Networks of Interaction in the Early Iron Age Cyclades

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Preface

I confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Abstract

In this thesis, I examine the archaeological history of the Cyclades over the course of five centuries, from approximately 1200 to 700 BCE. The main body of the thesis is divided into four chapters that correspond to major chronological subdivisions: the Late Helladic IIIC, the Protogeometric, the Early/ Middle Geometric, and the Late Geometric. In each of these chapters, I combine different network methods, that is to say spatial networks and networks of archaeological data. First, I consider the settlement patterns and the settlement networks and how they compare with and were affected by contemporary developments that took place outside the region. For the construction of the settlement networks, Proximal Point Analysis is employed as a methodological tool. The results are tested against empirical evidence in order to explore if and how they correlate with each other and to examine the connectivity of the Cycladic sites with other Aegean regions. The exchange networks are plotted on the map as directed and weighted networks. Both types of networks are used to reconstruct possible sea-routes that involved or passed through the Cycladic islands. Finally, various aspects of the archaeological and literary record (images, monuments, and local traditions) are discussed with the aim to explore how the past was claimed and how notions of identity operated in many different scales, mainly with reference to the eighth and seventh centuries BCE.

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Last but not least, I would like to express my deepest thanks to my friends and my family and especially my partner in life, Vaia Papazikou, for their support, encouragement, patience, and love. Without them, this study would have been unattainable. The greatest part of this study was conducted during the Covid-19 pandemic, rendering its completion a challenging task. Furthermore, during my research I lost the greatest man I have ever met, my father, whose passing is still deeply felt and to whom I dedicate this dissertation with love and gratitude.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Geographical and Chronological Framework

The Cyclades is an island group located south-east of mainland Greece that consists of approximately 220 islands, of which fewer than 30 are now inhabited (Fig. 1.1). The islands differ among themselves in terms of size, shape, and geomorphology (Table 1.1). Most are characterised by aridity with small patches of arable land, while a few are more fertile. Due to their geographical location, the Cyclades have served as one of the most important theatres of interaction in the central and southern Aegean since prehistoric times. Recent research has confirmed human activity in the Cyclades since the Middle Palaeolithic period when most of the islands formed a single landmass[1]. Evidence for more sustained, systematic occupation of the islands dates to the fifth millennium BCE (Mesolithic to Late Neolithic I) when a series of sites were established on certain islands[2]. One of them, Saliagos –now an islet in the strait between Paros and Antiparos– gave its name to the first cultural group of the Cyclades: the Saliagos culture[3]. The Late Neolithic II or Final Neolithic period (ca. 4300–3200 BCE) occupies a particularly important position in Cycladic prehistory, with widespread evidence of population increase throughout the region, evidenced by an increase in the number of known sites, intensification of contacts with other regions, improvement of navigation technology and the exploitation of metal ores[4].

Island	Size (ha)	Island	Size (ha)
Naxos	42978.5	Kimolos	3742.6
Andros	37921	Antiparos	3509
Paros	19630.8	Pholegandros	3238.4
Tenos	19459	Makronisos	1842.7
Melos	15840.3	Polyaigos	1814.6
Kea	13169.3	Herakleia	1807.8
Amorgos	12146.4	Giaros	1757.4
Ios	10871.3	Keros	1504.2
Kythnos	9943.2	Rhenea	1390.4
Mykonos	8612.5	Donousa	1365.2
Syros	8406.9	Therasia	924.6

[1] Carter et al. 2019.

[2] Broodbank 2000, 117-25.

[3] Evans and Renfrew 1968.

[4] Broodbank 2000, 117-25; Kouka 2008, 312-14.

Thera	7619	Schoinousa	814.4
Serifos	7520.7	Despotiko	775.4
Siphnos	7394.2	Ano Koufonisi	577
Sikinos	4167.6	Kato Koufonisi	389.8
Anaphe	3863.6	Delos	353.6

Table 1.1. Size of the Cycladic islands.

Perhaps the most celebrated period of the entire Cycladic history is the Early Bronze Age (ca. 3200-2000 BCE), which saw the establishment of a considerable number of sites across the archipelago[5]. The unique natural resources of the islands, including obsidian from Melos and marble from Naxos, led to a certain prosperity for these communities which lasted throughout the Bronze Age. Both materials were used for utilitarian and prestige or religious industries, including the production of fine obsidian blades and carved marble vessels, but the hallmark of Early Cycladic culture is the production of small, highly stylised, marble figurines. Ceramic analysis highlights the intensification of short-range interactions throughout the Cyclades at this time, alongside evidence of more developed networks with other regions. The Middle Bronze Age (ca. 2000/1900-1800/1700 BCE) saw an increase in the size of settlements and the emergence of island towns[6] as well as an intensification of inter-regional interactions, especially with Minoan Crete and the mainland. During the Late Bronze Age (ca. 1800/1700-1100/1050 BCE) much of the Cyclades initially found itself subject to external cultural influences: first from Minoan Crete and then the Mycenaean civilisation of mainland Greece[7].

During historical times, many islands of the Cyclades rose to prominence. In the Archaic and Classical periods (ca. 700/650-323 BCE), they were central to Aegean interactions and were active agents to Mediterranean networks[8]. The sanctuaries on Delos and Despotiko figure prominently in the history of the entire Aegean. In the fifth century, many islands were members of the Delian League, which initially had its treasury on Delos. Later, the islands were hotly disputed by the rival Hellenistic kingdoms. In Roman times, the Cycladic archipelago was organised into the Roman province of Achaia. Interestingly, during this period many islands became places of exile[9]. Subsequently, the Cyclades passed to the Byzantine Empire and later became a field of confrontations between the dominant powers

[5] Renfrew 1972; Broodbank 2000; 2008; Berg 2019.

[6] Davis 2008.

[7] Mountjoy 2008; Berg 2019.

[8] Stamatopoulou and Yeroulanou 2002; Yeroulanou and Stamatopoulou 2005; Constantakopoulou 2007; Angliker and Tully 2018.

[9] Sweetman 2016.

of the Mediterranean, namely Byzantines, Ottomans, Venetians as well as pirates, who pillaged the islands from time to time[10].

The Cyclades have a long history of archaeological research and are one of the most well explored regions of the Aegean. The Greek Archaeological Service has conducted excavations throughout the region since the early 1900s. The explosion of tourism and construction throughout the region since the 1970s has led to a large number of rescue excavations that have significantly enriched our knowledge of the archaeology of the Cyclades from prehistoric times to the very recent past. Additional excavations conducted under the auspices of other institutions –including the Athens Archaeological Society, foreign schools and Greek and foreign universities– in collaboration with the Ephorate of Antiquities of the Cyclades, have offered incredible contributions to our efforts to reconstruct the diachronic history of the region. The most prominent and long-running project of this sort is the on-going excavations on Delos carried out by the French School in collaboration with the Greek Archaeological Service[11]. The Cyclades also have a long tradition of systematic and extensive archaeological surveys that have contributed to our knowledge of the long-term occupation of the region. Such investigations have been conducted on Andros[12], Kea[13], Kythnos[14], Melos[15], Paros[16], and Naxos[17]. The on-going Small Cycladic Islands Project takes a more regional approach and explores the myriad small, currently uninhabited islands that are found throughout the Cyclades[18].

The present thesis focuses on the period from approximately 1200 to 700 BCE. The period from 1200 to 1100/1050 BCE, known as Late Helladic IIIC or Post-palatial due to the dissolution of the palatial system in mainland Greece, is considered the last stage of the Late Bronze Age in the Aegean but also a time during which the material culture still presents Mycenaean characteristics. Hence, the upper limit was chosen as an attempt to bridge the disciplinary divide between prehistory and history, long established in Aegean archaeology and of the Mediterranean in general. In addition, this is a time when new settlements are

[10] Vionis 2012; Crow and Hill 2018; Dimitropoulos 2022.

[11] *Exploration archéologique de Délos* has been the multi-volume series dedicated to the final publication of the excavations and research conducted on the island.

[12] Koutsoukou 1992.

[13] Georgiou and Faraklas 1985; 1993; Galani et al. 1987; Cherry et al. 1991.

[14] Mazarakis Ainian 1998.

[15] Renfrew and Wagstaff 1982.

[16] Schilardi 1975.

[17] Érard-Cerceau et al. 1993.

[18] Knodell et al. 2020; Athanasoulis et al. 2021.

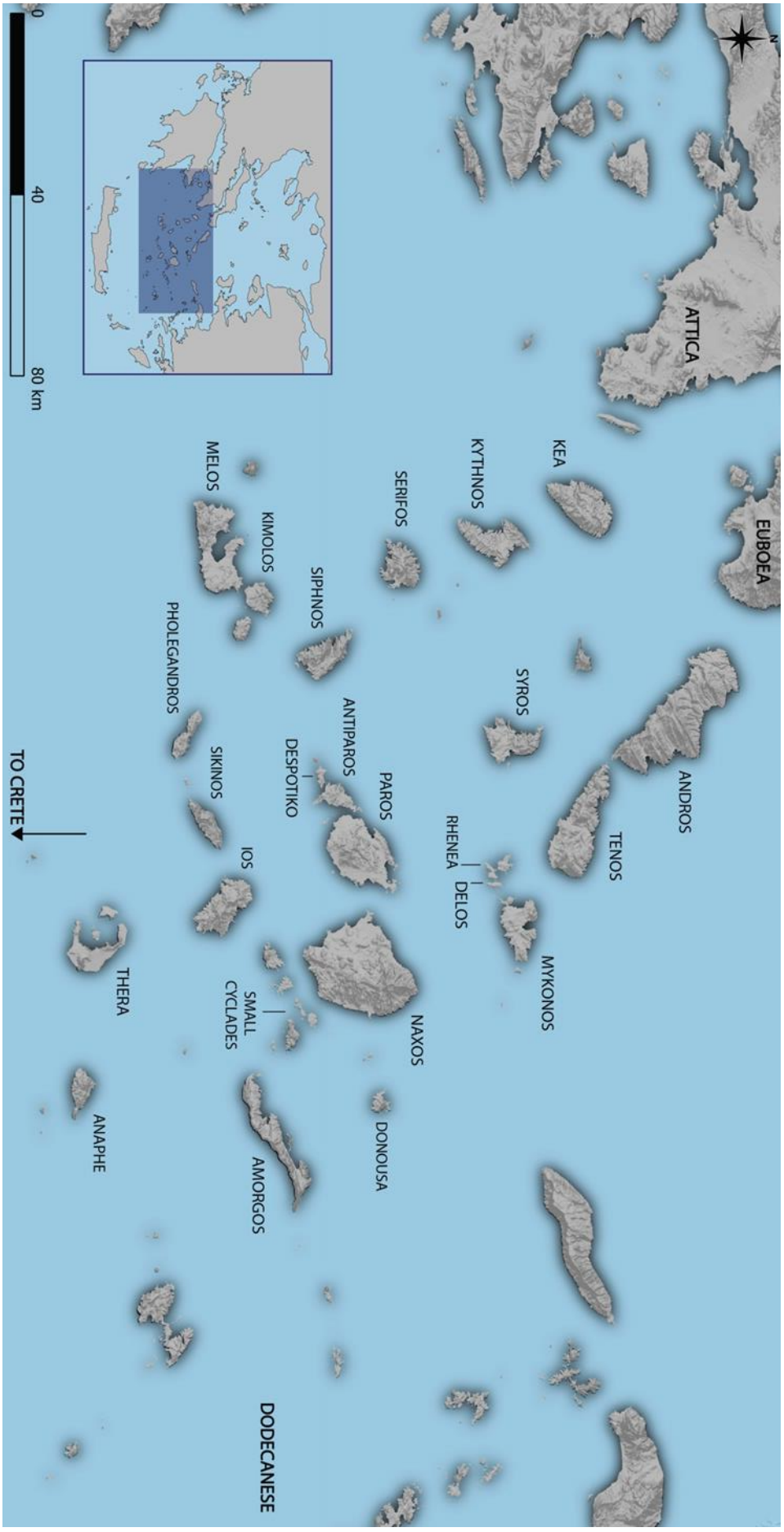

Fig. 1.1. Map of the Cyclades.

established in several locations in the Cyclades which are probably the result of population movements from the mainland. The endpoint of the dissertation is roughly the 700 BCE, when the region is on the cusp of the Archaic period: an era of far-reaching shifts in the organisation of the societies not only in the Cyclades, but also of the entire Aegean, with the emergence of the city-state being considered the most significant. The reason, thus, I focus on the Early Iron Age is that this is a transformative period for the Aegean communities and by adopting a long-term approach we can trace the path from small, middle-range communities to more complex societies.

Scope and Structure of the Thesis

This thesis aims to contribute to the archaeology of the Cyclades through the study of a period of about five centuries. It is divided into four time slices according to the standard Aegean chronology which is based on the regional ceramic styles of the Aegean. These are: the Late Helladic IIIC (ca. 1200-1050 BCE), the Protogeometric (ca. 1050-900 BCE), the Early/ Middle Geometric (ca. 900-750 BCE), and the Late Geometric (ca. 750-700 BCE) periods. Since the ceramic sequence of the Early Iron Age Aegean is considered relatively safe, I consider this division to be the most appropriate in trying to understand continuities and discontinuities in a long-term perspective mainly for two interrelated reasons. On the one hand part of the analysis deals with pottery networks, on the other hand the date of establishment and period of use of the Cycladic sites is based on ceramic finds. Despite the fact that the geographical limits of the thesis are confined to the Cyclades, processes and developments that occurred in other Aegean regions and the Mediterranean in general are also discussed, not only for reasons of comparison but also to figure out if and how these affected the situation in the Cyclades.

Consequently, the thesis assumes a long-term perspective. Moreover, it takes a multi-scalar approach since, in each period, it examines developments and interactions at the local, intra-island, inter-island, and regional levels. It is a synthesis that provides a comprehensive treatment of the available body of archaeological data related to architecture, artefacts (mainly pottery), and texts. Beyond this, using network theory and different network methods of analysis, this thesis aims:

a. To examine settlement patterns and proximate interactions as a means of comparison both between the successive time slices in the Cyclades and with other Aegean regions for which there is sufficient evidence.
b. To integrate archaeological data in order to explore the connectivity of Cycladic sites both between themselves and with other areas, exploring how they compare with the proximate networks.
c. To combine different network methods, that is spatial networks and networks of known archaeological data, to explore if and how they correlate with each other.
d. To explore, when available, the multiple ways in which images, monuments, and local traditions were used as a means to claim the past, strengthen community identity or manifest existing power relations.

In the first chapters I review the history of research on the Early Iron Age Aegean in general and on the Early Iron Age Cyclades in particular, alongside the archaeological approaches to interaction and aspects of network theory and formal network methods. In so doing, I present out the primary methodological underpinnings adopted throughout this dissertation and review the types of data used for the study of the various types of interactions.

The main body of the thesis is organised around four chapters, each of which deals with a specific time period as a means of examining networks of interaction between Cycladic sites and the wider Aegean. I first review the situation in the Cyclades prior to the Late Helladic IIIC period to offer a background upon which we can better understand the region's ensuing changes and continuities during the 12th century BCE. I then offer a reconstruction of the spatial networks of the Late Helladic IIIC period, followed by an examination of our evidence for networks of exchange during this same era. Finally, through the use of decorative motifs on ceramic vessels, I explore stylistic networks with the aim of determining if they coincide with or differ from the aforementioned categories of networks, interpreting the resultant (dis)similarity indices in the use of decorative elements between neighbouring communities.

Chapters 5 and 6 concern the Protogeometric and Early/Middle Geometric periods respectively. While our data for the former period in the Cyclades are relatively limited, they are much more abundant for the latter, especially in relation to the exchange networks. For both time slices, I examine networks of settlement and exchange and draw on the entire

body of evidence to propose a network of possible seaborne trade routes during the Early/Middle Geometric period.

The same methodology is followed in Chapter 7, which places all of these data in context as a means of looking forward to the seventh century BCE with a brief discussion of the processes that occurred in the Cyclades during the Early Archaic period. I adopt a network perspective in order to shed light one specific issue that has plagued archaeologists of the Archaic Cyclades, determining the number of *poleis* that were developed on each island and the implications of this nucleation of settlement and political centralisation. Finally, I examine specific monuments and iconography on burial vessels and their role in shaping local identities and claiming the heroic past. In each of these chapters, the situation in the Cyclades is set within its wider geographical and historical framework for matters of comparison and to examine if and how the latter affected the developments in the islands. The dissertation concludes with a chapter (Chapter 8) that presents my conclusions and a discussion in relation to the questions raised here.

Chapter 2

The Early Iron Age Aegean

Greek Early Iron Age Archaeology: From Homer to the "Rise of the *Polis*" and Beyond.

The Early Iron Age archaeology was formed as a sub-discipline in the late 19th century, after Heinrich Schliemann's excavations at Troy and Mycenae established an interval between the Mycenaean palaces and the Archaic period and Flinders Petrie offered the first chronological clarity, based on synchronism of Mycenaean pottery with Egypt's 19th Dynasty[19]. During its first steps, interest in the Early Iron Age was largely confined to Athens, especially after the excavation of the Dipylon cemetery[20]. It was Sam Wide who studied material from other, non-Attic workshops[21] and published finds from the earliest phases of the Early Iron Age[22]. Meanwhile Bernhard Schweitzer identified more workshops, placing the finds of the various schools in chronological order, while also recognising an earlier phase, which would come to be known as the Protogeometric[23]. Mention should also be made to the excavation of two important cemeteries, that of the Kerameikos in Athens and Fortetsa at Knossos on Crete, which for the first time provided continuous sequences covering the whole period in question[24]. Since then, the American excavations in the Athenian Agora have yielded a wealth of Early Iron Age material[25], further impacting our understanding of this period.

Despite the above-mentioned new archaeological discoveries and advances in research, there was initially a limited interest in the period in question. As Morris has shown, Early Iron Age finds were frequently the by-products of excavations aimed at different periods[26]. Furthermore, early engagement with the archaeology of this period was strongly influenced by two historically driven interpretive frameworks. During the first decades of the 20th century, the period before 1200 BCE was thought to offer insight into the *Age of Heroes*,

[19] Morris 1997, 106-15; 2000, 84-90.

[20] Poulsen 1905. For a detailed account of the early historiography regarding Early Iron Age pottery studies see Cook 1997, 287-90.

[21] Wide 1899a; 1899b; 1899c; 1900.

[22] Wide 1910.

[23] Schweitzer 1917; 1918.

[24] Kerameikos: Kraiker and Kübler 1939; Kübler 1943; 1954. Fortetsa: Brock 1957.

[25] E.g. Brann 1962; Papadopoulos and Smithson 2017.

[26] Morris 1997, 111-15; 2000, 88-90.

as described in the Homeric epics. However, as more material was uncovered, the concept of a "Dark Age", gained prominence as a means of explaining the period between the Mycenaean palaces and the rise of the *polis*. The latter was deemed by early scholars as an age of poverty, turmoil, and cultural impoverishment, especially when compared to the preceding and ensuing periods. Poor documentation in ancient texts contributed to the notion of cultural demise. Nevertheless, as the two most recent works dealing with the historiography of Early Greece have shown, the term "(Early) Iron Age", based on the three-age system, was already in use as early as the late 19th and early 20th centuries[27]. Kotsonas has explicitly explained the rationale behind the use of the term[28]. First, it was considered more suitable in some early works dealing with both the prehistory, especially the Bronze Age, and the early first millennium BCE of the Greek peninsula, due to the fact that it did not dissociate early Greece from the rest of the Mediterranean. The Early Iron Age has also benefited our understanding of regions that, with the exclusion of Crete, presented poor or no Mycenaean past at all. In contrast, these regions presented a rather smooth transition between the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age, thus not fitting into the popular scheme of Bronze Age collapse and Archaic renaissance. Other designations, including the art-oriented "(Proto)Geometric", were also used to label the period under study, but except for the latter, by the middle of the century they had lost weight.

Our understanding of this period experienced another great leap during the 1950s, with critical advances in both research methodologies and theoretical frameworks. Namely, the decipherment of Linear B by Michael Ventris and the work of historian Moses Finley, offered unprecedented insight into the history of the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age[29]. It then became clear that the realities of Mycenaean society differed greatly from the one described in Homer in terms of social organisation and economic structures. Finley argued that the Mycenaean political hierarchies are not portrayed in the epics and that the Mycenaean economy was based on a redistributive system, while the Homeric society was characterised with a high emphasis placed on gift exchange by members of the regional elite[30]. But if the Mycenaean society cannot in any way be associated with that of the epics, then what society is described in Homer, given that the "Homeric society" is also inconsistent with the picture we know of seventh and sixth century Greece? Finley, in his

[27] Kotsonas 2016, 243-45; Murray 2018, 25-28, table 1-2, fig. 1.

[28] Kotsonas 2016, 248-50.

[29] Finley 1954 is among other works his seminal book on the period. See also Morris 1997, 115- 17; 2000, 90-92.

[30] Finley 1981a; 1981b.

World of Odysseus, argued that -if we remove the main plot of the epics in which battles or the deeds of heroic figures such as Achilles or Odysseus are portrayed- what remains is a concise account of a coherent society where social institutions are described, such as households and gift exchange[31]. Finley concluded that "Homeric society" should be placed in the intervening period between the Mycenaean era and Archaic Greece, that is in the 10th and ninth centuries BCE. Although this coherent picture of the "Homeric society" cannot be supported by archaeological evidence, Finley's work sparked a new interest in the period and its contribution can be summarised in Morris' words[32]:

> Finley redefined the Aegean Bronze Age as the fringe of a broader Near Eastern palatial system, and the Iron Age as a hierarchical and complex world of heroes, from which classical citizen society emerged. For the first time, post-Mycenaean Greece was important within a larger historical narrative.

In the last decades there has been a growing consensus of scholarly opinion that the society described in Homeric poems constitutes a complex amalgam of features from different periods. This led Anthony Snodgrass to describe Homer as a "moving target" for archaeologists seeking comparative material[33]. How, then, are we to interpret the Homeric epics, and what insight can they offer to our understanding of any historical reality[34]? This can be further divided into two different questions: First, are the specific events described in the epics, and more specifically the Trojan War, historical or imaginative? And, second, is "Homeric society" historical in any sense? While scholarly opinions differ widely concerning the former question -from general acceptance to pessimistic views that the events described in the epics are fully constructed stories- the social and cultural diversity of the Early Iron Age, as manifested by the archaeological evidence that stands in sharp contrast with the homogeneity portrayed in the epics', has led archaeologists to question the historicity of the "Homeric society"[35]. This, in turn, is related with the issue of the historical date of Homer. The traditional narrative argues that the definitive composition of the Homeric poems took place about 700 BCE. But Nagy, contrary to more static views, conceived an evolutionary

[31] Finley 1954.
[32] Morris 2000, 92.
[33] Snodgrass 2017.
[34] Whitley 2020a.
[35] Snodgrass 1974; Whitley 1991a; Dickinson 2016; Whitley 2020a; see also Morris 1986.

model for the creation of the epics from their formative period with no written texts, extending from the Late Bronze Age to the middle of the eighth century, until their final commitment to writing no earlier than 566 BCE[36]. It is Nagy's scheme that is constantly gaining ground among archaeologists[37].

Since the 1950s, scholars representing two different paradigms have fundamentally shaped the field of Early Iron Age studies[38]. As early as 1952, Vincent Desborough published the first systematic classification of Protogeometric pottery[39]. Desborough distinguishes four stages in the development of the Protogeometric style, from Submycenaean to the transition to Geometric. He concluded that the Protogeometric style was an Athenian invention but he considered evidence for other schools besides Attic. He also included historical conclusions pertaining mainly to population movements based on stylistic comparanda. In his later work, Desborough built on this work to correlate cultural change on account of these population movements, considering the relationship between the archaeological record and oral tradition[40]. Desborough's work was followed by that of Nicolas Coldstream, who dealt with the later stages of the Early Iron Age[41]. Coldstream recognised and analysed ten different regional pottery styles, providing a series of standard chronological divisions for the period. His work overshadowed Schweitzer's chronologies and interpretation of Geometric art[42] and still remains a fundamental source for scholars of Geometric ceramics.

While each of the aforementioned scholars included chapters pertaining to historical conclusions, they were regularly criticised for adhering to a solely art-historical approach, following a tradition established earlier by Beazley, and it may not be a coincidence that both chose the label Protogeometric or Geometric to title their works[43]. The historian Chester Starr accused this approach of being anti-historical[44], although he admitted that "this is a highly useful and necessary foundation which reduces the masses of scattered finds

[36] Nagy 1995; 1997; 2020.
[37] E.g. Snodgrass 1998.
[38] Morris 1997, 118-25; 2000, 92-98.
[39] Desborough 1952.
[40] Desborough 1964.
[41] Coldstream 1968.
[42] Schweitzer 1969.
[43] Art-historical designations were also preferred by other scholars during the 1960s (see Kotsonas 2016, 250).
[44] Starr 1961, 99-102.

to orderly terms"[45]. Starr, following Finley some years earlier, developed historical questions to the study of the period[46] and it was through his work that the notion of the "Dark Ages" was revived[47].

During the late 1960s and the 1970s, further syntheses pertaining to the archaeology of early Greece were published beginning with Jan Bouzek's *Homerisches Griechenland*[48]. However, it was Anthony Snodgrass who followed Starr's paradigm, striving to raise questions of social and historical significance[49]. Snodgrass treated the period from Submycenaean to Geometric as a single unit and, by collating and interpreting a wide range of archaeological evidence, he examined both Aegean's internal situation and its relations with the Eastern Mediterranean as a means of better understanding evidence of social and economic interest. Nevertheless, both Desborough's and Coldstream's subsequent syntheses were attached more to the art-historical tradition. Desborough's survey ends around 900 BCE[50], analysing a wide range of evidence but concentrating almost exclusively on major sites. He often shares differing views with Snodgrass in that Desborough suggested that changes in archaeological record and material evidence are associated with northern intruders. By contrast, central to Snodgrass' thinking is the idea of continuity within which there is no need for a new population element to explain change in the material culture. Coldstream's work covers the later phases of the Early Iron Age[51], focusing on regional development and largely following Desborough's paradigm.

According to the scheme proposed by each of these scholars, the Aegean experienced a period of isolation and regional diversity in response to the collapse of the Mycenaean palatial system followed by a revival during the eighth century BCE. Their contribution lies also in the fact that, hereafter, it was archaeologists who set the agenda for the period under study. In Morris' words[52]:

> This success requires explanation. I suggest that the crucial factor was that archaeology produced thicker and more dynamic descriptions

[45] Starr 1961, 101; see also Whitley 1997.
[46] Starr 1961; See Morris 1997, 120-22; 2000, 94-95.
[47] Kotsonas 2016, 250; Murray 2018, 27, fig. 1:b.
[48] Bouzek 1969.
[49] Snodgrass 1971.
[50] Desborough 1972.
[51] Coldstream 1977.
[52] Morris 2000, 97 (emphases original).

> than philology. Until the end of the 1960s archaeologists created what seemed to outsiders a narrow form of art history, generally hidden in dense technical monographs. But the 1970s syntheses, especially Snodgrass's, changed this. They incorporated regional variation and changes from century to century, while older visions derived from Homer provided a single, static model. In providing a *bigger* picture and linking it to compelling questions about social evolution, the archaeologists could claim to have produced a *better* account.

Another topic associated with the later parts of the Early Iron Age and the Archaic period is the rise of the *polis*. Snodgrass once again stands as a major figure in this debate. He highlighted religion as a central force in the development of the *polis*, while, by using new developments in quantitative methods, he argued for demographic explosion in the eighth century as an instigator to *polis* formation[53]. His students, known as the *Snodgrass School*, followed these views, relying on new developments in social theory and employing various quantitative methods in their studies[54]. These scholars moved away from narratives flowing within the tradition of classical archaeology, seeking answers from other archaeological disciplines and social history. For example, Robin Osborne turned to the countryside in order to demonstrate how rural landscapes affected the various aspects of life of the Greek city[55]; Ian Morris attempted to interpret the rise of the Greek city-state by looking at Early Iron Age and Archaic burials in Athens[56]; Catherine Morgan studies the origins and development of cult practice at the panhellenic sanctuaries of Olympia and Delphi, challenging many assumptions about the nature and role of the archaeological record[57], while James Whitley's study examines the relationship between the development of pottery styles and social changes in Early Iron Age Greece[58]. Later, other students of Snodgrass relied less on methods used by the previous scholars –although they shared interest drawn from social archaeology– leading to the development of different questions and research agendas[59]. Outside the Anglophone world, François de Polignac's seminal study

[53] Snodgrass 1980a.
[54] Shanks 1996, 130-41; Morris 1997, 126-28; 2000, 98-99; Whitley 2001, 55-57.
[55] Osborne 1987.
[56] Morris 1987.
[57] Morgan 1990.
[58] Whitley 1991a.
[59] See Morris 2000, 99.

shares Snodgrass's view that religion was a major force in the development of the city-state, associating the foundation of extra-urban sanctuaries with the territorial aspirations of the formative *poleis*[60].

But the very term *polis* is not without its problems. The most important question is whether the *polis* constituted a state. This, in turn, is related to how the concept of state should be defined and, subsequently, what material culture correlates to the characterisation of statehood, two issues that have long occupied archaeologists of the Early Iron Age and Archaic Aegean. A good deal of research on the development of state theory has been conducted in North America (especially at the University of Michigan) but this work, which focuses on the Meso-American evidence, has been largely ignored by archaeologists working in the Mediterranean[61]. Very recently, Whitley placed the issue in a comparative perspective and noted that there are many difficulties in applying the Michigan model to our evidence of Archaic Greece, especially when discussion comes to the issue of administrative hierarchies[62]. He also demonstrated that many Archaic political communities were indeed states and what allowed them to function as such is a combination of factors such as the military "effectiveness", the creation of a body of citizens, and the formation of "communities of cult". Each of the political communities that Whitley identified as states possessed some kind of central authority and a series of formal institutions or written laws. It is in accordance with the definition given by Whitley that states are understood in this thesis: "States are, above anything else, power structures, political communities capable of mobilizing human and physical resources toward collective ends whether these were the building of temples or the waging of war"[63]. It must be emphasised, however, that the term *polis* should not be considered a synonym for state. Indeed, many political societies of the Aegean that had not developed the above features should be counted as states regardless of whether they were called *poleis* in antiquity or not.

Earlier works and new finds from excavations sparked a new interest in the period, marked by the proliferation of studies dealing partly or exclusively with the Early Iron Age in a wide range of topics and methods[64]. Sarah Morris has argued for Near Eastern influences

[60] de Polignac 1984. See also Hansen 2006.
[61] Loy 2019, 15-21; Whitley 2020b.
[62] Whitley 2020b.
[63] Whitley 2020b, 164.
[64] Kotsonas 2016, 260, fig. 2; Murray 2018, 24, table 1.

in the Aegean throughout the period in question[65] and Carla Antonaccio demonstrates that hero cult and ancestor cult persisted, throughout the Early Iron Age, long before epic poetry's heroic narratives were widely disseminated[66]. Alexandros Mazarakis-Ainian has re-examined Early Iron Age architecture and internal settlement organisation[67], while the work of Krzysztof Nowicki has illustrated changes in settlement patterns alongside the socio-political aspects of the Early Iron Age in Crete[68]. David Tandy emphasized the economic dimensions that led to social and political changes during the eight century[69] and Susan Langdon's work explores how art and material culture were used to construct age, gender, and social identity in the Greek Early Iron Age[70]. More recently, scholars of Aegean prehistory have begun incorporating the Early Iron Age into their own research programmes. A case in point is the work of Oliver Dickinson, who discusses aspects of continuity and change between the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Aegean[71]. This increase in scholarly interest on this period has seen the publication of several new syntheses and monographs regarding the Greek Early Iron Age. Irene Lemos has published a comprehensive synthesis that deals with the earlier stages of the Early Iron Age[72], while John Boardman has produced a new comprehensive study of Early Iron Age and Archaic pottery that laid the groundwork for major updates by scholars like Anne Coulié[73]. Along with those syntheses and monographs, the number of conference volumes concerning the society of the early first millennium BCE has also increased sharply in recent years, further illustrating the growing interest on the archaeology and history of this period by a wide ranging community of scholars.

As outlined throughout this section, the appropriate term for labelling the period in question has been a matter of debate from time to time. It was during the 1970s that the term “Dark Age” gained significantly in popularity among scholars[74], probably due to the impact of Snodgrass’s pioneering research on the period. Kotsonas has recently argued that modern Greek politics and its internal strife affected the nomenclature of the early Greek

[65] Morris 1992.
[66] Antonaccio 1995.
[67] Mazarakis Ainian 1997.
[68] Nowicki 2000.
[69] Tandy 1997.
[70] Langdon 2008.
[71] Dickinson 2006.
[72] Lemos 2002.
[73] Boardman 1998; Coulié 2013.
[74] Kotsonas 2016, 250- 52, fig. 2; Murray 2018, 25-27, fig. 1, table 2.

periodisation in favour of the term "Dark Age"[75]. Interestingly, there was not a consensus among scholars of the *Snodgrass School* with respect to the labelling of the period. In actuality, during the 1980s and 1990s, there was a shift in the nomenclature from the "Dark Age" to the "Early Iron Age"[76]. Morris highlighted the impact of then-recent theoretical developments in his effort to explain this shift[77], while Kotsonas added that new archaeological discoveries, especially those at Lefkandi, were instrumental in this process[78]. Indeed, the British excavations at Lefkandi combined with the Swiss excavations at Eretria brought Euboea to the spotlight, providing evidence for a distinctive Euboean style in terms of pottery production and acting as a counterbalance to previous Athenocentric narratives. More recently, Murray argued that the shift to the more neutral, less judgemental term "Early Iron Age" took place in a wider context of intellectual changes in the humanities and social sciences in general[79]. Alongside the growth of studies pertaining to early Greece, the new century is marked by the apparent end of this dispute, given that contemporary scholars, almost exclusively prefer the term "Early Iron Age" to refer to the centuries from the end of the Mycenaean era to the Archaic period[80]. Kotsonas explains the increased appeal of this term by its potential, both to incorporate the period into the three-age system, and to facilitate comparisons with neighbouring regions as a means of integrating the study of Greece and the Aegean in their larger Mediterranean contexts[81].

The Relative and Absolute Chronologies of the Aegean Early Iron Age

The relative chronology of the Aegean Early Iron Age, which covers a time-span of about 500 years, is based solely on changes in the Submycenaean, Protogeometric and Geometric ceramic styles as defined mainly by Desborough and Coldstream[82]. Our evidence comes mostly from graves, since stratified deposits from settlements are comparatively rare. Subdivisions within this period are derived from the Attic and Knossian chronological sequences, which were the only complete chronological sequence at the time from the

[75] Kotsonas 2016, 250-57.

[76] Kotsonas 2016, 257-60, fig. 2; Murray 2018, 26-28, table 2. Snodgrass' gradual abandonment of the term "Dark Age" in favour of "Early Iron Age" is the most notable example of this shift.

[77] Morris 1997, 130.

[78] Kotsonas 2016, 259-60.

[79] Murray 2018, 42-44.

[80] Kotsonas 2016, 260-64, fig. 2; Murray 2018, 25-29, table 2.

[81] Kotsonas 2016.

[82] Desborough 1952; Coldstream 1968.

Submycenaean to the end of the Early Iron Age. In the Cyclades, as in the rest of the Aegean world, imported Attic and/ or Atticising pottery and other imported wares remain decisive for establishing relative sequences and synchronisms. Despite these limitations, i.e. the scarcity of stratified material either from cemeteries or settlements and regionalism that distinguishes the ceramic production of certain phases, the relative chronology of the period is considered to be solid and not susceptible to major changes[83].

The Submycenaean period is perhaps the most debated phase in terms of both its duration and its existence as a distinct chronological and historical period[84]. Rutter has argued that the Submycenaean is actually a variety of the Late Helladic IIIC Late ceramic style preferable for tombs instead of settlements[85]. Despite that, more recent excavations have revealed Submycenaean pottery in settlement contexts, weakening Rutter's argument, although the results are by no means decisive yet[86]. By contrast, Styrenius and Deshayes are of the opinion that the Submycenaean is an independent chronological period and not just a ceramic style of local character[87]. Mountjoy pointed out that a Submycenaean phase has been distinguished stratigraphically in many areas of the Greek mainland and that this certainly constitutes a separate chronological period[88]. Had we assumed that the Submycenaean represents a distinct chronological/ historical period found at least in Attica, the Argolid, Boeotia and Euboea it is not yet clear to what extent it overlapped, from an inter-regional perspective, with the final stages of the Late Helladic IIIC Late and the beginnings of the Protogeometric. Be that as it may, scholars have also not reached a consensus concerning its duration with the absolute years assigned to it ranging from 25 to as many as 100[89].

With the advent of the Protogeometric style, which is accompanied with the appearance of new techniques, the most important among them being the introduction of the compass with the multiple brush, the picture becomes less clouded and the tripartite

[83] Here I provide a brief account of the chronological considerations for the period in question, while I lay more emphasis on the latest discussion of this topic. Many of the major works and syntheses pertaining to the Early Iron Age cover this issue in depth, e.g. Whitley 1991a, 80-86; Lemos 2002; Dickinson 2006, 10-23; Ruppenstein 2007; Papadopoulos and Smithson 2017, 18-34.

[84] For the history of the research on the Submycenaean issue with full bibliography see Lemos 2002; Dickinson 2006; Papadopoulos et al. 2011; Papadopoulos and Smithson 2017, 19-23. See also Deger-Jalkotzy and Bächle 2009.

[85] Rutter 1978. Cf. Desborough 1964; Snodgrass 1971.

[86] Papadopoulos et al. 2011.

[87] Deshayes 1966; Styrenius 1967; 2001.

[88] Mountjoy 1988.

[89] See Papadopoulos et al. 2011.

division of the period into clearly defined Early (ca. 1050-1000 BCE), Middle (ca. 1000-950 BCE), and Late (ca. 950-900 BCE) phases has now become a standard[90]. This division is based on the Attic sequence that is known almost exclusively from grave groups. But the role of Athens as the sole inventor of the compass with a multiple brush and of the Protogeometric style in general has been questioned[91]. Contemporary material with the earliest Attic Protogeometric has been unearthed in other regions such as Euboea, Thessaly, and the Argolid[92]. These regions have also provided material from settlement deposits, especially from the Middle Protogeometric onwards. Crete retains a highly idiosyncratic style throughout the Early Iron Age and synchronisms with the rest of the Aegean are based on Attic imports known from various contexts.

By contrast, there can be no doubt that the Geometric style was an invention of the Athenian potters. It is during this period that the available material increases dramatically throughout the Aegean along with the number of excavated sites that provide sequences for the later stages of the Early Iron Age. A similar division into Early, Middle, and Late is accepted for the Geometric though in certain regions the terms Sub-Protogeometric and Sub-Geometric replace or overlap with the respective ceramic phases of the Attic sequence[93]. Nevertheless, the strong influence that the Attic style exerted throughout the Aegean from the Late Protogeometric down to the Middle Geometric renders the synchronisms between regions all the more secure.

Over the last few decades, there has been a heated debate over the absolute chronology of the transition between the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age. Due to the absence of material in the Aegean that can be related to any secure historical event, archaeologists have traditionally relied on comparative material that has been unearthed in the Levant[94]. This led to the emergence of two contrasting views over the absolute chronology of the Aegean Early Iron Age: the Low (or Conventional) Aegean Chronology and the High Aegean Chronology. The former has been adopted by the majority of the scholars working in the Aegean. Desborough initially placed the start of the Attic Protogeometric at about 1025 BCE, though he later suggested a higher date of ca. 1050 BCE[95]. The transition to

[90] Desborough 1952; Lemos 2002; Papadopoulos and Smithson 2017, 23-8.
[91] See Dickinson 2006, 129-36.
[92] Lemos 2002, 9-14.
[93] Coldstream 1968.
[94] See Fantalkin 2001; Coldstream 2003a.
[95] Desborough 1952, 294; 1972, 55.

the Geometric has been conventionally placed at ca. 900 BCE[96], but this chronological scheme is not without its uncertainties mainly for two reasons: it is based on stratigraphically insecure Aegean contexts; and the chronology of the relevant layers in the Levant is highly debated[97]. Interestingly, in the last few decades, Greek Early Iron Age material has been unearthed as far as the Iberian Peninsula, but presently offers little with respect to synchronisms between the Aegean and the Western Mediterranean and the Aegean chronologies in general due to stratigraphic uncertainties and poor radiocarbon dates[98].

Recent attempts based on radiocarbon dating or a combination of radiocarbon and dendrochronological analyses have produced different dates that adhere more or less to the above-mentioned chronological schemes. The Assiros Toumba team has constantly produced dates raising the beginnings of the Protogeometric significantly as compared with the Conventional Aegean Chronology, thus affecting the whole Early Iron Age sequence[99]. A similar chronology is proposed by van der Plicht, Bruins, and Nijboer based on results from the Central and Western Mediterranean[100]. However, the results of both teams have been subject to a great deal of scrutiny. The Assiros' results may suffer from the "old wood" effect, stratigraphic uncertainties and problematic typological classification of the ceramic finds[101]; and the latter research has been heavily criticised on the basis of dubious contexts and problematic interpretations of the data[102].

At the other end of the spectrum dates obtained from various parts and relative contexts of the Aegean and the Levant with minor deviations are in line with the Conventional Aegean Chronology. In their detailed study from the site of Kastanas, Wenninger and Jung place the Submycenaean/ Protogeometric transition around 1070/1040 BCE[103]. A more recent study from the sites of Lefkandi, Kalapodi, and Corinth place it slightly later, in the second half of the 11th century (1020/1000 BCE)[104], while the initial evidence from the site of Torone points to the Conventional Chronology[105]. Allowing minor

[96] Desborough 1952; Coldstream 1968.
[97] Fantalkin 2001; Coldstream 2003a.
[98] Pappa 2012.
[99] Newton et al. 2005; 2007; Wardle et al. 2014.
[100] van der Plicht et al. 2009.
[101] Weninger and Jung 2009, 385-88.
[102] Fantalkin et al. 2011. See also Bruins et al. 2011.
[103] Weninger and Jung 2009.
[104] Toffolo et al. 2013.
[105] Papadopoulos et al. 2011.

adjustments but generally in agreement with the latter are the results obtained by Fantalkin and his colleagues who dated the entire sequence between Late Helladic IIIB2 and Middle Geometric II based on radiocarbon dates from relevant contexts in the Levant[106]. Until proven otherwise, it now seems that the Conventional/ Low Aegean Chronology should be maintained and it is the traditional chronological scheme that is used in this study (Table 2.1).

Historical Period	Ceramic Period	Dates BCE
Palatial Period (Late Bronze Age)	Late Helladic IIIA	1420-1330
	Late Helladic IIIB	1330-1200
Post-Palatial (Late Bronze Age)	Late Helladic IIIC Early	1200-1170/60
	Late Helladic IIIC Middle	1170/60-1100
	Late Helladic IIIC Late	1100-1050
Early Iron Age	Early Protogeometric	1050-1000
	Middle Protogeometric	1000-950
	Late Protogeometric	950-900
	Early Geometric/ Sub-Protogeometric	900-850
	Middle Geometric/ Sub-Protogeometric	850-750
	Late Geometric	750-700

Table 2.1. Chronological scheme, with relative and absolute chronological phases.

The Early Iron Age Archaeology of the Cyclades: An Overview

Our knowledge of the Early Iron Age Cyclades during the late 19th and early 20th centuries was based primarily on sparse evidence from burial grounds and sanctuaries[107], and evidence for the earlier stages of this period remains limited[108]. Archaeological interest in the Cyclades at the time was mostly confined to the two divergent periods of island occupation: the Classical period, following priorities of Greek archaeology more broadly, alongside a more localised interest on the Early Bronze Age of the Cyclades, termed Early Cycladic civilisation. As a consequence, excavations were aimed primarily at these periods, although Early Iron Age finds were routinely unearthed during early excavations[109].

[106] Fantalkin et al. 2015.

[107] For an overview of the Early Iron Age cult places on Cyclades see Gounaris 2005; for the funerary evidence see Kaklamani 2017.

[108] Lemos 2002, 147, 178-80.

[109] Otto Rubensohn provides a typical example of this attitude in his publication of the German excavations conducted on the ancient acropolis of Paroikia on Paros: "Baureste des hellenischen Tempels, *denen in erster Linie unsere Nachgrabung galt*, sind nicht gefunden worden, überhaupt wurde auf dem ganzen Terrain nicht das geringste Fundstück aufgedeckt, das jünger war als die unten

German archaeologists played an outsized role during the earliest phases of Cycladic archaeology, and it comes as no surprise that many of the early excavations in the Cyclades were conducted under the auspices of the *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut*. Among others, Hans Dragendorff and Ernst Pfuhl excavated cemeteries on Thera bringing to light a wealth of Early Iron Age material[110]. While Dragendorff was primarily interested in describing the various types of burials he unearthed, he commented on and made divisions between various ceramic workshops on Thera and beyond. He was also one of the first scholars to conceptualise continuity from the Mycenaean period to Geometric, an argument that stood in stark contrast to contemporary thinking.

It is fair to say that Early Iron Age archaeology in the Cyclades followed, more or less, the broader research trends of the archaeology of the Early Iron Age elsewhere in the Aegean. The discipline's submission to classical philology is best illustrated in Duncan Mackenzie's research on the island of Melos more than a century ago, linking the Early Iron Age sherds he unearthed with the Dorians' alleged eastwards movement from Peloponnese to the Cycladic islands[111]. By contrast, the first synthesis of the Early Iron Age Cyclades was attempted by Charles Dugas who kept himself away from overly historical questions and adhered to an art-oriented approach[112]. Dugas distinguishes three principal styles in the Early Iron Age Cycladic ceramic production: an insular style attached to the Mycenaean tradition; an Argivo-Cycladic style in which remnants of Creto- Mycenaean influences appear, while he recognises Attic influences in the human representations and the use of naturalistic motives; and, finally, the more conservative geometric style of Thera.

The French excavations on Delos provided evidence of eighth-century sanctuaries – those of Apollo, Artemis, and Hera– that loom large in the subsequent history of the region[113]. A turning point in the study of the Early Iron Age and Early Archaic Cycladic ceramics was the excavation of the Purification Trench on neighbouring Rheneia[114]. Despite

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zu beschreibenden Scherben von geometrischen Vasen. Bei der Einebnung des Terrains haben die Venezianer offenbar ganze Arbeit gemacht, haben alles Hellenische beseitigt und sind beim Abtragen schon erheblich unter die Oberfläche der klassischen Zeit gegangen." (Rubensohn 1917, 2, emphasis mine). Of interest is also Rubensohn's broader periodization where he distinguishes Geometric from Greek (hellenischen) finds.

[110] Dragendorff 1903; Pfuhl 1903.

[111] Mackenzie 1896-1897.

[112] Dugas 1925, 107-84.

[113] Dugas 1928; Plassart 1928; Dugas and Rhomaios 1934; Déonna 1938; Gallet de Santerre and Tréheux 1947.

[114] Stavropoulos 1898; See also Rhomaios 1929; Haspels 1973.

the fact that the finds from the time of their excavation were linked to an historical event – the purification of Delos imposed by the Athenians in 426/5 BCE when, along with other restrictions, all previous burials were relocated to Rheneia[115]– the material, along with the Early Iron Age and Archaic pottery from Delos (except those from Heraion), was published as late as 1934 by Dugas and Rhomaios[116]. The scholars revised some views expressed earlier by Dugas but they followed his paradigm. They divided pottery into two large groups according to the application or absence of slip on ceramics. Each group was then subdivided in terms of shape and decorative styles. Finally, imports from other regions were considered. Regardless of advances in research and the accumulation of finds over the years, this work still remains a critical point of reference concerning early Greek Cycladic pottery.

A different approach was put forward by Hubert Gallet de Santerre who, by examining a whole range of evidence, attempted to reconstruct the history of Delos from prehistory to the Archaic period. He dated the Ionian migration to roughly 1000 BCE and supported that a period of impoverishment during the Protogeometric period was followed by a period of considerable developments during the ninth and eighth centuries[117].

Provenance studies and stylistic analyses of pottery remained the dominant forms of research into the Early Iron Age for decades. Ernst Buschor was the first scholar who attributed pottery groups to the ceramic production of certain islands, especially to Paros and Naxos[118]. Brock excavated part of the Early Iron Age settlement of Kastro on Siphnos. His pottery attributions to Cycladic schools and the subsequent chronological arrangements were based largely on earlier works on Cycladic pottery and style respectively[119]. Brock is particularly important for his early recognition of Cycladic material from the Fortetsa cemetery on Crete[120]. Nikolaos Kontoleon who had excavated many Early Iron Age sites, mainly on Naxos, tried to date the various Delos-Rheneia groups and attributed their production to specific islands, while he also studied the ceramic production of Thera[121].

In his work on the ceramics of Geometric Greece more broadly, Nicolas Coldstream offered a classification of Early Iron Age pottery from the Cyclades. First, he recognised a

[115] Thuc. 3.104.1-3.104.6.
[116] Dugas and Rhomaios 1934. The reasons for this delay, other than lack of interest, are explained by Rhomaios (1929, 181-86).
[117] Gallet de Santerre 1958.
[118] Buschor 1929.
[119] Brock and Mackworth Young 1949.
[120] Brock 1957.
[121] Kontoleon 1947; 1958, 127-39.

Sub-Protogeometric *koiné* between Thessaly, Skyros, Euboea and the northern Cyclades, contemporary with the Attic Late Protogeometric and Early Geometric[122]. He then divided the Cycladic islands into four geographic areas in terms of pottery production[123]. In short, Coldstream showed that, during the Middle Geometric period, Cycladic workshops produced pottery under strong Attic influences, while, during the subsequent phases, local workshops began to diversify both from Attic traditions and from one another[124]. He later questioned the unity of certain Delos-Rheneia groups and went on to separate the Euboean sequence from the Cycladic[125].

The second half of the 20th century was marked by the excavation of a large number of settlements on many Cycladic islands that contributed to our understanding of the Early Iron Age Aegean, namely Zagora and Ypsili on Andros, Aghios Andreas on Siphnos, Xombourgo on Tenos, Vathy Limenari on Donousa, Minoa on Amorgos, and Koukounaries on Paros[126]. Since the late 20th century, these excavations, especially that of Zagora, developed alongside advances in archaeological theory. This pairing prompted the development of research that prioritised questions of social significance, especially concerning our understanding of early urbanisation and social organisation, as well as household and gender studies[127]. Moreover, two differing interpretative models have appeared in relation to the birth of the *polis* in the Cyclades. For Naxos, Vassilis Lambrinoudakis argued for a complementary relationship between Naxos Town and its peripheral settlements[128], while in Demetrius Schilardi's interpretation urbanisation was a key factor for the rise of the Parian *polis*[129]. Other studies focused on the social processes reflected in the development of cult places and religious practices[130].

[122] Coldstream 1968, 148-57.
[123] Coldstream 1968, 164-89; 1977, 40-45, 87-92, 209-18.
[124] Coldstream 1968, 164-89; 1977, 90-92, 209-18.
[125] Coldstream 1971.
[126] Zagora: Cambitoglou et al. 1971; 1988. Ypsili: Televantou 2008a; 2012. Aghios Andreas: Televantou 2005. Xombourgo: Kourou 2001a. Donousa: Zafeiropoulou 1990. Minoa: Marangou 2002a. Koukounaries: Schilardi 1983. See also Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 82-84, 89, 99, 107-108, 170-97, 239, 247, 251, 255-56, 328-331; Fagerström 1988, 61-84; Burkhardt 2012; Samaras 2017.
[127] E.g. Vink 1997; Coucouzeli 2004; Christophilopoulou 2007; Coucouzeli 2007; Christophilopoulou 2010; Langdon 2012; Mazarakis Ainian 2012.
[128] Lambrinoudakis 2001.
[129] Schilardi 2002.
[130] Gounaris 2005; Kourou 2011; 2015. See also Gounaris 1999.

Apart from insight offered through the excavation of settlements, the recent discoveries of cemeteries on Paros[131] and Naxos (Tsikalario[132] and Naxos Town[133]), as well as the publication of legacy archaeological material[134], have sharply increased our knowledge on the Early Iron Age Cycladic burial customs. Furthermore, since the excavation of the Delian sanctuaries, new Early Iron Age cult sites have come to light on Naxos[135] and Paros[136] offering contemporary comparanda and novel insights. The on-going excavations at the small uninhabited island of Despotiko, located just off of the western coast of Antiparos, bears traces of use as early as the Middle Geometric period. While the well-known sanctuary of Apollo flourished on this island during the second half of the sixth century BCE[137], a religious use of the site from the Early Iron Age is more dubious[138].

The ceramic production of Naxos is the most well studied among the Cycladic islands. After sporadic works by earlier scholars[139], Nota Kourou, in a number of studies that take into account both style and macroscopic fabric analysis, has classified the Early Iron Age Naxian pottery and identified individual workshops[140]. She argued for an earlier Sub-Protogeometric tradition, followed by a strong Atticising style during the Middle Geometric, confirming Coldstream's view of an Atticising *koiné* in the Cyclades. These studies were later complemented by the work of Evangelia Bournia-Simantoni who studied the Early Iron Age pottery from the sanctuary of Iria[141] and more recently by Xenia Charalambidou's research on the pottery from Tsikalario[142]. Catalogues of pottery from many other Cycladic sites have been occasionally published, including Delos[143], Minoa on Amorgos[144], Zagora on Andros[145], Kastro on Siphnos[146], and Ancient Thera[147].

[131] Zafeiropoulou 1994; 2000.
[132] Zafeiropoulou 2008.
[133] Zafeiropoulou 2011.
[134] Kourou 1999.
[135] Lambrinoudakis 1992; Lambrinoudakis et al. 2002.
[136] Rubensohn 1962; Kourayos et al. 2018.
[137] Kourayos et al. 2012.
[138] Alexandridou 2019.
[139] Walter-Karydi 1972; Lambrinoudakis 1983; 1984; Zafeiropoulou 1984.
[140] Kourou 1984; 1992; 1998; 1999; 2001b.
[141] Simantoni-Bournia 2000; 2002; 2008; 2011; 2015.
[142] Charalambidou 2008; 2010; 2013; 2017; 2018.
[143] Dugas and Rhomaios 1934.
[144] Blanas 2006.
[145] Cambitoglou et al. 1971; 1988.
[146] Brock and Mackworth Young 1949.
[147] Dragendorff 1903; Pfuhl 1903.

Recently, studies using analytical techniques have settled certain issues of pottery production, manufacture, and provenance. However, while they have settled some debates, these studies have also revealed a more complex picture, in that certain ceramic groups that had been originally attributed to a single centre's ceramic production are now considered inter-island or inter-regional *koinai*[148]. The "Cesnola Style" typifies this picture. Early scholarship had attributed the whole production of this style to a single painter or workshop, but a consensus had not been reached among scholars for its place of origin. Later studies employing both empirical and analytical methods have convincingly argued for the Euboean origin of the "Cesnola Painter" whose style was later exported to other regions, including Naxos, where it was once thought to originate[149].

A different category of ceramic production, that of storage vessels or *pithoi*, has been studied in terms of style, technical aspects, provenance, cultural transmissions, and connectivity. Miriam Ervin Caskey and Simantoni-Bournia have classified *pithoi* into various groups and argued for itinerant potters travelling through the central Aegean, the Cyclades included[150]. Beatrice McLoughlin studied the *pithoi* from Zagora and their methods of construction; she holds the view of itinerant potters and went on to link *pithoi* types and their functional characteristics with staples requiring bulk storage[151].

This review highlights the fact that, while our material evidence for the Early Iron Age Cyclades is ever-growing, it remains exceptionally diverse and, in most cases, quite fragmentary both in terms of the nature of the material and in the level of its publication. Considering the wide range of field research conducted on Early Iron Age contexts from different islands, different sub-periods, and through a wide range of interpretive lenses and research methodologies, this thesis aims to synthesise the whole body of evidence, offering insight into the entirety of the Early Iron Age Cyclades.

[148] Grimanis et al. 1989; Aloupi 1993; Gautier 1993; Villard 1993; Aloupi and Kourou 2007; Charalambidou et al. 2017.

[149] For a history of the research concerning the Cesnola Painter and Style see Kourou 1998; Aloupi and Kourou 2007.

[150] Ervin Caskey 1976; Simantoni-Bournia 2004, 63-145.

[151] McLoughlin 2011.

Chapter 3

Approaches to Interaction: From Diffusionism to Complexity

It is often said that the questions archaeologists ask are largely influenced by their contemporary world in which they live and interact[152], and this thesis is no exception. In a modern hyper-connected and complex world, it seeks to address issues of connectivity and interactions of past societies that operated in a rather small region of the Eastern Mediterranean that, ironically, has often been considered secluded and used as a place of exile in different periods of its history. Certainly, the study of connectivity and interactions between sites or regions is not something new to archaeology. Scholars have long sought out influences in pot styles and forms, similarities or differentiations in religious and burial practices, and evidence of trade. What is relatively new, especially within the framework of Classical archaeology, is a development from purely descriptive to more theory influenced approaches[153] accompanied by the gradual adoption of modern techniques and methods.

In the first section of this chapter, I discuss archaeological approaches to interaction that have shaped the field over the last centuries. These range from traditional approaches to more theory-driven methodologies, some of which are covered with their contemporary social and political underpinnings, while others were developed as a reaction against previous approaches. In each case, examples from the archaeological literature of the Mediterranean and more specifically of the Aegean are provided. In the following section, there is a discussion on network theory and terminology, network structures and concepts, and how networks have been employed in order to provide answers to archaeological and historical questions. Again, this is accompanied by a brief overview of major works that pertain mainly, but not exclusively, to the Mediterranean. Finally, this chapter presents the specific network-driven approach to studying interaction and connectivity adopted for this dissertation, which argues for studying network patterns in a multi-temporal perspective and on multiple scales, in order to understand network dynamics and their relationship to change.

[152] E.g. Hodder 2004.

[153] See Whitley 1997, who argues that there has always been 'theory' in Classical archaeology.

Archaeologies of Interaction

Human beings interact. They interact as individuals and as organised societies, both literally and metaphorically, with other individuals and other organised societies, with other cultural or social groups, with the environment, with the dead, with the supernatural, and with their past. Indeed, an almost infinite number of human relations can be described under the term *interaction,* highlighting the absence of a unified theoretical framework to address past human interactions. Arguably, the majority of archaeological literature concerning interaction pertains to inter-regional relations and external contacts. In the first chapter of their edited volume on inter-regional interaction, Edward Schortman and Patricia Urban note that "*interaction studies* […] refers to research founded on the notion that individual societies, or "cultures", are not viable but depend on inputs from other societies for survival and reproduction from generation to generation. The form, structure, and changes observed within any society cannot be understood without recourse to these extraregional inputs"[154]. That said, some theoretical approaches to interaction can be discerned and the rest of this section is devoted to a brief overview of these approaches[155]. It should be noted though that these theoretical frameworks do not always follow a unilinear development and, in many cases, it can be observed that they overlap.

The traditional approach of catalogue-based studies has been the oldest and most persistent engagement with material culture, spotlighting the long-standing interest that archaeologists have had with artefact description. In regards to Aegean archaeology, interaction within this framework has been explored in terms of imports, cultural (primarily stylistic) transmissions or material *koinai*[156]. Despite some inconsistencies in terminology, we now possess detailed knowledge of a wide range of material types, which in turn provides better and more secure chronologies compared to other archaeologies. What is more, this plethora of data allows for more comprehensive regional or sub-regional archaeological syntheses. In contrast, the majority of these descriptive studies lacks historical analysis or interpretation, and little attempt has been made to the social contextualisation of the material evidence. Though by no means the only approach to interaction, the catalogue-based or art-historical studies have been typical of the Aegean Early Iron Age studies. It was

[154] Schortman and Urban 1992, 3 (italics and quotation marks original).

[155] For detailed accounts see Schortman and Urban 1987; Knappett 2011, 1-36; Knodell 2013, 65-78.

[156] Plural of *koine*, which is translated as "common" or "shared" in English. For the concept of "material *koinai*" in the Aegean Iron Age archaeology see Handberg and Gadolou 2017.

not until Anthony Snodgrass's works that scholars working in the field started to part ways with traditional approaches[157].

During the second half of the 19th century, anthropology was marked by the development of an evolutionary framework that grew independently of Darwinian theory. Instead it had its roots in Herbert Spencer's social philosophy and its proponents advocated the notion of progressive, unilineal change[158]. Under this framework, evolution was deemed as having an ultimate and predetermined end from primitive to civilised societies and cultural similarities among different societies were seen as independent inventions irrespective of place, environmental factors, or other contacts. Though a "counter-interaction" approach, this teleological scheme paved the way for the first anthropological model to account for inter-regional interaction.

Diffusionism, the paradigm in question, was developed largely as a reaction against evolutionism, the latter denoting the teleological process from simple to complex. Diffusion was not denied altogether by cultural evolutionists but its role concerning cultural change was deemed minor. By contrast, diffusionists disputed human creativity and ability for invention, thus rejecting independent developments, and claimed that cultural innovations evolve once and are then acquired by other cultural groups through migration and invasion or through diffusion from one group to another[159]. Diffusionism took on many forms from hyperdiffusionism –developed by Grafton Elliot Smith who maintained that all cultural developments originated in Egypt and then spread elsewhere[160]– to more moderate models. Other diffusionist concepts include *culture areas*, introduced by Clark Wissler to define adjacent geographical areas within which societies share many cultural traits, the latter being the output of diffusion[161]; Joseph Caldwell's *interaction sphere* developed to examine interactions among discrete societies within a given geographical area[162]; and Morton Fried's distinction between primary and secondary states, that is between independent and derivative formation of state societies[163]. Working on a much wider context Gordon Childe – one of the first scholars who moved away from traditional catalogue-based approaches–

[157] Snodgrass 1971; 1980a; 1980b.
[158] Dunnell 1980; Schortman and Urban 1987, 40-42; Trigger 2006, 166-210.
[159] Schortman and Urban 1987, 40-48; Trigger 2006, 217-23.
[160] See Elkin and Macintosh 1974.
[161] Wissler 1917.
[162] Caldwell 1964.
[163] Fried 1967.

interpreted the emergence of Aegean civilisation through diffusion from the East[164]. Regarding Aegean archaeology *per se*, diffusionism through invasion is typified by the alleged *Dorian invasion* or *migration*, a concept devised to account for the introduction of new artefact types and cultural traits in parts of southern Greece in the Early Iron Age[165]. Considering that, among other evidence, some of these artefacts and traits are now deemed older than previously thought the historicity of such an event is now highly disputed[166].

A notorious example of diffusionistic thinking is Martin Bernal's *Black Athena*, a three-volume work whose publication sparked a great deal of controversy [167]. Bernal rejects the 19th century Western perception of the origins of the Greek civilisation and claims that the development of the latter was the product of conquest, political domination, and colonisation by Egypt and the Phoenicians during the second millennium BCE. Despite the fact that near eastern influences in the Aegean had long been recognised, Bernal's assertions on colonisation have been heavily criticised due to the total absence of supporting archaeological evidence, while the linguistic connections for which he argues are now largely discounted[168]. Michael Shanks offers insight into the impact of *Black Athena* in his discussion on Bernal's work, noting that: "he [Bernal] brings past and present together in attacking the racism and anti-semitism of entrenched authorities, but on the basis of another metanarrative of cultural influence and social change which is ironically quite compatible with what he criticises"[169]. In spite of the fierce and wide ranging criticisms raised against this work, *Black Athena* provoked a worthwhile debate not only among the academics but in a wider context as well about the place of ancient Greece in relation to Egypt and the Near East.

Trade and exchange have been one of the most prominent aspects of human interaction. During the 1960s and 1970s, partly due to the development and influence of processual archaeology, a wide range of theoretical frameworks were created for their study in ancient societies, eventually supplanting the entrenched diffusion models. Rahul Oka and Chapurukha Kusimba provide an excellent and thorough review of these archaeological approaches to trade that include the primitivist, substantivist, modernist, Marxist, and

[164] Childe 1957.
[165] E.g. Eder 1998.
[166] Osborne 2009, 47-51.
[167] Bernal 1987; 1991; 2006.
[168] E.g. Lefkowitz and Rogers MacLean 1996.
[169] Shanks 1996, 90.

formalist models or combinations therein[170]. These theoretical approaches are also reflected in literature on Aegean archaeology more broadly. The innovative work of Colin Renfrew moved beyond a mere description of exchanged or traded artefacts, developing a complex model that highlights the central role of trade as a factor in the emergence of Aegean Bronze Age civilisation[171]. The substantivist model, according to which trade operates on the fringes of the economy, formed the basis for much of Moses Finley's work, which argues for the primary importance of agriculture in the Greek and Roman economy[172]. On the contrary, Robin Osborne embraced a more formalist approach in his claim that the Archaic Greek economy consisted of a number of interdependent markets[173].

World Systems Theory, an approach related to trade studies, was developed by sociologist Immanuel Wallerstein beginning in the 1970s as a multidisciplinary, macro-scale approach to modern world history and was eagerly adopted by contemporary archaeologists thereafter[174]. The model proposes a division between peripheral areas (suppliers) and more economically dominant core areas (consumers). Shortly after its appearance, the applicability of this model to archaeology was called into question in terms of its appropriateness for pre-modern societies and its ability to cross scales[175]. Despite its name, advocates of World Systems Theory clarify that "a world-system is *not* a system of planetary size. Rather the term refers to a self-contained unit"[176]. As such, with very few exceptions[177], it has been applied by archaeologists working in different geographical and temporal settings, including the Mediterranean[178]. Moreover, Wallerstein's original model has been adjusted and extended to better fit archaeological enquiries; one of these related concepts is the *negotiated peripherality* concept, devised for the interpretation of the varying relationships between core and peripheral areas[179]. Ian Morris, who sees the Early Iron Age Aegean as peripheral to the Near East, employed this concept to examine the selective

[170] Oka and Kusimba 2008. See also Schortman and Urban 1987, 49-55; Bauer and Agbe-Davies 2010. The recent publication of two edited volumes on trade studies (Bauer and Agbe-Davies 2010b; Kristiansen et al. 2018) highlight renewed interest in this approach to archaeological enquiry.

[171] Renfrew 1967; 1969; 1975; 1977.

[172] Finley 1985.

[173] Osborne 1996.

[174] Wallerstein 1974; 2004.

[175] Schneider 1977; Stein 1999; 2002.

[176] Hall et al. 2011, 236 (emphasis original).

[177] Frank 1993.

[178] See Hall and Chase-Dunn 1993; Hall et al. 2011. For the use of World Systems Analysis in the Bronze Age Mediterranean see Sherratt and Sherratt 1993. Specifically for the Bronze Age Aegean see Berg 1999.

[179] Kardulias 1999.

adoption of eastern social and economic traits in the Aegean[180]. In general terms, it is this capability for modification within this theory that gives it great explanatory potential.

In sharp contrast to both the World Systems and the diffusionism models, Renfrew in his seminal *Emergence of Civilisation* formulated a model of endogenous development. Renfrew saw internal processes as prime movers for the pre-palatial Bronze Age Aegean social developments[181]. Renfrew's work has its roots in the slightly earlier Systems theory approaches that examined the emergence of complex societies, better expressed by David Clarke[182]. Renfrew and John Cherry built on this concept with their *Peer Polity Interaction* model, which proposed a compromise between purely endogenous processes and models that championed external causes for socio-political developments[183]. According to *Peer Polity Interaction*, one of the prime movers of change is the interaction between social entities of equal standing that include competition through warfare or competitive emulation, symbolic entrainment and the transmission of innovation, and the exchange of goods[184]. From the onset, Renfrew and Cherry stressed some limitations of their model[185], yet *Peer Polity Interaction* has found a broad application and development across wide range archaeological and historical contexts. The Aegean, in diachronic terms, provides a landscape filled with polities of equal standing, admittedly with varying levels of social and political complexity at different historical periods. Thus, Snodgrass argues that *Peer Polity Interaction* operated at different levels and instances with respect to the development of the Greek *polis* and the early Greek society[186].

The emergence of the post-processual critique in the late 1970s and the 1980s pushed archaeology toward more relational and subjective approaches, such as phenomenology, limiting the study of interaction[187]. The impact was mostly felt on geography; as Knappett remarks there was a gradual shift from geometric, and rather deterministic modes of analysis to topological (relational) approaches to space, what he calls a spatial turn[188]. This was accompanied by a simultaneous shift in the size of the analytical unit under consideration, given the pertinence of relational approaches to the micro-scale.

[180] Morris 1999.
[181] Renfrew 1972.
[182] Clarke 1978 [1968].
[183] Renfrew and Cherry 1986.
[184] Renfrew 1986.
[185] Cherry and Renfrew 1986.
[186] Snodgrass 1986.
[187] Hodder 1982; Shanks and Tilley 1987; Tilley 1994; See also Trigger 2006, 386-483.
[188] Knappett 2011, 22-26.

Despite this division, middling approaches appeared that encompass both geometric and topological perspectives[189]. Such efforts can be integrated into the context of *pragmatic synthesis*, a term used by Bruce Trigger in reference to studies that combine processual and post-processual approaches[190].

That said, the role of geography in interaction studies never lost its prominence with respect to the Mediterranean. Following Fernand Braudel's ground-breaking work[191] and in response to globalisation, new models emerged that emphasised both connectivity and fluidity instead of boundedness and stability, highlighting processes of Mediterraneanisation[192]. Fundamental in the process is the *Corrupting Sea* by Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, a monumental study that covers a 3000-year period of Mediterranean history, from prehistory to the Middle Ages[193]. Contrary to Braudel's perception of the Mediterranean as an environmental and societal unity, Horden and Purcell see the Mediterranean as a region scattered with microecologies that necessitated interaction between the societies living within them. The most recent endeavour to produce a pan-Mediterranean synthesis was undertaken by an archaeologist, rather than a historian. In his *Making of the Middle Sea*, Cyprian Broodbank covers a stunningly wide period of the basin's history, from its geological formation up to the Classical period[194]. He examines the intertwining of social, environmental, and cultural aspects that played a crucial role in, among others, identity formation, population movements, and social practices across the Mediterranean.

More recently, globalisation models have been developed in material culture analysis with the aim to bridge the local and the global and to explore the relationship between material culture, change, and interaction between communities[195]. Furthermore, theories concerning the interdependent relationship between human and things, that fall under broader theoretical concepts, such as *materiality* and *entanglement*, have also come to the fore[196]. Another concept, Actor-Network Theory, gives agency to non-human entities,

[189] E.g. Soja 1996.
[190] Trigger 2006, 484-528.
[191] Braudel 1972.
[192] See Morris 2003.
[193] Horden and Purcell 2000. See also Concannon and Mazurek 2016; Horden and Purcell 2019.
[194] Broodbank 2013.
[195] Hodos 2017; 2020.
[196] Knappett 2005; 2012; 2014; Hodder 2012.

calls for the disestablishment of the separation between the past and the present, and champions the notion of mediation between human and non-human entities[197].

This review, while by no means exhaustive, highlights that there is a wide variety of theoretical approaches to the study of interaction, especially at the inter-regional level. Aegean archaeology has played a significant role in the transitional process from traditional to more theory-based approaches, since many theories not only found application in this region, but also some were originally developed within the Aegean context, mainly in relation to prehistory. Recently, scholars working in the field have employed many of the above interaction theories in combination for analysis on multiple scales[198]; and although Classical archaeology was late in the process partly due to the "Great Tradition" of classical scholarship[199], this divide has been bridged during the last decades.

Towards Complexity: Network Approaches in Archaeology

Generally speaking, the term complexity refers to the quality or state of being compound and complicated, which indeed aptly describes most human interactions. In the social sciences complexity refers to aspects of human behaviour, such as warfare, migrations, power dynamics and relations between social groups, as well as the arrangement of relationships between them that, as an on-going process, eventually lead to the emergence of new, more complicated and diverse phenomena.

To study such phenomena, social scientists employ networks as a means of simplifying, quantifying, and comparing complex human interactions across space, time, or any number of variables. A network can be simply described as a set of nodes (or vertices) connected by a set of links (or edges) with the aim of describing and explaining nearly any kinds of relations, from human relationships to brain neurons. Network analysis has its roots in the branch of mathematics called graph theory, foundations were laid in the mid-18th century after the negative ending to the "Seven Bridges of Königsberg" problem by the Swiss mathematician Leonhard Euler[200].

[197] Latour 2005; Witmore 2007.

[198] E.g. Parkinson and Galaty 2007; Parkinson 2010.

[199] Renfrew 1980.

[200] Euler 1953. For a somewhat earlier use of networks see Knappett 2011, 40-41.

While contemporary scholars have access to an abundance of methodologies for network analysis based on particular research goals, each of these share some fundamental features. All networks are, at their most basic, sets of points connected by lines. Under these circumstances, the points represent the subject(s) of one's research interest –be they objects, people, or sites– while the links, in turn, represent the relationships between these research subjects. These connections can vary in character, from tangible links, such as roads, to more abstract concepts like friendship or family ties. Based on a particular research agenda, the number of links between nodes may differ significantly, with the number of links possessed by a particular node known as its *degree*. Thus, a node that is connected to other nodes with many links is considered to possess a high *degree centrality*, and may also be termed as a *hub*, although "having a lot of links, or high degree, does not necessarily make a node well connected in terms of the network as a whole. A node may have many links, but they may all be localized"[201]. *Degree centrality* is by no means the only centrality measure in network theory[202]; *betweenness centrality* represents the degree to which nodes stand between each other; *closeness centrality* indicates how close a node is to all other nodes in the network; and *eigenvector centrality* measures a node's importance while giving consideration to the importance of its neighbours.

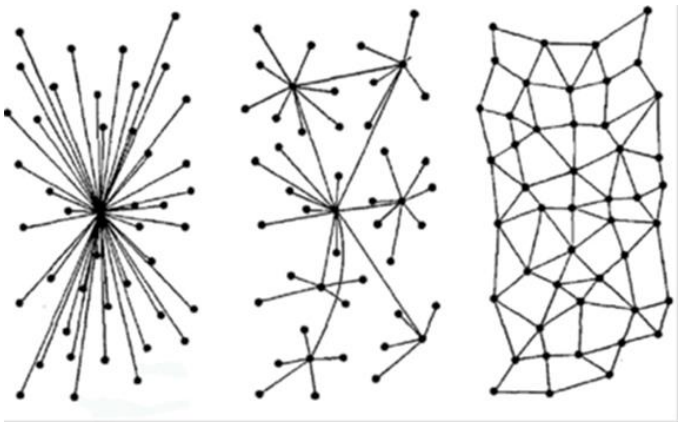

Fig. 3.1 Centralised, decentralised, and distributed network structures (after Baran 1964, fig. 1).

Within this framework, Paul Baran demonstrated three types of networks based on their degree of centralisation[203] (Fig. 3.1): at one end stand highly centralised networks, where all nodes connect to a central node that becomes the acting agent for all interactions; at the other end of the spectrum distributed networks eliminate centralisation as links between nodes are evenly distributed. Regarding highly centralised networks, Baran noticed that the central nodes or hubs, although powerful, are prone to attacks, thus exposing the whole system to danger. Meanwhile, the latter is insufficient compared to more centralised

[201] Knappett 2011, 42.
[202] Brughmans 2013, 636-38.
[203] Baran 1964.

networks. He also observed that, in reality, networks most commonly fall in a state between these two, namely the decentralised networks, in which more hubs appear in different parts of the network and are by design more tolerant to collapse.

Although all networks present the features described above, it is highly likely that they will demonstrate some levels of differentiation. Values related to a property that connects the nodes of a network and directionality are the most common attributes that can be inserted in a network. For instance, the number of sherds of specific pottery types found at particular sites can be used to show the level of connectivity or interaction between them. Moreover, if the provenance of a ceramic type is known, directed links (also called arcs) can be introduced to distinguish between producing and receiving sites.

This example introduces another concept of diversity in networks, differentiating between one-mode (unipartite) and two-mode (bipartite) networks[204]. Most networks are comprised qualitatively of one type of node (unipartite networks), while a network can be bimodal when the connected nodes represent different entities. In our aforementioned example, the archaeological sites constitute one set of nodes, while pottery types constitute the second set of nodes[205]. Typically, bimodal networks are also *affiliation networks* as evidenced by the fact that the nodes of the first set are indirectly linked between them through their affiliation with the second set of nodes (Fig. 3.2). Affiliation networks can be useful to archaeologists given their ability to incorporate multiple types of data and their potential to unfold complex past interactions.

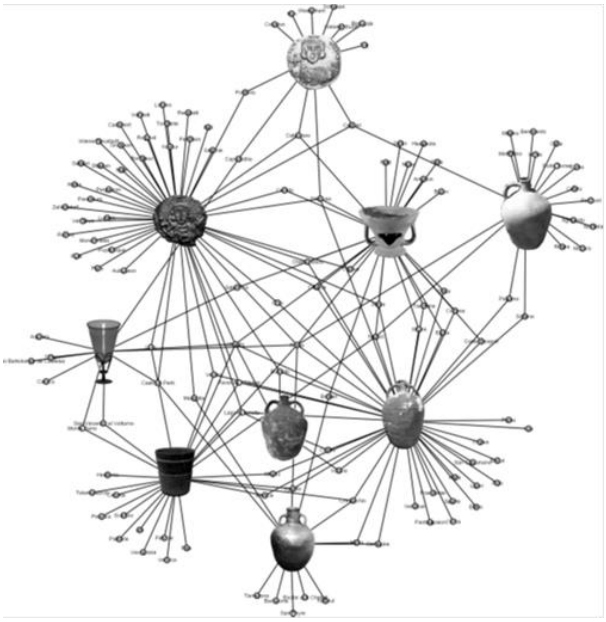

Fig. 3.2 Bipartite network of artefacts and their site affiliation (after Arthur et al. 2018, fig. 9.2).

Next to centrality measures or affiliated networks, another tool of network analysis is the *ego network*[206]. Ego networks are comprised of a focal node (ego), the nodes to which

[204] Wasserman and Faust 1994, 35-41; Knappett 2011, 46-48.

[205] E.g. Sindbæk 2007a; 2013; Brughmans 2013; Arthur et al. 2018.

this focal node is connected, and the ties between them. This type of network is "particularly useful in situations where it is not possible to track down the full network because the data are just not available or because the full network is not relevant to answering specific research questions"[207].

Given their ability to describe an almost infinite range of relationships networks have been adopted and adapted by a diverse set of disciplines, from physics to neuroscience. In the modern era, social scientists were quick to explore the potentials of formal network analysis as early as the 1930s with the invention of sociometry by the psychiatrist Jacob L. Moreno who developed the sociogram, a method for studying the relationships between individuals visualised as a graph with nodes and links. This was followed by the development of programmes of laboratory experimentations on networks coupled with advances in social network theory and, by the 1970s and 1980s, Social Network Analysis was established as a coherent field of study within the social sciences[208]. Social Network Analysis now forms one of the two prevalent trends of network theory application in archaeological enquiries.

Physics or sociophysics comprises the other primary academic tradition that has had a considerable impact on network thinking. Stanley Milgram's celebrated experiment, designed to answer how many links it would take to pass a letter between two unknown people, resulted in the notion of the *six degrees of separation*[209]; that is, it takes six steps on average to connect an individual with any other individual in the world, although, as Alex Knodell has noted: "the context in which this research was conducted was that of a much more densely populated and technologically connected world than we typically encounter in archaeological contexts"[210]. It was this question of how people, things, or ideas move or how these are connected through a small set of intermediaries to every other person, thing, or idea that actually led to the articulation of the *small-world* phenomenon. Moreover, Duncan Watts and Steven Strogatz were able to show that many networks lie neither in a completely regular nor random state[211]. By introducing a certain number of random links in a regular clustered network they identified networks that are highly clustered and have a small average shortest path length, thus falling in a state in between the two former (Fig. 3.3).

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[206] Wasserman and Faust 1994, 41-43; Brughmans 2013, 639-40.
[207] Brughmans 2013, 639.
[208] Borgatti et al. 2009.
[209] Milgram 1967.
[210] Knodell 2013, 82.
[211] Watts and Strogatz 1998.

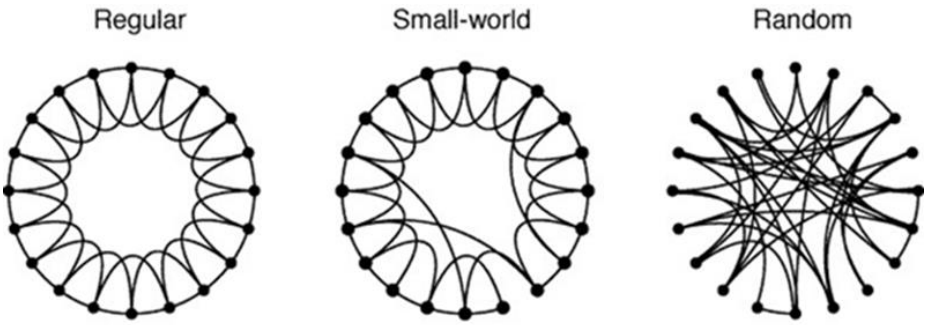

Fig. 3.3 Regular, small-world, and random networks (after Watts and Strogatz 1998, fig. 1).

Mark Granovetter introduced another key concept related to the small-world phenomenon, namely the strength of weak ties (Fig. 3.4)[212]. Weak ties, contrary to strong ties, are the less frequent, often longer-distance ties between other networks. Although they may seem less connected at face value, the strength of the weak ties (also called bridges) lies in the fact that they can control the flow of objects or ideas, inform the system, and prevent stagnation. The removal of weak ties can cause network collapse, if key links between distant networks are removed.

A seminal moment in the field of complex networks was the discovery of scale-free networks by Albert-László Barabási and Réka Albert, who identified that, in many real-world networks, the degree distribution follows a so-called power law[213]. This can be described as follows: in a network where most nodes have few links while few nodes have many connections, as the network grows and new nodes join the system, these have the tendency to connect to an already well-connected node, a process known as preferential attachment; given their structure and mode of growth scale-free networks are described as "the rich get richer" phenomenon. Everyday examples of networks that exhibit such a structure are web pages and frequently cited academic papers.

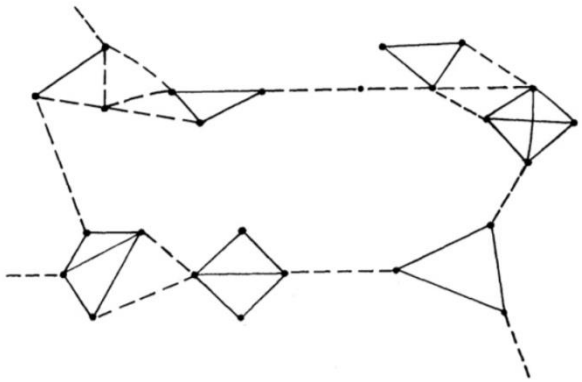

Fig. 3.4 Network showing strong (solid) and weak (dashed) ties (after Granovetter 1973, Fig. 2).

[212] Granovetter 1973.

[213] Barabási and Albert 1999.

Despite the above-mentioned advances, archaeologists were, somewhat oddly, reluctant to adopt formal network analysis as a methodological tool. This has been explained mostly in terms of mathematical inadequacy and lack of user-friendly software at the time when network analysis was popularised in other fields. Another issue that led archaeologists to refrain from using *networks* is that, compared to other disciplines, archaeological data are inherently biased in that only a small fragment of the total whole survives, and an even smaller is ever recovered. Nevertheless, this does not mean that networks are a new concept in archaeological research. On the contrary, network is a complex term which has spawned many different meanings within the discipline. Braudel used networks in a descriptive manner to account for the long-term processes that shaped the Mediterranean world[214], while more recently, archaeologists have employed networks as an interpretive metaphor by adopting particular concepts that derive from formal network analysis[215]. This has led some scholars to express concerns over an emerging divide among those who employ formal applications and those who employ more network-inspired thinking as a means of interpreting archaeological data[216].

Attempting a full-scale overview of the archaeological works that have employed formal network techniques is a Sisyphean task, as the number of studies that fall under this category grows exponentially each year[217]. Network analysis has become a key topic of special issues in journals, of conferences, and even manifestos[218]. For example, the *Journal of Historical Network Research* has become a major outlet for the study of historical networks. But what makes networks so distinctive compared to other methodological tools, causing the rampant growth of these studies over the last two decades? Most scholars attribute the attractiveness of networks to the fact they enable multi-scalar (not only spatial) approaches coupled with their potential for examining the relationships between entities of diverse types. Moreover, the fact that networks come with a variety of methods and theory enabling different approaches for a diverse set of questions renders them highly valuable for the study of past human interactions. That is not to say that the application of formal network techniques in archaeology is devoid of challenges. Indeed, these have already been

[214] Braudel 1972. See also Horden and Purcell 2000; Broodbank 2013.

[215] Malkin 2011; Tartaron 2013.

[216] Fulminante 2014; Knappett 2016.

[217] Collar et al. 2015.; Brughmans and Peeples 2017. For an overview of formal network methods applied for modelling interactions see Evans 2018.

[218] E.g. Knappett 2013; Evans and Felder 2014; Leidwanger et al. 2014; Brughmans et al. 2016a; Leidwanger and Knappett 2018.

highlighted, relating primarily to methodology, sampling, temporal scale, and general questions of interpretation[219]. The remainder of this section is devoted to a brief discussion of formal network approaches in archaeology in order to underline the variety of questions, materials and methods involved in the study of past interactions[220].

Perhaps the most important formative study that brought network analysis into archaeology was undertaken by Cynthia Irwin Williams who used these tools to explore prehistoric trade. Many of the types of interactions identified and examined by this study, alongside the network approaches she introduced –the ego network and *zones* of interactions– would not be formally adopted and studied by archaeologists for several decades[221]. Since the 1970s, formal network techniques and models have been applied in the Pacific for the study of past island interactions. In particular, *Proximal Point Analysis*, an area of graph theory developed by John Terrell, was used to construct models of colonisation in Oceania[222]. *Proximal Point Analysis* was later applied by scholars working in different archaeological settings to address issues such as the diffusion of religious innovations in the Roman Empire[223] or patterns of interactions in the Early Bronze Age Cyclades[224].

More recently, Søren Sindbæk used affiliation networks to account for Early Viking Age long-distance exchange and communication patterns and the emergence of towns in southern Scandinavia[225]. His main contribution lies in the use of multiple artefact types to connect the sites that form his nodes. By combining his affiliation network with small-world and scale-free networks, Sindbæk concluded that Early Viking Age exchange was hierarchically organised through a small group of hubs[226]. In a similar vein, Tom Brughmans has also used affiliation networks between sites and the specific types of pottery found at them to explore Roman tableware distributions in the Eastern Mediterranean[227]. Brughmans' most important contribution is found in incorporating a temporal dimension within this research, through the use of successive network structures. A combination of Social Network Analysis techniques and complex network models is explicit in Fiona

[219] Brughmans et al. 2016b.
[220] For fuller reviews see Brughmans 2010; 2013; Östborn and Gerding 2014.
[221] Irwin-Williams 1977; See also Brughmans 2013, 633-35.
[222] E.g. Terrell 1977; 2013.
[223] Collar 2013.
[224] Broodbank 2000.
[225] Sindbæk 2007a; 2007b.
[226] Sindbæk 2007a.
[227] Brughmans 2010.

Coward's study of social structures between sites in the Epipalaeolithic and Early Neolithic Near East. In conjunction with a diachronic perspective, Coward adopts a multi-scalar approach to conclude that the fragmentation of social networks over time is related to the growth of their geographical span[228]. Perhaps no Aegean archaeologist has better highlighted the potential of network approaches to cross scales than Carl Knappett who demarcates three scales of analysis, although as he himself states these or their number cannot be predetermined: the micro-scale concerned with more proximate interactions, the meso-scale concerned with *communities of practice*, and the macro-scale concerned with inter-regional interactions[229]. He builds upon these scales to illustrate his networks through case studies from Bronze Age Crete. In the context of Early Iron Age archaeology, Alex Knodell very recently used nearest neighbour analysis and applied a multi-scalar, diachronic, and comparative approach to account for regional and social complexity in central Greece[230].

Islands and archipelagos have so far been considered a very suitable setting for the application of formal network techniques in that they present naturally defined boundaries that are easily fit to the concept of nodes[231]. Indeed, the majority of network approaches in the Aegean have been applied to the Cycladic islands, having been fundamentally influenced by geography and attached to the actual physical space. One of the earliest instances of network thinking in the Mediterranean –although it lacks visualisation– is Jack Davis' work on the centrality of Delos through various periods[232]. More recently, Broodbank drawing on Terrell, has used Proximal Point Analysis to examine settlement patterns and settlement hierarchies in the Early Bronze Age Cyclades[233]. Broodbank's nodes consist of both actual settlements and hypothetical sites. However, Broodbank extends this beyond the geometric properties of his networks. He introduced the role of actual distances in conjunction with the then-available technology in maritime connections while he advocated that social forces such as social storage, exogamy, or prestige were also responsible for the emergence of early Cycladic networks. Working in the same island theatre, Knappett in collaboration with two particle physicists has developed a stochastic model, termed *ariadne*, which uses a cost-benefit function in order to assess connectivity and interaction[234]. These scholars introduced

[228] Coward 2013.
[229] Knappett 2011.
[230] Knodell 2021.
[231] E.g. Terrell 1977; Mol 2014.
[232] Davis 1982.
[233] Broodbank 2000.
[234] Knappett et al. 2008; 2011; Evans et al. 2009; Rivers et al. 2013; Rivers 2018.

the values of carrying capacity and relative importance for their sites (nodes) and those of physical distance and effort for the links between them. The main difference of *ariadne,* when compared to other models, is that each time the model is run, it produces different results and the final outcome is obtained by looking at the average of the requested quantity. Knappett et al.'s model was used to address issues of maritime interactions in the Middle Bronze Age Aegean and was seen as a reaction both to Broodbank's model as well as to the earlier "retail" model developed by Tracey Rihll and Alan Wilson. The latter used a model originally developed for urban planning to account for settlement hierarchies in central and south Greece and the rise of the Greek *polis* with compelling results[235].

Notes on Methodology and Data Selection

The study of the proximate interactions between neighbouring communities forms an integral part of this thesis (Chapters 4-7). These proximate and habitual interactions are deemed vital for the sustainability of the small communities that comprised the settlement patterns of the Early Iron Age Cyclades, a fact that Horden and Purcell highlight by illustrating that the environment of the Mediterranean is characterised by microecologies that rendered interaction between communities living in them necessary[236]. In order to model these interactions, I use Proximal Point Analysis according to which, each settlement is connected to its three nearest neighbours. This, of course, does not mean that these interactions did necessarily happen, nor that these are the only interactions between communities that have been taking place. Rather, this prioritises the potential for such interactions and connectivity that each community possessed, given particular weather and environmental conditions that would make each trip difficult, or that, many times, would lead to a route different from the one desired.

Indeed, prevailing winds and currents affected seafaring in the Aegean not only at different seasons of the year, but also within a single day, complicating factors that unequivocally affected longer voyages[237]. Given that the Aegean is dominated by northerly

[235] Rihll and Wilson 1987; 1991. Interestingly, Rivers and Evans (2014), in asking the same question and using the same data, contrasted this model to *ariadne* with different results. They interpreted this outcome in terms of small site separation in conjunction with travel distances and long-term processes compared to violent events like the eruption of Thera in the Middle Bronze Age.

[236] Horden and Purcell 2000.

[237] Agouridis 1997; Papageorgiou 2008. See also Morton 2001.

winds, the route from a point of origin to the final destination took a different amount of time and required different levels of effort than the reverse route (Fig 3.5). In addition, seasonal winds such as the *Etesiai* (or *meltemia*) must be taken into account in conjunction with other parameters that could affect sea-travel, such as the intensity of the waves and the shape of the coastline[238]. Hence, variability in conditions makes both the duration and the energy cost of a sea voyage essentially unpredictable. As a result, techniques that have been developed to investigate traveling on land-based areas, such as least-cost path analysis[239], cannot be applied with reference to sea-travel. An additional issue is that, in this thesis, connectivity is examined both in maritime and terrestrial spaces and no technique has yet been developed that can treat cost efficiency in terms of traveling in both spaces simultaneously. In light of this, while it may appear unsophisticated at face value, Proximal Point Analysis provides a good preliminary guide to the costs of movement between sites in both spaces, while at the same time offering the opportunity to explore interactions between neighbouring regions facilitating thus the study of interactions at different scales.

A final point of consideration is reflecting on how the sites that make up the catalogues for each period were selected for the present study. I have chosen to include only sites that are the outcome of archaeological research, the results of which have been at least preliminary published. This involves systematic excavations by various institutes, salvage excavations by the Greek Archaeological Service, archaeological surveys, systematic or not, and surface finds. I have not included sites that are known only from antiquities handed in by citizens to the Archaeological Service or from ceramic vessels, held now in museums and archaeological collections both in Greece and abroad, that were not acquired through formal archaeological investigation or whose place of origin is disputed. In the few instances where such a site has been included in a catalogue, the reasons for their inclusion are stated in the relevant chapter.

The results obtained from the Proximal Point Analysis are tested against the empirical data, that is to say the imports to a few selected sites and the exports of Cycladic pottery to other Aegean and Mediterranean regions. These provide evidence in order to document and construct networks of interaction between the Cyclades and other regions. For that purpose,

[238] Several geomorphological and geoarchaeological investigations have been conducted in the last few years in the Cycladic region, mainly at the Delos- Rhenea- Mykonos island group as well as at Paros and Naxos, to evaluate changes in the sea level (e.g. Papathanassopoulos and Schilardi 1981; Fouache et al. 2005; Desruelles et al. 2009; Karkani et al. 2017; 2018). It is estimated that during the Early Iron Age, the sea level was about two to three meters lower than the present.

[239] Conolly and Lake 2006.

I use Social Network Analysis as a methodological tool. The results are plotted on the map as directed and weighted networks. More specifically, the links (edges) point in one direction, from their place of origin to their final destination, while the size of the links among sites is directly proportional to its weighted degree, that is the number of exports from one site (or region) to another. There are certain limitations to this method; perhaps the most important is that we could not know if the imports reached their final destination directly from their place of production or if this is the result of indirect contacts. Nevertheless, this deficiency is somewhat alleviated by comparing this type of networks with known settlement patterns. In addition, in the chapters that concern the Geometric period for which the data are more plentiful, affiliation networks are constructed between pottery shapes and production centres in order to draw further inferences about the interactions between different sites and/ or areas. Finally, in Chapter Four, concerning the Late Helladic IIIC period in the Cyclades, I examine interaction through similarities in ceramic styles, namely the use of decorative motifs on clay vessels. Social Network Analysis is again employed for the construction of this specific network which in this case is arranged in abstract space.

To construct the exchange and stylistic networks, data were extracted either from site excavation volumes or published site reports or publications that contain catalogues with a sufficient number of finds. I do not include material from preliminary publications or reports given that such publications present a very small sample of the total amount of the finds, therefore they are highly selective and introduce bias towards particular types of finds, a fact that would distort the overall construction of the networks. Details and discussion regarding the selection and nature of the data for each period are provided in more detail in the relevant chapters.

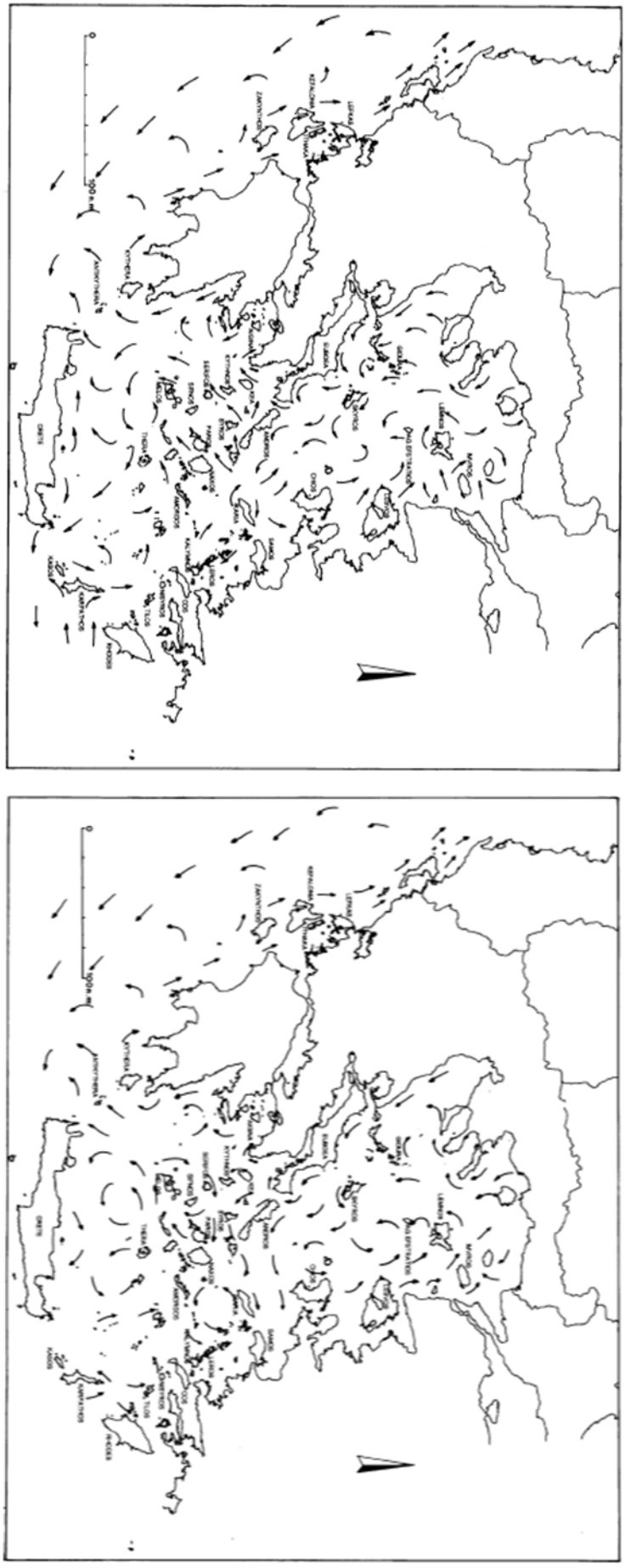

Fig. 3.5 Currents in the Aegean (left) during the winter period and (right) during the summer period (after Agouridis 1997, Fig. 2, 3).

Chapter 4

The Late Helladic IIIC Period in the Cyclades

The fall of the Mycenaean palaces and the fundamental transformations that it brought about signalled the emergence of new political, social, and economic conditions. Although this fact cannot be disputed, the extent or the intensity of these transformations has been the subject of differing views. Traditionally, the Post-palatial period had been considered an era of decline, impoverishment, depopulation, and migration[240], even though some scholars have stressed that –in the midst of this decline– a short period of revival intervened[241]. The causes behind the end of Mycenaean palatial society, as well similar phenomena in Anatolia, Egypt and the Levant, have been conventionally attributed to the raiding *Sea Peoples* or, less emphatically, to internal struggle, climate change or natural catastrophes[242]. Such concepts have lately been called into question and, very recently, Eric Cline argued that the causes of these social changes are far more complex and should be attributed to "a perfect storm of calamities", although the author refrains from demonstrating the crucial factors which, paired with the others, resulted in the demise of administrative systems across the Eastern Mediterranean[243].

Despite the absence of scholarly consensus, what can be said with certainty is that the collapse of Mycenaean palatial society should not be associated with a single cause. To the contrary, it was a complex phenomenon and the processes for its manifestation had begun much earlier than the late 12th century. In general, the concept of *collapse*, in a wider, cross-cultural framework was best explored some years ago in works that turned to archaeological theory for the interpretation of such phenomena[244]. For the purpose of this study, I follow Tainter's sense of *collapse*, defined as the rapid loss of an established level of social, political, or economic complexity[245]. Meanwhile, new discoveries and the re-examination of old evidence have altered the picture of demise, with the Late Helladic IIIC

[240] E.g. Schweitzer 1971. See also Muhly 2011 who cites similar frightful accounts of the Post-palatial period.
[241] Desborough 1964; 1972; Rutter 1992.
[242] E.g. Drews 1993.
[243] Cline 2014; See also Knapp and Manning 2016.
[244] Tainter 1988; Yoffee and Cowgill 1988.
[245] Tainter 1988, 4-5.

period now being considered as an era of reorganisation rather than societal breakdown[246]. If anything, considering that palatial administrative systems did not exist in every region of the Greek world, consequently, the response of their respective communities was different[247].

The estimated duration attributed to the Late Helladic IIIC period ranges from 70 to 160 years but today it is generally accepted that it lasted for about 100-150 years, circa 1200-1100/1050 BCE[248]. For the Cyclades, two chronological schemes have been proposed, one based on the system used for the Greek mainland, accepted by most scholars and excavators of Cycladic sites (Table 1.2); and the independent "Cycladic" system formulated by R. Barber, whose phases are determined by the periods of habitation and abandonment of excavated Cycladic settlements[249]. In Chapter 2, I discussed the still-controversial issue of whether Submycenaean material culture should be considered a distinct historical period or a functionally and visually specific variety of the Late Helladic IIIC style. The evidence from the Cyclades is far less enlightening, since "Submycenaean" vessels so far discovered are very few in numbers and derive from mixed or unstratified contexts[250].

Although transitional periods have long been intriguing foci for research, there have been relatively few synthetic studies of the Late Helladic IIIC Aegean[251]. Most approaches to the research of this period have been selective in terms of their geographical scope[252] or, instead, deal with more specific topics, such as pottery[253]. What is more, in works that deal with broader periods of the Bronze Age, the period in question is usually discussed very briefly or is entirely omitted[254]. The new conditions that arose after the dissolution of the palatial system, on the one hand, mark the final years of the Mycenaean cultural horizon and, on the other, foreshadow the social structures that prevailed in the subsequent periods. This fact has initiated discussions concerning continuities and discontinuities between the Palatial period and the ensuing Post-palatial world and, since the turn of the century, this period has been treated with increasing interest in studies concerned with the

[246] Deger-Jalkotzy and Lemos 2006; Dickinson 2006; Middleton 2020a.
[247] Middleton 2020a; 2020b.
[248] For a review see Vlachopoulos 2012, 361-64.
[249] Barber 1987; for a more detailed discussion see Vlachopoulos 2012, 361-73.
[250] Kourou 2020a.
[251] E.g. Desborough 1964; Vanschoonwinkel 1991; See also Vlachopoulos 2012.
[252] E.g. Eder 1998; Thomatos 2006.
[253] Mountjoy 1999.
[254] E.g. Cullen 2001.

transition from the Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age[255]. Moreover, international workshops held at the Austrian Academy of Sciences dedicated exclusively to the three phases of the Late Helladic IIIC period aimed to formulate a better understanding of the historical developments of this key moment in Greek pre- and proto-history[256].

What, then are the primary societal changes that mark the transition from Mycenaean palatial society to the Late Helladic IIIC period, and how have they been perceived by scholars? To speak of these transformations themselves, the most obvious among them concerns the socio-political and the settlement hierarchies. During the Palatial period, palatial states, like Thebes or Mycenae, were ruled by a singular figure known as the *wanax*. Each of these states occupied a large territory and exerted political and economic power on a regional level, although smaller polities in non-palatial regions were not necessarily subjected to the palaces. After the collapse, the Aegean landscape is characterised by less sizeable polities that present different levels of social and economic complexities. Nevertheless, it is not safe to claim that some polities were not more prominent than others, nor that there was some kind of complete breakdown in social organisation. In network terms, we discern the development from highly centralised networks in the Palatial era to less centralised, more distributed political and economic systems during the Late Helladic IIIC period[257].

Another significant change or discontinuity related to the decentralisation of the network patterns observed after the collapse of the palatial system is the dissolution of the administrative systems that had been supporting them, including the loss of writing and administrative documentation. For societies themselves, this meant a return to prehistory and illiteracy. While, from a disciplinary perspective, this means that we must rely almost exclusively on archaeology for the reconstruction and interpretation of the historical circumstances of the periods that follow. Indeed, Homer comprises the only literary source at our disposal for the next four centuries or so. However, the era represented in the Homeric epics and the period during which they were crystallised and acquired in written form have been the subjects of heated debate since the infancy of archaeology as a discipline[258].

[255] Deger-Jalkotzy and Lemos 2006; Dickinson 2006; Knodell 2021.

[256] Deger-Jalkotzy and Zavadil 2003; 2007; Deger-Jalkotzy and Bächle 2009.

[257] Shelmerdine 2008; See contributions in Lemos and Kotsonas 2020.

[258] The literature on the topic is vast. Indicatively, Snodgrass 1974; Morris and Powell 1997; Sherratt and Bennet 2017; Whitley 2020a. See also discussion in Chapter 2.

From a material perspective, the Late Helladic IIIC is considered as the final stage of the Aegean Bronze Age, whereupon the use of iron becomes increasingly frequent. Yet a few iron objects already appear in Post-palatial contexts[259]. The earliest examples, dating as early as the 12th century BCE, are iron knives with bronze-riveted hilts of ivory or bone. Two are known from Perati and a single piece from Lefkandi and Knossos respectively. Other types of weapons, such as swords and daggers, were found in Athens, Lefkandi, Knossos, and Tiryns. Iron items found in Late Helladic IIIC Cycladic contexts are known only from Grotta on Naxos. The best-preserved example is a knife of unknown provenance deposited in a tomb at the cemetery of Kamini[260]. Other categories of iron objects found in the Post-palatial Aegean include ornaments, mostly pins and rings. It has been suggested that these early iron objects were imports from Cyprus[261], although some scholars cast doubts as to whether all the examples are of Cypriot origin, while others suggest that these object allude to the presence of itinerant smiths trained in Cyprus[262]. Be that as it may, it is "only when the production of real 'working' iron was mastered by Greek smiths could the Iron Age be said to have arrived in the Aegean"[263], and this process seems to have taken place later than the 12th century BCE.

Turning our attention to the Cyclades, in the course of this chapter I explore, first, whether the network dynamics established in the Late Helladic IIIB period remain unaffected since, as observed in other regions such as Achaia[264], there were no palaces in the Cyclades and therefore no collapse. And second, whether the establishment of new sites as a result of a possible influx of newcomers from the mainland led to the creation of new settlement patterns and network structures[265]. In addition to the spatial patterns, similarities and heterogeneities in the cultural record between sites and more specifically in the use of decorative elements on ceramics will be employed in the network analysis as proxies for interactions in the Post-palatial Aegean. Moreover, the detection of possible discrepancies between spatial patterns and cultural affinities allows for the identification of determining

[259] Snodgrass 1971, 217-28; Dickinson 2006, 146-50.

[260] Vlachopoulos 2006, 269. There are more iron pieces unearthed at Grotta but these were found in disturbed contexts and their state of preservation does not allow any comments concerning their form or function.

[261] Sherratt 1994.

[262] Dickinson 2006, 147.

[263] Snodgrass 1971, 221.

[264] Papadopoulos 2001; Middleton 2020b.

[265] Henceforth, since there were no palaces in the Cyclades the term *Post-palatial* is used only in relation to the whole Aegean. For the Cyclades in particular the term *Late Helladic IIIC* is preferred.

factors in the transmission of cultural traits. As Beatrijs de Groot has claimed: "specific events such as migration, or the individual ways in which communities interact with each other, might have affected the transmission of ideas, leading to the emergence of sharp boundaries between neighbouring groups or similarities between distant sites"[266].

Having said this, let us now briefly review the evidence from the previous period in the Cyclades.

A Non-Palatial Prelude

In contrast to the Early Bronze and the Middle Bronze Ages, when we can identify a strong local character in the material culture of the Cyclades, the Late Bronze Age is marked by external influences on the material culture of the islands: initially from Minoan Crete and afterwards from the Mycenaean palatial culture. These influences have been interpreted in the light of the processes of "Minoanisation" and "Mycenaeanisation" respectively, although their local effects were dissimilar and vary from island to island. Lately, these contested terms have been deprived of their colonial and ethnic overtones, and are now used as convenient labels assigned by scholars to parts of the Bronze Age to indicate the adoption of Cretan and mainland cultural traits respectively[267].

In the Cyclades, the period that corresponds to the founding of the Mycenaean palaces on the mainland is primarily known from the excavated settlements of Phylakopi on Melos, Ayia Irini on Kea, and Grotta on Naxos[268]. With respect to the former, the mainland character of the pottery and the Megaron built on top of an earlier mansion has been variously interpreted as the result of either exogenous factors or endogenous processes. To be more specific, traditional views argue for either a strong presence of Mycenaeans from the mainland or, alternately, for the presence of a Mycenaean ruler and a complete Mycenaean seizure of the site[269]. Other views deny the existence of mainland population on the island and see the presence of Mycenaean cultural elements as either a result of cultural influence or as a response on the part of the local elites to the new political conditions of the period[270]. In a similar vein to the latter interpretation, the small tholos tombs at Angelika on

[266] de Groot 2019, 603.
[267] E.g. Broodbank 2004; Gorogianni et al. 2016.
[268] Schallin 1993; Mountjoy 2008.
[269] E.g. Barber 1999; contra Mountjoy 2008, 473.
[270] Schallin 1993; Davis and Bennet 1999. See also Earle 2019.

Mykonos, Aghia Thekla on Tenos, and Chosti Komiakis on Naxos have been interpreted as an attempt of the local elites to imitate mainland models[271].

The function of the Phylakopi settlement could be explained through an interpretive lens presented by Susan Sherratt's article on "Potemkin" palaces[272]. Sherratt argues that Mycenaean centres such as Mycenae, Tiryns, or Thebes displayed a superficial resemblance to their Minoan predecessors or contemporary Near Eastern parallels, but they lacked the latter's power. More pertinent to this issue, though, is Sherratt's view of the palaces not as territorial states but as "nodal points on an expanding network of long-distance routes stimulated by the demands of sophisticated urban centres to the east and south of them, and their success derived ultimately from the opportunistic (and temporary) control of coherent segments of such routes […] but over which they had little means (or apparently desire) to exert overall control"[273] (Fig 4.1). Crucial to this, then, was the supervision of these routes. The function of Phylakopi as a point of supervision of the network routes controlled by a palatial centre, and more specifically an Argive palace, fits in well with this model and explains: (a) the construction of the Megaron and the overwhelming presence of Argive pottery at the site, and (b) the total absence of mainland pottery during the subsequent Late Helladic IIIC period, as well as the gradual demise and eventual abandonment of the site during, at the latest, the Late Helladic IIIC Middle.

In a broader perspective concerning the conditions that prevailed in the Cyclades during this period, we observe an increase in the numbers of settlement sites and imported Mycenaean pottery, which, along with the adoption of other mainland features related to architecture and mortuary practices, underline the influence of the Mycenaean palatial culture over the islands, painting a picture of security and prosperity[274]. Despite the adoption of certain mainland cultural aspects, what is absent from the Cyclades is the determining features that characterise the Mycenaean palatial administrative society, such as writing and seals, as well as palatial art[275]. Moreover, our view of the social conditions of the Cyclades might be somewhat distorted since local wares have been relatively neglected by research.

[271] Schallin 1993, 94-108.
[272] Sherratt 2001.
[273] Sherratt 2001, 238.
[274] Mountjoy 2008.
[275] Earle 2012.

With respect to literary sources, no mention is made of the Cyclades. In Linear B tablets there is no reference to any Cycladic island, while the absence of the Cyclades from the Iliad's *Catalogue of Ships* is noteworthy, if we are to interpret this as any representation of historical reality[276]. One further absence comes from Egypt. At the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III at Kom el-Hetan, a list of Aegean regions and sites was inscribed on one of the five statue bases unearthed at the site dating to the early 14th century BCE and referred to by archaeologists as the *Aegean List*[277]. Although Minoan sites such as Knossos and Mycenaean sites such as Mycenae are recognised on this list, uncertainties remain

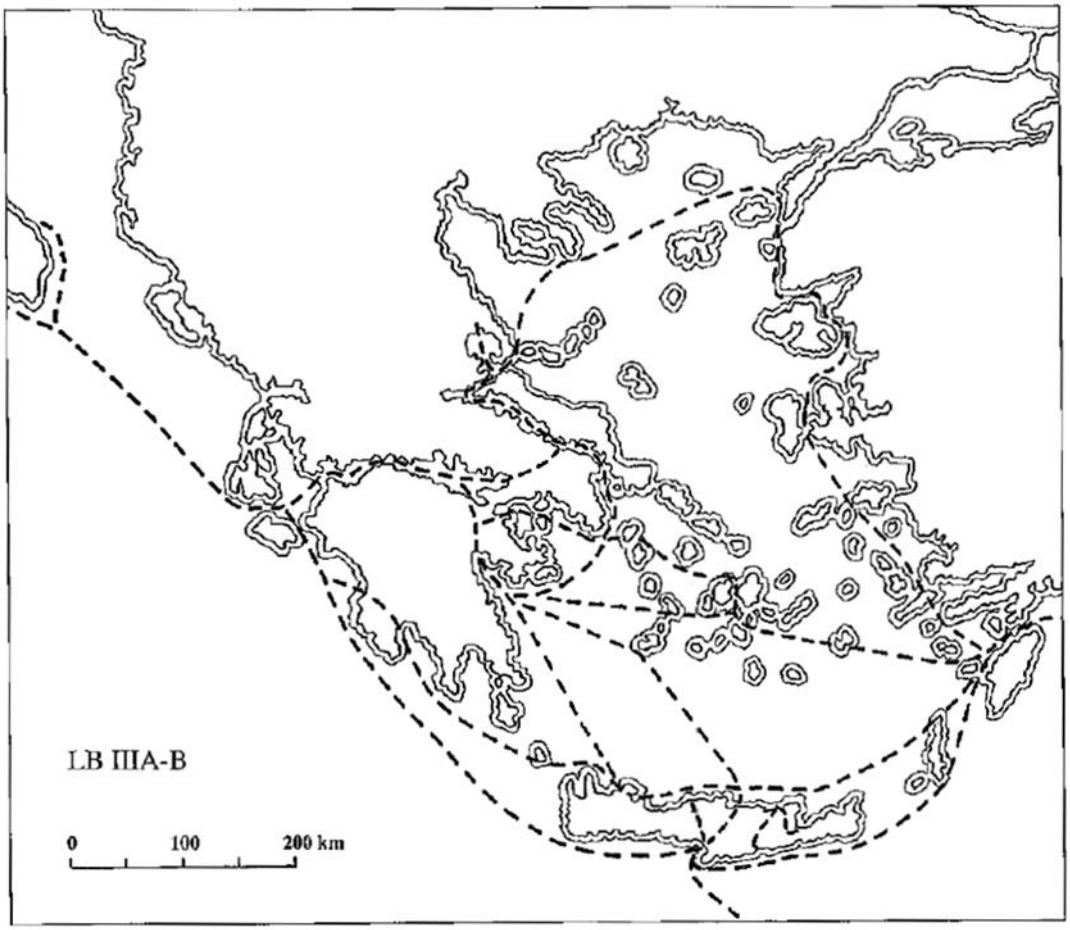

Fig. 4.1 Suggested route networks in the Late Helladic/ Late Minoan IIIA-B (after Sherratt S., 2001, 233, fig. 3).

concerning other Aegean place names and the type of interaction described. Regardless, what is clear is that no Cycladic island is inscribed on the base. The omission becomes more glaring after the mention of Kythera, an island between Crete and the Peloponnese. Whether the *Aegean List* refers to an actual voyage from Egypt to the Aegean as maintained

[276] Polychronakou-Sgouritsa 1988; Gounaris 2005; for a full bibliography on the debates about the *Catalogue* see Jasnow 2020.

[277] Cline and Stannish 2011; Cline 2014, 44-51.

by some scholars or is it of propagandistic nature, the truth is that the Cycladic islands are left out of the picture.

Even before the downfall of the Mycenaean palaces in the mainland, the general impression of prosperity and security had come to a gradual end. The number of Mycenaean imports to the islands was drastically reduced; Grotta on Naxos was abandoned probably due to natural causes; the fortification wall at Phylakopi was markedly reinforced while new settlements were founded on naturally fortified positions often protected with fortification walls such as Aghios Andreas on Siphnos, thus setting the scene for the final stage of the Mycenaean period in the Cyclades.

The Evidence

The nature of the evidence we have for the Late Helladic IIIC habitation in the Cyclades is diverse (Table 4.1, Fig. 4.2). The total number of sites identified is quite small[278]; nevertheless, the number of sites known from excavations, although many of them are small-scale or fragmentary in nature and early in date, seems proportionally bigger compared to other periods or regions. At the same time, the level of publication of the excavated sites is uneven. Few are sufficiently published (e.g. Koukounaries), some have preliminary publications (e.g. Aghios Andreas), others await full publication (Ayia Irini), while others are partially published (e.g. Grotta[279]). In addition to excavated sites, others are known from systematic or intensive surveys, and many Late Helladic IIIC sites have been recognised through surface finds or unsystematic surveys.

Site	Type	Evidence
Naxos		
Grotta (Naxos Town)	Settlement/ Cemetery	Systematic excavation
Aplomata (Naxos Town)	Pottery	Systematic excavation
Kamini (Naxos Town)	Pottery	Systematic excavation

[278] For a comprehensive and up-to-date catalogue see Samaras 2017. See also Schallin 1993; Mountjoy 1999, 861-965; Vlachopoulos 2008; 2012, 339-49; Vlachopoulos and Georgiadis 2015; Georgiadis 2020; Sanchez 2019.

[279] The material from the cemeteries has been fully published (Vlachopoulos 2006; 2012); the settlement material has been preliminary published (e.g. Vlachopoulos 2003a).

Palatia (Naxos Town)	Pottery	Excavation
Eggares	Pottery	Surface finds
Iria	Sanctuary (?)	Systematic excavation
Rizokastellia	Pottery	Surface finds
Mikri Vigla	Pottery	Survey
Sangri	Pottery	Systematic excavation
Cave Zaas	Pottery	Excavation
Lygaridia	Tomb	Excavation
Karvounolakkoi	Farmstead	Excavation
Paros		
Koukounaries	Settlement/ Cemetery/ Sanctuary (?)	Systematic excavation
Kastro (Paroikia)	Pottery	Excavation
Sklavouna	Pottery	Surface finds
Kea		
Ayia Irini	Sanctuary	Systematic excavation
Kalidonichi	Pottery	Survey
Siphnos		
Aghios Andreas	Settlement	Systematic excavation
Tis Baronas to Froudi	Settlement	Surface finds
Tenos		
Aghia Thekla	Tomb	Excavation
Melos		
Phylakopi	Sanctuary/ Settlement (?)	Systematic excavation
Kythnos		
Vryokastro	Pottery	Systematic excavation
Kimolos		
Ellinika	Cemetery	Excavation
Amorgos		
Xylokeratidi	Settlement/ Cemetery	Excavation/ Surface finds
Thera		

Monolithos	Settlement	Surface finds
Andros		
Episkopeio	Pottery	Surface finds
Makronisos		
Leontari	Pottery	Excavation

Table 4.1. Late Helladic IIIC Cycladic sites with indications of their type and nature of the evidence.

Evidently, most of the knowledge we possess on the Late Helladic IIIC Cyclades comes from the systematically excavated sites. Thus, shortly after its initial abandonment, Grotta was reoccupied at the beginning of the Late Helladic IIIC period when a second settlement was built above the old one, this time with a different orientation and protected by a thick fortification wall (Town II)[280] (Fig 4.3). In contact with the wall, a group of buildings came to light that have been associated with workshop installations. Among them, there is a ceramic workshop where a mass of kaolin clay was unearthed that derives from Melos. The corresponding cemeteries of the settlement, two clusters of chamber tombs, are located on the hills of Aplomata and Kamini at a short distance from the settlement, which contained numerous offerings including metal objects and exotica[281]. The site flourished throughout the Late Helladic IIIC period when it was abandoned probably due to natural disasters.

The excavations at the later cult sites of Iria[282], Sangri[283], and Palatia[284] on Naxos produced Late Helladic IIIC material. However, only Iria presents evidence for a cultic use of the site, on the basis of a stone *lekane* and a schist slab found below the floor of the Archaic temple. A two-room farmstead at Karvounolakkoi is associated with a looted tomb at the nearby site of Lygaridia; both yielded some identifiable Late Helladic IIIC pottery[285].

On Paros, occupation seems to concentrate on two sites: Kastro in Paroikia and on the hill of Koukounaries overlooking the bay of Naousa. While, for the former, only a handful of sherds that date to the Late Helladic IIIC have been identified [286], at Koukounaries, the excavator identified a two-storey building dubbed the "Mansion" atop the Upper Plateau.

[280] Vlachopoulos 2003a.
[281] Vlachopoulos 2006; 2012.
[282] Lambrinoudakis 1992; Simantoni-Bournia 2002.
[283] Lambrinoudakis et al. 2002.
[284] Vlachopoulos 2003b, 498; 2008, 482.
[285] Mountjoy 1999, 938; Vlachopoulos 2012, 348-49.
[286] Rubensohn 1917, 70-72.

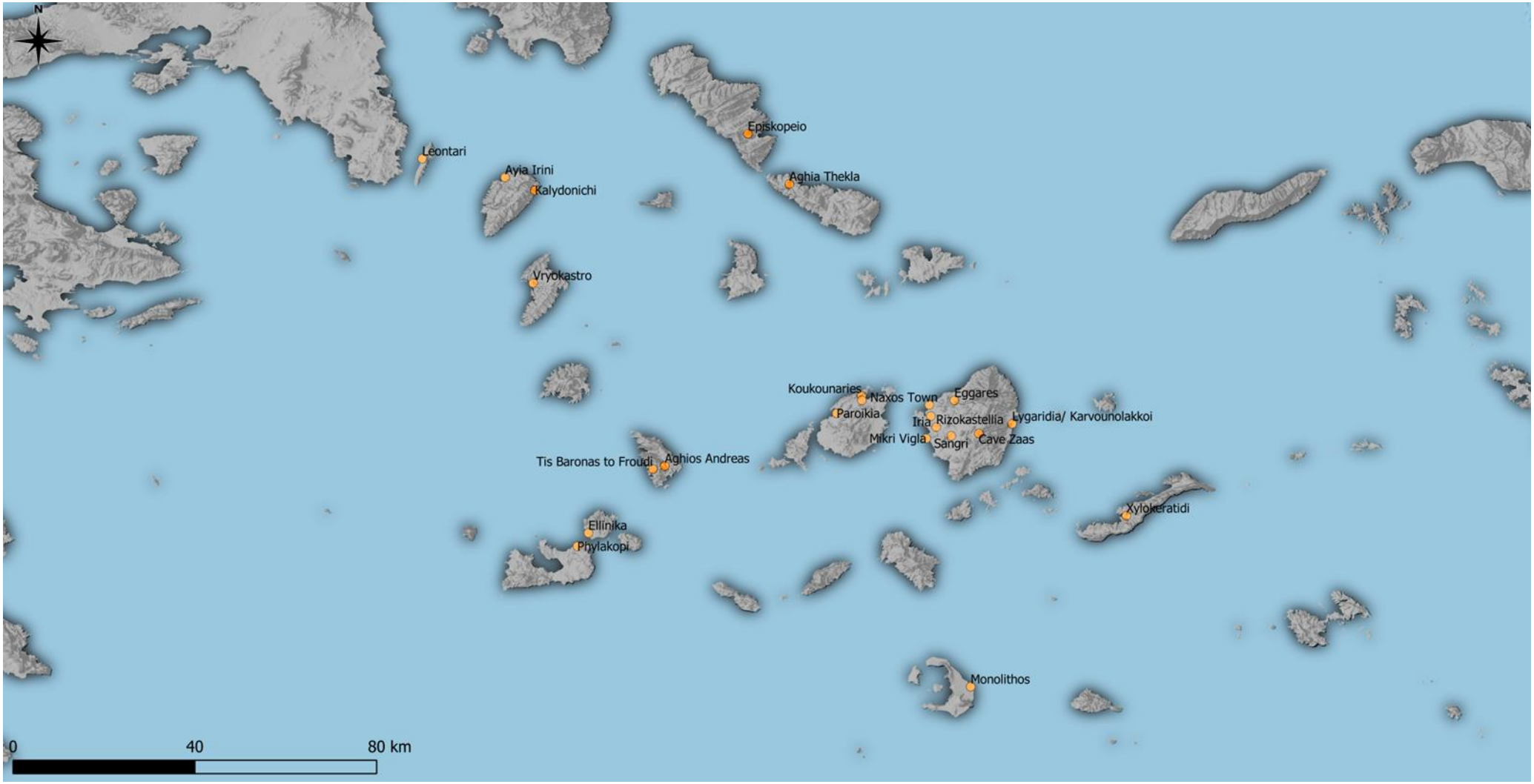

Fig. 4.2 Map of the Late Helladic IIIC Cycladic sites.

This structure was built during the Late Helladic IIIC Middle period, only to be destroyed shortly afterwards probably due to an external attack[287]. Evidence for such an event is provided by accumulations of burnt material and fallen stones that covered the whole structure and by the large number of human and large animal skeletal remains –including children– unearthed in various parts within the Mansion. Series of rooms situated along corridors render the Koukounaries Mansion reminiscent of Mycenaean "corridor houses", a possible interpretation of a common type of architecture at Mycenaean palaces, found mostly on the mainland and dating mainly to the 13th century BCE[288] (Fig 4.4). After the conflagration, the site was again inhabited by squatters sometime during the Late Helladic IIIC Late period[289]. In the valley below the hill, three overground, extensively looted tombs were located, further complicating the history of occupation at the site.

The settlement at Ayia Irini on Kea was founded as far back as the Early Bronze Age and was abandoned in the 14th century. By the Late Helladic IIIC period, only the sanctuary remained in use[290]. By contrast, at Phylakopi it seems that apart from the uninterrupted use of the sanctuary since the Late Helladic IIIA period, habitation was also continuous –although the archaeological evidence is scanty– until the final abandonment of the site late in the Late Helladic IIIC Middle period[291]. On Siphnos, two habitation sites are known. A fortified settlement occupies the hill of Aghios Andreas in the central part of the island[292]. Although there is no doubt as to the period of foundation of the settlement in the Late Helladic IIIB period and its use until the Late Helladic IIIC Early, a continuous habitation of the site throughout the 12th century remains doubtful[293]. A wall enclosure along with buildings and Late Helladic IIIC Middle Advanced and Late pottery are reported from the naturally fortified site of Tis Baronas to Froudi on the southwest coast of the island[294].

Monolithos, a rocky hill on the east coast of Thera, appears to be the only habitation site on the island throughout the Late Helladic IIIC period and the first since the 16th century BCE eruption that devastated the whole island[295]. Surface pottery dates mostly to the Late Helladic IIIC, with very few sherds dating to the Late Helladic IIIB2. On the south coast of

[287] Schilardi 1984; 1992; Koehl 2021.
[288] Koehl 2018.
[289] Koehl 2021.
[290] Caskey 1984.
[291] Renfrew 2007; Mountjoy 2009.
[292] Televantou 2001; 2008b.
[293] See Mountjoy 1999, 887-88.
[294] Papadopoulou 2019.
[295] Doumas and Warren 1979; Vlachopoulos 2007; 2008, 479-80.

Kimolos, at the bay of Ellinika, a looted cemetery comprised of chamber tombs was excavated that yielded pottery that dates mainly to Late Helladic IIIC Middle period with evidence of earlier use[296]. A small unlooted tholos tomb lies at the site of Aghia Thekla on Tenos[297]. In its interior, multiple burials were excavated. The latest took place during the Late Helladic IIIC Early but its primary use dates to the preceding period.

To sum up, despite the relatively small number of known sites attributed to this period and the even smaller number of sites that have been systematically explored, the evidence we possess concerning the type of sites and the nature of the evidence varies. Since the cemetery at Koukounaries produced no finds, the only important site that is known both from settlement and funerary evidence remains Naxos Town. Furthermore, the knowledge we can gain from cemetery contexts is limited to that from Naxos given that besides Koukounaries the tombs at Ellinika were also found looted, while from other sites only isolated tombs have come to light. By contrast, our evidence from sanctuaries is limited but well documented. From the sites not discussed in this section the evidence is limited to a handful of sherds, while for many Cycladic islands there are no indications of habitation during the Late Helladic IIIC period.

Settlement Patterns

A main characteristic of the settlement pattern in the Late Helladic IIIC Cyclades is that the majority of the sites are located on or near the coast (Fig. 4.2). Out of the 24 sites identified so far, 18 are coastal or very close to the coast. This pattern becomes even sharper after the Late Helladic IIIC Early since most inland sites show no traces of occupation in later periods. This is clearly reflected at Aghios Andreas at the central part of Siphnos and Aghia Thekla which lies at the slope of a mountain at northern Tenos. The former, founded sometime during the Late Helladic IIIB was inhabited until Late Helladic IIIC Early as demonstrated by the pottery published so far, suggesting a population movement, perhaps at the nearby Tis Baronas to Froudi. In sharp contrast, all the newly established settlements, like Koukounaries, Monolithos, and Tis Baronas to Froudi occupy exclusively coastal zones, while habitation was maintained at other coastal sites, including Naxos Town and Phylakopi. This seaward tendency clearly indicates the maritime interests of the island communities

[296] Polychronakou-Sgouritsa 1994-1995.
[297] Despinis 1979; Mountjoy 1999, 929-30.

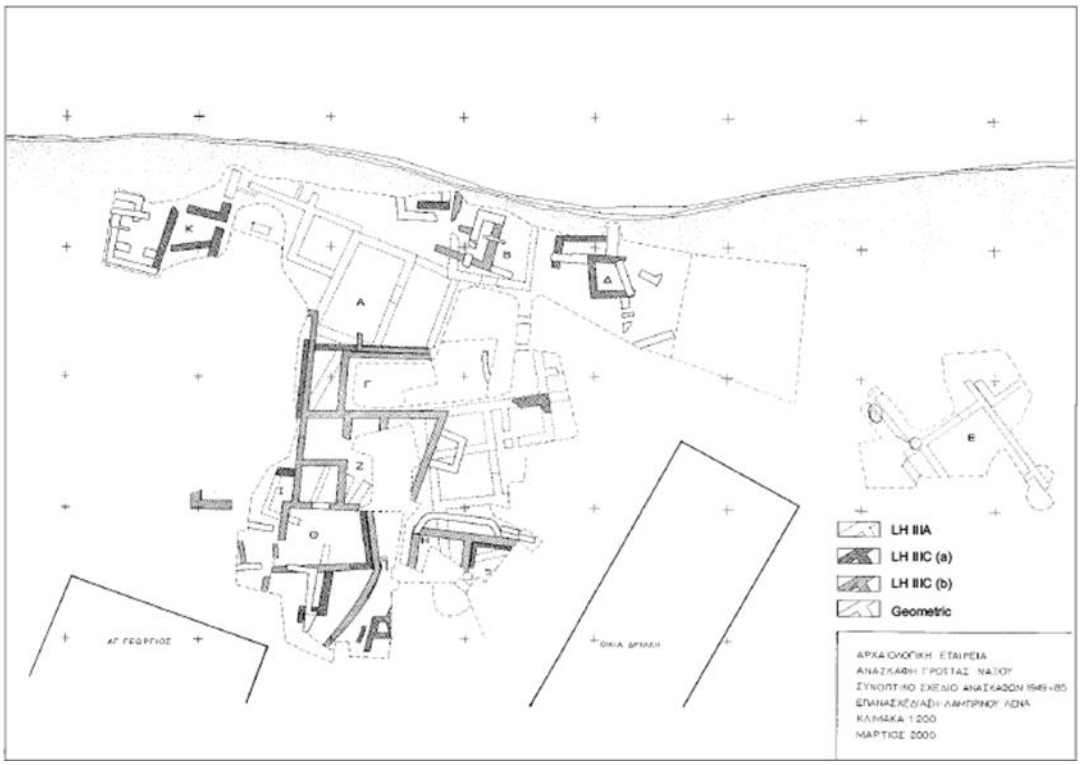

Fig. 4.3 Grotta, Naxos. The excavated area and the architectural remains (after Vlachopoulos 2008, 482, fig. 43.6).

Fig. 4.4 Plan of the Late Helladic IIIC Mansion on the Koukounaries hill, Paros (after Schilardi 1992, 630, pl. 3).

seeking their means of subsistence partly through interactions with other coastal settlements.

The size of the Late Helladic IIIC Cycladic sites varies considerably. The extent of Grotta, if the now submerged part of the settlement is considered, is estimated at about 3.5 ha; the hill of Aghios Andreas covers an area of approximately 1 ha; the citadel proper at Tis Baronas to Froudi occupies an area of about 0.18 ha, but architectural remains are also visible at the lower terraces along with pottery of later periods. Since the site has not been excavated yet, we are not able to know the extent that the Late Helladic IIIC settlement occupied. Also unknown to us is the size of the habitation area of Phylakopi in the 12th century up until its abandonment. To the contrary, the Upper Plateau of the Koukounaries hill, where the Late Helladic IIIC Mansion is situated, measures less than 0.1 ha.

Even though the vast majority of Late Helladic IIIC sites are coastal, a dual pattern in terms of their topography is evident, a phenomenon that Jeremy Rutter has called the "island settlement pattern"[298]. Large coastal settlements that occupy well-protected bays constitute the first type. It is this type of settlements that show continuity of occupation since they have yielded ceramic finds as far back as the early stages of the Late Bronze Age. Examples of this category are Grotta on Naxos and Phylakopi on Melos. On the other side of the spectrum, newly founded settlements occupy prominent and naturally defensive coastal hilltops or crags. In chronological terms, though, the establishment of these settlements does not coincide. According to the evidence at hand, Monolithos appears to be the earliest installation since part of the pottery collected at the site dates to the Late Helladic IIIB2, while Koukounaries and Tis Baronas to Froudi were inhabited sometime during the Late Helladic IIIC Middle. It seems then, although the sample we have is fairly small, that this movement towards coastal hilltop settlements started at a period of increasing unrest in the Aegean and was a process that lasted for about two generations.

It is true that the Post-palatial can be characterised as a period of mobility, although the scale, the intensity, and its nature has been a matter of dispute[299]. Concerning the Cyclades, most scholars agree that, during this period, the islands received an influx of population from the mainland, as a result of the disturbances brought about by the palatial collapse[300]. What is more, the term "refuge" has been ascribed to the newly established

[298] Rutter 1992, 68-70.

[299] E.g. Middleton 2018.

[300] E.g. Schilardi 1992; Deger-Jalkotzy 1998; Barber 1999.

settlements. However, for certain sites, such as Grotta, this claim for population movement should be dismissed on the evidence of strontium isotope analysis that confirmed the local origin of their respective populations[301]. On the other hand, for newly founded sites, some elements of their material culture could be attributed to newcomers. Such elements have been identified at Koukounaries, where the Mansion's plan is reminiscent of the "corridor houses", a type of mainland domestic building that is dated to the previous centuries, as do the building's pseudo-Cyclopean façade, faux-tower, and the shrine located inside its entrance[302] (Fig. 4.4). Moreover, part of the pottery recovered at the site, although of Late Helladic IIIC Middle date, closely resembles that of the palatial period[303]. These elements, reminiscent of earlier palatial cultural traits, have led the excavator of the site to conclude that it was settled by a group of people that migrated to Paros from the mainland[304]. Although more evidence is required, based on the material correlates at hand, the settlement of Koukounaries remains a candidate for a population movement from the mainland. For the other settlements of this type, an intra-Cycladic or an intra-island movement should not be excluded.

In terms of seaward mobility in the Cyclades, we need to ask if this is a localised phenomenon or if it is also manifested in other Aegean regions. Indeed, a similar pattern is also attested in Attica and Boeotia, and less explicitly in Euboea and Thessaly[305]. In these regions, this process is not manifested as much as by the establishment of new coastal settlements, but by the abandonment of most inland sites and the continuous habitation of most coastal sites. What is more, protection from hostile attacks seems to have been of considerable importance in these areas as is evident by the defensive capacity of a sufficient number of these inhabited localities. The narrow evidence from the Dodecanese suggests that, despite the absence of "refuge" settlement sites, both coastal and inland sites were preferred[306], a pattern similar to the southern Argolid where a sharp contraction in the settlement numbers has also been observed[307]. In Crete a different response of the local population is demonstrated through the establishment of highland, hard-to-reach sites[308]. It

[301] Nafplioti 2007.
[302] Schilardi 1984; Koehl 2018.
[303] Koehl 2021, esp. 163-65.
[304] Schilardi 1992, 633.
[305] Knodell 2021, 116-50.
[306] Vlachopoulos and Georgiadis 2015, 353-55; Barnes 2016.
[307] Runnels and van Andel 1987.
[308] Nowicki 2000.

seems then that, although not universal, this move towards coastal sites was shared by the Cyclades and a great part of the Greek mainland.

Most scholars agree that these two variables – seaward mobility and defensibility – served as the primary factors in Cycladic settlement patterning. This indicates, on the one hand, that maritime interactions, for instance trade or raiding, were actively sought after and on the other that the inhabitants prioritised protection from external, seaborne threats[309]. In support of this feeling of unrest and *martial ethos* is the depiction of ships and battleships on vessels that have come to light from various sites of the Post-palatial Aegean[310], such as Kynos, Kalapodi, and Bademgediği Tepe, coupled with other battle scenes from various Aegean sites[311]. Still, it is yet not clear if these scenes are supposed to be contemporary or whether they are meant to allude to a historical or mythological imagination.

With the dissolution of the Mycenaean palaces raiding seems to have played a significant role in Post-palatial life and should be envisioned as a social practice carried out by the local elites, since the construction and maintenance of ships would have been a costly undertaking, not to mention the risks that this practice involved. Moreover, these scenes do appear on ceramic vessels intended for communal drinking, a practice long linked to the expression of social status. It is then reasonable to assume that the actual practice of raiding or naval engagements in general was performed to maintain or even enhance social power, while the production and dissemination of visual representations of these practices were publicised to the rest of the community to celebrate these feats and their associated status. At this point, it is fair to note that this naval iconography was by no means an invention of the craftsmen of the Post-palatial period; rather, it appears in frescoes in certain Mycenaean palaces[312]. What is new, then, absent palatial art, is the medium employed for the depiction and the social context for the display of such imagery.

The notion of *martial ethos* is further reflected in the precedence of the "warrior burials": burials that, irrespective of the quantity and quality of the grave goods that accompanied them, are distinguished by the presence of metal weapons, most commonly a

[309] Schallin 1993; Thomatos 2006; Knodell 2021, 119-37.
[310] Mountjoy 2005; Dakoronia 2006; Crouwel 2007; 2009; Lemos 2018; See also Wedde 2000, 320-31; Petrakis 2011.
[311] Crouwel 2007; 2009.
[312] Wedde 2000; Petrakis 2011.

sword, spearhead, dagger or knife[313]. Interestingly, the majority of this type of burials has been located in areas where no palace had been previously developed, mainly in Achaia[314]. In the Cyclades, three warrior tombs are known from Naxos Town (from both Aplomata and Kamini cemeteries), most of them associated with Naue Type II swords[315]. The concept of "warrior burials" has been a controversial topic among scholars. Customarily, it has been taken for granted that the individuals buried in such graves had the identity of a warrior in life. They have also been interpreted as an attempt of a new social class, absent palatial social order and possibly of hereditary rulership, to obtain social power[316]. Some have also hypothesised that the deceased obtained the status of a political leader or held the title of *basileus*[317]. But the equation "warrior burials" equal burials of actual warriors has been met with scepticism by certain scholars. J. Whitley argues that the buried individuals need not necessarily be identified as warriors since this status might have been ascribed by others and not achieved and he concludes that Late Bronze Age "warrior burials" should be treated not only as metaphors of status and authority but also as part of a wider system of male identity[318].

Subsistence Strategies

The Cycladic environment is generally characterised by aridity and, with the exception of fairly a few islands, small patches of arable land create micro-environmental diversity. This means that the subsistence strategies of the local inhabitants had to be adapted to these specific marginal environmental conditions. Unfortunately, any attempt to reconstruct the subsistence strategies of the Late Helladic IIIC Cyclades is inevitably confronted with a number of obstacles, the most important of which is the almost complete absence of analytical data[319]. As regards the archaeobotanical remains, these are limited to the settlement of Phylakopi where cereals, grape pips and a large-seeded vetch have been found[320]. Again, from Phylakopi comes the most solid evidence concerning animal

[313] Cavanagh and Mee 1998; Deger-Jalkotzy 2006; Vlachopoulos 2012, 60-66.
[314] Deger-Jalkotzy 2006; Steinmann 2012.
[315] Vlachopoulos 2006, 98-99.
[316] E.g. Eder 2003.
[317] Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, 176.
[318] Whitley 2002a.
[319] In the Cyclades such studies have taken place mostly with respect to the Final Neolithic and the Early Bronze Age (see Broodbank 2000, 81-85).
[320] Renfrew 1982, 156-57.

husbandry, where sheep and goats are dominant, while fewer are the remains of cattle, swine, and equids[321]. A similar picture is also reported from the Late Helladic IIIC destruction layers of Koukounaries[322], while from Grotta there is evidence of swine sacrifice[323]. The preponderance of ovicaprids conforms well to the rugged terrain of the Cycladic islands that renders their breeding more suitable over other species. This view is comparable to evidence from excavations at Final Neolithic and Early Bronze Age Cycladic sites[324].

Apparently, the available evidence is not sufficient for a comprehensive overview of the subsistence strategies of the islanders during this period. Besides, it does not seem safe to extrapolate from an incomplete dataset, considering that these sites belong to different settlement types. Nevertheless, the location of the majority of the settlements on the islands' littoral coupled with the already limited grazing land available and the peculiar landscape of most of the Cyclades render large-scale pastoralism almost impossible[325]. What is more likely, then, is that the Late Helladic IIIC island economy was primarily based on agriculture, with small-scale livestock keeping playing a supplementary role. In addition to meat consumption, animal husbandry could also have been exploited for the extraction and production of secondary products, such as dairy products and wool. Even the location of the newly established hilltop settlements was chosen, beyond their defensive capacity and proximity to the sea, due to their adjacency to small patches of arable land that could support both crop cultivation and small-scale animal grazing (Fig. 4.5).

Since we are referring mainly to coastal sites, consideration should also be made to marine life as a complementary dietary resource. The only known marine remains are few fish bones from Phylakopi and few shells from the cemeteries of Grotta[326]. Since wet sieving was rarely practised in early excavations, the small amount of marine remains should not be taken at face value in any attempt to estimate the significance of fishing in the dietary habits of the islanders. Nevertheless, fish and seafood could only have constituted at best a secondary resource of food given the large amount required to meet the demands of a family despite its high nutritional value[327]. The paucity of large marine mammals in the

[321] Gamble 1982. It should be noted that these data relate to the entire Late Bronze Age occupation levels of the settlement. See also Winder 2007.
[322] Schilardi 1984, 200-01.
[323] Vlachopoulos 2003b, 496.
[324] See Broodbank 2000, 80-81.
[325] See also Halstead 1996.
[326] Gamble 1982; Vlachopoulos 2012, 57.
[327] Halstead and O'Shea 1982.

Fig. 4.5 View from Koukounaries to the Kamares Valley that surrounds the hill (left). Monolithos (red arrow) and its surrounding area (right).

Aegean Sea adds more to this view[328]. A fishing hook and few fishing weights from Koukounaries and the Grotta cemeteries respectively are indirect evidence for fishing[329], while further insight into fishing practices is provided by two vases from Naxos where fishing nets are depicted[330]. Equally negligible are the game residues from Phylakopi, confined to hares and birds[331]. An interesting find is the antlers of a deer from the storerooms of the Koukounaries Mansion[332]. Since the natural environment of the Cyclades could not support large populations of such mammals, such finds are considered imports from the mainland[333]. Strictly speaking, game residues are not straightforward subsistence but consumption of species that required greater effort to procure. Feasting then cannot be ruled out.

Storage strategies are considered crucial mainly for two reasons[334]. The first pertains to economic factors, that is for risk-buffering against bad harvest or crop failure or for stocking the surplus in order to use it for exchange. Given the environmental diversity of the Cyclades, social storage[335] (the strategy of giving surplus to neighbouring communities in want in the expectation that this action would be reciprocated in times when they themselves had suffered a crop failure) has also been suggested as a potential mode of

[328] Powell 1996, 4-35.
[329] Schilardi 1988, 202; Vlachopoulos 2006, 270-71.
[330] Vlachopoulos 2006, 116, 429.
[331] Gamble 1982.
[332] Schilardi 1984, 190.
[333] Trantalidou 2011.
[334] See Halstead and O'Shea 1989; Margomenou 2008; Lis and Rückl 2011.
[335] Halstead 1981; Halstead and O'Shea 1982.

interaction and risk-buffering with respect to the Early Bronze Age[336]. Similarly, the small size of the vast majority of the Late Helladic IIIC Cycladic settlements make social storage an alternative way of treating surplus or as a means of diversifying agricultural production[337]. The second reason embodies political connotations in that large-scale storage ability is often associated with power and the presence of local elites. From the settlements that have been so far excavated, no storage facilities have been identified at Grotta, the largest settlement of the period[338]; to the contrary, three contiguous basement storerooms were unearthed at the Koukounaries Mansion (Fig. 4.4) wherefrom a large number of storage *pithoi* and pithos lids is reported, thus revealing the ability of some members of the community to store surplus[339]. The storage capacity of the Koukounaries Mansion combined with its architecture, are clear indications for the existence of a ruling elite at the site.

Raiding should be envisioned as another means of risk-buffering against harvest misfortunes, although its role in the local economy and overall scale should not be overestimated. The logistics for the construction and manning of a sufficient number of ships is incompatible with the small size and population of these settlements[340]. Raiding, thus, was a small-scale activity and should be seen in the context of short-distance interactions that were essential for the survival of the primarily agrarian communities. As mentioned earlier, archaeological evidence for the practice of raiding and the overall *martial ethos* of the Post-palatial period is provided by the relevant iconography and the "warrior burials". For the region in question,

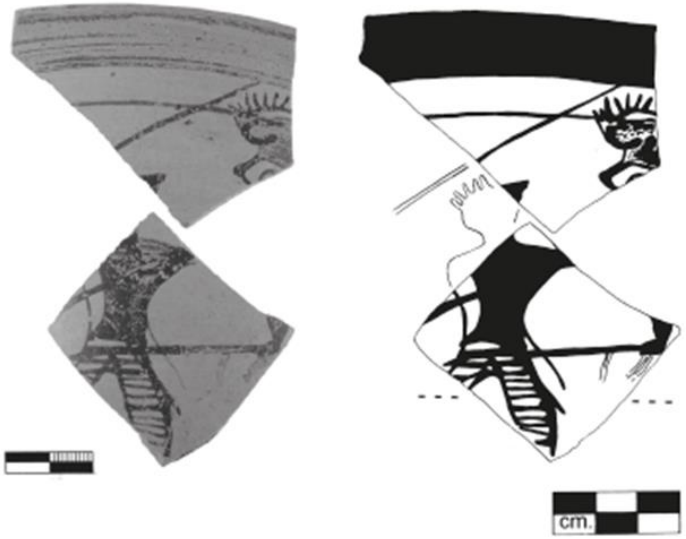

Fig. 4.6 Late Helladic IIIC Middle sherd from Grotta (Naxos Town) depicting a battle/ duel (after Vlachopoulos 2016, 130, fig. 7.15).

[336] Broodbank 2000, 84.

[337] For diversification, storage, and redistribution strategies in the Mediterranean see Horden and Purcell 2000, 175-230.

[338] Vlachopoulos 2003b.

[339] Schilardi 1984, 188-90.

[340] Dickinson 2006, 64-65.

in addition to the three "warrior burials" known from Naxos Town, the same has produced the only duel/ battle scene known from the Cyclades portrayed on a clay mug[341] (Fig. 4.6). Beyond these finds, the material signature of an actual event can also be attributed to raiding: the destruction of the Koukounaries settlement. This is suggested by the large number of stone projectiles found in various parts of the Upper Plateau, as well as the skeletal remains of humans and animals that came to light in the destruction layer of the Mansion[342]. If this interpretation, first proposed by the excavator of the site, is correct, considering that raiding should have been a short-distance mode of interaction, then the strongest candidate for waging the attack is nearby Naxos Town[343]. Raiding, then, fulfilled a dual role for the Post-palatial societies; in socio-political terms it was practiced to preserve or enhance the elite's social status, and with respect to the economy as a supplementary means of subsistence. The combination of agriculture and raiding as subsistence strategies and the dual function of raiding is not unique in the archaeological record and finds parallels in other, non-Aegean archaeologies, especially in small and decentralised societies[344].

Networks and Proximate Interactions

This section further considers the settlement patterns in the Late Helladic IIIC Cyclades in network terms. For that purpose, Proximal Point Analysis is employed, a method that connects each site with its three nearest neighbour sites. By design, Proximal Point Analysis pertains to interactions between neighbouring communities. It is, then, also related to the modes of subsistence described in the previous section. The map reveals that habitation is clustered mainly around three areas (Fig. 4.7). The first contains the islands of Paros and Naxos, and the second the islands of Melos, Siphnos, and Kimolos. A third cluster involves islands of the north-western Cyclades, namely Kea, Kythnos, and Makronisos, as well as the southern tip of Attica. This not by any means denotes that these areas should be regarded as closed systems; rather, that the interactions there should have been more intense.

[341] Vlachopoulos 2003b, 498, fig. 21.
[342] Schilardi 1984, 200-01.
[343] Cf. Schilardi 1984, 203. By contrast Vlachopoulos (2012, 341) claims that the destruction was the result of a devastating earthquake.
[344] Ling et al. 2018.

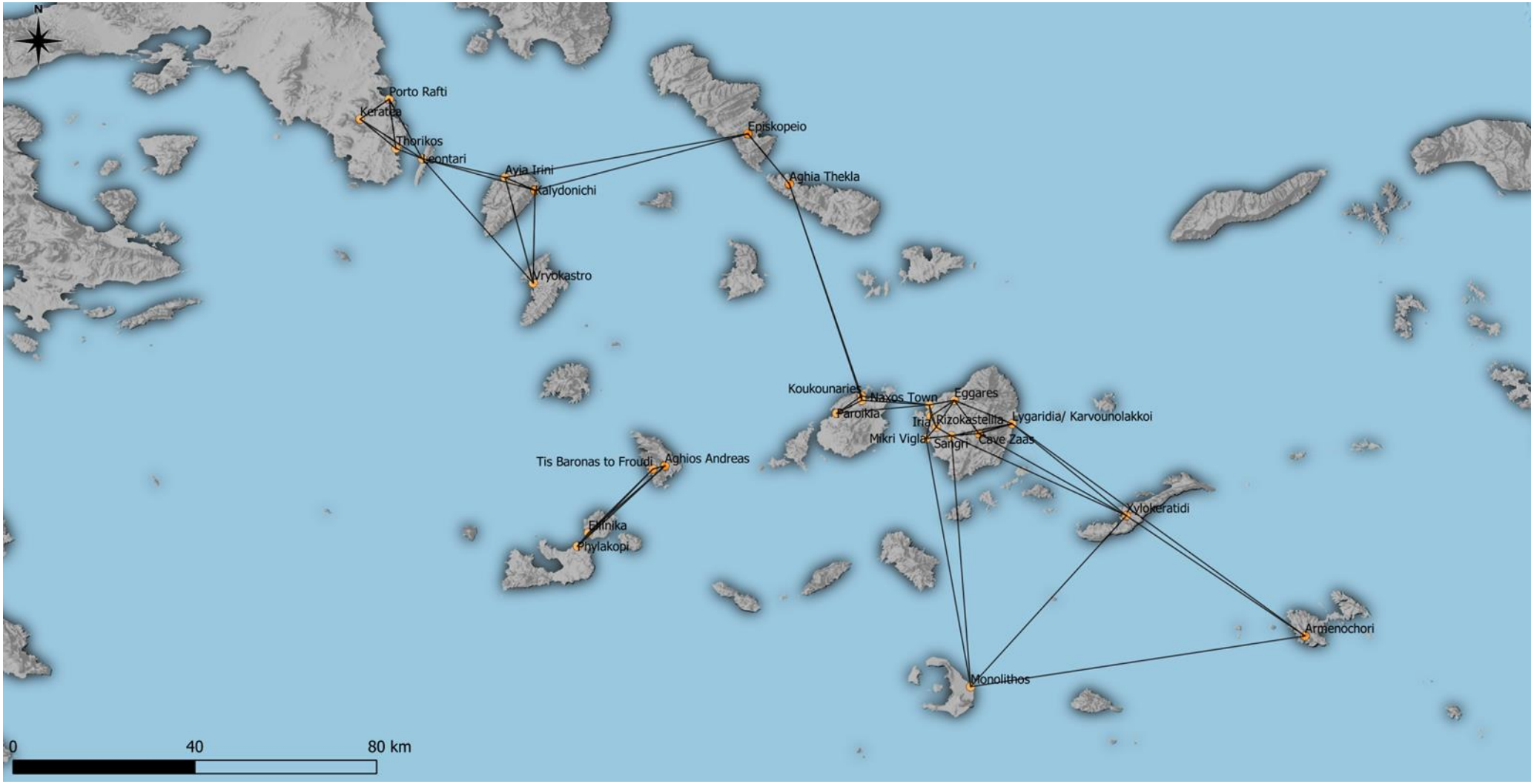

Fig. 4.7 Late Helladic IIIC Cycladic networks based on connections between at least three nearest neighbour sites.

By far, the most crowded cluster is that of the central Cyclades, which consists of no fewer than 12 sites. Furthermore, certain sites of this cluster are connected to the isolated settlements of Amorgos (Xylokeratidi) and Thera (Monolithos), the north-central Cyclades as well to the Dodecanese. The north-western Cyclades cluster includes seven sites (including those of southern Attica). Beyond Attica, the islands of the north-western Cyclades are also connected to sites in the north-central Cyclades. The cluster of the south-western Cyclades comprises the smallest number of sites (four) of all the clusters and presents the least connectivity among them, since it is not connected to any other cluster or remote site.

In the remainder of the region, habitation is quite limited and dispersed. The minimal traces of habitation and its almost complete absence after the Late Helladic IIIC Early on the islands of the north-central Cyclades at first sight seems surprising, given their size and their potential for agricultural production. This is also the sole area in the whole region –at least at those areas where habitation is archaeologically confirmed– where not a single coastal site is located. However, a closer examination of the habitation zones of their neighbouring regions reveals a very similar pattern in southern Euboea where a complete absence of habitation is also observed[345]. On the other hand, the Euboean gulf was an area with demonstrable interactions with the Eastern Mediterranean as evidenced by the large number of imports at Lefkandi in Euboea and especially at Perati in Attica[346]. This suggests that inter-regional interactions and access to maritime routes were not of importance for the sustainability of certain Cycladic communities despite their proximity to the Euboean gulf. This picture will change in diverse ways during the subsequent periods (see below).

Similarly, the total lack of settlements on the Small Cyclades, that is the islands south of Naxos, and one of the most thoroughly researched areas in the whole region after decades of excavations by the Greek Archaeological Service and other institutions, mainly with respect to the Early Bronze Age, should not strike us as particularly surprising. The small size and the limited carrying capacity of these islands are supplemented by the lack of habitation in southern Naxos. In other words, the prospect of local networking that allows for more proximate interactions is absent, limiting the opportunities for reproduction and occasional raiding as a supplementary means of subsistence, a necessity for sustainability of such small communities.

[345] Archaeological investigation in southern Euboea has been meticulous, see Keller 1985; Tankosić and Chidiroglou 2010; Cullen et al. 2013.
[346] Murray 2017, 85-94.

In the southern Cyclades, Xylokeratidi on Amorgos and especially Monolithos on Thera seem to be fairly isolated settlements. Their importance lies in the fact that they connect the Cycladic islands, and especially the central Cyclades, with two other regions, namely central Crete and the central and southern Dodecanese respectively. The few imports from Crete and the Dodecanese to Naxos corroborate this view. In network terms, Xylokeratidi and Monolithos' long-distance, probably less frequent interactions enable in turn connectivity between the Cyclades and other network systems exemplifying thus the *strength of the weak ties concept* (see Chapter 3).

Although the Cyclades were a region where no palace has been identified, the end of the palatial system in mainland Greece seems to have affected the dynamics of certain sites and areas. Phylakopi seems to have shrunk in size and to have been impacted in a negative way by the palatial collapse and, perhaps more directly, by the subsequent disruption of the network routes, since its role as supervision point was no longer necessary. A further indication in this regard is that the pottery retrieved from the Late Helladic IIIC layers of the site is almost exclusively of local production, as opposed to the previous periods when the vast majority of the pottery was imported[347]. This view is further corroborated by the small number of sites in the south-western Cyclades. The number of sites that make up each cluster is not without further consequences. Their large number in the central Cyclades, for instance, implies that there was no need for the local communities to cover greater distances in order to make the vital interactions for their subsistence. Moreover, these frequent and more intense interactions between a larger number of communities lead to different levels of complexity. Thus, the size of Naxos Town greatly exceeds all other Cycladic settlements and it continued to flourish throughout the Late Helladic IIIC, while the evidence from its cemeteries are suggestive of increasing social complexity compared to other areas in the region. What is more, if Iria on Naxos was indeed an open-air sanctuary during this period, it constitutes a rare instance of a site with specialised function in the Late Helladic IIIC Cyclades, although this would have served local cultic needs.

The network pattern indicates that certain areas were more advantaged given their location on important sea routes, enabling inter-regional interactions and agricultural production, especially on the comparatively arable island of Naxos. By this I do not mean that any of these sites exercised any regional or sub-regional political authority over the

[347] Mountjoy 1999, 888-928.

others. In fact, site size hierarchy in stateless, middle-range societies does not automatically imply or is the result of political centralisation, since other mechanisms may account for the differences in settlement sizes[348]. Indeed, for the Late Helladic IIIC Cyclades, there is nothing to indicate either regional political centralisation or exclusive access to resources or regional maritime networks. Rather, long-term aggregation and dispersal, differences in productive catchment, differential access to trade goods and inter-regional maritime networks, and the need for defence probably lie behind the variation in settlement sizes. Moreover, it is the function of each site that matters most when speaking of settlement hierarchies, not its size.

In the previous section, I referred to certain manifestations of power at the intra-settlement level. Evidently, the socio-political shifts and the implications of the collapse were more dramatic in the regions where palatial authority was previously exerted. In the Cyclades local hierarchies seem to have had already emerged during the previous period as evidenced by the Megaron of Phylakopi and the tholos tombs on certain other islands. Comparably, the chamber tombs on Naxos and the construction and storage capacities of the Koukounaries Mansion mark the presence of local rulership during the Late Helladic IIIC period.

Status negotiation is further reflected in another social action: feasting. The potential of feasting for status gain, maintenance or enhancement has been cross-culturally recognised, both in the Aegean and more generally in pre-modern societies [349]. As Floris van den Eijnde puts it: "Feasting closely reflects existing power relations. The symbolic capital that is created by investing surpluses for the purpose of a feast may attach itself to groups or individuals as a kind of 'credit rating' that can be used to exercise power […] In societies with articulated status distinctions but without formal rules to determine political authority, hosting a feast is an excellent means to attract power"[350]. In contrast with the previous period, feasting in Post-palatial societies took place outside of institutionalised frameworks[351]. The great quantities of fineware drinking and eating vessels in conjunction with other utensils, such as kraters and jugs, recovered from the Mansion's storerooms is indirect evidence of feasting at Koukounaries[352]. Commensal practices can also be deduced

[348] Duffy 2015.
[349] Dietler and Hayden 2001; van den Eijnde et al. 2018.
[350] van den Eijnde 2018, 8.
[351] For feasting during the Mycenaean period see Wright 2004.
[352] Schilardi 1984; 1992; Koehl 2021.

by the large number of kraters unearthed at the settlement proper of Grotta[353]. Among them is one of the largest kraters so far unearthed in the Post-palatial Aegean. The so-called "Grotta krater" (Naxos Museum 9655) with an estimated capacity of 100 litres was found above the floor of the ceramic workshop and there are clear signs of it being repaired, an indication that it was subject to repeat use[354] (Fig. 4.8). All these, point to a non-funerary use of the vessel but we are unable to know if it was used for religious or more convivial events. Nevertheless, it is suggestive of its owner's capability to host a large number of participants for the occasion, to demonstrate his status and to draw power.

Fig. 4.8 The "Grotta krater" (Naxos Museum 9655) (after Vlachopoulos 2006, col. pl. 9).

While these examples demonstrate instances of Cycladic commensality at the local level where leaders had the opportunity to display and distribute wealth, they do not offer any insight into commensal practices at the regional level in which elites from the whole

[353] Vlachopoulos 2003b.
[354] Vlachopoulos 1999.

region would have participated, a behaviour postulated for central Greece and particularly well attested at Kalapodi[355]. During its last stage of operation, the sanctuary of Phylakopi had already been transformed from a central cultic centre into a provincial sanctuary[356]. At Iria, tripod-cauldron and kylix sherds recovered lead to the conclusion that ritual feasting took place at the site[357], but this could not have involved non-local elites. Finally, at Delos, the island that would later become the major religious centre of the Cyclades, we find no traces of habitation during the Late Helladic IIIC[358]. Thus, sites that present any regional functional specialisation that would prefigure later social developments are totally absent from the Cyclades.

Overall, although at the current state of evidence we are not able to know if status was ascribed or achieved, the latter seems more plausible at least for "unstable settlements"[359], such as Koukounaries, while the continuous use of the chamber tombs at Naxos Town[360] is an indication in favour of the former. Whatever the case might have been for each settlement individually, Late Helladic IIIC Cycladic societies should be better described as minimally ranked at best and quasi- egalitarian, in the sense that status differentiation and leadership were situational and based on personal achievement[361].

The Bigger Picture: The Cyclades in a Wider Context

After first having examined the local and intra-regional interactions, let us now move to explore the interactions of the Cycladic sites with other Aegean regions and the wider Mediterranean. Initially, evidence of trade will be considered; then, interactions and, if possible, their nature will be examined through an affiliation network of sites/ regions and pottery decorative motives. To set the scene, let us briefly review the state of affairs in the Aegean in relation to the wider Mediterranean with respect to connectivity and inter-regional interactions.

To begin with, the old view that the Greek world was totally cut-off from interactions with the Mediterranean after the downfall of the palaces cannot be sustained

[355] Livieratou 2011; Knodell 2021, 134.
[356] Renfrew 1985.
[357] Simantoni-Bournia 2002.
[358] Only one sherd is attributed to the Late Helladic IIIC period (Mountjoy 1999, 931).
[359] Whitley 1991a; 1991b, 184-86.
[360] Vlachopoulos 2006, 89-91.
[361] Fried 1967.

anymore. It is true that the collapse of the palatial administration, not only in the Aegean but in the Eastern Mediterranean as well, brought about significant shifts in trade systems. Despite this, long-distance trade never came to a standstill throughout the 12th century BCE. What did change, absent palatial control, are the mechanisms of trade, and the available evidence suggests that the latter was now mostly conducted by independent intermediaries[362]. Furthermore, a recent re-evaluation of the evidence suggests that the decrease in traded objects during the Post-palatial period is the result of demographic change, rather than short supply[363]. The origin of the imports demonstrates contacts both with the Eastern and the Central Mediterranean, and despite the fact that their largest concentration is to be found in certain sites, such as Perati in Attica[364] and Tiryns in the Argolid[365], their overall distribution is fairly wide[366]. The finds at the aforementioned sites testify to their strong contacts with the Eastern Mediterranean, while elsewhere imports from Italy comprise a large part of the corpus. In addition to the Italian imports in Achaia (and western Greece in general) the large quantities of Achaean pottery that have been found in southern Italy combined with the locally produced Mycenaeanising pottery clearly suggest strong interactions between these regions[367].

The evidence of long-distance interactions of the Cyclades seems at first glance meagre. Indeed, the majority of the exotica unearthed in Late Helladic IIIC deposits are either considered objects of earlier date, found their way to later deposits through lateral cycling (e.g. heirlooms or antiques[368]), hence we are unable to unveil the mechanisms through which they circulated, or there is ambiguity as to whether they reached their destination as finished objects or raw materials. For others, their date of manufacture cannot be determined in exact terms. Two bronze male figures, representing the Syrian deity Reshef fall into the first category. Both were excavated from the sanctuary of Phylakopi and can be dated back to the 13th century BCE[369]. In earlier periods are also dated the ivory objects and the seal stones found in the Naxos' cemeteries made of carnelian stone and agate[370]. Interactions with the Eastern Mediterranean are indicated by pieces of

[362] Sherratt and Sherratt 1991; Murray 2017.
[363] Murray 2017.
[364] Iakovidis 1980.
[365] Maran 2004; 2006.
[366] Murray 2017, 85-94.
[367] Fisher 1988; Jung et al. 2015.
[368] On the distinction between heirlooms and antiques see Whitley 2013.
[369] Renfrew 1985, 303-07, fig. 8.3, 8.4, pl. 67-70.
[370] Vlachopoulos 2006, 305-16, 329-30.

jewellery from Naxos, since their technique and morphology are partly influenced by prototypes from the Syro-Palestinian coast, Cyprus, and other Near Eastern centres[371]. Initially, these pieces were considered imports from the Eastern Mediterranean[372], but later stylistic analysis has shown that they were probably locally manufactured[373]. Objects that could be counted as long-distance imports and whose dating range encompasses the Late Helladic IIIC period include a faience scarab and ostrich eggs from Phylakopi[374]; a carved ivory fragment of furniture inlay from Koukounaries[375]; as well as faience, carnelian, and agate beads and amulets from Naxos[376].

These assemblages offer the opportunity to make two important observations. First, the number of possible long-distance imports in the Cyclades seems small. But, leaving aside few sites both from the Greek mainland and Crete that can boast for high numbers of imported exotica, the number of imports in the Cycladic sites is in accordance with the numbers from the majority of the mainland and Cretan sites. Thus, the origin of the imports clearly suggests interactions, be they direct or indirect, with the Eastern Mediterranean. However, the islands, unlike other Aegean regions, were not part of the network of interactions with the Central Mediterranean.

Turning to the intra-Aegean circulation of pottery, the evidence of imports and exports in the Cyclades is heterogeneous due to the absence of data or publications for the majority of the islands (Fig. 4.9). Interestingly, no Cycladic products have so far been identified outside the region, with the possible exception of a Naxian stirrup jar from Kimolos[377]. Concerning imports, the pottery from Phylakopi on Melos, as previously stated, was of local production in sharp contrast to the preceding period[378]. Apart from Phylakopi, catalogues of finds have been published for the cemeteries of Naxos Town (Aplomata and Kamini) and the settlement of Koukounaries on Paros. The catalogue from Naxos Town cemeteries includes 330 complete or near-complete vessels and except for 22 imports, the

[371] Vlachopoulos 2006, 275-303.
[372] Higgins 1983.
[373] Vlachopoulos 2006, 305-16, 301-03.
[374] Renfrew 1985, 138, pl. 64a-b, 300-01, fig. 8.1, pl. 58e.
[375] Schilardi 1984, 188, fig. 3.
[376] Vlachopoulos 2006, 299-301, 319-20.
[377] Polychronakou-Sgouritsa 1994, 10.
[378] Mountjoy 1999, 888-928.

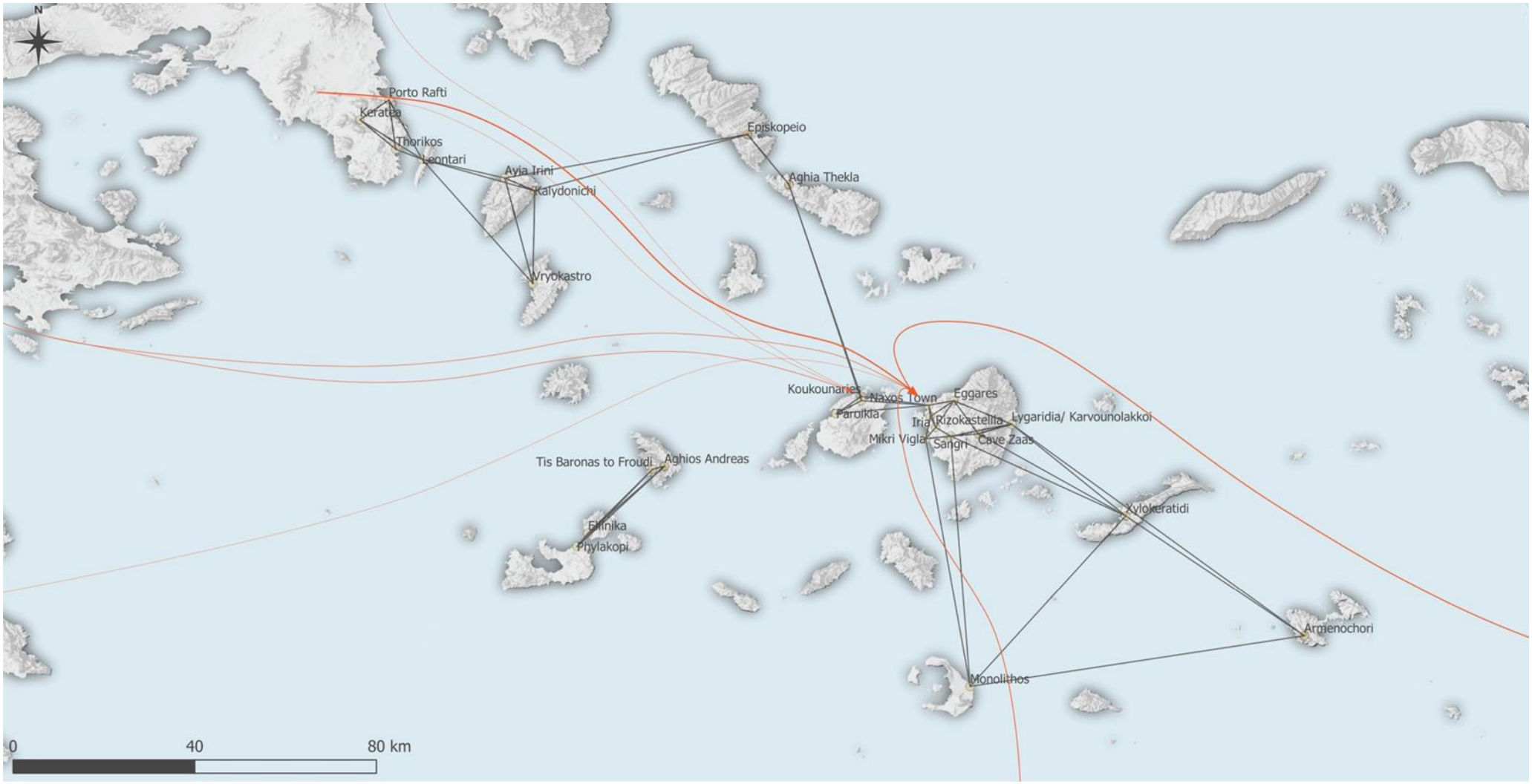

Fig. 4.9 Late Helladic IIIC Cycladic exchange networks. The size of the edges is directly proportional to the number of imports/ exports (weighted degree).

remainder are products of local workshops[379] (Table 4.2, 4.3). Their attribution to specific production centres was based mainly on stylistic grounds and macroscopic examination of the clay fabrics. Although the volume of imports is not overwhelming, the provenance of these vessels indicates interactions between Naxos and various Aegean regions, especially with the mainland, and secondarily with Crete and the Dodecanese. The very recent catalogue from Koukounaries includes 1201 sherds and a small number of near-complete vessels. The vast majority of the pottery is considered to be local of local production. Four vases have been identified as imports on the grounds of chemical analysis, all coming from the mainland[380] (Table 4.4). To these, two more pieces could be added which were not subjected to chemical analysis, but the macroscopic examination of their clay suggests that they were not locally produced. Somewhat oddly, no imports/ exports between the Cycladic islands have been identified so far. This is more pronounced by the absence of exchanges between Naxos Town and Koukounaries despite their close proximity. These two sites also differ in their exchange networks in that it is only the former that displays interactions with other regions other than Attica or the Argolid, but their number is too low, especially that of Koukounaries, to allow any further discussion.

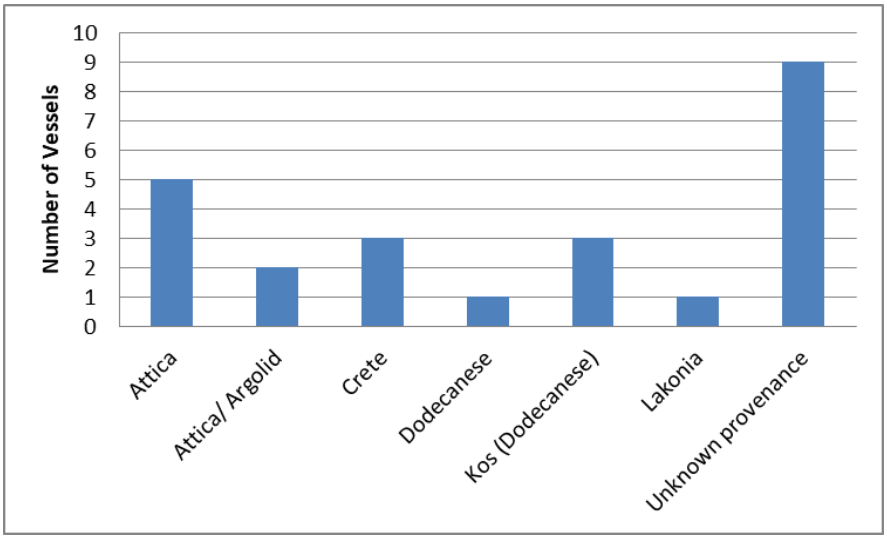

Table 4.2 Naxos Town, Late Helladic IIIC period. Source of imports.

[379] Vlachopoulos 2006. Two attic stirrup jars that have been found in the settlement of Grotta are also mentioned in the catalogue of imports. The finds from the latter, although not quantified, are taken into account in the present study.

[380] Koehl 2021, 163-65, 180-83.

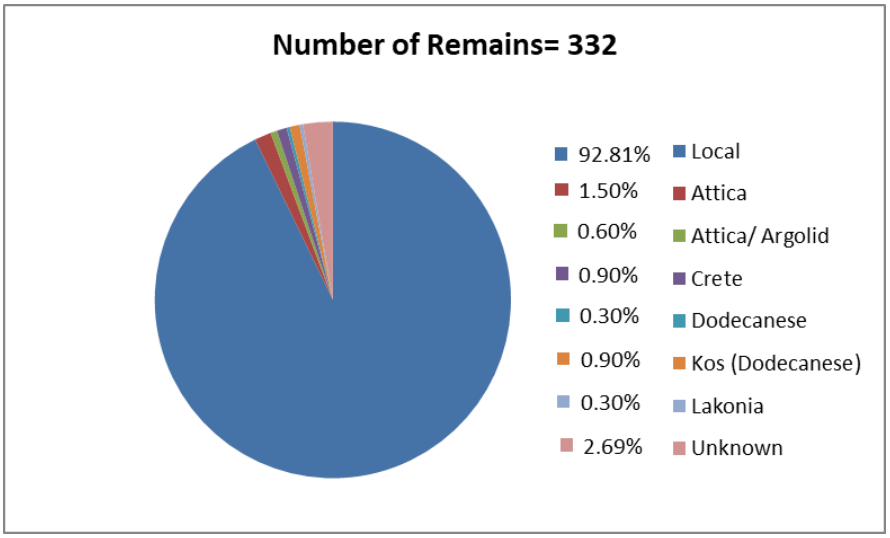

Table 4.3 Naxos Town, Late Helladic IIIC period. Origin of pottery.

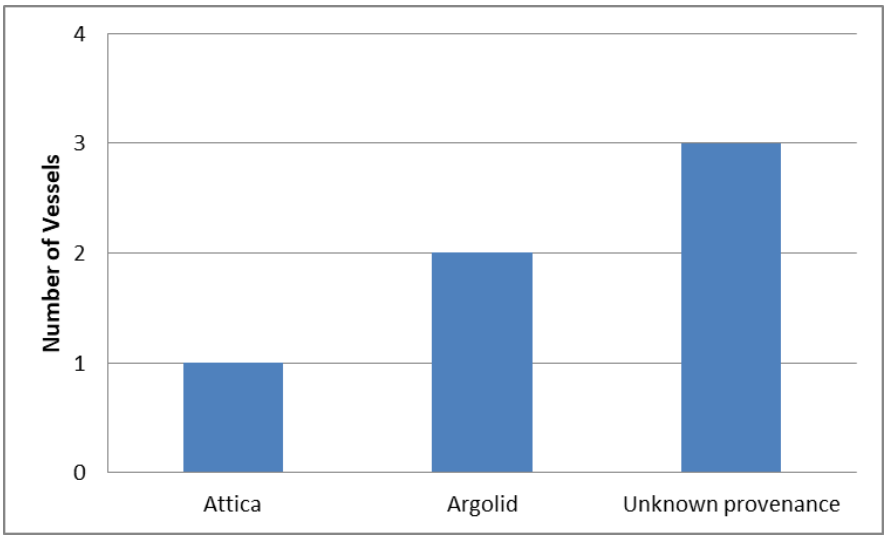

Table 4.4 Koukounaries, Paros. Late Helladic IIIC period. Source of imports.

Stylistic Networks

It was during the 1960s when Desborough in his *Last Mycenaeans and their Successors* first identified a "Small Mycenaean Koine" during the Post-palatial period, manifested, among other factors, through common pottery shapes and styles as well as similar burial customs. This *koine* was applied to a great part of the central and south Aegean as well as of the islands[381]. To a certain extent, this view was maintained by some

[381] Desborough 1964, 228.

scholars, but the discovery and publication of new material from various Aegean sites have called this perception into question and regionalism is now considered a defining feature of the Post-palatial period[382]. Nevertheless, similarities and influences in the material culture of different Aegean regions are certainly present. Along these lines, Mountjoy identified cultural *koinai* throughout the Late Helladic IIIC period[383], while Thomatos examined characteristic shapes and decorative motifs in order to identify geographical groups that share common features during the Late Helladic IIIC Middle[384].

In what follows, I will be exploring the interactions and the nature of them between certain Cycladic sites and other Aegean regions using stylistic similarity on pottery decoration and decorative motifs as an indicator of interactions between communities. The results will be tested against the settlement networks and the empirical data (exchange networks), while considering other factors that might have affected the distribution of style, such as geographical proximity or social processes. In order, though, to proceed with the analysis, I will first attempt a theoretical contextualisation on the issue of stylistic similarity on pottery decoration and the degree or nature of interactions between sites.

The issue of the relationship between stylistic similarity and interactions between different communities is complex and has occupied researchers working in different archaeologies and paradigms. Similarities between the material culture assemblages of different sites or regions have been traditionally used to draw inferences about the level of interaction among different communities. Style, in particular, remains one aspect of material culture that has been constantly employed by archaeologists working within the culture history framework as a means of identifying the level or intensity of interactions. The assumption that stylistic similarity is an index of site interaction has also become established in the archaeology of the Aegean, where a plethora of material has come to light, especially within the study of ceramics since the 19th century. This concept was criticised mainly on the basis that it treated style as a passive phenomenon disentangled from the beliefs or cultural systems of the people that both produced and consumed it[385].

[382] Deger-Jalkotzy 1998; Mountjoy 1999, 115; Vlachopoulos 2003a, 231; 2012, 382-87. Thomatos (2007) takes a more moderate approach.

[383] Mountjoy 1999, 41-58.

[384] Thomatos 2006; 2007.

[385] For reviews on the use of style in archaeology see Hegmon 1992; Shanks and Tilley 1992, 137-71; Sanz and Fiore 2014.

Within a processual framework, the information-exchange model formulated by Wobst to explain the distribution of style attempted to break the opposition between style and function[386]. According to this model, style does have function as a means of information transmission and index of social interaction in a sense that its distribution can be used to infer the interaction zones between individuals. The model's main weakness lies in that it does not take into account all the socio-economic factors that can possibly affect the flow of information and style distribution[387]. Plog questioned many assumptions that pertain to the relationship between stylistic similarity and social interaction[388]. He has also demonstrated the inherent problems in inferring material exchange on the grounds of stylistic similarity alone and proposed other factors that can have impact on the distribution of ceramic styles, such as socio-economic status, variation in the mode of ceramic production, and regional political and economic alliances[389]. Later on, these views were refined and stylistic similarity was seen as not always corresponding to the degree of interaction between sites but style was considered as an active agent of material culture, that "stems from human agency, can be used as a source of power to do things and over people and resources, and thus, having crucial effects on the social lives of those involved in the creation, circulation, and display of artefacts and structures fashioned with a particular style, operating within a particular context"[390]. Style, then, could reflect the need to strengthen community identities and to confer status within them. In this respect the work of Ian Hodder has been influential[391]. In an Aegean context, these views were explored by Morgan and Whitelaw who examined ceramic style as an index of social relations both within and between sites of the Argive plain throughout the Early Iron Age[392]. Also, Whitley examined the mortuary practices and social and stylistic changes in Early Iron Age Attica and attempted to explore the relationship between "artistic progress and changes in social behaviour"[393].

From an anthropological point of view, the work of Alfred Gell offers a stimulating avenue to interrogate how art objects came into being. In his seminal, *Art and Agency* Gell described the "social relations between persons and things, and persons and persons *via* things" and, through diagrams, he addressed the concept of agency and how *art objects*,

[386] Wobst 1977.
[387] Plog and Hantman 1982, 238-40; Hegmon 1992, 519-22.
[388] Plog 1978.
[389] Plog and Hantman 1982.
[390] Sanz and Fiore 2014, 7107.
[391] Hodder 1982; 1989; Hodder and Hutson 2003.
[392] Morgan and Whitelaw 1991.
[393] Whitley 1991a.

artworks, and *works of art* could be the outcome of the interplay between various actors exerting and/ or receiving agency, namely artists, recipients, indexes (the material entities motivating responses, in our case the fineware ceramics), and prototypes[394]. To elaborate, agency is certainly exerted by the man or woman who creates the art object. Even if we assume that the artist or the craftsperson is subordinate to another social actor, that is, the recipient of the art object, a certain level of agency still exists on behalf of the former. At the same time, the recipient or the consumer of the art object could also exercise agency in many different ways, be it through the subordination of the artist or conformity on behalf of the artist to the recipient's taste. Indeed, ethnoarchaeological studies conducted by Hodder in African societies seem to confirm this view, since they have shown that pottery decoration was frequently dictated by the consumers' taste[395]. Be that as it may, it is the reciprocity of both the artist's and the recipient's agencies, in other words the point where these agencies overlap, that cause the creation of the art object (Fig. 4.10).

For the purposes of the present study, ceramic style and more specifically, the decorative motives that appear on ceramics can serve as an index to detect interactions between sites. At this point it must be stressed that if, a motif appears in the ceramic production of two different sites, this does not necessarily entail that it could not have been invented independently. However, one of my assumptions is that the larger the number of motifs that appear only in two sites, the more likely it is that we can claim interaction between them. It should be emphasised, though, that similarities in some aspects of the material culture of two sites do not automatically imply that the whole population of the respective communities participated in this specific network of interactions. Rather, this would have involved certain sections of the communities. First, it is the artist who, strictly speaking, created the art object. Then, it is the recipients of the ceramic products over which each motif was drawn who accepted or exerted their agency in the creation of the object, apparently members of the aspiring elites[396], in an attempt to maintain or enhance status within these communities.

There is more than one reason that makes pottery suitable for exploring modes of interaction, especially when a regional approach is proposed. First, pottery is an extremely abundant piece of evidence created from non-perishable and non-recyclable materials. Also,

[394] Gell 1998.

[395] Hodder 1982.

[396] Throughout this thesis I use the term "aspiring elite" in Duplouy's (2006) sense, that is peers within the same community competing for status (see also discussion in the final chapter).

fineware pottery is probably the only category of material culture that can be so accurately dated, especially when compared to artefacts made of other materials, and the one that has been studied and published thoroughly enough, so that the resulting data are as much reliable and less biased as possible; and despite the rarity of analytical studies, the attribution of specific classes of pottery to specific workshops or islands or regions according to combined stylistic analyses and macroscopic analysis of the clay fabrics is relatively safe. Finally, it is the shifts in the cultural repertoire of the Aegean after the fall of the palaces and the demise of palatial art, especially that of wall painting, that render fineware ceramics one of the few media by which status could be displayed and agency to be communicated[397].

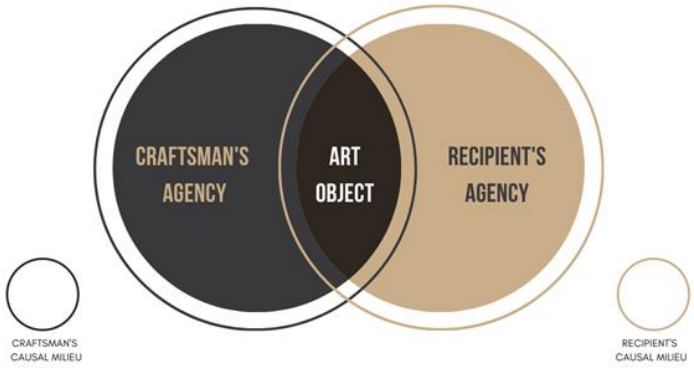

Fig. 4.10 The agents that cause the creation of an art object (adapted from Gell 1998, 38, fig. 3.8.1/1.).

Turning to methodology, I employ Social Network Analysis as a tool to examine the interactions between sites and regions. More specifically, an affiliation network is constructed with two sets of nodes, one representing sites or regions and the other representing decorative motifs and their variants depicted on fineware pottery (e.g. solid triangles and triangles with concentric arcs and dot fill are considered as distinct motifs), while the edges between them indicate the presence of each motif in each site and/ or region(s) (Fig. 4.11). The chronological range of the pottery network is limited broadly to the Late Helladic IIIC Middle, owing to the fact that the ceramic material from this phase with respect to the Cycladic islands is richer allowing thus for more secure comparisons since discrepancies caused by the temporal variability in motifs frequencies are avoided. Furthermore, the affiliation network is accompanied by a Jaccard similarity coefficient in order to better assess the similarities and diversities of the sample sets (Table 4.5). The Jaccard similarity is calculated by dividing the number of decorative motifs in two sets of

[397] To be fair, figured frescoes were also absent from Cycladic contexts during the preceding period, therefore the role of pottery in conveying status and agency must have remained largely unaffected for the island communities.

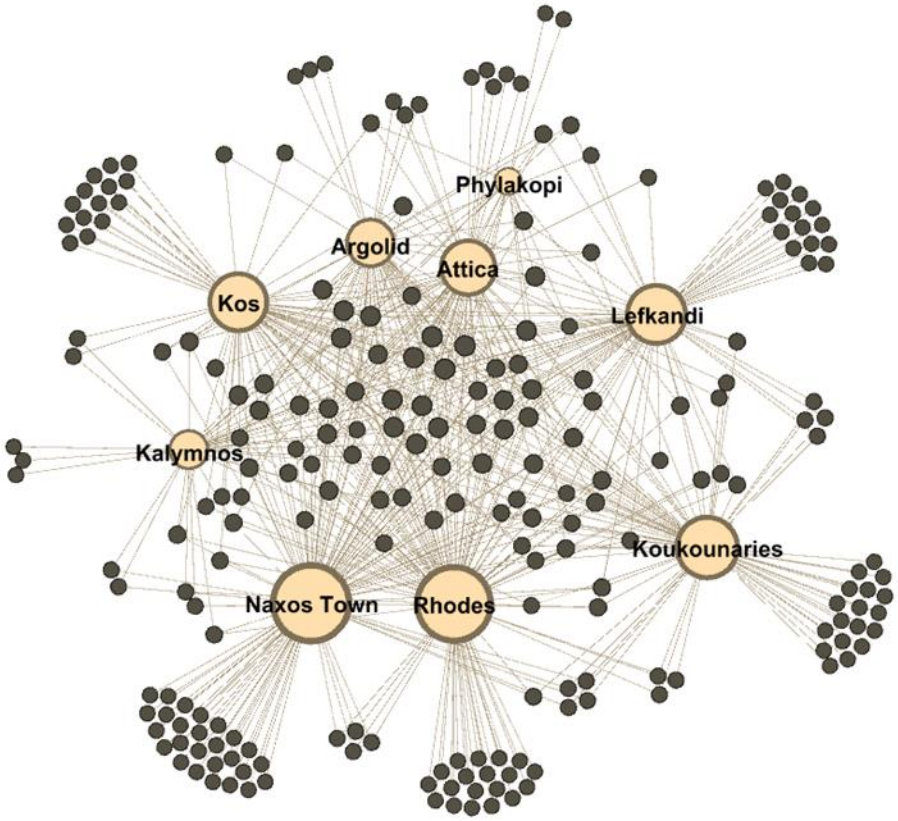

Fig. 4.11. Affiliation network between Late Helladic IIIC sites/ regions and pottery decorative motifs.

data (i.e. the number of motifs that appear in the ceramic assemblage of two sites or regions) by the number of decorative motifs in either set[398].

Primarily, for the construction of the affiliation network and the Jaccard index, calculation data were extracted either from site excavation volumes or published site reports that contain catalogues with a sufficient number of fineware, decorated ceramics[399]. These are supplemented by Mountjoy's *Regional Mycenaean Decorated Pottery*, which accommodates, although a secondary publication, an extensive number of catalogued vessels[400]. But before attempting to analyse the *hows* and *whys* of the network structure the limitations of the dataset should be stressed.

[398] Shennan 1997.

[399] Renfrew 1985; 2007; Kardara 1997; Vlachopoulos 2006; Koehl 2021; Evely 2006; Iakovidis 1980.

[400] Mountjoy 1999.

	Naxos Town	Koukounaries	Phylakopi	Attica	Argolid	Lefkandi	Rhodes	Kos	Kalymnos
Naxos Town	1	0.257	0.126	0.379	0.347	0.299	0.397	0.333	0.25
Koukounaries	0.257	1	0.113	0.286	0.2	0.325	0.301	0.221	0.157
Phylakopi	0.126	0.114	1	0.189	0.226	0.173	0.131	0.148	0.17
Attica	0.379	0.286	0.189	1	0.452	0.369	0.336	0.404	0.271
Argolid	0.347	0.2	0.226	0.452	1	0.344	0.314	0.337	0.297
Lefkandi	0.299	0.325	0.173	0.369	0.344	1	0.349	0.292	0.198
Rhodes	0.397	0.301	0.131	0.336	0.314	0.349	1	0.376	0.282
Kos	0.3333	0.221	0.148	0.404	0.337	0.292	0.376	1	0.314
Kalymnos	0.25	0.157	0.17	0.271	0.297	0.198	0.282	0.314	1

Table 4.5 Jaccard similarity coefficient of Late Helladic IIIC Middle sites/ regions and pottery stylistic features.

First, the sample from certain sites/ regions is not homogeneous in quantitative and qualitative terms. The former is the result either of lack of publications or the fact that the quantities of Late Helladic IIIC material recovered from these sites are often quite small. For that reason, sites/ regions that present a very small sample size will not be discussed in detail. Second, the context of the data differs among sites. That is to say, for some sites/ regions these derive mainly from cemeteries (e.g. Naxos Town and Attica), while for others from settlement contexts (e.g. Koukounaries). This could affect the analysis in two ways: (a) the use of certain motifs might had been selective and dependent on the context in which they were intended to be displayed, that is to say their symbolic value was confined to burial or settlement contexts, and, (b) certain motifs might have been displayed on shapes which are more common in a specific archaeological context, either cemeteries or settlements. With a view to drawing safer conclusions, (dis)similarities between data from cemeteries and settlements will be considered. A further implication relates to the size of the pottery itself in that the samples from settlement contexts are mainly constituted from sherds as opposed to those from cemeteries that are comprised of complete or near-complete vessels.

Finally, the chronological resolution of the dataset should be discussed. For many sites the chronological apportioning of pottery assemblages is more straightforward, allowing for better synchronisations and comparisons between sites. Indeed, this is the case for sites such as Perati in Attica[401] and Lefkandi in Euboea[402]. But this does not apply for other sites. For instance, the Late Helladic IIIC Early and Middle Advanced material from Rhodes cannot be separated stylistically and due to the lack of stratigraphic sequence these phases are treated as one[403]. In a similar fashion, the main occupation phases of Grotta are Late Helladic IIIC Middle and Late. Considering that the study of the material showed that

[401] Iakovidis 1980.

[402] Evely 2006.

[403] Mountjoy 1999, 985-88.

the differences in both pottery shapes and decoration between these two phases are negligible, they are also treated as a single phase, conventionally called the "Grotta phase"[404]. The material from Koukounaries covers the most part of the Late Helladic IIIC Middle period but the material from the Late Helladic IIIC Late is very limited and the motifs that appear during this phase are not included in this network[405]. Despite these uncertainties, the network structure presented below reveals some very interesting patterns that can be used to unveil the interactions exhibited between the Cycladic islands themselves as well as between the Cyclades and other regions.

For the visualisation of the pottery network, the graphing and network software Gephi was used and the ForceAtlas 2 layout was preferred because it places the nodes that bear more connections closer to each other, allowing thus the easier recognition of potentially connected sites/ regions (Fig. 4.11). The latter are represented by the bigger nodes (labelled, light coloured). The size of each node indicates its degree, that is, the number of motifs that appear on the ceramics retrieved from each site/ region. Small nodes (dark coloured) represent motifs and, similarly, their size indicates the number of sites/ regions they are connected to.

The total number of motifs and their variants that appear in the ceramic production of the areas under consideration and used for the construction of the stylistic network is equal to 226 (Appendix, Table 1). Of these motifs, 100 appear in only one site/ region and the remainder are shared by at least two. The network shows that the Cycladic sites formed part of the wider Aegean network at least in terms of shared stylistic features. However, the network also indicates that the range of stylistic similarities shared by any two given sites/ regions could vary significantly. On the other hand, the high number of features that appear only in one area or shared by very few, together with the relatively low similarity index of the features shared by two respective sites/ regions –the highest score displayed is 0.45 between Attica and the Argolid– seem to confirm the view that regionalism was indeed an integral feature of the Post-palatial Aegean.

The Post-palatial regionalism phenomenon in the material culture as opposed to the Palatial uniformity should be interpreted within the framework of the Late Bronze Age cultural and social milieu. First, it must be considered who consumed the fineware ceramics in each period respectively. For the Palatial period, we are unaware of the exact mechanisms

[404] Vlachopoulos 2003a.
[405] Koehl 2021, 127-30.

through which the fineware ceramics were produced, that is to say, if and to what extent the craftsmen were subordinate to the palaces, since the Linear B tablets are largely silent on this issue[406]. In any event, a fairly standard imagery was created that fitted the tastes of the palatial elites and was shared across the Mycenaean palatial world, evoking thus the peer-polity emulation[407]. This imagery was probably desired and imitated by the elites or aspiring elites in non-palatial regions as a means to associate themselves with the palatial elites for reasons of regional as well as internal status display and authority.

With the dissolution of the palatial system, the consequences with respect to the fineware ceramics production were twofold. The first and most obvious is that the demand for a standard imagery to suit the palatial elite tastes disappeared. Subsequently, absent a regional high authority, there was no need on the part of aspiring elites to imitate a specific decorative style. Second, craftsmen who now worked in a new socio-political environment were less restrained in expressing their agency. That is not to say that agency was not exerted by the recipients/ consumers of the fineware ceramics. What is now different, as evidenced by the archaeological data, is that the communities of the Post-palatial world were indifferent in associating themselves with each other through the use of specific symbols. In relative terms, we should imagine that the exercise of agency was now more evenly distributed by the social actors.

I now move to examine the patterns revealed by the affiliation network and the similarity index with respect to the Cycladic islands (Fig. 4.11, Table 4.5). Somewhat unexpectedly, Naxos Town displays lower degrees of affinity with the other Cycladic sites in comparison with other regions. Especially, the low similarity index in the use of stylistic features between Koukounaries and Naxos Town should be explained. This discrepancy becomes even more pronounced given that these two sites lie in close proximity to each other. But first, due to the fact that the ceramic assemblages of these sites derive from different contexts –that of Koukounaries from a settlement and that of Naxos Town from cemeteries– the biases of the dataset should be mitigated. As commented above, these pertain to the relationship between decorative elements and pottery shapes and between decorative elements and specific contexts. For that reason, a similarity coefficient is calculated for the range of shapes that have been unearthed at both sites[408] (Appendix, Table 2). The results show that from the total amount of pottery shapes recovered from

[406] Galaty 2007.

[407] Renfrew and Cherry 1986.

[408] Data extracted from Vlachopoulos 2006; Koehl 2021.

these sites about two-third occur in both (similarity index 0.66). Moreover, similarity indices in decorative motifs between Koukounaries and regions that have produced material mainly from funerary contexts, for instance Attica and Rhodes, are higher compared to Naxos Town. The same is also true for Naxos Town. Indeed, the Naxos Town-Lefkandi score –the latter a settlement site like Koukounaries– is higher compared to that between Naxos Town and Koukounaries.

Very recently, Helen Dawson reviewed the different levels of interaction between island communities and their possible effects in their material culture[409] (Fig. 4.12). The most widely applied concept in archaeology is that the more intense the interactions between two communities, the greater the degree of similarities in their material culture and vice versa. A similar concept posits that the greater the distance between two given communities the greater the dissimilarities in their cultural traits ("isolation by distance" principle). Dawson also argued that we should look not only into cultural convergence and conformity between communities but also into cultural divergence and that both can be the result of various factors. Especially for cultural divergence she argued that many determinants could have been at play other than geographical proximity and social distance, such as local conditions and the desire to set a community aside from others despite the presence or as a consequence of interactions between them ("divergence by interaction" principle).

With respect to Naxos Town and Koukounaries, the stylistic network is in agreement to a large extent with the exchange network. By this, I do not argue that these communities did not interact at all with each other. In fact, what is observed is that the Cycladic sites interact both with each other and with communities from other regions in many different ways, but their different networks of interaction do not always coincide. This is likely to have been the case between Koukounaries and Naxos Town. The evidence from the former site speaks in favour of a hostile attack (raiding) that was probably conducted by the community of nearby Naxos Town. Indeed, many years ago Hodder, demonstrated through his ethno-archaeological work in Africa that we can have increasing interaction between human groups (particularly when that interaction is “negative”– warfare rather than trade) that may not result directly in increased stylistic similarity[410]. What is more, the correlation of geographical proximity between sites with (dis)similarities in their material culture has been challenged by ethno-archaeological studies[411] and recent archaeological investigations[412].

[409] Dawson 2021.
[410] Hodder 1982.
[411] See Shanks and Tilley 1992, 140-41.

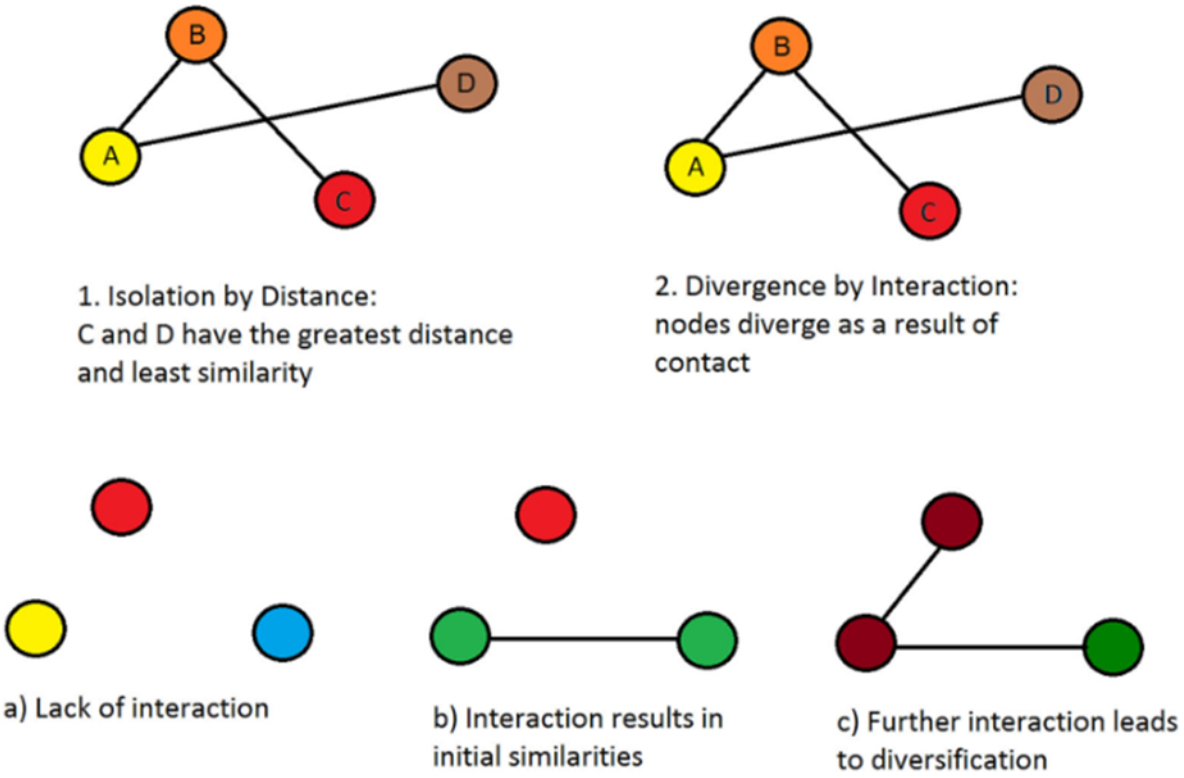

Fig. 4.12. Different levels of interaction and their possible effects on material culture (after Dawson 2020, 8, fig. 5).

This disparity, then, in the choice of motifs between these two neighbouring communities should be interpreted within the broader socio-cultural framework of the Late Helladic IIIC period as described above. First, the craftspeople were less restrained to express their agency. The archaeological evidence suggests that exchange in ceramics was not a common practice between these two communities, a type of interaction that could have led to stylistic similarity, while the absence of a standard imagery led to stylistic differentiation and the adoption of stylistic features that suited the tastes of the respective elites and could be seen as a means to distinguish one community (or sections thereof) from another.

On a larger scale, both methods suggest that the degrees of stylistic similarity between other regions and the Cycladic islands were divergent[413]. Naxos Town bears stronger affinities with the islands of the Dodecanese, Attica, and the Argolid. At the same time Koukounaries is stylistically closer to Lefkandi, Attica, and Rhodes. The dissimilarities in the pottery network between the Cycladic islands is further reflected by the position of Phylakopi in the network, highlighting its close ties to regions of central Greece, despite the

[412] Hart 2012.
[413] Cf. Thomatos 2007.

fact that the underlying ceramic data from the site is small. This echoes back to the "Palatial" period when the entirety of the pottery assemblage from Phylakopi was imported from the Argolid. The number of motifs shared by only two sites/ regions does not alter the picture. Indeed, the number of stylistic features shared only by Naxos Town and Rhodes is the largest in the entire network, followed by the shared motifs between Koukounaries and Lefkandi. By contrast, only a single motif can be attributed exclusively to both Naxos Town and Koukounaries. One is tempted to interpret the higher degrees of stylistic similarity between sites through the existence of itinerant or migrating craftspeople, a phenomenon well attested throughout the history of the Aegean and the Mediterranean more broadly, and one that fits with a period of intense mobility, such as the Post-palatial, regardless of its nature and scale[414]. Nevertheless, more evidence is required to further substantiate this view and to better understand the nuances and peculiarities within this dataset.

It has been demonstrated that the networks of interaction between different sites or regions need not necessarily to coincide[415]. The view from the Late Helladic IIIC Cyclades is not conclusive. Imports to Koukounaries are so few in number that no useful inferences can be drawn, although the imports from the Argolid do not correspond with the stylistic network, while there is no evidence for exchange with Lefkandi and Rhodes. In the case of Naxos Town, these two types of networks are to a large extent congruent. It can be argued then with a high degree of certainty that Naxos Town variously interacted with different Aegean regions, especially with the Dodecanese, Attica, and the Argolid.

Conclusions

In this chapter I aimed to describe the range of interactions that took place with reference to the Cyclades on multiple scales. Evidently, the transition to the "Post-palatial" was smoother in the Cyclades compared to other regions, simply because no palatial administration system existed on the islands in the previous period. In addition, if any population movements towards the Cyclades took place, this was small-scale and limited to a few sites. Nevertheless, the gradual demise of certain sites, and more specifically that of Phylakopi, should be seen as an after effect of the collapse. By contrast, the central Cyclades, and Naxos Town in particular, seems to emerge as a key area in the Cycladic

[414] E.g. Papadopoulos 2009; Lis et al. 2015; Kiriatzi and Knappett 2016.

[415] See Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997.

network dynamics. It is not only the size of the settlement that bears witness to its growing importance. The presence of overseas imports and iron objects, in addition to the exchange and stylistic networks, reveal that the site interacted with different regions, while at the same time the existence of the "warrior burials" suggest that Naxos Town formed part of the wider ideological network associated with this type of funerary practice.

In order to better understand the various processes at play during the Post-palatial period, the Cyclades were placed in their wider Aegean and Mediterranean context. For instance, the coastal movement observed during this period was not an exclusive Cycladic phenomenon, since it is also attested in various parts of the central and south Aegean, while, apart from a few nodal sites, the amount of imports identified in certain Cycladic islands is comparable to that found in most Aegean sites.

In each period, regions display different types of interactions and participated in different sorts of networks. Through the application of different network methods, I examined the interactions that might have taken place in the Cyclades both in the intra-regional and the inter-regional levels. The former pertains to more proximate, probably more intense subsistence interactions that could have taken the form of raiding and exogamy among others. The latter refer probably to less intense, long-distance interactions, for instance inter-regional exchange. The Proximal Point Analysis approach reveals that the most well-connected area and the area where the most intense interactions took place is the central Cyclades (Paros and Naxos). Also well-connected but with a smaller degree of proximate interactions are the islands of the north-western Cyclades, whereas a third cluster is comprised by the islands of the south-western Cyclades (Melos, Kimolos, and Siphnos). If we attempt to describe the network structure of the Late Heladic IIIC Cycladic settlements with regard to their proximity to one another a decentralised network emerges, where well-connected areas appear in different parts of the network, while the long-distance, weak connections of certain sites facilitate interactions with other regions.

The Social Network Analysis of the shared stylistic features reveals some very interesting patterns. Both Naxos Town and Koukounaries share similarities with sites/ regions of central Greece and the Dodecanese, mainly Rhodes. Naxos Town's networks of interaction are further confirmed by its exchange network that largely coincides with the stylistic network. The low similarity indices of the shared stylistic features between the Cycladic sites have been interpreted within the framework of the broader socio-cultural shifts that took place after the palatial system collapse. During the Late Helladic IIIC period

the Cyclades consisted of small autonomous communities and there is nothing to indicate the emergence of any regional political authority. Furthermore, the total absence of evidence for the existence of regional sanctuaries, especially at Delos, leaves no doubt that, during this period, no regional religious networks were at play in the Cyclades.

Overall, if regionalism is a characteristic feature of the Post-Palatial Aegean, this feature is even more pronounced in the Cyclades. Indeed, the only common feature shared by these island communities is the tendency for coastal living. In other respects, the different types of settlements and architecture, the dissimilarities in the artistic interactions, the absence of regional religious networks and political centralisation and the social diversity clearly indicate the lack of cultural unity among the Cycladic communities.

Chapter 5

The Protogeometric Period in the Cyclades

Following the Post-palatial period, the Protogeometric marks the beginning of the Early Iron Age proper in the Aegean. This period constitutes the earlier of the two sub-periods into which the Early Iron Age in the Aegean is divided, the other being the Geometric, so named following the art-historical tradition that favours the distinction of historical phases based on pottery styles. The Protogeometric spans a period of roughly two centuries (ca. 1050-900 BCE), which are traditionally subdivided into three phases: the Early, Middle, and Late Protogeometric (Table 1.2)[416]. Since the majority of Protogeometric material derives from cemeteries, with far fewer stratified contexts from settlement deposits, this division again based mostly on stylistic grounds that were developed to follow the Athenian sequence, primarily represented by material from the Kerameikos cemetery[417]. Regardless of the historicity supporting this tripartite division, it has been largely accepted by scholars of the Early Iron Age and remains the primary chronology for the period[418], although some scholars have stressed the fluidity and inadequacy of such stylistic divisions, especially for the Early Iron Age Aegean[419].

Traditional narratives consider the first centuries of the Early Iron Age in the Aegean as a period of stagnation, characterised by intense population decline, poor living standards, and increasing regionalism. Moreover, it is during this period that the contacts between the Aegean and the rest of the Mediterranean are considered to have reached their nadir. Taken together, these notions have led earlier scholars to attribute the term "Dark Ages" to the eleventh and tenth centuries BCE[420]. However, this period is also marked by major technological changes, especially in metal and ceramic production, resulting in the widespread adoption and development of iron technology and the invention of the Protogeometric style. In addition, while the old connections of the Bronze Age may have broken down, new network patterns emerged that accompanied with the contemporary

[416] See Lemos 2002, 3-24; Papadopoulos and Smithson 2017, 23-28. On the issue of whether the Submycenean constitutes a distinct historical phase see discussion in Chapter 2.
[417] Kraiker and Kübler 1939; Kübler 1943; Desborough 1952; 1972; Krause 1975.
[418] Lemos 2002, 3-24.
[419] Papadopoulos et al. 2011; Papadopoulos and Smithson 2017, 25.
[420] See Dickinson 2006, 1-9.

socio-political procedures prefigure later processes that culminated in the developments observed in the eighth and seventh centuries BCE[421]. This is not to say that the Protogeometric should be seen as a disruption from the preceding Late Helladic IIIC period. Rather, certain practices had already begun to unfold earlier and are well attested to the latter period.

The reason for the adoption of the iron technology in the Aegean was initially attributed to interrupted access to tin[422]. This, in turn, caused a shortage in available bronze and led craftspeople to turn to iron as a more readily available metal. This view has been questioned in the light of recent archaeological evidence, indicating that neither tin nor the resultant bronze were in short supply during this period. Instead, it seems that iron metallurgy spread to the Aegean from Cyprus. This offered the opportunity to exploit the abundant iron reserves in the Aegean, encouraging the use of readily accessible resources as opposed to long distance trade-dependent bronze[423].

The production of pottery during the Protogeometric period has received a great deal of scholarly attention, focusing on two primary arguments. One on going discussion concerns the place of origin of the distinctive Protogeometric style, including both vessel shapes and surface decoration. This question was first addressed with the publication of material from the Kerameikos cemetery in Athens[424], leading Desborough to claim that the Protogeometric style was considered an Athenian invention[425]. Ever since, priority over the invention of the style has been given to almost every region where Protogeometric pottery has been unearthed[426]. A second issue that received a great deal of scholarly attention concerns the analysis of vessel forms and decorative elements. Such a typological focus is well established within the confines of Aegean archaeology, and the study of Protogeometric pottery received the same treatment. This direction of research encouraged many scholars to focus their research on the identification of regional styles and their local variations[427]. These studies led to the notion of a ceramic *koine*, centred around Euboea and encompassing Boeotia, Thessaly, Phokis, east Lokris, Skyros, and the northern Cyclades, including the island of Naxos. The existence of a *koine* was originally expressed by

[421] Knodell 2021, 151-91.
[422] Snodgrass 1971, 237-49; cf. Snodgrass 1980b.
[423] Sherratt 1994; Waldbaum 1999; Dickinson 2006, 144-50; Knodell 2021, 171-76.
[424] Kraiker and Kübler 1939; Kübler 1943; 1954.
[425] Desborough 1952, 298-99.
[426] See Papadopoulos and Smithson 2017, 26-28.
[427] Desborough 1952; 1972; Snodgrass 1971; Lemos 2002.

Desborough[428] and it was later developed by other scholars, most recently with the work of Irene Lemos[429]. Since then, although the concept of a *Euboean koine* is well established among scholars of the Early Iron Age, it has experienced some challenges of late on the basis of re-examed ceramic material and the study of local dynamics and cultural developments[430].

Migration events, thought to have created the later linguistic and ethnic map of Archaic and Classical Greece, loom large in the narratives of the Early Iron Age Aegean, beginning with the narratives of ancient Greek historians themselves. According to the standard narrative, sometime during the Early Iron Age, population groups from different parts of mainland Greece migrated to western Anatolia[431]. More specifically, the "Aeolian Migration" would have involved the movement of communities from central Greece and the Peloponnese –primarily Thessaly and Achaia– to the northeast Aegean. By contrast, the foundation of the Ionian cities in west-central Anatolia has been attributed to a purported large-scale population movement almost exclusively from Athens, a phenomenon known as the "Ionian Migration". Related to these events is the so-called "Dorian Invasion" which pertains to occupation of the Peloponnese by the Dorians, who had traditionally inhabited the mountainous regions of northern Greece. From the Peloponnese, the Dorians were thought to have spread to the western shores of Anatolia and established themselves around the region of Caria.

Within this framework, the Cycladic islands were thought to have played the role of intermediate stopping points for the respective migratory populations, which could explain the diversity in the spoken dialects throughout the Cyclades. Scholars have put forth a great deal of effort in an attempt to offer an exact date for these semi-legendary events, which are often said to have occurred around the 12th and 11th centuries BCE. Even more, since firm archaeological evidence for such mass migration events has not yet been established, their historicity has recently been called into question by archaeologists[432]. With respect to the "Ionian Migration" this event is associated in archaeological terms with the appearance

[428] Desborough 1976.

[429] Lemos 1998; 2002, 212-17.

[430] Papadopoulos 2011; Donnellan 2017.

[431] Vanschoonwinkel 2006.

[432] For the Aeolian Migration see Rose 2008. For the Ionian Migration see Crielaard 2009; Vaessen 2015; Mac Sweeney 2016; 2017; Lemos (2007) does not reject the idea of the Ionian Migration altogether but she places the event in the Post-palatial period, immediately after the destruction of the Mycenaean palaces. See also Osborne 2009, 47-51; Kotsonas and Mokrišová 2020.

of Protogeometric pottery in a good many Ionian sites, most of which appears Attic. However, the volume of these assemblages is small to support a mass migration event, even though comparisons in absolute numbers with other wares for most of these sites remain lacking. Adding to this, no shifts are observed in the archaeological record related to the habitual behaviour of communities, like food preparation, which could support the arrival of migrant populations[433]. Hence, the concepts of mobility and interaction in the long-term are gaining ground as interpretative models responsible for the changes in the material culture of the areas under consideration[434].

In what follows, I will explore the settlement patterns and the continuities or shifts in the location of the sites throughout the Cyclades, as well as in social complexity and specialisation during the 11th and 10th centuries BCE. Moreover, changes in these network structures will contribute to our understanding of these network dynamics over time. The results and interpretations of these inquiries are considered within their broader Aegean as well as Mediterranean context. For the study of the proximate interactions, Proximal Point Analysis is again employed as the primary methodological tool. For other modes of interaction, I consider imports, particularly ceramics, to the Cycladic islands.

The Evidence

The nature of our evidence for the Protogeometric occupation in the Cyclades is more straightforward when compared to the Late Helladic IIIC period, due to the fact that the vast majority of the sites are known from excavations[435] (Table 5.1, Fig. 5.1). Thus, the number of sites known from surveys or surface finds is proportionally smaller compared to the previous period. Frustratingly, on many occasions the identification of Protogeometric sherds has proven to be a considerably difficult task, making in turn the identification of sites from surveys or surface finds either dubious or elusive. To further complicate matters, the most characteristic decorative elements on the fineware ceramics of this period, groups of concentric circles or semi-circles, continues to be used in the Cyclades during later periods. As a result, although certain sites, such as Aghios Isidoros on Kea and Aghios Spyridon on Melos, are included in the catalogue of sites, the nature of their occupation during the Protogeometric period remains unresolved.

[433] Cf. Yasur-Landau 2010.

[434] E.g. Rose 2008; Mac Sweeney 2016; 2017.

[435] Data retrieved from Samaras 2017 and the *Aristeia* project (http://aristeia.ha.uth.gr).

This introduces us to a wider issue concerning the Protogeometric Aegean: there is an absence of archaeological evidence for habitation in many regions on both the mainland and the islands for much of this period. Various interpretations have been proposed to explain this phenomenon[436]: (a) some large areas were indeed abandoned or their population was drastically reduced, (b) the population was nucleated at a few certain sites, (c) the material culture of the period consisted mainly of perishable materials that are not preserved to this day or the archaeological visibility of the material remains of the period is very low.

From the Cycladic perspective, this issue concerns mainly the Early and Middle Protogeometric phases, when clear evidence for habitation, in the form of burials, exists only for Naxos Town[437]. For the last stage of the Protogeometric Cyclades, the evidence is more straightforward, although the total number of sites is reduced compared to the Late Helladic IIIC period. Indeed, the very small number of sites identified through methods other than excavation suggests that there is a difficulty in the identification of archaeological material from the period in question. Even systematic regional surveys have so far failed to produce solid evidence for sustained occupation during this period. In addition to this, the striking absence of architectural remains, with the exception of Koukounaries and possibly Naxos Town, seems to confirm the low visibility hypothesis. Furthermore, the fact that only six of the fifteen Late Helladic IIIC excavated sites have yielded Protogeometric material is more suggestive of shifts in the location of the sites rather than drastic depopulation. Overall, the evidence for habitation we possess for the 11th century Cyclades is very limited, and it is during this time that a population decline could be supported. By contrast, the small number of sites during the Late Protogeometric can be attributed to a combination of the aforementioned interpretations.

Similar to the Late Helladic IIIC period, the level of publication for each of these excavated sites varies considerably. The vast majority are known from preliminary reports or are partially published, while others are very early in date. The burial record constitutes the main source of evidence for the Protogeometric Cyclades given the paucity of architectural

[436] For a full recent summary and discussion on the issue see Murray 2017, 211-38.

[437] Lemos 2002, 179-80; Two vases that date to the Middle Protogeometric, now at the British School at Athens collection, reportedly from Arkesini on Amorgos (Catling and Jones 1989) and an amphora that dates to the Early Protogeometric, now in Heidelberg, reportedly from Ayia Marina on Kea (CVA Deutschland 27 Heidelberg 3: Pl. 100.1-2) are not included in this study since the former were acquired through purchase and the latter's place of origin is disputed.

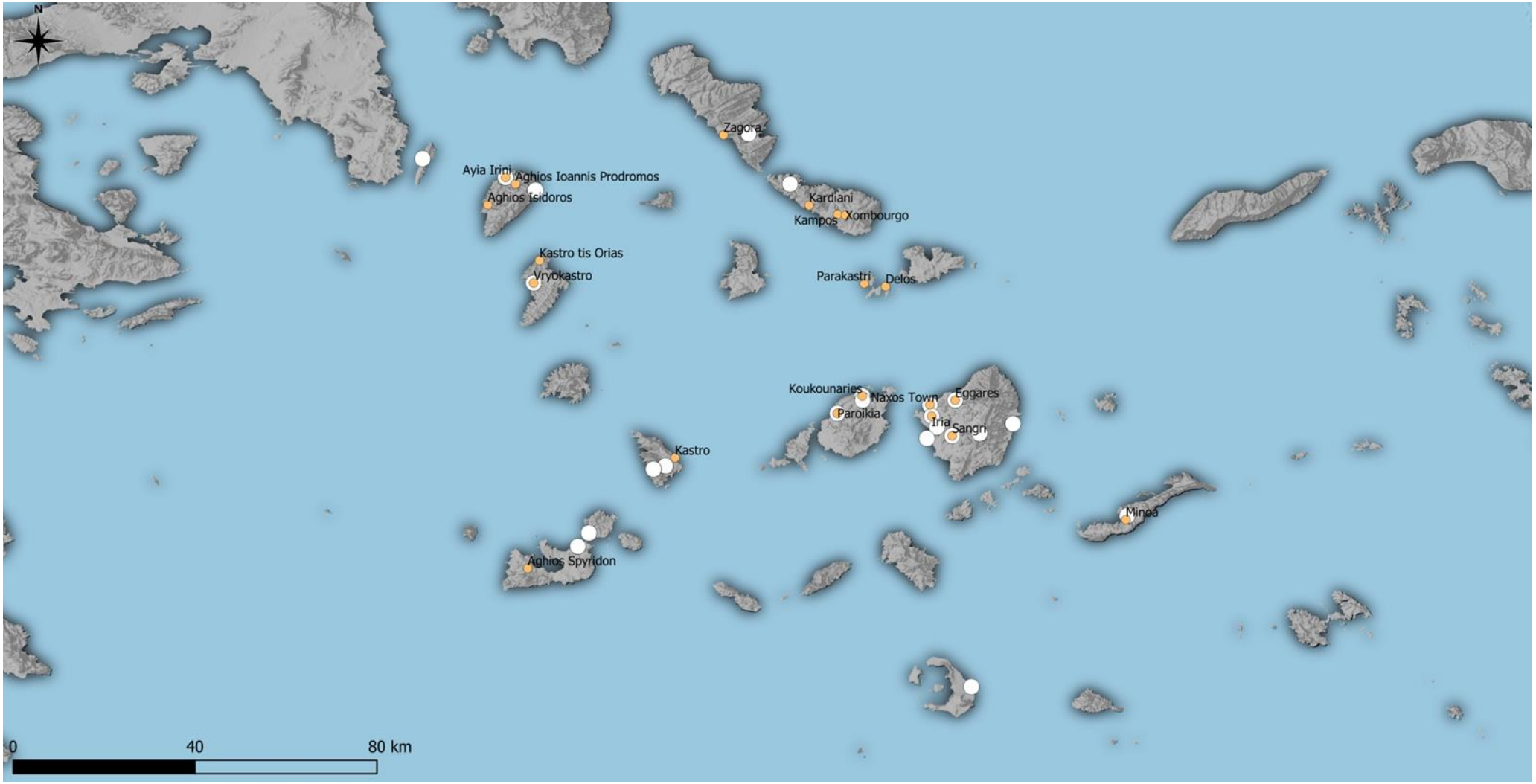

Fig. 5.1 Map of the Protogeometric Cycladic sites (white dots indicate the Late Helladic IIIC Cycladic sites).

Site	Type	Evidence
Naxos		
Grotta (Naxos Town)	Cemeteries	Excavation
Aplomata (Naxos Town)	Cemetery	Excavation
Plithos (Naxos Town)	Cemetery	Excavation
Kastro (Naxos Town)	Pottery	Excavation
Eggares	Pottery	Surface finds
Iria	Sanctuary (?)	Systematic excavation
Sangri	Pottery	Systematic excavation
Tenos		
Xombourgo	Settlement	Systematic excavation
Kardiani	Cemetery	Excavation
Kampos	Tomb	Excavation
Kea		
Ayia Irini	Pottery/ Sanctuary(?)	Systematic excavation
Aghios Ioannis Prodromos	Pottery	Survey
Aghios Isidoros	Pottery	Surface finds
Paros		
Koukounaries	Settlement	Systematic excavation
Paroikia	Pottery	Excavation
Kythnos		
Kastro tis Orias	Pottery	Surface finds
Vryokastro	Pottery	Systematic excavation
Andros		
Zagora	Pottery/ Cemetery(?)	Systematic excavation
Amorgos		
Minoa	Pottery/ Settlement(?)	Systematic excavation
Melos		
Aghios Spyridon	Pottery	Survey
Siphnos		
Kastro	Pottery	Excavation
Delos		
Delos	Pottery	Systematic excavation

Rhenea		
Parakastri	Tombs	Excavation

Table 5.1. Protogeometric sites in the Cyclades with indications of their type and nature of the evidence.

remains so far. Thus, two burial grounds have come to light in Naxos Town that cover the entire Protogeometric period[438]. The first (Aplomata- Plithos) is larger and extends over a longer period of time. The burial plots of Grotta are smaller but of interest considering that the graves are set inside small enclosure walls. Successive layers of fire indicate that rituals took place atop and in the vicinity of these graves. The corresponding settlement unit(s) has yet to be located, but scattered walls unearthed in the area have been interpreted either as funerary enclosures[439] or house walls[440] (Fig. 4.3). If the latter is true, then it should be counted as an instance of intramural burials, a phenomenon not uncommon in the Protogeometric Aegean[441]. The burial clusters at Kardiani[442] and Parakastri[443] on Tenos and Rhenea, respectively, date mainly to the ensuing periods, but a few tombs can be dated back to the 10th century BCE.

Regarding religious activity, Protogeometric material has also been unearthed at the sites of Iria and Sangri, but any cultic function of these sites at this time is difficult to establish[444]. The same should be postulated for Ayia Irini on Kea[445]. At Xombourgo on Tenos, Protogeometric sherds were found scattered in the area of an open-air sanctuary, probably dedicated to an ancestral cult, but we lack the evidence to prove the beginnings of the cult in this period[446]. Burial or architectural remains associated with the contemporary settlement have not been identified to date, with the possible exception of a fortification wall.

At Zagora on Andros, a few excavated sherds and two nearby tombs have been associated with the earliest period of occupation[447], while the scarcity of the finds at the excavated sites of Minoa, Kastro, Vryokastro, and Paroikia on Amorgos, Siphnos, Kythnos,

[438] Lemos 2002, 179-80.
[439] Lambrinoudakis 1988.
[440] Mazarakis Ainian 2007-2008.
[441] Mazarakis Ainian 2007-2008.
[442] Levi 1925.
[443] Stavropoulos 1900.
[444] Simantoni-Bournia 2001; 2002; 2015.
[445] Caskey 1964.
[446] Kourou 2001a; 2011; 2015.
[447] Cambitoglou et al. 1971; Cambitoglou 1981; Beaumont et al. 2012.

and Paros respectively, prohibits further analysis for the character of these early installations. More promising is the evidence from Koukounaries, where the hill continues to be occupied during this period[448] (Fig. 5.2). This is the only Cycladic site where residential remains have been identified with some certainty that date to the late 10th/ early 9th century BCE. From the sites not discussed in this section, evidence is restricted to a handful of sherds, while for the remainder of the islands there are no indications of habitation during the Protogeometric period.

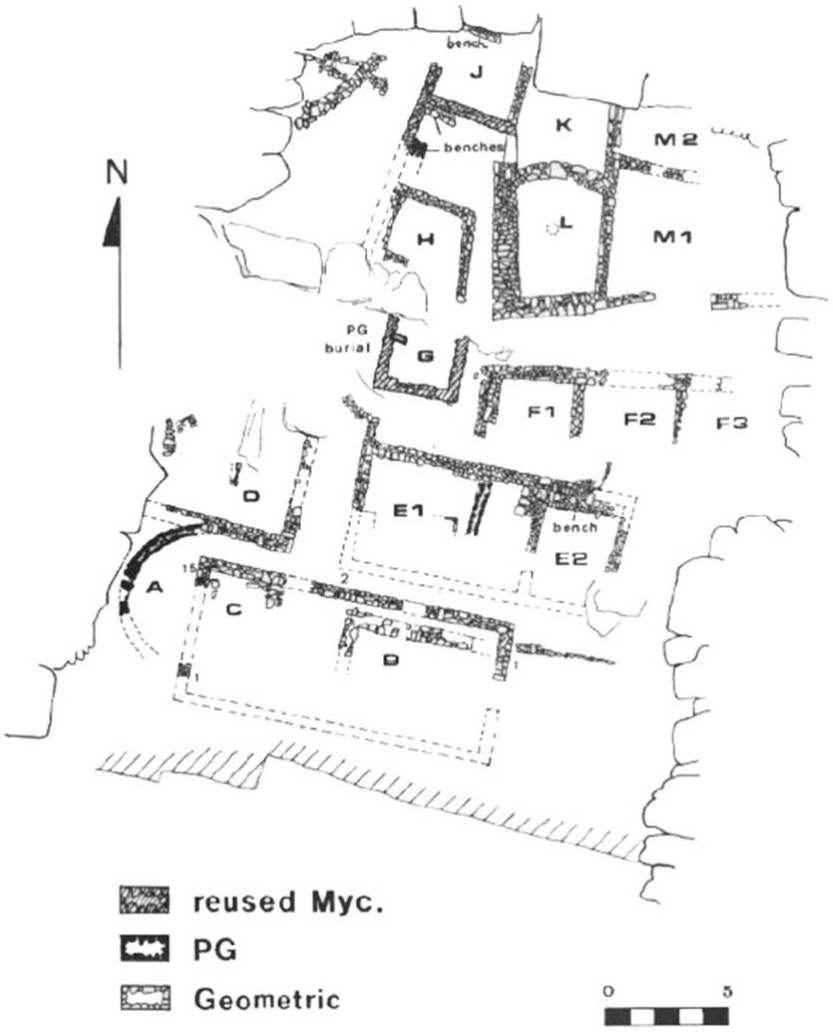

Fig. 5.2 Koukounaries, Paros. Plan of the Early Iron Age buildings on the Upper Plateau (after Mazarakis Ainian 1997, fig. 321).

[448] Schilardi 1983; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 82-83.

Settlement Patterns

The relatively small number of recorded Protogeometric settlements can be explained by the low archaeological visibility of cultural material from this period. Like the Late Helladic IIIC period, the majority of known sites are located on or near the coast. However, in constrast to Late Helladic IIIC settlement patterning, some of these newly established coastal sites, such as Parakastri on Rheneia and Delos, are located at low-lying positions. Nevertheless, habitation at some naturally defensive coastal hilltops first occupied during Late Helladic IIIC continued, while mountain or hill slopes and easily defensible promontories were also preferred as habitation locations. Zagora on Andros and Minoa on Amorgos serve as typical examples of this behaviour. A noticeable difference compared to the previous period is the establishment of a few inland sites, such as Xombourgo and Kampos on Tenos and Aghios Ioannis on Kea. The occupation of inland sites, especially the case of Xombourgo, can be interpreted as an attempt to prioritise and facilitate the exploitation of the fertile hinterlands on these islands.

The most remarkable feature regarding the Protogeometric habitation in the Cyclades is the change in the location of the settlements. Of the 24 sites that have been identified in the Late Helladic IIIC, only nine continue to be occupied in the following period and in fact six of them are located in the central Cyclades (Paros and Naxos) (Fig. 5.1). Therefore, more than half of the known Protogeometric sites appear as new foundations during this period. As with the previous period, most sites are found on Naxos, but now they are fewer and confined to the western part of the island. Moreover, all of them continue from the previous period. Paros presents a similar picture with the continuous habitation of Koukounaries and Paroikia. These two are the only inhabited islands during the Protogeometric, together with Melos, where no new installations were founded. By contrast, this is the period when habitation on Delos and neighbouring Rhenea can be postulated with certainty, although for the former the meagre evidence does not allow any further comments regarding the character, regularity, or duration of this occupation. Tenos presents more intense traces of habitation in relation to the Late Helladic IIIC with the establishment of three inland sites. The same number of sites we find on Kea, where the site of Ayia Irini bears traces of occupation during this period, but its function as a sanctuary is uncertain since more solid evidence is required to clarify its function. Two sites occupy coastal hilltops on the north-western part of Kythnos and similar locations are preferred on

Melos, Andros, Siphnos, and Amorgos, where habitation is limited to a single site[449]. Of note, no traces of habitation have been recovered so far from the southern Cyclades.

The regional trajectories in settlement size and density seem to diverge in the 11th and 10th century Aegean. The majority of the Protogeometric sites are small in size, but there are also large and densely occupied settlements in this period at some regions. The size of Lefkandi (Xeropolis) is estimated at 5 ha. Knossos on Crete is probably larger at this stage –10-20 ha and also densely settled. Following the work of Saro Wallace, Knossos is not unusual for Crete, where we seem to witness the appearance of reasonably large (+10 ha) and densely occupied settlements on the island[450]. Large but loosely occupied sites are discerned elsewhere. For instance, in Athens we find burial clusters dispersed across the modern-day city which suggests the overall size of the settlement at about 20 ha[451].

While the majority of Protogeometric sites in the Cyclades are known through excavations, the architectural remains are either meagre or entirely missing. This means that, while estimates concerning their actual size are speculative, there is nothing to indicate that the Cycladic sites approached the size of the largest settlements of Crete or central Greece. Taking these excavated sites into consideration, habitation at Koukounaries persists exclusively at the Upper Plateau that occupies a very small area of the hill, while according to the current state of evidence the size of Minoa and Xombourgo is considerably smaller compared to their subsequent development[452]. The small burial clusters or tombs found on Tenos and Rhenea are indicative of the size of the Cycladic communities on those islands. The largest settlement in the region was probably Naxos Town but the scattered cemeteries suggest that habitation was not concentrated in a single residential nucleus but organised in distinct units that formed part of a single community. If this is true, it marks a shift in the spatial organisation of the site in relation to the previous period and signifies a reduction in the social complexity of the community.

[449] At the site of Aghios Andreas on Siphnos a couple of sherds that belong to a Late Protogeometric Attic krater have been unearthed, but this has been interpreted as a heirloom of the people that reoccupied the site during the eighth century BCE (Televantou 2008b, 84). The fact that no other Protogeometric material has been recovered from the site, despite that this was subject to systematic excavations gives support to the argument that Aghios Andreas was deserted during the Protogeometric period.

[450] Wallace 2010.

[451] Dimitriadou 2019, 71-164.

[452] Koukounaries: Schilardi 1983; Xombourgo: Kourou 2001a; 2011; Minoa: Marangou 2002a.

Overall, the settlement patterns of this period resemble those of the Late Helladic IIIC Cyclades. Most of the islanders continue to occupy coastal locations, be they naturally defensive hilltops and promontories or well-protected bays, despite some tendency towards inland sites manifested at some specific islands. Undoubtedly, protection and the defensive capacity of certain locations proceed as a determining factor for their selection as habitation sites. The only major shift from the preceding period is the rearrangement of settlement locations, while the number of sites on each island still varies. This picture is, more or less, consistent with the developments in the Protogeometric central Aegean where the settlement patterns resemble those of the previous period as well[453].

Networks and Proximate Interactions

Considering that habitation in the Cyclades is still characterised by relatively small sites, local networks that allow for proximate interactions remained crucial for the survival of these communities. During the Protogeometric period, three clusters of sites can be discerned in the Cyclades (Fig. 5.3). The first is located in the central Cyclades and concerns, as in the previous period, the islands of Paros and Naxos, although this time with a smaller number of sites involved. All the sites in this cluster present continuous occupation from the preceding period. The cluster's connectivity has been also reduced, and at this point it is only connected to the isolated sites of Minoa on Amorgos and Kastro on Siphnos. Another, newly formed, cluster concerns the north-central Cyclades and mainly the island of Tenos as well as Andros, Delos, and Rhenea, where we encounter exclusively newly established sites. This is the only cluster that does not present connectivity with any other area of the Cyclades or with other regions. The last cluster is located in the north-western Cyclades, encompassing the islands of Kea and Kythnos. This is the only cluster that is connected to other regions, namely Attica and southern Euboea, after the establishment of Plakari[454]. Despite the fact that habitation there seems sparse, connectivity with southern Attica appears to have affected the network dynamics in the north-western Cyclades since at least the Late Helladic IIIC. Thus, the prospect of proximate interactions not only between the islands, but also between these two regions culminated in an increase in the number of sites in this cluster.

[453] Knodell 2021, 151-91.
[454] Crielaard and Songu 2017.

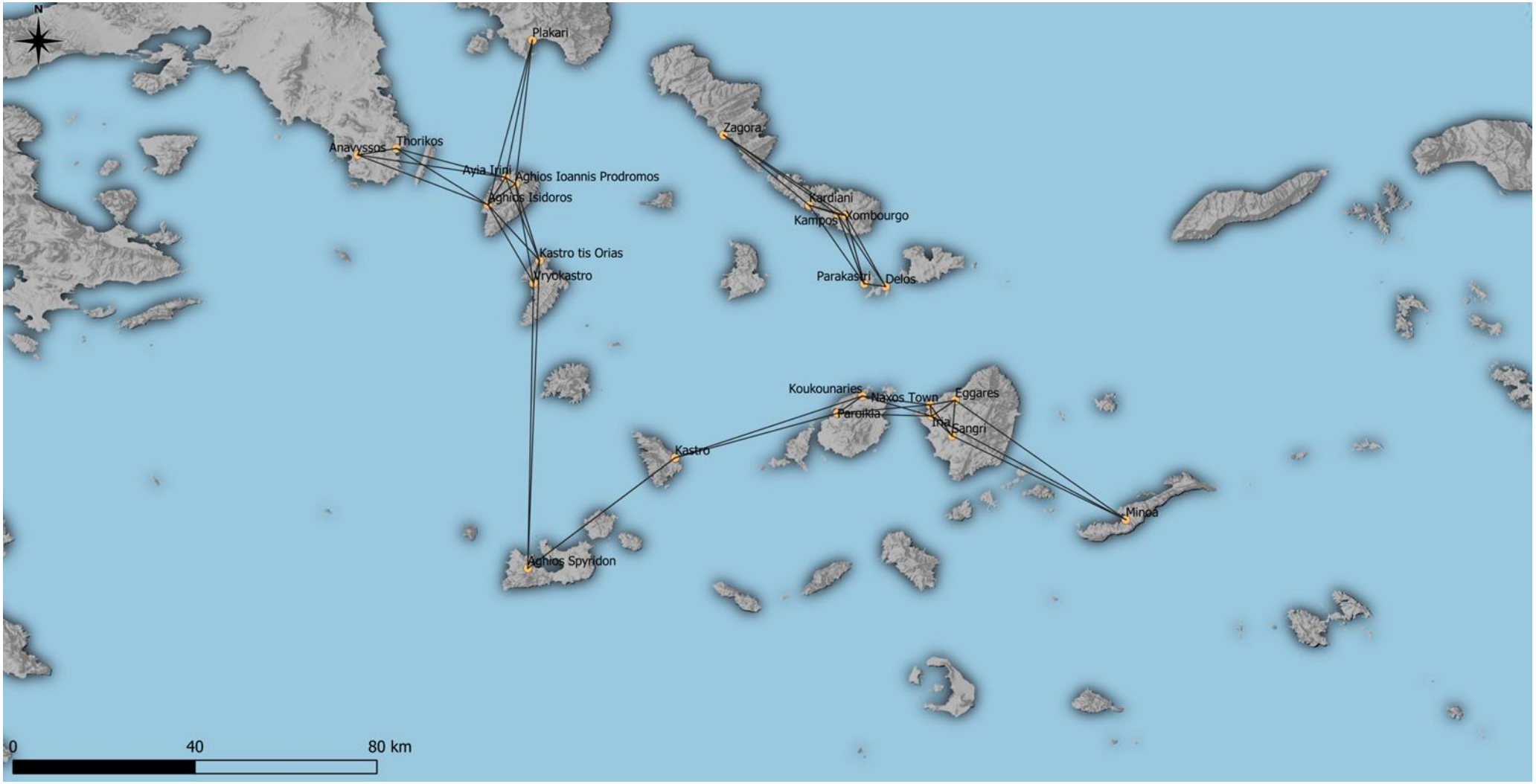

Fig. 5.3 Protogeometric Cycladic networks based on connections between at least three nearest neighbour sites.

Apart from these clusters, habitation is limited to a few isolated sites. One of the main occupation foci of the previous period, the islands of the south-western Cyclades, now shows meagre traces of habitation. The gradual demise and the final abandonment of Phylakopi, as a result of the palatial collapse and the disruption of the supervision routes, caused occupation throughout the south-western Cyclades to shrink during the Protogeometric period. As in the Late Helladic IIIC period, the limited carrying capacity and the lack of local networking between the islands of the Small and the southern Cyclades in general, seems to have continued to play a decisive role in the absence of habitation in this area. It seems that this, then, is the reason behind the abandonment of Monolithos on Thera, an isolated settlement during the Late Helladic IIIC, despite its positional advantage that enabled interactions between the Cyclades and other Aegean regions. This, in turn, may be an indication that long-distance contacts were much less frequent during this period, especially with Crete. The situation at the south-western Cyclades also points to this conclusion. A comparable inference should be postulated for Minoa on Amorgos, whose position on the west side of the island suggests a tendency for contacts with the rest of the Cyclades, rather than with the Dodecanese. The latter present sparse evidence for habitation during the Protogeometric, while the location of the few sites identified so far suggest they are oriented mainly towards Ionia[455].

To better understand these phenomena, we must explore how these settlement patterns and networks compare to the situation in the rest of the Aegean. Overall, there is a slight drop in the total number of known sites in the Greek mainland and Crete from 655 in the Post-palatial to 600 in the Protogeometric period[456]. This decrease in sites is comparable to the pattern observed in the Cyclades. What is more, variability in the settlement patterns is taken to be one of the defining features of the Protogeometric period[457]. Thus, there is a decrease in the number of sites in Attica, especially at the southern part of the region, and eastern Boeotia. By contrast, in other regions, for instance western Boeotia, central Euboea, and Thessaly, there is a significant growth in the number of sites. Regional variation in settlement patterns is also attested in the Peloponnese[458]. In some regions this resulted in the shift in the level of intensification between sites, while, in others, new settlement networks appeared. The settlement networks of Attica reveal a higher degree of

[455] Barnes 2016.
[456] Murray 2017, 137-42.
[457] Knodell 2021, 153-58.
[458] Murray 2017, 140, fig. 3.3.

connectivity with the Cyclades than with other regions of central Greece[459]. As we saw, this had an impact on the settlement patterns of the north-western Cyclades since the Late Helladic IIIC period.

Even if Naxos Town was indeed the largest settlement of the period in question, there is no evidence to suggest that this community (or any other in the Cyclades) exerted any political authority at the regional level. Even more, no settlement hierarchies seem to have been developed even within the clusters of sites given that these continued to be comprised of individual communities that are politically autonomous. In addition, although this is the period during which Delos bears traces of habitation for the first time after several centuries, the sparse nature of finds on the island makes it impossible to speak of any religious function, let alone the regional importance for which it would become so well known[460]. Similarly, the scanty finds from the sanctuary of Ayia Irini on Kea underline the occasional use and the provincial character of the sanctuary, if indeed a cultic function for the site during the Protogeometric is accepted[461]. Finally, occupation at Iria was continuous, although the excavators have some reservations as to whether the site functioned as a sanctuary during the Protogeometric period[462].

How, then, are we to identify sites of religious significance in the Protogeometric Cyclades? If we follow van den Eijnde's model of "feasting with the gods" changing into "giving to the gods" in the eighth century for the Early Iron Age Attica then it would be very difficult to detect a "sanctuary" in this period except through signs of feasting –large drinking deposits (as on Mount Hymettos[463]) or evidence of slaughter, consumption and burning of large domesticates[464]. We would not find votives. There is no contextual evidence as such for any Cycladic site and until relevant evidence comes up, it remains entirely speculative to identify a cultic function for the sites discussed in this section.

[459] Knodell 2021, 155-56, map 19.
[460] Desborough 1952, 127, 153-54; Gallet de Santerre 1958, 148-254; Lemos 2002, 239.
[461] Caskey 1964; 1981.
[462] Simantoni-Bournia 2002.
[463] Langdon 1976.
[464] van den Eijnde 2018b.

Social Organisation and Power Relations

Absent any regional or sub-regional political centralisation, social organisation and status can only be traced, as in the preceding period, at the community level. Evidence is provided by both mortuary and settlement contexts, and more specifically from Naxos Town and Koukounaries respectively. I shall begin with the former, where several burial plots have come to light in this period. In general, significant changes are recorded in the burial customs of the Protogeometric Aegean[465]. Single burial becomes the dominant type of burial, with the exception of a few regions such as Thessaly, where Late Bronze Age tholos tombs intended for multiple burials continue to be used, alongside the construction of new imitative tholoi[466]. Another important feature concerning the burial customs of this period is the wider application of cremation as a burial practice. Cremation had already appeared since the Post-palatial period, but now in some Early Iron Age societies became the prevailing rite[467].

From the beginning of the Protogeometric period, inhumation remains the main form of burial practice throughout the Cyclades, but single burials now constitute the only type of burial. This is clearly reflected in the burial plot of Aplomata at Naxos Town, the only site in the Cyclades so far that presents spatial continuity from the previous Late Helladic IIIC period as a burial ground. During the Protogeometric period, this area was used exclusively for single burials in small shaft graves instead of multiple burials in chamber tombs as in the previous period[468]. Based on publications and excavation reports, Protogeometric burials in the Cyclades were accompanied, at most, by a few clay vessels while many were found completely devoid of grave goods. Thus, nothing in the Cyclades can reach the lavishness or grandiosity of burials such as that of the "Hero" at Lefkandi[469]. At this point, mention should also be made to Ian Morris' highly-cited view that during the early stages of the Early Iron Age formal burial itself, a burial that could be archaeologically visible, was a strong index of social status, reserved only for specific sections of the community[470].

[465] Dickinson 2006, 174-95; Lemos 2002, 151-90.
[466] Georganas 2000; 2002.
[467] Dickinson 2006, 178-95.
[468] Kontoleon 1960.
[469] Catling and Lemos 1990; Popham et al. 1993.
[470] Morris 1987.

At Naxos Town, inhumation is the dominant burial practice as witnessed by the excavation of the site's burial plots. In one of the cemeteries of Grotta (Metropolis Square), stone enclosures have come to light that formed square or rectangular compartments which were built over the ruins of the Late Helladic IIIC settlement (Fig. 4.3). In the opinion of the excavators, these enclosures were meant to accommodate graves that belonged to different families[471]. If this assumption is true, then social organisation based on small family units can be postulated for this community. One of the burials of the Metropolis burial plot stands out: a cremation of the Late Protogemetric period that is exceptional not for its dimensions or construction – apparently it was a modest shaft dug into the soil– or because of the quantity of its grave goods (two imported small vessels and a local handmade cooking pot)[472]. Rather, it was the construction of an enclosure wall around an individual tomb and the use of a huge stone boulder as a grave marker that made it unique. As far as we know, this is the only cremation burial identified with certainty at Naxos Town. A small structure for a pyre pit by the tomb filled with a considerable amount of ash indicates that rituals at the spot persisted over a long period of time. All these point to the fact that the cremated individual was a distinguished member of the community.

Fig. 5.4 Protogeometric krater from Koukounaries, Paros (Paros Museum 2175) (after Garbin 2019, 43, fig. 8.2).

Evidence for status differentiation and power relations is provided by settlement contexts, most vividly from Koukounaries on Paros. There, the architecture provides the first type of evidence. The south-western corner of the Upper Plateau is occupied by an apsidal building, Building A, that dates to the end of the 10th/ early 9th century BCE and, although only the apsidal section of the edifice is still preserved, its estimated dimensions are quite

[471] Lambrinoudakis and Zafeiropoulou 1984; Lambrinoudakis 1988.
[472] Lambrinoudakis and Zafeiropoulou 1984; Lambrinoudakis 1988; Kourou 2015.

substantial[473] (Fig. 5.2). While no finds were recovered from the building's interior, the latter has been interpreted as a ruler's dwelling, due to its size, position, and form which is similar to many edifices in the Aegean to which similar functions have been ascribed[474].

Another type of evidence for social stratification is provided by three mixed deposits closely related or in the immediate vicinity of Building A[475]. Two "ash pits" contained the residues of commensal activities that took place inside the successive edifices throughout the habitation history of the Upper Plateau. The third deposit is referred to as a "dump pit" with mixed Late Helladic IIIC and Protogeometric pottery. This feature is probably related to the construction of the Geometric megaron and, therefore, is considered the result of cleaning and levelling of the area. Commensality during the 10th century is indicated both by the large number of drinking vessels and kraters, the latter considered utensils of high intrinsic value[476]. One very large krater even bears traces of wear caused by the ladle that was used to mix and serve the wine (Paros Museum 2175) (Fig. 5.4). Beyond drinking, animal bones allude to the consumption of meat and game, while sea shells and seeds attest to the consumption of other foodstuffs. The consumption of both meat and wine, then, serves as evidence for feasting at Koukounaries. Feasting denotes the ability of the patron to gather and distribute resources. It has also been claimed that patronage of a feast is related to status and a means to draw power, especially in communities where authority had to be constantly renegotiated[477]. Building A at Koukounaries, judging by its alleged dimensions, could have accommodated a large number of participants and along with the material evidence serves as an indicator of the host's status and of the power relations at the site.

The Bigger Picture: The Cyclades in a Wider Context

The 11th and 10th centuries BCE saw major, gradual, and interdependent transformations and developments in the political, social, and technological spheres not only within the Aegean, but in the Mediterranean as a whole. This culminated, among other things, in the rise of mercantile city-states, the emergence of new forms of political power and new ethnic identities, the gradual adoption of iron as a utilitarian metal, the quest for

[473] Schilardi 1983, 175; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 82-83.
[474] Mazarakis Ainian 1997.
[475] Garbin 2019.
[476] Bohen 2017.
[477] van den Eijnde 2018a.

precious metals overseas, and the establishment of trading posts for the acquisition of these metals[478].

Having said this, it has been a long-standing view that connectivity and interactions between the Aegean and the Mediterranean were dramatically reduced during the Protogeometric period. But, the empirical data reveal a more complex picture. This is clearly illustrated in the combined amount of imported and exported items to and from the Aegean. The number of imports is proportionally similar to the previous period and the greatest part of the whole corpus comes from the Eastern Mediterranean[479]. In contrast to the previous period, finds from the Central Mediterranean are not clearly presented. The vast majority of these imports, mainly luxury items, come from the funerary record and they have been found mostly at Lefkandi and Knossos (42 to 49 and 32 to 34 objects respectively). An exception is the harbour site of Kommos on the southern coast of central Crete which has produced a good deal of Phoenician transport vessels from the port area. Elsewhere, the number of foreign imports is very sparse, ranging from a single object to five at most, and limited to a few sites[480]. The evidence, then, suggests that Protogeometric Lefkandi was a nodal point and had an almost exclusive role in long-distance maritime interactions between the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean[481]. By contrast, the finds from Knossos and Kommos placed within their wider archaeological context indicate Cypriot and Phoenician trade endeavours to the West rather than any actual involvement on behalf of the Cretans in long-distance trade[482].

The main deviation from the Late Helladic IIIC period is a stark reduction in the number of exported products from the Cyclades. While, some 3700 pieces of Greek pottery have been found in the Central and Eastern Mediterranean that date to the Late Helladic IIIC, during the Protogeometric period this number is reduced to a mere 105 pieces that are limited to sites in the Eastern Mediterranean[483]. Sarah Murray argues that long-distance trade continued in the Protogeometric and this drop in the number of exports is the result not only of population decline, as the traditional narrative has it, but also of the structural

[478] Sherratt and Sherratt 1993.

[479] Murray 2017, 94-103, 112-29.

[480] Vrokastro on Crete might be an exception, since 16 imports have been found at the site whose chronological range might include the Protogeometric period.

[481] Kourou 2012, 216-19; Knodell 2021, 162-67, 180-87.

[482] Kourou 2012, 218-19.

[483] Murray 2017, 191, table 4.4.

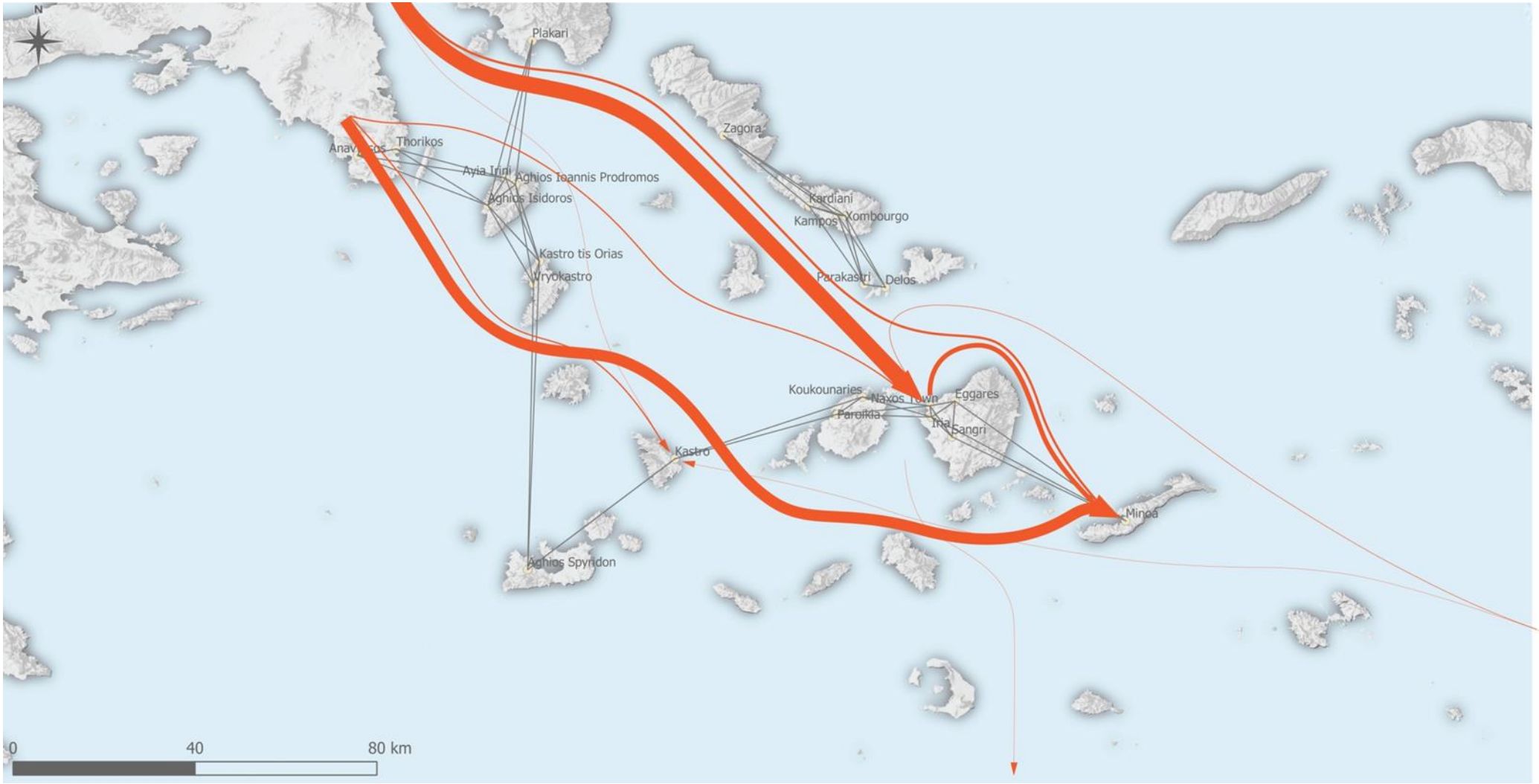

Fig. 5.5 Protogeometric Cycladic exchange networks. The size of the edges is directly proportional to the number of imports/ exports (weighted degree).

changes in the productive economy of the Protogeometric communities[484].

Contrary to imports, Aegean exports to the Eastern Mediterranean come from settlement contexts. They have been found in a limited number of sites in Ionia and the Levant[485]. They consist exclusively of ceramics, mainly drinking vessels, mostly of Euboean or Attic origin. The small number of amphorae indicates that the volume of exported bulk goods in the Eastern Mediterranean was insubstantial. The mechanisms of this exchange are still obscure. Several possibilities have been proposed that involve people from the Aegean travelling to the Near East with their drinking vessels or ships from the Levant or Cyprus returning from the Aegean having obtained local pottery[486]. In this regard, opinions differ over the level or intensity of the Aegean engagement in these exchanges, since some scholars emphasise the Euboean involvement in the trading networks of the Eastern Mediterranean[487], while others have challenged Euboean pre-eminence in long-distance maritime trade[488].

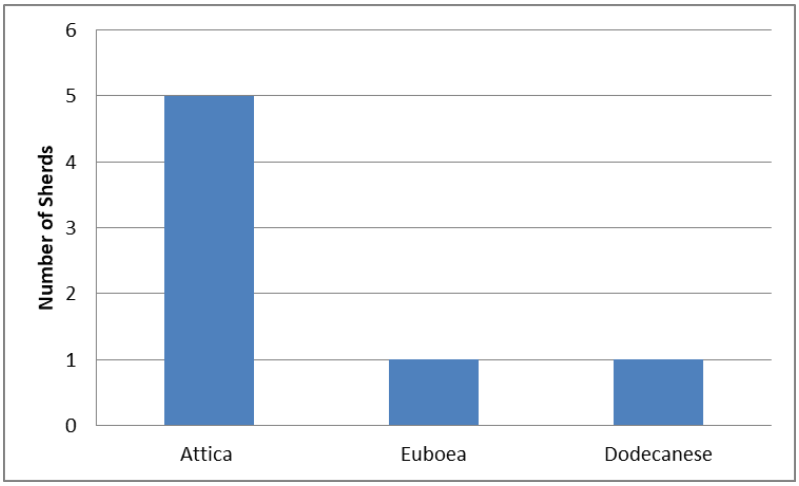

Table 5.2 Kastro, Siphnos. Protogeometric period. Source of imports.

In line with the evidence for most Aegean regions, long-distance maritime interactions between the Cyclades and the Mediterranean are not attested. In the preliminary reports of the excavations from the Plithos cemetery at Naxos Town, which extends chronologically from the Late Protogeometric to the Middle Geometric period, reference is made to metal finds, including gold, as well as to beads, but there is no mention either of their origin, or of their date[489]. Similarly, exports from the Cyclades to other regions are absent, with the only possible exception being an amphora

[484] Murray 2017, 245.
[485] Lemos 2002, 228-29; Murray 2017, 201-02, 206-09. See also Mazar and Kourou 2019.
[486] Murray 2017, 202.
[487] E.g. Lemos 2001.
[488] Papadopoulos 1997; 2011.
[489] Zafeiropoulou 2011.

from the cemetery of Fortetsa on Crete[490]. This view might have been somewhat misleading though, given that the Cycladic fabrics of the Protogeometric period are very poorly known to date. Indeed, the evidence we possess concerning the production of Protogeometric pottery in the Cyclades is meagre and since Lemos' *Protogeometric Aegean* the picture remains largely unaltered[491]. Thus, in most Cycladic sites where Protogeometric pottery has been unearthed, imported wares, mainly from Attica or Euboea, constitute the largest part of the corpus. At sites where local pottery is recognised, this mostly imitates Attic models[492] so much so that in some instances it is not always clear whether some vessels are local or imported[493].

In the remainder of this section I explore connectivity both between the islands themselves as well as the Cyclades and other regions using the import/ export indices as proxies for possible interactions. For that purpose data are extracted from catalogues of excavated sites that contain a sufficient number of finds. The only sites that meet this condition are Minoa on Amorgos, the Plithos cemetery at Naxos Town, and Kastro on Siphnos. But before proceeding with the analysis of the data, the qualities as well as the constraints of the dataset should be discussed. In general, an issue related to the ceramic production of some regions during the Early Iron Age is that certain aspects of the Protogeometric style are preserved in the ensuing periods. This renders the attribution of some vessels to specific periods somewhat problematic. As a consequence, the number of vessels attributed to the Protogeometric period may not correspond with reality.

From the Plithos cemetery at Naxos Town, 538 complete or near-complete vessels have been studied and their attribution to various workshops is based on stylistic and macroscopic fabric analysis[494]. More than half of these vessels are considered of undetermined origin and the vast majority were grave goods except for a few kraters that were used as grave markers. The whole corpus dates from the Late Protogeometric to the Middle Geometric period, but no further chronological division of the studied material was made. Nevertheless, as the author states, during the Protogeometric imports seem to outnumber the local products, but in the Early and Middle Geometric periods this trend is reversed. Therefore, some relatively safe conclusions can be drawn from this sample.

[490] Brock 1957, 20, no. 154.
[491] Lemos 2002.
[492] Cf. Garbin 2019 for Koukounaries.
[493] Lemos 2002, 207-08.
[494] Reber 2011.

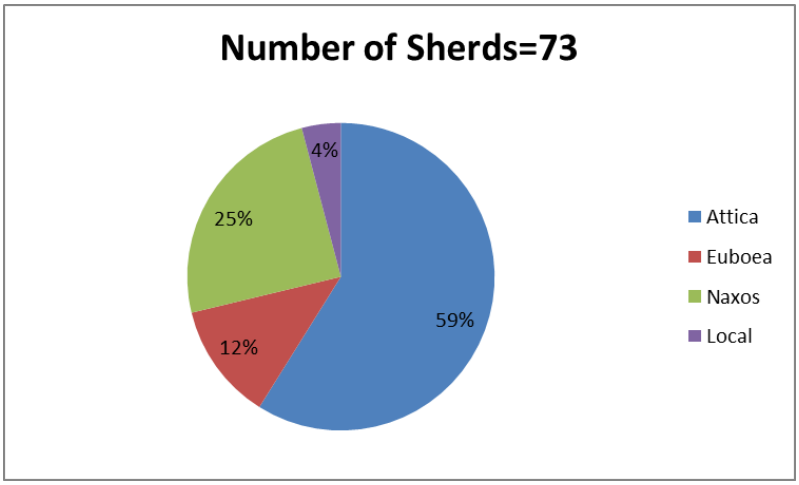

Table 5.3 Minoa, Amorgos. Protogeometric period. Origin of pottery.

The remainder of the dataset comes from settlement contexts and, as expected, it is comprised almost exclusively of sherds. The published sample from the Early Iron Age deposits at Kastro on Siphnos is quite small (112 sherds)[495]. In the publication, the author states that there is not any material that can be identified as Protogemetric[496]. Nevertheless, a few sherds can be dated back to the late 10th century BCE on stylistic grounds, and some can be identified as imports[497]. Finally, Early Iron Age finds have been published from the settlement of Minoa on Amorgos that concern the excavation campaigns from 1981 to 1991[498]. Of the whole sample, 120 sherds are of Protogeometric style, but some of them are either dated to later periods, or their chronological range is quite wide, that is from the late 10th to the early eighth century BCE. This does not apply to imports from Attica which are dated with greater accuracy. Evidently, sherds of Protogeometric style that date to later periods are excluded from the quantification, while of those to which a wider chronological range is attributed (34 sherds), half were proportionally allocated to the Protogeometric and half to the Middle Geometric period. Hence, the total number of sherds attributed to the Protogeometric period amounts to 73. As in the case of the Plithos cemetery, the provenance of the pottery was determined on the basis of stylistic analysis and macroscopic fabric examination.

The finds from the Cycladic islands reveal a somewhat variable picture regarding the provenance of the imported ceramics (Fig. 5.5). The finds from Siphnos are quite few and, apart from the fact that they seem to confirm the wide dissemination of Attic pottery in the Cyclades during this period[499], they do not allow any further discussion (Table 5.2). From the remainder of the islands, whence the number of imports is greater, a dissimilar pattern is

[495] Brock and Mackworth Young 1949.
[496] Brock and Mackworth Young 1949, 33.
[497] See Kourou 1994, 272; Catling 1998, 377.
[498] Blanas 2006.
[499] Catling 1998; Papadopoulos 2015.

observed. At Minoa, more than half of the whole sample comes from Athens (Table 5.3). A good number of imports come from nearby Naxos, followed by Euboean imports. The number of local fineware ceramics is negligible (no more than three pieces). This has provoked discussions in relation to the alleged "Ionian Migration" and the ancient literary sources that associate both Athens and Naxos with an early colonisation of Amorgos[500]. However, such interpretations require caution and integration into a theoretical and methodological framework, given that in most cases it is hard to distinguish migration from other modes of inter-regional interactions on the basis of imported fineware ceramics alone. Rather, in order to be able to detect such events, the study of behavioural patterns has been proposed, especially those related to the private sphere, namely food preparation and subsistence patterns, domestic architecture and other aspects of domestic production[501]. Unfortunately, we either lack contextual or material evidence that could shed light on some of the aforementioned aspects so that we cannot either prove or disprove this assumption. Instead, the large number of Attic imports could be the result of intense contacts between Athens and Amorgos or, considering the island's position along the sea-route that connects the central Aegean with the Eastern Mediterranean, Minoa was a stop-over for ships whose final destination was the west coast of Ionia or the Near East. Similar modes of interaction would probably account for the (smaller) quantity of Euboean imports. Finally, the empirical data are in agreement with the settlement networks so that direct contacts between Amorgos and Naxos can be safely inferred.

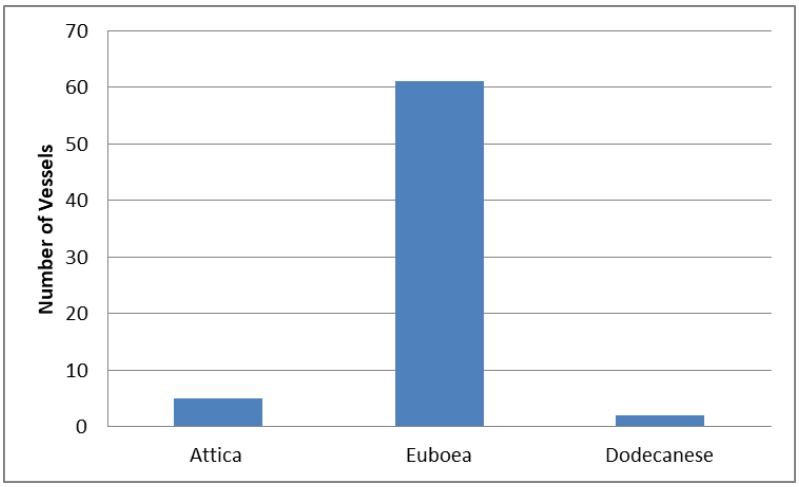

Table 5.4 Plithos cemetery (Naxos Town). Protogeometric period. Source of imports.

At Naxos Town, the proportion of Euboean imports in relation to the Attic ones is almost inversely proportional (Table 5.4). In the same line of thought, the large number of Euboean imports to Naxos indicates a close connection between these two islands. The finds from Naxos and Amorgos suggest that certain Cycladic sites interacted with other Aegean

[500] Catling and Jones 1989; Marangou 2002a, 118; Blanas 2006, 134-35, 194.
[501] Anthony 1990; Burmeister 2000; Yasur-Landau 2010.

regions, but all things considered it seems that the Cycladic communities were not active agents in the wider Mediterranean networks of exchange.

Conclusions

Even though the material evidence is sparse, we may draw some interesting conclusions concerning the settlement patterns, connectivity, and interactions in the Protogeometric Cyclades. First, coastal habitation remains the norm in spite of the shift in the location of several sites, and it is now after a considerable time that new sites are established in inland locations, a deviation mainly manifested on Tenos. Moreover, the Proximal Point Analysis reveals a rearrangement of the settlement patterns. The central Cyclades (Paros and Naxos) remain an important habitation hub, but a new cluster is now formed in the northern central Cyclades (Tenos, Andros, Delos, Rhenea). Meanwhile, in the north-western Cyclades, an area well-connected to southern Attica and Euboea in terms of proximate interactions, habitation intensifies.

The settlement networks, in conjunction with the evidence for long-distance interactions, indicate that events that took place in other regions, in some instances long before the Protogeometric period, had an impact on the Cycladic dynamics. Thus, the palatial collapse, around 1200 BCE, and the subsequent cessation of the maritime routes that supported the palatial economy had a detrimental effect on the south-western Cyclades with the gradual abandonment of Phylakopi that actually resulted in the sparse habitation of the area during the Protogeometric. Overall, it appears that habitual interactions and long-distance connectivity (or the lack thereof) were still of great importance for the sustainability of the small Cycladic communities. This is also reflected in the absence of habitation in the southern Cyclades and the abandonment of isolated sites, such as Monolithos on Thera.

The evidence so far is scanty so that it prevents a comprehensive comparison between the Proximal Point Analysis and the empirical data (exchange networks). The limited data, nevertheless, confirm the close contacts between Naxos and Amorgos in the Protogeometric period. They also demonstrate interactions between these islands with Athens and Euboea, although their nature is difficult to determine. Athough most Protogeometric communities were small in size, some Aegean sites grew in importance and become hubs of (inter-regional) interactions. Estimates of the size of the Cycladic sites are

insecure, but no Cycladic community can boast for a growth comparable to that of Athens or for the importance in the inter-regional interactions such as that of Lefkandi.

In the previous chapter we saw that the transition to the Late Helladic IIIC period was smoother in the Cyclades given that there was no palatial administrative system on the islands and therefore no collapse. Consequently, no significant changes were observed in the social and political complexity of the Cycladic communities. The evidence from Naxos shows that it is during the Protogeometric period that a decrease in social complexity occurred. In the absence of regional political authority, status was negotiated within each particular community. The settlement site of Koukounaries provides relevant evidence. There, the architecture in conjunction with residues of feasting practices is suggestive of the power relations at the site.

Chapter 6

The Early/ Middle Geometric Period in the Cyclades

The following chapters cover the last two centuries of the Early Iron Age history of the Cyclades, approximately from 900 to 700 BCE, which is known as the Geometric period. Not unlike the Protogeometric, there is also a tripartite division of this period into Early, Middle, and Late Geometric which is mainly based on the Attic ceramic sequence[502]. These are further divided into shorter ceramic phases. In the early stages of the Geometric period there are many Protogeometric survivals in the ceramic production of many regions. This gave rise to the term "Sub-Protogeometric", which is used as a chronological label in the periodisation schemes for the regions where this style occurs, mainly Euboea and Thessaly[503]. In Knossos on Crete this goes by the name "Protogeometric B"[504]. All these are contemporary with the early phases of the Attic Geometric sequence.

The general characteristics of the Cycladic pottery production of this period have been described by Nicolas Coldstream and to a large extent the picture has not altered significantly since his *Greek Geometric Pottery* publication[505]. The Sub-Protogeometric style spread to certain Cycladic islands, but in others the Attic Early Geometric style has been more influential. The situation becomes more concrete from the middle of the ninth century and throughout the Middle Geometric when the Attic influence on pottery styles is exerted in the ceramic production of every Cycladic workshop. During the Late Geometric period the Attic influence remains strong at first but gradually the Cycladic workshops break away from the Attic tradition and more individual styles were developed.

This chapter deals with the Early and Middle Geometric periods, that here are treated together as a single time-slice. In absolute terms, they cover the period from approximately 900 to 760/50 BCE. I examine the settlement patterns and the shifts in the network dynamics in terms of proximate interactions. These are tested against the exchange networks that provide evidence for inter-island and inter-regional interactions. They are also employed to reconstruct possible maritime routes that involve the island communities.

[502] Coldstream 2008, 327-31.
[503] Coldstream 2008, 148-57.
[504] Coldstream 2001; 2008, 233-39.
[505] Coldstream 2008, 164-89.

The Evidence

An interesting feature regarding the nature of the evidence for the Cycladic settlement patterns during the Early/ Middle Geometric period is the fact that the totality of the sites are known from excavations, and, in fact, for the most part through systematic excavations (Table 6.1). The period in which they took place varies, in that they were conducted at different times through the 20th century, while some excavation projects continue to this day (e.g. Delos, Xombourgo, Despotiko). At all events, this makes the identification and dating of the sites fairly confident. It should, however, be repeated at this point that fineware ceramics decorated in Protogeometric style continue to be produced in the Cyclades in later periods as well. As a consequence, certain sites, especially those that have been dated through a handful of sherds, and have been recognised as Protogeometric, may continue or belong exclusively to the Early/ Middle Geometric period.

The level of publication for the majority of the sites is quite satisfactory, especially compared to the previous period, owing primarily to the fact that the Early/ Middle Geometric sites underwent systematic excavations under the auspices of various institutions. Thus, sites such as Zagora on Andros or Delos have been fully or sufficiently published, while others are known from a series of publications that constitute a representative sample of the material from the site in question. A significant difference compared to the previous period is that we possess more evidence from settlements, although in most instances the architectural remains are still meagre, while in others the character of the site is not yet clear. This is the case for Despotiko, where a sanctuary flourished during the second half of the sixth century at the site of Mantra[506]. However, very recent excavation campaigns have proved that the earliest activities on the site can be traced back to the late ninth or early eighth century BCE, when an apsidal or oval building was erected and together with further evidence suggest an earlier use of the site. Nevertheless, the nature of the finds and the state of research do not allow, for the time being, any final conclusions regarding the early character of the site[507].

To begin with settlement sites, the hill of Ypsili occupies the centre of the west coast of Andros. Based on the available archaeological evidence, activities on the hill started at the beginning of the ninth century in view of the architectural remains that were discovered in the area where the later sanctuary emerged and date according to the excavator to this

[506] Kourayos et al. 2012.
[507] Alexandridou 2019.

period[508]. The surviving remains of human presence in the settlement of Zagora are more abundant during the Middle Geometric period, but little can be said about the form and layout of the settlement since the architectural remains from this phase are scanty, probably due to later activities on the site[509]. Equally modest are the architectural remains from the settlement proper of Minoa on Amorgos[510] and Koukounaries on Paros[511].

The settlement of Vathy Limenari was founded on a steep promontory approximately in the middle of the southern part of Donousa[512] (Fig. 6.1). Twelve buildings were uncovered along the promontory, their majority divided into two successive rooms. A

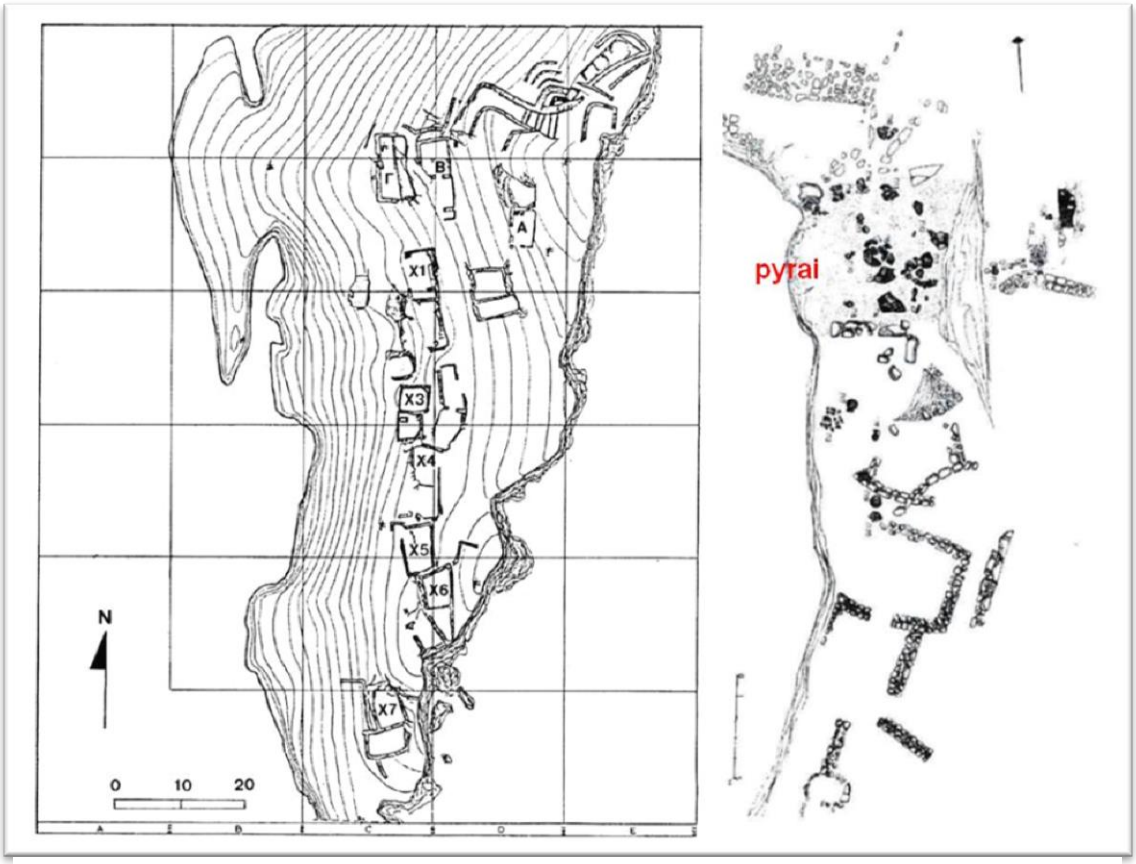

Fig. 6.1 Vathy Limenari, Donousa. General plan of the settlement (after Zafeiropoulou 1990, 45, fig. 3).

defensive wall was raised at the only access point to the settlement, which reinforced the natural defences of the site. Of interest are the two pyres located in the middle of the fortified settlement[513]. They both contained animal bones, sea shells and fineware pottery.

[508] Televantou 2008a; 2012.
[509] Cambitoglou et al. 1971; 1988.
[510] Marangou 2002a; 2002b.
[511] Schilardi 1983; 2012.
[512] Zafeiropoulou 1990; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 194-95.
[513] Zafeiropoulou 1969.

The latter were found in many pieces, but they are restored almost in their entirety. All these point to the ceremonial character of the features[514]. The archaeological evidence suggests that the settlement was particularly short-lived, dated from the third quarter of the ninthto the beginning of the eighth century BCE, when it was abandoned probably after a hostile attack as indicated by the excavation data. The fact that the settlement was not reoccupied after its abandonment also explains its state of preservation, which is unique to the Early/ Middle Geometric Cyclades.

Burial grounds continue to provide a significant body of evidence for this period as well. On Naxos, the Plithos cemetery continues to be used systematically until the end of the Middle Geometric period, when the practice of cremation now prevails[515]. The burial clusters of the Southern Cemetery of Naxos Town date mainly to the Middle Geometric period as well, while judging from the limited evidence it can be concluded that in this cemetery cremation constitutes the main burial practice as well[516]. In parallel with the previous period, the settlement proper has not been detected yet, but on the basis of gathered evidence, this may be located at the nearby hill of Kastro (Fig. 6.2). At the site of Grotta, the area previously used as a burial ground was now transformed, since the earlier tombs were covered and platforms made of clay and pebbles or stones were raised over them, where periodic rituals in honour of the dead took place, as evidenced by thick ash layers and remains of funerary meals[517] (Fig. 6.3).

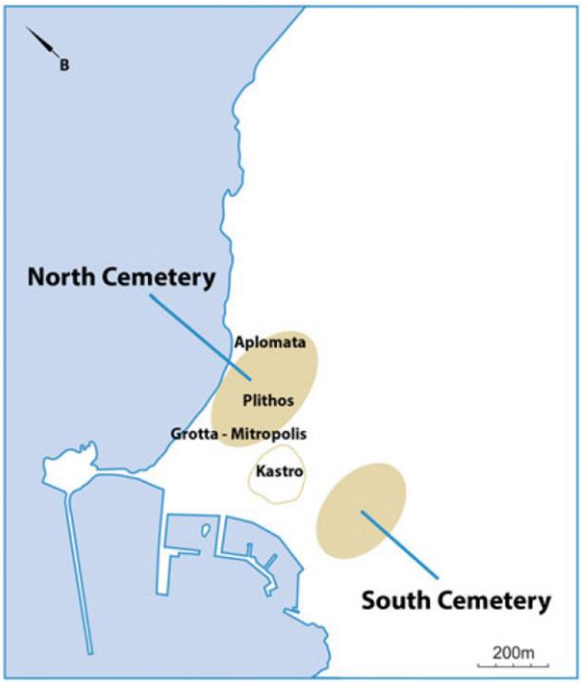

Fig. 6.2 Naxos Town. Map with the sites mentioned in the text (after Charalambidou 2018, 144, fig. 1b).

The inland site of Tsikalario is located at the centre of Naxos. There, a unique among the Cycladic islands cemetery has come to light[518]. The whole cemetery was marked by an

[514]Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 194-95. For other interpretations see Morris 1987, 107; Fagerström 1988, 70-72; Coldstream 2003, 91.
[515] Zafeiropoulou 2001; 2011.
[516] Kourou 1999.
[517] Lambrinoudakis 1988; See also Antonaccio 1995, 199-207; Kourou 2015.

upright slab 3.20m. high that had been erected on its eastern access. Some twenty-five, mostly circular, tumuli have been unearthed, with a diameter ranging from 5 to 12m, the vast majority of which were found extensively looted (Fig. 6.4). As a consequence, the original context of the tumuli is now lost. Nevertheless, from certain excavation data it can be deduced that at least some contained multiple burials, while the main burial practice seems to have been the cremation of the dead. The Tsikalario tumuli are dated to the Middle Geometric and the early stages of the Late Geometric period.

Two burial sites that date to the period in question are known from Thera, both associated with the ancient town of the island. The first lies to the south slope of Mesa Vouno and was in use from the early eighth century to the middle sixth century BCE[519]. At roughly the same period dates the second site, excavated at the slopes of Sellada, a saddle that connects Mesa Vouno with the mountain of Prophitis Elias[520]. In both cemeteries cremation was the prevalent burial rite. However, the interment of multiple burials in a single tomb was a common practice at Mesa Vouno, while at Sellada the majority of the graves represent pit graves with single burials. A cluster of 12 cremation burials and one child *enchytrismos* (inhumation burial within a (pottery) vessel) were unearthed at the lower town of Minoa on Amorgos, whose main period of use was the Middle Geometric. Judging by the type and the quality of the grave goods, the excavator assumes that these were family tombs related to the distinguished members of the settlement[521].

Fig. 6.3 Grotta, Naxos Town. Raised platforms over earlier tombs (after Kourou 2015, 93, fig. 11b).

[518] Zafeiropoulou 2008; Charalambidou 2018.

[519] Pfuhl 1903.

[520] Dragendorff 1903. See also a series of reports at *Praktika tis Archaiologikis Etaireias* from 1963 to 1982 by the excavator of the site, N. Zapheiropoulos.

[521] Marangou 2001; 2002a, 299-301; 2002b, 207-24.

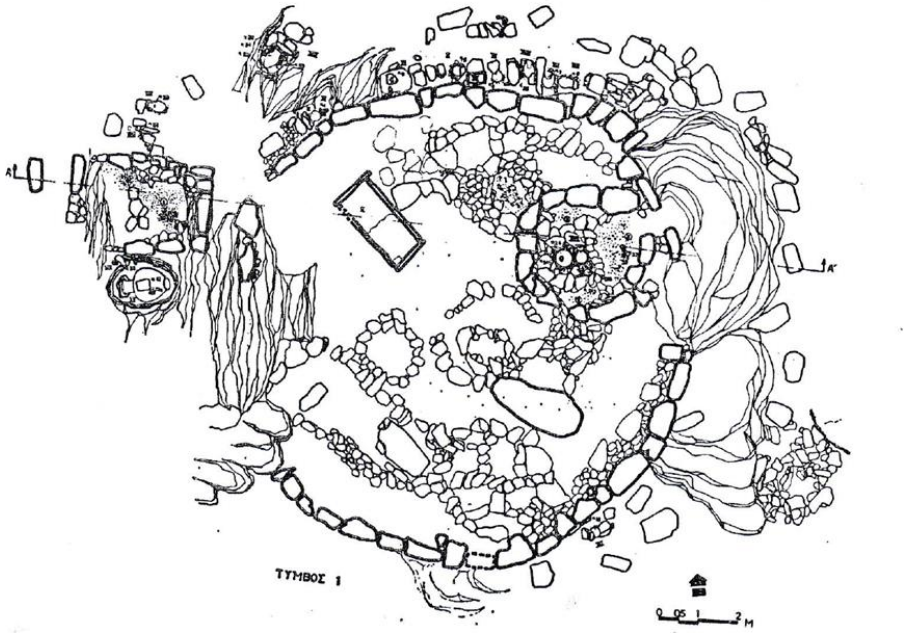

Fig. 6.4 Tsikalario cemetery, Naxos. Tumulus 1. (after Zafeiropoulou 1983, 3 N.1).

The burial cluster at Kardiani on Tenos, where inhumation was practised, dates mainly to the Middle Geometric period[522]. Architectural remains found in the vicinity of the cluster are considered to belong to the same period and be part of the same installation. Two burial clusters are also reported from inland site of Ktikados near Xombourgo[523]. Limited evidence survives from the looted cemetery at the site of Ellinika (Limni) on Kimolos. The cemetery's main phase is the Late Geometric, but few Early Geometric vases found in the area suggest that this was also used during the ninth century BCE[524]. On the neighbouring island of Melos another extensively plundered cemetery at the site of Phaneromeni (Ancient Melos) was found. Early excavations failed to produce any Early and Middle Geometric evidence[525], but a series of complete vessels in various museums and collections, some of which belonging to the ninth or first half of the eighth centuries, are considered to derive from Melos, and more specifically, from the cemetery of Phaneromeni[526].

[522] Levi 1925.

[523] See Coldstream 2008, 164-66.

[524] Pantou and Ditsa 2011.

[525] Smith 1896.

[526] Coldstream 2008, 165-67. The inclusion of Ancient Melos in the catalogue of Early/Middle Geometric sites introduces some inconsistency in the methodology I follow throughout the thesis. The reasons for its inclusion are on the one hand the number of vessels attributed to the island, on the other hand the general acceptance by the majority of scholars of their origin from Melos.

Some burials from the two burial clusters at Parakastri on Rheneia, where inhumation seems to have been the common practice, should be dated to the Early and Middle Geometric according to a group of vessels that are attributed to this period[527]. The bulk of the evidence we possess for the Early/ Middle Geometric Delos comes from the Purification Trench of Rhenea[528] -located and excavated on the east coast of the island[529]- where all the previous burials from Delos were transferred, after the cleansing of the latter that was imposed by the Athenians in 426/5 BCE. Isolated tombs are also reported from a number of sites from Andros[530], Tenos[531], Siphnos[532], and Paros[533].

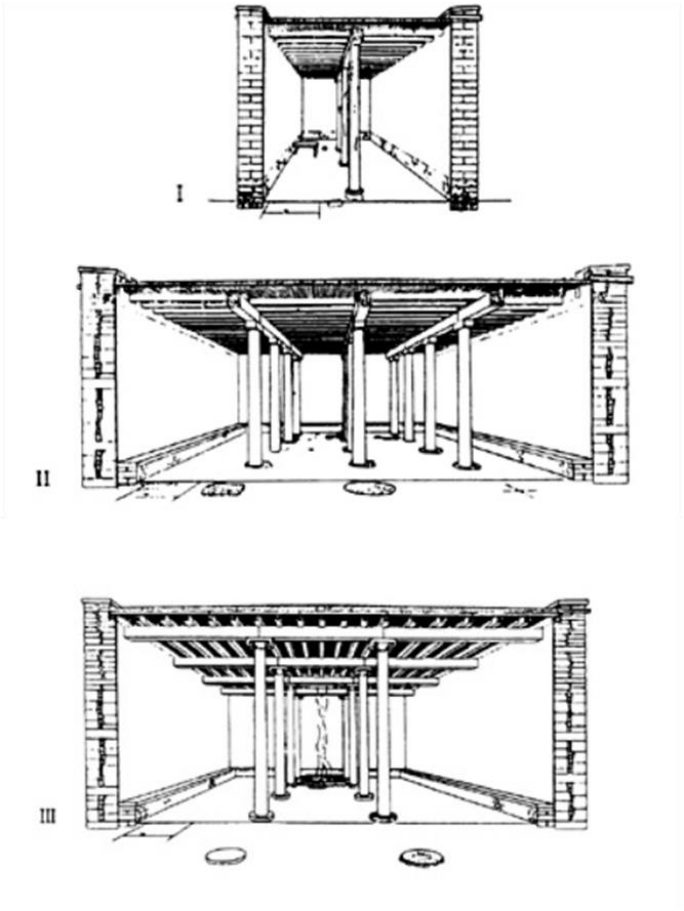

Fig. 6.5 Iria, Naxos. Reconstruction of the Early Iron Age phases of the temple (after Gruben 2001, 376, fig. 283).

Although not abundant, the evidence we have for, at least, some Cycladic sanctuaries is more explicit in comparison to the Protogeometric period. Thus, the sanctuary on Delos seems to have flourished from the ninth century BCE onwards[534]. The fragmentary state of preservation of the architectural remains on the island due to constant activities does not allow any firm conclusions concerning either their date or their function[535]. Around the same period the cult practice at the sanctuary of Iria on Naxos resumed with certainty,

[527] Stavropoulos 1900; Coldstream 2008, 165-71.
[528] See Dugas and Rhomaios 1934; Coldstream 2008, 165-71.
[529] Stavropoulos 1898; Rhomaios 1929.
[530] Desborough 1952, 128-29.
[531] Kourou 2004, 428.
[532] Papadopoulou 2002, 11.
[533] Zafeiropoulou 1992, 544.
[534] Rolley 1983.
[535] See Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 179-83.

since about 800 BCE the first cultic building of the sanctuary was erected above and around the presumed focal point of the cult of the Mycenaean era[536]. This was a rectangular *oikos* made of mud bricks on stone foundations (Fig. 6.5, I). Somewhat later an open-air hearth was made in front of the *oikos* in order to receive burnt offerings.

To remain on Naxos, an open-air cult at Sangri was established sometime during the end of the ninth century BCE[537]. Its focus was a system of communicating "twin pits" cut into the rock and connected by a narrow trench and a series of provisional huts or fences that may have been erected around the cultic devices. At Xombourgo on Tenos architectural remains associated with the Early Iron Age settlement have not been identified to date. A pebble platform overlaying an earlier, empty of bones but sanctified, shaft grave is deemed by the excavator as an area intended for an ancestral cult[538]. Somewhat later, a number of pyre pits were carved into the bedrock and demarcated by three enclosure walls where sacrificial rituals were taking place. The latter are interpreted as small family shrines dedicated to ancestors[539]. Finally, at Minoa on Amorgos an ash deposit found near the subsequent temple testifies to the existence of an open-air cult since, at least, the Middle Geometric period onwards[540]. The finds from the later sanctuaries of Palatia and Delion on Naxos and Paros respectively are very limited, a fact that prohibits any discussion about the character of these sites[541]. Equally few, mainly potsherds, are the finds from the remainder of the sites that comprise the catalogue.

Site	Type	Evidence
Naxos		
Grotta (Naxos Town)	"Sanctuary"	Systematic excavation
Plithos (Naxos Town)	Cemetery	Excavation
Southern Cemetery (Naxos Town)	Cemetery	Excavation
Kastro (Naxos Town)	Pottery	Excavation
Palatia (Naxos Town)	Pottery	Excavation

[536] Gruben 1993; 1996.
[537] Lambrinoudakis et al. 2002.
[538] Kourou 2015, 97-100.
[539] Kourou 2015, 97-100.
[540] Marangou 2002b, 185-88.
[541] Rubensohn 1962, pl. 14; Walter- Karydi 1972.

Aplomata (Naxos Town)	Pottery	Systematic excavation
Tsikalario	Cemetery	Systematic excavation
Iria	Sanctuary	Systematic excavation
Sangri	Sanctuary	Systematic excavation
Cheimarros Tower	Pottery	Excavation
Andros		
Ypsili	Settlement	Systematic excavation
Zagora	Settlement	Systematic excavation
Ammonaklios	Tomb	Excavation
Palaiopolis	Pottery	Excavation
Tenos		
Xombourgo	Settlement/ Sanctuary	Systematic excavation
Kardiani	Cemetery	Excavation
Ktikados	Cemetery	Excavation
Aghia Thekla	Tomb	Excavation
Paros		
Kastro (Paroikia)	Pottery	Excavation
Tholakia (Paroikia)	Tomb	Excavation
Koukounaries	Settlement	Systematic excavation
Delion	Pottery	Systematic excavation
Thera		
Mesa Vouno (Ancient Thera)	Cemetery	Systematic excavation
Sellada (Ancient Thera)	Cemetery	Systematic excavation
Donousa		
Vathy Limenari	Settlement	Systematic excavation
Amorgos		
Minoa	Settlement/ Cemetery/ Sanctuary	Systematic excavation
Delos		
Delos	Cemetery/ Sanctuary	Systematic excavation
Despotiko		
Mantra	Settlement or Sanctuary	Systematic excavation
Rhenea		

Parakastri	Cemetery	Excavation
Melos		
Phaneromeni (Ancient Melos)	Cemetery	Excavation
Kimolos		
Ellinika (Limni)	Cemetery	Excavation
Siphnos		
Kastro	Tombs/ Pottery	Excavation
Kythnos		
Vryokastro	Pottery	Systematic excavation
Kea		
Ayia Irini	Sanctuary	Systematic excavation

Table 6.1. Early/ Middle Geometric sites in the Cyclades with indication of their type and nature of the evidence.

Settlement Patterns

A significant increase in the number of known sites is observed during the Early/ Middle Geometric period (from 20 to 27), while due to the peculiarity of a category of Cycladic fineware ceramics discussed above this number may be slightly larger (Fig. 6.6). What remains almost a constant is the preference for the occupation of coastal or near the coast sites. Sites such as Mantra (Despotiko) and Palaiopolis on Andros continue the trend that began in the previous period for the occupation of low-lying coastal positions. On the other hand, the foundation of settlements in steep promontories or coastal but mountainous locations such as Vathy Limenari on Donousa and Ancient Thera respectively, demonstrates that defensive capacity continues to be of particular importance for the selection of a new location. That being so, the dual pattern in relation to the topography of the inhabited coastal sites observed as early as the Late Helladic IIIC period still persists. Inland sites continue to be inhabited or new ones are established, unsurprisingly in the northern Cyclades and Naxos, that is the islands with the highest carrying capacity in the region.

The map reveals that the majority of the Protogeometric sites survive into the next period. Thus, half the number of the Early/ Middle Geometric sites had already been established since at least the preceding period, while the other half are newly founded. The major difference, however, is to be found in the north-western Cyclades where the vast

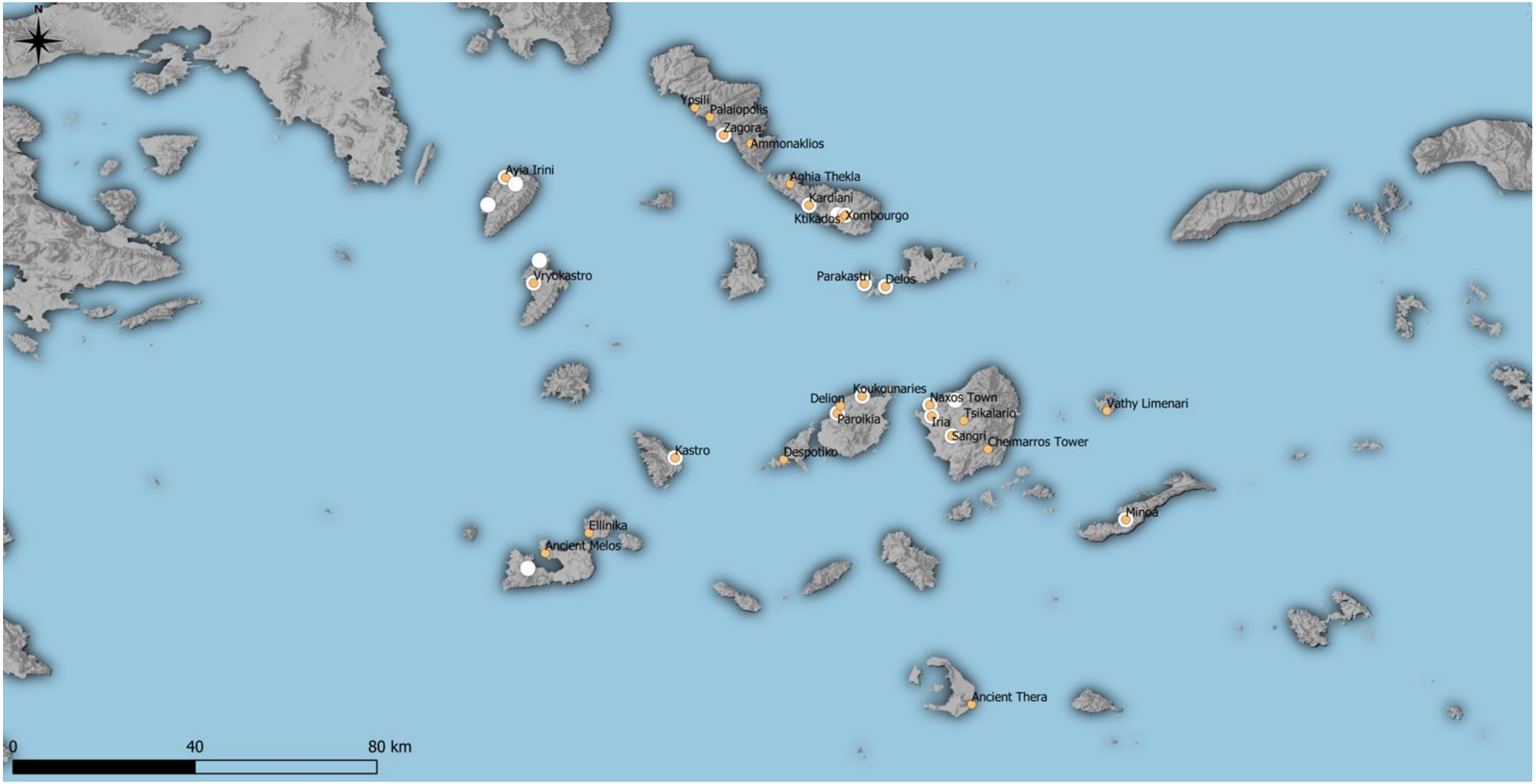

Fig. 6.6 Map of the Early/ Middle Geometric Cycladic sites (white dots indicate the Protogeometric Cycladic sites).

majority of the Protogeometric sites are now abandoned. Naxos is still the island with the largest number of sites in the region, but now these are not limited to the west side of the island since new sites are now founded in its hinterland. The picture of settlement on Paros remains quite consistent with the only difference being the addition of Delion in close proximity to Paroikia, while interesting is the foundation of Mantra on Despotiko, a site that will play a significant role in the later history of Paros and the Cyclades in general. Equally consistent is the picture on Tenos, where the reinsertion of Aghia Thekla on the map reflects, along with the continuous occupation of sites such as Xombourgo, the population's tendency for the exploration of the island's hinterland. The same cannot be postulated for Andros, both compared to the previous period and in relation to neighbouring Tenos. First, habitation now is not restricted to Zagora since two more sites bear traces of occupation along the island's western littoral (Palaiopolis and Ypsili). As a consequence, it is only the newly founded site of Ammonaklios that shows a limited interest for the island's interior.

In an opposite pattern compared to what is observed on Andros, Kea seems completely deserted during this period. In the remainder of the islands where habitation is attested, this is limited to a single and in fact coastal site. Human presence on Delos and Minoa on Amorgos is now better evidenced, while new settlements are being established in the peripheral zone of the region such as Vathy Limenari on Donousa, Ancient Thera, Ancient Melos and Ellinika on Kimolos that could have facilitated interactions between the Cyclades and other regions.

Overall, variation continues to characterise the settlement patterns of the Cyclades. This is evident in the number of sites identified on each island as well as in the choice of the location for their establishment. Naxos is still the island with the largest number of settlements in the region, while inversely proportional is the picture between Andros and Kea in the transition from the Protogeometric to the Early/ Middle Geometric period. In general, during this period habitation is concentrated on the larger islands. By contrast, most of the smaller islands are either uninhabited or habitation is confined to a single site. The maritime orientations of the communities and the potential defensive capacity against hostile attacks determined to a great extent the selection of locations such as Vathy Limenari, Zagora, and Koukounaries. At the same time, coastal sites at low-lying positions or occupying well-protected bays, for instance Naxos Town, Delos, or Despotiko, continue to be preferred, while the few inland sites continue the trend first observed during the Protogeometric period.

Networks and Proximate Interactions

The network patterns for the Early/ Middle Geometric period betray both continuities and discontinuities in relation to the previous period (Fig. 6.7). Two settlement clusters are formed during this period. To begin with the continuities the first cluster remains a constant since the Late Helladic IIIC period. It includes the islands of the central Cyclades, namely Paros and Naxos, while now Despotiko is also included. Thus, the number of sites within this cluster increases significantly. This cluster can be divided into two sub-clusters given that it is only the link between Koukounaries and Naxos Town that connects the islands of Paros and Naxos. In the meantime, the network pattern reveals that this is the cluster with the greatest connectivity to other areas within the region and more specifically with the isolated settlements of the eastern, southern and western Cyclades. This in turn reinforces the cluster's connectivity since these settlements facilitate interactions with other regions.

As before, the second cluster encompasses the north-central Cyclades, namely Andros, Tenos, Delos, and Rhenea. Similarly to the central Cyclades, the number of sites was almost doubled, a fact that renders it the cluster with the largest number of sites in the region. The main difference of this cluster in relation to the former is that, according to the network pattern, it appears less connected to other sites within the region. The fact, however, that the vast majority of the settlements that comprise the cluster are located along the western littoral of the islands renders it essentially an extension of the Euboean corridor, an area where intense interactions took place during this period[542].

The major departure concerning the proximate networks compared to the Protogeometric period is the almost complete absence of settlement and networking in the north-western Cyclades. This absence makes an even greater impression –unless this corresponds to a gap in the research– given that the southern tip of Attica still presents traces of habitation. Limited compared to the aforementioned clusters, but more intense in relation to the preceding period, is the habitation and consequently the proximate interactions in the south-western Cyclades where stagnation had been observed after the abandonment of Phylakopi.

In the remainder of the Cyclades habitation is limited to isolated settlements in the peripheral zone of the region. After a break in the Protogeometric period, habitation

[542] Knodell 2021, 192-215.

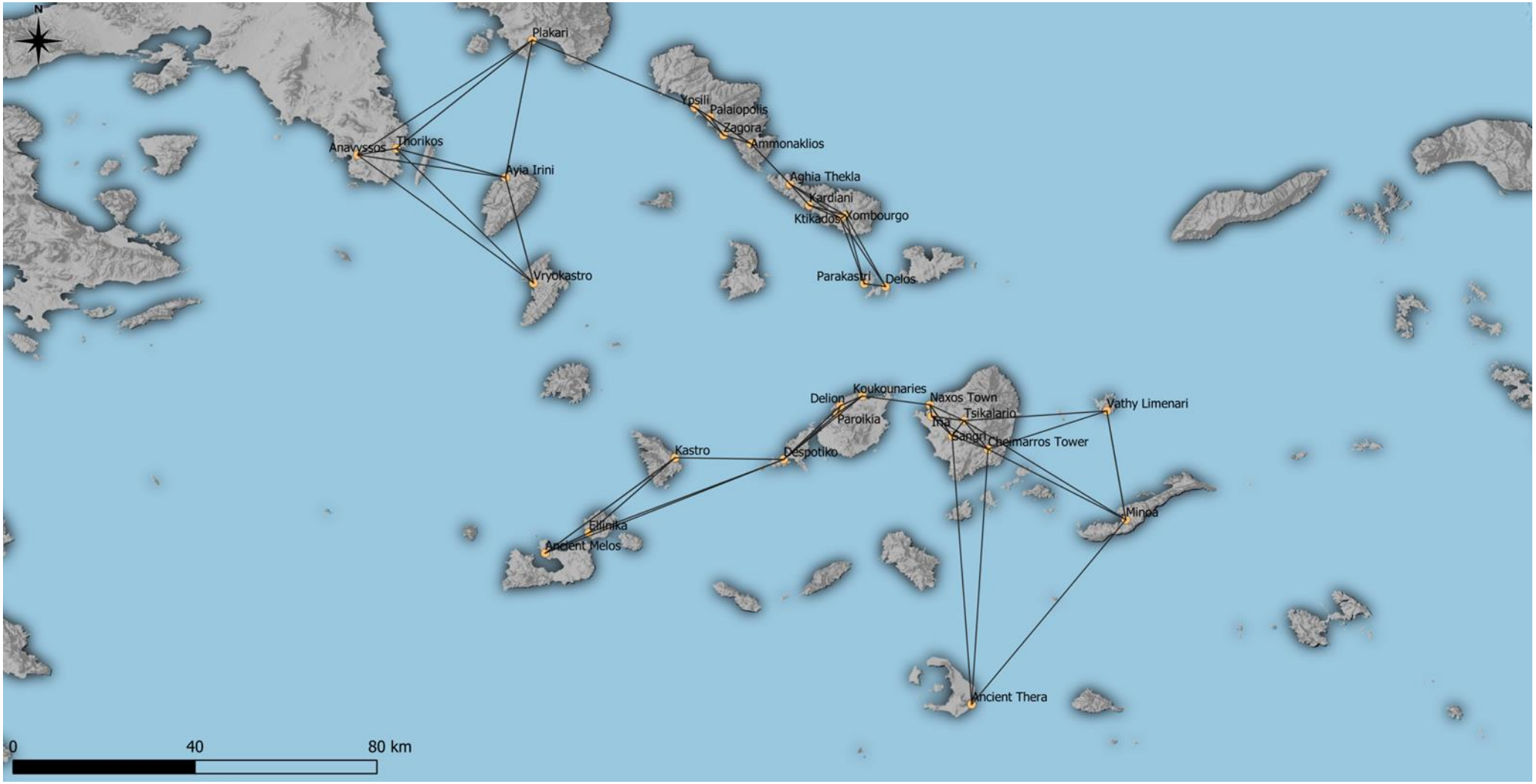

Fig. 6.7 Early/ Middle Geometric Cycladic networks based on connections between at least three nearest neighbour sites.

resumes on Thera as evidenced by the excavation of the two cemeteries at the ancient town. The latter's position could suggest renewed or at least more intense contacts between Crete and the Cyclades. What is more, the continuous habitation of Minoa on Amorgos and especially the establishment of Vathy Limenari on Donousa, a barren island with very limited carrying capacity, emphasise the importance of the maritime route between the central Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean. Together with Ancient Thera they indicate that long-distance interactions were starting to rebound during this period. To put it in network terms, what is demonstrated once more in this situation is the *strength of the weak ties* concept since the above sites enabled interactions between different network systems. Absent any prospects for local and intense interactions that could compensate for the barren landscape the small islands south of Naxos and Paros remain uninhabited.

Due to the scarcity of the architectural remains the actual size of the Early/ Middle Geometric settlements is elusive to us. The sole exception to this rule is the settlement of Vathy Limenari, where the size of the fortified promontory is estimated at about 0.35 ha[543]. The area enclosed by the Early Iron Age fortification wall at Xombourgo is estimated at 0.26 ha; on Andros the hill of Ypsili and the promontory of Zagora measure 1.5 ha and 6.7 ha respectively, but their inhabited area is unknown for this period and seems to have been much smaller, and at Koukounaries the evidence for habitation is still confined to the Upper Plateau of the hill (circa 0.1 ha). In general terms, the majority of the Early/ Middle Geometric Cycladic settlements were small in size, while at certain sites the archaeological evidence suggests that habitation had developed into two or more distinct residential areas. Although we do not know the exact size of the vast majority of Early/ Middle Geometric settlements, it seems that habitation is concentrated in or around certain areas as a result of long-term aggregation. This is particularly the case for Naxos Town and probably for Paroikia as suggested by the large number of sites excavated at these locations, especially at Naxos Town.

To return to Delos, the significance of the island in the regional dynamics lies in the fact that it constituted a nodal point amidst very important sea routes, at the end of the Euboean corridor's "extension" but also in a position that unites the two network clusters of the Early/ Middle Geometric Cyclades[544]. The confirmed performance of cult activities on the

[543] In fact, the size of the settlement may have been larger given that according to the excavator (Zafeiropoulou 1990) part of the settlement has collapsed into the sea.
[544] Cf. Davis 1982.

island and the excavation of bronze tripods that date from the ninth century[545], that is items with high symbolic capital whose dedication in sanctuaries was an expression of prominent social status[546], testify that already from this period elites had started to invest in the Delian sanctuary. Delos was under Naxian control from the seventh until the middle of the sixth century but it is difficult to argue whether the sanctuary was under Naxian influence as early as 800 BCE. Be that as it may, the dedication of bronze tripods by individuals in combination with the high number of imported pottery betrays that from this period the sanctuary had already begun to acquire a regional character[547]. As for Despotiko, despite the ambiguities surrounding the character of the site during its early phases, its position in the centre of the Cyclades and the fact that it offered a safe anchorage and a neutral space for economic activities foreshadow its subsequent development as a regional sanctuary. The religious activities and status display on Delos and the developments at the Iria sanctuary suggest that the end of the ninth century BCE was a period of increasing social complexity at least for certain areas of the region and more specifically the central Cyclades.

The Bigger Picture: The Cyclades in a Wider Context

Significant shifts took place regarding the Aegean interactions with the rest of the Mediterranean during the ninth and especially the eighth century BCE compared to the preceding Protogeometric period. First, Aegean pottery is now exported throughout the Mediterranean, from Cyprus and the Levant to the east to the Central Mediterranean and Huelva to the west, but in line with the previous period this mainly consists of drinking vessels[548]. The small number of closed vessels of Aegean origin that has been found thus far overseas together with the fact that some shapes that were not part of the local repertoires were not exported to the respective communities indicates that, at least in certain cases, the Aegean economy was not market oriented[549]. The majority of the exported Aegean pottery derives from Attica and Euboea[550]. Initially, a large part of the exported pottery was regarded as Cycladic, but in the light of recent chemical analyses an increasing percentage is disconnected from the Cyclades and is now considered Euboean. The most typical example

[545] Rolley 1973.
[546] Morgan 1990; Papalexandrou 2005.
[547] Cf. Earle 2010.
[548] Murray 2017, 203-8.
[549] Crielaard 1999.
[550] Kourou 2020b.

is the case of Al Mina on the Mediterranean coast of northern Syria where the overwhelming majority of the imported pottery that has been analysed is unquestionably of Euboean origin[551]. More specifically, the pendant semi-circle skyphoi that have been analysed from this site, many of them previously considered Cycladic, save for a couple of singletons belong to the "Euripos Group", a distinct group of pottery from central Euboea and nearby areas or pottery of Euboean style found elsewhere that share the same chemical signature[552]. Further analysis has shown that all the pottery of the "Euripos Group" was made of clay extracted from the deposits at Phylla, a few kilometres north of Lefkandi[553].

In a similar fashion, the number of imports in the Aegean increases exponentially given that during the Geometric period they exceed that of the Late Helladic IIIC and Protogeometric periods combined[554]. The imports derive mainly from the Eastern Mediterranean and a smaller amount from the Central Mediterranean and they have been unearthed in most regions of the Aegean world. In the Early/ Middle Geometric or its equivalent Sub-Protogeometric period on Euboea and other regions, most overseas imports are to be found in graves. Athens and Lefkandi on Euboea stand out since burials become richer in grave goods with a high number of imports of diverse types and quality[555].

The exchange networks of the Middle Geometric period betray a greater degree of interactions between the Cyclades and other Aegean regions compared to the preceding periods (Fig. 6.8). The earliest bronzes found on Delos date to the end of the ninth and the first half of the eighth century BCE. These consist of tripod fragments that are believed to derive from Attica[556]. It is not until the last quarter of the eighth century BCE that the first *orientalia* are to be deposited in Cycladic sanctuaries (see below). The issue of Cycladic exports is more complicated. Given that the attribution of Aegean ceramics found overseas to specific workshops is largely based on stylistic grounds or on macroscopic analysis of the clay fabrics, many attributions to Cycladic workshops are questionable. In view of the few instances that analytical research has been carried out, such as for Al Mina, this proved the Euboean origin even for vessels that previous macroscopic studies had originally supported a different, mainly Cycladic, provenance. Thus, a good deal of pendent semi-circle skyphoi that have been found at many sites in Cyprus and the Near East, such as Salamis and Tarsus

[551] Kerschner 2014; Mommsen 2014; Vacek 2014.
[552] Kerschner 2014; Mommsen 2014.
[553] Mommsen 2014.
[554] Murray 2017, 103-29.
[555] Popham et al. 1980; 1989; Popham and Lemos 1996; Whitley 1991a; Kourou 2012.
[556] Rolley 1973, nos 1-6.

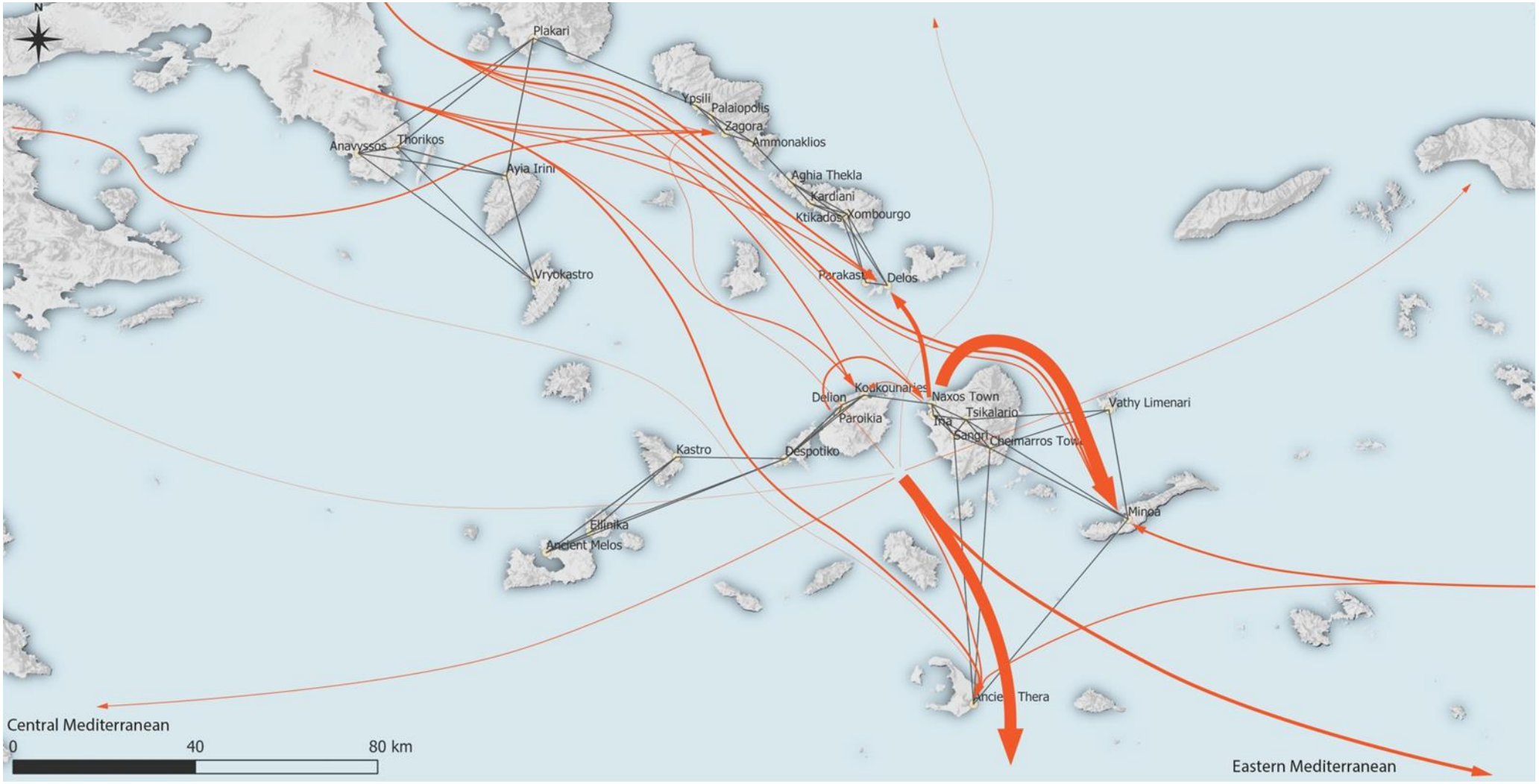

Fig. 6.8 Early/ Middle Geometric Cycladic exchange networks. The size of the edges is directly proportional to the number of imports/ exports (weighted degree).

respectively, that are termed as Euboean/ Cycladic should be regarded as Euboean, especially since in most cases their fabric is considered (macroscopically) similar to the finds from Al Mina[557]. What we are left with then is a few probable Cycladic vessels from a handful of Cypriot or Levantine sites, including Al Mina, Hama, and Samaria (Table 6.2). At Al Mina the earliest pieces of Aegean pottery are of Cycladic origin[558]. Nevertheless, the view of the Cyclades being among the first to interact with Al Mina should be dismissed in view of the large amount of Euboean and Attic pottery exported to the Levant from the Protogeometric period onwards.

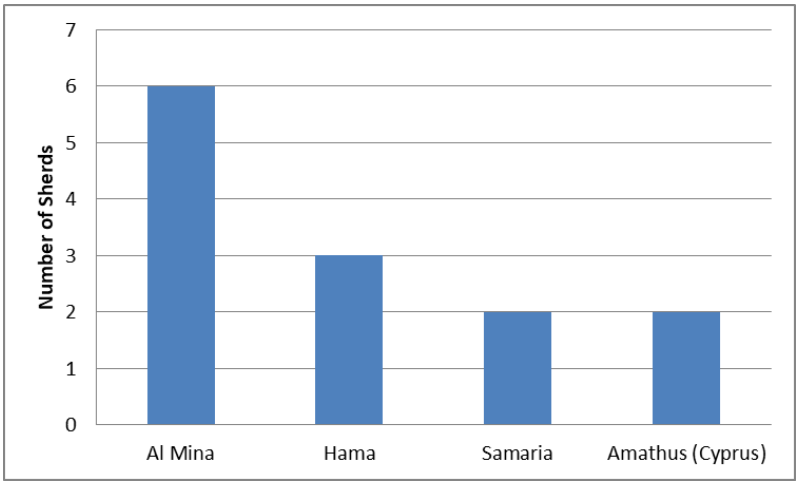

Table 6.2 Distribution of Cycladic exports to the Eastern Mediterranean in the Middle Geometric period.

A similar picture emerges for the Central Mediterranean where in the light of analytical research the ample amount of imported pottery previously considered of Cycladic origin turned out to be Euboean or from other Aegean regions[559]. However, a small amount of Cycladic pottery has been unearthed in a few sites always together with larger quantities of Euboean or Corinthian fabrics[560]. Overall, the Cycladic vessels constitute only a small part of a larger set of Aegean exports to certain locations both in the Eastern and in the Central Mediterranean. The bulk consists mainly of Euboean and secondarily of Attic or Corinthian pottery and together with the absence of evidence for long-distance trade in the Cyclades, it becomes clear that the initiative for overseas contacts did not belong to the islanders and that Cycladic pottery was transported to Mediterranean sites by non-Cycladic ships. Despite the fact that the islanders were passive actors in these early trans-Mediterranean networks it is during this period that for the first time in the Early Iron Age Cycladic material is to be found in any quantities outside the Aegean.

[557] For a catalogue of Near Eastern sites with imported Aegean wares see Vacek 2012; For Cyprus see Gjerstad 1977.
[558] Vacek 2012, 32-33, no. 114-116 (part C).
[559] Jones 1986, 673-80. See also Descoeudres and Kearsley 1983.
[560] See Kourou 1994, 290-91.

In most Aegean regions Cycladic imports are sparse and limited to a couple of probable exports to a few sites, including Torone in Chalkidike[561], the Samian Heraion[562] and the Argolid[563] (Table 6.3). Crete is the only exception, since a large number of Cycladic vessels has been discovered both in absolute numbers and in relation to imports from other regions, mostly in the cemeteries of Knossos. In more detail, 20 and 14 vessels have been identified at the Fortetsa[564] and the Knossos North Cemetery[565] respectively. By contrast, the number of Cycladic vessels that have come to light from the Knossos Town[566] and the Khaniale Tekke tombs[567], as well as from other sites such as Phaistos[568] and Eleftherna[569], is fairly small, while a few also found their way to Kommos in southern Crete[570] (Table 6.4). More than half of these pots are drinking vessels, followed in frequency by amphorae, pedestal craters, oinochoai, and a single pithos (Table 6.5).

That being the case as regards the Cycladic exports to other Aegean regions and the Mediterranean, let us now examine the evidence from the islands' perspective, and more specifically from the sites that have been sufficiently published as yet. For the Early/ Middle Geometric period these include Zagora on Andros, the Southern Cemetery at Naxos Town, Minoa on Amorgos, Ancient Thera, and Delos. From settlement contexts derives the material from Zagora and Minoa, while that from the Southern Cemetery at Naxos Town, Ancient Thera and Delos comes from cemeteries[571]. Evidently, the dataset from the latter consists almost exclusively of complete or near-complete vessels and that from the settlements mostly of sherds. The attribution of the whole corpus of the catalogued ceramics from the Cycladic islands to specific workshops is based on stylistic grounds and macroscopic examination of the fabrics.

Before proceeding any further with the analysis of the material, it is worth mentioning, at least briefly, the evidence from a few other sites, the material from which has

[561] Papadopoulos 2005, 489.
[562] Walter 1968, 93, nos. 49-50; Cf. Kourou 1994.
[563] Courbin 1966, 554.
[564] Brock 1957, 189-90; see also Kourou 1994, 275-79.
[565] Coldstream and Catling 1996, 404-05.
[566] Coldstream 1960; 2000.
[567] Hutchinson and Boardman 1954, 224, nos. 19-20 ; Boardman 1967. See also Kourou 1994, 275-79.
[568] Rocchetti 1974, 278.
[569] Kotsonas 2008, 267-71.
[570] Callaghan and Johnston 2000; Johnston 2005, 331, no. 76.
[571] The Delos material derives from the Rhenea Purification trench, where the burials from Delos were transferred during the fifth century BCE.

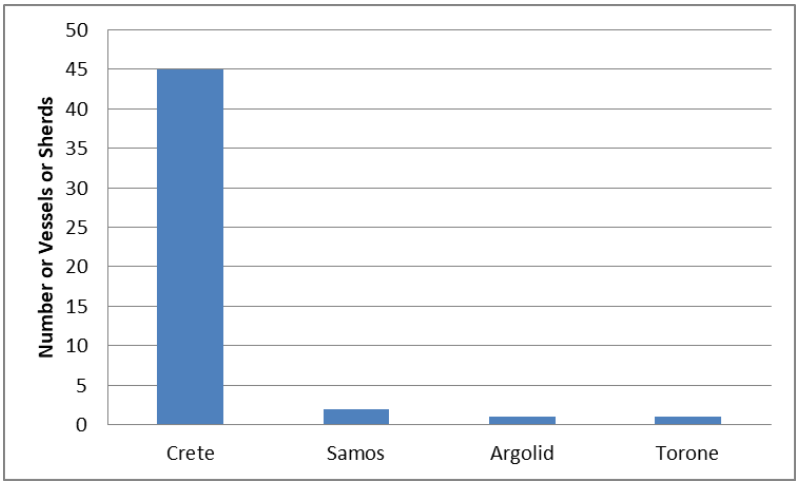

Table 6.3 Distribution of Cycladic exports to other Aegean regions in the Middle Geometric period.

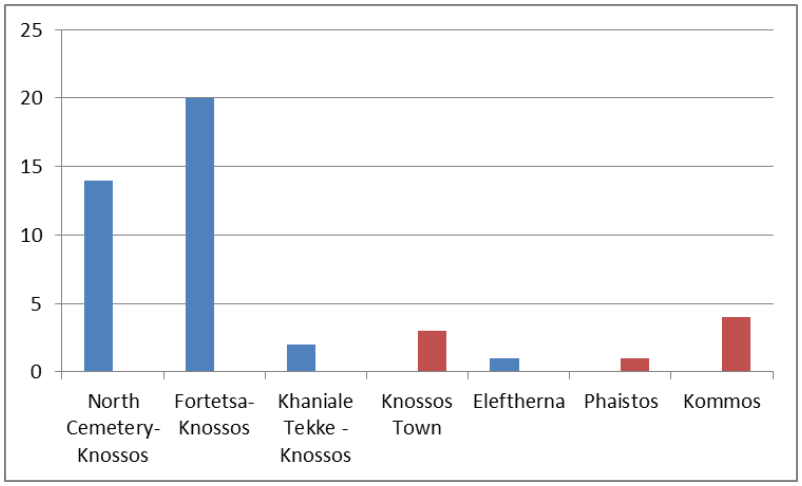

Table 6.4 Distribution of Cycladic exports to Cretan sites in the Middle Geometric period (blue columns indicate cemetery contexts- red columns indicate settlements).

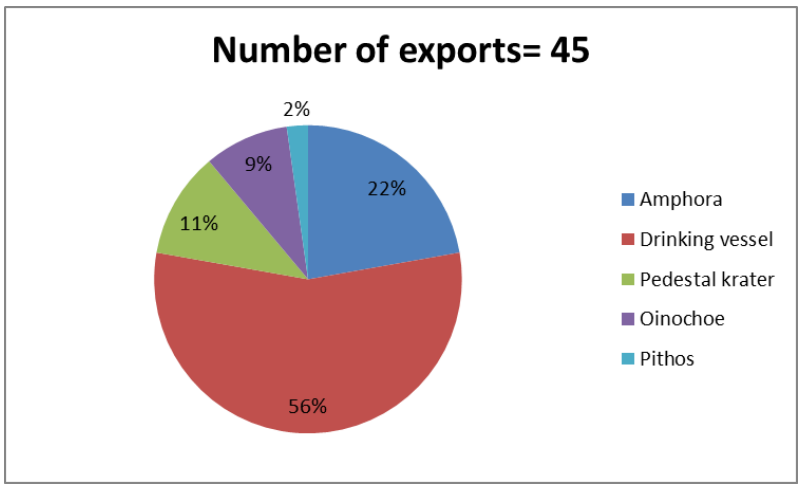

Table 6.5 Distribution of shapes of the Cycladic exports to Crete in the Middle Geometric period.

been published in a variety of formats. Thus, in contrast to the previous period the greatest part of the Early/ Middle Geometric vessels deposited in the Plithos cemetery at Naxos Town are considered to have been manufactured in local workshops[572]. Part of the Tsikalario material pertaining to local wares was subject to petrographic and chemical analysis[573]. Imports, mainly vessels of the Argive Monochrome Ware, are also reported but the material from the site is not catalogued or quantified at least in terms of its provenance[574]. 24 vases of Early/ Middle Geometric date have been published from the Rhenea cemetery (Parakastri)[575]. Unfortunately, today we do not know how many and which vessels were deposited in each grave. Most of these vessels are of undetermined provenance, although few are considered possible imports from Attica and Corinth. The earliest pieces find parallels in Euboea and the northern Cyclades, but from the middle of the ninth century the Attic style prevails. Finally, from Kastro on Siphnos some Naxian Middle Geometric and other Cycladic sherds are recognised but a clear picture in quantitative terms is lacking for this specific period[576].

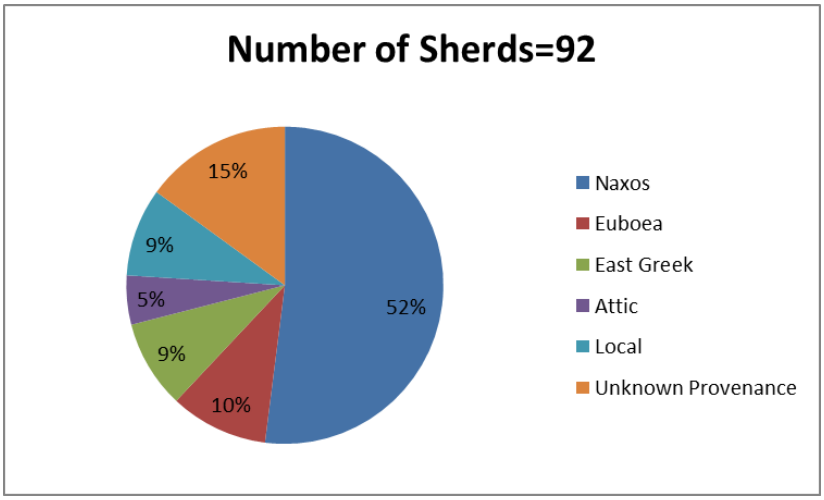

Table 6.6 Minoa, Amorgos. Early/ Middle Geometric period. Origin of pottery.

I now turn to examine the sites with catalogued material. For the visualisation of the affiliation networks the software Gephi was again employed and the ForceAtlas 2 layout was favoured. Sites or production centres are represented by light coloured nodes and pottery shapes by dark coloured nodes. The size of each node indicates its degree, that is, the total number of products that have been exported from each production centre and the total number of pieces of each shape that has been retrieved from the site under study respectively. The size of the edges is proportional to the number of products between production centre and pottery shape.

[572] Reber 2011.
[573] Charalambidou et al. 2017.
[574] Charalambidou 2018.
[575] Desborough 1952, 156-58; Coldstream 2008, 148-57, 164-71.
[576] Brock and Mackworth Young 1949.

The largest body of Early/ Middle Geometric vessels comes from Minoa, which is the only site where a comparison can be drawn with the Protogeometric period[577]. In order to maintain the methodological consistency, half of the material with a chronological range from the 10th to the early eighth century BCE is allocated to the Early/ Middle Geometric period. Consequently, 92 pieces in total are attributed to this period, most of them imported, since only eight sherds are identified as local products (Table 6.6). More than half are of Naxian origin, while the number of Euboean, eastern Aegean, and Attic imports is undeniably smaller. This picture contrasts with that from the Protogeometric period in that now the Naxian imports predominate and by contrast the Attic ones are dramatically reduced (Table 5.3). The number of Euboean imports remains unchanged and similar is the number of vessels, mainly amphorae, from the eastern Aegean. The main body of imports consists of drinking vessels followed in reducing order of frequency by amphorae, kraters, oinochoai, a single pyxis and a krateriskos (Fig. 6.9). The greatest part of the drinking vessels have been imported from Naxos, but pieces from all the exporting areas have also been found, mainly from Euboea. Most of the amphorae have been imported from Naxos and eastern Greece, while the oinochoai save for two local products are exclusively represented by Naxian imports. By contrast, the provenance of the kraters is more evenly distributed.

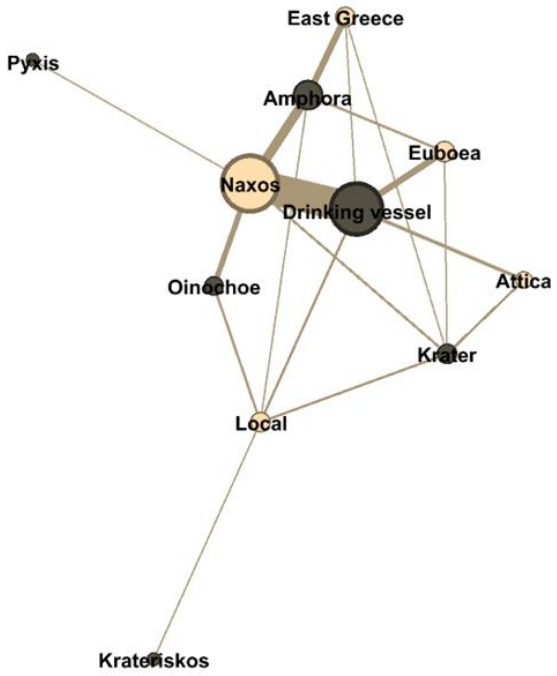

Fig. 6.9 Minoa, Amorgos. Early/ Middle Geometric affiliation network between pottery shapes and production centres.

The situation in Zagora is somewhat different. The sample of Middle Geometric pots recovered from the site is much smaller (50 pieces) and the imports make up about a third of the total sample[578] (Table 6.7). They come from different Aegean regions from the mainland and the islands, although the Attic and Corinthian imports are more common. The

[577] Blanas 2006.
[578] Cambitoglou et al. 1971; 1988.

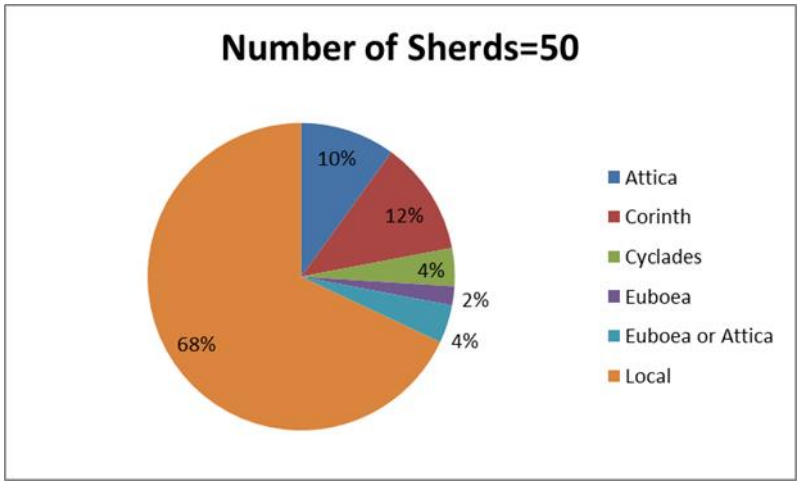

Table 6.7 Zagora, Andros. Early/ Middle Geometric period. Origin of pottery.

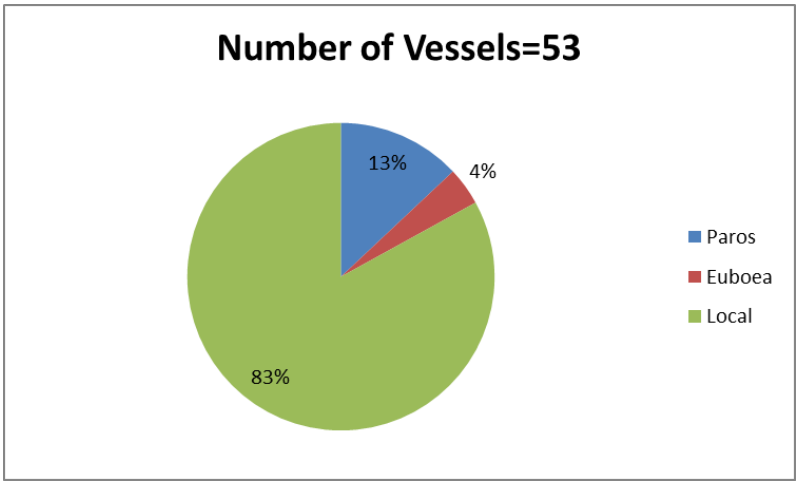

Table 6.8 Southern Cemetery, Naxos Town. Early/ Middle Geometric period. Origin of pottery.

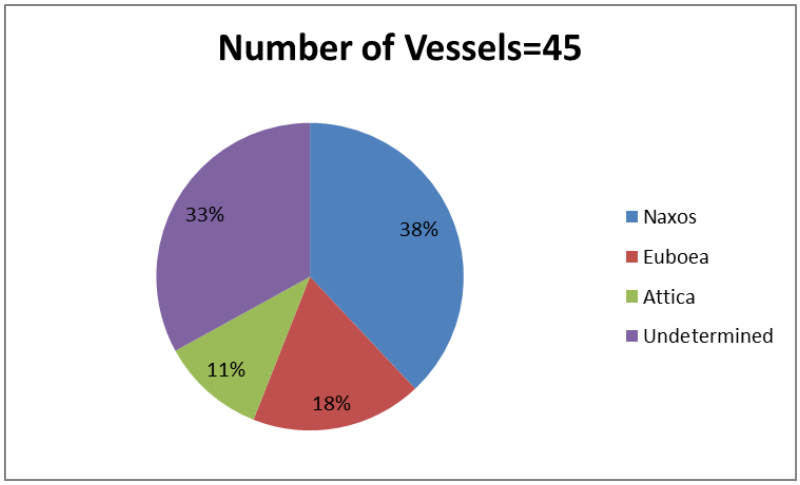

Table 6.9 Delos. Early/ Middle Geometric period. Origin of pottery.

most common pottery shapes that have been found in the settlement are the drinking vessels, amphorae and kraters, while the other shapes are less numerous. Nearly all shapes are represented in the local repertoire, hence the imports do not cover any shortage in the local pottery production (Fig. 6.10).

Moving to the funerary record, the evidence from the Southern Cemetery at Naxos is more straightforward. Both closed and open shapes are equally represented, although the number of closed vessels is somewhat greater. Of the 53 (complete or near-complete) vessels in total, 44 are local products, seven drinking vessels come from neighbouring Paros and two pots are probably of Euboean origin[579] (Table 6.8, Fig. 6.11). The picture from Delos as regards the provenance of the imported material is highly reminiscent of Minoa –should the eastern Aegean imports from the latter be excluded- although here the size of the sample is much smaller compared to the settlement of Amorgos. As with Minoa, the majority of the imports are Naxian, while Euboean and Attic vessels are also attested though in smaller quantities[580] (Table 6.9, Fig. 6.12). The range of imported shapes to Delos is quite smaller in relation to the other Cycladic sites. They consist mainly of drinking vessels, oinochoai, and amphoriskoi. With the exception of the drinking vessels, each shape was imported from a specific production centre. Oinochoai is the most common shape, entirely of Naxian provenance, another similarity with Minoa. Drinking vessels, the second most

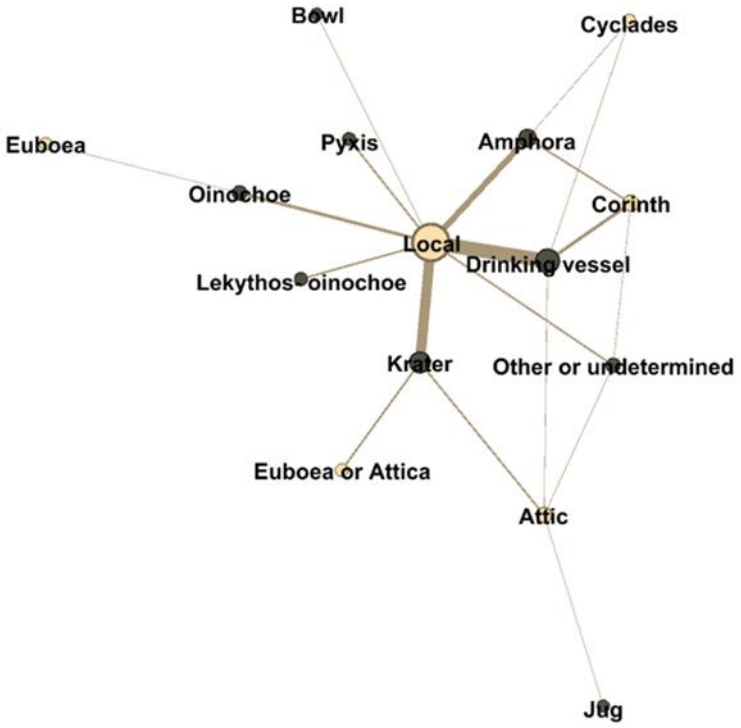

Fig. 6.10 Zagora, Andros. Early/ Middle Geometric affiliation network between pottery shapes and production centres.

[579] Kourou 1999.

[580] Dugas and Rhomaios 1934; Cf. Kourou 1994, 268-70.

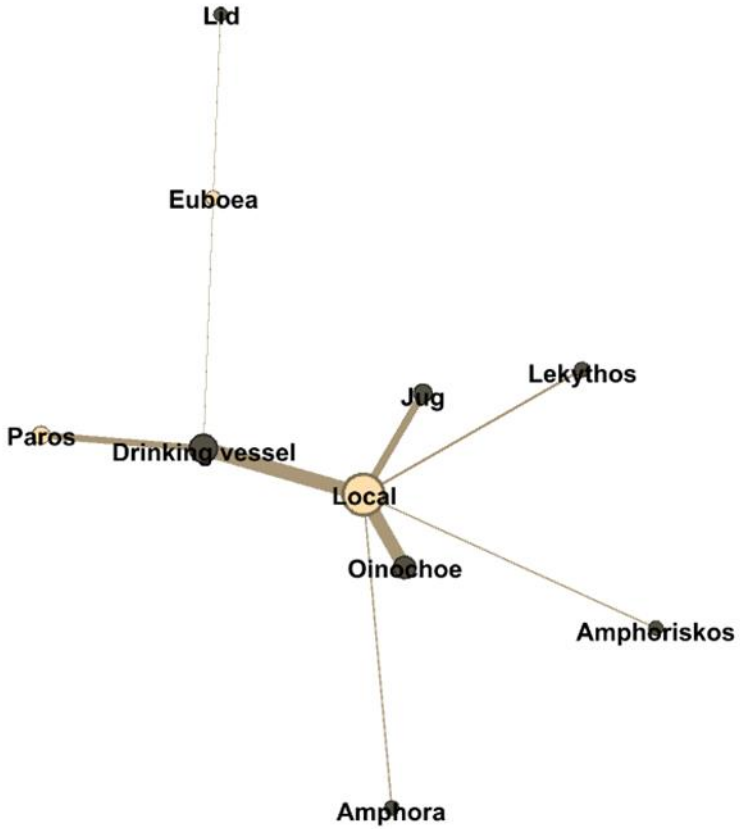

Fig. 6.11 Southern cemetery, Naxos Town. Early/ Middle Geometric affiliation network between pottery shapes and production centres.

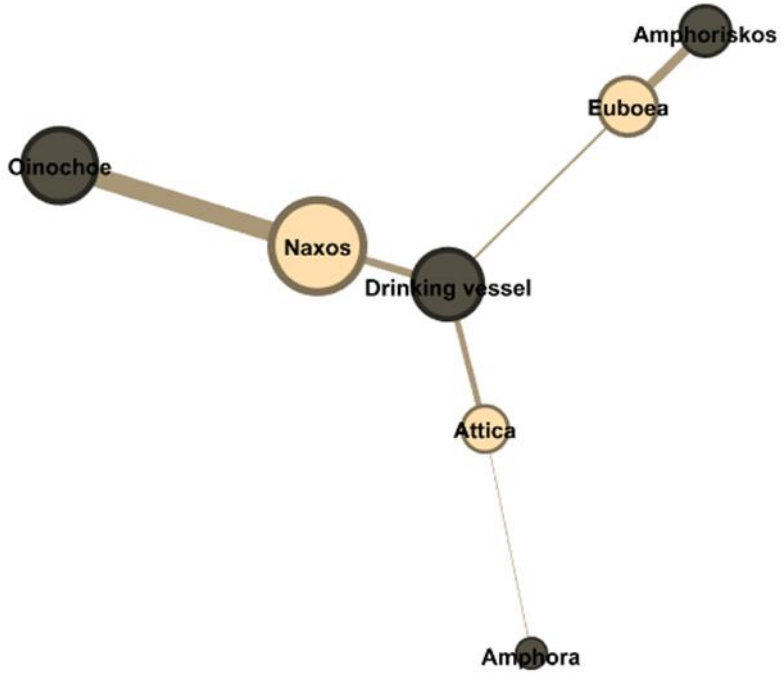

Fig. 6.12. Delos. Early/ Middle Geometric affiliation network between pottery shapes and production centres.

popular form, is represented by all three exporting areas. Next in popularity are the amphoriskoi that originate entirely from Euboea. Finally, at Ancient Thera vases from other Aegean regions, mostly Attic and East Greek, constitute the main body of imports[581]; the remainder come from the Cycladic islands.

After the analysis of the empirical data two questions emerge: first, to what extent do the latter match with the proximate networks (Proximal Point Analysis)? And second, taking into consideration the whole body of evidence, that is, the settlement patterns, the Proximal Point Analysis, and the exchange networks, is it possible to discern any maritime routes passing through or involving the Cycladic islands (Fig. 6.8)? Initially, it should be stressed that, save for the Cretan evidence, Cycladic pots circulated almost exclusively among the islands themselves. Regarding the imports, the examined sites differ both in the range of the imported shapes and in their networks of exchange. Thus, sites located geographically on the periphery of the region, such as Zagora, Minoa, and Ancient Thera, present imports from a larger number of areas. In some cases, such as Minoa and mainly Delos, the imports of fineware ceramics compensated for the lack of production in these products. Moreover, according to the networks between shapes and areas, no special relationship is detected between a specific shape and a production centre, with the sole exception perhaps of the Naxian oinochoai, given that at Delos and Minoa the demand for this specific shape was covered almost exclusively by Naxian imports.

As anticipated, Minoa presents strong contacts with Naxos. At the same time, it is the only site in the whole region together with Ancient Thera with finds from the eastern Aegean, a fact that also seems to confirm the initial conclusions drawn by the settlement networks that the position of both sites could have enabled interactions with different regions or network systems. Delos also displays close ties with Naxos, a fact that on the one hand may indicate early Naxian interests in the sanctuary. On the other hand, as mentioned in the previous section, the island lies in a position that connects the north-central cluster with the central Cyclades. The absence of imports from Tenos, contrary to what was expected according to the Proximal Point Analysis, is hardly surprising given the inward-looking attitude of its inhabitants as betrayed to a large extent by the settlement patterns on the island. The quantity of Naxian imports to Minoa and Delos alike raises the possibility that the Euboean imports were transported to these islands through secondary (indirect) contacts via Naxos. However, the Euboean pots from Naxos Town are too few, if any, to

[581] Dragendorff 1903; Pfuhl 1903.

support such a view. On the contrary, the evidence from the Southern Cemetery indicates, in agreement with the Proximal Point Analysis, closer contacts with nearby Paros. Cycladic imports to Zagora are few but the links with the Euboean gulf are reflected, in addition to the settlement patterns, in the more numerous finds from Attica and Euboea. Of interest are the Corinthian imports to the site that could suggest direct or indirect contacts with the Peloponnese. Regarding the first question then, which mainly (but not exclusively) concerns intra-regional interactions, it is concluded that the exchange networks are to a great degree compatible with the Proximate Point Analysis and the settlement networks. This in turn confirms the frequent contacts and the need for local networking among neighbouring communities, necessary for their sustainability, at least during the period in question.

In trying to answer the second question that pertains mostly to inter-regional interactions, first Horden and Purcell's viewpoint should be recalled that "visibility is at the heart of the navigational conception of the Mediterranean, and is therefore also a major characteristic of the way in which micro-regions interact across the water, along the multiple lines of communication that follow those of sight"[582]. Thus, the establishment of coastal sites along the western littoral of the islands that comprise the north-central cluster and the existence of sites that seem to depend to a greater or lesser degree on maritime interactions, such as Minoa and Vathy Limenari, suggest the existence of a sea-route that crossed the south-east Aegean ending in the Euboean Gulf and passing through the Cyclades. The existence of such a sea-route is further reflected in the provenance of the imports from Minoa and Delos. Nevertheless, the lack of imports in the Cyclades from Cyprus and the Levant stands in sharp contrast with the evidence from Rhodes, Lefkandi, and Athens where strong links with the Eastern Mediterranean are well attested, corroborating that way the view that the Cyclades did not actively participate in the exchange networks between the Aegean and the wider Mediterranean. By contrast, the Cyclades should be considered as intermediate stops in the long-distance trade between the Eastern Mediterranean and certain nodal Aegean sites.

Following the same line of thought a second sea-route this time involving the Cycladic islands and central Crete can be postulated by the re-establishment of a site in southern Thera and the high number of Cycladic exports to Crete. The evidence from the non-perishable materials may indicate that the islanders were actively involved in exchange

[582] Horden and Purcell 2000, 126. See also Morton 2001, esp. 159-63.

networks with Crete despite the absence of Cretan finds from Cycladic contexts which is anticipated since Cretan pottery is particularly rare outside of Crete.

This is so far the evidence as regards the exchange networks of the Cycladic islands. But when it comes to pottery styles is there any coherent picture in the repertoire of the Cycladic ceramic workshops during the Middle Geometric period? And did the different type of networks affect one way or another the diffusion of certain pottery styles? The styles developed in the Cycladic ceramic workshops are diverse. The Sub-Protogeometric style which mainly characterises the production of Euboea during the ninth century was also diffused in the northern Cyclades, mostly on Tenos as well as on Delos, Rhenea, and Andros[583]. In the remainder of the islands, the impact of this style is very limited and it usually appears prior to the dominance of the Attic style from the middle of the ninth century onwards. On Naxos, the hallmark of the Sub-Protogeometric style, the pendant semi-circles (often intersecting) skyphos, has been found in some quantities in the Northern Cemetery (Plithos and Grotta)[584]. Most are Euboean imports, but some may be the products of local workshops. In other vessel shapes the influence of the Sub-Protogeometric style is selective and is usually combined with features from other, mainly Attic, styles[585]. The Cycladic islands where the Sub-Protogeometric style seems to have been more prevalent coincide with the islands that form the north-central cluster in the settlement networks (Fig. 6.7). The shared stylistic features indicate that the geographical proximity to the Euboean gulf was decisive in the adoption of certain ceramic styles and confirm the habitual and intense interactions between these sites through which information was spread.

As early as the Early Geometric period, the influence of the Attic norms in the formation of the Geometric style in the central Cyclades was decisive, although the general impression up to the present is that there is very little "Early Geometric" from the islands[586]. As Nota Kourou remarks, in general the features that make up the Atticising styles on Naxos do not always come directly from Attica, but are often due to the influence of other Atticising workshops, usually Peloponnesian or Euboean[587]. In the Middle Geometric period, Naxian potters in the choice of shapes often draw elements from other workshops, although

[583] Coldstream 2003, 65-71; 2008, 148-57.
[584] Reber 2011.
[585] Kourou 1999, 97-99.
[586] Coldstream 2008, 164-65.
[587] Kourou 1999, 91.

most of them follow Attic standards[588]. By contrast, few are the shapes that occur exclusively on Naxos. But, it is in the decoration of the Middle Geometric Naxian vases that the Attic style exerts its strongest influence. This is clearly demonstrated in the finds from both the Southern Cemetery of Naxos[589] and Tsikalario[590].

One of the most distinctive Attic shapes of the Middle Geometric period is the belly-handled amphora decorated with the cross-in-circle motif in two metopes, hence the term "bi-metopal" belly-handled amphora. This shape was exported in various Aegean centres, including the Cyclades, but it also became an object of imitation by local workshops[591]. Interestingly, during the ninth century Cycladic belly-handled amphorae were exported to Crete[592]. Three Attic imports of this type are known in the Cyclades[593]: one from Delos; one from Grotta on Naxos; and one from the Mesa Vouno cemetery on Thera. The belly-handled amphora of the "bi-metopal" type is imitated mainly on Naxos, where it presents some local idiosyncrasies[594]. The most remarkable among them is the so-called "Kontoleon amphora"[595]. A variant of the "bi-metopal" belly-handled amphora is the amphora with three metopes, still decorated with the cross-in-circle motif and adhering more closely to the Attic standards[596]. The latter have been considered products of a Melian workshop, since a number of such vessels now in European museums has been attributed to Melos[597]. But "tri-metopal" amphorae have been found in several Aegean regions, including Athens and Knossos, as well as on other Cycladic islands, such as Kimolos, Thera and probably Delos, and Naxos[598]. Moreover, other studies have shown that the variant of the belly-handled amphora with three metopes was also created in Attica and then adopted by other workshops[599].

Be that as it may, what seems not to have been imitated at least in all the Cycladic islands is the symbolic meaning conveyed by these vessels. In ninth century Athens the belly-

[588] Kourou 1999; Coldstream 2008, 165-71.
[589] Kourou 1999.
[590] Charalambidou 2008; 2018.
[591] Kourou 2001c.
[592] Brock 1957, 32, no. 269; Coldstream and Catling 1996, 404, nos. Q 63-4.
[593] Kourou 2001c, 62, nos. B26, B27-31, and B32.
[594] Zafeiropoulou 1984, 129-32.
[595] Kontoleon 1947.
[596] Stampolidis and Kourou 1996.
[597] This attribution was originally made by Kontoleon (1947) and was later adopted by the majority of scholars, e.g. Coldstream 2008.
[598] Stampolidis and Kourou 1996, 711-12.
[599] Stampolidis and Kourou 1996.

handled amphorae of this type contained the cremated remains of mature women in richly endowed tombs. In a very recent article James Whitley demonstrated that these objects were part of a wider set of features that distinguished the burials of mature women from other type of burials in terms of age and gender[600]. In his opinion, these objects "embodied a certain kind of female personhood"[601]. But as Whitley has shown this Attic notion of female personhood was not shared by every region the belly-handled amphora of this type has been unearthed. In the Cyclades, the only island where the Attic notions associated with this shape had some impact is Thera. At the cemeteries of the island three belly-handled amphorae decorated with the cross-in-circle motif, two Cycladic[602] and a single Attic import[603], are used in a manner reminiscent of the Attic practice[604].

Conclusions

By comparison with the Protogeometric period for which there is a dearth of contextual evidence, the Early/ Middle Geometric is better documented in the Cyclades, despite that architectural remains, excluding a handful of sites, are still sparse. There is an increase in the number of sites mainly on the larger islands, with new entries appearing that are going to figure prominently in the future history of the region, such as Despotiko. By and large, in line with the previous periods, habitation remains coastal, although the tendency for occupying inland positions, first observed during the Protogeometric period continues down to the Middle Geometric. It is during this period that cultic activities are postulated on Delos and the island acquires a regional character for the first time. Subsequently, it seems that elites are now interested in investing wealth and negotiating status beyond the local level. At the same time the provenance of the imports reveals a Naxian interest in the sanctuary as early as the ninth century BCE.

The settlement networks show that the most intense interactions took place in the central and north-central Cyclades. The arrangement of sites, especially that of the north-central cluster near the entrance to the Euboean gulf, indicates that processes taking place outside the Cyclades affected the network dynamics and the settlement patterns on the

[600] Whitley 2015.
[601] Whitley 2015, 113.
[602] Dragendorff 1903, 35; Pfuhl 1903, 37, no. 6.
[603] Kourou 1997, 50, fig. 10; 2001c, 62, no. B32.
[604] Whitley 2015, 115-16.

islands. In the rest of the region, interactions were less frequent with sites in the periphery of the region facilitating connectivity with other network systems.

The material record from the Early/ Middle Geometric period offers the opportunity to test the Proximal Point Analysis against the empirical data, namely the imports to a few selected islands and the exports of Cycladic pottery to other Aegean and Mediterranean sites. The number of the latter, with the exception of central Crete, is too low so that any actual involvement on the part of the Cycladic communities in the Mediterranean exchange networks cannot be postulated. Interestingly, though, the exchange networks are largely consistent with the Proximal Point Analysis, in that they seem to confirm on the one hand the facilitating role of certain sites for long-distance interactions and on the other hand the need for short-distance, more frequent, interactions between neighbouring sites. Such a local network is unfolded embracing Naxos, Delos, and Amorgos, with the former acting as a hub. What is more, combining all the available evidence and methodological tools, two sea-routes involving or traversing the Cyclades are claimed; an eastern route coming from the south-east Aegean, passing through the islands before ending to the Euboean gulf; and a central route connecting the Cyclades with central Crete.

Chapter 7

The Late Geometric Period in the Cyclades

The developments that took place over the course of the eighth century have been analysed in full detail in the past decades by many scholars whose main field of expertise is the Early Iron Age and Archaic Greece[605]. These include the adoption of the alphabetic script; the rise of the *polis*; increased connectivity with the Mediterranean world and colonisation events; the emergence of regional and panhellenic sanctuaries; and population growth to name but the most important. These changes appear to have been expeditious so much so that they have led to the designation of the period as "renaissance" or "revolution"[606]. I would refrain from using the former term given that, among other things, it echoes back to the term "Dark Ages" formerly used to designate the earlier stages of the Early Iron Age Aegean. What is more, the term "renaissance" seems further inappropriate for the Cyclades. Despite the fact that in the islands there were many influences in several aspects of their material culture from mainland Greece during the Palatial era, many defining features of the Mycenaean Palatial culture, such as palaces and palatial art; objects of administrative function; the levels of social and political complexity; writing; and overseas imports, were absent. Therefore, there was nothing from the above that had to be revived. By contrast, the term "revolution" is gaining ground in the archaeological literature since it better describes the rapid changes and their long-lasting implications compared to what came before.

This chapter treats the Late Geometric period in the Cyclades, about 760/50 to 700 BCE in absolute terms, while at the end of the chapter there is a brief discussion on the developments in the Cyclades during the seventh century. Overall, the networks of interaction that have been explored throughout this thesis and the methodology and tools that were used in the previous chapter are also followed here. Moreover, some of the developments listed above, such as the spread of the alphabet or where the first *poleis* emerged in the region, are examined within the Cycladic archaeological context.

[605] E.g. Snodgrass 1971; 1980a; Whitley 2001; Coldstream 2003b; Osborne 2009.
[606] See Whitley 2001, 98-101.

The Evidence

Excavation data remains the main type of evidence for the Late Geometric period as well. Nevertheless, many sites have been identified through surveys and quite a few are dated to this period by surface finds. Similarly to the Early/ Middle Geometric, the majority of the sites that have been systematically excavated have been sufficiently or at least partially published although some are early publications. The remaining sites are known from excavation reports or preliminary reports by the Greek Archaeological Service.

An important difference, however, in relation to the previous period concerns the type of sites (Table 7.1). First, the archaeological visibility of the cultural material from the Late Geometric onwards increases significantly. Thus, for sites where the evidence consists of more than pottery, a very large percentage comes from sanctuaries, both long-established and newly-founded, or from settlements where sanctuaries have also been unearthed, for instance Koukounaries, Zagora, and Aghios Andreas. It should also be stressed that the architectural remains preserved from the Late Geometric are much more abundant compared to the previous periods. Finally, cemeteries continue to form a significant body of evidence, although in most cases these pertain to very early excavations.

Site	Type	Evidence
Naxos		
Grotta (Naxos Town)	"Sanctuary"	Systematic excavation
Plithos (Naxos Town)	Cemetery	Excavation
Southern Cemetery (Naxos Town)	Cemetery	Excavation
Kastro (Naxos Town)	Pottery	Excavation
Palatia (Naxos Town)	Pottery	Excavation
Aplomata (Naxos Town)	Pottery	Systematic excavation
Kaminaki (Naxos Town)	Pottery	Excavation
Tsikalario	Cemetery	Systematic excavation
Iria	Sanctuary	Systematic excavation
Sangri	Sanctuary	Systematic excavation
Phlerio	Sanctuary	Systematic excavation
Cheimarros Tower	Pottery	Excavation
Mikri Vigla	Pottery	Survey

Kinidaros	Pottery	Survey
Paros		
Vitzi (Paroikia)	Cemetery	Systematic excavation
Kastro (Paroikia)	Pottery	Systematic excavation
Asklipieion (Paroikia)	Pottery	Survey
Koukounaries	Settlement/ Sanctuary	Systematic excavation
Delion	Sanctuary	Systematic excavation
Filizi	Pottery	Survey
Tigani	Pottery	Survey
Diakofto	Pottery	Surface finds
Andros		
Ypsili	Settlement/ Sanctuary	Systematic excavation
Zagora	Settlement/ Sanctuary	Systematic excavation
Palaiopolis	Pottery	Excavation
Rethi	Pottery	Survey
Stavros	Pottery	Survey
Kastri	Pottery	Survey
Kythnos		
Vryokastro	Sanctuary	Systematic excavation
Skouries	Pottery	Survey
Kastro tis Orias	Pottery	Surface finds
Kastellas	Pottery	Surface finds
Amorgos		
Minoa	Settlement/ Cemetery/ Sanctuary	Systematic excavation
Aigiali	Pottery	Excavation
Katapola	Pottery	Excavation
Arkesini	Pottery	Surface finds
Melos		
Phaneromeni (Ancient Melos)	Cemetery	Excavation
Tsiggouria Potamakia	Tomb	Excavation
Aghios Konstantinos	Pottery	Survey

Kea		
Ayia Irini	Sanctuary	Systematic excavation
Karthaia	Pottery	Systematic excavation
Aghios Isidoros	Pottery	Survey
Thera		
Mesa Vouno (Ancient Thera)	Cemetery	Systematic excavation
Sellada (Ancient Thera)	Cemetery	Systematic excavation
Kamari	Cemetery	Systematic excavation
Siphnos		
Kastro	Settlement	Excavation
Aghios Andreas	Settlement/ Sanctuary	Systematic excavation
Kimolos		
Ellinika (Limni)	Cemetery	Excavation
Kalamitsi	Pottery	Surface finds
Tenos		
Xombourgo	Settlement/ Sanctuary	Systematic excavation
Delos		
Delos	Cemetery/ Sanctuary	Systematic excavation
Despotiko		
Mantra	Settlement or Sanctuary	Systematic excavation
Antiparos		
Cave	Pottery	Excavation
Syros		
Galissas	Pottery	Excavation
Mykonos		
Palaiokastro	Pottery	Surface finds

Table 7.1. Late Geometric sites in the Cyclades with indication of their type and nature of the evidence.

To begin with the settlement sites, the main occupation phases at Zagora are divided into two periods[607] (Fig. 7.1, 7.2). During the first phase (Late Geometric I), when most of the building complexes were erected, the majority of the houses belong to the *megaron* type, consisting of a multifunctional large room or a pair of rooms of almost equal

[607] Cambitoglou et al. 1971; 1988; See also Christophilopoulou 2007; Coucouzeli 2007.

Fig. 7.1. Aerial views of Zagora, Andros (after zagoraarchaeologicalproject.org).

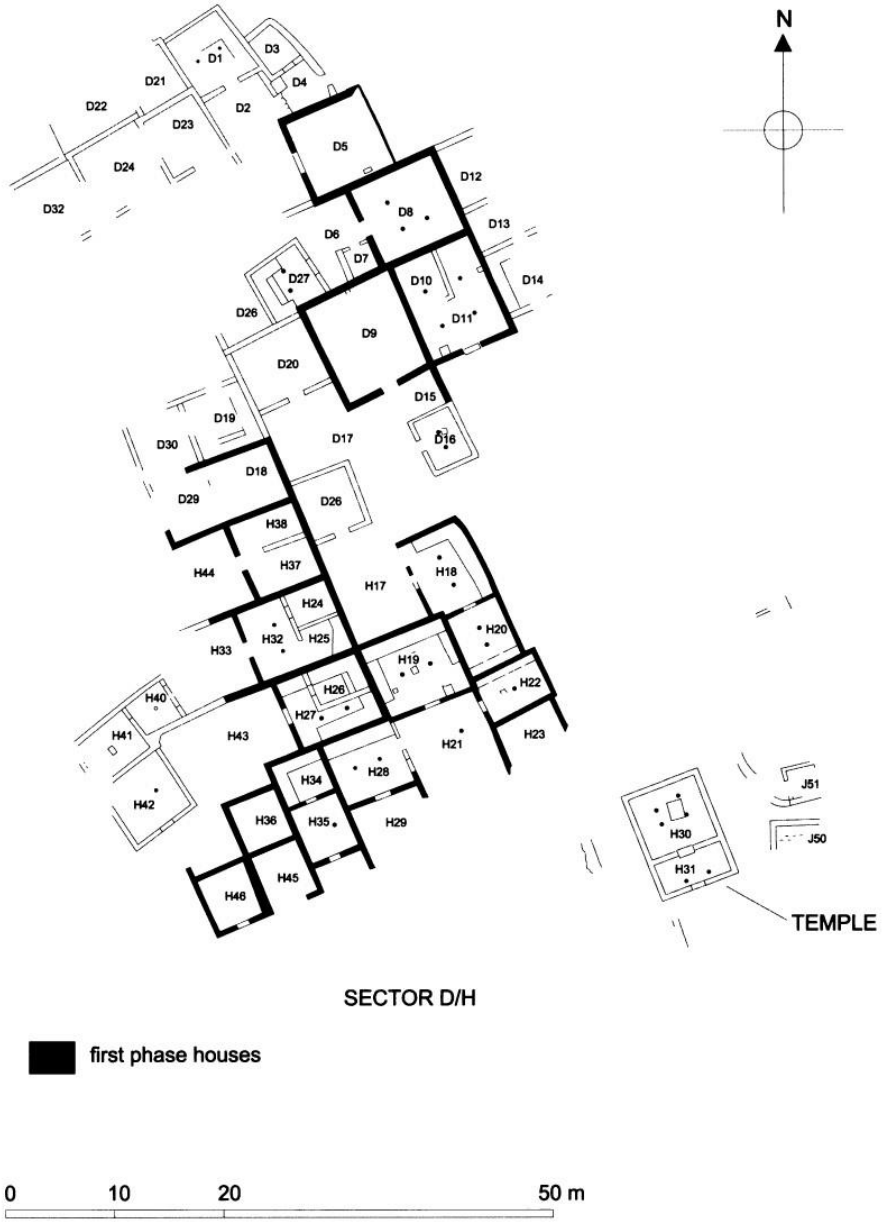

Fig. 7.2. Zagora, Andros. General plan of the settlement (after Coucouzeli, 2007, 171, fig. 18.2).

size arranged one behind the other preceded by a porch. The construction of the fortification wall is dated, with some reservations, in the same phase. During the second main occupation phase (Late Geometric II) new building complexes are established and the *megaron* type houses are expanded and transformed into houses which are organized around a courtyard and a number of functionally differentiated rooms or activity areas. Archaeological evidence in the temple area indicates the existence of two phases in the development of the sanctuary. The first dates to the Late Geometric II period, when an open-air sanctuary around an altar should be postulated. During the sixth century, and although the settlement had already been abandoned around 700 BCE, a temple was erected on the site of the open-air sanctuary, that was probably dedicated to Athena and continued to operate at least until the end of the fifth century. The excellent state of preservation of the settlement and its more or less sophisticated orthogonal layout render Zagora one of the most discussed sites of the Geometric period[608]. What is more, it has sparked discussions about early urbanisation in the Aegean. Indeed, some scholars based on the architectural evidence have characterised Zagora as an urban settlement or a developed *polis*[609]. Others, on the other hand, see urbanisation as a type of social process in which there is increasing specialisation and stratification in the fields of social and political organisation, economy, trade, and religion and argue that Zagora does not meet these requirements, hence the site should not be called an urban site[610].

Habitation at Ypsili continued during the Late Geometric period, when residential sectors were developed both inside and outside the acropolis[611] (Fig. 7.3). The position of the sanctuary in the most central and elevated part of the acropolis as well as the fortification wall seem to have played a decisive role in the development of the settlement's layout. Concerning the former, the evidence shows that at least from the middle of the eighth century a cult building, probably open-air, was erected, while the offerings to the deity were deposited in a specially designated area. The wall surrounds the acropolis and was reinforced with a system of towers for the protection of the settlement. During later periods the settlement shrank in size and was confined within the limits of the acropolis. The sanctuary was remodelled during the Archaic period and was in use until Classical times.

[608] See Gounaris 2012.
[609] Fagerström 1988, 146-47; Coucouzeli 2004.
[610] Vink 1997.
[611] Televantou 2008a; 2012.

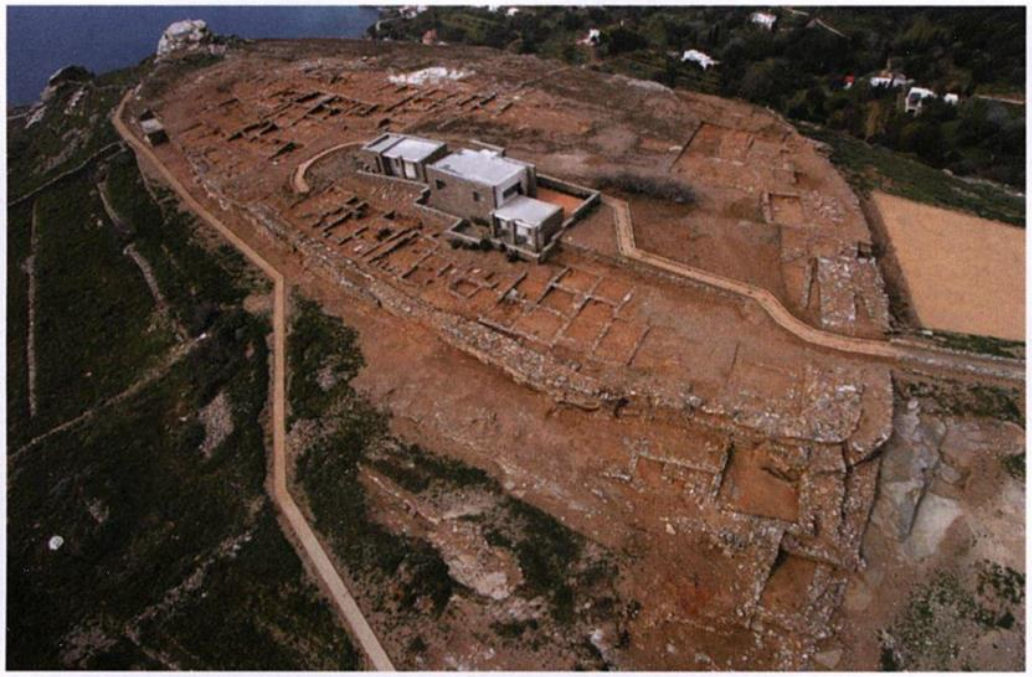

Fig. 7.3. Aerial view of Ypsili, Andros (after Televantou 2012, pl. 11.1).

In the Late Geometric period the Early Iron Age settlement of Koukounaries acquired its final form before its removal to the lower slopes of the homonymous hill[612] (Fig. 5.2). The inhabitants built their dwellings –rectangular constructions with a single room or with a series of rooms arranged one behind the other– over the ruins of the previous phases. Walls of the Late Helladic IIIC period were also used and integrated into the new constructions. Nevertheless, it is not yet clear whether the inhabitants of the Geometric settlement continued to use the Late Helladic IIIC fortification system. The layout of the settlement seems relatively dense, since the dwellings were constructed as autonomous units, with narrow roads between them. Two successive rectangular edifices that occupy approximately the centre of the Upper Plateau (Building B and C), both dated in the Late Geometric, comprise the largest buildings of the settlement, the earliest of the two measuring about 13m in length[613].

The sanctuary of the settlement has been located on the southern slopes of the hill[614]. Whether the cult at the site arose from long-standing religious activities, the roots of which date back to the Late Helladic IIIC period cannot be clarified, since the finds from the relevant layers do not belong to objects of undeniable religious significance. Instead, the evidence from the sanctuary deposit shows that the cult of Athena began at least in the

[612] Schilardi 1983.

[613] Schilardi 1983; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 183-85.

[614] Schilardi 1988b; 1996.

eighth century. On the same spot a temple of rectangular shape was erected[615]. Pottery discovered in proximity to the temple in conjunction with stratigraphical observations led the excavator to support a date for its erection around 700 BCE. Other scholars point out that the possibility of a slightly later dating cannot be ruled out[616]. The sanctuary continued to function until at least the end of the fourth century BCE, long after the peaceful abandonment of the settlement sometime during the first half of the seventh century BCE. A few meters north of the temple, a rectangular building dubbed the "House of the Seals" or "Hall of Gatherings" has come to light and is considered contemporary with the temple. In terms of its function, it has been suggested that this was a kind of an early *prytaneion*, which would have also served the needs related to the worship of Athena from the nearby temple. The area between the temple and the "House of the Seals" was found free of constructions and has been identified as an early *agora*[617].

Readers familiar with the Early Iron Age Aegean will have noticed that the site on the Oikonomos islet which is located on the north-eastern part of Paros, not far from Koukounaries, is missing from the catalogue of sites. The islet was originally surveyed by Demetrius Schilardi who was able to locate many structures in the area, among them an apsidal building tentatively identified as a temple[618]. In his publications Schilardi states that the earliest finds are dated to the Archaic period, but he leaves open the possibility of an earlier date for the founding of the site. Ever since, the islet of Oikonomos features in many syntheses of the Early Iron Age Aegean[619]. But in the light of the very recent systematic survey on the islet which failed to produce any Geometric material a pre-Archaic date of the site should be excluded[620].

The Late Geometric settlement of Minoa spreads on the southern slopes of the hill, in close proximity to the sanctuary area[621]. The houses are usually small and rectangular, separated by partition walls and grouped in clusters, as in the case of Zagora, that follow the inclination of the hill. In the second half of the eighth century, the fortification wall that protected the accessible part of the settlement was also constructed[622]. The latest tombs of

[615] Schilardi 1988b.
[616] Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 185-88.
[617] Schilardi 1988b.
[618] Schilardi 1973; 1975.
[619] E.g. Fagerström 1988; Mazarakis Ainian 1997.
[620] Athanasoulis et al. 2021.
[621] Marangou 2002b, 262.
[622] Marangou 2002a, 301-03; 2002b, 250-54.

the burial cluster are dated to around 700 BCE, at which time an enclosure wall was erected to encompass them reportedly covered by a tumulus, but the evidence so far cannot confirm any cultic activities on the spot[623] (Fig. 7.4).

Residential remains are found at two sites on Siphnos, namely Kastro and Aghios Andreas. The settlement of Aghios Andreas, after a long period of abandonment, was reoccupied around the middle of the eighth century BCE, when the fortified area of the Late Helladic IIIC acropolis was systematically reused. New buildings were erected, either on top or incorporating parts of older constructions and a sanctuary was established in a privileged position of the acropolis[624] (Fig. 7.5). The few single-room houses that were excavated at Kastro present simple internal layout[625], while the significant amount of pottery that dates to this period from a votive deposit makes the existence of a sanctuary in the centre of acropolis probable[626]. In both settlements the houses were built either in close proximity or in direct contact with each other.

The number of known sanctuaries or cult sites increased more than 50 per cent during this period, a picture that coincides with the situation in central and south Aegean from 760/50 BCE onwards[627]. Similarly to the previous period, their majority is located on Naxos. Thus, in Grotta the rituals on the raised platforms continued until the end of the Late Geometric when the platforms were covered by a large tumulus[628]. At Iria the sanctuary was reorganized and the first rectangular *oikos* was replaced by a more ambitious structure in which two phases are recognised, the second dates back to the first quarter of the seventh century[629] (Fig. 6.5). Open-air cultic activities continued uninterrupted at Sangri[630] and at the inland site of Phlerio a first sacred *oikos* was erected sometime during the late eighth century BCE[631]. At a short distance, a room complex served the needs of the sanctuary, while open-air rituals were held at a nearby terrace.

[623] Marangou 2001; 2002a, 299-301; 2002b, 207-24.
[624] Televantou 2008b, 82-106.
[625] Brock and Mackworth Young 1949, 6-16; Christophilopoulou 2007.
[626] Brock and Mackworth Young 1949, 3-5.
[627] Whitley 2001, 134-64; Osborne 2009, 51-67; Kotsonas 2017.
[628] Lambrinoudakis 1988.
[629] Gruben 1996; Lambrinoudakis 1996.
[630] Lambrinoudakis et al. 2002.
[631] Lambrinoudakis 2005.

Fig. 7.4. Minoa, Amorgos. Plan of the grave enclosure (after Marangou 2002b, 207, fig. 198).

Fig. 7.5. Aerial view of Aghios Andreas, Siphnos (after Televantou 2008, 273, fig. 1).

In the remainder of the islands, the sanctuary on Delos continued to develop and the first cultic buildings probably date from this period[632]. At Xombourgo on Tenos the sacred area was also reorganised and the rituals were now performed over a large hearth (*eschara*) instead of the small pyre pits conferring thus a communal character to the cultic practices[633]. At the site of Delion on Paros artefacts are now more abundant but the existence of buildings related to the sanctuary during the Late Geometric remains doubtful[634]. Finally, there is evidence that religious activities took place or resumed at Vryokastro[635] and the old sanctuary at Ayia Irini[636] on Kythnos and Kea respectively.

With a few exceptions (Tenos and Rhenea), the cemeteries that have been in operation since the Early/ Middle Geometric period are still in use, while a few have been located in new sites. On Naxos, however, the evidence from the funerary domain is scanty compared to the previous period. At Tsikalario some of the funerary structures date to the early part of the Late Geometric, while a building and a complex of rooms situated in the vicinity of the necropolis were linked to funerary and chthonic cults by the excavator[637]. Sporadic burials are now observed in the cemeteries of Naxos Town (Plithos, Southern Cemetery)[638]. On Paros, two cist graves ("*polyandreia*", literally a burying ground especially for men fallen in battle) have recently been unearthed at the site of Vitzi in Paroikia, each containing in funerary vases the cremated remains of 118 individuals, almost all of them identified as males ranged between the ages of 18 and 45 years[639] (Fig. 7.6). On the basis of the osteological analysis and of two burial vases that depict battle scenes it is believed that the dead were soldiers involved or fell in a battle[640]. Both graves date to the Late Geometric period but they were not built simultaneously. According to the excavator the earliest grave was constructed in the third quarter of the eighth century, and the second a few decades later. The subsequent cemetery was developed around these cist graves and operated until Roman times[641].

[632] See Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 179-83.
[633] Kourou 2011; 2015, 98-100.
[634] Rubensohn 1962.
[635] Mazarakis Ainian 1998.
[636] Caskey 1964.
[637] Zafeiropoulou 2008; Charalambidou 2018.
[638] Zafeiropoulou 2001; 2011; Kourou 1999.
[639] Zafeiropoulou 1994; 2000; Zafeiropoulou and Agelarakis 2005.
[640] Agelarakis and Zafeiropoulou 2017.
[641] Zafeiropoulou 1994.

Fig. 7.6. Paroikia, Paros. A late eighth century BCE *polyandreion* with funerary vases containing the cremated remains of individuals (after Zafeiropoulou and Agelarakis 2005, 31.

On Thera, the cemeteries at Mesa Vouno and Sellada remained in use and cremation continued as the customary burial practice[642]. The same custom was also practised in a third cemetery that has been discovered not far from ancient Thera, at Kamari[643]. The first phase of this cemetery extends from the middle of the eighth to the early fifth century BCE. As regards Delos, the abundance of vessels from Rhenea's Purification

[642] Dragendorff 1903; Pfuhl 1903.

[643] Efstathiou 2001.

Trench testifies that the cemetery continued to receive burials during the Late Geometric as well[644]. Lastly, the main phase of use of the cemetery at Ellinika, Kimolos dates to the same period, where the majority of the graves, commonly a pit with cavities in the corners, contained multiple cremation burials[645].

Settlement Patterns

During the Late Geometric the number of known sites increases markedly. In absolute numbers, sites rose from 27 to 46, an increase of more than 70 per cent (Fig. 7.7). This steady increase in the number of sites from the Protogeometric to the Geometric period is also reflected in the Greek mainland and Crete where the number of sites proliferates from 600 to 948[646]. In addition to the establishment of new sites this is due to the fact that the great majority of the Early/ Middle Geometric sites continued to be occupied. Coastal habitation becomes increasingly dominant since the majority of the newly established sites occupy the islands' littoral, on the most part on low-lying positions, while coastal sites with natural defences or easily defensible such as Zagora, Ancient Thera, or Koukounaries are still populated. Furthermore, some inland sites still persist and a few new are founded, mainly on Naxos. On the other hand, others, especially on Tenos, are abandoned.

Of the 46 sites so far identified in the Cyclades in the Late Geometric, 21 had already been established since the preceding period. It should also be stressed that certain sites, namely Aghios Andreas on Siphnos and Mikri Vigla on Naxos, are reoccupied after a long period of abandonment. Consequently, an increase in the number of sites is observed on almost all the islands. Exceptions are Donousa and Rhenea where the sole site on each of these islands ceased to be functioning and, especially, Tenos which shows a noticeable reduction in the number of sites. As has occurred throughout the Early Iron Age, Naxos is the island with the highest number of sites, now displaying as many as eight. Sites on the island's hinterland are still occupied and new are founded, thus keeping on with the tendency manifested during the Early/ Middle Geometric. The number of sites on Paros has now doubled, all occupying coastal positions. The situation is similar on Andros, unlike Tenos where, as mentioned above, habitation is limited to a single site. In the islands of the north-

[644] See Dugas and Rhomaios 1934; Coldstream 2008, 171-81.
[645] Pantou and Ditsa 2011.
[646] Murray 2017, 141, table 3.12.

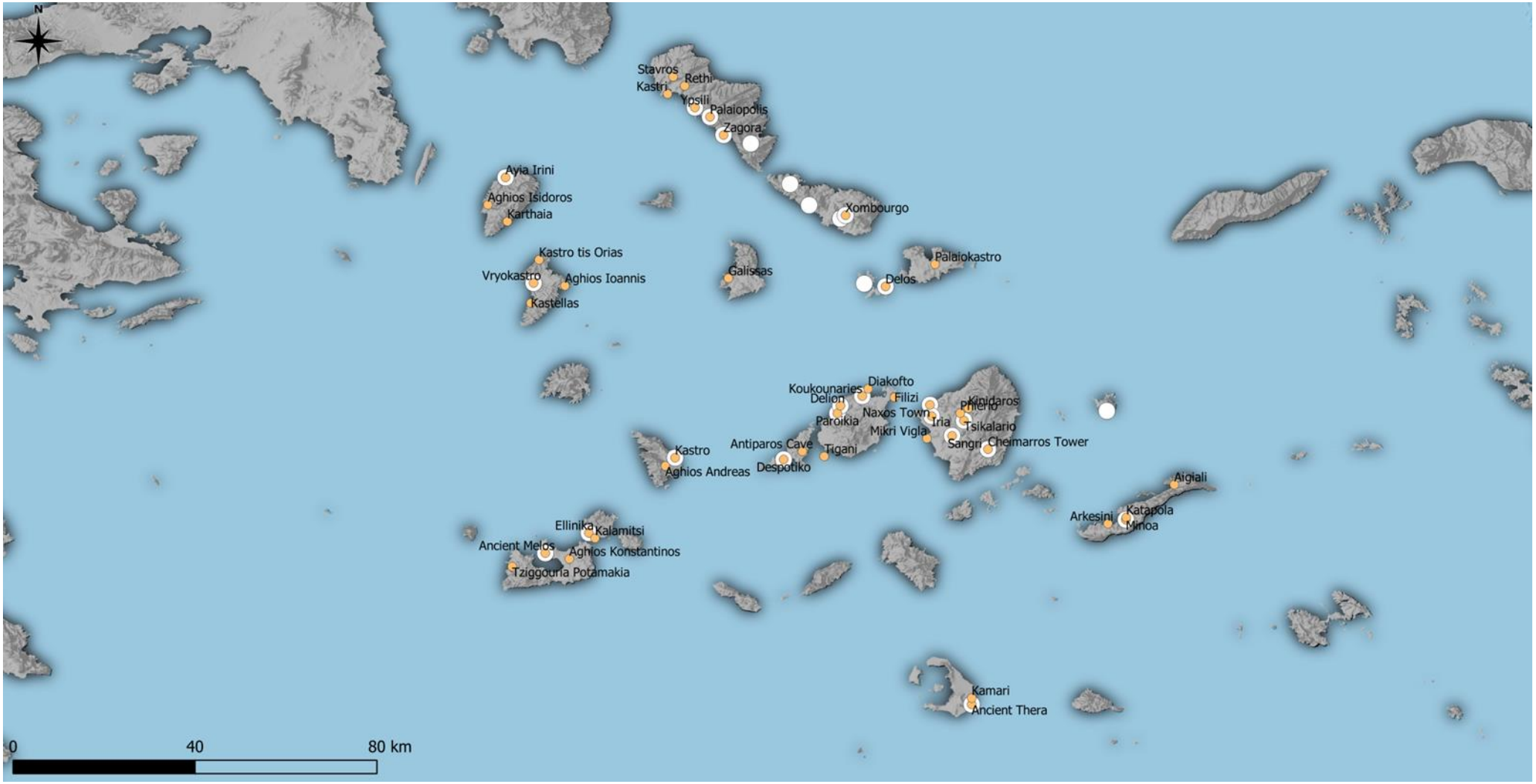

Fig. 7.7. Map of the Late Geometric Cycladic sites (white dots indicate the Early/ Middle Geometric Cycladic sites).

western Cyclades, where during the previous period there was a noticeable decrease in settlements, traces of habitation are more abundant, although on the most part the evidence is confined to a handful of pottery sherds for each site. The islands of the south-western Cyclades, as well as Thera and Amorgos, show an almost similar growth. Of the remaining islands, it is now that Antiparos, Mykonos, and Syros show traces of habitation for the first time during the Early Iron Age. The inclusion of the latter is anticipated owing to the island's position between different network systems and amidst important sea routes.

Judging from the topography of the newly founded sites, for instance Filizi, Kamari on Thera, or Galissas on Syros to name but a few, defensive capacity was not the decisive factor in the choice of a site's location. This is in contrast with the earlier parts of the Early Iron Age, even though some older sites in easily defensive positions survived into the Late Geometric, while others, for instance Aghios Andreas, are situated in already fortified positions. Little can be added about the actual size of the settlements. It seems that Naxos Town and Paroikia, judging by the number of sites that comprise them, continued to grow in size, and settlements such as Aghios Andreas, Zagora, Ypsili, Xombourgo, and Koukounaries probably made use of the greatest part of their already fortified areas (see previous chapter).

Naxos is the only Cycladic island with a sufficient number of both coastal and inland sites. It is reasonable that the inhabitants continued to exploit the wealthy island's hinterland. Elsewhere, the contrast between Andros and Tenos is impressive, and becomes even more apparent due to the proximity to each other, the fact that they are of similar size and along an important maritime route. Thus, there is a marked difference both in the number of sites on each island as well as in the location these sites occupy. More specifically, on Andros there is an increase in the number of sites, their great majority established along the island's western littoral. By contrast, Tenos remains with a single site that lies in an inland and mountainous location. As we have seen this was a gradual process that had begun to unfold during the preceding periods and reflects the different orientations of their respective communities and their different responses to the wider processes that were taking place in the Aegean during the Early Iron Age. By this I do not mean that Xombourgo on Tenos was totally cut off from intra-regional or inter-regional interactions. Imported vessels from the Cyclades as well as from Attica and Euboea reported at the site, although local wares constitute the main body of pottery retrieved at the site, denote that some degree of connectivity with the Aegean was maintained throughout the Early Iron

Age[647]. Rather, I argue that this was a conscious choice and the inhabitants of the island preferred not to depend on the exchange networks of the time, but to benefit from the proximity to lands suitable for farming or livestock breeding[648] (Fig. 7.8).

Fig. 7.8. Xombourgo, Tenos and its surrounding areas.

Networks and Proximate Interactions

An almost complete rearrangement of the network dynamics in terms of proximate interactions is revealed in the Late Geometric period (Fig. 7.9). The only continuity from the previous period is the central Cyclades cluster, in which the largest number of sites is, by a wide margin, observed since new sites are constantly "attached" to this cluster. Apart from Naxos, Paros, and Despotiko, now Antiparos and Tigani, an islet off the coast of Paros, bear traces of habitation. Hence, the cluster presents no less than 16 sites. The settlement patterns on the islands affected the connectivity of the central Cyclades cluster. Thus, it is still connected to the islands of the south-western Cyclades, while a new link is now formed with Delos. On the contrary, the central Cyclades are not connected to the islands of the

[647] Kourou 2015, 98-100.

[648] For animal remains from Xombourgo see Trantalidou 2011, 1064-68.

southern and south-eastern Cyclades. It seems that the cluster's central position within the region, its connectivity to other areas of the region, as well as the carrying capacity of the largest islands that make up this group enabled the growth of this particular area.

The island groups of the south-western and north-western Cyclades form two distinct clusters. After a short break during the Early/ Midddle Geometric interactions are once again more intense at the latter. The islands' proximity and connectivity to Attica and their position at the entrance of the Euboean gulf were of essential importance for their sustainability especially if we take into account the fact that all of them are barren masses of land. Habitation and settlement networks have been more extensive in the south-western Cyclades since the previous century and for the first time after the Palatial period and the demise of Phylakopi settlement and proximate interactions seems to have been restored at this area. In a similar vein, the growth of maritime activities in addition to the position of the islands of the south-eastern Cyclades that unites different regions account for their development in terms of site number and proximate interactions. The settlement patterns on Tenos affected the network dynamics in the north-central Cyclades, where the cluster that previously incorporated the islands of Andros, Tenos, Delos, and Rhenea, now essentially consists only of the sites of the former. By contrast, communities on Andros took advantage of the island's position in close proximity to the Euboean gulf and along a much exploited maritime route and formed part of the Aegean networks of interaction of the eighth century BCE.

Delos seems less connected with reference to proximate interactions but as it has already been observed the island had started to emerge as a central place as early as the late ninth century, on the one hand as a religious centre and on the other hand due to its position in the middle of a very important sea route[649]. Beyond the religious practices, from the eighth century onwards panhellenic or regional sanctuaries had been the setting of wealth display and status negotiation between the elites of different communities. They also served as neutral places where people across different regions could meet and various economic activities were held. As mentioned above, the Delian sanctuary was under Naxian control at least from the seventh century BCE, and although we are not able to know if this control dates back to an earlier period, the evidence shows that the Naxian presence on the island becomes progressively stronger (see below).

[649] Cf. Earle 2010.

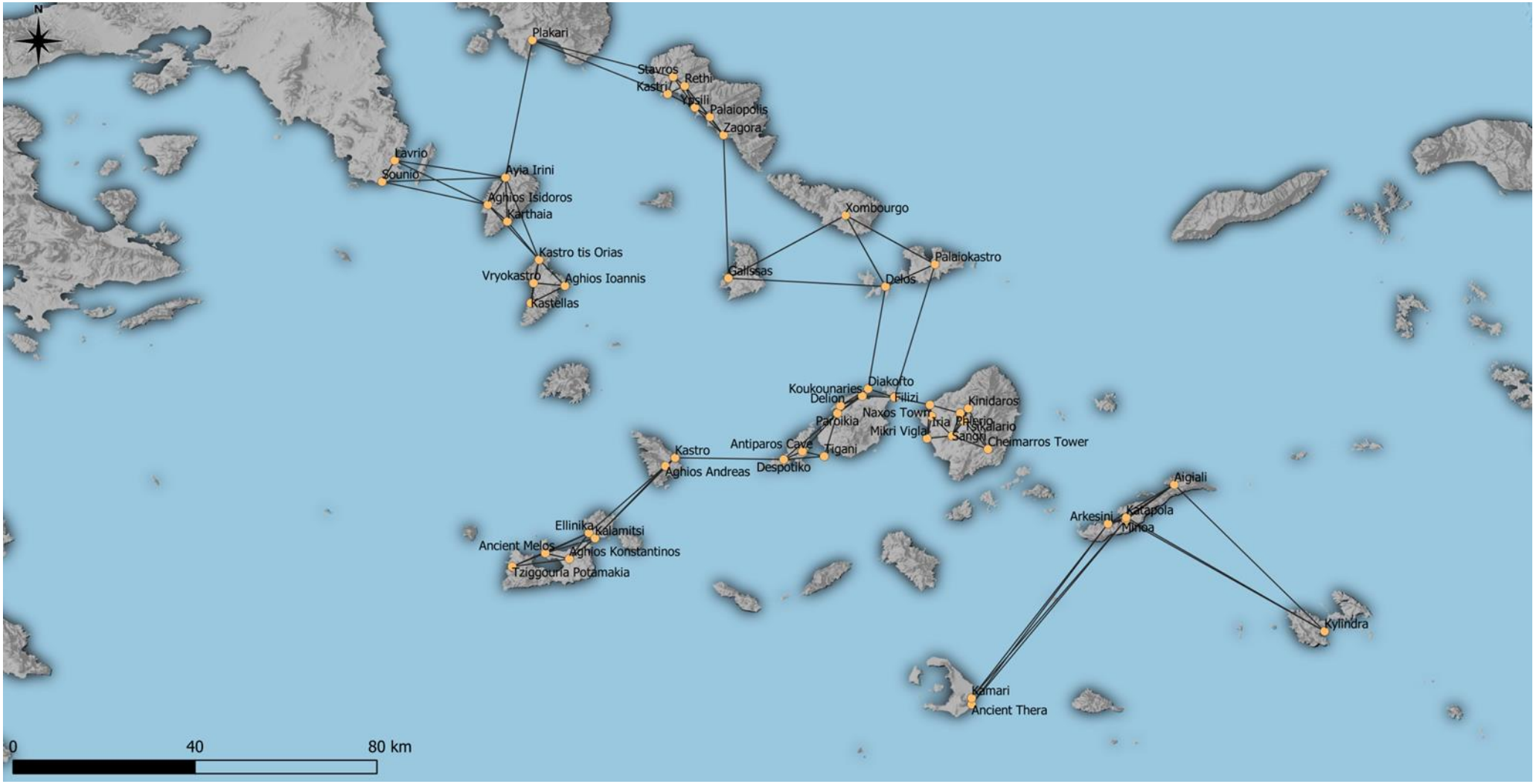

Fig. 7.9. Late Geometric Cycladic networks based on connections between at least three nearest neighbour sites.

The development of the Apollo sanctuary on Despotiko during the Archaic period should be explained within this framework. That is, it should be understood as a reaction of the Parian elites and as an attempt on their part to compensate for the dominance of the Naxians in a sanctuary that was gradually turning into a hub of regional social encounters and economic transactions. In other words, this process was the result of interaction between the peer polities of Paros (Paroikia) and Naxos Town, which could be considered within the concept of peer polity interaction and competitive emulation[650]. Apart from economic and social explanations, the site was located in a leeward bay offering thus a safe anchorage for ships. But most importantly, owing to its geographical position the site connects two network systems, despite that according to Proximal Point Analysis it does not constitute a central node within the central Cyclades cluster. What is more, it is located in close proximity to the mines of Siphnos, that is, an area of great economic interest at the time, while its liminal position offered a neutral ground for economic activities. Filizi, nowadays an islet off the coast of north-eastern Paros, shares similarities with Despotiko. Despite not being the most connected site within its cluster, it lies in a position that unites Paros and Naxos as well as the central Cyclades with the north-central Cyclades. Recent finds attest to the site's inclusion in a Late Geometric/ Archaic trading network that incorporates, among others, parts of mainland Greece, the south-east Aegean and Cyprus[651].

Let us now proceed to explore the nature of the proximate interactions on a smaller scale, initially those between the communities of Naxos, and more specifically between those between Naxos Town and the more rural sites of the island. According to the Proximate Point Analysis the communities on the island's hinterland should have been in regular contact with the communities from the Naxos littoral. This is least likely to be a fallacy of the methodology since the coastal sites of the island actually constitute the only area with which the former could have habitually interacted. In the economic domain, later literary sources inform us that goods that were produced in the island's countryside were sold, at least in certain quantities, to the nobility of the city[652]. Although we run the risk of anachronism, a relationship between supplying peripheral areas and a consuming core area, namely Naxos Town, as early as the eighth century BCE should not be excluded. Adding to this, the large quantities of unfinished (or even failures) stone dedications at the inland

[650] Renfrew 1986; Snodgrass 1986.
[651] Knodell et al. 2020, 13-16.
[652] Athen. Deipn. VIII, 348a-c. Cf. Lambrinoudakis 2001, 15.

sanctuary of Phlerio suggest that the main users of the site were quarrymen whose production was mainly consumed at the city[653].

In the ideological level however, the funerary structures at Tsikalario have no parallel either on Naxos or in the Early Iron Age Cyclades. Scholars have searched for parallels of the Tsikalario tumuli in northern Greece[654] or in Caria[655]. The material evidence from the site, though, demonstrates the Naxian character of the bulk of the pottery, while the burial practices do not differ from those at Naxos Town[656]. Hence, the imposing funerary structures at Tsikalario have been interpreted as an indicator of the deceased's status and prosperity and as an attempt to distinguish the inland community from that of Naxos Town[657].

Monuments, Pots, and the Past

Moving on to the transformations that occurred within single sites, by the end of the eighth century a similar pattern is discerned in certain settlements. This pertains to the creation of monuments; monuments that were meant to last and that by any means were related to the dead and the evolution of the political community. Probably it is not by chance that these monuments have been unearthed in settlements that were later developed into *poleis*, namely Naxos Town, Paroikia, Minoa, and Xombourgo. To begin with Naxos Town, we have seen that an area of the Late Helladic IIIC settlement was converted into a burial ground and rituals in honour of the dead were held by the graves. Over the graves stone or pebble platforms were later constructed to provide space for commemorative rituals performed on the platforms for many generations. In the opinion of Nota Kourou these rituals were "addressed to the 'ancestors' in a broader sense […] with the platform functioning as a kind of 'altar' for sacrificial rituals over the old burial"[658]. At the end of the Late Geometric period the entirety of the platforms were covered by a huge tumulus creating thus a unified monument now addressed to the whole community (Fig.

[653] Lambrinoudakis 2005.
[654] Coldstream 2003, 92.
[655] Lambrinoudakis 2001, 18.
[656] Charalambidou 2017; 2018.
[657] Lambrinoudakis 2001, 19; Charalambidou 2018, 187-90. A similar interpretation has been postulated for the tumuli in the Early Iron Age Halos in Thessaly (Georganas 2002).
[658] Kourou 2015, 93 (quotation marks original). This view echoes Antonaccios's (2016) notion of fictive or idealised ancestors.

7.10). In close resemblance to Naxos Town, at Minoa the cremation burials and the single *enchytrismos* were encircled around the same period by an enclosure wall and apparently covered by a tumulus (Fig. 7.4). What we observe again is the gradual formation of a unified and unifying monument.

By contrast, the two *polyandreia* of Paroikia are not the outcome of any transformative process and it seems that they were ad hoc constructions wherein the clay vessels that contained the cremated bones of the fallen were intended to be deposited in the first place. In other words, since their inception both graves were created as a collective monument. Shortly after the construction of the second *polyandreion* the whole area was marked by a marble *stele* with a relief representation of a female enthroned figure that was erected very close to the graves and is considered as one of the earliest relief *stelai* of the Greek historical era[659]. The evidence from Xombourgo is no less straightforward. There, a single platform over an empty tomb is succeeded by a number of family shrines in the form of small pyre pits clustered into enclosure walls. Towards the end of the Late Geometric period rituals were transferred to an integrated construction, a large hearth, assisted by a large stone bench, bearing also evidence for large sacrificial meals taking place in the area. Whether the earlier family shrines constituted an ancestor cult or not, what matters most in the present context is that the large hearth was meant to serve the entire community.

We discern then the gradual development from individual or family tombs and cults to collective monuments or constructions that concern the entire community. The sole exception is the *polyandreia* of Paros that were created as collective monuments all along. But what dictated the nearly contemporaneous construction of these monuments in different parts of the Cyclades? Scholars have stressed that these developments signify social and ideological shifts[660] and from the above it follows that these monuments fulfilled a dual purpose. On the one hand, they were meant to represent the entire community. At the same time, at least in some instances, they served as a means on the part of the deceased's descendants to consolidate their status within the community. We do not know if the "selected" dead were the ancestors of sections of the communities in biological terms or if this was a claimed or invented ancestry. The fact that in most cases examined so far there is a continuous remembrance of the dead since the moment of their burial speaks in favour of the former. This dual function is better represented at Naxos Town and Minoa where the

[659] Zafeiropoulou 2000, 286.
[660] Kourou 2015.

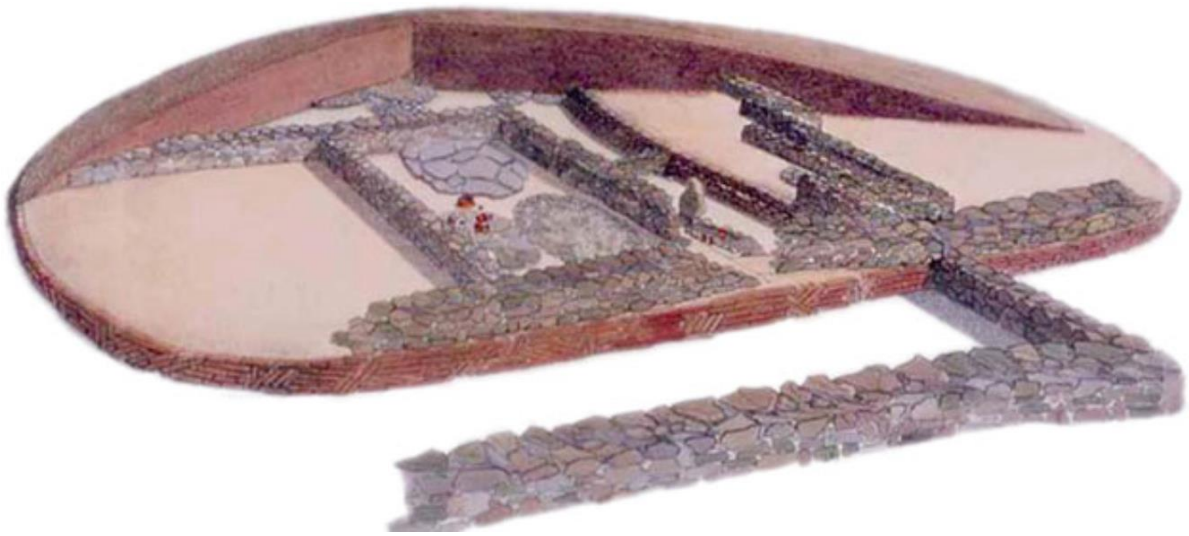

Fig. 7.10. Grotta, Naxos Town. Reconstruction of the tumulus (after Lambrinoudakis 2001, 14, fig. 2).

integrated monuments are comprised of earlier individual or family funerary-related constructions used by the elite community.

At this point it should be emphasised that compared to other regions the Cyclades do not figure in the Homeric epics. They were marginal at best to the major Trojan War cycle in that no Cycladic hero or figure is mentioned in the epics and the islands are absent from the *Iliad*'s *Catalogue of Ships* which lists the contingents of the Achaean army that sailed against Troy. The evidence from archaeology is equally negative in the sense that no Mycenaean palace has been discovered in the region as yet. Cycladic sites of the Palatial period lack all the prerequisites to be identified as such. Despite these absences there are local traditions alluded to in Archaic lyric poetry which linked communities to an alleged mytho-historical past and acted as a means of strengthening community identity[661]. A good example in a Cycladic framework is a recently published fragment of Archilochos poetry from the Oxyrhynchus collection (P Oxy. 4708) where the Parian poet narrates the defeat of the Achaeans at the hands of Telephus[662]. The choice of this particular story is not considered arbitrary since it echoes back to local mytho-historical traditions[663] (see below). To return to the Homeric epics, even if Nagy's theory is accepted[664], that the epics did reach a recognisable written form much later as opposed to the traditional narrative, these would have circulated at least orally and most people must had been familiar with some versions thereof. The "Mykonos pithos" bears witness to the dissemination of the epic cycle in the

[661] Crielaard 2017.
[662] Obbink 2005.
[663] Swift 2014.
[664] Nagy 1995; 2020.

Cyclades. This is a product of a Tenian workshop of the middle of the seventh century and draws its narrative content from the *Iliupersis* (Sack of Troy), given the depiction, among others, of the Trojan Horse on the vessel's neck[665].

What was the reason, then, that the above monuments took their specific form around the end of the 8th century and what is their relationship with the past? It has been argued that the establishment of a burial ground during the early stages of the Early Iron Age over the ruins of the Late Helladic IIIC Grotta settlement at Naxos Town was a deliberate process that aimed at linking the dead with the Mycenaean past of the community[666]. Even if this view is accepted, it remains doubtful that, when the monument acquired its final form, centuries after the introduction of the first burials, the inhabitants had preserved the memory of the Mycenaean ruins. What is more, if the Mycenaean ruins were a decisive factor for the creation of this particular monument, this raises the question why the Late Helladic IIIC cemeteries at Aplomata and Kamini were by and large ignored. One might argue that the inhabitants were unaware of the presence of these early tombs. But evidence for tomb cult, that is cult activity in or over the Late Helladic IIIC tombs indicates that the latter were visible at the time of the Grotta monument construction. With regard to the tomb cult the evidence is too meagre to suggest a continuous and established ancestor cult[667].

The monuments of Naxos Town and Minoa on Amorgos share several common features. Firstly, both consist of older burials. The burial rite associated with Minoa is cremation, with the exception of a child *enchytrismos*. Cremation is also observed at Naxos Town, but the area was found disturbed due to later interventions, so that we are not able to know how prevalent this custom was. At Naxos Town pebble platforms were raised above the burials, but at both sites the burial clusters were subsequently demarcated by an enclosure wall and covered with a tumulus afterwards. Both the practice of cremation and the construction of tumuli above the burials recall the Homeric heroes who in the *Iliad* were cremated after death and placed under tumuli[668]. The evidence, then, suggests that the dead of Naxos Town and Minoa were elevated to a higher, heroic status. This is not without

[665] Ervin 1963. For another pithos of the same date and similar decoration from Xombourgo on Tenos see Simantoni-Bournia 2004, 95-97.

[666] Lambrinoudakis 2001.

[667] This consist of a handful of vases, only two of which, a cup and an oinochoe, are dated to the Geometric or Archaic periods (Vlachopoulos 2006, 101). A possible instance for an Early Iron Age tomb cult comes from Koukounaries where a Mycenaean burial in a cave rather than in a built tomb received offerings as early as the 10th century BCE (Schilardi 1976, 289).

[668] Lorimer 1950, 103-10.

parallels in the Early Iron Age Aegean. In Eretria on Euboea, seven cremation burials were found in the area south of the West Gate of the city, consisting of copper cauldrons with ashes[669]. Four were furnished with iron weapons. Cremation was not the sole rite in the burial cluster since inhumations were also discovered[670]. The burials span the entire Late Geometric period and the whole area was covered with stone slabs. During the first quarter of the seventh century a triangular structure was built over the burials, which was enclosed by a peribolos wall. On the basis of the above evidence, the whole area has been interpreted as a *heroön*[671].

At the *polyandreia* of Paros the dead were invariably cremated, echoing the hero burials of the *Iliad*. In the Attic manner, the cremated remains were placed in neck-handled amphorae with a vessel sealing the mouth of the urns[672]. By contrast, no weapons are reported from both graves except for an iron spearhead fragment which was apparently the cause of death of one of the warriors since it still has pieces of bone adhering to it[673]. Among the burial urns, two stand out that depict fighting scenes[674]. Especially on one of them (Paros Museum B.3524), they are portrayed in a continuous narrative on the three decorative zones of the vessel a fight over the body of a dead warrior, a detail of the dead warrior, as well as a *prothesis* scene (the laying out of the body) with mourners standing alongside (Fig. 7.11).

This introduces us to the longstanding debate about whether these scenes, which are reminiscent of the contemporary Attic examples, represent contemporary warfare or are allusions in some way to conflicts in the heroic past[675]. Undoubtedly, figure scenes were not completely unknown in the Aegean prior to the Late Geometric period. Clay figurines and representations on clay vessels at sites such as Knossos and Lefkandi on Crete and Euboea respectively appear earlier in their artistic repertoire[676]. Carter asserted that scenes from myth cannot be identified on Geometric vases[677]. Ahlberg in her study of the fighting scenes on the Attic Geometric examples argues that all the scenes, with the sole exception of an

[669] Bérard 1970, 13-32.
[670] Bérard 1970, 33-55.
[671] Bérard 1970; 1978. See also Antonaccio 1995; Blandin 2007.
[672] Zafeiropoulou 2000, 285.
[673] Zafeiropoulou and Agelarakis 2005, 35.
[674] Zafeiropoulou 2000; Agelarakis and Zafeiropoulou 2017.
[675] Ahlberg 1971; Carter 1972; Snodgrass 1980a, 65-78; 1980b; 1998; Boardman 1983; Whitley 1991a, 47-53; Ahlberg-Cornell 1992.
[676] Whitley 1991a, 47-8.
[677] Carter 1972.

Fig. 7.11. Paroikia, Paros. Amphora (Paros Museum B.3524) from one of the *polyandreia* showing a battle scene over the body of a dead warrior and a *prothesis* scene (after Agelarakis and Zafeiropoulou 2017, fig. 3, 4).

oinochoe (Agora Museum P4885) which depicts two "Siamese" figures usually identified with the Aktorione and Molione of the Homeric epics, are probably derived from actual contemporary battles[678]. She later identified Late Geometric figured scenes inspired from myth and the epics other than fighting, such as Ajax carrying the dead body of Achilles off the battlefield, and Herakles killing the Lernaean Hydra[679]. More recently, Langdon claimed that much of the Geometric figural scenes relate mainly to maturation, gender and related

[678] Ahlberg 1971.
[679] Ahlberg-Cornell 1992.

topics[680]. Snodgrass has tried to disengage figural art from textual sources, Homer in particular, in a sense that artists need not strictly reproduce specific episodes from epic texts[681]. Of course, if the new proposals by philologists concerning the period during which the Homeric epics were committed to writing is accepted, there were no texts that could serve as a canon for the visual artists.

Somewhat earlier Snodgrass had stated that there cannot be any "clear distinction between 'heroic' subjects on the one hand, and 'real' or 'contemporary' ones on the other, in the art of any early society. Indeed, in the light of some evidence it seems doubtful whether a clear distinction existed even in the minds of the artists"[682]. This is not to say that there was not any interest towards the heroic past. To the contrary, in his words: "it emphasises the factor of continuity and common experience between the past and the present, which would appeal to the early Greeks"[683]. Not far from Snodgrass's views, Whitley argued for the generic heroic character of these scenes in that to be heroic they do not necessarily have to portray a specific episode from the myth or the epics[684].

To return to the Parian *polyandreia*, as mentioned above, one of the two vases with figure scenes depicts a battle over the body of a dead warrior (Paros Museum B.3524)[685]. The whole scene is impressive for it depicts a body of hoplites, slingers, archers, and cavalry. Battle scenes over the body of a dead warrior are well-known both from the *Iliad* –the battle for the body of Patroklos being the most celebrated (*Iliad* 17)– and from the epic cycle in general, for instance the battle for the body of Achilles in the *Aethiopis*. The second vessel in question (Paros Museum B.3523) portrays a battle scene with chariots, cavalry, foot soldiers with *dipylon* and round shields, and fallen warriors[686] (Fig. 7.12). Chariots were probably not used in Early Iron Age warfare, but in the *Iliad* chariot-warfare was the embodiment of a heroic mode of fighting. Pots decorated with chariot scenes were used as dedications in a heroic context, as demonstrated by the finds from the tholos tomb at Menidhi in Attica[687]. It should not be excluded, therefore, the theme of some vases with figure scenes deposited in such contexts to allude to the heroic past; not necessarily connected with the Homeric

[680] Langdon 2008.
[681] Snodgrass 1998.
[682] Snodgrass 1980a, 69.
[683] Snodgrass 1980a, 69.
[684] Whitley 1991a, 47-53.
[685] Agelarakis and Zafeiropoulou 2017, 53-6, fig. 3-4.
[686] Agelarakis and Zafeiropoulou 2017, 51-2, fig. 1-2.
[687] Snodgrass 1980a, 70.

Fig. 7.12. Paroikia, Paros. Amphora (Paros Museum B.3523) from one of the *polyandreia* showing battle scenes with a chariot fighter, soldiers, and cavalry (after Agelarakis and Zafeiropoulou 2017, fig. 1, 2).

poems but with the oral tradition of the epic cycle in general. The figural scenes from Paros, then, link contemporary events that involve local warriors with the heroic past. Or, to paraphrase Snodgrass' words in his discussion about the role played by the heroic and contemporary in Geometric figural art, they represent a more glorified vision of events, idealising the present on the model of a heroic past[688].

It goes without saying that the dead with whom each monument is related were not chosen in a random manner. The causes of their death or other criteria for their remembrance, such as their ability to amass and distribute wealth are elusive to us with the exception of the *polyandreia* of Paros where the cremated individuals were the fallen in battle(s). Be that as it may, it was those who were considered important, the "elect of the dead"[689], who henceforth should have been considered the "ancestors" and protectors of the whole community, those for whom collective monuments were erected; and as Whitley

[688] Snodgrass 1980a, 68; cf. Whitley 1991a, 52-3.
[689] Whitley 2002, 122.

remarks: “of course, ancestors need not be remembered as individuals, and called to mind through their names. They may be conceived in a generic sense, as part of a ‘collective’”[690].

Regardless of their opposing views on ancestorhood and ancestor cults scholars of Early Iron Greece do agree on one thing: that its “pasts” were multiple and there is not a single way of how this was remembered in different regions of the Aegean[691]. In the Cyclades despite their absence from the Homeric poems the past was remembered and employed in multiple ways. On some islands, Naxos, Amorgos, and Paros, this was manifested in the funerary context through the burial rites and the erection of monuments both reminiscent of the heroic burials of the epic tradition. On Paros in particular, oral tales about the heroic past were also remembered and utilised through iconography, and more specifically on clay vessels which were part of the same monument. Uses of the heroic past on the islands and the erection of such collective monuments should be seen as responses to social changes and as a manifestation of the evolution of the political community.

Spatial Interactions and the Polis

This introduces us to another issue that has occasionally concerned scholars, namely the variation in the number of *poleis* on each particular island[692]. More specifically, what were the causal factors that determined the emergence of a single *polis* in the majority of the largest islands, such as Paros, Naxos or Andros in historical times, whereas some smaller islands can boast for more, for instance Amorgos had three and Kea as many as four (Appendix, Table 3). Here again arises the issue of whether all or most *poleis*, regardless of their size, were states in a sense that a comparative social scientist might use the term. The political communities of Paroikia and Naxos Town indeed possessed many features that characterise the city-states of the Archaic period: they possessed some kind of institutions; they minted their own coins; they were capable of waging wars and building extra-urban sanctuaries; and creating "communities of cult". On the contrary, it is doubtful whether all the political communities of the Cyclades, for instance all the *poleis* of Kea, were states. To clarify things, I do not intend to answer why *poleis* or states emerged in the first place, but where they did, although at certain points these two questions may intersect. To be sure, this is perhaps a biased question in that it is utterly related to our perception of islands as

[690] Whitley 2002, 122.

[691] E.g. Antonaccio 2016; Whitley 2020c.

[692] Reger 1997; Particularly for Naxos see Sfyroera 2018.

places with predetermined natural borders, as opposed to the mainland where borders are fuzzier.

Many hypotheses have been formulated with the aim of elucidating this phenomenon. They have been discussed in detail by Gary Reger and are classified under the following headings[693]: geomorphology, geography, and climate; shared culture; trade; intensive agriculture; resource exploitation; imperialism; the role of other episodes related to the number of *poleis* on a given island, namely *synoikismos* and participation in colonisation movements are also reviewed. He rightly argues that *synoikismos* (or synoecism, the unification of several communities into one community) does not constitute an explanation in and of itself[694]. It is more related to urbanism than to the appearance of the *polis* as a political community and these two processes though they are linked they are not the same. Reger concludes that each of these potential causes alone is inadequate to explain the difference in the number of *poleis* from island to island[695].

Although there is not a single, overarching explanation to answer this multifaceted issue, I would like to introduce another parameter that emerges if we adopt a network perspective and particularly that of *Proximal Point Analysis*, and a view from the settlement patterns in the long-term. To put it differently, to what extent did the spatial formations affect the importance of certain sites over others and contributed to their development into *poleis* and in some instances into states? Attempts at bringing archaeology and geography together and modeling settlement structures by applying network analysis in the context of the Early Iron Age Aegean appeared some decades ago[696] and their potential to understand *polis* formation has been further explored ever since[697]. These approaches, however, do not take into consideration the social dimension and the nature of interactions between sites, imposing in consequence limitations to the interpretation of this phenomenon.

Provided that we are unaware as to when certain Cycladic political communities were developed into *poleis* or states I will concentrate mainly on Paros and Naxos where according to the archaeological evidence by the end of the eighth century the social transformations that led to the emergence of this political phenomenon had already begun

[693] Reger 1997.
[694] Reger 1997, 468-71.
[695] Reger 1997, 478-79.
[696] Rihll and Wilson 1987; 1991.
[697] Rivers and Evans 2014; Evans and Rivers 2017.

to manifest[698]. Thus, in the central Cyclades, throughout the period that concerns this study there is a cluster wherein the largest number of sites is to be found compared to other areas of the region in almost all phases from the Late Helladic IIIC down to the Late Geometric. In the latter period this cluster can be divided into two separate "communities of sites" in network terminology, one that contains Paros and its surrounding islands and the other Naxos alone, considering that essentially these two are linked by Filizi that occupies a more liminal space between the two islands.

On Naxos since the Late Helladic IIIC period habitation has been concentrated mainly in the western part of the island, a fact that, as has been maintained throughout this study, explains at least partially the absence of habitation in the Small Cyclades as a consequence of the lack of networking potential. In this area, Naxos Town has been the largest settlement throughout the period under study, the site where social complexity has been re-emerged and the seat of a powerful elite who probably exerted control over the production and the flow of the natural resources. These developments are attested both in the settlement per se and in the neighbouring sanctuary of Iria, as well as outside the island, given that the finds from Delos give evidence to the presence of Parian and Naxian competing elites. Moreover, in this "community of sites" wherein interactions were more frequent it seems that already from this period an order of sites was established between producing inland sites and a consuming settlement, namely Naxos Town[699].

The evidence from the second sub-cluster is less straightforward. Comparably to Naxos, habitation is concentrated in the north-western part of Paros and in the western part of the cluster in general, since the eastern side of the island remained uninhabited throughout the Early Iron Age. The area Paroikia occupied is difficult to determine due to the fact that a much smaller part of the settlement has come to light compared to Naxos Town, however on the basis of the current evidence it appears that during the Late Geometric this was the largest settlement of the sub-cluster. Here the presence of elites and an order of sites is not as clear as in Naxos but social developments are testified by the construction of the two *polyandreia* at the cemetery of Vitzi, while the evidence from Delos hints at the existence of a Parian elite rivalling its Naxian counterparts. The nature of the interactions between the sites and the presence of powerful elites within each (sub)cluster as well as their competition for the control over the Delian sanctuary may account for the fact that no

[698] For a catalogue of Archaic and Classical *poleis* in the Cyclades see Hansen and Nielsen 2004, 732-93.

[699] Cf. Lambrinoudakis 2001.

other political community could have been developed into a *polis* or state on these the two islands.

To conclude, the reasons that led to the development of certain sites into *poleis* (and states) at the expense of others are varied. The study of settlement patterns and the application of network analysis in the long-term can partly explain this phenomenon, but the step from a simple settlement to a *polis* requires social processes that, at least in some cases, had already taken place by the end of the Late Geometric period. This approach, that is the exploration of intra-regional networks combined with the study of social developments within sites, has the potential to explain where *poleis* and states were formed in certain areas of the region such as the central Cyclades. We lack this composite evidence from other areas that in network terms share similarities with the central Cyclades, for instance the south-western or the north-western Cyclades. Also, the present study stops around 700 BCE so that it fails to account for the situation at certain islands where the political communities were developed into *poleis* or states at a later stage. The application of this approach to later periods may contribute to the understanding of this specific issue.

The Bigger Picture: The Cyclades in a Wider Context

In the previous chapter I referred both to the intensification of contacts between the Aegean and the rest of the Mediterranean, but also to the complications pertaining to the recognition of Cycladic pottery among the Aegean imports found in the Mediterranean. Considering the recent analytical research and the uncertainties surrounding this issue, Cycladic exports to the Central and Eastern Mediterranean, although more abundant in absolute numbers compared to the previous period, are still limited to a few sites and constitute a very small percentage of the total amount of Aegean exports. Indicatively, from the Early Iron Age levels of Al Mina, the site with the most Cycladic finds overseas, Cycladic pottery makes up only 4% to 6.2% of the total Aegean imports[700]. Small quantities of Cycladic exports have been unearthed at Tell Sukas, Tarsus, Mersin, and Hama in the Levant[701] and Amathus and Kition on Cyprus[702] (Table 7.2).

[700] Vacek 2012.
[701] Vacek 2012.
[702] Gjerstad 1977b, 28-29, no. 83; Karageorghis 1977, 62, nos 12-13.

Cycladic pottery in the Central Mediterranean is more common in the second half of the eighth century, but due to the many common features shared by the Cycladic and Euboean Late Geometric pottery the attribution of ceramics to a specific workshop by non-analytical means is complicated, rendering thus the volume of Cycladic exports to the West indeterminable. Nevertheless, low amounts of Cycladic pottery are reported from certain sites, for instance Naxos and Modica on Sicily, as well as Carthage[703]. This scarcity of Cycladic finds in relation to Euboean imports in tandem with the ambiguities surrounding Cycladic pottery denotes that the Cycladic presence in the West was limited and it was communities other than the Cycladic ones that took the initiative for these overseas contacts[704].

Beyond this increase in the number of imports and exports, the eighth century saw the permanent settlement of Greek populations in several locations of the Central Mediterranean and the northern Aegean, a phenomenon that escalated in the following centuries[705]. The initiative for such ventures is attributed to the Euboeans, but populations from other Aegean communities also participated in these "colonisation"[706] movements whose causes are traditionally associated with the need for metals and agricultural land and population pressure. Osborne argues that the adoption of iron technology in the Aegean had a negative impact on the old supply networks of tin and copper and forced the elites to search out sources for iron supply[707]. The rich metalliferous fields of the Central and Western Mediterranean created new

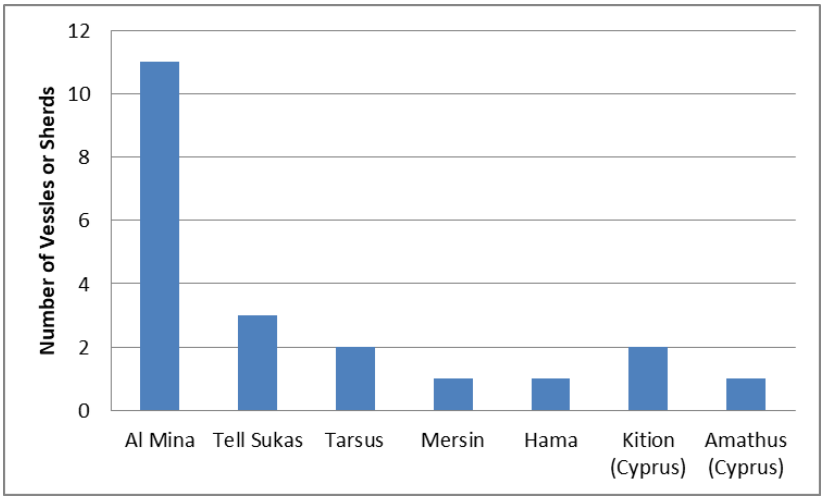

Table 7.2 Distribution of Cycladic exports to the Eastern Mediterranean in the Late Geometric period.

[703] See Kourou 1994, 290-91; Domínguez 2006, 256- 269. For a single Cycladic vessel in Carthage see Nijboer 2005, 260.
[704] Cf. Kourou 1994, 291.
[705] Tsetskhladze 2006a; 2008.
[706] For the term and its appropriateness in the context of first millennium population movements in the Mediterranean see Osborne 1998; de Angelis 2009. See also Van Dommelen 1997; Tsetskhladze 2006b.
[707] Osborne 2009, 89.

opportunities for the acquisition of metals and new supply networks that involved most of the Mediterranean world. Recent scholarship has also stressed the leading role of Phoenicians in unifying the Mediterranean basin, since their presence is archaeologically documented in many Aegean and Mediterranean sites in which Greek cultural material has also been identified[708]. In fact, some argue that the earliest Greek pottery found in the Central and Western Mediterranean was actually carried by Phoenician ships[709], and at the same time common commercial interests and mixed Greek and Phoenician (and local) populations are attested in settlements such as Pithekoussai in western Italy[710].

The involvement of the Cycladic communities in these early colonisation events to the Central and Western Mediterranean appears to be minimal. Naxos on Sicily is considered to be the first Greek colony on the island with a foundation date of 734 BCE (Thuc. 6. 3–5) and the archaeological evidence corroborates this[711]. The majority of the ancient authors agree that the first colonists of Sicilian Naxos were the Euboeans, however others refer to the participation of the Naxians (Cyclades) in this endeavour, as also implied by the name of the colony. Nevertheless, according to archaeology the Cycladic involvement in the foundation of the colony appears limited at least during the early years of its establishment. The small amount of Cycladic pottery compared to the Euboean and Corinthian finds and the Euboean character of the production of the ceramic workshops established in the colony during the seventh century lead to this conclusion[712].

Considerable shifts as regards the distributional and depositional patterns of the overseas imports to the Aegean took place from the eighth century onwards compared to the preceding periods. More specifically, imports from the Central and Eastern Mediterranean are distributed among a larger number of sites, while the greatest part of such imports was previously consumed in a few sites of mainland Greece and Crete. Moreover, the vast majority of the exotica is now deposited in sanctuaries instead of cemeteries, a shift filled with social and ideological undertones that marks the transfer of status display from burial contexts to sanctuaries[713].

[708] Niemeyer 2006.
[709] Kourou 2017.
[710] Osborne 2009, 75-79.
[711] Domínguez 2006, 256-269.
[712] Kourou 1998.
[713] Snodgrass 1980a, 52-54; Whitley 2001, 140-46; Osborne 2009, 51-58.

At the end of the eighth century BCE the first *orientalia* make their appearance in Cycladic sanctuaries. Their quantity is relatively small in comparison to other mainland sanctuaries[714] but they indicate the increasing complexities that had begun to unfold at certain areas of the region as early as the late ninth century and the integration of Cycladic sanctuaries for the first time in the wider networks of interaction between the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean. It is probably not by chance that the deposition of these finds occurred at sites that in some way or another are related to the communities of Naxos and Paros. More precisely, on Delos the imports consist of bronze attachments for cauldrons[715], whereas two scaraboid seal-stones have come to light at the sanctuary of Iria on Naxos[716]. At the same site a sufficient quantity of faience scarabs has also been discovered some of which could be dated at the end of the eighth century[717]. Similar finds have also been unearthed at the sanctuary of Delion on Paros[718]. Two scarabs from Zagora are the only examples of oriental imports that derive from settlement contexts[719].

Cycladic exports to other Aegean regions are identified as such through stylistic analysis and macroscopic examination of the vessels' clay fabric. The sole exceptions are two Parian amphorae from Eleftherna on Crete which were subjected to petrographic analysis[720]. Overall, the number of Cycladic vessels exported to other Aegean regions decreases by over 40 per cent. This is the result of the large drop in exports to Crete (Table 7.2). Nevertheless, the latter persists in being the region where the overwhelming majority of Cycladic vessels is to be found outside the islands. The main difference as compared to the previous period is observed in the cemeteries of Knossos, the North Cemetery and Fortetsa, where Cycladic imports are limited to a single vessel at the former site[721]. Still, most Cycladic vessels are detected in central Crete[722], while a couple of possible exports are reported from Kommos[723], Vrokastro[724], and Chania[725]. In total, of the 18 Cycladic vessels that have so far

[714] See Murray 2017, 103-12.
[715] Rolley 1973, 506-16.
[716] Simantoni-Bournia 1998, 66, 71.
[717] Simantoni-Bournia 1998, 64-66.
[718] Rubensohn 1962, 85-100.
[719] Cambitoglou et al. 1988, 235.
[720] Kotsonas 2008, 345-62, especially 348, 361.
[721] Coldstream and Catling 1996, 404-05.
[722] Hutchinson and Boardman 1954; Coldstream 1960, 161, no. 19; 1972, 98, nos. G128-130; 1992, 77, no. 67; Coldstream et al. 1997, 236-37, nos. X19, Z8 ; Coldstream 2000, 265, no. A15; Kotsonas 2008, 267-71.
[723] Johnston 2000, 197, nos. 12-13.
[724] Hayden 2003, 71-72, no. 192.

been identified at Cretan sites 15 are drinking vessels and amphorae and of those whose exact origin has been identified, the larger part is Parian (eight) followed by Theran (five) and Melian (two) exports (Table 7.3).

The picture from the other Aegean regions does not alter dramatically, although Cycladic pottery in small quantities has been unearthed in several sites mainly in the northern Aegean (Table 7.4). Three Cycladic vessels have come to light at the sanctuary of Heraion on Samos[726] and from the Dodecanese only two Naxian exports have been identified at Ialysos on Rhodes[727]. Very limited is the amount of Cycladic vessels reported from the Argolid[728] and Eretria[729], while an amphora, perhaps from Syros[730], and a couple of Theran sherds have been found in Athens, the latter at the Athenian Acropolis[731]. For Eretria the possibility has been raised that several other finely decorated vases were imported from Attica or the Cyclades, but these are uncertain attributions[732]. Cycladic pottery, mostly Parian, has been unearthed at several north Aegean sites, including Methoni[733], Sane[734], and Antissa on Lesvos[735], but in each one of them this is confined to a single find. Cycladic pottery but without any further details is also reported from Karabournaki and Akanthos[736].

The presence of Parian vases at certain north Aegean sites raises the question of possible pre-colonial contacts between Paros and Thasos before the arrival of Parian settlers on Thasos sometime during the first decades of the seventh century BCE. New evidence from Thasos and the re-examination of the finds and the stratigraphy of the deeper levels of old trenches dug in the area of the *agora* and north of the Artemision failed to produce any positive evidence for Parian interactions with Thasos during the pre-colonial period. Rather, the layers previously considered as evidence of destructions and conflicts between the Parian settlers and the local inhabitants are now interpreted as the result of metallurgic

[725] See Kourou 1994, 278-79.
[726] Eilmann 1933; Cf. Kourou 1994.
[727] D'Acunto 2020, 240-41.
[728] Foley 1988, 61.
[729] Verdan et al. 2008, 54, no. 179.
[730] Papadopoulos and Smithson 2002.
[731] Gauss and Ruppenstein 1998, 34, no. 2.
[732] Verdan et al. 2008, 54.
[733] Besios et al. 2012, 169-70, 428-29, no. 90.
[734] Tiverios 1989, 32-37, no. 1.
[735] Lamb 1931, 57, no. 9.
[736] Rhomiopoulou 1999, 129; Trakosopoulou-Salakidou 1999, 1198; Tiverios 2004, 65.

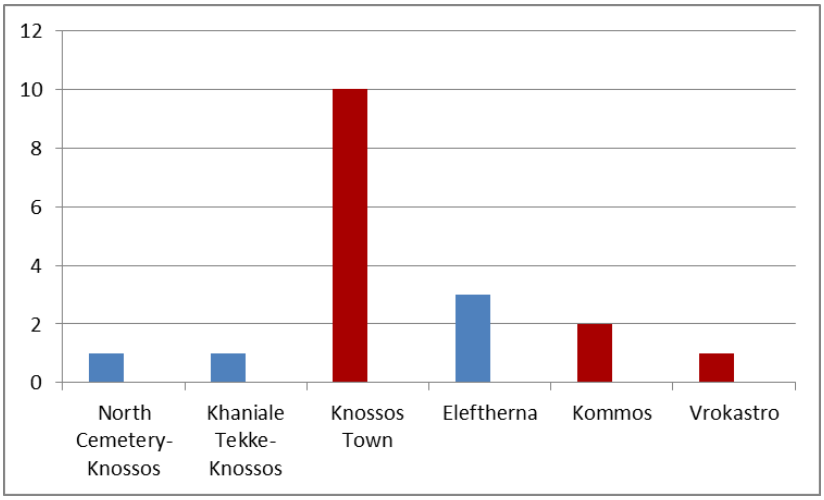

Table 7.2 Distribution of Cycladic exports to Cretan sites in the Late Geometric period (blue columns indicate cemetery contexts- red columns indicate settlements).

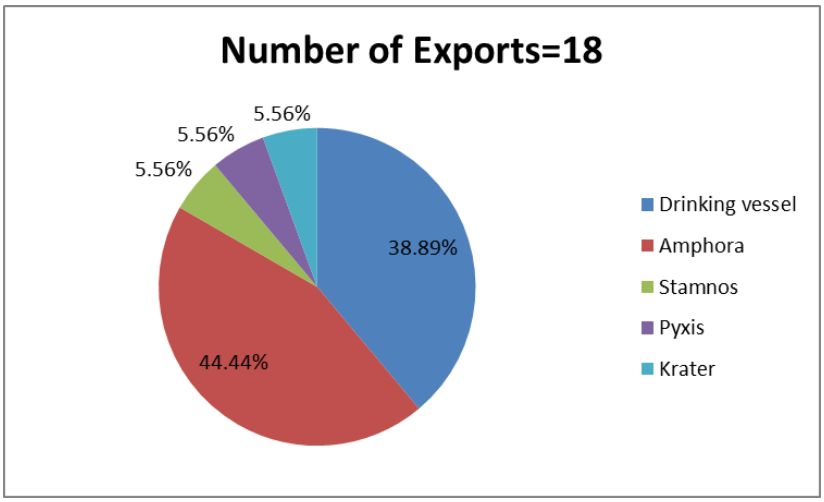

Table 7.3 Distribution of shapes of the Cycladic exports to Crete in the Late Geometric period.

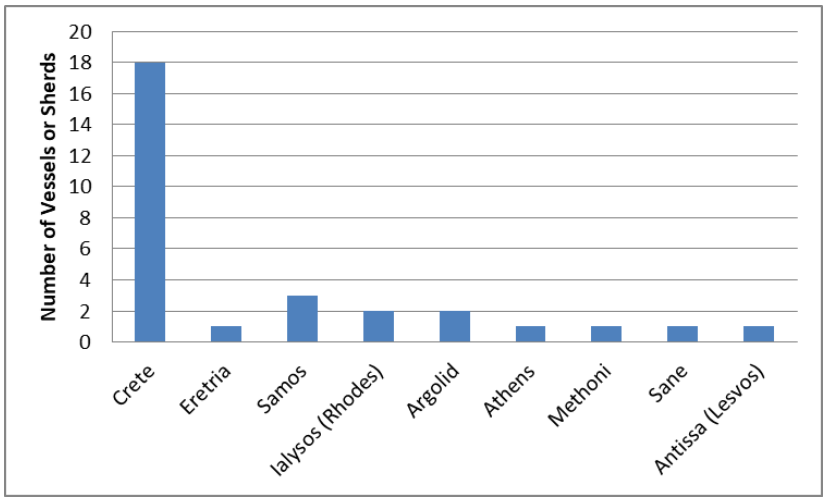

Table 7.4 Distribution of Cycladic exports to other Aegean regions in the Late Geometric period.

activities[737]. Additionally, the uniformity of the finds from the same layers supports the pre-Greek character of the earlier installations and that the native Thracians were in contact with the north-western and north-eastern Aegean well before the arrival of the first wave of Parian settlers around 680-670 BCE[738].

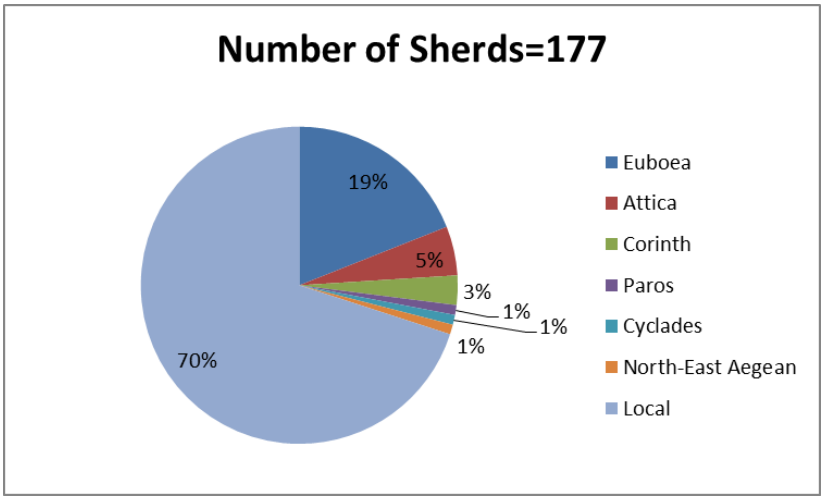

Table 7.5 Zagora, Andros. Late Geometric period. Source of pottery.

Cycladic sites with published Late Geometric material remain largely the same. These include Zagora, Minoa, Delos, and Ancient Thera. Part of the whole corpus has also been published from Iria and from the early excavations at Kastro on Siphnos. As has been the case for the majority of the Aegean ceramics, imports have been identified as such on the grounds of stylistic analysis and macroscopic examination of the clay fabric. The datasets from Delos and Ancient Thera are the only ones that are comprised almost exclusively of complete or near-complete vessels owing to the fact that they derive from cemetery contexts. Expectedly, sherds make up the corpus from settlement assemblages, whereas both sherds and complete vases are published from the sanctuary of Iria on Naxos.

From all the above-mentioned sites, the sample is much larger compared to the Early/ Middle Geometric period. To begin with Zagora, as before, about a third of the fineware pottery consists of imported material[739]. The provenance of these imports remains largely the same as in the Middle Geometric period, since the only addition is the north-eastern Aegean. The major difference compared to what was before is that most of the imports are now of Euboean origin, while the imports from Attica and Corinth are proportionally fewer. Overall, the greatest part of the non-local fineware pottery was imported from neighbouring regions (Cyclades and Paros, Attica, Euboea) and much less are the imports from more distant regions (Corinth, north-east Aegean) (Table 7.5). The range of

[737] Blondé et al. 2008; Muller 2010.
[738] Ilieva 2018.
[739] Cambitoglou et al. 1971; 1988.

shapes found at Zagora is much larger in the Late Geometric period and almost all are adequately represented in the local repertoire. Most Euboean imports consist of drinking vessels and kraters, while the Attic ones are mainly plates (Fig. 7.13). The distribution of imports within the settlement betrays that some members of the community had better access to the exchange networks, since these are mainly concentrated in two areas (Fig. 7.14): the first concerns the Units H19-H21-H22-H23-H28. During the second phase of the main occupation period of the settlement (Late Geometric II) these units constituted, according to the excavators, the leader's dwelling due to its size and proximity to the sanctuary. The second area concerns the Units H26-H27, originally a single-room house that was later internally subdivided by a partition wall into two smaller spaces. This house is in contact with the leader's dwelling since some units share the same walls. These two areas account for nearly 70 percent of the imports published so far from the settlement and this pattern serves as further evidence of the power relationships at the site.

The large amount of Euboean imports had led some researchers soon after the excavation of the site to the conclusion that Zagora was a Euboean colony or trading station or at least a Euboean dependancy[740]. This view corroborated by Strabo's (X,1:10) testimony that refers to an Eretrian dominance over the northern Cyclades sometime in his distant past had been maintained with little opposition[741]. The theoretical limitations in identifying a colony on the sole basis of the provenance of the fineware ceramics have been discussed in a previous chapter. Besides, the greater part of the pottery retrieved from Zagora has been identified as local (Table 7.5). A similar picture with reference to Euboean imports is also emerging at Ipsili in the vicinity of Zagora judging at least from the preliminary reports of the ceramic material[742].

Very recently, the view of a Euboean colony or trading station at Zagora has been challenged by Antonis Kotsonas[743]; and with good reason. Kotsonas, among other evidence, emphasises the almost complete absence of transport amphorae and the lack of mixed assemblages of inter-regional imports that should characterise the ceramic corpus of a trading station or a colony and compares it to another contemporary site in the northern Aegean, namely Methoni, that has produced considerable quantities of imports, especially

[740] Descoeudres 1973; Coldstream 2003, 199-200.
[741] See Kotsonas 2012, 250.
[742] Televantou 2008a; 2012.
[743] Kotsonas 2012.

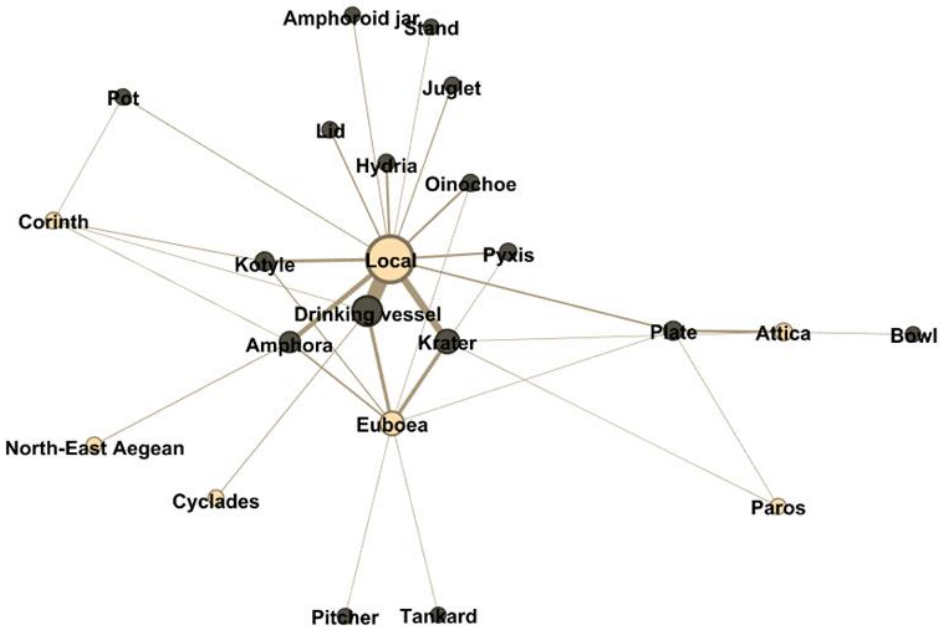

Fig. 7.13. Zagora, Andros. Late Geometric affiliation network between pottery shapes and production centres.

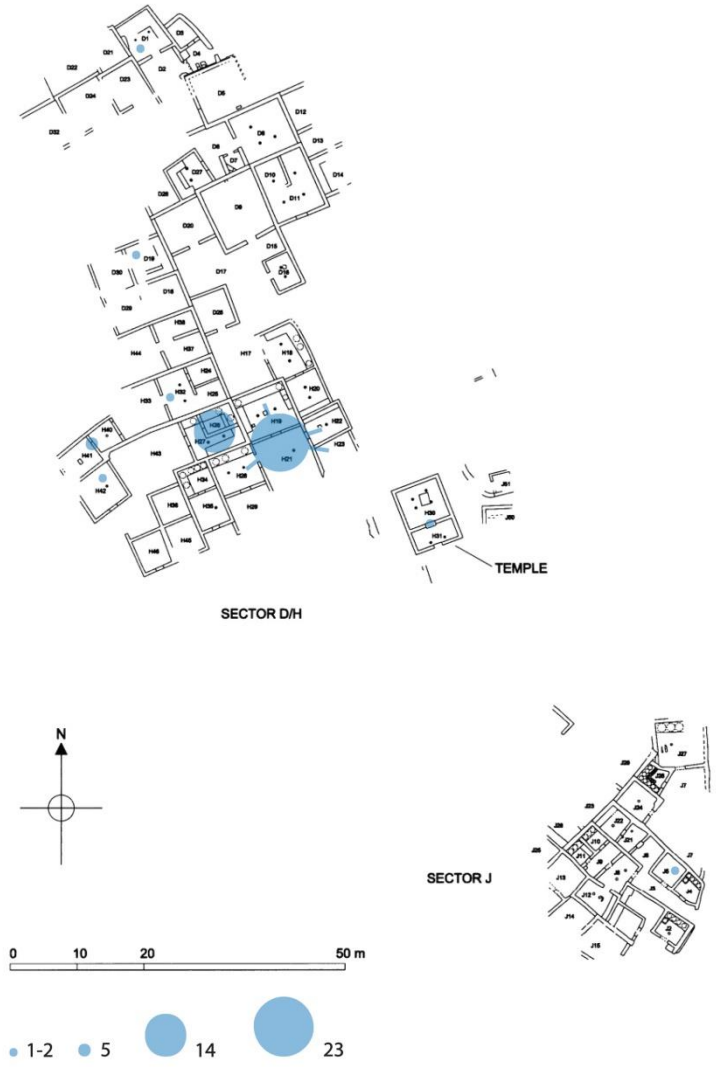

Fig. 7.14 Zagora, Andros. Distribution of imports within the settlement in the Late Geometric period.

transport amphorae, from different regions[744]. In addition, a large amount of *pithoi* have been found in almost all the Zagora dwellings[745]. The large capacity of these vessels which were probably used to store a variety of staples favours the agricultural orientation of the community's economy[746]. Considering all the available evidence it seems a fair inference that interactions between Euboea and Andros did really happen as anticipated by the settlement networks but the data are insufficient enough to support the interpretation of any Cycladic site as a colony or trading station.

At Minoa, in agreement with the Early/ Middle Geometric period the overwhelming majority (about 85%) of the catalogued ceramic material is identified as imported but now from more areas than before (Table 7.6, Fig. 7.15)[747]. Once again Naxos is the provenance of most of them albeit now Naxian fineware pottery is found in smaller quantities. These are mainly comprised of drinking vessels as well as amphorae and kraters. The island's liminal position is also reflected in the archaeological record, in that pottery from Samos and Rhodes(?) constitute a large part of the ceramic assemblage. As regards the former these are almost exclusively drinking vessels that were found in a sacrificial deposit. The absence of Samian imports from other Cycladic sites reinforces the view that their presence at Minoa was the outcome of direct contacts between the two islands. The situation with the "Rhodian" material is more complicated. Most sherds identified as Rhodian belong to the "Bird-kotylai" group which was traditionally assigned to Rhodes due to the fact that a large number of these products was found at the cemetery of Ialysos[748]. However, recent chemical analyses have shown that "Bird-kotylai" and related pottery was mainly produced in north Ionian workshops, especially at Teos[749]. The possibility, though, that this class of pottery was imitated in other centres, Rhodes included, cannot be excluded.

The designation of a specific group of imports as Siphnian is equally dubious. The development of Siphnian pottery is stylistically reminiscent of the ceramic production of the neighbouring island of Paros[750]. The said imports form a homogeneous ware group. Their decoration is in the "Parian" Late Geometric style and their attribution to Siphnos is based on the application of a yellow slip which is typical mostly of the Naxian and Siphnian

[744] Besios et al. 2012.
[745] Cambitoglou et al. 1971, 52-55; 1988, 181-84.
[746] McLoughlin 2011.
[747] Blanas 2006, 268-304.
[748] Coldstream 2008, 277-79.
[749] Kerschner 2002; Kerschner and Mommsen 2009. See also D'Acunto 2017, 467-70.
[750] Coldstream 2008, 176-77.

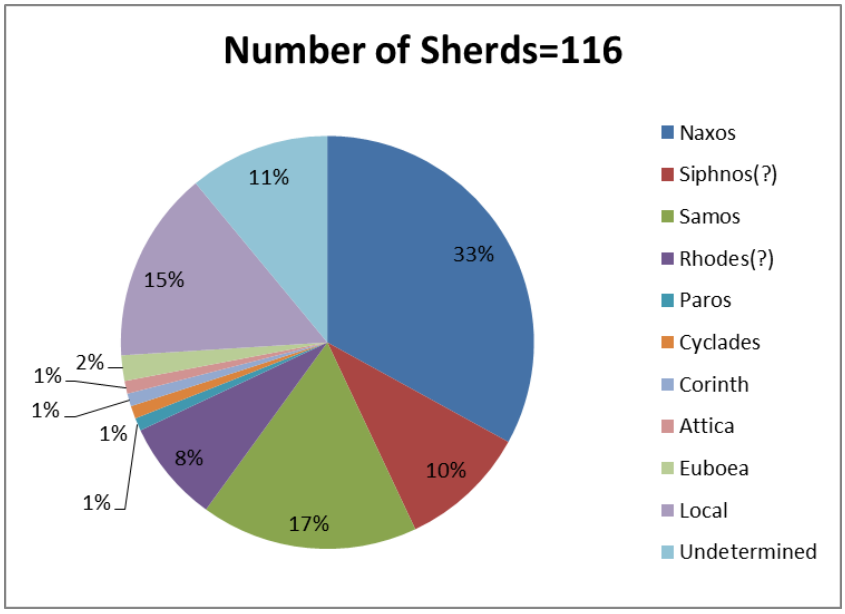

Table 7.6 Minoa, Amorgos. Late Geometric period. Source of pottery.

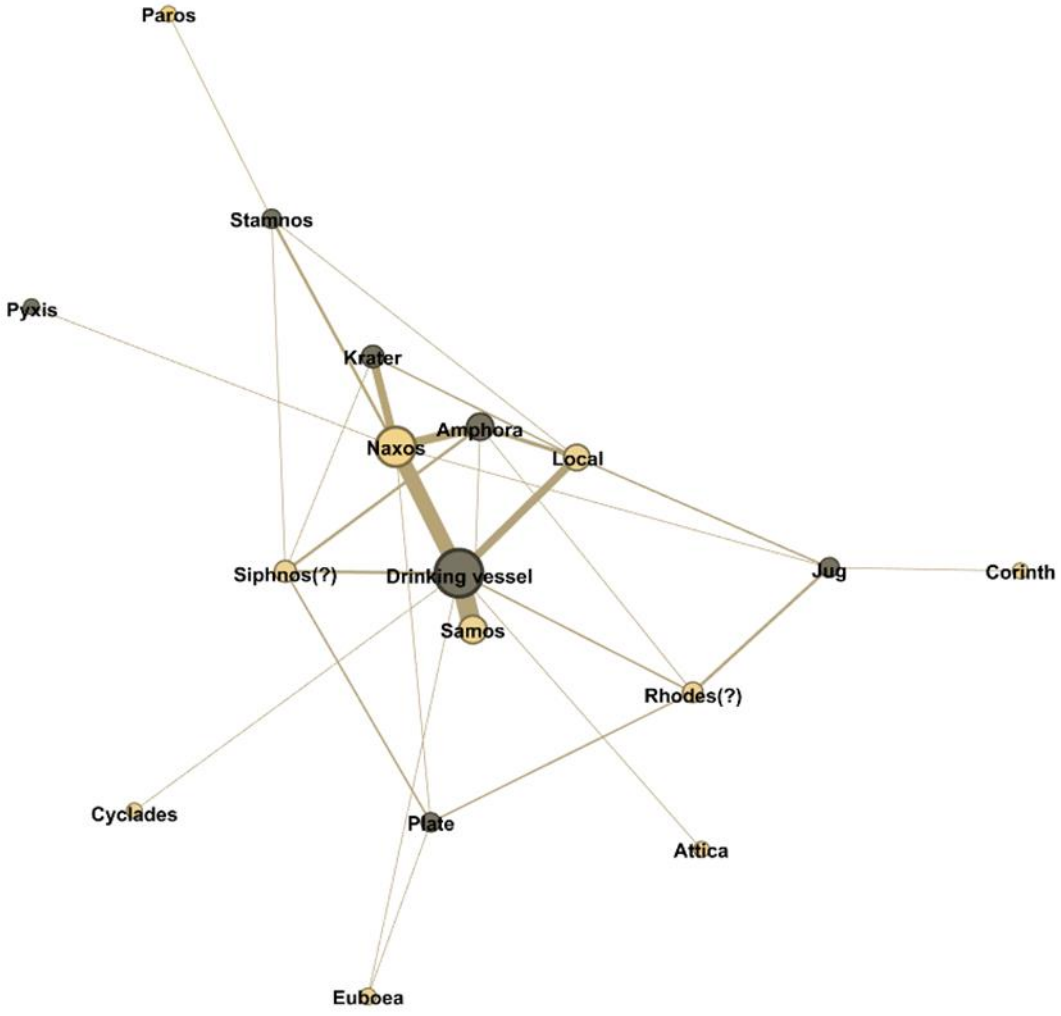

Fig. 7.15. Minoa, Amorgos. Late Geometric affiliation network between pottery shapes and production centres.

ceramics[751]. Nevertheless, a Parian origin of these vases cannot be denied altogether. The number of imports from other Aegean regions or Cycladic islands is negligible to support habitual contacts.

The large number of Naxian imports to Minoa demonstrates the intense interactions that had been taking place between the latter and Naxos throughout the Early Iron Age. The presence of actual Naxians on Amorgos remains a possibility, however strong archaeological evidence is lacking that would allow us to speak about a colonisation event. Claims of colonisation of Amorgos (Steph. Byz. 86.14; schol. Dionys. Per. 525) can be interpreted as later inventions designed to justify the Naxian occupation of Aigiali and Minoa in the Hellenistic period[752]. The presence of Samian pottery at Minoa again touches the issue of the credibility of the later literary evidence concerning the Samian colonisation of Minoa which is placed in the last quarter of the seventh century BCE[753]. Indeed, epigraphic evidence supports the presence of Samians on Amorgos but for much later periods[754]. The finds testify to the connectivity between the two islands already from the second half of the eighth century, they are inadequate though to provoke any discussions for permanent Samian populations on Amorgos.

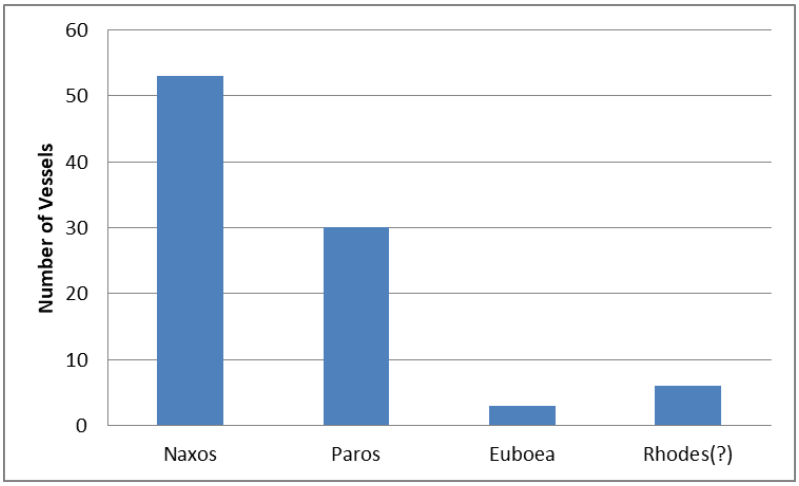

Table 7.7 Delos. Late Geometric period. Source of imports.

The attribution of the Late Geometric ceramic imports from Delos to specific workshops present various difficulties and there is a larger number of vases from the island that is not quantified in this study. In spite of this the majority of the imported vases can be assigned to the production mainly of Naxian workshops[755] (Table 7.7). Parian imports are also numerous but Late Geometric vessels from other Aegean regions are significantly fewer.

[751] Blanas 2006, 146.
[752] Nigdelis 1990, 23.
[753] Marangou 2002b, 3 fn. 5, 123 fn. 345.
[754] Nigdelis 1990.
[755] Dugas and Rhomaios 1934; Brisart 2018.

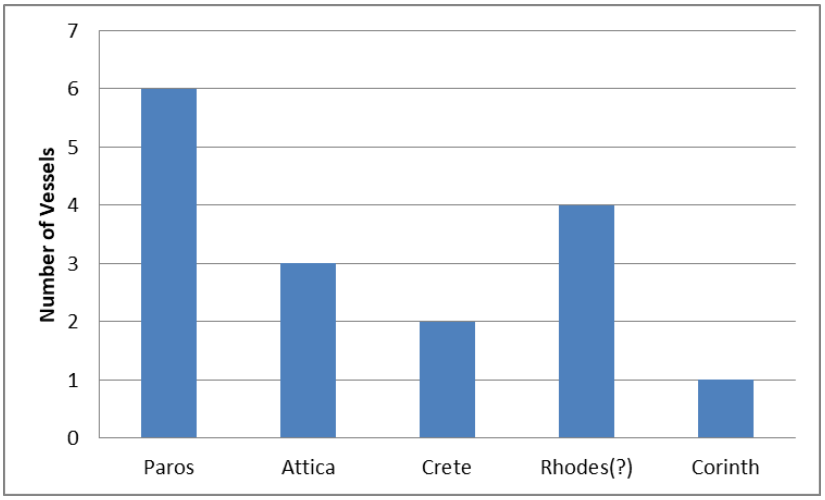

Table 7.8 Ancient Thera. Late Geometric period. Source of imports.

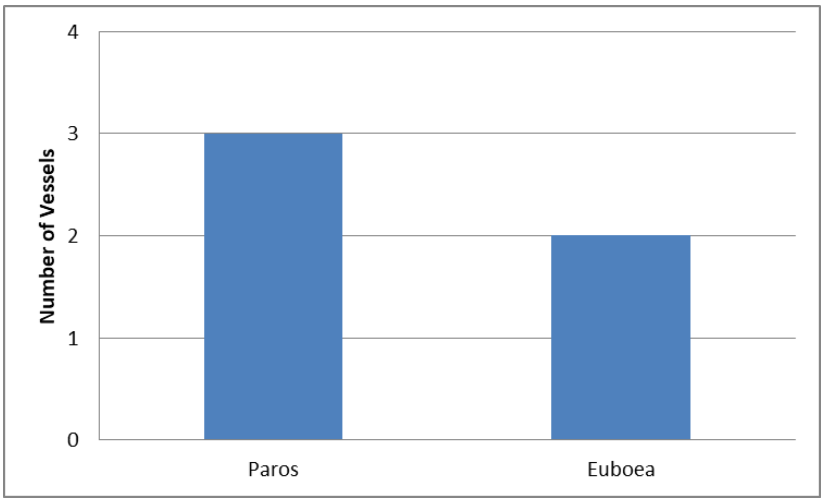

Table 7.9 Iria, Naxos. Late Geometric period. Source of imports.

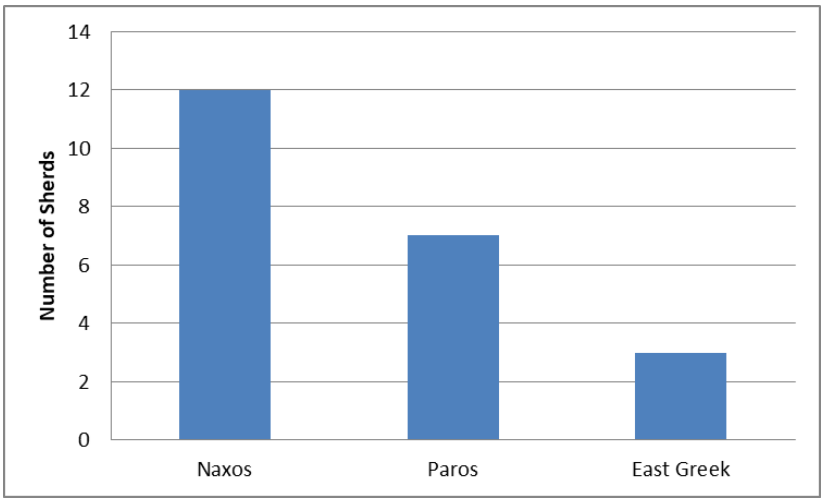

Table 7.10 Kastro, Siphnos. Late Geometric period. Source of imports.

The large number of Naxian and Parian vases on Delos serves as proxy evidence of the competition between the elites of the former islands for dominance over the sanctuary of Apollo. As has already been mentioned, Delos was situated amidst a major sea route and from the late ninth century the sanctuary of Apollo had already begun to acquire an inter-regional character. In reality, it was a competition for access to maritime routes and for the control over a locality of increasing economic importance.

Ancient Thera, similarly to the other settlements in the peripheral zone of the region, demonstrates a wide range of fineware ceramics imported from many regions, namely Attica, Corinth, and Crete[756] (Table 7.8). There are also a number "Bird-kotylai" vases attributed to Rhodes[757], but the complexities surrounding the provenance of this specific group have been stressed above. Imports from other Cycladic islands also occur but are limited to Parian ceramics, belonging mainly to the "Wheel-Group" amphorae. The imports and exports between Paros, Thera and Crete bear evidence of the interactions between these three areas and indicate that the Parians as well as the Therans were exploiting the southern maritime route from the Cyclades to Crete. Finally, at the sites of Iria and Kastro on Naxos and Siphnos respectively imports derive mainly from neighbouring islands and very few from more distant regions[758] (Tables 7.9, 7.10).

The picture as regards the dissemination of Cycladic pottery does not alter significantly since Cycladic vessels still circulated mainly within the region (Fig. 7.16). Despite that the number of inter-regional imports increases considerably the pottery networks are consistent with the Proximal Point Analysis in that regular interactions occurred between neighbouring communities. Moreover, exports to and imports from other regions, in other words the introduction of a certain number of new links in a regular clustered network that connect to different network systems, most of which concern sites on the boundaries of the region, give evidence to the *small-world* effect.

The sea-routes postulated for the preceding period, that is the one involving the Cyclades and Crete and the other traversing the islands from the eastern to the central Aegean are still frequented as evidenced by both the pottery networks and the settlement patterns. Access to the former route became a field of contest between the elites of Paros and Naxos, while the latter lies within the interaction sphere of Paros and Thera. Cycladic

[756] Dragendorff 1903; Pfuhl 1903.
[757] Coldstream 2008, 277-79.
[758] Brock and Mackworth Young 1949, 33-45; Simantoni-Bournia 2015.

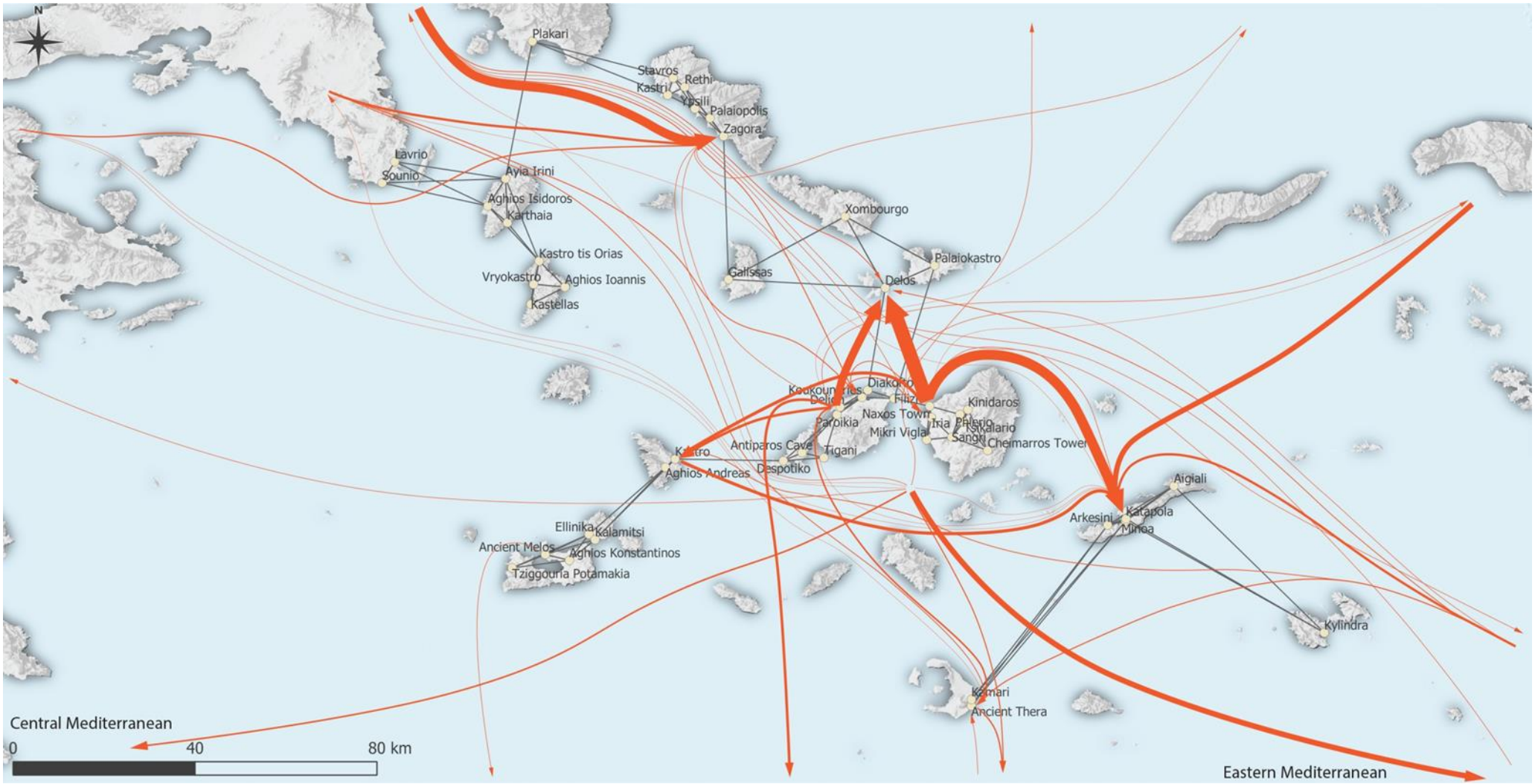

Fig. 7.16. Late Geometric Cycladic exchange networks. The size of the edges is directly proportional to the number of imports/ exports (weighted degree).

finds from the northern Aegean are inadequate to suggest early interactions between the two regions at least until more material is published from northern Aegean sites. The recent publication of a specific deposit from Methoni, an Eretrian colony in the north, from the initial phases of the site's establishment at the end of the Geometric period where only a single Cycladic amphora was found is indicative of the very limited participation of the Cyclades in the trading networks of the northern Aegean during the eighth century BCE[759]. Instead, Cycladic exports to the northern Aegean proliferate from the seventh century onwards[760].

Before leaving this chapter it is worth considering the evidence for early writing in the Cyclades. The invention of the Greek alphabet is considered as one of the greatest achievements of the eighth century BCE. There are many approaches to early Greek alphabetic writing[761]. Many pertain to the association of the invention of the Greek alphabet with the Homeric epics[762]; others explore the degrees of literacy across space and time; and very recently, archaeological approaches have appeared which challenge the opposition between orality and literacy and employ the theoretical concept of "entanglement" for the interpretation of this phenomenon[763]. Scholars have also hypothesised about the context in which this process took place but the very specific circumstances under which the Greek alphabet was created will probably remain elusive to us. Be that as it may, the decisive role of the Euboeans in the adaptation of the Phoenician script and the transmission of the Greek alphabet is unquestionable, all the more so in the light of recent finds from Euboea itself as well as other Euboean-related sites like Methoni in the northern Aegean[764]. The places where the Greek alphabetic writing first appears, that is within the Euboean networks of interaction that include among others Al Mina and Pithekoussai, further corroborate this view[765].

The association of the invention of the Greek alphabet with Homer presents certain difficulties and has recently been dismissed on the basis of certain arguments[766]. First, as

[759] Besios et al. 2012.
[760] See Besios et al. 2012, 169-70.
[761] The literature on the subject is growing vast. For a very recent overview see Knodell 2021 with bibliography.
[762] E.g. Powell 1991; 2002.
[763] Whitley 2017.
[764] Kenzelmann Pfyffer et al. 2005; Besios et al. 2012; Clay et al. 2017.
[765] For the distribution of the earliest Greek alphabetic inscriptions see Powell 1989; Knodell 2021, 215-22.
[766] Whitley 2017, 76-82.

Whitley stresses, there is evidence that the first Greek alphabetic inscriptions date well before the traditional dating for the composition of the Homeric poems sometime around 700 BCE. Indeed, the earliest Greek alphabetic inscriptions are to be found on a vessel in a Latin Early Iron Age cemetery in Osteria dell Osa in central Italy dating to the first half of the eighth century[767]; and on a sherd from Naxos (Cyclades) that dates slightly later (see below). There are some uncertainties for the latter example as to whether the graffito inscribed on it is contemporary with the vessel, but if so these finds push the adoption of the alphabet earlier than previously thought, sometime in the first half of the eighth century BCE. Second, if Nagy's model is to be accepted then the epics reached their definitive form much later than the adoption of the alphabet. Finally, Whitley argues that there were more suitable scripts than the early Greek alphabet, for instance the Cypriot syllabary, to capture the hexametric verse of the poems[768].

Early script is documented in several Cycladic islands. These are Naxos, Andros, Amorgos, Thera, and Anaphe[769]. The Naxos example was found in a deposit of the Archaic period from the settlement of Grotta. It is a krater sherd dating to the end of the Middle Geometric period[770]. On the inner side of the sherd a name is inscribed in genitive. The excavator gives Αλοκιεος and Powell Αλικοεος[771]. Given that the name was probably inscribed when the vessel was already broken, a later date still within the Geometric period is more probable for the execution of this graffito (Fig. 7.17). Somewhat later is a graffito on a Corinthian kotyle from Zagora on Andros that reads ΜΝΟΙΛΕΟΙ which is also interpreted as personal name by its excavator[772]. The places these inscriptions were found were not coincidental. In geographic terms, Andros is located at the entrance of the Euboean gulf, while the interactions between Zagora and Euboea are represented by the large number of Euboean imports at the site (Table 7.5). Euboean imports to Naxos are not that numerous but interactions between the latter and Euboea during the eighth century BCE can be inferred on the grounds of access to the maritime route that connects the Euboean gulf with the Eastern Mediterranean. The earliest alphabetic writing in the region appears then at sites that are linked one way or another with the Euboean networks of interaction[773].

[767] Ridgway 1996.
[768] Whitley 2017, 79-82.
[769] Powell 1989; Jeffery 1990, 289-306, 465-70.
[770] Lambrinoudakis 1981, 294, pl. 201a. See also Jeffery 1990, 466, A; Powell 1991, 131, no. 18.
[771] Lambrinoudakis 1981; Powell 1991.
[772] Cambitoglou 1981, 53-54, no. 111; Jeffery 1990, 466, no. 52a(i).
[773] Cf. Whitley 2017, esp. 82-90; Knodell 2021, 215-22.

Fig. 7.17. Grotta, Naxos Town. Inscribed sherd dated to the middle of the eighth century BCE (after Lambrinoudakis 1981, 294, pl. 201a. Drawing after Powell 1991, 131, no. 18).

The early inscriptions from Amorgos, Anaphe, and Thera are all inscribed on a different medium and appear in different contexts. From Thera there are many inscriptions of personal, divine, and mythological names curved on rock croppings on a plateau at Mesa Vouno[774]. Unfortunately, there is not any contextual evidence to date these inscriptions with accuracy, but judging by the letter forms they are cautiously dated to the early seventh or the late eighth century BCE. Another name is inscribed on an amphora from a child's burial which is dated to the first half of the seventh century[775]. The examples from Amorgos and Anaphe are epitaphs. The former is inscribed on a rock at the site of Aigiali assigned to the first half of the seventh century[776]. It reads *Δηιδαμανι Πυγμας ο πατερ [τ]ονδ' οιq[ον ?ετευΗσεν]* which translates: To Deidamas his father Pygmas [has set up this] (?)abode. From Anaphe a gravestone bears the inscription: *Αγqυλιον τονδε τον ϑoqον εποιε[- - -]* which translates: Ankylion made this seat(?)[777]. It is dated to the first quarter of the seventh century BCE.

Coda: The Seventh Century BCE

Somewhat oddly, the seventh century BCE had not received the scholarly attention to the extent other historical periods have concerned historians and archaeologists alike[778]. Lately, though, this century is being treated with increasing interest and recent works are devoted to the interpretation of the considerable amount of archaeological evidence of

[774] Jeffery 1990, 318-19, 323, no. 1; Powell 1989, 325-26; 1991, 129-31, nos 13-16.
[775] Jeffery 1990, 318, 323, no. 2; Powell 1991, 131, no. 17.
[776] Jeffery 1990, 293, 304, no. 15; Powell 1989, 330; 1991, 143-44, no. 39.
[777] Jeffery 1990, 322, 324, no. 26; Powell 1989, 331; 1991, 144, no. 40.
[778] Osborne 1989; Étienne 2017.

various kinds and attempt to shed light on the developments that occurred from 700 to 600 BCE[779]. Indeed, too much was going on to justify the discussions over the significance of the seventh century. The emergence of the city-states, the birth of monumental sculpture and architecture, and colonisation events are just some of the developments that characterise this century. Another distinctive feature of the seventh century is the adoption of Near-eastern ideas and images to satisfy new needs that led to the transformation of the Greek culture, so much so that the term *Orientalising* came to describe the whole century and was applied as a chronological marker in the periodisation schemes of ancient Greece. Despite that the influences from the east and their impact is almost universally recognised, the concept of *Orientalising* has been subject to severe scholarly critique to the extent that the term is being used less frequently in the nomenclature used to describe the processes that took place in the seventh century BCE[780].

Confining ourselves to the Cyclades, there is a shift in settlement patterns since many settlements in easily defensible locations are gradually abandoned. Koukounaries on Paros and Zagora on Andros are cases in point[781]. Nevertheless, the sanctuaries at these sites continued to be used for many centuries after the break in habitation, a pattern that finds parallels in seventh century Attica[782]. At Ypsili on Andros the habitation area gradually shrunk during the seventh century and was finally abandoned at the end of the sixth/ early fifth century BCE[783]. The defensive capacity of a location, therefore, was no longer considered a crucial criterion in the selection of a habitation site. There is a lack of intensive surveys for most of the Cycladic islands, so that we are not able to know where the populations moved. Earlier and very recent research on Paros, however, have shown the development of sites in the northern part of Paros at a close distance from Koukounaries, most of them in coastal and low-lying positions, such as Filizi[784]. Overall, on some islands there seems to be a tendency for long-term aggregation of the population at specific sites, while on others, for instance Kea and possibly Melos, a different settlement pattern is attested through the increasing number of sites crowding the landscape[785].

[779] E.g. Charalambidou and Morgan 2017.
[780] See Riva and Vella 2006; Gunter 2014; Étienne 2017, 11-13.
[781] Cambitoglou et al. 1971; 1988; Schilardi 1983; 1988b; 2002; 2012.
[782] Osborne 1989.
[783] Televantou 2008a.
[784] Schilardi 1975; Knodell et al. 2020.
[785] Renfrew and Wagstaff 1982; Cherry et al. 1991; Whitelaw 1998.

Delos continued to grow in prominence and by the seventh century the Ionian festival, first attested in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*[786] had already been established, which in turn implies the emergence of shared regional identities. There is now an increasing number of votives and accompanying inscriptions at the Delian sanctuaries, which become particularly prominent. Perhaps the most celebrated among them is the dedication of Nikandre[787] (National Archaeological Museum, Athens, Inv. 1), a marble statue of a *kore* (maiden), dated to around 650 BCE, which bears a dedicatory inscription[788]:

> Νικανδρη μ'ανεθεκεν [ε]κηβολοι ιοχεαιρηι , Φορη Δεινο-
> δικηο το Νατσιο εσοχος αλην Δεινομενεος δε κασιγνετη
> Φρακσο δ' αλοχος
>
> [Nikandre set me up to the goddess, the far shooter of arrows; excellent
> daughter of Deinodokos of Naxos, sister of Deinomenes, wife of Phraxos]

This inscribed votive offering is indicative of the antagonisms and the need for status display that were at play both within each community and in the regional level as well. The latter is also reflected, as we have seen, in the growing importance of the sanctuary of Apollo on Despotiko[789] which should be seen as a reaction of the Parian elites against the control of Delos by their Naxian counterparts.

Very recently, Crielaard argued that in the seventh century lyric poetry provides evidence for the formation of group identities and the "rise of the community"[790]. The recent discovery of a poem of the Parian poet Archilochus (P Oxy. 4708)[791] I briefly referred to in a previous section of this chapter is suggestive of how local traditions were instrumental in the formation of a local Parian identity. This is the only poem by Archilochus in which he narrates a mythological event, namely the defeat of the Achaeans by Telephus at Mysia during their journey to Troy. Some scholars argue that Archilochus' choice of this particular myth and his portrayal of Telephus' glory were not accidental since they have demonstrated the connection between Telephus' family lines and Parian local traditions[792]. On his mother's side Telephus is of Arcadian descent (he is called Arcasides by Archilochos)

[786] Burkert 1979.
[787] Richter 1968.
[788] Jeffery 1990, 303, no. 2; Powell 1991, 169-71. English translation according to Powell 1991.
[789] Kourayos et al. 2012.
[790] Crielaard 2017.
[791] Obbink 2005.
[792] Aloni 2007; Swift 2014.

and according to the legend Paros was colonised by a figure named Paros, son of Parrasios who emigrated from Arcadia. Telephus was also the son of Herakles (also mentioned in the poem) who is linked to many Parian mythological traditions. What Archilochos implies and emphasises, then, is the common origins shared by the Parians and Telephus.

The second half of the eighth century is marked by the first wave of Greek settlements overseas. In the seventh century there is a considerable growth of this expansion all over the Mediterranean world, from the Western Mediterranean, to the Black Sea and to the north Africa. No Cycladic community is said to have established a colony in the western or Central Mediterranean in the seventh century. Nevertheless, there is archaeological evidence for the presence of individuals, itinerant potters and painters, from Paros and Naxos in southern Italy, at the sites of Incoronata and possibly Siris, and their interactions with the indigenous populations[793]. In contrast to other Mediterranean regions, there are written testimonies narrating that the Therans established themselves at Cyrene on the north-eastern coast of Libya (Herodotus 4.151)[794]. Here once again arises the issue of the relationship of later literary sources with their contemporary political environment and the interests of those they are related to. Cyrene has been extensively investigated but there are few remains from the period of the arrival of the first settlers. Apart from the literary evidence, the involvement of the Therans in the establishment of the settlement is mainly deduced from the similarities between the early scripts of Thera and Cyrene.

Two islands are said to have established colonies during the seventh century in the northern Aegean. According to later literary sources Andros founded Sane, Stageira, and Akanthos in the north-eastern coast of Chalkidiki, as well as Argilos at the mouth of Strymon[795]. They also inform us that this colonisation movement was carried out with the collaboration of the Euboeans, more specifically the Chalcidians, and give a foundation date around the middle of the seventh century for their establishment[796]. They remain silent, however, as to why this movement was undertaken in the first place. The view from archaeology is not much enlightening with respect to the early history of these establishments, despite that all four sites have been located and have been under investigation. The excavations at Stageira have so far failed to produce any seventh century

[793] Denti 2018a; 2018b.
[794] Austin 2008.
[795] Tiverios 2008, 52-66; 2012.
[796] Thucydides, *Histories*, 4.84.1, 88.2, 103.3, 109.2, 5.6.1; Plutarch, *Moralia*, 298A-B, *Greek Questions*, 30

material. The evidence from Sane is sparse, but a small amount of Cycladic pottery is reported along with Corinthian and East Greek wares[797]. The situation in Akanthos and Argilos is more promising. At Akanthos, a cemetery is being under investigation which was in use from prehistoric times -from local Thracian people- until late antiquity. The corpus of the seventh century vessels from the site includes products from various Aegean centres and few of them are attributed to Cycladic workshops[798]. At Argilos, as stated by the excavators, there were two waves of settlers. The first, according to the material evidence dates to the middle seventh century BCE and the second about a century later[799]. The relations between the first settlers and the local Thracians appear to have been less tense. There is a large quantity of Cycladic pottery from the site, but the uncertainties surrounding their exact origin have not yet been resolved[800]. Thus, an early presence of settlers from Andros is not yet reflected in the material culture of all these sites, with the probable exception of Argilos.

By contrast, the foundation of a colony on Thasos by Parians is very well evidenced both literary and archaeologically. In this chapter we saw that according to the material and stratigraphical evidence the colonisation of Thasos could not have taken place before the first half of the seventh century BCE. A very essential difference between the testimonies related to the colonisation events that involve the islands of Andros and Paros is that the latter are contemporary to the event. The lyric poet Archilochos of Paros in his verses gives an account of the colonisation of Thasos as a member of the second wave of settlers -dated to about 650 BCE- whom he describes as the "misery of all the Greeks"[801]. There are similar derogatory comments about Thasos as well as the local populace and the poet also portrays conflicts between the settlers and the Thracians. Recently, Sara Owen argued that literary sources, lyric poetry in particular, should be treated with caution[802]. Owen bases her claim on earlier studies which demonstrated that in lyric poetry the first person should not necessarily be identified with the poet himself. That is to say, lyric poems do not have to be autobiographical. Owen rightly emphasises the sympotic environment of these poems which played upon pleasurable issues. Furthermore, the assumption of poor relations between the settlers and the Thracians is based on some Archilochos' verses preserved on later

[797] Rhomiopoulou 1978, 65; Tiverios 1989, 32-37, fig. 1.
[798] Rhomiopoulou 1978, 64-65; 1999, 129; Trakosopoulou-Salakidou 1999, 1198-1202.
[799] Perreault and Bonias 2010, 231; 2012, 264.
[800] Perreault and Bonias 2012.
[801] West 1974, 118-40.
[802] Owen 2003.

inscriptions. The fragmentary state of the latter has caused controversies as to the original words used by the poet to describe the Thracians[803].

Archaeology reveals a more complex picture than poetry allows it. As we saw, the excavations at Thasos town suggest that there were no contacts between Paros and the local Thracian communities before the arrival of the first settlers, but the local people were interacting with other communities, especially from the north-eastern Aegean. The finds from the Thracian cemetery at Kastri point to a restructuring of the local community during the Early Iron Age and indicate that initially, the foreign imports were considered as prestige items[804]. Pertinent to the relations between the Thracians and the Greeks and indicative of the complexities that surround this issue is the level of integration of the latter into the existing landscape of Thasos, in light of the use of former Thracian cultic sites by Parian settlers[805]. Therefore, the relations between the Thracians and the Greeks through the lens of archaeology appear to be more multi-faceted and to include a wider spectrum of interactions than just conflicts.

Taking the whole body of evidence into account, it is only for Paros that the literary sources and the archaeological evidence are in agreement concerning the origin of the newcomers who settled in the northern Aegean during the seventh century. Aside from the above sites, Cycladic pottery of this century has been found in other north Aegean sites as well. In cases which the provenance of this pottery has been determined, mostly at sites on the coastal zone of the mainland opposite to Thasos, this is Parian[806]. Thasos is a fertile island, rich in timber, marble, and metals. However, the main reason for the colonisation of Thasos was the exploitation of the Thracian hinterland, notorious for its metalliferous zones. This is probably the reason why the Parians chose to settle at the northern part of Thasos in the first place, that is to use it as a foothold in order to get access to the Thracian resources. By contrast, the Naxian networks of interaction do not include the northern Aegean but Naxian pottery is found in several sites in the central and southern Aegean[807].

[803] Owen 2003, 7-10.
[804] Owen 2006.
[805] Owen 2009.
[806] Besios et al. 2012, 170-71 with full bibliography.
[807] Knauss 2003.

Conclusions

In this chapter I have tried to show how settlement and pottery networks can provide meaningful insights in understanding and explaining the cultural and social developments that occurred in most of the Cycladic islands over the course of the eighth century BCE. Other forms of evidence were also employed in order to assist reach firmer conclusions. Thus, the settlement patterns and networks indicate that there is a significant increase in the number of sites. This resulted in the intensification of interactions in most areas of the region and in the re-organisation of the proximate networks since new clusters of sites were now formed. In each of these clusters where interactions between sites would have been more frequent, prominent sites emerged that were later developed into *poleis*. It is at these sites where, as per the available archaeological evidence, social changes had already been developed and expressed through the creation of collective funerary monuments.

At the same time, the deposition of oriental imports at Cycladic sanctuaries bear evidence to the implementation of the Cycladic communities to wider networks of interaction, albeit the number of Cycladic exports overseas remains small. The locus of elite competition was transferred to sanctuaries, especially to those sanctuaries that had begun to acquire a more regional character. In Cyclades this is best illustrated in the case of Delos. Authority over the sanctuary of Apollo was the coveted prize for the Parian and Naxian elites to gain. Access to wider trade network systems and regional control of the maritime route that passes through the islands was the prime mover for this contest. In the context of inter-regional interactions colonisation events loom large in the later literary tradition, a number of them involving Cycladic communities. But when it comes to archaeology the presence of Cycladic populations along the coast of southern Italy as well as in the northern Aegean is confirmed for the seventh century BCE.

Chapter 8

Discussion and Conclusion

In this chapter, I discuss my general conclusions concerning the networks of interaction of the Cycladic islands during the Early Iron Age (ca. 1200- 700 BCE) in relation to the questions raised in the introductory chapter. The conclusions for each period into which this thesis is divided are discussed in the relevant chapters. Throughout the thesis, I have adopted a multi-scalar approach as a means of highlighting how the examination of different types of networks and network thinking can lead to conclusions regarding social and political complexity and where they occur, the possible causes for the stylistic differences between neighbouring communities, the degree of connectivity and the nature of interactions between communities within the Cyclades but also with communities from other regions of the Aegean or the Mediterranean. Archaeological data are inherently biased and incomplete, and networks are a suitable heuristic device that can be used in order to draw inferences for such enquiries. What is more, the simultaneous examination of different types of networks can mitigate biases within the archaeological record, leading to more secure conclusions. In order to offer a more comparative perspective, I will integrate and examine the major developments that took place in the Cyclades for each period within their wider Aegean and Mediterranean context.

This study begins with the examination of a period that, in certain areas of the Aegean, is characterised by the collapse of the Mycenaean palatial system. This is accompanied by a significant reduction in the levels of socio-political complexity in these regions. As we have seen, the Cycladic islands did not form part of the palatial administrative system and therefore the stratification, socio-political and economic complexities, script, palatial art and architecture as well as other aspects of life either did not exist or did not alter significantly like they did on the mainland[808]. Thus, in Chapter 4 I argued that the term "Post-palatial" is probably a misnomer for the Cyclades, as it is for other regions of the Aegean where palaces also did not emerge. But this is not only an issue of nomenclature. For such regions, it makes the traditional disciplinary divide between the study of the Bronze Age and the Iron Age, between prehistory and history, to appear even more artificial than the actual evidence allows it.

[808] Earle 2012.

Connectivity, Interactions, and Proximate Networks

Throughout this study, it has become clear that the settlement patterns and subsequently the settlement networks were highly variable both between the successive periods and between certain areas of the Cyclades during the same period. This was mainly observed in more peripheral areas of the archipelago, while, in the central Cyclades (mainly the islands of Paros and Naxos), the settlement patterns remained, more or less, consistent throughout the period under study. The areas, therefore, which were geographically closer to other regions appear to be more sensitive to changes and processes that took place outside the Cyclades. Perhaps the most typical example is the area of the south-western Cyclades. If the interpretation of Phylakopi on Melos as a point of supervision and protection of the maritime routes controlled by an Argive palace is correct, then the disruption of these routes due to palatial collapse explains the gradual decline and eventually the abandonment of the site. This, in turn, resulted in the very limited habitation on Melos and the surrounding islands from the end of the Bronze Age until its revival from the eighth century due to external colonisation and economic exploitation. In network theory terms, the removal of a key node in a highly centralised (local) network system caused its collapse.

Of course, elsewhere an inverse pattern is observed. Connectivity with southern Attica had a positive impact on the development of habitation on the islands of the north-western Cyclades throughout the Early Iron Age. Similarly, the settlement in the north-central Cyclades is affected by their proximity to the Euboean gulf and the development of trade routes that passed through the islands. The development of settlements along the western coastline of these islands seems to confirm that connectivity was a crucial factor as to where sites were developed. In other areas of the Cyclades, isolated settlements were occasionally established on certain islands. The carrying capacity of most of these islands is relatively very small –the climate of the Cyclades is generally characterised by aridity and poor soils for intensive agriculture– and they also lacked the prospect of habitual interactions. Therefore, in this thesis, their establishment has been explained in part because they facilitated connectivity between the Cyclades and other regions. In other words, these sites exemplify the *strength of the weak ties* concept linking through less frequent interactions different network systems. It is the establishment or abandonment of these sites that, together with the examination of the empirical data, served as proxies for the existence of sea routes and interactions between the Cyclades and other regions. The importance of the proximate interactions for the sustainability of the small Early Iron Age

Cycladic communities is illustrated by the complete absence of habitation on the islands of the Small Cyclades, south of Naxos, throughout the Early Iron Age. This stands in contrast to the central Cyclades, which appear less sensitive to external repercussions. It is in this area that a cluster of sites appears from the Late Helladic IIIC down to the Late Geometric period. This cluster contains the largest number of sites in all the periods under study and (apart from the Protogeometric period when their number decreased compared to the Late Helladic IIIC) this constantly increases. This pattern is reminiscent of the scale-free networks since new nodes are constantly attached to this network system. This is not to say that regional networks were the sole determinant for the choice of location of a new site. Indeed, other communities in islands with higher carrying capacity for production developments, namely Naxos and Tenos, adopted different strategies in that they chose to exploit the fertile hinterland of the islands. The difference in the location of the settlements between Andros and Tenos in the Late Geometric period is telling in this respect.

A related issue to settlement patterns is the emergence of regional central places. In the Cyclades, the most typical example and perhaps the most celebrated site from the eighth century and throughout the Classical period is Delos. First, the island was of great religious significance, as it is considered the birthplace of Apollo and Artemis. The core of its cult, which later acquired a Panhellenic character, was the sanctuary of Apollo. This sanctuary, as the other major cult centres on the island, namely the Artemision and the Heraion, would have attracted worshippers from different communities. The Ionian festival of Apollo that took place on Delos included competitions of various forms, including athletics, performance, and votive offerings. But religion was not the decisive factor for the emergence of Delos as a Panhellenic sanctuary[809]. In the previous chapters I mentioned that regional sanctuaries were places of particular economic interest that supported a system of economic exchange in addition to religious events. Many years ago, Jack Davis argued that Delos rose to prominence in the Archaic period due to its central position among the Ionian communities[810]. As Earle has noted this would have involved some sort of collective planning, which, for the period in question, does not seem particularly likely[811]. Considering the complete lack of political centralisation during the Early Iron Age and later periods in the Cyclades, the emergence of Delos was probably a bottom-up process. Delos was indeed central in a sense that it laid amidst very important maritime trade routes, connecting

[809] Cf. Earle 2010.
[810] Davis 1982, 25.
[811] Earle 2010, 43.

central Greece with the south-eastern Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean and, more locally, the central and northern Cyclades. Its emergence as a prominent and Panhellenic sanctuary was a gradual process directly linked to the maritime trade networks and to the fact that, since inter-regional interactions began to become more frequent, more and more ships were passing through Delos, providing mariners with a safe anchorage and a neutral place for economic activities.

The case of Early Iron Age and Archaic Delos is very reminiscent of the patterns seen on the Small Cyclades during the Early Bronze Age. Excavations on Dhaskaleio, an islet off the coast of Keros, have revealed a sanctuary, which is considered the world's first maritime sanctuary dated to around 2500 BCE[812]. Cyprian Broodbank argues that the site probably had modest beginnings and interprets, through network analysis, its emergence as the result of the intensification of interactions due to population growth in the Small Cyclades and of the emergence of this area as a hub of maritime activity due to its high degree of centrality in accordance with the settlement patterns of the period[813]. The emergence of "international" sanctuaries in the Early Iron Age at hubs of maritime activity has earlier been stressed by other scholars[814]. I also argued in the previous chapters that the emergence of the sanctuary of Apollo at Despotiko as a regional sanctuary in the Archaic period should partly be explained within the same framework. However, in this case, we must take the importance of elite competition into consideration, which I discuss below.

Exchange Networks

The identification of ceramic imports and exports has long been used as proxy evidence for connectivity and interactions between sites or regions. However, there are inherent problems in trying to trace (maritime) connectivity using this type of evidence. Perhaps the most significant has been that, in most cases, we are not able to know the exact path of an object from its production centre to its final destination. In other words, we do not know if an object produced in site A ended up directly in site B or if it is the result of an indirect contact via site C or, more abstractly, the result of human mobility. For that reason, throughout this thesis, I examined the relative and absolute quantities, the strength, and the direction of imports/ exports. Hence, a single import from site A to site B among many from

[812] Renfrew et al. 2012; 2013.
[813] Broodbank 2000, 237-46.
[814] de Polignac 1984; Sherratt and Sherratt 1993.

other sites is not considered the result of direct contact. A very important advantage of network analysis is that it provides the opportunity to place the data from all examined sites in a single network to reveal the complexities concerning the dissemination of ceramics. Thus, by taking the whole body of evidence into account, we can restore with relative certainty the existence of a sea route between the Cyclades and Crete from the ninth century onwards and, more specifically, a network of interactions between Paros, Thera, and Crete.

In each chapter the exchange networks were examined in comparison with the settlement (spatial) networks in order to determine the validity of a longstanding assumption that the communities of the Early Iron Age Aegean stood in need of the proximate interactions for their sustainability. Indeed, for the Cycladic sites that possess sufficient quantifiable material we find that a large part of their imports came from the neighbouring islands. Perhaps the most representative example is Minoa on Amorgos, where during most of the Early Iron Age, the greater part of the pottery is of Naxian origin. In network terms, these series of connections can be described as *small-worlds* since, although the more frequent interactions occurred between neighbouring communities, the existence of links with more distant communities connected them to other network systems.

Another issue regarding the dissemination of pottery is the nature of the interactions with which it is related. Unfortunately, according to the current state of evidence, we cannot explore the intra-island interactions between different communities given that no actual Early Iron Age workshops have been found thus far, be they in the form of kilns or refuse pits. Throughout the thesis, I have avoided discussion on economic networks, but I have referred to exchange networks. The reason is that in the absence of residues of perishable products such as grain, oil, or textiles the only products made of non-perishable materials that could serve as proxy evidence for economic interactions between sites or regions are transport amphorae that originally contained bulk commodity goods. Known imports of this type of object are very rare in the Cyclades (a couple from Zagora), while from the trading stations of the Early Iron Age Aegean in which an abundance of transport amphorae has come to light, a single Cycladic piece is known from Methoni in northern Greece and probably a couple from Kommos on Crete[815]. Hence, the participation of the Cycladic communities in the commercial networks of the Aegean is small. Despite this,

[815] Johnston 2000, 197, nos 12-13; Besios et al. 2012, 169-70, 428-29, no. 90.

some kind of economic interactions between the Cyclades and Crete from the ninth century onwards cannot be ruled out on account of the large number of Cycladic imports into Crete.

Migration is another type of interaction that has been related to the circulation of pottery in combination with later written testimonies, either in the form of a large-scale migration movement, for instance the alleged Ionian Migration, or as a smaller-scale event, such as the colonisation of Amorgos by Naxos or Samos. Indeed, the discovery of imported ceramics has traditionally been used as a confirmation of these testimonies. I have argued in this thesis with reference to the Cycladic evidence alone that this kind of interpretation on the basis of the origin of imports as a sole type of evidence requires caution. Lately, many scholars have called into question the historicity of such mass migration events on account of poor or incompatible archaeological evidence and the plurality and diversity that characterises the ancient sources that make reference to the Ionian Migration. Furthermore, Attic Protogeometric pottery, the period in which the Ionian Migration is considered to have taken place, was so widely disseminated in the Aegean and overseas so that its equation with population movements is uncertain. Similarly, single colonisation episodes in the Cyclades that appear in various written sources were probably created to justify later events. In other cases, such as that of Zagora on Andros, the interpretation of the site as a colony or trading post due to imports from Euboea has been rejected after a closer examination of the whole body of the archaeological evidence[816]. Interestingly, no one has claimed that Minoa on Amorgos was a trading station even though the vast majority of pottery from the settlement is imported. By this, I do not want to say that Minoa was a trading station –evidence for such an interpretation is lacking as for Zagora– but underline the difference in interpretation among scholars of sites that present similar ceramic assemblages.

By contrast, the presence of exclusively imported fineware ceramics on Delos is not attributed to a colonisation event. There was a community on the island during the Early Iron Age, but it did not produce fineware pottery. The large amount of Naxian and Parian pottery has been attributed to the presence of elites from these islands and to their attempt to gain control over the sanctuary of Apollo. A different interpretation has been given to a Late Geometric Cycladic amphora found in Athens in the area of the Hephaisteion, which is

[816] Cf. Kotsonas 2012.

seen as part of the household utensils of a Cycladic family that moved to Athens or as a dowry of a young Cycladic woman[817].

These examples demonstrate the complexities that surround the dissemination of fineware ceramics in the Cyclades and it becomes clear that exchange networks can describe different types of interaction between communities. For that reason, these types of networks should be treated by taking into consideration the whole body of available evidence as a means of integrating them into their wider geographical, historical, and archaeological contexts.

The affiliation networks between pottery shapes and production centres showed that the imports of fineware ceramics did not serve any need or lack in a specific shape (at least for the sites where local production has been attested) and that no decorated fineware in the Cyclades was produced for large-scale export. A possible exception is the Middle Geometric Naxian oinochoai which have been found in sufficient quantities on Delos and Minoa on Amorgos. The stylistic networks on the contrary placed in the wider political and social environment of each period, and more specifically in the context of this thesis in the Late Helladic IIIC period, can provide evidence not only for the frequency of contact between different communities but also to demonstrate how interaction, especially if this is negative, can lead to differences to their material culture. They can also be used as indicators of changing social relations and of the emergence of local identities, contributing to the more general issue of how stylistic similarity and geographical distance are related.

While I argued that there was neither political fragmentation nor a significant reduction in social complexity in the Cyclades of the Late Helladic IIIC period, Cycladic sites do display different degrees of social complexity during this period. In the Late Helladic IIIC period the area with the largest number of sites is the central Cyclades. It is in this cluster and more specifically at Naxos Town that we observe the highest degree of social complexity among the Cycladic archipelago, as evidenced by the chamber tombs and the possible overseas imports found within them, while during the same period a site with functional specialisation, namely the sanctuary of Iria close to Naxos Town, was founded. In the following Protogeometric period, the number of sites decreases considerably in the Cyclades in general and in the central Cyclades cluster in particular. This is accompanied by a reduction in complexity at Naxos Town since the community was probably arranged in distinct residential areas, each organised in small family units. From the ninth century

[817] Papadopoulos and Smithson 2002.

onwards the number of sites in most areas of the Cyclades increased dramatically, resulting in the intensification of proximate interactions in clearly defined clusters of sites. Within these clusters, there are sites where the social and political complexities emerge as evidenced by the burial monuments that have come to light at several Cycladic sites, such as Paroikia, Naxos Town, and Minoa. This indicates that, on the one hand, the evolution of complexity does not follow a linear path and its degree is not the same in all Cycladic sites, while, on the other hand it mainly occurs in areas where there are a large number of sites and the habitual interactions become increasingly intense.

Expression of "Eliteness"

Throughout this study I used the term "aspiring elites" in the discussion regarding status negotiation and power relations both at the local and supra-local level. However, this term is not a self-evident inference and the issue of how "eliteness" is understood in the present thesis should be discussed. The long-standing notion that elite power in the Archaic period was hereditary –similar to the European medieval feudal society and corroborated by passages from Homer– has come under scholarly attack and has been accused of being anachronistic[818]. Alain Duplouy demonstrated that "eliteness" was something that had to be achieved, not a property with which someone was born and died, but something that had to be (re)negotiated constantly[819]. For Duplouy "eliteness" was not a static and monolithic social category but a more fluid and dynamic process. He examined the different modes of status-directed behaviors that are attested in the literary, epigraphical, and archaeological record in the long-term, that is from the tenth to the fifth centuries BCE. He also identified many ways in which status was claimed or maintained, for instance though reference to real or invented ancestry, through access to privileged exchange networks and the deposition of exotic items at burial grounds in the earliest periods or later the dedication of marble statues (along with their accompanying dedicatory inscriptions) to the gods in public arenas such as sanctuaries.

In the Cyclades, manifestations of "eliteness" and modes of status negotiation within individual communities were variable. For the earlier periods, prestige behaviour and status-oriented activities were expressed through raiding and feasting. One of the reasons that

[818] Duplouy 2006; van Wees and Fisher 2015.
[819] Duplouy 2006.

raiding, a very costly undertaking, was practised was to amass wealth and to compensate for bad economic periods, for instance due to crop failure. Raiding thus is related to the economic aspect of a community's life. Feasting, on the other hand, as a social action signifies the ability of a person to distribute this wealth to the members of the community. At Naxos Town during the Late Helladic IIIC period, differential access to exchange networks is inferred from the deposition of exotic objects in the chamber tombs at Aplomata and Kamini. The same pattern presents itself in the distribution of imports in the Late Geometric settlement of Zagora on Andros. Elite competition also occurred at the regional level. Already from the Middle Geometric period, the dedication of metal tripods to Delos shows that the aspiring elites had started to invest at regional sanctuaries as a means of indicating status. In the seventh century, this was attained mainly through the dedication of marble statues (*kouroi* and *korai*). A typical example is the dedication of a marble *kore* by Nikandre[820], a female member of elite society. Its accompanying inscription bears both her ethnic (Naxian) and the names of her family members[821]. The whole dedication (statue and inscription) was meant to be seen both by members of the Naxian community as well as by those of other communities who wished to struggle for power and prestige in the sanctuary.

The evidence from Delos suggests that elite competition took place not only within individual communities but also between communities from different areas. Snodgrass has already proposed that Peer Polity Interaction, that is the competition between peers from different communities, was a driving force for interaction between early Greek states[822]. Following this, I argue in the previous chapters that it was the competition between the communities of ancient Paros and Naxos that led to the development of the sanctuary of Apollo on Despotiko as a compensation for the Naxian dominance on Delos. The negative interactions and the rivalry between the communities of Paros and Naxos are echoed in a fragmentary poem (Fr 79) by Archilochos in which he refers to various battles between these two communities. What we can infer is that both Duplouy's and Snodgrass's models are complementary to one another, since elite competition and the related activities occurred simultaneously at different levels, both within communities (as demonstrated by Duplouy) and regionally, in regional sanctuaries between the autonomous communities (as proposed by Snodgrass)[823].

[820] Richter 1968.
[821] Jeffery 1990, 303, no. 2; Powell 1991, 169-71.
[822] Snodgrass 1986.
[823] Loy 2019.

Scales of Identity

In the previous chapters I explored how notions of identity operated at many different scales. It could be argued that proximate and habitual interactions are very likely to lead to a shared identity. However, as I argued in relation to the Late Helladic IIIC evidence this depends to some extent on the type of interaction. The interaction between Koukounaries on Paros and Naxos Town were probably negative (raiding) and this is reflected on the low similarity degree in the choice of motifs on fineware ceramics. In the Cyclades, local identities are better understood in later periods, when the increase in the number of sites led to the reorganization of proximate networks and habitual interactions. It was in these newly-formed communities of sites that the first *poleis* appeared in the Cyclades. The common identity of their members was expressed through the creation of monuments meant to unify the whole community. Lyric poetry played a decisive role in defining community identities as exemplified by the newly published poem of Archilochos of Paros (Fr 79)[824].

At the same time, regional networks that were developed in the Cyclades were instrumental for the formation of shared identities. The emergence of the sanctuary of Apollo on Delos was decisive in the development of an Ionian identity that was shared among most Cycladic communities. This collective identity was expressed through the participation in the Ionian festival held on the island, which was already established by the seventh century at the latest. What is more, the commission and dedication of statues at public spaces such as Delos, a very costly undertaking, should be integrated into a wider pattern of expression of elite identity.

Certain aspects of material culture were entangled to define identity at different levels. I mentioned earlier how funerary monuments were used in strengthening local identities. I also argued that these monuments are reminiscent to a large extent of the burials of the Homeric heroes, while visual aspects of the material culture, for instance the scenes depicted on the two amphorae from the Parian *polyandreia* idealised present events using models from the heroic past. These finds denote a shared aspect of a heroic past, transmitted through oral tradition among different Aegean communities, including certain Cycladic ones. The recognition of a common heroic past was of decisive importance for the formation of other collective identities.

[824] Obbink 2005.

Here we come to the issue of the formation of a Greek identity. In addition to the notion of a common heroic past, several scholars have stressed the importance of shared aspects of everyday life, such as common language, common religious traditions and participation in regional and Panhellenic festivals, as well as the role of colonisation and trans- Mediterranean networks in the formation of a Greek identity[825]. Concerning networks, the frequent contacts and interactions both with native populations and others from the wider Mediterranean (e.g. the Phoenicians) constantly highlighted the cultural contrasts between them and the confrontation with the "other" and contributed essentially to the recognition of a common ethnic identity. Irad Malkin argues that "what erases differences and consolidates identities is not permanence but movement and distance"[826]. Again lyric poetry provides us with indications for the articulation of ethnic identity in relation to the colonisation of Thasos by Paros. Archilochus, who took part in the colonisation, calls the mixed population of non-Parians who accompanied the Parian settlers "the misery of all the Greeks (panhellenes)"[827] in contrast to the local population of Thasos to whom he refers to another collective, ethnic identity, namely Thracians (Fr. 93a)[828].

Concerning Cycladic evidence in particular, the literary and the archaeological record bear evidence of multi-scalar identity notions, from the personal (elite), to the local (community), to the ethnic (Ionian and Greek). Certain aspects of material culture had the potential to cross identity scales, as in the case of the erection of burial monuments and by the seventh century BCE all these notions of identity operated simultaneously.

This thesis can be incorporated into the framework of similar studies concerning the Early Iron Age that have been carried out in other Aegean regions, including central Greece[829]. However, network approaches to the study of material culture also offer the opportunity to compare results across time periods, allowing for this work to be integrated with other studies that focus on different periods of the Cycladic history[830]. A geographical expansion of the exploration of networks of interaction and social dynamics to other (island) theatres, such as the Dodecanese which present a different spatial layout compared to the

[825] E.g. Hall 1997; Malkin 1998; 2011.
[826] Malkin 2011, 59.
[827] West 1974, 118-40. Malkin (2011, 56) claims that Archilochus with the term panhellenes refers exclusively to the non-Parian settlers.
[828] Owen 2003.
[829] Knodell 2021.
[830] E.g. Broodbank 2000.

Cyclades, will demonstrate how these unfold in these areas and how they compare to the situation in other, already studied, regions of the Aegean. A chronological expansion of such enquiries to other periods will provide better insights into the various types of networks the Cycladic communities were involved. While such studies have already been conducted, focusing on prehistoric contexts, research on this topic as it pertains to historical periods remains relatively rare. We know that the Cyclades interacted both among themselves and with many other communities of the Aegean and beyond in various ways but these are rarely explored from a network perspective. Such enquiries can demonstrate how the nature of social complexity varied in periods when the Cyclades consisted of autonomous communities or *poleis* or in periods when the islands were part of wider political formations. Other types of research can help to obtain better and more secure data that could be integrated into network analyses. For instance, the identification with analytical methods the provenance of ceramics from Cycladic sites will contribute to the better understanding of the interactions between communities, but will also reveal the complexities related to the production and circulation of pottery. Finally, the use of networks for other types of data will provide insights into further interaction networks of the Cycladic communities and the changing and stable relationships between social groups.

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Appendix

	Decorative motif	Naxos Town	Koukounaries	Phylakopi	Attica	Argolid	Lefkandi	Rhodes	Kos	Kalymnos
1	almond	x			x			x	x	x
2	almond, double								x	
3	antithetic hooks	x			x	x		x	x	x
4	antithetic loops	x		x	x	x	x			
5	antithetic loops with bars fill					x		x		
6	antithetic loops with chevrons fill						x			
7	antithetic loops with concentric semicircles fill						x			
8	antithetic loops with zigzag fill						x			
9	antithetic spiral with hourglass fill				x					
10	antithetic spiral with lozenge fill						x			
11	antithetic spiral (looped)		x		x		x	x	x	
12	antithetic spiral (looped) with bivalve chain fill		x							
13	antithetic spiral (looped) with cross fill							x		
14	antithetic spiral (looped) with elaborate decoration								x	
15	antithetic spiral (looped) with elaborate lozenge and chevrons fill								x	
16	antithetic spiral (looped) with net fill								x	
17	antithetic spiral (looped) with row of parallel dashes in loop		x		x		x	x	x	
18	antithetic spiral (looped) with vertical wavy lines in loop							x		
19	apse, elaborate							x		
20	apse, fringed									x
21	apse, solid outlined	x			x	x		x		
22	apse with concentric arcs fill	x								
23	apse with concentric semicircles fill									x
24	apse with dot fill	x								
25	apse with parallel wavy lines fill	x								
26	arch, barred	x				x			x	
27	arch with running spiral fill	x								
28	arch with zig-zag fill	x								

29	bird	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x
30	bivalve shell	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	
31	bivalve shell, elaborate					x				
32	bivalve shell, solid fringed								x	
33	bivalve shell, with chevrons fill		x							
34	bivalve shell, with dot rosette fill		x							
35	bivalve shell, with parallel lines or arcs fill		x				x			
36	bivalve shell, with solid outlined arcs fill				x	x				
37	bivalve shell, with solid outlined triangles fill				x					
38	blobs								x	
39	branch pattern						x			
40	bull			x						
41	calyx	x			x				x	
42	chariot					x	x			
43	checker panel	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x
44	chevrons	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x
45	chevrons with solid lozenge	x								
46	circle		x				x	x		
47	circle, double-stemmed								x	
48	circle, elaborate				x				x	
49	circle, fringed		x							x
50	circle, with dots fill								x	x
51	circle, solid with triangles fill							x		
52	"comb" motif								x	
53	concentric arcs	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	
54	concentric arcs with dot fill	x								
55	crab							x		x
56	creature, biped		x							
57	cross pattern	x								x
58	crossed rosette (wheel)	x	x	x				x		x
59	curved stripes		x							
60	cuttlefish/ squid		x		x					
61	dog			x		x	x			

62	dolphin							x	x	
63	dot row	x	x		x				x	
64	double-axe							x		
65	fish	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x
66	flower, antithetic							x		
67	flower, elaborate	x								
68	flower, unvoluted		x				x	x		
69	flower, voluted	x	x							
70	foliate band	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x
71	foliate band, droplet							x		
72	genius (?)			x						
73	goat	x				x	x	x	x	x
74	griffin						x			
75	half-moon				x	x				
76	half-rosette	x	x		x		x	x		
77	hedgehog					x		x		x
78	horns	x			x		x	x	x	x
79	horns and floral pattern	x								
80	horns, elaborate	x								
81	horns triglyph							x		
82	horns with half-moon stemmed spiral							x		
83	horse			x	x	x	x			
84	hourglass				x					
85	human	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	
86	jelly-fish	x								
87	joining semicircles	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
88	joining semicircles with dot fill	x					x			
89	joining semicircles, solid outlined				x					
90	ladder pattern	x	x					x		
91	leaf/ ivy		x				x			
92	linked circles	x	x		x					
93	linked circles with dot fill	x	x							
94	lozenge, cross-hatched	x	x		x	x	x	x		

95	lozenge, half-							x		
96	lozenge with chevrons fill		x							
97	lozenge with concentric arcs fill	x	x				x	x	x	
98	lozenge with concentric arcs fill and a dotted circle in the centre	x	x			x				
99	lozenge with dot rosette fill		x							
100	lozenge with with parallel horizontal or diagonal lines fill		x							
101	lozenge, solid outlined		x					x		
102	lozenge, stacked		x							
103	multiple stem and tongue	x	x				x	x		
104	necklace	x		x	x	x		x	x	
105	net pattern	x	x		x			x	x	
106	N-pattern		x		x					
107	octopus	x			x	x		x	x	x
108	palm tree	x						x	x	x
109	panel with bars							x	x	
110	panel with bivalve shells		x		x		x			
111	panel with chevrons	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	
112	panel with concentric arcs			x				x		
113	panel with concentric semicircles		x				x			
114	panel with diaper net		x							
115	panel with jagged wavy line							x		
116	panel with joining semicircles	x	x	x				x		
117	panel with lozenge		x	x			x	x		
118	panel oblique lines							x		
119	panel with opposed semicircles		x					x	x	
120	panel with parallel wavy lines		x				x			
121	panel with quirks		x					x		
122	panel with solid outlined semicircles	x						x		
123	panel with solid triangles	x								
124	panel with stacked triangles					x				
125	panel with stacked zig-zag								x	
126	panel with unvoluted flowers		x							

127	panel with vertical wavy line		x							
128	panel with zig-zag		x		x		x	x	x	x
129	papyrus	x				x		x		
130	papyrus, double							x		
131	papyrus with triangle	x								
132	pentagon motif	x			x					
133	quirk	x	x		x	x	x	x		x
134	ray motif					x				
135	rosette	x			x		x	x	x	x
136	rosette, dot	x					x	x	x	
137	running spiral	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
138	scale pattern							x	x	
139	scorpion							x		x
140	scroll	x			x	x	x	x		
141	scroll with chevrons fill						x			
142	sea anemone	x	x			x				
143	semicircles								x	
144	semicircles, elaborate		x							
145	semicircles with triangular patch fill		x							
146	semicircles, concentric	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x
147	semicircles, concentric fringed						x			x
148	semicircles, concentric linked by chevrons					x			x	
149	semicircles, concentric linked by concentric arcs	x	x				x	x		
150	semicircles, concentric with barred arch							x		
151	semicircles, concentric with dot fill	x	x				x			
152	semicircles, concentric with dot outline	x				x	x	x	x	
153	semicircles, solid	x						x		
154	semicircles, solid outlined	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x
155	semicircles, solid outlined fringed	x						x		x
156	semicircles, solid outlined linked by concentric arcs	x								
157	semicircles, solid outlined with barred arch	x			x			x		
158	semicircles, solid outlined with with concentric arcs fill	x								
159	semicircles, solid outlined with dot outline	x			x	x			x	x

160	ship			x	x				x	
161	snake	x			x			x	x	
162	sphinx						x			
163	spiral	x	x		x		x	x	x	
164	spiral with concentric arcs fill		x							
165	spiral with lozenge fill						x			
166	spiral with triangular patch fill						x			
167	spiraliform design								x	
168	stag/ deer				x		x			
169	starfish	x								
170	stemmed spiral	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
171	stemmed spirals linked by chevrons or lines								x	x
172	stemmed spiral with chevrons fill		x		x	x				
173	stemmed spiral with cross-hatching fill		x					x		
174	stemmed spiral, half moon							x		
175	stemmed spiral, linked double-								x	
176	tassel	x			x	x	x		x	
177	tongue	x								
178	tongue, antithetic	x						x		
179	tongue, barred	x								x
180	tongue, double-stemmed	x	x							
181	tongue, elaborate	x								
182	tongue, solid outlined	x								
183	tongue, with fill	x								
184	tree								x	
185	triangle	x						x		
186	triangle with concentric arcs fill	x				x		x		x
187	triangle with concentric arcs fill with an eye in each corner	x								
188	triangle with concentric arcs and horizontal lines fill				x	x				
189	triangle with dot fill	x								
190	triangle with horizontal wavy lines fill	x								
191	triangle with parallel horizontal lines fill		x							
192	triangle with solid outlined arcs and semicircles fill				x					

193	triangle with vertical and horizontal lines fill						x			
194	triangle with vertical lines and chevrons fill							x		
195	triangle, cross-hatched	x			x	x	x	x	x	
196	triangle, elaborate									x
197	triangle, hatched					x	x	x	x	
198	triangle, solid	x							x	
199	triangle, solid outlined	x			x	x	x	x		
200	triangle, solid outlined with barred arch	x								
201	triangle, solid outlined with fringed concentric arcs fill	x			x					
202	triangle, solid outlined with dot fill	x								
203	triangle, solid with concentric arcs fill	x						x	x	
204	triangles, stacked	x			x	x	x	x		
205	triangles, stacked with dot outline	x								
206	triangular patch	x			x	x		x	x	x
207	tricurved arch/ streamer	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	
208	streamer, dot fringed/ bird protomes							x		
209	streamer with stemmed spiral						x			
210	streamer with triangular patch fill						x			
211	tricurved arch with chevrons fill							x		
212	tricurved arch with semicircles fill						x	x		
213	triglyph	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
214	U-pattern		x		x			x	x	x
215	urchin							x		
216	V-pattern		x							
217	vase						x			
218	vertical lines	x	x			x		x	x	x
219	wavy band/ line	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
220	wavy band/ line, broken		x							
221	wavy band/ line, jagged	x	x		x		x	x		
222	wavy band/ line, vertical	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x
223	whorl-shell		x				x	x		
224	X-pattern		x					x	x	
225	zig-zag	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

226	zig-zag, stacked	x					x	x	x	

Table 1. Decorative motifs on ceramics and the sites/ regions they appear in the Late Helladic IIIC.

	Shape	Naxos Town	Koukounaries
1	Stirrup jar	x	x
2	Pyxis	x	
3	Amphora	x	x
4	Stamnos	x	x
5	Alabaster	x	x
6	Tripod alabaster	x	x
7	Prochous	x	x
8	Lekythos	x	x
9	Hydria	x	x
10	Oinochoe	x	x
11	Strainer jug	x	x
12	Strainer hydria	x	
13	Feeding bottle	x	x
14	Flask	x	x
15	Deep cup	x	x
16	Mug	x	x
17	Spouted cup	x	x
18	Skyphos	x	
19	Skyphos, one-handled	x	
20	Kylix	x	x
21	Krater	x	x
22	Lekane	x	x
23	Kernos	x	
24	Lid	x	x
25	Strainer	x	
26	Deep bowl		x
27	Stemmed bowl		x
28	Basin		x
29	Dipper		x

Table 2. Late Helladic IIIC pottery shapes from Naxos Town and Koukounaries (Paros).

Island	Number of Poleis	Site
Amorgos	3	Aigiali Arkesini Minoa
Anaphe	1	Anaphe
Andros	1	Palaiopolis
Delos	1	Delos
Ios	1	Chora
Kea	4	Ioulis Karthaia Koresia Poiessa
Keros	1	Keros
Kimolos	1	Chora
Kythnos	1	Vryokastro
Melos	1	Ancient Melos
Mykonos	2 (;)	Mykonos Town Palaiokastro (?)
Naxos	1	Naxos Town
Paros	1	Paroikia
Pholegandros	?	
Rhenea	1	Rhenea
Seriphos	1	Seriphos
Sikinos	1	Aghia Marina
Siphnos	1	Kastro
Syros	1	Ermoupolis
Tenos	1	Xombourgo (later transferred at Modern Town)
Thera	1	Ancient Thera

Table 3. Number of *poleis* per island during the historical period (based on Hansen and Nielsen 2004).