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‘Fast Food: Feasts in Transition in the Late Neolithic to Early Bronze Age Northern Aegean’

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Certification

I certify that:

- The following dissertation is my own original work.
- The source of all non-original material is clearly indicated.
- All material presented by me for other modules is clearly indicated.
- All assistance received has been acknowledged.

Abstract

Feasting is a central social practice in past societies, and exists in some form in almost every human society. The development of feasting in the northern Aegean Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age is one of gradual, but visible change – set against the backdrop of wider social changes. Such changes in inter-personal feasting relations can shed light on socio-political development on a macro scale. Through several case studies, it is possible to examine the development of feasting in the northern Aegean, and through a comparative analysis consider the implications these developments have for, among other things, the creation of elite power structures and the centralisation of institutional authority.

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List of Abbreviations

BCE – Before Common Era

LN – Late Neolithic

FN – Final Neolithic

BA – Bronze Age

EBA – Early Bronze Age

MBA – Middle Bronze Age

LBA – Late Bronze Age

EM – Early Minoan

EM I – Early Minoan I

EM II – Early Minoan II

EM III – Early Minoan III

EH – Early Helladic

EH I – Early Helladic I

EH II – Early Helladic II

EH III – Early Helladic III

CWE – Collective Work Events

1: Introduction

This paper aims to consolidate knowledge of the Late Neolithic – Early Bronze Age feast in the northern Aegean into a comprehensive analysis of feasting practices, and their tendency to change with remarkable fluidity within this transitional period. Karl Marx famously wrote:

> "Men make their own history, but they do not make it as they please; they do not make it under self-selected circumstances, but under circumstances existing already, given and transmitted from the past"
>
> (Marx, 1852)

But what does this mean? In the context of this paper, it is clear: social changes do not appear spontaneously, out of a vacuum. The more the past is analysed, the more it becomes apparent that dividing history into grand epochs divided by brief bursts of change hampers a nuanced study; human history develops in a constant process of change, which comes from "the actions of people operating under specific conditions of existence" (Tomkins & Schoep, 2010, 114). The appearance and consolidation of hierarchy and centralised political power in the Bronze Age is the result of gradual transitional changes over long periods of time. Through archaeology, we may begin to examine these transitions. Whitelaw (1983, 340) notes "some aspects of the development of (…) palatial civilization" which occurred in the Aegean in the MBA, "may need to be sought as far back as the Neolithic period".

The Late Neolithic (henceforth LN), Final Neolithic (FN) and Early Bronze Age (EBA) in the northern Aegean includes Macedonia, Thrace, and the northernmost Aegean island of Thasos. It is a period which is often understudied, but which nevertheless displays quite marked changes over the LN-EBA period. The LN and EBA are transitional periods, where the changes accumulating in society become more noticeable. Yet, as mentioned, it is generally understudied with regards to the northern Aegean. The period is perhaps not as grandiose in archaeological remains than the later Minoans and Mycenaeans, who erected palaces and forged bureaucratic states. Nevertheless, to understand the palace civilisations, we must understand their predecessors. Chronologically, the LN-EBA period stretches from C. 5300-2000 BCE. This is a long time-period, and a large geographical area, so it is necessary to be selective: to this end, four case studies for each period have been selected.

1.1: Methodological Concerns

This paper begins with an exploratory chapter into the theory of feasting. Following this, a chapter focuses on the LN/FN, including four case studies on the sites of Makriyalos, Dikili Tash, Aghios Ioannis and Limenaria. A brief comparative discussion follows, bringing the northern Aegean feast into the wider Aegean context. The next chapter concentrates on the EBA, discussing the sites of Limenaria, Archontiko, Dikili Tash and Sitagroi. A similar comparative discussion examines, once again, feasting practices in the wider context of the Aegean EBA. Finally, both periods are brought together, and temporal trends and discrepancies are noted.

In academic study, I have always taken a consciously materialist perspective to analysing archaeology. Dietler argues that feasts should be studied "in analysis of the material conditions and social relations of production and distribution" (Dietler, 2011, 181). According to materialist dialectics, contradiction in relations in society is what turns the wheels of history: change in human development is the result of opposing or contradictory forces in society – from the contradictions inside society (Molyneux, 2012, 40; Tse-Tung, 1967, 35). This is what is known as a dialectical model of change (Johnson, 2010, 96). This "law of contradiction in things" – the unity of opposites – is the basic law of materialist dialectics (Tse-Tung, 1967, 33). Without contradiction, there is no change. In studying feasting, the dynamics of the contradictions in a given society can be examined: feasts are the social battlefields of past societies. This perspective may seem to be dismissive of the role of inter-personal relationships in the process of feasting – though this is not so. Materialist theory understands social relations (i.e. the interactions *between people*), as exposing contradictory interests. A "de-personalised rhetoric" makes power and politics into a "faceless chess game", abstracting social relations (Hamilakis & Sherratt, 2012, 189).

To examine feasts on a personal level, an emphasis on the way feasts impact the senses is also important: feasts touch every human sense, through smell, taste, sight, and touch. An understanding of sensory archaeology, and the way senses might be manipulated to shape social relations is crucial to understanding feasting (Day, 2013), and the way that a feast might impact an individual participant is key to understanding the wider social significance of feasting.

Similarly, discussing archaeological landscapes will inform much of this thesis. Landscapes, note Anschuetz, Wilshusen and Scheick, (2001, 160-161) are not only natural: they are "synthetic, with cultural systems structuring and organizing [sic] people's interactions with their natural environments". Landscapes are dynamic, and shaped by people. To this end, I rely greatly on settlement data, and the way in which settlements develop and exploit their natural environments. Landscapes are the "arena" for any community's social and economic behaviour (Anschuetz et al, 2001, 192).

By examining feasting in the northern Aegean, we might make steps to understanding social development in those areas, and relate this to development in the wider Aegean. Changes in inter-personal feasting relations can shed light on socio-political development on a macro scale.

This paper presented a methodological limitation in the form of a language barrier: many of the publications surrounding the Aegean are, naturally, in Greek. As a result, I was limited largely to only English publications, which has meant missing potentially interesting literature. Once again, however, I am indebted to Elisavet Fergadiotou, who provided me with several translated papers and broadened the scope of my research considerably.

2: Thinking About Food: The Theory of Feasting

Feasting may be considered a central social practice of past societies (Dietler and Hayden, 2001, 1; Dietler, 2003, 271; Nordquist, 2008, 105; Spielmann, 2002, 195; Blake, 2005, 106; Hayden, 2014, 1). As we shall see, there is evidence for feasting in various contexts, including: 'life passage' events like births, marriages and funerals; calendrical events like harvests; political events such as 'interpolity alliances'; and even the inaugurations of new buildings (Hayden, 2014, 9; Hamilakis & Sherratt, 2012, 187).

According to Hayden (2001, 25; 2014, 4), feasts have their roots in the Upper Palaeolithic, and became widespread in the Mesolithic and Neolithic. Only recently has feasting begun to be seriously considered as a subject for academic study by Aegean archaeologists, due to the realisation of the social complexity of feasting thanks to archaeological and ethnographic work (Valamoti, 2016, 89; Bray, 2003, 1; Urem-Kotsou & Kotsakis, 2012, 225; Halstead, 2016, 25; Hayden, 2001, 23; Hayden, 2014). Some theorists, such as Spielmann and Hayden, suggest that feasts were perhaps the most important drivers for economic development in past societies – specifically, Spielmann suggests the "sustained demand engendered by communal and individual ceremonial obligations" - particularly the acquisition of surpluses for feasting - led to economic intensification (Spielmann, 2002, 195). Hayden considers that in the past "there may have been no other more powerful engine of cultural change than feasts" (Hayden, 2014, 1).

2.1: What is a Feast?

When we speak of feasting, what is it that we mean? The term is rather vague when applied without context. Feasts have myriad functions in past societies, so it is important to examine and specify what a feast actually *is*, at least in respect to this study.

Consumption, as a practice, is an "essential part of the human condition" (Hamilakis & Sherratt, 2012, 187). Consumption is just as socially motivated as it is related to the need for calorific sustenance. How we define ourselves is intrinsically linked to how, and what, we consume (Hamilakis & Sherratt, 2012, 187). Feasting is "among the more conspicuous" forms of consumption (Hamilakis & Sherratt, 2012, 187): it is highly visible, requires a large amount of labour (e.g. cooks, servers) and material investment (e.g. cooking and serving equipment), provides a sensory experience on multiple levels (e.g. taste, smell), and produces material waste and by-products in a way that other forms of consumption, for instance, the clothes we choose to wear, do not match. Dietler considers that food and drink are "embodied material culture" (Dietler, 2011, 179).

Wright (2004b, 13) notes that there is no clear, accepted definition of a feast; they are so common to society that the term is applicable to a diverse set of cultural and social practices worldwide (Dietler & Hayden, 2001, 3). Thus, it is necessary to examine some academic interpretations of what makes a feast. Usually we associate them with simply eating and drinking, and food and drink *are* certainly important – but this is only half the picture (Pini, 2008, 249). Dietler and Hayden assert that at their root, all feasts hold in common the "*communal* consumption of food and/or drink" independent of a domestic 'everyday' setting (Dietler & Hayden, 2001, 3; Blake, 2005, 106; Dietler, 2011, 180). Feasts are a "specific social practice", unconnected to general domestic meals (which may nevertheless be communal in nature) and the everyday exchange of food (Dietler & Hayden, 2001, 3). Thus, while food and drink are important, it is the *communal* nature of the feast, and its contrast to domestic meals, which are most important.

Michael Dietler, one of the foremost authorities on feasting, considers feasting a method of mobilising "the symbolic power of food" (Dietler, 2011, 179), for the purpose of condensing and manipulating social relations. Feasts, for Dietler, have an inherent political and public dimension (Dietler, 2011, 180-181). They are performative rituals for the "reciprocal conversion of economic capital to cultural capital" (Dietler, 2011, 181): a way of spending material wealth to increase one's prestige.

Brian Hayden, another pre-eminent researcher in the field of feasting, is clear in his definition. He defines feasts as "any sharing of a meal including some special foods (…) between two or more people hosted for a special purpose or occasion" (Hayden, 2001, 28; Hayden, 2014, 8). Like Dietler, he excludes purely utilitarian communal meals and domestic consumption, suggesting that a feast will make use of "special foods" not served everyday (Hayden, 2014, 8); in fact, he argues that the creation of special foods, and even the domestication of plants and animals in general, might have been developed for feasting purposes (Hayden, 2014, 4). Importantly, Hayden suggests the characterisation of feasts as "public events" (Dietler, 2011, 181) hampers smaller or intentionally private feasts (Hayden, 2014, 8). He also takes issue with feasts being considered rituals, considering this unhelpful by implying that feasts take place in purely religious contexts (Hayden, 2014, 8).

Hayden considers that feasts have a high cost, but occur over a widespread area – therefore are "probably adaptive in an evolutionary and cultural ecological sense" (Hayden, 2001, 58). However, Hayden also stresses analysing the use of surplus, and the impact this has on the political economy (Hayden, 2014, 5-6). He calls his approach "political ecology", and seeks to understand how and why surplus production exists (Hayden, 2014, 6-7). He argues that at their root, feasts are the "amassing of surplus food and other items in order to attract people and thereby gain some significant advantages" (Hayden, 2014, 12; Hayden, 2003, 460; Hayden, 2001, 58). These advantages need not be for an individual: a feast might be advantageous for a community. Interestingly, Hayden does not consider the implications of surplus as anything more than overproduction, when in fact the question of who is *organising* the surplus, in contrast to who is producing it, is important and can highlight systemic inequality (Chapman, 2005, 80).

Wright defines feasting as "the formal ceremony of communal eating and drinking" to celebrate a specific event (Wright, 2004b, 13). Feasts, he continues, are a social act which "binds a group" through sharing, yet also exist to differentiate between those present (Wright, 2004b, 14). This notion of 'binding while dividing' will be touched upon later.

Nordquist suggests feasting can be reduced to just "formal eating and drinking" – she too marks the division between informal domestic settings and a formalised feast. Specifically, she notes the feast is a binding activity through the sharing of food and drink (Nordquist, 2008, 105). Importantly, both Nordquist and Blake assert that the feast has a social impact not only on the attendees, but also on those who are not present: who is *not* included is just as important to understanding the feast as who *is* included (Blake, 2005, 107; Nordquist, 2008, 105). Nordquist questions whether a feast is a feast without an audience, since they are, in essence, mass performances (Nordquist, 2008, 105).

2.1.1: Ritual and Feasts

Crucially, feasts are often considered highly ritualised events, often including performances and ritual activities – though importantly, they are *not necessarily religious* (Pini, 2008, 249; Nordquist, 2008, 105; Hayden, 2014, 8; Dietler, 2003, 272; Dietler, 2011, 180; Hamilakis & Sherratt, 2012, 187). Hamilakis and Sherratt even define feasting as "ritualised social eating and drinking" (Hamilakis & Sherratt, 2012, 187) (though their definition does not exclude domestic meals, and thus may be considered un-rigorous). To modern societies, this may seem strange, since social gatherings are rarely considered rituals by their participants, but it is this ritualisation, argues Dietler, which makes them ideal vectors for the negotiation and transfer of social practices; repetitive, organised rituals are a good way to normalise and naturalise people to dominant social hegemony (Dietler & Hayden, 2001, 4; Hayden, 2014, 1; Blake, 2005, 104-5).

Ritual acts are "rule-governed" acts of a "symbolic character", which draw the attention of participants towards "objects of thought and feeling" of special significance (Blake, 2005, 104). Often, the way rituals manifest is related to the social structure of a group (Blake, 2005, 104). Hayden notes, however, that these ritual aspects are not always observable in archaeology, since they often do not take material form (Dietler & Hayden, 2001, 4; Hayden, 2014, 8; Blake, 2005, 102). This can make examining feasts from a ritual perspective difficult. On the one hand, ritual acts are often considered distinct from the profane, yet at the same time, non-religious ritual acts can be difficult to discern (Blake, 2005, 103) since they lack, for example, overt religious iconography and material. Thus, the potential for misreading remains is very real. Wright notes that it is important not to treat any ritualised food remains as *a priori* evidence of feasting, since they can often be remains from, for example, food sacrifices (Wright, 2004b, 14). As mentioned, Hayden considers the characterisation of feasts as rituals misleading by association with religion, and he suggests that the definition of 'ritual' itself is far from clear-cut (Hayden, 2014, 8). He also argues that some feasts lack a ritualised component, and that some domestic meals can be overtly ritualised but not constitute feasts – which can confuse identification (set meal-times, for example, could be argued to constitute a form of ritual) (Hayden, 2001, 28). Dietler counters that rituals need not be sacred, or highly elaborate – just symbolically significant (Dietler, 2001, 67).

2.1.2: Defining the Feast

For the purposes of this study, a definition of the feast broadly following Dietler and Hayden's (2001, 3) characterisation – the communal consumption of food and/or drink, independent of a domestic setting – is useful. Generally, most theorists follow Dietler and Hayden's definition (e.g. Halstead, 2004, 152; Pullen, 2016, 49-51; Wright, 2004b, 13; Blake, 2005, 106) or a variant thereof. The ritual character of feasts is important: despite the misgivings of some theorists, there is no implicit religious meaning to ritual, but they are deeply symbolic and can follow formal rules – therefore feasts, as we shall see, can be considered ritualistic.

Thus, feasting may be taken to mean the ritualised communal consumption of food and drink (often food and drink of a special or rare character) in a non-domestic setting (though not necessarily a public one). They have a tangible benefit to the participants, though these benefits are varied – they generally take the form of social and political ties (Hayden, 2003, 460). It is also important, critical even, to broaden the scope of analysis beyond the actual feast itself – but to acknowledge the entire infrastructure of feasting (Nordquist, 2008, 105; Goody, 1982, 37). A feast is a condensed expression, and manifestation, of the social relations and character of wider society and this must be considered.

2.2: Considering the Role of Feasting

The feast is a polysemous process; feasts have multiple social meanings, often expressed concurrently (Hayden, 2014, 11; Dietler, 2011, 184). Feasting (and by extension, all food) has a "dynamic role" in the creation and perpetuation of cultural and social identities across many human societies (Valamoti, 2016, 89; Urem-Kotsou & Kotsakis, 2012, 225). This occurs both on a 'macro' society-wide scale, and in a more inter-personal 'micro-political' fashion (Bray, 2003, 2). Bray notes the axiom "you are what you eat" is more useful in the study of food than might be first considered, since food has a social character; as Hamilakis and Sherratt note, it is one of the main ways we define ourselves (Bray, 2003, 2; Hamilakis & Sherratt, 2012, 187). Dietler considers this "social construction of the self" through food and drink as having a heightened symbolic character, since food and drink are specifically created to be destroyed by eating (Dietler, 2011, 179). He relates food to Bourdieu's *habitus*: as part of the set of "embodied dispositions" which "structure action", and which "unconsciously instantiate social roles" – food is a necessary routine with intrinsic social meaning, which we literally take on as part of ourselves through eating it.

By extension, food may also define other roles in society. Dietler notes that feasts are inescapably linked to the idea of "commensal politics", this being "the ways in which the shared consumption of food and drink is marshaled [sic] in the negotiation of power" (Dietler, 2003, 272).

Feasts can be the agent for the negotiation of status (Nordquist, 2008, 106; Dietler, 2003; Dietler, 2011, 183). Goody notes that control over access to food is one of the most common ways for social hierarchy to support itself (these thoughts are echoed by Bray) (Goody, 1982; Bray, 2003, 2). Feasts can promote social solidarity *and* social division by negotiating social relations and boundaries, and binding groups together in joint ritual (Valamoti, 2016, 89; Nordquist, 2008, 105; Wright, 2004b, 14; Dietler, 2011, 183). This dialectical relationship makes feasts particularly interesting, since they can both "unite and divide at the same time" through the same medium: a strategic social ritual (Pappa et al, 2004, 41; Dietler, 2011, 183). These are highly inter-personal events. Dietler notes: "because of the intimate nature of the practice of sharing food", feasts are excellent at "subtly euphemising the self-interested nature of the process and creating a shared 'sincere fiction'" (Dietler, 2011, 183). Essentially, using the feast as an intermediary, ancient societies convey deep social meanings about status and hierarchy, formalised or not, to their members, in a variety of forms and on various levels (Urem-Kotsou & Kotsakis, 2012, 225).

Feasts present "idealised relations" – they express the way that interested parties believe the social order *should be*, and so can be used to camouflage, naturalise or contest power without risking open conflict (Dietler, 2011, 183-184). The interpretations of these struggles over the control of representation may be different to differently situated actors (Dietler, 2011, 183-184): it is important to remember that guests have agency as much as the host, so a feast which attempts to win the host social capital might not be interpreted as such by the attending guests.

Some academics have suggested that the social role of feasts extends further than the feasting event itself. The people who prepared and cooked the food/drink, who reared (or hunted) and butchered the animals, and who worked the fields, as well as the servers and cleaners all have a clear link to the infrastructure of the feast, as well as an implied social position in relation to it (Nordquist, 2008, 105). Whether they also took part in the feasting, or undertook their roles independently could have important implications for wider society.

Hamilakis and Sherratt (2012, 194) consider feasting in an interpersonal sense: a feast represents a "coming together" – a periodic chance to share food and drink, but also to create what they call a "trans-corporeal landscape" – that is, a social landscape of emotions, experiences and senses:

> "As such, feasting brings into a sharp focus some of the most fundamental paradoxes and tensions of human sociality: the dynamic and the tension between the individual and the collective, individual bodies and the collective corporeal landscape; and between hoarding and sharing, accumulation and dispersal."
>
> (Hamilakis & Sherratt, 2012, 194).

Hamilakis and Sherratt (2012, 189) are conscious of the need to avoid cultural evolutionist considerations of history, which they consider produce bland, homogenous narratives. Instead, they seek to examine the personal impact of feasting. Importantly, feasts create a social memory (Hamilakis & Sherratt, 2012, 194). The use of this social memory to influence social relations is paramount to this study. Social memory is a created history that can be "narrated, recalled, revisited, recreated, and socially and politically deployed" (Hamilakis & Sherratt, 2012, 194). Hayden (2014) talks about "aggrandisers" (self-interested people who, through accumulation of land by acquisitive strategies, could host and sponsor feasts and gradually cement themselves into a burgeoning elite (Hayden, 2014, 16)), who used surplus to advance their own benefits, by loaning resources to others in reciprocal obligations.

2.2.1: The Role of Feasts in Domestication

Hayden suggests domestication is often intrinsically linked to feasting (Hayden, 2014, 109-110). He cites South America, where the earliest domesticates appear to be chilli peppers, gourds, and avocados – foods which don't fit what he calls the “pressure” paradigm of domestication (the idea that domestication resulted from growing populations exhausting available food sources) (Hayden, 2014, 109; Hayden, 2003, 466). Instead, they are known for rarity and flavour. They are not staples – in Mesoamerica, they are also recorded as being used almost exclusively in feasting environments (gourds, for example, were used as ceremonial *edible drinking vessels*) (Hayden, 2014, 110).

Similarly, Hayden suggests the common theory that domestication indicates a shift in human cognitive process is lacking. This is the idea that, due to a cognitive change, humans developed an ideological viewpoint which encouraged seeking to “profit from nature” and exploit the land, rather than exist as part of it. Ignoring the fact that this theory doesn’t satisfactorily explain why existing as hunter-gatherers, mining, and producing stone tools is not ‘profiting’ from nature, while farming and domestication is, Hayden notes there is simply no satisfactory evidence for why this process would spontaneously occur, and attempting to explain it simply results in arguing in circles (Hayden, 2014, 115-118). The idea of a spontaneous cognitive shift is idealism. Rather, Hayden considers ideology as something simply “to justify what [certain] people want to do” in already existing circumstances (Hayden, 2014, 119).

Instead, Hayden suggests feasting was the driving factor of Neolithic domestication. Firstly, he notes the practical risk reduction which maintaining a surplus for feasting affords a group (or at least, affords specific members of a group – those who administrate the surplus) (Hayden, 2014, 119). By working to build stockpiles for periodic feasting, uncertainty about food stocks can be avoided. Domesticated animals such as cattle, says Hayden, are investments. He notes that there is “not one single ethnographic example” whereby animals are kept primarily for meat for “daily subsistence” – they are *always* butchered for feasts (Hayden, 2014, 125; Hamilakis & Sherratt, 2012, 190). This is consistent with the general LN-EBA diet, which was a mixed-farming economy, with focus on domesticates and little evidence of hunting (Toufexis, 2003, 268). The importance with which domesticated animals like cattle were regarded in the Aegean is expressed in their tendency to appear as figurines in the LN. Cattle, sheep/goats and pigs are all the most prevalent zoomorphic depictions recovered from EN Knossos (Toufexis, 2003, 268).

Hayden argues that horticulture did not radically change the face of society – but by offering groups who had previously been hunter-gatherers with limited opportunity for surplus the new ability to create large stockpiles (Hayden, 2001, 43), horticulture, through feasting, intensified "social, economic and political features" of society (Hayden, 2014, 163). Domesticated animals became "the repository of family wealth", and were used to gain prestige (Hayden, 2014, 163).

2.2.2: The Practical Benefits of Feasting

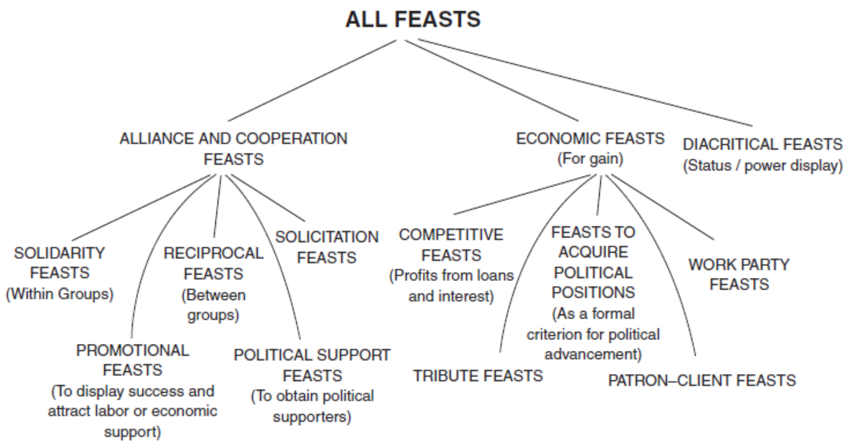

Figure 1: Categorising the Feast. From Hayden, 2014, fig.1.4.

The feast may manifest in many ways, and be intended for different things (Hayden, 2014, 21). For example, a feast might be used to bond a group or community (or several communities) in an atmosphere of collective solidarity, to create alliances between disparate groups and support a social collectiveness (and in doing so, hide the class distinctions of the community) (Hayden, 2014, 10). Alternatively, feasts can be tools for the manipulation of social relations by self-interested groups or individuals – or "diacritical" feasts, which emphasize status distinctions with displays of economic wealth (Valamoti, 2016, 89; Halstead, 2016, 25; Hayden, 2014, 10-11). A feast might display more than one of these characteristics at one time, and on different levels of intensity. Hayden sets out nine basic "practical benefits" to feasting:

> *"Feasting can:*
>
> *1. mobilise labour;*
>
> *2. create cooperative relationships within groups or conversely, exclude different groups;*
>
> *3. create cooperative alliances between social groups (including political support between households);*
>
> *4. invest surpluses and generate profits;*
>
> *5. attract desirable mates, labour, allies, or wealth exchanges by advertising the success of the group;*
>
> *6. create political power (control over resources and labour) through the creation of a network of reciprocal debts;*
>
> *7. extract surplus produce from the general populace for elite use;*
>
> *8. solicit favors [sic];*
>
> *9. compensate for transgressions.*
>
> *Except for work feasts, penalty feasts, and solicitation feasts, all other benefits of feasting revolve around the creation or maintenance of important social relationships."*

(Hayden, 2001, 30; see also Pullen, 2016, 51).

I argue that in fact *every feast* involves the maintenance of social relations – *especially* work feasts. Kotsakis notes Neolithic Greek communities relied heavily on perennial intensive labour in agriculture, construction and production, which could have been recruited with a feast (Kotsakis, 1996, 168). This is known as a "collective work event" (or CWE) (Dietler & Herbich, 2001, 241). Labour mobilisation feasts are "virtually a universal feature" in pre-capitalist, pre-currency agrarian economies (Dietler & Herbich, 2001, 240). They operate in different forms, depending on the social context– *work feasts*, as Dietler and Herbich call them, represent the one-time exchange of labour for hospitality. These feasts have a definitive host/guest dynamic, and might involve up to several hundred people, either voluntarily participating or obligated to work (Dietler & Herbich, 2001, 242-243). In systems where elites make use of obligatory labour (i.e. where institutionalised authority compels people to work), the lavish work feast represents the "continual production of consent" – as coercion through threat of force alone is not enough to maintain acceptably peaceful labour relations (Dietler & Herbich, 2001, 244). A different social context might make use of a *work exchange,* which places less emphasis on hospitality, and more on social reciprocity – essentially, the exchange of labour for future labour, often with the host and guests sharing a class character, usually organised through friendship or kinship links (Dietler & Herbich, 2001, 242-243). Both forms of CWEs might appear in a single society – what is different is the social context in which they take place (Dietler & Herbich, 2001, 244). Both work exchanges and work feasts operate via an exchange of sorts, but work feasts have an obvious inequality between the workers and the host visible.

By the LBA, in contrast, the Mycenaean palatial feast was a mechanism not necessarily used for mobilising labour, but for explicitly showing elite dominance – undertaken in palaces to show off their resources amid incredible luxury (diacritical feasts) (Nordquist, 2008, 108; Halstead & Isaakidou, 2014, 91). Blake notes that although feasts may have been used in different social contexts with different meanings, there need not have been a division between them in the ancient world (Blake, 2005, 106). This is especially true when it comes to examining the material remains of feasts.

Dietler colourfully describes the idea of a single, well defined typology of feasting as "singularly quixotic" (Dietler, 2011, 184), as no two feasts are ever precisely the same. Nevertheless, classifications of feasting as presented by Hayden (see figure 1 on page 15, for example) are necessary to attempt to clarify the study of feasting, even if they can never be a completely accurate framework. The main role of the feast, then, if it can be distilled to a single role without being too abstract, is the management and manipulation of social relations by interested groups in society.

2.3: The Material Feast

Studying feasting (particularly in the Aegean) is often made difficult by the fact that often the actual remains of the feast are not available. Direct evidence of feasting is often elusive in many contexts, even though feasts can and do leave recognisable remains (Hayden, 2014, 4; Hayden, 2001, 46-47). The issue often lies in *finding* the feasts. Feasting can be inferred in much the same way that trade and exchange can: through indirect evidence which proves it occurred (Dietler & Hayden, 2001, 7). While there is considerable evidence for lavish feasting in the LBA (for instance, in the frescoes on Crete) (Wright, 2004a, 1; Halstead, 2016, 25; Halstead & Isaakidou, 2014, 91), the EBA and LN suffer from a general dearth of evidence (Halstead, 2016, 25). This is largely because the evidence has *not been found*, even though it is quite clear that feasting played a central role in LN and EBA Aegean society (Halstead, 2016, 25; Halstead, 2004, 151). Pottery remains one of the best markers for communal consumption (Halstead, 2016, 25), and analysing the implications of pottery morphology is a good way to infer feasting practice. For the Greek Neolithic, social aspects of consumption have not often been examined by researchers, though this is slowly beginning to change (Urem-Kotsou & Kotsakis, 2012, 225).

2.3.1: Feasting Remains

Feasts are notable by their particular material remains, which might include the traces of food preparation, such as ovens, hearths, or processing materials like grain grinders; remains of cooking, eating, and drinking equipment, generally ceramics such as dishes, bowls, and cups; animal and archaeobotanical remains, such as bone, seeds, and other organic residue; and storage equipment or facilities for the storage of the surplus food which is actually used in feasts. (Hayden, 2014, 4; Blake, 2005, 106; Hamilakis & Sherratt, 2012, 188). Art is an indicator in some periods, though this is less applicable to the LN-EBA (Hamilakis & Sherratt, 2012, 188). Some

LN figurines hint at the importance of domestic animals, though this is an indirect link to feasting (Toufexis, 2003, 268). In the EBA, recordkeeping devices are thought to appear, such as at EH II Lerna, where 143 clay seal fragments were recovered from a single room in the House of the Tiles, or at EH II Geraki, where some recovered seals are made of metal (Heath, 1958, 81; Weingarten et al, 2011). Such items can suggest organised private storage, and hint at the collection of surpluses (Weingarten et al, 2011, 155; Hayden, 2001, 41).

In general, when examining archaeological assemblages, it is necessary to examine the extra-ordinary – highly decorated, oversized pottery; large assemblages of eating/drinking vessels or animal bones; even large concentrations of preparation facilities like hearths or ovens (Hayden, 2001, 40-47). Looking for anomalies which cannot be explained by mere domestic consumption is key to finding evidence of ritual commensality. This may include "rare or labour-intensive" plant and animal species and their derivatives (Hayden, 2001, 40).

Indirectly, the practice of feasting may be recognised generally by the development of infrastructure which supports feasts – evidence for the *cultivation* of exotic or special plants (as well as the production of wine, beer or other alcoholic substances), and the rearing or hunting of large, meat-rich animals (Hamilakis & Sherratt, 2012, 188). The presence of such remains can imply a feast-economy.

Pottery morphology might hint at use in commensal activity. For example, Halstead and Isaakidou (2014, 95-96) suggest flat bottoms on vessels implies the use of tables, and thus might suggest a "formalisation" in feasting events.

One often overlooked but very much required feature of feasting is an appropriate area to hold the feast: a courtyard, structure or open space (Hayden, 2001, 40). Markers of feasting must be differentiated from the remains of domestic consumption. This can be achieved in several ways: either through the quantity of evidence (a large deposition of feasting-related materials over a relatively short time, for example), or through the deposition of material in an exceptional or specifically non-domestic place (Blake, 2005, 106). The manner of deposition may also be important – material may very well be reverentially deposited, for example in specifically dug stone-lined pits (Blake, 2005, 106). This is a significant investment, and is unlikely to be given to purely domestic remains, which are disposed of more haphazardly.

3: The Aegean Late Neolithic and Final Neolithic

Neolithic Greece in totality falls within the seventh to the fourth millennia BCE (Halstead, 2016, 25). The LN period begins around 5300 BCE, and ends around 4500 BCE, with the start of the FN (Mee, 2011, 4). The FN continues until around 3200 BCE, yet the chronology of Greece is never a simple affair (Gallis, 1996, 27-30). The various regions of Greece are subdivided into different relative chronologies which can make interrelation between dates and sites in different parts of the country rather complex (Gallis, 1996, 30). See figure 2 for the relative and absolute chronologies of the Greek Neolithic. Figure 3 (overleaf) places the chronology in a regional context.

Early Neolithic	6700–5800
Middle Neolithic	5800–5300
Late Neolithic	5300–4500
Final Neolithic	4500–3200

Figure 2: Relative and Absolute Chronology of the Aegean Neolithic. From Mee, 2011, table 1.1.

The Neolithic period of Greece was, from the time of its discovery in the early twentieth century, considered a useful counterpoint to the rest of Greek history, and little else. It was generally relegated as uninteresting by researchers, used only as a 'backwater' contrast to later periods (Tomkins, 2010, 69-70). Later research into the period, however, showed that this was untrue. The period was deeply complex, and showed evidence for, among other things, craft specialisation; agricultural and settlement intensification; long-distance exchange; the dependable creation of surpluses; and the possibility of elite-driven economy (Tomkins, 2010, 69-70). It is clear, in fact, that the Neolithic period (especially the LN) is not an isolated, unchanging backwater, but the harbinger of the BA. The periods can hardly be considered without reference to one another – yet they are rarely examined together, which shows up the sometimes-dangerous results of separating human history into major epochs with specific, contrasting characteristics (Tomkins, 2010, 69).

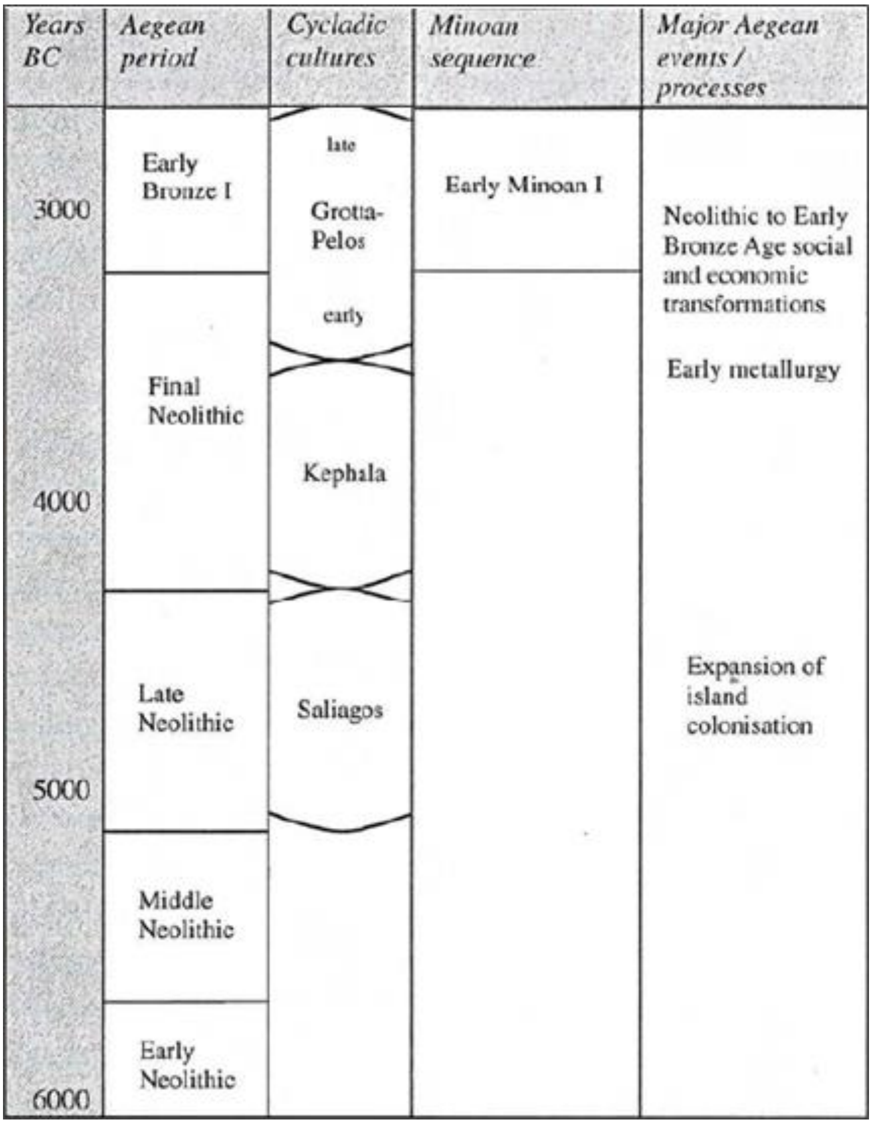

Figure 3: Chronology, Terminology and Major Synchronisms for the Neolithic Aegean. From: Broodbank, 2000, fig. 1. Amended by Author.

3.1: The Late Neolithic In Greece

Throughout the Aegean Neolithic, there were many shifts in social organisation. Nevertheless, Urem-Kotsou and Kotsakis assert the general structure of Neolithic communities (both on an inter- *and* intra-community level) was based on various reciprocal relations between households and their members (Kotsakis, 1996, 168; Urem-Kotsou & Kotsakis, 2012, 225; Halstead, 1999; Souvatsi, 2007). Souvatsi defines the household as the centre for craft production, subsistence organisation and distribution, and social reproduction, and stresses that individual households likely had a degree of independence in pursuing these – she points out that at LN Dimini, there is a clear differentiation between the scale of, for instance, craft production assemblages on a per-household basis (Souvatsi, 2007; Souvatsi, 2008, 10). Importantly, the household is an *active* "social process", which changes with society (Souvatsi, 2008, 10-11).

In the LN, Tomkins considers the household to have become fully realised: he terms it the period of the "emergent household" (Tomkins, 2010, 76-79). The appearance of ceramic 'house' figurines at sites like Platia Magoula Zarkou in Thessaly backs up the suggestion that the household (made up of more than a single nuclear family) was the basic social unit, but also that it was socially symbolically important (Tomkins, 2010, 76-77, 79; Halstead, 1995, 14; Gallis, 1985). Halstead (1999, 90) notes that the LN represents a period of "progressive isolation" for the household, as social relations turn away from communal practices. LN Makriyalos in northern Greece is an excellent example of this, as the settlement shows a tendency through time for houses to cluster together and isolate themselves (this will be discussed further) (Urem-Kotsou & Kotsakis, 2016, 228). Similarly, Tomkins notes a trend towards LN settlements developing greater domestic storage facilities, for instance at LN Dimini – this might imply greater control over resources at a domestic level (Tomkins, 2010, 78). At later-LN Makriyalos, there is some evidence for the development of private household storage, in dug-out basement levels below dwellings (Souvatsi, 2008, 167; Andreou et al, 1996, 573). Halstead (1999, 91) proposes a system whereby the Aegean household recognised its own long-term unviability (due to its tenuous position as a small unit facing periods of labour scarcity), leading to situations where commensality and reciprocal exchange occurred in times of need. For Halstead, the LN Aegean social order represents a mid-point in the cultural restructuring caused by contradictions between a sharing oriented ideology and a relatively new delayed-return economy based around agriculture and individual households – he considers a sharing ideology to dis-incentivise labouring for delayed returns, and thus threaten subsistence (Halstead, 1999, 90-91). This theory, while interesting, seems to presuppose both that "the obligation to share would have been a powerful disincentive to labour for delayed returns" and that agricultural land was owned on a per-household basis (Halstead, 1999, 81), but does not satisfactorily explain why this is the case – in short, I see no reason why a delayed-return farming economy would conflict with a general ideology of "sharing".

LN societies were generally "small-scale" communities, which Spielmann describes as ranging from several hundred to several thousand people (generally, northern Aegean settlements seem to be at the lower end of the scale (Halstead, 1995, 13)), and characterised by largely decentralised political systems, operating within the wider landscape in networks of exchange and obligations (Spielmann, 2002, 195; Kotsakis, 1996, 168; Urem-Kotsou & Kotsakis, 2012, 226). Halstead "tentatively" estimates that the average village at the start of the LN would have around 50-300 residents (Halstead, 1995, 13). He notes this is at the limits of "estimates of the maximum size of community which can be held together on an egalitarian basis", which may go some way to explaining why LN societies move away from egalitarianism as settlement populations increase (though Halstead does not explain the reasoning as to why this limit should exist – he points to internal conflict, but it isn't clear what causes this) (Halstead, 1995, 13).

Settlement patterns in northern Greece are generally divided into two forms: the tell, consisting of closely-packed buildings, which gradually build over each other to form an artificial hill; and horizontally developing settlements, which are more spread out, and can cover a large area – the settlement of Stavroupolis, for example, covered an area of 11 hectares (Souvatsi, 2008, 166). Tell settlements are more common in north-eastern Greece – Dikili Tash or Makri in eastern Macedonia and Thrace, for example (Souvatzi, 2008, 162). In central Macedonia, horizontally developing settlements are the common form, for example, Makriyalos or Vasilika (Souvatzi, 2008, 166).

The LN is described by Gallis as a period of intense cultural shifts, noting changes in settlement and habitation pattern, as well as drastic changes in pottery types as possible evidence of an invasion from elsewhere (Gallis, 1996, 36). For example, at the site of Makri in Thrace, there is evidence of a layer of destruction in between the site's two Neolithic phases (Efstratiou et al, 1998, 15). This analysis doesn't hold up in every instance, since in some areas such as the settlement of Tsangli in central Thessaly, settlement continues unabated without evidence of strife (Gallis, 1996, 36), and even at Makri there is no disconnect between pottery traditions between the site's two phases (Efstratiou et al, 1998, 35). Similarly, pottery sequences in other areas suggest instead a continuous and diverse development of pottery types, perhaps influenced by cultures "north of Greece" (Gallis, 1996, 36). The site of Dikili Tash, for example, shows evidence for influences from the Balkans (Darcque et al, 2007, 251-252). As to why some areas see a break in habitation, it is not clear, though LN changes in settlement pattern may have had an impact (Gallis, 1996, 36).

There is intensification and diversification in agriculture in the LN, especially in the low-lying areas of Greece (such as Thessaly or the Drama Plain). For example, this period sees the earliest evidence for the cultivation of grape and olive vines – 'special' crops which are used to make secondary products like alcohol or oil (Tomkins, 2010, 77). In general terms, cereals like einkorn, emmer, and barley are the principal staple crops of the LN and EBA Aegean (they can be used for producing bread, and beer), and appear at sites all over Greece, such as Dikili Tash and Sitagroi (Renfrew, 1977, 128; Zohary et al, 2012, 51; Valamoti, 2016, 92-95).

Through the LN, there is evidence of a reduction in settlement numbers coupled with an increase in their size – an urbanisation of sorts, which would continue into the BA (Gallis, 1996, 37). Importantly, Gallis stresses that this period shows the roots for the "concentration of wealth and power" in certain places, as well as the beginnings of widespread urbanism, as settlement patterns in the LN trend towards control of resources and trade-goods (Gallis, 1996, 37). This tendency towards agglomeration into fewer and larger concentrated settlements might explain the shifts in LN society better than an outward invasion. Furthermore, objects of what Kotsakis calls 'social prestige', such as worked *spondylus gaederopus* shells or very infrequent metal objects, appear more frequently in the LN than in previous periods (Kotsakis, 1996, 129). Kotsakis suggests these objects show the beginnings of hierarchy, as expressions of wealth, but notes that the methods of their production and exchange are largely unexplored – generally, he suggests there was little formalised production, instead individual households had the capacity to create these goods (Kotsakis, 1996, 129; Spielmann, 2002, 197-8).

The LN period sees evidence of productive changes, too. There is a marked increase of worked obsidian blades in southern Greece (as well as a concurrent downfall in regular stone tools) during the period, suggesting permanent habitation of the Cyclades to allow for intensified mining, specifically on the island of Melos, where much obsidian originates (Gallis, 1996, 36; Kotsakis, 1996, 168). This also suggests advances in seafaring, as well as the creation of trade networks: some amounts of obsidian have been found much further north than Thessaly (Gallis, 1996, 36). In Macedonia, obsidian from the Carpathians has been recovered, suggesting that trade links to the north existed, and further reinforces the idea that northern Greece was more closely linked to the Balkan regions than to the south (Kilikoglou et al, 1996). It is speculated Aegean trade networks were also transporting untraceable materials such as salt, textiles, wooden objects or *spondylus* artefacts (Kotsakis, 1996, 128).

3.1.1: Summing up the Late Neolithic

There is often a tendency towards viewing the LN period (and the entire Neolithic) as an idealised "rural economy" of self-sufficient independent communities – this is, by and large, not the case (Kotsakis, 1996, 168). Rather, social life and production in Neolithic communities were very interconnected, and relied on networks of exchange of materials, goods, and labour, both within communities and between them (Kotsakis, 1996, 168-9). Generally, the term 'transegalitarian' might better describe LN Aegean society. Hayden describes a transegalitarian society as one which has loosened its egalitarian ethos for one reason or another, resulting in less social pressure on self-interested individuals (Hayden, 2014, 21; Hayden, 2003, 459). These societies generally produce semi-dependent surpluses. They might also recognise some degree of private ownership of resources and make use of prestige items to support hierarchy – though importantly, he stresses that class divisions in transegalitarian societies were generally fluid due to the "limited and unsustainable nature" of their surpluses (Hayden, 2014, 22; Hayden, 2003, 459). LN Greece may well represent a society about to bridge the gap to stratified society.

3.2: The Final Neolithic

The FN is a period of transition directly between the LN and the EBA. It is in this period, according to Tomkins, (2012, 74), when Aegean society began to see major changes in social relations: FN society was one where "the interests of the many had been transformed into one driven by the interests of specific groups, who would in time become the 'elite' households of the Bronze Age".

In this period, the shift away from group commensality towards domestic household isolation intensifies (Tomkins, 2010, 79), or at least becomes more apparent. In Thessaly, he claims, it is the trend for cooking facilities to be moved inside domestic units, or to be enclosed in small yards (Tomkins, 2010, 79). The period also sees a shift towards the "general (…) expansion into marginal areas" (Broodbank, 2000, 45), and the settlement of "agriculturally less extensive areas" (Tomkins, 2010, 79-80; Pullen, 2008, 21) that continues into the EBA. This involves more extensive colonisation of the Aegean islands of the Cyclades and Crete, as well as in the North Aegean at Thasos at sites like Agios Ioannis. This colonisation required a more mobile form of settlement and organisation (Tomkins, 2010, 80) – resulting in the formation of 'outpost' settlements. At Agios Ioannis, for example, evidence points towards the site being small, temporary, and seasonally occupied, used to exploit the surrounding 'rich pastureland', which offered the joint possibilities of fishing, hunting, and grazing (Maniatis & Papadopoulos, 2011, 23; Pullen, 2008, 21). Tomkins considers this marginal colonisation was a method of claiming natural resources, as well as a way of settling on exchange routes (Tomkins, 2010, 81-82).

3.3: Feasting in the Late Neolithic and Final Neolithic Northern Aegean: Case Studies

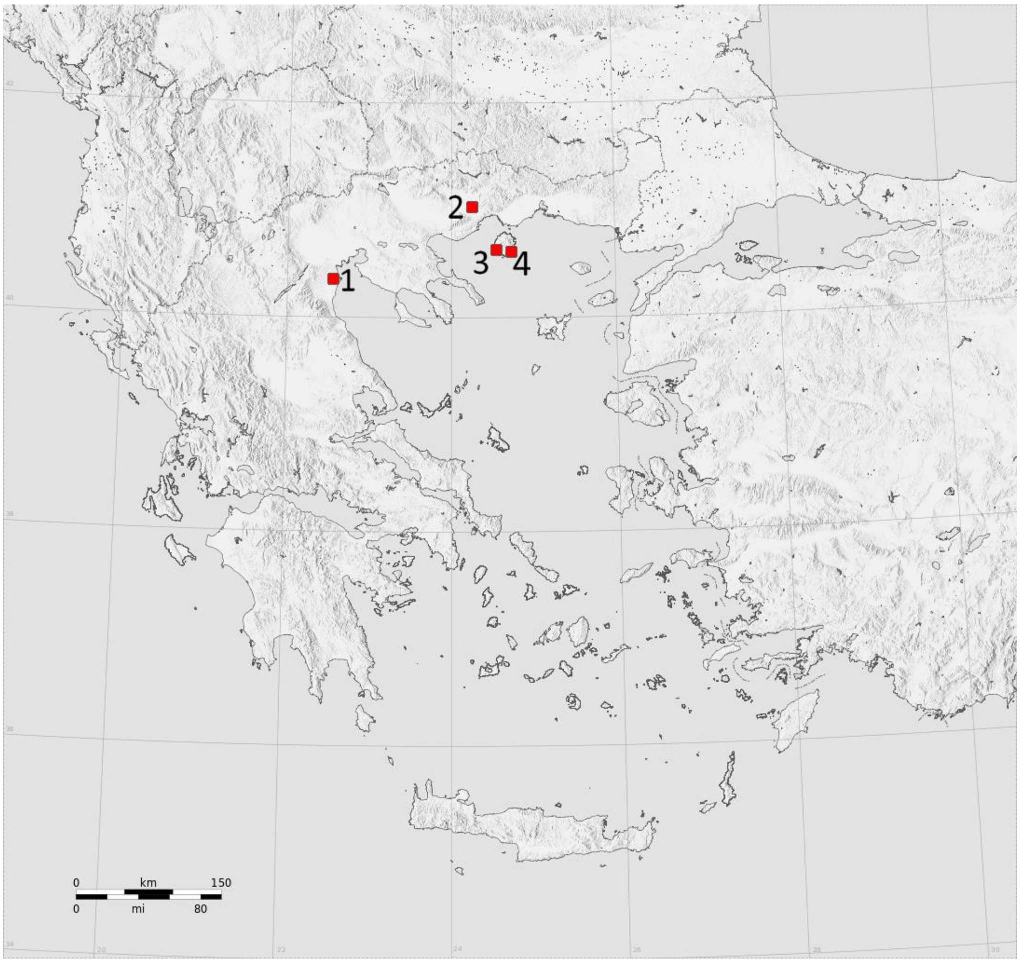

Figure 4: Principal Case Studies in Text. 1: Makriyalos, 2: Dikili Tash, 3: Limenaria, 4: Agios Ioannis. From: Wikimedia Commons. Adapted by Author.

This section is a more detailed study of several important sites in the northern Aegean LN/FN, with an emphasis on evidence for feasting. The sites vary largely, but also display characteristic trends. The sites are as follows: the settlement of Makriyalos, a LN site in Pieria, Macedonia; Dikili Tash, a tell settlement on the Drama Plain in eastern Macedonia with an extensive history of occupation; Limenaria on Thasos, the oldest settlement on the island; and Agios Ioannis, a small FN settlement, also on Thasos. Figures 4 and 5 display the sites mentioned in their geographical context.

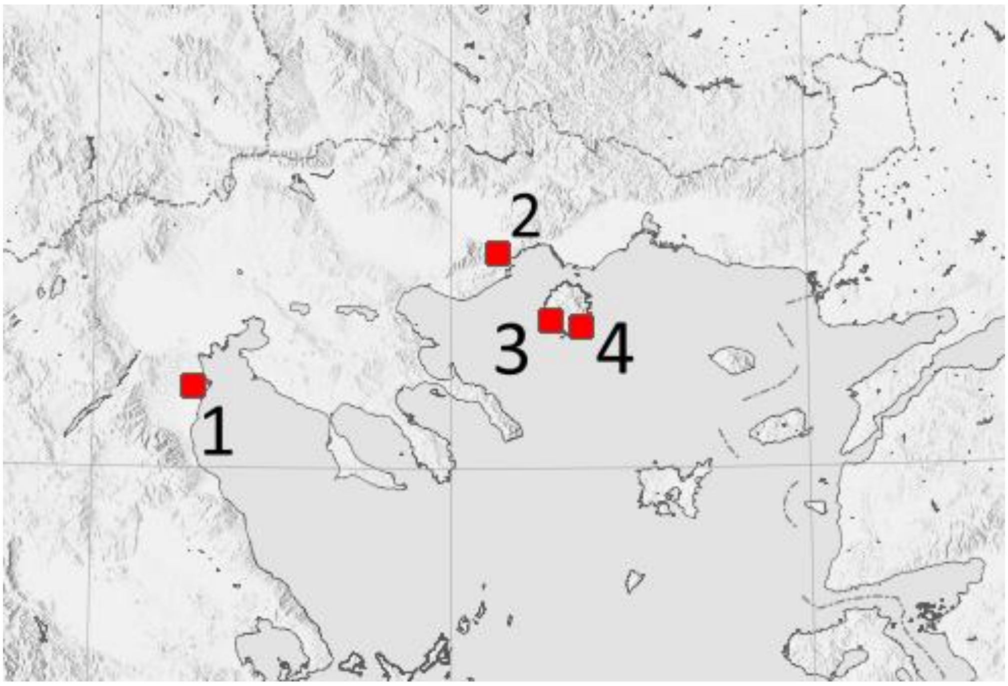

Figure 5: Principal Case Studies in Text. 1: Makriyalos, 2: Dikili Tash, 3: Limenaria, 4: Agios Ioannis. From: Wikimedia Commons. Adapted by Author.

3.3.1: Makriyalos

The LN settlement of Makriyalos provides some of the best evidence for examining the society of LN northern Greece, and the role of feasting within the community (Urem-Kotsou et al, 2002, 111). The site has a great deal of positive evidence for LN feasting, something of a rarity elsewhere.

Located 2km away from the coast (at a distance which has not changed much since prehistoric times, see figure 5 (Pappa & Veropoulidou, 2011, 105)), in Pieria, the site is one of the largest non-tell sites in Macedonia, covering a total area of nearly 50 hectares (Urem-Kotsou & Kotsakis, 2016, 226; Urem-Kotsou et al, 2002, 111; Pappa et al, 2004, 17).

The site has two phases, both of which date to the LN. Phase I dates to the early LN (roughly 5500/5300-5000/4900BCE), while phase II dates to the later LN (4900-4500BCE) (Pappa et al, 2013, 77; Pappa et al, 2004, 19). There is significant evidence of organisational change over the two phases. For a start, the phases only overlap slightly in space – meaning the settlement shifted location (Pappa et al, 2013, 77). Both are visible in figure 6.

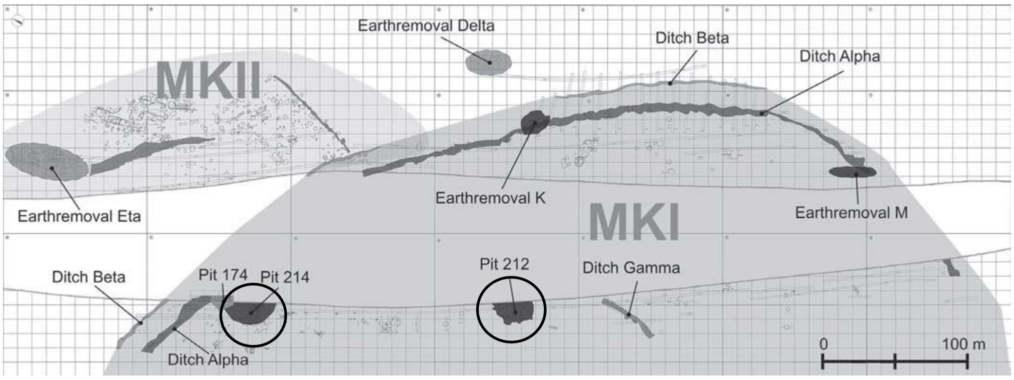

Figure 6: Plan of Makriyalos Settlement. Circles Indicate the Largest Assemblages of Feasting Material. From: Pappa & Veropoulidou, 2011, fig. 2.

The first phase settlement (henceforth MKI) consisted of scattered pit-dwellings (which may have housed only small family-units (Halstead, 1999, 88)), surrounded by two boundary ditches, enclosing an area of around 28 hectares (Urem-Kotsou & Kotsakis, 2016, 228; Andreou et al, 1996, 572). The purpose of the boundary ditches is largely unclear; they may have been defensive, to keep animals inside (and wild animals out), or to demarcate the edge of the settlement. In places, the ditches are up to 4m deep and 5m wide (Andreou et al, 1996, 572). Pappa and Veropoulidou suggest the ditches had the triple intentions of demarcating the communal area of the settlement, building a communal identity through joint labour ventures, and for acting as refuse ditches for the settlement's waste – as well as several burials (Pappa & Veropoulidou, 2011, 105; Pappa et al, 2004, 18; Andreou et al, 1996, 573). The ditches were maintained through "substantial, continuous investments of labour" (Andreou et al, 1996, 572), being constantly dug and re-dug in different formations.

There is evidence for small-scale hearths in the phase I settlement. These were flimsy, suggesting a "limited number of use episodes" (Pappa et al, 2013, 80). In all, 29 hearths have been uncovered in the settlement areas of MKI and MKII. They are large enough that many meals might have been cooked in them at any one time (Pappa et al, 2013, 81). Cooking is therefore likely to have taken place in moderate quantities, to feed anywhere from a single family-unit to a large group. This does not seem to change significantly over both periods – if anything, it seems to intensify in MKII, as groups become more obvious in the settlement morphology.

The hearths were in close vicinity to the pit dwellings, indicating that food was generally prepared at a domestic level (Urem-Kotsou & Kotsakis, 2016, 228). Makriyalos relied on cereal crops, such as einkorn or barley, and legumes (Pappa et al, 2013, 78; Urem-Kotsou & Kotsakis, 2012, 230). These species are common to LN settlements, and were the dietary staples of the entire Aegean (Halstead, 2016, 26; Zohary et al, 2012, 51). Importantly, archaeobotanical survey suggests no variation between households in the types of food consumed (Urem-Kotsou & Kotsakis, 2012, 230). Massive amounts (3.7 tons) of invertebrate remains were recovered (Pappa et al, 2013, 80), which indicates marine exploitation. Smaller amounts of fish suggest this was limited to shallow waters (Pappa et al, 2013, 80).

The MKI settlement has the best evidence for communal feasting in LN Greece yet uncovered. In several pits on the site, there are massive assemblages of artefacts – evidence of "collective activity" (Pappa et al, 2013, 77). One of the ditches, pit 212, was over 30ft in diameter, and contained a great array of feasting remains, including animal bone, pottery, and even some figurines (Urem-Kotsou & Kotsakis, 2016, 228; Pappa et al, 2013; Pappa et al, 2004, 19; Andreou et al, 1996, 572; Halstead, 2016, 26). It is the largest volume of finds from a single context yet found in Neolithic Greece (Pappa et al, 2004, 19) The finds are illuminating regarding the social character of feasting. The assemblage consists mainly of tableware intended for the *presentation* and serving of food/drink (Pappa et al, 2004, 24; Urem-Kotsou & Kotsakis, 2016, 242). The pit also contained storage and cooking vessels, and evidence of burnt fuel (Valamoti, 2016, 97). This means the pit contains residue from the entire process of creating a feast: storage, cooking, presentation, and consumption. It also implies that this process took place in the same vicinity. Thus, we could suggest that those involved in the production of the feast would likely have then taken part in it. These feasts were also evidently large-scale affairs, if the size of pit 212 (and other similar pits, like pit 214 (Urem-Kotsou & Kotsakis, 2016, 242)) and the number of recovered artefacts are anything to go by.

Pit 212 represents evidence from one single event (or several events over a small period) (Urem-Kotsou & Kotsakis, 2016, 241), and constitutes the consumption of meat on a "massive scale" (Urem-Kotsou & Kotsakis, 2016, 241) – Halstead suggests the ritual slaughter involved possibly thousands of domestic animals (Halstead, 2004, 152). Faunal remains from the pit show indisputable evidence of butchery marks on cattle, pigs, sheep and goats, and the representation of specific body parts (see figure 7, overleaf). Interestingly, body parts of "low utility" appear frequently (for instance, the heads and jaws of cattle), suggesting that carcasses were processed in the immediate vicinity of pit 212 (Pappa et al, 2004, 30-31). The suggestion once again is that the entire feast preparation 'process' took place as part of the feast itself.

Grindstones and archaeobotanical remains suggest cereal processing for consumption also took place nearby (Pappa et al, 2004, 32). This might imply that the feast incorporated elements of the general diet of the site. Interestingly, the pit also seems to contain evidence of burnt platforms or temporary structures, perhaps used in the feast process (Pappa et al, 2004, 32). The pit and its vicinity seems to have been the focal point for the entire production process involved in a communal consumption event.

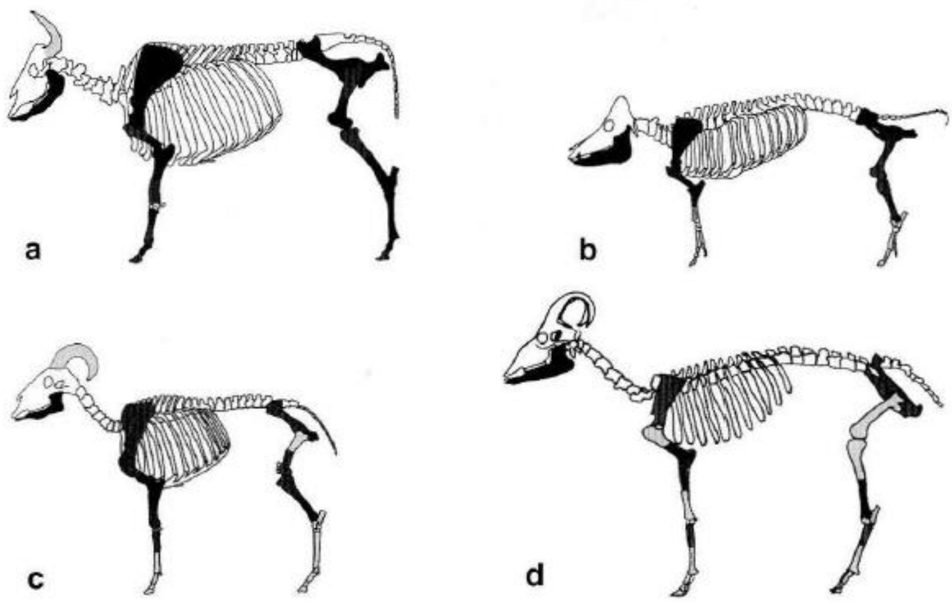

Figure 7: Representation by % of Body Parts of the Four Most Common Domesticates, Based on % Survival of Minimum Numbers of Anatomical Units (a: cattle, b: pigs, c: sheep, d: goats). Key: white: not analysed, light grey: 0-25% representation, dark grey: 26-50%, black: 51-100%. From: Pappa et al, 2004, fig. 2.10.

The second phase (MKII) displays marked differences in settlement morphology. The site is significantly smaller than its MKI predecessor (Pappa et al, 2013, 78). Individual domestic hearths seem to have been replaced by communal hearths, common to several dwellings. The dwellings themselves are more clustered together (Urem-Kotsou & Kotsakis, 2016, 228). The average sizes of dwellings become far smaller – though their numbers quadruple (Pappa & Veropoulidou, 2011, 107). Spatially, the partitioning of the site into clusters of hearths and small dwellings suggests a greater emphasis on the individual, and on private domestic functions, perhaps between extended kin-groups, in the MKII site (Pappa et al, 2013, 78). Social division in LN Greece is based on the household as a basic unit, and the concentration of these units into social segments (perhaps clan-like structures) could be what is represented by the nucleation of the settlement around clusters of activity. Most habitation structures were found slightly sunk into the ground, and some had evidence of underground storage facilities (Andreou et al, 1996, 573).

Pits indicative of wider communal activity are still present, but less common than in MKI (Pappa et al, 2013, 78; Pappa & Veropoulidou, 2011, 107). Interestingly, while most recorded finds from MKI were recovered from communal areas, in MKII most finds were recovered from habitation areas (Pappa & Veropoulidou, 2011, 107). Pappa et al. suggest MKII represents a shift away from large-scale communality (Pappa et al, 2013, 78; Pappa & Veropoulidou, 2011, 107), and towards a more domestic, individualised economy, dominated by kin-group relations.

What role might the feast at Makriyalos have played? Analysing the site's pottery assemblage can hint at the social aspects of consumption (Urem-Kotsou & Kotsakis, 2016, 226) Pappa et al. note that MKI shows four "main" categories of pottery vessels recovered from the site (Pappa et al, 2013, 80). These are tableware, storage vessels for the storage and serving of liquids, longer term storage vessels, and cooking vessels (see figures 8-10). They note several interesting trends within these categories.

Tableware vessels such as bowls and dishes are common, and highly standardised in terms of design and technology (Urem-Kotsou & Kotsakis, 2016, 242). Serving dishes tend to be similar in size to recovered cooking vessels, suggesting they might have held an entire communal meal at once. Both cooking and servings vessels are of a size which suggests a degree of communality in meals – they could contain enough food to feed several people (Pappa et al, 2013, 81). The communal serving vessels are the most elaborately decorated of the entire MKI pottery assemblage. They are of "uniformly fine fabric", and always polished and black in base colour – though it is unclear why (Urem-Kotsou & Kotsakis, 2016, 228). Uniformity may have downplayed status differences. Pappa et al. suggest there is an emphasis on food sharing activities (Pappa et al, 2013, 81).

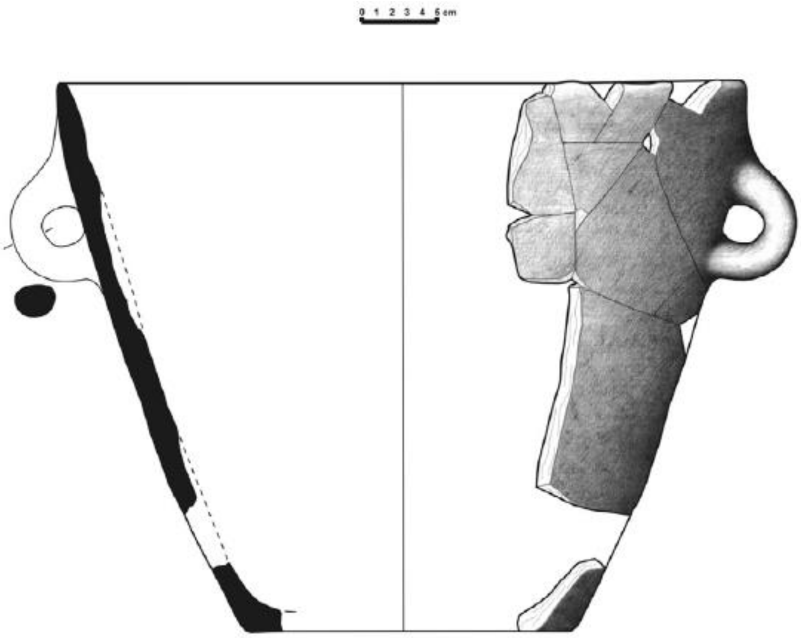

Figure 8: Storage Vessel from LN Makriyalos. From Urem-Kotsou et al, 2002, fig. 3.

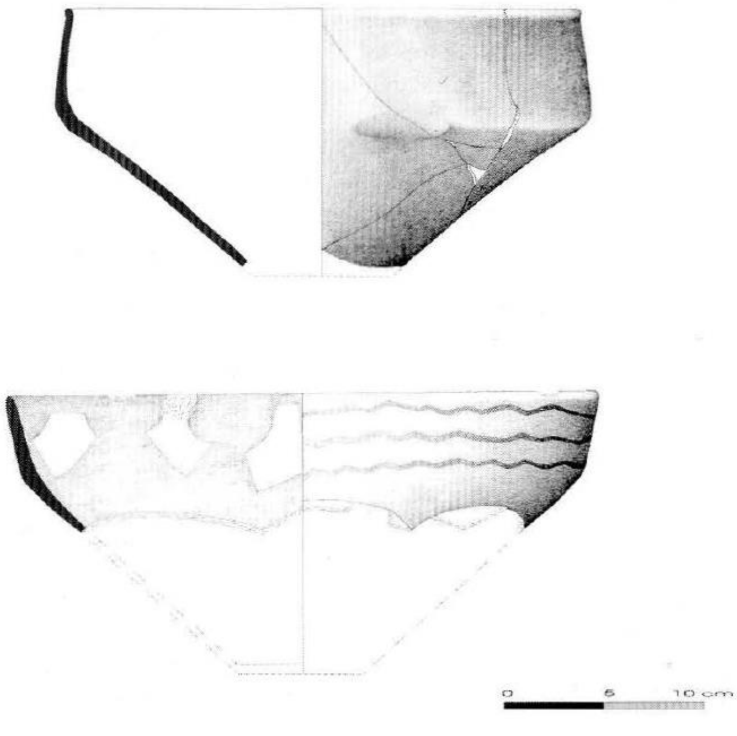

Figure 9: 'Serving Vessels' from LN Makriyalos. From Pappa et al, 2004, fig. 2.3.

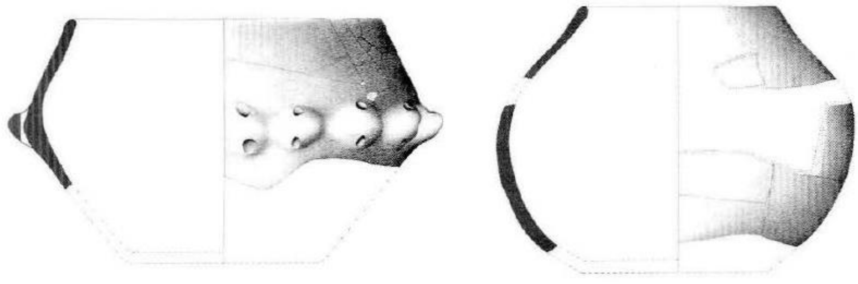

Figure 10: Cooking Vessels from LN Makriyalos. From Pappa et al, 2004, fig. 2.9.

Contrasting the standardised, largely uniform serving dishes, vessels which seem intended for individual use, such as cups, are “highly individualised” and variable across the assemblage (Pappa et al, 2013, 81). These cups are almost always recovered from communal contexts (Urem-Kotsou & Kotsakis, 2016, 242). One might imply, therefore, that there may have been a degree of individuality to communal feasts – that individuals might have broadcast themselves (their status, or simply their *individuality* as relative to the community) through stylised, personal drinking vessels. Cups are variable in colour, fabric, and decoration – some show no decoration, while others have stylistic animal-motif additions (Urem-Kotsou & Kotsakis, 2016, 230, also see figure 11). The tendency towards further individuation in pottery vessels which becomes apparent in the BA (Hamilakis & Sherratt, 2012, 191) and the associated importance of expressing oneself thus has roots in the LN, though in a nascent and not necessarily hierarchical form. Importantly, while the cups are diverse and individualistic, none stand out *over* others – there are no cups which are obviously “special” compared to the others (Urem-Kotsou & Kotsakis, 2016, 243). As such, no social hierarchy can be inferred.

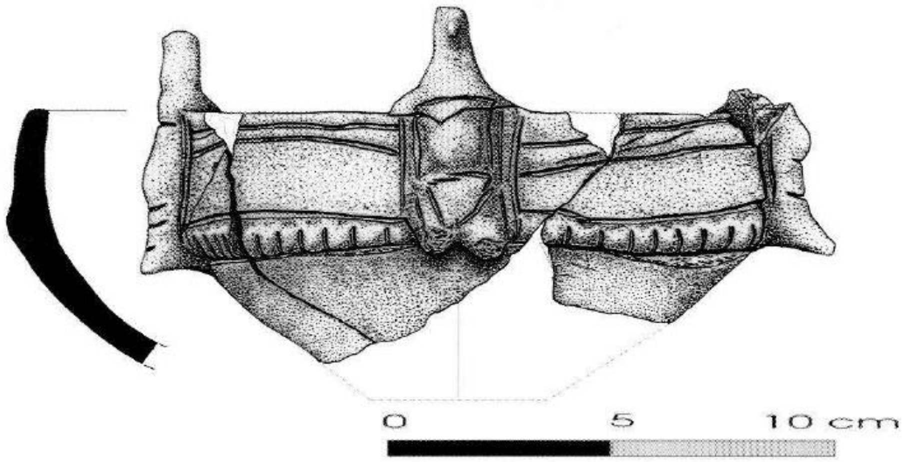

Figure 11: Non-standardised Drinking Vessel from LN Makriyalos. From Pappa et al, 2004, fig. 2.8.

Meanwhile, the uniformity of the serving vessels suggests that communal feasting sought to solidify group relations without expressing status: they are highly decorated, but largely uniform – they express importance, but do not differentiate between the people at the feast. Thus, the feast may be a gathering of individuals, who nevertheless acknowledge a communal responsibility, whether consciously or not (a form of "collective individuation" (Hamilakis & Sherratt, 2012, 191)). Urem-Kotsou and Kotsakis (2016, 228) note that only serving vessels seem to have been actively repaired by the inhabitants of Makriyalos after breakages – highlighting the considerable significance of these vessels, and by extension the significance of food sharing.

The maintenance of the boundary ditches at the site required a considerable and constant supply of labour power from the settlement (Andreou et al, 1996, 573). Work feasts have already been discussed as a primary mechanism for the organisation of labour in past societies. This would be an eminently reasonable approach to the massive feasting assemblages in pit 212, or the other examples of communal activity. The lack of obvious defining hierarchical differences, and the communal nature of the

MKI pottery assemblage would suggest a more egalitarian work feast – the type described by Dietler and Herbich (2001, 242-243) as a "work exchange", though the emphasis on food (visible in the quantity of animal slaughter (Halstead, 2004, 152)), and the fact that the boundary ditches represent a massive amount of collective labour which likely must have been organised at some level in the settlement (whether by an individual or a group) make this interpretation alone uncertain.

Halstead (2004, 152) considers the idea that the Makriyalos feast represents a period of intense competition on a regional or inter-regional level – that the slaughter of hundreds, possibly thousands of domestic animals might have been intended as a spectacle for visitors from other settlements, who would appreciate the power of Makriyalos, or groups within Makriyalos. This interpretation goes some way towards explaining why the volume of meat from the slaughter of so many animals would be necessary: feeding visitors from the entire region! Tying in Hamilakis and Sherratt's (2012, 194) notion of the feast as a 'social memory' which creates personal and communal histories, we can suggest that such an enormous slaughter and subsequent feast would be a deeply memorable event, which might accumulate significant social capital for the host group(s). Halstead suggests the region might have seen "spectacular cycles of herd expansion and mass slaughter" as competitive feasts were held in different settlements in turn (Halstead, 2004, 152). Reversing this theory, one could suggest instead that far from being a competitive exercise to show off the power of individual settlements, the feast might represent a regional solidarity feast, with members of different settlements coming together from disparate settlements, each bringing their own animals for slaughter.

There is scope for other interpretations of Makriyalos' feasting assemblages. Andreou et al. (1996, 573) and Halstead (1999, 88) consider the boundary ditches to have been the product of "segmented labour activities", wherein different subsections of society were responsible for maintenance of different parts of the boundary ditches. Competition between these groups drove the constant rebuilding of the ditches over time. Halstead goes so far as to consider this competition, tempered by some method of control, as the driving factor of the development of settlements across LN Greece – particularly in the development of tell settlements (Halstead, 1999, 89). Urem-Kotsou and Kotsakis (2016, 228) note that some "limited variability" in the decoration of serving vessels at Makriyalos, which they interestingly associate with particular parts of the settlement, implies that "variability in pottery decoration may be related to households or other small social groups". From this, I suggest that various kin-groups perhaps consisting of several households, already theorised as the basic unit of LN society, may have managed organisation and work in their own areas, in competition with other kin groups. The feast may have represented a collective solidarity event, hosted to dissolve tensions which might arise in the competitive labour process, and to bring the disparate kin-groups together in communal activity while *simultaneously* functioning as a form of Dietler and Herbich's labour mobilisation feasts (Halstead, 1999, 89; Dietler & Herbich, 2001, 242-243). The clustering effect seen in the MKII settlement might represent an intensification of these kin-groups, and a gradual breakdown of communal reinforcement through feasting. Similar divisions are reported by Halstead in LN Thessaly, where he notes, in general, settlements seem to divide into "courtyard groups", which restricted the scope of hospitality to immediate neighbours (Halstead, 1995, 14; Halstead, 1999, 80). At LN Dimini, Halstead suggests each courtyard group might have consisted of one large house and several smaller houses (possibly these represent extended kin-groups, with a paramount household in charge) (Halstead, 1995, 14). Could a similar system be what we see emerging in MKII?

3.3.2: Dikili Tash

Dikili Tash is a prehistoric tell settlement in the North of Greece. It is located on the Drama Plain in Eastern Macedonia, around 2km from the modern town of Krinides (Darcque et al, 2007, 247; Roque et al, 2002, 613-614; Tsirtsoni & Yiouni, 2002, 103). First discovered in the 1910s, the settlement underwent systematic excavation, particularly through 1961-75 by Jean DeShayes and Dimitros Theocharis, who established a settlement chronology that encompassed the entire LN and EBA, c. 5500BCE-1100BCE (Darcque et al, 2007, 247; Roque et al, 2004, 614). More recent excavations in 2008-2013 have pushed back the dates of occupation to at least c. 6400BCE (Garnier & Valamoti, 2016, 197). The site itself is around two hectares in size, and the tell mound is around 17m tall (Roque et al, 2002, 614). Figure 12 displays the major sectors of excavation. The site has several distinct phases of habitation. The earliest of these belongs to the LN, and the latest to the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age (c. 1000BCE) – thus, the site has a long history of occupation (Roque et al, 2002, 614). The LN settlement dates from around 5200-4200BCE, and is split into two phases (Mission Archaéologique de Dikili Tash, 2012b).

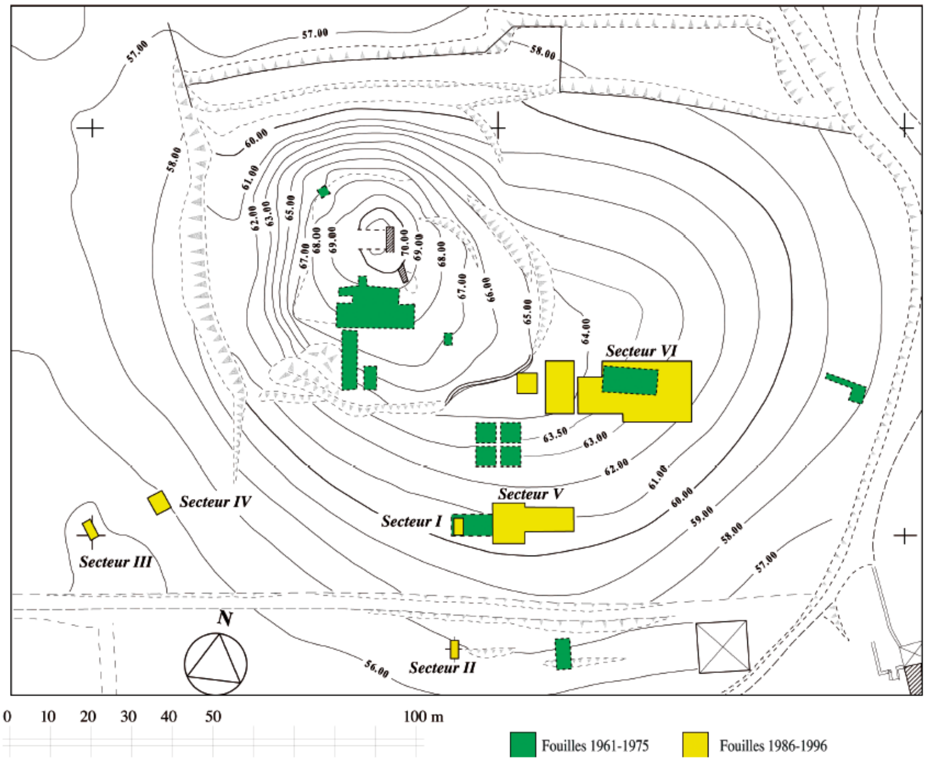

Figure 12: Topographical Plan of the Dikili Tash Mound Showing the Excavated Areas: in green trenches made during the 1961–1975 program, in yellow those made during the 1986–1996 program. From: Darcque et al, 2007, fig. 1.

Phase I of the settlement dates to the start of the LN, around 5500/5400 BCE, and continues to near the end of the LN, around 4800/4700 BCE, while phase II dates from 4700- 3000 BCE (Darcque et al, 2007, 249; Roque et al, 2002, 614; Tsirtsoni & Yiouni, 2002, 103).

Darcque et al describe the settlement as "thriving, but not extraordinary", noting the settlement displays characteristics considered "in vogue" during the LN (Darcque et al, 2007, 251-252). This includes the ceramic assemblages, construction techniques, shell working, and the modelling and use of "bucrania" – stylised cattle skulls – for decoration (and as prestige items). These trends suggest "contacts over a rather extended area" – though these contacts are suggested to have been drawn more from the north and west of Greece (and the Balkans) than southern Greece and Thessaly (Darcque et al, 2007, 251-252). Bucrania are more common, for example, in northerly sites like Promachon on the Greek-Bulgarian frontier, than elsewhere in Greece (Halstead & Isaakidou, 2014, 96). Similarly, black-on-red pottery types local in origin to Dikili Tash are found up and down the Struma Valley, but are rare elsewhere in Greece (Darcque et al, 2007, 254). As a final nod to Balkan influences, the very alignment of some of the settlement (particularly sector VI, which dates to phase II) mirrors settlement patterns common in Balkan sites like Karanovo (Mission Archaéologique de Dikili Tash, 2012b).

No complete buildings have been recovered from phase I, but fragmentary remains suggest some patterns. Individual houses seem to have contained their own oven and a dais (which may have acted as a "sink" for storing utensils) (Darcque et al, 2007, 249). This suggests a settlement with an emphasis on the individual household as the basic unit of society – each house seems largely self-sufficient, with its own productive mechanisms. This is in-keeping with general assertions about LN society (Tomkins, 2010, 76-77, 79; Halstead, 1995, 14; Gallis, 1985).

In one house, calculated to have been destroyed c. 5000BCE, there is evidence pointing to the general domestic diet of Dikili Tash: a well-preserved oven featuring a tripod cooking pot of carbonised barley grains (Darcque et al, 2007, 249). In another part of the same house, several pottery pieces which were less indicative of purely domestic use sat upon a low dais along with a patterned *spondylus* (shells notable for their use as prestige goods in the LN). These ceramics included a "large plateau" dish (which implies communal or at least non-individual use), a "carinated collared pot" (a pottery shape with inwardly-sloping sides) with painted decoration, and an individual cup, along with several other vases and a stone bowl (Darcque et al, 2007, 249).

The phase II levels of the settlement are assigned to the end of the LN and the beginning of the FN – they date to around 4700 to 4300/4200BCE (Mission

Archaéologique de Dikili Tash, 2012b). This phase sees more organised constructions, including a possible wall to the south of the settlement in sector II, which may have acted as a delineating boundary (Darcque et al, 2007, 253).

In sector V of phase II, a large rubbish pit was uncovered, seemingly associated with a domestic area to its immediate north. No architectural remains were recovered from the area, but many artefacts were recovered. Finds included tools, jewellery and more than one hundred individual ceramics with varying levels of decoration (Darcque et al, 2007, 253). Among the ceramics included goblets (with incised styles and black-on-red styles, including one with a “lateral spout”), an incised stand and two graphite-decorated bowls with “outverted rims” (Darcque et al, 2007, 253). These styles seem to be more elaborate than to suggest simple domestic activity (Darcque et al, 2007, 253). The amount of ceramics makes a comparison to pit 212 at Makriyalos tempting, though there is no record of animal bone or other feast-related assemblages in the pit.

The best evidence from the settlement is from four parallel buildings in sector IV, dating to approximately 4400-4200 BCE – the late LN (Darcque et al, 2007, 253). They appear to have been constructed with wattle-and-daub techniques, and had open-air courtyards between them (Darcque et al, 2007, 253). Building I provides excellent evidence for feasting – in the south of the building, excavations revealed a large quantity of grape pips and skins (*Vitis vinifera*), which strongly imply the remains of a grape pressing facility, for the purpose of making wine (Valamoti, 2016, 97). In the 2008-2013 excavations, 3000 further grape pips and skins were recovered from the building, many of which were spilled among the residue of a large ceramic vessel, and accompanied by thousands of cereals, pulses, wild fruits, and nuts, suggesting “intensive” use of wild fruit trees nearby, and implying the building was a storage facility of some sort (Mission Archaéologique de Dikili Tash, 2012a; Garnier & Valamoti, 2016, 197). This has been suggested to be the remains of the actual wine fermentation process, which was spilled during the destruction of the building (Garnier & Valamoti, 2016, 197). Chemical analysis of the ceramics supports this claim (Garnier & Valamoti, 2016, 204). This represents, therefore, the earliest wine-making in Europe, dating to around 4400-4000BCE (Darcque et al, 2007, 253-4). There is so much evidence, Halstead and Isaakidou consider the wine making process semi-industrial (Halstead & Isaakidou, 2014, 96).

The vines used in the processing of wine may have been domestic or wild vines (there are few recognisable differences between them (Garnier & Valamoti, 2016: Valamoti et al, 2007, 55)). Following Hayden's (2014, 109, 132) assertion that domestication was often driven by feasting, and that special foods are among the earliest domesticates, it might be suggested that the pursuit of wine was what drove prehistoric people to domesticate the grape vine. Interestingly, Garnier and Valamoti (2016, 204) note that the lack of social stratification at Dikili Tash, combined with the apparent promulgation of wine at the site, suggests that the "causal relationship" between wine and elites (the idea that wine and elite structures are intrinsically linked in archaeology (expressed in Valamoti et al, 2007, 54)) may have to be re-examined. In this case, it seems wine was not withheld, or obviously owned, by one group or class of individuals, and therefore the use of wine by elite represents an appropriation of resources (Garnier & Valamoti, 2016, 204).

Buildings III and IV provide very different evidence, but it is no less useful. Both are perfectly preserved, on a level some 30cm below buildings I and II, and they thus provide a "complete picture" of LN domestic environments (Darcque et al, 2007, 254). Building III measured 9x5 metres, and had no internal dividing walls. A hearth occupied the centre of the northernmost wall, and was in contact with the wall (in a similar way a fireplace might be) (Darcque et al, 2007, 254). Building IV, meanwhile, measured 11x6 metres, and was internally partitioned into three separate rooms by walls. These divisions were largely equal in size, and had their own exterior entrances, ovens and storage areas – the authors suggest these were three independent domiciles as a result, and might have housed a small nuclear family in each division (Darcque et al, 2007, 254). Could the discrepancy in size between the habitable areas in building III and building IV point to a form of hierarchy in domestic buildings in Dikili Tash? Larger homes are often linked to higher social class, but there is little else which would differentiate the contents of the buildings.

Buildings III and IV contain a wide assortment of domestic items. There are around sixty ceramic vessels in both houses combined. They are generally indicative of domestic use: some types include thick open bowls; deep bowls, some with minor decoration, such as convex 'buttons'; 'askos-like' vessels (flat-based vessels with a pouring spout on opposing ends), probably used for the pouring of liquids; and one handled cups (Darcque et al, 2007, 254). Most are simply made and not decorated.

Figure 13: Tripod Cooking Pot, LN phase I Dikili Tash. From Mission Archaéologique de Dikili Tash, 2012.

The ceramic remains from buildings III and IV in sector IV, and from the sector V assemblages provide an interesting counterpoint. Much of the pottery from sector V is decorated, and thus might be intended for display, and their morphology is often more emulative of feasting practices – goblets, for example, can be associated with feasts and especially drinking – especially when decorated. The pottery from buildings III and IV, meanwhile, is plain, coarse and part of a largely domestic assemblage including spinning tools and grinding querns. Some vessels from the site indicate the use of special cooking techniques – a long-legged vessel, for example, recovered in situ buried in the ashes of a hearth (Sophronidou & Tsirtsoni, 2016, 261). Such elevated vessels are often considered prestigious or special – rather literally 'upper-class' – but they also have mundane uses in terms of cooking: they can be placed over fires, for example (Sophronidou & Tsirtsoni, 2016, 247-248). Tsirtsoni and Yiouni (2002) identify a type of pottery vessel specific to phase I of the settlement – they are called "marmites" (one is visible in figure 13), and appear morphologically to be a form of cooking vessel. They do not appear outside of phase I, or anywhere else in Macedonia, but there are many examples in Sector V of the settlement (Tsirtsoni & Yiouni, 2002, 103). Cooking using this specific kind of vessel might imply an equally specific culinary form; they may have been symbolically important to the residents of Dikili Tash. At the same time, several examples are recovered from domestic contexts, near ovens, so it is equally likely they represent a purely mundane cooking vessel (Tsirtsoni & Yiouni, 2002, 103-105).

While there is no direct evidence for feasting at the site, as we have in Makriyalos, there is nevertheless important evidence for alcohol – a substance often considered intrinsically linked to feasts (Dietler & Hayden, 2001, 10: Valamoti et al, 2007, 54). The large amounts of wine being produced in the site, coupled with the decorative goblets already mentioned, makes for a convincing case that collective commensality involving alcohol occurred at Dikili Tash.

The presence of decorative bucrania and worked *spondylus* (as well as pottery vessels containing remnants of dye pastes and decorative items) at the site might suggest the development in LN/FN Dikili Tash of competitive displays. As Kotsakis asserts that these decorative items represent the earliest forms of status expression (Kotsakis, 1996, 129), we might consider Dikili Tash to demonstrate a manifestation of the general trend from collective sociality to individual expression (Hamilakis & Sherratt, 2012, 194).

3.3.3: Thasos: Limenaria and Agios Ioannis

Agios Ioannis is a natural bay in the South East of the island of Thasos, in the northern Aegean Sea. Excavations in the early 80's aimed to explore Roman ruins at the site, but handmade prehistoric pottery also littered the area. In 1996 a survey was undertaken, and a prehistoric site found (Papadopoulos et al, 2001, 55). A further excavation was undertaken from 1998 to 2005 (Koukouli-Chrysanthaki & Papadopoulos, 2016, 349) – 10 trenches were opened, uncovering the remains of a FN-EBA transitional settlement (Maniatis & Papadopoulos, 2011, 22; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki & Papadopoulos, 2016, 349).

The site contained little direct evidence of housing – only two stone foundations hint at buildings. However, the presence of hearths, ovens, stone built substructures, benches and rubbish pits within an area of approximately 50m^2 hint at occupation over some time (the finds are 'not necessarily all contemporary') (Maniatis & Papadopoulos, 2011, 22). Ovens appear at the site in high density, and often overlap each other in placement, suggesting they did not have a long use-life, and were rebuilt when necessary (Papadopoulos et al, 2001, 56). Two large slabs of unknown use were also uncovered – it is proposed they may have been used in the drying of fruit or fish (Koukouli-Chrysanthaki & Papadopoulos, 2016, 350: Papadopoulos et al, 2001, 56).

Recent C^{14} dating of the site places it firmly within the 4^{th} Millenium BCE, around 3370-3100BCE (Maniatis & Papadopoulos, 2011, 22). The lack of a phased stratigraphy at the site seems to defy the idea that the site was long lived, and instead it is theorised that the site was occupied seasonally, as an outpost settlement of sorts used to exploit the surrounding 'rich pastureland', which offered the joint possibility of fishing and hunting (Maniatis & Papadopoulos, 2011, 23). This hypothesis is shared by Kristiansen's analysis of Neolithic and Bronze Age mobility: he asserts that the EBA tended towards very high levels of mobility in general (Kristiansen, 2015, 1096).

Finds from the site area include mortars and pestles, cooking and storage vessels and dozens of spindle whorls (used in the spinning of yarn) (Papadopoulos & Bechtsi, 2003, 62). These materials were all recovered from a relatively small area on the site, suggesting the existence of a small space used for largely communal work, such as cooking and weaving (Maniatis & Papadopoulos, 2011, 22). These small-scale industries are common to many LN settlements, particularly in domestic settings, as we have seen. It is unusual, then, that they appear in a large communal space.

Owing to the site's designation as a transitional FN settlement, some copper artefacts have also been recovered – namely a needle and two pendants, one in the shape of an axe-head (Maniatis & Papadopoulos, 2011, 22). What these mean for wider Aegean society (if anything) is unclear, but there are certainly warrior connotations to the axe-head pendant, and thus might be taken to imply a certain warrior culture (which is often associated with the development of ranked societies (Flannery & Marcus, 2012, 208-210)), or an association with religious iconography.

The oldest permanent settlement on Thasos is Limenaria, which dates to the Middle Neolithic (though the site shows evidence of sporadic Palaeolithic mining dating c. 20,000BCE) (Koukouli-Chrysanthaki & Papadopoulos, 2016, 339; Papadopoulos & Nerantzis, 2014, 68; Papadopoulos & Malamidou, 2008, 431). It is a coastal settlement, located c. 150m from the LN shoreline (Papadopoulos & Malamidou, 2008, 427). Like Makriyalos, it is a horizontally developing site, rather than a tell like Dikili Tash. The settlement sees occupation through the LN all the way into the EBA, but most of the excavated phases are roughly contemporary with Dikili Tash I (Papadopoulos & Malamidou, 2008, 431).

The settlement's identified houses, most of which date from the late Middle Neolithic onwards, feature private waste pits, implying a degree of independence. However, the site also shows evidence for communal spaces – large stone benches, wide enclosures and exterior hearths (Papadopoulos & Malamidou, 2008, 428). Furthermore, the site provides evidence for "large scale" terracing and levelling works, which suggests major labour mobilisation (Papadopoulos & Malamidou, 2008). We can therefore confidently assume the use of CWEs to organise this labour, though there is no direct evidence.

The site of Limenaria also has a great deal of decorated ceramics, with engraved motifs. In the FN, this pottery is often 'crusted' with bright colours: pinks and purples (Papadopoulos & Malamidou, 2008, 432). Similar pottery is spread around many sites in Eastern Macedonia, implying trade links to the north (Papadopoulos & Bechtsi, 2003, 64; Papadopoulos & Nerantzis, 2014, 68). The 'crusted' style ceramics appear in Thessaly and the southern Aegean as well, suggesting that Limenaria had exchange links over long distances both north and south (Papadopoulos & Nerantzis, 2014, 79-80). In fact, the site displays a mixed character, taking influences from the north and south: the settlement's structures seem to take more influence from Balkan settlement than they do from southern Aegean techniques, though some stone walled houses in the Aegean tradition have been recovered (Papadopoulos & Nerantzis, 2014, 69; Maniatis et al, 2009, 440-441). The presence of elaborate marble vases, whose origins lie in the Cyclades, is more evidence that Limenaria had trade links to the south (Maniatis et al, 2009, 439-440). Nine of these vases have been found dating to the very end of the MN, and the very early LN. These vases, as well as the decorative 'crusted' wares which appear, are 'extraordinary' in that they do not appear frequently. Even more interestingly, while Thasos is rich in marble, not one of the vases are made of Thassian marble – they are all imported (Maniatis et al, 2009, 446). It is not a stretch to suggest they might have been used in feasting contexts of social importance. The most decorative vessels are often involved in feasts in the LN/FN.

Like other settlements examined, domesticates are the most common animal remains. Sheep and goat are most frequent, then cattle, then pig (Webb, 2004, 16). Interestingly, several species of deer appear infrequently in the site's faunal assemblage – wild animals tend to be uncommon on LN sites – and there is a very low reliance on seafood, despite Limenaria being a coastal site (Webb, 2004, 16). Perhaps this suggests that the residents of Limenaria, in quite stark contrast to the rest of the north Aegean (Toufexis, 2003, 268), where there tends to be a high reliance on domesticates and intensive seafood exploitation where possible (for instance at Makriyalos), were occasionally hunting wild animals for food.

3.4: Discussion: Feasting and Society in the LN/FN Northern Aegean: A Comparative Analysis

What do the feasts of the northern Aegean look like? In at least some settlements, major acts of commensality were taking place. They do not appear to have any formal differentiation by status, and were likely inclusive. Makriyalos is the best evidence of this, though it seems unlikely to be the only place grandiose feasting events took place. In general, we may identify several trends. First, the use of communal pottery which appears to emphasise sharing. Serving and cooking dishes at Makriyalos are sizable enough to contain a meal for a large group of people at once, for example, and at Dikili Tash, large 'plateau' vessels point to similar communal use. What is clear, however, is that through time, this communality is emphasised less and less. Importantly, I would argue that the characterisation of the FN as the point where this change occurs suddenly, and rapidly (e.g. by Tomkins, 2010, 79), is somewhat misleading. It is clear, instead, that there are gradual shifts away from communal ideology throughout the LN/FN period – they simply seem to become more apparent in the FN.

Second, the use of individual drinking vessels implies at least some degree of personal identification in the feast. The decorated vessels from pit 212 at Makriyalos, and the goblets from the sector V pit at Dikili Tash attest to this. While they do not appear to have been representative of any kind of social hierarchy, and there doesn't seem to have been any differentiated access to food, the appearance of such expressive and varied vessels implies a move towards the representation of the self through the feast process – an expression we will see intensifies in the EBA. This trend is, of course, intimately linked to the previous trend. As communality is less emphasised, individuality is stressed. This comes across in settlement morphology as well as feasting remains – in the "progressive isolation" (Halstead, 1999, 90) of the household into defined groups.

The general trends of the north Aegean are mirrored somewhat in the rest of the Aegean. Makriyalos' massive feasting assemblages might have an analogue in an LN context at Knossos, Crete, albeit on a much smaller scale: here, a "cluster of complete cattle metapodials", representing at least seven animals slaughtered at once (Halstead & Isaakidou, 2014, 95): Halstead and Isaakidou suggest this implies consumption of animals in the Neolithic always involved groups larger than a single household. Knossos is the pre-eminent location in Crete during this period (Tomkins, 2010, 76).

Tomkins suggests a general increase in individual domestic storage in houses indicates a general move towards a more independent household (Tomkins, 2010, 78). At Makriyalos, MKII sees the development of underground storage in domestic contexts as houses group together. To contrast, at LN Dimini the development of a large stone *megaron* building at the settlement might be considered as being (as a logical conclusion to growing household independence) a possible reflection of the development of elites, though Tomkins notes that patterns of consumption remain unstratified at all levels of the settlement (Tomkins, 2010, 79; Halstead & Isaakidou, 2014, 96; Andreou et al, 1996, 544-545). Thus, if the *megaron* is indicative of elite concentration of power, they lack the control to make diacritical gestures. Moreover, Tomkins notes that the *megaron* is located next to a large open space – which he considers as having been a courtyard for the practice of communal ritual which would downplay any overtures of individual power (Tomkins, 2010, 79). It could also represent an attempt to co-opt communal activities by associating them with the elite *megaron* (Halstead & Isaakidou, 2014, 96). Flannery and Marcus consider the struggle for elite status in agricultural communities to be a delicate cycle, where segments of society attempt to achieve hereditary power and are constantly challenged by the rest of society (Flannery & Marcus, 2012, 208). Consequently, the use of the *megaron* and the connected open space as a communal ritual area might have been an attempt to diffuse attempts at elite concentration of power, by emphasising communal obligations.

At LN Sesklo, also in Thessaly, large man-made ditches and delineating structures appear to separate parts of the settlement into distinct areas (Kotsakis, 1996b, 52), like efforts seen elsewhere at Makriyalos for example. The LN settlement also sees the construction of a large, isolated *megaron* in the centre of the settlement, ringed by a series of walls (Kotsakis, 1996b, 54). This building strongly suggests a move away from a public-oriented character in the settlement – there are gates in the ringed walls, suggesting restricted access (Kotsakis, 1996b, 54).

In FN Kephala on the Cycladic isle of Keos, (the type site for the FN Cyclades (Whitelaw, 1991, 200; Renfrew, 2010, 138)), there is possible evidence for feasting-related pottery. Coleman (1977, 16-17) details a category of pottery vessel called "scoops": see figure 14. Their use is unclear, but they appear in great numbers – at least thirty-six definite examples, and possibly as many as sixty/seventy are identified in the settlement and its adjoining cemetery (Coleman, 1977, 17).

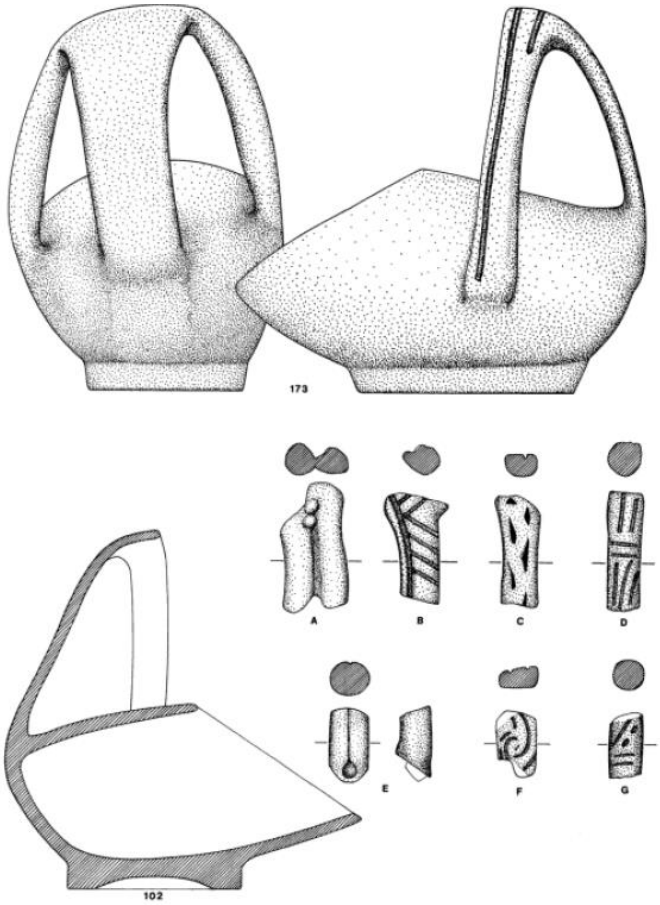

Figure 14: Scoops, Category C1. From: Coleman, 1977, pl. 36.

From the design of the scoops, they look to have been intended for pouring, though their spout is so low-set and they are so shallow that they are impractical for holding any volume of liquid (unless they were intended to be held at an angle when in use). Coleman notes they have been interpreted as grain scoops, but believes them to be too needlessly complex and fragile (Coleman, 1977, 17). Rather, he suggests they are “ritual objects”, though is not clear on just what the ritual might have been – he does note that a similar scoop from Sesklo (in Thessaly) was recovered with burnt marks on the inside, and posits they might have held incense (Coleman, 1977, 17), though their numbers seem abnormally high for this explanation. Importantly, they are the most recurrent grave good at the site’s nearby cemetery, so it seems they had some significance to the inhabitants of Kephala (Coleman, 1977, 17).

From the design of the scoops, I am tempted to liken them to the individual drinking vessels recovered from northern Aegean sites such as Makriyalos – though they seem more apt to carrying dry foods. They might have been used to ladle individual portions of a meal from a larger vessel – though this is conjecture. The common presence of larger bowls and dishes at the site (in fact these are the most common pottery type recovered from Kephala), which Coleman calls type A2: "bowls with spreading sides" (Coleman, 1977, 13; also see figures 16-17) might imply a communal style of feasting like northern Aegean contexts, albeit one where food is siphoned from communal serving dishes into individual 'scoop' vessels for consumption.

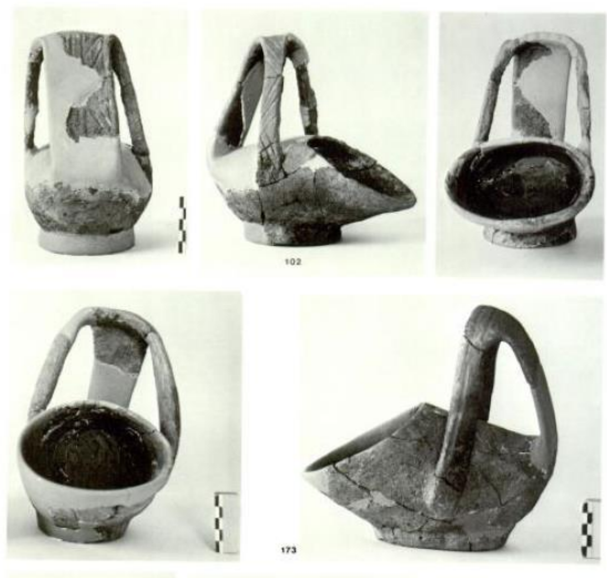

Figure 15: Scoop vessels. From Coleman, 1977, pl. 82.

In the LN/FN, despite social changes reshaping society, there is still a delicate balance between the emphasis on communal obligations and the selfish self-expression of interested individuals and groups.

Figure 16: Pattern-burnished Bowls from Kephala. From Coleman, 1977, pl. 41.

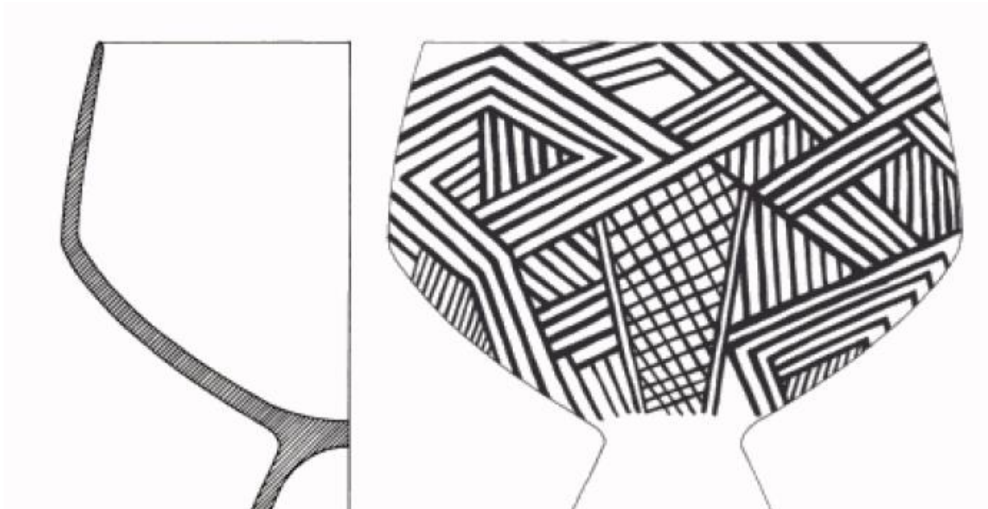

Figure 17: Vessel with Pattern Burnishing. From Coleman, 1977, pl. 42.

4: The Aegean Early Bronze Age

The EBA in the Aegean, also called the Early Helladic, Early Cycladic or Early Minoan period on the Greek mainland, the Cyclades and Crete respectively (see figures 18-19), begins in around the third millennium BCE, after the preceding Late and FN (Forsén, 2010, 95; Tomkins & Schoep, 2010, 66; Halstead, 2016, 25). Shelmerdine (2008, 1) places the beginning of the period to 3100/3000 BCE, and the end at 2000 BCE, when the MBA begins. In their review of Aegean Prehistory, Andreou, Fotiadis and Kotsakis consider the period to have started roughly around 3300/3100, and continued to around 2300-2100 BCE (Andreou et al, 1996, 538). The regional nomenclature is subdivided into three phases, for example, Early Minoan I (EM I), and Early Minoan IIA (EM IIA) in Crete. EBA I, II and III are used in northern Greece.

Chronology (High / Low)	Crete	Cyclades	Greece	Egypt
3100, 3000, 2900, 2800	EM I	EC I	EH I	1st-2nd Dynasty 3100/3000-2700
2700, 2600, 2500	EM IIA	EC II	EH IIA	Old Kingdom (2700-2136)
2400, 2300	EM IIB		EH IIB	
2200, 2100	EM III	EC III	EH III	1st Intermediate Period (2136-2023)
2000	MM IA	MC I	MH I	Middle Kingdom (2116-1795)
1900	MM IB	MC II	MH II	
1800	MM II			

Figure 18: Table of Aegean Relative and Absolute Chronology. From: Shelmerdine, 2008, fig. 1.1. Adapted by Author.

As the name suggests, the Bronze Age is a period characterised by bronze supplanting stone as the dominant material with which humans organised their production (Shelmerdine, 2008, 1). This represents a sizeable technological advance from the stone and even copper before it.

Crete	Dates BC	Cyclades	Dates BC	Mainland	Dates BC
Early Minoan I	3100–3000	ECI	3100–3000	Early Helladic I	3100+ to 3000
(EMIB)	(2900–2650)	Kampos Phase	2900–2650		
EMIIA	2650–2450/00	ECII (Keros-Syros phase)	2650–2500	EHII	2650–2500
EMIIB	2450/00–2200	Kastri Phase	2500–2250	Later EHII/Lefkandi I	2500–2200
EMIII	2200–2100/2050	Kastri Phase and into Phylakopi I Phase	2400–2200	EHIII	2250–2100/2050
Middle Minoan IA	2100/50–1925/00	Middle Cycladic–Phylakopi I Phase	2200–	Middle Helladic	2100/2050–

Figure 19: EBA Absolute Chronology. From Manning, 2010, fig. 2.2.

4.1: The Early Bronze Age on the Mainland

In the Greek mainland, "small scale complex societies" emerged in the Early Helladic, which did not last out the EH (Pullen, 2008, 19). This alleged discontinuity is often explained by the "Coming of the Greeks": the arrival of waves of Indo-European migrants, the precursors to the Mycenaeans, though this theory isn't without critics – some consider a more diffuse and gradual spread of migrants (Pullen, 2008, 19; Forsén, 2010, 96). Others consider the cultural break to have been the result of climatic change resulting in land degradation (Forsén, 2010, 96). Another theory holds that the cultural changes visible during the EHIII were the result of "local evolution" (Forsén, 2010, 96). In general, study of the Greek Mainland's Bronze Age is focused on the southern and eastern parts of the mainland – northern Greece is less well documented, least of all in the EBA (Pullen, 2008, 20). In many sites in northern Greece, there is a break in habitation for many LN/FN settlements, and a pre-eminence of small, new settlements (Andreou, 2010, 834). Andreou considers this to be the result of changing subsistence strategies – it may herald back to the creation of smaller outpost settlements in the FN (Andreou, 2010, 834). Some Neolithic sites, for instance Dikili Tash, do see re-inhabitation in the EBA.

The Greek Mainland is split chronologically in the EBA into phases of the Early Helladic – EH I, II and III (Forsén, 2010, 95). Each of the phases has traditionally been characterised by a specific pottery ware: EH I is associated with polished ware, most often red slipped, EH II with glazed Dark-painted ware and Yellow Mottled ware, and EH III with "degenerated" glazed Dark-on-Light ware, and increasing amounts of plain ware (Forsén, 2010, 96; Pullen, 2008). This tripartite division has been largely unchallenged since the late 20s when it was conceived (Forsén, 2010, 95-96). Forsén (2010, 96) notes that a more nuanced understanding of regional diversity has emerged, however. Where previously, for example, a resurgence in plain ware might have been considered regressive, Forsén suggests instead that later EBA society simply had a greater demand for "robust coarse ware" (Forsén, 2010, 96). In northern Greece, Andreou notes: "[by the EBA] the elaborate wares of the Neolithic had been completely replaced by coarser, dark, burnished vessels rarely decorated with channelling or incisions", the most common types of which seem either storage vessels, or vessels linked to the consumption of wine (Andreou, 2010, 836; Forsén, 2010, 97). These changes are due to what Andreou considers a considerable readjustment in the "symbolic significance" of vessels in wider northern Greek society (Andreou, 2010, 836).

In Thessaly and Southern Greece, Chapman argues the EBA saw the development of "increased social ranking" due to settlement nucleation making egalitarian societies "unsustainable" – though, as with Halstead (1995, 13), he does not fully explain what is particular to settlement nucleation and growth that causes egalitarianism to become unworkable (Chapman, 2005, 92). While this is an underdeveloped argument, stratified society does develop in this period. Chapman considers Early Helladic society to have followed a "two-to-four level settlement hierarchy" (Chapman, 2005, 92), and Pullen (2008, 22) agrees, on the basis that certain sites tend towards being much larger than others in a region (though we must consider whether size alone is enough to identify a settlement hierarchy). Settlements such as Lerna and Thebes were privileged with fortifications which do not appear in every settlement, and a "communal granary" at Tiryns suggests a centralised administration of food (it is important to remember that the production of a surplus must be considered as more than simply excess production, but in a socio-political context - "the *appropriation* of that production by groups not physically responsible for it") (Chapman, 2005, 80-92).

There were large shifts in settlement patterns in the EH I. Pullen notes that the general trend was towards more and larger settlements with clear regional diversity, and that settlements tended to gravitate towards low-lying coastal regions (perhaps because of a greater emphasis on agricultural techniques) (Pullen, 2008, 22). FN settlements generally see abandonment (Pullen, 2008, 22). The general shift towards coastal sites may be a result of the specialisation of the Bronze Age economy, and the need for access to resources not locally available (Pullen, 2008, 23-24).

In the EH II, Pullen (2008, 24) asserts that mainland society saw significant social change, including greater social stratification. This period also sees an intensification in inter-regional trade and relations. Staple diets stay largely the same through the LN/EBA transition – that is, a reliance on cereals (particularly einkorn) (Valamoti, 2016, 98). However, in the Bronze Age the appearance of "novelty" crops are also attested. These might represent the development of specific luxury cuisines. For example, at Sitagroi in northern Greece and Akrotiri on Thera, remains of coriander (*Coriandrum sativum*), an aromatic condiment, has been recovered (Zohary et al, 2013, 163-164).

The shift from EH I to EH II (in around 2700BCE) is best exemplified at the site of Tsoungiza, where the distinctive "sauceboat" vessels begin to appear (see figure 20) (Pullen, 2008, 26), which demonstrate a complete alteration in the use dynamic of the pottery: where the fruitstand bowls imply sharing, and are large enough to appear to accommodate several people's worth of food or drink, a spout accentuates the act of *pouring*, which draws contrast between the host and guest – provider and recipient (Halstead & Isaakidou, 2014, 97). As with the FN-EH I shift, EH I-EH II sees an abandonment of some sites, and the settling of new ones. Pullen (2008, 26-27) suggests this abandonment may have to do with the evolution of a settlement hierarchy. He suggests abandonment may have been the result of nucleation, as settlements were abandoned and combined into larger, more powerful settlements (Pullen, 2008, 26-27). Pullen proposes a hierarchy of sites based on size, and differential access to a variety of resources (Pullen, 2008, 27).

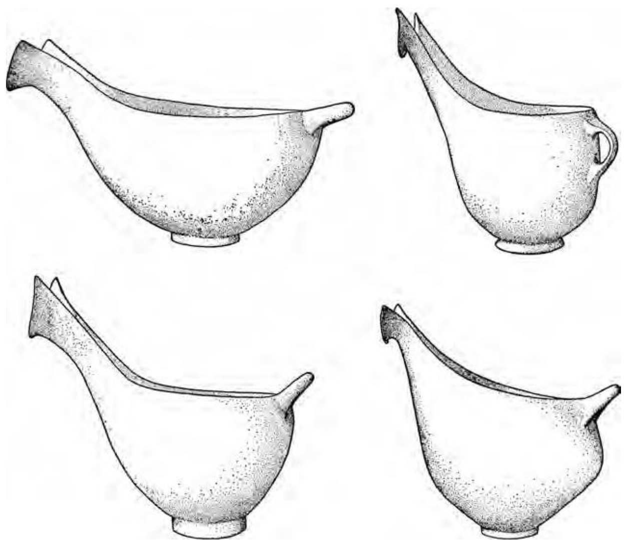

Figure 20: "Sauceboats" from Lerna, EH II. From Pullen, 2008, fig. 2.3.

4.1.1: Crete and the Cyclades

Crete and the Cyclades during the EBA are regionally distinguished from the rest of the Aegean. Traditionally, the EBA sees the first definite evidence for a culture that is "definably Minoan" (Tomkins & Schoep, 2010, 6). The development of this culture coincides with changes in social structure at the cusp of the Neolithic-EBA transition (Tomkins & Schoep, 2010, 66; Wilson, 2008, 79). Tomkins and Shoep suggest, however, that recent evidence supports a development of Minoan culture in the EBA that is more nuanced, rather than a sudden, migration-borne explosion of material culture (the traditional explanation) (Tomkins & Schoep, 2010, 66-67). Certainly, the trade networks of the LN extended to Crete, and many of the major settlements of the EM period are also occupied in the LN (Tomkins & Schoep, 2010, 70). There is plenty of evidence for the LN/FN and EBA being transitionally linked, rather than wholly separate periods (Tomkins & Schoep, 2010, 67). At Knossos, there is some evidence of continuity in ceramic styles from the FN to the EBA, for example (Wilson, 2008, 80; Wilson & Day, 2000, 50). Again, it is possible to see that the periodisation into epochs we as archaeologists employ in our framing of the past is more and more flawed as a metric for examining human development (Tomkins, 2010, 33; Tomkins & Schoep, 2010, 68). Development rarely fits neatly within any quantitative frame.

It is in this period where (in the language of neo-evolutionism) possible 'early states' begin to take root – these spread across the Aegean in the MBA and LBA. States are quite hard to define (Chapman, 2005, 96): in general, they are hierarchical societies in which "economic and political activities were specialised and centralised" (Chapman, 2005, 79). Often, states are supposed to maintain a bureaucracy not present in 'less complex' societies (Chapman, 2005, 79). Chapman suggests the state is borne out of acute polarisation, out of intensified *contradiction*, between classes in ancient society, resulting in the gradual metamorphosis of a professional administrative class: the "emergence of institutions that mediate between the dependent but dominant class(es) and the producing class(es)" while "orchestrating the extraction of goods and labour" (Chapman, 2005, 79; Tse-Tung, 1967, 41). Using ideological or physical coercion, these states serve primarily to protect the property interests of the dominant class (Chapman, 2005, 79).

In the Cyclades, following the trends from the LN/FN, intensification of settlement continues (Sotirakopoulou, 2008). The islands played an "active part" in the trade and commerce networks of the Bronze Age, as the Cyclades were resource rich, in lead and copper (this had been known since the Upper Palaeolithic, when obsidian was being exploited on Melos by nomadic groups) (Renfrew, 2012, 135).

4.2: Feasting in the Early Bronze Age North Aegean: Case Studies

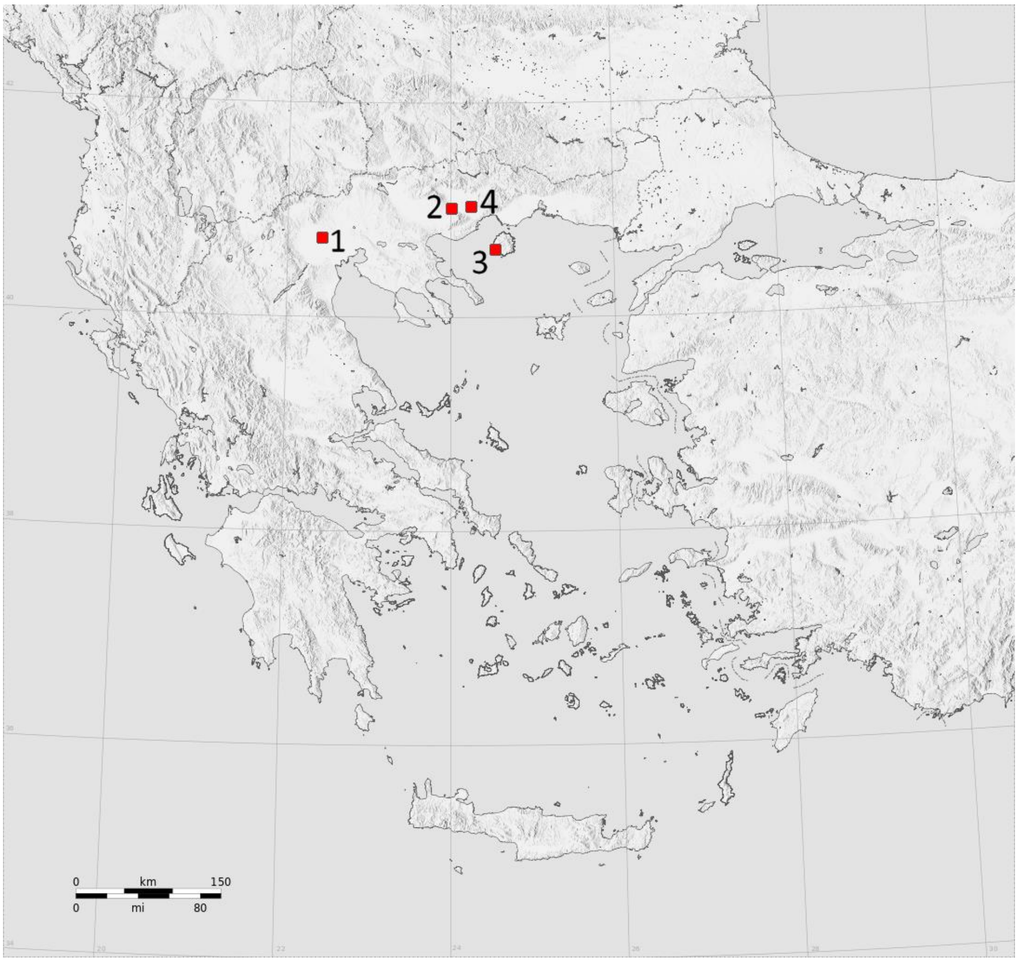

Figure 21: Principal Case Studies in Text. 1: Archontiko, 2: Sitagroi, 3: Limenaria, 4: Dikili Tash. From: Wikimedia Commons. Adapted by Author.

This section introduces four further case studies from the northern Aegean EBA. They are Archontiko, a late EBA site in eastern Macedonia, Sitagroi, a tell site in central Macedonia, and the sites of Dikili Tash in central Macedonia and Limenaria on Thasos, which saw continued occupation in the EBA following the end of the LN. They are visible in figures 21 and 22.

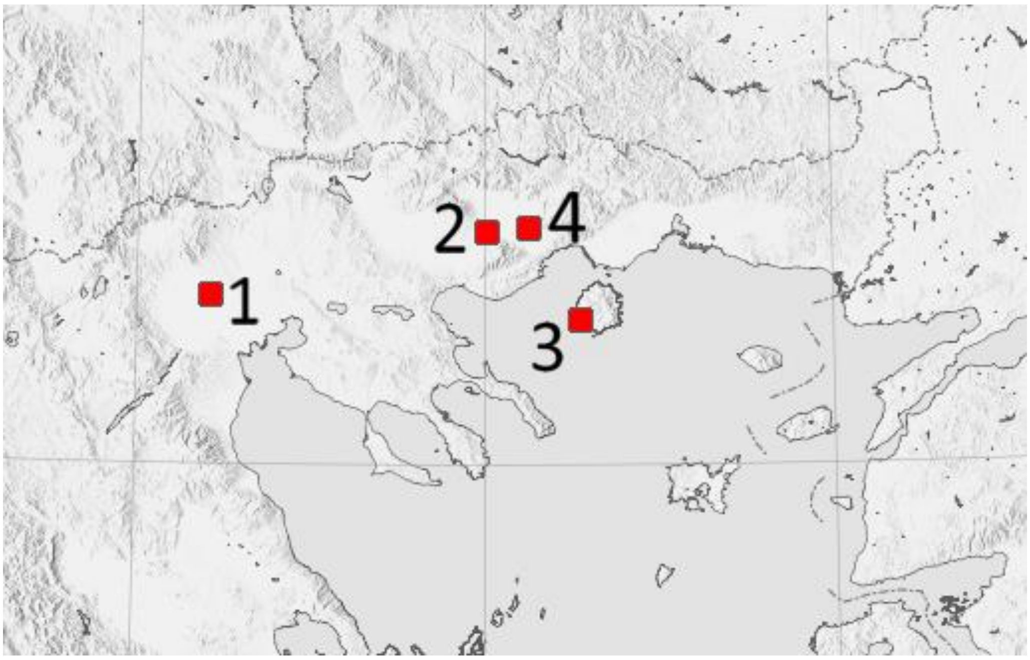

Figure 22: Principal Case Studies in Text. 1: Archontiko, 2: Sitagroi, 3: Limenaria, 4: Dikili Tash. From: Wikimedia Commons. Adapted by Author.

4.2.1: Thasos: Limenaria

The Bronze Age phases at Limenaria are attested to in only small areas of the site: in a 70m^2 area called the *Markoulis* plot, and the small *Lemonidis* plot; most of the phase is overlaid by a modern settlement (Papadopoulos & Malamidou, 2008, 431; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki & Papadopoulos, 2016, 351). Koukouli-Chrysanthaki & Papadopoulos suggest that in the EBA, Limenaria takes after the other Aegean islands more directly than in the LN, and follows the pattern of "fortified, small-size castles" (Koukouli-Chrysanthaki & Papadopoulos, 2009, 6). Nevertheless, the settlement presents several interesting, and perhaps unique, assemblages. Several phases are apparent from the recovered areas (Papadopoulos & Malamidou, 2008, 431).

In the *Markoulis* plot, the earliest EBA phase appears to consist of a courtyard or open space, delineated by a wall to its north. This stone-lined courtyard is built on an artificially levelled fill – it seems to have been shifted from elsewhere in the settlement (Papadopoulos & Malamidou, 2008, 431). This implies that, at the onset of the EBA occupation, the site shifted location, from the lower lying area of the Neolithic settlement, to the hilltop where the *Markoulis* plot is located. Notably, there is a break in settlement between the FN and the EBA – there are no radiocarbon dates between 3800-3350 BCE (Papadopoulos & Nerantzis, 2014, 79; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki & Papadopoulos, 2016, 350). Movement through time is not unknown in horizontally-developing settlements – though as Makriyalos demonstrates, movement is probably linked to social development. Perhaps it was a defensive move: as mentioned, settlements on the Greek mainland such as Lerna and Thebes develop fortifications in the EBA, and the smaller Aegean islands develop fort-like settlements (Chapman, 2005, 80-92; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki & Papadopoulos, 2009, 6). Perhaps similar notions occurred to the inhabitants of Limenaria. The courtyard space in this phase is associated with a hearth and a large rubbish pit (Papadopoulos & Malamidou, 2008, 432),

The second EBA phase was directly above the earliest. It seems to have followed the destruction of the previous phase, and consisted of a further levelling and filling exercise, raising the site by nearly half a metre. This destruction seems to have been intentional, for the purposes of re-use (Papadopoulos & Malamidou, 2008, 431-432). It is not clear why the site was reconfigured in this way. Sherds of EBA decorated pottery were found in the fill, shown in figure 23.

Figure 23:Decorated Pottery Sherds from Limenaria. From Papadopoulos & Malamidou, 2008, photo 13.

Of considerable importance is the third EBA phase (dating to EBA III – 2290-1920 BCE (Koukouli-Chrysanthaki & Papadopoulos, 2016, 351)), which has no parallel in the rest of the Aegean (Papadopoulos & Nerantzi, 2014, 80; Papadopoulos & Malamidou, 2008, 432). Papadopoulos and Malamidou (2008, 432) consider it a different habitation phase from the previous two layers. Rather than a simple reconfiguration, this phase is without precedent. Lying directly above the previous fill, it consists of a "slightly curving wall", forming an enclosure made of large stones, floored with pebbles, and abutted by several rows of large worked oblong stones embedded in the floor and arranged in the east of the enclosure (Papadopoulos & Malamidou, 2008, 432; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki & Papadopoulos, 2016, 351). Inside this enclosure is a disc-shaped stone slab, half a metre in diameter, with "30 small cavities" carved into its perimeter (Papadopoulos & Malamidou, 2008, 432). Its use is unknown, but Papadopoulos and Malamidou (2008, 432) consider it an "offering table". It is visible in figure 24. The entire enclosure seems to have been open to the elements, and it might be considered a ceremonial space. Interestingly, while the use of the incised slab is unknown, it shares similarities with ceremonial objects found in

Cretan contexts (for instance at Malia), which are related to Minoan cult practice and associated with libations (Papadopoulos & Malamidou, 2008, 433).

Figure 24: The Minoan-Style Offering Table. From Koukouli-Chrysanthaki & Papadopoulos, 2009, fig. 7.

Papadopoulos and Malamidou (2008, 433) consider the implication of a Minoan libation table as signifying a shift in cultural influences. Where before, there are considerable Balkan influences in the northern Aegean, the spread of Minoan ritual paraphernalia might imply that, in Limenaria at least, influences are now spreading primarily from the south, and the previous LN balance between Balkan and south Aegean influences has been shattered; Papadopoulos and Nerantzis (2014, 68) consider Thasos to have been integrated into southern Aegean trade networks by the EBA. A further two marble vases from the Cyclades appear in the settlement in the EBA, as well (Maniatis et al, 2009, 439-440)

The stone wall phase has been dated to the very early second millennium BCE, placing it in the later-EBA (Papadopoulos & Malamidou, 2008, 434). The underlying layers are considered to date to the first half of the 3rd millennium BCE (Papadopoulos & Malamidou, 2008, 434). Thus, we can see considerable shifts through the EBA period.

It is tempting to relate the *Markoulis* plot to feasting. Over all three phases, it displays some characteristics which could be considered markers of a feasting area. The first phase's hearth and waste pit might well represent the remains of communal activity. The phase three's enclosed space with a large, ceremonial slab seems perfectly suited for feast practices. The vertical rows of stones clearly delineate the area from the outside – but do not block sight. The area might have been an enclosure for an elaborate ceremonial feasting performance – considering Nordquist's assertion that feasts are mass performances (Nordquist, 2008, 105), the enclosure seems a perfect stage for a more exclusive, ritual feast – possibly one associated with Minoan religious practices.

Archaeobotanical assemblages suggest EBA Limenaria had a generally rural economy, in line with diets across the Aegean **(Valamoti, 2016, 92-93)**, bolstered by the exploitation of shallow-depth marine fauna, generally smaller species of fish and invertebrates **(Papadopoulos & Nerantzis, 2014, 81)**. Interestingly, there is evidence for occasional deep-sea fishing for larger species **(Papadopoulos & Nerantzis, 2014, 81)**. This is interesting: few sites tended to exploit marine resources to their fullest extent in the Aegean – they focus on easily reachable invertebrates. That the inhabitants of Limenaria were, sporadically, fishing for larger species, might imply some special reason for them to be doing so. This could be indirect evidence for feasting.

4.2.2: Archontiko

Archontiko is a tell settlement in Western Macedonia, dating to the EBA-MBA transition. There are several EBA phases from the site, dating from 2135-1890 BCE (Papadopoulou & Maniatis, 2013, 114). This site highlights well the apparent shift in the EBA north Aegean away from communality, and towards largely autonomous households (this trend, as we have seen, began in the LN). In a study of the site by Papanthimou et al. focusing on phase IV of the settlement, which dates to around 2135-2020 BCE (placing it within the EH III, at the latter phase of the EBA) (Papanthimou et al, 2013, 105), they identify evidence for this shift. The study focuses mainly on one intensively excavated area of the settlement, known as "Building D". It is an elongated, rectangular construction, with an SE-NW orientation (Papanthimou et al, 2013, 105). This structure housed a large amount of storage facilities (which range in size from 1.20m in diameter to 0.45m), as well as two hearths (Papanthimou et al, 2013, 105). Other buildings at the site are similar, though not as well excavated. Veropoulidou (2010, 60) identifies five others in the area of Building D (making six in total – Buildings A through F): they are generally of clay construction, and are all just as self-sufficient as Building D, containing hearths and storage units.

Ceramic vessels are also fairly abundant in Building D. There are several large *amphorae*, once again highlighting the importance of storage; multiple open storage vessels, the largest of which could hold over 42 litres; various cups, and several kinds of bowls – including several *lekanes*, a form of double handled bowl (Papanthimou et al, 2013, 105). Andreou, speaking generally about northern Greece, notes:

> "The emphasis on the autonomy of households [in the EBA] increased the importance of the display of stored agricultural wealth and the significance of serving food and drink during social occasions in the secluded space of houses. While the ceremonial aspect of these occasions was

> highlighted by the specialized use and the standardization [sic.] of the employed vessels, the new context of display transferred the focus of symbolic expression from the vessels to the acts of storage or commensality"
>
> (Andreou, 2010, 837).

This quote is applicable to Archontiko – we see that storage and commensality in Building D appears to be completely withdrawn into domestic contexts. Feasts would be small, secluded affairs, between perhaps as few as two households (Andreou, 2010, 837). Large-scale commensal activity in a public area seems to be non-existent. Such private feasting events make Hayden's (2001, 28; 2014, 8) assertion that feasts need not be public events clearly relevant. Unfortunately, this makes meaningful distinction between feasts and domestic meals very difficult to ascertain. Of interest is the fact that the different buildings excavated at the site appear to have quite stark differentiation in terms of storage capacity – Building A stands out strongly, with around 1000 litres of storage, followed by Building D with only 540 litres (Papanthimou et al, 2013, 108-109). Could this represent evidence of a prestige hierarchy based on storage? Or is Building A merely a purpose-built storage building?

In terms of diet, Archontiko seems to follow the standard trend of the EBA: pulses and cereals, a mixed rural economy (Valamoti, 2016, 98; Veropoulidou, 2010, 60). Archeobotanical findings indicate that the inhabitants also made use of livestock, as well as hunted wild animals infrequently (similar to results from EBA Limenaria) (Veropoulidou, 2010, 60). They also exploited shellfish, most likely from shallow, brackish waters (Veropoulidou, 2010, 62). Finally, evidence suggests the exploitation of various fruits and nuts, as blackberries, figs, grapes, and acorns all appear on the site (Papanthimou et al, 2013, 107).

Also of interest at the site with regards to possible commensal activity are the large amounts of EBA thermal structures (most likely hearths/ovens) (Papadopoulou & Maniatis, 2013, 114). Most of these hearths were recovered from inside domestic contexts, usually associated with storage structures, and are divided by Papadopoulou and Maniatis (2013, 114-115) into three types. First, the most frequent: the horseshoe-shaped oven with a single 'room'; second, two 'room' installations, which resemble an oven of the first type but with an extra chamber fitted to the back, connected by a channel (Papadopoulou & Manitatis, 2013, 114). Both types are visible in figure 25. The final type of thermal structure is unique to Archontiko, and consists of a large array of multiple rooms and at least two levels (Papadopoulou & Maniatis, 2013, 114-115).

Figure 25: Clay Structures from Archontiko. On the left, a single room horseshoe shaped hearth, in the centre, a two-room installation, and on the right, the remains of storage vessels. From: Papadopoulou & Maniatis, 2013, fig. 1.

Using FTIR spectroscopy Papadopoulou and Maniatis demonstrate that the different ovens heated to different temperatures (see figure 26), and could therefore have been used for cooking different types of food (Papadopoulou & Maniatis, 2013, 118-120). The presence of a varied cuisine can be evidence for feasting: Papadopoulou & Maniatis (2013, 120-121) consider several different culinary techniques may be inferred from the ovens: boiled dishes (like soups, stews and sauces), baking or roasting on griddles/pans, and grilling (parts of a grill were recovered from one of the hearths). They also suggest the two room ovens might have functioned as specialised units for the smoking of food for preservation purposes (Papadopoulou & Maniatis, 2013, 121). The third oven type is very poorly preserved, and so interpretations of its function are highly limited. It was nevertheless recovered from a probable domestic context and found close to a two-room oven and large amounts of “carbonised seeds”, including acorns (Papadopoulou & Maniatis, 2013, 121) – it can be assumed most probably, then, that the oven served a highly specific purpose, owing to its contextual surroundings and its apparent complexity. Specialisation in cooking techniques may point to the use of ‘special’ dishes in feasts.

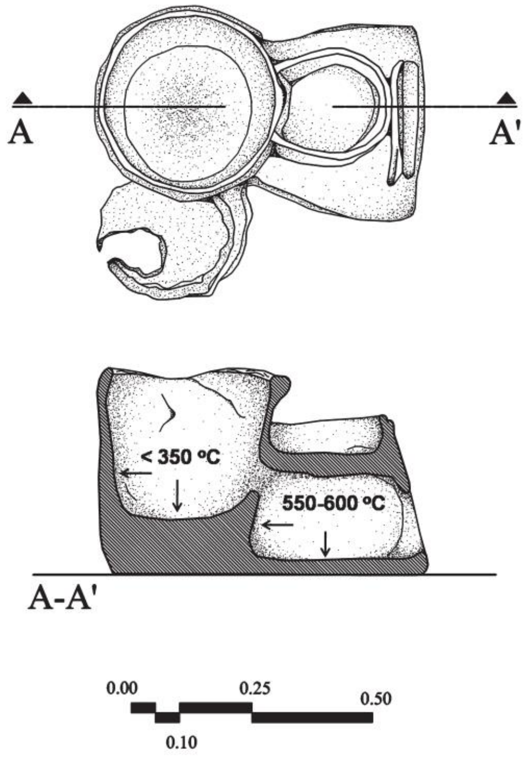

Figure 26: Temperatures recorded in a two-room oven. From Papadopoulou & Maniatis, 2013, fig. 5.

The common appearance of specialised smoking ovens at the site (they are found in several buildings (Papadopoulou & Maniatis, 2013)) once again highlights the shifting importance of household autonomy, and the emphasis in Archontiko on apparently private storage: preserved foods store for far longer than their raw counterparts, and if it is the act of storage itself which confers prestige upon a household, then preserving food is an obvious route to take.

4.2.3: Dikili Tash

EBA Dikili Tash covers a large area, and overlaps in many places with the LN settlement (Mission Archaéologique de Dikili Tash, 2012c). The beginning of the EBA phase dates to around 3300/3000 BCE at the site (Mission Archaéologique de Dikili Tash, 2012c; Darcque et al, 2014, 427). There is a gap in habitation from the very end of the FN and the start of the EBA phases – this could be a result of the settlement's destruction by fire at the end of the LN, an intentional response to changing settlement patterns visible in the FN, or the result of climatic changes rendering the site undesirable for settlement (Andreou, 2010, 834; Darcque et al, 2014, 427). After a gap of nearly 1000 years, the site is subsequently reoccupied in the EBA, albeit on a "more limited" scale (Andreou et al, 1996, 588).

The settlement innovations in construction in the EBA. Of interest are the EBA-period circuit walls – likely built, according to Forsén (2010, 97) to keep out marshes surrounding the site. Only one relatively complete house has been excavated from the EBA (it is located in sector I), though rows of postholes and areas of burnt clay have been recovered from all over the tell site – these are likely indicators of buildings (Mission Archaéologique de Dikili Tash, 2012c). The fully-excavated sector I house is of rectangular plan, and almost ten metres in length. It is visible in figure 27. It is constructed with wattle-and-daub techniques, which is common practice in the southern Balkans for the EBA – this indicates that Dikili Tash still shares some cultural influence with the northern region (Mission Archéologique de Dikili Tash, 2012c).

Later phases of the building suggest it might have been rebuilt in stone (Mission Archéologique de Dikili Tash, 2012c).

Hearths and storage bins dot the EBA site. There is a prevalence of storage bins in Sector VI on the site, where “more than a dozen” are concentrated in an area without any other significant construction (Mission Archéologique de Dikili Tash, 2012c). Might this represent a communal storage area? Or perhaps these storage bins represent a single household’s private repository. It is notable that they are apparently outside in full view.

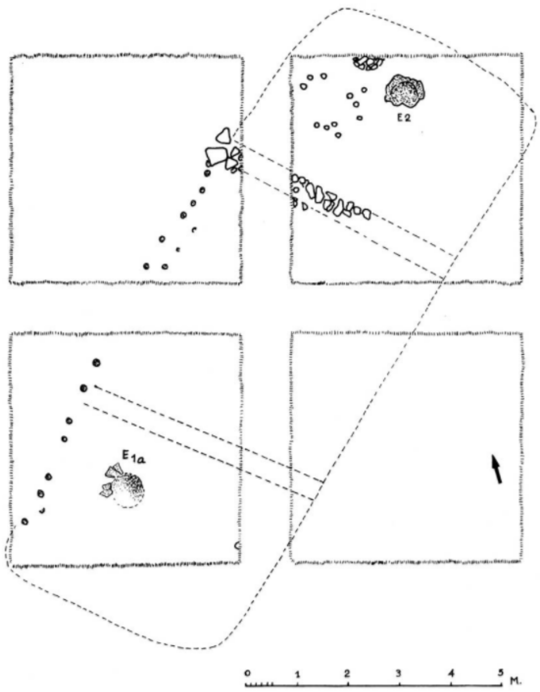

Figure 27: Plan of EBA House from Sector I. From Mission Archaéologique de Dikili Tash, 2012c.

Pottery at the site, like other sites discussed, lacks the decorative, elaborate styles of the preceding LN (Andreou, 2010, 837; Deshayes, 1970, 162). The most characteristic pottery of the EBA in Dikili Tash seems to be a variant on a pottery type previously mentioned – the ‘scoop’ (Mission Archaéologique de Dikili Tash, 2012c). These vessels are not identical to the ones previously recovered from Kephala in large numbers (see section 3.5), but the similarities are striking (see figure 28). They are certainly less decorative (the extent of decoration is impressed shapes), and seem more suited to carrying liquids than the Kephala wares, and might thus be associated with the drinking of wine, which we know was being produced in Dikili Tash as far back as the 5th millennium BCE (Darcque et al, 2007, 253-4). Referring to Andreou (2010, 837), it follows that the standardization and general lack of decoration of feasting vessels in the northern Aegean EBA might reflect a shift of expression of symbolic display (previously expressed through feasting vessels) to the act of storage – as we have seen at Archontiko. Thus, vessels such as the 'scoops' are not painted or decorated, because they are no longer the loci of symbolic importance in feasts. The 'scoops' are nevertheless suggestive of serving a specific purpose, likely in a commensal context.

Figure 28: Scoop from Dikili Tash, EBA I. From Mission Archaéologique de Dikili Tash, 2012c.

Therefore, while we can suggest Dikili Tash still had Balkan influences, due to the construction techniques of the settlement, the scoop vessels (if they are not an indigenous invention) might suggest links with the Cyclades and the rest of the southern Aegean in at least some respects.

4.2.4: Sitagroi

Sitagroi is a tell settlement in the Drama Plain, Macedonia. It lies fairly close to Dikili Tash, and shares some similarities with the site – particularly a large span of occupation, and a large number of settlement phases. Radiocarbon dating at Sitagroi has given helped to date each phase. The EBA phases at the site are phases IV, Va, and Vb. They date, respectively, between 3300-3100 BCE, 2600-2450 BCE, and 2250-2150 BCE, minimum (Renfrew, 1971, 278; Renfrew, 1986, 24). This gives Sitagroi several points of reference across the entire chronology of the EBA.

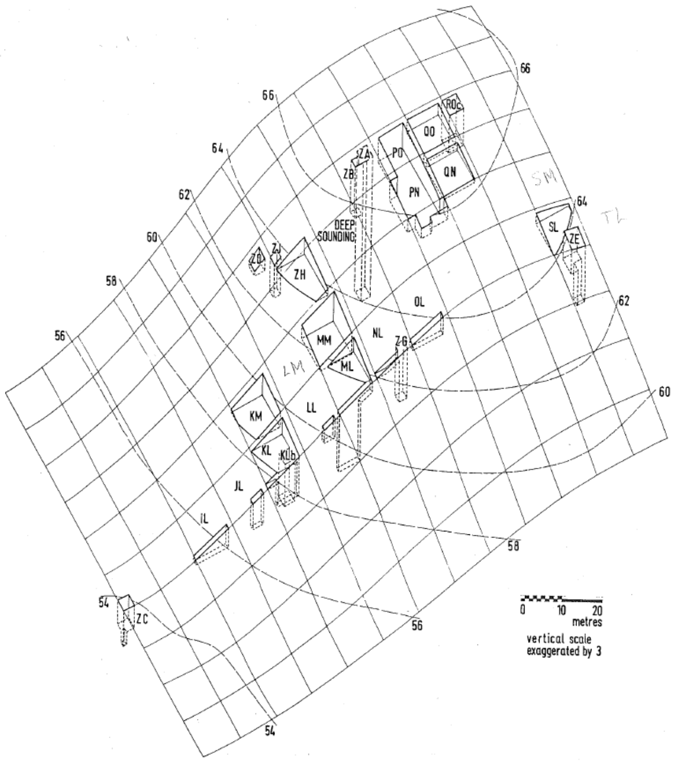

Figure 29: Axiometric Plan of the Sitagroi Excavations. From Renfrew, 1986, fig. 2.2.

The EBA phases of the site have evidence for the domestication of the grape, from which we can speculate that the inhabitants were producing wine. As we have seen, wine was produced at nearby Dikili Tash since at least the LN – so it is reasonable to suggest wine may have been produced at Sitagroi too (Nikolaidou & Elster, 2014, 306). Exploitation (and domestication) of other wild plants is likely to have occurred at the site. Environmental research by Turner and Greig (1986) indicates the surrounding geography of Sitagroi was mainly oak forest. The predominance of acorns and a growing number of wild animal remains in phase IV of the site (Nikolaidou & Elster, 2014, 310) suggests the exploitation of this forest. Turner and Greig (1986, 51) even suggest that acorns might have served as a staple food at the site alongside agriculture. An interesting find from the site is the possible remains of a "soup", containing acorns, cockle shells, and knotweed (*Polygonum*) seeds.

Faunal remains are interesting: at the cusp of the EBA, in phase IV, there is a general downturn in the percentage of domestic animals compared to the LN phases at the site, and a corresponding upturn in wild animal remains such as aurochs and red deer – though there are less individuals in general in the EBA (Bökönyi, 1986, 68-69). This implies a lower reliance on animals in general, but a greater emphasis on hunting in EBA levels. Nevertheless, in terms of domesticates, sheep and goat tend to predominate, followed by pigs, then cattle – this is not unusual, though Bökönyi notes that pigs overtake cattle in number as a rule in the EBA (Bökönyi, 1986, 68-70). We might suggest that the growing numbers of pigs reflect the general trend for smaller, secluded feasts inferred at other northern Aegean sites in the EBA: pigs are smaller than cattle, and thus do not feed as many people.

Species of deer, aurochs, and wild swine are the commonest wild fauna. Greater emphasis on hunting in EBA sites might, regarding feasting, imply a degree of competitive display. Nikolaidou and Elster (2014, 307-308) suggest the successful hunting of meat-rich animals would give a hunter prestige. The feast in this instance, then, is not intended to reinforce solidarity, but to stockpile social capital for the bearer of exotic or hard-to-get foods: it is a selfish feast. Bökönyi (1986, 70) notes, however, that climatic changes starting in phase IV might have forced, to a point, a greater reliance on wild animals – though he notes that climatic changes are unlikely alone to be able to have such influence on the social customs of a community (i.e. their established methods of subsistence). In phase V, domestic animals see a small resurgence, though hunting still seems to have occurred, infrequently (Bökönyi, 1986, 70).

Sitagroi also shows evidence for culinary elaboration. Nikolaidou and Elster (2014, 311) identify several complex "cooking installations" (notably, one inside a burnt down building), which could suggest the creation of elaborate cuisine (as at Archontiko). Similarly, while they note Sitagroi also sees the "marked decrease in finely decorated ceramics" seen at other sites in the northern Aegean, there is nevertheless the development of new pottery styles focused ostensibly around culinary practices: these are usually coarse wares, fit for serving, cooking, storage, and drinking (Nikolaidou & Elster, 2014, 311: Sherratt, 1986, 429). This suggests that Sitagroi, too, sees a marked indifference to the use of pottery wares as symbolic in feast contexts – but the diverse array of forms indicates they are still used for a variety of practices (Sherratt, 1986, 429). Phase IV fabrics are generally dark and burnished. This is usually the extent of their decoration. The finest examples of vessels from this period are the individual cups and bowls (usually less than a litre in capacity) (Sherratt, 1986, 435). This implies there is still some importance invested in eating and drinking vessels, even though they are far coarser and less decorated than LN vessels. In phase Va, once again the most decorative items are highly burnished, and occasionally have decorative white-filled impressions (Sherratt, 1986, 429; also see figure 30 – also note vessel 9, similar to vessels recovered from EBA Dikili Tash).

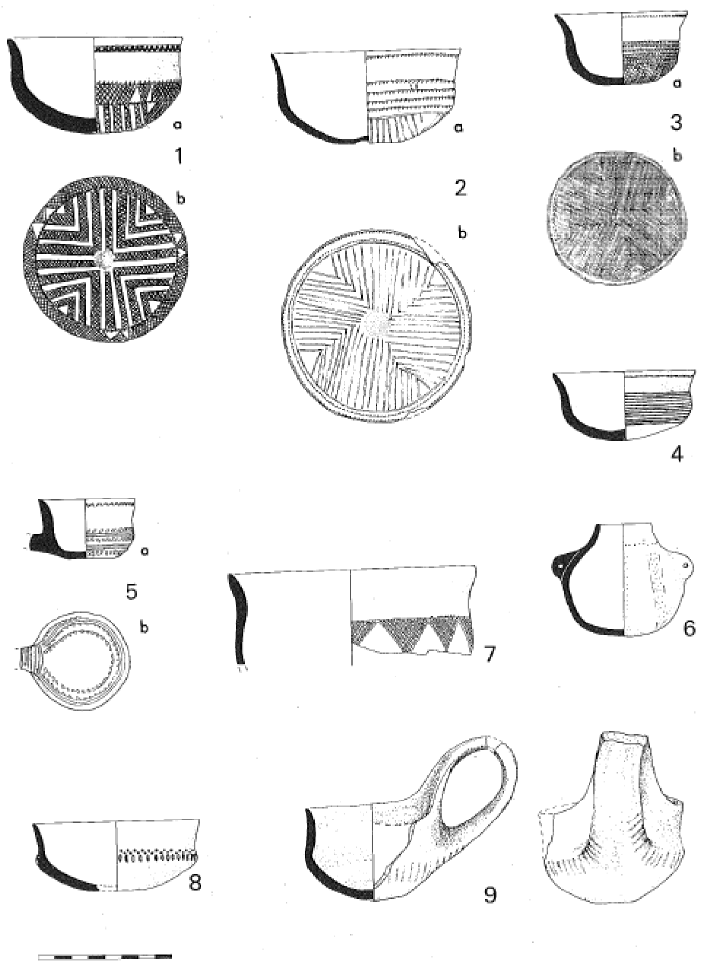

Figure 30: Small Vessels from Sitagroi Phases IV/Va. From Sherratt, 1986, fig. 13.10.

Phase Vb demonstrates the coarsest examples of pottery wares. As a result, Sherratt (1986, 438) argues the role of pottery as a "prestige material" declined through the EBA. At the same time, small vessels reach an apotheosis in form (see figure 31). These one-handled cups are very homogenous, usually undecorated and undoubtedly served the purpose of individual drinking vessels.

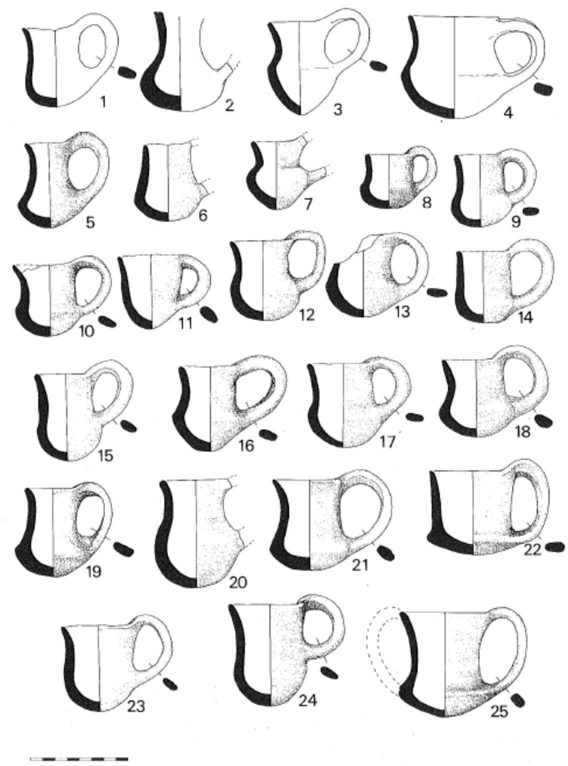

Figure 31: Small Vessels from Sitagroi Vb. From Sherratt, 1986, fig. 13.20.

The uniform appearance of these vessels where previously individual vessels had been the most elaborate (and in the LN intensely individuated), notes Sherratt (1986, 440-441), is a marker of the decreasing value of pottery as a prestigious "vehicle" for expression in the EBA. He suggests some of this devaluation might have been a result of the introduction of metal vessels. These vessels, after all, present an almost natural hierarchy just by their existence. Sherratt notes that the highest decorated pottery vessels in each phase correspond stylistically to recovered metal vessels related to drinking and communal feasting (Sherratt, 1986, 441). Another suggestion, put forward at other sites and by Andreou (2010) suggests that instead the focus of symbolic expression and prestige in commensal practices was on large amounts of storage.

4.3: Discussion: Feasting and Society in the EBA Northern Aegean: A Comparative Analysis

Andreou considers that the social developments of the Neolithic meant that the south and east Aegean became the focal points for development in the EBA (Andreou, 2010, 833). In the archaeological literature, this comes across as implying a regressive period in the north. For example, pottery in the north seems to backtrack in many ways from the decorative pottery of the LN. At Dikili Tash, Archontiko and Sitagroi, for example, most recovered vessels are plain, coarse ware, and undecorated. I am not convinced that this is necessarily the case, however. Personal cups and bowls still maintain some decoration, and are always the most elaborate vessels of their contexts: thus, it is clear eating and drinking are still symbolically important. Rather, it seems that feasts in the EBA north Aegean are more secluded, smaller and do not use decorative pottery to the same extent as symbolic displays. This simply reflects a different socio-political organisation than what is visible elsewhere. As a result, however, north Aegean feasts seem to be very difficult to find, while southern Aegean feasts are more easily found. What is clear is that there is a scholarly bias in Aegean EBA archaeology towards the southern Aegean. This is something which should be addressed.

We can suggest that the northern Aegean in the EBA once again demonstrates extensive regionality – and polarisation. As demonstrated at Archontiko, by the end of the EBA large group feasts in the settlement seem to be non-existent, replaced by smaller, private, and less ceremonial affairs. From this, we can conclude that the tendency in the LN/FN for the household to assume greater and greater independence continues into the EBA in some areas of northern Greece. We might even suggest that northern Aegean EBA society takes this idea to an extreme conclusion: society as a community of individual smaller communities in the form of households (as noted by Souvatzi, (2008, 39) the household is still a "collectivity, a coalition of individuals"). At the EBA site of Lerna in the Peloponnese, there is a possible analogue to the secluded feasting suggested in the northern Aegean: at the House of the Tiles, large amounts of uniform feasting vessels were recovered, indicative of a feasting environment which expressed equality between participants (Halstead & Isaakidou, 2014, 97-98). Nevertheless, the House of the Tiles is considered by Halstead and Isaakidou to be a deliberately exclusionary feasting environment, and the presence of EH sealings at the site might suggest it was used as a centralised storage facility (Heath, 1958, 81): recalling Nordquist's (2008, 105) suggestion that who is not included is just as important to understanding the feast as who is, I suggest the House of the Tiles might represent a feast where the participants used uniform pottery as a symbolic marker of equality between one another, but were still conscious of their higher status than *those not present at the feast at all*.

Limenaria in this period expresses several southerly trends, including the possible influences of Minoan religion, and suggestions of religious feasting. Perhaps Thasos, as an Aegean island with mostly coastal settlement, had greater exposure to the cultures cementing themselves in Crete and the Cyclades, and found itself within their sphere of influence.

Meanwhile, in the rest of the Aegean, elaborate public feasts do seem to have occurred, and decorated vessels were used to draw attention to the status differences between feasting groups – this is especially noticeable on Crete, where the development of skeuomorphic vessels, for instance, or the presence of large feasting waste assemblages suggests feasting played a role in negotiating status. EM pottery is present in several deposits in Knossos, but the best example by far is that excavated from the Palace Well. This EM II context gives evidence for eating, drinking, and serving vessels, as well as evidence of cooking dishes (Wilson et al, 2004, 67). The large drinking and serving vessels are all similar in style, an indicator that the assemblage is refuse from one single ceremonial feast (Wilson et al, 2004, 67). Examples from the well are visible in figure 32. Other deposits at Knossos are much smaller (Wilson et al, 2004, 67).

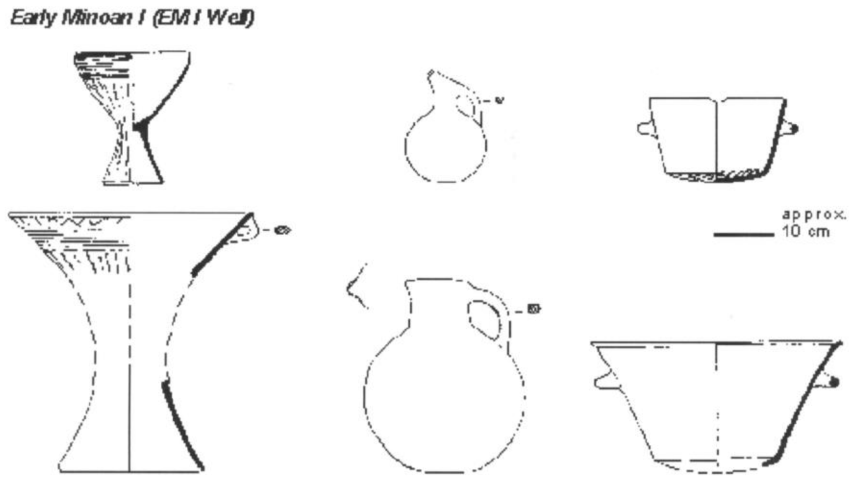

Figure 32: Early Minoan I Pottery. From: Wilson et al, 2004.

The size and organisation of expansion at sites like Knossos has suggested to some academics the existence of a central authority (Chapman, 2005, 90: Schoep, 1999, 269). These sites become institutional central places to the vast hinterlands surrounding them (Tomkins & Schoep, 2010, 72). At Knossos, administrative sealings which seem to predate writing have been recovered dating to the EM IIA period, which might point to a centralised organisational authority (Schoep, 1999, 269). Similar sealings dating to the EMIIB have been recovered from sites such as Myrtos and Malia (Tomkins & Schoep, 2010, 71), and on the mainland at EH II Geraki and Lerna (Heath, 1958, 81; Weingarten et al, 2011).

The Cretan EM sees the development of new pottery wares, decorated with paint and burnishes, marked by a distinct “regionality in material expression” (Tomkins & Schoep, 2010, 69; Wilson & Day, 2000). Tomkins and Schoep (2010, 69) suggest this development may be the result of the emergence of independent specialists who were producing pottery for regional markets, citing the access to inter-regional products as a marker of social status through consumption. Metal vessels are attested to in the recovery of crucibles (such as from the EM I cemetery at Ayia Photia (Tomkins & Schoep, 2010, 69)), and the existence of skeuomorphic ceramic vessels, which imitate the form of sheet-metal vessels (with extraneous decorative rivets, for example) (Tomkins & Schoep, 2010, 69; Whitelaw, 2014, 256).

The EM II settlement of Myrtos Phournou Koryphe has evidence of skeuomorphic goblets in a large EM II ceramic assemblage, which is suggestive of large scale feasting – the assemblage is far too large for just the residents of the 5-6 homes identified at the site (Whitelaw, 2014, 247-249). There is also evidence from the settlement for the storage of wine and barley beer (McGovern, 2008, 180-181). The most frequently appearing vessels are goblets, which have small capacity – it is suggested that the act of continually refilling the small vessels was symbolic (Whitelaw, 2014, 252). Interestingly, a class of bowl found in the Myrtos assemblage shows wear on the lip, indicating that these were used to scoop food or drink from a larger container – these may be analogous to scoops elsewhere in the Aegean (Whitelaw, 2014, 252).

In the northern Aegean EBA, the focus of the feast seems to have shifted into the household entirely: this seems to reflect the general trend towards “isolated households” gradually distancing themselves from communal settings. This is contrasted by the rest of the Aegean.

5: Conclusions: Feasts in Transition

What conclusions can be drawn from this research? Of great importance is the intense regionality of the northern Aegean in comparison to the rest of Greece. It is an area worthy of extensive and necessary further research, to correct biases in our knowledge. In no uncertain terms, a better framework of research is required in the northern Aegean, particularly in the EBA.

From evidence in the text, we can identify some social change. There is a general temporal trend through the LN-FN-EBA period for feasts in the northern Aegean to reflect social developments. This manifests in a tendency towards society to align itself into groups, and for feasts to become slowly less communally inclined. They become smaller and cater to apparently more compact household groups, becoming nearly unidentifiable apart from by inference. This contrasts with the massive feasts demonstrated at Makriyalos, and implicated by the volume of wine production and wild food exploitation at Dikili Tash: by the EBA, feasts are no longer unrestricted mass gatherings, but look to take place between small household groups, and with an emphasis on displaying material wealth through food storage.

Feast-related pottery in the LN seems to be used as a symbolic expression of egalitarian group relations. It's unclear how well these idealised relations reflected reality, as the existence of individualised decorative vessels hints at some level of personal aggrandisement. Communal pottery nevertheless implies a degree of conscious reinforcement of social-communal obligations. EBA pottery tends towards being coarse-ware, and not as expressive. The symbolic importance of pottery in feasting seems to have been transferred to the display of material wealth in the form of storage.

Furthermore, the primacy of the household as the driving social unit of northern Aegean society is clear. To say that the household is static in form through the period is, as we have seen, untrue. Households, perhaps consisting of extended kin-groups, seem to be organisationally independent to a large degree, and this independence grows through the LN-EBA. The movement of households into what I have previously considered "clan" structures is a development towards systematically unequal society. In examining the gradual changes in social organisation, the slow development of hierarchy in the northern Aegean is observable; and there is scope for much further research.

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Figure 4: *Southern Balkans (incl. Greece, Albania, Macedonia), Aegean and Western Anatolia.* [MAP]. Available at: <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Greece_large_topographic_blank_map.svg> [Accessed 15/08/2017]. Amended by Author.

Figure 5: *Southern Balkans (incl. Greece, Albania, Macedonia), Aegean and Western Anatolia.* [MAP]. Available at: <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Greece_large_topographic_blank_map.svg> [Accessed 15/08/2017]. Amended by Author.

Figure 6: *Plan of Makriyalos Settlement*. [PLAN] In: PAPPA, M., VEROPOULIDOU, R., 2011. *The Neolithic Settlement at Makriyalos, Northern Greece: Evidence from the Spondylus Gaederopus Artifacts.* In: IFANTIDIS, F., NIKOLAIDOU, M., (eds.), 2011. *Spondylus in Prehistory: New Data and Approaches.* Oxford: Archaeopress. pp. 105-121. Figure 2. Amended by Author.

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Figure 12*: Topographical Plan of the Dikili Tash Mound Showing the Excavated Areas*. [MAP] In: DARCQUE, P., KOUKOULI-CHRYSSANTHAKI, H., MALAMIDOU, D., TREUIL, R., TSIRTSONI, Z., 2007. *Recent Researches at the Neolithic Settlement of Dikili Tash, Eastern Macedonia, Greece: An Overview.* In: TODOROVA, H., STEFANOVICH, M., IVANOV, G., (eds.), 2007. *The Struma/Strymon River Valley in Prehistory: Proceedings of the International Symposium Strymon Praehistoricus.* Sofia: Gerda Henkel Stiftung. pp. 247-256. Figure 1.

Figure 13: *Tripod Cooking Pot, LN Phase I Dikili Tash*. [PHOTOGRAPH]. Available at: <http://www.dikili-tash.fr/content_en/chronologie/neolithique/neo_alimentation.htm> [Accessed 17/08/2017].

Figure 14: *Scoops, Category C1*. [ILLUSTRATION]. In: COLEMAN, J.E., 1977. *Keos: Results of Excavations Conducted by the University of Cincinnati Under the Auspices of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Volume 1: Kephala, A Late Neolithic Settlement and Cemetery.* Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies. Plate 36.

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Figure 18: *Table of Aegean Relative and Absolute Chronology*. [TABLE]. In: SHELMERDINE, C.W., 2008. *Backgrounds, Sources and Methods.* In: SHELMERDINE, C.W., (ed.), 2008. *The Cambridge Companion to the Aegean Bronze Age.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 1-18. Figure 1.1. Adapted by Author.

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Figure 20: *"Sauceboats" from Lerna, EH II.* [ILLUSTRATION]. In: PULLEN, D., 2008. *The Early Bronze Age in Greece.* In: SHELMERDINE, C.W., (ed.), 2008. *The Cambridge Companion to the Aegean Bronze Age.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 19-46. Figure 2.3.

Figure 21: *Southern Balkans (incl. Greece, Albania, Macedonia), Aegean and Western Anatolia.* [MAP]. Available at: <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Greece_large_topographic_blank_map.svg> [Accessed 15/08/2017]. Amended by Author.

Figure 22: *Southern Balkans (incl. Greece, Albania, Macedonia), Aegean and Western Anatolia.* [MAP]. Available at: <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Greece_large_topographic_blank_map.svg> [Accessed 15/08/2017]. Amended by Author.

Figure 23: Decorated Pottery Sherds from Limenaria. [PHOTOGRAPH]. In: PAPADOPOULOS, S., MALAMIDOU, D., 2008. *Limenaria: A Neolithic and Early Bronze Age Settlement at Thasos.* In: ERKANAL, H., HAUPTMANN, D., ŞAHOĞLU, V., TUNCEL, R, (eds.), 2008. *The Aegean in the Neolithic, Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age.* Ankara: Ankara University Press. pp. 427-445. Photograph 13.

Figure 24: *The Minoan-Style Offering Table.*[PHOTOGRAPH]. In: KOUKOULI-CHRYSANTHAKI, C., PAPADOPOULOS, S., 2016. *The Island of Thassos and the Aegean in the Prehistory.* In: MANIATIS, Y., (ed.), 2009. *Asmosia VII (BCH supplement 51)*. Athens: École Française d'Athènes. pp. 1-18. Figure 7.

Figure 25: *Clay Structures from Archontiko.* [PHOTOPGRAPH]. In: PAPADOPOULOU, E., MANIATIS, Y., 2013. *Reconstructing Thermal Food Processing Techniques: The Application of FTIR Spectroscopy to the Analysis of Clay Thermal Structures from Early Bronze Age Archontiko.* In: VOUTSAKI, S., VALAMOTI, S.M., (eds.) 2013. Diet, Economy and Society in the Ancient Greek World. Leuven: Peeters. pp. 113-122. Figure 1.

Figure 26: *Temperatures recorded in a two-room oven*. [ILLUSTRATION]. In: PAPADOPOULOU, E., MANIATIS, Y., 2013. *Reconstructing Thermal Food Processing Techniques: The Application of FTIR Spectroscopy to the Analysis of Clay Thermal Structures from Early Bronze Age Archontiko.* In: VOUTSAKI, S., VALAMOTI, S.M., (eds.) 2013. Diet, Economy and Society in the Ancient Greek World. Leuven: Peeters. pp. 113-122. Figure 5.

Figure 27: *Plan of EBA House from Sector I.* [PLAN]. Available at: <http://www.dikili-tash.fr/content_en/chronologie/neolithique/neo_alimentation.htm> [Accessed 17/08/2017].

Figure 28: *Scoop from Dikili Tash, EBA I.* [PHOTOGRAPH]. Available at: <http://www.dikili-tash.fr/content_en/chronologie/neolithique/neo_alimentation.htm> [Accessed 17/08/2017].

Figure 29: *Axiometric Plan of the Sitagroi Excavations.* [PLAN]. In: RENFREW, C., 1986. *Development of the Project*. In: RENFREW, C., GIMBUTAS, M., ELSTER, E.S., (eds.) 1986. *Excavations at Sitagroi, Volume 1.* Monumenta Archaeologica 13. Los Angeles: The Institute of Archaeology. pp. 15-24. Figure 2.2.

Figure 30: *Small Vessels from Sitagroi Phases IV/Va.* [ILLUSTRATION]. In: SHERRATT, A., 1986. *The Pottery of Phases IV and V: The Early Bronze Age.* In: RENFREW, C., GIMBUTAS, M., ELSTER, E.S., (eds.) 1986. *Excavations at Sitagroi, Volume 1.* Monumenta Archaeologica 13. Los Angeles: The Institute of Archaeology. pp. 429-476. Figure 13.10.

Figure 31: *Small Vessels from Sitagroi Vb*.[ILLUSTRATION]. In: SHERRATT, A., 1986. *The Pottery of Phases IV and V: The Early Bronze Age.* In: RENFREW, C., GIMBUTAS, M., ELSTER, E.S., (eds.) 1986. *Excavations at Sitagroi, Volume 1.* Monumenta Archaeologica 13. Los Angeles: The Institute of Archaeology. pp. 429-476. Figure 13.20.

Figure 32: *Early Minoan I Pottery.* [ILLUSTRATION]. In: WILSON, D.E., DAY, P.M., DIMOPOULOU-RETHEMIOTAKI, N., 2004. *The Pottery from Early Minoan I-IIB Knossos and its Relations with the Harbour Site of Poros-Katsambas.* British School at Athens Studies, Vol. 12. pp. 67-74. Figure 4.1.