 124.

<sup>9</sup> Katsouros 1989 mentions that in a few cases a small number of 'Turkish' families lived on the islands, such as on the island of Naxos, where there were about 70 Turks. Katsouros uses Laurent 1935 as a reference.

<sup>10</sup> Slot 1975; 1982.

<sup>11</sup> Anastassiou 2001.

## The history of r

The establishment of other Aegean islands and the outcome type of nucleate architecture to the and architectural

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<sup>12</sup> Michaelides 1974; O

<sup>13</sup> Tournefort 1717; Ch

<sup>14</sup> Oikonomides 1990, 2

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<sup>16</sup> Vapheiadis 1942; Vas

<sup>17</sup> Kokkini *et al.*, no dat

### The history of research in Greece

The establishment of the - still surviving - defended settlements/Kastra in the Cyclades and other Aegean Islands is probably a new form of habitat which developed in the 13th century and the outcome of a new way of being or habitus, as Bourdieu (1977) would call it. This type of nucleated settlements (with houses of 'cubic' form) has influenced domestic architecture to the beginning of the 20th century and has attracted the attention of architects and architectural historians in the past as well as today.<sup>12</sup>

Visits and accounts of the first 'journalists-reporters' outside their country of origin, the western (European and American) travellers in the eastern Mediterranean and the Aegean islands in particular have provided us with information on their contemporary life. In the 15th century, the Florentine priest Christophoro Buondelmonti testifies to the existence of fortified settlements in the Cyclades. He refers to them as Castella, Castrum, Castra, Oppidum, Castellum (Buondelmonti 1897). Similarly, travellers of later centuries (from the 16th to the 19th century) provide more detailed information on everyday life, current states of affairs and fortified settlements, referring to them as Castell, Castello, Chateau, Chateau fort, Forteresse, Castle.<sup>13</sup>

The Greek Byzantinist, Phaidon Koukoules' *Byzantinon Bios kai Politismos* (Byzantine Life and Culture, 1952) is a first and general but monumental work dealing with aspects of material culture and life in the Byzantine period. His work has been criticised by many, since he cites in the same contexts (as well as uses information from) authors and Byzantine sources far removed from each other in time.<sup>14</sup> However, it provides a detailed list of house furnishings and everyday habits, that when used with caution could enable us to build up a very approximate picture of what life was like during the Byzantine period. The information he provides us with as far as housing is concerned, though, is unfortunately confined to upper-class urban housing. Koukoules was researching into Byzantine culture and life with the aim to prove continuity in 'Greek' culture from Antiquity to his time. Similar attempts are characteristic of many studies published after Koukoules' work.

The aim of scholars (mainly architects) working on Aegean traditional settlements and domestic architecture since the 1950s is mainly the categorisation of domestic architecture into different island house-types<sup>15</sup> and the description of building traditions, materials and techniques. Apart from typologies, another interest of the authors who are principally Greek architects from the Athens Technical University,<sup>16</sup> is an attempt to establish a basic chronology for different house forms and styles. Most of the studies include decent topographical and/or house plans and photographs. Such individual case studies have contributed in a sense to architectural research concerning detailed typological descriptions of houses, the division of space within them and the cul-de-sac appearance of medieval island-towns. Yet, there has been no attempt to discuss changes in everyday life and the social meaning of divided living space within settlements and houses.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Michaelides 1974; Oliver 1974; Polychroniadis and Chadjimichalis 1974; Radford and Clark 1974.

<sup>13</sup> Tournefort 1717; Choiseul-Gouffier 1782; Sonnini 1801; Bent 1888 in Philippa-Apostolou 1980.

<sup>14</sup> Oikonomides 1990, 205.

<sup>15</sup> The commonest distinction of Cycladic housing is between *archontika* or noble-housing and *laika* or peasant-housing (Philippidis ed., 1988).

<sup>16</sup> Vapheiadis 1942; Vasileiadis 1955; Papas 1957; Philippidis 1988.

<sup>17</sup> Kokkini *et al.*, no date; Tyrwhitt 1966; Lambakis and Bouras 1981.

A large number of studies on domestic architecture and settlement formation in the Medieval, post-Medieval and early modern Aegean follow functionalist approaches in explaining changes and the use of the built environment. Economic, social and environmental as well as 'local' factors are considered as the main elements that constitute developments and determine continuity and/or changes in the vernacular architecture of Greek littoral areas. Philippa-Apostolou's detailed thesis (1978) on the defended town-Kastro on the island of Antiparos provides an architectural study of the town-walls and houses, whilst the author also notes the socio-economic conditions which shaped the establishment and development of the Kastro.<sup>18</sup> Apostolou begins this study with information about the historical background and the existing social system in the period from 1207, after the establishment of the Duchy of the Aegean, to the 16th century, when the feudal law-code was still valid. The whole settlement is viewed as the result of economic and social conditions. The Kastro of Antiparos has been compared with other castles or castella in the West (Northern Italy, Southern France, Southern Italy) reflecting feudalism, while its central tower (probably the lord's residence) has been suggested to reflect the social organisation of the period.<sup>19</sup> Tzakou (1979) in her study on the 'central' (inland) settlements of the island of Siphnos moves away from the descriptive, historical and folkloristic character of previous studies on traditional architecture in Greece. Tzakou summarizes the basic aims of research from the 1960s onwards in the study of architectural forms, in an attempt to establish the rules that govern them. Tzakou is using Siphnos as a case-study example of surviving Post-Medieval/traditional forms in order to research the relationships between the built environment and the structure of social life.

Studies focusing on social and economic aspects have made a step forward to the study of island settlement layout and housing. Authors supporting this approach of studying domestic structures have mainly provided economic and historically specific explanations, viewing settlement formation and buildings merely as indicators of social and economic action. However interesting this approach is for discussing aspects of the built environment of a society and local community, it has very little to say about the individual in the past and present.<sup>20</sup>

### Methods and approaches to domestic buildings in Europe

Recent research in Europe and America has stressed the "closer merging of sister disciplines, such as archaeology, social history, social anthropology, sociology, geography, psychology and so on, in a process of constructing a more elaborate methodology for understanding pre-modern societies."<sup>21</sup> Most of the new theories have however been tested on prehistoric examples. Very few attempts have been made on the Continent (Britain is an

exception) in or methods and app

It has been w objects<sup>22</sup> but ra suggested to be culture"<sup>23</sup> Ethn archaeological pl has argued, medi to the present, information is la households, e.g. investigation of s space but does no inhabited those bu

The British m *Archaeology of* ( England through such changes by relationships", an with the everyday studies of historic and the Americas between objects-a textual sources co are very scarce or

The birth of ne the last decades conferences, pape have been develop pitfalls of tradition folklore studies, sc discipline, that o functionalist and at

It is agreed a manifestations of i power.<sup>31</sup> B. Hillier

<sup>18</sup> The settlement or Kastro of Antiparos is rectangular in shape and the original plan included a central circular tower. The two and three-storey houses are built in a continuous line, the outside walls of which, form the defensive wall of the town. The houses are single-roomed with a hearth in the corner of the first and second floors, while the ground floor was reserved for storage and/or for stabling animals.

<sup>19</sup> Apostolou 1978, 40.

<sup>20</sup> Bintliff 1991, 3.

<sup>21</sup> Bintliff 1991, 2.

<sup>22</sup> Parker Pearson and J

<sup>23</sup> Kent 1990, 3.

<sup>24</sup> Allison 1999, 3.

<sup>25</sup> Allison 1999, 4.

<sup>26</sup> Johnson 1996, 2.

<sup>27</sup> Yiannouli and Mither

<sup>28</sup> Bintliff 1991; Johnso

<sup>29</sup> Grahame 2000, 2.

<sup>30</sup> Parker-Pearson and F

<sup>31</sup> Grahame 2000.

space in the 1980s with their *Social Logic of Space* (1987) and their method of Access Analysis. This topographical method's aim is "the representation, quantification and interpretation of spatial configuration in buildings and settlements"<sup>32</sup> through describing the relations of permeability in a building by 'reading' movement through it.<sup>33</sup> It could be argued that one such method would work well with the excavated ruins of a prehistoric palace complex, where there is no textual evidence and the associated material culture is either very limited or makes no sense. In the case of medieval and post-medieval littoral Greek domestic housing, although the schematic representation of pathways through it may tell us more about the social use of space, concentrating only on access patterns means that one can lose important information (such as room-size and decorative elements).<sup>34</sup>

The purpose of this paper is not to criticize different theoretical and methodological approaches to the study of standing buildings. The aim is to examine the evidence for Cycladic late medieval and post-medieval settlement layout and housing in an attempt to provide answers and interpretations (social, cultural and symbolic) reflecting this data.

### Settlements and housing in the late medieval and post-medieval Cyclades

As we have already seen, Marco Sanudo established Venetian rule in the Aegean in 1207. He made Naxos or Chora the capital-headquarters of the newly founded Duchy and a number of other neighbouring islands were accordingly distributed between his comrades. As a result, a large number of small and simple fortified villages, larger settlements, and towns<sup>35</sup> were established in the Cyclades in order to house the inhabitants of these islands who now came under a new regime and under a new social and governing system, that of the 'imported' feudal lords.

These defended settlement/towns or *Kastra* were formed of concentric rows of houses erected around a central square with a tower and/or a church. The blank back walls of the houses formed the defensive wall of the town while access to the - usually - two-storey houses was given from the street within the walls. A stone or wooden staircase led to the upper-floor, always reserved for humans while the ground floor was reserved for storage or stabling.<sup>36</sup> In a few cases a different family occupied the ground floor.<sup>37</sup>

Late medieval Cycladic settlements were built either on flat and accessible terrain or on a hilltop and have been distinguished into those of orthogonal plan (Figure 2) and those of irregular plan (Figure 3).<sup>38</sup> In the first case the settlement was built on flat ground and it formed a roughly symmetrical rectangular plan (e.g. Kimolos and Antiparos in the Cyclades

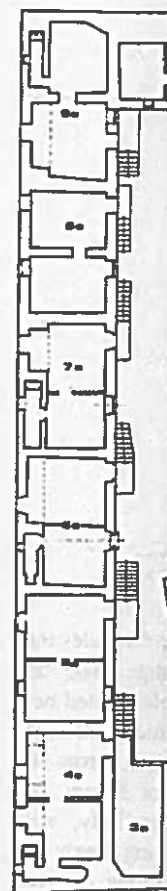


Figure 2. *Defended settlement*. 1978, fig. 90)

and Mesta in Chios, a gentle hill, while the irregular plan (Naxos, P.

The houses in almost all the settlements there survives at least an upper-floor, reserved for the elite in Kimolos, Antiparos

<sup>32</sup> Hillier and Hanson 1987, 363.

<sup>33</sup> Graham 2000, 3.

<sup>34</sup> Grenville 1997, 17. Similar conclusions have been drawn for medieval housing in England.

<sup>35</sup> Sanders (1996, 154-55) discusses differences between *Kastra* or principal island settlements, *choria* and *choridia* or villages and *poleis* or Chora settlements with true city status. We should note that the large island of Naxos with its Chora or Kastro had administrative functions, which influenced affairs within and outside it. Other island-*Kastra* were usually the principal towns but never had administrative power beyond the island itself (Sanders, 1996, 155).

<sup>36</sup> Tyrwhitt 1966; Hoepfner and Schmidt 1978; Philippa-Apostolou 1978, 28; Sanders 1996, 154.

<sup>37</sup> see Hoepfner and Schmidt 1978.

<sup>38</sup> For further details on settlements of the orthogonal and irregular plan see Tzakou 1979 and Sanders 1996.

<sup>39</sup> Hoepfner and Schmidt 1978.



exception) in order to approach and re-interpret medieval housing on the basis of new methods and approaches.

It has been widely accepted that the 'house' or 'home' is not a container of material objects<sup>22</sup> but rather a 'container' of social activities. Domestic architecture has been suggested to be a "reflection of behaviour" while the use of space is a "reflection of culture".<sup>23</sup> Ethnography has always been used by pre-historians in an attempt to explain archaeological phenomena and employed as a signifier of complexity.<sup>24</sup> As Allison (1999) has argued, medieval and post medieval archaeology, although dealing with a period closer to the present, have shown little attention to ethnography for cases where textual information is lacking. Documentary evidence may also facilitate research into specific households, e.g. more elaborate upper class housing. Architecture itself and "the investigation of structural remains may lead to an understanding of cultural patterning of space but does not always lead to an understanding of the perceptions of those who built and inhabited those buildings."<sup>25</sup>

The British material culture and domestic architecture specialist Matthew Johnson in his *Archaeology of Capitalism* (1996) deals with the development of housing in pre-modern England through the prism of changes to more modern life-ways. He attempts to identify such changes by looking at the "role of objects as loci of cultural, social and economic relationships", and through his work he tries to understand these "processes as entwined with the everyday actions of men and women."<sup>26</sup> It has to be noted, however, that case studies of historical archaeology on domestic architecture and material culture in Europe and the Americas have been further supported by the - usually unbroken - relationship between objects-artefacts and textual sources-documents. Late medieval and post-medieval textual sources concerning domestic architecture, behaviour and material culture in Greece are very scarce or simply lacking.

The birth of new theoretical and methodological approaches in the field of archaeology in the last decades has to a large extent provided the basis and topic for a number of conferences, papers and debates in Western Europe. Recently methodological approaches have been developed in an effort to rescue archaeological reasoning from the so-called pitfalls of traditional archaeology.<sup>27</sup> In an attempt to incorporate related disciplines (such as folklore studies, socio-economic history, historical geography and architecture) into a single discipline, that of archaeology,<sup>28</sup> a number of theoretical archaeologists have seen functionalist and aesthetic approaches as a "sterile and unimaginative" study of buildings.<sup>29</sup>

It is agreed amongst archaeologists that buildings need to be seen as material manifestations of ideologies and cosmologies<sup>30</sup> and architecture as an instrument of social power.<sup>31</sup> B. Hillier and J. Hanson made an attempt to analyse architecture and the built

<sup>22</sup> Parker Pearson and Richards 1994, 3.

<sup>23</sup> Kent 1990, 3.

<sup>24</sup> Allison 1999, 3.

<sup>25</sup> Allison 1999, 4.

<sup>26</sup> Johnson 1996, 2.

<sup>27</sup> Yiannouli and Mithen 1986, 167.

<sup>28</sup> Binliff 1991; Johnson 1986.

<sup>29</sup> Grahame 2000, 2.

<sup>30</sup> Parker-Pearson and Richards 1994.

<sup>31</sup> Grahame 2000.

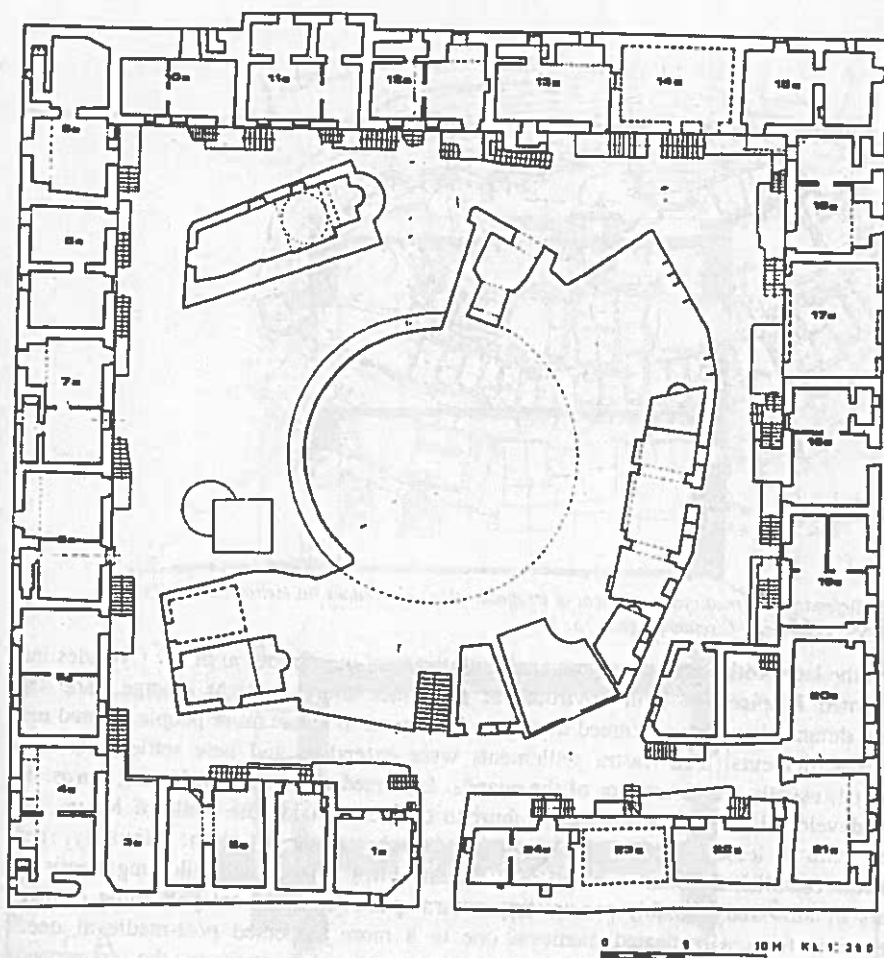


Figure 2. *Defended late medieval settlement of orthogonal plan, Antiparos (after M. Philippa-Apostolou, 1978, fig. 90)*

and Mesta in Chios). In the second case the settlement was built on the top of a steep or gentle hill, while the houses followed the contours of the ground, giving the town an oval shape (Naxos, Paros, Siphnos, Anokastro in Melos, Astypalaia, etc.).

The houses within these settlements (dating from the late 13th to late 16th century) have almost all the same layout. They are mostly two-storey and single-roomed. In some cases there survives an original built hearth-fireplace in one corner of the room (usually on the upper-floor, reserved for humans). Such surviving examples (Figure 4) have been identified in Kimolos, Antiparos and Siphnos.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Hoepfner and Schmidt 1978; Philippa-Apostolou 1978; 2000.

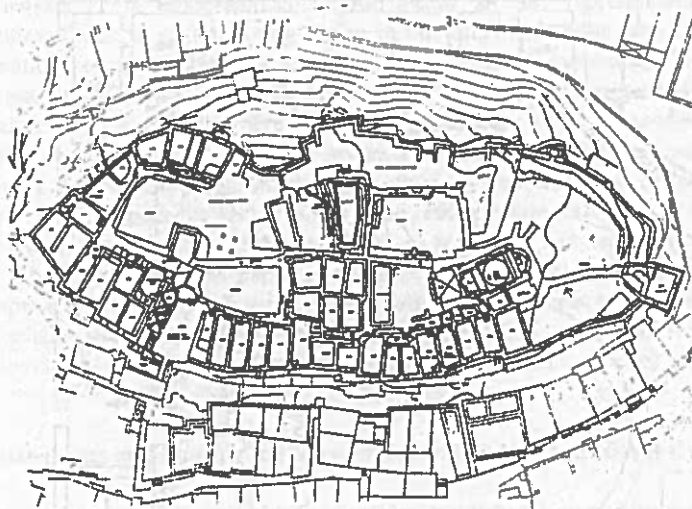


Figure 3. Defended late medieval settlement of irregular plan, Astypalaia (in Hellenic Ministry of Culture 1999, *Castrorum Circumnavigatio*, p. 35)

From the later 16th century onwards and with the final incorporation of the Cyclades into the Ottoman Empire the built environment saw once more a slight change. The late medieval defended centres continued to exist but the need to house more people created new forms of settlements. The *Kastra* settlements were extended, and new settlements were established, usually in the interior of the islands. Late medieval towns in Naxos, Paros and Andros developed in the form of new suburban districts outside the walls of *Kastra*, but evolved with a lesser degree of planning and with greater freedom. Similarly, new settlements established inland evolved in a 'linear' form (Figure 5), following freely the contours of hills and probably pre-existing natural paths.<sup>40</sup> Settlement patterning changed through time from a nucleated medieval one to a more dispersed post-medieval one.<sup>41</sup> Population started to move from the defended medieval centres to the countryside establishing settlements of an agricultural type and closer to cultivable land and agricultural properties.

In the case of the extended late medieval towns, houses were constructed continuously, forming an additional and 'external' line of defence. These houses are either one or two-storey and usually consist of only one or two rooms. Similarly, houses in the countryside and within the newly established 16th or 17th century villages are one or two-storey, initially with one room (*monochoro*) divided by a supporting arch. The single-roomed house evolved to a different type at a later stage. The rectangular room with arch (Figure 6) functioned as a living room - *sala*, while separate rooms (e.g. kitchen,

<sup>40</sup> Tzakou 1979; Kouroupaki et al., 1988.

<sup>41</sup> Sutton 1991, 401.

Figure 4. Section c  
defended settlement

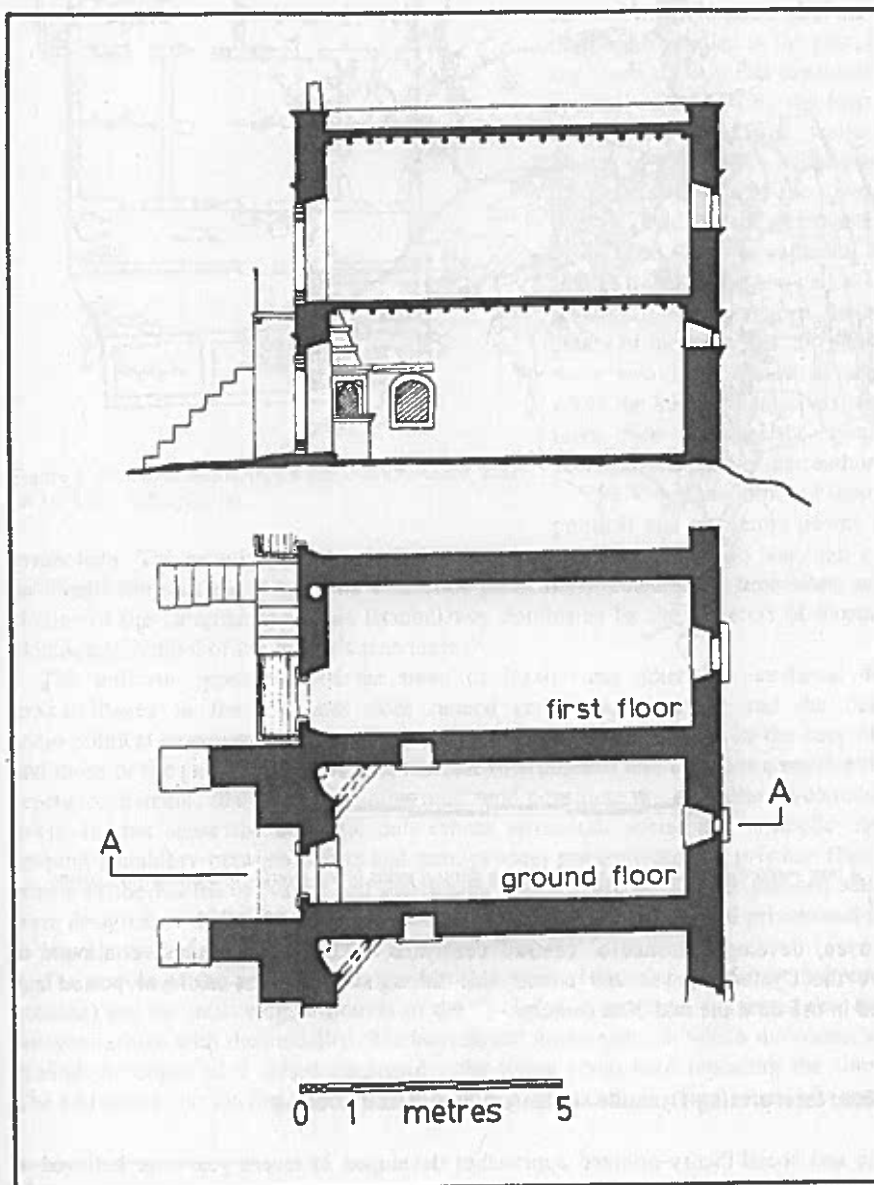


Figure 4. Section and plan of a typical late medieval two-storey single-roomed Cycladic house in the defended settlement of Kimolos (after Sanders, 1996, fig. 20)





Figure 5. A post-medieval settlement/village following natural paths in the interior of Siphnos (in Tzakou, 1979, 85)

stable, oven) developed around a 'central' courtyard.<sup>43</sup> This type of house continued to dominate the Cycladic towns and countryside throughout the post-medieval period and remained in use until the mid-20th century.

#### Discussion: interpreting Cycladic settlement layout and housing

Symbolic and social-theory-oriented approaches developed in recent years are believed to provide improved answers to questions regarding domestic space-use and settlement layout.

<sup>43</sup> Tzakou 1979; Philippidis 1988.

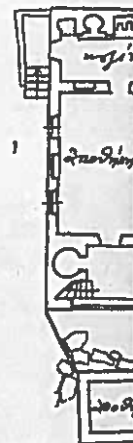


Figure 6. Plan of (in Michelis, 1981)

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The uniform towns/villages socio-political and those of the repetitive element town. In that keeping a stable streets in the K were designed to provide space

The houses of housing) are the has similarities around the edge The bedrooms a

<sup>44</sup> Kouroupaki et al

<sup>45</sup> Bierman 1991, 6

<sup>46</sup> Polychroniadis et al

<sup>47</sup> Kouroupaki et al

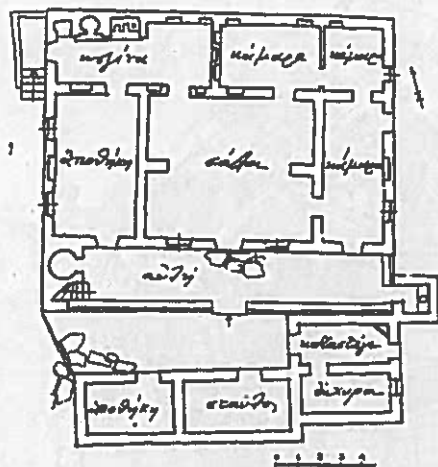


Figure 6. Plan of a post-medieval single-storey house, Tinos (in Michelis, 1981, fig. 14)

The late medieval town of Naxos, built at the beginning of the 13th century, may provide a suitable case study. Apart from economic and environmental aspects that have been thoroughly studied in the past, one can say more about social organisation and symbolism defined by the town's plan (Figure 7). The back walls of the houses of the Naxian noble class form the defensive wall of the town. These houses stand on the perimeter of the town. The Catholic cathedral and the Main tower (the so-called Lord's residence) are located at the notional centre of the town and all roads lead to these two basic poles of attraction, while the houses themselves within the town face towards the symbols of ecclesiastical and secular authority.<sup>43</sup>

The Venetians imposed their social, political and economic power through

symbolism. The prominent siting of the lord's central tower - originally very tall - created an identifiable skyline (Figure 8) a practice particularly noted some time later, when the skyline of the Ottoman capital of Istanbul was dominated by the minarets of mosques, the ideological symbol of the Sultan's patronage.<sup>44</sup>

The uniform appearance of the town of Naxos and other late medieval defended towns/villages in the Cyclades does indeed reflect social order and the degree of socio-political organisation of the period. The houses of the nobility in the case of Naxos and those of the peasant population in the case of Antiparos and Kimolos comprise the basic repetitive element, that of the dwelling unit<sup>45</sup> and constitute the organisation-element of the town. In that sense the domestic unit echoes structural, social and symbolic meanings, keeping a stability between public and semi-private, semi-private and private. The winding streets in the Kastro of Naxos and the regular straight streets in other planned settlements were designed to define the physical boundary/zone between public and private and intended to provide space for daily social and other activities.

The houses of the nobles within the fortified town of Naxos (very different from peasant housing) are the most elegant houses of the Cyclades. It has been suggested that their plan has similarities with the so-called 'Mediterranean' house-type, in which the rooms are built around the edges of a closed courtyard - the living room here replacing the courtyard.<sup>46</sup> The bedrooms and kitchen are located around the large central living room, giving rise to a

<sup>43</sup> Kouroupaki *et al.* 1988, 84.

<sup>44</sup> Bierman 1991, 60-61.

<sup>45</sup> Polychroniadis and Chadjimichalis 1974, 86.

<sup>46</sup> Kouroupaki *et al.*, 1988.

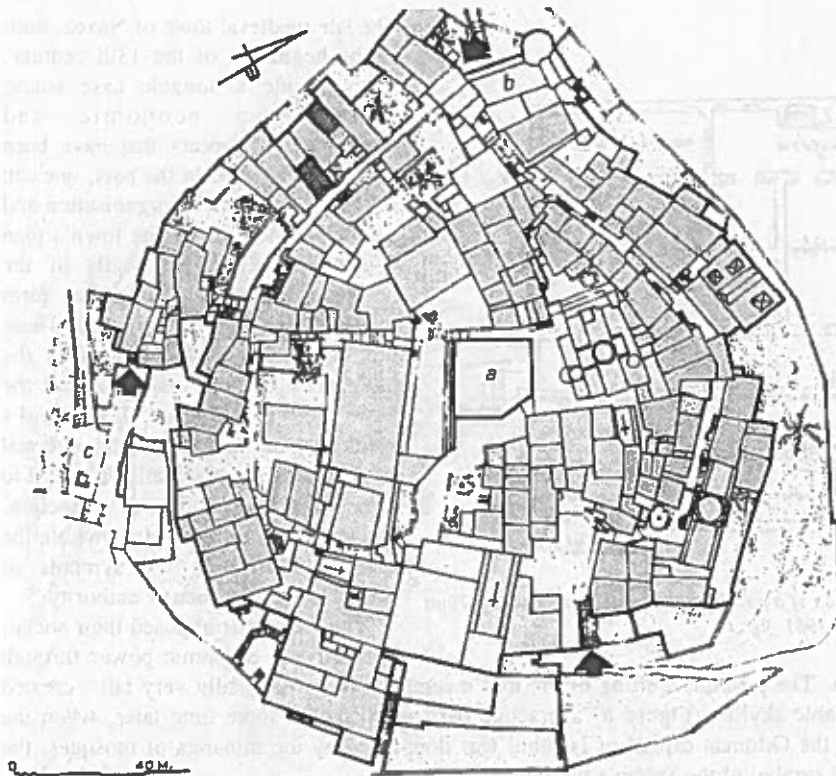


Figure 7. Plan of the late medieval Kastro of Naxos (after Philippides, 1988, fig. 5)

certain inward-looking tendency, for the living room is distinct from the rest and its central position enables the life of the entire family to be centred on it.

Here one can see the medieval perception of the noble house as a "large semi-public structure with its central and large hall for receiving visitors for feasting and other commonly shared activities"<sup>47</sup> The elaborate decoration and furnishings within such pre-industrial households can undoubtedly be interpreted in terms of display and social status. Johnson (1996) has shown that domestic comfort and notions of privacy are elements that always penetrate the domestic sphere. In the rising middle class houses of the Post-Medieval period in Western Europe, space had become more neutral, less fixed and the meanings of space were then defined by movable furniture.

The most common late medieval and early post-medieval house-type within the defended settlements is, however, single-roomed and two-storey. The ground floor is reserved for animals and/or storage (Plate II), while the upper floor (access to it is provided by an external stone or wooden staircase from the street) is reserved for humans. It is a house provided for the peasant community working the land of the feudal lord. The physical division between humans and animals or humans and storage areas is marked since the

<sup>47</sup> Parker-Pearson 1994, 9.



Figure 8. A view of engraving by Chols

beginning of the housing till today and dirty are re Access to the g opening up in fr humans and dail in rare occasions wooden staircase storage/stabling other areas in Gr

One could su arrangement of h

<sup>48</sup> Stedman (1996, 17) (Bocotia) and the use times.

<sup>49</sup> Grenville 1997.



Figure 8. A view of the late medieval town of Naxos with the remains of the dominant tower on the hilltop, engraving by Choiseul-Gouffier 1750 (after Philippides, 1988, fig. 10)

beginning of the late medieval or late Byzantine period and is kept in traditional Cycladic housing till today. In a sense, notions such as humans and animals, living and storage, clean and dirty are reflected in aspects of housing and household organisation of the period. Access to the ground floor (reserved for storage or/and stabling) was made via a door opening up in front of the public path/street. Access to the upper floor (always reserved for humans and daily activities) was given through an external wooden or stone staircase. Only in rare occasions was there access between upper and ground level by means of an internal wooden staircase leading to the ground floor. This 'tradition' of separating living and storage/stabling areas is distinct in the Cyclades, in sharp contrast to building traditions in other areas in Greece<sup>48</sup> and in other parts of medieval Europe.<sup>49</sup>

One could suggest that this idea of single-cell domestic structures stresses the linear arrangement of household activities and probably some degree of privacy. The front of the

<sup>48</sup> Siedman (1996, 179-92) discusses and briefly analyses aspects of traditional housing in central Greece (Boeotia) and the use of the single-roomed "longhouse", the tradition of which may be dated back to medieval times.

<sup>49</sup> Grenville 1997.



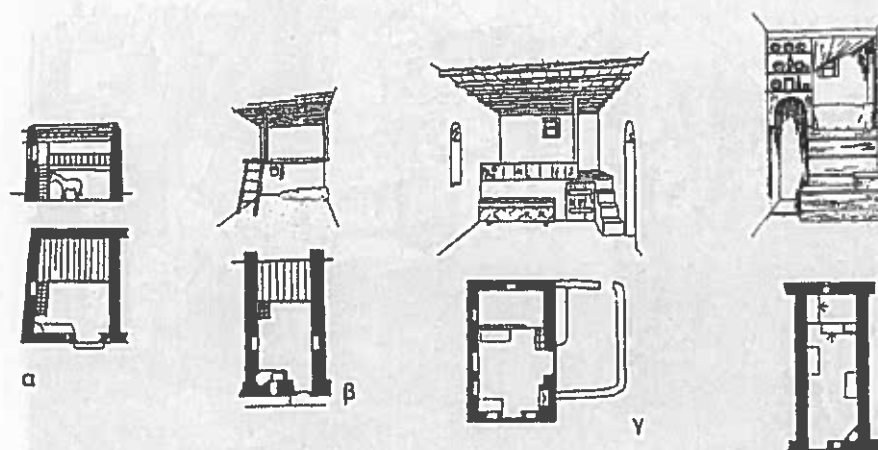


Figure 9. Examples of houses with wooden raised platforms. α- Crete, β- Siphnos, γ- Mykonos, δ- Siphnos (after G. Kizis, 1994, *Pilioreitiki Oikodomia*, fig. 37)

house/room is occupied by the entrance and a hearth and is reserved for daily use, such as cooking and food consumption (it is on the front and closer to the house-entrance and the street). The back end is occupied by a stone or wooden raised bed-platform and is reserved for sleeping, resting and storing valuable goods. The back end of the room is the private area, secluded in a way by the bedding-structure itself and a curtain in front of it. This house-type (Figure 9) has been identified in most of the Cyclades (Mykonos, Siphnos) and Crete. Apart from practical needs (sleeping and storage), these stone and wooden added structures served another very basic human need, that of privacy. In contrast, broad fronted, single-roomed houses, also very common not only in the Cyclades but in almost all parts of the Aegean region, provided space for similar activities within the domestic unit, but the degree of organisation was to some extent different. The main entrance was located on the long side of the house and a centrally located stone arch (supporting the roof of the structure) divided domestic space into four different activity areas: area used for the preparation and consumption of food, sleeping and resting area, storage area and a working area (Plate III).

In the case of the post-medieval lower and middle class households, extra rooms were added to the original single-unit houses (in the countryside and always outside the late medieval defended centres), while fixed furniture no longer existed. Built benches, beds and storage places were replaced by mobile furniture, embroideries and imported 'prestige' household items such as ceramics, metal-ware and mirrors.



Plate II. Ground floor plan (after Philippides, 1980)



Plate III. Support structure (after Philippides, 1980)

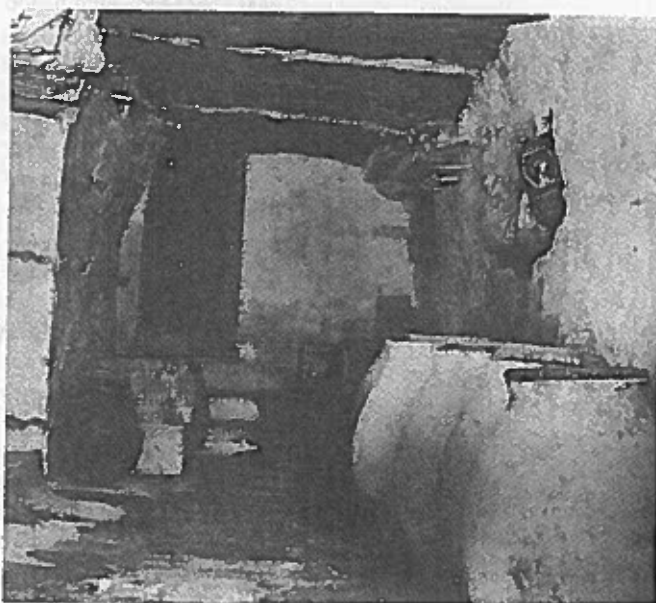


Plate II. Ground floor used for storage and ceramic storage pithoi, Tinos (after Philippides, 1988, fig. 18)



Plate III. Supportive arch dividing a broad-fronted house into four activity areas, village of Apeiranthos, Naxos (after Philippides, 1988, fig. 20)



Plate IV. Semi-public and semi-private space used for daily activities outside domestic structures. Late medieval defended town of Naoussa, Paros (Othon Kaparis Collection, Museum of Folk Art, Naoussa, Paros)

ties among its inhabitants. The impulsive temperament of the people played an important role in the creation of social links. Life until very recently was easily transferred from the private interior to the threshold, to the neighbour's staircase, to the street. In a sense, the limited single-unit space was extended to the semi-private and semi-public outside (Plate IV). Thus, the collective form of the towns created and kept a meaningful built environment, an environment with its own identity.<sup>51</sup>

However, not much was changed within the late medieval defended towns during the post-medieval period. Houses were still occupied by a peasant community, and household activities were organised within a single-unit house. The single basic element, the dwelling unit, remained unchanged. There was nonetheless a tendency for social display, by decorating the single-roomed house with items of quality and prestige. The family used this area as a livingroom and to carry out its daily activities within it. The house remained the domain of the woman who took pride in accomplishing her household tasks.<sup>50</sup>

Moreover, the single dwelling unit was notionally expanding outside the doorstep. The human scale of the built environment encouraged, or was a result of, the development of friendship

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<sup>50</sup> Radford and Clark, 1974, 66.

<sup>51</sup> Polychroniadis and Chadjimichalis 1974, 87-90.

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