

THE GREEK MAINLAND IN THE PREHISTORIC PERIOD

Bill Cavanagh

Department of Archaeology, University of Nottingham

Introduction

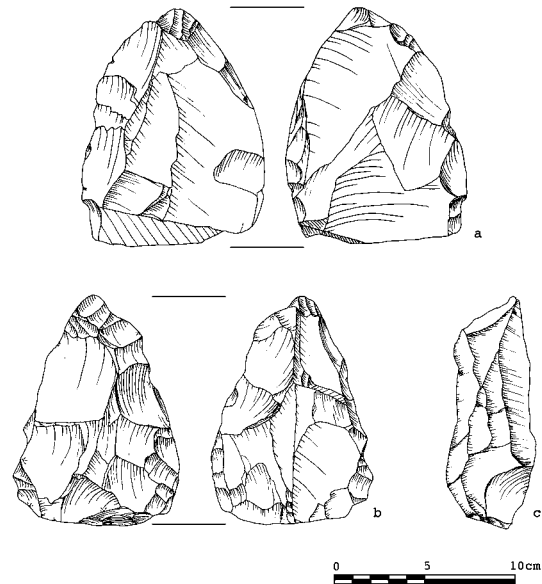
The organization of this section will be largely chronological and based essentially on the reports on sites in *AGOnline*. There are three separate themes which have suggested themselves somewhat fortuitously, but give a feel for current trends in research: (a) integrated interdisciplinary applications of archaeological science; (b) the movement of people by sea as well as by land and the human exchanges mediated through such movements; and (c) settlement history and the organization of space within settlements. There will be a particular emphasis on the Peloponnese and southern Greece, though the net is spread wider for the earlier periods.

Palaeolithic and Mesolithic

Reports of Lower and Middle Palaeolithic finds from Greece continue slowly to accrue (for an overview of sites, see Sampson [2006]). Recent work has looked to Crete; surface finds from **Gavdos** (a small island to the south of Crete; Kopaka and Matzanas [2009]) and sites on the cliffs and caves on the shore-line close to **Plakias** have raised interesting new perspectives. Finds of Acheulean handaxes, chopping tools, cleavers and scrapers seem to indicate that the earliest human activity probably reaches back to the Lower Palaeolithic, as well as producing important assemblages of tools which typologically seem to belong to the Middle Palaeolithic (**Fig. 17**). The finds seem to link in with those from the southern Peloponnese, notably the group of cave sites known from southern Lakonia (Apidima, Kalamakia, Schoini 3 and 4, **Lakonis**, Anavalos and Elaea; see Efstathiou-Manolakou [2009] 7; Panagopoulou *et al.* [2002–2004] with further references). In northern Greece, Middle and Late Palaeolithic finds continue to be reported (**Kastoria**, **Rachona**). Although much further research and full publication is required to confirm, in particular, the chronology of these finds, they indicate that, contrary to received opinion, early man was able to make sea-crossings and exploited such crossings in the early movements into Europe from Africa.

Franchthi is a rich source of data whose study is ongoing. To continue the maritime theme, recent reports have emphasized the results of faunal analysis: basic trends in foraging from the Upper Palaeolithic into the Mesolithic start with a focus on terrestrial fauna in the lower half of the sequence, shifting to mixed marine-terrestrial sources with marked ‘instability’ in economic and other faunal patterns, some of which must relate to dramatic climate shifts leading into the Holocene. When foragers started to turn to aquatic resources in earnest, they began by gathering pond turtles and marine shellfish. Marine fishing was also practised early on, but fishing became more important and diversified with time, beginning with easily collected small animals, moving to greater use of fish and ultimately to fishing for tuna, large fish that are difficult to catch and land. By the later part of the Mesolithic fish had become very important, culminating in a heavy emphasis on tuna fishing.

Upper Palaeolithic and Mesolithic finds have also recently been reported from Attica in the cave at **Keratsini**, **Aigaleo**.



17. Plakias Survey: Palaeolithic artefacts from Preveli site 7. © ASCSA.

Neolithic

Early Neolithic finds confirm the establishment already in the seventh millennium BC of what were to become significant tell sites (**Knossos Kephala**, **Dikili Tash**, **Paliambela Kolindrou**; note also the infant burial at **Paliambela Roditi**) as well as shorter lived Early Neolithic settlements (**Merenda**, **Ano Balana**, **Reggini**). Considerable debate still surrounds the nature and origins of these earliest Neolithic communities, as the recent review of the Early and Middle Neolithic finds from Argissa has underlined (Reingruber [2008]). We still do not have a clear picture of how much these communities owed to an influx of people from the Near East and how far a local Mesolithic population participated. The discovery of Mesolithic finds from the **Plakias** and **Gavdos** surveys indicate that Crete was not uninhabited at the time.

The Middle Neolithic (*ca.* 5800–5300 BC) in Greece (as through much of central Europe – compare the broadly contemporary Linear Pottery cultures, north of the Balkans) represents a high-point in the development of village communal life. At **Koutroulou** rectangular structures (5.3 x 4.3 and 7.2 x 6.4m; see also **Kastoria Avgi**) show evidence of phases of the destruction, renewal and reconstruction of houses on the same spot, perhaps to be linked in with ancestral succession and the transmission of property rights from one generation to another (**Fig. 18**). At **Kouphovouno** there is also evidence for the deliberate destruction of buildings by fire, as has been reported from sites throughout the Balkans. As throughout southern Greece, the greatest part of the Middle Neolithic assemblage is dominated by monochrome, scribe-burnished or patterned Urfirnis pottery, evidently made for display and frequently used for open shapes, for the consumption of food, though collar-necked jars point to storage too. Special cooking pots were made in a coarse fabric and there may have been some other kitchen-ware types (**Fig. 19**). This emphasis on pottery being used for display stands in marked contrast with the ensuing Late Neolithic, which,



18. Koutroulou Magoula: Building 2, showing the northern and eastern walls and part of the interior. © BSA (Koutroulou Magoula project).



19. Kouphovouno: Middle Neolithic cooking pot. © BSA.

over a transitional phase, sees an ever greater proportion of undecorated, coarse, closed vessels, used for food processing and storage, side by side with the tablewares (Black Ware, Grey Ware, Matt Painted and Polychrome). These changes in the ceramic repertory convey changes in the way food was consumed, processed and stored. The cultural transformation is also marked by the abandonment of the practice of deliberate destruction by fire – the Late Neolithic archaeological sediments at Kouphovouno differ markedly from those of the Middle Neolithic.

The immense span of time represented by the Late and Final Neolithic periods still presents many problems of interpretation. The Late and Final Neolithic, which may have lasted some 2,000 years, continues to feature in finds from surveys (**Antikythera, Kythera, Saronic Gulf** [SHARP survey], **East Korinthia Archaeological Survey, Sikyon Survey, Andritsa Goulas, Helos Plain, Ancient Cities of Boeotia, Eastern Boeotia Archaeological Project, Karystos, Pelion Cave Project**) as well as excavated sites (**Aigeira, Midea, Mount Lykaion, Geraki, Halai, Pavlopetri, Kouphovouno, Kokkala, Nea Erythraia, Pani Hill, Koropi, Boriza, Tsepi cemetery**). Cave sites were also intensively

exploited at the time (**Alepochori, Sarakinos, Leondari cave, Keratsini, Aigaleo, Skortsinos Troupitses cave**; note also those recorded by Efstathiou-Manolakou [2009] in Lakonia: Schoini, Alepotrypa, Kataphygi, Xepapadianika, Vythakas, Melissa, Lykouras, Vri, Pavle, Ag. Anargyroi, Apsiphi, Trypalia, Ag. Aikaterini, Mavri Spilia, Papa Giannakou, Igoumenou). On the face of it, the finds would appear to imply an expansion of population, but in fact the settlements, especially those located through surface survey, are often very small farmsteads and were relatively short-lived. Rather than a simple expansion of population we seem to see the consequences of a change in the basic economy, which gave greater emphasis to the exploitation of secondary land, rather than exclusively the primary arable which supported the large stable villages of the sixth millennium BC. Bioarchaeological analysis (a combination of skeletal and isotopic studies) suggests a relatively poor diet (Papathanasiou [2001]; Lagia *et al.* [2007]) and poor health among these Late Neolithic populations; carbon and nitrogen isotope analyses indicate that the diet was primarily based on cereals with some animal protein. All the same, the range of domesticates expanded: thus recent finds from **Dikili Tash** have served to confirm the practice of viticulture as early as the fifth millennium BC (Valamoti *et al.* [2007]; **Fig. 20**).

Early Bronze Age

Until recently not many Early Bronze Age cemeteries were known on the mainland of Greece, but the count is now increasing with cemeteries of collective tombs (either rock-cut or stone built) reported from **Kalamaki Elaiochori** in Achaia (Vasilogamvrou 1996–1997; 2000; 2008), **Delpriza** in the Argolid (**Fig. 21**; *cf.* **Fig. 22**) and **ancient Elis** (as well as **Pavlopetri**). Dating back to EHI, they confirm a degree of cultural unity across southern and central Greece at this time, as well as exchanges with the Cyclades.



20. Dikili Tash: Late Neolithic amphora with graphite painted decoration. © EfA.



21. Delpriza: part of a red-slipped double vase from the Early Helladic tomb. © Ministry of Culture and Tourism: 4th EPCA.



22. Anthochori: Early Helladic sherds with incised and stamped decoration. © Ministry of Culture and Tourism: 5th EPCA.

The publication of Early Bronze Age Lerna has provided a much firmer framework for the chronology of the classic EHII period. The excavations at **Geraki** have confirmed that features which mark the zenith of EHII in the Argolid belong to the later part of that period in Lakonia too – fortifications and storage of agricultural commodities under seal. Very recent surveys by members of the 5th EPCA, announced at the conference *Early Helladic Laconia* held at the Netherlands Institute in January 2010, have confirmed the dense pattern of occupation during this period, including the location of a number of fortified sites. An Early Bronze Age sealing, of the type known from Lerna, Petri and Geraki, was also found at the coastal site of Boza. Sealings, as well as indications of sophisticated architecture, have been recovered from the west part of the Lower Town at **Tiryns**, a good distance from the Rundbau on the acropolis of the site. Note also the discovery of an Early Bronze Age seal from the islet of **Modi**, near Poros.

EHII fortified sites have also been reported in coastal locations on **Salamis** at Ormos Kolones and Lykopoulou.

Middle Bronze Age

The publication in 2010 of the proceedings of the major 2006 *Mesohelladika* conference (Philippa-Touchais *et al.*) has opened the way for a significant reappraisal of the period. It is impossible, in a short review, to cover all the insights provided by this magnificent volume, but in what follows I shall look to the themes of archaeological science, settlement and domestic space, and the maritime link.

Aegean archaeology is still in the midst of a shake-up of absolute dating, where the conventional (low) chronology, based on links with Egyptian dates, has been challenged by new scientific techniques combining high precision radiocarbon dates with Bayesian statistical techniques, which allow the incorporation of information such as phasing and stratigraphy to provide better dates. The new high chronology has shortened the span of the Middle Bronze Age to 300–400 years, putting the MHIII–LHI boundary at *ca.* 1700 BC, and extends the span of LHI–II from two to almost three centuries. Fresh dates from **Lerna** support the high chronology.

Bioarchaeological data for the Middle Bronze Age have been studied from the site of **Kolonna**, on the island of Aegina, which seems to have outstripped mainland Middle Bronze Age centres with its remarkable rich warrior burial, anticipating the shaft grave burials at Mycenae, and with the Large Building complex, a monumental structure dominating the town's centre, which was founded in MHIII and continued through three major architectural phases into LHI. The remarkable Aegina treasure in the British Museum also seems to date to the same period as the Large Building. The animal bones associated with this structure, whilst confirming the standard range of domesticated mammals, witnessed rarer wild species such as fallow and roe deer, possibly wild boar (recall the boar's tusk helmet in the warrior grave), aurochs and even lion – evidently hunting trophies to be linked with an élite lifestyle.

Analysis of ancient DNA (aDNA) has also been applied to Middle Bronze Age skeletons from Greece (Bouwman *et al.* [2009]). Researchers emphasize that, as temperature is the main determinant of the breakdown of DNA, *in normal circumstances* in Greece the Middle Bronze Age is close to the chronological limit for aDNA to survive successfully. **Kouphovouno** has produced some reliable results, not least thanks to carefully controlled sampling of recently excavated skeletons. Both mitochondrial and genomic aDNA was recovered, some samples (32% and 23% respectively) providing strong, repeated signals, others weak signals and some no signals at all. Whilst there are some immediate gains (for example, it is possible to sex the skeletons of children, which is not possible on the basis of skeletal morphology; see the recent result from **Kolonna**), the technique opens great future potential to explore genetic relationships and genetic disorders (such as thalassaemia).

If the evidence of maritime archaeology has underlined the importance of movement throughout the Aegean, Strontium isotope analysis is now coming into application to document the movement of individuals from one community to another – as illustrated by Nafplioti's initial analysis of skeletal remains from the shaft graves at Mycenae (Nafplioti [2008]). The importance of 'faction' or 'family' leaders and the significance of factional alliance has been emphasized by Dickinson (2010) in his opening paper to the *Mesohelladika* conference; the combination of scientific analysis and archaeological observation is beginning to document these relationships.

The longer research history in ceramic analysis has established a large database of results and an ever more sophisticated framework of analysis. The work on the ceramics from **Kolonna** (Fig. 23) has now borne fruit with the publication of a major study by Gauss and Kiriatzi (2011). Here the research has involved close collaboration



23. Aegina, Kolonna: Minoanising wheelmade jug from the Large Building. © Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut.

between archaeological ceramicist (Gauss) and archaeological scientist (Kiriati). Forty two different macroscopic groups of locally produced and imported pottery have been defined, many of them confirmed by scientific analysis. The degree of overlap between the fabrics defined through macroscopic inspection and those defined in terms of chemical and petrographic analysis is very high. Similar success has been achieved working on the pottery recovered from the surveys of **Kythera** and **Antikythera** (Penteteka *et al.* [2010]), throwing light on the exchanges between the southern Peloponnese and Crete, especially critical during the Middle Bronze Age and early Late Bronze Age, as well as helping to refine the dating and interpretation of often difficult finds from surface survey.

In terms of settlement pattern the conference has brought much new evidence together underlining a distinctive privileging of acropoleis, the expression in the landscape of an ideology of hierarchy which was to reach its apogee in the palaces of the high Mycenaean period. Furthermore, space within these acropoleis was increasingly differentiated between leaders and the rest of the population. Finally, the histories of these sites vary considerably from one to another; some show continuity from the Early Bronze Age and sometimes on into historic times, many seem to be new/refoundations at one stage or another of the Middle Bronze Age, and some, but by no means all, continue to flourish under the Mycenaean palaces (Peloponnese: Zavadil [2010]; Attica: Papadimitriou [2010]). Although some sites show continuity through EHIII, it is increasingly clear that this new

settlement pattern was established in the Middle Bronze Age. The chequered histories of one centre or another no doubt mirror the dynastic histories of those who dominated the towns.

Focused study of the architecture and finds from the Middle Helladic settlement on the **Aspis** hill at Argos has yielded a much clearer picture of the site's development. Already in the early Middle Bronze Age the presence of pithoi underline the importance of storage, one of the hints that the characterization of the Middle Helladic period as primitive can be overstated. In MHIII, contemporary with the shaft graves at Mycenae, the reorganization of space within the site, articulated through a series of concentric terraces, shows some distinction between the summit, with buildings of some pretension and a pottery assemblage indicating feasting, and the lower town (**Fig. 24**).



24. Argos, Aspis: west wall of House N. © EfA.

The Middle Helladic cemeteries found on the nearby **Argos Hospital** site were evidently extra-mural, lining the road and arranged in clusters, though eventually late Middle Helladic/early Late Helladic houses impinged on the graves.

Megali Magoula, Galatas, on the Saronic Gulf, also had a distinct inner acropolis (0.1ha), defended by a strong wall and enclosing a prosperous settlement (**Fig. 25**). Perhaps just going back into EHIII, the bulk of the pottery dates to the Middle Helladic. Presumably those dominating the site were responsible for building the three tholos tombs (Tomb 3 MHIII/LHI; Tombs 1 and 2 LHIIIB–IIIB). The Mycenaean settlement centre, however, seems to have moved elsewhere.

The **Midea** acropolis, continuously occupied from the end of the Neolithic period, expanded notably in the Middle Bronze Age to cover the entire area later to be

enclosed by the Mycenaean walls. The remains are poorly preserved, with some graves found within the town, including a rich LHI child burial, though scattered graves lower down the hill point to extra-mural burial as well. Cisterns were constructed to secure the water supply in late Middle Helladic/early Late Helladic. The pottery points to widespread exchanges across the Aegean and with Minoan Crete.

Geraki, on the other hand, like much of the southern Peloponnese, has a break at the end of the Early Bronze Age, but is reoccupied in the Middle Helladic, a pattern also observable at Ag. Stephanos (Taylour and Janko [2008]) and the Menelaion site (Catling [2009]). The scatter of more elaborate and prosperous graves from these sites and elsewhere in the southern Peloponnese (**Sparta Psychiko**, **Vasara**, **Ag. Vasileios**, **Kastroulia Ampheias**, **Pyrgaki-Tsouka**) indicate both that some measure of social differentiation was already expressed in burials of MHI date and that the need to emphasize both ancestry and status was felt very widely in Middle Bronze Age towns and villages throughout Greece.

Pagona, near Patras, seems to have been a new foundation in MHIIIA, and covered 1.5ha over the summit and west slopes of the hill; a destruction level across the site has been dated to LHIIB/IIIA1. On the other hand, **Aigion** shows a period of abandonment after a conflation

at the end of EHII and reoccupation in MHII. A large, rectangular structure built in LHI has been compared with similar and roughly contemporary buildings from Tsoungiza, **Kirra**, **Thermos** and **Drakotrypa**; the site was replanned in LHIIB/IIIA1. **Aigeira**, further down the coast, reveals evidence for a short and probably isolated period of occupation of late Early Helladic or early Middle Helladic date.

Salamis also has prominent Middle Helladic acropolis sites, notably at **Kanakia**, which was to become the Mycenaean centre, and at **Sklavos**, whilst a review of the Middle Helladic finds from **Athens Makrigianni** has suggested that there were small clusters of houses spread across a large area (from the Ilissos in the south to the Eridanos in the north) around the Acropolis. This rather open, dispersed pattern of occupation has been noted at other Middle Helladic sites. Attica is marked by a scatter of (probably) fortified sites (Kiapha Thiti, Brauron, Christos, Plasi, Ag. Nikolas, **Thorikos**).

In the area of Nafpaktos a number of new Middle Helladic sites have been excavated (**Chania Gavrolimnis**, **Perithori**, **Kato Mamoulada**) which were new foundations in MHII–III, whilst at **Dimini**, in Thessaly, the site was reoccupied in MHIII, after a long period of almost complete abandonment (EHIII–MHII). Its progress towards becoming a significant Mycenaean centre is marked by the graves, notably the tholos tombs excavated in the 19th century, though the importance of storage (for example, the five pithoi in one room of House I) points to the agricultural wealth of those interred in the graves. Classic Middle Helladic pottery and apsidal houses have been found in the west Thessalian plain (**Kastro Karditsas**, **Agiokeraso**, **Karya**, **Ermitsi**) and **Lamia Kastro**.

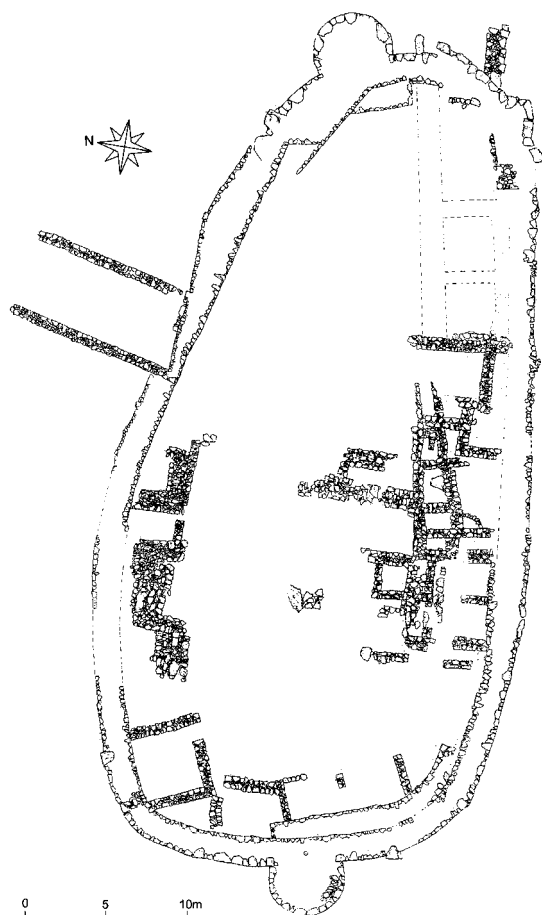
An unusual discovery of MHI date is what appears to be part of the hull of a small boat preserved as an impression and dark stain in clay at the site of **Mitrou**.

Late Bronze Age

Recent excavation of Mycenaean settlements has added greatly to our understanding of the relationship between the primary palatial centres and secondary sites. These raise important issues concerning the rise of the Mycenaean states, and the history and nature of political control in Bronze Age Greece.

The excavations at **Ag. Vasileios** in Lakonia must take pride of place. Although the probable importance of this site had been suspected by earlier researchers, it was only confirmed with the discovery, under a watching brief, of fragments of Linear B tablets, one recording a transaction to do with over 500 daggers, two others connected with textiles. The excavations have now revealed an early Mycenaean building complex (A) (**Fig. 26**), one of whose rooms held a hoard of weapons (16 bronze swords, a dagger, a knife, spearheads, a bronze helmet and the remains of a boar's tusk helmet). Building B has produced fragments of wall-paintings showing male and female figures as well as the wheel of a chariot. The nearby chamber tombs have been dated to LHI/II–IIIA1 (**Fig. 27**).

Perhaps fairly representative of a provincial Mycenaean town is the site of **Lazarides** on the east side of the island of Aegina. First known from its cemetery, the settlement lies to the southeast. It was occupied in the Middle Bronze Age and throughout the Mycenaean period



25. Megali Magoula, Galatas: the Middle Helladic hilltop settlement. © Ministry of Culture and Tourism: 26th EPCA.



26. Ag. Vasileios: Building A. © Archaeological Society of Athens.



27. Ag. Vasileios: MHIII–LHI graves. © Archaeological Society of Athens.

to LHIIIC Early. In spite of its inland setting, there are indications of small-scale industrial activity and widespread contacts: lead originally from Lavrion, a lead weight with parallels from Cyprus and some early iron artefacts. In the Middle Bronze Age such contacts would certainly have been mediated through the important port of **Kolonna**, but that site's history of occupation in the main Mycenaean periods is less clear.

A new discovery is the LHIIIB harbour town of **Korphos-Kalamianos**, which was 7.2ha in extent and defended by a fortification wall. Some 4ha were built over, organized into insulae separated by narrow streets, but the remainder was left open (Fig. 28). What appears to be a subsidiary, related site was located on a hilltop at Akrotiri Stiri. Different in scale and function but similar in date and ambition to Gla, the surveyors suggest that Mycenae used the port to help exert its control over the Saronic Gulf.

Further south, off the coast at **Modi**, excavation has started on a LHIIIC shipwreck.

The combination of surface collection, geophysical survey and excavation has become almost a standard methodology allowing broad generalization about the extent, history and nature of occupation to be combined with the precision offered by excavation. Thus the site of **Kakovatos**, whose rich (but partially robbed) and magnificent LHIIA tholos tombs were excavated by Dörpfeld in 1907–1908, has now been surveyed and is in

course of excavation. The site's foundation goes back to the Middle Bronze Age and occupation continues through to LHIIIA, but not, evidently, into LHIIIB. Was this important centre, whose acropolis was crowned by a monumental tower, quashed in the later Mycenaean period by the rise of a rival palace elsewhere in the northwest Peloponnese – rather in the way suggested for the somewhat similar site at Peristeria, ultimately consigned to obscurity by the rise of a rival, the palace at Pylos?

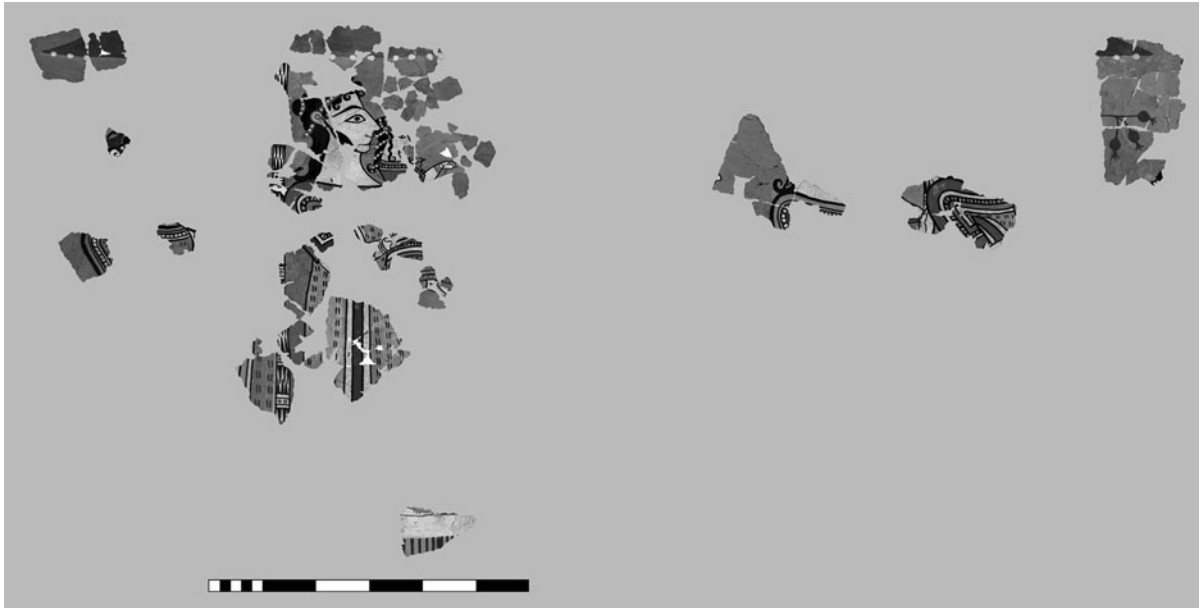
In central Greece, the islet of **Mitrou** seems to have a similar story to tell. The site, over 6ha in extent and with a fairly continuous history of occupation from the Neolithic through the Early and Middle Bronze Age, has produced extensive remains of the early Mycenaean period, including Building D, large but with thin walls and mainly beaten-earth floors. The building was abandoned and at its centre was constructed a chamber tomb, built of mud-brick walls lined with large, cut, sandstone slabs and accessed through a dromos. The tomb was in use from LHI–IIIA. (This recalls the construction of a massive cist grave in the floor of a Middle Helladic megaron at Plasi, Marathon.) At the start of the palatial period (LHIIIA2) there was a major destruction across the site followed by a period of much diminished activity in LHIIIA2–B, then some revival in Postpalatial times.

If some sites were brought low through the expansion of the palatial states, their power to mobilize labour on a monumental scale is also stamped on the landscape of Greece. The great walls at **Gla** did not enclose a 'natural' town and the site has no history of earlier Bronze Age occupation. It was a new foundation (evidently by Orchomenos) as part of a massive project of landscape engineering to exploit the Copais basin. A campaign of geophysical survey over some 35ha close to the site has revealed two networks of agricultural exploitation, one for drained land and the other exploiting irrigation. On the interior of the site, survey has revealed structures in the area previously thought to be empty of buildings as well as new details of the fortifications. The ambition and scale of these works bears eloquent testimony to those who commanded them.

In the Argolid much new work has continued at the major sites of **Mycenae**, **Tiryns** (Fig. 29), **Midea** and **Argos**. It is impossible, in a brief overview of this kind, to do justice to this fundamental work.



28. Kalamianos: building remains. © ASCSA.



29. Tiryns, west staircase: fresco fragments with at least seven human figures, probably depicting an initiation rite. © DAI.

Important innovations in the technology of recording and survey have been developed at the Bronze Age site of **Pavlopetri** (Fig. 30). Part of the rationale of this project was to test innovatory survey technologies for the 3D digital recording of underwater remains, and their successful application will open the way for much faster recording of this important part of Greece's archaeological heritage. The site probably extended over some 8ha; to the 3ha originally surveyed in 1968 new areas have been revealed covering a further 1.4ha. The street plan and detailed building plans have revealed the anatomy of this major Bronze Age port. Selective collection of pottery has revealed that its occupation goes back to the Final Neolithic period. Significant Minoan finds confirm the close links with Crete, probably to be associated with Minoan Kythera, nearby, whose floruit during the Middle and beginning of the Late Bronze Age has been documented through the **Kythera Island Project**.

Mygdalia, in Achaia, is a naturally defensible, hilltop site; although small in extent (0.65ha), it boasts a small Mycenaean tholos tomb. It flourished in the early Mycenaean period and into LHIIIC.

In the history of Bronze Age Athens an unexplained gap in the funerary record over the LHIIIB period has proved something of a puzzle. The report of chamber tombs from excavations at **Monastiraki** Areos 2–4 does something to fill the gap. The renewed activity at Thorikos has brought once more to the fore this important site in Attica. Papadimitriou (2010) has underlined the mixed fortunes of this gateway to the mineral wealth of Attica; evidently flourishing in the early Mycenaean period, it seems to fade after LHIIIA.

The LHIIIB large, multi-roomed complex at **Kanakia** on Salamis evidently served as the centre of the Mycenaean polity on the island.

Archaeological evidence suggesting continuous cult practice from Mycenaean into later Greek times has been

relatively thin. However, recent finds by the Altar to Zeus on Mount Lykaion include prehistoric material (Early Helladic, Middle Helladic and Late Helladic pottery, a LMII rock-crystal lentoid seal). And the renewed excavations in the sanctuary at Kalapodi have yielded pottery and figurines dating back now to LHIIIA, that is to say the full palatial period, and finds also include a Middle Minoan seal, which could suggest that the sanctuary dates back to the Middle Bronze Age. Perhaps more typical of the history of Mycenaean shrines is the site of **Ag. Konstantinos, Methana**, which attracted worship during LHIII, but was abandoned in LHIIIC.



30. Pavlopetri: photo-mosaic of the area around Building IX, also showing Street 1. © BSA.

Bibliography

- Bouwman, A.S., Brown, K.A., Brown, T.A., Chilvers, E.R., Arnott, R. and Prag, A.J.N.W. (2009) 'Kinship in Aegean prehistory? Ancient DNA in human bones from mainland Greece and Crete', *BSA* 104, 293–309
- Catling, H. (2009) *Sparta: Menelaion I. The Bronze Age* (London)
- Dickinson, O. (2010) 'The "third world" of the Aegean? Middle Helladic Greece revisited' in Philippa-Touchais *et al.* (2010) 13–27
- Efstathiou-Manolakou, I. (2009) 'Archaeological investigations in the caves of Laconia', in W.G. Cavanagh, C. Gallou and M. Georgiadis (eds), *Sparta and Laconia: from Prehistory to Pre-modern. Proceedings of the Conference held in Sparta, Organised by the British School at Athens, the University of Nottingham, the 5th Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities and the 5th Ephoreia of Byzantine Antiquities 17–20 March 2005* (London) 5–20
- Gauss, W. and Kiriati, E. (2011) *Pottery Production and Supply at Bronze Age Kolonna, Aegina. An Integrated Archaeological and Scientific Study of a Ceramic Landscape* (Vienna)
- Kopaka, K. and Matzanas, Ch. (2009) 'Palaeolithic industries from the island of Gavdos, near neighbour to Crete in Greece', *Antiquity* 83 (Project Gallery), www.antiquity.ac.uk/projgall/kopaka321/
- Lagia, A., Eirini, P. and Sotiris, M. (2007) 'Health and diet during the Middle Bronze Age in the Peloponnese: the site of Kouphovouno', in C. Mee, and J. Renard (eds), *Cooking up the Past: Food and Culinary Practices in the Neolithic and Bronze Age Aegean* (Oxford) 313–28
- Nafplioti, A. (2009) 'Mycenae revisited part 2. Exploring the local versus non-local geographical origin of the individuals from Grave Circle A: evidence from Strontium Isotope Ratio (87Sr/86Sr) analysis', *BSA* 104, 279–291
- Panagopoulou, E., Karkanias, P., Tsartsidou, G., Kotjabopoulou, E., Harvati, K. and Ntinou, M. (2002–2004) 'Late Pleistocene archaeological and fossil human evidence from Lakonis cave, southern Greece', *Journal of Field Archaeology* 29, 323–49
- Papadimitriou, N. (2010) 'Attica in the Middle Helladic period', in Philippa-Touchais *et al.* (2010) 243–57
- Papathanasiou, A. (2001) *A Bioarchaeological Analysis of Neolithic Alepotrypa Cave, Greece* (Oxford)
- Pentedeke, A., Kiriati, E., Spencer, L., Bevan, A. and Conolly, J. (2010) 'From fabrics to island connections: macroscopic and microscopic approaches to the prehistoric pottery of Antikythera', *BSA* 105, 1–81
- Philippa-Touchais, A., Touchais, G., Voutsaki, S. and Wright, J. (eds) (2010) *Mesohelladika. Μεσοελλαδικά: La Grèce continentale au Bronze Moyen. Η ηπειρωτική Ελλάδα στη Μέση εποχή του Χαλκού. The Greek Mainland in the Middle Bronze Age. Actes du colloque international organisé par l'École française d'Athènes, en collaboration avec l'American School of Classical Studies at Athens et le Netherlands Institute in Athens, Athènes, 8–12 mars 2006* (BCH Supplement 52) (Athens)
- Reingruber, A. (2008) *Die Argissa-Magula: das frühe und das beginnende mittlere Neolithikum im Lichte transägäischer Beziehungen* (Bonn)
- Sampson, A. (2006) *The Prehistory of the Aegean Basin. Palaeolithic-Mesolithic-Neolithic* (Athens)
- Taylor, W.D. and Janko, R. (2008) *Ayios Stephanos: Excavations at a Bronze Age and Medieval Settlement in Southern Laconia* (BSA Supplementary Volume 44) (London)
- Valamoti, S.M., Mangafa, M., Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, Ch. and Malamidou, D. (2007) 'Grape-pressings from northern Greece: the earliest wine in the Aegean?' *Antiquity* 81, 54–61
- Vasilogamvrou, A. (1996–1997) 'Πρωτοελλαδικό Νεκροταφείο στο Καλαμάκι Ελαιοχωρίου-Λουσιικών Αχαΐας', in *Acts of the Fifth International Congress of Peloponnesian Studies, Argos-Nauplia, 6–10 September 1995 I* (Athens) 366–99
- (2000) 'Υστεροελλαδικές επεμβάσεις σε πρωτοελλαδικό νεκροταφείο στο Καλαμάκι Ελαιοχωρίου-Λουσιικών' in A. Rizakis (ed.), *Paysages d'Achaïe II. Dyme et son territoire. Actes du Colloque International* (Athens and Paris) 43–63
- (2008) 'The Early Helladic cemetery at Kalamaki in the northwest Peloponnese', in Y. Tzedakis, H. Martlew, and M.K. Jones (eds), *Archaeology Meets Science: Biomolecular Investigations in Bronze Age Greece. The Primary Scientific Evidence 1997–2003* (Oxford) 249–51
- Zavadil, M. (2010) 'The Peloponnese in the Middle Bronze Age: an overview', in Philippa-Touchais *et al.* (2010) 151–63