

# ΑΘΥΡΜΑΤΑ

## CRITICAL ESSAYS ON THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN IN HONOUR OF E. SUSAN SHERRATT

Edited by

**Yannis Galanakis, Toby Wilkinson  
and John Bennet**

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# Contents

<b>List of Contributors</b> .....	iii
<b>Introduction</b> .....	1
Yannis Galanakis, Toby Wilkinson and John Bennet	
<b>A selected list of publications by Sue Sherratt (as of autumn 2014)</b> .....	6
<b>How and when did Tel Akko get its unusual banana shape?</b> .....	11
Michal Artzy and Jamie Quartermaine	
<b>The integration of gold resources in the Byzantine economy: an open question</b> .....	23
Evanthia Baboula	
<b>The ‘Sea Peoples’ as an emergent phenomenon</b> .....	31
Alexander A. Bauer	
<b>Pottery mobility, landscape survey and maritime activity: a view from Kythera</b> .....	41
Cyprian Broodbank and Evangelia Kiriatzi	
<b>‘In vino veritas’: raising a toast at Mycenaean funerals</b> .....	51
William Cavanagh and Christopher Mee†	
<b>Geraki in Laconia in Late Helladic times</b> .....	57
Joost Crouwel	
<b>How warlike were the Mycenaean, in reality?</b> .....	67
Oliver Dickinson	
<b>Desecrating signs: ‘hieroglyphic’ writing systems and secondary script inventions</b> .....	73
Silvia Ferrara	
<b>Chronologies should carry a ‘use by’ date: the archaeological life history of the ‘Beth Shan Stirrup Jar’</b> .....	81
Elizabeth French	
<b>Arthur Evans and the quest for the “origins of Mycenaean culture”</b> .....	85
Yannis Galanakis	
<b>Man/Woman, Warrior/Maiden: The Lefkandi Toumba female burial reconsidered</b> .....	99
Kate Harrell	
<b>The Waz-lily and the Priest’s Axe: can relief-beads tell us something?</b> .....	105
Helen Hughes-Brock	
<b>‘Working with the shadows’: in search of the myriad forms of social complexity</b> .....	117
Maria Iacovou	
<b>James Saumarez Cameron: a forgotten collector of Cretan seals</b> .....	127
Olga Krzyszkowska	

<b>The Post-Mycenaean dead: ‘damned if you do, damned if you don’t’ .....</b>	<b>135</b>
Katie Lantzas	
<b>The spider’s web: innovation and society in the Early Helladic ‘Period of the Corridor Houses’ .....</b>	<b>141</b>
Joseph Maran and Maria Kostoula	
<b>‘Metal makes the wheel go round’: the development and diffusion of studded-tread wheels in the Ancient Near East and the Old World .....</b>	<b>159</b>
Simone Mühl	
<b>“For it is written”: an experimental approach to the materiality and temporality of clay documents inscribed in Linear B .....</b>	<b>177</b>
Tom Pape, Paul Halstead, John Bennet and Yannis Stangidis	
<b>A ‘wall bracket’ from Kandia in the Argolid: notes on the local character and function of an ‘east Mediterranean’ artefact of the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age.....</b>	<b>187</b>
Lorenz Rahmstorf	
<b>Reading post-palatial Mycenaean iconography: some lessons from Lefkandi .....</b>	<b>197</b>
Jeremy B. Rutter	
<b>Functions and meanings of Aegean-type pottery at Tel Beth-Shean .....</b>	<b>207</b>
Philipp W. Stockhammer	
<b>Ceramic developments in coastal Western Anatolia at the dawn of the Early Iron Age.....</b>	<b>223</b>
Rik Vaessen	
<b>Beaker Folk in Thrace: a metrological footnote .....</b>	<b>233</b>
Michael Vickers	
<b><i>Rosso antico</i> marble and the façade entablature of the Treasury of Atreus .....</b>	<b>237</b>
Peter Warren	
<b>Feasts of clay? Ceramics and feasting at Early Minoan Myrtos: Fournou Korifi .....</b>	<b>247</b>
Todd Whitelaw	
<b>Dressing the house, dressing the pots: textile-inspired decoration in the late 3rd and 2nd millennia BC east Mediterranean .....</b>	<b>261</b>
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Elizabeth Susan Sherratt; photograph: University of Sheffield, 2013.

## Introduction

Yannis Galanakis, Toby Wilkinson and John Bennet

In fact, if anything, we should probably revel in the shadows, since they expand our potential to make sense of the early Mediterranean in general, and of interaction within it in particular, far beyond the narrow constraints of the information directly available to us in the ground or in texts either alone or together, beyond the strait-jacket of an approved and conventional set of methodologies applied on automatic pilot in the trusting belief that there is a ‘right’ and ‘wrong’ way to do things, and beyond the limits of theoretical prescription, subject as it frequently is to the tyranny of fashionable bandwagons. Shadows, in short, have the advantage of making us think. (Sherratt 2011, 3-4).

This collection of essays is offered in honour of Dr. Elizabeth Susan Sherratt (née Dobson), known simply to most of her friends as Sue, in celebration of her distinguished academic contribution to the archaeology of the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean. Born 26 September 1949, Houston, Scotland, Sue’s academic career began in Cambridge where she read Classics at New Hall (1968-71, Figure 1.1: a photograph which reveals both a steady face and a life-long dislike of being photographed). Sue moved to Somerville College, Oxford, where she completed a Postgraduate Diploma in Classical Archaeology in 1973 and her DPhil on ‘The pottery of Late Helladic IIIc and its significance’ under the supervision of Mervyn Popham in 1982. In 1974, Sue married Andrew George Sherratt, who, from 1973 was Assistant Keeper of Antiquities at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford (Figure 1.3).

Sue and Andrew formed what one contributor to this volume describes as a “perfect partnership” – both personally and academically: in their time in Oxford together they raised two sons and a daughter and co-wrote a series of very influential articles: on Indo-European origins (Sherratt and Sherratt 1988); on eastern Mediterranean economy (‘From luxuries to commodities’, 1991; ‘The growth of the Mediterranean economy in the early first millennium BC’, 1993); on the relationship between the Aegean and the wider world (‘Small worlds: interaction and identity in the ancient Mediterranean’, 1998); and on technological change and exchange (‘Technological change in the east Mediterranean Bronze Age’, 2001). Between 1979 and 1981 they also travelled together *en famille*, to excavations in Hungary (sponsored in kind, so the story goes, through the delivery of Pampers disposable nappies); family holidays seemed to have frequently ended up (intentionally or not) as archaeological fieldtrips. Whilst each followed their own research paths, the mutual influence on each other’s work is undeniable: for Sue, her own highly critical view of classical archaeology, including the fetishism and frequent ‘mis-use’ of ceramic and textual evidence, was no doubt encouraged by Andrew’s Childean visions of European–Near Eastern interaction. Andrew, in turn, used to refer to Sue modestly but earnestly as “the real scholar”.

Sue was employed part-time (though never part-brained) for much of her time in Oxford, as Research Assistant for a number of projects (1985-1990), as Sackler Research Fellow (1993-95) and as Director of Studies for Archaeology and Anthropology for a number of colleges (1994-2002); finally as Assistant Curator and later Honorary Research Assistant to the Arthur Evans archive in the Ashmolean Museum. In 2004, after a Visiting Lectureship at Heidelberg University, she and Andrew left Oxford for Sheffield where Sue took up a post as DTI Academic Fellow leading to a permanent Lectureship in the Department of Archaeology. The loss of Andrew in early 2005 to an unexpected heart-attack was, of course, a huge blow to Sue, to her family, to their new department and to the field of archaeology in general. Determinedly, Sue managed, nonetheless, to continue some of Andrew’s projects, including the web-based journal ArchAtlas, alongside her own research interests, supervision and teaching duties for both Archaeology and Biblical Studies degrees between 2005 and 2014. For 2014-15, Sue was awarded a British Academy/Leverhulme Trust Senior Fellowship for a characteristically ambitious and intellectually broad project ‘The story of silver and the spread of civilisation in the western Old World, fifth to mid-first millennia BC’.

Sue’s research interests have developed over the years, something that can be instantly seen from her publications to date (a more-or-less comprehensive list of which is also included in this volume, 6-10), which include: studies of the relationship between Homeric epic and archaeology; of the economy of pottery, metals and other antiquities; of the status of ‘Sea Peoples’ and other ethnic terminologies; of routes and different forms of interaction; and of the history of museums/collecting (especially relating to Arthur Evans). No doubt, those who know her work will have their favourite piece, but among Sue’s most influential single-authored works are: the much-reprinted “‘Reading the texts’: archaeology and the Homeric question” (1990); ‘Commerce, iron and ideology: metallurgical innovation in 12th-11th century Cyprus’ (1994); ‘*E pur si muove*: pots, markets and values in the 2nd millennium Mediterranean’

(1999); *Catalogue of Cycladic Antiquities in the Ashmolean Museum: The Captive Spirit* (2000); *Arthur Evans, Knossos and the Priest-King* (2000); 'Potemkin palaces and route-based economies' (2001); 'Technological change in the east Mediterranean Bronze Age: capital, resources and marketing' (2003); 'The Mediterranean economy: 'globalization' at the end of the second millennium B.C.E.' (2003); 'Vitreous materials in the Bronze and Early Iron Ages: some questions of values' (2008); 'Between theory, texts and archaeology: working with the shadows' (2011); as well as the many other articles reflecting a sustained (if sometimes ambivalent) engagement with pottery of the LHIII C era (or rather the latest east Mediterranean Bronze Age) and inter-connections between the Aegean, Cyprus and the Levant. She is also a careful editor (having co-edited a number of volumes and is currently editor of the *Annual of the British School at Athens*) and frequent reviewer for academic journals. Whilst eternally polite, Sue is also known for her precise, insightful and occasionally disconcerting or bubble-bursting post-lecture questions. As the various comments found throughout this volume confirm, she is also a stimulating and supportive teacher and supervisor. Most commonly, her students cite two things: her encouragement to avoid bandwagons and conventional wisdom and her ability to inspire and reassure by placing faith in her students' abilities to develop their own interests independently.

### **This book**

In creating this book the editors and contributors faced a number of challenges: a punishing deadline (a 'significant' but looming birthday), a requirement of utmost secrecy (Sue's own modesty and reticence to place herself at the centre of attention would, we felt, make her unlikely to enjoy any premature anticipation of the results of such an enterprise) and contradictory feelings of satisfaction and nervousness which come with the knowledge that Sue would be reading this all too soon; to quote one anxious contributor: "if it's for Sue then it really ought to be something good"! This self-imposed pressure cannot be attributed to any kind of oppressive 'guidance' on the right way to do archaeology from Sue herself, who is unfailingly supportive and encouraging toward scholars who set out to find their own paths. Rather the source of nervousness is undoubtedly Sue's enviably deep knowledge of a huge range of material and subjects and all-too-rare ability to see beyond those details and pull the archaeological wagon out of stale interpretive ruts into readable essays. The most challenging thing about writing a 'top secret' paper or editing a 'top secret' volume in honour of Sue is the fact that you cannot show it to her first.

In planning the book, we hoped to fill it with essays from some of Sue's many friends and colleagues on topics which relate to her diverse fields of interest, including, as we listed in the secret circular: "Mycenae, Lefkandi, the Cyclades, Cyprus, Turkey and the Black Sea, the Balkans, Central and Eastern Mediterranean, the Levant, Homer/Epic poetry, early writing, economy/trade, pottery, metals, textiles, Aegean/Mediterranean painting, Arthur Evans/history of collections". The pressures of time and secrecy mean there are surely some who will be disappointed to have missed the chance to honour Sue in this context. But looking over the final contributions, it is satisfying to see that nearly all of these topics and places are covered (the notable absence of a 'Homeric' theme will be partly offset, by the belated volume currently being edited by Sue and one of us) – their diversity appropriately reflects Sue's own eclectic archaeological interests. The eclectic nature of the resulting contributions to this volume, however, makes it difficult to create overarching themes or groupings, beyond saying that they nearly all touch upon or are inspired by aspects of the archaeology of the wider eastern Mediterranean region during the 2nd and 1st millennia BC.

What may unite the papers better is – without wishing to sound too trendy – 'attitude'. In the original invitation to contribute to this volume, we asked authors "to be, like Sue herself, critical, irreverent and thoroughly well-informed; and attempt to side-step dogma and conventional wisdom (even if that wisdom is their own...!)". We are very pleased that so many of the contributors have taken this encouragement fully to heart and produced unconventional, rigorous but fun essays that we hope Sue will enjoy – or else – and perhaps even more productively – will be sufficiently irritated by to provoke her into producing another one of her erudite, insightful and exhaustive critiques. That sense of dual rigor and fun, of "revelling in the shadows" (Sherratt 2011, 3; cited in this volume by Iacovou), which Sue encourages in both students and colleagues alike and which has been passed on to many of the contributors here, also provided the inspiration for the title of this volume: "*AOYPMATA: critical essays on the archaeology of the eastern Mediterranean in honour of E. Susan Sherratt*". *AOYPMATA* can be translated roughly as 'playful or beautiful things', and we envisage this book as a museum cabinet of eclectic but carefully designed 'trinkets' (think Fabergé eggs, rather than Christmas-tree balls), many inspired directly by Sue's own 'beautiful works' and all designed to stimulate the mind (or niggle the intellect) in different ways.

We are therefore delighted to present Sue with these small trinkets of our respect and affection on the occasion of her 65th birthday and look forward to many more years of fruitful, fun and inspiring archaeological adventures together...





Figure 1.1. Matriculation at New Hall College (Cambridge, 1968). Sue is in the second row from the top, seventh from the left (Courtesy of Murray Edwards [New Hall] College, University of Cambridge).



Figure 1.2. Sue with her son Matthew (1983).



Figure 1.3. Sue and Andrew in Wales (Pembrokeshire coastline) on a family holiday (early 2000s).



Figure 1.4. Sue in Dubrovnik (summer 2013). The building seen at the back is Arthur Evans's house in Dalmatia (1875-1882), Casa San Lazzaro (now Villa Agave).



Figure 1.5. Sue in Carningli, Wales (1993).



Figure 1.6. Sue at 16 in a series of passport photos, Glasgow (1965).

## A selected list of publications by Sue Sherratt (as of autumn 2014)

### Books

- 2000 *Catalogue of Cycladic Antiquities in the Ashmolean Museum: The Captive Spirit*, 2 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press.  
*Arthur Evans, Knossos and the Priest-King*. Oxford: Ashmolean Museum.

### Edited Volumes

- in prep. *Archaeology and Homeric Epic*. Sheffield Studies in Aegean Archaeology. Oxford: Oxbow books [with J. Bennet].
- 2011 *Interweaving Worlds: Systemic Interactions in Eurasia, 7th to 1st millennia BC*. Oxford: Oxbow books [with T. Wilkinson and J. Bennet].
- 2005 *Autochthon. Papers Presented to O.T.P.K. Dickinson on the Occasion of his Retirement*. British Archaeological Reports International Series 1432. Oxford: Archaeopress [with A. Dakouri-Hild].
- 2000 *Proceedings of the First International Symposium 'The Wall Paintings of Thera'*, 2 vols. Athens: Thera Foundation.
- 1996 *Minotaur and Centaur. Studies in the Archaeology of Crete and Euboea Presented to Mervyn Popham*. British Archaeological Reports International Series 638. Oxford: Tempus Reparatum [with D. Evely and I. Lemos].

### Articles

- in press Social and ideological uses of wine (and other substances) in the Aegean, from the 3rd millennium to the early 1st millennium BC. In E. Margaritis, J. Renfrew and M. Jones (eds.), *Ancient Wine Confessions: Production, Trade and Social Significance of Wine in Greece and Cyprus*. Hesperia supplement. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies.
- The Palaepaphos Urban Landscape Project: Bronze Age pottery from *Marchello* 2006-2008. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* (2012).
- Cyprus and the Near East. Cultural contacts, 1200-750 BC. In A. Babbi (ed.), *The Mediterranean Mirror: Cultural Contacts in the Mediterranean Sea between 1200 and 750 BC*.
- in prep. From institutional to private: traders, routes and commerce from the Late Bronze Age to the Iron Age. In J.C. Moreno García (ed.), *Dynamics of Production and Economic Interaction in the Near East in the first half of the 1st millennium BCE*. Oxford: Oxbow books.
- 2014 Introduction to the Levant during the Late Bronze Age. In M.L. Steiner and A.E. Killebrew (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of the Levant, c. 8000-332 BCE*, 497-508. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 2013 The ceramic phenomenon of the “Sea Peoples”: an overview. In A. Killebrew and G. Lehmann (eds.), *The Philistines and Other 'Sea Peoples' in Text and Archaeology*. Archaeology and Biblical Studies 15: 611-36. Atlanta: Society for Biblical Literature. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.
- “Mycenaean IIIC” and related pottery from Beth-Shean. In A. Killebrew and G. Lehmann (eds.), *The Philistines and Other 'Sea Peoples' in Text and Archaeology*. Archaeology and Biblical Studies 15: 343-62. Atlanta: Society for Biblical Literature. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature [with A. Mazar].
- The Cyclades in the Early Bronze Age. In Y. Galanakis (ed.), *The Aegean World. A Guide to the Cycladic, Minoan and Mycenaean Antiquities in the Ashmolean Museum*, 84-101. Athens and Oxford: Kapon and Ashmolean Museum.
- Late Cypriot writing in context. In P. Steele (ed.), *Syllabic Writing on Cyprus and its Context*, 94-132. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- 2012 Indo-European and Indo-Europeans. In S. Hornblower, A. Spawforth and E. Eidinow (eds.), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 733-34. 4th edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press [with A. Sherratt].
- Feasting and the consuming body in Bronze Age Crete and Early Iron Age Cyprus. In G. Cadogan, K. Kopaka, M. Iacovou and J. Whitley (eds.), *Parallel Lives: Ancient Island Societies in Crete and Cyprus 3000-300 BC*. British School at Athens Studies 20: 187-207. London: British School at Athens [with Y. Hamilakis].
- The intercultural transformative capacities of irregularly appropriated goods. In J. Maran and P.W. Stockhammer (eds.), *Materiality and Social Practice: Transformative Capacities of Intercultural Encounters*, 152-72. Oxford: Oxbow books.
- 2011 'Globalisierung' vor 5000 Jahren. In Siebenmorgen, H. (ed.), *Kykladen. Lebenswelten einer frühgriechischen Kultur*, 154-57. Karlsruhe: Badisches Landesmuseum.
- Late Helladic IIIC pottery based on the study of the wash levels against the citadel wall in the Citadel House Area. In E.B. French (ed.), *The Post-Palatial Levels. Well Built Mycenae*, Fascicule 16/17: 59-82. Oxford: Oxbow books.
- Introduction. In T.C. Wilkinson, S. Sherratt and J. Bennet (eds.), *Interweaving Worlds: Systemic Interactions in Eurasia, 7th to 1st Millennia BC*, 1-3. Oxford: Oxbow books.
- Between theory, texts and archaeology: working with the shadows. In K. Duistermaat and I. Regulski (eds.), *Intercultural Contacts in the Ancient Mediterranean. Proceedings of the International Conference at the Netherlands-Flemish Institute in Cairo, 25th-29th October 2008*, 3-29. Leuven: Peeters.
- Learning to learn from Bronze Age pots: a perspective on forty years of Aegean ceramic studies in the work of J.B. Rutter. In W. Gauss, M. Lindblom, R.A.K. Smith and J.C. Wright (eds.), *Our Cups are Full: Pottery and Society in the Aegean Bronze Age. Papers Presented to Jeremy B. Rutter on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, 259-66. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- The history of East Mediterranean and Aegean interaction: some when, how and why questions. In H. Matthäus, N. Oettinger and S. Schröder (eds.), *Der Orient und die Anfänge Europas: kulturelle Beziehungen von der späten Bronzezeit bis zur frühen Eisenzeit*. Marburger altertumskundliche Abhandlungen 42: 3-13. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
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- The Aegean and the wider world: some thoughts on a world-systems perspective. In M. Galaty and W. Parkinson (eds.), *Archaic State Interaction: The Eastern Mediterranean in the Bronze Age*, 81-106. Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press.
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- Selected bibliography of Andrew George Sherratt. *Archaeologia Polona* 47: 25-31.
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- 2003 The Mediterranean economy: 'globalization' at the end of the second millennium B.C.E. In W.G. Dever and S. Gitin (eds.), *Symbiosis, Symbolism, and the Power of the Past. Canaan, Ancient Israel, and their Neighbors from the Late Bronze Age through Roman Palaestina*, 37-62. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
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