Review of Aegean Prehistory I: 
The Islands of the Aegean

JACK L. DAVIS

INTRODUCTION

Not so long ago the islands of the Aegean (fig. 1) were considered by many to be the backwater of Greek prehistory. Any synthesis of the field had to perform to base its conclusions almost exclusively upon data collected before the turn of the century. The entire prehistory of the islands received fewer than 16 pages of discussion in Emily Vermeule's Greece in the Bronze Age (Chicago 1964), almost all of this concerned with the art and graves of the Early Bronze Age Cyclades; other parts of the Aegean sea were generally mentioned only in passing. Vermeule had no choice but to write that for the Cyclades "only three village sites [Phylakopi on Melos, Kastri on Syros, and Thera] have been excavated in a manner one could call informative, in contrast to nearly two thousand known or suspected graves" (p. 47). Of these only Phylakopi also offered a deep stratigraphy covering all phases of the Bronze Age, and it is no surprise that its sequence formed the basis for a tripartite Cycladic chronology, established parallel to Helladic and Minoan phases on the Greek mainland and Crete. The existence of a Neolithic in the islands, particularly on Keos, Saliagos, and Chios, had been demonstrated but in no instance had it been fully documented.

A quarter century later, the situation has been altered drastically. Particularly in the last decade progress has been very rapid, hampering any attempt to produce a totally up-to-date synthesis of new data, as does the frequent appearance of important studies in new Greek periodicals of limited circulation. Indeed, publication has been so voluminous and diverse that it is difficult even for specialist Aegean prehistorians to stay abreast of new developments. The essential annual reviews of new work in Greece, published by successive directors of the British and French schools

The following special abbreviations are used in this paper:

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<thead>
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<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tr>
<td>AEMT</td>
<td>Το Αρχαιολογικόν Εφορείον της Μικρής Ασίας και Θάσος.</td>
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<td>&quot;Chronique&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Chronique des fouilles,&quot; BCH.</td>
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<td>Greek Prehistory</td>
<td>E.B. French and K.A. Wardle eds., Problems in Greek Prehistory (Bristol 1988).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Karpathos, Saros and Kassos</td>
<td>M. Melas, The Islands of Karpathos, Saros and Kassos in the Neolithic and Bronze Age (SIMA 68, Göteborg 1985).</td>
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I am particularly grateful to those friends and colleagues who responded to requests for information concerning their recent research, and in particular to those who provided me with offprints, preprints, or photographs. The more specific contributions of several colleagues are acknowledged as appropriate later in this review. Here I should like to express my thanks to Robert Arnott, Robin Barber, Cyprian Broodbank, Tristan Carter, John Cherry, Christopher Chippindale, John Coleman, Michael Cosmopoulos, Tracey Cullen, Sören Dietz, Christos Doumaz, Angelia Douzougli, Noel Gale, David Gill, David Hardy, Carol Hershenson, Donald Keller, Sandy MacGillivray, Sturt Manning, Lila Marangou, Mariza Marthari, Dimitris Mavias, Lyvia Morgan, Christine Morris, John Overbeck, Mehmet Özdoğan, Ernst Pernicka, Colin Renfrew, Efi Sakellaraki, Diamantis Sampson, Elizabeth Schofield, Zophia Stos-Gale, Rene Treuil, Sarah Vaughan, David Wilson, and Kostas Zachos. Tracey Cullen, Fred Kleiner, and Jerry Rutter conceived of this project and encouraged me to undertake it. Over the past year and a half I have at times regretted accepting the assignment, and in moments of panic have cursed them severally and collectively, but I am in the end thankful that they convinced me to do it. I am also grateful to Shari Stocker for help with the illustrations and proofreading, to Bill Parkinson for compiling references, and to John Bennett, Cyprian Broodbank, John Cherry, Mihalis Fiotidis, Donald Keller, Sandy MacGillivray, Sturt Manning, Curtis Runnels, Jerry Rutter, and David Wilson for their prompt comments on my penultimate draft.
in *Archaeological Reports* (AR) and in *BCH*’s “Chronique des fouilles” (“Chronique”) are, of course, essential points of departure for both scholars and students, but can be patchy in their coverage and, in any case, are not intended to be synthetic. The bible of Aegean prehistory, R. Hope Simpson and O.T.P.K. Dickinson’s *A Gazetteer of Aegean Civilisation in the Bronze Age 1: The Mainland and Islands* (Goteborg 1979, completed 1977; hereafter, *Gazetteer*), is now nearly 15 years out of date, and in any case omitted coverage of the islands of the Aegean that lie north of Skyros and Chios. Robin Barber’s *The Cyclades in the Bronze Age* (Iowa City 1987) provides an excellent overview of the results of research in the southern Aegean, but publications relevant to Cycladic prehistory have been so prolific in the past six years that an update is also desirable.

**Les Cyclades**

**Manika I-II**

**Minoan Influence**

**Minoan Thalassocracy**

**Neolithic and Protohelladic**
A. Sampson, *Η Νεολιθική και η Πρωτοελλαδική Ι στην Εύβοια* (Αρχείον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών, Παράρτημα του ΚΑ’ Τόμος, Athens 1981).

**Neolithic Dodecanese “Perspectives”**

**Prehistoric Cyclades**

**Silber, Blei und Gold**

**“Sources of Metals”**

**TAW I**

**TAW III**

2 For an index to the sites described in *AR* between 1976 and 1986, see *AR* 33 (1987) 78–87. All references below to *AR* without further specification of title or author are to the annual reports, *“Archaeology in Greece,”* compiled by H.W. Catling and, since *AR* 36 (1990), by E.B. French. References to “Chronique” are to “Chronique des fouilles,” *BCH*, compiled by G. Touchais and, since *BCH* 114 (1989), by A. Pariente.

3 The islands of the northern Aegean are included in D. Leckley and R. Noyes, *Archaeological Excavations in the Greek Islands* (Park Ridge, N.J. 1975), which is, however, further out of date than the *Gazetteer* and is not nearly so authoritative or exhaustive in its coverage.

4 With reservations (see review in AJA 93 [1989] 293–94), W. Ekshmitt, *Kunst und Kultur der Kykladen I: Neolithikum und Bronzezeit* (Mainz 1986) may also be recommended as a reasonably current review of Cycladic prehistory; the extensive illustrations, many in color, are particularly worthy. See also “Perspectives” for a recent brief overview of the Early Cycladic period.

5 Islands of the Saronic Gulf include all those that currently belong to the administrative district of Peiraicus, including Spetses, Hydra, Kythera, and Antikythera. Covered in this review, in whole or part, are territories of the following Ephorates of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities: 1st (Keos); 11th (Euboea and Skyros); 13th (northern Sporades); 18th (Thasos); 19th (Samothrace); 20th (Lesbos, Chios, Psara, and Limnos); 21st (Cyclades, Samos, and Ikaria, excluding Keos and Amorgos); and 22nd (Dodecanese and Amorgos). For a comprehensive description of the administrative districts that comprise the Greek Archaeological Service, see *AR* 36 (1990) 4. The order of presentation for yearly reports both in *AR* and in *ArchDelt* mirrors this administrative structure, and it will also be followed here.


BEYOND THE CYCLADES TO A PAN-AEGEAN PERSPECTIVE

The decision to include virtually all islands of the Aegean (excluding only Crete and those of the Saronic Gulf) reflects trends in recent scholarship that have defined problems demanding a canvas much broader than that offered by the Cyclades alone. Two examples of topics that require a pan-Aegean focus may suffice: the Neolithic colonization of the Aegean islands; and the Minoanization of the Aegean in the Middle Bronze Age and early part of the Late Bronze Age.

In the past decade there have been, for the first time, systematic attempts to describe initial settlement of the islands of the Aegean in terms of principles drawn from island biogeography.
of these studies is that geography has played a major role in determining the date, extent, and rate of settlement in the Aegean. Examination of the way in which both animal and plant species have come to inhabit island groups in other parts of the world suggested that certain patterns of colonization might also be recognizable in Greece. For example, it has been hypothesized that the distance of an island from adjacent mainland coasts, its absolute size, and the presence or absence of stepping stone islands between it and a mainland were important factors in determining the likelihood that the island will have been settled at a particular time in the past. This is not of course to suggest that social or political factors should be eliminated from the equation, but rather that biogeography can provide an initial investigative
framework within which the importance of cultural determinants of settlement can be more explicitly defined.

Hand in glove with these analyses have come attempts to explain why extensive colonization of the Aegean islands occurred so long after settlement of adjacent mainlands. It has been realized for some years that the islands of the Aegean cannot have been inaccessible to potential human colonizers, inasmuch as obsidian from Melos was reaching the Greek mainland already in the later Palaeolithic and Mesolithic; finds are well documented in strata excavated at Franchthi Cave in the southern Argolid and are clearly Melian in origin.7 The recognition that the Aegean was being navigated long before the introduction of agriculture to Greece has obvious and important repercussions for how the process by which agriculture was spread is viewed: clearly an absence of evidence for settlement in the earlier phases of the Neolithic in the Greek islands no longer requires us to postulate the existence of a more northern route of migration for Neolithic immigrants, for which there has been precious little evidence. The Aegean sea of the later Palaeolithic was navigable and navigated.8

Of equal importance is the realization that inhabitants from the adjacent mainlands had the capability of establishing settlements in the Aegean islands long before they actually did so. Documentation in the future of any evidence for earlier transient activity is unlikely to make a great difference to present generalizations. While it is certainly true that some settlements of Palaeolithic and earlier Neolithic date may be lost to fluctuations in coastlines or may yet lie undetected, the fact remains that no clear evidence of a Palaeolithic presence has yet been recognized in the islands, at least not on any island that was then separated from an adjacent mainland by an appreciable gulf.

The evidence for earliest colonization of the Aegean islands has recently been updated.9 Most of the islands of the Aegean appear to have been first inhabited during the EBA, although traces of Neolithic habitation are more plentiful today than even a year or so ago. A Neolithic presence has now been documented in the Cyclades (Keos, Naxos, Thera, Amorgos, Paros, Saliagos, and Siphnos), in the northern Sporades (Kyra Panayia and Youra), on Chios, Psara, Samos, in most of the Dodecanesian islands, and on Limnos, Lesbos, Samothrace, and Thasos. In all cases the earliest material yet recognized appears to be later in date than that from adjacent mainland; in general, the final period of the Neolithic (FN) seems to have been the time of maximum expansion in settlement. The earliest well-documented Neolithic settlement is that of Ayios Petros on Kyra Panayia, situated near the eastern end of a string of islands that leads out into the Aegean from Thessaly, itself probably the most densely settled part of the Greek mainland during the Early and Middle Neolithic.10 Certainly it

7 See C. Perles, Les industries lithiques taillées de Franchthi (Argolide, Greece) 1: Présentation générale et industries paléolithiques (Franchthi 3, Bloomington 1987) 142–45; 2: Les industries du Mésolithique et du Néolithique initial (Franchthi 5, Bloomington 1990). For further discussion of Melos and Franchthi Cave, see also now C. Renfrew and A. Aspinall, “Aegean Obsidian and Franchthi Cave,” in Perles 1990, 257–70. These authors also note that postulated linkages between tunny fishing and collection of obsidian on Melos by mainlanders are not supported by the evidence from Franchthi Cave, since obsidian has been found there in levels earlier than those in which evidence for deep sea fishing first appears.


9 “First Colonization” 145–221.

10 Palaeolithic finds have been reported from both Thasos and Euboia; both islands would then have been attached to adjacent mainlands. Palaeolithic finds have also been reported from various sites on Alonnisos, Kyra Panayia, and Skyros, all in the northern Sporades, but are not yet well documented; see “First Colonization” 167. Stretches of open sea between these islands and the mainland of Thessaly may also have been negligible.
cannot be doubted that Early Neolithic populations were capable of organizing and launching large-scale colonizations across open sea. The settlement of the island of Crete in the later eighth or earlier seventh millennium is an obvious example of a successful enterprise of that sort, one that "indicates an exogenous introduction of farming and farmers through a purposive, planned and comparatively long-range colonization." That island, like others of the Aegean, thus far lacks any clear evidence for pre-Neolithic activity.\(^\text{11}\)

It is equally important that those conditions be determined that eventually did result in successful colonization of the Aegean islands and in extensive, widespread, and long-lived settlement. A Neolithic agricultural package of domesticated crops and animals would have offered potential colonists a better chance for long-term survival in areas where wild resources were restricted. But although a Neolithic way of life was an obvious precondition for the viability of long-term occupations on the tiny and resource-poor islands of the Aegean, it cannot have been the only factor in play. Indeed, there is a gap of some two to four millennia between the colonization of Crete and that of the Cyclades, northern Sporades, or the Dodecanese, despite the fact that some of these islands lie directly along potential lines of migration between Crete and Anatolia. Principles of island biogeography also suggest that the survival rate of settlements close to colonizing mainlands will be higher, since their populations will be able to look to the neighboring mainlands for support, whether for marriage partners, breeding stock, or, in crisis, even for seed grain.\(^\text{12}\) The colonization of Crete should thus be seen as a purposeful effort to found a new settlement in an especially favorable island environment, and not as the result of a gradual expansion of population through the islands to its north and east.

Three general horizons of Neolithic colonization in the Cycladic islands have recently been defined: the first contemporary with the site on Saliagos, an islet that in the fifth millennium B.C. was situated on a land bridge that joined Paros and Antiparos; the second contemporary with the fourth-millennium FN site of Kephala on Keos; and the third represented by the expansion of population at the transition between the Neolithic and EBA that resulted in the creation of the Early Cycladic culture.\(^\text{13}\) Notional colonizations of the Cycladic islands have been modeled: one beginning from the Greek mainland (specifically from Attica and Euboea), and another starting from the Dodecanese and progressing via Ikaria and Astypalaia. On the basis of these models it has been suggested that in the Saliagos phase, it is most likely that colonists came to the Cyclades from the southeast Aegean alone, but that later colonists probably proceeded from both directions at once. In all cases, the survival of settlements on Naxos would have been especially favored by circumstances of natural geography. Indeed, only on Naxos have traces of all three phases of settlement been recognized and only on Naxos can a case for continuity in settlement throughout the Late Neolithic and Final Neolithic periods be made.

A clearer understanding of the factors that led to expansion of settlement into the islands of the Aegean will also require a careful examination of the character of societies in those areas likely to have provided colonists. Although a topic well beyond the scope of this review, it is worth noting that there appears to be a close correlation between an expansion of settlement on the island of Euboea and the establishment of settlements in many of the Cycladic islands during the Final Neolithic. In particular, the habitation of marginal parts of southern Euboea could be seen as part of a general movement of populations into marginal areas, the beginning of a trend that would lead to a prodigious expansion of settlement in the EBA.\(^\text{14}\) Social, as well as geographical, problems would have been faced by early colonists in the Cyclades. Several of these have recently been examined in a study that seeks to explain the differential development of Crete and the Cyclades in the course of the EBA.\(^\text{15}\) The role of exogamy in linking relatively tiny communities of

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\(^{12}\) Broodbank and Strasser (supra n. 11) 238-39.

\(^{13}\) See C. Broodbank, “Colonization and Culture in the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age Cyclades,” AJA 96 (1992) 341 (abstract). I am extremely grateful to Cyprian Broodbank for a copy of the text of his paper as read, and for permission to summarize his argument here.

\(^{14}\) On the relationship between settlement in southern Euboea and FN/EBA colonization of the Cyclades, see Keller and Cullen (infra n. 61).

\(^{15}\) S.W. Manning, “The Emergence of Divergence: Development and Decline on Bronze Age Crete and the Cyclades,” in C. Mathers and S. Stoddart, Development and Decline in the Mediterranean Bronze Age (in press). There has as yet, however, been no serious attempt to use ceramic characterization analyses to distinguish between a scenario in which items were produced on two different islands in the Neolithic within similar cultural traditions, and one in which items were traded between the same two islands. See J.E. Coleman’s (supra n. 8) discussion of evidence for Neolithic trade in the Aegean. I am grateful to both authors for preprints of their forthcoming publications.
the islands is emphasized. Exogamy, it is suggested, also promoted a stylistic homogeneity in artifacts within the Aegean, of a sort recognizable already in the earliest Neolithic Saliagos culture of the Cyclades. By the second phase of the EBA, however, exchanged goods had come into the hands of specialist producers, partly because opportunities for the intensification of agricultural production were so limited, and the exchange of agricultural goods on a large scale infeasible.

It is clear that exchange played a crucial role in enabling permanent settlement in the islands of the Aegean, even if it is not yet possible to quantify the extent of this trade. In the EBA, the similarities in the formal characteristics of ceramics, marble vessels, figurines, and metal objects that typify the Early Cycladic culture are indicative of social and economic ties maintained among the settlements of the islands; these relationships may also be regarded as necessary adaptations that would have provided access to additional resources of food and manpower in times of crisis. Exchange may, therefore, be seen not as the incentive for colonization of the islands of the Aegean, but as an indispensable enabling mechanism that promoted the survival of groups once established, particularly on smaller, more remote, and impoverished landfalls such as the so-called Amorgian islets of Epano and Kato Koufonisi, Donousa, Schinoussa, or Keros.

Our understanding of trade in metals has been dramatically improved in recent years. Much current literature has been summarized in the volume *Bronze Age Trade in the Mediterranean*. In general a clear pattern appears to have emerged from recent analyses. In the EBA Cyclades, Siphnos and Kythnos served as major sources for lead, silver, and copper. Both of these sources were replaced in the Middle Bronze Age by Laurion, which came to dominate the Aegean as the principal supplier of metals. It is clear too that exchange in marble vessels and figurines played a role in EBA exchange, but slight progress has been made in this arena. There is little agreement among scholars as to the validity of attributing marble figurines to individual sculptural hands or workshops, and there is little basis for assigning such personalities or production centers to particular locations within the Cyclades, because the vast majority of marbles lack verifiable archaeological contexts. For these reasons and because of their rarity, marble figurines are not likely ever to provide us with more than the crudest measurements of intra-Aegean exchange. Fewer than 2,000 figurines are known, and these were produced over some 600–700 years!

The study of ceramic fabrics promises in the long run to be of greater value in reconstructing patterns of exchange. Given the diversity of geology among the islands of the Aegean, it is in many cases possible to recognize imported products on the basis of both visual inspection and petrological analysis. The results of a long-term project conducted under the auspices of the Fitch Laboratory of the British School at Athens should soon be available. This study has focused spec-


18 Possible explanations for the replacement of Siphnos by Laurion as dominant supplier to Keos have been discussed by N.H. Gale, Z.A. Stos-Gale, and J.L. Davis, "The Provenance of Lead Used at Ayia Irini, Keos," *Hesperia* 53 (1984) 389–406. Evidence from the analysis of the small number of actual silver artifacts (as opposed to litharge samples) that have yet been examined is more equivocal: Laurion and Siphnos do not emerge so obviously as dominant sources.

19 On the definition of sculptural hands, see P. Getz-Preziosi, *Sculptors of the Cyclades: Individual and Tradition in the Third Millennium B.C.* (Ann Arbor 1987); see ch. 7 for patterns of distribution, such as they are, given the lack of a proper excavated context for the vast majority of figures. For doubts about the use of a canon in the production of Cycladic marble figures and about the correctness of procedures employed to assign sculptures to hands, see C. Renfrew, *The Cycladic Spirit: Masterpieces from the Nicholas P. Goulandris Collection* (New York 1994) ch. 9 and pp. 137–41. Soon see also C. Chippindale and D. Gill, "Material and Intellectual Consequences of Esteem for Cycladic Figures" (in prep.) for discussion of the magnitude of the problem faced by archaeologists because such a substantial part of the corpus of marble figurines has been acquired through illegal excavations; Chippindale and Gill also adduce substantial art historical grounds for doubting that individual hands of prehistoric sculptors can be defined. J.F. Cherry, "The Individual in Prehistory: Reflections on Attribution Studies in the Bronze Age Aegean," in J.C. Crowley and R. Laffineur eds, *EIKON. Aegean Bronze Age Iconography: Shaping a Methodology* (Aegaeum 10, in press).
cifically on the EBA and has included material from the sites of Keos Ayia Irini; Naxos Cave of Zas, Grotta, and Palatia; Thera Akrotiri; Melos Phylakopi; Ios Skaros; Amorgos Markiani; and Keros Kazos. It is anticipated that the final product will be presented in the form of a handbook that can be used in the field for fabric indentification.

A second central issue in prehistory that benefits from a pan-Aegean perspective is the relationship between Crete and the islands of the Aegean in the MBA and earlier phases of the LBA, the time of the so-called Minoan Thalassocracy. Recent research on many of the Aegean islands leaves no doubt that contacts between Crete and the Cyclades became especially intense after the construction of the Old Palaces. Exchange appears to have played a major role in motivating Cretan involvement in the affairs of the islands to its north. On many of these islands, local industries were deeply affected by the contact. Local styles of decoration, particularly for pottery, and local manufacturing techniques were abandoned in favor of Minoan-inspired prototypes. A number of these changes may well have resulted from elite emulation of the status goods produced by the Minoan civilization. Others, for instance the widespread adoption in the islands of Minoan forms of loomweights, may reflect subtler variation in the structure of Cycladic social and economic organization.

Two items have been clarified by extensive recent debate. First, it is not possible to measure the extent of political control by the Cretans as a direct reflection of the extent of changes observable in the material culture of the islands. Political dominance by Crete may well have encouraged the adoption of Minoan ways in its overseas colonies. But conquest is, in and of itself, no real explanation for change in material culture: one can too easily point to a plethora of historical examples in which imperial control resulted in relatively few changes in the everyday life of the majority of the conquered.

Second, there is an enormous diversity in the settlement history of those island centers that were pulled within the Minoan orbit. The entirety of the southern Aegean was strongly affected by contact with Crete; the northern Aegean appears to have lain largely outside the sphere of Cretan cultural influence. In the west, no evidence for a heavily Minoanized settlement has been recognized north of Keos; in the east, Kos is the dividing line. In the central Cyclades, Naxos marks the limit. None of this is to say, of course, that evidence for contact with Crete cannot be recognized farther to the north. Minoan ceramic imports have long been acknowledged at Pe²kakia in Thessaly, and on Samos, while Minoan artifacts appear to have made their way even to Troy, albeit in small quantities.

The recent discovery of a Minoan sealing and roundel at the site of Mikro Vouni on Samothrace must be viewed within this general context. The situation of these discoveries, however remarkable, should be distinguished from that of Cretan finds in the heavily Minoanized zone of the southern Aegean. Minoan finds north of an east–west line drawn between Attica and

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20 This project is under the direction of S.J. Vaughan, to whom I am extremely grateful for the information summarized here. Her work will soon be published in S.J. Vaughan, Early Bronze Age Cycladic Pottery Fabrics: Studies in Materials and Technology (Fitch Laboratory Occasional Paper 5, in press). Vaughan emphasizes that the evidence supports her hypothesis that “already in the EBA there were well-established trade and exchange routes throughout the Cyclades and beyond” and that there was “very specialized ceramic production and trade reflecting skilled exploitation of the best raw materials available on each island, with connections perhaps for exchange with other items such as ores.” Various special studies in press or in preparation examine the so-called EBA talc ware (S. Vaughan and D. Wilson, “Regional Contacts in the EB II Aegean: The Talc Ware Connection,” in C.W. Zerner and E.B. French eds., Wace and Palaima, “Linear A in the Cyclades: The Trade and Travel of a Script,” TUAS 7 (1982) 15–22).

21 Evidence for interaction between Crete and the islands, as understood in 1983, is summarized by papers in Minoan Thalassocracy. The current state of affairs is outlined in two papers by M.H. Wiener, “The Nature and Control of Minoan Foreign Trade,” in Gale (supra n. 17) 325–50; and “The Isles of Crete? The Minoan Thalassocracy Revisited,” in TAW III.1, 128–60.

22 See, e.g., the arguments made in J.L. Davis, “Cultural Innovation and the Minoan Thalassocracy,” in Minoan Thalassocracy 159–66.


24 See the following section of this review and infra n. 100. For earlier Linear A finds in the islands, see T.G. Palaima, “Linear A in the Cyclades: The Trade and Travel of a Script,” TUAS 7 (1982) 15–22.
and Samos remain sporadic, and the material cultural assemblages in which they have been discovered are predominantly non-Minoan in character. The archaeological picture does not, however, entirely conform to predictions that “the strength of Minoan contacts is proportional to proximity to Crete.”

Rather, there appears to have been a dramatic falloff in Minoan influence between the north and south Aegean, and even within the southern Aegean there are marked differences in the nature of Cretan influence.

More than a decade ago I argued that “there existed a zone in the Western Cyclades (encompassing at least the islands of Thera, Melos, and Keos) in which there was regular exchange between Cycladic settlements and Crete.”

My argument in 1979 was that these islands had been preferentially supplied with Minoan products and that Minoan trading activities in the southern Aegean were to some extent directional (and thus purposeful). The principal settlements on Thera, Melos, and Keos were interpreted as three important ports along a “Western String” exchange route between Crete and the mainland. The subsequent definition of a similar “enriched” zone in the Dodecanese lends, I think, support to my proposition that one of the most important motives for such exchange was the acquisition of metals by Crete. The extent to which eastern Attica supplied the Minoan world with lead and silver has become much more clear in the past decade; copper now too can be added to the list of mineral products that reached Crete from Laurion. The sharp drop-off in evidence for Minoan contact to the north of Samos may suggest that Cretans in the eastern Aegean were also interested in the acquisition of a particular product, either one locally produced or that could be acquired through the medium of secondary distribution centers.

This much is clear. The desire to colonize (i.e., to establish new Minoan settlements abroad) cannot have supplied the only motivation for Cretan activity in the Aegean, although it may explain archaeological evidence produced by recent excavations and surveys in the Dodecanese. There a remarkable increase both in the size and number of settlements occurred during the Minoan New Palace period, particularly on Rhodes, Kos, and Karpathos. These settlements were apparently established de novo on virgin soil, and there is very little evidence for preexisting non-Minoan populations.

The settlements of Trianda on Rhodes and Seraglio on Kos appear to have been of substantial size from the time of their foundation. Such a pattern, and the fact that the material culture of these sites was almost entirely Minoan in character, may well reflect purposeful large-scale colonization. But such an interpretation will not explain the Minoan presence in the Cyclades.

For example, it is now obvious that the settlement of Akrotiri on Thera was ancient when a Minoan presence was first felt; its history began already in the Neolithic period. Even at the time of most intense Cretan presence in the earlier stages of the Late Bronze Age, elements of the preexisting, non-Minoan, Cycladic material culture survived at Akrotiri and at contemporary centers like Phylakopi on Melos and Ayia Irini on Keos. There can be no doubt that local non-Minoan populations continued to occupy these sites, even if we allow for the possibility that one or all may have been administered by a Cretan overlord or that Minoan elements were present in the local population. The case for actual Cretan settlement seems strongest for Thera, partly because of the remarkable divergence of its settlement pattern from what was apparently the Cycladic norm. On both Keos and Melos, recent systematic surface surveys have reinforced a picture of islands dominated by a single “primate” center; the pattern of settlement on Thera appears to have been radically different and perhaps approximated that of New Palace Crete, with its dense array of towns, villages, and villas.

Such evidence does not suggest that the motivation for Minoan involvement as far north as Melos and Keos was primarily oriented toward conquest and colonization. Neither Ayia Irini nor Phylakopi seems to have expanded remarkably in size during the New Palace period and the countryside of both islands remained relatively vacant. Nor does evidence from the central and northern Cyclades attest to an expansion of Minoan population, although here the quality of our evidence is less adequate than in the western Cyclades.

At present, Delos (at approximately the same latitude as Keos and Samos) is the island farthest suggested that the acquisition of metals may have been a motivation in eastern Aegean–Cretan exchange.

27 See Niemeier (supra n. 23) 206 n. 18, where it is also
north on which Minoan imports have been recognized.\textsuperscript{29} Andros, Tinos, Syros, and Mykonos remain virtual blanks; nowhere in the Aegean is a systematic contact with Crete in the MBA and early LBA, and reinforce the picture offered by older discoveries at Afa in the southeast. Discoveries both at Grotta (the capital, or Chora, of Naxos) and, more surprisingly, on the islet of Kato Koufonisi have shown that at a time contemporary with LM I on Crete, a range of Minoan and mainland ceramics similar to those found in the so-called “Western String” was also reaching the central islands. What is missing at present is any quantified information. Thus, although we now may have a somewhat better idea of the “content” and spatial distribution of the trade network that served the central Cyclades, we still lack any measure of its magnitude. Nor is there much evidence that contact with Crete had there the same profound effect on the material culture of native non-Minoan peoples as at Akrotiri, Phylakopi, and Ayia Irini.

Other arguments posed recently in support of Minoan political control of the Aegean purport to find their justification in historical Egyptian documents: namely, the description of Crete and the “Islands in the Middle of the Great Green” as a single entity is seen as providing evidence for Minoan hegemony.\textsuperscript{30} Ultimately, however, the conflict that has resulted in the division of many Aegean prehistorians into two camps—one of Cycladic “nationalists,” the other of Minoan “imperialists”—may be unresolvable. Indeed one might well debate the wisdom of using prehistoric archaeological data for the reconstruction of political events. Nonetheless, the islands of the Aegean present an extraordinary opportunity for prehistorians interested in the processes of cultural contact and change to investigate a wide range of case studies in a variety of settings. The laboratory-like benefits of archaeology on islands, in particular the well-boundness of social units and the diversity of environments, should in the future permit us to explain in much greater detail the material consequences of the Thalassocracy of Minos.

The Late Cycladic III period in the Aegean offers a similar opportunity for a synthetic comparative study of the processes by which Mycenaean material culture was adopted in the islands of the Aegean, a question largely forgotten in the recent rush to document the Minoan presence overseas. Mycenaean material culture was perhaps even more all-pervasive in the islands than was Minoan.\textsuperscript{31} But is this to be taken as evidence for the settlement of mainlanders in the islands? Many of the same issues need to be faced that are being confronted in discussion of the Minoan Thalassocracy.\textsuperscript{32} The only good stratigraphical sequence that bridges the earlier and later parts of the LBA, that reconstructed at Ayia Irini on Keos, does not suggest any obvious gap in the settlement sequence at the time when Mycenaean material culture came to dominate Minoan. Indeed, at that site, as in other Cycladic settlements of the early LBA, there had always existed considerable evidence for contact with the Greek mainland. The principal change that had occurred by the time of LH III was not the replacement of Minoan and Minoanized by mainland traditions, but rather the subtraction of Crete as a significant influence on local life-styles.

As in the case of the Minoan Thalassocracy, in the Mycenaean empire a great amount of diversity can be recognized in the nature of the responses of individual islands to contact with Mycenaean mainlanders. In the far north on Thasos, Mycenaean ceramic traditions were adapted and incorporated into local ceramic repertories, but standard Mycenaean wares appear to have reached the island only infrequently. Within the Aegean there are differences too in burial customs. Most obvious are the large cists used for burial in LB III Chios and Psara, a sharp contrast to the chamber tombs of the Dodecanese. In Euboea and the northern Sporades, the chamber tomb appears to have been standard. The chamber tomb was also present on Naxos, while on Paros and Tinos, a variety of tholos tomb was introduced. On Karpathos the larnax

Kefiu and the Minoan Thalassocracy,” in Minoan Thalassocracy 197–203.


\textsuperscript{32} Perhaps the most insightful discussion of the problem is that by J.C. Wright, “Umpiring the Mycenaean Empire,” TuAS 9 (1984) 58–70.

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\textsuperscript{29} See discussion in J.L. Davis, “Ετελεύτα τον πίθους δύναμα: Thoughts on Prehistoric and Archaic Delos,” TuAS 7 (1982) 23–33.

was employed and burial customs appear to have been related to those of Crete. The forms of burial practiced elsewhere, including the well-investigated island of Keos, remain a mystery. More generally, the absence of evidence that large numbers of intact Mycenaean vases have been looted over the years by perspicacious *archaiokapitol* may in itself suggest that burial in chamber tombs never acquired the prominence in many islands that it had in the Dodecanese.

**A REVIEW OF RECENT WORK**

My specific goal in this section is to summarize recent scholarship that pertains to the islands of the Aegean. Much of it will be pertinent to issues already discussed above. Readers will notice that my definition of "recent" varies from one part of the Aegean to another. Even in an extensive format, there remain certain absolute limitations on space, and it makes little sense to consider in detail literature that has already passed into more general syntheses and is readily accessible. I, therefore, assume that the reader will have ready access to *The Gazetteer*. For the Bronze Age Cyclades, I have not generally taken into account those publications encompassed by Barber's comprehensive synthesis of Cycladic prehistory, *The Cyclades in the Bronze Age*. For other islands, I have attempted to provide an overview of significant research published since 1980.\(^3\) I have paid most attention to new fieldwork, relatively little to art historical matters. In the case of Early Cycladic art or the *Thera* frescoes, the literature is so vast that it warrants separate reviews.\(^3\) My references to secondary literature attempt only to epitomize a portion of recent scholarship, but I hope that I have provided readers with sufficient clues to allow them to find their way into more specialized publications, should they desire to do so. I have summarized most extensively those studies that will be least accessible to readers in North America.

Presentation in this section follows the current organization of administrative districts within the Greek Archaeological Service, beginning with Keos in the first Ephoria and concluding with the 22nd Ephoria of the Dodecanese and Amorgos.

**Keos**

Work on Keos in the past decade has concentrated on publishing results of earlier excavations at the site of Ayia Irini. Seven volumes of the final excavation report have appeared, all since 1983, giving Ayia Irini the longest well-documented prehistoric sequence in the Cyclades. In addition, no less than three separate surface survey projects are providing the details of the overall prehistoric settlement system of the island. Habitation at Ayia Irini appears to have begun somewhat later than at the FN site of Kephala nearby. EBA levels at Ayia Irini were extensive but remain largely unpublished.\(^3\) Pottery from period I deposits, the earliest at Ayia Irini, is distinctly different from that from Kephala and lacks several distinctive features characteristic of that site, including pattern-burnishing and scoops, although there are general similarities in shapes, and the wares are still within a Neolithic tradition. After period I there appears to be a break in the sequence, inasmuch as period II represents a fully developed EB II phase of occupation, distinguished by close relations with eastern Attica.\(^3\) Period III is characterized by the introduction of Anatolianizing ceramic shapes (constituting about 10% of the pottery in assemblages), at least some of which were locally produced; their introduction was not marked by discontinuities in the life of the settlement, and continuity with previous traditions was the rule.\(^3\) In neither period is there evidence for any

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\(^{34}\) Since many publications in Greece, particularly journals, have often been published many years later than their cover date, in composing this report I decided to consider reports of fieldwork for inclusion if they were summarized in *AR* 27 (1981) or "Chronique" 1981 or later, even in cases where the original report abstracted had been composed many years prior.


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\(^{36}\) All finds earlier than the MBA will be published by D.E. Wilson and M.E. Eliot in *Ayia Irini: Periods I–III (Keos)* (in prep.). I am grateful to David Wilson for the opportunity to read and to summarize briefly parts of his working manuscript for the volume.


\(^{38}\) Wilson argues for contemporaneity between Ayia Irini II and the "green" period at Poliochni; and between Ayia Irini III, the "red" and "yellow" phases of Poliochni, and, in part, Emborio I. Wilson convincingly demonstrates that the closest parallels for the Anatolian-style pottery from Ayia Irini III are to be found in southwestern Asia Minor. The most complete published summary of evidence relevant to later EBA Keos is now: D.E. Wilson and M. Eliot, "Ayia Irini, Period III: The Last Phase of Occupation at the E.B.A. Settlement," in *Prehistoric Cyclades* 78–87; see also Vaughan and Wilson (supra n. 20).
direct contact with the Peloponnese; imported wares are recognized from period I, including probable Melian products, and quantities of imported ceramics reached as high as 30% in period II. It is indeed increasingly clear that exchange played a significant role in the life of the settlement from the time of its foundation.

The Middle Bronze Age at Ayia Irini has been divided into two principal periods, IV and V, the former subdivided into three subphases. The evidence for both periods IV and V has now been fully presented. There was a break in occupation at Ayia Irini after period III. The earliest period IV deposits at the site are appreciably later than the beginning of the MH period on the Greek mainland and it is clear that a gap exists in the Ayia Irini sequence roughly contemporary with EH III and the earlier stages of the Middle Bronze Age. The cemeteries of period IV are among the very few cemeteries known in the MBA Cyclades (fig. 2). From the beginning of period IV the settlement was fortified, its principal gateway guarded by a horseshoe-shaped tower. This earliest defensive system was destroyed and eventually replaced by a system set farther north on the neck of the peninsula to encompass a somewhat larger area within the town. The construction of this new system (of large roughly squared limestone blocks with rectangular towers) marks the beginning of period V, which must be on the basis of Minoan imports roughly contemporary with MM IIB/MM IIIA. As in the EBA, MBA Keos was closely linked through exchange to other areas of the Aegean. Ties to Crete are evident already from the beginning of period IV, although local ceramic traditions are dominant (fig. 3). In period V, there is evidence for the local use of the Cretan linear script and for Cretan-style administrative practice, as represented by a roundel of Minoan type and an inscribed tablet fragment. Aspects of material culture became increasingly Minoanized in the course of the MBA (and in the earlier stages of the LBA) as local potters copied Cretan shapes and many elements of Cretan technology were introduced to the island, including a Minoan system of metrology. Crete influenced local religious practices, and Minoan-style wall paintings were executed locally (figs. 4–5).  

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39 The context of the tablet with Linear A signs found in a stratum of period V has been discussed by Davis (supra n. 38) 99 (also *GORILA* I, KE 1); for the roundel, *GORILA* II, KE Wc 2. Signs adopted from the Cretan script replaced the older system of marks that had been used since the beginning of period IV when marking pottery had first become widespread; see A.H. Bikaki, *Ayia Irini: The Potters' Marks* (Keos IV, Mainz 1984). For the full corpus of lead weights (from which it has been deduced that a Minoan metrological system was used locally), see K.M. Petruso, *Ayia Irini: The Balance Weights. An Analysis of Weight Measurement in Prehistoric Crete and the Cycladic Islands* (Keos VIII, Mainz 1992). Technological innovations of Minoan type include the so-called "fireboxes," which arguably were employed for the production of aromatics, and potter's wheel disks. These and other standardized ceramic shapes have been discussed by H.S. Georgiou, *Ayia Irini: Specialized Domestic and Industrial Pottery* (Keos VI, Mainz 1986). Other evidence of metals and
As yet no overview of the settlement in any period of the LBA has appeared in the series of final excavation reports. Deposits from house A, published in 1983, continue to provide the most detailed picture of the nature of the material culture at the site in periods VI and VII. The stratigraphy of these periods is now, however, understood in considerable detail as is the architectural development of the site. Two principal subgroups of material have been recognized within period VI: an earlier group that contains LM IA types but in which the LH I style is not represented, and a later one in which the LH I style, the LM IA style, and mainland matt-painted types contemporary with LH I are represented. These divisions of period VI are followed by the three subdivisions distinguishable in period VII. An early phase (VIIa), which bridges the gap between periods VI and VII, is marked by the first importation of LM IB/LH II ceramics to the site, and is earlier in date than the main destruction deposits of house A. These are in turn assigned to a middle phase of period VII (VIIb) and are characterized by the appearance of the Cretan Marine Style and the so-called Alternating Style. A late phase follows the destruction of house A but is still contemporary with the latest part of LH II (VIIc). In the early LBA, the area of houses C, F, and EJ seems to have consisted of a few independent establishments with large open spaces between them.

metalworking at both Ayia Irini and Kephala has been summarized recently by Z. A. Stos-Gale, "Lead Isotope Evidence for Trade in Copper from Cyprus during the Late Bronze Age," in Greek Prehistory 265–82, esp. 276, 282, and fig. 13; and by Z. A. Stos-Gale and N. H. Gale, "The Role of Thera in the Bronze Age Trade in Metals," in TAW III.1, 77, and figs. 6–7 on 78, 84. For a general overview of the contexts of industrial activities at Ayia Irini, see E. Schofield, "Evidence for Household Industries on Thera and Kea," in TAW III.1, 201–11. The more than 30 near-life-size terracotta figures of Minoan style found in the temple at Ayia Irini have now received their definitive publication in M. E. Caskey, The Temple at Ayia Irini: The Statues (Keos II.1, Princeton 1986). On the wall paintings from Ayia Irini, see E. N. Davis, "The Cycladic Style of the Thera Frescoes," in TAW III.1, 214–27, and L. Morgan, "Island Iconography: Thera, Kea, Milos," in TAW III.1, 252–65. Of particular interest is Morgan's reconstruction of fragments from the northeast bastion in the fortifications of Ayia Irini as parts of a miniature fresco, thematically related to the miniatures of the West House at Akrotiri on Thera.

41 J. L. Davis and J. F. Cherry, "Spatial and Temporal Uniformitarianism in Late Cycladic I: Perspectives from Kea and Milos on the Prehistory of Akrotiri," in TAW III.1, 185–200. The latest of the two period VI subphases, best represented in deposit A of room 18 in house A, cannot, as recently has been argued by Warren (infra n. 152), be the result of a destruction that occurred contemporarily with the Seismic Destruction Level (SDL) at Akrotiri (on these deposits, see the discussion of Thera infra). The relevant deposits at Akrotiri produced no trace of the Late Helladic I style and were presumably deposited before its inception on the Greek mainland, while the LH I style is clearly represented in the deposit in house A. The house A deposit must, therefore, be later in date than the SDL at Akrotiri; its overall character is, in fact, more similar to that of the Volcanic Destruction Level (VDL) at Akrotiri (particularly in terms of the suite of mainland imports represented) than it is to the SDL. There can be little question that pottery of the LH I style and of contemporary matt-painted styles reached the southern Cyclades since mainland imports are well represented in LC I levels at Phylakopi on Melos, and are found already in the SDL at Akrotiri (infra n. 153). Once again, the danger of drawing suppositious correlations needs to be emphasized.

in contrast to the impression given by published plans of Ayia Irini, which show walls of all phases of the LBA, whether contemporary or not.42

Systematic investigation of the LH III settlement has emphasized that reoccupation following the main period VII destruction was substantial.43 There seems to have been no gap in occupation at the site after period VII and a sequence of deposits following the general destruction of the town in period VIIb and contemporary with LH IIB and LH IIIA:1 on the Greek mainland can be distinguished stratigraphically. LH IIIA:1 material from most parts of the site appears to have been laid down as the result of another widespread destruction. Deposits from several different parts of the site indicate continuation of settlement in LH IIIA:2 as do remains of structures built outside the fortifications near the former (period VII) main gateway to the town. Continued use of burnished and matt-painted wares in LH IIIA:1, and of conical cups and tripod cooking pots, attests to the survival of these types into LH III alongside Mycenaean types proper; there is strong continuity in local ceramic traditions.

One objective of a recent systematic surface survey (1983–1984) in northwest Keos was to determine the character of settlement and land use in the immediate hinterland of Ayia Irini.44 Results suggest that Keos may have followed a rather different pattern of de-

42 For preliminary observations on the character of period VII subphases, see E. Schofield, "Ayia Irini, Keos, in Late Cycladic II," BICS 32 (1985) 155; and E. Schofield, "Destruction Deposits of the Earlier Late Bronze Age from Ayia Irini, Keos," in Prehistoric Cyclades 179–83.

43 Remains of period VIII (i.e., the LH III settlement) are numerous. No general discussion has yet appeared in print, although the sequence of LH IIIC phases from the temple has been described and some representative pottery illustrated; see M.E. Caskey, "The Temple at Ayia Irini, Kea: Evidence for the Late Helladic IIIC Phases," in Prehistoric Cyclades 241–54. My summary here is drawn from the text of an unpublished paper entitled "Ayia Irini, Keos: Late Helladic III," by C. Morris and C. Hershenson. I am grateful to both of them for a copy of it and for allowing me to summarize their conclusions.

44 J.F. Cherry, J.L. Davis, and E. Mantzourani, Landscape Archaeology as Long-Term History: Northern Keos in the Cycladic Islands (Monumenta Archaeologica 16, Los Angeles 1991). Chs. 6–9 discuss results of the survey pertinent to the prehistory of the island and review evidence resulting from all earlier work on the island.
velopment in the EBA than did many other Cycladic islands. The population of the island (at least of its northwest part) appears to have been concentrated at the site of Ayia Irini alone and there is no Keian parallel to the scatter of small EC settlements and cemeteries recognized on so many other islands. Evidence available from two other surveys that have ranged more extensively supports our hypothesis that the settlement at Ayia Irini dominated the settlement system of Keos as a whole. Other sites are both tiny in size and lack evidence for the imported ceramic wares that bear such vivid testimony to the interaction between Ayia Irini and the outside world. No pottery earlier than that at Kephala and Paoura has been recognized, nor has survey located material that might be employed to close gaps in the Ayia Irini sequence between periods I and II, and between periods III and IV. Finds of the late Middle and early Late Cycladic periods are most plentiful, but these are almost exclusively the remains of large storage jars and other coarse wares that were perhaps employed in rural settings by a population largely resident at Ayia Irini itself. LB III finds have been especially scarce.

Survey results have cast most light on Neolithic Keos. Detailed collection of surface materials at Paoura and Kephala has allowed the size of those sites to be estimated with greater precision. Analysis of lithics from both suggests that Paoura's closest ties are with Saliagos; the assemblage of Kephala is distinct from that of Paoura and its lithics have strong affinities with those of mainland sites. Paoura may well have supported a population of 75–130 individuals, while Kephala was certainly a village of considerably smaller scale. Two new small aceramic sites in the northwest part of the island near Kephala have been assigned to the later Neolithic period on the basis of their lead isoare ratios and are now known to have existed a sea lane between it and the island of Alonnisos to the southwest. Most of the site is now submerged but even originally it seems to have been less than two-tenths of a hectare in area. Stratification was shallow (only a little more than a meter in depth) and much eroded but nonetheless excavation produced conclusive evidence that the principal period of occupation was contemporary with the latter part of the EN period and the beginning of the MN period in Thessaly; \( ^{14}C \) dates of 6740 ± 120 B.P. and 5860 ± 400 B.P. have been published. Some LN, EBA (of

45 Thus far the results of extensive survey by H.S. Georgiou and N. Faraklas in the northern part of the island have been published; see H.S. Georgiou and N. Faraklas, "Ancient Habitation Patterns of Keos: Locations and Nature of Sites on the Northeast Part of the Island," Aretaios 3 (1985) 207–66. Survey teams from the University of Athens have operated principally in the territories of the Classical city-states of Poieessa and Karthaia. For specifically prehistoric finds, see G. Galani, L. Mendoni, and H. Papayiorgiou, "Επιστημονική έρευνα στην Κέα," Arkeologia 3 (1982–1984) 297–414.


48 Most recently Neolithic remains have also been reported in the Kyklopi Cave on Yioura (the most remote of the northern Sporades); see "Travel Guide," Archaeology 45:2 (1992) 7.

49 N. Elstratiou, Aiyos Petro: A Neolithic Site in the Northern Sporades (BAR-IS 241, Oxford 1985). Survey of Kyra Panayia by Elstratiou revealed no additional prehistoric finds; see also "First Colonization" 167, for further discussion of sea level fluctuations and of the possibility that the northern Sporades were tied to each other and the adjacent mainland during the Palaeolithic.

50 Elstratiou (supra n. 49) 167, appendix V; S.G.E. Bowman, J.C. Ambers, and M.N. Leese, "Re-evaluation of British Museum Radiocarbon Dates Issued between 1980 and 1984," Radiocarbon 32 (1990) 59–79. Elstratiou argues that there are parallels at Aiyos Petros with ceramics of the second phase of Thessalian EN (Achilleion phase). These elements could not, however, be defined at Aiyos Petros as a distinct stage in the life of the settlement, but were found together with ceramic elements of the sort that characterize the classic MN Sesklo phase in Thessaly.
Troy I character), and MBA (Gray Minyan) pottery in surface levels and in a pit reflect later use.\textsuperscript{51} Palaeolithic artifacts have been reported at Ayios Petros and at several locations on Alonnisos.

Stone foundations for structures with both rectangular and curving walls appear to have supported mudbrick superstructures. Two child burials were excavated amidst the habitation levels while other human bones were found scattered. Artifactual evidence does not suggest that those who used the site of Ayios Petros were particularly isolated from adjacent mainlands. Nearly all of the pottery appears to have been produced locally, but stylistic affinities indicate continuing contact with the Thessalian mainland. Most distinctive are carinated bowls with red-dotted decoration on a creamy ground. Imported materials include Melian obsidian and flint that appears to have been Thessalian in origin. The stone used for axes, on the other hand, was probably of local derivation, quarried on the island of Psathoura, to the north of Kyra Panayia. The extensive collection of terracotta figurines (50 in number) from the site is noteworthy given the fact that most are from secure contexts; they include male as well as female and animal types. Features are for the most part rendered with deep incisions, some with white filling. Animal bones include a full range of domesticates. It is convincingly argued that the site was most likely a permanent, rather than a seasonal, occupation; if this interpretation is correct, Ayios Petros would be the earliest published permanent settlement yet known in the Aegean islands.

\textbf{Euboia and Skyros}

\textit{Euboia.} Our picture of earliest settlement on Euboia has been greatly illuminated by the publication of the results of recent surveys and excavations designed to supplement older investigations by Theoharis and by members of the British and American Schools at Athens.\textsuperscript{52} More than 60 Neolithic and EB I sites are now known, for the most part small settlements of limited duration. Analysis particularly of finds from the sites of Psahna Varka, Psahna Glyfa, Psahna Votsika, Eretria S诸如 Mnima, Politika Spiliaio Marmara, Karystos Plakari, and Chalkis Marika have allowed the earlier prehistory of the island to be divided into six tentative phases: an Older (Αρχαιοκαραγός) Neolithic I and II (roughly coincident with EN on the mainland); a Newer (Νεανικός) Neolithic I, approximately equivalent with the earlier phases of the mainland LN; two stages of Final Neolithic (the latest equivalent to the Attic-Kephala culture); and EH I.\textsuperscript{53} No Euboian phase corresponding in character to mainland MN has yet been noted. Each of these stages is defined with reference to characteristic ceramic and lithic artifacts, and to patterns in settlement.\textsuperscript{54} Surface survey has

\textsuperscript{51} Efratiou (supra n. 49) 166, appendix IV, reports provisional results of spectroscopic analyses of samples of Gray Minyan pottery that suggest that, in their composition, they resemble most closely the Mycenaean pottery of Volo in Thessaly. Y. Liritzis, L. Orphanidis-Georgiadis, and N. Efstratiou, “Neolithic Thessaly and the Sporades: Remarks on Cultural Contacts between Sesklo, Dimini, and Aghios Petros Based on Trace Element Analysis and Archaeological Evidence,” \textit{OJA} 10 (1991) 307–13 found, however, no evidence that Neolithic pottery from Ayios Petros had been imported from Thessaly.

\textsuperscript{52} A. Sampson, \textit{Neolithic and Protohelladic}; see also Sampson, “Μητροί: Ταξιαρχίας,” \textit{ArchDelt} 37 B’ (1982) 174 (prehistoric remains reported at the site of Panayitsa, near Oreoi); P. Kalligas, “Ερετήρια (ευρήματα περιοχής): Με-καβάννας,” \textit{ArchDelt} 36 B’ (1981) 201 (a prehistoric settlement at Plakakia in the vicinity of Eretria); A. Sampson, “Καστέλλι Πλαϊά,” \textit{ArchDelt} 38 B’ (1983) 153 (Neolithic finds from excavations at Kastelli Pisoías, on a summit overlooking the Leilantne Plain); “Συγκέλατα Αγγίζων,” \textit{ArchDelt} 36 B’ (1983) 154 (Neolithic and terraces at Aiyianna Zongkédas); “Κουκών,” \textit{ArchDelt} 38 B’ (1983) 154 (Neolithic pottery from caves).

\textsuperscript{53} Sampson, \textit{Neolithic and Protohelladic}, draws parallels between the material from these phases and specific groups of finds from the Greek mainland or elsewhere in the Aegean: Older Neolithic I is compared with material from Nea Makri; Newer Neolithic I, with the Arapi and Tsangli phases of Thessaly, with the LN I of Corinth, and with Saliagos on Antiparos; and Final Neolithic (FN), with Ke- phala on Keos, and Neolithic finds from the Athenian Agora. Most of these Euboian sites appear to have been settlements, although human bones from Politika Spiliaio Marmara are of the Older Neolithic II phase and presumably derive from a burial. Older Neolithic I sites are poorly known and the character of the ceramics suggests isolation from mainland traditions.

Pre-Neolithic finds have also been reported on Euboia; see \textit{Neolithic and Protohelladic} 23; “First Colonization” 165–67. For other recent reports of pre-Neolithic finds from the island, see A. Sampson, “Πυραύλια Αγγίζων,” \textit{ArchDelt} 38 B’ (1983) 154 (Middle Palaeolithic at Aiyianna Sarokeniko); “Κέρασις,” \textit{ArchDelt} 38 B’ (1983) 155 (pre-Neolithic stone tools at Kerasia Panayia and Kerasia Nero); E. Sarantea, “Εργαστήρια κατασκευής Παλαιολιθικών εργαλείων στην περιοχή επικέντρου Εστροκονδύλων Μερκυριάς στην Εύβοια,” AAA 18 (1985) 81–85; and E. Sarantea, \textit{Προϊστορικά ευρήματα Νέας Αρτάκης Εύβοιας} (Athens 1986).

\textsuperscript{54} Representative species of shell in each phase are described (\textit{Neolithic and Protohelladic} 47–49): two pierced pec-ten jacobaeus from Politika Spiliaio Marmara were used as jewelry. Murex shells were found at Vasiliko Linostrahi. Flint tools are abundant, but obsidian relatively rare before FN. Other artifacts of special interest include Newer Neolithic I fragments of schematic human figurines and animal figurines from Pshahna Varka (\textit{Neolithic and Protohelladic} 84–85) and FN bases with matt and cloth impressions from Thar- rounia Skoteni Cave (\textit{Neolithic and Protohelladic} 144).
been most extensive in central Euboia and it is not surprising that the area around Eretria and Chalkis is best represented by newly discovered sites. The greatest numbers of sites appear to belong to the Final Neolithic and EH I periods; these seem to have been times of settlement expansion. All parts of the island were inhabited, including inland and coastal locations in the north and south. For the EBA as a whole more than a hundred sites are now known from excavation or surface investigations. As for the Neolithic, these are concentrated in the central parts of the island.

The most intensively surveyed part of Euboia is the area around the bay of Karyostos in the south. The entirety of the Paximadi peninsula southwest of Karyostos has now been investigated, and 19 concentrations of prehistoric material have been recognized. All belong to the Final Neolithic and early part of the Early Bronze Age. The focus of settlements appears to have been in the north of the peninsula, where flat land and water are more accessible. The earliest remains yet located in southern Euboia belong to the Late Neolithic and come from the cave of Ayia Triada, north of Karyostos; they include obsidian and black-burnished pottery. Fragments of human bone suggest that the cave may have been used as a place of burial, while just below it LN and FN habitation remains have been discovered in several rock-shelters. West of Karyostos, FN finds have been recorded at two locations: a small site on the summit of the Kazara ridge and a larger settlement on the ridge of Plakari, both in defensible positions a short distance from the sea. Limited salvage excavations at Plakari have uncovered architectural remains with pattern-burnished pottery similar in character to that from Kephala on Keos. In contrast, several EBA sites were located on the shore of the Paximadi peninsula: Ayia Pelayia on the northeast side, Ayia Paraskovi at the south end, and Akri Rozos on the northwest. On the east side of the bay of Karyostos another EBA site was found at Ayia Irini.

Finds of the MBA and LBA in contrast are relatively scarce here in the extreme south of Euboia. A large site was established in the MBA to the northeast of Karyostos at Ayios Nikolaos; finds include plentiful evidence for metalworking, Gray Minyan and matted-painted pottery, bronze artifacts, and a lead pottery clamp. The settlement was apparently not inhabited in the LBA and as yet there have been no indisputable LBA finds reported in southern Euboia.

In addition to the preceding general surveys and trials, more extensive excavations have been pursued at several locations. The most important of these have been at the apparently massive EBA site of Chalkis.

55 The distribution of sites by date (as summarized in Neolithic and Protohelladic) is as follows: Older Neolithic I, 9; Older Neolithic II, 8; Newer Neolithic I, 15; FN I, 4; FN II, 18; EH I, 23. These figures are now supplemented by more recent data, particularly that from survey in southern Euboia (infra ns. 57, 61).

56 Manika I, 334–76 summarizes much of the evidence and includes commentary on a catalogue of EBA sites; many new sites have been identified since earlier investigations by Theoharis and by members of the British and American Schools. See also a report of EH II remains at Drosia Gataros; A. Sampson, "Αθήνα," ArchDelt 38 B' (1983) 154. Kalligas has provided a detailed review of prehistoric research on the island before the 1980s: P.G. Kalligas, "Euboea and the Cyclades," in Cyclades 88–98, and publishes a number of older finds including a marble figurine from Makorhorio, just south of Chalkis; he also discusses various Neolithic and EBA artifacts thought to come from the vicinity of Makrikapa, in east-central Euboia (including gold and silver vessels); most are now in the collections of the Chaliskis Museum, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the Benaki Museum (see E. Davis, The Vapheio Cups and Aegean Gold and Silver Ware [New York 1977] 63–65). For general trends in the history of MBA and LBA settlement on Euboia, see Manika I, 336, 342.

57 See D.R. Keller, Archaeological Survey in Southern Euboia, Greece: A Reconstruction of Human Activity from Neolithic Times through the Byzantine Period (Diss. Indiana Univ. 1985). I am grateful to Donald Keller for a copy of his dissertation.

58 See also Neolithic and Protohelladic 92, 145.

59 Pottery from the excavations at Plakari has been published by D.R. Keller, "Final Neolithic Pottery from Plakari, Karyostos," in P. Spitaels ed., Studies in South Attica 1 (Miscellanea Gracae 5, Ghent 1982) 47–67. The presence of copper ore from the site is noted by Keller and Cullen (infra n. 61). All obsidian probably originated on Melos and the raw material does not seem to have been used in an economical fashion. Unworked nodules of obsidian appear to have been imported directly from Melos and are most plentiful on Cape Mnima, at the southern tip of the peninsula.

60 Highly diagnostic EB II types, including sauceboats, found at Ayia Pelayia, represent the latest stage of Bronze Age occupation yet recognized on the Paximadi peninsula (Keller and Cullen, infra n. 61).

61 Since 1984, the Canadian Karystia Expedition has completed survey of the Paximadi peninsula and parts of the southeastern coast of the island. Prehistoric finds have been reported but not yet described in detail. See D.R. Keller and M. Wallace, "The Canadian Karystia Project, 1986," EkhCl 31 (1987) 227; Keller (supra n. 57) 237 n. 5.6; and Keller and T. Cullen, "Prehistoric Occupation of the Paximadi Peninsula, Southern Euboia," AJA 96 (1992) 341 (abstract). I am grateful to Keller and Cullen for a copy of the full text of their paper.
Manika, at Tharrounia Skoteini Cave, the largest known cave on the island, and at Classical Eretria. The existence of prehistoric remains in the Skoteini Cave has long been known. Excavations since 1986 have, however, uncovered stratified deposits, which, when published, promise to clarify considerably the Late and Final Neolithic sequence of Euboia.\textsuperscript{62} The earliest traces of human presence can be dated to Newer Neolithic I in the Euboian sequence (equivalent to early LN on the mainland); higher strata are of Final Neolithic, Early Helladic, and LH III date. Finds of exceptional interest include an EH clay sealing and a pithos handle that had been stamped repeatedly with a seal; various EH metal tools and items of jewelry; copper tools and needles from the FN levels; Neolithic stone and clay figurines, including steatopygous females and animal figurines (fig. 6); an image of an ithyphallic man accompanied by a naked woman, both rendered in relief on a Neolithic pithos; and well-stratified deposits of Neolithic pottery (fig. 7). Human bones were mixed within the Neolithic levels; the discovery of a skull separated from the rest

\textsuperscript{62} Few details concerning the excavations have as yet been published; see \textit{AR} 33 (1987) 15; "Chronique" 1986, 562; 1987, 672. My description is summarized from a longer report, kindly provided by the excavator, Adamantios Sampson.
of the skeleton seems to point to the practice of secondary burial. Some 400 m from the cave the remains of a badly eroded Neolithic cemetery has been excavated, including eight slab-built graves (four intact); multiple burial of skulls suggests the practice of secondary burial in two of these. Remains of an open-air FN settlement have also been excavated on a plateau above the cave.

The site of Manika, north of the Euripos near Chalkis, has been the target of especially intensive investigation. Although long known, only in the course of the past decade has the true extent and importance of Manika begun to be clarified. Recent investigations have focused on the EBA community although it is clear that the settlement continued to be inhabited in the MBA and LBA (fig. 8). The earliest strata are dated to a stage late in EH I. Most architectural remains are contemporary with EH II on the Greek mainland. The final major stage of EBA occupation, less widespread than the preceding EH II phase, belongs to the so-called Lefkandi I phase and is characterized by Anatolian elements in ceramics and metallurgy; after this the settlement appears to have been further reduced in size. The cause of this diminution is unclear: no obvious evidence for destruction either by human or natural forces has yet

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63 For earlier research see Kalligas (supra n. 56). The main recent bibliography includes Manika I–II, principally the results of research in 1982–1986; fieldwork in 1983–1984 has also been briefly described by A. Sampson and E. Sakellaraki, "Μάνικα," ArchDelt 38 B' (1983) 139–40, and by Sakellaraki, "Μάνικα," ArchDelt 39 B’ (1984) 120–23. For more detailed presentations of results, see: E. Sakellaraki, "Νεολιθικός κατάλογος της Μάνικας Χαλκίδας (οικόπεδο Παπασταμάτου)," Archeíon Euboeión Meeletón 27 (1986–1987) 5–21 (the excavation of tombs in 1986–1987); E. Sakellaraki, "Μάνικα Χαλκίδας: Στρατηγικήμεταβατική έξεγεις στον οικισμό: οικόπεδο Ζούσι," ArchDelt 41 B’ (1986) 101–270 (a report on several structures and a discussion of the settlement in toto); "Από τη Εύβοια και τη Σκύρο," AAA 19 (1986) 30–55 (excavation of graves and soundings within the settlement in 1984–1985); and "New Evidence from the Early Bronze Age Cemetery at Manika, Chalkis," BSA 82 (1987) 233–64 (a full publication of eight tombs excavated in 1984). Manika II contains an overview of recent work at the site and detailed plans showing the locations of the many test excavations. There is also an extensive discussion of the ground stone industry in Manika II, 80–104.

The extremely detailed presentation of excavations in the Zousis plot describes complexes of rectangular and apsidal rooms, some of which appear to have had two stories (122–24, 131–32). The pottery has been extensively described. Extraordinary finds included a bronze ring with incised decoration on its bezel (109, 224–26, no. 425), a terracotta "teddy-bear" (140, no. 9), stone vessels (217–18, nos. 388–92), stone pestles (218–19, nos. 393–94), a stone pebble figurine (141, no. 9), a terracotta quadruped figurine (140, no. 10), two bronze chisels (224, nos. 423–24), a stamp seal (266, no. 427), and a leg from a terracotta anthropomorphic figurine (266, no. 428). Few terracotta whorls and no loom-weights were found. Ground stone and obsidian chipped stone tools were common (220–24, 226–34).
have been identified. There had previously been a continuity in architecture, ceramics, and burial customs at Manika; the settlement of the Lefkandi I phase did not represent a major break with previous traditions. Indeed, Anatolian types are most often found in funerary contexts (and even there are not common); they, like Cycladic imports in earlier stages of the EBA, appear to have been selectively chosen as grave gifts because of their prestige value as exotica. More common imported goods include Melian obsidian, and andesite, which was used for the manufacture of a substantial portion of all ground stone tools.

The biggest surprise of recent years has been the suggestion of the enormity of the size of Manika. In 1985, its maximum extent was estimated at 45–50 ha, but this estimate has recently been revised upward to about 80 ha. From the results of augering and remote sensing, it has been suggested that areas situated between the various soundings that define the maximum extent of the settlement were compactly settled. Even if we may assume, as seems likely, that settlement was not contemporary in all parts of the site, Manika must have been one of the largest settlements in the Aegean in the EBA; it is certainly the only pre-palatial island settlement with a claim to rival contemporary Anatolian and Near Eastern centers in its scale.

It has also been argued that the settlement from its initial stages was, in some sense of the word, "organized":

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64 See H. Marukian, E. Kambouroglou, and A. Sampson, “Coastal Evolution and Archaeology North and South of Chalkis in the Last 5000 Years,” in A. Raban ed., Archaeology of Coastal Changes (BAR-IS 404, Oxford 1988) 71–79. See also Sakellaraki, ArchDelt 41 (supra n. 63) 103, regarding the extent of the settlement.

that all architectural remains thus far explored are oriented to the cardinal points and take their cue from similarly aligned streets. The town may also have been fortified.

The cemetery of Manika lay to the south, adjacent to the settlement; its maximum extent has not yet been determined with certainty, but it appears to have covered at least 6 ha. Within this area, the density of tombs varies; many appear to be grouped in clusters. Approximately 200 tombs with inhumation burials have thus far been investigated: burial chambers of varying sizes cut into the bedrock were entered via shaft-like antechambers, some with steps leading down from ground level; slabs or built walls blocked passage into the main chamber. The state of preservation of most of the human remains is poor but adequate for certain generalizations about the nature of burial customs. Bodies were placed into the tombs in contracted positions. It is possible that some tombs never held more than one single burial, but most contained multiple burials. The earlier burials were swept aside when necessary to make room for additions; sand or pebbles were sometimes used to separate layers of older bone from newer. Other graves appear to have been employed as ossuaries. Traces of burning inside some tombs reflect burial ritual. Cycladic and Anatolian types of pottery are both found with some frequency: frying pans are especially common (fig. 9), recovered in over 20 graves. Types such as sauceboats, especially common in settlement levels, are rarely found in the cemetery.

These newly excavated graves and buildings provide clearer contexts for a number of EBA artifact types that had not been well documented in excavated contexts. Scientific analyses have shown that bone tubes of Cycladic type with incised decoration once contained azurite, presumably used as a paint. More than 10 anthropomorphic figurines of marble and of bone or shell have thus far been reported (figs. 10–11); terracotta figurines, and both terracotta and stone zoomorphic vessels are also represented. The marble anthropomorphic figures include schematic types, examples reminiscent of Plastiras and Louros features, canonical folded-arm figurines, and two seated figures. This corpus is an important addition to the still relatively small body of EBA marble figures that have been found in the Aegean in secure undis-

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66 Cf. Sakellaraki, ArchDelt 41 (supra n. 63) 104, 122, but see also Sakellaraki, BSA (supra n. 63) 236 where there is said to be no evidence for town planning at the site.


69 Important new evidence suggests that these vessels were at least sometimes brought to the grave containing food, since animal bones have been found in them. See Sakellaraki, BSA (supra n. 63) 240, 264, and Coleman (supra n. 34) 202–204.

70 Cf. Sakellaraki, BSA (supra n. 63) 251, 264 on the use of these and other vessels as containers for paint.
turbed archaeological contexts. Metal artifacts are especially common. The 50-odd artifacts consist of both silver and bronze, and include a curved knife, chisels, pins with pyramidal, conical, spherical, double-spiral, and roll-tops, tweezers, a cosmetic scraper, razors, rings, necklaces, and bangles. A number of these types find closest typological parallels in the eastern Aegean and in Anatolia.

Rescue excavations at Classical Eretria in the Vouratsas plot, near the northeast corner of the later agora, have recovered deep prehistoric deposits extending well beneath the level of the water table. Finds reportedly date to the later phases of EH and to the beginning of the MBA, and there is a thin overlying stratum containing Minyan, Minoan, LH IIIB, and LH IIIC types. The greater part of the pottery may be dated to EH II, EH III, and early MH; proto-Minyan handmade bowls are well represented. The earlier finds were associated with architectural remains, including a storeroom that still contained a 15-cm thick stratum of carbonized grains and pulses on its floor. A well-preserved potter’s kiln has been now moved to the Eretria Museum. The exact date of the kiln is not entirely certain, since excavation beneath the water table made it impossible to record detailed stratigraphy, but it is clear that it is earlier than the Geometric period and much of the associated pottery was of EH types.

The prehistoric settlement explored by tests in the Vouratsas plot probably lay on a low headland by the sea. Excavations on the acropolis of Eretria have also yielded prehistoric finds. Most of the prehistoric pottery recovered there may, however, have been incorporated within mudbricks, subsequently decayed, and reused after the Bronze Age for fill, particularly for the core of the northeast tower of the fortifications. Finds from the acropolis belong mainly to the later stages of the Middle Helladic period and the Late Bronze Age (only LH IIIA-C is definitely attested). Elsewhere, in an area close to the western circuit of the historical city wall, Neolithic stone axes have been reported.

Several other sites on Euboia have been explored through more limited excavation; results have not yet been published in detail. In the mountains of central

Fig. 11. Manika, Euboia. Bone figurine. (Courtesy Efi Sakellaraki)


5 AR 35 (1989) 23. The character of Neolithic occupation remains unclear. Müller (supra n. 74) 15 has suggested that Cretan LN imports (!) are present among finds from Tuor’s excavations in the area of the later Agora.
Euboia east of Chalkis, most of a small EH–MH site at Fylla Kaloyerovrysi has been explored (fig. 12). Both rectangular and apsidal buildings were associated with EH levels; obsidian was notably rare as was fine Urn fins pottery, surprising given the proximity of the site to Chalkis Manika. MH buildings of two different phases lay above the EH levels; the highest phase is reported to date to the transitional period between the Middle and Late Bronze Age. MH cist graves and the remains of a plundered shaft grave of early LH date were excavated among the MH buildings.76

In the northwest part of the island a second MH settlement was investigated at Aidipsou Kounbi. Foundations of two separate late MH buildings were found stratified over an earlier MH structure; on the floor of the latter was a thick burnt layer. Beneath it was a cist grave, also of MH date.77 Within the limits of the inland mountain village of Avlonari Ayios Yiorgios in the east-central part of the island, south of ancient Kyme, excavations have uncovered an EH II ossuary, consisting of a rectangular built tomb that had been covered with slabs and contained parts of two to three dozen disarticulated incomplete human skeletons; among the grave goods was a marble bowl of Cycladic type. Remains of a pillaged Mycenaean chamber tomb were also investigated nearby.78 At Mourteri on the south side of the gulf of Kyme, two buildings have been excavated, one rectangular, the other apsidal; the pottery was exclusively of EH II, and obsidian was noticeably scarce among the non-ceramic finds. At Amynthos on the coast in the west central part of the island, excavation has produced Neolithic, EBA, MBA, and LBA finds; parts of buildings and a section of a possible fortification wall of the Early Helladic period have been explored.80 Most recently, abundant EB, MB, and LB finds were recovered in renewed tests.81 At Linovrochi, a coastal site east of Lefkandi, the construction of irrigation facilities uncovered structures of EH I and II; subsequent archaeological investigations revealed part of a probable apsidal building.82 Elsewhere on the island, a figurine and vase were found in a grave at Eretria.

76 See A. Sampson, "Καλογεροβρύσι Φύλλον," ArchDelt 38 B' (1983) 15-4; Manika II, 122, fig. 115. My description of this site is summarized from a text kindly provided by the excavator, Adamantios Sampson.
79 A. Sampson, Eυβοϊκή Κύμη (Athens 1981) 56–58; 31–32 for FN finds from surface collections and from excavations at the site of Potamia Kastri near the northern end of the bay; and 47–52 for general discussion of patterns of prehistoric settlement in the area of Kyme, including brief descriptions of several new Neolithic, EBA, MBA, and LBA finds.
81 "Chronique" 1988, 668.
82 Sakellaraki, AAA 19 (supra n. 63) 36–37; Manika II, 123, pl. 161; Manika I, 361–63, fig. 76. E. Sakellaraki, "Ιδιοτικές συλλογές," ArchDelt 38 B' (1983) 152 has described various prehistoric finds of EH and LH IIIA date that are in the care of the community of Vasiliko; these include a Phi-figurine from Lefkandi Xeropolis and a Mycenaean stirrup jar from Linovrochi.
Potamias (supra n. 79), and among finds from the EBA cemetery on Epano Koufonisi. For the material from Koufonisi, see F. Zafeiropoulou, "The Chronology of the Kampos Group," in Prehistoric Cyclades 33, fig. 1g. The pyxis lid from Skyros together with the two incised bone tubes have more recently been republished, with reference to parallels at Manika on Euboea, by E. Sapouna-Sakellaraki, "Κυκλαδικά της Σκύρου," in Φύλα Ετης 1 (Βιβλιοθήκη της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογίας Εταιρείας 103, Athens 1986) 293–99.

83 Manika II, 123, pl. 162; Manika I, 364; Sakellaraki (supra n. 71) 3, 5, fig. 2, 11, no. 2, pl. 2.2 and pl. 1.3 for a schematic figurine and a vase with found it.

84 For Petries, see Manika II, 120, pl. 160. For Katalkos, see A. Sampson, "Ἀγριόμοιος," ArchDelt 39 B' (1984) 125, and Gazetteer F91.

85 E. Touloupa, "Ἀμύνη," ArchDelt 33 B' (1978) 130; see Gazetteer G98.

86 L. Parlama, Η Σκύρος στην εποχή του χαλκού (Diss. Univ. of Ioannina 1984). See also A. Sampson, "Ἀγριόμοιος," ArchDelt 38 B' (1983) 155, where abundant Neolithic pottery and obsidian are reported at Artemisi in the southern part of the island.

87 Parlama dates another 13 sites to the EBA on the basis of finds of obsidian alone; while such an assignment is possible, it is not demonstrable given the frequency with which obsidian was used in all phases of the Aegean Neolithic and Bronze Age.

88 Parlama (supra n. 85) publishes a fragmentary EC pyxis lid (107–108, pl. 53, bottom right) and a small EBA bottle from Chalandriani on Syros (105, pl. 53, bottom left); the former has a close parallel in a more complete lid from Skyros (pls. 49–50), and the latter has parallels not only on Skyros (pl. 48:10–11), but also on Euboea at Kyme Kastri Potamias (supra n. 79), and among finds from the EBA cemetery on Epano Koufonisi. For the material from Koufonisi, see F. Zafeiropoulou, "The Chronology of the Kampos Group," in Prehistoric Cyclades 33, fig. 1g. The pyxis lid from Skyros together with the two incised bone tubes have more recently been republished, with reference to parallels at Manika on Euboea, by E. Sapouna-Sakellaraki, "Κυκλαδικά της Σκύρου," in Φύλα Ετης 1 (Βιβλιοθήκη της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογίας Εταιρείας 103, Athens 1986) 293–99.


90 See Parlama (supra n. 86) 91–94 for the most complete published description of the 1981 excavation season, including the fullest description of the character of the EB II and Lefkandi I ceramics from the site, with several photographs and drawings. Among other pottery that characterizes these phases are sizable quantities of the talc ware found at Ayia Irini and other Cycladic sites (see Vaughan and Wilson, supra n. 20).
finds its closest parallels in Phylakopi I.2. Red-burnished bowls, which can be paralleled both in Troy V and in the Middle Cycladic period, were recovered from a pit dug into Anatolianizing deposits before the construction of house Alpha.91 Immediately to the west, in house Gamma, Anatolianizing types were excavated on a floor beneath the main deposit of the house, which contained a jug of Phylakopi I type, with pottery, including a relief-decorated “face-pot” that is said to find its closest parallels in Troy IV–V and the “brown” phase of Poliochni.

House Gamma is also of interest for its architecture and non-ceramic contents. Its one fully explored room has stone-built interior fixtures that include a raised platform, a bin, and a hearth; various storage jars, querns, and handstones, all in a good state of preservation, suggest that the building was abandoned in haste. Metal artifacts include a piece of lead sheeting and a roll-top pin of bronze; metals also appear to have been worked at the site.

There are few traces of Middle Bronze Age activity later in date than the abandonment of the settlement at Palamari: only a handful of badly worn sherds from Atsitsa have possible parallels among the Minoan and Minoanizing shapes of Ayia Irini period V, and can be added to the Minyan and matt-painted sherds noted years ago at Papa tou Houma. Documentation is similarly in short supply for the earlier phases of the LBA. Of 100 Mycenaean vessels now in the museum of Skyros (all but one with some recorded findspot), none is earlier in date than LH IIIA2. Virtually all of these vessels were found in the vicinity of the modern Chora and probably derive from tombs in cemeteries that existed north, south, and east of its acropolis. No unplundered tomb has yet been excavated but like the looted tombs investigated by Theoharis at Krokos, most are likely to have been chamber tombs of standard Mycenaean type.92 Evidence of a Mycenaean presence elsewhere on Skyros is meager.

**Thasos**

A review of the prehistory of the island with a gazetteer of prehistoric sites has recently been published.93 The Neolithic of the island remains poorly known and unrepresented in excavations. Late Neolithic ceramic types of the sort characteristic in Macedonia have been recognized as have white-painted dark-ground types evocative of the southern Aegean. Links with Macedonia continued in the EBA, but the MBA is a blank. The most significant Bronze Age center on Thasos is at the Theologos Kastri, a naturally fortified plateau in the southwestern part of the island. Some 300 m² of the settlement have been excavated; contemporary stone-built tombs in cemeteries nearby at Tsiganadika, Vrysoudes, and Kentria contained local imitation Mycenaean pottery and weapons, knives, and tools that also find antecedents in the south. The burials for the most part contained multiple inhumations although cremations are also represented. The analysis of finds from these graves suggests local mining and metalworking already by the end of the LBA.94

Since 1986 the small size of Skala Sotiros Profitis Elias, located on a small hill in the northwest part of the island, within the village of Skala Sotiros, has been explored. There, immediately beneath building levels of the sixth to fourth century B.C., are remains of a small (ca. 1400 m² in extent) habitation of the EBA, surrounded by a fortification wall, the earliest phase of which was built in part with masonry of herringbone style.95 Excavations inside the fortifications have yielded the remains of several buildings. Floors associated with a structure destroyed in a conflagration contained numerous complete pots, some filled with the remains of carbonized seeds (mostly legumes),

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91 For the fullest discussion of the stratigraphy of houses A and B, see Parlama (supra n. 89) 124–26. The exact chronology of these post-Lefkandi I groups remains to be sorted out. It is important to note that thus far no EH II1 painted wares have been published from the site.

92 Parlama (supra n. 86) 136, also reports unverified local testimony that suggests the existence of Skyros of large cist graves of the variety found on Psara in the Mycenaean period.


94 E. Pernicka and G.A. Wagner, "Thasos als Rohstoffquelle für Bunt- und Edelmetalle im Altertum," in Wagner and Weisgerber (supra n. 93) 224–31, suggest the possibility that local iron and copper were also being worked at the end of the Bronze Age on Thasos. Matsas (infra n. 100) mentions gold objects, probably of local metal, from latest LBA graves at Kastri as well as evidence for the working of local copper in the Chalcolithic phases of the settlement at Kastri. Analysis of lead artifacts from graves at Kastri points to compositions compatible with those of Thasian ores: see E. Pernicka, G.A. Wagner, and W. Todt, "Chemische und isotopische Zusammensetzung frühchristlicher Bleiartefakte aus Thasos," in C. Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, Πρωιστορική Θάσος (in press).

part of a hearth, and various small finds, among them chipped and ground stone, bone pins, needles, and spindle whorls. These deposits appear to mark the end of the EBA settlement; by that time the circuit was no longer serving a defensive function. From an older phase of habitation, two fragments of a stele in local schist and decorated in relief with the figure of a warrior have been retrieved, both reused as building material in the earliest phase of the western peribolos of the settlement. The head of the warrior was engraved with shallow incision; he wears a necklace, holds his right hand raised to his breast, and grasps a dagger in his left; set obliquely to his chest is a spear and a double-bladed axe is stuck through his broad belt. The closest parallels for this stele are in Troy I. Several fragmentary anthropomorphic schematic marble figurines, and parts of two others that were reused as building material within the circuit wall of the settlement, also find their closest parallels at Troy. These finds clearly predate construction of the peribolos but thus far soundings have failed to recognize earlier habitation levels. Parallels for ceramics from the earlier levels of Skala Sotiros are with Troy I, Sitagroi Va, and Emborio IV–V, from the later levels with Troy II–IV and later phases of the Macedonian EBA. Finds other than pottery from the excavations include obsidian, several metal objects, and a gold button-shaped ornament.

Elsewhere, in the southwest part of the island, at the site of Limenaria Tsines, two hematite mines (of some 15–20 in the vicinity) are thought to be prehistoric in date: handmade pottery, some of it Neolithic, has been found at the mouth of one mine and appears to postdate the mining. Bone and stone tools have been found in both mines and appear to have been employed for the extraction of minerals; the presence of horn from the Saiga antelope, extinct before the Neolithic, and the absence of bones from domestic species suggest that the mines were principally worked in the Palaeolithic, and dates of 15,000–12,000 B.C. have been advanced.96 If correct, these would be the oldest underground mines yet documented in Europe; Thasos would still have been attached to the adjacent mainland at this time.

**Samothrace**

Investigation of prehistoric Samothrace began in 1974 following rescue excavations on the coast southwest of modern Chora, at the site of Mikro Vouni; a wider program of regional survey, geological investigation, and ethnography has followed.97 Systematic survey elsewhere on Samothrace suggests that the settlement pattern in the Bronze Age was characterized by a high degree of nucleation. Mikro Vouni itself appears to have been a narrow-necked peninsula in prehistoric times. Excavations have thus far investigated levels of the FN, the earlier phases of the EBA, and of LH III; one sounding is nearly 8 m deep.98 Nine phases of construction have been recognized, and surface collection suggests that the settlement was approximately 1 ha in extent. The earliest material from Mikro Vouni is compared with that of Kum Tepe 1a and Ib, Poliochni “black,” and Emborio VII–VI; the latest, to the middle phases of Troy VI.99

The very recent announcement of Minoan documents, found amid destruction debris (including fragments of white plaster with red decoration) in the penultimate architectural phase of the site, is particularly exciting.100 These include a roundel and a nodule of types well known in Crete and generally found in administrative contexts. The Samothracian roundel may be of local clay, and was stamped repeatedly around its edges with a Minoan “cushion” sealstone engraved with Cretan hieroglyphic signs; it perhaps had Linear A signs written in ink on one side. The


98 D. Matsas, “Σιμοθράκη 1987: Αρχαιολογικές και εθνορυχειολογικές εργασίες,” *ΑΕΜΤ* 1 (1987) 499–502. Views of architectural remains are included; an LBA “spit rest” and an FN anthropomorphic vessel are illustrated. Elsewhere, prehistoric remains have been reported at the site of Mantrouda in the southern foothills of the central massif of the island (E. Skarlatidou, “Ποταμός Μαντρούδα,” *ArchDelt 35 B’* [1980] 434) and on the acropolis of Vrihou, west of Chora, where early Iron Age remains have been recently investigated. I thank D. Matsas for information about this site.

99 “Chronique” 1989 reports that in 1988 lower levels of occupation were reached, with remains substantially earlier in date (ca. 5500–5000 B.C.) than previously reported.

nodule had been pressed against a peg wound round with string and had clearly been used to seal a wooden container; afterward it had been stamped, leaving a leaf-shaped imprint. The discovery of a mudbrick marked with a linear sign amid the destruction debris suggests that writing was practiced locally. The associated pottery has been described in some detail and is compared to that from early subphases of Troy VI and with the Poliochni “brown” phase. Carbon-14 dates for two samples of associated bone have thus far been reported (with a combined calibrated date of 2030–1785 at a probability of two standard deviations).

Lesbos and Limnos. A sounding beneath the Hellenistic cemetery of ancient Mithymna on Lesbos reached prehistoric levels for the first time. Also of interest is the publication of a single Neolithic sherd, perhaps from the site of Halakies in the south of the island. On Limnos, continuing excavations, begun at the site of Myrina Riha Nera in 1986, have uncovered in several soundings parts of a complex of EBA buildings with at least three phases of habitation; associated finds are said to be contemporary with the “yellow” and “green” phases of Poliochni. At Poliochni itself restoration work has clarified some details of the architectural history of the prehistoric settlement.

Of more interest than the results of new excavations are those offered by recent metallurgical analyses of EBA finds from older excavations at Poliochni on Limnos and at Thermi on Lesbos. Of 33 objects available for analysis from Thermi (phases III–V), only three included tin as a constituent. In the longer-lived settlement of Poliochni, among 74 samples analyzed (from the “blue” to “yellow” phases), the quantity of tin bronzes was found to increase throughout the life of the settlement, reaching more than 50% by the “yellow” phase. Arsenic was used alternatively with tin as an alloy to produce bronze; tin in one example from Thermi appears to have been alloyed with iron (the well-known “tin bangle” from period IV, the earliest Aegean artifact in which tin is the principal constituent). In several instances at Thermi, brasses were also identified.

For the most part, the isotopic signatures of the lead contained in the copper from which unalloyed copper artifacts and arsenic bronzes were fashioned are the same as those from contemporary artifacts found in the Troad and at Yortan. Deposits in northwest Anatolia may be the most probable candidates for the source of the copper. Lead-isotope ratios appear to rule out Laurion as the source for even a single artifact of those from the “yellow” phase at Poliochni. The majority of copper-based artifacts that have an isotopic signature compatible with those of Aegean ores have incompatible chemical compositions. Chemical and lead isotopic analyses of artifacts from both Thermi and Poliochni suggest, however, that tin bronze was not invented or produced in the north Aegean. Tin bronze appears to have been exported to the northeast Aegean from a source as yet unknown. Imported tin does not appear to have been added to copper from sources that had previously been used locally either unalloyed or alloyed with arsenic. The fact that these “local” sources continued to be exploited after tin bronze had become widespread suggests that the EB II period was a time when copper became available from a broader geographical range of deposits.

Of the five silver objects from Poliochni that have been examined (including a double spiral-headed pin from the “blue” period, probably the earliest well-stratified silver artifact from the Aegean), all are of pure metal; they are not from the same ore and appear to have been extracted by cupellation. Levels of silver were found to be so high in lead objects that it is clear that the lead had not been desilvered. The isotope ratio of the silver pin suggests that the silver from which it was made came from outside the Aegean area; of the other objects, some are compatible with Laurion and Siphnian isotopic fingerprints.

prehistorique (Paris 1990) 321–30, for an overview of work at the site and for references to other prehistoric sites on the island. See also AR 35 (1989) 91–92; 36 (1990) 62.


107 For the pin, see K. Branigan, Aegean Metalwork of the Early and Middle Bronze Age (Oxford 1974) no. 2064.
A particularly exciting development is the discovery that in the northeast Aegean isotopic and chemical compositions of copper-based metals vary so uniformly through time that their composition can itself be used as a means to assign poorly stratified finds to a place in the Trojan stratigraphical sequence. Thus the types of metal used for bronze artifacts of Anatolian types at the site of Kastri on Syros can be tentatively dated to Troy IIg, providing support for the contemporaneity of the Kastri I phase in the Cyclades with EB II at Troy.

Chios. The final publication of the results of excavations at the prehistoric site of Emborio in southeastern Chios (1952–1955), the best anchorage between the Chora of the island and Kato Fana, and at Ayio Gala in the northwest (1938) has provided for the eastern Aegean a well-documented sequence of levels spanning the Later Neolithic and EBA. Ten periods, numbered from top to bottom, were defined on the basis of excavated deposits: period I, the latest of the EBA periods, is contemporary with Troy II; period VII ceramics have close parallels in FN material at Kephala on Keos; and period X corresponds to an early phase of the mainland Greek Late Neolithic. Still earlier material lay beneath the water table and was not investigated. Wheeled pottery was first introduced in period I, along with an Anatolian tankard shape that is closely paralleled in the Cyclades among ceramics of the Kastri Group. MBA and LBA finds were not assigned to periods.

The deepest and earliest stratified sequence of deposits at Emborio was excavated in area A, on flat ground northwest of the acropolis between it and the historical Greek sanctuary. EBA, as well as LBA, deposits were also explored at the northern edge of the acropolis, and on its western ascent. In the EBA the minimum extent of the settlement has been estimated at approximately 3 ha. Before the EBA the settlement may not have included the acropolis itself. Slopes southwest of the acropolis served as a cemetery: a rock-cut EBA tomb and two Mycenaean cist graves were found in trials.

Architectural remains were for the most part scrappy, although there were substantial stone walls even in the lowest stratum (period X) reached in area A; human skulls were found buried beneath one floor of period X. An adolescent had also been buried beneath a wall of a room that dated to period VIII. A spring in area A was later converted into a well, and was finally abandoned only in period II. At the end of period IV, the settlement appears to have been destroyed by fire at a time approximately contemporary with the earlier stages of the Aegean EBA; this is the only evidence of violent destruction recognized at Emborio. After the destruction, the ruins of the destroyed houses were deliberately filled with stones to build a level platform, which ultimately supported the foundations of period II houses.

For the most part, finds later than the EBA were found only in mixed levels. Burnished gray wares and matt-painted types were both represented. Most of the gray ware and matt-painted ware belongs to the LBA, but there are also types that find parallels in Troy III–V. The matt-painted (most often in bi-chrome red and black) pottery, though apparently of local production, looks ultimately to Crete for inspiration, and the limited range of motifs represented (e.g., spirals, foliate bands, wavy bands) is similar to the local Minoanizing pottery of the Dodecanese. The absence of light-on-dark imitations distinguishes it from the local Minoanizing wares of Rhodes and Kos. There is also no evidence that a full range of Minoan specialty implements (e.g., fireboxes) or tools (e.g., discoid loomweights) was introduced at Emborio; the lack of obvious Cretan imports also appears to distinguish Chios from its neighbors to the south.

The most substantial Mycenaean remains come from the north edge of the acropolis in area F. Building levels of the LBA for the most part were dated to LH IIIC, although two floors in area F contained non-Mycenaean style pottery that may belong to earlier phases of the LBA. The pottery in LH IIIC levels has its closest stylistic ties to Attica and Euboea; and the bulk of it appears to be Mycenaean rather than

108 In addition to the British investigations, rescue excavations in the Bahna plot (on the south shore of the harbor at Emborio) have explored what appears to be an undisturbed Neolithic stratum: see L. Ahilara, "Αρχαιολογικά Χρονικά της Χίου," Hieaka Hronika 17 (1985) 77–80. The relative chronology of Emborio has recently been reevaluated in Kastro Tigani 72–83. See also the analysis of a copper ingot from Emborio, in Stos-Gale and Gale (supra n. 39) 81, fig. 10, and 82.
109 Hood's view that period X of Emborio was contemporary with the beginning of EN on the Greek mainland has not been widely accepted; it is unfortunate that only a single 14C date (from period IV) is available for the site as a whole.
110 See S. Hood, "Mycenaens in Chios," in J. Boardman and C.E. Vaphopoulos-Richardson eds., Chios: A Conference at the Homerion in Chios (Oxford 1986) 169, for discussion of the use of cists for Mycenaean burials and a comparison between graves on Chios and those in the cemetery at Chromontiki on Psara. Similar cist graves may have been used on Skiros (supra n. 92).
111 Note, however, the presence of a strainer-vase (Emporio 575), fig. 256.2675), and a single discoid loomweight of Minoan type (Emporio 633).
112 Several sherds may date stylistically to LH IIIB, as do the four vases found in a cist grave (Emporio 582–83).
Anatolian in character, although several local shapes of Anatolian derivation are represented. The LH IIIC town on the acropolis was destroyed by burning; on the west slope, a contemporary destruction level was recognized, with a later poorly preserved phase of LH IIIC stratified above it. A variety of small finds from Emborio has been published: most belong to the Neolithic and EBA. They include terracotta spoons, one (and possibly two) terracotta stamp seal(s), a lump of clay used for sealing, possible crucibles, stone molds (one, of LBA date, for a butterfly pendant), loomweights, spindle whorls, terracotta figurines (mostly of Mycenaean types), an ox protome with incised decoration of EBA date, fragments of several stone vases, including a lamp of a type characteristic of the Cretan New Palace period, and an assortment of ground stone tools, chipped stone, and bone tools. Among the most distinctive of the various copper or bronze finds are pins of familiar Aegean EBA varieties, a flat axe, a complete Mycenaean knife, and a fragment of a copper ingot of LBA type. Metal finds that are clearly Neolithic in date are few; they include the tip of a knife or dagger blade and a ring pendant with an attached suspension loop. A phallic pendant of spondylus shell has close parallels in the Cyclades. One faience bead comes from an EBA context, another, cylindrical in shape, from a Mycenaean level. Three fragments of amber, also of Mycenaean date, are Baltic in origin. The animal bones from both Neolithic and Bronze Age levels included characteristic Neolithic domesticates. The dating of finds from the two caves excavated at Ayio Gala before World War II has been controversial. No stratification was recognized in the lower cave; excavated material appears to have washed into it through a hole in its roof. In the nearby upper cave, two distinct strata were recorded, the lower of which contained ceramics of a character similar to the bulk of the finds from the lower cave. The character of the finds from the lower cave is not closely paralleled either at Emborio or at Tigani on Samos. Most scholars view the finds from Ayio Gala as largely earlier than those of Emborio period X and partly contemporaneous with the Middle Neolithic of the Greek mainland. Small finds from Ayio Gala include terracotta human heads from figurines or attachments to vessels, bowls of steatite, part of a stone schematic figurine, bone tools, stone and shell pendants, celts, and stone bracelets.

Finds from elsewhere on the island echo the sequence of Emborio. At least 14 sites with traces of definite or possible prehistoric activity can be added to those listed in the Gazetteer. They are dominantly of EBA and LH III date.

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113 For a fuller discussion of the Mycenaean finds from Emborio and elsewhere in Chios, see Hood (supra n. 110) 169–80.
114 For the chipped stone, see S. Hood and P.G. Bialor, “The Chipped Stone and Obsidian Industries of Emporio and Ayio Gala,” in Emporio 699–713. Obsidian is notably scarce in all levels at Emborio and in both caves at Ayio Gala; local flint and even limestone was used in its place. Certain other features of the assemblage (e.g., the small and totally expended cores) suggested to Bialor that obsidian was in short supply. Somewhat counterintuitively, a higher percentage of obsidian was found in earlier levels than in the later levels at Emborio; there are only two tanged arrowheads, both from post-Neolithic strata.
117 Felsch, Kastro Tigani 96–98, argues that the stratigraphy in the upper cave was inverted, with characteristic forms of the EBA in the lower deposits and Neolithic types in the upper. Parallels with ceramics characteristic of the Larisa, Arapi, and Otzaki A phases of the Greek mainland suggested to him that the upper cave was already occupied at an early phase of the mainland Greek Late Neolithic. Complete vases from the lower cave are compared to types of Hacilar VI and are dated still earlier. Since the earliest types found in the upper cave are not represented either in the sequence of Emborio or Tigani, Felsch suggests that both the Emborio and Tigani sequences began later than the Arapi phase of the Greek mainland Late Neolithic. See J.B. Rutter, who, in a review of the Emborio publication (AJA 88 [1984] 410–11), dated the earliest levels at Emborio to the Final Neolithic of the western Aegean, considerably later than material from the Ayio Gala caves. Hood preferred to view the material from both caves as representing cultural traditions contemporary with, but different from, those of Emborio. In his reconstruction, habitation at Ayio Gala began later than Emborio period X and overlapped in date with periods VIII/IX–VI/V; the earliest phases of occupation at both sites were viewed as contemporary with the later stages of the mainland Greek Early Neolithic.
118 See Emporio 2–9; also, E. Yalouris, “Notes on the Topography of Chios,” in Boardman and Vaphopoulou-Richardson (supra n. 110) 141–68, where detail is added to the discussion of some sites—particularly, a map of the (probably) fortified EBA site of Perranos in the southwest part of the island (147, 148, fig. 2).
119 Among finds from them, a marble dagger pommel comes from Kato Fana (Gazetteer 370), two marble handles from Dotia, and a stone axe from the town of Chios (Emporio 6, fig. 3).
Psara. Excavations in the LH III cemetery at Arhontiki were resumed in 1983 after a hiatus of more than 20 years.\footnote{Full reports have thus far appeared only in the local journal of the island: A. Tsaravopoulos et al., “Αρχαιολογική έρευνα στα Ψαρά,” *Ta Psara* 49–51 (1984) 5–11; N. Zafeiropoulou et al., “Αρχαιολογική έρευνα Ψαρών,” *Ta Psara* 49–51 (1984) 2–4; L. Ahilara, “Ανασκαφική δραστηριότητα στα Ψαρά κατά το 1985,” *Ta Psara* 67–69 (1986) 10–11; A. Papadopoulou et al., “Ανασκαφική έρευνα στα Ψαρά 1986,” *Ta Psara* 73–75 (1986) 2–7 (the most complete description of settlement remains). See also Ahilara (supra n. 108) 73–75. A paper by L. Ahilara, entitled “Mycenaean Events from Psara,” was delivered at the International Congress of Mycenology in Rome–Naples, October 1991. See also Gazetteer 371.} In addition to the new investigations on Syros and Delos described here, a find from one of the EC graves excavated at Diakoftis on Mykonos (Gazetteer 308) has been published (Hekman [infra n. 122] 24); see also E.-M. Bossert, “Zu einem Figurgefäßen von den Kykladen und aus Westkleinasien,” in *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde Kleinasiens. Festschrift für Kurt Bittel* (Mainz 1983) 121–38, esp. 127 fig. 2.3 where an EC vase from Mykonos, stamped with a seal, is illustrated.\footnote{In addition to the new investigations on Syros and Delos described here, a find from one of the EC graves excavated at Diakoftis on Mykonos (Gazetteer 308) has been published (Hekman [infra n. 122] 24); see also E.-M. Bossert, “Zu einem Figurgefäßen von den Kykladen und aus Westkleinasien,” in *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde Kleinasiens. Festschrift für Kurt Bittel* (Mainz 1983) 121–38, esp. 127 fig. 2.3 where an EC vase from Mykonos, stamped with a seal, is illustrated.} In addition, the northwest and southwest coasts of the island have been systematically explored. The cemetery is located on the west coast of the island within the bay of Ayios Nikolaos, 3 km north of the modern town of Psara. Most of the graves, cists with built entrances, appear to have been used for multiple burials or as ossuaries; in one large grave excavated in 1984, the first articulated inhumation was discovered amid the remains of earlier interments. Among the grave goods were beads of clay, glass paste, faience, gold, and semiprecious stones such as carnelian, a cylinder seal, pins, bronze tools and weapons, and spindle whorls of both clay and stone. West of the cemetery are remains of walls that belong to a settlement. Excavation in upper levels produced ceramics of Mycenaean date, contemporary with those from the cemetery; surface finds, however, suggest also Neolithic and EBA occupation.

On the tiny island of Daskaleio, just off the coast of Arhontiki in the bay of Ayios Nikolaos and perhaps once joined to the adjacent mainland, are remains of similar character and date; 300 m east of Arhontiki, EBA occupation levels have been found buried beneath 5 m of alluvium.

The Northern Cyclades

Little new information has become available in recent years from the northern islands of the Cyclades.\footnote{Most recently, see “Sources of Metals” 267. The interpretation of these data is another matter; see “Perspectives.” It is not a foregone conclusion that bronzes from Troy were manufactured from northwest Anatolian copper; see the discussion of metallurgical analyses on Lesbos and Limnos summarized in this review. For variant opinions, see recently C. Doumas, “The EBA in the Cyclades: Continuity or Discontinuity,” in *Greek Prehistory* 21–29; and J.A. MacGillivray, “Cycladic Society at the End of the Early Bronze Age,” to be published in the proceedings of the 6th International Colloquium on Aegean Prehistory, Athens 1987.}

Syros. Of particular importance is an ongoing project that seeks to prepare a complete final publication for the results of 19th-century excavations on Syros, at the site of Halandriani; the vast majority of graves and grave goods from investigations in 1861, in the 1870s, and in 1898 remain unpublished. One preliminary report has appeared thus far in which a score of ceramic and marble vessels are described and illustrated, most for the first time.\footnote{R. Étienne and A. Farnoux, “Delos. 1. Le prytanée. A. Sondages,” *BCH* 112 (1988) 746–52; A. Farnoux, “Delos. 2. Nettoyer des murs de l’habitat pré-archaïque,” *BCH* 114 (1990) 897–900. For a summary of recent work, see AR 36 (1990) 86.} Other recent research has focused on the analysis of metal artifacts from the nearby site of Kastri; much of the copper appears to have come from outside the Aegean and is similar in composition to that in use at Troy.\footnote{R. Étienne and A. Farnoux, “Delos. 1. Le prytanée. A. Sondages,” *BCH* 112 (1988) 746–52; A. Farnoux, “Delos. 2. Nettoyer des murs de l’habitat pré-archaïque,” *BCH* 114 (1990) 897–900. For a summary of recent work, see AR 36 (1990) 86.}

Delos. Recent excavations in the sanctuary of Apollo on Delos have explored Mycenaean strata just outside the fifth-century B.C. prytaneion and beneath the *prodomos* of the prytaneion. Mycenaean material had been employed to fill cavities in the bedrock, a leveling operation apparently conducted in conjunction with the establishment, beneath the prytaneion itself, of a round cutting in the bedrock (arguably a fountain), 5 m in diameter.\footnote{R. Étienne and A. Farnoux, “Delos. 1. Le prytanée. A. Sondages,” *BCH* 112 (1988) 746–52; A. Farnoux, “Delos. 2. Nettoyer des murs de l’habitat pré-archaïque,” *BCH* 114 (1990) 897–900. For a summary of recent work, see AR 36 (1990) 86.} These remains are in a sector of the sanctuary where Mycenaean activities had not previously been recorded. Investigations in 1990 launched a systematic attempt to document more thoroughly all pre-Archaic architecture.
The Western Cyclades

Kythnos. Archaeological investigations of Bronze Age Kythnos in 1984–1985 included surface survey and the excavation of a previously unknown site at Skouries, east of the modern Chora in the northeast part of the island. Amid fragments of baked clay from furnaces, pottery of the EC II period was found with obsidian tools and slag. Some 20 round buildings of schist slabs had apparently been erected to shelter smaller furnaces built inside them. Two have been excavated. Just to the southeast of Skouries at Yeronimos possible LBA pottery was excavated in association with a rectangular structure on a hilltop; there was reason to suspect that an EBA settlement associated with the mining operation at Skouries would have been located on the nearby bay of Ayios Ioannis. At Tsoulis, 2 km to the south, traces of an ancient surface mine suggest prehistoric copper mining; a fragment of an EC II jar came from surface deposits as did stone and obsidian tools.

Isotopic compositions of copper samples from the mines, furnaces, and various copper deposits on the island match those previously determined for the so-called “Kythnos Hoard,” which is typologically of EC II date. The chemical composition of copper from slags and ores suggests that arsenical copper of the sort from objects in the “Kythnos Hoard” were manufactured was being produced on Kythnos. All but two objects in this hoard now appear, however, to have been found on Naxos, perhaps in the Cave of Zas, along with several similar tools now in Copenhagen. Kythnos, nonetheless, appears to have been a major source for the copper used to manufacture copper-based artifacts in the southern Aegean in the EBA.

Siphnos. Full publication of the results of interdisciplinary research on Siphnos has greatly transformed our impression of the importance of this island as a supplier of metals in prehistoric times. Wide-ranging investigations of traces of ancient mining on the island have demonstrated that already in the earlier third millennium Siphnos served as a significant source of silver and lead in the Aegean. A considerable amount of EBA pottery, and at least a small amount of FN, has been found on the surface in the vicinity of the mines at Ayios Sostis, in the northeast part of the island; most of the ceramics were mixed with debris from the mining, but a number of datable pieces come from within a deposit of mining debris (Versatz) inside one mine (no. 2) itself. Artifacts from Ayios Sostis have now been published in detail; they include objects directly connected with metallurgy, such as crucibles and tuyeres, as well as domestic vessels. Several other lead and silver mines in other

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125 Of all the islands of the western Cyclades, the archaeological resources of Serifos remain the most poorly known. Lately an EC sherd on a copper slag heap at Alivassos has been mentioned; see G. Weisgerber, “Bemerkungen zur prähistorischen und antiken Bergbautechnik,” in Silber, Blei und Gold 112, n. 28.


127 On the “Kythnos Hoard,” see J.L. Fitton, “Esse Quam Videri: A Reconsideration of the Kythnos Hoard of Early Cycladic Tools,” AFA 93 (1989) 31–39. The discovery of a significant number of metal tools in recent excavations at the Cave of Zas would tend to support Fitton’s and Renfrew’s suggestion that the Cave of Zas was the original findsite of this hoard (but also see infra n. 177 for bronzes from the Koronas Cave on Naxos).

128 “Sources of Metals” 266–67. Present evidence suggests that Kythnos was a principal source not only for the Cyclades but also for Crete in the EBA, although data for Crete is still exiguous.

129 H. Matthäus, “Sifnos im Altertum,” in Silber, Blei und Gold 17–58, has summarized comprehensively the evidence for prehistoric archaeological discoveries on the island before the mid-1980s. Various finds from older excavations are reillustrated; a selection of obsidian tools and debitage recovered at the sites of Vorini and Platia Yialos in the course of the recent investigations by the Max Planck Institute is illustrated in fig. 9, p. 29. On artifacts from Platia Yialo, see also E. Pernicka et al., “Alte Blei-Silber-Verhüttung auf Sifnos,” in Silber, Blei und Gold 197; for Vorini, see also G.A. Wagner and G. Weisgerber, “Andere Blei-Silbergruben auf Sifnos,” in Silber, Blei und Gold 168–69. For EBA pottery from Ayios Andreas, see Vaughan and Wilson (supra n. 20). Matthäus reports finds that are possibly of FN date at several sites, including Ayios Sostis (p. 30); Gropengiesser 1987 (infra n. 131) 13, 35, n. 291, also mentions material that may be typologically of the later Neolithic from the site of Akrotiraki (Gazetteer 312) in the southeast part of the island. With it were terracotta implements probably associated with metallurgy.

130 The extent to which its gold deposits were exploited, if at all, in prehistoric times remains unclear.

131 H. Gropengiesser, “Siphnos, Kap Agios Sostis: Keramische prähistorische Zeugnisse aus dem Gruben- und Hüttenvorwerk,” AM 101 (1986) 1–59; AM 102 (1987) 1–54. These papers fully describe material found at Ayios Sostis both on the surface and inside mine no. 2; for commentary on prehistoric artificial material presented in Silber, Blei
parts of the island may also have been in use in prehistoric times.\textsuperscript{132} The scarcity of slags has raised the possibility that ore from the mines of Siphnos was smelted elsewhere, in areas where fuel supplies were more abundant. Whatever the case, lead-isotope analyses of lead and silver finds from the Cyclades suggest that a substantial amount of the Siphnian metals was being used in the EBA, even at Ayia Irini, which was located near a competing source at Laurion.\textsuperscript{133} Continued use of the mines of Siphnos in the LBA has been postulated on the basis of thermoluminescence dates of slag samples at Ayios Sostis, but no lead-isotope analyses of LBA artifacts have yet indicated a Siphnian provenance.

Melos. The new British School excavations at Phylakopi and an intensive survey of parts of the island (1974–1977) resulted in a burst of publication in the early and mid-1980s.\textsuperscript{134} A report on the results of excavations in the Mycenaean sanctuary at Phylakopi represents the most recent contribution to the final publication of that campaign. The sanctuary consists of two parts, an east and a west shrine: the latter constructed first, during a time contemporary with LH IIIA on the Greek mainland; the former added in LH IIIB just inside an extension to the main fortification wall of the settlement. The entire complex was severely damaged at a time when LH IIIC styles were current (in phase 2b), approximately contemporary with the destruction of the citadel at Koukountaries on Paros; parts of the complex were reused, only to be abandoned finally in a later stage of LH IIIC.

\textit{und Gold}, see Gropengiesser 1987, 53–54. Among the pottery are numerous examples of bases with matt, or leaf, impressions and a possible fragment of a Cycladic friying pan. A pattern-burnished sherd and a fragment of a "cheesepot" are the clearest examples of FN. For an obsidian "Saliagos point" from Ayios Sostis, see G.A. Wagner et al., "Early Bronze Age Lead-Silver Mining and Metallurgy in the Aegean: The Ancient Workings on Siphnos," in P.T. Craddock ed., \textit{Scientific Studies in Early Mining and Extractive Metallurgy} (BMOP 20, London 1980) 81, pl. 1. See also H. Gropengiesser, "Prähistorische Keramik von Siphnos," in \textit{Kolloquium zur ägäischen Vorgeschichte} (Schriften des deutschen Archäologen-Verbandes) 9, Mannheim 1987) 63, where further reference is made to surface finds from the site of Akrotiraki; the oldest material there is compared to the FN of Kephala on Keos. Impressed wares from FN of Ayios Ioannis, also in the southeast, are compared to Thessalian EN types, and it is claimed that they represent the earliest Neolithic ceramics yet recognized in the Cyclades, a claim that remains to be substantiated.

\textsuperscript{132} Near a mining shaft at Ayios Ioannis, the outline of a ship pecked on the bedrock finds a parallel on Naxos among the probable EC rock-carvings from Korphi 'Aironiou; see Weiginter (supra n. 125) 107, 109, fig. 102.

\textsuperscript{133} See E. Pernicka and G.A. Wagner, "Die metallurgische Bedeutung von Sifnos im Altertum," in \textit{Silber, Blei und Gold} 200–11; and Gale, Stos-Gale, and Davis (supra n. 18) 389–406. The process by which Laurion after the EBA replaced Siphnos as the dominant source of lead and silver in the Aegean is discussed at length in the latter paper.

\textsuperscript{134} See C. Renfrew and M. Wagstaff eds., \textit{An Island Polity: The Archaeology of Exploitation in Melos} (Cambridge 1982); C. Renfrew, \textit{The Archaeology of Cult: The Sanctuary at Phylakopi} (London 1985); see also specialized studies in \textit{Prehistoric Cyclades}, and, for analyses of lead and litharge, Stos-Gale and Gale (supra n. 39) 87, fig. 20. A third volume, reporting results of excavations in the town elsewhere than in the sanctuary, is in preparation. Meanwhile, for a summary of pertinent results, see C. Renfrew, "Phylakopi and the Late Bronze I Period in the Cyclades," in \textit{TAW} I, 403–21.

A street and a courtyard (the latter with a possible sacred stone or baetyl in its corner) offered access to both shrines.\textsuperscript{135} Within the sanctuary, benches and platforms served for the display of objects. A number of drain-tile fragments may derive from terracotta channels that were used to conduct water from the roof of the east shrine; interior walls of the sanctuary were extensively coated with white plaster, perhaps in part painted red; and coarser plain plaster is likely to have been employed to seal its roof. A few fragments of plaster with painted designs almost certainly derive ultimately from levels earlier in date than the building of the sanctuary. The buildings as a whole were well constructed, but there is no good reason to believe that the cult center was directly controlled by those who resided in the contemporary Mycenaean megaron at Phylakopi.

Pottery ranged in date from LH I/LM I to LH IIIC, although pre-LH III material is present only in small quantities as stray finds in later contexts.\textsuperscript{136} The assortment of terracotta figures and figurines from the sanctuary, probably both votives and cult images, is unparalleled elsewhere in prehistoric Greece: not only female, animal, and chariot-group figurines of well-known Mycenaean varieties were recovered, but also female figures with bell-skirts of Cretan types, wheel-made bovine figurines, a possible fish rhyton, birdaskoi, a crudely fashioned large female figure with explicitly represented genitalia, and a large (45 cm), exquisitely modeled and decorated figure, the so-called "Lady of Phylakopi." Most unusual are several capped male figures with elongated bodies and ex-
explicitly rendered genitalia. There is some parallelism between types found in the two shrines. Nearly identical pairs are represented in several instances, and within the west shrine, the distribution of figures and figurines on platforms in its corners may indicate a male-female dichotomy in cult practices.

Probable votive gifts comprise sealstones, a scarab of a Syro-Palestinian type, a small human head worked in sheet gold by repoussé, two bronze figurines of a “smiting god” or “Reshef,” their best parallels in Syria and Palestine, and a terracotta mold for the manufacture of flat chisels. Other metal objects included projectile points, knives, an attachment in the form of a small bird, rings, awls, pins, and lead clamps. Beads, mostly of glass paste, were common in the sanctuary but rare elsewhere; two were of faience. One fragment of ivory probably belonged to a handle, another to a sword or dagger pommel. Numerous fragments of ostrich shell may all derive from a rhyton, fabricated from a single egg. Pieces of tortoise shells preserve drill holes and served as sound-boxes for a lyre. Two triton shells may have provided musical accompaniment for ritual activities. Various spinning and weaving equipment was probably not associated with worship.

Among stone finds are fragments of vessels of Cre- tan New Palatial types, pedestaled lamps or censers in local tuff with chevron decoration, and a pendant in semiprecious stone of a reclining lion or dog, possibly of Egyptian manufacture. Ground stone tools were manufactured primarily from local volcanics; marble slabs were imported. A comparison of chipped stone assemblages from inside and outside the sanctuary delineated certain patterns: in the course of LB III, as the frequency of domestic use and discard of obsidian declined within the settlement as a whole, more obsidian was brought to the shrines and its use was increasingly incorporated into ritual activities. Analysis of faunal remains, however, did not detect patterns in consumption that would point to special sacrificial practices.

Additional fieldwork sponsored by the British School in 1989 intensively surveyed a number of sites (most of them already known from earlier survey), including several of the Early Cycladic period. New fragments of frescoes retrieved in the recent excavations have been described, and new reconstructions have been proposed for wall paintings previously discovered at Phylakopi (fig. 13). Finally, a considerable quantity of unpublished pottery of Cycladic and Minoan MBA types from older excavations on Melos has also been catalogued and illustrated.

The Southern Cyclades

Ios. Explorations on the island of Ios since 1983 have made the first substantial contributions to our understanding of the prehistory of the island since early in this century; new sites have been located and new information gathered about those previously charted. Of greatest significance has been the discovery in 1984 of the site of Skarkos, north of ancient Ios near a large natural harbor on the west coast of the island (fig. 14). Excavations were started in 1986 following systematic surface collection and have con-

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137 On these surface collections, see AR 36 (1990) 67, and Annual Report of the Managing Committee, the British School at Athens 1989–1990, 26. The results will be published by R. Catling and G. Sanders. In association with this project, a republication by R. Arnott of the finds from the 1897 excavations at Pelos is in preparation. I am grateful to Mr. Arnott for this information; a summary of his paper, “The Early Cycladic I Cemetery of Pelos, Melos: Approaching a Repub-

138 lication of the Excavation,” will be published in BICS as part of the minutes of the Mycenaean Seminar for 1992. Another member of this team has recently described the distribution of Keros-Syros sites on the island and the characteristics of lithics from various Melian sites, within the context of a reconsideration of the causes that lay behind the emergence of a prismatic obsidian blade technology in the Aegean EBA. See T. Carter, “Blood and Tears: A Cycladic Case Study in Microwear Analysis. The Use of Obsidian Blades from Graves as Razors,” to appear in the proceedings of the Sixth International Flint Symposium, October 1991, Madrid.

139 For Phylakopi MBA pottery, see Minoan Influence 358–75. For frescoes, see Morgan (supra n. 39) 252–66. Morgan suggests that a fresco composition involving presentation of cloth to a goddess with associated monkeys, thematically related to the frescoes of Xesti 3 at Akrotiri, may have adorned the walls of the Pillar Crypt at Phylakopi and nearby rooms.

140 Elsewhere in the southern Cyclades, the publication of an EBA bracelet from Folegandros is of interest; the archaeological resources of the island itself remain largely unexplored. See R. Arnott, “An Early Cycladic Bracelet from Pholegandros in the Fitzwilliam Museum,” BICS 36 (1989) 117–26.

141 See also AR 33 (1987) 49 for a report of a prehistoric settlement and EBA cemetery located at Halara Mangania-riou in the south of the island. R. Arnott, “Early Cycladic Objects from Ios Formerly in the Finlay Collection,” BSA 85 (1990) 3–14, has recently published several marble figurines, marble vases, obsidian blades, and a lead figurine (of dubious authenticity), formerly in the collection of George Finlay and now in the collection of the British School at Athens.

142 M. Marthari, "Σκάφος: Ένας πρωτοκυκλαδικός οικιωμός στην Ιο," in Ιολογία (supra n. 89) 97–100. My account is based on this publication, supplemented by information concerning the results of the 1990 and 1991 excavation seasons, kindly provided by Mariza Marthari.
continued through 1991. Squares, a road, and parts of contemporary building complexes have thus far been exposed. Beneath surface levels was a deep destruction layer, which rested on the floors of the buildings and dates both their destruction and final period of use to the EBA (fig. 15). Finds include EC II sauceboats (fig. 16) and saucers, loomweights, a large number of spindle whorls, many implements of ground and chipped stone, bronze and lead objects, and two marble figurines similar to the Apeiranthos type. The walls of the structures are preserved to an extraordinary height, in places nearly 3 m; most of the buildings had a second story. All architectural remains excavated thus far appear to belong to the Keros-Syros phase of EC II; no pottery diagnostic of the Kamos group or of the succeeding Kastri group has

Fig. 13. Phylakopi, Melos. Presentation scene. Wall painting from the Pillar Crypt. (Courtesy Lyvia Morgan)

Fig. 14. Skarkos, Ios. General view. (Courtesy Mariza Marthari)
been recognized. After the abandonment of the settlement, several cist and pithos graves of transitional MC/LC I date were dug into the EC debris.

Thera and Therasia. In recent years much progress has been made toward setting the site of Akrotiri within the context of the overall settlement history of the island of Thera. Additional prehistoric settlements have been located both on Thera and Therasia. It is now clear that these islands were densely settled in the centuries before the final eruption of the Santorini volcano and that their settlement patterns at the time of the eruption were more similar to those of Crete in the New Palace period than to those of other Cycladic islands, such as Melos and Keos.

Limited excavation has continued at Akrotiri. Room 7 of the West House has been investigated and there have been stratigraphical tests north, south, and east of the West House. The western facade of Xesti (Ashlar) 5 has been cleared as has a terraced platform to its west. Excavation has also progressed in Xesti 3.

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142 Results of the first 20 years of work at Akrotiri will be summarized in C. Doumas ed., Ακρωτήρι Θήρας: Εἴκοσι χρόνια έρευνας. Συμπεράσματα-Προβλήματα-Προοπτικές (in press).

143 Results of research prior to 1980 are conveniently summarized with relevant bibliography in C.G. Doumas, Thera: Pompeii of the Ancient Aegean (London 1983). For a later summary including the most important bibliography of the early 1980s, see R. Barber, The Cyclades in the Bronze Age (Iowa City 1987) ch. 8. More recent work is discussed in many of the papers included in TAW III, where a current overview of the stratigraphy of the site as a whole is offered by C. Doumas, "Archaeological Observations at Akrotiri Relating to the Volcanic Destruction," in TAW 111.3, 48–50.

144 Evidence for the overall pattern of settlement on Thera and Therasia has been discussed by Davis and Cherry (supra n. 41), with a gazetteer of sites described in print up to 1989 on pp. 190–91. This gazetteer should be supplemented by the addition of newly located sites described by M.A. Aston and P.G. Hardy, "The Pre-Minoan Landscape of Thera: A
17), within rooms 3B and 14. Other subsidiary explorations have demonstrated that the level of the roads within the settlement was raised prior to the final volcanic destruction of the site; the removal of volcanic debris west of room Delta 15 (fig. 18) revealed hollows left by wooden furniture embedded in the ash. Excavation has been most extensive in the House of the Ladies, where investigation was resumed in 1987 after a hiatus of some 15 years. Many constructional details of the building are now clarified; the original interpretation of room 9 as a lightwell (a unique architectural feature at Akrotiri) is supported. Of special interest among recent finds is part of a horns of consecration, cut from volcanic stone. Preliminary Statement," in TAW III.2, 348–60. Places in which the pre-eruption surface of the island is visible have begun to be mapped and the morphology of the pre-eruption island reconstructed; in several places, pre-eruption artifacts have been reported for the first time on the surface of the pre-eruption soils, notably in a quarry at Megalohori and on the caldera slopes at Megalo Vouno, but the material has not yet been adequately examined or closely dated. Finds of later MC and LC date from the Mavromatis quarry near Akrotiri have now been described in more detail and appear to extend over an area of at least 5 ha. On Mavromatis, see C. Televantou, "Ορυχεία Μαυρομάτη," ArchDelt 37 B (1982), 358–59; and Minoan Influence 358.

145 For tests outside the West House, see C. Doumas, "Άνακασκή Θήρας (Ακωτή)," Prakt 1985, 169–70; "Άνακασκή Θήρας (Ακωτή)," Prakt 1987, 241–44; Ergon 1985, 108–109. Beneath the plateia west of Xesti 5, several bedrock-hewn chambers, perhaps originally chamber tombs, appear to have been reused by Middle Cycladic potters for cleaning and storing clay. Stone vases and other EC artifacts were recovered in the course of their excavation, some of them perhaps intentionally removed from the chambers by the potters: see Prakt 1985, 171–75. For Xesti 5, see Prakt 1987, 244–45; Ergon 1990, 113. For roads, see Prakt 1985 (supra n. 145) 175; for excavation west of room Delta 15; see Ergon 1988, 129.

146 For tests outside the West House, see C. Doumas, "Άνακασκή Θήρας (Ακωτή)," Prakt 1985, 169–70; "Άνακασκή Θήρας (Ακωτή)," Prakt 1987, 241–44; Ergon 1985, 108–109. Beneath the plateia west of Xesti 5, several bedrock-hewn chambers, perhaps originally chamber tombs, appear to have been reused by Middle Cycladic potters for cleaning and storing clay. Stone vases and other EC artifacts were recovered in the course of their excavation, some of them perhaps intentionally removed from the chambers by the potters: see Prakt 1985, 171–75. For Xesti 5, see Prakt 1987, 244–45; Ergon 1990, 113.

147 Prakt 1987 (supra n. 145) 245–54; Ergon 1990, 109–11. Fragments of earlier relief and other painted fresco have been found embedded in the floors of the upper story, and seem to have been recycled from older ruined structures. See also T. Sali-Axioti, "The Lightwell of the House of the Ladies and Its Structural Behaviour," in TAW III.1, 437–40.
cently published frescoes include depictions of three youths and an adult from Xesti 3, room 3B, which may represent a male initiation ritual.148

Akrotiri was settled already in the Neolithic and was inhabited throughout the EBA.149 The EBA settlement appears to have been of substantial size. Evidence for Neolithic occupation remains slim; 16 sherds have shapes and decoration paralleled in finds from Saliagos. Sherds of the EBA are plentiful. Almost all of the material is highly fragmentary and its dating, for the most part, depends on stylistic criteria. More than 75% of the total EBA pottery comes, in fact, from the final destruction levels of the settlement, presumably the result of recycling of various kinds (e.g., through incorporation in mudbricks or roofing). All major phases of the EC period appear to be present, and there are types characteristic of the Kamil and Kastri assemblages. The overall distribution pattern of the Neolithic and EC sherds suggests that the focus of the earliest occupation at Akrotiri was in the southwestern part of the excavated area, in the vicinity of Xesti 3.

148 For illustrations, see C. Doumas, "Ανασκαφή Θήρας (Ακρωτηρίου)," Prakt 1986, 208–11; Ergon 1988, 130, fig. 103; Ergon 1989, 116, figs. 109–11. Final study of the frescoes from the West House has now been completed; a volume will be published shortly by the Greek Archaeological Society: C.A. Televantou, Ακρωτήρι Θήρας: Οι Παραγωγείς της Δυτικής Οικής.

149 P. Sotirakopoulos, "Early Cycladic Pottery from Akrotiri," BSA 81 (1986) 297–312. The extent of the EBA occupation had been described before this but the evidence had not been set forth in detail. See also Sotirakopoulos, "The Earliest History of Akrotiri: The Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age Phases," in TAW III, 41–50. These two papers are complementary and should be read together.
Akrotiri was destroyed twice in the initial stages of the LBA. A crisp description of the stratigraphy of the West House and of soundings beneath its floors has provided valuable details concerning the later history of Akrotiri. On the floors of the West House lay deposits of the Volcanic Destruction Level (commonly now abbreviated VDL); beneath them were homogenous deposits that had been used as fill. These deposits appear to derive from debris accumulated in a destruction that wracked the site at a very early stage of the LBA. The fact that so many buildings were damaged and subsequently required extensive reconstruction suggests that the destruction was caused by an earthquake. The deposits from the West House and others of similar character elsewhere are commonly said to belong to the Seismic Destruction Level (SDL) of Akrotiri.

Still further below the rooms of the West House intact vases and sherds of late MC types have been found in pits of uncertain function that were cut into the bedrock. Earlier stages of the MC period, including types characteristic of Phylakopi I, are represented, but not in well-stratified deposits. This phase in the island's history has, however, been more systematically explored in excavations in two other locations, Ftellos and the Karayeoryis quarries.

Both sites were discovered (and badly disturbed) during modern quarrying.

There should no longer be any debate over the dating of the final destruction of Akrotiri or concerning its relative position in the Minoan chronological sequence. Akrotiri was abandoned in LM IA at a time before the LM IB style on Crete had developed. The explosion of the Santorini volcano appears to have occurred as a single event; there was no appreciable delay between the depositions of the various strata of volcanic ejectulates from its eruption. It is highly unlikely that the LM IB style developed in the interval between the abandonments of the settlement and the final eruption of the volcano.

Evidence from elsewhere in the Aegean leads to these same conclusions. It has been established for some years that the eruption of the Theran volcano, as represented by volcanic ash deposited in soil at Phylakopi on Melos, occurred at a time when LM IA and LC I styles were current, and not even at the very end of the LC I period. Recent excavations both in East Crete and in the Dodecanese have revealed layers of Theran ash stratified over deposits of LM IA and beneath LM IB floors, with pieces of pumice from the eruption in LM IA contexts. The cumulative evidence in all cases suggests that the fall of ash occurred before


152 It was only in the course of the rebuilding of the settlement in the wake of this SDL that the walls of the houses were decorated with pictorial frescoes. The SDL and the general rebuilding of the town that followed it must not be confused with the earthquake damage and more ad hoc reconstruction that occurred soon before the final volcanic destruction of the settlement. On this point, see E.N. Davis (supra n. 39) 226, and comments by C. Renfrew, in TAW III.1, 70. Most recently, P.M. Warren, "A New Minoan Deposit from Knossos, c. 1600 B.C., and Its Wider Relations," BSA 86 (1991) 339, has drawn attention to stylistic similarities between material from the SDL and pottery in a deposit from Knossos that he dates to a newly defined transitional MM III/LM IA phase. His suggestion that the same earthquake was responsible for the destruction of Knossos, Akrotiri, and other southern Aegean sites, such as Ayia Irini on Keos, cannot be entirely correct (supra n. 41).

153 Some pottery of MC character from Akrotiri is analyzed by A.G. Papagiannopoulou, in Minoan Influence 20-69; for additional observations on the technology of production, see also A. Papagiannopoulou, "Some Changes in the BA Pottery Production at Akrotiri," in TAW III.1, 57-66. Most of the material comes from deposits of the SDL in trench A between Xesti 2 and room Delta 20, as described by Marthari (supra n. 150), but included are finds of Phylakopi I style from the so-called Sacrificial Fire Deposit (S. Marinatos, Thera III, 19-24) and from soundings beneath the West House. Papagiannopoulou also catalogues the small amount of mainland Gray Minyan pottery that has thus far been recognized in pre-VDL deposits at Akrotiri, describes a selection of Minoan imports of MM II and later date, and discusses in some detail the process of Minoanization of the local ceramic industry.

154 A selection of material has been recently discussed by Sotirakopoulou (supra n. 149). For a preliminary presentation of finds from the Karayeoryis quarry, see Minoan Influence 921-23; a full publication of this material by M. Marthari will appear in BSA. A report on the 1981 season of excavation at Ftellos has now appeared: M. Marthari, "Θήρα: Φτέλλος," ArchDelt 36 B' (1981) 373.


156 See A.C. Renfrew, "Phylakopi and the Late Bronze I Period in the Cyclades," in TAW I, 412-16; J.L. Davis and J.F. Cherry, "Phylakopi in Late Cycladic I: A Pottery Seriation Study," in Prehistoric Cyclades 148-61; and Davis and Cherry (supra n. 41) 198.
the introduction of the LM IB style. Mainland Greek imports to Thera support this chronology. The stylistic character of the LH I pottery from Akrotiri places the abandonment of the settlement some time before the beginning of LH II, which in turn appears to have begun earlier than LM IB.158 The eruption of the Thera volcano can consequently not be held directly responsible for the well-known and widespread horizon of LM IB destructions on Crete.159 

The absolute date of the Thera eruption continues to be far more controversial, and is bound up with arguments over the acceptability of a proposed "high" chronology for the Aegean as a whole. For a number of years it has been obvious that many 14C dates from Akrotiri were too early to fit traditional chronologies that placed the volcanic destruction of the site ca. 1500 B.C. Recently arguments have been proffered for moving its destruction into the later 17th century B.C. Supporting data can be divided into three categories: ice cores, tree-rings, and 14C dates. Fluctuations in acidity levels within ice cores from Greenland in many cases are demonstrably correlated with major volcanic events. Volcanic fallout may also affect the growth rings of trees. The study of cores and of tree-rings (both in the United States and Ireland) suggests that a major volcanic event occurred in the later 17th century, and neither the ice cores nor tree-rings indicate a major eruption ca. 1500. Recently reported 14C dates of samples from short-lived plant matter retrieved from the VDL at Akrotiri in the main seem to support a date in the 17th century for the eruption. There are very few artifactual synchronisms between Greece and Egypt during the early LBA. The dates and contexts of relevant imports and exports are in almost all cases disputable, and the evidence on which the traditional Aegean chronology has been based seems capable of accommodating a higher chronology.160 

Many specialized studies of artifacts from Akrotiri have recently appeared. Metallurgical analyses have shed light on the nature of local industries and their sources for raw material.161 Chipped stone tools were manufactured almost totally of imported Melian obsidian. Yiali sources are hardly represented, but char-
acteristically MBA/early LBA rhyolite denticulated bifaces are present.\textsuperscript{162} Ostrich eggs were fashioned into rhyta.\textsuperscript{163} There have been attempts to reconstruct the metrological system in use at Akrotiri on the basis of ceramic container capacity.\textsuperscript{164} Artifacts associated with cloth production imply that weaving at Akrotiri had, as at other Cycladic sites, become Minoeanized through the introduction of the warp-weighted loom; a peculiar lack of spindle whorls ties Akrotiri more closely to Crete than to her island neighbors.\textsuperscript{165} The number of lead weights from the site has nearly doubled in recent years. It has been argued that the fractional units within the system of measure on which these weights are scaled find parallels both in Linear A and Linear B. It has also been suggested that at Akrotiri, such weights, as well as rarer weights of stone, were used for the measurement of heavy goods, wool in particular.\textsuperscript{166}

Imported ceramics attest to considerable interaction between Akrotiri and other areas of the Aegean. Chemical and petrological analyses have had some success in defining the local products of Akrotiri.\textsuperscript{167} The local character of the LC I ceramic industry at Akrotiri emerges distinct from that of Crete and other islands, despite the fact that many aspects of Minoan technology were blended with earlier Cycladic production techniques.\textsuperscript{168} Even in the EBA, ceramic assemblages at Akrotiri were complex mixtures of imports from several locations with geologically distinct clays outside Thera.\textsuperscript{169}

A tentative reconstruction of some aspects of the agricultural economy of prehistoric Thera is now also possible. Pre-eruption soils in the vicinity of Akrotiri were more mature in their development than previously thought.\textsuperscript{170} Analysis of palaeobotanical remains has begun, in particular of Spanish vetchling (\textit{Lathyrus clymenum}), a crop well represented in the West House. Examination of these pulses and the contaminants and weed seeds found with them suggests that the various deposits of vetching in the West House came from different fields, probably of quite small size. Informed speculation about the economic and social


\textsuperscript{163} J.A. Sakellarakis, “The Fashioning of Ostrich-Egg Rhyta in the Cretan-Mycenaean Aegean,” in \textit{TAW III.1}, 285–308, where eggs from Akrotiri and from Phylakopi on Melos are considered.


\textsuperscript{165} I. Tzachili, “All Important Yet Elusive: Looking for Evidence of Cloth-Making at Akrotiri,” in \textit{TAW III.1}, 380–89.

\textsuperscript{166} A. Michailidou, “Μεταχείπ Σύστημα και χρήσεις παραγωγής στο Ακρωτήρι, στην Υπόγεια Εποχή του Χαλκού,” \textit{Meletimata tou K.E.R.A.} 10 (1990) 65–96; and “The Lead Weights from Akrotiri: The Archaeological Record,” in \textit{TAW III.1}, 407–19. Michailidou also notes her forthcoming publication of a potsherd from Akrotiri that has been incised with a record of commodities in Linear A; this is the first such document from the site. On the weights from Akrotiri, see also Petruso (supra n. 39).


\textsuperscript{169} S.J. Vaughan, “Petrographic Analysis of the Early Cycladic Wares from Akrotiri, Thera,” in \textit{TAW III.1}, 470–87. See also other studies by Vaughan (supra n. 20).

organization of landholding in prehistoric Thera may be possible in the near future.

Only about 1 ha of the site of Akrotiri has been excavated. Local topography and test excavations suggest that the site originally covered some 20 ha, and that its harbor probably lay in what is now the valley of Ayios Nikolaos, some 200–300 m west of the current excavations. Means of access, lighting and ventilation, and drainage all appear to have influenced the plan of the town and the overall density of its habitations, as did a lack of open courts within the houses. One principal purpose of narrow alleys was to provision the interiors of buildings with light and ventilation. The design of individual structures can be analyzed in terms of general architectural models. In this way a basic architectural vocabulary for the site can be compiled, one that serves not only to permit generalization about the architectural idiom of Akrotiri but also encourages attempts to explain any variation from the expected.

The art of Thera continues to attract considerable attention from art historians, and justifiably so. But even the recent literature is already so voluminous that only a separate review could do it justice. Several papers delivered at the most recent Thera and the Aegean World Congress are of particular importance. Paintings from the West House have been newly reconstructed in light of architectural analyses.

171 See A. Sarpaki, "Small Fields or Big Fields? That Is the Question," in TAW III.2, 422–31; also A. Sarpaki and G. Jones, "Ancient and Modern Cultivation of Lathyrus Clymenum L. in the Greek Islands," BSA 85 (1990) 368–68. Recent ethnological studies of material from the West House are also of interest and have revealed species not now native to Greece but common in the Near East. See Ergon 1989, 117.

172 C. Palyvou, "Notes on the Town Plan of Late Cycladic Akrotiri, Thera," BSA 81 (1986) 179–94. Palyvou is cautious in estimating the size of the town, noting only that it was large "by the standards of the time." This becomes clearer when the likely area of the site is compared with that of contemporary Aegean centers; see discussion by Wiener in TAW III.1 (supra n. 21) 129–31.


174 In this regard, Palyvou has emphasized the special characteristics of Xesti 4, including its ashlar facades with courses diminishing regularly in height from bottom to top; most masons' marks found at Akrotiri come from this building alone (see discussion in TAW III.1, 56). For other recent discussions of specific features of Theran architecture, see C. Palyvou, "Observations sur 85 fenêtres du cycladique récent à Théra," 123–39, and A. Michailidou, "The Settlement of Akrotiri (Thera): A Theoretical Approach to the Function of the Upper Storey," 293–306 in Darque and Treuil (supra n. 105).

175 For a catalogue of the various frescoes and a review of major studies of them through 1988, see S.A. Immerwahr, Aegaean Painting in the Bronze Age (University Park, Pa. 1990) 185–88, and Immerwahr’s own discussion in ch. 4. An atlas illustrating the Theran frescoes accompanied by brief informative texts by C. Doumas has been published by the Theran Foundation. I thank D.A. Hardy for this information.

176 Several papers in TAW III considered the local character of the Theran style of wall painting in comparison with Cretan frescoes, those from other Cycladic islands, and from Rhodes: among them, see E.N. Davis (supra n. 59); R. Lafnisse, "Composition and Perspective in Theran Wall-Paintings," in TAW III.1, 246–50. S.A. Immerwahr, "Swallows and Dolphins at Akrotiri: Some Thoughts on the Relationship of Vase-Painting to Wall-Painting," in TAW III.1, 237–

44 examines the relationship between Cycladic pottery decoration and fresco painting.


The walls of this house had been decorated at least twice with wall paintings: of the earlier series only a few aniconic elements have been recognized. Three new cities have been added to the miniature fresco in room 5, for a total of five in all. Fragments of a previously unrecognized town belong to the west wall; on the north wall the well-known fragments that depict a “meeting on the hill” and a “shipwreck” are associated with previously unpublished ships and a town on a hill; the “Niloctic landscape” of the east frieze appears to have provided landscape context for a third town; and the more completely preserved frieze of the south wall has been altered slightly through additions and repositionings.

The Central Cyclades

Naxos. Recent fieldwork on Naxos has included systematic site survey, continuing excavations at the important prehistoric center of Grotta-Palati (the Chora of the island), and concerted efforts to explore Neolithic remains. Only a decade ago the very existence of permanent Neolithic settlement could be doubted. Today, there are well-stratified finds from two locations: the western edge of the shore at Grotta and the Cave of Zas, high on the central massif of the island. The sequence at Grotta appears to begin earlier than that in the Cave of Zas, and is in part contemporary with material from Saliagos.

Finds from Grotta come from a rescue excavation near a place where more than half a century ago “sub-Neolithic” material was reported and from a sounding at nearby Kokkinovrachos. These discoveries coupled with the presence of “sub-Neolithic” material on Palati suggest that the Neolithic site was extensive.

Pottery from the lowest levels inside the main chamber of the Cave of Zas shares features with that from the Saliagos culture, notably white-painted patterns, but crusted and pattern-burnished wares suggest that

177 For the results of general survey, see R. Treuil, “Prospection archéologique à Naxos en 1981,” in Les Cyclades 59–65; for work (1982–1984) in the region of Kinidaros Akrotiri and the Phaneromeni Monastery, see AR 30 (1984) 53; “Chronique” 1985, 839; and R. Treuil, “Naxos,” ArchDelt 38 B’ (1985) 350. Thank R. Treuil for kindly providing information about the project. A Bronze Age site has been reported at Kalamadikou, and prehistoric sites at a number of other locations have been noted; one is probably a cemetery. A source of flint and associated debitage at Stelida to the southwest of the Chora of Naxos has been studied, but its exploitation in prehistoric times has not yet been conclusively demonstrated (see M. Séféridès, “Un centre industriel préhistorique dans les Cyclades: Les ateliers de débitage du silex de Stelida,” in Les Cyclades 67–80). The results of palynological investigations at Grotta and two other locations on the island are described in J. Josette Renault-Miskovsky, “Les connaissances actuelles sur les végétations et les climats quaternaires en Grèce, d’après les données de l’analyse palinique,” in Les Cyclades 99–109.

The current state of Neolithic and EBA research on the island has recently been summarized in Cycladic Culture. For maps showing the locations of excavations conducted at the capital of Naxos under the auspices of the Greek Archaeological Society, see V.K. Lambrinoudakis, “Ἀνασκαφές Νάξου,” Prakt 1985, suppl. pls. 6.1 and 6.2, facing p. 160. The results of investigations prior to the 1980s have been summarized with extensive bibliography and a gazetteer of prehistoric sites by V. Fotou, “Les sites de l’époque néolithique et de l’âge du bronze à Naxos,” in Les Cyclades 15–57. For the history of research on Naxos, see also V. Lambrinoudakis, “Archaeological Research on the Early Cycladic Period in Naxos,” in Cycladic Culture 25–26.
the cave was first inhabited somewhat later than the abandonment of the settlement at Saliagos itself. Higher levels share features with FN Kephala on Keos. The sequence appears to continue unbroken into the EBA, providing an important bridge between the later Neolithic and transitional EBA sequences of the Greek mainland and the eastern Aegean.

The later EBA stratum is characterized by Kastri Group types, and contained a substantial number of bronze tools and ornaments. Around a hearth were scattered pieces of unbaked clay with 15 seal impressions, made by an estimated five different seals bearing linear motifs. The highest levels contained finds of the historical periods mixed with Middle and Late Cycladic wares, including LH IIIC, and much Minyan and MC matt-painted. A strip of gold from a Neolithic stratum is the earliest gold object from the Cyclades; copper axes, awls, pins, and spatulas are also represented in Neolithic contexts. Domesticated crops were similar to those exploited on the Greek mainland; barley played a prominent role in the diet. Two large leaf-shaped, bifacially retouched, obsidian spearheads are exceptional components in the lithic assemblage; as on the Greek mainland, there appears to have been a shift from percussion to Pressure-flaking at the end of the Neolithic. Other small finds of particular interest include a marble bowl and two bird-heads carved from bone.

Surface investigations in 1985 at the site of Mikri Vigla and the publication of Middle and early Late Cycladic finds from Grotta have shed light on the later prehistory of Naxos. Mikri Vigla is a promontory on the west coast, some 8 km south of the Chora. Artifacts and traces of architecture are abundant on the surface, and have been mapped by the Greek Archaeological Service and the British School at Athens. Fragments of monochrome painted wall plaster were associated with the most impressive building (structure 7): to the east of it a rescue excavation yielded fragments of an MC storage jar. Local and imported pottery from surface collections ranges in date from EC through LC III; polychrome and monochrome matt-painted varieties of probable Melian origin, Middle Minoan imports, and Gray Minyan are represented—types very scarce in Naxian contexts. Later pots and terracotta lamps imitate shapes of Minoan origin.

Approximately 140 fragments of figurines were collected, for the most part small (some minute), standing, and anthropomorphic. They are diverse in style and as a group quite unique in the Cyclades; general parallels with Cycladic marble sculpture and Cretan coroplasty suggest that their production began in the EBA. Other small finds include discoid loomweights of Minoan type, fragments of emery, and marble objects (including a bowl and probably a folded-arm figurine). Petrographical analyses and stylistic observations indicate that substantial quantities of pottery were being imported, both from Melos and Crete.

Elsewhere on the island, evidence for settlement in the later Bronze Age has been recognized in the Kalandos area (in the extreme south of Naxos), at Sangri, at Rizokastellia, and at Grotta itself. Rescue excavations in a building plot (the Dimitrokalli plot) at the west end of Grotta, immediately south of the causeway that leads to Palati, have produced well-stratified deposits of the early LBA, the first published from the site. Excavations included the reexamination of a 10-m stretch of paved road cleared before World War II and subsequently backfilled. On the floor of a building to the south of the road were local and imported pots of LC II and LB IB types, covered by destruction debris of rubble and mudbrick; these included a jug, probably imported from the Dodecanese, Marine Style sherds, and fragments of a vase by the so-called Reed Painter. This was a site well situated within the Minoan orbit and in close contact with centers of the southern and western Cyclades.

Large-scale excavations at the Chora of Naxos were completed in 1985. Work had been resumed in 1978, the principal goal being to complete excavation of various parts of the LH IIIA to LH IIIC settlement explored in earlier campaigns (1949–1974), but not

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181 In addition to Zachos (supra n. 179), finds from the Cave of Zas are discussed in Zachos, ‘Ανασκαφή Σπηλαιού Ζάς Νάξου: Κατάσταση 1987,’ ArchDelt 42 B’ (in press), a report on excavation seasons in 1985 and 1986; and in Zachos, ‘Late Neolithic Origins of Cycladic Metallurgy,’ and A. Douzougli, ‘The “Attic-Kephala” Culture: A New Approach to an Aegean Culture,’ both to be published in the proceedings of the 6th International Colloquium on Aegean Prehistory, Athens 1987. I am extremely grateful to Douzougli and Zachos for allowing me to read and make reference to these papers in advance of their publication.


183 Middle Minoan dark-ground styles appear best represented, but one sherd of the LM IB marine style was present.


fully published. In 1982–1985, however, new excavations in the Plateia Mitropoleos explored a segment of the LH IIIC fortification wall of the town, nearly 18 m long, and buildings just inside it. Foundations for the wall are of unworked stones; on these lay a superstructure of mudbricks. Buildings of LH IIIB date outside the fortification show that the town had been larger before its construction. Two lumps of raw caolinite and montmorillonite clay were found in an LH IIIC context, and appear to have been imported to Naxos, perhaps from Melos.

Paros. Important new discoveries continue to be made at Koukounaries, on the southwest side of the bay of Naoussa in northern Paros. Excavations at Koukounaries began in 1976. Yearly campaigns have uncovered the remains of a long-lived settlement that had begun already in the Saliagos phase of the Cycladic Neolithic. Early Cycladic artifacts attest to occupation, but the settlement appears to have been deserted between the EBA and LH IIIC, when habitation was established anew. In LH IIIC the site was well fortified with Cyclopean walls and the plateau on top was occupied by a “mansion”; in its ruins were large numbers of ceramic, stone, bronze, lead, and ivory artifacts. The complex was destroyed in a massive conflagration, promoted, no doubt, by a hostile attack: the body of an adult, killed by a wound to the head, had been hastily buried before the wound healed; the bodies of other humans and livestock were left amid the debris.

More recent investigations have defined the extent of Mycenaean settlement more accurately. Defences on the southern approaches to the acropolis have been explored, and to the east the Mycenaean fortifications have also been located. On the Lower Plateau, east of the upper acropolis, extensive and deep EBA strata (containing EC I material) have been explored beneath the LH IIIC levels; a tanged point of Saliagos type, a marble pendant in female steatopygous form, and ceramics suggest that Koukounaries was inhabited already in the Neolithic period.

Excavations beneath the temenos of the Athena temple on the Middle Plateau have revealed, at the lowest levels, remains of building materials and artifacts of LH IIIC (including a pierced triton shell), contemporary with destruction levels of the megaron on the Upper Plateau; on the bedrock itself are EBA layers. Ash mixed with animal bones and shell suggest that from Geometric times this area was the focus for rituals. The cemetery of the Mycenaean settlement was located in a valley northwest of Koukounaries. Three excavated tombs resemble mainland tholos tombs and have chambers (rectangular with rounded corners) with stone walls and corbeled roofs built in Cyclopean style; all were robbed.

All finds from excavations ca. 1900 on the citadel of Paroikia (the modern Chora of the island) have been recently reexamined. The principal architectural remains should be dated to the final phase of Phylakopi I and are contemporary with the earlier part of period IV at Ayia Irini. A small amount of pottery is both earlier and later in date than main deposits. One of the earliest finds is a large fragment from a burnished rolled-rim FN bowl. Several sherds from burnished tankards are contemporary with Ayia Irini period III; a fragment of a hat-vase belongs to

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185 See Lambrinoudakis, *Prakt* 1985 (supra n. 177) 144–61; Lambrinoudakis and F. Zafeíropoulou, "Ἀνακαλο FNameρτοπόλεως Νάξου," *Prakt* 1985, 162–67, with earlier references. Subsequent to completion of the excavations in the Plateia Mitropoleos, the most significant structures were roofed in situ to form a subterranean museum. Subsidiary investigations in conjunction with the building of the roof provided additional details concerning the prehistoric settlement. See *Ergon* 1989, 122–25. The study of Mycenaean pottery from Archaeological Society excavations at Grotta is currently being undertaken by M.B. Cosmopoulos, who delivered a paper entitled “Mycenaean Naxos: An Overview of the Evidence,” at the International Congress of Mycenology in Rome–Naples, October 1991.

186 Aside from excavated finds, EBA stone (including a schematic figurine) and ceramic artifacts, perhaps from southwestern Paros, have been published; one vessel has parallels in the Kastri Group. See O. Hadjianastasiou, "Πρώτοκουλεδακικά ευρήματα από την Πάφρο,″ *ArchEph* 1983, appendix 1–4.


189 *Ergon* 1988, 134; *Ergon* 1989, 121.


191 J.C. Overbeck, *The Bronze Age Pottery from the Kastro at Paros* (SIMA–PB 78, Jonsered 1989); several additional finds from Rubensohn’s excavations are illustrated by Pagianopoulou, *Minoan Influence* 336–37.
an EC type best known in funerary contexts. Later material includes familiar Melian types such as the paneled cup, a single bell-cup of LM IB date, and deep bowls of LH IIIC. In general there appears to have been less Minoan influence on the development of MBA pottery at Paroikia and less contact with the Greek mainland than at Ayia Irini or Phylakopi. The main deposits are characterized by Gray Minyan of developed mainland varieties, MC burnished wares, and matt-painted barrel-jars and jugs (figs. 19-20); duck-vases and the extensive use of potters’ marks are features in common with the earlier MBA at Phylakopi and Ayia Irini.

Elsewhere on Paros at Tripiti, Mycenaean pithos sherds have been reported, and on Antiparos at Ayia Kyríaki, part of a much damaged cist grave containing an EC figurine was excavated in 1983.193

The Amorgian Islands. Extensive illicit excavation on Keros since the late 1950s has resulted in the illegal export from Greece of a great many EC marble figurines and vases. Some 500 objects have been attributed to the so-called “Keros Hoard,” which was reputedly recovered at Kavos in the southwest part of the island. The presence of so many marble objects on so small an island is astonishing, and the nature of prehistoric activity on Keros was the center of much discussion in 1983 at the British Museum conference on EC art; several participants suggested that Kavos had served as a prehistoric ritual center in the EBA Aegean.194 Investigations at the site were resumed in 1987, and included a systematic collection of surface artifacts.195 Preliminary analysis of finds suggests that Kavos and, in the later stages of EC II, a settlement on the adjacent islet of Daskaleio were parts of a single large settlement.196 Adjacent to this settlement was a deposit of special character in which marble artifacts and certain ceramic types were discarded in greater quantities than elsewhere on the site.

The earliest pottery is of Keros-Syros EC II types, but Kastri varieties are also represented.197 Occasional sherds reminiscent of Phylakopi I are found but are extremely rare; their date is uncertain. Visual and petrological analysis suggests that an exceptionally high percentage (50–60%) of pottery from the site was imported from elsewhere in the Cyclades. Ce-

196 Gazetteer 337–38.
197 I am grateful to Cyprian Broodbank for sharing with me a draft copy of his report on the ceramics found in the recent explorations of Kavos, and for allowing me to summarize several of his conclusions here. Broodbank also notes a pyxis of Kamps Group type in the Naxos Museum, as-
ramic analysis demonstrates that the forms prominent in the special deposit are all compatible with funerary material, and may also suggest that imported goods were brought to the island by its own inhabitants. While a full interpretation of the site's function has not yet been offered, these observations do not actively support the hypothesis that Kavos was an international sanctuary. 198

Elsewhere in this group of tiny and sparsely populated islets, excavations on Kato Koufonisi have explored part of a settlement of LC II date. 199

Samos

Neolithic finds were recovered in several stratified soundings and in various isolated pits in the bedrock that were explored in the late 1960s while examining the Hellenistic settlement at Tigani. The publication of these finds has forced a revision of the older relative chronology established for Tigani. The various pits have been assigned to four chronological phases (I–IV) based on stratification in the soundings; several phases have been subdivided on the basis of stylistic criteria. The latest deposits appear to correspond to Emborio phases VII–VI in date (i.e., they antedate the beginning of the EBA); the possibility has been raised that phase I of Tigani began prior to the beginning of the Late Neolithic on the Greek mainland. No indisputable stylistic similarities with Troy I or the EBA sequence from Thermi on Lesbos have been noted; it has been suggested, however, that the earliest (“black”) phase of settlement at Poliochni on Lemnos may be only slightly later than Tigani period IV. Several artifacts from Tigani do, however, find parallels in EBA levels elsewhere in the Aegean area and habitation probably continued at the site, despite the absence of an undisturbed EBA stratum.

Recently published finds from the excavations in the Heraion on Samos may close the gap between its sequence of EBA settlements and the Tigani sequence. 200 There, at some remove from EBA levels previously uncovered, four stages of construction were identified within prehistoric levels more than 2 m deep. Part of a fortification wall appears to have spurred a rounded tower, and was apparently a predecessor of a previously investigated EBA enceinte. The fortifications rest on earlier habitation levels that lay beneath the water table and could not be investigated. The fourth and latest phase of occupation seems to have been contemporary with the EBA settlement already known at the Heraion. By then the fortifications investigated in this sounding were out of use and a rectangular building, part of a larger complex, extended the area of habitation beyond that previously enclosed within the settlement. The new evidence from the Heraion also points to the existence of a substantially larger prehistoric settlement than previously suspected. At Tigani, the overall distribution of finds also suggests that estimates for the size of the settlement in the later stages of the Neolithic require revision.

Newly published and republished small finds from Tigani include 11 stone vases, and several figurines, both terracotta and marble. 201 In the lithic industry, blades of obsidian are dominant, with a few obsidian arrowheads in Tigani III, a situation that contrasts remarkably with that at Emborio and Ayio Gala on Chios, where obsidian played a palpably subordinate role. 202 Despite close stylistic relationships recognizable in the ceramic styles of the two islands, it is not clear that there was much direct exchange in pottery. It has, in fact, been suggested that in the Neolithic a cultural dividing line should be drawn between them, with Samos looking away from Chios toward the Cyclades and the southeast Aegean. 203

The Dodecanese

The past decade has witnessed a veritable explosion of new information relevant to the prehistory of the southeast Aegean, although as yet excavation has been limited and survey non-intensive. In the early 1980s, the absence of clear evidence for pre-LBA settlement on most of these islands was particularly odd, as was the paucity of documentation for contact between the Dodecanese and Crete, the Cyclades, or the Greek

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198  Contrast the opinion expressed in Renfrew (supra n. 19) 99–100.
199  Hadjianastassiou 1989 (supra n. 185) 206, 215, n. 59.
200  Contrast the opinion expressed in Renfrew (supra n. 19) 99–100.
202  Cf. the head of a small marble figurine from the Heraion (Kyrieleis et al. [supra n. 200] fig. 42.1).
mainland in pre-Mycenaean times—despite attested exchange between Crete and the Anatolian coast, notably with Knidos and Iasos.204

Neolithic. The picture now emerging for later phases of the Neolithic is one of a relatively dense distribution of sites, with similarities in material culture to Late Chalcolithic centers of Western Anatolia. The general characteristics of Neolithic settlement can be outlined.205 Earliest settlement is represented best by the lower phase of occupation in the Kalythies Cave on Rhodes, and is contemporary with the beginning of the Late Neolithic period on the Greek mainland. The Late Neolithic of the Dodecanese has been divided into four phases (Late Aegean Neolithic 1–4), broadly contemporary with the Late Chalcolithic of Anatolia; each phase has been defined on the basis of stratified deposits from recent excavations and from extensive surface finds (fig. 21).206 All Neolithic sites thus far investigated in the Dodecanese are small in comparison to those on either the Anatolian or Greek mainlands. Caves were frequently chosen for occupation.

Final reports on the results of recent excavations at five Neolithic sites in the Dodecanese have already appeared: the cave at Kalythies Ayios Yioryios on Rhodes; the cave at Arhangelos Koumelo on Rhodes; and open-air sites at Partheni on Leros and at Kastro on Alimnia.207 These and sites on Yiali (below) were

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206 See *Kastro Ticor* 135–37 for an initial evaluation of the chronological system developed by Sampson and its interconnections with the Neolithic sequence proposed for Samos. An earlier find from Kalymnos, published by A. Furness (“Some Early Pottery of Samos, Kalimnos and Chios,” *PPS* 22 [1956] pl. 19), is there republished and identified correctly as a “scoop” of FN type (pp. 112–13, n. 487).
207 *Neolithic Dodecanese.* The existence of the site of Partheni on Leros was previously known from investigations by Hope Simpson and Lazenby (*Gazetteer* 367). Material from Kalythies and Partheni is also illustrated in Sampson (supra n. 203) 241, figs. 2–5, and 245, fig. 4; material from the Koumelo Cave in Sampson 1979 (supra n. 205). For Partheni, see also S. Markelou, “Πηγήθια, θέμα Κόραλιτα,” *ArchDelt* 35 B’ (1980) 557; for preliminary reports on the Koumelo Cave, the Ayios Yeoryios Cave, the Kastro of Alimnia, Partheni on Leros, and for prehistoric material of less
initially identified or examined as part of a general survey of prehistoric archaeological resources in all islands of the Dodecanese (with the exception of Astypalaea) during 1977–1980. The purpose of that project was to supplement and clarify earlier reports summarized in the Gazetteer: 60 new prehistoric sites were recorded, 35 of them on Rhodes. Several of these have, however, yielded only finds of chipped stone and are not conclusively of pre-Mycenaean or even prehistoric date. Thus far little evidence for occupation anywhere in the southeast Aegean prior to the Late Neolithic has been recognized. Three phases of the Late Neolithic have been recognized in the Kalythies Cave excavations (fig. 22). The most recent corresponds to the second phase of occupation at Tigani on Samos. Here as elsewhere in the Neolithic Dodecanese, Melian obsidian is common (80% of the chipped stone), but obsidian from Yiali and Anatolia is also represented. Plant remains were recovered by sieving and impressions of plants were found on pottery. Plentiful human and faunal remains include a full range of basic Neolithic domesticates (cow, pig, sheep, goat, and dog), all but dog apparently raised for meat rather than for secondary products, as well as various species of birds, fish (including a tunny-sized specimen), and crustaceans. Only selected joints of deer appear to have been brought to the site. Fox, hare, and marten may have been deliberate live imports to the island, and the earliest domesticated chicken and black rat in Europe may also be attested. Human bones belong to at least four infants and eight older individuals; juveniles and adults are mainly represented only by hand and foot bones and front teeth. The cave may, therefore, have served as a site of permanent burial only for infants, while the bones of juveniles and adults were transferred to another location for secondary burial.
Excavations at the Koumelo Cave on Rhodes uncovered two superimposed surfaces: the lower of these was contemporary with the uppermost level of the Kalythies Cave, the top with the Final Neolithic of the Cyclades. Above Neolithic levels the cave was filled with a deep deposit of ash, apparently ejected by the Minoan eruption of the Santorini volcano.

On the tiny currently uninhabited island of Alimnia between Rhodes and Halki, excavations also uncovered parts of a settlement, including walls from both apsidal and rectangular structures. Habitation was contemporary with the latest phase of occupation at the Koumelo Cave, as were badly eroded buildings at Partheni on Leros.

Neolithic settlements have also been investigated on the tiny island of Yiali (fig. 23). Prehistoric remains are rare in the northeast where deposits of obsidian are located. On the neck that joins the northeast to the southwest part of the island, pottery and ground stone finds of FN and EBA date have been excavated (fig. 24); only here has EBA pottery been recognized. FN finds are widespread in the south, and include terrace walls and the foundations for a three-room house with curving walls (fig. 25). Many vessels were associated with its destruction deposits as were two crucibles for melting copper. Remnants of over 70 rectangular cist graves have been excavated. No bones or grave goods were found in any, despite sieving, but from the Neolithic pottery around them there can be little doubt about their date. Ground stone tools were widespread. All appear to have been manufactured from local materials, with handstones of sandstone, limestone, and andesite, and querns mostly of andesite. Axes were not common.

Recent fieldwork in the Dodecanese does not suggest that Yiali ever served as a major supplier of obsidian to the Aegean; organized quarries have not been recognized. Although irregular flakes found both on Yiali and Alimnia were employed as tools for expedient purposes, regular types of chipped stone tools even on Yiali itself were manufactured of Melian (and perhaps Anatolian) obsidian and of flint.

Early Bronze Age. Sites appear to have decreased in number between the Neolithic and the EBA. Contact with the adjacent Anatolian mainland seems to have been frequent. The earlier parts of the EBA are the

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211 Problems in assigning volcanic ash found outside Thera to the Minoan eruption of Santorini are discussed by R.B. Galloway et al., "Radio-isotope Analyses of Aegean Tephra: Contribution to the Dating of Santorini Volcano," in TAW 111.3, 135–44. There the likelihood of a post-Neolithic eruption of the Yiali volcano, virtually contemporaneous with that of Santorini, is asserted—a suggestion that found little support from others in attendance at the TAW conference; see the discussion of this paper on pp. 144–45. More generally on the identification of volcanic ash likely to be Theran in origin, see D.G. Sullivan, "Minoan Tephra in Lake Sediments in Western Turkey: Dating the Eruption and Assessing the Atmospheric Dispersal of the Ash," in TAW 111.3, 114–18, and the following discussion on p. 119.

212 For the distribution in the Aegean of obsidian from Yiali, see Sampson (supra n. 209) 216–18, supplemented by reference → J. L. Davis et al., "Keos and the Eastern Aegean: The Cretan Connection," Hesperia 52 (1983) 365–66. This obsidian does not appear to have been extensively used because of its poor fracturing properties. It was thus apparently not the availability of obsidian that attracted early inhabitants to the island. See also H.G. Buchholz and E. Althaus, Nisyros, Giali, Kos: Ein Vorbericht über archäologisch-mineralogische Forschungen auf griechischen Inseln (Mainz 1982); and R. Torrence and J.F. Cherry, Archaeological Survey of the Obsidian Source on Giali in the Dodecanese (unpubl. ms. in British School of Archaeology at Athens).

213 Sampson (supra n. 209) 23 has suggested that some limestones may be earlier in date than the Neolithic. Matt-impressions are present on the bases of so-called "cheese-pots" (p. 101). Neolithic pottery and obsidian from both Melos and Yiali have also been found on the islet of Pergousa, just to the west of Nisyros (Neolithic Dodecanese 252).

214 Although Melian obsidian is not at all rare in the Dodecanese, the quantities in which it is found and a general scarcity of evidence for other kinds of Cycladic imports may be indicative of much more limited interaction between the Cyclades and Dodecanese than among the Cyclades themselves, or between the Cyclades and the Greek mainland (see also Melas 1988 [infra n. 237] 290).
least well documented. It has been suggested that finds from the Aspri Petra Cave on Kos should be dated to EB II because one-handled cups and spouted jugs are present; other sherds from surface collections at Troulli on Kos and on Astypalaia may also belong to EB II. In recent excavations material of similar character has been found at Ayios Fokas on Kos and on the island of Yiali. Finds from Asklopi and Messaria on Kos, from Muskebi on the Anatolian mainland, from Lindos on Rhodes, and from Nisyros have sometimes been dated to EB III, but it has most recently been argued that the material from Asklopi and Messaria is of EB II date. EB II parallels from Tsilimbiri on Kos and from new excavations of graves at Tavla near Antimachia on Kos have been adduced.

Rescue excavations at Seraglio on Kos and Asomatos on Rhodes should clarify the EBA sequence considerably. At Seraglio, a fortified settlement of EB III has been revealed in deep soundings beneath the later Bronze Age town; it was itself built on top of earlier levels of EB III, including the remains of a potter’s kiln. Part of a single long house, possibly with one “ellipsoidal” wall, has been cleared. Ceramics

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217 Marketou (supra n. 215).
(wheelmade red-burnished bowls, duck-vases, and tankards) find close parallels both in Anatolia and in the western Aegean. At Asomatos near Kremasti, west of Trianda on the north coast of Rhodes, two long "megaron-like" buildings have been uncovered, and were associated with similar pottery. They belong to the latest phase of the site and overlay parts of houses on a different orientation. Fortifications are surmised because of the density of architectural remains.

Middle Bronze Age. The Middle Bronze Age in the Dodecanese remains a mystery on which recent explorations have shed little light. The settlement at Asomatos came to an abrupt end in EB III. On the basis of finds (mainly carinated bowls) from compressed levels found stratified in several soundings between EB III and LB I layers, it has been argued that occupation at Seraglio was continuous from the end of the EBA to the LBA, but it is far from clear that all phases of the MBA are represented. A kiln for firing the bowls has also been investigated. Mi-

anoizing pottery with light-on-dark decoration, widespread in the Dodecanese, and often assigned to the MBA, is more likely to belong to the earlier phases of the LBA, both in the southeast Aegean and in the Cyclades where it was imported. As yet, there is little evidence for earlier versions of this style.

Later phases of the MBA are best represented by finds from Mt. Filerimos on Rhodes, high above the northern coastal plain, southeast of Trianda. At Profitis Elias on the most eastern spur of this massif, survey and excavation have yielded unstratified finds and traces of architecture. Jugs more Anatolian than Cretan in appearance were found with carinated and conical cups; some pottery belongs to LM IA. The existence of MBA material on Mt. Filerimos itself has now been clearly demonstrated. The only well-strati-

_221_ On Asomatos, see Marketou (supra n. 215) 40–47.
_222_ Marketou (infra n. 230) 101–104. See also the report of MBA pottery, including fragments of polychrome bird-jugs (infra n. 236).
_223_ Marketou (infra n. 230) 105; M. Marthari, T. Marketou, and R.E. Jones, "LB I Ceramic Connections between Thera and Kos," in _TAW III.1_ 171–84; Davis et al. (supra n. 212) 361–66.
_224_ Recently published results of excavations in the Theo-
haris plot at Trianda on Rhodes (infra n. 227) provide the only well-documented evidence in support of an early date for Dodecanesian light-on-dark wares. Only a single sherd from a pre-LM IA context has been published and the bulk of the ware clearly belongs to the LBA.
_225_ T. Marketou, "New Evidence on the Topography and Site History of Prehistoric Ialysos," in _Dodecanese_ 27–28; M.

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Later phases of the MBA are best represented by finds from Mt. Filerimos on Rhodes, high above the northern coastal plain, southeast of Trianda. At Profitis Elias on the most eastern spur of this massif, survey and excavation have yielded unstratified finds and traces of architecture. Jugs more Anatolian than Cretan in appearance were found with carinated and conical cups; some pottery belongs to LM IA. The existence of MBA material on Mt. Filerimos itself has now been clearly demonstrated. The only well-strati-
I, II, and III, and two architectural subphases distinguished within the third phase. Both Trianda I and II were explored mainly in soundings beneath the courtyard of a large building of Trianda III. No trace of the LM IA style was recognized in the pottery of Trianda I. It is necessary, therefore, to redate the earliest occupation at Trianda to the later MBA, approximately contemporary with finds from Mt. Filerimos. Trianda I appears to be the earliest stratum at the site; in places, excavation reached bedrock and Trianda should still be viewed as a new foundation in the New Palace period of Crete.

The character of the shapes and decoration of pottery in Trianda I is overwhelmingly Minoan, and Cretan features such as discoid and cylindrical loom-weights, a bull figurine, a stone vase, potters' disks, fragments of faience, and frescoes decorated with bands or curvilinear motifs are all represented. Other small finds include fragments of small gold bands, a bronze sickle, bronze needles, and a lead rod. The cause for the destruction of Trianda I is not readily apparent. Phase II, on the other hand, showed obvious traces of destruction by fire, perhaps precipitated by an earthquake. The damaged remains of the settlement were soon partly covered by a layer of volcanic ash from the Santorini eruption; the latest pottery sealed beneath the ash belongs to the LM IA style. The Minoan LM IB style is only represented in strata above the ash layer. Elsewhere on Rhodes, layers of ash from the Santorini eruption have been investigated: near the airport at Paradeisi and on the east coast at Kolymbia the layer exceeded a half meter in thickness.

In Trianda IIIA, a large house with rooms around a central court was built in the Theoharis plot. Many walls are quite substantial and ashlar masonry was sparsely employed; in the western part of the house, a second story was reached by wooden stairs within stairwells. After a destruction (perhaps caused by an earthquake), lighter less consequential walls, which infringed on the area of the courtyard, were added to the complex in Trianda IIIB. Individual stratigraphical levels could not be assigned to phase IIIA; the final abandonment levels of phase IIIIB are dominated by LM IB/LH II ceramic types.

Other recent soundings at Trianda have provided important details concerning the extent and duration of the prehistoric settlement. Excavations since 1982 in the Markos plot (300 m west of the Theoharis plot) have exposed the most western part of the Minoan/ Mycenaean settlement, including parts of an LM IA building with a polystyron. In the Kattavenos plot (500 m south of the center of the Italian excavations at Trianda), LM IB remains lay above volcanic ash, with LM IA remains beneath. These and other recent soundings suggest that the southern part of the LM IA settlement had been abandoned after the eruption of the Thera volcano; in LM IB, new structures, including a possible defensive system, were built above the ash layer in northern parts of the site, and the settlement decreased in size. Imports from Crete continued in LM IB and Cypriot wares were also present.

Evidence of expansion of settlement in LB I is also evident in areas east and west of Trianda: contemporary remains have been explored in five other locations. These are spread over an area of more than 14 km along the coast, and from the village of Trianda to the foot of Mt. Filerimos. In addition, on the east coast of Rhodes LB I artifacts have been excavated in

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228 Phases defined by the new excavations can be approximately equated with those defined by A. Furumark ("The Settlement at Ialysos and Aegean History c. 1550–1400 B.C.", OpArch 6 [1950] 150–271) as follows: Trianda II=Furumark Trianda I; Trianda IIIA and B=Trianda IIA and B, respectively. Trianda I, on the other hand, represents an initial stage in the settlement not defined by earlier investigators.

229 There are several striking differences between this Minoanized assemblage from Trianda and contemporary deposits in the Cyclades. Obsidian from Melos was present but scarce; mainland matt-painted and Minyan wares do not appear to be represented at all; and there is little evidence for the importation of Cycladic pottery. Not surprisingly, imports from Western Anatolia are indicative of exchange between Rhodes and the adjacent mainland; see Papazoglou-Manioudaki (supra n. 227) 171–72.


231 Later Mycenaean finds include a bronze arrowhead, and a phi-figurine was recovered nearby at the so-called Pyrgos of Paraskevas; see Papazoglou-Manioudaki (supra n. 227) 181.

232 See S. Markou, "Ο Πυργός Αγίου Λάντσου (ουκότεθος Κονστ. Μάρτιου, Κτ. Μεσ. 551)," ArchDelt 39 B' (1984) 325–26, where long parallel walls perhaps belonging to a drainage work of LM IB date are reported as well as frescoes, Cypriot vases, and limestone horns of consecration. This is the plot described as plot 3 and marked on T. Marketou's map in Dodecanese (supra n. 225) 29, fig. 4; there a possible defensive function is suggested for the long walls.

233 S. Markou, "Πόλεος Νεάς Μάτου (βόρειος ουκοτέθων Κατσίκεων)," ArchDelt 39 B' (1989) 327.
the cave of Koumelo and are represented among surface finds from Kolambia-Thetokos.

Results from recent excavations at Seraglio on Kos echo those from Trianda. The LM IA town at Seraglio also increased markedly in size, and two architectural phases have been recognized. After the first was destroyed by earthquake, there was a major reorganization of the town and a main street was established that led from the harbor up the hill to the main focus of the settlement. The second phase of the settlement was destroyed before the end of LM IA (probably also by earthquake); remains of human victims were found in its rubble. As at Trianda, a layer of volcanic ash covered this debris in part, but the ash appears to have fallen measurably later than the earthquake destruction.

Recent research on Karpathos, Kasos, and Saria paints a picture similar to that being established for Rhodes and Kos. Here too there is considerable question about the date and extent of earlier (i.e., pre-Mycenaean) settlement. Surface investigations have documented considerable activity in the later Neolithic period and during transitional Neolithic/EBA phases, but finds are extremely worn and difficult to parallel either in the Cyclades or on Crete. EBA and earlier MBA assemblages have not yet been well defined.

By the later MBA, it seems clear that Karpathos, Kasos, and Saria had been drawn into the Minoan orbit. The finest Minoan Kamares types characteristically found at Phylakopi or Ayia Irini already in the earlier MBA, however, have not yet been reported and there is only slight evidence for the importation of Cycladic wares. Definite or possible finds have been published from more than 40 separate locations. Accumulating data suggest the existence of an extensive Minoanized center at Pigadia, capital of modern Karpathos. This settlement lay in the southeast part of the island on the south side of a large bay that faced the southern tip of Rhodes. The focus of prehistoric occupation appears to have been the coastal plain, bordered on the west by the hill of Skopi and on the east by the acropolis of Sissimos; chamber tombs, some as early as MM III/LM IA, were dug into the slopes of both.

The existence of prehistoric settlement at the Xerona site has long been recognized, but it is now obvious that occupation in the Pigadia area was much

\[\text{234} \text{ Sampson, in Dodecanese (supra n. 205) 13-14; in the Koumelo Cave, early LBA pottery (said to be of LM/LC and Cypriot types, including a base-ring jug) was found to be stratified both above and below the ash layer (Neolithic Dodecanese 214). See also Neolithic Dodecanese 74. Layers of ash associated with archaeological finds have also been recognized on Tilos, Karpathos, and Halki. For further remarks see Melas 1983 (infra n. 237) 58.}\]

\[\text{235} \text{ Melas 1988 (infra n. 237) 300-302.}\]

\[\text{236} \text{ See T. Marketou, “Marine Style Pottery from the Seraglio in Kos,” BSA 82 (1987) 165-69, and brief reports on recent rescue excavations in the Seraglio, including I.H. Papahristodoulou, “Οδός Βεροουσοκρόλου (οικόσηπεδο Ελ. Χατζημιχάλα),” ArchDelt 34 B’ (1979) 452-54 (pure Mycenaean finds, including a phi-figurine, from soundings near the temple of Demeter); “Οδός Ελ. Βενεζζήσ (οικόσηπεδο N. Τσιρέζ),” ArchDelt 34 B’ (1979) 456-57 (two prehistoric building levels, equivalent to Morrison’s first and second city, in a sounding near the northeast corner of Morricone’s zone I; from the foundation levels for the walls of the older phase came sherds with representations of birds, apparently in the Cycladic Black and Red style; in higher levels LM I and LH II-LH IIIB types were represented, along with jugs of the familiar Dodecanesian light-on-dark style); “Οδός Τουλιάρη και 25ός Μορτίων (οικόσηπεδο Εως Σοφού),” ArchDelt 35 B’ (1980) 552-53 (in the Pizzoli zone of earlier Italian excavations; four major stratified levels were recognized, dating from later MM to LH IIIB/C); “Οδός Μ. Αλεξάνδρου και Ελ. Βενεζζήσ (οικόσηπεδο αφων Χατζη-μιχάλα),” ArchDelt 35 B’ (1980) 553 (LH architectural remains farther west than the previously postulated limits of the settlement); “Οδός Ελευθερίου Βενεζζήσ και Αυ. Παπαθανασίου (οικόσηπεδο αδελφών Βασιλείου),” ArchDelt 36 B’ (1981) 409 (opposite zone I of the Italian excavations; five architectural phases recognized, dating from MM to LH III; two potter’s kilns of MM/LM IA date; EBA sherds); “Οδός Απέλλου και Κολοκοτρών (οικόσηπεδο Δ. Μυλονάτα),” ArchDelt 38 B’ (1983) 396 (reached the top of Mycenaean levels); “Οδός Ελ. Βενεζζήσ και Κολοκοτρών (οικόσηπεδο Σ. Διακανασιάτη),” ArchDelt 38 B’ (1983) 396 (excavation of part of the Mycenaean settlement); Η. Καντζιά, “Οδός Κολοκοτρών 25 (οικόσηπεδο ΑΝ. Θεοδωροπούλου),” ArchDelt 39 B’ (1984) 329-30 (LH III above MM/LM IA; stratified EBA including part of a wall and a partly intact potter’s kiln); “Γουνία των οικόσηπεδων Ιω. Θεοδωροπούλου και Απέλλου (οικόσηπεδα Γεωρ. Πιώνα),” ArchDelt 39 B’ (1984) 330 (LH III, MM/LM IA, with EBA just above virgin soil); “Οδός Χατζητζήσ (οικόσηπεδο Δευτ. Κολονήσου),” ArchDelt 39 B’ (1984) 331 (reached top of LH IIIC stratum).}\]

\[\text{237} \text{ For recent work on these islands, see M. Melas, “Minoan and Mycenaean Settlement in Kasos and Karpathos,” BCHS 30 (1983) 53-61; “Survey of Karpathos, Kasos and Saria, Dodecanese,” in Keller and Rupp (supra n. 205) 287-89; Karpathos, Kasos and Saria; “Exploration in the Dodecanese: New Prehistoric and Mycenaean Finds,” BSA 83 (1988) 283-311. See also “Σπήλαιο Ελληνοκαμάρας,” ArchDelt 37 B’ (1982) 417 for explorations by the Ephoreia of Caves in the cave of Ellinokamaras on Kasos (for earlier bibliography see Gazetteer 359). For copper in Karpathos in the LBA, see Karpathos, Kasos and Saria no. 558, from the site of Palio Mitato (D23), appears to be a sherd from a Melian jug.}\]

\[\text{238} \text{ A large limestone figure found there was presented by J.T. Bent to the British Museum in 1886. Melas (Karpathos, Kasos and Saria 147-48) has suggested that it may have served as a cult statue; cf. Renfrew’s remarks concerning similarly “colossal” figures from the southeastern Cyclades (“Speculations on the Use of Early Cycladic Sculpture,” in Cyclades 24-30).}\]
more extensive; some 150 m to the east of Xenona, a principal focus of LB I settlement has been identified at Vroulidia. Here recent construction work afforded opportunities to examine stratigraphy. Finds are of types characteristically found at Minoan and Minoanizing centers elsewhere in the southern Aegean and include plentiful conical cups, red wall-plaster, pottery of MM III/LM I varieties, and extensive deposits of murex shells.

Elsewhere on Karpathos, on Saros, and on Kasos, similar ceramics are widespread, if not so closely datable. Sites are generally small with undistinguished finds (occasional loomweights of Minoan type are notable); most are located on, or near, coasts. Pottery actually imported from Crete appears to be exceptional outside Pigadia. Trapeza (L60) on Kasos is an exception; Minoan finds were plentiful there and ashlar masonry was possibly employed. On Kasos the primary focus of occupation seems to have shifted from the southwest area, that part of the island closest to Crete, to the north coast at some time between LB I and LB III.

Minoan finds have also been recognized on many of the smaller islands of the southeast Aegean, e.g., at Garipa on Telos, and at Pontamos Ayioi Anargyroi on Halki.

Late Bronze III. Study of the Mycenaean period in the southeast Aegean continues to be hampered by a lack of properly excavated and completely published settlement sites; fullest information comes from excavations conducted in the 1920s and '30s when these islands were under Italian occupation. Recent syntheses of previous archaeological investigations on Rhodes provide convenient points of departure for any discussion of the complex history of settlement in the Dodecanese during the Mycenaean period. Findspots are concentrated in the more fertile areas of the north, particularly around Trianda, but chamber-tomb cemeteries have been recognized in most other parts of the Rhodian periphery and at several sites in the interior.

Since thousands of tombs have been looted and their contents transferred to museum collections outside Greece, a great many artifacts both on Rhodes and abroad have little or no context. A pleasant exception are tombs in the Lindos area excavated in 1925 in a salvage operation designed partly to compensate for damage done by tomb-robbers. The results of these excavations have recently been published, and many tomb-groups now divided between Turkish and Danish museums have been reassembled on paper. It has also been possible, in most cases, to relocate the sites of the original excavations.

The restudy of Mycenaean finds from Italian excavations at Trianda (Ialysos) has clarified the later history of northern Rhodes. There the identity of those who used the numerous chamber tombs (of LH IIIB-IIIC date) at Makra Vounari and Moschou Vounari has long been at issue. Very little pottery later than LH IIIA:1 was published in the report of Italian excavations at Trianda, nor have excavations on Mt. Filerimos yielded substantial numbers of LBA finds. Furumark, in his reanalysis of the excavations of Trianda, all but ignored the scanty Mycenaean evidence and assumed that the settlement was abandoned in LH IIIA:1.

It is now clear, however, that substantial numbers of LH IIIA:2 sherds were found in the older excavations; these were distributed over so large an area that it is unlikely that they were transported from elsewhere, despite a lack of associated architectural remains. Current excavations at Trianda may resolve the matter soon. Thus far they have produced some evidence for occupation later than LH IIIA:1, including a few sherds of LH IIIB; LH IIIC is possibly also represented.

The first chamber tombs at Ialysos were built in LH IIIB/IIIA:1; weapons were prominent in these earliest burials. Minoan influence and imports had almost totally disappeared. Elsewhere on Rhodes, contemporary finds are thinly distributed. In LH IIIA:2, however, an island-wide pattern in the geographical
distribution of tombs was established that persisted until LH IIIC. LH IIIIB finds are, however, strangely uncommon, and it has been argued that this situation reflects an actual decrease in settlement.249 In LH IIIB, there was a substantial decrease in the number of tombs built or in use at Ialyssos and perhaps more generally in northwest Rhodes. In other parts of the island, the number of tombs in use also appears to have decreased substantially, except in the southeast where there are slightly more IIIIB finds than in previous periods.

LH IIIC, on the other hand, witnessed a sudden increase in the number of burials at Ialyssos; many older tombs were reused and more Mycenaean figurines were deposited in burials. Most interments appear to date early in LH IIIC. A "continuous but thin" thread seems to have been maintained between the Argolid and Rhodes throughout the IIIC period, but at most sites there is no pottery of the later stages of LH IIIC. It has been suggested that there may have been internal migration in early IIIC from other parts of the island into the Ialyssos area.250

Recent research on Kos, Karpathos, Kasos, and Saria has also clarified the pattern of Mycenaean settlement. In Karpathos, Kasos, and Saria there remains an unexplained gap in the local sequence of habitation during LM IB and LM II, a peculiar absence given the presence of substantial amounts of LM IB at Trianda on Rhodes. In LH III, there appear to have been far fewer sites than in MM III/LM IA and none has yet been located on Saria; most settlements and cemeteries were in naturally fortifiable locations where no evidence of earlier LB I occupation has been recognized. LM/LH IIIA and earlier LH IIIB types of ceramics are well represented; the later phases of LM/LH IIIB and IIIC are curiously absent. Imports from the mainland have been recognized but Cretan types remained dominant, in contrast to the situation on Rhodes and Kos.251 Cemeteries with chamber tombs of Mycenaean type became the rule on Kos, Kalymnos, and Astypalaia.252

Excavations at Kardamaina (ancient Halasarna) on the south coast of Kos may help sort out details of Dodecanesian relative chronology in LB III; a stratigraphical sequence of deposits is said to run unbroken from LH IIIA:1 through Greek and Roman times.253 Mycenaean finds have now also been recognized even on smaller islands of the southeast Aegean such as Leros.254

### Amorgos

Many new prehistoric sites have been reported on Amorgos and the locations of older finds identified with greater certainty through recent surface explorations. Some 18 sites can now be dated to the Early Cycladic period.255 A fortified EC stronghold at Maristodoulou, "Minoaúda," ArchDelt 34 B' (1979) 457–58; also Papazogloú 65–66, n. 9. For LH/LM chamber tombs on Kalymnos, see AR 30 (1984) 70. For the investigation of two chamber tombs on Astypalaia at Synkairos, located on the north shore of the island between Steno and Trió Marmari, see G. Doumas, "Axpóspalópa," ArchDelt 30 B' (1975) 372 (finds included a bronze spearhead, a fishhook, lead weights, chisels, and spatulas; bones in one tomb were fully disarticulated and in both tombs they showed strong signs of burning); for Mycenaean Astypalaia in general, see Macdonald (supra n. 250) 148.

250 On the issue of internal migration and more generally concerning regional variation in material culture during LH IIIC, see C. Macdonald, "Problems of the Twelfth Century B.C. in the Dodecanese," BSA 81 (1986) 125–51; on LH IIIC pottery in the eastern Aegean, see S. Sheratt, "The Development of Late Helladic IIIC," BICS 32 (1985) 161. See also J.H. Crouwel, "Fragments of Another Octopus Sturrup Jar from Kalymnos in Amsterdam," BAlBesch 59 (1984) 63–68 (two fragments of an unpublished LH/IIA chamber vessel said to have been found on Kalymnos).
251 S. Sheratt, "The Evidence for Greek and Cypriot Pottery: A Review of Scientific Studies" (The British School at Athens, 1978) 249–95; and A. Sampson, "Akpóspalópa," ArchDelt 30 B' (1975) 372 (finds included a bronze spearhead, a fishhook, lead weights, chisels, and spatulas; bones in one tomb were fully disarticulated and in both tombs they showed strong signs of burning); for Mycenaean Astypalaia in general, see Macdonald (supra n. 250) 148.
252 G. Aleura et al., "Aypóspalópa tis Arxíaís Állótpoíias" (ArchiEp 1985, Chronika 1–18 for description of the prehistoric material, see p. 18).
253 L. Marangou, "Evidence for the Early Cycladic Period on Amorgos," in Cycladica 99–115. Marangou also publishes 1) fragments of EC pottery from various surface collections; and 2) previously unpublished vessels of terracotta and marble and six marble figurines that are now in the collection of the museum of Chora on Amorgos; L. Marangou, "Aypóspalópa tis Arxíaís Állótpoíias," Prakt 1985, 199–200, describes EC finds subsequently acquired by the museum. Marangou, "Découvertes récentes à Amorgos," in Les Cyclades 121, mentions fragments of frescoes from the site of Nyolokaritidí, on the east side of the bay of Katapola, and Marangou, "Evidence for the Early Cycladic Period on Amorgos," in Cycladica 99, no. 3, makes reference to numerous Mycenaean sherds there. See also Marangou, "Aypóspalópa tis Arxíaís Állótpoíias," Prakt 1984, 388, where remains of a fortification,
kiani has been surveyed and excavated. Two seasons of excavations documented stratified finds mainly of Grotta-Pelos, Kampos, and Kastri types. Burnished rolled-rim bowls with "tubular tunnel lugs" dominate in the earliest levels and are associated with a circuit of fortifications, the oldest recorded in the Cyclades.

Elsewhere on Amorgos, excavations both on the acropolis and in the lower town of Minoa have yielded finds of the Neolithic and EBA, principally in post-Bronze Age contexts (such as the filling of a tower in the Geometric fortifications), but also unmixed in bedrock pockets. A fragmentary EC folded-arm figurine, found in the filling of a Roman cistern, is the first EBA marble figurine found on Amorgos in proper excavation since the 19th century.

BEYOND PHYLAKOPI: TOWARD A PAN-AEGEAN PREHISTORY

The study of the prehistory of the Aegean islands has long been hampered by the absence of a flexible relative chronology based on a series of published deposits from settlement contexts. In the absence of competition, the stratigraphy of a single well-documented and long-lived site, Phylakopi on Melos, monopolized center-stage for much of this century. The dominance of this type-site has often encouraged the proliferation of uniformitarian assumptions about Aegean island prehistory and it has consequently been very difficult either to define or explain variation in material culture between one part of the Aegean and another.

It could still be said in 1979 that our comprehension of the cultural history of the Cycladic EBA had not improved greatly since the results of the first excavations of Phylakopi were published in 1904. Already then three main groups of material dating to the EBA were recognized and there was considerable consensus about the order in which they were to be arranged: other architectural features, and EBA pottery are reported to have been found at Mandres tou Nikita Roussou and are to be associated with tombs excavated nearby by Tsountas at Kat’ Akrotiri (Gazetteer 340). Two seasons of excavations documented stratified finds mainly of Grotta-Pelos, Kampos, and Kastri types. Burnished rolled-rim bowls with "tubular tunnel lugs" dominate in the earliest levels and are associated with a circuit of fortifications, the oldest recorded in the Cyclades.

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257 See Marangou 1985 (supra n. 255) 184–86, 191, 196–98. The Neolithic pottery from Minoa includes white-painted types: see Hadjianastasiou in Greek Prehistory (supra n. 180) 18. See also Marangou 1984 (supra n. 255) 357, 377, and 380 for possible EC from both the Acropolis and lower town, and p. 388 for a report of EC surface finds on the east slope of the Acropolis.


259 See esp. the discussion in J.E. Coleman, "Chronological and Cultural Divisions of the Early Cycladic Period: A Criti-
ical scope and should allow, for the first time, the construction of a relative chronology for the EBA Cyclades that is based almost entirely on settlement stratigraphy. Of special importance will be the publication of material of the initial phases of the EBA at Markiani: these finds in tandem with recently excavated “pre-city” deposits at Phylakopi and transitional Neolithic–EBA strata from the Cave of Zas on Naxos should permit firm definition of the beginning of the Cycladic EBA.

The position of the Keros-Syros phase of the Cycladic EBA is solidly established as contemporary with EH II on the Greek mainland. Ayia Irini period II, the principal deposits at Skarkos, and pre-city phase A2 from Phylakopi will allow this stage to be more tightly defined both in the western and southern Cyclades. The final stages of the EBA present greater problems. The Kastri Group and its Euboian equivalent, Lefkandi phase I, remain poorly understood. Although its type features have been recognized at many sites in both the northern and southern Cyclades, only at Ayia Irini is there abundant contextual information from an excavated settlement. There it is clear that the Anatolian features in the ceramics are displayed in only a small minority (about 10%) of the pottery in use. There is an obvious continuity in material culture from the preceding Keros-Syros phase. The hypothesis that the Cyclades were invaded and settled by new immigrants at the time of the Kastri Group is weak. It has often been argued that the sites of Kastri on Syros and Panormos on Naxos were settled by Anatolian newcomers, but neither has been fully published and it is not possible, as at Ayia Irini, to assess the extent of Anatolian influence on their ceramics. Kastri types from Mt. Kynthos on Delos are totally devoid of stratigraphical context.

Ceramic characterization studies of Kastri Group ceramics are badly needed. The possibility that Anatolian types were brought to some Cycladic islands through exchange with the eastern Aegean cannot be excluded. The suggestion that sites such as Kastri were established as forts by Anatolian invaders is even less convincing now that the site of Markiani on Amor-

gos appears to have been fortified already at the very beginning of the EBA. It seems less likely that the Kastri phase was the only, or even a special, time of troubles in the EBA Cyclades. The existence of weapons manufactured from bronze of a composition similar to that employed for bronzes in use at Troy also need not point to invaders from that part of the Aegean. More recent analyses of metal artifacts from Troy and the islands of the northeast Aegean suggest that a northwest Anatolian provenance for the Trojan bronzes themselves is in doubt, and it now is generally agreed that the Anatolian ceramic types that characterize the Kastri Group are of southwestern Anatolian, rather than Troadic, derivation. The Kastri phase may be more plausibly seen as a phase of increased interaction between the Cyclades and the southeast Aegean.

After Ayia Irini period III and the abandonment of Kastri, the ground is very shaky until the inception of Ayia Irini period IV. There is certainly a gap in the stratigraphy of Ayia Irini between periods III and IV. Period III must be more or less contemporary with the later stages of EH II on the mainland, while period IV does not begin until the earliest phases of the mainland and Cretan MBA have passed. Periods equivalent to mainland EH III and earlier MH are completely unrepresented. More serious is the fact that almost no evidence has yet been recognized anywhere in the Cyclades for occupation contemporary with EH III on the Greek mainland, nor is there a stratigraphical sequence in the Cyclades that bridges the centuries of transition between the Cycladic EBA and MBA. This fact has led to the provocative suggestion that there is a general “gap” in the Cycladic sequence: whether this is an accident of excavation or reflects a time of generally thin settlement remains to be determined.

With the start of period IV at Ayia Irini, we again have a firm footing. Indeed, periods IV and V at Ayia Irini appear to cover most of the later MBA. Details of chronology become controversial again at the very end of the MBA. In Cretan terms, the latest imports in period V at Ayia Irini appear to date to the begin-

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264 For arguments pro and con, see “Perspectives”; references in n. 123 (supra); Warren and Hankey (supra n. 158).
ning of MM III. The earlier stage of period VI has been considered more or less contemporary with the Seismic Destruction Level at Akrotiri on Thera, and both have been dated in Cretan terms to the very beginning of LM IA. This is also the time when the Second City of Phylakopi was destroyed. There would, therefore, appear to be a gap in the Ayia Irini sequence. On Crete, the transitional MM/LM phases have never been closely defined; refinements there should allow the nature and duration of this gap to be described in greater detail.

The beginning of the LBA in the Cyclades is clearly represented by deposits of early period VI at Ayia Irini and from the Seismic Destruction Level at Akrotiri. The publication of these deposits will provide definitions for early LC I that are practicable within the Cyclades. It would be unwise to redefine the beginning of LC I in reaction to revisions in Cretan terminology. Subtle definitions of MM III and LM I, of the sort currently being proposed by Minoan specialists, could only be distinguished in the islands of the Aegean were substantial quantities of Cretan imports present. This is rarely the case, even in the Cyclades, where Minoan pottery never amounts to more than a fraction of the total in an assemblage.

For the remainder of the LBA, recent publications have clarified many details of relative chronology. The eruption of the Santorini volcano represents a pivotal stage and it is now obvious that the material in the Volcanic Destruction Deposits at Akrotiri is contemporary with a later, but not the latest, stage of LM IA on Crete. Stratigraphy at Phylakopi on Melos suggests that only some time after the eruption of the Santorini volcano did the first LM IB imports reach that site. Times contemporary with LM IB on Crete and LH II on the Greek mainland are well represented by Ayia Irini period VII, which can itself now be subdivided. Plentiful finds of the LB III period have been illustrated, including destruction deposits at Koukounaries on Paros (dated to an early stage of LH IIIC), a long sequence of ceramic assemblages in the sanctuary at Phylakopi (LH IIIA–C), and groups in the temple at Ayia Irini (LH IIIC). Publication of LH IIIA–B deposits from Ayia Irini will also be invaluable.

We thus seem well on our way to establishing a relative chronology for the Cyclades that reflects the full range of variation within these islands as a whole. If this goal is to be accomplished we must resist the temptation to impose rigid chronological frameworks on a pan-Cycladic or pan-Aegean scale. Rather the stratigraphical sequences of each and every site and island need first to be considered individually and only then related to those of other islands: it is particularly important that stratified groups of material from Cycladic settlements continue to be published, rather than selections of finds arranged by phases established at some other site such as Phylakopi or Ayia Irini. Such a procedure is complicated, but the complexity is only reflective of the truly intricate nature of the archaeological record itself. Our purpose after all is not to establish a chronological system of mnemonic simplicity for students.

Enormous progress is also being made in sorting out the relative chronology of other islands and island groups of the Aegean. More detailed publication of finds from excavations in the prehistoric settlements at Manika should clarify the material cultural sequence of Euboia for Bronze Age periods earlier than the first phase of Lefkandi. Our understanding of later EBA and MH phases will profit from the complete publication of the results of excavations in the Vouratassas plot at Eretria, and from Palamari on Skyros. In the northern Aegean, stratigraphy from Skala Sotiros and Kastri on Thasos will be of great importance in linking the cultural sequences of the northern Aegean to those of the south, both in the EBA and LBA. Emborio on Chios and Tigani and the Heraion on Samos also emerge as pivotal sites that tie the later Neolithic and EBA Cyclades to the eastern Aegean and Anatolia.

Recent developments in the Dodecanese have already made important contributions to our understanding of the cultural history of the latest MBA and earlier LBA. The systematic inventory of archaeological remains and the identification of new sites have radically changed our picture of the density and distribution of settlements, particularly in the Middle and Late Bronze Ages. The earlier MBA is, however, still poorly understood, as is the MBA. The investigation of EB III levels at Asomatos on Kos is thus of great importance. We are still a long way from understanding the significance of substantial gaps in habitation sequences present on many of the islands of the Dodecanese.

It should also be evident from this review that relative chronology has not been the only, or perhaps even the principal, emphasis of recent fieldwork in the Aegean islands. Excavations such as those of house A on Keos or the sanctuary on Melos have been published with an opulence of detail that makes it now possible to begin to reconstruct the social and

266 See Davis and Cherry (supra n. 41).
economic organization of prehistoric island centers for the first time. The full documentation of sequences at Akrotiri, Melos, and Keos permits us to hypothesize about the processes responsible for changes in material culture there. Intensive surveys on Keos and Melos, and systematic efforts also to inventory prehistoric resources in parts of Naxos, Ios, Siphnos, Keros, Amorgos, Euboia, Skyros, Chios, in the Sporades, and in the Dodecanese are giving us the first reliable pictures of patterns in settlement within entire prehistoric island landscapes.

It seems fair to say that the Aegean islands should no longer be viewed as a backwater but as one of the best-documented areas of prehistoric Greece, or even of prehistoric southern Europe. Great progress has been made. The relative chronology of settlement is much better known than it was only a decade ago, and, perhaps of greater importance, excavations of settlement sites have established local stratigraphical sequences in all major parts of the Aegean. The publication of current excavations and advances in the study of absolute chronology promise to resolve long-standing problems in relative chronology and should make it possible for archaeologists to shift at last the focus of their efforts from matters of chronology to the reconstruction of the societies and economies of the islands of the prehistoric Aegean. Indeed, the next decade promises to be exciting.

267 Indeed, the prehistoric archaeology of Melos has been employed as one principal case in a textbook now widely used in archaeology classes in North America: see C. Renfrew and P. Bahn, *Archaeology: Theories, Methods, and Practice* (London 1991) 438–45.

268 Two important syntheses of available evidence for absolute and relative chronology in the Aegean are in press and deserve special notice: see Coleman (supra n. 8) and especially the detailed treatment of the islands provided by Manning 1992 (supra n. 160).