



McDONALD INSTITUTE MONOGRAPHS



The Marble Finds from Kavos and the Archaeology of Ritual

Edited by Colin Renfrew, Olga Philaniotou, Neil Brodie, Giorgos Gavalas & Michael J. Boyd

**The sanctuary on Keros and the origins
of Aegean ritual practice VOLUME III**

ΙΣΝ / SNF

ΙΔΡΥΜΑ ΣΤΑΥΡΟΣ ΝΙΑΡΧΟΣ
STAVROS NIARCHOS
FOUNDATION



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with contributions from

Myrto Georgakopoulou, Anno Hein, Jill Hilditch, Vassilis Kilikoglou,
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practice: the excavations of 2006–2008
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Cover image: *The Special Deposit South from the southeast (foreground) with Dhaskalio in the background. Inset: (front) Head 351, from Trench D2, layer 1; (back) Torso 25055 from Trench RA, layer 14.*

Frontispiece image: *Torso, waist, pelvis and upper legs of folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety (30028 from Area P on Kavos).*

Edited for the Institute by James Barrett (*Series Editor*) and Anne Chippindale.

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Chapter 4 The Stone Vessels
 Data tables
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Frontispiece: *Torso, waist, pelvis and upper legs of folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety.*

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Abbreviations

cm	centimetre
D.	diameter
g	gram
H.	height
km	kilometre
L.	length
m	metre
mm	millimetre
PPL	plain polarized light
SEM-EDS	Scanning Electron Microscopy with Energy Dispersive Spectroscopy
SEM-BSE	Scanning Electron Microscopy with Back Scattered Electron imaging
SF	special find
T.	thickness
W.	width
Wt	weight
XPL	cross polarized light

Unless otherwise stated, the scale for finds is in centimetres.

Preface

Colin Renfrew & Michael J. Boyd

The status of Kavos on Keros as the earliest maritime sanctuary in the world is documented by the present volume, which includes (in Part A) the full publication of the marble finds from the Special Deposit South at Keros. These constitute the largest assemblage of Early Cycladic sculptures and vessels ever recovered in a controlled excavation, although they were all found in fragmentary condition. They add significantly to the already substantial corpus of finds from well-documented contexts in the Cycladic islands. They open new possibilities for the study of the production and the use of the rich repertoire of Cycladic artefacts of marble and thus to the understanding of ritual practice in Early Cycladic societies. The marble sculptures from the looted Special Deposit North at Kavos that have been recovered in systematic excavations will be discussed in Volume VII.

Also included here (in Part B) are chapters offering our concluding assessment of the roles of the settlement on Dhaskalio and of the two Special Deposits at Kavos. The publication *The Settlement at Dhaskalio* constitutes Volume I of the present series, while Kavos and the Special Deposits forms Volume II. The Pottery from Dhaskalio and *The Pottery from Kavos*, Volumes IV and V respectively, both by Peggy Sotirakopoulou, will complete the publication of the 2006 to 2008 excavations of the Cambridge Keros Project.

The existing and projected volumes of the Cambridge Keros Project are as follows:

Volume I: *The Settlement at Dhaskalio* (2013, edited by C. Renfrew, O. Philaniotou, N. Brodie, G. Gavalas & M.J. Boyd).

Volume II: *Kavos and the Special Deposits* (2015, edited by C. Renfrew, O. Philaniotou, N. Brodie, G. Gavalas & M.J. Boyd).

Volume III: *The Marble Finds from Kavos and the Archaeology of Ritual* (2018, edited by C. Renfrew, O. Philaniotou, N. Brodie, G. Gavalas & M.J. Boyd).

Volume IV: *The Pottery from Dhaskalio* (2016, by P. Sotirakopoulou).

Volume V: *The Pottery from Kavos* (in preparation, by P. Sotirakopoulou).

Volume VI: *The Keros Island Survey* (in preparation, edited by C. Renfrew, M. Marthari, A. Del-

laporta, M.J. Boyd, N. Brodie, G. Gavalas, J. Hilditch & J. Wright).

Volume VII: *Monumentality, Diversity and Fragmentation in Early Cycladic Sculpture*: the finds from the Special Deposit North at Kavos on Keros (in preparation, by C. Renfrew, P. Sotirakopoulou & M.J. Boyd).

Here we present first the marble sculptures and vessels recovered from the Special Deposit South, which are fully described and illustrated in the chapters which follow. Their contexts are given in detail in Volume II where each is listed in the detailed tables accompanying chapter 4 of that volume. There the tables are organised by trench and then by layer number, each sculptural or vessel fragment being listed by its special find number, which is unique to the excavation. The other finds from the Special Deposit South are all dealt with in detail in that volume, with the exception of the pottery, whose publication will form Volume V. The weathering of the marble finds is discussed by Maniatis & Tambakopoulos in chapter 11 of Volume II. Various features of the contexts of the finds are analysed by Michael Boyd in chapter 12 of Volume II. The potential joins noted among the sculptures recovered from the Special Deposit South are discussed in appendix 13B of Volume II and those among the marble vessels in appendix 13A (see further Chapter 4 in this volume). The lack of joins observed between finds from the Special Deposit North and the Special Deposit South is noted there. The characterisation of the marble used to produce the sculptures and vessels from the Special Deposit South is discussed in Chapter 5 of the present volume.

The finds, among the various categories, from the settlement at Dhaskalio and from the two Special Deposits at Kavos are then compared and contrasted in Part B. This allows the differing functions of the settlement and of the Special Deposits to be brought into focus, and the intensity of their use during the different phases of activity in the early bronze age to be considered further. An attempt is then made, in Chapter 10, to set the ritual functions of the sanctuary on Keros into the wider context of early ritual practice in the Aegean and beyond.

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The excavation personnel in the 2006 to 2008 excavation seasons were thanked by name in the acknowledgements of Volumes I and II and we are grateful for their participation. We are grateful also for the continuing support of our co-workers on Ano Kouphonisi, where we were based for the excavation seasons of 2006-2008 and the study season of 2009.

The study of the figurines and marble vessels was carried out in the Naxos Museum, as was the sampling for the marble study. We are grateful to the Museum, its director, Irini Legaki, and its staff, especially Daphne Lalayannis, Ilias Probonas and Vasiliki Chamilothoni.

The drawings of finds have been contributed by Jenny Doole and Tassos Papadogonas.

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Chapter 9

The Contrasting Material Worlds of Dhaskalio and Kavos

Michael J. Boyd & Colin Renfrew

Introduction

The material culture used and discarded in the different zones of Dhaskalio and Kavos has been described and discussed exhaustively throughout the volumes of the present series. The pottery of Dhaskalio is presented in Volume IV, and that of Kavos will be documented in Volume V. The marble vessels and figurines are described in Part A of the present volume. The remaining finds are described with their excavation contexts in Volumes I and II. Part B of the present volume is concerned with the subtle and sometimes stark differences of the material worlds of Dhaskalio, the Special Deposits, and the other areas of Kavos which have been investigated. Chapter 6 has considered the differing pottery assemblages, and Chapter 7 takes this further in investigating the petrography and chemical makeup of the pottery. Chapter 8 similarly considers the metal assemblages and metallurgical activities of the Dhaskalio and Kavos area. This chapter takes an overview of the entire material cultural basis through which activities, routine and extraordinary, were performed in all the areas of the sanctuary.

The architectural and physical settings of the different activity areas identified on Kavos and Dhaskalio have been well sketched and contrasts are stark. The areas of Dhaskalio thus far excavated show dense architecture, and the indications on the wider islet are that this continues over most of the centre and east of the island (Volume I, chapter 16). Much of the excavated architecture is of Phase C, but there are sufficient indications of Phases A and B to demonstrate the longevity of the settlement. Even allowing for the possibility of differing density and extent of settlement through time, it is clear that both the routine and the extraordinary on Dhaskalio were usually mediated through a complex and encompassing architectural backdrop.

These comments do not apply elsewhere on Kavos. Surface indications of architectural features are nowhere remotely as dense as those on Dhaskalio (Volume II, chapter 21), and the excavated trenches

on Kavos have provided no indications of structures, with the sole exception of the Doulas House (Volume II). Activities on Kavos must therefore have been primarily open-air and set in the wider vistas of the 'natural amphitheatre' of Kavos (Volume I, chapter 3).

The actions that led to the structured depositions in the Special Deposit South and the Special Deposit North have already been carefully defined (Volume II, chapters 13, 14 & 23). Thought has also been given to the other areas of Kavos (Volume II, chapter 22), as well as to the settlement at Dhaskalio as a whole (Volume I, chapter 34). In this chapter we consider in further detail the points of comparison and difference in the material culture assemblages of the different zones of Kavos and Dhaskalio, and the implications for practice in each area. We begin by considering the contexts of use of different material culture categories, and in the later part of the chapter consider the character of contextualized assemblages in different zones.

It should be noted in what follows that all observations relating to the Special Deposit North must be read bearing in mind that this area was heavily looted and that all material subsequently recovered suffers from biases in representation deriving from the choices made by the looters. Direct comparisons between the two Special Deposits must be carefully made, and in most cases the results can only be regarded as provisional, in view of both the looting and the incomplete status of the final study of the material. The comparison of the pottery, given in Chapter 6, may be the most fruitful.

Figurines and figurine fragments

Marble figurines are an 'icon' of the Keros-Syros Culture (Renfrew 2013). Yet elsewhere they remain a rare component of excavations, especially outside the Cycladic cemeteries (Marthari *et al.* 2017). They form the most striking component of the Special Deposits North and South (though not, of course, the most numerous). They are also found on Dhaskalio

and elsewhere on Kavos, and examples have been recovered elsewhere on Keros in the recent survey (Volume VI, chapter 13).

There are clear differences in the assemblages related to each of the zones in question. In the Special Deposits the folded-arm type is by far the most common. On Dhaskalio, however, not a single folded-arm figurine has been found (Volume I, chapter 24). The Dhaskalio figurines, all schematic, are generally intact, and there is no reason to suppose the broken ones were deliberately fragmented, in contrast to those in the Special Deposits, including those of similar form to the Dhaskalio examples. On Kavos, however, even those examples found outside the Special Deposits are generally fragmented, and joining fragments are rarely found. These circumstances strongly indicate that these few examples should be regarded as having arrived on Keros through the same processes as those in the Special Deposits, that is, brought already fragmented for the purpose of deposition in the sanctuary. Their eventual findspots outside the Special Deposits relate either to natural taphonomic processes (for example, those found in Area A), later disturbance, or perhaps in one or two cases the non-completion of the original act of deposition, whether by accident or design. These comments may apply also to the figurine fragments recovered elsewhere on Keros during the Keros Island Survey of 2012–13 (Volume VI, chapter 13). These observations allow us to consider the clear differentiation between the use of the figurines within the settlement and their use on Kavos; we shall also consider the possibility of differences between the two Special Deposits.

The Dhaskalio figurines (Volume I, chapter 24), 12 in total, are all schematic figurines. Nine are marble figurines of the Dhaskalio sub-variety of the Apeiranthos variety; one is an Apeiranthos variety marble figurine (not of the Dhaskalio sub-variety); one is a schematic figurine of shell; and one marble fragment may be part of a schematic figurine, though this is not certain. Thus the overall incidence is small, but the nine examples of the Dhaskalio sub-variety (and the complete figurine **10769** is not very different in shape) form a coherent style which contrasts rather obviously with the iconic folded-arm figurine so common on Kavos. Chronology is a relevant factor here: 11 of the 12 examples are from Phase C contexts, with one from Phase B. As discussed in Volume II (chapter 5), the Special Deposit South can be regarded as being mainly of Phase A, with some continuing use in Phase B, and very little use in Phase C.

The Special Deposit South does nonetheless contain 26 examples of schematic figurines of Dhaskalio sub-variety. Of these, two are complete (and one

further example is completed by joining the head and the body, both of which were recovered in the same general locale). There are therefore more such figurines in the Special Deposit South than at Dhaskalio; and in general, with the exceptions mentioned, they adhere to the principle that the Special Deposits are for the deposition of already broken material. Given the calculation (Volume II, chapter 5) that less than one per cent of the activity in the Special Deposit South can be attributed to Phase C, the dating of most of the figurines recovered from Dhaskalio to Phase C might imply that these figurines were an important component of that occasional activity. In chapter 12 of Volume II it is demonstrated that the locus of deposition of these figurines is skewed to the northern half of the deposit and away from the central zone, underscoring the non-standard nature of the activity. Nonetheless these figurines at Kavos give a clear indication that the principle of breakage and deposition was still understood during the Phase C afterlife of the Special Deposit South, even if the artefacts being deposited were different (and generally much simpler) in form. It was also suggested in Volume I (chapter 25) that the figurines found on Dhaskalio may have been locally made (though no direct evidence for this has been found). If the examples in the Special Deposit South were also locally made, that could indicate the possibility that the sporadic activity of Phase C was primarily initiated by local inhabitants in memory of the great gatherings of people from other islands of the earlier phases, rather than representing some continuing, but much less frequent, pilgrimage of off-islanders to the sanctuary. But the abundance of schematic figurines at the settlement of Skarkos on Ios (Marthari 2017), apparently at a time equivalent to Dhaskalio Phase A or B (the associations are with Phase A, but publication of the radiocarbon dates from Skarkos is still awaited), emphasizes the possibility that only a few of the schematic figurines found in the special deposits actually originated on Dhaskalio.

The Dhaskalio sub-variety is also present in the Special Deposit North. Nine examples have been recognized (in the incomplete dataset deriving from the post-looting excavations of 1963 and 1967; there is an additional example in the material from the 1987 investigation: Volume VII, chapter 3). In the Special Deposit South the schematic figurines of Dhaskalio sub-variety outnumber the other schematic examples: 26 against 11 (or perhaps 13: Chapter 3). In the less reliable Special Deposit North dataset, there are securely 16 schematic figurines not of the Dhaskalio sub-variety (one possible further example was handed in in 1967 so its exact provenance is not known: Volume VII) beside the 10 of Dhaskalio sub-variety. This leads to some interest-

ing conclusions about schematic figurines throughout Dhaskalio-Kavos: the Dhaskalio sub-variety is predominant over all other forms, it is found in both Special Deposits and in the settlement, and assuming its dating should be mainly in Phase C it probably characterizes most human–figurine interactions in this period, from production to daily use and then breakage and deposition. This is potentially a significant insight into how the past was incorporated in the present during Phase C on the Dhaskalio settlement, when the *floruit* of the Special Deposits was mostly a thing of the past. (One important *caveat* to these comments is to consider the few contexts of Phase A so far excavated at Dhaskalio. It must be considered possible that significantly more excavation of that phase might produce earlier examples of schematic figurines.)

Occurrences (36 examples) of Dhaskalio sub-variety figurines in the two Special Deposits are thus more frequent than in the settlement (nine examples). However, these nine examples do offer the possibility of considering their routine, pre-depositional use. Of the three examples found in Trench VII, two were found in layers of collapse, perhaps fallen from a floor above or the roof, or from wall niches, or furniture such as tables. One (10793) was found on a floor level, where it was associated with a stone disc, a shell pendant or bead, two stone tools and very little pottery. These items were left in place when a later floor layer was laid. Of the four examples found in association with the Hall, only one might not have been in a context of collapse. This was in Trench XIV (11430), found on what may have been the last floor in use in the building, and was fragmentary (a head). It was found in association with a fragment of a marble bowl, seven worked stone tools (a high number for a single context), 34 pebbles and two stone discs. The finds were all concentrated in the centre of the room. They may originally have been contained within an organic container (phytoliths compatible with such a container were detected in a nearby sample: Volume I, chapter 18). The association of the broken figurine with the broken marble bowl is interesting, and perhaps out of character for Dhaskalio in general. These items may have been on the floor here when the building was destroyed. The other examples from the Hall include two figurines found in Trench VI, both thought to have fallen during the collapse of an upper floor. Associated items include another marble bowl fragment, stone discs and tools, metal fragments (including a gold sheet fragment) and indications of metalworking. Organic remains were also very strongly represented. This upper floor may well have been still in use when the building collapsed. The other figurine associated with the Hall was found downslope in tumble in

Trench XVIII, and little can be said about the findspots and associations of the remaining figurines.

This review of the Dhaskalio figurines ‘in use’ has not produced a clear pattern, perhaps mainly because most of those found were not recovered from their original point of deposition. It is perhaps the case that marble figurines will rarely have been lost or abandoned, and the evidence is not for a sudden destruction at Dhaskalio, but rather for the slow collapse of the site after abandonment. One association beneath a relaid floor, and a second instance of a grouping, perhaps in a basket, do not in themselves provide much insight. However, the many possible examples of figurines fallen from upper floors, and the wide combinations of associated material, do suggest that the figurines were utilized as part of the routine inhabitation of the last years of the Dhaskalio settlement. They are widely dispersed and there is no evidence for a particular concentration in a place, or places, specially accepted as appropriate for them. They were part of the recognizably normal material culture repertoire of the late settlement, and hence their role was widely acknowledged and routine.

More subtle than the differing roles of figurines in the settlement and in the Special Deposits are the differences between the two Special Deposits. Here, as noted in the introduction, the looted nature of the Special Deposit North makes comparison difficult. For example, in chapter 12 of Volume II it is noted that there is no one body part that predominates over others in the folded-arm figurine fragments in the Special Deposit South, all being represented approximately equally. In the surviving material from the Special Deposit North, however, this is not the case: legs and feet far outnumber all other body parts, by a factor of approximately 3:1. This, however, is most probably explained by the activities of selection by the looters, and therefore tells us little of the nature of the original deposit.

Some differences may nonetheless be relevant. Others have remarked on differences in the weathering of the figurines (Volume II, chapter 11), a factor noted also for pottery (this volume, Chapter 6) and marble vessels (see further below). This is, however, considered by Tambakopoulos & Maniatis to be a factor of the prevailing environmental conditions in the two deposits, rather than related to human agency. In terms of fragmentation, the two assemblages are closely comparable: most figurines were broken into about five or six fragments, of which one was brought for deposition on Keros, and this is observable in both deposits. However, in the Special Deposit North there is one documented intact figurine (Zapheirópoulou 2017), and there are unsubstantiated claims that others were looted from there (Papamichelakis & Renfrew

2010; Sotirakopoulou 2005). Nine examples of almost complete folded-arm figurines are to be found in the 1960s material from the Special Deposit North, compared with six fairly complete (missing heads and lower legs in general) in the Special Deposit South (two found as such, and four made up of joining fragments). As there is much less material from the Special Deposit North, those 10 examples (including the complete figurine) represent 3.4 per cent of the assemblage, while the six from the Special Deposit South represent just 1.2 per cent of the total. All of this is weakly suggestive: almost complete figurines sometimes played a part in the rituals in both deposits, perhaps more often in the Special Deposit North than in the Special Deposit South. Detailed study of the Special Deposit North figurines is not yet complete and so comparisons of fragment sizes or original heights is not yet possible (and will always be compromised in any case by the pre-selection of material by the looters). However, further comments should be possible once that study is complete (Volume VII).

The Special Deposits at Kavos were long-lived: as noted by Sotirakopoulou (this volume, chapter 6) there are indications of at least some activity at the Special Deposit North during the Kampos group (transitional ECI–ECII). Limited evidence of activity elsewhere on Keros has also been detected for this period in the Keros Island Survey (Volume VI). The main period of use of both deposits was during the Keros-Syros culture (ECII, Dhaskalio Phase A), covering the period 2750–2550 BC (volume II, chapter 5, and this volume, Chapter 6). About four-fifths of the material (including pottery) of the Special Deposit South is estimated to have been deposited during this period (Volume II, chapter 5) and a similar estimate may be made (qualitatively, not quantitatively) for the Special Deposit North, based on the similarity of forms and frequencies in the pottery (this volume, Chapter 6). Most of the remaining activity took place in the subsequent Dhaskalio Phase B, early Kastri group phase, covering the years 2550–2400, while some late activity continued for the subsequent century. The evidence from the Special Deposit South is for remarkable continuity in practice over this very long time period, though subtle variations have been carefully analysed (Volume II, chapter 12). The disruption to the Special Deposit North means that potential variations there in practice through time cannot now be examined.

Spools

Spools, like figurines, are found both in the settlement on Dhaskalio and in the Special Deposits on Kavos, though not elsewhere on Keros (save a single

example recovered during the recent survey on the northwest coastal region: Volume VI, chapter 13). Although perhaps used as weights elsewhere in the early bronze age Aegean (Rahmstorf 2003; 2006a,b), they were deposited in the two Special Deposits generally (though not exclusively: Volume II, chapter 12) in fragmented form, and their contexts of recovery on Dhaskalio do not support their use at the time of deposition in sets of weights (Volume I, chapter 25). Even if some were originally manufactured as weights, their dispersal to contexts of recovery where only a single spool is located indicates that their final use was as something other than a balance weight. Their possible use as pestles, perhaps used to grind pigments or other soft substances (as they usually show little use-wear), is discussed in Volume I, chapter 25, where it is concluded that they may be prestige objects with a variety of possible uses. If we review their contextual associations on Dhaskalio, it may be noted that they are found in all three phases. Although the greatest number was found in Phase C, the proportions per phase closely match those of the pottery (Volume I, chapter 34, 706) and so it may be that spools were in use in approximately the same frequency in each phase, once the different volumes excavated for each phase are taken into account. Five bone tubes, thought to be used for containing pigment, were found on Dhaskalio: one of these, **10052**, was found in association with the spool **12860**, as well as a mortar and another pestle or rubber. Other interesting associations are found in Trench I, where three spools (**10160**, **10171** and **10174**, of limestone, marble and *Spondylus* respectively) were associated on a floor with other grinding and rubbing equipment, several stone discs, several tuyères and an arsenical copper spill (**10166**: this volume, Chapter 8). Another spool at a lower level (**12107**) was also associated with metal spills and a gold bead, along with a palette fragment and other grinding tools, and numerous stone discs. Small-scale metalworking is common throughout Dhaskalio, but the association of spools with other grinding equipment, stone discs and metallurgical finds is regular, and perhaps suggestive.

The spools from the Special Deposit South are mostly fragmentary and (as with other categories of find) are generally represented by a single fragment of each spool. In chapter 12 of Volume II it is noted that spools of different materials (marble, Kouphonisi limestone, and *Spondylus*) have slightly different distributions, while the complete spools have a markedly different distribution. These are generally very small, and one interpretation is that they were deposited whole, as they were very difficult to fragment. However, unless a specific (ritualized) procedure for breakage did

not permit variation to cope with their small size, in reality they would have been easy to fragment using a large and heavy implement. Hence it is perhaps more likely that they represent non-conformist activity in the Special Deposit South, perhaps late in the sequence.

The spools of the Special Deposit North from the 1960s excavations have not been studied, and so can add little information here. The six recovered in 1987 (Scarre 2007) include three of *Spondylus* and three of limestone. Three were complete (one completed from two joining fragments) and three fragmentary; the complete examples are not markedly small. A series of 10 complete spools from the 1960s excavations is on display in the Naxos Museum, of which only two are small. Without proper examination there can be no certainty, and in any case the deposit is looted, but it seems clear that, as with the marble vessels (discussed below), many more complete examples were deposited in the Special Deposit North than in the Special Deposit South.

Bowls and vessels of marble and other stone

Stone bowls and vessels are also commonly found throughout the Dhaskalio and Kavos area. In fragmentary form they make up the third most numerous find (after pottery and obsidian) in the Special Deposit South, and presumably the same applied to the Special Deposit North as well. They are found in much smaller numbers at Dhaskalio, and they have also been found elsewhere on Kavos. As with the figurine fragments found outside the Special Deposits on Kavos, discussed above, it seems likely in most cases that the vessel fragments were brought to Kavos for deposition in one of the Special Deposits, and that either later disturbance, taphonomic factors, or perhaps occasionally non-completion of the deposition rituals led to their eventual findspots elsewhere. It is of interest that 33 fragments of these vessels have also been recovered from elsewhere on Keros during the recent Keros Island Survey, indicating their use in at least some of the other areas of habitation on the island (Volume VI, chapter 13).

As Gavalas has described (Volume I, chapter 26), only 26 fragments were recovered from Dhaskalio, including some unfinished material which perhaps constitutes evidence for local production. The bowl and basin fragments from Dhaskalio, accounting for 19 of the 26 items, are exclusively of the 'plain' type (and some of these of a 'Dhaskalio' variant), whereas on Kavos, in both Special Deposits, the plain type is a minority component, overwhelmingly outnumbered by the rolled-rim variants which are all entirely missing from Dhaskalio. Chronology might be an explanatory

factor, as plain bowl and basin fragments are found equally in Phases B and C on Dhaskalio, but not yet in Phase A, which is the main period of use of the Special Deposits. This striking difference may also relate to use. The stone vessels of the settlement are few in number and this is true of other Cycladic settlements (Volume I, chapter 26, table 26.3), and they are fragmentary or unfinished in nature. It seems possible that some difference in function led to the deposition of only plain bowl and basin fragments on Dhaskalio and the complete absence of the rolled-rim type. Little more can be said of the contextual associations of these few fragments.

The very abundant stone vessel fragments from the Special Deposit South are described in Chapter 4 (see also Volume II, chapter 12). They are strikingly fragmented (mean largest surviving dimension 38.1 mm; mean dimension perpendicular to the latter 27.5 mm), with no complete or nearly complete examples. In this they differ once again from the Special Deposit North, much as with the spools and, perhaps, with the figurines: the Special Deposit North contains a number of complete vessels and a larger number of substantially or nearly complete vessels. As the material is yet to be studied as a whole (only selected examples are published by Devetzi: 1992) no figures can be put on these. And it remains the case that the greater part of Special Deposit North material was broken, in most cases very significantly. Even the material from 1987, representing a remnant sample excavated after the looting and the two earlier excavations, demonstrates the difference with the Special Deposit South. Taking the 101 recorded bowl and basin fragments (i.e. not including other vessel types) recovered during the excavation in 1987, the mean largest surviving dimension is 52 mm and the mean dimension perpendicular to the latter is 34 mm. As a proxy for the surface area of the sherd, the mean of the value obtained by multiplying the largest surviving dimension by the dimension perpendicular to it is 2205 sq. mm; the equivalent figure for the Special Deposit South is 1233 sq. mm. So the specimens in the sample of 101 sherds from the Special Deposit North are on average almost twice the size of those in the Special Deposit South, even though it is clear that larger (less fragmented) pieces had already been collected before the 1987 project. Much further work will be possible once the 1960s material has been studied, but it is already clear that, at least some of the time, the rituals of breakage relating to stone vessels deposited in the Special Deposit North resulted in vessels less fragmented than their equivalents in the Special Deposit South; and it is already known that some whole vessels were also deposited. This again emphasizes the less homogenous nature of the Special Deposit North material and hence the

less homogenous nature of the activities that led to the formation of that deposit. In order further to investigate and define this phenomenon, a special study was undertaken by Neil Brodie, and this was reported in the Appendix to Chapter 4.

Obsidian

Obsidian was a frequent find throughout Dhaskalio and Kavos: 3452 items from the Special Deposit South, 315 from the Middle Area, 124 from Area A, 597 from Kavos Promontory, and 1541 from Dhaskalio (Carter & Milić, Volume I, chapter 28; Volume II, chapter 8). The quantity originally deposited in the Special Deposit North is unknown, but the trenches excavated in 1987, after the looting and 1960s excavations, produced 479 pieces (Carter *et al.* 2007).

Carter & Milić argue (Volume II, chapter 8) that the large quantity of material in the Special Deposit South was deposited intact and subsequently became broken through taphonomic processes. Some of it may have been manufactured on the spot, but most probably was not. The focus of deposition seems to have been peripheral, rather than central, which further sets this class of material apart (Volume II, chapter 12). Much of the material was unused when deposited, relating it to practices of deposition in cemeteries, but a significant proportion had been used. Hence a variety of production centres for the obsidian is indicated (*in situ*, elsewhere on Dhaskalio or Kavos, and off-site), and a variety of acts that might have led to deposition. The rituals of breakage elsewhere leading to deposition of a single fragment, so well demonstrated for the marble and ceramic items, do not seem to apply to the obsidian. Rather we must envisage obsidian deposition as less rule-bound (or bound by different and variable rules), sometimes involving the production and deposition of unused blades on site, as in the cemeteries, but more often the deposition of mainly unbroken and mostly unused blades brought to the spot from elsewhere. Some might conceivably have been removed from cemetery deposits from near or far: but the majority is consistent with being locally made at Dhaskalio or Kavos, and deposited in the Special Deposit South. Similar conclusions probably hold for the material from the Special Deposit North, although it has not yet been finally published; an initial study indicates a lower proportion of blade material (68 per cent in the small sample studied, *versus* 87 per cent in the Special Deposit South: Carter *et al.* 2007).

The assemblages elsewhere on Dhaskalio and Kavos are more heterogenous. The pieces from Area A are interpreted as a funerary assemblage by Carter & Milić (Volume II, chapter 17), comprising both end

products and production waste, and thus indicating one or (probably) more episodes of production as part of funerary ritual. The obsidian from the Middle Area differs in character from trench to trench. The large number (103 pieces) from Trench AE is of some interest in being very similar to the Special Deposit South material: overwhelmingly (92 per cent) blades deposited unused. Elsewhere in the Middle Area the obsidian is much more varied in nature, with production as well as consumption indicated, albeit on a very small scale. As Carter & Milić point out, no locus for the production of the obsidian deposited in the Special Deposits has been located within the Middle Area.

The two areas that remain to be considered are the Kavos Promontory and the settlement on Dhaskalio. The 1554-piece assemblage from Dhaskalio is of great significance in being a fully studied obsidian assemblage from a fully published, well-phased and stratified Early Cycladic settlement deposit, and is thus very carefully described and interpreted in Volume I (chapter 28). There it is shown that both production and consumption are indicated in all three phases, though the early (and most skilled) stages of production are not well represented, indicating the import of pre-prepared cores. Production seems well evidenced throughout the areas excavated, and is not limited to just one or two areas, showing that production was not restricted to locale nor to a very few, skilled producers. Consumption seems to have been immediate, related to food preparation or small-scale craftwork. It is of great interest to compare the assemblage from Dhaskalio with that from the Kavos Promontory. There the survey encountered a very high surface density of obsidian, leading to the collection of 583 pieces (more than one-third the total for the excavated areas on Dhaskalio), most of which was concentrated in the west-central part of the area surveyed (Volume II, chapter 19, fig. 19.6), very well associated with the greatest concentration of Early Cycladic pottery collected (Volume II, chapter 19, fig. 19.7) and the evidence for metal working (Volume II, chapter 19, fig. 19.9). This remarkably high surface concentration is unmatched elsewhere, and in composition it represents a production assemblage very similar in nature to that from Dhaskalio. Carter & Milić dismiss the possibility that the unused blades deposited in the two Special Deposits were being manufactured here at Kavos Promontory, and instead conclude that the production was for consumption on the spot as part of the metal-working activities so well documented in this area. Quantities nonetheless seem prodigious and open the question of what role in particular the obsidian may have played in the metallurgical process—or *vice versa*. It contrasts with

the situation at Chrysokamino on Crete (Betancourt 2006), a notable copper-smelting site, where few obsidian artefacts have been found; but conversely is comparable with the situation at Poros Katsambas, near Knossos (Doonan *et al.* 2007). It may be that those persons smelting copper ores on Kavos Promontory were themselves craft workers also skilled in working with obsidian (Sherratt 2007, 252)

In the recent Keros Island Survey obsidian densities within larger polygons (based on extrapolations from intensive collections) vary between about 400 and 800 fragments per hectare (Volume VI, chapter 15); a few smaller polygons are much denser (such as Polygons 4, 6 and 12). Polygon 25, which was a densely concentrated obsidian scatter, was wholly exceptionally dense in its obsidian cover, at just over 10,000 fragments per hectare. Kavos Promontory, with a density of 1495 fragments per hectare, was obviously a scene of intense activity, only outmatched by Polygons 4, 6, 12 and 25. Both the ore being smelted on the promontory and the obsidian cores being reduced there are imports. While it has been comprehensively shown that most materials utilized at the Dhaskalio and Kavos sites were imported, many probably came from nearby islands such as Naxos, Amorgos, and the Mikres Kyklades; both the copper ore and the obsidian come from further afield. It may well be that when boatloads of ore were landed at the promontory some pre-prepared obsidian cores were brought with them, and those workers skilled in metallurgy—skills highly specialized, and perhaps learnt elsewhere—may also have been skilled in knapping, perhaps similarly learnt elsewhere. Activities not attested at Kavos, or on Keros more widely, such as ground stone working, pottery making, figurine or marble vessel production, or stone disc production, most probably took place mainly on nearby islands. So the import and working of obsidian and ore, physically linked here on Kavos Promontory, may relate to wider networks than those implicated in the import of pottery, tools, food or stone discs. It has been argued that different networks again would have been implicated in the transport of material destined for deposition in the two Special Deposits. The co-location of these two craft skills on Kavos Promontory is therefore very interesting.

Pebbles

Water-worn beach pebbles were a curious feature of the excavations on Dhaskalio (Volume I, chapter 27) which, once the phenomenon had been noted, prompted care elsewhere on Kavos to record any imported pebbles. A careful comparison between the pebbles in the Special Deposit South and those

of Dhaskalio has already been presented (Volume I, chapter 27; Volume II, chapter 10). This led to the conclusion that the pebbles of Dhaskalio were all imported, mainly from Ano (or perhaps Kato) Kouphonisi; but the pebbles of the Special Deposit South were mainly sourced from beaches on Keros, perhaps mainly from the beach on Kavos. This is an interesting juxtaposition: two phenomena superficially similar, in that they produced deposited concentrations of pebbles, in fact resulted from significantly different sets of activities, one beginning locally and the other entailing longer-distance connections. While a low-level presence of Kouphonisi pebbles on Dhaskalio in all three phases indicates an early inception of this custom, in Phase C the practice developed a specific, perhaps ritualized, form, in the deposition of pebbles in the summit enclosure. As suggested in Volume II (chapter 12), the apparently very localized concentrations of pebbles in the Special Deposit South (in the northwest corner of the Deposit) could be interpreted as another instance of late behaviour concentrated on the north side of the Deposit. Hence the deposition of local beach pebbles in the Special Deposit South might coincide in time with the deposition of non-local pebbles in the summit enclosure on Dhaskalio. Clearly the main characteristics of the practice (local material, unbroken) contrasts sharply with the main principles of deposition in the Special Deposit South.

Elsewhere a few pebbles were noted in Area A, very few in the Middle Area and none on the Promontory. Their prevalence, or otherwise, in the Special Deposit North is unknown, and their occurrence was not explicitly noted in the excavations of 1987 (Renfrew *et al.* 2007a, *passim*).

Ground stone

The wide range of stone tools from Dhaskalio grouped under this heading is described in Volume I (chapter 29). This category is almost absent elsewhere on Kavos: 14 objects from the Special Deposit South, and none at all from elsewhere, including, surprisingly, the Promontory, scene of metal-working activity (though unworked emery was noted during the survey there). Hence the use of such tools is one of the most strongly differentiated of activities, occurring almost exclusively on Dhaskalio. It is striking that on Kavos activities involving ground stone tools simply cannot be detected. The 14 pieces recovered from the Special Deposit South are very difficult to explain, but it is of interest that, as we have seen with other components of the Deposit, they are distributed away from the centre of the Deposit, toward the northwest. It has been suggested above that these distributions

may be indicative of late activities, perhaps some time after the *floruit* of the Deposit.

The items from Dhaskalio represent a varied set, but as noted in Volume I (chapters 29 & 34), the quantity is very low for the area of enclosed habitation space excavated. The grinding slabs, in particular, seem sufficient for no more than one or two households. Hence, within the area excavated at least, apparently routine activities related to food production seem, in fact, rather rarely attested. This phenomenon, and related observations in the environmental data and ceramics, led in Volume I to the argument for a periodic or seasonal occupation of Dhaskalio, summed up in chapter 34 of that volume. Pounding, rubbing, abrading and grinding tools predominate; specialized or carefully made items are few in number. Handtools did form a quotidian aspect of the Dhaskalio settlement; but overall the impression is of a poorly equipped toolset, both for food processing and for other aspects of daily life.

Stone discs

The stone discs of Dhaskalio and Kavos are described in chapter 30 of Volume I and chapters 9, 15 and 19 of Volume II. They are found widely and in great numbers on Dhaskalio in all phases, in restricted locations in the Special Deposit South, and very rarely in other locations (one on the Kavos Promontory, and two in the Middle Area).

It is argued in Volume I, chapter 30, that the discs from Dhaskalio, all of them imported, were brought to the settlement with other cargoes of pottery and food supplies, often acting as pot lids in the process. Discs were made opportunistically on beaches, usually on Naxos or Amorgos, though occasionally further afield. Once landed, their immediate role in closing a pot containing food or other substances being brought to the site might come to an end quite quickly as the substances were consumed. Stone discs are a durable and useful item, and might have been reused as covers or lids, or for other purposes—as flat surfaces, or as handy items to weigh down light objects (often necessary in the very windy conditions on the island). Over time, as the pottery of Dhaskalio was removed (returning to origin, or sent on to other destinations) or broken and discarded, discs seem to have accumulated. Many discs were whole, or nearly so, but broken discs were also recovered, testament to their continuing handiness even when damaged. They were a familiar form, part of the background, a mundane reality of everyday life in the settlement. A few, with special qualities (very large, well made, or colourful) might have carried special associations

or biographies; and familiar lithologies would have brought particular journeying nodes to mind, perhaps very relevant to the origins of those themselves staying at or visiting Dhaskalio.

The stone discs of the Special Deposit South are, like some other minor categories of find, abnormally distributed and exhibit other special characteristics, such as not always being broken, or sometimes having been broken in the Special Deposit South with refitting parts recovered during excavation (Volume II, chapter 9). They were clearly not part of the mainstream activities in the Deposit, perhaps utilized during a discrete (late) chronological horizon. The Special Deposit South discs were generally large in size, and may not have functioned as lids, but rather as surfaces on which other activities were conducted, until the disc was broken or buried.

Other finds

One very significant difference between the finds on Dhaskalio and on Kavos is found in the environmental evidence. Although the environmental evidence at Dhaskalio is not abundant, it is nonetheless an important component of the data recovered from the settlement, mainly systematically obtained through flotation. The seeds, charcoal, phytoliths, animal bones, shell, and even the rare human cremation from Dhaskalio are all unparalleled in the Special Deposit South. The seeds and charcoal of Dhaskalio were preserved after burning, often in simple hearths or other fires in daily use. No burning or burnt preservation is in evidence in the Special Deposit South. Fires were not lit there; neither ordinary fires for heat and light, nor special fires for cooking or burnt sacrifice. Phytolith samples from the Special Deposit South and from elsewhere on Kavos produced negative results. Animal bones are also absent, and human bones and teeth are completely absent from the Special Deposit South (though are present and well documented nearby in Area A). None of these materials was subject either to structured deposition or to haphazard discard. The only positive environmental evidence relates to marine shells, which are generally few in number in the Special Deposit South, but are found, especially in the northwest corner, concentrated on Trench K2, and so perhaps part of the differentiated and possibly late activities that can be associated with that part of the Deposit.

The environmental evidence from elsewhere on Kavos is similarly sparse. Excepting the human bones from Area A, which are plentiful and have been described in detail (Volume II, chapter 18), and the human bones from the Special Deposit North, about

which little is known (Luff 2007), environmental data from Kavos are strikingly absent: no seeds, very little charcoal, no phytoliths, very few animal bones, and little shell; this despite protocols for environmental sampling in all excavated areas. (In Trench AF in the Middle Area much burnt olive charcoal—found in association with shell—was examined by Maria Ntinou, who reports that the remains most probably derive from a single, not repeated, fire). The environmental evidence, as much as any other category of find, demonstrates that the qualities and tempos of everyday action in Dhaskalio and in Kavos were strikingly different, as emerges from the relevant geomorphological studies (Volume I, chapter 15; Volume II, chapter 3).

On the other hand, the environmental evidence from Dhaskalio, despite being somewhat limited in nature, does indicate the activities of daily life, and these are fully described in the relevant chapters in Volume I. These give insight into daily and longer-term practices, such as the organization of agriculture and herding, the use of differing species, and the cultivation of the olive and the vine (Margaritis 2013).

Of the remaining finds, the major categories are pottery, already dealt with in Chapters 6 and 7, and metals and metallurgical finds, discussed in Chapter 8. These are further discussed in the conclusions below. The remaining minor categories can be briefly discussed here. The five bone tubes are interesting for having been recovered on Dhaskalio (from Phase C) rather than in the Special Deposit South (Volume I, chapters 20 & 31). Given the traces of pigment (Volume I, chapter 31D), these are perhaps special objects, holding small quantities of pigment to be mixed during rituals of painting or body modification. It is interesting therefore that these activities, sometimes associated with funerary ritual (almost all Cycladic bone tubes hitherto known are from cemeteries), are noted within the settlement rather than at the overtly ritual area of the Special Deposit South. Four of the five were found in pairs: two in Trench XXI and two in Trench XIV, with the other in Trench XXV. The first pair was associated with a collection of materials that led Haas-Lebegyev and Renfrew to suggest a craftsman's toolkit (Volume I, chapter 31). The second pair was, however, found without significant associations.

The minor stone finds are few in number in all areas. They consist of three beads, a pendant and a rock-crystal disc from Dhaskalio, two beads and a *Spondylus* plaquette from the Special Deposit South, and three beads, a bone needle and two plaquettes (one of *Spondylus*, the other of marble) from the Special Deposit North. As these seem mainly to be items of ornamentation, it might be that the silver pin discovered in the Special Deposit North should be

considered along with them (Volume II, chapter 14), as well as the two silver rings (whose Early Cycladic date is not assured) from the Special Deposit North (Volume II, chapter 14) and the Special Deposit South (Volume II, chapter 10). These items are notably isolated and few in number: deposition of ornamentation and jewellery was not part of the ritual in either special deposit; and their loss, if not use, was rare on Dhaskalio.

Reworked and recycled sherds were found widely: 35 small ones on Dhaskalio, along with seven larger ones probably used as lids; 16 small ones in the Special Deposit South, with one larger lid-type. Their presence in the Special Deposit North has not been quantified, and they have not been found in the excavations in other parts of Kavos. Like the stone discs, this very minor category of material in the Special Deposit South was atypical in including both complete (the majority) and broken pieces; some of the latter included two joining or (in one case) non-joining fragments. The distribution was also unusual, these few examples found mainly in peripheral areas, particularly in Trench B4 (five examples). Their presence in the Special Deposit South can be attributed to non-canonical practices of deposition, perhaps very late in the sequence. On Dhaskalio, recycled sherds are widely distributed, and found more often in strata of Phase B than Phase C, and not at all in Phase A (Volume I, 652–6). The clay discs are however found exclusively in strata of Phase C (Volume I, 656). These small, throwaway items, easily made from broken potsherds and of little value beyond their immediate context of use, attest in a small way to activities mostly obscure in nature. Similarly rare are the spindle whorls: seven at Dhaskalio (in all three phases: Volume I, chapter 31B) hardly indicate intensive weaving as part of the settlement's activities; one (intact) was found in the Special Deposit South, and four (two intact) were found in the Special Deposit North. These very small quantities on Kavos cannot be taken in themselves to indicate some domestic activity here, as they constitute a very minor category among the finds.

Material and action in context

The discussion so far has considered the contextual associations of different material categories in the different zones of the site. In this section we further consider the activities of the different areas of Dhaskalio and Kavos based on material associations. Pottery and metals have not so far been considered in detail in this chapter as they are discussed in Chapters 6, 7 and 8. Pottery is the most prevalent find in all contexts and thus is the most common material form within

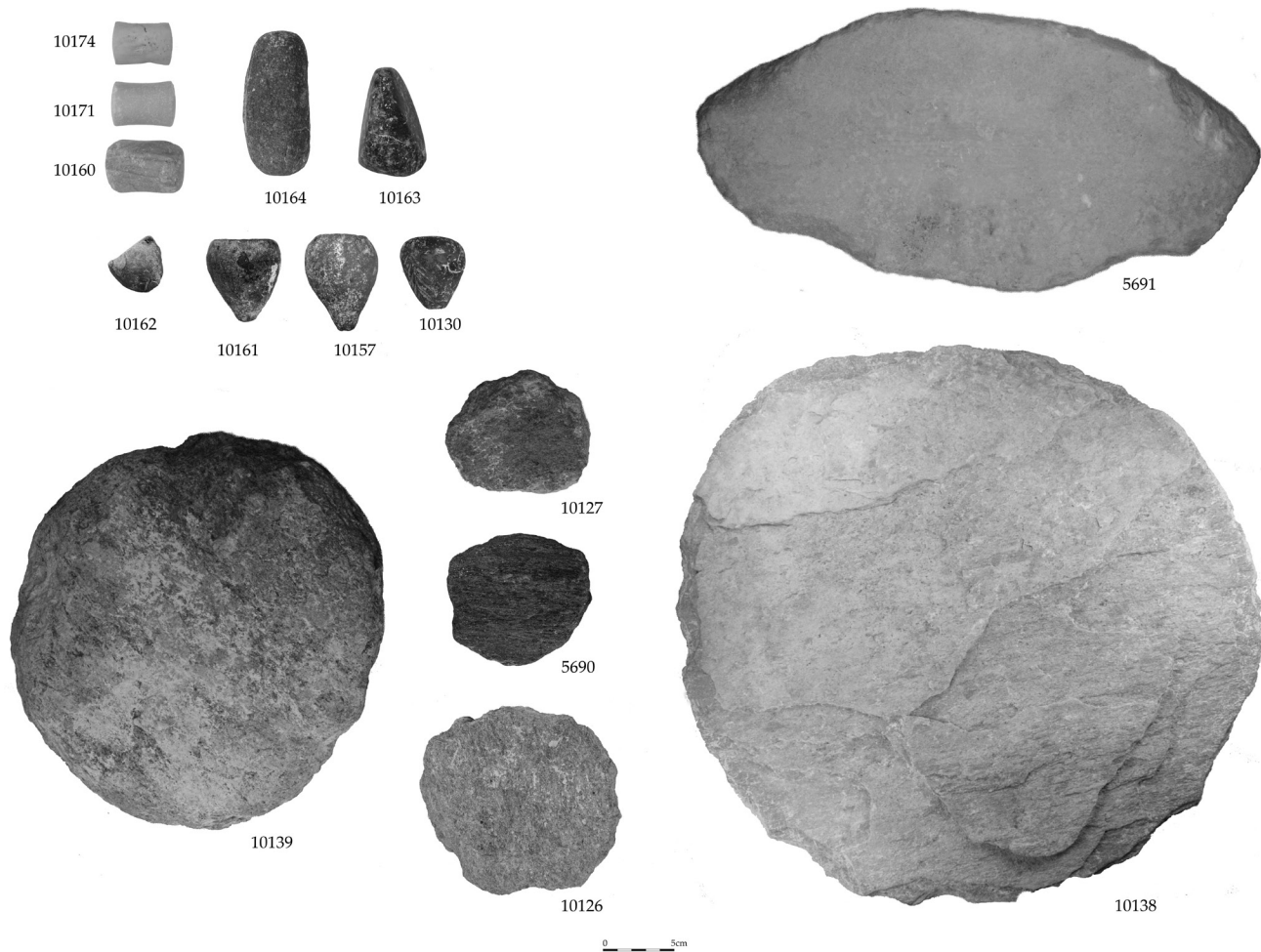


Figure 9.1. Objects found on and above Floor P in Trench I on Dhaskalio.

most assemblages, a key part in the structuring of most activities. As Sotirakopoulou demonstrates in Chapter 6, and as Table 9.1 below summarizes, the forms of pottery utilized in different areas did vary considerably. It is also the case that the dominant pottery forms on Dhaskalio changed through time.

The metal finds of Dhaskalio are one of the most characteristic aspects of that site. Found in all phases and widely distributed throughout the site, their appearance as part of possible material culture sets has already been noted above. With the production of copper from ore on Kavos Promontory and the evidence for small-scale but widespread metal working on Dhaskalio, all aspects of the production process are represented. Below we consider three contexts on Dhaskalio with different combinations of the categories of find considered in this chapter, taking into account also the evidence for metalworking and their pottery assemblages. These contexts are representative of the range and combinations of human activities evidenced at Dhaskalio.

The setting of Area X in Trench I in Phase B on Dhaskalio is in some ways prominent, just downslope from the summit and on top of the great terrace wall on the east of the site (see Figure 6.2 for a plan of the site). The architecture of Trench I, like most of the rest of the excavated area, includes very well built walls of imported stone. Here this is exemplified by the well-constructed Wall B, built against and concealing the boulders of the terrace Wall A, as high-quality an example of walling as any on the site. The relatively large interior space necessitated the use of a central column of wood on a carved stone base to support the roof. In this enclosed area we can see the material world in which metalworking and other activities took place. Here were found (Fig. 9.1) several tuyères, an arsenical copper spill, several spools, an emery rubber and a pestle, a grinding slab, and stone discs of various sizes. In a lower layer finds were slag, another spool, pebbles for smoothing and pounding, an emery hammer, a mortar, and stone discs again of all sizes. At a deeper level again were found weathered dross from copper

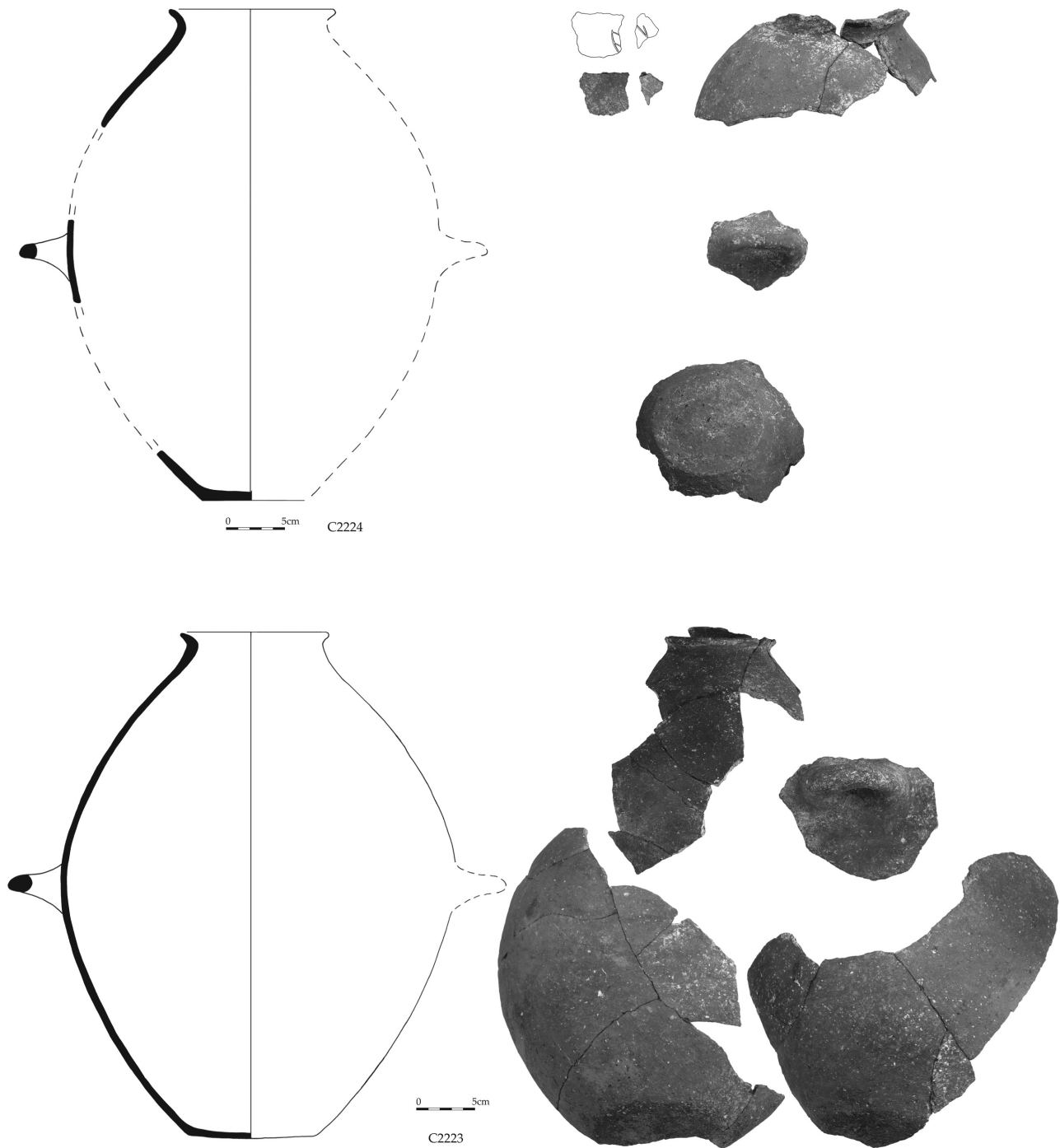


Figure 9.2. Funnel-necked jars found on and above Floor Q in Trench I on Dhaskalio.

melting (originally identified as a copper spill), a copper spill, a gold bead, another spool with a marble palette, both fragmentary, pebbles, several rubbers, pounders and grinders, and numerous stone discs. Other finds in all levels included a moderate concentration of obsidian (about 19 per cent of the total recovered from Trench I) and 15 unworked pebbles, mostly at the lowest level.

Seven hundred and thirteen sherds were associated with these layers, about 9 per cent of the trench pottery total. However, many of these sherds come from just two vessels, **C2223** and **C2224** (Fig. 9.2), 440 mm and 420 mm high respectively, both funnel-necked jars (Volume IV, chapters 3 & 11) probably made on Amorgos (Volume I, chapter 23, subgroup V3B; Volume IV, chap-

ter 3). This type of vessel is relatively rare, and found more commonly in Phase B than in Phase C (and not at all in Phase A); it is also found, in small quantities, in the Special Deposit South. The mouth of **C2223** could have been stopped by a standard-sized stone disc like **5974**; the larger **C2224** would have needed a slightly larger disc, such as **10169**. The vessels could have held water, and their mouths might have been suitable for pouring; equally they could have held other liquids, or dry products. Olive charcoal is present in most layers, suggesting repeated small fires; but evidence for domestic activities is lacking. These assemblages, one atop the other, seem quite repetitive in their make-up, and the joining sherds from the two vessels found at different levels suggest some mixing, perhaps during the process of relaying floors. The evidence suggests this room was not much used for storage of produce, for cooking, or for domestic activities. Instead, the remains suggest a working space, where small-scale metal working and perhaps other crafts took place. The numerous stone discs should probably be mainly understood as part of a toolset in the room, rather than lids for pots; the large ones may have been used as working surfaces. The range of activities here seems somewhat restricted, if not specialized; the material culture context is, as a set as well as individually, entirely different from contexts found on Kavos.

A second material-rich context to be considered here is that of the possible upper floor or roof context of Dhaskalio Phase C in the northern end of the Hall at the summit of Dhaskalio (Trench VI west, Stratigraphic Unit C: see Volume I, chapter 10). Here much material, stored and used either on the roof, or on a second floor, had collapsed with the building during its destruction. The large number of sherds—1254—represents fully 31 per cent of all the sherds found in the trench. Two large (in the case of **C2238**, height greater than 450 mm: Volume IV, fig. 4.147) barrel jars found broken in many pieces accounted for some 138 of the sherds; other shapes, where identified, were mainly jars. The obsidian, while not great in number, still represents 25 per cent of the obsidian found in the trench. The objects found were a schematic figurine, two sherds of marble vessels, several pebbles, rubbers or hammers, a grinding-stone fragment, numerous stone discs, various recycled and reused sherds, a tiny gold sheet fragment, several copper spills, two copper strips and two small lead objects of unknown function. The evidence for both production and use of metal is slightly greater here than in the context discussed above in Trench I, and the associated stone objects are similar in nature. But the pottery differs in quantity and number, and the environmental evidence differs here as well. Fire may have been the agent of

destruction, and it preserved much charcoal, including probable roof elements, many seeds and some charred organic material which may have been stored here; a few bones and the largest quantity of shell found anywhere on Dhaskalio were also found. Here is preserved, along with metal-working evidence, and the presence of the schematic marble figurine and marble vessel sherds, wider evidence for domestic storage and consumption, in the most surprising of locations: the upper floor (or roof) of the prominent north end of the Hall. Given the likelihood that fire destruction has preserved the final context of use of the area, this late use of the Hall may not be representative of activities hosted there during its long life.

One further context of interest on Dhaskalio, of Phase C, was found at the southern end of the site in Trench XXI. Here, in a small area about one metre square and 0.35 m deep, the destruction of the building had led to a very dense deposit of material on a floor. This included 1724 sherds, some 63 per cent of the entire quantity found in the trench. Mixed with these sherds was an impressive repertoire of material. No figurines, marble vessels or spools were found here, but two of Dhaskalio's very rare small decorative stone items were: a carnelian bead and a rock-crystal disc. A grinding slab fragment was found with a pestle, a rubber and various hammers or pounders. There were various stone discs (and a ceramic disc), two bone tubes for pigment, copper and lead objects, copper spills, and a mould fragment. Obsidian was not plentiful in this small area, but there were 265 shells, and evidence from phytoliths for cereals. The pottery included both storage shapes and smaller finewares: the latter included two almost complete examples, a bell cup (**C2285**) and a jug (**C2286**). Many of the sherds were part of two barrel jars, one of which (**C2291**) had rim diameter of 380 mm and must have stood taller than 600 mm when complete. One of the very large stone discs found here might have covered it. The variety of pottery was such that most ceramic categories found at Dhaskalio in Phase C were represented, with the emphasis on storage vessels. While the pottery and the restricted area seem to speak of storage, the other artefacts once again suggest metal-working activity, and it has been suggested that a craftperson's toolkit might be represented here (Volume I, chapter 31). This small area might have served mainly for storage, facilitating activities perhaps primarily conducted nearby.

These three contexts from Dhaskalio, with their rich evidence for associations between material categories and hence for material practices, illustrate how many areas of the site were used in range of different ways. Craft or productive activities were just as common, and widely distributed, as consumption.

The evidence for metal-working in particular is widespread (Volume I, chapter 32). These activities contrast markedly with the Special Deposit South, where deliberate deposition in ritual action was the main means by which the contexts as excavated were formed. The contextual variations in the Special Deposit South were analysed in detail in chapter 12 of Volume II. Although there are interesting and telling variations within the deposit, in comparison to contexts on Dhaskalio the Special Deposit South is very consistent in its makeup. The dominant categories of broken find—pottery, stone vessels, and marble figurines—are found in all areas. As pointed out in Chapter 6, the pottery forms are specialized and consistent, and differ markedly from those found in the settlement; and as discussed above, the figurine and stone vessel forms also differ from the few found on Dhaskalio. Hence, although the material deposited on Dhaskalio and in the Special Deposits is drawn from a common cultural set, and in each case was specially imported for use on Keros, different forms were destined for use in the different areas, and radically different modes of practice were accommodated by those material forms.

Conclusion

It is clear that the material worlds of Dhaskalio and Kavos were rich and varied. They point to different recurrent activities in each area which drew variably upon a material culture resource whose transport to the sites was an ongoing precursor to much of the activity. It remains the case that few types were central to action both in the Special Deposits and on Dhaskalio, as seen in Table 9.1.

This table neatly summarizes how the shared material background was differently manipulated on Dhaskalio and Kavos. The prevalence of certain forms in the Special Deposit South is matched by their absence or near absence on Dhaskalio; and *vice versa* for the different materials utilized on Dhaskalio. The overlap categories, such as spools and obsidian (to which we might add pebbles), seem to have been differently used in both places. The greatest area of overlap was in ceramics, where some shared forms are found in both areas, but the most striking aspect of the ceramic assemblages remains the differences between them (Chapter 6).

Table 9.1. *Quantitative comparison of various find types at Dhaskalio and in the Special Deposit South (dominant features at each emphasized in bold numerals).*

	Dhaskalio	Special Deposit South
Folded arm figurine fragments	0	498
Marble rolled-rim bowl fragments	0	426
Sauceboat sherds	39	5121
Kouphonisi lamp sherds	0	243
Spools	25	66
Schematic figurines of Dhaskalio sub-variety	9	26
Obsidian	1541	3452
Metal & metallurgical finds	134	10
Stone discs	617	47
Ground stone	291	14

