

ΜΕΣΟΗΛΛΑΔΙΚΑ
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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

Édités par Anna PHILIPPA-TOUCHAIS, Gilles TOUCHAIS, Sofia VOUTSAKI et James WRIGHT

MESHELLADIKΑ
ΜΕΣΟΕΛΛΑΔΙΚΑ

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Une partie des congressistes devant le Cotsen Hall (photo Ph. Touchais)

PRÉFACE

Allocution de bienvenue du Directeur de l'École française d'Athènes

L'étude du matériel des fouilles de l'habitat mésohelladique de la colline de l'Aspis étant en cours d'achèvement, les responsables du programme, Gilles Touchais et Anna Philippa-Touchais, ont souhaité orienter la recherche de deux manières : en entreprenant l'étude globale des vestiges architecturaux de l'habitat mis au jour depuis les premières fouilles de Vollgraff et en mettant à profit cette étude pour une mise en valeur du site, mais aussi en inscrivant cette recherche dans une interrogation plus large sur l'Helladique Moyen. Cela impliquait de faire le point sur l'une des périodes les plus mal connues de la protohistoire égéenne en essayant de réunir, au niveau international, les chercheurs que le hasard des découvertes ou un choix délibéré avaient conduits à travailler sur cette période. On pouvait ainsi espérer dresser un bilan entièrement renouvelé par les données des nombreuses fouilles et prospections menées au cours des trente dernières années.

C'est à cet objectif que répond le colloque Mesohelladika. La Grèce continentale au Bronze Moyen, dont l'École française d'Athènes a eu l'initiative. Pour permettre son organisation, elle s'est assurée le concours de l'École américaine et de l'Institut néerlandais et je remercie très chaleureusement mes collègues Stephen Tracy et Gert Jan Wijngaarden d'avoir accepté le principe de cette association. En répondant positivement à notre invitation, les très nombreux chercheurs présents, venus d'Australie, d'Autriche, des États-Unis, de Finlande, de France, de Grande-Bretagne, de Grèce, d'Italie, des Pays-Bas et de Suède ont témoigné de leur intérêt pour la thématique centrale du colloque : procéder à une réévaluation de l'Helladique Moyen. - À tous, je souhaite la bienvenue et de fructueux travaux.

Je remercie tous ceux qui, dans chacune des trois Écoles concernées, ont permis l'organisation de cette manifestation. J'adresse des remerciements tout particuliers à Gilles Touchais, qui m'a soumis ce projet dès 2003, et à Anna Philippa-Touchais, dont la présence à Athènes a permis de régler les mille et une questions que ne manque pas de soulever une manifestation de cette ampleur.

Dominique MULLIEZ

Wellcome address of the Director of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens

On behalf of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens welcome to this international conference Mesohelladika. It is wonderful to have such a large crowd on hand this evening. The program of the conference is diverse and rich; I think we will all learn much from our colleagues over the next four days. I know that we all are looking forward to it. The American School of Classical Studies is proud to cooperate with the Netherlands Institute and with the French School at Athens in hosting this conference. I want to congratulate and to thank the organizing committee and to single out Dr. Anna Philippa-Touchais, the person on the ground here in Athens, for all her hard work. Thank you all again and welcome.

Stephen TRACY

Wellcome address of the Director of the Netherlands Institute in Athens

Dear colleagues and friends, ladies and gentlemen,

Some time ago, Dr Sofia Voutsaki persuaded me to support this conference. On the occasion she emphasized that the Middle Bronze Age of the Greek mainland had been neglected of late and that it was in serious need of attention. Taking a look at the impressive conference program, I could only acknowledge Sofia's claims: obviously many scholars felt a similar need to discuss Middle Helladic Greece.

For several of the archaeological programs of the Netherlands Institute in Athens, the Middle Bronze Age is of importance. This is true for the excavations at Geraki in Lakonia, for the surveys in Thessaly, Boeotia and Zakynthos, as well as for the analytical program on the Argolid. I am confident that the Mesohelladika conference will contribute to a better understanding of the materials dealt with in these programs.

I am very pleased that this conference is a joint venture of three foreign archaeological institutes in Greece. International academic events are increasingly more difficult and costly to organize and cooperation in this respect is, in my view, beneficial to all. I would like to thank warmly my colleagues Dominique Mulliez and Stephen Tracy for the fruitful cooperation and for the hospitality. I also congratulate the organizers with the impressive program and I wish all participants an enjoyable and fruitful conference.

Gert Jan VAN WIJNGAARDEN

INTRODUCTION

L'Helladique Moyen, période qui correspond, en gros, à la première moitié du II^e millénaire avant notre ère, s'intercale entre deux phases de prospérité économique et d'accomplissement culturel majeurs pour la Grèce continentale : le Bronze Ancien, d'une part, qui a vu naître et se développer, au cours du III^e millénaire, des communautés proto-urbaines déjà fortement organisées, ouvertes sur le reste du monde égéen, et l'époque mycénienne de l'autre, qui, dans la seconde moitié du II^e millénaire, portera à son apogée le système palatial et étendra son influence bien au-delà des rives de la mer Égée. C'est pourquoi l'Helladique Moyen est toujours apparu en retrait par rapport à ces deux grands moments, dans une vision purement négative que reflètent bien les termes de stagnation, de recul, d'isolement le plus souvent utilisés pour caractériser cette période. En outre, la comparaison avec l'essor que connaît, à la même époque, la Crète protopalatiale, tourne elle aussi au désavantage de la Grèce continentale et renforce cette impression négative, qui n'est sans doute pas étrangère au relatif désintérêt dont l'Helladique Moyen a pâti jusqu'à présent dans la recherche sur les civilisations égéennes.

Il apparaît cependant aujourd'hui, à la lumière des recherches récentes, que l'Helladique Moyen n'est pas cette longue période d'atonie si souvent décrite. Des indices de plus en plus nombreux suggèrent qu'elle a au contraire été marquée par de profonds changements d'ordre social, politique et culturel, qui conduisirent progressivement à la formation des entités politiques protomycéniennes et, plus tard, des royaumes mycéniens. C'est pourquoi il nous a semblé que le moment était venu de rassembler la documentation la plus large possible sur cette période encore mal connue – ou plutôt méconnue. Le meilleur moyen était de faire se rencontrer tous les collègues qui avaient accumulé de nouvelles données au cours des dernières décennies, mais aussi ceux qui tentaient d'interpréter celles dont on disposait. C'est ainsi qu'est née l'idée de ce colloque – le premier à être consacré exclusivement à l'Helladique Moyen – et que furent définis ses principaux objectifs : d'une part, dresser un bilan de nos connaissances sur la période, en ne négligeant aucun domaine de la recherche ; d'autre part, explorer les mécanismes qui sont à l'origine des changements

constatés et tenter d’apprécier leur dynamique. On suggéra donc plusieurs axes de réflexion : la topographie et l’habitat (réseaux d’occupation humaine, organisation spatiale) ; les pratiques rituelles et funéraires ; les problèmes chronologiques (séquences céramiques, synchronismes, datations absolues) ; l’économie et l’exploitation des ressources naturelles (agriculture et élevage, techniques et productions artisanales, alimentation) ; les problèmes démographiques et sanitaires ; les contacts, les échanges et les influences culturelles ; l’évolution des structures socio-politiques.

L’intuition que le sujet était « mûr » et qu’une vision moins négative de l’Helladique Moyen avait commencé de prévaloir parmi les spécialistes du monde égéen a été confirmée bien au-delà de nos espérances. Car même dans nos prévisions les plus optimistes, nous étions loin d’imaginer que notre initiative rencontrerait un tel écho. En effet, près de 130 chercheurs ont répondu à notre invitation, plus de 80 d’entre eux proposant de présenter une communication et plus d’une quarantaine de réaliser un poster. Finalement, sur les 69 communications présentées à Athènes, 63 sont éditées dans le présent volume¹, et 28 posters sur 29².

Ce projet n’aurait pu être mené à bien sans le soutien financier et logistique, mais aussi scientifique et moral, des trois institutions qui en ont assuré directement l’organisation : l’École française d’Athènes, l’American School of Classical Studies at Athens et le Netherlands Institute in Athens, dont nous tenons à remercier les directeurs respectifs, Dominique Mulliez, Stephen V. Tracy et Gert Jan van Wijngarten, pour les moyens matériels et humains qu’ils ont généreusement mis à notre disposition. L’Institute of Aegean Prehistory de Philadelphie a également répondu, avec sa libéralité coutumière, à nos demandes de subvention, aussi bien pour l’organisation du colloque lui-même que pour

1. Massimo Cultraro, qui n’avait pu participer au colloque, a envoyé le texte de sa communication, mais les textes suivants n’ont pas été remis : Antikleia Agrafioti, « Les industries lithiques du Bronze Moyen et l’enjeu des éléments de faucille » ; Polyxeni Arachoviti, « Αερινό, ένας οικισμός της Μέσης Εποχής του Χαλκού στη νοτιοανατολική Θεσσαλία » ; Ioanna Galanaki, « Lefkandi Phases 2-6 : Some Observations on the Communication Networks and Communication Processes during the Middle Helladic Period » ; Chrysanthi Gallou, « “In the Dark Heart of Maleas”. The Transition from the Middle Helladic to the Early Mycenaean Period in the Southeastern Peloponnese » ; Olga Kyriazi, « Μαρτυρίες από την ανατολική Λοκρίδα σχετικά με τη μεταβατική περίοδο από τη Μέση στην Ύστερη Εποχή του Χαλκού: ενεργή συμμετοχή στις πολιτισμικές αλλαγές ή στο περιθώριο των εξελικτικών διεργασιών; » ; Elena Kountouri, « Προμυκηναϊκή Θήβα : τα δεδομένα από τις σύγχρονες έρευνες » ; Michael Lindblom, « The Middle Helladic Settlement at Mastos in the Berbati Valley » ; Adamantia Vassilogamvrou, « Η κεραμική της ME III-ΥΕ I φάσης από τη θέση Καταρραχιά Δυτικής Αχαΐας ».
2. Il manque celui d’Olga Philaniotou, « Naxos in the Middle Bronze Age. New Evidence for Habitation ». Pour la publication, nous avons choisi d’intégrer les posters aux unités thématiques auxquels ils se rapportent en les mêlant aux communications, plutôt que de les regrouper dans une section séparée comme cela se fait souvent.

la publication des actes : nous exprimons ici toute notre reconnaissance à son comité scientifique ainsi qu'à Karen Velluci, directrice des programmes de subvention, en qui nous avons toujours trouvé une interlocutrice efficace et attentionnée. Parmi les institutions françaises, le Centre national de la recherche scientifique et l'université Paris 1 – Panthéon-Sorbonne ont apporté une contribution appréciable au financement du colloque. De leur côté, le Service culturel de la Ville d'Athènes (Δήμος Αθηναίων, Πολιτισμικός Οργανισμός) et l'office du Tourisme hellénique (Ελληνικός Οργανισμός Τουρισμού, Υπουργείου Τουριστικής Ανάπτυξης) ont soutenu la manifestation en mettant gracieusement à notre disposition 150 exemplaires de deux luxueuses brochures sur Athènes, l'Attique et ses monuments. Plusieurs participants au colloque ont par ailleurs bénéficié de l'hospitalité offerte par les Instituts danois et suédois, ainsi que par les Écoles britannique et italienne, que nous remercions sincèrement de leur concours. C'est une dette particulière que nous avons envers Bob Bridges, secrétaire général de l'École américaine, qui, pendant les trois jours où le colloque s'est tenu au Cotsen Hall, n'a ménagé ni son temps ni sa peine pour assurer le bon déroulement des séances et résoudre tous les problèmes techniques, sans se départir jamais de son sourire.

Nous remercions également pour leur précieux concours à l'organisation et au bon fonctionnement du colloque Maria Tsimboukaki, qui a géré le secrétariat avec un dévouement et une efficacité dignes d'éloge, Stratos Balis et Tomek Hertig (site Internet), Eleni Gerontakou et Catherine Pantazis (travaux de secrétariat), Philippe Touchais (photos d'ambiance), ainsi que les volontaires étudiants post-diplôme de l'universités d'Athènes, dont le zèle et la bonne humeur communicative ont largement contribué à l'ambiance chaleureuse qui a régné tout au long de cette rencontre : Giorgos Charitos, Giorgos Choulis, Nikolas Dimakis, Dimitris Kloukinas, Akathi Maria Kovaïou, Anna Loukidou, Stefania Michalopoulou, Konstantina Nikolopoulou, Evangelia Polyzou et Eva Roussaki. C'est d'autre part à Orestis Kakavakis, doctorant à l'université d'Athènes, que l'on doit la traduction grecque des résumés qui figurent dans le présent volume.

Nous sommes particulièrement reconnaissants à Catherine Aubert, responsable du service des publications de l'EFA, pour le soin qu'elle a apporté à l'édition des actes de ce colloque, et à Vélissarios Anagnostopoulos, auteur de l'affiche.

Cet ouvrage témoignera durablement du remarquable travail accompli ces dernières années par une communauté de chercheurs qui, *last but not least*, mérite elle aussi toute notre gratitude – une communauté qui a hélas été endeuillée, depuis le colloque, par la disparition prématurée de deux de ses membres : Maria Oikonomakou et Angeliki Pilali, dont nous tenons à saluer ici la mémoire.

Les éditeurs

ABRÉVIATIONS

PÉRIODIQUES ET SÉRIES

Les abréviations utilisées sont celles de l'*American Journal of Archaeology* (voir AJA 111 [2007], p. 14-34, ou le site internet www.ajaonline.org) auxquelles on ajoutera :

<i>AEMTh</i>	<i>Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και Θράκη</i>
<i>BCH Chron.</i>	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i> , «Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce »

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SUBDIVISIONS CHRONOLOGIQUES

English

EB(A), MB(A), LB(A)	Early Bronze (Age), Middle Bronze (Age), Late Bronze (Age)
EC, MC, LC	Early Cycladic, Middle Cycladic, Late Cycladic
EH, MH, LH	Early Helladic, Middle Helladic, Late Helladic
EIA	Early Iron Age
EM, MM, LM	Early Minoan, Middle Minoan, Late Minoan

Français

BA, BM, BR	Bronze Ancien, Bronze Moyen, Bronze Récent
CA, CM, CR	Cycladique Ancien, Cycladique Moyen, Cycladique Récent
HA, HM, HR	Helladique Ancien, Helladique Moyen, Helladique Récent
MA, MM, MR	Minoen Ancien, Minoen Moyen, Minoen Récent

Ελληνικά

ΠΕ, ΜΕ, ΥΕ	Πρωτοελλαδικός, Μεσοελλαδικός, Ύστεροελλαδικός
ΠΕΧ, ΜΕΧ, ΥΕΧ	Πρώιμη Εποχή του Χαλκού, Μέση Εποχή του Χαλκού, Ύστερη Εποχή του Χαλκού
ΠΜ, ΜΚ, ΥΚ	Πρωτικυκλαδικός, Μεσοκυκλαδικός, Ύστεροκυκλαδικός
ΠΧ, ΜΧ, ΥΧ	Πρωτοχαλκός, Μεσοχαλκός, Ύστεροχαλκός
	Πρώιμη Χαλκοκρατία, Μέση Χαλκοκρατία, Ύστερη Χαλκοκρατία

The Cycladic Middle Bronze Age : A “Dark Age” in Aegean Prehistory or a Dark Spot in Archaeological Research?*

Peggy SOTIRAKOPOULOU

RÉSUMÉ *Le Bronze Moyen cycladique : un « âge sombre » de la protohistoire égéenne ou un point sombre de la recherche archéologique ?*

Dès les débuts de la recherche archéologique dans les Cyclades et jusque beaucoup plus tard encore, les données sur le BM étaient si rares que l'impression dominante parmi les chercheurs était que l'unique survivant de la culture du CA était Phylakopi de Mélos. C'est seulement dans la seconde moitié du XX^e siècle, et plus particulièrement au cours des trois dernières décennies, que cette impression s'est démentie, à la suite de la découverte d'un assez grand nombre de sites montrant des traces d'occupation au CM. Nos connaissances sur cette période demeurent cependant limitées et plusieurs de ses aspects sont encore obscurs. À travers un bilan des données actuellement disponibles, cette étude tente de démontrer que la faiblesse de nos connaissances sur le BM cycladique est due à l'insuffisance des recherches archéologiques et non pas au fait qu'il s'agirait d'une période de régression et de dépeuplement. Il semble au contraire que ce fut une période de prospérité, de renforcement de l'organisation sociale et d'intensification du commerce et des échanges avec d'autres régions égéennes.

ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ *Η κυκλαδική Μέση Εποχή του Χαλκού: μια «σκοτεινή περίοδος» της αιγαιακής προϊστορίας ή ένα σκοτεινό σημείο της αρχαιολογικής έρευνας;*

Από την αρχή της αρχαιολογικής έρευνας στις Κυκλάδες και για πολύ καιρό ακόμη, οι μαρτυρίες της MEX ήταν τόσο σπάνιες, ώστε η επικρατούσα εντύπωση ανάμεσα στους ερευνητές ήταν ότι η μόνη θέση του ΠΚ πολιτισμού που επιβίωσε ήταν η Φυλακωπή της Μήλου. Η εντύπωση αυτή αντιστράφηκε μόλις στο β' μισό του 20ου αιώνα, ιδίως δε κατά τη διάρκεια των τελευταίων 30 ετών, χάρη στον εντοπισμό σημαντικού αριθμού θέσεων με ίχνη ΜΚ κατοίκησης. Ωστόσο, οι γνώσεις μας γι' αυτήν την περίοδο είναι ακόμη περιορισμένες, ενώ πολλές πλευρές της παραμένου ασαφείς. Βάσει της αναθεώρησης των μέχρι σήμερα διαθέσιμων δεδομένων, στο παρόν άρθρο επιχειρείται να καταδειχθεί ότι το περιορισμένο εύρος γνώσεων για την κυκλαδική MEX είναι αποτέλεσμα περιορισμένης αρχαιολογικής έρευνας και όχι μιας υποτιθέμενης παρακμής και ερήμωσης των νησιών κατ' αυτήν την περίοδο. Αντιθέτως, πρόκειται κατά τα φαινόμενα για μία περίοδο ευημερίας, ισχυρής κοινωνικής οργάνωσης και ανεπτυγμένων εμπορικών επαφών με άλλες περιοχές του Αιγαίου.

INTRODUCTION

From the very beginning of the archaeological research in the Cyclades in the closing decades of the 19th century¹ and for a long time after, the evidence of the Middle Bronze Age was so rare in comparison to that of the Early Bronze Age that in 1927 H. Frankfort reached the conclusion that “Phylakopi is the unique survivor of the Cycladic civilization... the other islands are deserted, or at least cultural blanks”.²

It was only in 1956 that this impression was reversed, as a result of K. Scholes’s lengthy report on the later Bronze Age of the Cyclades,³ in which she demonstrated that at least twelve other sites, except Phylakopi, existed in the islands during the Middle Bronze Age—some of which had flourished earlier—and that in fact there is no lacuna in Middle Cycladic archaeology. Archaeological investigations since then have resulted in the location of six times as many sites in the Cyclades showing evidence of Middle Bronze Age occupation⁴ (Figs. 1-3). However, our knowledge of the period is still limited and several of its aspects remain unclear; its first stages are also obscure, as the question whether the so-called “Phylakopi I culture” or Barber’s phases I-ii/iii at Phylakopi represent the final stage of the Early Bronze Age or an early phase of the Middle Bronze Age continues to be a controversial issue and the evidence for this phase is still scanty.⁵

Through the review of the currently extant evidence of the Cycladic Middle Bronze Age this paper intends to demonstrate that our limited knowledge of this period is owing to the so far limited archaeological investigations and not to ideas that it is a period of regression and depopulation of the islands.

* I am grateful to my colleague Dr. Nikolas Papadimitriou for reading my paper and making most useful comments and to the artist Mr. Andreas Kontonis for drawing the maps accompanying it.

The following special abbreviations will be used:

BARBER, *Cyclades* = R. L. N. BARBER, *The Cyclades in the Bronze Age* (1987).

PAPAGIANNOPOULOU, *Influence* = A. PAPAGIANNOPOULOU, *The Influence of Middle Minoan Pottery on the Cyclades* (1991).

RENFREW, *Emergence* = C. RENFREW, *The Emergence of Civilisation. The Cyclades and the Aegean in the Third Millennium B.C.* (1972).

SCHOLES 1956 = K. SCHOLES, “The Cyclades in the Later Bronze Age: A Synopsis”, *BSA* 51 (1956), p. 9-40.

1. Th. BENT, “Researches among the Cyclades”, *JHS* 5 (1884), p. 42-58; U. KOEHLER, “Praehistorisches von den griechischen Inseln”, *AM* 9 (1884), p. 156-162.
2. H. FRANKFORT, *Studies in Early Pottery of the Near East, II. Asia, Europe and the Aegean, and their Earliest Interrelations* (1927), p. 136.
3. SCHOLES 1956.
4. For a catalogue of the currently known MC sites, see P. SOTIRAKOPOULOU, “Η ‘απουσία’ της Μεσοκυκλαδικής περιόδου από τις Κυκλάδες. Νέα στοιχεία από την Αμοργό”, *ArchEph* 143 (2004), p. 53-80.
5. For an outline of the opposing views and evidence from Akrotiri on Thera in support of the former view, see P. SOTIRAKOPOULOU, “The Dating of the Late Phylakopi I as Evidenced at Akrotiri on Thera”, *BSA* 91 (1996), p. 113-136; *ead.*, “Ακρωτήρι Θήρας: Στα ίχνη ενός αμυζώντος πρωτοκυκλαδικού οικισμού”, in M. MARTHARI (ed.), *Η Πρώιμη Εποχή του Χαλκού στις Κυκλάδες υπό το φως των πρόσφατων ερευνών σε οικισμούς, One-day Colloquium, Syros 1998* (forthcoming). For argumentation in support of the latter view, see

THE MIDDLE CYCLADIC PERIOD

Site distribution

Middle Cycladic sites are now reported from most Cycladic islands; moreover, in certain cases, their distribution appears to be particularly dense. Specifically, 26 new Middle Cycladic sites are reported from Syros⁶ (Fig. 2) and 12 from Mykonos⁷ (Fig. 3). These, taken together with the long-known sites of Ayios Loukas⁸ on the former and Palaiokastro⁹ on the latter island, give a total of 27 Middle Cycladic sites for Syros and 13 for Mykonos. The settlement pattern thus emerging from these two islands appears to be in sharp contrast with the long-standing views that the Middle Cycladic period sees the shift from the dispersed settlement pattern of the Early Cycladic period to a wholly nucleated one dominated by a single major island centre.¹⁰ Naxos and Melos were said to be the only islands that had more than one major site: the former because it is large and fertile, the latter because it was the basic source of obsidian. Although neither Syros nor Mykonos show any of these particular characteristics, according to the newly reported data, Syros gives no evidence of a nucleated settlement pattern during the Middle Cycladic period and the total of Middle Cycladic sites is said to be approximately the same as that of the EC II period.¹¹ On the contrary, some decline in the number of sites, attributed to a process of nucleation from a pattern of widely scattered

C. BROOBBANK, *An Island Archaeology of the Early Cyclades* (2000), p. 322-324 with table 11, and p. 331-335 with fig. 113. For new evidence from Akrotiri said to be in support of the latter view, see C. KNAPPETT, I. NIKOLAKOPOULOU, "Exchange and Affiliation Networks in the MBA Southern Aegean: Crete, Akrotiri and Miletus", in *Emporia*, p. 176; I. NIKOLAKOPOULOU, F. GEORMA, A. MOSCHOU *et al.*, "Trapped in the Middle: New Stratigraphic and Ceramic Evidence from Middle Cycladic Akrotiri, Thera", in *Horizon*, p. 311-324. With regard to the site of Akrotiri in particular, taking into account that the two former articles discuss, among others, the pottery contents of two sealed contexts found on two adjacent floors lying on the bedrock, where Phylakopi I-ii/iii types have been found in association with EC II/II-III types but not a single MC sherd, it is difficult to understand how two different chronological schemes can hold good for the same site; particularly since the suggested new evidence in support of the latter view has come from secondary deposits which partly at least formed the debris filling of the EC rock cut chambers (see P. SOTIRAKOPOULOU, "Akrotiri, Thera: The Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age Phases in Light of Recent Excavations at the Site", in *Horizon*, p. 131-133).

6. F. ARON, *Πτυχές της αρχαίας Σύρου. Απανωσύρια* (1979), p. 12; J. J. HEKMAN, "Chalandriani on Syros. An Early Bronze Age Cemetery in the Cyclades", *ArchEph* 133 (1994), p. 67, fig. 9.
7. A. SAMPSON, *Μύκονος. Ο νεολιθικός οικισμός της Φτελιάς και η προϊστορική κατοίκηση στο νησί* (1997), p. 13-14; *id.*, *The Neolithic Settlement at Ftelia, Mykonos* (2002), p. 169-175.
8. Ch. TSOUNTAS, "Κυκλαδικά II", *ArchEph* 1899, p. 79, 81, 84, 94-95.
9. SCHOLAS 1956, p. 12.
10. RENFREW, *Emergence*, p. 260-262; C. RENFREW, "Bronze Age Melos", in C. RENFREW, M. WAGSTAFF (eds.), *An Island Polity. The Archaeology of Exploitation in Melos* (1982), p. 37; M. WAGSTAFF, J. F. CHERRY, "Settlement and population change", *ibid.*, p. 139; BARBER, *Cyclades*, p. 31, 57, 145; J. F. CHERRY, J. L. DAVIS, E. MANTZOURANI, *Landscape Archaeology as Long-Term History. Northern Keos in the Cycladic Islands from Earliest Settlement until Modern Times* (1991), p. 220-221; C. RENFREW, *The Cycladic Spirit* (1991), p. 51; C. BROOBBANK (*supra*, n. 5), p. 326-328.
11. J. J. HEKMAN (*supra*, n. 6), p. 67, figs. 8-9.

small-scale rural sites into fewer and hierarchically linked ones, is said to be attested on Syros in the Late Cycladic period.¹² A similar tendency towards a rather dispersed settlement pattern in the MC-LC II period and a process of nucleation in LH IIIA1-III A2 was recently suggested by M. Cosmopoulos for Naxos and the other Cycladic islands.¹³ Patterns of spatial and chronological distribution differing markedly from those observed elsewhere in the Cyclades have also been noted in northern Kea.¹⁴ There, the lack of evidence for a significant Early Cycladic settlement other than Ayia Irini shows the existence of nucleation already in the Early Bronze Age; this is in conflict with the pattern of functionally equivalent dispersed farmsteads seen during this period elsewhere in the Cyclades (e.g. Melos, Naxos, Amorgos, etc.). Therefore, divergence from the nucleated pattern during the Middle Bronze Age should not be surprising.

In light of the reported dense settlement pattern during the Middle Cycladic period on Syros and Mykonos, the size, function and chronological range of each site should be established on the basis of systematic archaeological investigations. In order to evaluate the data from the distribution map, we need to know whether the sites were permanent settlements, small rural or only seasonal installations, whether they had a short and limited life or existed throughout the Middle Cycladic period, and how many and which of them were occupied concurrently—especially in view of the fact that the finds from these sites have either not at all or only vaguely been discussed or illustrated.

The number of Middle Cycladic sites reported from other islands does not appear to be equally large, while in certain cases evidence of Middle Bronze Age occupation seems to be totally missing; specifically, eight sites are reported from Naxos, possibly six from Melos, four from Thera, possibly four from Amorgos, two each from Andros, Kea, Siphnos, and Ios, and possibly the same from Delos and Paros, and one each from Kythnos, Tenos, Pholegandros, and possibly also from Anaphe. No evidence of Middle Cycladic occupation is known so far from the remaining islands, that is Seriphos, Kimolos, Sikinos, Antiparos, Herakleia, Schinoussa, Donousa and the two Kouphonisia; this, however, may partly be owing to the lack of systematic archaeological survey, particularly since such surveys have been carried out so far only on Melos,¹⁵ northern Kea¹⁶ and northwest Andros.¹⁷

12. *Ibid.*, p. 69.

13. M. B. COSMOPOULOS, “Reconstructing Cycladic Prehistory: Naxos in the Early and Middle Late Bronze Age”, *OJA* 17 (1998), p. 141, 145 and n. 26.

14. J. F. CHERRY, J. L. DAVIS, E. MANTZOURANI (*supra*, n. 10), p. 217, 221, 228.

15. J. F. CHERRY, “Appendix A: Register of Archaeological Sites on Melos”, in C. RENFREW, M. WAGSTAFF (eds.) (*supra*, n. 10), p. 291-309.

16. J. F. CHERRY, J. L. DAVIS, E. MANTZOURANI (*supra*, n. 10).

17. A. KOUTSOUKOU, “Αρχαιολογική επιφανειακή έρευνα στην βορειοδυτική Άνδρο”, *Πρακτικά του Α΄ Κυκλαδολογικού Συνεδρίου “Τα περί Άνδρου”*, *Ανδριακά Χρονικά* 21 (1993), p. 99-110.

Site location

On the basis of the evidence of the 1950s Scholes concluded that the settlements of the Middle Cycladic period were either on or near the sea with sheltered anchorage nearby and had close at hand some of the best land in the Cyclades from the agricultural point of view.¹⁸ In 1972 C. Renfrew noted that the Middle Cycladic settlements, just as their Middle Helladic counterparts in Euboea and Lakonia, were usually located on high hills and often some way from the sea, as the primary concern of people during that period was the security ensured by a hilltop location.¹⁹ Both these statements seem to be valid, though only in part. On the basis of the reported new evidence it appears that the Middle Cycladic settlements were almost equally often located on hilly promontories or flat coastal areas, on high or lower hills situated some distance from the sea, and on hills situated in the hinterland of the islands, whereas in rare cases they were located on flat and fertile lands near the sea or on steep and isolated islets. It seems that they were always close to good arable land and, depending on their coastal or hinterland location, they had a sheltered anchorage or good pasturelands nearby. Thus, the choice of sites ensured the islanders all sorts of advantages: subsistence, access to the sea, control of both the sea trade routes and the adjacent fertile plains, and, last but not the least, defensibility. Defensibility is said to have been of primary importance during the Middle Bronze Age; this is even more emphasized by the fact that not only was a coastal site, such as Ayia Irini on Kea, fortified from near the beginning and throughout the Middle Bronze Age (Periods IV and V)²⁰ but that the fortification walls of sites in good defensive positions, such as Vryokastro (Akroterio Ourio) on Tenos and Rizokastellia on Naxos, might also be of Middle Cycladic date.²¹ At Phylakopi too, although the fortifications are now believed to be of Late Bronze Age date, it is likely that a smaller system did exist in the Middle Bronze Age.²² However, when one takes into account that about 64% of the reported Middle Cycladic sites produced evidence of occupation since the Early Cycladic or even the Late Neolithic period, and 45.5% of them were also occupied in the following Late Bronze Age, and in certain cases in the historical period too, one reaches the conclusion that the criteria on which a site was chosen for habitation were more or less the same throughout the prehistoric period at least and not characteristic of the Middle Bronze Age exclusively.

18. SCHOLES 1956, p. 10.

19. RENFREW, *Emergence*, p. 260-262.

20. BARBER, *Cyclades*, p. 59, 67-68, 146; *Keos VII*, p. 1, 5-6, 119-121; *Keos V*, p. 1, 2, 8, 101.

21. SCHOLES 1956, p. 13; *Gazetteer*, p. 307, 328; *Keos V*, p. 104; BARBER, *Cyclades*, p. 59.

22. A. C. RENFREW, "Phylakopi and the Late Bronze I Period in the Cyclades", *TAW I*, p. 407-408; M. WAGSTAFF, J. F. CHERRY, "Settlement and Resources", in C. RENFREW, M. WAGSTAFF (eds.) (*supra*, n. 10), p. 260; BARBER, *Cyclades*, p. 59; C. RENFREW, "The Development of the Excavation and the Stratigraphy of Phylakopi", in C. RENFREW *et al.* (eds.), *Excavations at Phylakopi in Melos 1974-77 (2007)*, p. 9, 11; *id.*, "Concluding Observations", *ibid.*, p. 486; C. RENFREW, Ch. SCARRE, T. WHITELAW *et al.*, "The Excavated Areas", *ibid.*, p. 64.

Settlements

The Middle Cycladic period is still primarily known from the two most fully investigated sites: Phylakopi on Melos²³ and Ayia Irini on Kea.²⁴ The best picture of Middle Cycladic settlements is provided by the Second City at Phylakopi.²⁵ The settlement seems to have been of relatively large size and had a carefully organized plan and well-built houses. It consisted of blocks of houses built on a grid of streets, which ran almost due north to south and east to west. The houses consisted of two to four rooms, some of which may have been courts or open spaces. The walls were, as a rule, built of ordinary rubble, but in certain cases the use of crude ashlar masonry was also noted.

The layout and architecture of the Middle Cycladic settlement at Ayia Irini (Periods IV and V) is not very well known. Walls, floors and other remains of Period IV were found widely scattered beneath the constructions of the Late Cycladic era and a separate shrine building was founded early in this period.²⁶ Few walls of Period V and still fewer rooms have been preserved. Many of them were probably brought down by a large catastrophe, possibly an earthquake, while the rest were destroyed by later building. Walls were built of dry stone masonry and the doors had possibly wooden jambs; plaster could have been used for floors, ceilings or walls.²⁷

The dating of the main period at Paroikia on Paros to the last phase of Early Cycladic²⁸ or the early Middle Cycladic period²⁹ is a controversial issue but, in any case, the layout and architecture of the settlement are not well known. The architecture consisted of a series of closely packed well-built rooms, obviously belonging to the same era, though showing a certain amount of modification through time.³⁰

The surface survey at Mikre Vigla on Naxos produced material spanning the whole of the Cycladic Bronze Age and substantial architectural remains,³¹ but the layout of the settlement is not clear; moreover, on account of the finds from the site, Y. Sakellarakis has suggested the possibility that during the Middle and Late Bronze Age it operated as a Minoan peak

23. T. D. ATKINSON *et al.*, *Excavations at Phylakopi in Melos* (1904); R. M. DAWKINS, J. P. DROOP, "The Excavations at Phylakopi in Melos", *BSA* 17 (1910-11), p. 1-22; R. L. N. BARBER, "Phylakopi 1911 and the History of the Later Cycladic Bronze Age", *BSA* 69 (1974), p. 1-53; C. RENFREW *et al.* (eds.) (*supra*, n. 22).

24. *Keos VII and V*.

25. T. D. ATKINSON *et al.* (*supra*, n. 23), p. 38-50; BARBER, *Cyclades*, p. 57, figs. 43-44.

26. *Keos VII*, p. 1-2.

27. *Keos V*, p. 1, 2, 101-102.

28. RENFREW, *Emergence*, p. 147-148, 190, 514; BARBER, *Cyclades*, p. 21, 29, 57, 70-71, 84, 119, fig. 22.

29. J. C. OVERBECK, *The Bronze Age Pottery from the Kastro at Paros* (1989), p. 20-25.

30. O. RUBENSOHN, "Die praehistorischen und frühgeschichtlichen Funde auf dem Burghügel von Paros", *AM* 42 (1917), p. 1-96; J. C. OVERBECK (*supra*, n. 29), p. 2.

31. R. L. N. BARBER, O. HADJIANASTASIOU, "Mikre Vigla: A Bronze Age Settlement on Naxos", *BSA* 84 (1989), p. 62-162.

sanctuary.³² The structures were in general small and modestly built, but there was also some use of large boulders for building. Patches of outcrop were often used to form the sides of structures. At least one of them had walls adorned with painted plaster.³³ At Grotta on Naxos, the Middle Bronze Age is documented by the large number of Cycladic and Helladic Matt-Painted and Grey Minyan sherds, but architectural remains of this period have not been found.³⁴

There are also sites, such as Ftellos³⁵ and the Mavromati quarries on Thera,³⁶ which had been almost totally destroyed because of their modern exploitation for the extraction of volcanic ash; the few buildings preserved were subterranean structures dug out the soft volcanic rock and had a wall lining. The recent excavations at Akrotiri on Thera brought to light abundant material of the Middle Bronze Age,³⁷ but the evidence for the architecture and town-planning of the period has not yet been studied in detail. The overall impression is that the core of the settlement must have been densely occupied and that its layout differed in several ways from its LC I successor. The most substantial evidence in architectural terms comes from the eastern sector, where buildings of this period, occasionally two-storied, were excavated, some with floor deposits *in situ*. Middle Cycladic indoor areas are usually of small dimensions.

The excavation now conducted at Plaka on Andros³⁸ seems to be very promising. The settlement is said to have spanned the period from EC II to an advanced phase of Middle Cycladic (c. 2700-1750 B.C.) and consisted of houses with carefully built walls, showing at least two building phases.

Little is known from the remaining Middle Cycladic sites and in most cases only from surface surveys.

Burial habits

All types of burials continued from the Early Cycladic period. We know of rock-cut chamber tombs at Aghios Ioannis o Eleemon on Thera, which produced pottery assigned to the last phase of Early Cycladic and the early phase of the Middle Cycladic period,³⁹ and of a cist

32. Y. SAKELLARAKIS, "Minoan Religious Influence in the Aegean: The Case of Kythera", *BSA* 91 (1996), p. 94-96.

33. R. L. N. BARBER, O. HADJIANASTASIOU (*supra*, n. 31), p. 67, 139-140.

34. M. B. COSMOPOULOS (*supra*, n. 13), p. 128, 144 and n. 5.

35. M. MARTHARI, "Η Θήρα από την Πρώιμη στη Μέση Εποχή του Χαλκού. Τα αποτελέσματα των ανασκαφών στον Φτέλλο και τον Άγιο Ιωάννη τον Ελεήμονα", in I. M. DANEZIS (ed.), *Σαντορίνη: Θήρα, Θηρασία, Ασπρονήσι, Ηφαιστεία* (2001), p. 107-109.

36. Ch. TELEVANTOU, "Θήρα", *ArchDelt* 42 (1987) B'2, p. 509-512.

37. I. NIKOLAKOPOULOU, F. GEORMA, A. MOSCHOU *et al.* (*supra*, n. 5).

38. Ch. TELEVANTOU, "Άνδρος", in A. G. VLACHOPOULOS (ed.), *Αρχαιολογία. Νησιά του Αιγαίου* (2005), p. 214-215.

39. M. MARTHARI (*supra*, n. 35), p. 109-111.

grave at Ailas on Naxos (T 24), which contained locally made pottery of MM III/LM IA date imitating Minoan prototypes.⁴⁰ A cemetery dated to late Middle Cycladic has been reported from Skarkos on Ios, where it overlay the Early Cycladic settlement.⁴¹ An infant burial of similar date from Akrotiri, Thera was found covered by an inverted bowl under the floor of a Middle Cycladic house.⁴² Intramural jar burials of infants are also known from Phylakopi I-iii⁴³ and Paroikia,⁴⁴ but their dating to the Early or the Middle Cycladic period is controversial.⁴⁵

However, the only substantial collection of Middle Cycladic burials is still known from Period IV at Ayia Irini on Kea.⁴⁶ It consisted of 25 graves belonging to three types: pit graves, jar burials and cist graves. The cist graves were of two types: regular cists lined with slabs, and built cists, having some or all of their sides built up of several courses of stone. There were also two stone-built graves which could properly be termed “tombs” because of their larger than usual size, more elaborate architecture, and great quantity of wealthy grave goods. All burials except one were clustered into three extramural cemeteries and were used primarily for infants and children; only a few adult burials were found. There were also three burials assigned to Period V;⁴⁷ two of them were cist graves and one was intramural. Burial was usually single and contracted but multiple burials, both primary and secondary, were also noted. Some graves were associated with platforms, as in the Early Cycladic period;⁴⁸ these were used for housing graves and as bases for grave offerings or funerary rites. Objects occurred in about half of the graves. The two stone-built tombs were particularly rich, and a few others contained more than a single object. Terracotta vases of types used in the settlement were most common, but metal and stone jewellery, seal stones, stone vases and miscellaneous terracotta objects (spindle-whorls, a figurine head)

40. G. A. PAPATHANASSOPOULOS, “Κυκλαδικά Νάξου”, *ArchDelt* 17 (1961-62) A', p. 130-131, pls. 63-64; PAPAΓΙΑΝΝΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, *Influence*, p. 304.

41. M. MARTHARI, “Ιος, Σίκινος, Φολέγανδρος”, in A. G. VLACHOPOULOS (ed.) (*supra*, n. 38), p. 300-301.

42. V. LANARAS, “Μία *intra muros* ταφή βρέφους στο μεσοκυκλαδικό Ακρωτήριο Θήρας. Ιστορία του εθίμου των *intra muros* ταφών στο Αιγαίο. Προσπάθεια ερμηνείας ενός ιδιαίτερου ευρήματος”, in A. VLACHOPOULOS, K. BIRTACHA (eds.), *Αρχοναύτης. Τιμητικός τόμος για τον καθηγητή Χρήστο Γ. Ντούμα από τους μαθητές του στο Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών 1980-2000* (2003), p. 445-460.

43. R. M. DAWKINS, J. P. DROOP (*supra*, n. 23), p. 7-9. For doubts as to whether these child burials were indeed intramural see N. BRODIE, M. BOYD, R. SWEETMAN, “The Settlement of South Phylakopi: A Reassessment of Dawkins and Droop’s 1911 Excavations”, in *Horizon*, p. 413-414. See also C. RENFREW, Ch. SCARRE, T. WHITELAW *et al.*, in C. RENFREW *et al.* (eds.) (*supra*, n. 22), p. 48-49.

44. O. RUBENSOHN (*supra*, n. 30), p. 12; J. C. OVERBECK (*supra*, n. 29), p. 13, no. 105.

45. For the opposing views see P. SOTIRAKOPOULOU, *Ακρωτήριο Θήρας. Η Νεολιθική και η Προϊμική Εποχή του Χαλκού επί τη βάση της κεραμικής* (1999), p. 133-134 and *supra*, n. 5, 28 and 29.

46. *Keos* VII, p. 184-205.

47. *Keos* V, p. 79-80.

48. Ch. DOUMAS, *Early Bronze Age Burial Habits in the Cyclades* (1977), p. 35-36.

were also found, particularly in the two built tombs. The jewellery was especially of gold and silver and included: three gold diadems, beads of gold and semi-precious stones, gold rings, as well as pins and rings of bronze, silver and possibly lead. The quantity of gold and silver jewellery in the Middle Cycladic graves at Ayia Irini is notable, and is unusual for the Middle Bronze Age.

Contacts and exchange with other Aegean areas

Contacts of the Cyclades with the outside world are attested from the very beginning of the Middle Bronze Age, mainly in the form of imported and exported pottery; this includes either fine drinking vessels (i.e. cups and goblets), probably imported as valuable items in their own right, or storage vases (i.e. jars and jugs) used as containers for food-supplies or liquids, such as wine and oil. Their relations with mainland Greece were primarily with Attica and the northeast Peloponnese (i.e. Corinthia and the Argolid), while their relations with Crete seem to have been mainly with Knossos. Their contacts with the East Aegean were rather sporadic.

In the early phase of the period, the mainland connection seems to have been stronger, though not in the same degree in all the islands. In the earlier phase of Phylakopi City II and in Period IV at Ayia Irini, Grey Minyan pottery occurs in considerable quantities but Matt-Painted is rare. There are also local imitations of Minyan shapes in Dark Burnished ware and of the Middle Helladic Matt-Painted in the Keian Yellow-slipped ware. A small group of Lustrous Decorated ware from Ayia Irini IV is also said to be of mainland (probably Peloponnesian) origin. In the later phase of Phylakopi II and in Period V at Ayia Irini, the pottery imported from the mainland is less common: Matt-Painted is even rarer and Grey Minyan is found in smaller quantities.⁴⁹ Only two Middle Helladic Matt-Painted sherds are reported from Paroikia but more Grey Minyan pottery, though in a much lower quantity than at Ayia Irini.⁵⁰ At Akrotiri, both Grey Minyan and Polychrome Matt-Painted imported from the mainland are rare,⁵¹ but local imitations of Minyan shapes are found in Red-Slipped ware. Grey Minyan pottery has been reported from other Middle Cycladic sites

49. For Phylakopi City II see: RENFREW, *Emergence*, p. 198, pl. 13: 5-6; R. L. N. BARBER, "The Status of Phylakopi in Creto-Cycladic Relations", in *Minoan Thalassocracy*, p. 179-180; S. SHERRATT, *Catalogue of Cycladic Antiquities in the Ashmolean Museum. The Captive Spirit* (2000), p. 240-241, pls. 330-331; R. L. N. BARBER, "The Middle Cycladic Pottery", in C. RENFREW *et al.* (eds.) (*supra*, n. 22), p. 234; O. T. P. K. DICKINSON, "The Middle Helladic Pottery", *ibid.*, p. 238-248. For Periods IV and V at Ayia Irini see: *Keos VII*, p. 10-11; *Keos V*, p. 6, 84-85. See also J. C. OVERBECK, "The Hub of Commerce: Keos and Middle Helladic Greece", *TUAS* 7 (1982), p. 38-49, for an overview of the relations between the Cyclades and the MH mainland.

50. J. C. OVERBECK (*supra*, n. 29), p. 14-15, 21, 24.

51. PAPAAGIANNOPOULOU, *Influence*, p. 59, 352: nos. 269-272, p. 357: no. 304.

too: Ayios Loukas on Syros,⁵² Kastro on Siphnos,⁵³ Vryokastro on Tenos,⁵⁴ Palaiokastro and Stapodia on Mykonos,⁵⁵ Chora and Mikre Vigla on Naxos⁵⁶ and Markiani on Amorgos.⁵⁷ Conversely, the imported Minoan or the local Minoanising wares found in the most fully investigated Middle Cycladic sites (Phylakopi City II,⁵⁸ Akrotiri,⁵⁹ Ayia Irini IV and V⁶⁰, Mikre Vigla)⁶¹ seem to have been rather rare during the MM IA-IIA periods but numerous in the succeeding MM IIB-IIIA phases, when the contacts with Crete became closer and the Cretan influence on the Cycladic islands particularly strong. Even so, the excavators state that the imports into the Cyclades were only a small percentage of the total quantity of pottery in use and emphasize the distinctly local character of the Middle Cycladic pottery in many aspects, such as wares and surface treatment, shapes and decorative motifs, and technological choices and applications. On the contrary, only few Minoan sherds have come from Paroikia,⁶² and the Minoan imports into Delos and Mykonos are also limited.⁶³ In the cases of Phylakopi City II, Akrotiri and Ayia Irini, aspects of Cretan material culture other than pottery were also adopted, including pillar-rooms, frescoes and loom-weights of Minoan type.⁶⁴

Along with the Minoan and Helladic imports into the Cyclades, there are Cycladic exports to Crete, mainland Greece, and the East Aegean. During the MM I-II phases the Cycladic imports into Crete are restricted to a small number of pieces from MM IB-II contexts at Knossos, including the fragments of a beaked jug of the Cycladic White style, a small number

52. Ch. TSOUNTAS (*supra*, n. 8), p. 79, 94-95, pl. 9: 27; SCHOLLES 1956, p. 13; R. L. N. BARBER, "A Tomb at Ayios Loukas, Syros. Some Thoughts on Early-Middle Cycladic Chronology", *Journal of Mediterranean Anthropology and Archaeology* 1 (1981), p. 168: no. 1, p. 169.

53. J. K. BROCK, G. MACKWORTH YOUNG, "Excavations in Siphnos", *BSA* 44 (1949), p. 15, 32, fig. 7; SCHOLLES 1956, p. 15-16.

54. SCHOLLES 1956, p. 13, 15-16.

55. *Ibid.*, p. 12, 15; A. SAMPSON (2002, *supra*, n. 7), p. 173, 175.

56. N. KONTOLEON, "Zwei beschriftete Scherben aus Naxos", *Kadmos* 4 (1965), p. 84, Abb. 1; R. L. N. BARBER, O. HADJIANASTASIOU (*supra*, n. 31), p. 109-111, pl. 23 f.

57. P. SOTIRAKOPOULOU (*supra*, n. 4).

58. RENFREW, *Emergence*, p. 198 and Table I.31, pl. 13: 4; R. L. N. BARBER, in *Minoan Thalassocracy* (*supra*, n. 49), p. 179-180; PAPAGIANNPOULOU, *Influence*, p. 83-101; R. L. N. BARBER, in C. RENFREW *et al.* (eds.) (*supra*, n. 22), p. 234; M. S. F. HOOD, "The Middle Minoan Pottery", in C. RENFREW *et al.* (eds.) (*supra*, n. 22), p. 248-264.

59. PAPAGIANNPOULOU, *Influence*, p. 51-54; C. KNAPPETT, I. NIKOLAKOPOULOU (*supra*, n. 5), p. 176, 181; I. NIKOLAKOPOULOU, F. GEORMA, A. MOSCHOU *et al.* (*supra*, n. 5).

60. *Keos* VII, p. 11-12; *Keos* V, p. 6, 81-83, 86-88.

61. R. L. N. BARBER, O. HADJIANASTASIOU (*supra*, n. 31), p. 107-109, 112, 140.

62. J. C. OVERBECK (*supra*, n. 29), p. 15, 24; PAPAGIANNPOULOU, *Influence*, p. 179-180.

63. PAPAGIANNPOULOU, *Influence*, p. 304.

64. R. L. N. BARBER, in *Minoan Thalassocracy* (*supra*, n. 49), p. 180; J. L. DAVIS, "Cultural Innovation and the Minoan Thalassocracy at Ayia Irini, Keos", *ibid.*, p. 161-163; *Keos* V, p. 98, pl. 38 e.

of jars, and the base of a Melian jug.⁶⁵ Following the end of MM II the number of Cycladic imports into Knossos increases dramatically: we know of over forty Cycladic vases from the MM III Temple Repositories, including Melian bird jugs, closed or elongated jars and oval-mouthed amphorae with decoration of large discs, which perhaps contained wine or oil.⁶⁶ In contrast, the contacts with south Crete seem to have been rare: only four sherds of Cycladic pottery have been found in MM III contexts at Kommos, including a nipples ewer, probably from Thera, a closed vessel painted in the Black and Red style, and a jug and cup with matt-painted decoration⁶⁷. Four more Cycladic vases found in a LM IB context at Pyrgos in southeast Crete, that is a Black and Red bird jug assigned to Melos and three nipples ewers attributed to Thera, were dated to Phylakopi II-iii and LM IA and said to have been kept for longer than their Minoan counterparts because of their religious significance or their value as curios.⁶⁸

Likewise, the Cycladic exports to mainland Greece are rather limited in the early stages of the Middle Bronze Age but more numerous in the late phase.⁶⁹ In the early phase, the Cycladic or Cycladicising wares found in the mainland include some Red Burnished Cycladic cups with a lug handle from the Athenian Agora, Brauron, Korakou, Aspis at Argos and Galatas in Troizenia,⁷⁰ two red burnished goblets of Keian fabric from Lerna and Kolonna on Aegina,⁷¹ some Keian Yellow-Slipped ware from the Athenian Agora, Asine and perhaps Lerna,⁷² and a few jugs or jar fragments of the Cycladic White style from Eleusis, Lerna, Asine, Eutresis, Dramesi⁷³ and southeastern Attica.⁷⁴ The red-slipped pottery from Eleusis

65. RENFREW, *Emergence*, p. 199, pl. 13: 2; R. L. N. BARBER (*supra*, n. 52), p. 177; *id.*, in *Minoan Thalassocracy* (*supra*, n. 49), p. 179; J. A. MACGILLIVRAY, "Cycladic Jars from Middle Minoan III Contexts at Knossos", *ibid.*, p. 153 and n. 3; R. L. N. BARBER, in C. RENFREW *et al.* (eds.) (*supra*, n. 22), p. 204, 206-207, 233.
66. A. J. EVANS, *The Palace of Minos at Knossos I: The Neolithic and Early and Middle Minoan Ages* (1921, repr. 1964), p. 557-561, figs. 404 d, 405 d; Ch. ZERVOS, *L'art des Cyclades du début à la fin de l'Âge du Bronze, 2500-1100 av. n.è.* (1957), fig. 305; RENFREW, *Emergence*, p. 198; J. A. MACGILLIVRAY (*supra*, n. 65), p. 153-157.
67. Ph. P. BETANCOURT, "The Middle Minoan Pottery of Southern Crete and the Question of a Middle Minoan Thalassocracy", in *Minoan Thalassocracy*, p. 92, fig. 2, lower group; *id.*, *Kommos II: The Final Neolithic through Middle Minoan III Pottery* (1990), p. 191-192, figs. 25, 27, 34, 38, pls. 26, 30, 42, 47, nos. 501, 592, 730, 798.
68. G. CADOGAN, "Cycladic Jugs at Pyrgos", in J. A. MACGILLIVRAY, R. L. N. BARBER (eds.), *The Prehistoric Cyclades. Contributions to a Workshop on Cycladic Chronology* (1984), p. 162-164.
69. See J. L. DAVIS, "Minos and Dexitheia: Crete and the Cyclades in the Later Bronze Age", in J. L. DAVIS, J. F. CHERRY (eds.), *Papers in Cycladic Prehistory* (1979), p. 153-155; R. L. N. BARBER, in *Minoan Thalassocracy* (*supra*, n. 49), p. 180 and n. 13; PAPAAGIANNOPOULOU, *Influence*, p. 297-303, with references; R. L. N. BARBER, in C. RENFREW *et al.* (eds.) (*supra*, n. 22), p. 196, 204, 206-207, 234.
70. E. KONSOLAKI-GIANNPOULOU, in this volume (*supra*, p. 67-76).
71. J. C. OVERBECK (*supra*, n. 49), p. 41.
72. *Ibid.*, p. 41, 42; NORDQUIST, *MH Village*, p. 64, fig. 30: 3.
73. E. I. MASTROKOSTAS, "Προϊστορικοί συνοικισμοί ἐν ἑσπερίᾳ Λοκρίδι, Φωκίδι καὶ Βοιωτίᾳ", *ArchEph* 1956, *Αρχ. Χρον.*, p. 26, fig. 9 α.
74. O. KAKAVOYANNI, K. DOUNI, in this volume (*supra*, p. 201, 208, 210, fig. 2).

is also said to originate from the Cyclades,⁷⁵ whereas the Matt-Painted pottery from the site earlier thought to be Cycladic influenced⁷⁶ has now been shown by petrographic and chemical analysis to have almost in its entirety been imported from Aegina.⁷⁷ Pottery of the Cycladic White style and Cycladic beak-spouted jugs with white/creamy painted decoration on red burnished surface have been found in the “Shaft Grave” from Kolonna IX in Aegina,⁷⁸ safely dated in MH II. A substantial number of fragments belonging to various classes of imported Middle Cycladic pottery (Red Burnished, Cycladic White, painted white-on-red/dark, Polychrome) have also come from the old excavations at the site,⁷⁹ though in this case there is no information of their contexts. In the late phase of the Middle Bronze Age, the Cycladic or Cycladic influenced pottery from mainland Greece includes panelled cups, bird jugs of the Black and Red style and vases decorated in the Naturalistic style from the Athenian Acropolis, Brauron, Marathon, Thorikos, Korakou, Lerna, Asine and Kirrha. Another bird jug recently unearthed at Argos is similar to that from Asine but of the Dark-on-Light Matt-Painted style.⁸⁰ Cycladic or Cycladicising pottery of the Black and Red style is also reported from Kiapha Thiti,⁸¹ Eleusis,⁸² Tiryns and MH III graves at Midea.⁸³ Especially worthy of mention is the considerable number of Cycladic or Cycladic influenced vases from the Grave Circle B at Mycenae: panelled cups, a Bichrome Melian ewer, bird jugs probably imported from Thera⁸⁴ or Melos, eyed globular jugs probably imported from Thera too,⁸⁵ other Bichrome or plain jugs showing Cycladic influence, and jars decorated in the Cycladic Naturalistic style.

The Cycladic or Cycladicising material from the East Aegean is confined to a few sherds or vases of the Matt-Painted, Black and Red, and Polychrome styles from Troy, Chios, Samos, Patmos, Astypalaia, Rhodes and Iasos.⁸⁶

75. M. COSMOPoulos, V. KILIKOGLou, I. K. WHITBREAD *et al.*, “Characterization Studies of Bronze Age Pottery from Eleusis”, in *Meletemata*, p. 136.

76. PAPAGIANNOPouLOU, *Influence*, p. 298.

77. M. COSMOPoulos, V. KILIKOGLou, I. K. WHITBREAD *et al.*, (*supra*, n. 75), p. 136.

78. *Alt-Ägina* IV.3, p. 57-66; S. DIETZ, “The Cyclades and the Mainland in the Shaft Grave Period – A Summary”, in S. DIETZ, S. ISAGER (eds.), *Proceedings of the Danish Institute at Athens 2* (1998), p. 21.

79. *Alt-Ägina* IV.3, p. 123-126; S. DIETZ (*supra*, n. 78), p. 21. For Cycladic influence and Cycladic imports to Kolonna VII-X see also PAPAGIANNOPouLOU, *Influence*, p. 189-197.

80. A. PAPADIMITRIOU, in this volume (*supra*, p. 51, 55, fig. 6).

81. *Kiapha Thiti* II.2, p. 201-203, Taf. 6: 206; Taf. 7: 274; Taf. 10: 376; Taf. 17: 568-569; Taf. 29: 902-909; J. MARAN, “Middle and Late Bronze Age Pottery from Kiapha Thiti (Attica): A Preliminary Report”, in *Wace & Blegen*, p. 203, 206, fig. 1: 10-14; S. DIETZ (*supra*, n. 78), p. 13-14.

82. M. COSMOPoulos, V. KILIKOGLou, I. K. WHITBREAD *et al.* (*supra*, n. 75), p. 136.

83. E. PALAIOLOGOU, in this volume (*supra*, p. 359, 364, fig. 4).

84. See also M. MARTHARI, “The Ceramic Evidence for Contacts between Thera and the Greek Mainland”, in *Wace & Blegen*, p. 250-252.

85. *Ibid.*, p. 252.

86. PAPAGIANNOPouLOU, *Influence*, p. 293-296, with references.

CONCLUSION

The preceding brief review of the Cycladic Middle Bronze Age suggests that this was a period of prosperity, strong social organization, and intense trade and exchange with other areas of the Aegean. Its somewhat unspectacular character in comparison to the Early and Late Bronze Age is most probably owing to our limited knowledge of it and not attributable to its being a period of stagnation. It rather seems to represent a period of assimilation of the advances attested in other Aegean regions and preparation for the developments to follow. We have now sound reasons to believe that further investigations will shed more light on those aspects of the period that remain obscure. In this context, the older and more recent suggestions that Troullos on Kea, Mikre Vigla on Naxos and Mazareko on Andros might in the Middle and Late Bronze Age have operated as Minoan peak sanctuaries⁸⁷ should be examined with care, as, in case this hypothesis is confirmed, perhaps we shall have to reconsider the sort of relations between the Cyclades and Crete during the first half of the second millennium B.C. and pose anew the question over the myth or reality of what was called “The Minoan Thalassocracy”.⁸⁸

87. For Troullos and Mikre Vigla see Y. SAKELLARAKIS (*supra*, n. 32), p. 92-93, n. 15, p. 94-96, with the relevant bibliography; for Mazareko see A. KOUTSOUKOU (*supra*, n. 17), p. 102-103; C. BROODBANK (*supra*, n. 5), p. 327.

88. *Minoan Thalassocracy*.

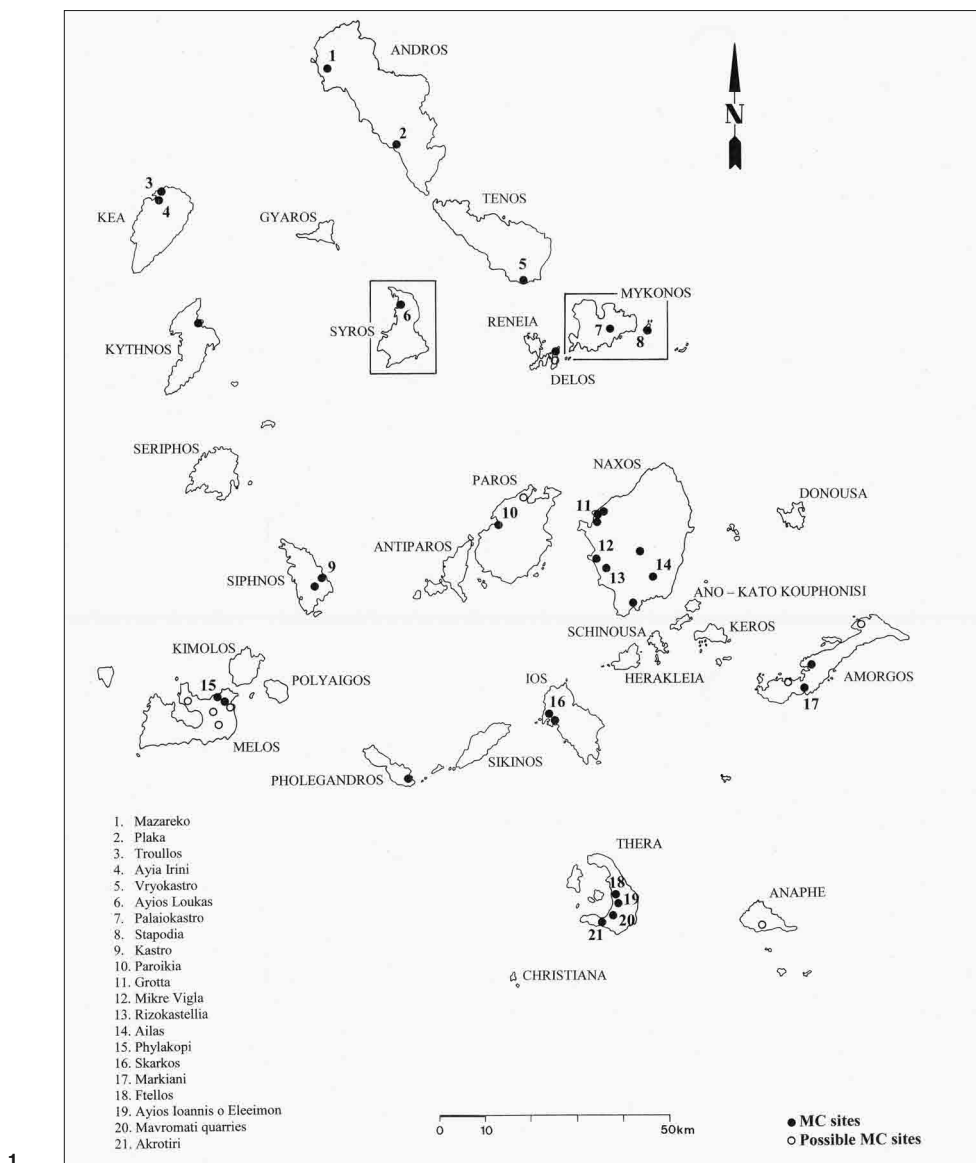
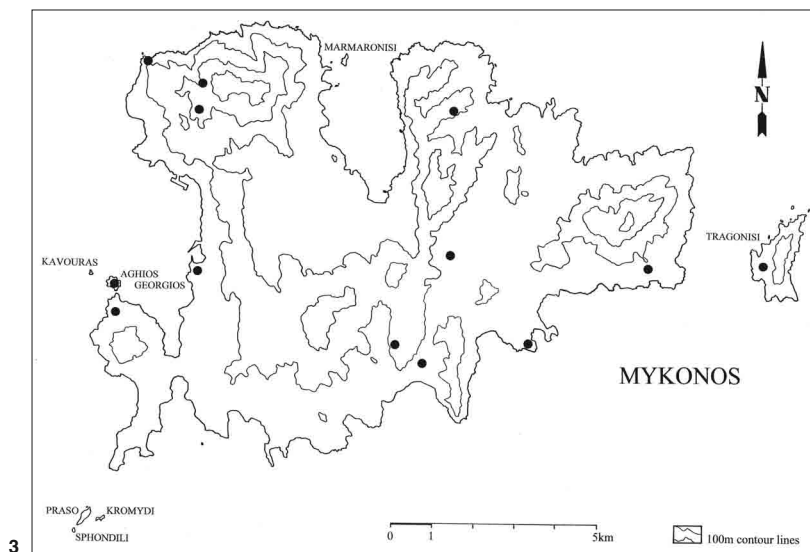
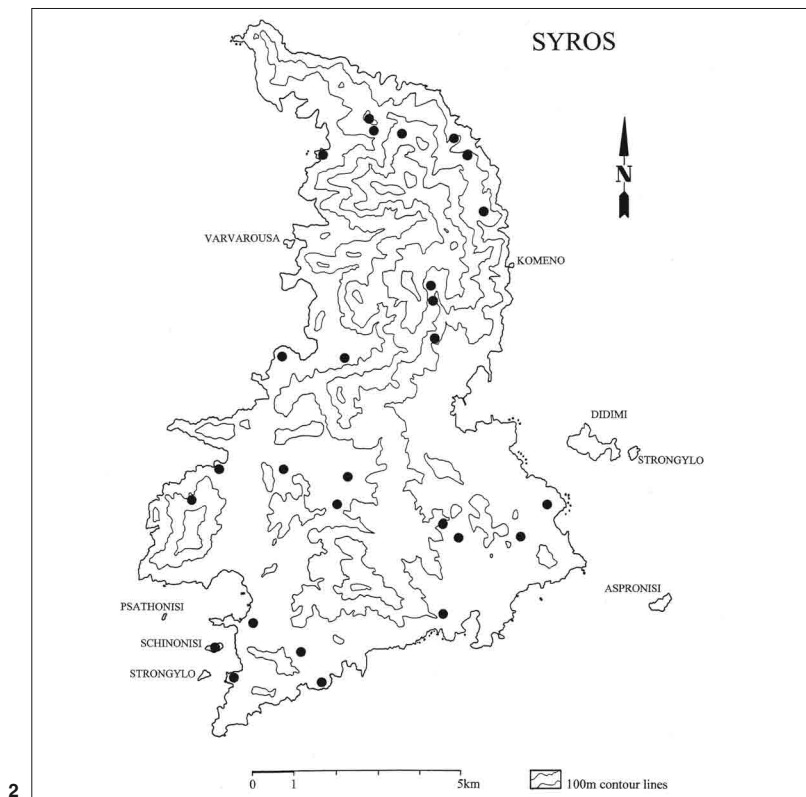


Fig. 1. – Map of the Cyclades showing the locations of MC and possibly MC sites; particular reference is made to the sites mentioned in the text.

Fig. 2. – Map of Syros showing the distribution of the reported MC sites.

Fig. 3. – Map of Mykonos showing the distribution of the reported MC sites.



CONCLUSION

The major question at issue in this conference is: "Have we made progress in our knowledge of mainland Greece during the Middle Bronze Age?" The answer is indisputably yes, even if there remain many avenues for further research. Oliver Dickinson opened the conference by expressing his hope that we would learn much new about this phase of Greek prehistory, broaden our horizons, and ask new questions. The subsequent four days of papers ranged over many areas and themes and it is clear from listening to them that we have succeeded in informing each other in ways that make for a much more nuanced understanding of this period than we had before we arrived.

This progress has been made in three different respects. First is *geographical*. Regions which had been largely unknown and under-appreciated such as Elis, Achaia, Aetolia, Phthiotis-Lokris, Thessaly, and the Spercheios Valley, are now understood to be important and exciting areas for research. Important settlements which were not known in enough detail are much clearer thanks to reports given here. For examples we can point to Thebes, Dimini and Kirrha, among many others. Second is *chronological*. We are now at a point where, especially thanks to the patient and careful work of all of our colleagues in the Archaeological Service, we can provide an archaeological definition of MH I and MH II, at least within restricted regions; and this is not limited to the study of ceramics but also leads to an emerging understanding of the organization of settlement and to indications of the directions of interaction among different regions. Third is *thematic*. Of the approximately 70 communications, less than a dozen focused on ceramics (although this subject was often recognized as a component of other papers) and just slightly fewer focused on burials and funerary customs. Yet if the

conference had taken place 10 or 15 years before, without doubt many more papers would have addressed these themes, because at that time they monopolized our interests.

This signifies, without any disrespect for these subjects, how scholarly interest has matured. Henceforth many other important subjects, such as lithics, architecture and settlement, economy, subsistence and modes of life, and social structure will drive our research. A number of presentations here have illustrated also the importance of attention to highly detailed and scientific applications that have the potential to revise fundamentally our traditional view of Middle Helladic societies. All these new and enlarged themes are owed to a transformation in the approaches Aegean archaeologists take to their fields of study, and we can take pride that our international community cooperates not only in research but also in training and that our host country of Greece continues to welcome new approaches and new ideas in the study of its past.

The attention to the *geographic spread* of Middle Helladic cultures and the variety of *interconnections* among different regions of Greece bears further comment. We are especially grateful to the participants for presenting much important new material, for bringing to light old material that was insufficiently known, and for focusing on the interpretation of evidence at many levels. As already noted, we have come to appreciate much better, thanks to the reports presented here, the vitality and viability of different regions. The papers have opened our eyes to settlement around the Saronic Gulf, throughout Attika, in Lokris and Thessaly, throughout the Corinthian Gulf and its opening to the West, in the southwestern Peloponnesos, in relationship to the Cycladic islands and those of the northeast Aegean, and of course in relation to Crete.

Of special notice are the reports that show the strong relations among Thessaly, Lokris, and Phokis and their relationship to the Corinthian Gulf. Discussion of settlements along the Corinthian Gulf show how they are interconnected, thus emphasizing its important role as a corridor connecting the Saronic Region at the east with Western Greece. From there, following on several reports, we are reminded that during the Middle Bronze Age knowledge of the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian coasts was increased and even that the geography of the Western Mediterranean was within the ken of these peoples. When we look eastwards into the Aegean, several reports make clear the fundamental importance for mainlanders of connections to the islands, whether looking at local relations with the important offshore islands of Aegina and Keos or the Cyclades, with their emerging gateway communities that controlled access to Crete.

Also of interest is the role of Crete during this period. Several of the papers point to Cretan interest in metals, not least a reason for Cretan interest in the northern and northeastern Aegean as more advanced forms of copper and bronze metallurgy begin to take hold. We need continuously reassess the role of Crete at this time, since as the work at Kythera demonstrates, it is not as straightforward as models of Cretan "colonization" of the Aegean had previously led scholars to believe.

The outstanding work of our colleagues in the Archaeological Service deserves further notice. Without their reports on new discoveries, their restudy of old material that commands our attention, and their assessment of the details of stratigraphy, ceramic development, and evidence of interconnections, this conference would not have succeeded. What has been provided to the conferees as a result of these reports is nothing less than a rewriting of the Middle Helladic as a cultural period. In connection with this work, the many papers which reevaluated different aspects of Middle Helladic culture and its social practices, provide us with a picture of a culture that is distinctly Middle Helladic, yet remains one without a strong center. In this regard the mosaic of regional and local forms that come into view is especially tantalizing as a picture of what we know was to come in the Late Bronze Age. Middle Helladic Greece is not merely an appendage of Early Helladic nor only a prelude to the Mycenaean. It was a vigorous and dynamic interregional cultural phenomenon that established social and economic relations in a fashion that was different from the small centralized polities of the Early Bronze Age. At a time when new connections were forged and older ones reestablished, it was a new beginning, but hardly the one of stagnant cultural practices and an immobilized and impoverished population that most of us have been taught. There are many lessons for us to draw from the proceedings and we hope that they will bring to a wider public the interest and excitement shown by the participants at the conference.

The editors

TABLE DES MATIÈRES

Préface, par Dominique MULLIEZ, Directeur de l'EFA,	1
Stephen V. TRACY, Directeur de l'ASCSA et	2
Gert Jan VAN WIJNGARTEN, Directeur du NIA	2
Introduction	3
Liste des abréviations	7
Conférence inaugurale, par Oliver DICKINSON : <i>The "Third World" of the Aegean? Middle Helladic Greece Revisited</i>	13

I. TOPOGRAPHIE ET HABITAT

Katie DEMAKOPOULOU and Nicoletta DIVARI-VALAKOU, <i>The Middle Helladic Settlement on the Acropolis of Midea</i>	31-44
Άλκηστη ΠΑΠΑΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ, <i>Οι ανασκαφές στο Νοσοκομείο του Άργους</i>	45-56
Kim SHELTON, <i>Living and Dying in and around Middle Helladic Mycenae</i>	57-65
Eleni KONSOLAKI-YIANNOPOULOU, <i>The Middle Helladic Establishment at Megali Magoula, Galatas (Troezenia)</i>	67-76
Joost CROUWEL, <i>Middle Helladic Occupation at Geraki, Laconia</i>	77-86
Ελένη ZABBOY, <i>Ευρήματα της μεσοελλαδικής και της πρώιμης μυκηναϊκής εποχής από τη Σπάρτη και τη Λακωνία</i>	87-99
Jack L. DAVIS and Sharon R. STOCKER, <i>Early Helladic and Middle Helladic Pylos : The Petropoulos Trenches and Pre-Mycenaean Remains on the Englianos Ridge</i>	101-106
Jörg RAMBACH, <i>Πρόσφατες έρευνες σε μεσοελλαδικές θέσεις της δυτικής Πελοποννήσου</i>	107-119
Søren DIETZ and Maria STAVROPOULOU-GATSI, <i>Pagona and the Transition from Middle Helladic to Mycenaean in Northwestern Peloponnese</i>	121-128
Lena PAPAZOGLU-MANILOUDAKI, <i>The Middle Helladic and Late Helladic I Periods at Aigion in Achaia</i>	129-141
Eva ALRAM-STERN, <i>Aigeira and the Beginning of the Middle Helladic Period in Achaia</i>	143-150
Michaela ZAVADIL, <i>The Peloponnese in the Middle Bronze Age : An Overview</i>	151-163
Walter GAUSS and Rudolfine SMETANA, <i>Aegina Kolonna in the Middle Bronze Age</i>	165-174
Naya SGOURITSA, <i>Lazarides on Aegina: Another Prehistoric Site</i> (poster)	175-180
Γιάννος Γ. ΩΛΟΣ, <i>Σκλάβος: ένα μεσοελλαδικό ορόσημο στη νότια ακτή της Σαλαμίνας (αναρτημένη ανακοίνωση)</i>	181-185

Γιάννα BENIEPH, <i>Νέα στοιχεία για την κατοίκηση στη νότια πλευρά της Ακρόπολης των Αθηνών κατά τη μεσοελλαδική περίοδο: ευρήματα από την ανασκαφή στο οικόπεδο Μακρυγιάννη</i>	187-198
Όλγα ΚΑΚΑΒΟΓΙΑΝΝΗ και Κερασία ΝΤΟΥΝΗ, <i>Η μεσοελλαδική εποχή στη νοτιοανατολική Αττική</i>	199-210
Konstantinos KALOGEROPOULOS, <i>Middle Helladic Human Activity in Eastern Attica: The Case of Brauron</i>	211-221
Jeannette FORSÉN, <i>Aphidna in Attica Revisited</i>	223-234
† Μαρία ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΑΚΟΥ, <i>Μεσοελλαδικές θέσεις στη Λαυρεωτική και τη νοτιοανατολική Αττική (αναρτημένη ανακοίνωση)</i>	235-242
Nikolas PAPADIMITRIΟΥ, <i>Attica in the Middle Helladic Period</i>	243-257
Φωτεινή ΣΑΡΑΝΤΗ, <i>Νέοι οικισμοί της Μέσης Εποχής του Χαλκού στην επαρχία Ναυπακτίας (αναρτημένη ανακοίνωση)</i>	259-267
Sylvie MÜLLER CELKA, <i>L'occupation d'Érétrie (Eubée) à l'Helladique Moyen (poster)</i>	269-279
Λιάνα ΠΑΡΛΑΜΑ, Μαρία ΘΕΟΧΑΡΗ, Σταμάτης ΜΠΟΝΑΤΣΟΣ, Χριστίνα ΡΩΜΑΝΟΥ και Γιάννης ΜΑΝΟΣ, <i>Παλαμάρι Σκύρου: η πόλη της Μέσης Χαλκοκρατίας (αναρτημένη ανακοίνωση)</i>	281-289
Anthi BATZIOU-EFSTATHIOY, <i>Kastraki, a New Bronze Age Settlement in Achaia Phthiotis</i>	291-300
Βασιλική ΑΔΡΥΜΗ-ΣΙΣΜΑΝΗ, <i>Το Διμήνι στη Μέση Εποχή Χαλκού</i>	301-313
Λεωνίδας Π. ΧΑΤΖΗΑΓΓΕΛΑΚΗΣ, <i>Νεότερα ανασκαφικά δεδομένα της Μέσης Εποχής Χαλκού στο Νομό Καρδίτσας</i>	315-329
II. PRATIQUES FUNÉRAIRES ET ANTHROPOLOGIE PHYSIQUE	
Anna LAGIA and William CAVANAGH, <i>Burials from Kouphovouno, Sparta, Lakonia</i>	333-346
Eleni MILKA, <i>Burials upon the Ruins of Abandoned Houses in the Middle Helladic Argolid</i>	347-355
Ελένη ΠΑΛΑΙΟΛΟΓΟΥ, <i>Μεσοελλαδικοί τάφοι από τη Μιδέα</i>	357-365
Olivier PELON, <i>Les tombes à fosse de Mycènes : rupture ou continuité ?</i>	367-376
Vassilis ARAVANTINOS and Kyriaki PSARAKI, <i>The Middle Helladic Cemeteries of Thebes. General Review and Remarks in the Light of New Investigations and Finds</i>	377-395
Laetitia PHIALON, <i>Funerary Practices in Central Greece from the Middle Helladic into the Early Mycenaean Period (poster)</i>	397-402
Vassilis P. PETRAKIS, <i>Diversity in Form and Practice in Middle Helladic and Early Mycenaean Elaborate Tombs: An Approach to Changing Prestige Expression in Changing Times</i>	403-416
Maia POMADÈRE, <i>De l'indifférenciation à la discrimination spatiale des sépultures ? Variété des comportements à l'égard des enfants morts pendant l'HM-HR I</i>	417-429
Florian RUPPENSTEIN, <i>Gender and Regional Differences in Middle Helladic Burial Customs</i>	431-439
Sevi TRIANTAPHYLLOU, <i>Prospects for Reconstructing the Lives of Middle Helladic Populations in the Argolid: Past and Present of Human Bone Studies</i>	441-451

Abi BOUWMAN, Keri BROWN and John PRAG, <i>Middle Helladic Kinship : Families, Faces and DNA at Mycenae</i>	453-459
Robert ARNOTT and Antonia MORGAN-FORSTER, <i>Health and Disease in Middle Helladic Greece</i>	461-470
Anne INGVARSSON-SUNDSTRÖM, <i>Tooth Counts and Individuals: Health Status in the East Cemetery and Barbouna at Asine as Interpreted from Teeth</i> (poster)	471-477
Fabian KANZ, Karl GROSSCHMIDT and Jan KIESSLICH, <i>Subsistence and more in Middle Bronze Age Aegina Kolonna : An Anthropology of Newborn Children</i> (poster)	479-487
Leda KOVATSI, Dimitra NIKOU, Sofia KOUIDOU-ANDREOU, Sevi TRIANTAPHYLLOU, Carol ZERNER and Sofia VOUTSAKI, <i>Ancient DNA Analysis of Human Remains from Middle Helladic Lerna</i> (poster)	489-494

III. UNIVERS SYMBOLIQUE ET RITUEL

Evyenia YIANNOULI, <i>Middle Helladic between Minoan and Mycenaean: On the Symbolic Meaning of Offensive Instruments</i>	497-507
Fritz BLAKOLMER, <i>The Iconography of the Shaft Grave Period as Evidence for a Middle Helladic Tradition of Figurative Arts?</i>	509-519
Anthi THEODOROU-MAVROMMATIDI, <i>Defining Ritual Action. A Middle Helladic Pit at the Site of Apollo Maleatas in Epidaurous</i>	521-533
Helène WHITTAKER, <i>Some Thoughts on Middle Helladic Religious Beliefs and Ritual and their Significance in Relation to Social Structure</i>	535-543
Alexandra TRANTA-NIKOLI, <i>Elements of Middle Helladic Religious Tradition and their Survival in Mycenaean Religion</i> (poster)	545-548

IV. CÉRAMIQUE ET CHRONOLOGIE

Michael B. COSMOPOULOS, <i>The Middle Helladic Stratigraphy of Eleusis</i>	551-556
Αικατερίνη ΣΤΑΜΟΥΔΗ, <i>Η μεσοελλαδική κατοίκηση στο Κάστρο Λαμίας. Κεραμεικές ακολουθίες και ιδιαιτερότητες στην κοιλάδα του Σπερχειού</i>	557-571
Fanouria DAKORONIA, <i>Delphi-Kirra-Pefkakia via Spercheios Valley : Matt-Painted Pottery as Sign of Intercommunication</i>	573-581
Μαρία-Φωτεινή ΠΑΠΑΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ και Δημήτρης Ν. ΣΑΚΚΑΣ, <i>Μεσοελλαδική κεραμική από το Αμούρι στην κοιλάδα του Σπερχειού (αναρτημένη ανακοίνωση)</i>	583-590
Ελένη ΦΡΟΥΣΣΟΥ, <i>Η μετάβαση από τη Μέση στην Ύστερη Εποχή Χαλκού στο Νέο Μοναστήρι Φθιώτιδας (αναρτημένη ανακοίνωση)</i>	591-601
Kalliope SARRI, <i>Minyan and Minyanizing Pottery. Myth and Reality about a Middle Helladic Type Fossil</i>	603-613
John C. OVERBECK, <i>The Middle Helladic Origin of "Shaft-Grave Polychrome" Ware</i>	615-619

Iro MATHIOUDAKI, “Mainland Polychrome” Pottery : Definition, Chronology, Typological Correlations	621-633
Walter GAUSS, Aegina Kolonna. Pottery Classification and Research Database (poster)	635-640
Sofia VOUTSAKI, Albert NIJBOER and Carol ZERNER, Radiocarbon Analysis and Middle Helladic Lerna (poster)	641-647

V. PRODUCTION, TECHNOLOGIE ET ÉCONOMIE

Δέσποινα ΣΚΟΡΔΑ, Κίρρα: οι κεραμεικοί κλίβανοι του προϊστορικού οικισμού στη μετάβαση από τη μεσοελλαδική στην υστεροελλαδική εποχή	651-668
Lindsay SPENCER, <i>The Regional Specialisation of Ceramic Production in the EH III through MH II Period</i>	669-681
Evangelia KIRIATZI, “Minoanising” Pottery Traditions in the Southwest Aegean during the Middle Bronze Age: Understanding the Social Context of Technological and Consumption Practice	683-699
Maria KAYAFA, <i>Middle Helladic Metallurgy and Metalworking : Review of the Archaeological and Archaeometric Evidence from the Peloponnese</i>	701-711
Ιωάννης Δ. ΦΑΙΠΠΑΣ, Από τη Μέση στην Ύστερη Εποχή Χαλκού: μια οικοτεχνική δραστηριότητα στον Βοιωτικό Ορχομενό	713-719
Armelle GARDEISEN, <i>Approche comparative de contextes du Bronze Moyen égéen à travers les données de l'archéozoologie</i>	721-732
Gerhard FORSTENPOINTNER, Alfred GALIK, Gerald E. WEISSENGRUBER, Stefan ZOHMANN, Ursula THANHEISER and Walter GAUSS, <i>Subsistence and more in Middle Bronze Age Aegina Kolonna : Patterns of Husbandry, Hunting and Agriculture</i>	733-742
Alfred GALIK, Stefan ZOHMANN, Gerhard FORSTENPOINTNER, Gerald WEISSENGRUBER and Walter GAUSS, <i>Subsistence and more in Middle Bronze Age Aegina Kolonna : Exploitation of Marine Resources (poster)</i>	743-751

VI. ORGANISATION ET ÉVOLUTION SOCIALES

John BINTLIFF, <i>The Middle Bronze Age through the Surface Survey Record of the Greek Mainland: Demographic and Sociopolitical Insights</i>	755-763
Sofia VOUTSAKI, <i>The Domestic Economy in Middle Helladic Asine</i>	765-779
Anna PHILIPPA-TOUCHAIS, <i>Settlement Planning and Social Organisation in Middle Helladic Greece</i>	781-801
James C. WRIGHT, <i>Towards a Social Archaeology of Middle Helladic Greece</i>	803-815
Louise A. HITCHCOCK and Anne P. CHAPIN, <i>Lacuna in Laconia : Why were there no Middle Helladic Palaces ? (poster)</i>	817-822

VII. RELATIONS EXTÉRIEURES ET INTERACTION

Peggy SOTIRAKOPOULOU, <i>The Cycladic Middle Bronze Age : A “Dark Age” in Aegean Prehistory or a Dark Spot in Archaeological Research ?</i>	825-839
Donna May CREGO, <i>Ayia Irini IV: A Distribution Center for the Middle Helladic World ?</i> (poster)	841-845
Gerald CADOGAN and Katerina KOPAKA, <i>Coping with the Offshore Giant: Middle Helladic Interactions with Middle Minoan Crete</i>	847-858
Luca GIRELLA, <i>MH III and MM III : Ceramic Synchronisms in the Transition to the Late Bronze Age</i>	859-873
Aleydis VAN DE MOORTELE, <i>Interconnections between the Western Mesara and the Aegean in the Middle Bronze Age</i>	875-884
Tomáš ALUŠÍK, <i>Middle Helladic and Middle Minoan Defensive Architecture: A Comparison</i> (poster)	885-889
Christos BOULOTIS, <i>Koukonisi (Lemnos), un site portuaire florissant du Bronze Moyen et du début du Bronze Récent dans le Nord de l'Égée</i>	891-907
Vassilis P. PETRAKIS and Panagiotis MOUTZOURIDIS, <i>Grey Ware(s) from the Bronze Age Settlement of Koukonisi on Lemnos : First Presentation</i> (poster)	909-917
Massimo CULTRARO, <i>In Death not Separated. Evidence of Middle Bronze Age Intramural Burials at Poliochni on Lemnos</i>	919-930
Peter PAVÚK, <i>Minyan or not? The Second Millennium Grey Ware in Western Anatolia and its Relation to Mainland Greece</i>	931-943
Ιωάννης ΑΣΛΑΝΗΣ, <i>Στοιχεία αρχιτεκτονικής από τη μεσοχαλκή Μακεδονία: τα δεδομένα από τον Άγιο Μάμα Νέας Ολύμπου</i>	945-953
Χριστίνα ΖΙΩΤΑ, <i>Η δυτική Μακεδονία στην ύστερη τρίτη και στις αρχές της δεύτερης χιλιετίας π.Χ. Οι ταφικές πρακτικές και οι κοινωνικές τους διαστάσεις</i>	955-967
Sevi TRIANTAPHYLLOU, <i>Aspects of Life Histories from the Bronze Age Cemetery at Xeropigado Koiladas, Western Macedonia</i> (poster)	969-974
Aikaterini PAPANTHIMOU, †Angeliki PILALI and Evanthia PAPADOPOULOU, <i>Archontiko Yiannitson: A Settlement in Macedonia during the Late Third and Early Second Millennium B.C.</i> (poster)	975-980
Λιάνα ΣΤΕΦΑΝΗ και Νίκος ΜΕΡΟΥΣΗΣ, <i>Αναζητώντας τη Μέση Εποχή του Χαλκού στη Μακεδονία. Παλιές και νέες έρευνες στην Ημαθία (αναρτημένη ανακοίνωση)</i>	981-986
Ευτυχία ΠΟΥΛΑΚΗ-ΠΑΝΤΕΡΜΑΛΗ, Ελένη ΚΑΙΝΑΚΗ, Σοφία ΚΟΥΛΙΔΟΥ, Ευτέρπη ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ και Αναστάσιος ΣΥΡΟΣ, <i>Η Μέση και η αρχή της Ύστερης Εποχής Χαλκού στην περιοχή του Μακεδονικού Ολύμπου (αναρτημένη ανακοίνωση)</i>	987-993
Kyriaki PSARAKI and Stelios ANDREOU, <i>Regional Processes and Interregional Interactions in Northern Greece during the Early Second Millennium B.C.</i> (poster)	995-1003

Rozalia CHRISTIDOU, <i>Middle Bronze Age Bone Tools from Sovjan, Southeastern Albania</i> (poster)	1005-1012
Γαρυφαλιά ΜΕΤΑΛΛΗΝΟΥ, <i>Η Μέση Χαλκοκρατία στα άκρα: η περίπτωση της Κέρκυρας</i>	1013-1023
Christina MERKOURI, <i>MH III/LH I Pottery from Vivara (Gulf of Naples, Italy). A Contribution to the Understanding of an Enigmatic Period</i>	1025-1036
Conclusion	1037-1039
Tables des matières	1041-1046

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