

Journal of Greek Archaeology

Volume 5 2020
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JGA is published by Archaeopress Publishing Ltd

Journal of Greek Archaeology

2020
VOLUME 5
FREE SAMPLER



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ISSN: 2059–4674 (print)
2059–4682 (online)

ISBN 978-1-78969-792-6
ISBN 978-1-78969-793-3 (e-pdf)

JOURNAL OF GREEK ARCHAEOLOGY

Volume 5

2020

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Subscribe to the Journal of Greek Archaeology	VI
Table of Contents: JGA Volume 5	Vol 5, i
Editorial: JGA Volume 5	Vol 5, v
John Bintliff	

Sample Paper

A guide to good practice in Mediterranean surface survey projects	Vol 5, 1
Peter Attema, John Bintliff, Martijn van Leusen, Philip Bes, Tymon de Haas, Damjan Donev, Wim Jongman, Eva Kaptijn, Victorino Mayoral, Simonetta Menchelli, Marinella Pasquinucci, Steve Rosen, Jesus García Sánchez, Luis Gutierrez Soler, David Stone, Gijs Tol, Frank Vermeulen and Athanasios Vionis	

Sample Review

Alan Kaiser. <i>Archaeology, Sexism and Scandal. The long-suppressed story of one woman's discoveries and the man who stole credit for them</i>	630
Margriet J. Haagsma	

Full Review Section (available to read online in full, without charge)

JGA Back-Issues

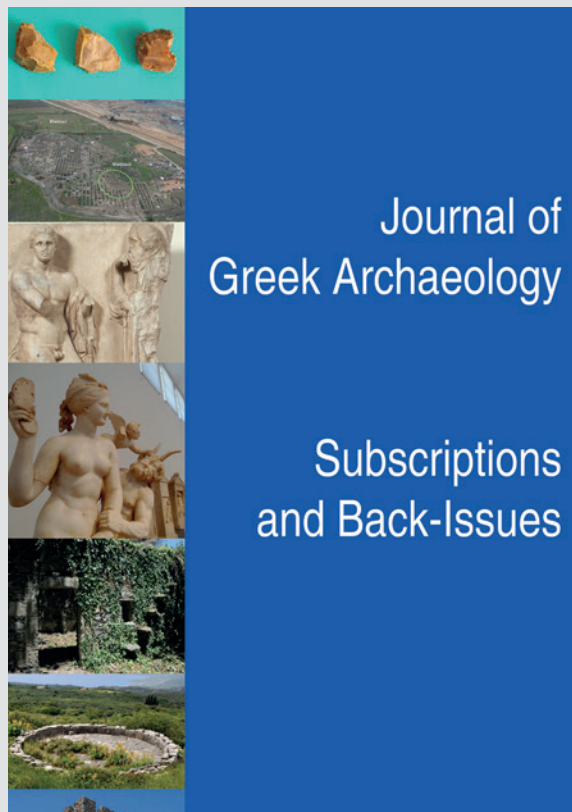
Contents and Editorial: JGA Volume 1	Vol 1, i
Contents and Editorial: JGA Volume 2	Vol 2, i
Contents and Editorial: JGA Volume 3	Vol 3, i
Contents and Editorial: JGA Volume 4	Vol 4, i

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eBooks, Open Access, Digital Subscriptions	C
New and Recent Titles on Greece and the Mediterranean	D

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Journal of Greek Archaeology

ISSN: 2059-4674 (Print)

ISSN: 2059-4682 (Online)

Volume 6 Available Autumn 2021

Early bird (EB) prices valid until 31/3/2021

Institutional Subscriptions:

Volume 6, 2021

- Print: £80 *EB Price £70*
- Print & Online access: £96 *EB Price £75*
- Online access only: £90 *EB Price £70*

Private Subscriptions:

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JOURNAL OF GREEK ARCHAEOLOGY

Volume 5

2020

Contents

Journal of Greek Archaeology Volume 5: Editorial v
John Bintliff

Method and Theory

A guide to good practice in Mediterranean surface survey projects 1
Peter Attema, John Bintliff, Martijn van Leusen, Philip Bes, Tymon de Haas, Damjan Donev, Wim Jongman, Eva Kaptijn, Victorino Mayoral, Simonetta Menchelli, Marinella Pasquinucci, Steve Rosen, Jesus García Sánchez, Luis Gutierrez Soler, David Stone, Gijs Tol, Frank Vermeulen and Athanasios Vionis

Prehistory and Protohistory

New excavations in Northwestern Greece: The Neolithic settlement of Avgi, Kastoria 63
G. Stratouli, T. Bekiaris, N. Katsikaridis, D. Kloukinas, G. Koromila and S. Kyrillidou

Food-processing ground stone tools in the Greek Neolithic and Bronze Age.

A synthesis of the published data 135
Tasos Bekiaris, Danai Chondrou, Ismini Ninou and Soultana-Maria Valamoti

Syracuse and its environs from c. 6000 to 650 BC: The prehistoric and Greek origins of the city 196
Robert Leighton

Archaic to Hellenistic

.....
Colloquium: Beyond the Gift: The Economy of Greek 'Colonisation'

edited by Lieve Donnellan

Introduction 222
Lieve Donnellan

Widening horizons and close encounters: overseas engagement and economic outcomes in southern Italy 224
Lin Foxhall

The economy of early Greek colonisation in the northern Aegean 243
Stefanos Gimatzidis

Pithekoussan amphorae and the development of a Mediterranean market economy 263
Lieve Donnellan

(Dis)unity in the Archaic monetary systems of the western Chalkidian Apoikiai 298
Peter van Alfen

.....

The Hellenistic *gymnasia* of Cyprus and Ptolemaic propaganda 309
Dorothea Stavrou

Roman and Late Roman

Bath, city and society in Late Roman Athens 327
Dallas DeForest

Medieval and Post-Medieval

.....
**Colloquium: The Medieval Countryside in the Aegean and Anatolia:
An Archaeological Perspective**

edited by Effie Athanassopoulos

Introduction 367
Effie Athanassopoulos

Survey and the 7th century in the Western Argolid 377
William Caraher, Scott Gallimore, Dimitri Nakassis and Sarah James

Late Antique and Medieval Landscapes of the Nemea Valley, Southern Greece 406
Christian Cloke and Effie Athanassopoulos

**Understanding the Medieval Cyclades through landscape archaeology
(8th – 12th century AD)** 426
Konstantinos Roussos

**Knossos and Heraklion in the Byzantine-Islamic transition (late 7th – mid-10th century).
An archaeological perspective into shifting patterns of settlement ruralisation
and urbanisation on medieval Crete** 448
Matteo G. Randazzo

**Landscape approaches to the evolution of the Byzantine/Medieval village-community
in Greece** 468
Athanasios K. Vionis

Intensive architectural survey of Byzantine rural settlements: : A case study from the Mani.... 495
Mark James Pawlowski

**Archaeological survey and understanding the rural landscape in Byzantine Greece:
some specific examples** 514
Timothy E. Gregory and Lita Tzortzopoulou-Gregory

**Reflections on the Avkat Archaeological Project: collaborations, education,
and dissemination** 528
James Newhard, Hugh Elton and John Haldon

Medieval landscapes of Greece and Turkey: a post-colloquium commentary 535
John Bintliff

.....
**An archipelago of pots. New data on pottery production in the Aegean during the first half of
the 19th century** 542
Nikos Liaros

Book reviews

Prehistory and Protohistory

Corien W. Wiersma, Dimitris Agnousiotis, Evangelia Karimali, Wietske Prummel and H. Reinder Reinders. *Magoúla Pavlína. A Middle Bronze Age site in the Sóurpi Plain*.....573
Oliver Dickinson

Marisa Marthari, Colin Renfrew and Michael J. Boyd (eds). *Beyond the Cyclades. Early Cycladic sculpture in context from mainland Greece, the north and east Aegean*.....575
Oliver Dickinson

Maria Relaki and Yiannis Papadatos (eds) *From the Foundations to the Legacy of Minoan Archaeology*.....577
Oliver Dickinson

Constantinos Paschalidis (with contributions by Photini J. P. McGeorge and Wiesław Więckowski). *The Mycenaean Cemetery at Achaia Clauss near Patras*581
Oliver Dickinson

Peter M. Fischer and Teresa Bürge (eds). *Sea Peoples Up-to-Date. New Research on Transformations in the Eastern Mediterranean in the 13th-11th Centuries BCE (Proceedings of the ESF-Workshop held at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna, 3-4 November 2014)*.....585
Louis Dautais

Vyron Antoniadis. *Knossos and the Near East: A Contextual Approach to Imports and Imitations in Early Iron Age Tombs*.....591

Barbara Bohlen. *Kratos and Krater: Reconstructing an Athenian Protohistory*.....591

Xenia Charalambidou and Catherine Morgan (eds). *Interpreting the Seventh Century BC: Tradition and Innovation*.....591
James Whitley

Archaic to Hellenistic

Ian McPhee and Elizabeth G. Pemberton. *Late Classical Pottery from Ancient Corinth, Drain 1971-1 in the Forum Southwest*596
Mark van der Enden

Carol L. Lawton. *The Athenian Agora XXXVIII: Votive Reliefs*.....597
Mark Fullerton

Bernard Holtzmann. *La sculpture de Thasos. Corpus des reliefs II: Reliefs à thème héroïque*600
Robin Osborne

Barbara A. Barletta. *The Sanctuary of Athena at Sounion*601
Hans Lohmann

Susan I. Rotroff. *The Athenian Agora XXXIII: Hellenistic Pottery, the Plain Wares*.....603
Mark van der Enden

H. Reinder Reinders et al. *The City of New Halos and its Southeast Gate*604
Emeri Farinetti

Sarah James. *Hellenistic Pottery: The Fine Wares*.....607
Dries Daems

D. Graham J. Shipley, *The Early Hellenistic Peloponnese: Politics, Economies, and Networks 338-197 BC* 610
David Pettegrew

Kyle Erickson, *The Early Seleukids, their Gods and their Coins*..... 614
Keith Rutter

Roman to Late Roman

Enora Le Quéré, *Les Cyclades sous l'Empire romain: Histoire d'un renaissance* 615
Michalis Karambinis

Hjalmar Torp. *La rotonde palatine à Thessalonique: Architecture et mosaïques* 617
Jaś Elsner

Medieval to Postmedieval

**Dimitros E. Psarros. Το Αἶβαλί και η Μικρασιατική Αιολίδα
[*Ayvalik and Aiolis of Asia Minor*] 618**
Michalis Karambinis

Multiperiod

Giorgos Vavouranakis, Konstantinos Kopanias and Chrysanthos Kanellopoulos (eds). *Popular Religion and Ritual in Prehistoric and Ancient Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean* 620
Giorgos Papantoniou

Guy D. R. Sanders, Jennifer Palinkas, Ioulia Tzonou-Herbst, with James Herbst. *Ancient Corinth: Site Guide, 7th Edition* 625
Rossana Valente

Historiography and Theory

Alan Kaiser. *Archaeology, Sexism and Scandal. The long-suppressed story of one woman's discoveries and the man who stole credit for them*..... 630
Margriet J. Haagsma

Journal of Greek Archaeology Volume 5: Editorial

Volume 5 is perhaps the richest and most diverse volume we have been able to offer you readers. We have kept to our brief to cover all the major periods of Greek Archaeology in a literal sense, with articles from the Neolithic through Greco-Roman times and the Middle Ages and up to the 19th century AD. Geographically we range from Sicily through the Aegean to Turkey.

A major novelty is the inclusion of two Colloquia, one on the economics of Greek Protohistoric to Archaic 'colonisation' edited by Lieve Donnellan, the second on Byzantine landscape archaeology edited by Effie Athanassopoulos.

Alongside a wealth of period-based papers on settlements, ceramics, lithics and urban infrastructure, we also give you a major report on the nature and future of surface survey in Mediterranean lands, a group article – the fruit of some twenty years of twice-yearly conferences by the *International Mediterranean Survey Workshop* community.

Our review section also ranges through prehistory to the recent past, including the historiography of research, where I would highlight an extensive and enlightening (but disturbing) review article by Margriet Haagsma on discrimination against female scholars in early 20th century Classical Archaeology.

We miss this time (once more!) being offered papers on Art and Architecture for all our main periods, please fill this thematic gap, if you have a piece to send us for review, or students working in this field, or hear an excellent lecture, get into contact with me.

John Bintliff
General Editor

A guide to good practice in Mediterranean surface survey projects

**Peter Attema,¹ John Bintliff,² Martijn van Leusen,¹ Philip Bes,³
Tymon de Haas,² Damjan Donev,² Wim Jongman,¹ Eva Kaptijn,⁴
Victorino Mayoral,⁵ Simonetta Menchelli,⁶ Marinella Pasquinucci,⁶
Steve Rosen,⁷ Jesus García Sánchez,⁵ Luis Gutierrez Soler,⁸
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Author contribution: the idea for this article emerged from extensive discussions at the twice-yearly International Mediterranean Survey Workshops. Bintliff and Attema took the lead in collecting the literature and drafting the text, using input from all other authors. Attema and Van Leusen drafted the recommendations.¹

1 Introduction

This article deals with a relatively new form of archaeological research in the Mediterranean region – *intensive* surface survey, coverage of the landscape by teams walking in close order, recording patterns of human activity visible on the landscape as scatters of pottery and lithics, or building remains. Since 2000, archaeologists from Dutch and Belgian universities working on Mediterranean survey projects have gathered annually to discuss methodological issues in workshops that gradually attracted landscape archaeologists from other European countries and Turkey. On the basis of these discussions, this paper, written by regular workshop contributors and other invited authors with wider Mediterranean experience, aims to evaluate the potential of various approaches to the archaeological surface record in the Mediterranean and provide guidelines for standards of good practice in Mediterranean survey.

This article begins by justifying the need for recommended best practices, then moves to address the issues we find most critical: sampling; approaches to sites at multiple scales; the integration of survey with ancillary methods; and laboratory analyses, before turning to our concluding remarks.

¹ Drafts of this paper received invaluable comments from Edward Banning, Nicola Terrenato and Rob Witcher. Remco Bronkhorst provided invaluable help with the editing process.

We have summarised our main recommendations from this detailed article under 17 headings in section 6.

At the outset, we want to make clear that our definition of what constitutes Mediterranean survey refers to practices in the circum-Mediterranean countries, broadly speaking. We recognise that there are many variations in the techniques used here, and also different intensities with which survey is practised, with much greater emphasis on survey archaeology in Italy, Greece, and Turkey, and less in Albania, Algeria, Morocco, and Croatia, for example. We do not discuss the evolution of field survey, nor take a country-by-country approach; rather, we focus on examples that we feel illustrate or illuminate good practices; though we are certain that we have omitted many salient examples, it is not our intention to catalogue all of these.

Although we have limited our discussion by including just a few non-Mediterranean references, it appears to us likely that these good practices could be usefully applied in other parts of the world, with appropriate adaptations to local environmental and cultural differences.²

Let us first remind ourselves why we do intensive fieldwalking surveys at all: we want to know more, and in better spatial, functional and chronological detail, about the archaeological record for a given region than is obtainable through excavation or traditional topographical and extensive survey. Surveys provide information at spatial and temporal scales that excavation cannot: on settlement patterns and hierarchies, off-site intensity of land use, and the *longue durée* of regional developments. Survey is very cost-effective at this, we can reconstruct regional settlement patterns by expending only a fraction of the resources necessary with other archaeological methods. And finally, surveys record a fast-disappearing resource, and are thus vital for heritage management. Most of the archaeological record will only ever be recorded in a survey (if that). Current policy in Europe and increasingly elsewhere in the Mediterranean lands, is to focus excavation on sites under threat of immediate destruction or of outstanding historical importance. Other archaeological sites are either protected monuments, unavailable for invasive research, or are left to erosion and removal: the fate of most rural sites in Mediterranean countries owing to their immense numbers and slight surface manifestation.

Defining good practice is needed because:

- It serves comparability between survey projects concerning issues of scale and representativeness.³ Economic, demographic, social developments and Braudelian⁴ long-term trends cannot be studied unless survey data are collected and made available in a comparable manner. It is currently impossible to meaningfully compare results from different survey projects and different regions, in all but a very few cases.
- Sharing survey data through open access publications requires that in-field collection and finds' processing methods, and file metadata have been sufficiently documented to common standards, which currently do not exist. The MAGIS (Mediterranean Archaeology GIS) online inventory of regional survey projects in the greater Mediterranean from 2002 aimed to share computerised data. The objective was to study regional or Mediterranean-wide patterns and draw historical conclusions beyond the uploaded study areas. Lately, Fasti Online has gathered this obsolete database and offers a viewer for Mediterranean survey projects.⁵

² For an earlier introduction to field survey see Banning 2002; for Europe see Bintliff *et al.* 2000; for the Mediterranean the *Populus* project conference volumes, general editors Barker and Mattingly 1999-2000.

³ Bintliff 1997; Alcock and Cherry 2004; Attema, Burgers *et al.* 2010.

⁴ Braudel 1972.

⁵ www.fastionline.org/survey/

- Survey data by themselves make little sense if their landscape context is missing; it is therefore good practice to document relevant geoarchaeological information and post-depositional processes as well.
- Surveys are the main supplier of archaeological data to regional heritage managers, to answer questions such as: What is the current quality of the remains? How rare are they? What are the threats? These must be addressed explicitly in reports, and therefore need to conform to high-quality standards of collecting and documenting.

2 Lessons from current practice in sampling landscapes and artefact-based survey

How easy life would be for the survey archaeologist if only we could cover 100% of the landscape, and detect 100% of the archaeological material present at the surface! But of course it is not, so much of our time and energy goes into the design of surveys that attempt to achieve lesser goals: detecting all visible sites above a certain minimum diameter, collecting diagnostic artefacts of all periods present, detecting off-site ‘carpets’... it is not our goal here to investigate the choices researchers make, and have made in the past; rather we look at how these choices are implemented and at their consequences in terms of the analytical potential of the collected finds and observations. With limited resources how do we weigh the spatial extent of the survey against its intensity? How do we use sampling methods to answer our questions in the most efficient way possible? How do we then deal with the practical obstacles preventing us from carrying out our research design – obstacles to accessing, and then to investigating the earth’s surface, imposed by land use and land cover? How do we deal with ‘marginal’ parts of the landscape, where we expect very low densities of archaeological material, and how do we avoid being overwhelmed by the large and/or high-density sites, especially from the classical periods, that abound in the Mediterranean landscape? These questions are explored below.

2.1 Scale and Intensity of Regional Survey

Let us begin with the spatial scale or extent of surveys. A survey covering 2000km² in a few years could not possibly yield a representative image of the complexity of Mediterranean settlement and land use patterns.⁶ Clearly, therefore, the landscape has to be investigated with a minimum amount of *intensity*, or effort per surface area. John Cherry long ago showed the necessity of *intensive survey* as opposed to *extensive survey*, using survey results to show that the more intensive the survey, the more sites were recovered, and the more diverse the range of sites.⁷ This observation has been repeatedly corroborated.⁸ Mediterranean survey archaeologists *do* carry out large regional projects, but these require considerable time investment: the *South Etruria Survey*⁹ is now 60 years old; the *Boeotia Project*¹⁰ over 40; the *Metapontino survey*¹¹ started in 1981 while the *Regional Pathways to Complexity Project*¹² accumulated data over some 30 years in Italy, building on three regional projects. Good projects can be reborn and rechecked: the South Etruria Survey of the 1950s-1970s has stimulated the *Tiber Valley* and related projects from the 1990s to present, as improved pottery typochronologies from excavations enable more subtle analyses of the original survey ceramics.¹³ Similarly, the seminal 1930s Oriental Institute *Amuq Valley Survey* in southeast Turkey was continued by Wilkinson and Yener in the 1990s.¹⁴ Likewise, a map sheet of the *Forma Italiae* national survey project in Italy has recently been restudied for a better understanding of

⁶ Contra Blanton 2001.

⁷ Cherry 1983.

⁸ Van Leusen 2002: chap. 4.

⁹ Potter 1979; Patterson 2004; Patterson *et al.* 2020.

¹⁰ Cf. Bintliff *et al.* 2007.

¹¹ Carter and Prieto 2011.

¹² Cf. Attema, Burgers *et al.* 2010.

¹³ Patterson 2004; Patterson *et al.* 2020.

¹⁴ Braidwood 1937; Yener *et al.* 2000; Casana and Wilkinson 2005.

Republican settlement around the colony of Venusia (Basilicata, Italy) by the *Landscapes of Early Roman Colonization* project.¹⁵

We consider the careful study of the *longue durée* of integral landscapes as the only way to achieve meaningful time-depth. Here the concept of *Siedlungskammer* is fundamental, the search for the spatial migration of settlements around small landscapes.¹⁶ It seems to us to be unethical to plan a survey which intentionally neglects certain periods present in the surface evidence. The recent Antikythera survey for example did not study sites of the historic periods:¹⁷ who will come back to resurvey the same areas in order to take the missing periods seriously? Moreover, comparison of settlement and activity in the same region over diverse periods gives an essential understanding of the variety or similarity of human responses to a specific landscape.

In Mediterranean survey practice regional landscape projects typically comprise (parts of) river valleys¹⁸ or (parts of) coastal plains,¹⁹ both of these often including hills and uplands in their hinterland. Less common are surveys of really mountainous areas, although these increasingly receive attention.²⁰ Surveys in the arid zones of the Mediterranean, the Levant and North Africa,²¹ offer an important complement to those within the more temperate Mediterranean zone proper. For site scale, research ranges from small rural sites to large, complex sites, with the latter being pioneered by Perkins and Walker at Etruscan Doganella,²² and by Bintliff and Snodgrass in Greece.²³ First in line are complex Classical to Roman urban sites, but in section 2.6 we will also introduce complex protohistoric or proto-urban settlements.²⁴

Reviewing the goals set by rural and urban surveys shows that there are no essential differences: it is only the relative differences in density and complexity that lead researchers to make adaptations to otherwise comparable methods. For example, both are gridded although the size of the grids will differ; both attempt full-coverage of a contiguous area in order to detect spatial patterns; both grapple with sampling issues to minimise the effort needed to obtain the desired information. The definition and characterisation of ‘sites’ (and therefore of site haloes, non-sites and off-site scatters as well) plays a central role in modern surveys, and in both the smallest and largest artefact clusters.

As it is impossible to document regional landscapes in their entirety using intensive survey methods, researchers have experimented with sampling.²⁵ Even where fieldwalkers are at a desirable 5m to 20m apart, while effective high-resolution visibility is 1m to 2m width, we only physically see 5% to 40% of the landsurface.²⁶ These small walker intervals have been adopted to suit the kinds of surface traces surveyors have learnt to encounter in everyday practice. In actuality, almost all surveys have also selected parts of their target landscape for surveying, such as blocks, strips, or merely windows of high surface visibility.

However, different landscapes have varying degrees of opacity with respect to features and artefact scatters; unsurprisingly desert landscapes, with little vegetation and little land disturbance offer a greater level of visibility. Furthermore, extending our perspective into the deeper past, microliths

¹⁵ Marchi and Sabbatini 1996; Stek *et al.* 2016.

¹⁶ Lehmann 1939 is a pioneer example from Crete illustrating this approach; for another application see Bintliff 1996.

¹⁷ Bevan and Connelly 2013.

¹⁸ Barker 1995; Vermeulen *et al.* 2017.

¹⁹ Attema, Burgers *et al.* 2010.

²⁰ Efstratiou *et al.* 2006; Van Leusen *et al.* 2010, 2011, forthcoming; Vandam 2019 and Vandam *et al.* 2019; Attema *et al.* 2019 and 2020.

²¹ E.g. Barker *et al.* 1996; Rosen 2017.

²² Perkins and Walker 1990.

²³ Bintliff and Snodgrass 1988b.

²⁴ Attema 1993; Attema and De Haas 2012.

²⁵ Orton 2000.

²⁶ For a full discussion of the effectiveness of survey tract cover see Banning *et al.* 2006, 2011, 2017.

are less evident than flake industries as a function of size of artefact. Time of day also affects visibility; the oblique light of early morning or late afternoon renders glossy lithics more visible.²⁷

Below we discuss sampling under the subsequent headings of methodological concerns regarding landscape sampling; marginal landscapes; and hidden landscapes. We conclude with guidelines to good practice in the sampling of landscapes.

2.1.1 Methodological concerns

Early experiments with landscape sampling (e.g. the Melos Survey²⁸) have revealed that extrapolation can be dangerous;²⁹ in a regional survey the study of small patches of a landscape is only useful as a follow-up to fuller survey, to test patterns elsewhere. Yet minority sampling continues without discussion of the risks.³⁰ Although here the intentions were survey on a limited timescale, hence focussed on a series of thin strips and well-cultivated field blocks from varied landscape types, respectively, the limited and patchy cover raises unresolved issues of recovering original settlement patterns adequately, even where walker-intervals are acceptably close within the blocks surveyed. A distribution of regularly-spaced sites can be reconstructed from such a procedure, although the modern distribution of intensive farming acts as a bias; but certainly irregular site patterns elude such surveys completely. How then can we deal with this problem? Should we turn to gridding the entire surface of regional landscapes or can we opt for different methods using modern recording systems?

Whole regions cannot feasibly be covered totally. Even the Archaeological Survey of Israel, where the entire state is divided into survey blocks of 10km by 10km, each assigned to a particular researcher, does not operate on 100% close-order fieldwalking.³¹ Therefore the sampled areas to be intensively walked should be chosen because of their representative value for their different geomorphological contexts and/or historical aspects.

Definitive answers to such questions are not easy. A recent intensive survey project in the Xeros Valley of Cyprus proved that sampling landscapes may lead to missing sites of transitional eras whose material culture is not easily recognised. The Xeros Valley, some 2500ha in size, is being surveyed by a combination of methods, i.e. sampling landscapes (strips of 150m wide at 150m intervals) and field-by-field intensive survey (Figure 1). The sampling landscapes' methodology alone, would have missed one of the few sites dated to the island's 'gap period' (9th to 11th centuries AD) of some 0.7ha. To further place a priority on survey intensity, such sites are also represented by a thin carpet of handmade low-fired pottery, which is usually ignored by fieldwalkers or mistakenly dated as prehistoric (see *infra*).³²

Another methodological concern of sampling landscapes is the uneven visibility between landscape units within a survey landscape. In the next section, we will first focus on the visibility of archaeological remains in areas presently and/or formerly marginal for habitation and land use and ways to mitigate this in fieldwork strategies. In section 2.1.3 we will discuss the concept of "hidden landscapes" as used in recent survey literature to indicate either settlement phases only ephemerally present in landscapes dominated by classical remains, or settlement phases physically buried by sedimentation.

²⁷ Schon 2002.

²⁸ Renfrew and Wagstaff 1982.

²⁹ Discussed by Flannery 1976; Cherry *et al.* 1978.

³⁰ E.g. the Sydney Cyprus survey: Given and Knapp 2003; and the Simeto Valley project, with less than 1% coverage: Leone *et al.* 2007

³¹ www.antiquities.org.il/survey/new/default_en.aspx

³² Papantoniou and Vionis 2017; Vionis 2017a.

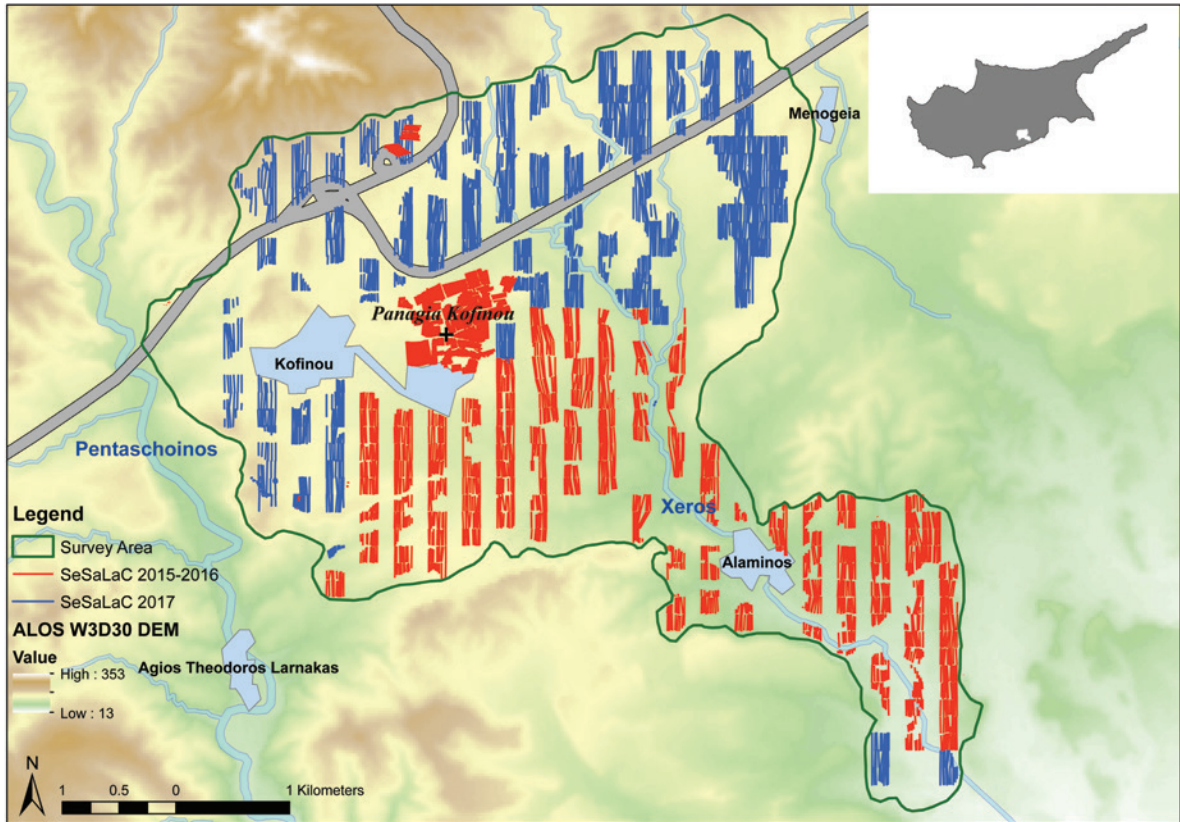


Figure 1. Surveyed transects in the Xeros Valley (2015-2016 and 2017). Digital data courtesy of the Geological Survey Department, Republic of Cyprus. GIS mapping by H. Paraskeva (Settled and Sacred Landscapes of Cyprus Archaeological Project).

2.1.2 Marginal landscapes

Presently marginal areas preferentially preserve standing monuments otherwise damaged or destroyed in core farming and settled districts: barrows, fortification structures and field boundaries. In the outer countryside of Attica, the province of Athens, a district neglected by land use and settlement since the Late Classical era preserved an entire system of farms, check-dams, estate boundary walls and tomb platforms from this period as standing stone remains.³³ In southwestern Turkey the exhaustive study of the city and territory of the minor ancient town of Kyaneai likewise recorded standing urban and rural house-walls and burial monuments in a rocky landscape with current populations far below those of Antiquity.³⁴ However, agricultural marginality in both cases meant that artefact quantities on the surface were disappointingly low, preventing the complex spatial analysis desirable for a detailed cultural biography of the sites studied.

Nonetheless, uncultivated landscapes may only *appear* unsurveyable. The ancient city of Koroneia for example, owing to the recent trend for upland Mediterranean landscapes to revert to scrub and woodland, is not being widely cultivated and even in summer is covered with high grass. Nonetheless training the students to be hyperattentive to the surface, and using careful slow study, enabled total area survey of c. 60ha in six summer seasons, with adequate densities of ceramics recovered from the majority of the city hill's surface.³⁵ Close attention to disturbances such as burrow spoils, and test-pitting (often disallowed by national heritage bodies in Mediterranean lands however),

³³ Lohmann 1993.

³⁴ Kolb 2008.

³⁵ Bintliff *et al.* 2009.

can additionally mitigate such issues.³⁶ Some point sampling approaches, pioneered by the Riu Mannu Survey,³⁷ also clean the surface as one solution to investigate low-visibility areas.

Survey outside current farming zones has long posed methodological problems. Dense natural vegetation, rock scree, erosion and deposition are typical aspects of mountain landscapes, whilst uplands are commonly used for pastoralism, hence covered in rough grazing scrub or grassland. Past surveys in the Mediterranean either avoided such areas, focussed on patches of farmland amidst them (e.g. the Aetolia Project³⁸), or targeted visible monuments such as stone-walled prehistoric and historic forts and tumuli. However recently, specific projects have explored the potential of such areas, deploying surveys adapted to these problems and with more limited aims.³⁹ An Apennine valley north of Genoa (Valpolcevera) provided particular experience in researching mountain districts with poor visibility.⁴⁰ Here archaeological evidence is scanty due to the nature of ancient settlement (perishable mountain dwellings) and archaeological visibility (urbanisation, vegetation cover, steep slopes, erosion). Pre-Roman and Roman small sites and a few boundary stones were identified by survey and excavations. Collected data and the study of a 117 BC inscription (*sententia Minuciorum*, CIL V 7749) provide a clear picture of the private and public land exploited by a Ligurian tribe: the former, with the best agricultural soils, being in the valley heart, the latter at the periphery, higher above sea level, more suitable for grazing and wood exploitation. In a second Italian example, scattered finds in the inner mountainous district in the Tenna and Aso upper valleys (which were not intensively settled), studied by the South Picenum Survey, represent seasonal activities (hunting, gathering, animal-breeding, wood and wicker harvesting) utilising ephemeral huts and basic tools and equipment (e.g. pens for transhumant sheep and cattle).⁴¹ Ethno-archaeological studies have also used survey and excavation to characterise the kinds of material traces that pastoralists leave in the landscape.⁴² A final example, again from Italy, is the survey of forested Samnite hillforts in Central Italy (Molise). LiDAR mapping and an adaptable survey methodology based on point sampling within 50 m-side blocks and navigation using hand-held GPS, have effectively documented previously ignored areas, hitherto limited to surviving polygonal masonry fortifications.⁴³

Another problematic environment targeted for survey adaptations is reclaimed coast and marshland. Intensive survey in the former marsh-lagoonal environment of the Pontine region revealed a complex settlement history, only comprehensible in the context of its wetland ecology and ways to manage this.⁴⁴ While surface surveys detected small Roman Republican pottery scatters pointing to reclamation of the marsh,⁴⁵ geoarchaeological approaches were essential to investigate the buried pre- and protohistoric evidence for the use of this landscape.⁴⁶ Another problematic environment are sand dunes. Return visits 10-20 years after initial surveys indicate that the dune heads shift, covering previously known sites, and reveal previously invisible sites.⁴⁷ Surface artefact survey has even proven useful in steppe grasslands around the Black Sea where GPS recording of individual sherds and surface stones, followed by the application of large-scale geophysical research, revealed a densely settled indigenous landscape.⁴⁸

³⁶ E.g. Düring and Glatz 2016; Sapir and Faust 2016.

³⁷ Van de Velde 2001.

³⁸ Bommeljé 2009.

³⁹ Van Leusen *et al.* 2011; Mocci *et al.* 2005; <https://icac.academia.edu/JPalet>.

⁴⁰ Pasquinucci 2004; Pasquinucci and Launaro 2009; cf. Crawford 2016.

⁴¹ Menchelli 2016.

⁴² Chang 1993; Rosen 1993a; Palmer *et al.* 2007; Galaty *et al.* 2013.

⁴³ García Sánchez and Termeer forthcoming.

⁴⁴ Walsh *et al.* 2014.

⁴⁵ Tol *et al.* 2014.

⁴⁶ Feiken *et al.* 2012; Feiken 2014; Van Gorp *et al.* 2020.

⁴⁷ Bar-Yosef and Goren 1980; Ammerman *et al.* 2013.

⁴⁸ Guldager Bilde *et al.* 2012; Attema 2018.

Based to a great extent on ethnographic surveys undertaken in Greece, Chang and Koster also noted anthropogenic features – trails, wells, enclosures – which may not have associated artefacts allowing reasonable dating.⁴⁹ These may be datable by reference to larger contexts. Advances in remote sensing followed by ‘groundtruthing’, checking the details within the landscape itself, have introduced major advances for the history of pastoralism.⁵⁰

2.1.3 Hidden Landscapes

The concept of a ‘hidden landscape’ arose however in a different kind of problematic context than discussed above, one in which finds of particular periods were proving hard or even impossible to recognise during intensive fieldwalking.⁵¹ In survey we may indeed deal with archaeological phases that are only thinly present on the surface and that can be detected only by hyperintensive survey. As we will argue below, such periods will be even harder to detect when ‘hidden’ in denser artefact distributions of artefact rich periods. Ancient landscapes may also be completely hidden from the eye by being buried under sediment load, typically in river valleys and deltas, and at times far beyond the reach of the plough. Research of this kind of hidden landscape requires invasive research (manual or mechanical augering).

Settlement phases only ephemerally present in surface scatters of dominant periods

Hyperintensive survey has taught us that particular periods prove hard or even impossible to recognise even during intensive fieldwalking. The inspiration for interpreting such phenomena can be credited to pioneering studies by survey teams in the Czech Republic where excavation could clarify the underlying depositional source of the surface finds.⁵² With time, ceramics on the surface and in the ploughsoil degrade. Ceramics from a village abandoned in the 19th century AD will be larger and better preserved than those of the Bronze Age several thousand years older, not to mention those of the Neolithic up to 9000 years older. Technological advances have generally increased the quality of ceramics over time, low-fired handmade wares and coarsewares becoming more infrequent. Although large, long-occupied settlements of prehistoric or protohistoric times still provide rich pickings for sample collection, they are far below the density of a Greco-Roman city centre, where up to a third of a million potsherds per hectare can be reached. Especially at risk from relative survey ‘invisibility’ in such high-density artefact contexts are the majority of prehistoric hamlet or farm sites, or scatters representing temporary ‘taskscape’ activities across the landscape. Although the artefacts from such sites may be present in plough zones, their integrity is usually destroyed and they may often be identified as proper sites only with difficulty.

On smaller rural prehistoric sites-activity foci, we expect finds lower in density and poorer in condition than more easily spotted historic era potsherds. Notably when an historic farm overlies such sites, we often observe in the site catalogues that a Roman villa, or similar well-defined and well-represented surface site, has included in its finds a small number of earlier pieces that are rarely recognised as a vestigial preceding occupation. Even where prehistoric sites lie alone in the landscape, the aforementioned properties may cause survey difficulties. On the other hand, prehistoric periods with well-made ceramics in a landscape not littered with historic sites or off-site finds may respond well to modern survey: Minoan Bronze Age rural sites on the Greek island of Kythera for example.⁵³ In contrast, in Central Greece the predominance of Classical, Medieval and Post-Medieval rural occupation foci, coupled with widespread ancient and later manuring carpets, make the search for prehistoric settlement seem like looking for a needle in a haystack. In this landscape it has been shown that a handful of artefacts, often discovered as an incidental find

⁴⁹ Chang and Koster 1986.

⁵⁰ Ansart *et al.* 2016.

⁵¹ One of the first to raise awareness of this issue was ceramologist Jeremy Rutter in his 1983 paper; see Bintliff *et al.* 1999; for a debate on the concept see Barker *et al.* 2000.

⁵² Reviewed in Kuna 2000.

⁵³ Bevan 2002.

amidst large numbers of historic sherds, are likely to represent a subsurface deposit: a vestigial settlement site or a significant if temporary activity focus.⁵⁴ A close parallel occurs in later prehistoric and protohistoric Italy where the handmade Final Bronze Age through Iron Age ware known as Impasto, a ceramic with poor survival and recognition qualities, has created a similar challenge to intensive survey.⁵⁵

In contrast, campsites, essentially short term residential sites, may be well evident in deserts (Figure 2).⁵⁶ In surveys in the Negev, tiny ceramic scatters – 3 sherds in a 10m² area, perhaps with stones – might indeed register as a ‘site’.⁵⁷

The detection of lithics deserves special attention, since it is recognised that contemporary surveys are failing to identify the levels of stone artefacts expected from landscapes occupied since the Middle Pleistocene.⁵⁸ Exceptions from this critique are again surveys in the desert and semi-desert landscapes of North Africa and the Levant, where palaeolandscapes are often well-preserved, soil depth slight, and thus lithic scatters can easily appear in standard fieldwalking, whilst original site patterning can often be recorded through gridding.⁵⁹ Sites may achieve densities of hundreds of lithics per m², and can be exhaustively collected (and sieved) in quarter-meter grids in a few days (cf. the Petra survey,⁶⁰ the Wadi Faynan survey,⁶¹ and the Libyan Valleys Survey⁶²).

Since survey in the Mediterranean agropastoral zones is confronted by almost immeasurable quantities of broken pottery, training field teams to distinguish potsherds from soil and stones whilst walking at a steady pace, creates a visual filter discriminating against stones which are actually tools. Some lithics still stand out; obsidian or other kinds of stone clearly distinct from local rocks stand far more chance, but sherd-focus mostly misses these too. Neglect becomes apparent when one rare student has ‘an eye’ for lithics and locates them ten times more frequently than the rest (similarly with surface coins and Roman glass).⁶³

Bringing a lithic specialist onto the team increases lithic recovery, but emphasises the disparity between general recording and the swathes seen by that specialist. Deploying this person during gridding is more effective, as they can cover the whole site with only an eye to their own artefact types. A more drastic strategy has been adopted by surveyors whose primary aim is indeed to find pre-Neolithic lithic sites in agropastoral landscapes. Runnels has impressively demonstrated the value of predictive-modelling in the Argolid (Greece),⁶⁴ and with Strasser on Crete:⁶⁵ micro-environments closely associated with hunter-gatherer activities are targeted for intensive survey. An unimagined density of sites and taskcape foci emerged.

Macrolithics, large items like bread grinders, olive and wine presses, are easier to record. As querns or millstones have wide chronological ranges, their plotting across a large site may be matched to ceramics to identify changes in the site extent over time,⁶⁶ while concentrations of industrial presses suggest artisanal quarters.

⁵⁴ Bintliff *et al.* 1999.

⁵⁵ Attema *et al.* 2000; De Neef *et al.* 2017.

⁵⁶ E.g. Yekutieli 2007.

⁵⁷ Rosen 1994.

⁵⁸ Cf. Davis *et al.* 2003: 68 and note 58.

⁵⁹ Bar-Yosef and Phillips 1977; Goring-Morris 1987; Rosen 2000.

⁶⁰ Knodell *et al.* 2017.

⁶¹ Barker *et al.* 2007.

⁶² Barker *et al.* 1996: 83–109.

⁶³ A situation for which anecdotal evidence and our personal experience can attest; however we are not aware of published studies.

⁶⁴ Runnels *et al.* 2005; Runnels 2009.

⁶⁵ Strasser *et al.* 2011.

⁶⁶ Boswinkel 2015.

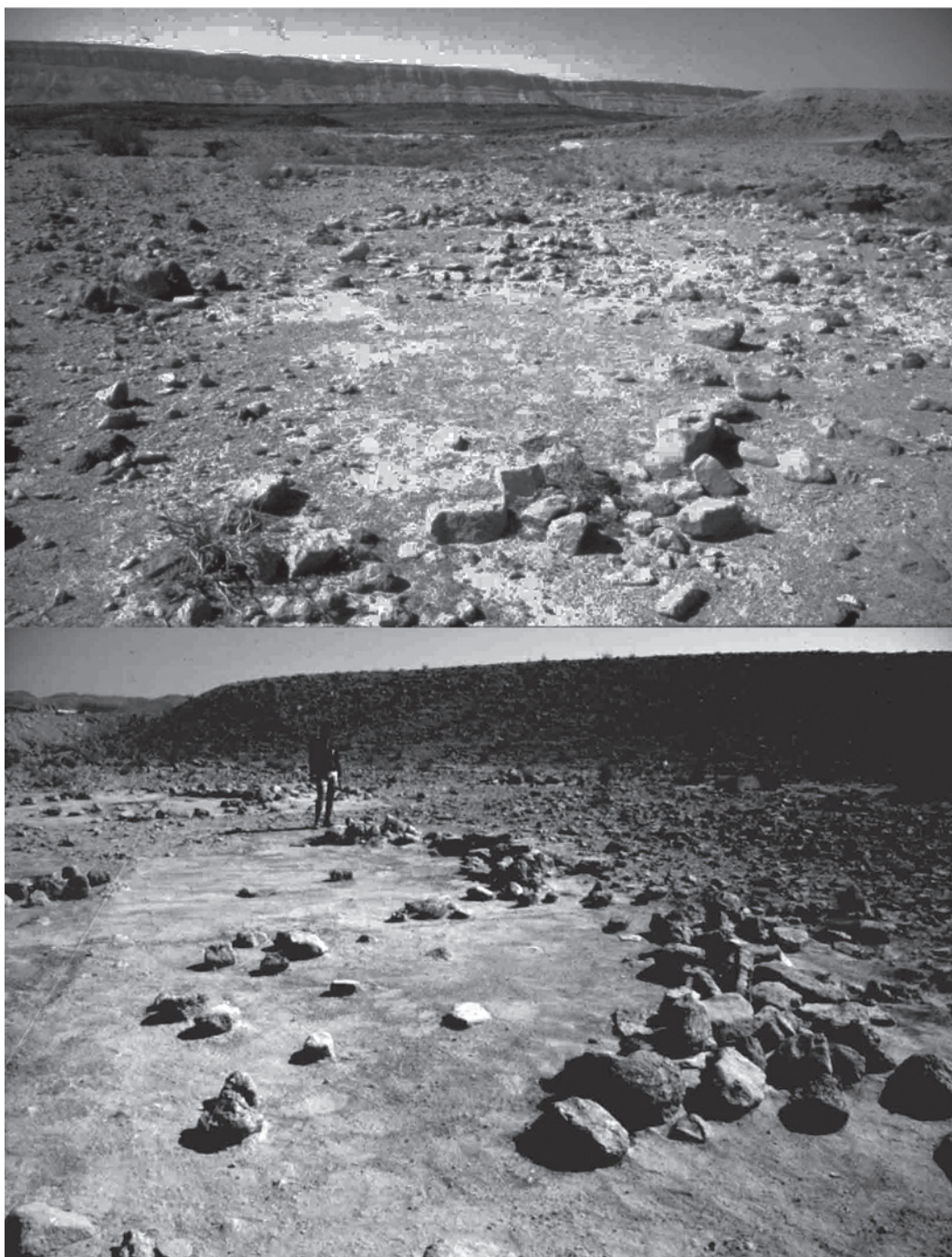


Figure 2. The site of Givot Reved, in the Central Negev, dating to Roman and recent times (Rosen 1993b). Upper: Recent (19th- to early 20th-century AD) tent remains associated with Bedouin encampment based on association with Gaza Ware, an 18th- to 20th-century ceramic type. Lower: Roman period (2nd century AD) tent remains associated with Nabatean ceramics. Note the 'excavation' consisted of surface scraping. The original landsurface is evident around the edges of the unscraped areas. The architecture was readily evident on the surface without scraping, which served primarily to facilitate collection (all sediments were sieved) and the clearer delineation of the architecture.

Hidden landscapes, however, also exist in historic eras, when the ceramic assemblage is poorly known or ceramics were in minimal use; both hinder recognising Early Medieval sites in many regions of the Mediterranean.⁶⁷ In the low and middle valleys of the South Picenum project, settlement patterns are documented by abundant ceramics coming from Mediterranean trade,

⁶⁷ Francovich and Hodges 2003; Vionis *et al.* 2009.

showing that rural sites were active to the late 6th century AD, when the Lombards conquered the region. In contrast, in the upper mountain valleys, Late Roman ceramics are absent, but other sources reveal a landscape with some occupation even during the Lombard occupation: toponymy reveals Germanic alongside preceding Latin place-names, and churches dedicated to saints venerated by the Lombards became widespread.⁶⁸ In Central Spain (Salamanca and La Rioja) during the Late Roman-Visigothic period (5th to 8th centuries AD), friable pottery and its absence in surface collections conceals the nature of rural settlement between the collapse of the Western Empire and the 9th to 10th centuries AD.⁶⁹ In the most rural and remote regions of Greece, ceramics may have become largely replaced by organic utensils in post-medieval times.⁷⁰

Sample size in surface collections represents a vital factor in the accurate representation of a period in a regional survey. Pettegrew has argued that the easier recognition of Late Roman versus Early to Middle Roman ceramics in the Mediterranean exaggerates finds of the former era,⁷¹ yet even for that ubiquitous assemblage, the size of collections might affect its apparent presence negatively. Thus the Petra Survey⁷² found only 13 Late Roman sherds, but the Petra papyri suggest the presence of extensively cultivated landscapes in the Late Roman period. The team counted 215,281 sherds for the entire survey region but collected 19,913 diagnostic sherds – only 9%. For comparison, the Wadi Faynan survey collected 25% of sherds seen, documenting considerable Late Roman evidence.⁷³

Settlement phases buried by sedimentation

Geoarchaeological research into sedimentation of river valleys and coastal plains in the Mediterranean has, ever since the seminal work by Vita-Finzi, alerted landscape archaeologists to the fact that entire occupation phases, even relatively recent ones, may now be buried (far) below plough depth.⁷⁴ This bias in our knowledge of past settlement and land use operates at various spatio-temporal scales depending on the palaeogeographical development of the landscape. Whereas erosion takes place mainly in the upper reaches of watershed basins, deposition through alluviation mainly takes place in the lower reaches – both in the coastal plains and in smaller basins and valleys. In the case of the coastal plain of Sybaris, on the Ionian coast of South Italy, prehistoric to Roman landscapes for the most part lie buried below several meters of accumulated sediment, and in the adjacent Metapontino plain to the north, with fewer large streams to add sediment, the early Archaic farms that were preferentially located near the river courses are now deeply buried by alluvium, whereas the classical landscape that extended further from the rivers is still ploughed up.⁷⁵ The combination of lateral extent from the rivers, and depth of burial, makes for subtle and locally varying biases in the recorded surface archaeology.

Similar conditions obtain in geomorphological basins, no matter where they are located and what their size. In the case of the subcoastal wetland of the Pontine plain in Central Italy, Bronze Age occupation is deeply buried but Roman archaeology appears in the plough zone, whereas ongoing sedimentation in the small karst basins on the pre-Appennine chain has obscured even remains of the Roman period.⁷⁶ Such examples can be found all over the Mediterranean and make us aware of the important role of landscape bias in the evaluation of the archaeological surface record. No regional field survey project is therefore complete without an accompanying palaeogeographical reconstruction study and, for the erosive parts of the landscape, an assessment of the relevant

⁶⁸ Menchelli 2016

⁶⁹ Ariño 2006.

⁷⁰ Vroom 1998.

⁷¹ Pettegrew 2007, 2010.

⁷² Knodell *et al.* 2017.

⁷³ Barker *et al.* 2007: 166.

⁷⁴ Vita-Finzi 1969.

⁷⁵ Attema, Burgers *et al.* 2010: 21–24; Attema 2016; Attema and Sevink in press.

⁷⁶ Van Leusen 2010.

slope processes.⁷⁷ In steeply sloping and geologically variable terrain, mass movements generated during the wet season can easily change the local topography and hydrology, such that little or no indication of the presence of settlements remains.⁷⁸

Crew training and apprenticeship

Specific training of fieldwalkers to spot material of problem periods, especially if low-density, is needed, even though standard survey will still miss much of this landscape, requiring intensive walking of sub-areas to reveal the missed components. It has proved useful to revisit locations with rare occurrences of problem period finds, ideally bringing along specialists in such periods, to test whether isolated finds are just the fortunately-spotted part of a larger area of such finds – in effect applying Orton’s cluster sampling approach.⁷⁹ In fertile districts well-made historic pottery frequently attracts fieldwalkers’ attention away from the far less visible sherds of other eras when ceramics were less well-made. The related issue of prehistoric, protohistoric and early historic lithic use is of importance here. Relatively diagnostic chipped stone tools were used at least until the end of the 2nd millennium BC in the entire Mediterranean region, but they often go unrecognised. Lithic production waste may be common, if not diagnostic, offering clues to human presence when ceramics are missing or scarce.

Typically a survey project is institutionally-funded and comprises staff, doctoral and postdoctoral team-leaders to direct the fieldwork, which is carried out with undergraduate walkers and finds’ processors. So what about apprenticeship and the skills required for archaeological survey? How long does it take a student to develop an eye to pick out anomalies in the landscape, whether they be minor ceramic scatters, lithic concentrations (how many students have training in the recognition of artefactual lithics?) or stones/rocks which are out of place and represent human activities?⁸⁰

The requirements of adequate training do not exclude contributions to landscape history by smaller-scale projects. We adduce three examples of well-defined surveys carried out by a few or even a single prospector. One of the earliest Mediterranean surveys – and due to political circumstances still the only one completed and published in Algeria – was Leveau’s remarkable one-man study of the surroundings of Iol Caesarea.⁸¹ His conclusion that the immediate hinterland of the city was exploited from the urban centre by its residents, while the more distant hinterland was largely disconnected from the city, has continued to shape our understanding of the ancient economy. In the Vardar Valley Survey, in Macedonia, complete fieldwalking of a few village territories was achieved by a self-funded doctoral student with unpaid friends, supported by likewise unpaid finds’ dating assistance by specialists.⁸² More remarkable is the one-person survey of the historic settlement patterns of the Greek island of Skyros by Karambinis.⁸³ A series of small landscapes was selected in diverse natural regions of the island for intensive survey, followed by gridding of representative type-sites for the Late Roman to Early Modern eras. Control strips of off-site landscape were walked to provide data on local background values to allow a ‘residual analysis’ of finds onsite (see *infra*). The value of micro-surveys of a single village territory for insights into wider historical and prehistorical processes has been shown by the exemplary long-term study of the English parish of Shapwick, where members of the public were also widely-involved.⁸⁴

⁷⁷ Sevink *et al.* 2016

⁷⁸ Van Leusen and De Neef 2018; Sevink *et al.* 2020.

⁷⁹ See Orton 2000 and Section 2.4 *infra*.

⁸⁰ Cf. Banning 2002.

⁸¹ Leveau 1984.

⁸² Donev 2015.

⁸³ Karambinis 2015.

⁸⁴ Gerrard and Aston 2007.

2.1.4 Good practice in sampling landscapes

The design of a sample follows from the goals that we set ourselves. If our intention is to measure parameters such as finds' density or site density per type and period, then theory tells us that we should stratify our sample to account for appreciable landscape variation, and to decide on the size of the sample (area to be surveyed) on the basis of the confidence level that we want to achieve.⁸⁵ However, few if any survey projects have ever taken this approach. Instead, we design our surveys in 'blocks' or 'transects' so that we can retrieve the spatial, cultural, and chronological patterns in one or more landscape units within our study area. Experience has taught us that these survey blocks should have a minimum size of several square kilometres to ensure the possibility to discover a representative range of periods and site types for each particular landscape unit. Transects, too, should have a minimum width to ensure that sites of the target populations, if present, will be found. Within either blocks or transects, the temptation to survey only the currently accessible and cultivated fields must be resisted: rougher terrain or abandoned land where settlement and land use may previously have occurred, or where complementary pastoral, industrial, burial, military or hunting activities left their trace, must be included. Two projects offer excellent examples of this. The Sydney Cyprus project selected a region between the fertile lowlands and mountainous spine of Cyprus, to study the effects of farming, pastoralism and specifically mining on settlement history in diverse local landscape types.⁸⁶ The Antikythera Survey surveyed an entire small island regardless of terrain variation and varied uses of the landscape in time and space.⁸⁷

Landscape-scale sampling designs should take into account the palaeogeographical development, and especially the post-depositional history, of the landscape. Parts of the landscape that, for some archaeological periods, are inaccessible due to excessive erosion or sedimentation must be excluded from the design unless that design includes alternative research approaches (see section 3); in such cases, absence of evidence cannot be interpreted as evidence of absence. For these reasons, a geoarchaeological study of the study area should always precede and guide the survey itself. A desktop assessment, based on available cartography, should suffice to segment the study area into landscape units that are internally homogeneous, but have distinct affordances for past settlement and land use, and distinct overall post-depositional histories, but for a more specific assessment of these aspects a physical geographer should be involved in the survey itself.

2.2 Artefact distribution: sites, haloes and off-site sherd carpets

The goals and methods of field survey have shifted over time. In a tradition going back to the 19th-century travellers and topographers, surface sites till the 1970s were discovered through extensive navigation, usually around large areas of countryside. Sites where finds had previously been recorded, notably places mentioned in ancient sources, or where finds might be expected such as prominent defensible hilltops, or where local villagers suggested 'antiquities' were believed to lie, conditioned movement. Pendlebury⁸⁸ walked the length of Crete more than once in the pre-WWII era, producing maps of Bronze Age findspots of unparalleled density for that age. Once such locations were reached, they were usually studied by mapping standing remains and the collection of some bags of artefacts, most commonly randomly gathered. Reference can be made here to large-scale topographical 'survey' programs such as the *Forma Italiae* series by Italian landscape archaeologists.⁸⁹ Occasionally collections were based on larger subdivisions of sites, but only by the 1960s and early 1970s, under the quantitative influence of the New Archaeology, were regular experiments made with gridded sampling.⁹⁰ In this section we discuss the shift to artefact-based

⁸⁵ Orton 2000.

⁸⁶ Given and Knapp 2003.

⁸⁷ Bevan and Connelly 2013.

⁸⁸ Pendlebury 1939.

⁸⁹ See Cambi and Terrenato 1994 on the development of Italian landscape archaeology.

⁹⁰ Redman and Watson 1970.

survey that led to the discovery of the settled and cultivated landscape beyond the obtrusive site. We start with a discussion of the relevance of artefact survey in contiguous blocks, to move on to the recognition of a phenomenon that in the literature are referred to as site haloes, i.e. the spread of sherds around site cores, as well as off-site sherd ‘carpets’ relating to land use most plausibly interpreted as resulting from outfield manuring. We also draw attention to the fact that the last-named may hide lesser sites of the same chronological and/or other periods.

2.2.1 Artefact-based survey beyond the site

Following methodological advances in the USA,⁹¹ the mapping of all surface finds, ideally on a field-by-field coverage of contiguous blocks of the landscape, inaugurated a shift from site-based to artefact-based survey.⁹² In many Mediterranean lands it became clear that artefactual remains were common outside of those concentrations considered as potential sites, and that in particular areas and periods, large parts of the landscape between sites might even be covered with carpets of pottery. It has been observed that if a project does not proceed by ‘siteless’ methods, there is a clear tendency to claim that artefacts either do not exist outside of recognisable finds’ concentrations or sites, or are so rare as to be insignificant. The Argolid Survey operated on this principle,⁹³ although Bintliff found ubiquitous off-site ceramics in the same landscape.⁹⁴ Again, despite the claim of almost absent off-site on Sicily by Bergemann,⁹⁵ artefact-based surveys at Agrigento city and its near-hinterland map important spreads around and between sites.⁹⁶

The work of Mayoral and colleagues in Spain explores moving from transect or grid collection to GPS recording of individual sherds across the landscape (Figure 3).⁹⁷ From 2007 Mayoral developed an approach in which the first stage was detailed cartography of finds utilising GPS receivers, geolocating materials with a spacing of 10m between fieldwalkers. A 2-3m error of single-frequency GPS hand-held devices was assumed. The result was a point cloud. Qualitative data were added regarding types of materials found, terrain conditions and visibility factors. Sherds with high ‘diagnostic’ value were picked up at this stage (assigned to point coordinates). Further density analysis of point distribution identified areas worth detailed grid collection for qualitative data. Point mapping, as used also in the Venosa survey in Italy, can be amalgamated to contour maps using kernel-density statistics (Figure 4).⁹⁸ Often advances in survey lead to greater time-investment, but there may be downsides: in both the Spanish and Italian case-studies, the limited collection to broad classes of likely diagnostics in the field may reduce chronological and functional resolution of the data recorded.

Even artefact-based surveys almost always define ‘sites’ in the field, on the basis of increased finds’ densities (‘POSIS’ = places of special interest, ‘ADABS’ – artefact densities above standard), automatically producing an ‘off-site’ distribution as well. Revisiting and grid-collecting is normally undertaken to clarify the status of apparent finds’ concentrations. Surprisingly, interpreting off-site distributions initially caused controversy. Partly this arose through a misunderstanding of the different phenomena being observed. Large-scale mapping of sherd patterns on, out of and well beyond activity foci (or ‘sites’) shows frequently one feature and importantly *infrequently* a second feature: the ‘halo’ and the ‘off-site carpet’ respectively (Figure 5).⁹⁹

⁹¹ Thomas 1975; Dunnell and Dancey 1983.

⁹² E.g. Bintliff and Snodgrass 1985; Cherry *et al.* 1991

⁹³ Jameson *et al.* 1994.

⁹⁴ Bintliff 1977.

⁹⁵ Bergemann 2012.

⁹⁶ Belvedere and Burgio 2012.

⁹⁷ Mayoral and Celestino Perez 2009; Mayoral *et al.* 2012; see also García Sánchez and Cisneros 2012; Grau Mira 2017.

⁹⁸ Pelgrom *et al.* 2014.

⁹⁹ Bintliff and Snodgrass 1985, 1988a; Wilkinson 1989; De Haas 2012.

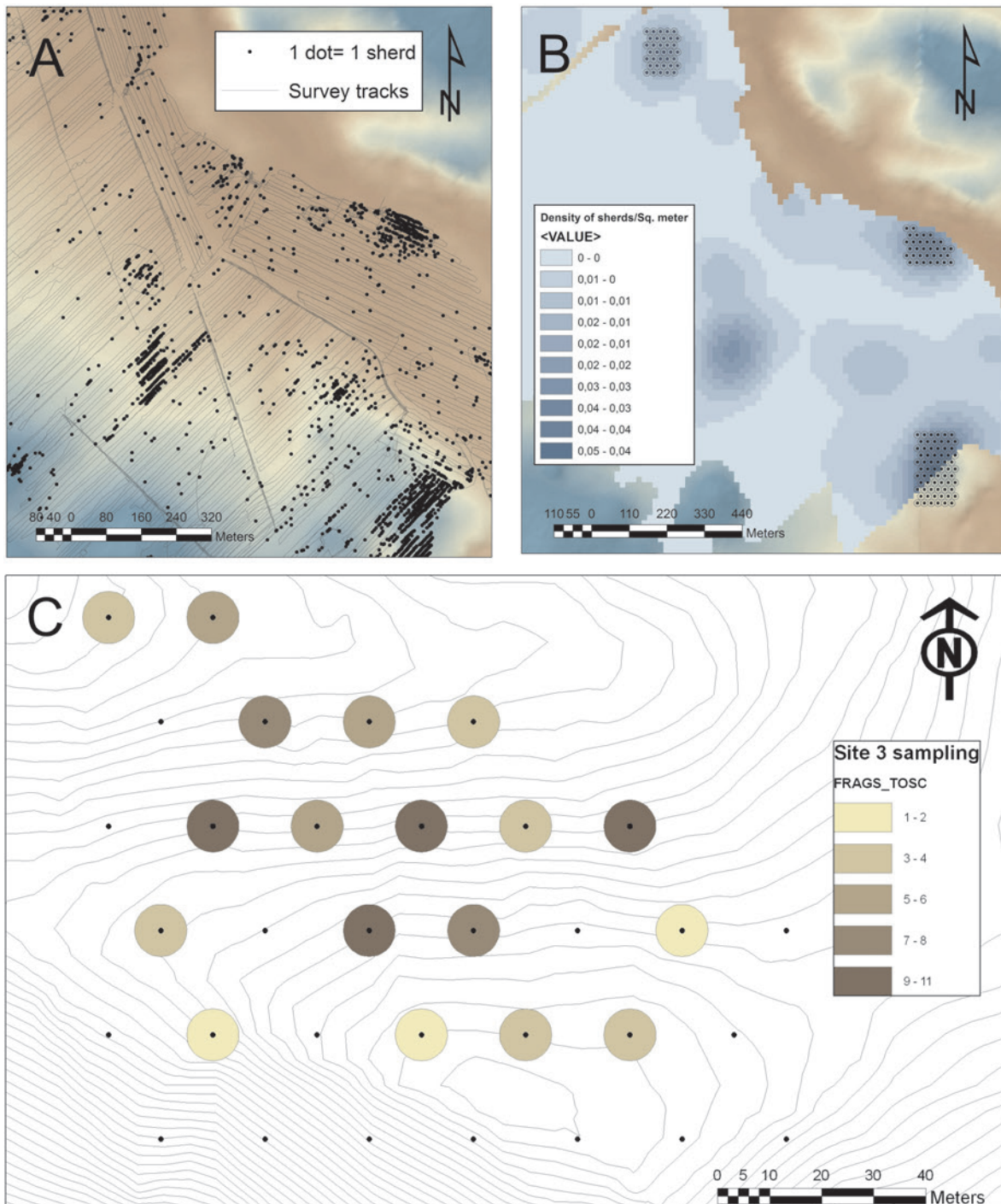


Figure 3. Geolocation of individual finds for sherd density estimation. A: GPS tracks of individual fieldwalkers and distribution of items along their tracks. B: Density estimation. C: Layout of point-based sampling over some of the areas of higher concentration of finds

2.2.2 Site haloes

Every field surveyor appreciates that surface sites become smeared across a wider area than their underlying deposits, as a result of slope processes and cultivation. Many scientific studies have measured the scale of such effects, largely confirming its spatial confinement except on steep slopes.¹⁰⁰ Exceptions include natural taphonomic processes affecting more remote eras such as the

¹⁰⁰ E.g. Baker 1978; Reynolds 1982.

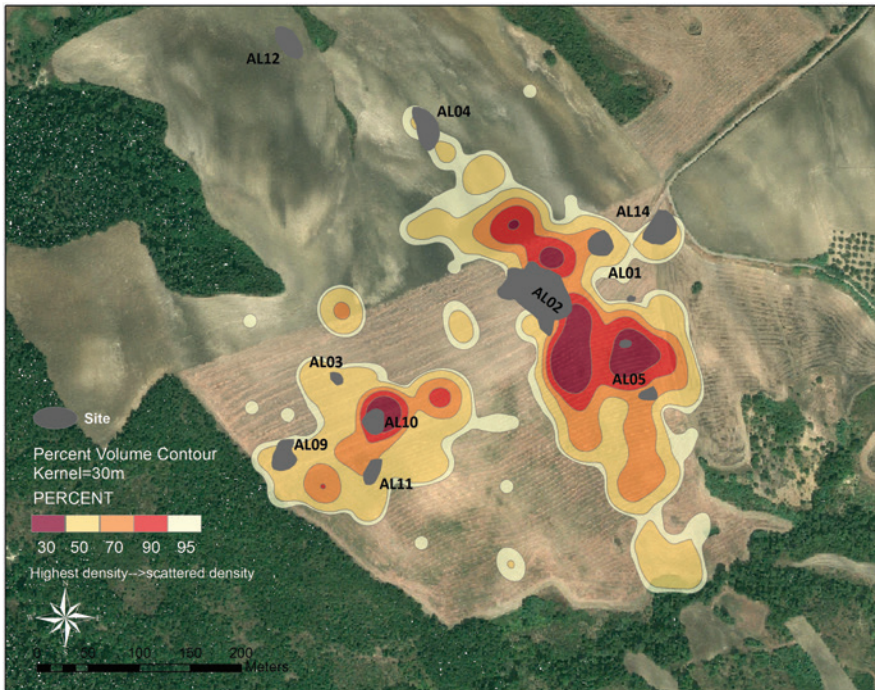


Figure 4. Density map of Black Gloss sherds found on the Allamprese site. For the interpolation a kernel method was used with a search radius of 30m. The densities represent Percent Volume Contours, which is a method to display the % of a cumulative distribution (Pelgrom *et al.* 2014: fig. 8).

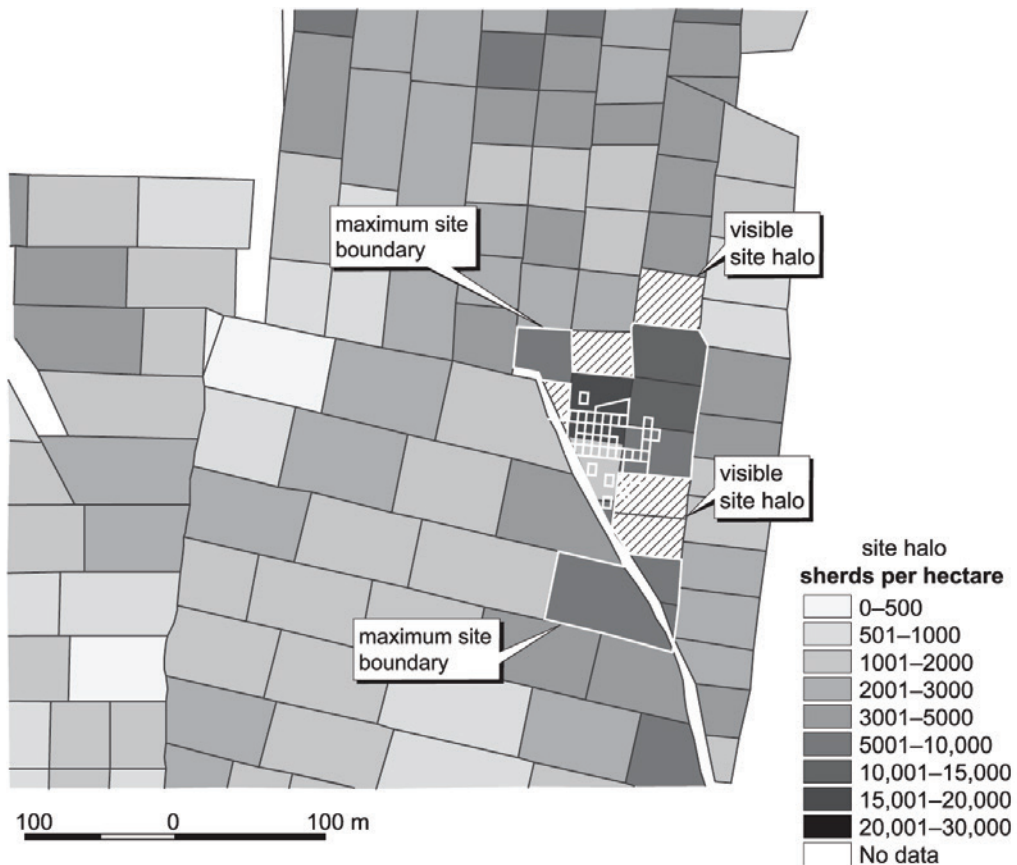


Figure LSE 3/9. Indication in gray scale of off-site densities within and beyond 200 m, showing estimated boundaries of the site at its maximum extent, and of the visible halo areas.

Figure 5. Mapping of the site boundary and site halo of site LS3 in the Thespiai rural hinterland. Beyond lies the almost ubiquitous off-site sherd carpet emanating from the ancient city of Thespiai (Bintliff *et al.* 2007).

Palaeolithic, giving rise to unusually extensive haloes. In the Negev Desert (Israel) the problem is acute, since prior to the Neolithic period there is no architecture. Mousterian lithic sites might cover entire hillslopes. Epipalaeolithic sites are also diffuse.¹⁰¹

There are two more cultural phenomena in the creation of site haloes. Firstly, observation of recent rural farms and villages demonstrates that in peripheral zones beyond formal buildings, varied activities occur and debris accumulates. Apart from site-margin rubbish dumps in societies where official collections are absent or inadequate, there can be kitchen gardens, pens or tiny fields for small livestock, equipment storage, shrines, burial zones, craft areas, and social event spaces. Surveys and excavations of Roman period urban sites in the Negev, Halutza and Avdat, have examined the chronologies of the rubbish mounds located around the periphery of the sites and found that they indicate the edges of the residential sectors of the settlements.¹⁰² In some historical societies, an area of cultivation immediately bordering the site, excluding kitchen gardens directly outside each house, sometimes called the ‘infield’ as opposed to the more distant ‘outfield’ belonging to a settlement’s exploitation zone, was subjected to more intensive land use. Ducellier researched Byzantine rural cultivation practices from texts;¹⁰³ infield haloes were cultivated by hand, although the outfield beyond might also receive manure.¹⁰⁴

The ‘halo’ is therefore the product of post-depositional unintentional *and* intentional site use. The evidence of experimental archaeology and ethnography suggests that cultural activities are more significant than natural weathering and plough-smearing in increasing the ‘impact zone’ of a site. In any case ‘site halo’ is a generic term for this zone of enhanced debris, which nonetheless is distinct from the highest ‘core’ density supposed to mark habitation areas in residential sites. In cases where site size and hence population are estimated from the border of elevated finds’ densities, there is thus high probability of overestimating those two parameters.¹⁰⁵

2.2.3 Off-site sherd ‘carpets’

Empirical results from numerous landscape surveys, using total sherd density mapping from the core of settlements, consistently reveals a core of highest values surrounded by a zone of lower but still elevated density (the halo, as defined above), which cannot be due solely to ploughing or weathering effects. Beyond this there is usually dispersed low-density material, believed to reflect a ‘taskscape’ of landscape exploitation (or vestigial sites, see *infra*). However in some landscapes and apparently only in rare periods, there also exist in the outfield extensive, medium-density, sherd ‘carpets’ that are most economically explained by the well-documented practice in many ethnohistoric accounts of manuring from settlements into the cultivated landscape. The gathering of waste material including organic and inorganic debris would leave over time a strong ceramic signal in the surface and upper subsurface, but an increasingly weak organic signal in the soil since the nutrients would have been successfully taken up by cultivated and wild plants.¹⁰⁶

Pioneering research on off-site sherd carpets was undertaken by Wilkinson, who offered likely ranges for manure radii out of settlements of varying sizes, based on empirical research in several landscapes of the Near East.¹⁰⁷ This practice was shown to be a feature of certain widely-separated periods, for example the Early Bronze Age, Late Antiquity and the pre-modern Islamic phase. He argued it arose from overpopulation, encouraging hyperintensive crop productivity. On the Boeotia Survey (Greece) the existence of large-scale off-site carpets stretching over kilometres

¹⁰¹ Goring-Morris 1987.

¹⁰² Fabian 2005.

¹⁰³ Ducellier 1986.

¹⁰⁴ See Vionis 2017b.

¹⁰⁵ This method of defining site size has been very widely used however, e.g. Jameson *et al.* 1994 and Cherry *et al.* 1991, see further *infra*.

¹⁰⁶ Rimmington 2000.

¹⁰⁷ Wilkinson 1989.

was recognised at an early stage of the project, and in one now-published district it could be demonstrated that almost all this material was confined to the Classical-Hellenistic era and emanated from a single large city which reached its maximum size at this time.¹⁰⁸ In a subsequent district studied by the same project, the Tanagra Survey, further refinements were possible through comparing the first few kilometres around that ancient city with the outer part of its dependent territory some 7km distant.¹⁰⁹ Whereas the initial 2km around Tanagra saw massive deposits of sherds, steadily declining in density with distance from the town, the outer territory lacked carpets and consisted solely of site cores, site haloes and low density sporadic off-site ceramics. Clearly increasing distance from the city limited and eventually prevented the manuring of the wider landscape, and intentional and unintentional rubbish dumping and manuring became confined to the immediate surroundings of rural sites, using their limited supplies for this ‘halo’.

Systematic sampling of off-site carpets within distinct landscape zones in the Pontine Region (Italy) revealed variations at the sub-regional scale.¹¹⁰ Close to the coast, occupied by Roman villa complexes well-connected to urban centres via paved roads, off-site carpets are dense and extensive, reflecting intensive land use (possibly using refuse from the nearby city of Antium). Small-scale variations in density, fragmentation, and assemblage variability, however, pinpoint phenomena such as sheds, outbuildings, and rubbish heaps within this carpet, as suggested by recent excavations of ‘off-site’ localities in Etruria.¹¹¹ A similar pattern appears along the footslopes of the Lepine Mountains, presumed to have been intensively used for olive and vine cultivation by local elites. By contrast, in a low-lying area in the inner plain, off-site distributions are limited to the direct surroundings or haloes of (small) sites, suggestive of less intensive cultivation by smallholders of this agriculturally more marginal area. Taken together, this case study clearly shows the variability in characteristics of off-site carpets as well as the potential interpretive possibilities in terms of land use strategies.

Off-site carpets raise issues of visibility for lesser sites submerged in areas of dense finds. As discussed earlier, such carpets can obscure or make hard to recognise vestigial sites or those with less recognisable ceramics, ‘hidden landscapes’, but normally do not prevent teams identifying local peaks created by sites with well-made and diagnostic surface debris. In one experiment, finds densities were measured in concentric 50m bands from site cores into halo areas then off-site carpets: densities consistently declined with distance down to district background levels, while material fell off at different rates according to the size of rural site.¹¹² The sites remained outstanding density-peaks. Alongside documenting the distinctive nature and date of extensive ‘carpets’ we can and should still pay attention to searching within it for localised variations which could signal non-residential activity foci (‘taskscape’) and vestigial occupation sites.¹¹³

2.2.4. Offsite distributions and (ancient) manuring

An influential critique of manuring practices to explain off-site carpets appeared in 1994.¹¹⁴ Although its calculations were simultaneously challenged,¹¹⁵ more conclusive is the subsequent discovery that the Nemea Survey data used as evidence against manuring, are being published as showing large-scale Roman-era manuring carpets.¹¹⁶ Doubting the existence of landscape manuring using undifferentiated settlement waste appears strange when such practices are within living-memory in many Mediterranean countries, such as Croatia and Spain, as well as referred to in numerous

¹⁰⁸ Bintliff *et al.* 2007.

¹⁰⁹ Bintliff 2006.

¹¹⁰ Attema, De Haas *et al.* 2010a, 2010b; De Haas 2011, 2012; De Haas *et al.* 2012.

¹¹¹ Bowes *et al.* 2017.

¹¹² Bintliff and Howard 1999.

¹¹³ Bintliff *et al.* 1999; Bintliff and Howard 1999; Bintliff *et al.* 2007 for Greece. De Neef *et al.* 2017; Van Leusen *et al.* 2010 for Italy.

¹¹⁴ Alcock *et al.* 1994.

¹¹⁵ Snodgrass 1994.

¹¹⁶ Cloke 2012, forthcoming.

Greco-Roman historic sources. Intensive survey in the Guadiana Basin (Spain) documented an off-site carpet mostly generated after the replacement of woodland by cereal cultivation throughout the 19th century, creating a dense, homogeneous ceramic surface record. The practice, described by local farmers (*estercolado*), was maintained until the mass introduction of industrial fertilisers.¹¹⁷

Pettegrew has suggested that extensive sherd carpets around ancient cities in Greece are the debris of extensive habitation by poorer sectors of society living extramurally.¹¹⁸ However there are many examples of genuine, focused ‘sites’ representing small farms with very simple household finds and roofs made of recycled tiles, while the areas covered by extramural sherd carpets from minor cities, if taken as additional habitations, would make all such towns as large as Imperial Athens. Wilkinson’s pioneer research on anthropogenic sherd carpets included test-pitting to confirm the absence of underlying settlement or burial origin, and such confirmation is also advisable in landscapes with diverse and rich surface finds.

Caution is required with the chronology of intentional dispersal in the Near East, where occupation layers of tell sites high in organic content are dug away and spread over the fields as fertiliser (*sabakh*). Fortunately in many instances the manure carpets are single-period rather than diverse as would suit recycled tell deposits, and may correlate with peaks in local landscape occupation.¹¹⁹ Similarly in the Pisa South Picenum Survey in Italy, situations were identified where an archaeological site was disturbed during building works and its materials dumped in distant fields.¹²⁰ The materials consist of mixed ancient and modern items, located in fields alongside roads. Thus we should also consider past examples of modern ‘fly-tipping’, which are observable today when inadequacies in organised rubbish collection lead to dumping of mixed garbage, often along roads.¹²¹ This may be responsible for some localised clusters of ancient finds without clear site characteristics.

A case study from the Thespias Hinterland study (Greece) illustrates several points just made.¹²² An apparent Classical-era sherd focus was identified as site LSE2, close to ancient Thespias city. Gridding revealed a suitably dense surface scatter (Figure 6a), but this lay within a heavy Classical urban manuring zone (Figure 6b, visibility-corrected counts per hectare), characteristic for the entire environs of the town, nor did the scatter show the typical concentric rise to one or more inner foci. It was *not* an historic site, but through gridding this area a small prehistoric focus of finds emerged (Figure 7), arguably a heavily-degraded Bronze Age farm. As often such a vestigial site would not have been discovered without the chance position of a collection grid across it.

2.3 Site-scale survey

In this section we first discuss detection and sampling of small rural sites. Scatters of a few meters across easily go unnoticed in low-resolution surveys and at times such sites are only detected in the surface ceramic record during data and finds processing. Therefore dedicated artefact collection strategies are needed that allow us to detect and date the phasing of such sites. Next we discuss survey of complex rural and urban sites, whose sheer quantity of surface finds require sophisticated collection strategies, to establish shifting boundaries through time and to establish continuity and discontinuity, thus verifying that no periods that may be poorly represented in the surface record are missed. In this section we also discuss survey of settlement mounds where often only the most recent layers are exposed at the surface.

¹¹⁷ Mayoral *et al.* 2018.

¹¹⁸ Pettegrew 2001.

¹¹⁹ Wilkinson 2003: 117.

¹²⁰ Menchelli 2008, 2012.

¹²¹ Cf. Bintliff *et al.* 2017 for Early Modern Greece.

¹²² Bintliff *et al.* 2007.

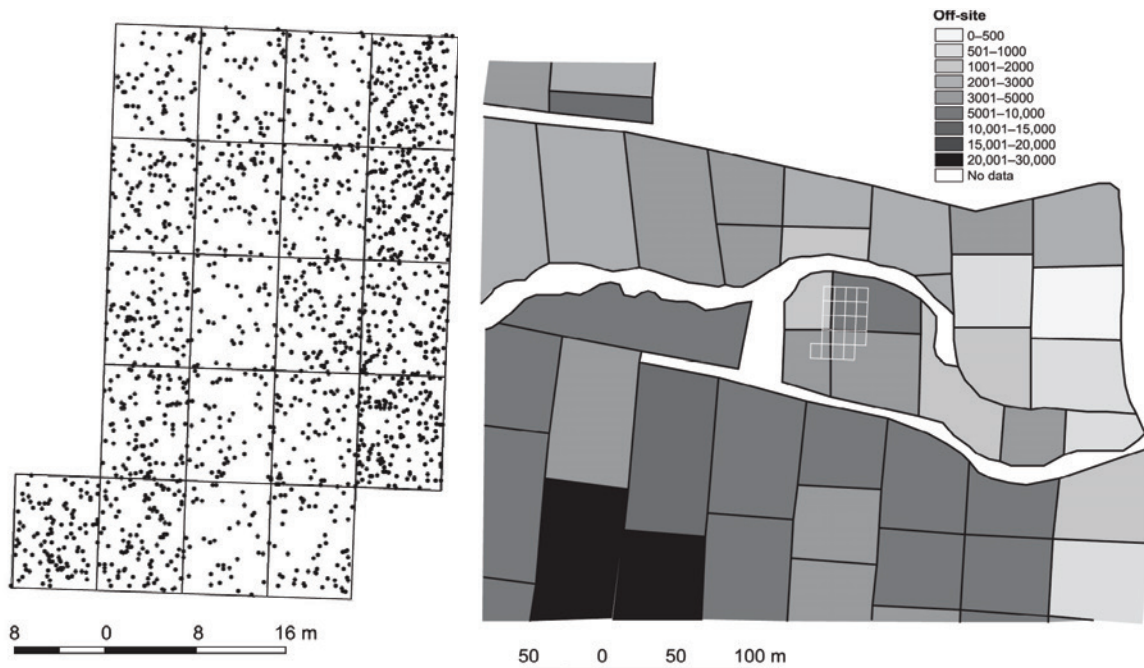


Figure 6. 6a: density map of artefacts on the site grid of site LSE2. 6b: overall field density of artefacts around the site grid.

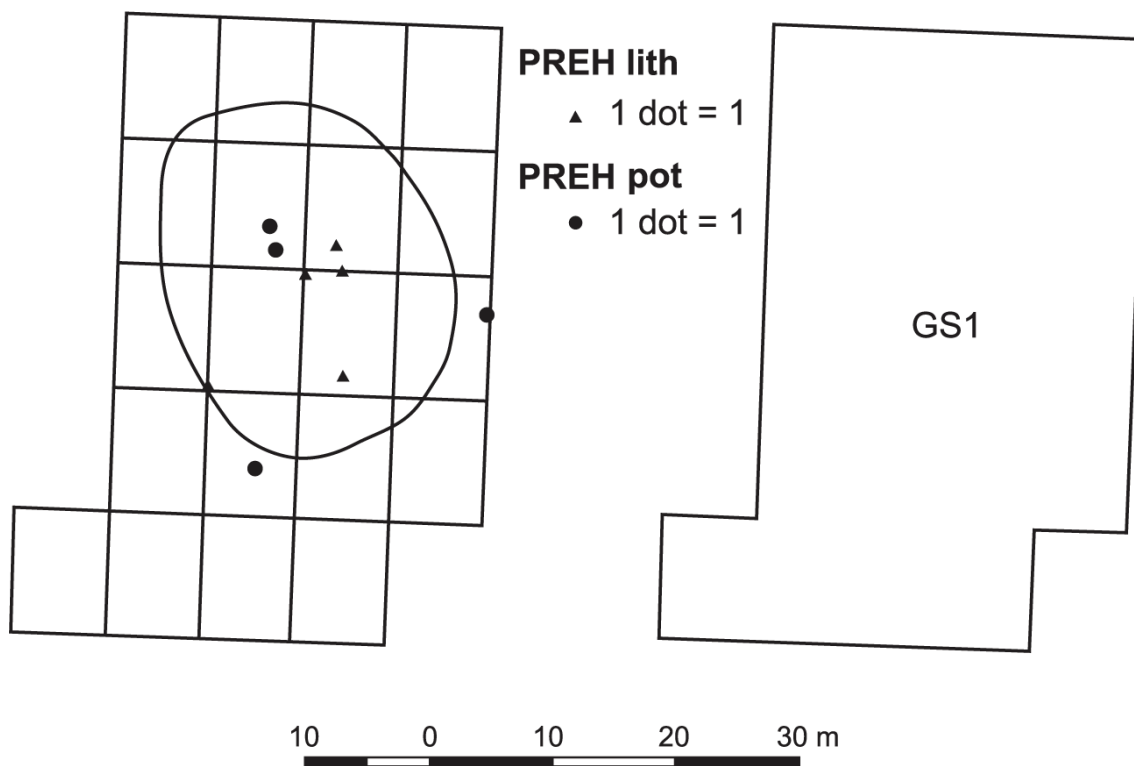


Figure LSE 2/17. Distribution of Prehistoric finds over the site.

Figure 7. Prehistoric sherds and lithics on site LSE2.

2.3.1 Survey of small rural sites

As we saw in section 2.1, walker interval is the main parameter that determines how much land can be covered by a survey. However, this interval cannot be increased without incurring a significant penalty: intervals exceeding 10m can miss the lower end of the rural site spectrum, sites a few metres across. If the aim includes picking up such microscale phenomena, as is the case in surveys by the Groningen Institute of Archaeology in Italy and the Crimea, this puts an upper limit on walker-spacing.¹²³ Experiments with high walker coverage of landscapes lacking ploughed fields have led to the discovery of small rural and/or pastoral sites, as for instance in the uplands of mainland Italy and the Crimean steppes.¹²⁴

Even small Mediterranean rural sites are frequently multi-period and we need to unravel their occupation phases, to establish chronological and (dis)continuities and functional changes. The aim is to recover their ‘cultural biographies’; this necessitates adequate spatial differentiation of finds and sufficient numbers to deal with the site’s likely changing size and function over time.¹²⁵ Thus a general problem with the development of Mediterranean survey procedures has been the effect of sampling on the representativeness of the total surface assemblage. In the pre-intensive survey days, surface sites were walked randomly to collect a few bags of the most distinctive finds.¹²⁶ In some cases large sites were divided roughly into sectors to identify differing occupation histories by separate collections. Once intensive survey became the norm, quantitative considerations led to larger collections and discussion of formal strategies for site sampling.¹²⁷ Limited, defined zones were collected from carefully, with a ‘grab’ collection over the remaining larger areas of the site. The Argolid and Kea Surveys developed a site sampling method, widely adopted on later Aegean surveys.¹²⁸ An X-shape was placed across the site within the borders of dense finds with total collection in each limb, followed by a grab sample in the four intervening quadrats. Apart from the lack of recognition of halo areas, or a quantified definition of the boundaries of genuine off-site, halo and site core, such a deceptively-easy definition of the site edge makes no allowance for alterations in site size over time. The single site edge was used for calculating population levels, with just a few large sites subjected to discrete area sampling to clarify spatial differences across time. In the Thespiai rural hinterland survey,¹²⁹ with dense site-gridding and large surface collections, nearly all 17 sites were shown to change character dramatically over their multi-period use, getting larger or smaller, or shifting from permanent to seasonal/temporary use. Given the debate within Greek survey on the residential or non-residential nature of small Classical farm sites,¹³⁰ such careful examination of sites is essential.

Collecting at points along close-spaced strips across the site, practised in Jordan (Figure 8) is comparable.¹³¹ However recording small numbers of ceramics covering many periods at small sample points along a large grid, produces plots impossible to interpret.¹³² In this regard it is crucial to understand the degree to which the density of surface finds on-site may be affected by slope processes. Mayoral and colleagues determined that the correlation between counts and weights of different artefact categories collected in Spanish surveys with grid sampling on small Roman rural sites, and the topographic attributes of these sampling units (runoff, average slope%) were weak or non-existent (Figure 9).¹³³ A similar study testing the association between simulated erosion rates

¹²³ Guldager Bilde *et al.* 2012; Tol *et al.* 2014; De Neef *et al.* 2017; Attema 2018.

¹²⁴ Van Leusen *et al.* 2010; Guldager Bilde *et al.* 2012; De Neef 2016.

¹²⁵ Tol 2012.

¹²⁶ E.g. the Minnesota Survey, McDonald and Rapp 1972.

¹²⁷ Cherry *et al.* 1978.

¹²⁸ Cherry *et al.* 1991; Jameson *et al.* 1994.

¹²⁹ Bintliff *et al.* 2007.

¹³⁰ Osborne 1985; Lohmann 1992.

¹³¹ For Jordan see Kaptijn 2009. For Turkey see Kaptijn and Waelkens forthcoming.

¹³² E.g. the Sphakia Survey: Moody *et al.* 1998.

¹³³ Mayoral and Sevillano Perea 2016.

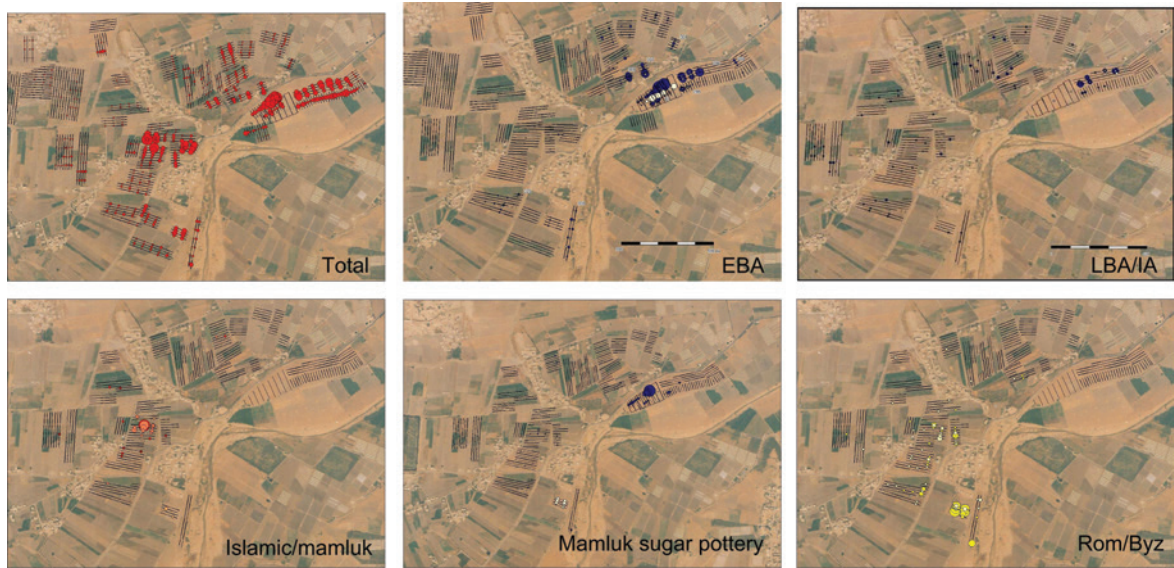


Figure 8. Overlapping concentrations from several periods in the Jordan Valley (Zerqa Triangle Survey) (Kaptijn 2009).

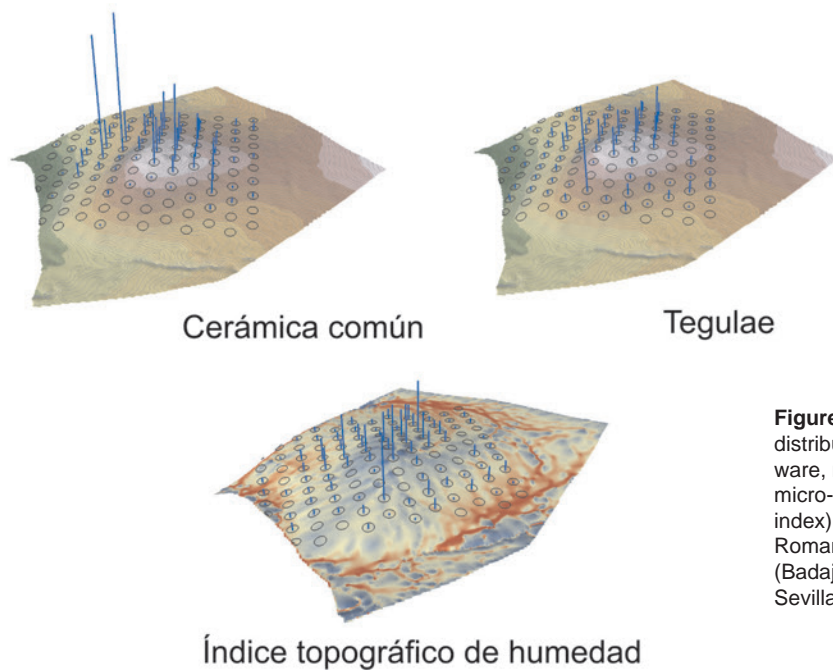


Figure 9. 3D visualization of the spatial distribution of surface finds (common ware, roof tiles) and variables derived from micro-topography (topographic wetness index) in the grid collection over a small Roman rural site in the Guadamez valley (Badajoz, Spain). After Mayoral and Sevillano, 2016:110.

and surface artefact density in the Inachos Valley, Greece again only had slight success; instead the anthropogenic role in the variable presence of sites and off-site finds was suggested to be a critical element, but was not included in the analysis.¹³⁴

Separating cores, haloes and off-site needs quantification and local flexibility by district. Areas close to a major conurbation can see small rural sites barely elevated in finds' density above urban halo and manuring carpets. 'Residual analysis' compares background density values by period for each zone of a landscape to those from site haloes and cores.¹³⁵ Finds at a site in one period may evidence occupation, whereas finds for another period are merely part of a continuum of similar density in the surrounding landscape.

¹³⁴ Tetford *et al.* 2018.

¹³⁵ Bintliff *et al.* 2007.

How many artefacts represent a viable sample of the site to recover its biography? After the site has been collected from systematically, its finds washed, and period specialists have analysed the finds (ideally with the help of a study collection of forms and fabrics by period), it is too late to decide that artefact numbers for one or all periods, are too limited. Either resurvey is needed, or sampling inadequacies persist as interpretative problems. Surveys in the 1980s-1990s struggled with small collections: three sherds of one period might be assigned to temporary- or off-site activity, four or more signalled occupation.¹³⁶

So what about total collection? Most contemporary projects involve selective collection of diagnostic pieces, together with shapes and fabrics potentially diagnostic. On the Koroneia survey (Greece) diagnostic collection was compared with total collection.¹³⁷ Overall little additional information emerged from total collection, which involved far more work. The exceptions included cooking and other coarser wares, and comminuted tiny prehistoric pieces. Interestingly including body sherds did not significantly alter the assemblage composition compared to the results obtained from more diagnostic 'feature sherds' (rims, bases, and handles). A similar result emerged from experiments on the Methana Project.¹³⁸ In the Pontine Region Project (Italy) experiments with total collection reached the same conclusion, although total coverage helped identify occupation periods difficult to identify (low pottery consumption, low diagnosticity).¹³⁹ The results of the Leptiminus Survey, whose methods consisted of a 20% transect sample followed by a diagnostic 'grab' sample across a dense cityscape, indicated that this combination was effective; differences between the random and grab collections were minimal.¹⁴⁰ Needless to say the largest Mediterranean sites exhibit sherd densities beyond conceivable collection (several hundred thousand sherds per hectare are not uncommon).

Rural site surveys have long relied on rather simple classifications (e.g. villas, farmsteads, and villages¹⁴¹). Excavations show a wider range of structures, both settlement and non-settlement,¹⁴² confirming ethnographic comparanda.¹⁴³ Current research explores alternative classifications,¹⁴⁴ interpreting site functions from surface assemblage variations, or on associations with architectural remains.¹⁴⁵ The Pontine Region Project confirms that many sites have consistent assemblages to be interpreted as rural settlements, whereas others with anomalous assemblages point to cult, industry or agricultural adjuncts.¹⁴⁶

2.3.2 Survey of complex sites

Complex rural sites

Survey of villages reveals interactions with wider economies and rural lifestyles.¹⁴⁷ Many urban sites started as villages or rural site clusters, which grew into cities, often reverting to villages in post-Roman times.¹⁴⁸ Surveys of abandoned Roman towns in the Potenza valley (Italy), combining artefact surveys with augering and C14-dating of the deepest anthropogenic levels, also uncovered such long-term trajectories in settlement size and changing character.¹⁴⁹

¹³⁶ For example on the Kea Survey, Cherry *et al.* 1991.

¹³⁷ Van der Enden in Bintliff *et al.* 2012.

¹³⁸ Mee and Forbes 1997.

¹³⁹ Tol 2012.

¹⁴⁰ Stone *et al.* 2011: 77–84.

¹⁴¹ Witcher 2006.

¹⁴² Ghisleni *et al.* 2011; Vaccaro *et al.* 2013; Bowes *et al.* 2017.

¹⁴³ De Haas 2012.

¹⁴⁴ Attema and Schörner 2012.

¹⁴⁵ De Haas *et al.* 2012.

¹⁴⁶ De Haas 2011; Tol 2012; Attema *et al.* 2014; cf. Winther-Jacobsen 2010 for Cyprus.

¹⁴⁷ Vionis 2016, 2017c.

¹⁴⁸ Bintliff *et al.* 2017.

¹⁴⁹ Vermeulen *et al.* 2017: 88–95.

Projects have recently focussed on more complex rural sites (large villages, ‘secondary agglomerations’, ‘minor centres’),¹⁵⁰ lacking formal civic status but often performing central place functions for rural areas and housing considerable populations.¹⁵¹ Textual sources provide other names: *komopolis*, *statio*, *mansio*, *canabae*, *conciliabulum*.¹⁵² The range of this group is extensive: from 2ha in size, showing little spatial differentiation, whilst the largest, rival urban centres in extent and possess similar features: markets, temples, aqueducts, baths, orthogonal grids, and paved road surfaces. At the Forum Appii site on the Pontine Plain (Italy) the Minor Centres Project undertook a 25% surface-sample within 25m by 25m grids.¹⁵³ The site chronology spanned the 4th century BC to the 7th century AD, with peak size over 10ha. The variety of imported and locally-manufactured pottery suggested redistributive marketing functions, suiting its river harbour, quay and industrial facilities. In later Roman Sicily, unofficial agglomerations in the interior form the main settlement and economic foci.¹⁵⁴

Complex urban sites

Despite the pioneering sophisticated survey of the Mesoamerican city of Teotihuacan,¹⁵⁵ Mediterranean urban sites were usually avoided till recently, or dealt with superficially – too big to cope with and yielding humungous finds quantities. The Kea Survey for example, catalogued a mere 137 finds from 20-ha Koressia city.¹⁵⁶ In retrospect, we are sure the team would now consider this as far too small a sample for such a long-occupied site. In the Knossos Survey a fine 20m by 20m grid has been used to map this very large and long-occupied urban site, within each of which a sample of 10m² is taken; this project already has at least 500 000 sherds to map.¹⁵⁷ A limited experiment during the initial years of the Boeotia project, compared finds from sample circles across sites, only a few percent of the site area, with similar amounts of finds from the total site. Only the latter produced a reliable range of forms and dates, suggesting that spatial variability, especially on multi-period sites, is too great to allow limited samples to be secure guides, unless like Knossos, the samples are dense and almost innumerable.¹⁵⁸ Luckily future Mediterranean urban surveys now have new ‘cookbooks’ for dealing with large, complex sites.¹⁵⁹

The condition of large sites can however impede analysis, if surface layers are biased taphonomically: the long unploughed town of Sagalassos shows surface finds poorly reflecting underlying deposits when excavated.¹⁶⁰ Even regularly ploughed ancient towns, such as Thespiiai, Greece, revealed taphonomic filtering combined with ceramic visibility problems, impeding easy recognition for all twenty-seven phases of site use (Figure 10). Urban contraction between Greek and Roman times additionally led to massive ceramic swamping during the latter period in the urban centre, making it seem empty in pre-Roman times. ‘Sector analysis’, dividing large sites into zones by terrain or archaeological arguments, then investigating their varying surface period representation, can tease apart such filters (Figure 11).¹⁶¹

Establishing the boundaries of urban sites

Urban haloes are still widely ignored; the boundary of dense finds is taken as the edge of the built-up area. There is uncertainty regarding activities on the fringes of domestic and public buildings, although historical sources, chance finds and excavations offer the possibilities of industry, market

¹⁵⁰ Vroom 1999; Tol *et al.* 2014; Caraher *et al.* 2014.

¹⁵¹ Pelgrom 2012.

¹⁵² See Tol *et al.* 2014 for terminological discussion.

¹⁵³ Tol *et al.* 2014.

¹⁵⁴ Vaccaro 2012.

¹⁵⁵ Millon 1964, 1973; Millon *et al.* 1973.

¹⁵⁶ Cherry *et al.* 1991.

¹⁵⁷ Whitelaw *et al.* 2006–2007.

¹⁵⁸ Bintliff and Snodgrass 1985.

¹⁵⁹ Lolos *et al.* 2007; Vermeulen *et al.* 2012; Corsi *et al.* 2013; Johnson and Millett 2013.

¹⁶⁰ Martens 2005.

¹⁶¹ Bintliff 2012a, 2014; Bintliff *et al.* 2017.

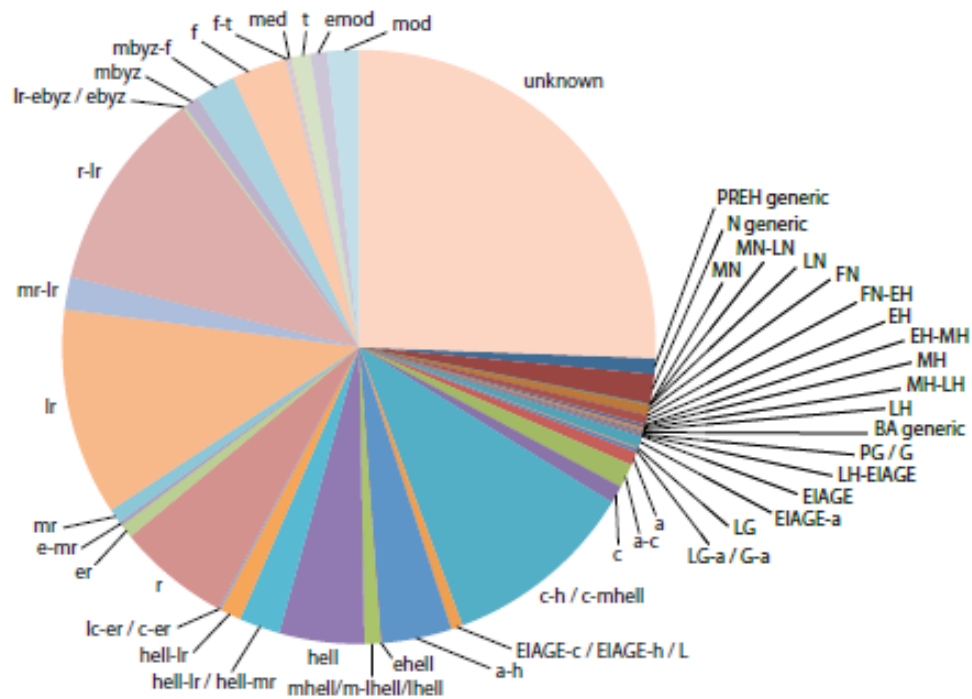


Figure 3.27. Pie chart of the City Transect Sherd database. Abbreviations: PREH = Prehistoric, BA = Bronze Age, N = Neolithic, H = Helladic or Bronze Age, EIAGE = Early Iron Age, PG = Proto-Geometric, G = Geometric, a – Archaic, c = Classical, c-h = Classical to early Hellenistic, h = Hellenistic, r = Roman, h-r = late Hellenistic to early Roman, med = Medieval, byz = Byzantine, f = Frankish, f-t = Frankish/Late Byzantine or early Turkish, t = Turkish, mod = Modern; e/E, m/M, l/L and F before period terms are respectively early, middle, late and Final.

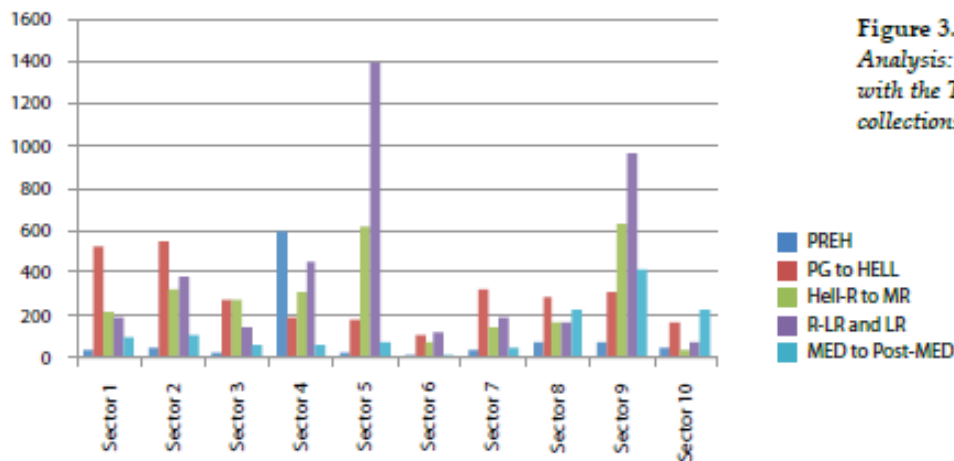


Figure 3.30. The Sector Analysis: the sherd data-base with the Transect and Samples collections merged.

Figures 10 and 11 . Figure 10 shows a pie-chart of the chronological phases identified in the ceramics from the total urban survey of ancient Thespiai city. Figure 11 shows the variable representation of the main groups of periods by 10 sectors of the city grid.

gardens, cemeteries and extramural sanctuaries, dispersed semi-rural homes, and large-scale rubbish dumping. Lacking systematic institutions for rubbish collection, pre-modern and even many modern Mediterranean communities have used vacant urban plots and the periphery of the settlement for waste dumping.¹⁶² These deposits by their nature appear as occupation deposits, their secondary or even tertiary depositional character not apparent from the finds themselves (at Sagalassos, sherd degradation measurements have been used to identify rubbish dumps¹⁶³).

¹⁶² For the latter *within* urban sites cf. Fentress 1994; Johnson 2010.

¹⁶³ Putzeys *et al.* 2004: 34.

These problems remain even in the high-quality urban survey at Leptiminus, Tunisia.¹⁶⁴ The Aphrodisias survey, Turkey, has attempted to tackle this problem by what they refer to as the ‘donut’ survey; intensive survey in a 500m-wide band outside the city wall supplemented by four transects radiating outward to get an understanding of the surrounding environment.¹⁶⁵ Evidence for extramural burial can clarify urban boundaries, at least for periods where this was legally confined to the urban periphery. This seems to be a question which can be helpfully approached using other methods of field prospection.

Thespiiai city is illuminating: large-scale use of city rubbish to fertilise the inner countryside ceased by Roman times, while the mapping of that period’s surface finds within the former walled town, matched with the incursion of burials into former suburbs and the recycling of architecture from the same suburbs, demonstrated that the town shrank by two-thirds. Thus urban waste accumulated within vacant urban spaces and on the contracted edge of the settlement. The roman sherd distribution already revealed significant decline in the extent of the town, but adding increases in the rubbish halo, a more drastic shrinkage of the domestic area emerged.¹⁶⁶

Detecting pre- and protohistoric phases in the survey of urban sites

Prehistoric and protohistoric activity at historical urban sites frequently exhibit long timespans and thin artefact distributions for the earliest periods. Thespiiai city was a village from Neolithic to Early Iron Age times. After its long urban phase, c. 700 BC to AD 600, it reverted to village status till abandonment in the 19th century AD. Prehistoric sherds and lithics represented a tiny finds’ percentage, their recognition in the 925 grid units being primarily dependent on the varying size of the sherd sample from each unit: less than 30 sherds would normally miss prehistoric finds, and also other less common periods. Experiments showed that multiplying sample size by a factor of three restored the missing periods. Since the ‘Sample Factor’ (the percentage between the size of the artefact collection and the counted density per grid) was 0.2815%, with a mere 14 300 artefacts of all periods, the small prehistoric collections must be extrapolated to a far larger body of material, even without allowing for a major loss of early pieces through degradation.¹⁶⁷

For Veii near Rome, debate has centred on the distribution of Iron Age sherds: does it show overall occupation of such Italian plateau settlements, or rather several distinct clusters that merged by later periods to form the Archaic city. This giant site (200ha) underwent extensive surface survey in the 1950s.¹⁶⁸ Five main sherd clusters around the plateau fringes, linked to extramural cemeteries, were identified as sub-settlements during Iron Age times, cohering into a larger but still loose-knit community in Archaic Etruscan times. The plateau interior was partly used for intensive farming. More systematic survey by Guaitoli in 1982, mapped four times as many early foci across the entire plateau, suggesting a continuous unified nucleation.¹⁶⁹ The original Ward Perkins data have been re-examined and the finds restudied,¹⁷⁰ assisted by recent localised Italian excavations. The Iron Age remains a very partial cover, with the densest clusters around the plateau edge, although 69 foci are now mapped (but some are cemeteries). For the subsequent Etruscan phase, 73 foci were mapped, but the plateau remains patchily covered and the denser concentrations are discrete from each other. Indeed the interpretation resembles an early suggestion by Tim Potter,¹⁷¹ with separate zones of occupation and of specialised functions (domestic, ritual and manufacturing). A proto-urban settlement of multifocal character, as still argued for Archaic Greek towns,¹⁷² where each

¹⁶⁴ Stone *et al.* 2011.

¹⁶⁵ Ratté and De Staebler 2012.

¹⁶⁶ Bintliff *et al.* 2017.

¹⁶⁷ Bintliff *et al.* 2017.

¹⁶⁸ Ward Perkins 1961; Potter 1979.

¹⁶⁹ Spivey and Stoddart 1990.

¹⁷⁰ Cascino *et al.* 2012.

¹⁷¹ Potter 1979.

¹⁷² Snodgrass 1980; Bintliff 2012b.

discrete habitation focus was ringed by site haloes, would in fact create a sherd pattern of almost total site cover but at fluctuating densities.

Similarly, surveys on a prehistoric to Late Roman oppidum in the Vardar valley, Macedonia¹⁷³ and on a Late Roman agro-town in the Xeros Valley, Cyprus,¹⁷⁴ showed Iron Age-Archaic to Early Classical sherd spreads twice as extensive as Roman-Late Roman finds. Yet the spread of Iron Age finds is less compact than the Antique surface remains, consisting of numerous cores separated by zones of intermediate density. This obviously reflects changes in land use patterns and demographic density variations.

Giribaile, a large protohistoric Spanish site in Spain, was studied by Gutiérrez with a systematic stratified random sample of 14ha.¹⁷⁵ Figure 12a-c shows the grid scheme, total artefact densities and fabric groups, the last-named being very significant for pre- and protohistoric sites where finewares and distinctive feature sherds may be in the minority or even absent.

Tells

Settlement mounds (tells, magoulas, khirbes, tepes, hüyük), are very obtrusive human activity foci in the Balkan and Eastern Mediterranean landscapes, with a particular taphonomy. Interpretation of the uppermost layer is relatively straightforward (often enormous numbers of surface artefacts), but the buried layers are highly problematic. Mounds range from < 1ha to structures 40m high and covering 100ha. On the site edges older layers may be exposed (through erosion), elsewhere layers can be exposed through later digging for siloes, burials, to extend farmland, use tell soil as fertiliser, or for looting and military trenches.

Past surveys often collected single, spatially unspecified, samples, but recent surveys apply grid sampling,¹⁷⁶ to identify differences in density, chronology and function of the surface artefacts. Tells consist mainly of mudbrick thus suiting non-destructive geophysical prospection. Electrical resistivity tomography can penetrate tens of metres, with a resolution revealing superimposed layers (see below under section 3.2).¹⁷⁷

2.4 Revisiting sites

Sites change surface appearance over the years. Graeme Barker,¹⁷⁸ experienced in Italian survey, wrote “small sites come on and off like traffic lights”. Recent revisits to Boeotia Project sites recorded in the 1980s found that more than half no longer appeared as artefact concentrations, although they had previously registered a clear site density; furthermore the areal extent of some sites had changed, and new sites had appeared in fields previously recorded as off-site. Other projects show a more positive outcome: 20% of sites in the Potenza Valley were revisited, and 90% of those where terrain visibility remained adequate were confirmed.¹⁷⁹ This suggests that local soil and cultivation conditions are highly influential on site recognition.

Predictably the larger sites suffer little from variable surface manifestation. García Sánchez terms ‘shooting stars’ sites which ephemerally appear following deep-ploughing activities but after a few seasons dissolve into background noise.¹⁸⁰ Waagen has highlighted locations displaying richness and variability in their few finds, as likely to become clearly identifiable as sites during revisits in

¹⁷³ Donev 2018.

¹⁷⁴ Vionis 2017a.

¹⁷⁵ Gutiérrez 2010.

¹⁷⁶ Ur 2010; Momigliano *et al.* 2011.

¹⁷⁷ Casana *et al.* 2008; Momigliano *et al.* 2011; Papadopoulos *et al.* 2014.

¹⁷⁸ Barker 1984.

¹⁷⁹ Vermeulen *et al.* 2017: 15.

¹⁸⁰ García Sánchez *et al.* 2017.

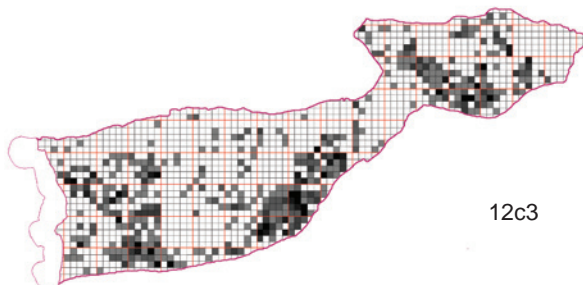
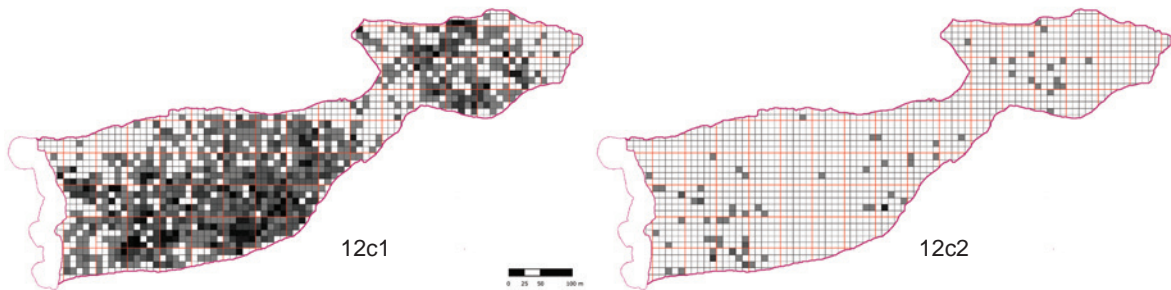
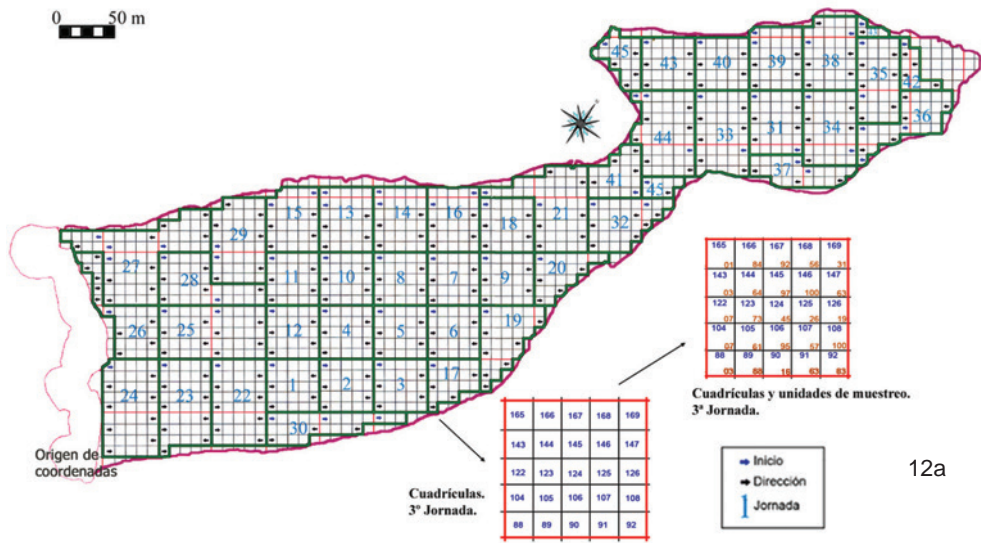


Figure 12a-c. Survey of the major protohistoric site of Giribaile. (a) the grid scheme, (b) the total artefact densities and (c1-3) the fabric groups.

another year.¹⁸¹ Monitoring the effects of changing land use is therefore fundamental, particularly through resurvey in different years and under varying forms of local exploitation of the site area.

Revisiting together with geophysical surveying (on which see section 3.2) disproves claims that intensive survey in certain landscapes finds all the sites, as was clearly demonstrated by the *Rural Life in Protohistoric Italy* project.¹⁸² Temporarily or permanently invisible sites must be allowed for when calculating settlement patterns and demographic levels. Clearly some small sites are permanently lost through erosion, burial, sea-level changes and human destruction. In dune areas, as noted earlier, shifting sand covers and reveal sites, even over a few years.¹⁸³

Projects are currently evaluating the relationship between their intensive survey data and that from older, usually extensive surveys and topographic reports, as well as excavations and chance finds. Disregarding all but the clearest indications of sites in older reports removes potentially-useful information. Since surveys only cover a small percentage of any landscape, the intensive windows become a possibly small, unrepresentative sample. A thorough critique of such legacy data remains fundamental, as the evidential basis for these older site records is often very thin. In a comparative study of surveys on Crete, Gkiasta found that site maps prepared after extensive surveys had mixed extensive sherd scatters with chance finds or even a single sherd.¹⁸⁴ Similarly Farinetti, preparing an archaeological gazetteer of the Greek province of Boeotia, categorised all sites in terms of the level of evidence reported, and often found minimal levels of justification.¹⁸⁵

Revisits to legacy sites, with the aim of confirming previous interpretations and where possible adding new information, are a normal part of any regional archaeological survey, but have met with mixed success. The evidence of past activity noted in the legacy records may no longer be present, or visible, for many reasons. A relevant case study was carried out by Attema in the coastal area of the Pontine region, where it was calculated that 60% of sites documented in the 1970s had disappeared by 2005 due to urban expansion, relief-levelling for mechanised agriculture, and the aforementioned fluctuation in surface site appearance.¹⁸⁶ Attempts by Van Leusen to identify legacy sites in the Lepini mountains in central Italy, and the Sibaritide plain in south Italy, were often inconclusive because the location of the legacy site could not be determined with enough precision, or was shown to be incorrect.¹⁸⁷

2.5 Good practice in the artefact-based survey and sampling of small rural sites and complex rural and urban sites

Site-based, as opposed to landscape-based, survey designs must achieve feasible goals, that is, the design must balance the scientific goals with the pragmatic limitations imposed by the available resources (time, money, specialist knowledge). The main parameters to consider are site size, site structure, finds density, land use/land cover, and topography. The main thing here is to be explicit about your site definition, and to allow for the possibility that some sites may not be recognised in the field but only later during analysis of the data. The latter requirement argues for the use of survey units that are smaller than the modal expected site size (i.e. have a spatial resolution of no more than 25m), or for the recording of individual find locations.

Once a site area has been defined, the potential for internal structure must be evaluated. In the smallest single-period scatters encountered by surveyors – perhaps only a few meters in diameter

¹⁸¹ Waagen 2014.

¹⁸² De Neef 2016. *Contra* Cavanagh 2004 “What you see is what you get”.

¹⁸³ Bar-Yosef and Goren 1980; Ammerman *et al.* 2013.

¹⁸⁴ Gkiasta 2008.

¹⁸⁵ Farinetti 2011.

¹⁸⁶ Attema *et al.* 2008; Attema, De Haas *et al.* 2010a; Tol 2012: 52.

¹⁸⁷ Van Leusen 2010; Van Leusen and Ryan 2001.

– the potential for internal structure is virtually absent, and the amount of material is so small that a ‘total’ collection (if not always advisable for other reasons) presents no problems. By contrast, large, complex (e.g. urban) sites require both a sampling approach (as the amount and weight of material is far beyond what could be studied) and a consideration of the size and position of the spatial units into which it should be divided. Thus, topography and structural remains that are either visible in the field or detected by other means (cf. section 3) should generate hypotheses regarding the possibly different activities that might have been ongoing in different parts of the site, and current and historical land use/land cover should determine the resolution of the survey: for example, if unploughed, much less ‘smearing’ of surface finds is likely to have occurred, so more of the original structure in the surface scatter might still be detectable. To deal with overwhelming amounts of surface material, various sampling strategies may be applied depending on what it is that the survey director intends to achieve. If a quantitative comparison between all of the survey units covering the site is desired, with no distinction between finds classes, then the sample design can focus on obtaining a random sample of a given size from each survey unit; if the main goal is to detect functional or chronological differences between units, a more ‘diagnostic’ approach should be taken.

No matter whether we are dealing with off-site, ‘background’, scatters, simple small or complex large sites, the survey *intensity* (time and effort expended per area covered) is the parameter that determines both how much area can be covered, and how large the effect of visibility biases is likely to be. The probability that unobtrusive find types (chronological phases) and small or low-density finds scatters will be detected rises with greater intensity, and the intensity can be increased by reducing the walker interval (increasing the coverage), the walker speed (improving the detection of small and unobtrusive finds), or (at a pinch) the walker’s stance (crouching and even on-your-knees surveys having been tried out).

3 Integration of artefact-based surveys with other approaches to the archaeological landscape

In this section we focus on complementary approaches to ground-based artefact survey to the mapping of archaeological landscapes. Aerial photography, traditionally an effective tool to map larger scale features in the landscape, is now supplemented by a range of high-resolution remote sensing techniques at all scales, from satellites to drones. On the ground, geophysical prospection methods offer the possibility to detect subsurface archaeological features, but also natural features, that can be correlated with the surface artefact record, enhancing the interpretation of both. As mentioned earlier, the integration of surface survey with the study of the palaeoenvironment, of slope processes and other aspects of geoarchaeology leads to a greater understanding of the gaps in our data. Finally we discuss survey in relation to the recording of field systems and still standing buildings.

3.1 Remote sensing

Active and often oblique low altitude aerial photography of the archaeological landscape has a major role to play in survey, allowing an appreciation of a site’s size and its relation to roads, field systems, geomorphological features etc.¹⁸⁸ Flying over the same landscape at different moments of the year, under changing visibility conditions, detects a wider range of sites and features. The Aerial Photographic Archive of the Middle East (APAAME) initiated by David Kennedy is an excellent example of the worth of aerial photography for archaeology. Repeated revisits in different seasons and weather conditions provide a wealth of information on archaeological sites, their environmental setting and state of preservation.¹⁸⁹ In the Potenza Valley, integration of aerial

¹⁸⁸ Bourgeois and Meganck 2005; Barber 2011; Vermeulen 2013.

¹⁸⁹ www.apaame.org



Figure 13. Enhanced orthophoto, based on oblique aerial photography, of the site of Montarice (Marche, Italy) with many crop marks, mostly belonging to an Iron Age village-type of settlement discovered within the Potenza valley Survey project (Vermeulen *et al.* 2017).

prospection with artefact surveys teaches that both approaches complement each other, notably for protohistoric sites with minimal surface architecture (Figure 13).¹⁹⁰ Similar results were obtained in Spain (Figure 14).¹⁹¹ Alternative devices to planes (kites, balloons, drones) currently are being used to gather aerial imagery, combining speed, image quality and low-cost, and now adding near-infrared and LiDAR (Light Detection and Ranging) to their capabilities.¹⁹² The use of inexpensive drones to create medium-altitude images of survey sites from some 100-150m altitude is an invaluable tool for highlighting locational decisions,¹⁹³ but experiments with very low altitude drones to record surface ceramic densities (e.g. 3m) raise legal difficulties and risk missing fine detail of diverse ceramic spreads of varying age and visibility.¹⁹⁴

It is important for recording land use changes over time, to access historical cartography in pre remote sensing times, to understand modified geomorphology and allow the ‘restitution’ of the surface record to changed or even vanished landforms. Historical photographs (e.g. the excellent

¹⁹⁰ Vermeulen 2016b; Vermeulen *et al.* 2017.

¹⁹¹ Garcia Sanchez and Carmona Ballesteros 2017.

¹⁹² Forte and Campana 2016.

¹⁹³ Bintliff 2019.

¹⁹⁴ Orengo and Garcia-Molsosa 2019.



Figure 14. Distribution of beige fabric over the Iron Age dump area and settlement of El Espinillo (Villadiego, Burgos, Spain). In grey: survey grids of 20m by 20m. In black: aerial photography interpretation of features associated with the site (García Sánchez and Carmona Ballesteros 2017: fig. 12).

Second World War imagery), as well as widely available, high-resolution views from Google Maps or Bing Maps, are useful in regions where aerial archaeology flights have seldom been achieved.¹⁹⁵ Corona satellite photographs taken in the 1960s offer perspectives in the Near East on landscapes prior to the massive development of the post-1960s (e.g. the Euphrates Valley).¹⁹⁶ The visibility of surface sites in the form of soil discolouration and sherd scatters varies greatly according to climate, vegetation and geomorphology, but remote sensing can yield spectacular results in arid terrains.¹⁹⁷ ‘Groundtruthing’ by inspection of potential sites is required to accurately evaluate the remote signals, however, and achieve chronological attribution. In the Guadiana Valley, Spain, the USAF 1956 and other photogrammetric flights were used to quantify terrain modifications produced by intensive agriculture and changes of the river course, helping to understand how sites and off-site distributions were affected and to explain empty areas or surface exposure of finds.¹⁹⁸ Some surveys are now being carried out entirely on this basis where political conditions require (large areas of the Near East).

LiDAR has been popular since the start of the 21st century, mostly for detecting archaeological features located in inaccessible terrains or covered by dense vegetation,¹⁹⁹ but increasingly used for analysing survey results.²⁰⁰ In southwestern Spain, LiDAR allowed teams to penetrate non-ploughed terrains to detect Roman rural sites and medieval field systems.²⁰¹ In the Italian Matese mountains, field survey aided by a LiDAR-derived DEM (digital elevation model) and intra-site

¹⁹⁵ Vermeulen 2013.

¹⁹⁶ Pournelle 2007.

¹⁹⁷ E.g. Philip *et al.* 2005.

¹⁹⁸ Pérez Alvarez *et al.* 2013.

¹⁹⁹ Opitz 2016.

²⁰⁰ Ainsworth *et al.* 2013.

²⁰¹ Parini *et al.* forthcoming.

sampling survey has been applied to a Samnite fortification.²⁰² At an intra-site level, Grau Mira used LiDAR visualisations to interpret Iron Age settlements in the southeast of Spain.²⁰³ In the heavily-wooded peninsula of Istria in Croatia, LiDAR has allowed an entire Roman centuriated landscape to be discovered.²⁰⁴

3.2 Geophysical survey

Since the 1980s, we observe the revolutionary impact of multiple, swift geophysical techniques to sites of all sizes.²⁰⁵ Since magnetic survey detects most types of archaeological features, other geophysical survey techniques are less commonly applied, being more time consuming and expensive. However, feature detection through multiple parameters enhances interpretation, while DGPS equipped multi-instrument platforms and towed arrays allow rapid collection of more extensive but also higher resolution geophysical datasets. Total survey of large, complex sites requires all relevant geophysical approaches: geomagnetic survey, earth resistance prospections and georadar survey. Examples of terrain modelling, geomagnetism and localised excavation, are at the Roman urban site of Ammaia, Portugal (Figure 15) and the Roman town of Mariana, Corsica (Figure 16).²⁰⁶

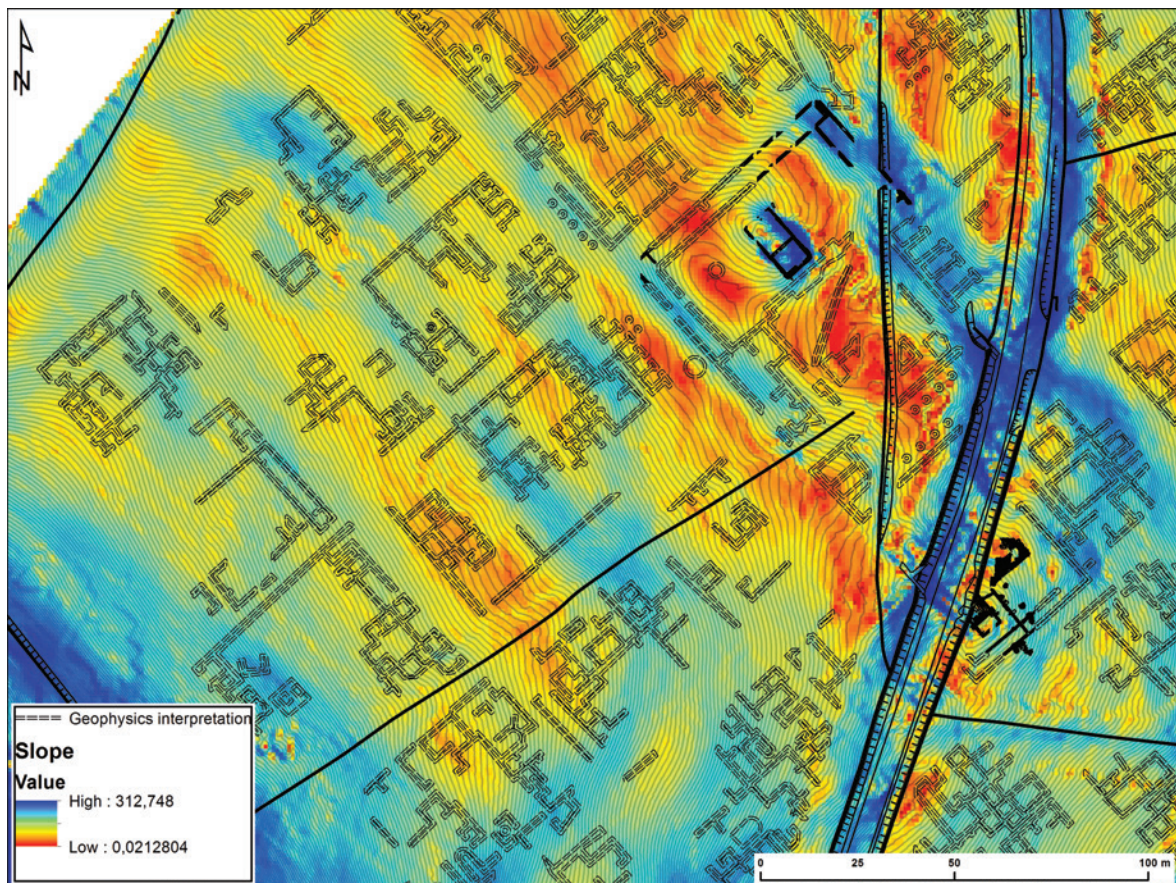


Figure 15. Integrating a Digital Terrain Model, obtained with total station and Differential GPS instruments, and interpreted data from geomagnetic prospections and point excavations in the central area of the urban site of *Ammaia* (Alentejo, Portugal) (after Vermeulen 2016a, elaboration E. Paliou).

²⁰² García Sánchez and Termeer forthcoming.

²⁰³ Grau Mira 2017.

²⁰⁴ Popovic, Bulic *et al.* in press

²⁰⁵ For overviews cf. Corsi *et al.* 2013; Sarris 2015.

²⁰⁶ Vermeulen 2016a; Vermeulen *et al.* 2017.

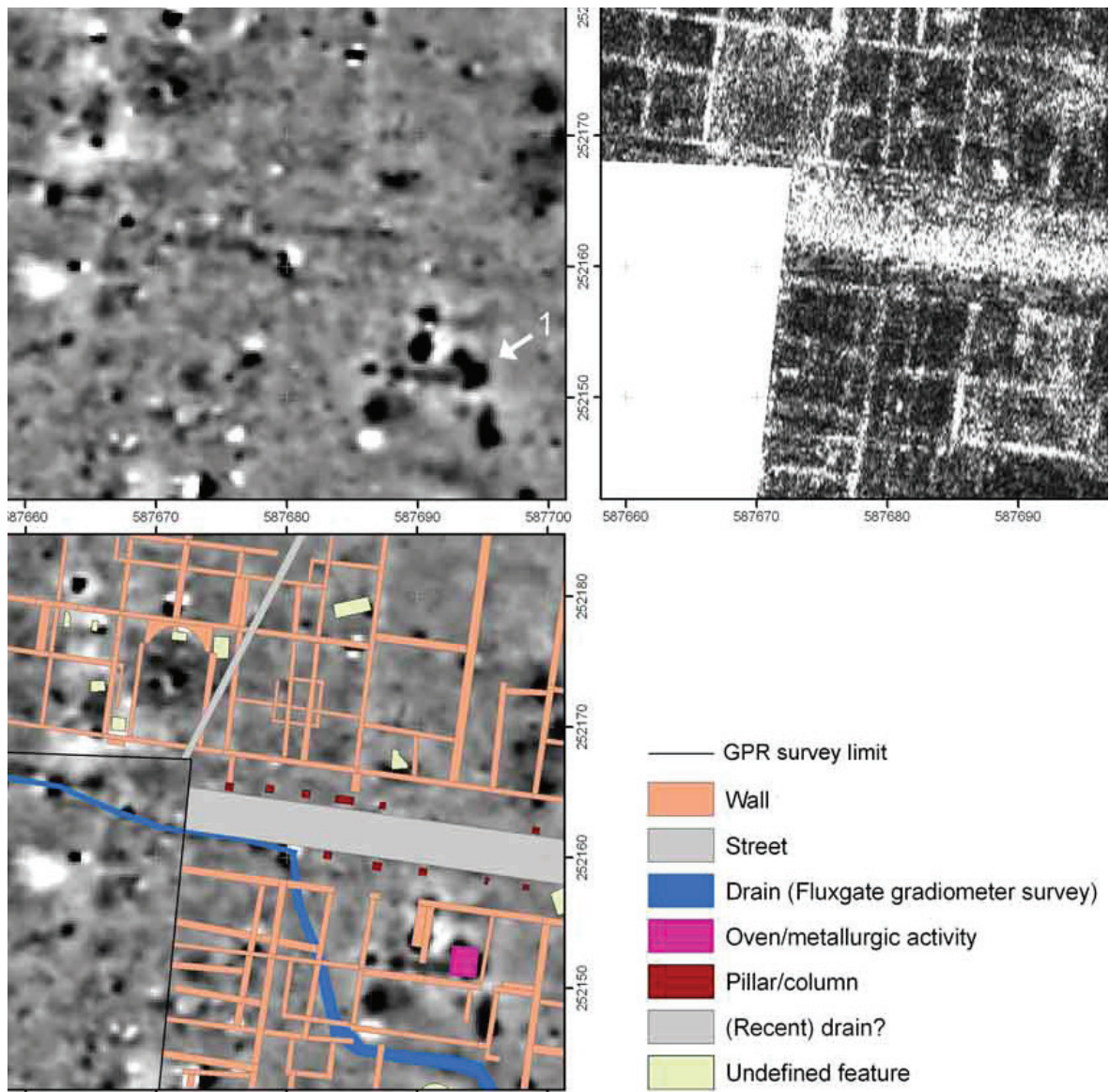


Figure 16. Integration of GPR (Georadar) (right) and geomagnetic (left) prospecting imagery allowed advanced interpretation of the buried evidence of a probable metallurgic workshop and a porticoed street at the Roman town site of *Mariana* (Corsica, France) (after Vermeulen 2016a, elaboration L. Verdonck).

The recurrent problem of the suburbs of large complex sites, where they begin and end, and what activities went on inside them, can also be addressed through geophysics. At the ancient city of Tanagra in Greece, massive extramural manuring for kilometres from the standing city walls obscures the specifics of activities immediately beyond the standing urban enceinte through the study of surface finds. Large-scale geophysical survey revealed that the current wall line is of Late Antiquity, whereas the earlier Greek town was one-and-a-half times larger, since both housing blocks and an earlier town wall could be identified.²⁰⁷

Recent large-scale geophysics shows that off-site features are preserved in rural areas, invisible to pedestrian surveys: canals, centuriation, pits and other structures without ceramic or stone building material.²⁰⁸ In landscapes of extensive plains and large fields, geophysical survey now performs over several contiguous square kilometres, deploying vehicular arrays, as with Italian

²⁰⁷ Bintliff *et al.* 2013; Meyer *et al.* 2017.

²⁰⁸ Tol *et al.* 2014.

projects in the Po Valley and Tuscany; entire landscapes of fossil watercourses, field systems and sites are revealed.²⁰⁹ Moreover, concerning ‘hidden landscapes’ leaving only vestigial artefact scatters, remote sensing can now tie these to subsurface structures.²¹⁰

However, geophysics is not a straightforward shortcut to evaluate sites where excavation evidence is poor to non-existent. These approaches have varied success dependent on the geology, land use and nature of sites, and even when plans are well-exposed, multi-period sites pose serious problems in disentangling structural remains by date. The most impressive results derive from single period plans rather than multi-period settlements.

3.3 *Geoarchaeological approaches*

The regional character of survey data make them very suitable for integration and comparison with palaeoenvironmental data, such as palynological and geomorphological studies. This not only helps us evaluate and understand the environmental basis of the cultural patterns emerging from our surveys; it also helps us understand the biases introduced in our dataset by natural landscape processes and past and anthropogenic actions.

Modern land evaluation according to FAO rules, combined with palaeogeographical reconstructions based on extensive geoarchaeological studies, can be used to evaluate the suitability of past landscapes for various agricultural uses, but if we combine it with the geological concept of ‘erosion response units’ we can also use it to evaluate the processes affecting the integrity and visibility of the surface archaeological record over time. In the Pontine Region, Italy, the combined survey, pedological and palynological research has led to a model of land evaluation by archaeological phase and types of land use from prehistory to Late Antiquity,²¹¹ while geoarchaeological research has led to a better understanding of biases in the surface record caused by erosion and sedimentation.²¹² These results could not have been attained by any of the disciplines in isolation. A similar multidisciplinary approach was taken in southwestern Turkey by the Sagalassos project, where geomorphologists, geologists, palynologists and archaeologists worked together.²¹³ For remoter periods, notably in the pre-Holocene era, contemporary surface deposits may only survive as residual palimpsests, so that Palaeolithic survey may benefit by targeting presently-accessible palaeosols and other geomorphic surfaces identified by geomorphologists as belonging to this vast period.²¹⁴

In all cases, the first step in evaluating the effects of the physical landscape on the presence and detectability of the cultural materials on its surface consists of landscape classification.²¹⁵ This is a systematic segmentation of the study area into geomorphological units, each with its own set of relevant past and surface processes, soil types, and land use history, that allows us to evaluate both its suitability for past land use and the likely state of preservation and visibility of the archaeological surface record. Rather than focusing on a single landscape unit or process as has been typical of many otherwise excellent geoarchaeological studies in the past, this approach systematically evaluates all of the study area, including identifying units where further research is needed to make the evaluation possible. Tony Wilkinson usefully borrowed Christopher Taylor’s concept of ‘landscapes of survival and landscapes of destruction’ to offer generalisations on the differential visibility of surface archaeology across the Near East.²¹⁶

²⁰⁹ Campana 2011a, 2011b, 2016, 2017.

²¹⁰ Campana 2017; De Neef 2016.

²¹¹ Kamermans 2004; Van Joolen 2003; cf. Chapman *et al.* 1996 for a Croatian parallel.

²¹² Feiken 2014; see Attema 2016 for a more general view on sedimentation as a geomorphological bias in survey of the coastal plains of Italy.

²¹³ Dusat *et al.* 2012; Bakker *et al.* 2012; Dirix *et al.* 2013.

²¹⁴ E.g. Tourloukis 2011.

²¹⁵ Feiken 2014; Van Leusen and Feiken 2007.

²¹⁶ Wilkinson 2004.

3.4 Survey and field systems

The widespread creation of regular field grids by Greek, Roman and later state-societies to publicly apportion land (especially after drainage or state-sponsored colonisation), has long been visible from air photographs and can be checked through field survey.²¹⁷ In the centuriated territory of Pisa with considerable continuity of use since Antiquity, place names derived from Roman roads and milestones link aerial photos and surface survey to pre-modern roads and settlement foci such as Roman road-stations.²¹⁸

Recent European heritage initiatives encourage retaining historic field systems.²¹⁹ Characterising them by phase offers a new framework for associated surface artefacts. On Naxos, Greece, mapping field systems of different age was successfully combined with ceramic survey and historic church survey.²²⁰ Roman field systems in France and Spain are being analysed through field survey and palaeoenvironmental records.²²¹ In the Negev, aerial photography has documented run-off irrigation systems,²²² while the OSL technique can now date the accumulated sediments tied to canals and terraces²²³ and attest the presence of water-logged conditions, thereby positively identifying run-off irrigation between 1000 BC and AD 1000.²²⁴

In this context it is also worth mentioning the potential of combining LiDAR data (see *infra*) with historical air photography, to map spaces that by mid-20th century were still cultivated, but today completely abandoned, but where extensive systems of terraces, stone boundaries and many other rural facilities survive.

3.5 Survey and standing buildings

Mediterranean landscapes are bristling with pre-modern fortifications,²²⁵ early topographers focussed on these recognisable signs of ancient places. Their recording preceded artefact survey by a century, but generally styles were dated either by a 'rough to sophisticated' typology, or by reference to historical events. The rise of GIS, GPS, photogrammetry, laser-documentation and other digital tools has given new impetus to recording standing architecture. Excavation and critical analysis of previous assumptions have made clear that 'Archaic' walls may be a deliberate ornament or a reconnection to mythical pasts, indeed can be contemporary to 'advanced' and 'sophisticated' geometric shapes.²²⁶

More complex to analyse are the ubiquitous cut-stones from public and domestic structures, or burial monuments; the vast majority lack architectural pretension and till recently in the Northern and Western Mediterranean rarely received attention. However in North Africa and the Levant the Segermes, Thugga, Kasserine, Libyan Valleys, and Wadi Faynan survey reports recorded a 'fossilised agricultural landscape'²²⁷ where houses can be planned from the surface. Light, mobile Differential GPS devices can send three-dimensional point data up to 7km to a base station, rapidly locating all blocks shaped artificially, while digital photos document scaled dimensions, linked to descriptions

²¹⁷ Bradford 1957; Caillemer and Chevallier 1959; Clavel-Lévêque and Tirologos 1998, 2002; Pasquinucci 2013.

²¹⁸ Pasquinucci and Ceccarelli Lemut 1991; Marchisio *et al.* 2000: 234 and fig. 23.3.

²¹⁹ Fairclough and Rippon 2002.

²²⁰ Crow *et al.* 2011.

²²¹ Palet and Orengo 2011.

²²² E.g. Kedar 1967.

²²³ Avni *et al.* 2012.

²²⁴ Bruins and Van der Plicht 2017.

²²⁵ For an overview of current methodology for studying ancient fortifications, and the interpretative possibilities see Frederiksen *et al.* 2016; Muth *et al.* 2016.

²²⁶ E.g. at Haliartos, Greece: Donnellan *et al.* in prep.

²²⁷ Hitchner 1995: 133.

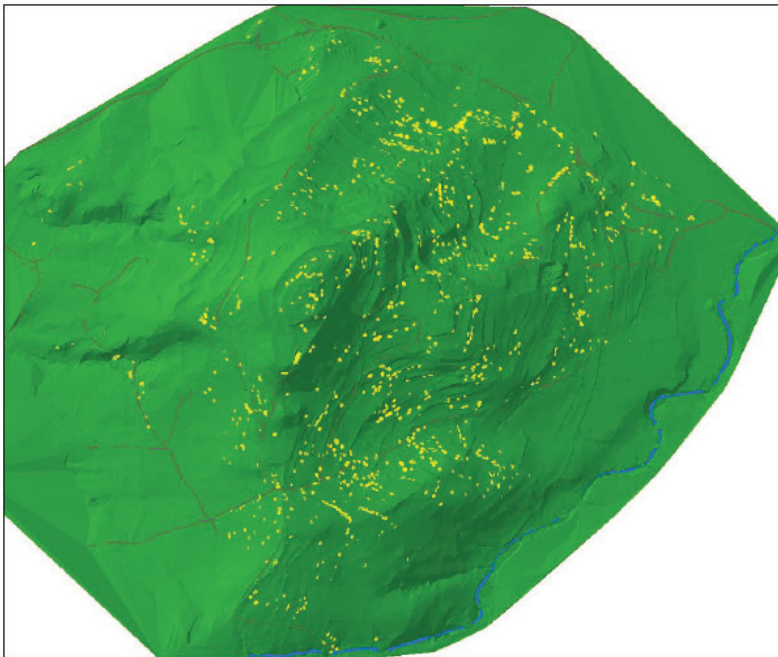


Figure 17. Plot of more than 2000 cut stone blocks on the DEM for the ancient city of Koroneia (Y. Boswinkel, B. Noordervliet and J. van Zwienen).

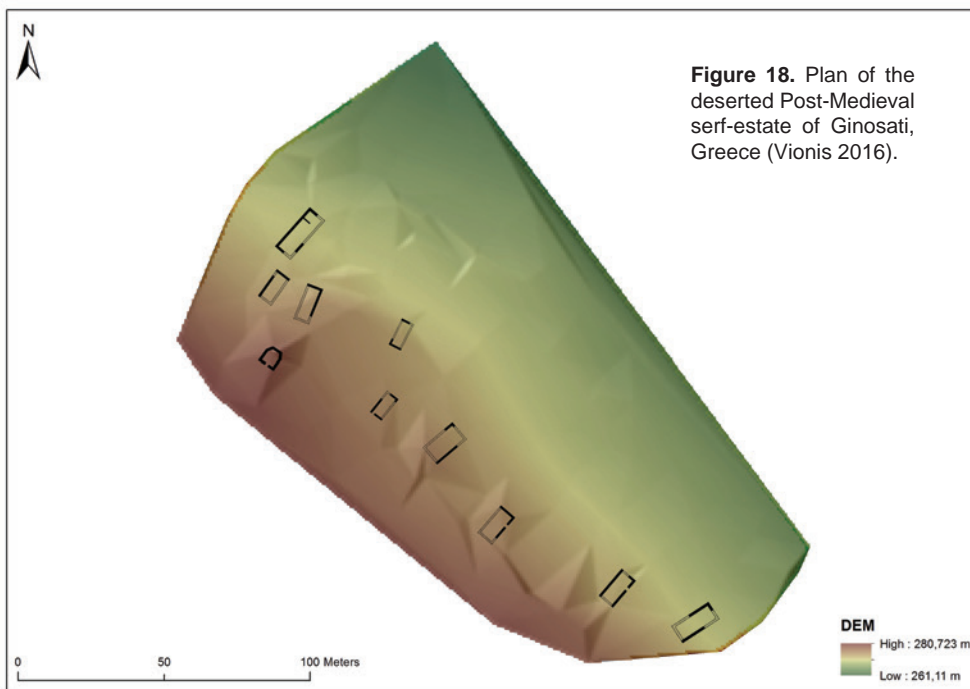


Figure 18. Plan of the deserted Post-Medieval serf-estate of Ginosati, Greece (Vionis 2016).

on palmtop devices. At ancient Koroneia city, Greece, over 2000 cut blocks were recorded and integrated into artefactual evidence for the urban infrastructure (Figure 17).²²⁸

Less obvious is the link between Medieval to modern vernacular architecture, the study of private domestic buildings, and surface survey. Deserted villages from the 14th to the 19th centuries AD reveal surface ceramics for reconstructing village life, but also house foundations. They frequently resemble rare surviving buildings in contemporary villages where they are rapidly being replaced by modern alternatives. Sub-projects can document these traditional structures, including virtual reality reconstruction, in parallel to their recording as ruins on deserted settlements (Figure 18).²²⁹

²²⁸ Boswinkel 2015; Bintliff *et al.* 2016.

²²⁹ Sigalos 2004; Piccoli 2012; Bintliff 2012b: chap. 21 and 22; Vionis 2016.

Ethnohistoric and tax-census accounts can provide many details of the associated lifestyle and material culture in such dwellings.²³⁰

3.6 Good practice in integrating artefact-based surveys with other approaches to the archaeological landscape

It goes without saying that the integration of artefact-based survey data with remote sensing, geophysical, geomorphological, and topographic data is best achieved in a GIS environment, but this presupposes that all data can be brought into a single map projection and coordinate system and has comparable precisions (scales) and resolutions (detail). Careful management of these aspects is therefore needed when collating these disparate datasets, especially when high-resolution comparisons and analyses are intended.²³¹ ‘Ready-made’ geodata from Google or Bing Maps are a very important resource in the design and conduct of field surveys, and a potential source for crop- and soil marks visible (sometimes after simple image enhancement) in aerial photographs. This is further enhanced by the ‘historical’ feature that offers photos of the area of interest in different years, seasons and stages of crop growth. Satellite and airborne remote sensing data, including historical airphotos, obtained straight from the source (nowadays, often a national or regional geoportal), if of sufficiently high resolution, can often add important new information about the state of the landscape in the mid-20th century, before it was substantially altered by recent development. However, historical airphotos will need to be digitised and adequately georeferenced before they can be integrated, enhanced and interpreted in the GIS.

The integration of geophysical work is fast becoming easier, as modern equipment produces high-quality georeferenced datasets, but generating those data is relatively costly because of the specialist work and expensive equipment involved. As noted above, the interpretation of geophysical anomalies is not a trivial matter, nor is the correlation of geophysical anomalies with other types of evidence such as surface artefact patterns and soil marks; this is a field that needs greater attention in the future.

The integration of earth science data and the results of palaeoenvironmental studies into a GIS environment poses some new technical challenges that have not been explored yet. The introduction of a third (vertical) dimension with, e.g., soil coring data and erosion/deposition simulations flags up the problems that current GIS have with true 3D data (that is, volumes), and the point-based character of many palaeoenvironmental studies introduces mapping uncertainties. For example, we use pollen cores to reconstruct vegetation types for various past periods, but there is no systematic way in which we can then place those vegetation types on the map of that period.

One growing aspect that appears to us as retrograde is the use of online databases to undertake major parts of, or even complete landscape and settlement studies without personal fieldwork at an intensive level. Available geology maps, soil maps and other published databases lack the necessary refinement at rural site level, and for the ‘site catchment’ radius of land utilisation, are very frequently just incorrect, as most surveyors will have observed when comparing these sources at specific locations. Site locations can only be reliably investigated through careful mapping of the terrain in the field, ground-truthing online information in every detail. ‘Learning with your feet’ is essential, and this is how past occupants of your landscape settled and utilised their world.

4 Laboratory artefactual study

Permits for field survey in some Mediterranean countries may restrict a team to recording in the field rather than collecting finds for laboratory study. This has become a feature of some Greek

²³⁰ Kiel 1990, 1997; Karidis and Kiel 2002.

²³¹ Armstrong and Van Leusen 2012.

survey projects and throughout Turkey. Surveyors have responded by studying finds merely on the fields concerned, even photographing diagnostic pieces. The enforced reliance on field recording for the vast majority of finds has even encouraged a shortcut, the ‘chronotype’ to be operated even where site collection is permitted (where just one piece of each diagnostic type-*sherd* is registered and not its numerical occurrence).²³² This approach has now been extended to surveys where collection limitations do not operate.²³³ We do not consider it possible to provide artefact study to modern scientific standards without significant numbers brought back to base, washed and analysed with care, and with reference collections, fabric series and textbooks to hand.

In most Mediterranean landscapes with normal soil development, surface material represents a minority of the finds within surface horizons, as field experiments have shown.²³⁴ However in semi-desert environments, notably with small pre-modern encampments, intensive collection may denude the site significantly.²³⁵ One could collect everything to create the most complete documentation, or collect the minimum for identification of periods of occupation, but leave material for future reference. Revisits are a common solution to clarify the picture emerging from laboratory analysis of the finds, especially for the minor periods represented at a site, which may only emerge at that post-sampling stage.

4.1 Ceramic collections

Survey pottery allows us to interpret at chronological and geographical resolutions that excavation cannot match.

Basic parameters. Fabric, shape and surface treatment/decoration form the basics for classifying and understanding pottery. Peacock’s methodology for describing fabrics offers a useful hands-on approach.²³⁶ Pincers (for a fresh break), a good hand lens and a USB microscope, are affordable tools to capture the essential data. The Boeotia Project profits immensely from a reference collection begun 15 years ago, growing ever since, which revolves around fabric and shape. The Pontine Region Project in the late 1990s developed a regional fabric classification to date survey pottery more securely, thereby departing from the restricted, stratigraphically-anchored excavated materials from the site of Satricum.²³⁷ Recent work has elongated this classification into the Roman period.²³⁸ The deployment of fabric classes has allowed the principle of diagnosticity to extend well beyond the traditional reliance on shape, surface finish or decoration for dating and sourcing ceramics.

What to study, and how? Diagnostic fragments, traditionally the rim, base and/or handle(s), undoubtedly comprise the core material with which to enter the fields of chronology, typology and provenance, but for many categories of more commonly encountered vessels these constitute only a small part of a vessel. Body sherds, undecorated/untreated and decorated/treated, can nonetheless add significant information, for example, currents in exchange and style that are not represented among the diagnostic material. Fabric analysis should be an essential component to distinguish function (e.g, between cooking and storage wares). Extremely helpful is the manual published by the ACSG (the Ancient Ceramics Studies Group).²³⁹ This manual (*A Standard for Pottery Assemblages in Archaeology*) details methodological and interpretive approaches for the study of ancient pottery.

²³² Caraher *et al.* 2006.

²³³ Caraher *et al.* 2014.

²³⁴ Reynolds 1982; Bintliff and Snodgrass 1988a.

²³⁵ E.g. Rosen 1993b, 1994.

²³⁶ Peacock 1977.

²³⁷ Attema and Van Oortmerssen 1997; Attema *et al.* 2003.

²³⁸ Borgers and Tol 2016; Borgers *et al.* 2016.

²³⁹ The publication is downloadable from <https://medievalceramics.wordpress.com/a-standard-for-pottery-studies-in-archaeology/>

Research foci. Beyond the classificatory stage: what knowledge do we wish to extract? First, **chronology** remains a prime focus. Without understanding the chronological nature of the pottery, we simply would not, or much less, understand settlement and landscape change and continuity. Published typologies and related literature of course are essential guides here. Second, **shape**, which combined with fabric and/or decoration potentially informs us about **function**, in turn assisting in understanding the character of areas or sites in terms of functional zoning. Determining the (potential) **provenance** through fabric and shape situates a site or region with regard to manufacture and exchange on local, regional and/or supra-regional scales, and how these aspects also may have fluctuated over time. In turn, the resultant knowledge can form the basis for larger intra- and interregional, diachronic comparative exercises.²⁴⁰

What next? Despite increasing efforts in improving the methodology, for now we should accept a greater proportion of unidentifiable material in comparison to excavation archaeology. Projects, however, greatly benefit from returning to their stored material at a later stage, because of the idea of progressive insight, especially relevant for long-running projects. The toolkit of those working in the field will undoubtedly increase, with devices and apparatus becoming smaller and easier to transport (e.g. portable XRF-readers).

4.2 Lithic collections

With surface lithics on intensive survey, the nature of the site and pre-determined goals of the survey are central. Materials disturbed by ploughing represent a fraction of material in situ.²⁴¹ Intensive sampling of all lithic materials (debris, debitage, and tools) offers better appreciation of technology, a better reflection of actual lithic activities, and better collection of fossil indices for dating. Given that most surveyors have little understanding of lithic assemblages, a non-selective process reduces the chances of biases in collection caused by the ‘pretty piece’ syndrome.²⁴²

For small surface sites intensive partial collection can seriously impact the original assemblage. For surveys where the focus is site chronology, minimal collection of diagnostic artefacts is preferable. However, given that most surveyors will not be sufficiently acquainted with lithic types to identify diagnostics, intensive photography of numerous artefacts (now possible with digital cameras) offers a partial solution, boosting the sample collected where helpful. Ideally, intensive collection of the entire in situ surface assemblage, one not disturbed by ploughing, by scraping the surface to 5-10cm depth and sieving,²⁴³ essentially offers full comprehension of small sites (of the order of 50m²).

4.3 Good practice in the study of survey artefact collections

The procedures followed in survey artefact studies should always ensure the integrity of the documentation, that is, they should never ‘break’ the link between the physical artefacts and their metadata established during the survey. This can be hard to achieve especially when finds specialists operate independently, and at different times, from the survey director. Protocols should therefore be in place that help prevent accidental loss of the ‘origin’ of the finds, and that ensure that storage records are kept up-to-date.

While for the classical periods certain ceramic wares are well studied, such as Greek and Roman finewares, and fragments found in survey can be dated in some cases fairly precisely using reference works, the bulk of survey ceramic is in the first instance non-diagnostic and needs to be studied

²⁴⁰ Bes and Poblome 2017; Tol 2017.

²⁴¹ Ammerman 1985.

²⁴² Rosen 1997: 37.

²⁴³ Goring-Morris 1987.

with the help of regional reference collections, if available, and specialist knowledge. It is therefore recommended in each survey project to build a reference collection of fabrics and wares right from the start and to include ceramic specialists in the survey team. Ceramic samples need to cover all fabric and ware groups that occur in the field from site and off-site contexts, and a relation must be established between diagnostic forms (rims, bases, handles) and body sherds to increase the chronological and functional value of the latter. The analysis of lithics needs a dedicated specialist. Careful documentation and publication of finds assemblages and individual sherds is imperative. Creating floating assemblages for fabric types, artefact and assemblage groups not reported previously, allows new phases and novel assemblage combinations to be created, with the aim of later tying them to chronological sequences or specific cultural behaviours.

5. The search for wider interpretations of survey results

The ultimate goal of intensive survey in the Mediterranean is to offer integrated insights into regional and interregional trends, and historical processes in the short-, medium- and long-term.²⁴⁴ The central interdisciplinary, historical issues to which Mediterranean Survey may significantly contribute are historical ecology, demography, economy, and the social complexity of past societies, all these at different spatial and temporal scales.

The rural sector is traditionally perceived as slow-changing, and non-receptive to higher level, socio-economic dynamics. Despite numerous theoretical and historical studies exploring the role of the countryside in ancient society and economy, and despite the number of regional projects carried out over recent decades, it is clear that survey archaeology has still much to contribute to this field. We assume that the organisation of settlement in the countryside (the settlement network and settlement types) must be closely related to contemporary agrarian and social relations. Changes in the relations, or the strategies, of production should be traceable in rural settlement patterns. A number of studies have addressed this topic,²⁴⁵ but survey archaeology must do more to enrich socio-economic or historical debates. It seems that the reasons behind this situation reside in fundamental problems which survey archaeologists face when interpreting the data gathered in the field: the difficulty of relating site types to social hierarchies and forms of land-ownership, of linking historical sources in the short-term to ceramic dates often spanning centuries or more, and the issue of distinguishing residential from seasonal and non-residential sites. Related issues: is one dealing with a villa or a hamlet or a cluster of dispersed peasant farms? Is a small farm an independent peasant, a sharecropper, or a serf or slave? Can surface finds detect any distinctions to guide us?

Studies of economic exchange and systems of production and distribution have long focused on long-distance trade, easily investigated through distribution patterns of well-known ceramic classes (e.g. finewares such as terra sigillata and African Red Slip, or Roman amphorae). With increasing knowledge of regional ceramics (particularly coarsewares), it is now possible to address such questions in more detail, allowing a fuller understanding of economic exchange and the integration of rural landscapes. Crucial in such work are detailed ceramic studies, which should combine typological and petrographic analyses of survey ceramics, linking evidence from production contexts with consumption contexts.²⁴⁶ Such research is now showing that on Roman Imperial rural sites, in even relatively remote parts of Roman Italy, a substantial proportion of the ceramics is imported, either from the wider region or from further away.²⁴⁷ This hints at the rather high degree of integration of rural areas in the Roman economy of Italy.²⁴⁸ In contrast in

²⁴⁴ Braudel 1972; Bintliff 1991; Horden and Purcell 1998; Bintliff 2012b; Broodbank 2013.

²⁴⁵ Alcock 1993; Cavanagh *et al.* 2002; Bintliff *et al.* 2007; De Haas *et al.* 2011.

²⁴⁶ Borgers and Tol 2016.

²⁴⁷ Menchelli 2012.

²⁴⁸ De Haas and Tol 2017.

Greece, the majority of ceramics throughout Classical Antiquity are made within individual city landscapes or their wider region, with only a minority of imports from interregional commerce.²⁴⁹

For the Late Roman Mediterranean, survey archaeologists have underlined the astonishing proliferation of Late Roman eastern ceramics (c. AD 400–650). However Pettegrew, using Eastern Corinthia Survey data, has challenged whether immense amounts of amphorae and finewares reflect real population boom or heightened pottery visibility and diagnosticity.²⁵⁰ Nonetheless close-dating for the Middle to Late Roman era for widely-traded ceramics, allows sophisticated analyses of the varying access of provincial towns, villages, villas and farms to interregional trading systems. Peeters used survey assemblages to track African Red Slip tableware in different Central Greek city landscapes.²⁵¹ Clear contrasts emerged regarding access to Late Roman commercial systems between individual cities, correlated with a greater or lesser import penetration into their rural hinterlands, and this changed significantly over the centuries.

Beyond deepening our understanding of prehistoric and ancient domestic life, survey reveals information for periods where traditional excavation has made only limited progress, for example rural life in the Ottoman Empire. Vionis studied everyday life on two Post-Medieval villages in Greece, the deserted hamlets of Panaya and Ginosati (see earlier Fig. 15), where standing remains of simple one-storey houses survived, in the latter case alongside the estate-manager's tower house (konak).²⁵² Panaya, a large independent community of relative wealth, is mostly occupied from the Early Ottoman period, 15th to 16th century AD, showing a wide range of wares including many exotic imports. In contrast, the surface ceramics at the small serf-estate of Ginosati, mostly later, late 16th to 18th century AD, were of rough quality, lacking exotic or expensive imports. The comparison from ceramics could be linked directly to the tax records where crop and animal production as well as other details of village wealth were carefully recorded. This study firstly documents the grass-roots effects of the decline of the Ottoman state from Early to Middle Imperial times, but also allows a general characterisation of the degree of access of rural peasants to long-distance products or alternatively their reliance on regional ceramic products, as well as their relative prosperity (developing ideas pioneered by Hugo Blake²⁵³ for Italian rural life using ceramic assemblages).

Archaeologists currently find themselves in a situation in which data are increasingly being delivered online. This 'data deluge' comes in many formats, from digitised archives and digital repositories, to newly scanned grey literature and legacy publications, to newly-born digital photographs, geophysical results and satellite imagery.²⁵⁴ This deluge is not so much a single event as a constantly expanding stream of material flowing onto the internet and making itself available for consultation. How does the intrepid researcher begin to tackle the 'big data revolution' that will no doubt form a key part of the future of archaeological survey?

An important reason for creating good practices in archaeological surface survey is to facilitate the aggregation of data from multiple projects so that combined datasets can be easily consulted and analysed simultaneously. It may sound overly optimistic to say, but big data should play to the strengths of survey archaeology. Field survey research has rarely been undertaken out of an interest in just one river valley, but in that valley as part of a larger society and economy. A logical corollary of this approach is that good practices for surveys need to be established so that important historical issues, such as standards of living and demographic trends, can be assessed comparatively through the aggregation of datasets. Likewise, archaeological questions concerning

²⁴⁹ Bes and Poblome 2017.

²⁵⁰ Pettegrew 2007.

²⁵¹ Peeters 2012; Peeters *et al.* forthcoming.

²⁵² Vionis 2006, 2016.

²⁵³ Blake 1980.

²⁵⁴ Bevan 2015.

the distribution of artefact types (not necessarily from a culture-historical perspective) are also tailor-made for big-data analyses.

While there is no single location for the deposit of data pertaining to Mediterranean surveys, our aim is to encourage researchers to share their data in easily accessible formats in places where other archaeologists will find them. These places include well-known locations designed for archaeologists (*Archaeology Data Service*, *DANS-Easy*, *tDAR*, and *Open Context*,²⁵⁵ in addition to resources linked to presses and academic web sites. University research repositories may be good locations for academic researchers to place their data, as they often entail far lower costs than commercially-available options. Whatever repository is chosen, the more critical decision concerns which data files are included and how they are formatted. Here, it is helpful to follow the guidelines of experienced services.²⁵⁶ These guidelines give clear advice about topics like file formats and metadata so that files are not only readable by other archaeologists, but also capable of integration with the results of many other projects. It goes without saying that while some of the greatest value of surveys lies in the possibility to aggregate their data, this aggregation will be useful only if data collection and publication are transparent, and permit datasets to be connected without great efforts.

Archaeologists conducting analyses of multi-project survey data sets face no easy task. Even when methodologies are clearly explained and metadata adequately demonstrate the steps taken from collection to data entry through analysis and publication, a number of problematic issues concerning the comparison of survey data have been well-considered elsewhere.²⁵⁷ The available data will undoubtedly be incomplete, leaving the researcher with some level of uncertainty. In such cases, a Bayesian method that expresses results according to a percentage of certainty may present the best analytical option for researchers. A recent study of the published ceramic assemblages from 14 Italian archaeological projects (both excavations and surveys) utilised Bayesian inferences to examine the convergence and divergence of vessel types and wares from 200 BC to AD 20.²⁵⁸ The analysis showed that, despite scholarly arguments that the reign of Augustus inaugurated a period of convergence in material culture, ceramic assemblages from different Italian regions did not indicate such a convergence – with at least 90% certainty. In fact, these assemblages showed that “distinctions in the habits of eating and drinking proceed according to their own logic and are not necessarily tied to singular causes or events.”²⁵⁹ The number of similar studies of large datasets is increasing. One of the skills of the archaeologist of the future will certainly be to understand how to maximise the potential of linked open data. Current pressures to move academic publications from commercial outlets to open-access will play a key role in these future developments.

However some final cautionary remarks on such developments. A growing tendency to produce syntheses of long-term multi-regional trends in settlement, by combining data from multiple separate survey publications, bypasses the essential requirement to carry out a ‘source-critical’ assessment of the way each project has collected and analysed its data. This can create historical ‘factoids’ where apparent contrasts are the result of divergent survey methodologies. It is currently extremely difficult to make easy comparisons of separate survey projects where the personnel do not overlap. One of the best examples relies on firsthand experience by the authors of many of the surveys being brought into synthesis.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁵ Note especially the contribution of Kansa’s work here: <https://opencontext.org/about/bibliography>.

²⁵⁶ cf. the DANS guide to social science data archiving (<https://dans.knaw.nl/nl/over/organisatie-beleid/publicaties/DANSpreparingdataforsharing.pdf>) and the ADS guidelines for depositors (<https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/advice/guidelinesForDepositors.xhtml>).

²⁵⁷ Alcock and Cherry 2004.

²⁵⁸ Collins-Elliott 2017.

²⁵⁹ Collins-Elliott 2017: 47.

²⁶⁰ Wilkinson *et al.* 2014.

6. Good practice in Mediterranean survey in 17 recommendations

Below we outline standards of good practice in the form of 17 recommendations, subdivided in sections covering the research design (A), the primary data recording and collection (B), the finds' processing (C), and post-survey data elaboration, publication, storage and archiving (D).

What constitutes good practice of archaeological field survey in the Mediterranean depends to a large degree on the time of writing. From a technological point of view, the use of GPS and PDAs or smartphones has allowed us to make increasingly detailed and accurate digital field records, and the day seems not far away when the recording of each individual walker, and even each individual find, becomes standard practice. Similarly, analogue record-taking on field and processing forms is increasingly giving way to 'digital-born' recording and real-time server connections – though here, as the reader will see below, we are more cautious in advocating fully digital procedures in view of potential issues with data safety. So these recommendations necessarily cover *current* good practice.

Furthermore, these recommendations cannot cover all forms of systematic archaeological field survey, which range from the 'topographic' via the 'extensive' and 'intensive' to such experimental approaches as Van der Velde's point sampling survey on Sardinia.²⁶¹ We will here assume that the current standard Mediterranean survey project employs student teams (whether trained or untrained) to conduct systematic counting, collecting and documenting of artefacts and sites within contiguous areas, using standardised survey units, in order to produce as reliable a map of the surface archaeological record as possible.

A. Recommendations for good practice in research design

Recommendation 1: Produce a formal research design

Before starting the actual survey a well-thought-out written research design is needed that is in line with standards of good practice for intensive survey in the Mediterranean. This should state the research aims and goals, and describe in detail the procedures and protocols that will be followed to achieve those goals. Procedures and protocols should be designed for maximum clarity, minimum risk of recording errors and data loss, and maximum ease of data archiving, and should be the basis for training survey participants. Recording forms and labels should contain clear headings that prompt unequivocal information.

Recommendation 2: Delineate your survey area

In any intensive survey project there should be, as part of the research design, a clear relation between the research questions asked and the choice and delineation of the survey area. Is the size of the survey area suited to capture the data needed and is sufficient environmental diversity included? Is intensive survey possible in most of the survey area or only in very limited and/or specific parts of the landscape causing uneven coverage and therefore representativity of the archaeological record? Parts of the landscape that, for some archaeological periods, are inaccessible due to excessive erosion or sedimentation must be excluded from the design unless that design includes alternative research approaches. Be explicit in your choices and state why in some cases standard gridded survey was not possible and you had to revert to other survey methods.

Recommendation 3: Decide on your survey intensity and spatial resolution

Within the limits of your resources, the survey must be able to yield the kinds and quality of data that you need for your interpretations. Quality is determined, other than by the composition

²⁶¹ Van der Velde 2001.

of your survey team, mainly by survey intensity (time spent per area surveyed) and resolution (extent of standard survey unit). The higher your resolution, the lower the risk that finds' scatters are not recognised in the field or during later analysis of the data. Therefore not only should walker intervals be less than the diameter of the smallest scatter that you wish to reliably detect, but standard survey units should be smaller than the modal expected site size (i.e. have a spatial resolution of no more than 25m). To decide upon the minimum necessary intensity of your survey, teams should be field-tested to ensure they can reliably detect the finds' classes of interest.

Recommendation 4: Evaluate post-depositional processes and visibility/accessibility

Since survey results are obtained through the 'filters' of current land use/land cover (LULC) plus historical natural and anthropogenic post-depositional processes, the research design should be explicit about whether and how the investigator will study and record these filters. In practice, this means that the investigator must have sufficient knowledge of physical geography or obtain the help of a physical geographer. Ideally, a geoarchaeological study of the survey area should precede and guide the survey itself.

A desktop assessment of available geological and topographic cartography should suffice to segment the study area into landscape units that are internally homogeneous but have distinct affordances for past settlement and land use and distinct overall post-depositional histories; these can serve as the strata for your stratified landscape sampling design. However, for a more specific assessment of post-depositional histories a physical geographer should also be involved in the survey itself, identifying and mapping slope processes at approximately the same scale or resolution as has been chosen for the archaeological survey – typically, 1:5000 to 1:1000. The scale of published geological and soil maps is too large to record the effects of slope process or indeed most other relevant geographical information in sufficient detail.

Where there are significant concerns about the quality of the records made during the survey, especially on sites, a program of revisits is recommended. Revisits will allow the collection of more diagnostic material, or material of more periods (especially when specialists are brought along), or they may lead to a more reliable record of the size, shape, density and other aspects of the site under better visibility circumstances.

Recommendation 5: Be aware of and document research biases²⁶²

Research biases operate at three levels that occur at any stage from the definition of research aims through the design and execution of the fieldwork, and into the analytical and interpretive stages. *Conceptual biases* are biases caused by the classification of data under preconceived concepts – notably the tendency to study only some geographical, typological, and chronological parts of the available archaeological record. *Visibility biases* are research biases caused by regional and local variations in the visibility of the archaeological record, quantifiable as a *retrieval rate*, i.e. the probability that artefacts lying within a walker's transect will be recorded. *Observer biases* are concerned with the ability of the observer to record information which is available in principle to be recorded; this varies considerably across individual walkers who 'see' different artefact types.

Recommendation 6: Balance team composition (specialists, training students) against survey goals

The reliability/reproducibility of your survey results is directly related to the abilities of your survey team. Students new to survey first need to be trained in fieldwalking by experienced team members and made familiar with the variety of artefacts that can be found in a survey by specialists. They should also be taught how some types of finds will be obscured by certain soil conditions

²⁶² From Van Leusen 2002: chap. 4: 5–7.

while others stand out. Where there are significant differences in the abilities of members of the survey team (e.g., when a lithics specialist takes part in a ‘pottery’ survey), it is *not* good practice to assume lithics have been adequately covered by the survey; nor will ‘randomising’ the starting position of the specialist result in better data. An experienced team leader should accompany each transect to monitor the implementation of the agreed field practices, surface visibility, and carry out a first inspection of artefact collections to allow incremental improvements in the range of pieces being brought home.

Recommendation 7: Take ample time for practical preparations, planning, and logistics

A survey can usually only start with a permit in hand issued by local authorities. To convince landowners of the aims and relevance of your survey a leaflet in the local language will help. Emphasise the non-invasive character of the work and give a realistic indication of the amount of time the team needs to be present. Check accessibility of the terrain to be surveyed. Have the units of a grid set out in advance on, for instance, a Google image so that, using GPS, the grid can be quickly staked out in the field by one team member followed by the systematic survey of the team. Make the team survey the field unit by unit using good quality zip finds’ bags that carry, in waterproof ink, the number of the unit and swathe they survey. Have them add waterproof labels carrying the standard information in the finds’ bags. Demand at all times a professional attitude from team members, including behaving properly within the team and towards the local population and authorities. Define clear responsibilities for the recording of survey circumstances on standard forms (using a calibration chart) and for the final administrative control of all find bags before leaving the field. Take care that the time spent in the field and in the full sun is not unreasonably long – tired and overheated students make for poor field data. And feed your team well – a survey army ‘marches on its stomach’, both with snacks and water during the fieldwork and at main mealtimes.

B. Recommendations for good practice in primary data collection/recording

Recommendation 8: Provide redundancy and monitor quality control in digital and analogue field recording

In field recording, forms, tags and protocols should have built-in redundancy and other safety measures to avoid accidental loss of data and/or finds. Digital-only recording is not safe enough for crucial data unless they can be immediately uploaded to a server; otherwise analogue forms with space for a sketch map should be used. Conventions should be established for the sketch mapping as well, so that field observations will be correctly interpreted later on. It is recommended that team leaders and team members keep diaries to record observations not covered by standard recording sheets; these also form part of the survey archive.

The accuracy and precision of mapping nowadays mainly depends on GPS equipment. Be aware that the accuracy of single-receiver GPS coordinates, being dependent on satellite constellations, local topography and tree cover, is variable and may not under all circumstances be sufficient for the purposes of your survey. It is good practice to state the desired accuracy of GPS locations, and how you intend to achieve this, in your research design. Field sketches and photographs of find locations with good reference points are useful as additional data to retrace find locations. In some cases the use of a Total Station/DGPS may be required to measure in find locations precisely.

Recommendation 9: follow a clear strategy, methodology and protocol for the counting (‘clicking’) and collecting of finds

Defining counting and collection strategies is of prime importance in the research design of any survey project (see recommendation 1). Modern intensive survey projects attempt to record both

site- and off-site artefact distributions over the landscape so that both settlement organisation and land use are diachronically recorded. Between and within regional landscapes artefact densities may vary considerably. It is recommended that a preliminary evaluation of artefact density within the survey universe is executed before starting the actual survey, so that an appropriate recording and collection strategy can be established. Consistency of execution, to be achieved by following survey protocols, is imperative for reliable comparative density interpretations.

- a. Counting finds (with the help of manual clickers, PDA or smartphone) will give information on artefact density. Instruct teams clearly what and how to count, what to record and how to collect finds from units for further processing. It is crucial to indicate type(s) and minimum size(s) of artefacts to be counted or collected (typically ‘thumbnail-size’ upwards – 1cm² – when pottery is concerned). If find densities exceed the possibility of total collection for chronological and functional study, a sampling strategy needs to be implemented to collect a representative artefact sample for diachronic and functional study and publication. That strategy can be either to reduce the intensity of the survey (i.e., lower the coverage) or to shift to ‘diagnostic’ collecting. The latter typically focuses on feature sherds suitable for typo-chronological analysis, a good selection of body-sherds, together with samples of the variety of fabrics.
- b. For surveying the landscape at large, fields should be subdivided in collection units of the desired resolution (for example, 50m by 50m or 25m by 25m) to obtain data on absolute and relative artefact densities and to establish thresholds between off-site and site artefact densities. While working in standard units is easy in ploughed open landscapes with clear field boundaries, surveys of vegetated and/or rugged land with extreme low visibility may require more sophisticated methods, for instance by taking GPS records of the GPS actual tracks walked and the locations of every single artefact; a more labour-intensive approach would be to use point sampling where a defined ground surface (e.g., 2m²) is cleared around each point.
- c. On-site surveys should be gridded finer to obtain more precise chronological and functional data (10m by 10m and 20m by 20m units have proven efficient for smaller and larger sites respectively). For extremely low-density or low-visibility finds scatters, for example of protohistoric or Medieval hand-made pottery, intensification of the survey to 100% is recommended on finding the first object; Orton’s cluster sampling²⁶³ approach can then be used to find the scatter boundaries, but allowing for the likely existence of site haloes for residential sites.
- d. Recording of collection unit parameters (land use, visibility factors): for each unit within a gridded survey, a set of collection parameters should be recorded that may add up to an estimation of surface visibility. These parameters are percentage and nature of vegetation cover, plough conditions, presence/absence of geological materials (stones, pebbles) and/or recent (building) debris, dust conditions, light.

Recommendation 10: role of artefact specialists in the field

It is not realistic to believe that field teams, even with various specialists present, will be able to reliably recognise and collect all targeted finds’ categories. Therefore, in all cases, the specialisms of the team members should be recorded so that differences between individual’s collections can be traced and analysed. In the pursuit of a ‘representative’ sample of the targeted categories it is recommended that all team members receive training by appropriate specialists (for example, use

²⁶³ Orton 2000.

the first survey day for this), and that regular checks are made by these specialists throughout the survey to see if the team has not missed significant sections of the record. Pottery specialists should take samples of ware categories to be used for fabric and archaeometric studies and to build up a reference collection.

When removal of surface artefacts from the field is prohibited, the presence of specialists in the field is crucial, but such field study alone is not likely to produce reliable results for all periods and finds categories and is therefore not advisable.

Recommendation 11: Appoint a person responsible for the registration of in-coming bags and processing of finds and one for downloading and updating the project's databases and the archiving of analogue data.

To avoid unrepairable errors and data loss, precision and consistency is needed in the storing of incoming finds before post-survey treatment starts, so that control of written identification data (labels) against digital data entries is imperative. The same holds for all incoming digital and analogue field data. These controls should be done immediately after the actual field visits when memory of the fieldwork is still fresh. Analog data (maps, written notes and data to be entered into databases) should be elaborated and digitised the same day in GIS, daily reports and database.

C. Recommendations for good practice in finds processing

Recommendation 12: The procedures followed in survey artefact studies should guarantee the integrity of the evidence, that is, they should not be allowed to break the connection between the physical artefacts and their metadata as established during the survey.

Any handling of the artefacts following the initial ingestion of bags from the field introduces the risk that finds become separated from their descriptive data. This happens not only when inexperienced people are involved! Since finds processing can happen long after the survey itself has been finished, and after deposition of the finds in the approved regional storage facilities managed by heritage organisations, a strict protocol should be imposed to avoid people 'temporarily' removing finds from their context and neglecting to update storage records after each intervention.

Recommendation 13: Cleaning of finds can be done by any team member following a clear set of instructions. Data entry, including basic description of finds can be successfully carried out by students after initial training, but for final classification of the finds experienced team members are required (preferably specialists), who should make use of a reference collection appropriate to the region being studied.

It is crucial to take appropriate action to avoid disassociation of the drying finds and the contextual information on bags and tags. While cleaning may seem simple, hard brushing with unsuitable tools or soaking sherds in water may damage diagnostic features of sherds (core, surface treatment). The use of chemicals to remove incrustation or resistant dirt should only be done with the help and advice of specialists. Finds need to be dried very well before repacking them in clean bags. All final classificatory work of finds is done by specialists, but with increasing numbers of survey samples initial data entry can be accomplished by students under supervision. Especially in the Mediterranean climate, a long morning fieldwork can be followed by afternoon laboratory data entry, in which find numbers and initial fabric and form descriptions can be undertaken by students. The presence of ceramic specialists in the same space allows constant availability of advice and control, but an added advantage is the deepened knowledge students gain into the objects they have recovered. For the specialist, freeing them up from time-consuming basic entry allows them sufficient scope for increasingly elaborate study, especially on large complex sites

where the finds' count is in the tens or even hundreds of thousands. It is not uncommon that this secondary experience with survey finds encourages some students to become pottery specialists themselves.

A reference collection, valid for the study region, is needed to ensure consistency of classification especially for the bulk of nondiagnostic and regional wares and fabrics. This should be built up by a ceramics specialist right from the start of the project, and should cover all fabric and ware groups for all periods. Class descriptions should include data on colour, clay composition, texture and surface treatment, as well as form. If colour as a classification criterion is important, it should be applied as objectively as possible, e.g. by using a printed colour scale based on Munsell colours. Surface treatment should be described in clearly defined terms: presence/absence of same, in the form of slip, gloss, glaze, paint, burnish, polish. Temper/fabric: distinguishing depurated from coarsewares, powdery from firm. For documenting this, use clear definitions and provide ranges where appropriate. The classification should also establish a relation between diagnostic forms (rims, bases, handles) and body sherds to increase the chronological and functional value of the latter. It is a very sensitive stage in finds processing, as phase-by-phase distribution maps of the surveyed area may be wholly dependent on the decisions taken at this stage, especially in case quantity and quality of diagnostic materials are low.

Recommendation 14: Collection counting by finds category must deal with the problem of fragmentation and wear, hence must be accompanied by size and/or weight measurements. Counting classified artefacts is thus only one of two fundamental approaches to obtain useful density maps.

Weighing provides a robust measurement of how much material there is for each category, and by combining it with finds' counts one obtains the fragmentation. Weighing is best done by class, in grams, with reliable scales. Materials should be measured, at a minimum, separately by finds' class and, if possible, by period. If more information about pottery fragmentation is needed, the individual artefact sizes can be measured by comparison with printed circles of set sizes, e.g. 10, 5, 2.5, 1.25cm diameter. In combination with data on the type and degree of wear, the weight/size data serve as a good indicator of post-depositional processes. For instance, large fragments with sharp breaks and well-preserved surface treatment indicate the material was freshly ploughed-up. However we note that some experienced finds' specialists do not consider that the considerable time involved in such procedures produces vital additional information.

D. Recommendations for good practice in interpretive post-survey studies, publication, storage of finds and archiving

Recommendation 15: Keep your finds and records centrally organised at all times and document post-survey processes. Keep a record of interpretive decisions regarding finds and sites.

Following a survey, it is likely that multiple researchers will work with the data collected and on the interpretation of the data. It is important to establish who has access to the project database and who is also permitted to make changes, all of which need to be documented. This also holds for interpretive decisions, for instance regarding chronological and functional analysis of the archaeological record of sites and their subsequent classification, including who diagnosed what when.

Recommendation 16: Final project publications (paper, digital or both) should furnish the raw quantitative survey data and indicate any correction formulae used in the preparation of distribution maps. Qualitative data on which chronological and functional interpretation is based should preferably be published in the form of a catalogue containing professional artefact drawings and descriptions.

In view of the possibility for outsiders to critically evaluate survey data, for its own sake and for use in a comparative format, it is important that the reader is provided with methodological details on how data were classified, datasets created (and possibly converted) to create distribution maps and how the threshold between site, halo and off-site was defined. From the same perspective detailed insight into the chronological and functional classification of materials is necessary. Publications should contain reporting on the limitations and biases that may affect the robustness of interpretations given. Given the bulk of transect data, and sherd and lithic catalogues, the wide availability of cd-pockets in final monographs or as online-databases allows all possible details of survey and finds data to be made available alongside the interpretative texts.

Recommendation 17: Guarantee safe storage, proper archiving of your data including metadata and open access.

Safe and controlled storage of data in an institutional repository after (a phase of) a project has terminated will guarantee that data will survive for future use for yourself and others. To do this data have to be properly archived and provided with metadata. This entails not only the selection and ‘cleaning’ of primary data files and documentation, but also the compilation of codebooks and protocols (e.g., explanations of the procedures followed in fieldwork and data processing), the conversion of digital files to appropriate platform-independent formats, and the deposition on a sustainable server or, preferably, with a digital repository such as ADS in the UK, or DANS in the Netherlands, that guarantees long-term controlled access. It is important to include this aspect in the research design right from the start.

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Historiography and Theory

Review Article – Margriet Haagsma: *Colliding Cultures and Fading Ideals: Discrimination against women in early 20th century Classical Archaeology*

Alan Kaiser. *Archaeology, Sexism and Scandal. The long-suppressed story of one woman's discoveries and the man who stole credit for them.* pp. 272 with ill. 2015. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield. ISBN 978-1-4422-7524-9, paperback \$28.

Introduction

This well-researched and very readable book tells the story of a young woman who started her professional career in Classics and Classical archaeology in the late 1920s when she enrolled as an undergraduate student in the Department of Classics at the University of Alberta, where I currently teach.¹ It charts how, after obtaining her BA, Mary Ellingson (née Ross), was admitted as a graduate student in archaeology at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, Maryland, in 1931. There, she wrote an MA and PhD dissertations on the terracotta industry in Olynthus, based on the excavations in which she participated in 1931 under the guidance of the famous and distinguished David Moore Robinson, professor of archaeology and director of the Olynthus project. The author of this book, Alan Kaiser, professor in archaeology at the University of Evansville where Mary Ross-Ellingson taught for many years, became inspired to tell her story by leafing through her bequest to the university after her death. It consisted of a scrapbook, which had been sitting on a shelf in his department and in which she reports her experiences during the 1931 season at Olynthus in text and images. Based on this treasure trove of photographs and letters to family, Kaiser discovered a long known but inconvenient truth: that Mary Ross-Ellingson's MA thesis and part of her PhD were published under Robinson's name as volumes VII and XIV in the Olynthus series without giving credit to the real author.

Kaiser researches Mary Ross's experiences and contextualizes them by analysing her career and those of her fellow students. Despite the rather

sensationalist book title and the lack of a broader historical context, he paints a relatively nuanced picture of the male dominated culture of academia in North America in the mid-20th century which allowed very few pathways for women to make a career. The author expected to expose Robinson as a serial plagiarist, but concluded that – in reality – the picture is more complex. He describes Robinson as a typical excavation director of his time; a demanding personality, used to getting things done his way, sometimes taking credit for work carried out under his supervision, but also a fierce protector of his students. Though he himself was accused of being an unexperienced archaeologist, he also possessed the ability to produce an immense body of scholarship in a relatively short amount of time that was truly his. Kaiser ends his book with these two questions: why would David Robinson, an already established, powerful and prolific scholar, have felt the need to take credit for work that was not his? On the other hand, why did Ellingson, whose work was plagiarized, maintain a friendly relationship with Robinson over the years and only marginally referred to her work as genuinely her's?

Both questions prove difficult to answer. Kaiser identifies an important mismatch between Mary Ross-Ellingson's expectations of career possibilities for women and the changing realities of the academic world around her, a disparity that many women must have experienced in the early 1930s (p. 96). But he does not explain its background fully.² This review intends to complement the author's research by giving context to highlight this disparity; the Department of Classics at the University of Alberta in the 1910s and 20s, where Ellingson spent an important formative period in her life, was a stronghold of early feminist ideas and ideals. What do we know about Mary Ross-Ellingson's cultural background, persona and her educational program that would explain the absence of any action towards the injustice that befell her? And how can we extrapolate from this to gain more insight into the narrow boundaries within which women manoeuvred the male dominated field of Classical archaeology during this period and later?

Mary Ross-Ellingson

Helen Madeline Mary Ross was born on 21 September 1908 in Edmonton, Alberta.³ She was the

¹ The Department of Classics merged with the Department of History in 1993. The new department was aptly named the Department of History and Classics.

² Kaiser 2015, 96.

³ Kaiser reports that the personal file of Mary Ross-Ellingson at the University of Evansville mentions that she was born in 1906. Registration cards of Mary Ross from the years 1925-1930 in the archives of the University of Alberta, written in Ellingson's own handwriting, consistently mention the date 21 September



Figure 1. Mary Ross in Olynthus. Mary Ross Ellingson, Alex Schulz, George Mylonas, Gladys Davidson (left to right in foreground); J. Walter Graham (behind wall) and unidentified workmen having lunch in Room C of the House of the Comic Actor, at a depth of .80 cm. Published with the permission from the University of Evansville.

only daughter of Holland W. Ross and May (Lilly) Ross, née Dean. She had one younger brother named John.⁴ Her grandparents on both sides were among the first settlers in Edmonton; an obituary of her grandfather John Ross, who passed away in 1929, reports that the Ross family settled in Edmonton in 1897.⁵ Of Scottish descent, John Ross was involved in real estate, construction and cattle trade and his business was located at Namao Street in the centre of town, north of the North Saskatchewan River. Her grandparents on mother's side were of Scottish and Irish descent; Edward Dean and his wife had founded a farm near Edmonton.⁶ Mary's father took over the real estate business and the family must have done well; in the 1920s they lived in a house at 9907-106 street in between the new provincial legislature building and Jasper Avenue.⁷

1908. (acc.nrs 21-01-22, 21-03-50, 23-31-51, 23-34-17, University of Alberta Archives). Alberta census records from 1911, 1916 and 1921 confirm her age (data retrieved from: <https://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/census/Pages/census.aspx>, accessed 14 June 2018).

⁴ Census records of 1911, 1916 and 1921, accessible at <https://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/census/Pages/census.aspx>.

⁵ *The Daily Colonist*, 7 May 1929. Accessed via www.archive.org 14 June 2018.

⁶ This information comes from *The Medicine Hat Daily News*, 28 July, 1939, announcing the engagement of Mary Ross to Rudolph Conrad Ellingson <https://newspaperarchive.com/medicine-hat-news-jul-28-1939-p-4/> accessed 14 June 2018.

⁷ The address is mentioned on the registration cards of Mary Ross for the years 1925-1930. (For access nrs See note 3. Archives University of Alberta).

In 1925, when she only just had turned 17, Mary Ross enrolled as an undergraduate student in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences at the University of Alberta. She graduated in 1931 and was accepted as a graduate student at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland where she would be supervised by professor David 'Davy' Moore Robinson. She joined the excavations at Olynthus, which Robinson directed, in the spring and summer of that same year. After finishing her MA in 1932, and before starting her PhD, Mary Ross moved back to Canada where she was hired by Mount Royal College in Calgary as lecturer between 1932 and 1938. She moved back to Baltimore in 1939, finished her PhD and met and married her future husband Rudolph Conrad Ellingson. The newlyweds moved to Evansville, Indiana, where Rudolph Ellingson had found a position, and by 1940, Mary Ross-Ellingson was hired by the University of Evansville, first as a temporary adjunct professor and later as chair of Archaeology at the Evansville Public Museum. Starting a family interrupted her professional career in 1945, but by 1960 she was hired under a contract and from 1963 onward as permanent faculty, making full professor, teaching mainly courses in Latin, retiring in 1973.⁸

⁸ Kaiser 2015.

Mary Ross-Ellingson passed away in 1993 bequeathing part of her estate, including her scrapbooks, photographs of the Olynthus excavation as well as letters, to the University of Evansville. She also left part of her estate to the University of Alberta. Correspondence from 1993-1995 between Mary Ross-Ellingson, her heir and our Classics caucus charts the establishment of the Mary Ross-Ellingson Graduate Scholarship.⁹

Mary Ross's Edmonton

At the beginning of the 20th century, Edmonton was a 'boom town' in a young and thriving new 'boom province'. Known as 'Rupert's Land' from 1670 - 1870, the area that would become eventually Alberta was purchased by the Dominion of Canada in 1870 and incorporated in the North Western Territories in 1882 as a district named after Princess Louise Caroline Alberta, fourth daughter of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, married to the then Governor General of Canada. It became a province in 1905. By then, treaties had been negotiated with the First Nations,¹⁰ two Metis uprisings had been dealt with, and a new railway network had been put in place, providing the opportunity for settlers from the east and elsewhere to try their luck at farming or in business at a place where the first permanent buildings was the Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Edmonton established in 1795. Long before Fort Edmonton was built, this area - located close to a territory with great opportunities for hunting and trapping - had been in use for millennia as a location of contact and exchange by Indigenous peoples.¹¹ Known as amiskwacîwâskahikan¹² and Omahkoyis,¹³ the space was first incorporated as a town and in

⁹ The Mary Ross-Ellingson Graduate Scholarship was endowed by the late Mary Ross-Ellingson and her husband Rudolph C. Ellingson. The prize is awarded annually to an outstanding student in a graduate degree program in History and Classics whose research focus is in classical archaeology. I thank my colleague Dr Jeremy Rossiter for providing me with the original documentation.

¹⁰ The treaty that includes Edmonton is Treaty 6, signed between the Canadian government and the Plains and Wood Cree, the Assiniboine and communities near Fort Pitt and Fort Carlton in 1876. It allowed the native population the use of land, agricultural and other resources, but not landownership, a contentious concept lost in translation. The misleading language, opportunistic attitudes and general disinterest of local governments had profound consequences for the indigenous heritage of the region and the living conditions of its peoples.

¹¹ The British settlers' name for the Hudson's Bay fort was reportedly named after Edmonton, Middlesex, England, birthplace of two early employees of the Hudson's Bay Company. Aubrey, M. K., (Ed.) 2004. *Naming Edmonton. From Ada to Zoie*. City of Edmonton, Edmonton.

¹² The Cree name for the area, meaning 'Beaver Hill House'. https://www.edmonton.ca/programs_services/for_communities/amiskwaciy-history-series.aspx, accessed 15 June 15 2019

¹³ This is the Blackfoot name for the area, meaning 'Great Lodge.'

The form is titled 'The University of Alberta REGISTRATION FORM'. It contains the following handwritten information:

- Reg. No.: 896
- Committee: *Edmonton* For the Degree of: *B.A.*
- Faculty or School: *Edmonton* School or Course: *Edmonton*
- Name (print in full): *Ross, Helen Madeline Mary* (Surname preceding)
- Home (or Permanent) Address: *9417-106 St Edmonton*
- Edmonton Address: Telephone: *1284*
- Classification: *Undergraduate* (State whether Graduate, Undergraduate, Conditioned, Partial or Special student)
- Year of Course: *5* Yr. of Graduation: *1930* (1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th)
- Courses to be studied (use Calendar designations):
 - 1. *Latin 102*
 - 2. *Greek 54*
 - 3. *Greek 101*
 - 4. *Archaeology with W. Hardy Alexander*
 - 5. *Phil 5*
- Place of Birth: *Edmonton* Date of Birth: *Sept 21, 1908*
- Religious Denomination: *Christian Science*
- Date: *Sept 26, '29* First entered this University Sept., 192...*5*
- Registered by: Checked by: Passed by:

Figure 2. The 1929 Registration card of Mary Ross at the UofA, indicating the courses in archaeology she took with William Hardy Alexander and Greek with Geneva Misener. Published with permission from the University of Alberta Archives.

1904 as the city of Edmonton, which was chosen as the capital of the new province in 1905.

The influx of people necessitated improvements in the province's infrastructure through the construction of new amenities. The University of Alberta was created in Alberta's new capital in 1908 and land was bought south of the river in an area known as Strathcona for future university buildings. On 23 September 1908, the first forty five students, among them seven women, enrolled and were taught by five faculty members.¹⁴ Classics was offered from the onset, and its first professor, Dr. William Hardy Alexander, better known as 'Doc Alik',¹⁵ was a competent scholar and popular instructor. He chaired the Department of Classics for 30 years and was one of Mary Ross's instructors from 1925-30.

¹⁴ Schoeck, Ellen, 2006. *I Was There: A Century of Alumni Stories about the University of Alberta, 1906-2006*. University of Alberta Press 1906-2006. Edmonton, University of Alberta Press.

¹⁵ Schoeck 2006: 52.

The University Act, signed in 1906, showed a remarkable sensitivity to the cause of women, as during that time women had no voting rights and were not even legally recognized as 'persons' yet. It stipulated that women should be admitted to the university on an equal basis as men. Various early faculty members, among which 'Doc Alik,' later joined by Dr. Geneva Misener, professor in Classics and the first female professor at the University of Alberta, enthusiastically pursued more dynamic roles for women in society. True to the spirit of their young university, both Misener and Alexander were actively involved in the suffrage movement, the Equal Franchise League (EFL) in Edmonton, right before the Great War.¹⁶

It was in this context of promise, opportunity, development, camaraderie and economic fortune that Mary Ross was born and spent the first 25 years of her life.

Mary Ross's years at the University of Alberta

Her University of Alberta registration cards identify Mary Ross as a member of the Christian Science movement, though, only once, her 1926 registration card mentions 'Methodist' as her religious affiliation. With her Scottish ancestry, the Methodist connection may not surprise, but the First Church of Christ, Scientist, in Edmonton was a newcomer in the province's myriad of religious backgrounds connected to incoming groups of settlers in the early 20th century. Founded in 1905, the Edmonton branch still maintains strong affiliations with its mother church in Boston, where this spiritual movement was started by Mary Baker Eddy in the late 1800s. Baker Eddy advocated a more 'primitive' form of Christianity, which takes God's word literally as the appropriate medicine for body and soul. Rather than relying on modern medications, the church encourages healing by reciting bible scriptures, texts written by Baker Eddy, and sharing personal stories related to the healing practices promoted by the Church in loosely arranged liturgies. The manner of worship must have starkly contrasted with the highly structured services of the first Methodist church in Edmonton, which in 1925 amalgamated with the local unions of two other denominations, Presbyterian and Congregational, into the United Church of Canada.¹⁷

Perhaps it was this change that made Mary Ross, and her family, move away from 'the old faith,' and embrace a more spiritual form of belief. We can surmise that the rapidly gained popularity of the Christian Science Movement in North America at the time was closely related to an upbeat spirit of novelty in newly settled urban areas.

Upon entering the University of Alberta in 1925, Mary Ross was initially an honours student in the Department of Modern Languages studying French but switched to an honours degree in Classics in her second year. Her registration cards mention the courses that she enrolled in: besides taking the mandatory science courses, she took French, Philosophy, Greek and Latin poetry and prose and Ancient History. In the last two years of her BA, Mary Ross received specialized education in archaeology and in 'Greek private life,' directed reading courses specifically designed for her and taught by Alexander.¹⁸ Clearly this last course made her familiar with the excavations at Olynthus which had started in 1928.

The archives at the University of Alberta have limited information on Mary Ross herself, as well as Drs Alexander and Misener, whose archives may have never been filed but we may assume that the latter two knew Mary Ross's later supervisor, David Robinson. Geneva Misener had finished her PhD at the University of Chicago in 1903 and her time must have overlapped with that of Robinson, who finished his PhD there in 1904. It is not clear how William H. Alexander knew Robinson, but the two must have been acquainted for a longer time. Alexander must have been an important mentor to Mary Ross; not only did Mary Ross secure a position as graduate student at Johns Hopkins under Robinson at the recommendation of Dr Alexander, he also wrote to Robinson to ask him to endorse Mary Ross for a position at Mount Royal College in Calgary, Alberta in 1932.¹⁹

During her years at the University of Alberta, Mary Ross was a member of the *Wauneita* club, a society for female students. The seven first female students initially founded a society called Seven Independent Spinster (S.I.S.) and vowed to never marry so that they could escape a predicted lifestyle and make a career.²⁰ Its name was later changed to the *Wauneitas*,

¹⁶ Carter, S., 2016. Geneva Misener and W.H. Alexander: University of Alberta Classics Professors and Women's Suffrage Activists, 1914 - 16 https://womensuffrage.org/?p=22770#_edn3 accessed 15 June 2019. I thank Professors Sarah Carter and M. Ann Hall for generously providing research notes on Drs Alexander and Misener.

¹⁷ <https://www.united-church.ca/community-faith/welcome-united-church-canada/historical-timeline>. Accessed 30 June

2019.

¹⁸ As mentioned on the 1929 registration card of Mary Ross (access nr 23-34-17r).

¹⁹ This is a letter owned by Barbara Peterson, the daughter of Mary Ross-Ellingson, of which the University of Evansville has a copy as stated in Kaiser 2015: 108.

²⁰ This did not materialize as most members of the S.I.S. and Wauneita did marry and were effectively excluded from making



Figure 3. Photo of one of Mary Ross's professors, William Hardy Alexander (front row, left), on the occasion of Emmeline Pankhurst's visit to Edmonton in 1916. Published with permission from the British Columbia Provincial Archives, Victoria.

which its members believed to be the Cree word for 'kind-hearted, but.'²¹ All women admitted to the University of Alberta automatically became a member through initiation and in its early years the society organized debates, musical performances, social gatherings and helped in providing aid during the Great War.²² In the years between 1914 and 1916 the society held suffrage meetings, sometimes with Drs Misener and Alexander as speakers.²³ The *Wauneita* club, Dr Misener's position as advisor of women students, and both her and Dr Alexander's past in the suffrage movement must have played a formative role in Mary Ross's education and it is worthwhile to look further into their careers, their outlook on life and the impact they had on their students.

William Hardy Alexander

Born in Ottawa in 1878, William Hardy Alexander was educated at the University of Toronto where

he obtained a BA in 1899. He then moved to the University of California at Berkeley, where he received an MA in 1900 and a PhD in 1906. As was usual then, he held various positions while in his PhD program and after his degree was awarded, he and his young wife Marion Kirby moved to the University of Western Ontario where he taught Latin for two years. In 1908, Alexander took up an offer from Henry Marshall Tory, one of the founders of the University of Alberta, and started his job as one of the first four professors of the university.²⁴

From the moment of his arrival, Alexander was an active contributor to the ideological foundations of the University of Alberta. In word and deeds, he strongly promoted access to the university for everybody, regardless of their gender and religious orientation. He proposed the university's motto: *quaecumque vera* and wrote the text for the UofA's grace in Latin.²⁵ Marion Kirby Alexander chose the UofA's colours, Green and Gold. Alexander passionately advocated there should be a healthy separation between public institutions and religion, which caused quite a stir in his early years at the UofA. In reaction to the Edmonton Ministerial Associations' proposal in April 1914, that the last half hour in schools should be spent on Bible study, Alexander gave a lecture at the People's Forum in Edmonton denouncing this plan, advocating that

a career. But this information does provide an impression of the group dynamic, and the ideals promoted by these societies.

²¹ In reality, it is likely derived from the (Plains) Cree word 'wanëyihtam,' which means 'h/she is at a loss,' 'h/she is confused, 'his/her mind is blurred'. Source: <http://www.creedictionary.com/search/index.php?q=wan%C3%A4yihtam&scope=1&cwr=35848>, accessed December 2nd 2019.

²² The Wauneitas appropriated native rituals and attire, perpetuating negative stereotypes of the indigenous population of Alberta. This is all the more salient since at the same time the Canadian government forbade the performance of rituals by indigenous populations by the potlatch ban, and enforced a practice of removing young indigenous children from their homes and placing them in so-called residential schools. <https://citymuseumedmonton.ca/2015/11/24/the-wauneita-society/> accessed 15 June 2019.

²³ The Gateway, 1 March 1912, In the Bruce Peel Library, University of Alberta, <http://peel.library.ualberta.ca/newspapers/GAT/1912/03/01/19/Ar01900.html> accessed 18 June 2019.

²⁴ <http://texts.cdlib.org/view?docId=hb0580022s&doc.view=frames&chunk.id=div00001&toc.depth=1&toc.id=> Accessed December 2nd 2019.

²⁵ The motto is based on a sentence in the letter of the apostle Paul to the Philippians, 4, 8. In 1918, Alexander also wrote the text of hymn dedicated to the alumni of the UofA: 'The Evergreen and Gold'. It was to be sung on the melody of the Russian national anthem. It has been abandoned in favour of the current Alberta cheer.



Figure 4. Photo of professor Geneva Misener. Published with permission from the University of Alberta Archives.

the scriptures should be taught as 'literature' in schools rather than a prescriptive text promoting a correct moral pathway.²⁶ Alexander saw himself as a sceptic, while his colleague Frank Keeping described him as 'a left-wing liberal in religion and politics...and a very capable speaker.'²⁷ He promoted a critical view of religion and a very limited role of the church in public education, a topic on which he liked to speak in his spiritual home, the Unitarian Society in Edmonton, which he co-founded and in which he was later ordained.

Many students attended the Unitarian gatherings and a number of Alexander's talks were published in a book specifically written for students, which came out in 1920.²⁸ Alexander's views on truth

and freedom of speech certainly extended to his involvement in the suffrage movement and his broadminded ideas most certainly made their way to the UofA classrooms or to conversations he had with his students, likely including Mary Ross. Alexander remained at the UofA until 1939 when he accepted a position at Berkeley, returning to Edmonton to live with his son in 1958. William Hardy Alexander passed away in 1962. It is unknown whether he and his former student remained in contact over the years.

Geneva Misener

Geneva Misener's remarkable and distinguished career as a scholar, teacher and humanitarian began at Queen's University in Kingston, where she graduated in 1899 with a BA and later MA in Classics, earning gold medals in Latin and Greek.²⁹ She moved immediately to the University of Chicago where she wrote a dissertation on the particle γάρ, which she defended summa cum laude in 1903. Rockford College in Chicago hired her and with scholarships from the American Federation of University Women, she was able to travel Europe, including briefly joining an excavation with Wilhelm Dörpfeld, and to spend time in Berlin. Misener became Dean of the Kenwood Institute for Girls in 1909 and spent a year at the St. John's Collegiate in Winnipeg in 1912.³⁰ She joined the UofA in 1913 as its first female professor, teaching Latin, Greek, ancient history and ancient art. Misener became the first advisor to Women Students and accepted the presidency of the Alberta Women's Association shortly after her arrival. She was a member of the UofA senate during two of Mary Ross's undergraduate years (1926-28), was a co-founder of the Canadian Federation of University Women and was appointed ladies' representative on the executive committee of the Amateur Hockey Association of Alberta, where she established the Misener Cup for female hockey teams.³¹ Towards the end of her career, she became active in the forerunner of the New Democratic Party. Having made her home at 11013 90 Avenue in Edmonton, Geneva Misener never married, but adopted two nieces and raised them on her own while taking care

Students by a College Teacher. Boston, Richard Badger, The Gorham Press.

²⁹ Leonard, J. W., 1914-15. Woman's Who's who of America: A Biographical Dictionary of Contemporary Women of the United States and Canada. New York, American Commonwealth Company: 567.

³⁰ Information assembled by Dr. M. Ann Hall for the Alberta's Women Memory Project <http://awmp.athabascau.ca/> accessed 1 July 2019.

³¹ The whereabouts of the cup are unknown. Leonard 1915: 567 lists Misener's hobbies as walking, golf, mountain climbing and rowing.

²⁶ 'University Professor makes Virulent Attack on Bible.' *The Edmonton Bulletin*, 28 June 1914: 5. Alexander's liberal views on the role of religion in educational settings must have stirred the feathers of the more conservative thinking population in Edmonton and reactions appeared of three ministers politely disagreeing with Alexander. 'City Ministers reply to Dr Alexander's Criticisms' *The Edmonton Bulletin*, 6 July 1914: 2.

²⁷ http://www.uce.ca/wp-content/uploads/UCehistory.org/history_%20MARSH_text.html accessed 30 June 2019.

²⁸ Alexander, W.H. 1920. College and religion, talks to College

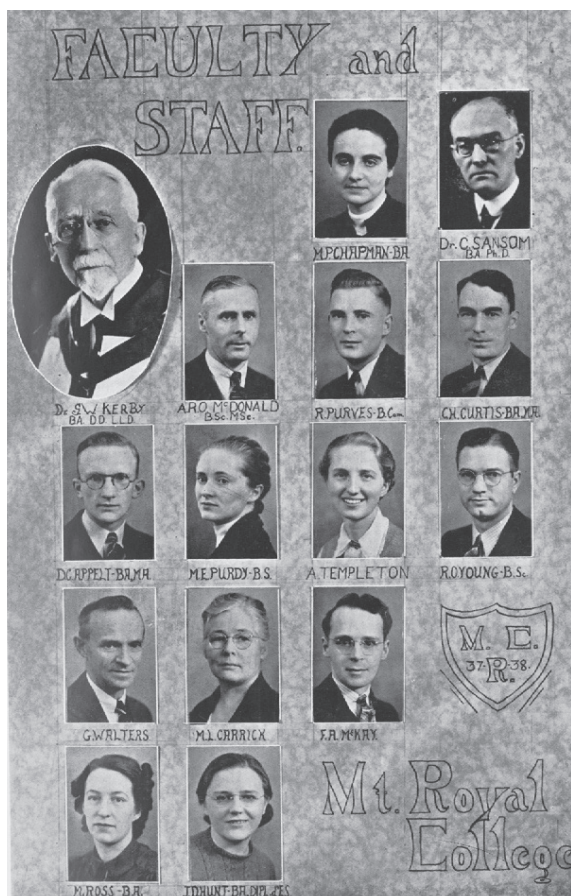


Figure 5. Photo of Mary Ross (lowest row, left) in the 'Chinook' 1937-38 during her years as instructor at Mount Royal University in Calgary. Published with permission from Mount Royal University Archives and Special Collections.

of her elderly mother too, a remarkable feat for a professional woman during that time. She remained at the UofA until 1944 when she reluctantly retired. She moved to British Columbia afterwards and passed away in 1961.

From the 1910s to the 1930s, the Department of Classics had two strong and forward thinking personalities as their senior staff: professors William Hardy Alexander and Geneva Misener. Working together at the University of Alberta, they set out to shape the young community of Edmonton into a stage of equal opportunity for a broad segment of its incoming and established population.

Geneva Misener, William Hardy Alexander and the Suffrage Movement in Edmonton

On 5 March 1912, Alexander spoke to the UofA's Wauneita society on the emancipation of women, explaining to the audience the Latin root of the word and dwelling upon the history of the oppression of women in the ancient world and

thereafter, professing that 'the real emancipation came from the hands of people who made no claims upon religion, but merely worked by reason.'³² Maintaining contact with Alberta suffragists Emily Murphy and Nellie McClung, Alexander, his wife Marion, professor of English Edmund Broadus, his wife Eleanor and Geneva Misener, helped organize the first meeting promoting the emancipation of settler women in Edmonton on 27 October 1913.³³

The Equal Franchise League became a fact on the evening of 5 February 1914 when a petition was signed with support of members of the young Edmonton Municipality. Alexander became its first president and Eleanor Broadus its first vice president. While the city of Edmonton was easy to convince, the members of the EFL faced an uphill battle dealing with Alberta's provincial government and local activists. The latter's main rationale was that voting should be limited to those who could read or write which should be dealt with first, as in their views allowing women the votes would increase the number of illiterate voters, an idea that had some support among the Calgary Local Council of Women.³⁴ Armed with extensive statistics from Ontario and Alberta, it was speaker Geneva Misener who knocked down this reasoning 'like nine pins' pointing out that illiteracy was more prevalent among boys than girls. Turning the argument upside down she effectively stated that since 'women mould citizens' women should be allowed to vote.³⁵

The EFL aided in organizing a march to the Alberta legislature in on October 10th 1914 where a petition was presented and a request was made to meet with Alberta's Premier Albert Sifton.³⁶ After pressure mounted, Sifton eventually agreed and promised in September 1915 that the Equal Suffrage Statuary Law Amendment would be proposed and enacted in 1916, which indeed happened on April 19th of that year.³⁷

³² *The Gateway*, 1 March 1912.

³³ *The Edmonton Capital*, 17 October 1913: 12. It should be noted that the suffragists' activities focused on settler women only. See note 37.

³⁴ Norris, M., 1995. *A Leaven of Ladies: A History of the Calgary Local Council of Women*. Calgary Detselig Enterprises: 87.

³⁵ *The Edmonton Bulletin*, 6 February 1914: 3.

³⁶ Hall, D., 2004. Arthur L. Sifton. In Bradford J. Rennie (ed.) *Alberta Premiers of the Twentieth Century*. Regina, Saskatchewan: Canadian Plains Research Centre, University of Regina: 35. The often cited story that Sifton first demanded to know whether the ladies had washed the luncheon dishes, otherwise he would not give them his support, is probably not true.

³⁷ The legislation did not end the unequal treatment disenfranchised groups in Alberta. It initially excluded women from political office and did not cover any form of legislation for Alberta's indigenous population, most of whom were only allowed to vote in federal elections from 1960 onwards. What is

Just a few months later, the famous British political activist, Emmeline Pankhurst, visited Edmonton. A picture with her, flanked by Nellie McClung, Emily Murphy and other members of the Equal Franchise League, includes 'Doc Alik'. Throughout their university careers Alexander as well as Misener continued with their promotion of feminist causes. The latter made headlines with presentations on education for women, where she argued that marriage and a career do not need to be mutually exclusive.³⁸ In addition, she also was a strong advocate for the principle of equal work, equal pay for men and women³⁹ and established a scholarship for women students travelling abroad.⁴⁰

A student of both Misener and Alexander, the young Mary Ross must have been inspired by the progressive idea advocated at her Alma Mater, that a career as an archaeologist for a woman was a real possibility. What made her decide to abandon that plan, and return to Canada to become an instructor in Classical languages, instead of spending time at the American School of Classical Studies in Athens (ASCSA) or in Baltimore to work on her PhD?

Colliding ideals; Edmonton, Olynthus, the ASCSA and the 1930s

Kaiser had at his disposal a wonderful set of photographs and letters by Mary Ross that picture and describe her experiences in Greece, especially during the excavation season of 1931 at Olynthus. Together they form an account brimming with contagious enthusiasm; Mary Ross loved the excavation, got on very well with the Robinsons and the rest of the team and displayed a keen interest in village life at Myriophyto, the hamlet where the team stayed. That enthusiasm translated into many reports published in her native Alberta: 'Edmonton girls finds interest in Archaeology; brilliant Classics student directs excavation in Modern Greece' as local newspaper *The Albertan* wrote on 18 September 1931, for instance.

Kaiser does a good job in contextualizing Mary Ross's experiences as a young student and gives detailed accounts of the careers of her fellow

female students at both Olynthus and the American Institute of Classical Studies at Athens, such as Gladys Weinberg and Sarah Freeman. Stating that 'all three women had a greater chance of becoming college professors than the members of the first generation in their field', a goal Robinson expected from his male and female students, he concludes that none of them did so, at least not via the more direct career paths available to men.

If her pictures and letters are true indicators of her positive experiences at Olynthus and her work with Robinson, Mary Ross should have felt inspired to carry on her work after her first year in Baltimore. Instead she wrote to her mother that she decided she would not spend her next year in the US but would return to Canada.⁴¹ Was it the economic crisis that hit the world so hard in 1929 that was part of that decision? The crisis certainly had an impact on the number of women finishing a graduate degree at post-secondary institutions as Kaiser points out and Canadian data support his observations.⁴²

A policy of discouragement towards women found, unfortunately, an early audience in the ASCSA, the intellectual home of most American scholars and students working in Greece. Following the practice of the American Academy in Rome, the chairman of the managing committee, Edward Capps, proposed on 11 April 1931, that the school in Athens should establish a fixed ratio of fellowships between men and women, with men receiving far more fellowships than women. Capps argued that fellowships awarded to women were a waste of resources since women could not get jobs anyway.⁴³ It also did not help that some members of the managing committee increasingly expressed concern about the 'foreign' status of ASCSA fellowship recipients, many of whom were Canadians. In 1934, the managing committee passed a resolution that only students from contributing Canadian institutions were eligible for fellowships and in 1935 they banned Canadian applicants altogether.⁴⁴ I have not been able to find out whether Mary Ross tried to obtain a fellowship, but it is not difficult to imagine the effect of these

⁴¹ Kaiser 2015: 108.

⁴² Kaiser 2015: 95. The Canadian data show the same tendency: *Degrees awarded by Canadian universities and colleges, by sex, Canada, selected years, 1831 to 1973*. Retrieved from https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/11-516-x/sectionw/W504_512-eng.csv Accessed 3 July 2019.

⁴³ Vogeikoff-Brogan, N., 2013. The Modern Greek Exam, 'Professor Blank's' Method, and Other Stories from the 1930s. <https://nataliavogeikoff.com/2013/10/01/the-modern-greek-exam-professor-blanks-method-and-other-stories-from-the-1930s/> Accessed 3 July 2019.

⁴⁴ Vogeikoff-Brogan 2013. Canadians were banned from applying to fellowships at the ASCSA until the 1950s.

more, the suffrage movement was no panacea; some proponents of women's suffrage, men and women, had questionable ideas about social engineering and the status of indigenous peoples in Canada. (Devereux, C., *Woman suffrage, eugenics, and eugenic feminism in Canada*, (October 1st 2013), <https://womensuffrage.org/?p=22106>, accessed 1 July 2019).

³⁸ *The Edmonton Bulletin*, 15 April 1918: 6.

³⁹ *The Edmonton Bulletin*, 27 August 1920: 1. See also Kinmaer, M., 1991. *Margaret McWilliams: An Interwar Feminist*. Montreal & Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press: 76-77.

⁴⁰ *The Globe*, 28 August, 1920: 10.

proposed restrictive measures towards females and foreigners on the 'dignity and self-worth' (see note 42) of a young female student regarding her career plans, especially since she came from a background and working in an environment where women's rights and career opportunities were so strongly encouraged.

Though Mary Ross's move to Calgary to teach the Classical languages at Mount Royal University was an excellent career choice, the teaching responsibilities must have impeded the progress of her thesis and put her behind her male counterparts in the chances to secure a research oriented position in her field. As Kaiser argues well, many educated women of the 1920s and 1930s carved out alternative career paths to be able to maintain involvement in archaeology. Kaiser paints a detailed picture of the careers of Mary's friends; Gladys Weinberg married a fellow archaeologist allowing her to continue in the field, while Sara Freeman continued to work as Robinson's assistant. Unlike the 'roaring twenties', career opportunities for women diminished throughout the thirties, a situation that continued well into the 1960s. Established female careers, like the one of Geneva Misener, were not affected, but new opportunities for women remained sparse and equal pay was far from the minds of university administrators. In fact, this renewed male hegemony in academia and normalizing gender norms in the interpretation of the past was only acknowledged and challenged as part of the second feminist wave.⁴⁵ University employment practices improved thereafter, yet equal payment, which Geneva Misener so strongly promoted back in the 1920s, is - in 2019 - still a contentious issue.⁴⁶

Mary Ross and David Robinson

The question remains why Mary Ross did not speak up or protest when Robinson appropriated her material and made himself the author of her work.

⁴⁵ These are just a few of the many references covering the topic: Conkey, M. and J. Spector, 1984. Archaeology and the Study of Gender, *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory* 7, 1-38. Gero, J., 1985. Sociopolitics and the Woman-at-Home Ideology. *American Antiquity* 50 (2), 342-350. Brown, S., 1993. Feminist Research in Archaeology. What Does It Mean? Why Is It Taking So Long? In: Nancy Sorkin Rabinowich, Amy Richler (eds) *Feminist Theory and the Classics*. London & New York, Routledge: 239-271. Wylie, A., 2007. Doing Archaeology as a Feminist. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 14 (3): 209-216.

⁴⁶ In 2019, the University of Alberta's union voted in favour of a contentious proposal that only allows a long term compensation for female Full Professors to mitigate 'damages to dignity and self-worth.' All other female faculty were only paid a limited one time sum. <https://edmontonjournal.com/news/local-news/university-of-alberta-academic-staff-consider-pay-bump-only-for-female-professors> Accessed 12 April 2019.

Mary Ross may not have viewed David Robinson as the main impediment towards her career path that increasingly alienated women and foreigners. Rather, she likely continued to regard the powerful, but also frequently embattled Robinson as an important mentor who gave her the opportunity to learn about a completely different world and to work on exciting new material.⁴⁷ Robinson was not in favour of restricting the ASCSA fellowship applications and was known for fiercely supporting his students.⁴⁸ I strongly suspect that, rather than regarding Robinson as her 'enemy', Mary Ross may have sided with him in his complex relationship with the ASCSA and she may have viewed that institution - and US academia in the 1930s in general - as a multifarious network of academic relations that, as a foreign female scholar of her time, was difficult to navigate.

Mary Ross-Ellingson and the Robinsons remained acquainted until David Robinson's death, and it is hard to fathom the complexities of their relationship. The imagery on a Christmas card Robinson sent to Ellingson in 1952, with whom he corresponded frequently, may be telling.⁴⁹ It displays a photo of a painted portrait of Robinson, produced for the University of Mississippi, in which he sits, in robes, on a chair benevolently smiling toward the beholder. On his lap, loosely held in his hands, rests Volume VII of *Olynthus*, the publication based on Ellingson's MA thesis, opened at the frontispiece which depicts a watercolour of a terracotta found by Mary Ross-Ellingson herself in 1931. Kaiser likes to read the choice of attribute, the portrait's visual vocabulary of intellectual power and distinction combined with the fact that he sent this card to Ellingson at the time that *Olynthus* Vol. XIV was published, as a hidden apology. I rather believe that the portrait can be read as an acknowledgement and confirmation of the unequal nature of their professional relationship, concealed to both of them by the social fabric and mores of the time, but intended as a - misplaced - compliment from Robinson towards Ellingson.

⁴⁷ Mary Ross displays a completely different demeanour compared to Wilhelmina Van Ingen, a promising graduate student from the US who worked with Robinson, but badly fell out with him during the excavations at *Olynthus* in 1928. Van Ingen's fiercely independent nature at her time in *Olynthus* and her later scholarly career are described and summarized in: Dessy, R., nd. *Exile from Olynthus, Women in Archaeology, Mentoring and Networking in Greece, 1927-28*. https://scholar.lib.vt.edu/faculty_archives/dessy/exile.pdf. Accessed 3 July 2019.

⁴⁸ See the discussion on Professor 'Blank' by Natalia Vogeikoff-Brogan. And Barbara McManus' comments. <https://nataliavogeikoff.com/2013/10/01/the-modern-greek-exam-professor-blanks-method-and-other-stories-from-the-1930s/> Accessed January 15 2020.

⁴⁹ Kaiser 2015: 165-166, fig. 6.1

The journey towards publication

It speaks volumes about the reluctance towards openness and self-reflection in the field of Classical Archaeology in North America that Kaiser initially encountered many difficulties in getting this book published. Publishing houses initially all rejected it, often based on negative reports of anonymous reviewers. These reports implied, or even argued explicitly, that some episodes in the history of Classical archaeology were so sensitive that they best remain unwritten. The manuscript thus landed on the shelf, gathering dust for years.

But the initially fruitless efforts towards publication also reveal an even more disturbing reason for initial negative attitudes towards sharing Ellingson's story. In chapter 7, Kaiser is candid in his disclosure how the, sometimes, unassailable positions of power established by past male professors in the field span many decades and remain palpable long after they passed away. The author describes a confrontation with academics mentored in Robinson's tradition and reports how they argued that he would 'embarrass Classical Archaeology' if he would present a lecture on the topic of David Robinson's publication of Mary Ross-Ellingson's work.⁵⁰

Contact with Mary Ross-Ellingson's daughter revived Kaiser's project and the author needs to be commended for his perseverance in seeing his work eventually appear in print. Once a willing publisher was finally found and the story came out, the positive reactions quickly outshone the initial negative ones; the book has received many positive reviews. In these reviews, we read that many young colleagues adopt a more constructive attitude; one that requires a critical look at one's own past education and position in the networks of knowledge and power in which so much scholarship is embedded.⁵¹ Stories like those of Mary Ross-Ellingson need be taken to heart as they serve as reminders that our field has come a long way, but also that we need to continue to be aware that the tides can turn quickly.

⁵⁰ Kaiser 2015: 184.

⁵¹ See the many reviews on the publishers website: <https://rowman.com/ISBN/9781442230033/Archaeology-Sexism-and-Scandal-The-Long-Suppressed-Story-of-One-Woman's-Discoveries-and-the-Man-Who-Stole-Credit-for-Them>, accessed 16 June 2018. See also Natalia Vogeikoff-Brogan's informative blog with additional contextual information based on the archival material in the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, *Tales of Olynthus, spoken and unspoken* <https://nataliavogeikoff.com/2015/10/01/tales-of-olythus-spoken-and-unspoken/> accessed 16 June 2018.

Conclusion

Having grown up in a privileged 'settlers' environment with new inflowing ideas on religion, education and social order, Mary Ross must have welcomed the golden opportunity to work with Robinson on the terracottas of Olynthus. Coming from Edmonton, Canada, where the effects of the economic crises only just had become palpable, her initial experiences in the field were overwhelmingly positive, but her professional perspectives did not align with the increasingly restrictive measures towards foreign and female scholars in US and later also Canadian academia. It most certainly did not help Mary Ross-Ellingson's career that her own supervisor and mentor published a large part of her work, painstakingly assembled, analysed and written as an MA and PhD thesis, under his own name.

Robinson's dual role as both supporter and consumer of female scholarship should be embedded in a larger social framework of changing power relations in the 1930s, a time of economic decline accompanied by social and political entrenchment that bears a striking resemblance to our current day and age. Under economic pressure there is a cumulative tendency to reform social institutions, such as institutions of learning, including work practices and workplace organization. These reforms are embedded in a network of power relations aimed at creating modes of control to produce 'disciplined' individuals that will work in line with a pattern of perceived 'normality'.⁵² Work and study are therefore 'disciplinary activities that [have] processes built into [them] that aim at the maintenance of individual behaviours and attitudes'.⁵³

Normalizing gender roles are a well-known part of such processes. The restrictions on fellowships for women and foreigners at the ASCSA, for instance, were justified with an economic argument in a discourse that not only denied women and foreigners to be part of such decisions, but which had the goal to *put them in their place*. Many other academic institutions in the US and Canada followed the same pattern of exclusion, indicated by the declining numbers of new female academic employees in the 1930s and a decline in numbers

⁵² Foucault, M., 1978. *The History of Sexuality* Volume 1: An Introduction. New York: Pantheon Books. Foucault, M., 1995. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. New York: Vintage Books.

⁵³ Guizzo, D., and W. Stronge, 2018. Keynes, Foucault and the 'Disciplinary Complex': A Contribution to the Analysis of Work (working paper). *Autonomy* (March 2nd 2018): 2-18.

of female graduate students.⁵⁴ The initial problems Kaiser had with publishing this book because ‘some stories can better be left unwritten’, can be placed in a similar dynamic; power systems aimed at maintaining the status quo and protecting the reputation of institutions, tend to produce realities free of a burdensome past.

Sharing microhistories such as those of Mary Ross-Ellingson, as Kaiser has done, help us to recognize these processes. We live in economically volatile times and in societies that are becoming increasingly socially and politically entrenched. To successfully continue to strive toward ‘decolonizing’ Classical archaeology, and create career pathways for all who wish to pursue a livelihood in Classics and archaeology regardless of gender, sexual orientation, skin colour and socio-cultural background, we need to be reminded, time and again, of those whose careers were undermined or cut short, and why.

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Book Reviews

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Journal of Greek Archaeology

2016
VOLUME 1



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ISSN: 2059-4674 (print)
2059-4682 (online)

Contents

Editorial: Volume 1	v
John Bintliff	

Prehistory and Proto-History

The Palaeolithic settlement of Lefkas Archaeological evidence in a palaeogeographic context	1
Nena Galanidou, Giorgos Iliopoulos and Christina Papoulia	

The Argos Plain through its ages and my ages	33
John Bintliff	

‘Manly hearted’ Mycenaeans (?): challenging preconceptions of warrior ideology in Mycenae’s Grave Circle B	45
Kristin E. Leith	

Cypriot ritual and cult from the Bronze to the Iron Age: a <i>longue-durée</i> approach	73
Giorgos Papantoniou	

Archaic to Classical

‘Greek colonisation’ and Mediterranean networks: patterns of mobility and interaction at Pithekoussai	109
Lieve Donnellan	

Euboean towers and Aegean powers: insights into the Karystia’s role in the ancient world	149
Chelsea A. M. Gardner and Rebecca M. Seifried	

On identifying the deceased in two-figured and multi-figured scenes of classical Attic funerary reliefs	177
Katia Margariti	

The nature of early Greek coinage – the case of Sicily	193
Keith Rutter	

Encounters with death: was there dark tourism in Classical Greece?	211
Carrie L. Sulosky Weaver	

Hellenistic

Brick makers, builders and commissioners as agents in the diffusion of Hellenistic fired bricks: choosing social models to fit archaeological data	233
Per Östborn and Henrik Gerding	

Different communities, different choices. Human agency and the formation of tableware distribution patterns in Hellenistic Asia Minor	271
Mark van der Enden	

Medieval

The current state of the research and future perspectives for the methodology and the interpretation of Byzantine pottery of the 11th and 12th centuries AD	313
Anastasia G. Yangaki	

The medieval towers in the landscape of Euboea: landmarks of feudalism 331
Chrystalla Loizou

Post-Medieval to Modern

A boom-bust cycle in Ottoman Greece and the ceramic legacy of two Boeotian villages 353
Athanasios K. Vionis

Methodology issues of forensic excavations at coastal sites 385
Maria Ktori, Noly Moyssi, Deniz Kahraman and Evren Korkmaz

Reviews 403

Prehistory

Elizabeth C. Banks. *Lerna, a preclassical site in the Argolid, Volume VII, the Neolithic settlement.* . 403
Kostas Kotsakis

Philip P. Betancourt (ed.). *Temple University Aegean Symposium: a compendium*..... 405
Oliver Dickinson

Evangelia Stefani, Nikos Merousis and Anastasia Dimoula. *A century of research in prehistoric Macedonia 1912-2012* 406
Soultana Maria Valamoti

Yiannis Papadatos and Chrysa Sofianou *Livari Skiadi. A Minoan cemetery in southeast Crete. Volume I. Excavation and finds* 420
Sylviane Déderix

Corien Wiersma. *Building the Bronze Age: architectural and social change on the Greek mainland during Early Helladic III, Middle Helladic and Late Helladic I* 424
Anastasia Dakouri-Hild

Archaic to classical

John Boardman, Andrew Parkin and Sally Waite (eds) *On the fascination of objects: Greek and Etruscan art in the Shefton Collection.* 428
Robin Osborne

Allison Glazebrook and Barbara Tsakirgis (eds) *Houses of ill repute: the archaeology of brothels, houses, and taverns in the Greek world* 428
Anna Meens

Thibault Girard. *L'oblique dans le monde grec. Concept et imagerie* 431
Diana Rodríguez Pérez

Alan Greaves. *The land of Ionia: society and economy in the Archaic period.* 437
Elif Koparal

Erich Kistler, Birgit Öhlinger, Martin Mohr and Matthias Hoernes (eds). *Sanctuaries and the power of consumption. Networking and the formation of elites in the Archaic western Mediterranean world.* 440
Lieve Donnellan

Gocha R. Tsetskhladze, Alexandru Avram and James Hargrave (eds). *The Danubian lands between the Black, Aegean, and Adriatic Seas (7th centuries BC–10th century AD)*. 440
Lieve Donnellan

Janett Morgan. *Greek perspectives on the Achaemenid Empire: Persia through the looking glass* . 446
Elif Koparal

Hellenistic

Nancy Bookidis and Elizabeth G. Pemberton. *The sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, the Greek lamps and offering trays*..... 450
Mark van der Enden

Volker Grieb, Krzysztof Nawotka and Agnieszka Wojciechowska (eds). *Alexander the Great and Egypt: history, art, tradition*..... 452
Judith M. Barringer

Maja Miše. *Gnathia and Related Hellenistic Ware on the East Adriatic Coast*..... 455
Mark van der Enden

Roman

Theodosia Stefanidou-Tiveriou. *Die lokalen Sarkophage aus Thessaloniki* 458
Ben Russell

Eleni Papagianni. *Attische Sarkophage mit Eroten und Girlanden* 458
Ben Russell

Medieval

Rosa Bacile and John McNeill (eds). *Romanesque and the Mediterranean, Points of contact across the Latin, Greek and Islamic Worlds, c.1000- c.1250* 465
James Crow

Postmedieval to Modern

Gerald Brisch (ed). *The Dodecanese: further travels among the insular Greeks. Selected writings of J. Theodore and Mabel V.A. Bent, 1885-1888*..... 466
Lita Tzortzopoulou-Gregory

Multiperiod

Pablo Aparicio Resco. *Entre Aidós Y Peitho. La iconografía del gesto del velo en la Antigua Grecia* 470
Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones

Kerstin Droß-Krüpe (ed.). *Textile trade and distribution in antiquity/Textilhandel und -distribution in der Antike*..... 471
Ben Russell

Iosif Hadjikyriako and Mia Gaia Trentin (eds). *Cypriot cultural details: proceedings of the 10th Annual Meeting of Young Researchers in Cypriot Archaeology* 475
Paraskeva Charalambos

Mary Harlow and Marie-Louise Nosch (eds). <i>Greek and Roman textiles and dress. An interdisciplinary anthology</i>.....	479
Glenys Davies	
Margaret M. Miles (ed.) <i>Autopsy in Athens. Recent archaeological research on Athens and Attica</i>	481
Franziska Lang	
Rosa Maria Motta. <i>Material culture and cultural identity: a study of Greek and Roman coins from Dora</i>.....	487
Keith Rutter	
Zetta Theodoropoulou Polychroniadis and Doniert Evely (eds). <i>AEGIS. Essays in Mediterranean archaeology presented to Matti Egon by the scholars of The Greek Archaeological Committee</i>..	487
Oliver Dickinson	
Apostolos Sarris (ed.). <i>Best practices of geoinformatic technologies for the mapping of archaeolandscape</i>.....	490
Chris Gaffney	
Peter Schultz and Ralf Von den Hoff (eds). <i>Structure, Image, ornament: architectural sculpture in the Greek world</i>.....	492
Ruth Allen	
David Stuttard. <i>Greek mythology: a traveller's guide from Mount Olympus to Troy</i>.....	494
Gary Vos	

Editorial: Volume 1

John Bintliff

Why another new journal? Since my PhD research I have specialised in Landscape Archaeology in the Mediterranean, and over the decades this field has broadened in a totally unpredictable fashion. Originally it was developed to locate places mentioned in Classical texts, then Prehistory was added by the end of the 19th century, with occasional mention of Medieval sites. With the advent of intensive survey in the late 1970s, field-by-field study of the Mediterranean landscape inescapably recorded pottery scatters of every age up to the Post-Medieval era, although it has been a slow progression for post-Roman sites to be given the same attention as earlier eras. The serious study of deserted Medieval and Early Modern villages and farms could be added to the well-known Roman villas and Classical farmsteads recognised from the start of intensive survey programmes. Then the survival of substantial ruined buildings on post-Roman sites called for their documentation and contextualising into similar buildings still rarely observable in existing communities. Just as ancient texts had been invaluable from the beginning of landscape archaeology, so now Medieval and later sources could be brought in to give depth to ceramics and houses in the countryside.

A parallel development can be observed in the archaeology of towns and museum collections. Ever greater prominence was given in recent decades to the post-Roman buildings and artefacts, offering a bridge too to longer-existing but usually disconnected ethnographic and folklore records and museum collections.

Yet publication in journals and textbooks ran up against a long tradition of compartmentalisation by period and academic institutions. Greek and Roman studies had a plethora of periodicals and works of synthesis, Prehistory was divided into a niche within the Classical field or employed its own set of journals and book series. Medievalists published generally apart, and the Post-Medievalists had little scope for their own research. Individual periodicals have nonetheless increasingly introduced occasional insertions outside their main period interest, for example *Hesperia* and the *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology*.

For anyone with the widest interest in the archaeology of the Greek World from the Palaeolithic through to the 21st century, including all the countries outside the Aegean where Greeks and Greek culture took root, there has not been a single journal where key papers, reviews and works of synthesis can appear. Given the expansion of Mediterranean rural and urban archaeology into all the periods of the human past, it is indeed opportune to launch such a periodical. The potential of such a *longue durée* approach to the Aegean Greek past has already been explored in a textbook (Bintliff 2012) and an edited conference volume (Bintliff ed. 2015), but already in this first JGA volume we have been able in the articles, not only to cover all our desired timescale, but also extend our geographical net beyond Greece to include Italy, Anatolia, Cyprus and the Levant. Our reviews have the same time-breadth and cover the entire world of Greek culture—except for the migrant communities of Early Modern Australia and the United States (a gap to be filled in the future).

We have kept our policy of an English-language journal with the exception of one book review; haste in getting Volume 1 out on its promised deadline left this still untranslated.

This volume was aided immensely by the support of our Editorial Board, mostly at Edinburgh University, and the many members of our worldwide distinguished Advisory Board. Vital aid to the Editor came from the Editorial Assistant Fiona Mowat, financed by a grant from the Leventis Foundation. The encouragement and continual hard work by our production-publication team at

Archaeopress must be acknowledged as without parallel in my publishing experience – Rajka, David, Gerry and Patrick.

Bintliff, J. L., 2012. *The Complete Archaeology of Greece, from Hunter-Gatherers to the Twentieth Century AD*. Oxford and New York: Blackwell-Wiley.

Bintliff, J.L. (ed.) 2015. *Recent Developments in the Archaeology of Greece* (Pharos Supplement). Leuven: Peeters.

Journal of Greek Archaeology

2017

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ISSN: 2059-4674 (print)
2059-4682 (online)

JOURNAL OF GREEK ARCHAEOLOGY

Volume 2

2017

Contents

Editorial: Volume 2	v
John Bintliff	
New insights into the Upper Pleistocene archaeology of Northwestern Greece The evidence from three open-air sites and its implication for Middle and Upper Palaeolithic hunter-gatherers' activity and behaviour in Southeastern Europe	1
S. Ligkovanlis	
Prehistory and Proto-History	
Preserving memory in Minoan Crete Filled-in bench and platform deposits from the First Palace of Phaistos	33
Ilaria Caloi	
Cattle in ritual practice and iconography in Bronze Age Cyprus	53
Jennifer M. Webb	
Variation on a theme: Mycenaean early civilisation in a comparative perspective	81
Marcus Bajema	
Mercenaries or refugees? the evidence from the inscriptions of Merenptah on the 'Sea Peoples'	115
Konstantinos Kopanias	
Archaic to Classical	
A Greek battleground in southern Italy: new light on the ancient Sagra	131
Paolo Visonà and James R. Jansson	
Cutting down the tallest ears of grain: archaeological evidence for tyranny and sumptuary law in 'wealthy' Corinth	155
Angela Ziskowski	
Where the children are: an insight into 'age markers' in western Greece. Astragali from the burial area of Locri Epizefiri	171
Barbara Carè	
Results of the field surveys at Teos and environs (2007–2009): revealing the Archaic landscape	195
Elif Koparal and Numan Tuna	

Manliness, violation, and laughter: rereading the space and context of the Eurymedon vase	217
Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones	

Hellenistic

Macedonian lionesses: Herakles and lion jewelry in elite female dress (c. 325–275 BCE) ...	231
Alexis Q. Castor	

Revisiting the ‘Slipper Slapper’ and other sculpture dedications in the clubhouse of the Poseidoniasts of Beirut	253
S. Rebecca Martin	

Roman to Late Roman

Public baths in Roman Dion (Colonia Iulia Augusta Diensis)	283
Anastasios Oulkeroglou	

Post-Medieval to Modern

Integrating Local History and Landscape Archaeology: two case studies from western Greece	321
Helene Simoni and Kostas Papagiannopoulos	

The Karavas Water Project: an archaeological and environmental study of interaction and community in northern Kythera	339
Lita Tzortzopoulou-Gregory and Timothy E. Gregory	

Multiperiod

Ancient magic artefacts and people: interpreting symbols, tracking personal experiences in Greek archaeological museums	373
Marlen Mouliou	

Book Reviews

Prehistory and Proto-History

Florence Gaignerot-Driessen and Jan Driessen. <i>Cretan Cities: Formation and Transformation</i>	391
Maria Iacovou	

Robert B. Koehl (ed.). <i>Studies in Aegean Art and Culture. A New York Aegean Bronze Age Colloquium in Memory of Ellen N. Davis</i>	397
Oliver Dickinson	

Jana Mynářová, Pavel Onderka and Peter Pavúk (eds). <i>There and Back Again – The Crossroads II. Proceedings of an International Conference Held in Prague, September 15-18, 2014</i>	400
Oliver Dickinson	

Leslie Preston Day, Heidi M.C. Dierckx, Kimberly Flint-Hamilton, Geraldine C. Gesell, Kevin T. Glowacki, Nancy L. Klein, David S. Reese and Lynn M. Snyder. <i>Kavousi IIC: The Late Minoan IIIC Settlement at Vronda. Specialist Reports and Analyses. Kavousi. The results of the Excavations at Kavousi in Eastern Crete</i>	404
Ilse Schoep	

Archaic to Classical

- Lieve Donnellan, Valentino Nizzo, Gert-Jan Burgers (eds) *Contexts of Early Colonization*
Lieve Donnellan, Valentino Nizzo, Gert-Jan Burgers (eds) *Conceptualising Early Colonisation* 408
Matthew Fitzjohn
- Josiah Ober. *The Rise and Fall of Classical Greece*.....412
John Bintliff
- Alexander Heinemann. *Der Gott des Gelages. Dionysos, Satyrn und Mänaden auf attischem Trinkegeschirr des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*413
Diana Rodríguez Pérez
- John H. Oakley (ed.). *Athenian Potters and Painters*.....419
Robin Osborne
- Stella Spantidaki. *Textile Production in Classical Athens*
N.K. Rollason. *Gifts of Clothing in Late Antique Literature*421
Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones
- Franco de Angelis. *Archaic and Classical Greek Sicily. A Social and Economic History*
Andrey Bezrukov. *Trade and Economic Contacts Between the Volga and Kama Rivers Region and the Classical World*.....423
Lieve Donnellan
- Donald C. Haggis and Carla M. Antonaccio (eds). *Classical Archaeology in Context: Theory and Practice in Excavation in the Greek World*.....429
Florence Gaignerot-Driessen
- ## Hellenistic
- John Boardman. *The Greeks in Asia*
Elisabeth Katzy. *Hellenisierung Nordmesopotamiens am Beispiel des Khabur-Gebietes*...432
Andrew Erskine
- Chavdar Tzochev. *The Athenian Agora Volume XXXVII. Amphora Stamps from Thasos*.....439
Mark van der Enden
- Pierre Leriche (ed). *Art & Civilisations de l’Orient Hellénisé: rencontres et échanges culturels d’Alexandre aux Sassanides*.....441
Meg Moodie
- ## Roman to Late Antiquity
- Manolis Korres. *The Odeion Roof of Herodes Atticus and other Giant Spans*445
Ben Russell
- Alexandra Eppinger. *Hercules in der Spätantike. Die Rolle des Heros im Spannungsfeld von Heidentum und Christentum*448
Gary Vos

Medieval

Michael Dekker. *The Byzantine Dark Ages*.....452
John Bintliff

Michael J. Walsh, Tamás Kiss and Nicholas S.H. Coureas (eds) *The Harbour of all this Sea and Realm: Crusader to Venetian Famagusta*.....453
Mike Carr

Jonathan Harris. *The lost world of Byzantium*.....455
Emanuele E. Intagliata

Joanita Vroom. *Byzantine to Modern Pottery in the Aegean. An Introduction and Field Guide*..... 456
John Bintliff

Multiperiod

Ruth M. Léger. *Artemis and her cult*

Martin Eckert. *Die Aphrodite der Seefahrer und ihre Heiligtümer am Mittelmeer. Archäologische Untersuchungen zu interkulturellen Kontaktzonen am Mittelmeer in der späten Bronzezeit und frühen Eisenzeit*.....457
Lieve Donnellan

Oliver Henry, and Ute Kelp (eds) *Tumulus as Sema. Space, Politics, Culture and Religion in the First Millennium BC*.....461
Naoise Mac Sweeney

S. Müth, P. I. Schneider, M. Schnelle, P. D. DeStaeble (eds) *Ancient Fortifications. A Compendium of Theory and Practice*.....464
Hans Lohmann

Rune Frederiksen, Silke Müth, Peter I. Schneider and Mike Schnelle (eds) *Focus on Fortifications. New Research on Fortifications in the Ancient Mediterranean and the Near East*.....467
Hans Lohmann

Janet Burnett Grossman. *The Athenian Agora Vol. XXXV: Funerary Sculpture*.....471
Nigel Spivey

Michalis Karambinis. *The island of Skyros from Late Roman to Early Modern times*.....473
Emanuele E. Intagliata

Laura Gawlinski. *The Athenian Agora Museum Guide*.....476
Alana N. Newman

Pietro Maria Militello and Hakan Öniş (eds) *SOMA 2011. Proceedings of the 15th Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology, held at the University of Catania 3-5 March 2011*.....478
Chrysanthi Gallou

David Abulafia (ed.) *The Mediterranean in History*.....486
John Bintliff

David K. Pettegrew. *The Isthmus of Corinth. Crossroads of the Mediterranean world*.....487
Dean Peeters

Editorial: Volume 2

This issue maintains our mission to publish across the whole time range of Greek Archaeology, with articles from the Palaeolithic to the Early Modern era, as well as reaching out from the Aegean to the wider Greek world. Lithics and Ceramics are accompanied by innovative Art History and Industrial Archaeology. Our book reviews are equally wide-ranging. Our authors are international, and include young researchers as well as long-established senior scholars. I am sure you readers will find a feast of stimulating studies and thoughtful reviews.

John Bintliff
General Editor

Journal of Greek Archaeology

2018
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ISSN: 2059–4674 (print)
2059–4682 (online)

ISBN 978-1-78969-031-6
ISBN 978-1-78969-032-3 (e-pdf)

JOURNAL OF GREEK ARCHAEOLOGY

Volume 3

2018

Contents

Journal of Greek Archaeology Volume 3: Editorial v
John Bintliff

Prehistory and Protohistory

Parting the waters. Middle Palaeolithic archaeology in the central Ionian Sea 1
Nena Galanidou

Grinding cereals and pulses in the Neolithic site of Kleitos: an experimental investigation of microconglomerate grinding equipment, final products and use wear 23
D. Chondrou, S. M. Valamoti, H. Procopiou, L. Papadopoulou

Making tools, Reconstructing Manufacturing Processes: The Celt Industry of Varemni Goulon in Northern Greece..... 47
Anna Stroulia

Demography and burial exclusion in Mycenaean Achaia, Greece 75
Olivia A. Jones

Diet and Social Divisions in Protohistoric Greece: Integrating Analyses of stable Isotopes and Mortuary Practices..... 95
E. Panagiotopoulou, J. van der Plicht, A. Papathanasiou, S. Voutsaki, S. Katakouta,
A. Intzesiloglou and P. Arachoviti

Should I Stay or Should I Go? Mycenaeans, Migration, and Mobility in the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Eastern Mediterranean 115
Guy D. Middleton

Revisiting Bronze and Early Iron Age Central Epirus(Prefecture of Ioannina, Greece)..... 145
Eleni Vasileiou

Aphrodite Pandemos at Naukratis Revisited: The Goddess and her Civic Function in the Context of an Archaic *Emporion* 165
Megan J. Daniels

Archaic to Classical

The Greeks West of the Rhone (F). Genesis, Evolution and End of a Greek Area 203
Daniela Ugolini

Locating Lost Gifts: Terracotta Figurines as Evidence for Ephemeral Offerings 245
Theodora Kopestonsky

Roman and Late Roman

Urban Networks in the Roman Province of Achaia. (Peloponnese, Central Greece, Epirus and Thessaly) 269
Michalis Karambinis

Medieval and Post-Medieval

Religious Architecture in Crete: Materiality and Identities between the Venetian and Ottoman Rule 341
Marta Lorenzon

Mapping Agro-Pastoral Infrastructure in the Post-Medieval Landscape of Maniot Settlements: The Case-Study of Agios Nikon (ex. Poliana), Messenia..... 359
Sophia Germanidou

From an Intangible Idea of a Fashion Collection to an Intangible Digital Future. A Yannis Tseklenis Vase Look Dress..... 405
Ropertos Georgiou, Avgoustinos Avgousti, Noly Moyssi, Ropertos Georgiou and Avgoustinos Avgousti

Multiperiod

The City Walls of Athens (5th c. BC – 18th c. AD): a Contemporary Approach 419
Ourania Vizyinou

Book Reviews

Prehistory and Protohistory

Maria C. Shaw and Anne P. Chapin (with contributions by E.W. Barber, G. Bianco, B. Burke, E. C. Egan and S. Peterson Murray). *Woven Threads. Patterned textiles of the Aegean Bronze Age.* 431
Kalliope Sarri

Philippa M. Steele (ed.). *Understanding Relations Between Scripts. The Aegean Writing Systems.* 435
Oliver Dickinson

Julie Hruby and Debra Trusty (eds). *From Cooking Vessels to Cultural Practices in the Late Bronze Age Aegean.*..... 438
Oliver Dickinson

Iphiyenia Tournavitou. *The Wall Paintings of the West House at Mycenae*..... 441
Susan Sherratt

Quentin Letesson and Carl Knappett (eds). *Minoan Architecture and Urbanism. New Perspectives on an Ancient Built Environment.* 444
Corien Wiersma

Th. L. Papadopoulos & E. Papadopoulou–Chrysikopoulou. *Excavations at the Mycenaean Cemetery at Aigion – 1967.* 448

K. Aktypi. *The Mycenaean Cemetery at Ayios Vasileios, Chalandritsa, in Achaea* 448
Oliver Dickinson

Margaretha Kramer-Hajos. *Mycenaean Greece and the Aegean World: Palace and Province in the Late Bronze Age*..... 451
Jeremy Rutter

Maria Mina, Sevi Triantaphyllou and Yannis Papadatos (eds). *An archaeology of prehistoric bodies and embodied identities in the Eastern Mediterranean*8 455
Chrysanthi Gallou

Raffaele D’Amato and Andrea Salimbeti. *Early Iron Age Greek Warrior 1100–700 BC*..... 459
Oliver Dickinson

Coulié, Anne 2013. *La céramique grecque aux époques géométrique et orientalisante (XIe–VIe siècles av.J.-C.)*..... 461
Oliver Dickinson

Archaic to Classical

David Michael Smith. *Pocket Museum: Ancient Greece*..... 463
Anna Meens

Tua Korhonen and Erika Ruonakoski. *Human and Animal in Ancient Greece: Empathy and Encounter in Classical Literature* 464
Julia Kindt

Francesca Giovagnorio. *Dediche votive private attiche del IV sec. a. C. Il culto di Atena e delle divinità mediche* 467
Rocco Palermo

Aneta Petrova. *Funerary Reliefs from the West Pontic Area (6th-1st Centuries BC)* 469
Margarit Damyanov

Maeve McHugh. *The Ancient Greek Farmstead*..... 474
Anna Meens

Jasna Jeličić Radonić and Miroslav Katić. *Faros – osnivanje grčkog grada – I, (Pharos - the foundation of the ancient city – I)* 477
Branko Kirigin

Diana Rodríguez Pérez (ed.). *Greek Art in Context: Archaeological and Art Historical Perspectives* 483
Robin Osborne

Lisa Nevett (ed.) *Theoretical approaches to the archaeology of ancient Greece: manipulating material culture* 486
Saro Wallace

Dimitrios Yatromanolakis (ed.). *Epigraphy of Art: Ancient Greek Vase-Inscriptions and Vase-Paintings* 490
Robin Osborne

Hellenistic

François Queyrel. *La Sculpture hellénistique I: forms, themes et fonctions*..... 492
Judith Barringer

Guillaume Biard. *La représentation honorifique dans les cités grecques aux époques classique et hellénistique* 494

John Ma. *Statues and Cities: Honorific Portraits and Civic Identity in the Hellenistic World* 494
Nigel Spivey

Roman

Kathleen Warner Slane (with contributions by Ethne Barnes, David S. Reese and David R. Jordan). *Tombs, Burials, and Commemoration in Corinth's Northern Cemetery* 498
Philip Bes

Medieval

Lynn Jones (ed.). *Byzantine Images and their Afterlives. Essays in Honor of Annemarie Weyl Car.* 503
Robin Cormack

David Jacoby. *Travellers, Merchants and Settlers in the Eastern Mediterranean, 11th-14th Centuries* 504
Manuela Ritondale

Post-Medieval to Modern

Dimitris N. Karidis. *Athens from 1456 to 1920. The Town under Ottoman Rule and the 19th-Century Capital City*..... 508

Dimitris N. Karidis. *Athens from 1920 to 1940. A true and just account of how History was enveloped by a modern City and the Place became an Event*..... 508
John Bintliff

Multiperiod

Peter Talloen. *Cult in Pisidia. Religious practice in southwestern Asia Minor from Alexander the Great to the rise of christianity*..... 509
Francesco D'Andria

Elizabeth R. Gebhard and Timothy E. Gregory (eds). *Bridge of the Untiring Sea: The Corinthian Isthmus from Prehistory to Late Antiquity*..... 512
Francesca Ippolito

Manuel Fernández-Götz and Dirk Krausse (eds). *Eurasia at the Dawn of History: Urbanisation and Social Change*..... 515

Tamar Hodos (ed.). *The Routledge Handbook of Archaeology and Globalization*. 515
Lieve Donnellan

Rui Morais. *Greek Art from Oxford to Portugal and Back Again: Tribute to Maria Helena Da Rocha-Pereira, with a foreword by Delfim Leão*..... 521
Robin Osborne

Nicholas Rockwell. *Thebes: A History*..... 521
Samuel Gartland

Journal of Greek Archaeology Volume 3: Editorial

True to our initial aims, this volume runs the whole chronological range of Greek Archaeology, while including every kind of material culture. We start with an overview of the major project of Nena Galanidou and her colleagues, investigating Palaeolithic environments, human settlement and other activities in the Ionian Islands. Via Neolithic industries in large stone artefacts we meet next two related papers on the human palaeobiology of populations in the Mycenaean and then Iron Age eras. Two papers on Greeks abroad enlighten us on the nature of Greek presence and impact on indigenous society (and vice versa) in Archaic and Classical Egypt and Southern France. In a totally contrasted fashion, a long article on the fate of Southern Greek cities under Rome offers a very negative but definitively researched analysis on their radical decline, overturning the positive picture of urban life painted decades ago by Susan Alcock.

Architecture makes two appearances for the periods that follow, firstly for the towns of Crete under Venetian then Ottoman rule, secondly in the form of Landscape Architecture – the physical infrastructure of rural land use in the unusual landscape of the Mani. Finally, to show that Greek Archaeology knows no boundaries when it comes to material culture, a piece on a 21st century fashion designer who has used ancient art to enrich his dresses. Alongside these papers, we also have articles challenging the accepted view of the Late Bronze ‘Sea Peoples’, shedding welcome light on the neglected later prehistory and protohistory of Epiros, on Greek terracotta figurines and their links to sacrificial offerings, and finally providing a long term study of the walls of Athens over almost two-and-a-half millennia.

The full complement of reviews for almost every period of the Greek Past are also full of fascinating insights and updates. Enjoy!

John Bintliff

Journal of Greek Archaeology

2019
VOLUME 4



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ISSN: 2059–4674 (print)
2059–4682 (online)

ISBN 978-1-78969-377-5
ISBN 978-1-78969-378-2 (e-pdf)

JOURNAL OF GREEK ARCHAEOLOGY

Volume 4

2019

Contents

Journal of Greek Archaeology Volume 4: Editorial v
John Bintliff

Prehistory and Protohistory

The context and nature of the evidence for metalworking from mid 4th millennium Yali (Nissyros) 1
V. Maxwell, R. M. Ellam, N. Skarpelis and A. Sampson

Living apart together. A ceramic analysis of Eastern Crete during the advanced Late Bronze Age 31
Charlotte Langohr

The Ayios Vasileios Survey Project (Laconia, Greece): questions, aims and methods..... 67
Sofia Voutsaki, Corien Wiersma, Wieke de Neef and Adamantia Vasilogamvrou

Archaic to Hellenistic

The formation and development of political territory and borders in Ionia from the Archaic to the Hellenistic periods: A GIS analysis of regional space 96
David Hill

Multi-faceted approaches and interdisciplinary narratives – regional archaeologies in Akarnania and Olympia (Western Greece) 130
Franziska Lang

To include or exclude? Marginalization of the deformed in the Classical Greek World 163
Carrie L. Sulosky Weaver

Personified vulva, ritual obscenity, and Baubo..... 180
Aynur-Michèle-Sara Karatas

The Hellenistic *koine* as a linguistic and ceramic concept 204
Alexandros Laftsidis

Roman and Late Roman

The Roman aqueduct of Philippi 229
Anastasios Oulkeroglou†, Stratis Papadopoulos and Ioanna Giamali

Medieval and Post-Medieval

The materiality of death, the supernatural and the role of women in Late Antique and Byzantine times 252
Athanasios K. Vionis

Pietra Ollare: Alpine soapstone vessels in Byzantine Corinth 270
Rossana Valente

Byzantine *Kastra* in the Dark Ages: the case of Oria *Kastro* on Kythnos 294
Christianna Veloudaki

Archaeological approaches to the Islamic Emirate of Crete (820s-961 CE): a starting point 311
Matteo G. Randazzo

Multiperiod

Integrating geology into archaeology: the water supply of Piraeus in Antiquity 337
E.D. Chiotis

The potential of a terrace-wise economy: Hygassos' agricultural heritage in the Hellenistic Rhodian Peraia (Bozburun Peninsula) 378
E. Deniz Oğuz-Kirca, Ioannis Liritzis, Volkan Demirciler and Volkan Demirciler

Book Reviews

Prehistory and Protohistory

Catherine Perlès. *Ornaments and other ambiguous artifacts from Franchthi, Volume I, the Palaeolithic and the Mesolithic, excavations at Franchthi Cave, Greece* 423
Nena Galanidou

Anastasia Papathanasiou, William A. Parkinson, Daniel J. Pullen, Michael L. Galaty and Panagiotis Karkanias (eds). *Neolithic Alepotrypa cave in the Mani, Greece. In honor of George Papathanassopoulos* 424
Catherine Perlès

Søren Dietz, Fanis Mavridis, Žarko Tankosić and Turan Takaoğlu (eds). *Communities in transition. The circum-Aegean area during the 5th and 4th millennia BC* 431
Oliver Dickinson

R. Angus K. Smith, Mary K. Dabney, Evangelia Pappi, Sevasti Triantaphyllou and James C. Wright. *Ayia Sotira. A Mycenaean chamber tomb cemetery in the Nemea Valley, Greece* 433
Oliver Dickinson

Frederick W. Cooper and Diane Fortenberry (eds). *The Minnesota Pylos Project 1990-98* 435
Oliver Dickinson

Susan Sherratt and John Bennet (eds). *Archaeology and the Homeric Epic* 438
Irene S. Lemos

Philippa M. Steele. *Writing and Society in Ancient Cyprus* 443
Maria Iacovou

Metaxia Tsipopoulou. *Petras, Siteia I. A Minoan Palatial Settlement in Eastern Crete. Excavation of Houses I.1 and I.2* 450
Ilse Schoep

A. Bernard Knapp and Stella Demesticha. *Mediterranean connections: maritime transport containers and seaborne trade in the Bronze and Early Iron Ages* 451
Oliver Dickinson

Emily S.K. Anderson. *Seals, craft and community in Bronze Age Crete* 455
John G. Younger

A. Bernard Knapp. *Seafaring and seafarers in the Bronze Age Eastern Mediterranean* 459
Saro Wallace

Maria Ivanova, Bogdan Athanassov, Vanya Petrova, Desislava Takorova and Philip W. Stockhammer (eds). *Social Dimensions of Food in the Prehistoric Balkans*..... 461
Stella Souvatzi

Archaic to Classical

Myrina Kalaitzi. *Figured Tombstones from Macedonia, Fifth–First Century BC*..... 468
Seth Estrin

Mary Emerson. *Greek Sanctuaries and Temple Architecture. An Introduction* 470
Tony Spawforth

S. Rebecca Martin. *The Art of Contact. Comparative Approaches to Greek and Phoenician Art* 472
Lieve Donnellan

Hellenistic

Milena Melfi and Olympia Bobou (eds) *Hellenistic Sanctuaries between Greece and Rome* 475
A. J. S. Spawforth

Roman

Jane E. Francis and Anna Kouremenos (eds) *Roman Crete. New Perspectives* 476
Michalis Karambinis

Walter Scheidel (ed.). *The Science of Roman History: Biology, Climate, and the Future of the Past* . 479
Ben Russell

Tamara M. Dijkstra, Inger N.I. Kuin, Muriel Moser and David Weidgenannt (eds) *Strategies of Remembering in Greece under Rome (100 BC – 100 AD)* 481
Michalis Karambinis

Georgios Deligiannakis. *The Dodecanese and the Eastern Aegean Islands in Late Antiquity, AD 300–700*..... 484
Konstantinos Roussos

Medieval

Philipp Niewöhner (ed.). *The archaeology of Byzantine Anatolia. From the end of late antiquity until the coming of the Turks*..... 487
Emanuele E. Intagliata

Sharon E. J. Gerstel (ed.). *Viewing Greece: Cultural and Political Agency in the Medieval and Early Modern Mediterranean*..... 488
Konstantinos Roussos

Multiperiod

- Gavin McGuire. *Minoan Extractions: A Photographic Journey 2009–2016 Sissi Archaeological Project* 490**
- Yannis Hamilakis and Fotis Ifantidis. *Camera Kalaureia: An Archaeological Photo-Ethnography – Μια αρχαιολογική φωτο-εθνογραφία* 490**
Lita Tzortzopoulou-Gregory
- Joseph G. Manning. *The Open Sea. The Economic Life of the Ancient Mediterranean World from the Iron Age to the Rise of Rome.* 497**
David Lewis
- Matthew P. Maher. *The fortifications of Arkadian city states in the Classical and Hellenistic periods.* 502**
Silke Müth
- Jerome J. Pollitt (ed.) *The Cambridge History of Painting in the Classical World* 508**
Tiziana D'Angelo
- Manolis Manoledakis (ed.). *The Black Sea in the Light of New Archaeological Data and Theoretical Approaches. Proceedings of the 2nd International Workshop on the Black Sea in Antiquity held in Thessaloniki, 18–20 September 2015* 519**
Lieve Donnellan
- Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier. *Das Orakelheiligtum des Apollon von Abai/Kalapodi. Eines der bedeutendsten griechischen Heiligtümer nach den Ergebnissen der neuen Ausgrabungen.* (Trierer Winckelmannsprogramme 25). pp. VII+60, 1 map. 2013. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 522**
Lieve Donnellan
- Jeremy McInerney. *Greece in the ancient world*..... 526**
- Richard T. Neer. *Art and archaeology of the Greek world. A new history, c.2500-c.150 BCE* 526**
Paul Cartledge
- Brice L. Erickson, *Lerna, Volume VIII, The Historical Greek Village, Results of Excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 529**
Mark van der Enden
- Francesco Collura with contributions by Sergio Cascella, Emiliano Arena and Benedetto Caroccio, *Studia Calactina I. Ricerche su una città greco romana di Sicilia: Kalè Akté – Calacte* 531**
Johannes Bergemann

Journal of Greek Archaeology Volume 4: Editorial

This our fourth volume is unusually rich and varied in content. Geographically the articles range from Sicily via Greece to Anatolia and the Near East, while chronologically they extend from the Bronze Age to the Ottoman era. Thematically we have a set of papers in landscape studies which include agricultural history, settlement geography, regional comparisons; articles on material culture which encompass metallurgy, ceramics, the links between language and artefacts, and production and trade; papers on aspects of human social science such as palaeopathology and deformity, gender studies and the representation of the supernatural; historical perspectives are finally represented by articles on fortifications and Islamisation. A special treat is a lengthy presentation of the survey and excavation at the recently-discovered Mycenaean palace in the Sparta Valley. Our review section is even broader, running from the Palaeolithic through to aspects of presentday heritage studies, and covering an equally wide field of topics.

We are saddened to learn that one of our authors, Anastasios Oulkeroglou, has just passed away. He gave us a fascinating piece in JGA volume 2 on Dion, and now with co-authors a major study on Philippi. A sad loss in the field of his innovative work on ancient technology.

We would like to see more contributions on Art, any period, and the Post-Medieval centuries, please for future issues, following the numerous significant papers on these themes that we have published in volumes 1 – 3!

John Bintliff
General Editor



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The *Journal of Hellenistic Pottery and Material Culture* - JHP - was launched 2016 in Berlin, Germany, by Renate Rosenthal-Heginbottom, Patricia Kögler and Wolf Rudolph - specialists working in the field of Hellenistic material culture.

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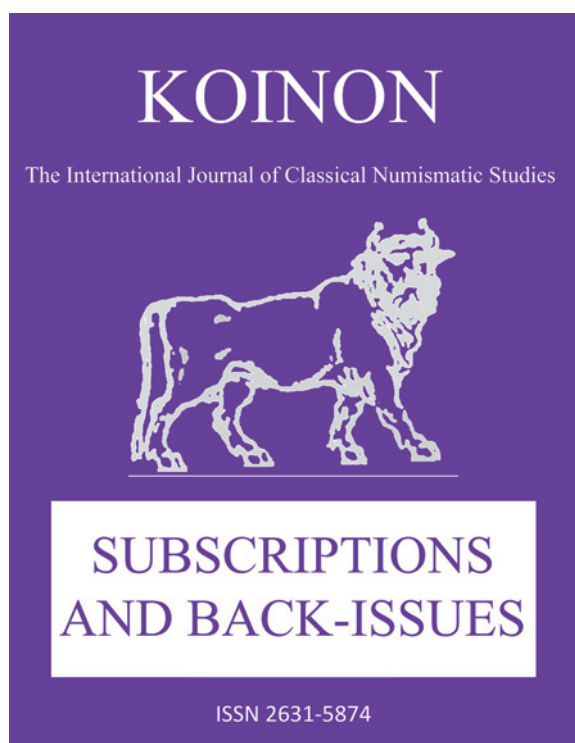
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Table of Contents

The Unconquerable Sun: An Introduction to Koinon III and Brief Note Concerning the Solace of Numismatics (NICHOLAS MOLINARI)

GREEK NUMISMATICS

Overstruck Sigloi of Azbaal and Baalmelek II of Kition (DAVID MACDONALD)

Cast Copies of a Neapolitan silver didrachm from the Berlin Coin Cabinet (JOHN VOUKELATOS)

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Constantine's Decennalia and his Fourth Consulship on a Follis from Lugdunum (ANDREI BONTAS)

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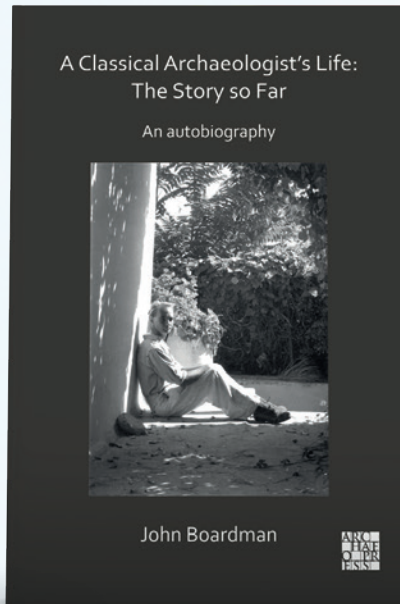
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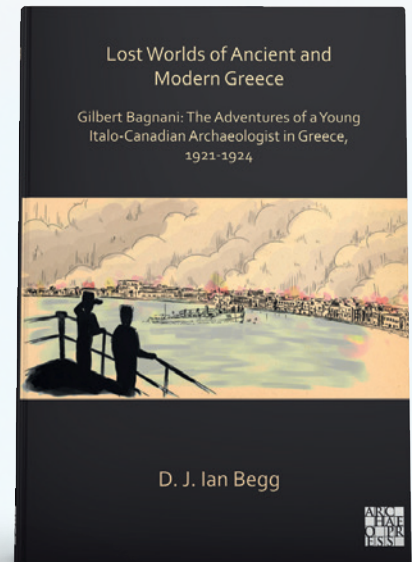
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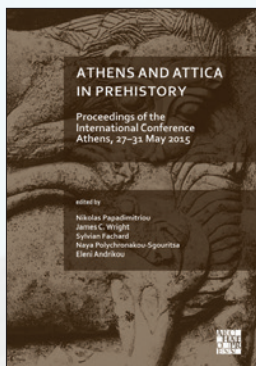
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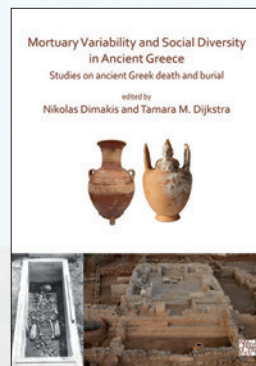
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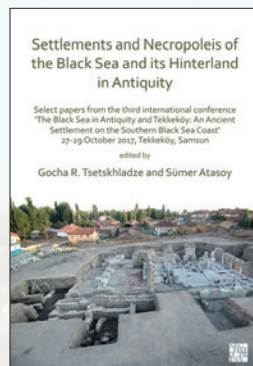
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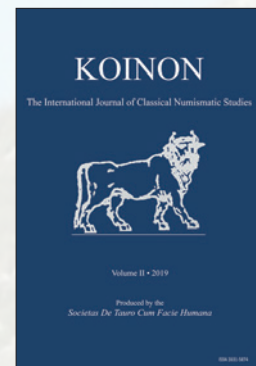
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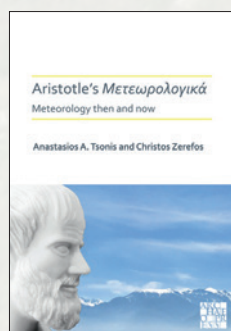
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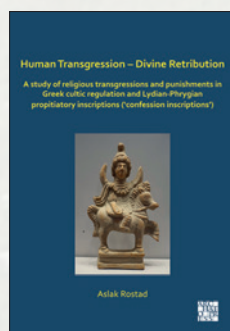
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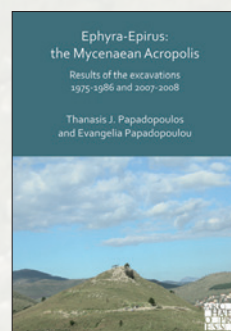
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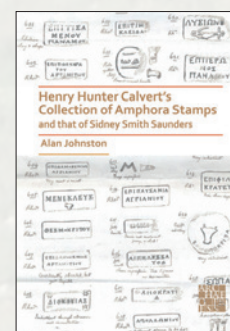
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