

REGIONAL APPROACHES TO EARLY GREEK SOCIETY 1100–550 BCE



International Workshop at the Institute of Classical Archaeology
Eberhard Karls University Tübingen, December 14–16, 2018



ABSTRACTS

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 14TH 2018

13:00 Registration

14:00 Welcome
Richard Posamentir (Institute's Director)
Angelina Linnemann (Excellence Strategy)

14:20 Introduction
Maximilian Rönneberg (Tübingen)
Veronika Sossau (Basel)

Section 1: General Problems of Historiography (Chair: Robin Osborne)

14:40 *How Rational Was the Early Greek City?*
Alain Duplouy (Paris)

15:20 Kings, Officials and Priestesses. Chronographic Lists as Cornerstones of Chronology
Angelika Kellner (Innsbruck)

15:50 – Coffee Break –

Section 2: Synchronisations of Written and Material Evidence: Methodical Issues (Chair: Erich Kistler)

16:20 *It's the Economy...: Regional Perspectives on Money, Land and Labour in the Formative Period of City-States*
Julien Zurbach (Paris)

17:00 Where Did I Read that? Concept Formation and Archaic Sparta
Thomas Clements (Manchester)

17:30 Laconian Material Culture and Lacedaimonian Identity: The Laconian Sanctuaries Case
Adrien Delahaye (Paris)

18:00 From Group Identity to Ethnic Identity in Mainland Locris
Louis Pomaret Cañadas (Madrid)

18:30 – Coffee Break –

19:00 Microhistory Presupposes Macrohistory
Christoph Ulf (Innsbruck)

20:00 – Evening Reception (Rittersaal) –

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 15TH 2018

Section 3: Athens (Chair: F. Ruppenstein)

09:30 *Chronology, Region, Style, and the Polis. Methods and Limits in the Study of Finds in Funerary and Ritual Contexts in Athens*
Veronika Sossau (Basel)

10:10 The Athenian Society in the Transition to the Early Iron Age through Funerary Material Culture: the Case of the Herodou Attikou Street Cemetery
Marilena Kontopanagou (Athens)

10:40 – Coffee Break –

Section 4: Attica (Chair: S. Schmidt-Hofner)

11:10 *Archaeological Traces of Kinship Ties in 8th C. Attica*
Alexandra Alexandridou (Ioannina)

11:50 The Burial Rite of Enchytrismos in Attica during the Late Geometric and Archaic Periods: Towards an Understanding of Social Dimension
Alexandra Dafni Vlanti (Oxford)

12:20 Internal Colonisation, Village Fission and the Emergence of Local Cults in Attica
Maximilian Rönnerberg (Tübingen)

12:50 – Lunch Break –

Section 5: Peloponnese (Chair: A. Livieratou)

14:20 *Between the Mycenaean and Greek Worlds: the Emergence of the Greek Sanctuary*
Birgitta Eder (Vienna)

15:00 The Formation of the Religious Landscape of the Peloponnese during the Early Historical Period (800–600 B.C.)
Afroditi Vlachou (Volos)

15:30 Regional (Id)entities. The Decoration of Early Iron Age Pottery around the Gulf of Corinth
Torben Keßler (Kiel)

16:00 – Coffee Break –

Section 6: Euboea and Related Areas (Chair: I. Lemos)

16:30 *Euboean »Ports of Call« alongside the Coasts from Euboea to the Theraic Gulf*
Alexandros Mazarakis Ainian (Volos)

17:10 Early Sanctuaries on the Chalcidice: the Case of Poseidi
Olivia Denk (Basel)

17:40 – Coffee Break –

18:15 What is a Region? Athens and the Region of Athens in the Archaic Period
Robin Osborne (Cambridge)

20:00 – Conference Dinner –

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 16TH 2018

Section 7: Central Greece (Chair: V. Sossau)

09:00 *From Mycenaean Periphery to ethne: the Complex Ways of Socio-Political Evolution in Phocis and East Locris in the Early Iron Age*
Antonia Livieratou (Athens)

09:40 The Household Ceramics of the LHIII C and Proto-Geometric Period from the Site of Kynos (Phtiotis). Its Character, Characteristics and Potentials
Aikaterini Stamoudi (Athens)

10:10 – Coffee Break –

Section 8: Trans-Regional Studies (Chair: R. Posamentir)

10:40 *Transformation, Tradition and Innovation: the Transition from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age*
Irene Lemos (Oxford)

11:20 From the Individual to the Community: Re-Reading Domestic Space during the Transition from the Early Iron Age to the Archaic Period
Eleni Chatzinikolaou (Volos)

11:50 Mortuary Spaces of the Early Greek Polis
Cicek Tascioğlu Beeby (Chapel Hill/Athens)

12:20 *Concluding Remarks*
Erich Kistler (Innsbruck)
Florian Ruppenstein (Freiburg)

12:50 Final Discussion

How Rational Was the Early Greek City?

Alain Duplouy (Paris)

How has the Greek city come into existence? As many scholars have since long made clear, the subject of the birth of the city is intimately related to the question of its very nature. If one looks back over a century of research, multiple answers have been proposed, implying diverging models of the city. One of these models focuses on the rationality of the Greeks.

Such an idea goes back to Antiquity. Aristotle not only considered man as a ›political animal‹ (zôon politikon), meant by nature to live in cities, but also as a creature endowed with reason (logon echon). Being the product of a rational man, the polis could thus best be investigated as a rationally structured political entity. Since Numa Denis Fustel de Coulanges' *La Cité antique* (1864), it has often been apprehended indeed as a highly rational object, theoretically planned in all its aspects right from its creation, as Athena leaped out from Zeus's head fully grown and armed. Nowhere else than in the French scholarship of the last decades has the idea of a ›city of reason‹ been so popular, beginning with Jean-Pierre Vernant's seminal essay *Les origines de la pensée grecque* (1962).

The communication will explore the implications of this historiographical choice, which has set rationality or reason at the core of the development of Greek cities, both for historians and archaeologists. In taking distance with such an approach, the paper eventually presents a few hints on how we should (re)consider the question of the early polis.

Alain.Duplouy@univ-paris1.fr

Kings, Officials and Priestesses

Chronographic Lists as Cornerstones of Chronology

Angelika Kellner (Innsbruck)

In the second half of the 5th century BC lists of eponymous secular and sacred officials, which reached as far back as the Archaic period (c. 800–500 BC), were published in various Greek cities. This is usually understood to mark the beginning of a new literary genre, namely ancient Greek Chronography. This presentation will offer an overview and a discussion of these chronographic lists, i.e. the Spartan kings, the Argive priestesses of Hera, the Olympic victors and the Athenian archons. Not only are these texts poorly preserved, but hardly any original material has survived. Four inscriptional fragments of the Athenian archon list form a rare exception, although these do not even add up to ten fully legible names. The register has only been transmitted in parts by Diodorus (1st century BC) and Eusebius (4th century AD).

This situation clearly impedes drawing detailed conclusions. One judgement that can be made, however, is that the various cities generated different registers according to their societal and political settings. It is worthwhile to investigate how ancient authors and especially Hellenistic chronographers used these lists to create a comprehensive chronology of Archaic Greece. Some case examples shall demonstrate the difficulties this chronological system brings for ancient and modern scholars alike.

Angelika.Kellner@student.uibk.ac.at

It's the Economy...

Regional Perspectives on Money, Land and Labour in the Formative Period of City-States

Julian Zurbach (Paris)

Recent developments in the study of economic developments from ca. 800 to ca. 500 in the Aegean world have considerably modified our views of the formative period of Greek (and, in fact, Mediterranean) city-states. We will begin with a panorama of these new questions, from agricultural economy and land distribution to monetary forms and uses and the development of slavery in all its juridical forms. Perhaps the most revolutionary contributions have appeared in the field of the economy of money. Studies on weighed money, notably silver but also other metals, have showed that the appearance of coinage was not so fundamental a change as we thought. The monetization of the economy takes place much earlier, and it is in some aspects an Orientalizing phenomenon. Conceptions of the status of workforce have also undergone significant changes: Helots and similar groups are indeed slaves, not dependent, as are the *dmoai* and *dmoes* known to Homer and Hesiod. The creation of those groups is an Archaic phenomenon, not an old inherited practice. It goes together with other means of creating a slave workforce. At the crossroad between monetary forms and workforce stands the role of debt in imposing slavery, a crucial factor in the social and economic crisis of around 600. This crisis appears as a complete re-definition of the entitlement system, that is, the system of rights of access to land and its products, as the constitutive moment of city-states. The diversity of city-states as economic systems is well-known. We will try to follow the consequences of this interpretation of Archaic developments on two scales, the regional and the Mediterranean ones. As a

matter of fact, this conception leads quite necessarily to studies of regional developments. The monetary forms appear, as far as we may know, quite diversified on a regional scale, with very different systems in Asia minor, in Attica and neighbouring regions, or in the Peloponnese. The debt crisis against which Solon had to fight may have been limited to Athens, Megara and Corinth. Slave systems were also quite different from place to place, even if all city-states were certainly slave societies at the end of the Archaic period. But looking at these developments on a regional scale also leads quite unavoidably to question the limits of what we call the ›Greek world‹. Other regional systems of city-states like Phoenicia, Carthage, Cilicia, Lycia or Etruria show similarities to the historical trajectories of the ›Greek‹ regions. We will therefore end by looking back to the new Mediterranean paradigms defined at the beginning of the 2000s, even if the ›regions‹ we consider here are not exactly the ›microregions‹ of The Corrupting Sea.

Julien.Zurbach@ens.fr

Where Did I Read that?

Concept Formation and Archaic Sparta

Thomas Clements (Manchester)

The need to incorporate literary, epigraphic and material evidence into a unified understanding of Greek history is now an unassailable feature of the discipline. Recent accounts of Archaic Greece take this as an important methodological assumption (Osborne 2009; Hall 2014). Engagement with multiple bodies of evidence has also been an important element of regional studies (Morgan 2003). However, combining evidence requires a suitable interpretative framework. Bodies of literary, epigraphic and material evidence are assembled through vastly different processes of formation and transmission. Therefore, is there a certain ›cognitive dissonance‹ in constructing a single, historical explanation? Do our interpretative frameworks suffer from ›cross-pollination‹ of assumptions and ideas and, if so should we seek to remedy this?

This paper seeks to understand where concepts come from, how they are applied, and how this affects the interpretation of evidence and the integration of different forms of evidence. These questions are explored with reference to Archaic Sparta, and Laconia in particular. The region is challenging to study owing to the paucity of evidence and the popularity of literary traditions concerning the formation of ›Lycurgan‹ Sparta. These traditions are often much later and their significance is controversial. The narrative of conquest and some early period of domination proliferates in the literary evidence (Tyr. fr. 5W; Hdt. 1, 66, 3 f.; Isoc. 12, 178–181; Ephorus FGrH 70 F117 ap. Strab. 8, 5, 4), and suggests the early formation of a strong, central authority. Recent studies have greatly elucidated the functioning of

classical Spartan society (Hodkinson 2000), yet still the earlier dynamics of the regions which encompassed Spartan territory, Laconia and Messenia, remain unclear. Does this provide however a useful framework for assessing material data? Is the concept of ›state‹ or weaker permutations of this idea particularly useful for studying the region? These concepts will be tested with reference to case studies discussing the settlement dynamics of Laconia, with reference to the data of the Laconia Survey (Cavanagh et al. 1996–2002) and Spartan sanctuary investment (Pavlidis 2018).

W. G. Cavanagh – J. Crouwel – R. W. V. Catling – D. G. J. Shipley (eds.) *The Laconia Survey: Continuity and Change in a Greek Rural Landscape* (London 1996–2002)

J. M. Hall, *A History of the Archaic Greek World, 1200-479 BCE* ²(Malden, Mass. 2014)

S. Hodkinson, *Property and Wealth in Classical Sparta* (London 2000)

C. Morgan, *Early Greek States Beyond the Polis* (London 2003)

R. Osborne, *Greece in the Making, 1200-479 BC* ²(London 2009)

N. Pavlidis, *The Sanctuaries of Apollo Maleatas and Apollo Tyritas in Laconia: Religion in Spartan-Perioikic Relations*, *BSA* 113, 2018, 1–27.

thomas.clements-2@postgrad.manchester.ac.uk

Laconian Material Culture and Lacedaimonian Identity

The Laconian Sanctuaries Case

Adrien Delahaye (Paris)

If Spartan history is better known thanks to the revision of the Spartan mirage, Lacedaemon continues to escape to a great extent from our knowledge. Sometimes considered as a polis, sometimes as a state or a symmachia, it appears more and more that it is a matter of identity. Spartans and Perioikoi seem to have shared more than political ties and the integration of the latter is based on cultural and ethnic – understood as a cultural construction – factors. Unfortunately, if the Spartans are not easy to study in many ways – Athenian and late literary sources, scarcity of the archaeological evidence –, the Perioikoi remain far more unknown and are basically studied as the ›other‹ Lacedaemonians; the Laconian material culture is a way to go beyond this aporia. Its use remains problematic as the historians focused on Sparta through literary sources, while the material culture and the production sphere were supposedly in the hands of the Perioikoi. This statement has led to ignore its historical value and if the Laconian artifacts have been studied, they have not been used to talk about the archaic Lacedaemonian society. The secured perioikoi sites are few, but they exist and can be used in a comparative study with the better known and published Spartan sanctuaries in order to highlight common features and specificities. Different categories of votive offerings – as the black-glazed pottery, the bronzes vases and figurines, the lead figurines and the Laconian reliefs – can be used as identity markers. The first results lead to common classes of artifacts, used in the same contexts and seem to indicate common votive practices. The question of the exact origin of the dedicators

is of course of high importance. These Laconian votives, dedicated in sanctuaries located in the perioikis, could have been brought there by Spartans. Indeed, the consideration of the epigraphic evidence indicates the presence of Spartans in several of these local sanctuaries. But the Perioikoi were also attending festivities in Sparta and a whole Lacedaemonian cultic system, with a calendar of festivals, emerges from the study of the Laconian material culture in context. At last, the rich material provided by several of these local sanctuaries is sometimes quite more impressive than in Sparta. For once, this proposal will try to focus on the Perioikoi during the archaic period – mainly the 6th century – through the material evidence and not from the literary sources dealing with Spartans and regarding the first as the ›other‹ Lacedaemonians.

adrien.delahaye@univ-paris1.fr

From Group Identity to Ethnic Identity in Mainland Locris

Louis Pomaret Cañadas (Madrid)

According to the classical, atheno-centric sources, the Locrian societies seem to have been little more than unremarkable, acting only as allies or enemies to great powers such as Thessaly, Thebes, Athens or Sparta during the main events of Greek history. The strategic location of both Locrian regions, traversed by important trans-regional routes, involved them in the constant struggle for hegemony in the Greek mainland, and yet little is said of the Locrian societies in our written sources which, in return, explains the lack of interest and studies in the area. However, if we distance ourselves from the centre of Greek geopolitics, we will find early traces, both in archaeology and the texts, of social dynamism and common identity which in our opinion are at least as interesting and worthy of our attention as the ›world of the polis‹. In the presentation, we will focus on the formative stages of the Locrian societies, roughly from the 10th century, but with special attention to the 8th-6th centuries. After briefly covering the scarce archaeological data as well as the pertinent texts, we will reflect on the most distinctive elements of Locrian ethnic identity and attempt to show how the elite known as the ›Hundred Houses‹ reached their position of pre-eminence by extending their group identity to the ethnic level. This approach should suffice to at the very least draw a basic picture of the Locrian collective behaviour as an ethnic group and inform us of the dynamism and interest of the era and region under study, while at the same time insisting on the validity of ethnic and identity studies applied to the most unknown regions of Greece, as well as in a broader and more general way.

lpomaret@ucm.es

Microhistory Presupposes Macrohistory

Christoph Ulf (Innsbruck)

Peoples and tribes as historical actors is one of the most influential concepts of macrohistory. Though its strong relations to the thoughts of romanticism are very clear, often it is still taken as the basis to rely upon when the past is to be described and explained. Only when we relinquish this premise, the archaeological record and the texts divulge their full meaning and the analysis of regions can reveal their association with the development of identities.

Christoph.Ulf@uibk.ac.at

Chronology, Region, Style, and the Polis

Methods and Limits in the Study of Finds in Funerary and Ritual
Contexts in Athens

Veronika Sossau (Basel)

There are few archaeological contexts that have been subjected to such intensive and methodologically diverse investigations as those of Early Athens. Especially the studies of graves and ritual contexts often aimed at understanding the growth of Athens to an urban center as well as the genesis of the polis and its central institutions. These investigations have come to different, sometimes even contradicting results: the identifications of the settlement area/s and its funerary and ritual landscape vary both in chronological and in spatial terms. The present paper intends to address the most important theses, methods, and discussions in regard to the questions raised in the Call for Papers: In what ways could an emphasis on regionality help us to an even better understanding of Early Athens? How can we (or can we at all) deal with aspects of regionality or locality in such small-scale areas in praxis? How can we define regions or trace regional developments? What are methodological pitfalls and dangers we have to deal with when we apply such a focus? And can we, after all, really disregard the polis as a result of earlier developments when dealing with Early Iron Age Athens?.

veronika.sossau@unibas.ch

The Athenian Society in the Transition to the Early Iron Age through Funerary Material Culture:

The Case of the Herodou Attikou Street Cemetery

Marilena Kontopanagou (Athens)

The attempt of the archaeologists to reconstruct the settlement and social organization of Athens during the Early Iron Age (1150/1100–900 B.C.) remains a complex issue, since our knowledge of habitation in that period comes from poor domestic residues, such as the content of pits and wells and sparse ›disturbed‹ archaeological strata, and almost exclusively from the extensive cemeteries and burial plots in the wider periphery of the Acropolis.

Regarding the burial customs, the shift from multiple burial to single burial (inhumations and gradually cremations) has been traditionally presented by scholars as a major reflection of social change, relevant to the widespread insecurity after the collapse of the Mycenaean palatial system and to the subsequent movement of population groups within the Aegean.

The aim of my presentation is to give an outline of the individual traits of the Submycenaean and Protogeometric cemetery on Herodou Attikou Street, which was established at a new site in the east part of Athens. The use of this area for the first time at the end of the Late Bronze Age is also documented by the Submycenaean to Protogeometric inhumation burials at the Greek Parliament area and on Amalias Avenue. On the basis of the selection of the ravine environment, its extent and use for at least a few generations and its access to a road, it can be considered comparable to the Kerameikos, the Agora and the ›South to the Acropolis‹ cemeteries. The two Submycenaean burial plots on Th. Renti and Drakou Streets respectively, will also be considered.

A careful examination of the available archaeological data from the contemporary Athenian and Attic cemeteries and burial plots, enhances the view that there are remarkable similarities between them as far as the funerary practices and material culture are concerned.

marikado1@hotmail.com

Archaeological Traces of Kinship Ties in 8th C. Attica

Alexandra Alexandridou (Ioannina)

As the main social unit, kinship is of immense importance for the study of early societies, since it influenced all aspects of life. The Athenian oikos expanded beyond the borders of a nuclear family, and comprised of numerous kin and non-kin members with fluid relationships to each other. The Homeric and Hesiodic narrations point to the existence of a rather large and complicated network of elite households. Archaeologically, kinship-corporate groups have been approached through funerary data or domestic architecture.

The present paper attempts to reveal the archaeological traces of kinship in Attica during the second half of the 8th century BC. Attic necropoleis are here treated as the main source for studying kin by focusing on the various strategies of mortuary display adopted by the burial groups, which were seeking a wider representation of their members. Special attention is paid on the well-attested funerary variability and its implications for the horizontal dimension of the contemporary social organisation. The results of the recently completed study of the habitation remains at the site of the Academy, spanning the latter part of the century, can importantly contribute to this discussion, which will benefit from some particular elements of the 8th-century vase iconography too.

The archaeological data from both the Attic burial grounds and the domestic spaces, combined with images could illuminate the form and development of kinship relationships, while allowing their juxtaposition with the major social transformations before and during the rise of the Athenian polis.

alexandraalexandridou@gmail.com

The Burial Rite of Enchytrismos in Attica during the Late Geometric and Archaic Periods

Towards an Understanding of Social Dimension

Alexandra Dafni Vlanti (Oxford)

In modern archaeological literature, the term enchytrismos is commonly used to describe the burial of individuals inside ceramic vessels. In the Aegean world, this mode of disposal was sporadically practiced since the Neolithic period, becoming the prevailing funerary rite for the youngest individuals of numerous Greek communities from the late 8th to the end of the 6th c. BC.

Attica is among the regions which have provided abundant evidence of enchytrismos burials dating to this period and is thus a prime case study for the examination of this burial custom and its ideological significance. Since the symbolism of a funerary ritual is socially and culturally constructed, the concurrent consideration of all constituents of Attic enchytrismoi and their integration in the contemporary local context sheds light on the social and ideological implications of this intriguing burial ritual for Attic communities.

In this context, the present paper examines the distinct characteristics of Late Geometric and Archaic enchytrismoi from Attica, including grave configuration, funerary vessels and associated offerings but also skeletal remains. The evaluation of these elements will firstly serve as the springboard for identifying the criteria used for the selection of individuals accorded this funerary rite, such as age, gender, and social status. In other words, why where they accorded a differential mode of disposal with respect to other social members? Secondly, it will attempt to shed light on the reasons motivating the choice of this particular burial ritual. Furthermore, the final part of this paper will examine whether the spatial distribution of Attic

enchytrismoi indicates membership to a particular group or lineage and evaluate the degree of integration of the individuals accorded this rite in their communities.

By addressing the aforementioned questions, the aim of this paper is twofold: firstly, to shed light on the unexplored symbolic and social connotations of this mortuary rite and secondly on the attitudes of the living towards the death and burial of the individuals accorded this mode of disposal.

alexandra.vlanti@lincoln.ox.ac.uk

Internal Colonisation, Village Fission and the Emergence of Local Cults in Attica

Maximilian F. Rönnerberg (Tübingen)

The idea of an internal colonisation shaping Attica during the Geometric period is very widespread. This movement is mostly implicitly or explicitly thought of as going from Athens, the centre of the region and allegedly the only place continuously inhabited during the Early Iron Age, to the Attic periphery, automatically causing an early unity of Attica. New finds of the Submycenaean and Protogeometric periods may be few in number, but originate from all over Attica and thus render the notion of a completely depopulated region doubtful. The idea of a ›cultural unity‹ of Attica based on a supposed inner-regional uniformity of burial customs and material culture does not stand up to closer scrutiny either. Furthermore, it is hard to imagine how political union would have resulted from internal colonisation in a time of still very low statehood. The fact that the current concept of internal colonisation projects back preconceptions of territoriality from later phases urges one to reconsider the settlement dynamics in Early Attica. This may be done by transferring the anthropologically well-attested phenomenon of village fission to Early Iron Age Attica. Thus, the gradual infilling of the landscape can be understood as the product of a successive fission of villages responding to the social stress resulting from an increase of population in face-to-face societies. As elsewhere, the end of this process seems to coincide with the emergence of a large number of local cults, which may be taken as one facet of the development of a more complex social structure which can be understood as an alternate way to relieve social stress when land for the creation of new villages gets rare. A short overview of the Attic sanctuaries of the 8th and 7th centuries BCE against the background of an updated compilation of contemporary traces of habitation

(mostly grave finds) suggests that the cult places should be understood as meeting points of the local population, which only partly developed a more regional significance in the 6th and 5th centuries BCE. When disentangled from preconceptions based on the later Athenian polis, the emergence of local cults in Attica thus may show the simultaneous formation of ›Early Greek societies‹ throughout Attica.

maxi.roennberg@gmx.de

Between the Mycenaean and Greek Worlds

The Emergence of the Greek Sanctuary

Birgitta Eder (Vienna)

Sanctuaries and associated religious practices were at the core of the development of local, regional and supra-regional identities of Greek poleis and ethne and eventually go back to the ›extra-urban‹ sanctuaries of the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age.

Birgitta.Eder@oeaw.ac.at

The Formation of the Religious Landscape of the Peloponnese during the Early Historical Period (800– 600 B.C.)

Afroditi Vlachou (Volos)

During the 8th century B.C. major transformations took place in most areas of cultural and political life of the Greek mainland. The developments at sanctuaries were the most impressive and widespread characterized by the appearance of the first monumental temples and the great investment in votive offerings. The data of the old excavations at the important Peloponnesian sanctuaries, such as the Argive Heraion, Perachora, Olympia, Isthmia, Tegea and Artemis Orthia, as well as recent research in a significant number of cultic sites, reveal important aspects in the development of cult practices and the material expression of religious belief, underlining the manner in which cultic behaviour may be used to express political and social values.

The relationship between the sanctuaries and civic organization is a highly discussed topic and a fundamental aspect of the research related to ancient Greek religion; the emphasis has been placed on the pivotal role of the extraurban sanctuaries, through which the nascent poleis were able to assert territorial claims. However most recent studies show that sanctuaries developed in a variety of social and political contexts and in a continuous process of reshaping of ritual structures.

The sacred landscape of the Peloponnese forms an interesting mosaic of panhellenic, regional, urban, rural and liminal sanctuaries, as well as various heroic and ancestor cults, the study of which has advanced a more dynamic and active aspect of ritual behaviours, by giving prominence to the establishment of a ritual/religious network of communication and interaction, that we may follow mainly through the circulation of votives. The existence

and the enduring of certain types of communication in religious context, despite the cultural shifts, enabled the early Peloponnesian communities to operate at a regional and extra-regional level, and to maintain traditions and acts firmly rooted in their mythical past and Doric origin.

The temporal and regional variation in cult practice in the Peloponnese, on one hand, and the relative cultural homogeneity of the material evidence from various cultic contexts on the other, reflect a community, which – during the formative period of the birth of the polis – is seeking both for social differentiation and control and for the development of a communal cohesion.

Therefore, this paper places emphasis on ritual practices and classes of material culture found in the Peloponnesian cult sites, in an effort to gain a better insight on ritual as well as social and political behaviour during the early historical era.

afroditi.vlachou@yahoo.gr

Regional (Id)entities

The Decoration of Early Iron Age Pottery around the Gulf of Corinth

Torben Keßler (Kiel)

Two aspects render the decoration of pottery a most fruitful area of research: its high sensitivity regarding change, and its comparatively good traceability within the literary corpus. That applies no less for pottery from the Greek Early Iron Age. Within my project, I am concerned with the regions surrounding the Gulf of Corinth from the 12th to the 8th century BC. By looking carefully at decorative elements of the different ceramic shapes extant, my focus lies on the issue of interconnectivity within and between the regions bordering the gulf. With the help of GIS-based – i.e. a ›high-resolution approach‹ – mapping of pottery decoration, I hope to be able to advance our knowledge of when and where certain geographical areas related more closely to each other, while others seemed to develop rather isolated. Although none of the questions posed is tackled here for the first time, I believe that the high degree of detail regarding the distinct potter's and painter's choice will produce some insights into spatial patterns that have not been recognized so far. How these spatial patterns need to be interpreted, is a matter of debate. While in some cases they may ›just‹ be due to trade exchange and, hence, a mainly fashion-driven decision (like e.g. visible in the distribution and ›migration‹ of a certain single motive), in others the reason might go deeper and connect to local peculiarities that follow cultural traditions (like e.g. differences with regard to ceramic grave goods that are graspable between the Argolid and the Corinthia).

kessler@klassarch.uni-kiel.de

Euboean »Ports of Call« alongside the Coasts from Euboea to the Termaic Gulf

Alexandros Mazarakis Ainian (Volos)

The paper aims at understanding the role played by the main coastal sites along the maritime routes from southern Greece towards the northern Aegean during the first centuries of the first millennium BC. The two alternative itineraries will be discussed, the more obvious one through the Euboean Gulf and the less obvious one, alongside the East coast of Euboea. The natural route further to the north would have been either west or east of the island of Skiathos, via the sites of Theotokou in Magnesia or Kephala on Skiathos, respectively.

The leading role of the Euboean Gulf in navigation from the southern to the northern Aegean and vice-versa during the Early Iron Age is easily apprehended and is reflected by the numerous important coastal settlements which were founded on either side of the Gulf. These settlements not only controlled the circulation of navigation but were on their own extremely active naval entities which travelled not only in safe waters but also in the open sea of the East and Central Mediterranean. The Euboeans were indeed experts in seafaring and in that respect travelling alongside the eastern coast of Euboea would not have been a great adventure for them, regarding their overseas travels. Thus, from south to north, the sites of Geraistos, Archampolis (Aigai?), Viglatouri/Kyme and Kerinthos must have been also important naval stops in the sea travels towards and from the northern and southern Aegean. Moreover, these sites were much better situated for the transversal or diagonal crossing of the Aegean Sea. This is hinted also by the route followed by the Achaeans on their nostos from Troy, via Lesbos, stopping over for sacrifices at the sanctuary of Poseidon at Geraistos (Odyssey 3, 176-179). In this frame, the discussion of my paper

will focus on two important coastal sites facing one another: Kerinthos on north-east Euboea and Kephala on the island of Skiathos.

amazarakisainian@yahoo.com

Early Sanctuaries on the Chalcidice: the Case of Poseidi

Olivia Denk (Basel)

The unlocking of the sacred landscape of the Chalcidice is still a desideratum of current research. Yet the Chalcidian peninsula is exceptionally important in the context of early Greek societies as the most of the Northern Aegean's early sanctuaries are situated in this micro-region. Natural features seem characteristic of these sites: at Kallithea a cave sanctuary, at Parthenonas a peak sanctuary, at Poseidi a seaside sanctuary, and at Sane a lagoon sanctuary. Of these early Chalcidian sanctuaries Poseidi, on the Pallene peninsula, is of great significance. With its ash-altar in use from the 12th century B.C. it represents a rare example of Late-Mycenaean cult practice, and its apsidal building of the 10th century B.C. is thought to be one of the earliest cult structures in Greece. More striking is that Poseidi is the only safely identified sanctuary of Poseidon in the area of ancient Macedonia.

Using the new results yielded by my doctoral project this paper will explore the character and cult practices of the sanctuary of Poseidi through discussion of the architectural features and archaeological findings. In addition to this, I will, first reconsider the perception of Poseidi as the extra-urban sanctuary of the coastal city of Mende, referring to de Polignac's retrospective on ›Space, Society and Religion‹. This sheds new light on the relationship between sanctuaries and the polis, and the changing status of extra-urban sanctuaries due to political events. Secondly, in the context of the ›Euboean colonization‹ the role of Mende itself, according to Thucydides an apoikia of the Eretrians, needs a nuanced view. Excavations at Mende have produced evidence of permanent habitation at the settlement site from the Late Mycenaean to the Classical period with an attested Euboean presence until the Geometric period. Thirdly, focusing on Poseidon's cult

at Poseidi, the impact of the Eretrians will be questioned in a comparative approach using literary, epigraphical and archaeological sources. This will be used to sketch a preliminary perspective with spatial and religious aspects on early Chalcidian societies and their relations to southern Greek regions.

olivia.denk@unibas.ch

What is a Region?

Athens and the Region of Athens in the Archaic Period

Robin Osborne (Cambridge)

Much of the interest of the ›region‹ comes from the varieties of regional identity that exist both at any one time and across time. Communities may think of themselves at the same time as part of one political region, another ethnic region, another cultural region, and so on, and each of these regional identities may be activated depending on what a community wants to achieve. Or, to put it another way, regional identities are discovered, invented, and asserted in order to achieve particular results.

Within contemporary societies regionalisms are relatively easy to trace because of the wealth of our documentation and our own capacities to comment on our own modes of organisation. But in Greek antiquity, and in particular in the archaic period, when our literary texts are exiguous, regionalisms are much harder to find.

In this lecture I take the example of archaic Athens in order to explore some of the problems and possibilities of detecting regionalism. Athens is a particularly good example because it came to tell its own stories of regionalism. It both told of there once having been twelve separate communities which were brought together by Theseus, and it told of political factions based on regional groupings. Scholarly attempts to detect Theseus' synoikismos in the archaeological record have failed to achieve any consensus – a failure that repays attention, as does the scholarly assumption that sixth-century regional political groupings will not be archaeologically visible at all.

By looking at the sorts of ways in which different regionalisms can be

detected in Attica, I attempt to set out both the questions that need to be asked and the types of evidence that might be deployed in answering them when investigating regionalism in archaeology more generally.

ro225@cam.ac.uk

From Mycenaean Periphery to *ethne*

The Complex Ways of Socio-Political Evolution in Phocis and East
Locris in the Early Iron Age

Antonia Livieratou (Athens)

As it has recently come to be understood in scholarly literature, neither was the polis the result of a ›Greek Renaissance‹ of the 8th century BC, nor the ethnos a tribal state surviving from a dark age. Instead, they were both complex social and political formations, whose emergence can be better understood when viewed through the prism of the transition from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age. The aim of this paper is to examine the formation of poleis and ethne in Central Greece by focusing on the region of Phocis and East Locris in the period after the palatial collapse and into the Early Iron Age. By collecting, examining and combining all kinds of archaeological evidence from the region, it will be attempted to reconstruct how various factors such as the local topography, the Mycenaean legacy, the network of external or internal contacts and economic relations and most importantly the rise of exceptional power centres such as the panhellenic sanctuary of Delphi, contributed to the development of poleis and to their coalition into two different ethne.

twnia@hotmail.com

The Household Ceramics of the LHIIC and Proto-Geometric Period from the Site of Kynos (Phthiotis)

Its Character, Characteristics and Potentials

Aikaterini Stamoudi (Athens)

The paper focus on the household ceramics-cooking pots of the LHIIC-PG period from the site of Kynos, East Locris, in Phthiotis (Central Greece). This kind of pottery is usually of secondary importance, of medium or poor quality, with respect to the decorated one, since it is not a diagnostic chronological element and is difficult to classify, especially when it is in small sherds. In addition, in the local and chronological classification, the household ceramics can include a number of categories and subcategories. However, it seems to keep up with fine ware, since quite often coarse ware imitates fine and decorated samples, particularly in residential places.

Lokris, at the opposite coast of Euboea, in the periphery of the Mycenaean world, has proven to be an active region in almost all phases of the Mycenaean period. In its eastern part, known as Opountian in Homer, the homeland of the hero Aias, lies the site of Kynos, also referred in the Iliad, near the modern village of Livanates, once a significant harbor in the post-palatial years, as indicated by the high quality of pottery (especially kraters) found in the settlement, decorated in the pictorial style (LHIIC Middle).

The excavations, conducted by the former director of the Ephorate of Lamia, Ms Fanouria Dakoronia, brought to light a considerable number of wheel-made household and cooking utensils, dated in the LH IIIC period, but also handmade ones, with a burnished surface, representing the PG period. Kynos emerges as a specialized production area, and its pottery comes from well stratified layers.

Lefkandi, a well published site, provides the closest parallels to comparison. Furthermore a recently excavated settlement in the area of Tragana, on the islet of Mitrou, 10 km NE of Kynos, has also given analogous samples of pottery. Two other sites in western Locris, Elateia and Kalapodi, the first one a burial area, and the latter an important shrine of the Locrians, certify for a handmade pottery tradition, dated in the transition from LHIIIC to PG period, with characteristics that appear also in Kynos.

The study of cooking pots contributes to the ever-growing interest and the publications concerning a neglected, until recently, material, looks into the cultural affinity between various typological groups evolved primarily in the region of Phthiotis and respectively in northern Greece and gives the prospect that this particular area of Central Greece will be a special reference point for future comparative studies.

stamaik@yahoo.gr

Transformation, Tradition and Innovation

the Transition from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age

Irene Lemos (Oxford)

The palatial collapse without doubt considerably affected the conditions of life in the post-palatial period. Communities and individuals of the 12th century experienced significant changes resulting from the collapse of the palatial administration. Society, however, did survive by transforming social structures and introducing innovations that affected different aspects of people's lives and norms, while preserving aspects of the LBA past. By the end of the 8th century communities appear more ›crystallized‹ at the end of a long process and were ready for further changes that would follow. In the paper I will follow this long process using the available archaeological evidence.

irene.lemos@classics.ox.ac.uk

From the Individual to the Community

Re-Reading Domestic Space during the Transition from the Early Iron Age to the Archaic Period

Eleni Chatzinikolaou (Volos)

Until recently, sociopolitical changes from the Early Iron Age to the Archaic period were usually studied through a 'polis' lens. Besides the fact that the emergence of the polis has been considered, probably as the most crucial development during this period, it was subsequently transmuted into an interpretative framework through which various changes, such as the urbanisation, the development of citizenship, and the first extensive public building programs, were conceived.

This paper, therefore, aims to reconstruct sociocultural developments during the Early Archaic period, through an interpretative examination of domestic architectural remains in Attica (Athens, Thorikos, Lathouriza, Oropos), Peloponnese (Corinth, Elis, Halieis) and Central Greece (Aigina, Delphi, Halai).

Houses are not simply lifeless architectural structures, in contrast, they are conveyors of social life, since household constitutes the original cell of the early Greek society. Thus, the study of the dwelling space could be a fruitful medium to reexamine various aspects of the wider community, during the crucial formative period of the transition from the one period to the other.

Bringing the evidence to the level of the individuals, studying from the bottom up, how people used and experienced domestic space, could provide an alternative perspective of viewing the interrelation between the public and private sphere. A novel focus upon the examination of early residences and household organisation would assist in the reconstruction

and reinterpretation of social complexity in Archaic Greece.

elchatzinikolaou@hotmail.com

Mortuary Spaces of the Early Greek Polis

Cicek Tascioğlu Beeby (Chapel Hill/Athens)

Visualizing the layout and structure of the early Greek polis is wrought with problems of methodology and archaeological recovery. Consequently, our picture of the early polis in its urban form is nebulous at best. Yet many studies on the mortuary spaces of Greek cities seem to agree that the space and place of death in a typical Greek polis was the outskirts of the settlement, distanced from the spaces of the living. This marginalization of burials from the urban core is commonly dated to the 8th century BC when the boundaries between the living, the dead, and the gods are believed to have hardened. While the reasons behind this purported shift from ›intramural‹ to ›extramural‹ distribution patterns remain elusive, academic discussions on this topic revolve around the processes of urbanization and state-formation as catalysts.

This paper argues that the oversimplified model of the ›dead in the periphery‹ in the early Greek city is, in fact, a skewed retrospective projection of Classical urban patterns, especially that of Athens. This long-standing theory on the creation of extramural cemeteries also assumes that the development of the polis (both as a polity and as an urban form) was a monolithic and linear process that can be applied to multiple settlements. The goal of my study is to amend this view by reexamining the mortuary spaces of the early polis through a comprehensive GIS-based spatial analysis of commonly-cited settlements, such as Athens, Argos, and Corinth, in the Geometric and Early Archaic periods. The application of GIS to mortuary spaces in this significant chronological threshold not only updates our visualization of diachronic changes to burial distribution in early Greek settlements, but also introduces nuances to this topic by mapping mortuary variability in thematic maps. The comparative framework of the study reveals that there is no wholesale shift

in burial distribution that is shared by all major central Greek poleis in the 8th century BC. That is, as far as changes to mortuary practices or spaces are concerned, there is no monolithic response or reaction to urbanization or state-formation in Greece in this period. By contrast, this paper presents various different types of spatial shifts, which imply regional variations and divergent trajectories towards complexity and social change.

cicek@live.unc.edu

Contributors

Alexandra Alexandridou is assistant professor of Classical Archaeology at the University of Ioannina.

Eleni Chatzinikolaou is PhD candidate (Classical Archaeology) at the University of Thessaly, Volos.

Thomas Clements is PhD candidate (Classics and Ancient History) at the University of Manchester.

Adrien Delahaye is PhD candidate (Archaeology) at the University of Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne.

Olivia Denk is PhD candidate (Classical Archaeology) at the University of Basel.

Alain Duploux is professor of Archaeology and Classics at the University of Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne.

Birgitta Eder is research associate at the Institute for Oriental and European Archaeology of the Austrian Academy of Sciences.

Angelika Kellner is PhD candidate (Ancient History) at the University of Innsbruck.

Torben Keßler is research associate in the CRC TransformationsDimensionen of the University of Kiel.

Erich Kistler is Professor of Classical Archaeology at the University of Innsbruck.

Marilena Kontopanagou is PhD candidate (Archaeology) at the University of Athens.

Irene Lemos is professor of Classical Archaeology at the University of Oxford.

Antonia Livieratou is research associate at the Greek Archaeological Service.

Alexandros Mazarakis Ainian is professor of Classical Archaeology at the University of Thessaly, Volos.

Robin Osborne is professor of Ancient History at the University of Cambridge.

Louis Pomaret Cañadas is PhD candidate (Ancient History) at the University of Madrid.

Maximilian Rönnerberg is PhD candidate (Classical Archaeology) at the University of Tübingen.

Florian Ruppenstein is research associate at the Institute of Classical Archaeology at the University of Freiburg.

Veronika Sossau is research assistant at the Institute of Classical Archaeology at the University of Basel.

Aikaterini Stamoudi is PhD candidate (Prehistoric Archaeology) at the University of Athens.

Cicek Tascioğlu Beeby is PhD candidate (Classical Archaeology) at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

Christoph Ulf is professor emeritus of Ancient History at the University of Innsbruck.

Afroditi Vlachou is PhD candidate (Classical Archaeology) at the University of Thessaly, Volos.

Afroditi Vlanti is PhD candidate (Classical Archaeology) at the University of Oxford.

Julien Zurbach is professor of Ancient History at the École Normale Supérieure, Paris.

The development of early Greek society after the collapse of the Mycenaean palaces has often been reconstructed with the help of evolutionary models assuming the concept of the *polis* as the end of these processes. Investigations of the origin of the *polis* and its related structures often relied on concepts originating in the late Archaic and Classical period, which were projected back on much earlier phases. Little room was thus left for regional or chronological variation. Our three-day workshop will serve as a platform for discussion of research-prospects into early Greek societies with the aim of moving beyond general concepts of the ›emergence‹ and ›formation‹ of the *polis*. The conference will focus on Attica and the different regions in Central Greece and the Peloponnese, while the period of investigation will range from the 11th to the mid 6th century BCE. This deliberately wide frame will allow us to explore complex, multi-phased developments of social differentiation in various areas. The methodological spectrum includes comprehensive and diachronic investigations of settlements, burial grounds, and sanctuaries as well as analyses of specific areas of activity. Disentangling our understanding of social change from the teleological perspective of the *polis* and investigating such processes within their specific regional contexts will allow us to draw multiple local and also chronologically disaligned pictures of the development of early Greek societies.

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