

UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI NAPOLI «L'ORIENTALE»

DIPARTIMENTO DI ASIA AFRICA E MEDITERRANEO



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E STORIA ANTICA**

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Non si abbreviano: *idem*, *eadem*, *ibidem*; in corso di stampa: *infra*; Nord, Sud, Est, Ovest (sempre in maiuscolo); nota/e: *non vidi*; *supra*.

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FOR AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL PHENOMENOLOGY OF THE SOCIETY OF HEPHAESTIA (LEMNOS) FROM THE LATE BRONZE AGE TO THE END OF ARCHAISM*

Emanuele Greco

With 90 years of excavations (although not uninterrupted) between 1926 and 2016, the Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene has made an important contribution to our understanding of the city of Hephaestia, on the island of Lemnos. (fig.1) Today Hephaestia is one of the best known urban settlements with a long history of continuous occupation in the North Aegean, after Troy situated only 40 Marine Miles from Lemnos and, on the other side, Thasos, opposite the Thracian coast.

Using the results of 16 excavation seasons which I directed, I propose to present a synthesis of the settlement history of Hephaestia during the centuries from the Late Bronze Age to the Athenian conquest by Miltiades the Younger, the future victor of the battle of Marathon, in the years around 500 BC.

The Late Bronze Age (thirteenth-twelfth centuries BC)

Our archaeological history begins in the Late Bronze Age with the settlement which we identified and partially explored in the area known as ‘the

walls of the isthmus’ (fig.2). A significant precedent, prior to this discovery, were the fragments of Mycenaean pottery dating to between LH III A2 and LH III B recovered by G. Messineo in a trench opened within the *emplekton* of the late classical funerary *peribolus* situated outside the walls, brought to light during the excavations in 1930¹. From 2003, after the very first investigations, in order to tie together the threads of the research begun three quarters of a century earlier, I felt it was indispensable to open excavation trenches perpendicular to the walls (and not parallel as the archaeologists had done in 1930) to investigate the complex stratigraphy behind the fortifications of the isthmus². The surprising result was the discovery of a Late Bronze Age settlement (fig.3) dating to between the final III A2 and III B over which, shortly before its abandonment, a final phase was laid down dating to III C.³ Finally, in the latest 2010-2011 excavation seasons, we discovered a stretch of the *plakostrato* which can be interpreted as a small paved road running in a north-south direction, following the slope of the hill, also attributable to the phase occupied by this, by now, small settlement of the Late Bronze Age⁴.

* At the conclusion of 16 years of excavation (from 2001 to 2016) at Hephaestia on the island of Lemnos, I present an account of the main novelties which have emerged from the research in the field. I dedicate these pages with great gratitude to the Rectors, to the Principals and to the Colleagues of the then Faculty of Letters of the University of Naples ‘L’Orientale’, for the generosity with which they allowed me to live the extraordinary experience of Director of the Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene.

Many thanks to Helen Patterson for the English translation.

Ottavia Voza helped me, as usual, to get plans and images ready.

¹ Messineo 2002, pp. 106-114 summarizes the discovery of 1930 and his excavation; it is clear, after our excavation that these levels belong to the settlement situated behind and had no relation to the monument which dates to the fourth to third centuries BC. Other Mycenaean fragments were recovered by A. Di Vita in a trench near the foundations of the *peribolus* opened in 1999.

² Preliminary excavation reports have appeared in ‘ASAtene’ from 2001 to 2009 (2010).

³ See Greco 2012; Coluccia 2017.

⁴ Coluccia 2017. The full publication of the excavation will be edited by Luigi Coluccia in a forthcoming monograph.



Fig. 1 - Hephaestia, plan of the city

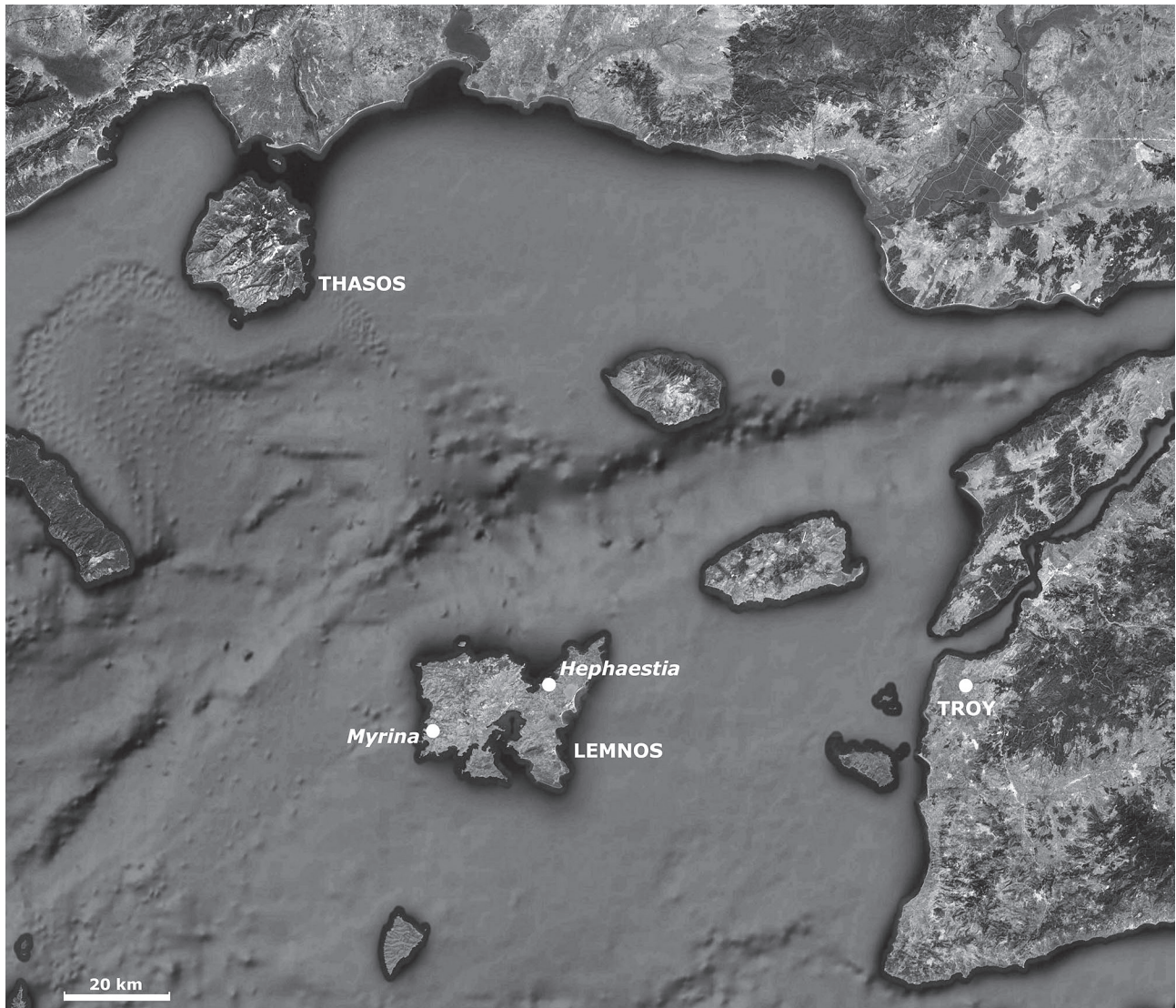


Fig. 2 - Lemnos in north Aegeum



Fig. 3 - Hephaestia: the area known as 'the walls of the isthmus'



Fig. 4 - Hephæstia: the Late Bronze Age settlement

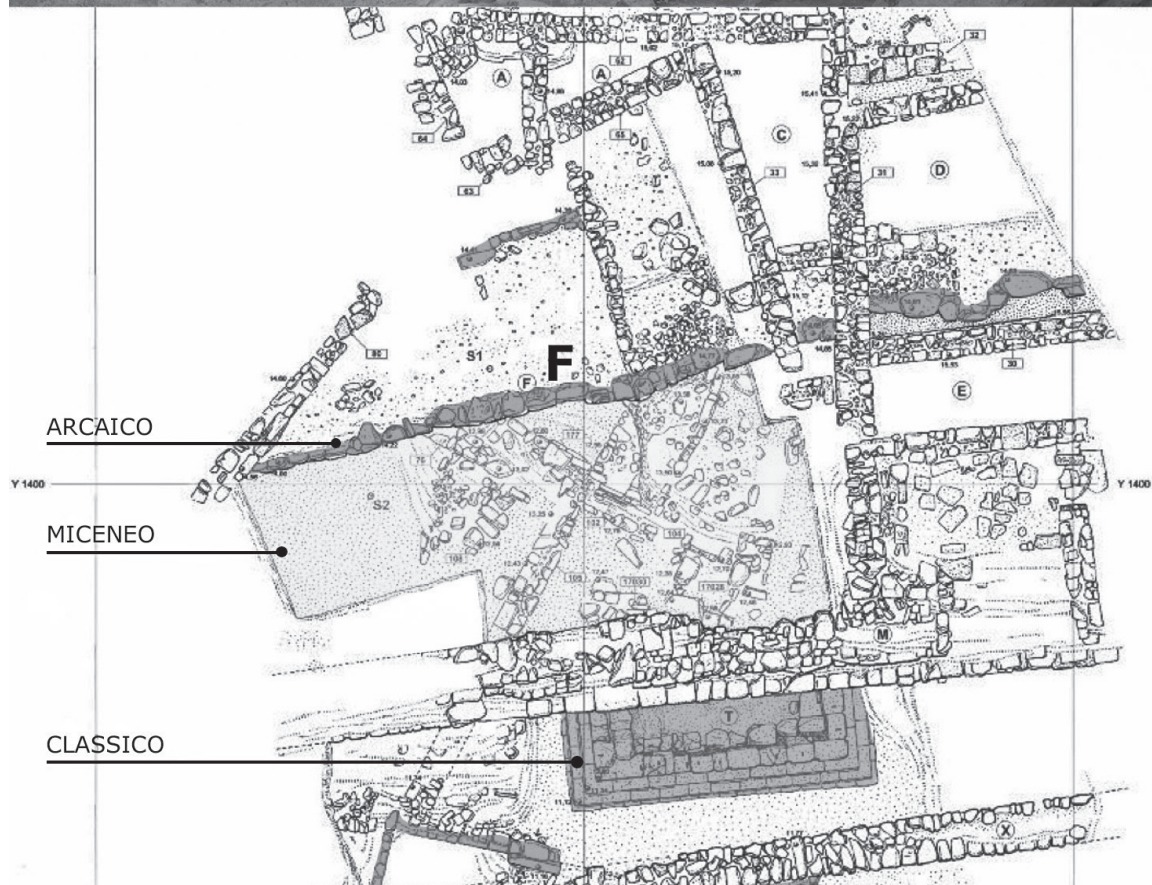


Fig. 5 - Hephæstia: the Wall of the Iron Age/Proto archaic Times (F in the plan)

The first Iron Age
(tenth-first half of the eighth centuries BC)

Although the Late Bronze Age settlement has been only partially investigated, we cannot fail to highlight what was decidedly the most sensational data from this small area of the excavation: stratigraphy which clearly marks the end of the settlement which, for brevity, I shall call the ‘Mycenean village’. In fact, in the course of the eleventh century BC, the settlement disappeared, was buried and, in the surrounding area, was replaced by a new settlement our knowledge of which comes primarily from the ceramic production. In synthesis, the crests of the Mycenean walls bounding two rectangular rooms with a north-west/south-east orientation were covered by a thick wall running east-west realized with large sandstone blocks (fig. 4)⁵ worked and set in place in a very rough fashion, a good stretch of which (*circa* 30 metres) we investigated. The fairly probable conclusion is that the wall closed the isthmus between the gulf of Pourniàs and the lagoon to the east⁶. The fortification, which we have called wall *F* (the first episode in the long history of the ‘wall of the isthmus’), was constructed using the large blocks mentioned earlier, roughly cut on the front and behind an agger-earthwork sustained, at the foot of the slope, by a small stone wall which acted as a counterscarp. In a later period⁷, the agger was dismantled and the earth and stones dumped on the exterior completely covering the wall in large blocks which had, in turn, been built over the Mycenean settlement. However, the most extraordinary discovery came from the excavation of the soil originally contained in the earthwork. An enormous amount (thousands of fragments) of grey ware (fig.5) was recovered from a small portion of earth, a class studied and classified in the monograph of Laura Danile, published soon after the excavation of this area⁸. Danile’s study provides much



Fig. 6 - Hephaestia: fragments of grey ware

valuable information regarding the nature of the settlement which lay over the Mycenean phase. The material for the construction of the agger (fig. 6) was clearly re-used and came from one of the nearby settlements, whose beginnings must date to after the abandonment or the abrupt disappearance of the ‘Mycenean village’. Therefore, the period between the abandonment of the latter and the construction of wall *F*, can be dated thanks to the material from the agger-earthwork. Regarding the latter, the most recent pottery seems to indicate, as *terminus post quem*, a date around the second half of the eighth century BC, but the earthwork also contained a large quantity of much older fragments⁹. A small part of the settlement which used grey ware was then identified in the layers under the late antique

⁵ During the 2006 season samples of vermetids were taken from one of the blocks.

⁶ The lagoon lies between the promontory of Hekatòn Kephallès and that of H. Jannis, opposite. See fig. 1.

⁷ Probably during the sixth century. See Calcagnile 2006, pp. 998-999.

⁸ See Danile 2011, pp. 147-50: the initial date, on the basis of the earliest pottery recovered, must be the end of the eleventh - beginning of the tenth centuries BC:

⁹ For an earlier date for the wall which would reduce the interval between the ‘Mycenean village’ and the construction of wall *F*, see Coluccia 2009, p. 1171, nt. 8.

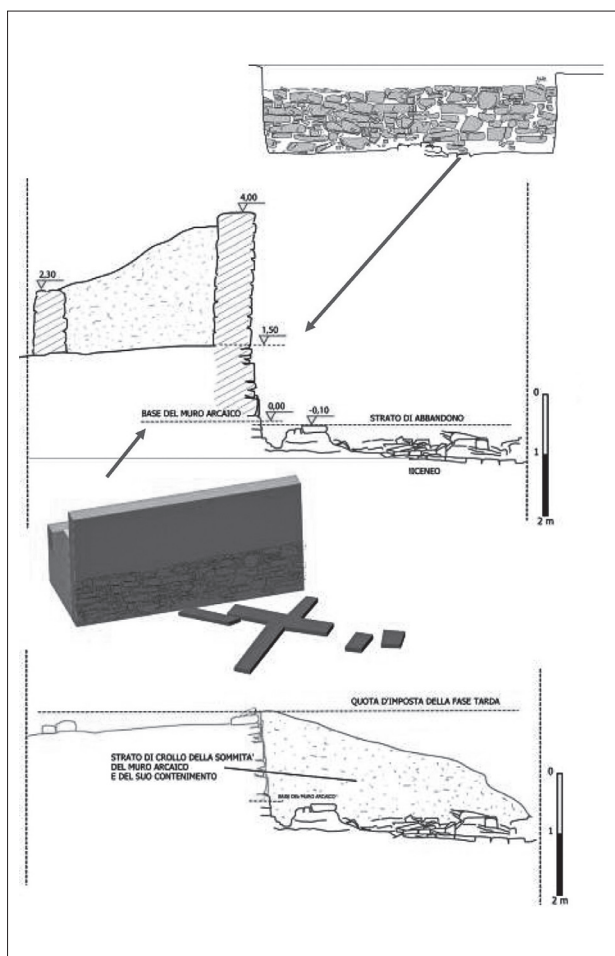


Fig. 7 - Hephaestia: the agger back of the wall in fig.5

house in the Aleteràs property¹⁰. I believe that the large-scale excavation of the 'Mycenean village' and of the later settlement, which used grey ware in a markedly different topographical, stratigraphic and cultural context, should be one of the main aims of future research¹¹.

The stratigraphy revealed by the excavations of the walls of the isthmus of Hephaestia requires a brief, albeit necessarily cautious, comment. As we shall see, we are dealing more with questions than definitively confirmed facts. Above all, future research should allow us to clarify the nature of the Mycenean settlement¹², its dimensions and its origins: following the abandonment, soon after the

mid second millennium BC, of the great centres which emerged at Lemnos in the Early Bronze Age at Poliochni and at *Richà Nerà* of Myrina¹³. It will be fundamental to understand whether we are witnessing the development of local cultures who had entered into relations with the Greek-Mycenean world, or of settlements established on the initiative of the latter as bases or bridgeheads for commercial exchange on the Anatolian coast¹⁴. Although we must always be cautious when passing from the material documentation (cultural history) to social and demographic history, to me there is little doubt that the period between the late Helladic IIIC and the end of the second Millennium is a moment of radical transformation, not dissimilar to what took place at Troy at the same time. It is thought that in the Troad (and I would say also at Lemnos, as far as we can gauge from the partial documentation) populations arrived, very probably from Thrace, who occupied the coasts and the islands of the North Aegean, contributing to the birth of a culturally homogeneous area¹⁵.

The Archaic period (eighth-seventh centuries BC)

From the mid eighth century BC, and for a century and a half, we have another, by no means insignificant, element to draw on: the cemeteries, known as Tyrrhenian, excavated in 1928 and later published by Domenico Mustilli¹⁶. (fig. 7) A recent, efficient re-examination of all the evidence we owe to Laura Ficuciello¹⁷, the first scholar who has attempted to systematically organize the necropolis and the sanctuary, that excavated in 1929 by Filippo Magi and Giacomo Caputo with the warehouses investigated by Achille Adriani in the same years and the building brought to light by Luigi Beschi between 1978 and 1982 on the hill of Hephaestia,

¹⁰ For a preliminary report on the Aleteràs excavation, see Camporeale - Caruso Tosti 2012.

¹¹ For convenience I call both villages without any connotations of a demographic nature, as I could, for obvious reasons, use the term city.

¹² See Mountjoy 1998; Privitera 2005; Coluccia 2017.

¹³ On Poliochni see Bernabò Brea 1964; Bernabò Brea 1976; Tiné *et alii* 2017; on *Richà Nerà* see Archontidou - Panatis - Souchleris, 2004.

¹⁴ Coluccia 2012 and n. 12.

¹⁵ See Danile 2011, pp. 150-155 and Coluccia 2017; for Troy see the synthesis of Aslan 2012; on the crisis of that period see the excellent synthesis of Cline 2014.

¹⁶ Mustilli 1942.

¹⁷ Ficuciello 2013, pp. 121-155.



Fig. 8 - Hephaestia: the necropolis (excavations of Domenico Mustilli, 1928)

which from now onwards I will refer to simply as the acropolis (following the correct indication of Luigi Beschi)¹⁸.

The acropolis

At this point, I will limit myself to a summary of the information relating to the three main complexes (fig. 8) which characterize the urban landscape of this area of the city which, I repeat, we call conventionally the acropolis. Although I should note that it does not seem to have had this function after the Archaic period, unless we extend the term to a higher area where the acropolis of the city may have been situated in the Classical period, whose location is still not known. From the west, first of all we find the so-called ‘building with stipe’; after a gap of about 30 metres is the rectangular building with benches for those assisting or participating in the

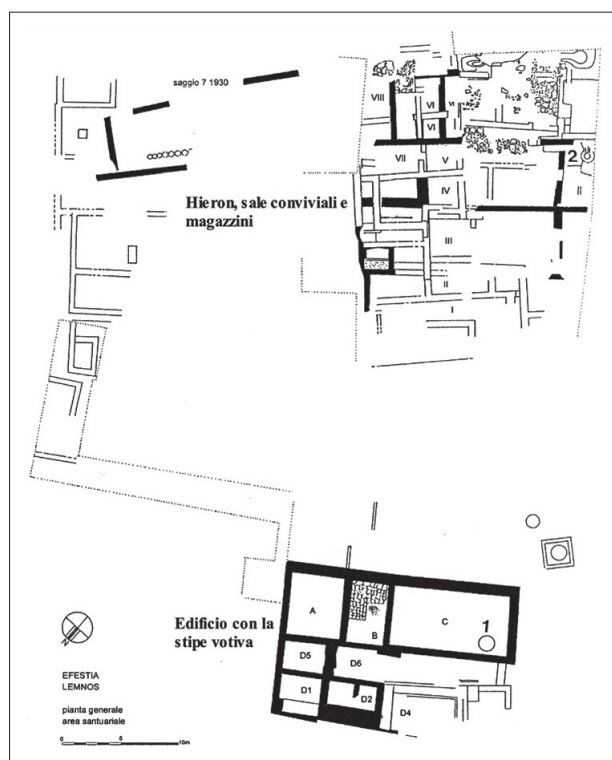


Fig. 9 - Hephaestia: the ‘acropolis’

¹⁸ For the excavations of Magi Caputo and Beschi, see Beschi 2008, Ficuciello 2013, pp. 132-145 and Greco 2016.

initiation ceremonies, flanked by a series of 'service rooms' and finally, to the east, the warehouses with pithoi for the storage of foodstuffs, investigated by Achille Adriani¹⁹. I think that we need to begin with a premise: the three monuments form part of a single complex while, due to the great interval of time which elapsed between the excavation of the first structure (the building with stipe) and the third (the warehouse with pithoi) investigated at the end of the 1920s, compared to the second (1978-1982) the risk has been run of examining each building separately with the main interest being in the rich mass of votive objects recovered, above all, from the first of the above monuments.

Immediately after its discovery, the building with stipe was interpreted as the final outcome of two distinct parts: first that to the west (*D*) with a long central corridor flanked by seven or eight rooms and second, the three great rooms to the east (*A-B-C*), of which the central one (*B*) has a bench for depositing the offerings, and that to the south (*C*) with a *betilus* at the centre around which the votive objects were heaped (including the famous terracotta Sirens) (fig. 9). In the southern part of the latter room was a well, half of which was explored in the 1920s and the remaining part at the beginning of the 1980s²⁰. This distinction between the two parts of the monument is certainly valid from a functional point of view but not, in my opinion, to the extent of regarding the two parts as buildings of different chronological periods. While we wait for the results from the resumption of the research promoted by the SAIA from 2018, I wish to try and modify the trend and explore the possibility that the building was conceived as a single complex. The two parts are clearly identifiable the first (*D*) as residential, the second (*B, C*, the function of room *A* is unclear due to the lack of evidence) devoted to the sacred. In synthesis, it is a complex which, given its dimensions and its dominating position, I would not hesitate to define as the *anaktoron* where the local *basileus/tyrannos* resided²¹. Unfortunately we do not know much about the excavation apart from the

votives and the precious objects²²; but if we can learn something from an elementary cultural anthropological approach, it seems to me clear that the 'little palace' also had a religious function, as we would expect from the residence of a chief in an archaic society²³. I would say, therefore, that the complex, apart from the possibility that it had a number of construction phases, as seems evident (we will know better after the results of the new, important on-going research) in the phase that we can evaluate today at the end of its construction history, is a single complex. In short it seems to me unlikely that, as is currently thought, *A-B-C* was an autonomous sacred space, which was later flanked by *D* with a residential function. Apart from purely archaeological questions, which, I repeat, serve to date the eventual diverse phases of construction, two fundamental elements must be kept in mind; the clearly unitary appearance of the complex and when it ceased to function. So far I have not discussed the problem of chronology. This is the most difficult question to approach, because the building with stipe and the warehouse with pithoi were excavated about 90 years ago. The material was carefully collected and classified according to the rooms investigated. Let us start with the evidence used until now. It is maintained that the discovery (not the result of a stratigraphic investigation) of pottery of the eighth century BC dates the first phase of the stipe in room *C*. However, in the light of the information from the excavation of the isthmus, where the eighth century BC phases are characterized by the absolute prevalence of grey ware, (while the mixture of pottery of diverse periods from the excavation of room *C* does not guarantee any stratigraphic reliability) I would say that complex *D* and the adjacent *A-B-C* should instead be dated to the second half/end of the seventh century BC and that they ceased to function abruptly (and not only here) at the end of the sixth century BC²⁴. There is no doubt, that grey ware pottery dating to the eighth century BC was collected from this area, but I doubt that it serves to date our

¹⁹ For a synthesis and exhaustive publication Adriani's excavations, see Messineo 2001.

²⁰ See Beschi 2006 and Ficuciello 2013, pp. 146-156.

²¹ This is the interpretation already given by Ficuciello 2013, p. 145.

²² See Beschi 2007.

²³ On the palace of the chief as both a residence and cult space, see Mazarakis Ainian 1997; we must also keep in mind the anthropological reflections of J. Frazer, *Il ramo d'oro* (Italian edition 1964) on the king priests at Rome, Athens and Sparta, 19.

²⁴ Ficuciello 2013, pp. 110-114.



Fig. 10 - Hephaestia: the terracotta Siren from the 'stipe'

building and, more convincingly, it is not indicative of a pre-existing occupation of the surrounding area. Among the most notable elements, we should remember the traces of metallurgical activity, bronze and gold, (the basis of a large part of Lemnian mythology, as we know²⁵) which can fairly safely be linked to the residence of the head of the community²⁶. In this case also we do not know if the metallurgical production recovered by the excavation is to be attributed to the complex, which to me seems the most likely, or to an earlier phase. At Hephaestia metal was worked and sold as a finished product, which must have been controlled by the *basileus/tyrannos*²⁷. But, alongside metal we must remember wine, not only using Homer²⁸, but now

also archaeology, thanks to the discovery of a seventh century BC house where wine was produced²⁹. Then let us not forget grain which is the real major protagonist of the history of the island of Lemnos, as we know very well³⁰. We can reconstruct the triad of grain, wine and metal which are generally the basis of Archaic Mediterranean economy but in a canonic fashion at Lemnos oil substituted metal³¹ and is the essential element on which the mythological, religious and political superstructure whose material remains we are studying, seems to depend. This dating of the earliest phases of the building (rather than the eighth century which is difficult to support), is confirmed by the evidence of the necropolis where, as Laura Ficuciello has already intelligently noted, from the second half of the seventh century the social stratification which seems to emerge in this period becomes very evident, as the burials relating to the emergence of a dominating class demonstrate³².

Circa 30 metres to the east of the building with stipe, L. Beschi investigated an artisan complex with kilns for the production of Hellenistic pottery (mainly megarian cups) below which he discovered a great rectangular monument flanked by service rooms³³. The central building which Beschi, rightly in my opinion, proposes to identify as a *Telesterion* (19, 80 x 6,90 m. with an entrance on the south -fig.10) was perhaps hypetral. In the interior were two rows of benches destined for the *mystai* to assist or participate in the rites which took place there. To the north the structure ends in a small apse, beside which is a rectangular ambient built in very finely worked squared blocks which suggests a sort of *adyton* whose functions are difficult to interpret. Perhaps only the *adyton* and the apse had an organic roof given the lack of evidence for the use of terracotta tiles. In front of the apse terracotta tubes were

²⁵ On the myth and the cult of the Kabeiroi, see Ficuciello 2013, pp. 164-169, with all the relevant bibliography.

²⁶ On this argument see the spectacular discoveries of Dimini presented by Adrimi - Sismani - Godart 2006.

²⁷ See the discussion in Greco 2005.

²⁸ *Euneus*, son of Jason and Hypsipyle and therefore grandson of Thoas/Dionysus, brought wine to the Achaeans encamped under the walls of Troy see Il. VIII, 230.

²⁹ See Caruso in Camporeale, Caruso and Tosti 2012, pp. 113-119 and Caruso 2017.

³⁰ From the Athenian conquest onwards; we must not forget the famous grain law whose epigraphic text was discovered in the Athenian agora, because the grain supply to Lemnos was also certainly fully active in earlier periods; see Stroud 1998, and the recent revival of the discussion in Magnetto - Erdas - Carusi 2010.

³¹ Hasebroek 1966; see also Gras 1985, pp. 615-632 and Gras 1995, pp. 138-156.

³² Ficuciello 2012, pp. 41-51, who dates (43-44) the beginnings of the phenomenon at the end of the VIII century B.C.

³³ See Beschi 2008; Greco 2017a.

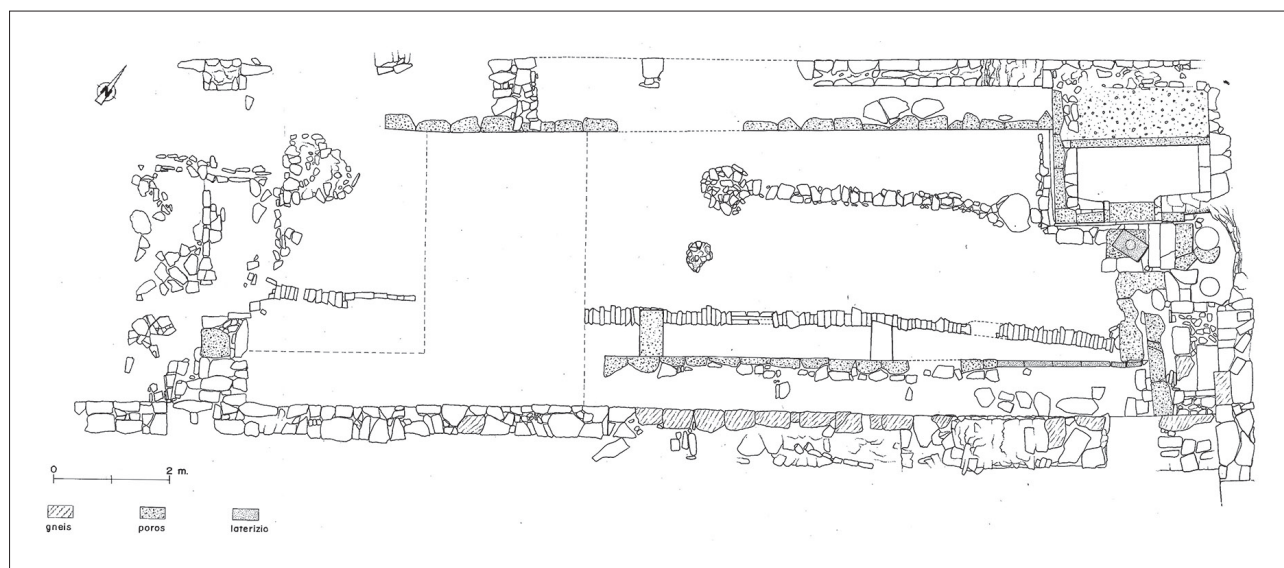


Fig. 11 - Hephaestia: the Telesterion excavated from L. Beschi

found fixed into the ground for the ritual libations³⁴.

As regards the chronology, accepting the proposal made by the excavator³⁵, we date the building to the end of the seventh century BC, therefore some decades after the nearby ‘small palace’ (although the study of the material, which needs to be completely re-evaluated in the light of all the recent evidence, could one day provide a more precise date). The date when the monument ceased to function, on the other hand, is certain: here too the abandonment dates to the end of the sixth century BC and there is no evidence to suggest that the area was reoccupied until the end of the 3rd century BC when the *ergasterion* for the production of Hellenistic pottery was constructed over the monument³⁶. Finally we conclude with the building (found in the excavation called *B* by A. Adriani who investigated it³⁷ (fig. 11) where two closely aligned rows of pithoi were found, one of four vessels the other of eleven. The building forms part of a group of warehouses which have not been completely excavated, we know nothing of the archaeological context except for the fact that it belongs to the same chronological horizon as the two complexes discussed so far. The explanation which immediately comes to mind is that these are the warehouses which housed the food-

stuffs of the *tyrannos* who resided in the nearby *anaktoron*.

The sacred areas under the theatre

In 2003 Aglaia Archontidou Argyri, ephor of Mytilene, brought to light and restored, in record time, the theatre of Hephaestia³⁸. The two phases of the theatre (both relating to the Classical city) I studied with Ottavia Voza³⁹. Here I will limit myself to pointing out that the earliest phase, that in wood, cannot be attributed to the late Archaic period as maintained by Archontidou⁴⁰ who states that the theatre in question is the most ancient Greek theatre known today. Apart from the stratigraphic sequence which has not been published, we should not ignore the important point that at the end of the sixth century BC Hephaestia was not a Greek city. Instead, here I will examine the context investigated by Archontidou under the artificial earthwork created to build the steps of the *koilon*. (fig. 12) I remember that during this investigation the base was found with the new ‘Tyrsenian’ inscription (fig. 13)

³⁴ Synthesis in Messineo 1993; Beschi 2008, Ficuciello 2012.

³⁵ See Beschi 2008.

³⁶ Massa 1992 published the moulds found in the *ergasterion*.

³⁷ Messineo 2001, p. 80, fig. 50 A-B.

³⁸ The theatre was identified in 1930 and partially excavated by the SAIA, in particular the *proedria*, in 1937: bibliography in Ficuciello 2013, p. 17, n.2065.

³⁹ See Greco - Voza 2012.

⁴⁰ See Archontidou 2004, pp. 48-49.



Fig. 12 - Hephaestia: the building found in excavation B

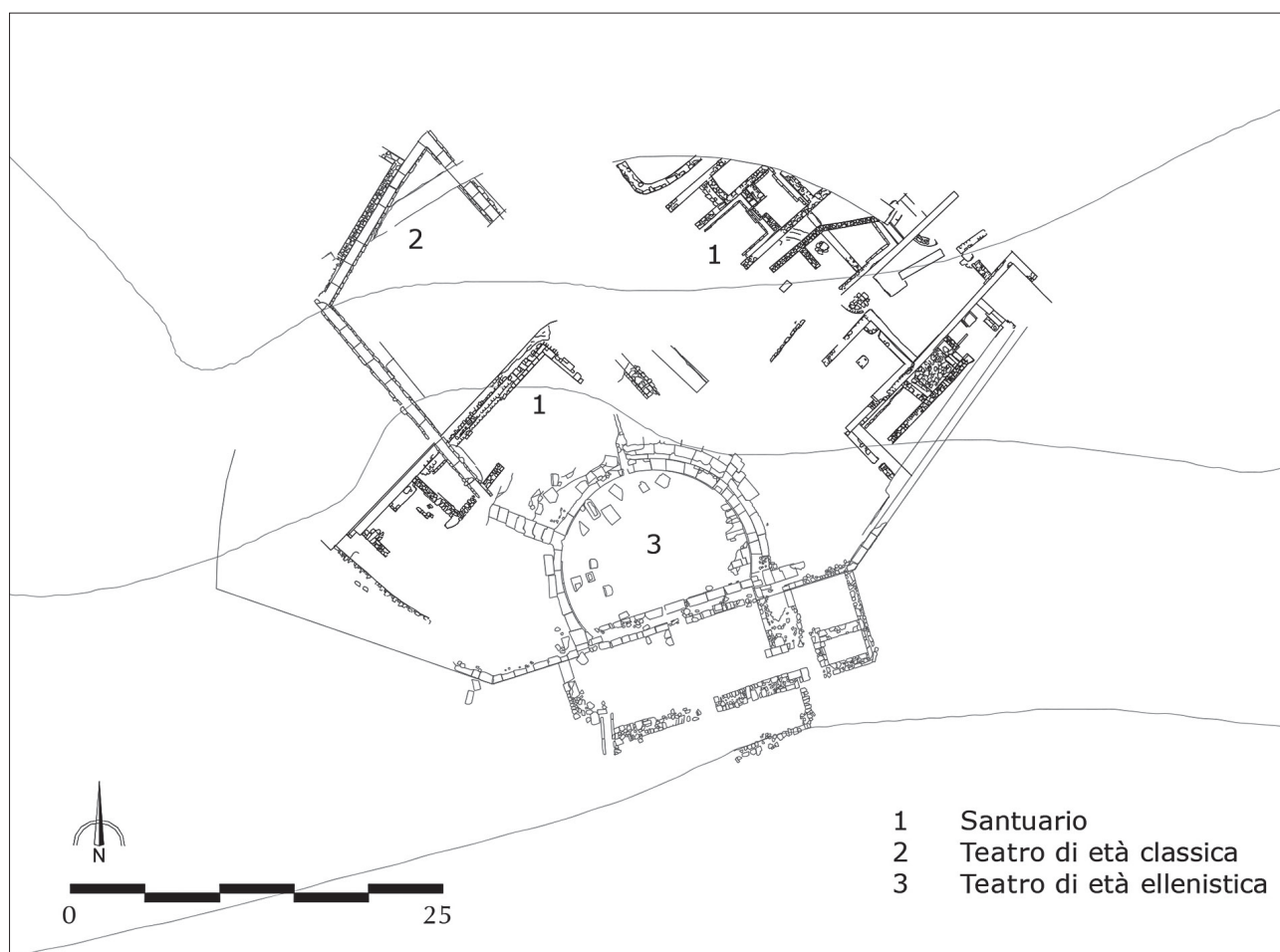


Fig. 13 - Hephaestia: the sanctuary under the theatre of classical times



Fig. 14 - Hephaestia: the new tyrsenian inscription



Fig. 16 - Hephaestia: Attic red-figure crater attributed to the painter of Triptolemus



Fig. 15 - Hephaestia: the building on the isthmus

published by Carlo de Simone⁴¹. The careful examination of the archaic context will, by necessity, be brief and very concise for the simple reason that the excavation is still not published, apart from the synthetic preliminary presentation, whose information is summarized here⁴². It consists of two separate

⁴¹ De Simone 2011; the inscription dates to the second half of the sixth century BC and, furthermore, gives a secure *terminus post quem* for the creation of the wooden theatre.

⁴² See Archontidou 2004.

complexes, situated a few metres one from the other; the first is a building of a tripartite rectangular plan, with a bench on the north and east sides, the second is a building of smaller dimensions inside which were the necks of amphorae driven into the earth (for the practice of catachthonian libations). Finally we note the remains of a residential area with archaic houses brought to light by the ephor to the south of the stage of the theatre.

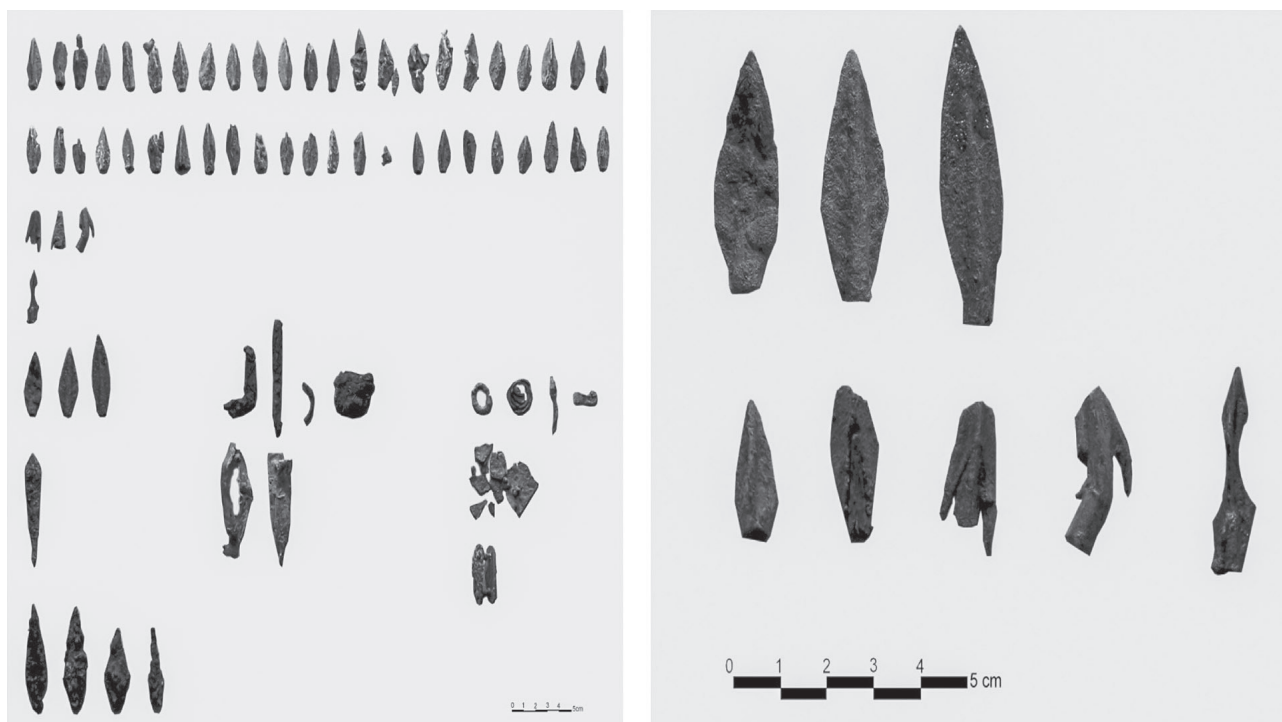


Fig. 17 - Hephaestia: bronze arrowheads from the building on the isthmus

The building on the isthmus

Between 2006 and 2016 during the excavations of the SAIA we discovered a large building immediately outside, towards the valley, the isthmus walls. It consisted of five rectangular rooms (fig. 14) orientated to the south extending over 300 sq.m., the southern part of the building had collapsed and is not preserved. From the east, the first room has a low stone platform, the second (8,75 m. x 6 m.) is the widest room of the building; on one area of the pavement concentrated traces of burning were identified perhaps related to the cooking of food. Fragments of two red-figure calyx-craters were recovered from this area and a large quantity of table and storage wares, but also cooking vessels, amphorae, miniature vases, lamps and some bronze arrowheads. The fourth room (6,50 m x 7 m.) was used for cooking food: 59 bronze arrowheads were also recovered and an Attic red-figure crater attributed to the painter of Triptolemus, dating to the first quarter of the fifth century BC (fig. 15). This element is of extraordinary importance because it represents the most secure *terminus post quem* for the date of the abandonment of the building. Therefore once again we are unable to establish a relationship between ar-

chaeology and historical events (for example, the Persian occupation and the Athenian conquest which are of the preceding period). Furthermore, at the end of our investigations other arrowheads (fig. 16), in total 83, were discovered; finally, in the fifth room, an enormous block came to light, 3, 40 m. long on the front of which was a singular incised figure *circa* a metre long (fig. 17). From an iconographic point of view the immediate impression is that it is an archaic herm, a hypothesis supported also by Herodotus (II, 52, 1-2) who states that the Athenians had learnt the practice of manufacturing herms from the Pelasgians who invented it. However this argument requires further research⁴³.

The sanctuary of the Kabeiroi at Chloi (fig. 18)

Following the discovery of the sanctuary by Luigi Bernabò Brea in 1937, we owe the study and the scientific publication of a large part of the materi-

⁴³ The entire complex will be published in a monograph by Annalisa Corrales who followed the excavation with great care and classified all the abundant material evidence. In the meantime, see the preliminary report with earlier bibliography in Greco - Corrales 2017.



Fig. 18 - Hephaestia: the block with incised figure

al⁴⁴ to the long, meticulous and very efficient work of Luigi Beschi⁴⁵. Also at Chloi the oldest building dates back to the second half of the seventh century. It consists of a rectangular monument measuring 13,50 m x 6,40 m (fig. 19) and is similar to that of the acropolis, with a bench in unfired bricks which ran along three sides for the use of the initiates or participants in the rites. Here too the building was abruptly abandoned at the end of the sixth century BC.

Conclusions

Despite a relatively good knowledge of the archaeological contexts, the overall framework of the various complexes examined is not always clear, especially given the presence of sacred areas which, as the excavations have demonstrated, have many elements in common. Therefore I will try to summarize the evidence, taking as my starting point the interpretations proposed by the excavators. The well inside room *C* of the 'little palace' next to the *ex voto* of the fountains has led to the suggestion that complex *D+A-B-C* was a sanctuary dedicated to a goddess of the waters to be identified with the

nymph Lemnos after whom the island is named⁴⁶. Next to it, the *telesterion* with benches housed the *mystai* who assisted and/or participated in the initiation rites. I will leave aside the mythical and religious aspects because we lack a fundamental piece of evidence, the epigraphy. But in an overall evaluation we must remember the cups and the craters which demonstrate the consumption of wine and, together, the presence of a number of bronze arrowheads from the excavation of the nearby sanctuary with stipe⁴⁷. The combination of craters/*kylikes* and arrowheads is also present in the building on the isthmus, where neither the *ex-voto* of the siren type nor the fountains have been recovered. Here too, an entrance way has the stone bench while the rest of the building consists of four other large rooms in which food prepared in the oven, found in at least one of the rooms, was consumed and wine was drunk⁴⁸. We cannot say much about the sanctuary below the theatre: the two complexes are fairly close, so much so as to strongly suggest that they formed part of the same system. In the first libations were carried out, in the other, people participated in the rites assisting seated on the stone benches. And finally Chloi where, in the Classical period, rose the sanctuary of the *Kabeiroi*. We have no difficulty in agreeing with Beschi that the earlier sanctuary was also a *Kabeirion*, this is clearly demonstrated by the archaeology⁴⁹. Nevertheless there is one aspect which, in my opinion, has not been fully examined and to which we need to draw attention: Chloi is clearly an extra-urban sanctuary and as such must be taken into consideration. Its appearance from a monumental view point is in fact contemporary with the emergence of the archaic city. The synchronism of events which forces us to see the second half-end of the seventh century BC as the moment of break seems to me to be highly illuminating⁵⁰. In conclusion the definition of the urban space

⁴⁴ Now in the course of completion by a team directed by M.C. Monaco.

⁴⁵ The complete bibliography of the works of Luigi Beschi (editors are the pupils of the SAIA T.D. Alberico, C. De Domenico, C. De Gregorio, G. Rignanesi) can now be found in E. Greco (ed.) *Giornata di studi nel ricordo di Luigi Beschi*, Atene, ('Tripodes' 17) 11-26.

⁴⁶ See Beschi 2006.

⁴⁷ See Beschi 2006, p. 109, p. 112 on the arrowheads found in the sanctuary with stipe and Correale in Greco - Correale 2017.

⁴⁸ Correale 2012 and Greco - Correale 2017.

⁴⁹ See Beschi 2005, without omitting the role of Demeter recorded, as Beschi notes, also by the toponym Chloi which perhaps derives from Demeter Chloe, the 'green', who had a sanctuary on the south-western slopes of the acropolis of Athens.

⁵⁰ Without any claim to presenting an exhaustive analysis or wishing to establish a parallel, thanks to the most recent research the events of the formation or the transformation of the Cretan city



Fig. 19 - Hephaestia: Chloi, north east of Hephaestia

and the presence of a sanctuary in the *chora* demonstrate that the archaic Lemnian society, pelasgo-tyrrhenian, is, if we judge by this advanced form of territorial organization, much closer to Greek models than has been thought⁵¹. Also at Chloi, we find a similar situation; a place only frequented from the second half of the eighth century⁵², monumental structures, the *telesterion*, dating to the end of the seventh century BC, and abandoned abruptly

in this period seem illuminating - see Gaignerot Driessen -Driessen eds. 2014 and the birth and development of Azoria in the magisterial study of Haggis (see Haggis 2015).

⁵¹ On the extra-urban sanctuaries one always begins with the excellent definition of the problem in Vallet 1968, an argument taken up again in particular by Asheri 1988 and Leone 1998 and in the studies of François de Polignac; summary with preceding bibliography in Polignac 2006.

⁵² In this moment Hephaestia was inhabited by the population who used grey ware and, as far as we know, the city was only fortified on the isthmus.

at the end of the sixth century BC⁵³. The archaeological phenomenology of Chloi does not permit comparisons with the urban sanctuaries, except for the *telesterion*, but without a siren, or fountains, or arrow heads. In practice initiation rites took place there which involved the consumption of food cooked in the *kythrai* found on the pavement⁵⁴. These were probably the initiation rites of young people of both sexes in the phase preceding marriage, while the wine and the weapons found in the other buildings could be evidence of initiations reserved solely for the young males. We have posed the problem of how we should interpret such a sur-

⁵³ I find it superfluous and useless to try and extract from the archaeological research any evidence for the destruction of the archaic buildings effected by the Persian occupation of Otanes in 511 BC or of that of Miltiades around 500 BC.

⁵⁴ See Beschi 2005.

prising number of sacred places or in which the 'sacred' is clearly embedded within political functions. I do not believe that the response is simply (as it seemed to me in the past) that we are in front of a segmented society with its separate '*ghene*', each one of which had its own sacred building where initiation rites took place or spaces more comparable to a *lesche*, to use a generic term, like that of the isthmus. To summarize, we have the acropolis complex, the *anaktoron* which 'integrates' a room with a stipe (in which the *ex-voto* of the last ceremony, that preceding the final abandonment, were heaped), the sanctuary of the theatre divided into two parts of smaller dimensions, the suburban building (a few metres outside the walls) of the isthmus and the extra-urban sanctuary of Chloi. Viewed together, and taking account of the presence of a *tyrannos/basileus* on the acropolis, the impression (in part confirmed by the necropolis, although only partially investigated and where unfortunately it is precisely the documentation relating to the decisive sixth century which is lacking) is that in the mid Archaic period Lemnian society had reached a relatively high level of political integration expressed in the variety of forms of the sacred which are attested archaeologically, inseparable from the social aspects in which ritual and political society were integrated as in the case of the *lesche* of the isthmus, which is not a sanctuary, although housing particular initiation ceremonies (the offerings of the arrowheads), where food was consumed and above all wine. "Pace" the Greeks who called them *agriophonoi* (Od., VIII, 294), considering them *barbaroi* because they did not speak Greek (Hdt. V, 145) or because they committed atrocious crimes⁵⁵. I will return briefly to consider the problem of the chronology: apart from the break at the end of the Bronze Age noted earlier, the local societies of the entire northern Aegean underwent a phase of transformation which we must place alongside the colonial movement, if we consider for example Thasos, Samothrace and all the Thracian-Macedonian coast up to Chalcidia⁵⁶. In the light of our current knowl-

edge, Hephaestia, which was fully integrated in the commerce of the northern Aegean from the eighth century BC⁵⁷ exhibits a strong social stratification with the emergence of the *tyrannos* in the second half of the seventh century BC (the *anaktoron* and necropolis form a coherent whole). For now Euneus, the son of Jason and Hypsipyle, the king of Lemnos of whom Homer sang, remains a myth or the protagonist of a Dark Age in which social differences, as far as we can judge from the archaeological phenomenology, are not evident in any clear fashion.

The Athenian conquest

Miltiades' occupation is vividly described by Herodotus, as is the trial which saw the Philaid condemned to death and then pardoned in exchange for a fine of 50 talents, paid by his son Cimon given that Miltiades died soon after. By an intelligent use of the written sources and the archaeological evidence, E. Culasso⁵⁸ has convincingly proved that, if Miltiades' conquest took place around 500 BC, the consolidation of the Athenian presence is not attested before the second quarter of the fifth century BC; for this reason it seems fairly obvious to attribute political responsibility to Cimon. As regards fieldwork, at Hephaestia, the most important archaeological contribution to this question is the geophysical survey carried out by Papi's team, to whom we also owe the excavation of a house which confirms the credibility of the anomalies revealed by the survey⁵⁹. To conclude, we are in the presence of an urban structure organized by *strigas*, (fig.20) comparable *per summa capita* to that of the Greek cities of the west Magna Grecia and of Sicily, dating to sometime in the course of the fifth century BC.⁶⁰

⁵⁵ See Dumezil 1998.

⁵⁶ See the ample and well documented synthesis on the North Aegean of Tiverios 2008; for Samothrace, Graham 2002; for Thasos - Viviers 1999; Muller 2010.

⁵⁷ See Musti 1981, 29-30, n.5.

⁵⁸ See Culasso Gastaldi 2012, Marchiandi 2010 and Ficuciello 2013, on the statute of Lemnos in the fifth century BC, pp. 199-205.

⁵⁹ See Camporeale - Caruso - Tosti 2012.

⁶⁰ For the most recent study, see Greco 2018, pp. 105-106.

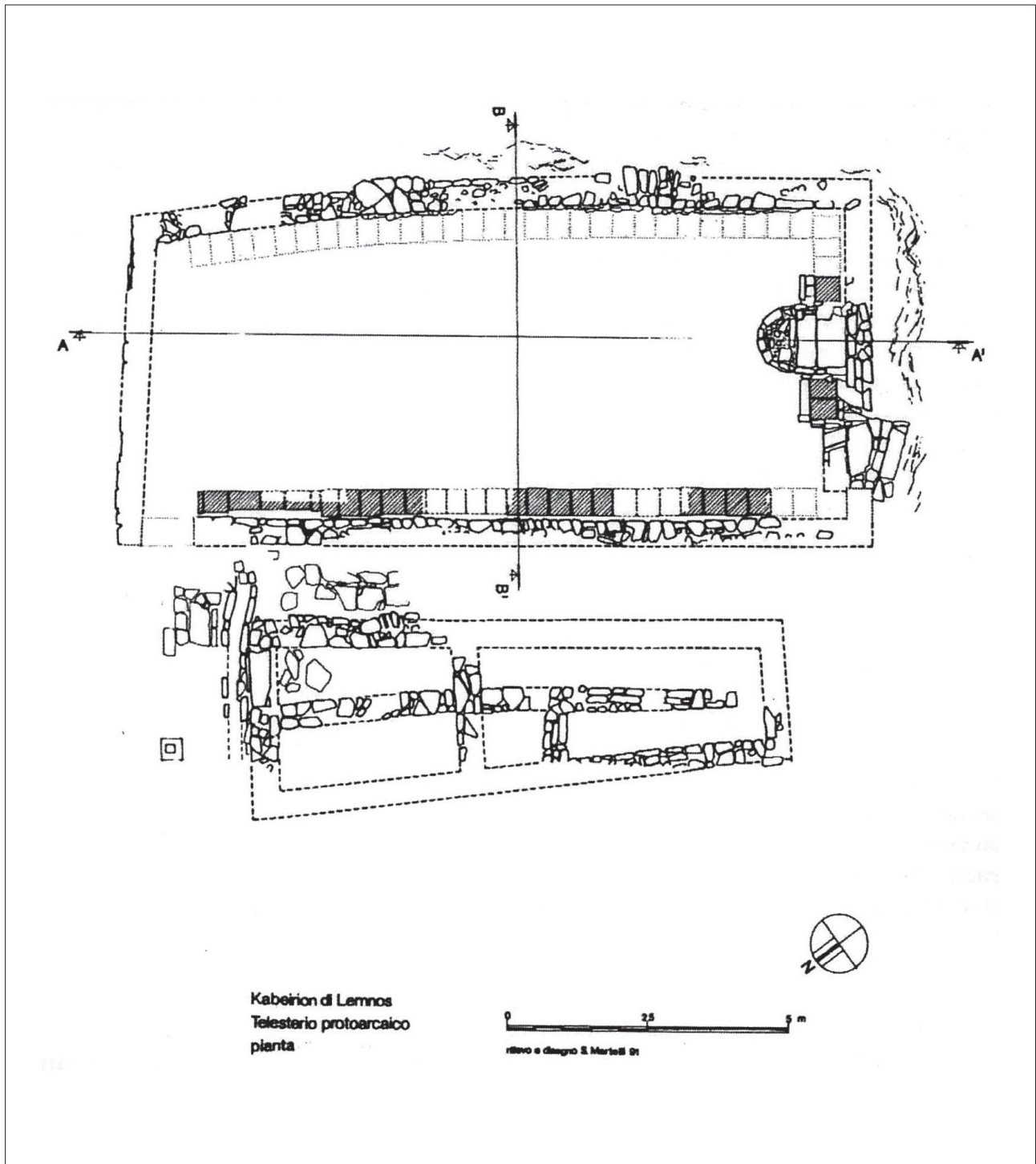


Fig. 20 - Hephaestia: plan of the archaic 'Telesterion' of the Kabeirion at Chloi



Fig. 21 - Hephaestia: plan of the city in classical period (after geo-radar investigations)

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EMANUELE GRECO, *For an archaeological phenomenology of the society of Hephaestia (Lemnos) from the late Bronze Age to the end of Archaism*

After 16 years of excavations at Hephaestia (Lemnos) I present an account of the main novelties which have emerged from the research in the field. The first surprising result was the discovery of a Late Bronze Age settlement dating to between the final III A2 and III B over which a final phase was laid down dating to III C. In the course of the eleventh century BC the settlement disappeared and in the surrounding area was replaced by a new settlement our knowledge of which comes primarily from the ceramic production.

Next, I pass in review the buildings on the so called Acropolis, with new interpretation's proposals.

In the final part I present the large building, just outside the isthmus walls, excavated between 2006 and 2016, and some considerations on the extra-urban sanctuary of the Kabeiroi at Chloi.

CARMELO DI NICUOLO, *Lost and found. Rediscovering ancient Kimolos*

In this paper focus has been made on the small island of Kimolos (Cyclades). Kimolos is part of the so called 'Melos island group' at the western end of the Archipelago. This island with its immense archaeological, geological, mineralogical, historical-artistic and anthropological heritage remained almost completely unknown to this day. Significant evidence of early anthropization, most of the ancient city's port neighborhoods and sectors of its ancient necropolis, clusters of funerary hypogea in the NE and NW of the island, evidence relating to ancient quarrying activities of different stone materials are highly attractive elements for various scientific fields. Nevertheless, archaeological evidence is particularly exposed to significant wind erosion, strong subsidence and intense geodynamics. This contribution is a first attempt to provide a brief presentation of the results of the author's post-doctoral research project at the National and Capodistrian University of Athens. Ancient literary

sources, epigraphic documents, published archaeological data, portolan charts and archive documents are discussed and critically presented in a diachronic perspective with the aim to shed light on the roles played throughout history by the communities settled in this corner of the Aegean.

NADIA SERGIO, *La ceramica greco-orientale di epoca orientalizzante ed arcaica dalla necropoli di Ialysos (Rodi). Un primo bilancio*

This study is part of a most important re-edition project of ialysian burials, digged in Rhodes by Italian archaeologists between 1916 and 1934, and published in Clara Rhodos volumes and in the Yearbook of the Italian Archaeological School of Athens in 1926. It offers a complex picture of the formal repertory and the east-greek pottery, during the orientализing and archaic period. The examined specimen offers the possibility to know, especially, the local pottery shapes and those of the so called 'Vroulian' pottery. The emerged picture has shown that the trade between Rhodes and the North Ionia, particularly with the poleis of Teos and Clazomenae, begins already since late proto-corinthian. The South Ionian pottery is represented, in the graves goods of the second half of the 7th century B.C., by the Ionian bucchero, some Middle Wild Goat vases, dated between the end of the seventh and the beginning of the sixth century B.C., and finally by the so called "samian" ear shaped lekythos, well known in Cyprus. The most numerous fabrics are those from "Dorian" land. The black glaze ware and the ialysian ware, both fine and coarse, are the most represented classes since the second half of the 7th century B.C. and, probably, made on the island of Rhodes. It seems clear that there's a strong connection between the morphological and decorative repertory, both in the fine ialysian ware and the cypro-phoenician pottery. During the sixth century B.C. the amount of south Ionian fabrics is largest than those from the other East Greek regions. A great diffusion of "cigar" shaped Ionian bucchero alabaster, Fikelura pottery, the so called "samian" bottle or lekythoi, and finally the banded ware, is known together with the Middle Wild Goat style oinochoai.

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