

Aegean Seascapes: Space, Place and coastal habitation in prehistory

(Chapter from PhD thesis- "Seascape Dialogues: prehistoric maritime communities in Aegean Seascapes)

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Outline of the PhD study

- Human-seascape interaction
 - What influenced people to pursue a maritime way of life?
 - What form did this take?
 - How were coastal spaces used, perceived, and renegotiated temporally and spatially?
 - To what extent did seascapes impact and shape the relationships between communities?
- Aegean Sea as the pivot to research
 - Sea the central focus of the study
- Wider spatial net to redress the focus on smaller pockets of terrestrial space and regional narratives

SEASCAPE DIALOGUES: PREHISTORIC MARITIME COMMUNITIES IN THE AEGEAN SEASCAPE

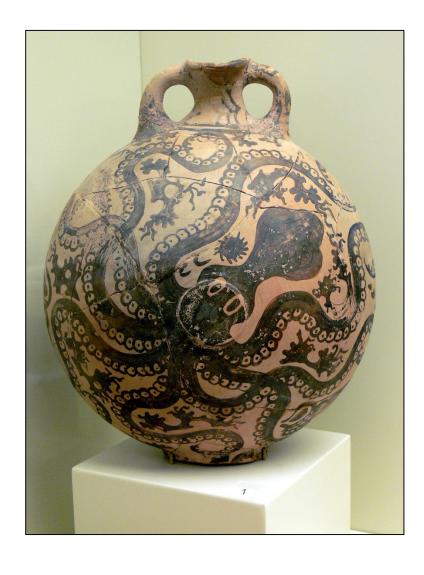
From Late Neolithic to Late Bronze Age

Uppsala universitet

Christopher Nuttall



The problem: a skewed image?



Work in the littoral/island areas has mostly focused on:

- Trade/Networks
 - 'International Spirit'
 - 'Anatolian trading network'
- Archaeological "cultures"
 - Keros-Syros
 - Kastri
- Culture change
 - "Minoanisation"
 - "Mycenaeanisation"
- Social complexity
 - Emergence of Civilisaition



Limitations

- All Aegean coastal areas (except coastal Anatolia)
 - Coastal mainland of Greece
 - Islands
- 15km inclusion zone from coast
- Late Neolithic (Saliagos) to the end of LB I (c. 4800-1550 BCE)
- Omission of LB II-III
 - Space constraints
 - Tartaron 2014 recently covered this period





Seascape Dialogues?

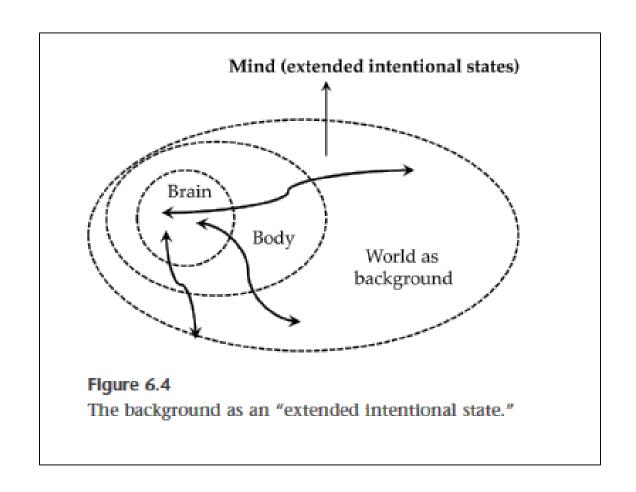
- What is a seascape?
 - Sea
 - Boats
 - Marine life/objects
 - Material culture referencing sea
- How has seascapes been approached?
 - The sea as a barrier?
 - Sea as an ever-present space to be used by a society – can be 'entangling'
- Seascapes as a space to shape culture and action





Theoretical perspectives

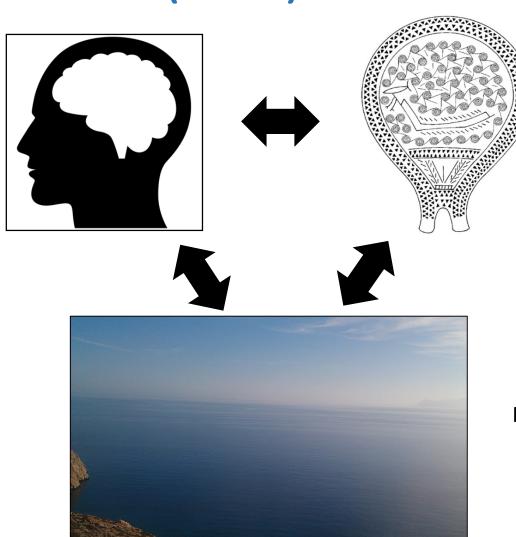
- Analysis of prehistoric maritime cultures must focus heavily on material culture
- How do we get into the 'mind' to tease out the significance of the seascape to communities?
- 'Embedment' and Material engagement theory (MET) from Neuroarchaeology





Material Engagement (MET)

- MET rejects the mind being 'in the head' (Malafouris 2013)
- Thought is located in coordination between **body** and **mind** in **action**
- "Humans create things which create humans"
- Material culture referring to seascapes may indicate the significance of the seascape to world view and identities
- Not what does a concept mean, but when



Feedback Loop



"Embedment"

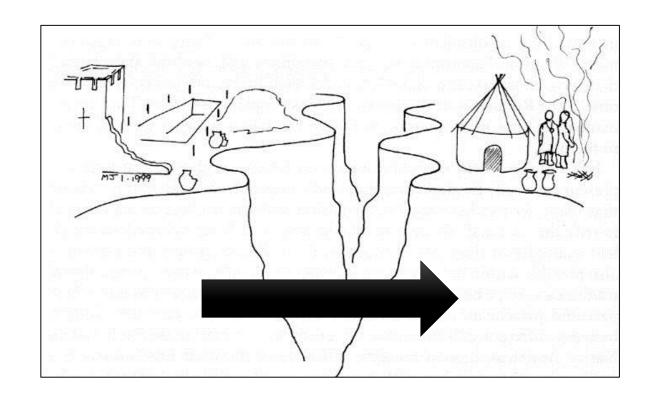
- Embedment the relationship between brain/body and its environment (Northoff 2004)
- Environment is the mix of physical environment, cultural environment and structured practice
- Material culture helps humans make sense of their environment
- Meaningful interaction with objects but does not have to be "symbolic" (Knappett 2005) – not language

Null hypothesis: People living by the sea will interact and will reference it in their material culture. If not living beside the sea, they will not depict it. People in a coastal setting will naturally have a closer connection to the sea.



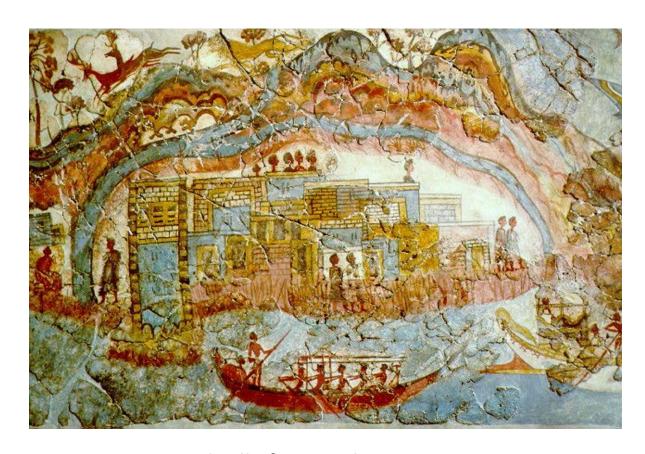
Method

- Connection of material culture, mind and environment through traces of human practice centered on human bodies.
- Archaeological sites and artefacts in academic literature
- Catalogue of sites and artefacts
- Holistic approach towards archaeological data – not just focus on one aspect, to get deeper all aspects need to be addressed
- Some distributions may be skewed due to publication/research bias
 - Attempt to include as much as possible





Evidence: life in seascapes



Flotilla fresco: Akrotiri

Spatial

 Relationship between settlements and coast (this chapter)

Consumption (life)

- Fish bones
- Stable isotope analyses of skeletal material
- Salt production

Representation

Material culture



Evidence: death in seascapes

Spatial

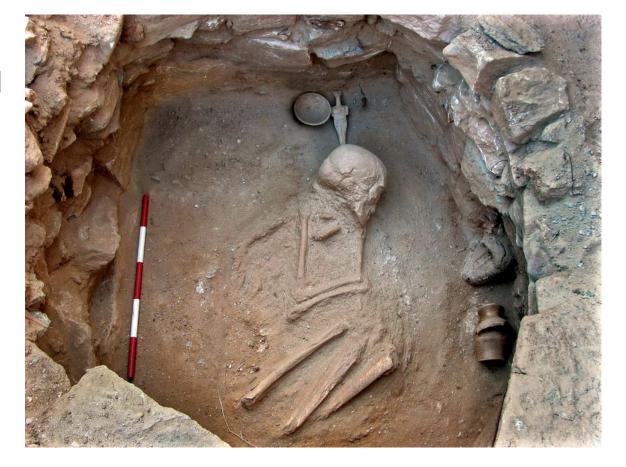
- Relationship between the sea and mortuary practices
- Positioning of cemeteries/tombs

Consumption

- Grave goods sea related acts
- Funerary feasts seafood

Representation

Depiction of seascapes in grave context



EC grave at Chalandriani, Syros



Chapter 3 – Space and Place

- Spatial analysis of settlement patterns
- When and where is coastal occupation most intense?
- How are settlements situated in relation to the coast?
- Can we begin to interpret these patterns from a spatial perspective in light of wider historical narratives or seascape interaction?

DRAF

Chapter 3: Space and place: living beside the sea

"Place is security, space is freedom" — Yi-Fu Tuan. Space and Place: Humanistic Perspective

3.1 Space and Place

Earlier in Chapter 1, we encountered how the formulation of space and place within landscape archaeology has had a profound influence on the Seascape Perspective (see 1.2). ¹ To briefly recap, space is neutral, yet humans can ascribe meaning to space through their cognitive processing, making space known and significant, in other terms, a place ² The creation of place in coastal zones is the creation of a seascape, which, as we also encountered in Chapter 1, can include land also (see 1.2). One formulation of a seascape is the meaning given to a space as a locus of habitation, i.e. choosing to settle and build a house or settlement in a coastal zone. If we take a place to be a socially constructed attribution by communities in the transformation of space, then the choice to settle and inhabit a particular locale is to ascribe it with meaning and significance in the life-ways of the agents that inhabit that space.³ If the space is one with an interplay between sea and land, then the choice to settle and continue to inhabit such a location can indicate the importance of the seascape to communities and human agents. Settlements create place within a seascape.

In the Aegean, there are few locations which are natural magnets for human occupation. Space, i.e. the natural environment and geography of the Aegean, is not a static continuum. Seascapes are to be experienced and a decision to settle in a given locality can be influenced by the desire for interaction with such a space. The ecological background of a settlement is the canvas upon which the palimpsests of social interaction between humans through the life-span of a settlement are painted. As such, this ecological background, whether the interplay between land and sea, mountains or arable plains, is woven into the social fabric of agents, who either decided to settle in that specific locale, or were born, raised and died within a particular ecological framework.

Coastal life has attained a particularly exalted status in terms of desirability, with picturesque seaside settlements being a mark of affluence and hedonism, though we cannot assume that this modernistic view would hold any weight in the past. Living beside the sea comes with a host of associated risks, which are not so readily obvious today. Firstly, to live by the coast is to be connected. This is a risk, as connectivity can be inviting to unwanted guests and we must assume that acts of aggression were more frequent and transient than today. Secondly, there are risks associated with natural phenomena. Storms and high winds would at best be an inconvenience to coastal life, without modern protection and heating systems, or at worst a serious risk to survival. In a region so tectonically active, living beside the coast poses risks when tectonic events are stronger than average, with tsunamis being a hazard in these events. ⁶

¹ I use the term space to denote the neutral, spatial dimension un-interpreted by humans, place is the general, hypothetical attribution of meaning to space, while locale is a particular place within the spatial dimension.
² Tillow 1004:

² Tilley 1994; ³ Tuan 1977, 3.

⁴ Tilley 1994, 5

⁵ At this stage, the distinction between interaction with seascapes for economic means or for symbolic means is not differentiated, what we are looking for here is the evidence for spatial relationships between settlements and the sea, before further interrogation later.



Motivation

- Transformation of space to place is significant and an intentional act.
- Creation of *place* within a seascape
- Choice for coastal habitation can indicate the importance of seascape to human agents
- First step into understanding the significance of seascapes to communities from a spatial dynamic





Lists of all sites considered thus far (work in progress)

	_		
MASTER SITE LIST. (IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER)1	51. GOURNIA32	99. MALIA STIRI to be added	56
0. Note on the format of the catalogue	52. GROTTA check for later34	100. MANIKA	56
 AGIASSOS = Needs to await further information be added to spatial analysis	53. HALIEIS	101. MARKIANI	50
AGIA ANNA= Needs to be added to spatial analysis	54. HERAION35		57
3. AGIA IRINI8	55. IALYSOS35	102. MAVRISPILIA	
4. AGIA PELAGIA9	56. ITANOS ALATOPATELA	103. MAVRO VOUNO GRAMMATIKOU to be added	58
5. AGIA PHOTIA9	57. KALMIS to be added	104. MEGALI MAGOULA GALATAS	58
6. AGIOI ANARGYROI	58. KALO CHORIO-ISTRON37	105. MEGALO RIMBARI to be added	58
7. AGIOS ANDREAS10	59. KARAVELAS	106. MERENDA to be added and refined	59
8. AGIOS ANTONIOS	60. KARYDI37	107. METHONI to be added	59
9. AGIOS ANTONIOS POTOU11	61. KANAKIA38	108. MIDEA	60
AGIOS ATHANAIOU Needs to be added to spatial analysis	62. KAROUMES38	109. MIKRE VIGLA	60
11. AGIOS KOSMAS12	63. KASTELLOS to await information. Add GPS	110. MIKRO VOUNI find information for later times	61
12. AGIOS NIKOLAOS (ATTICA) Needs to be added to spatial analysis	64. KASTRAKI39	111. MIKROGIALI to be added and located	62
13. AGIOS NIKOLAOS (CRETE) Needs to be added to spatial analysis	65. KASTRI (KYTHERA) to be added. Look for other Kythera sites40	112. MINOA to find later information	62
14. AGIOS MAMAS	66. KASTRI (SYROS)40	113. MITROU to be added	63
15. AGIOS PETROS. 14	67. KASTRO ALIMNIA	114. MODI to be added	65
16. AIGALE to be added	68. KATEVATI41	115. MOSCHATO to be added	66
17. AKRI ROZOS 15		116. MOUNT KYNTHOS to be added find location	66
18. AKROTERION OURION (VRYOKASTRO) to be added	69. KAVOS VASILI41	117. MYCENAE	66
19. AKROTIRI. 16	70. KAVOUSI AZORIA42	118. MYRINA	67
20. ALEVRIKO needs to be added	71. KEPHALA43	119. NEA ERYTHRAIA	67
21. ARKESINE to add. 17	72. KEPHALARI MAGOULA needs more information	120. NEA MAKRI to be added	67
21. ARKESINE to add	73. KEPHALI SPHENDYLI44	121. NEROKOUROU	68
22. ASINE	74. KERATEA to add	122. NISI KHELIOU	68
24. ASPIS. 19	75. KIAPHA THITI44	123. PACHEIA AMMOS	69
25. ASTERIA GLYFADA needs to be added is there a settlement? 20	76. KNOSSOS45	124. PALAIKASTRO	60
	77. KOIMISI to be added	A. PALAIKASTRO MARIDATHI	60
	78. KOLONNA46	B. PALAIKASTRO KASTRI	70
	79. KORFI T'ARONIOU47	C. PALAIKASTRO LIDIA KEFALA SOUTH	71
28. AVDHELI	80. KOROPI47	D. Palaikastro Settlement TO BE ADDED	71
29. AVYSSOS to be added	81. KOUFI48		73
30. BRAURON22	82. KOUKONISSI needs to be added check further	125. PALAIKASTRO (MYKONOS)	73
31. CAPE MAVROS	83. KOUKOUMIA48	126. PALLINI	
32. CHAMAIZI23	84. KOUKOUNARIES to be added	127. PANAGIA I ANTILOUSA await Deltion report. To be added	73 74
33. CHANIA23	85. KOUREMENOS HILL50	128. PANI HILL to be added	
34. CHEIROMYLOS 24	86. KRYOPIGADO to be added and located	129. PANORMOS/KORFARI TON AMYGDALION	74
35. CHOMATOS needs to be added	87. KYNTHOS to be added50	130. PALAMARI to be researched	75
36. CORINTH	88. LAKKHOUDHES to be added	131. PAPADIOKAMBOS	75
37. DEBLA	89. LAMBOGIANNA 51	132. PAOURA to be added.	76
38. DHASKALIO	90. LAMBRIKA to be added 51	133. PARADIMI	76
39. DIKILI TASH needs to be added for the later periods	91. LEFKANDI to be further added	134. PAROIKIA to be checked for EBA and researched	76
40. DIMINI to research 27	92. LERNA 52	135. PARTHENI	77
41. DIONYSOS	93. MAGASA	136. PEF(V)KAKIA	77
42. DOKATHISMATA to be added. 27	A. MAGASA HOUSE 53	137. PERA GALINI	78
43. ELEUSIS	B. MAGASA VIGLI 53	138. PETALOTA	78
44. EMPORIO to be added. 28	94. MAGOULA ERETRIAS to be added. 53	139. PETRACOTA	70
45. EPIDAVROS APOLLO MALEATAS	94. MAGOULA EXSTRATIOU 54	A. PETRAS MEPHALA.	79
46. ERMIONI MAGOULA (KASTRI)	96. MAKROVOUNI to be added	B PETRAS	70
47. FALSARNA 31	96. MAKROVOON to be added		
48. FOURNOI MAGOULA/PETRES 31	A PROFITIS ELIAS 54	140. PETROMAGOULA	80
	B. MALIA PALATIAL CENTRE	141. PHYLAKOPI	
49. FTELIA	B. MALIA PALATIAL CENTRE	142. PHYRRHOYES	81
30. FIELLUS	96. MIALIA PITSIS to De 800e0	143. PIGI ATHINAS	81

		••
		81
145.	PLAKALONA	82
	PLAKARI	82
	PLASI wait for Deltion.	
	POLIOCHNI	
149.	POROS-KATSAMBAS	84
	POUNDA to be added	
	PRINIATIKOS PYRGOS	
	PROSYMNA	
153.	PSEIRA to be added find more stuff	
154.	PYRGOS	
	RAOS	87
156.	RETHL	88
157.	RIZOKASTELLIA	88
158.	RODOPOS TROULOS	88
159.	ROUPH to be added	89
160.	SALANDI BAY to find out more information. TO add.	89
161.	SALIAGOS	90
162.	SAMBARIZA MAGOULA	90
163.	SAMIOTI MAGOULA	91
	SELES AKROTIRI	
	SERAGLIO to be researched.	
	SESKLO more information	
	SFENDAMI is a ditch enough?	
	SFINARI KORAKAS	
	SIBSI	
	SKALA SOTIROS	
	SKARKOS	
172.	SKLAVOS	95
173.	SPEDOS	96
174.	STAVROUPODI	96
175.	STROFILAS	97
176.	STRONGILOS	97
177.	TALIOTI find material and add	98
178.	TAVROS	98
179.	THORIKOS	98
180.	THERMI find out if there is Neolithic also.	
181.	THOLOS	100
182.	TIGANI	100
183.	TIRYNS	101
184.	TORONI	101
185.	TROULLOS	102
186.	VAGIA	102
	VALTOS to be refined	102
	VARIARNIA	104
	VASILIKA-KYPARISSI (MACEDONIA) to be refined and name chan	ged in text
	104	-
190.	VASILIKI to be refined.	104
A.	VASILIKI KEFALA	104
В.	VASILIKI TO BE ADDED	105
		106
	VATHI refine! Awaiting further info from AD and Prakt.	106
	VIGLIA to be added. Awaiting dating etc.	
	VRIOKASTRO (ANDROS)	
	XEROLIMNI VIGLI	
193.		
	YIALI, YIALI.	108
	ZAGANI to be added.	109
197.	ZAKROS	109
197. 198.	ZAKROS	
197. 198. 199.	ZERFLIA	
197. 198. 199. 200.	ZERFLIA	109
197. 198. 199. 200. 201.	ZERELIA ZOUMBARIA	109



Selection Criteria

- Focus of the thesis on coastal settlements, limit of 15km inland
- Focus of this chapter is habitation narrowing criterion
- Inclusion based on presence of houses dated to a specific phase, i.e.
 EM IIA.
- Presence of clay roof tiles on mainland indicating an EH IIB date
- Excluded:
 - Artefact scatters (lithic and ceramic)
 - Uncertain phasing. i.e. dated to the "Early Bronze Age" or "Prehistoric walls"
- A caveat: long-lived settlements and continuous habitation



Chronological concerns

- Parceling of time for this study –
 NOT reinventing the wheel.
 Contextual solution to a specific problem.
- Driven by the chronological uncertainties of matching time across the different Aegean areas
 - e.g. MC early and EH III.
- Inspired by Rutter 2017 division of Middle Bronze Age
- Calibrated using the recent C14 datings put forward by Cavanagh et al 2016.
- Follows historical developments and collapses 'problem areas'

							1), and Wiersma
(2013) vs. site-specific phases at Lerna (Zerner 1978; 1986; 1988) and Kolonna (Gauss and Smetana 2007) vs. novel terminology for EH III–LH I periods proposed by Rutter (this volume)							
Wace and Blegen 1918	Howell 1974	Rutter 1995, 2001	Wiersma 2013	Zerner 1978, 1986, 1988 [Lerna]	Gauss and Smetana 2007 [Kolonna]	Approximate Calendar Years	Rutter Proposal at Groningen [October 2013]
Early					Phase B	2700-2200 BCE	Early Helladic IIA
Helladic II		EH II			Phase C	_	Early Helladic IIB
Early Helladic III	Protominyan	EH III: 1	EH III	EH III	Phase D	2200/2150-	Middle
	EH III:	EH III: 2			Phase E	2050/2000	Bronze Age
	,	EH III: 3			r Hase L	ВСЕ	A [MBAA]
				Lerna IV/V Transitional	Phase F	2050/2000-	
Middle Helladic	Early Minyan MH I	MH I	MH I	Lerna VA	Phase G	1900 BCE	Middle Bronze Age
			MH II	Lerna VB			в [мвав]
	Classical Minyan MH II	MHII		Lerna VC	Phase H	1900-1750 BCE	
		.,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,			Phase I		
	Late Minyan MH III	MH III	MH III	III Lerna VD Pha	Phase J 1750–1680 BCE	Middle	
		- WIH	-			BCE	Bronze Age
Late Helladic I		LH I	LH I	Lerna VI	Phase K	1680-1640 BCE	C [MBAC]

Rutter 2017



Sea-level?

- 6000 BCE sea level approx. 15m lower than present
- Since Late Neolithic, sea level rise a steady 0.7 – 1mm per year
- Using bathymetric maps and predicted average sea-level rise
- Figures take into account localized tectonic shifts (e.g. Lambeck 1995)
- Other factors
 - Sedimentation
 - Argolic Gulf, Volos Bay and Thermaic Gulf
 - Localized changes, e.g. Phylakopi.
 - Tectonic shifts

- Working from 4800 BCE with median of 0.85mm per year can give a general figure of around:
- GIS model will be built to factor in sea-level change



	Late Neolithic	Final Neolithic	Early Bronze Age	Middle-Late Bronze- Age transition
S. Aegean	7m	6m	5m	4m
C. Aegean	6m	5m	4m	3m
N. Aegean	5m	4m	3m	2m

Depth below the present sea-level



Coastal or non-coastal?

1. Coastal Sites

- Directly beside ancient coast (i.e. between 0-2km)
- Close-to sea-level
- Example: Agia Irini, Kea.

2. Semi-Coastal

- Reasonable distance to the ancient coast (2-5km)
- defensive position or withdrawn from the coast
- Example: Markiani, Amorgos.

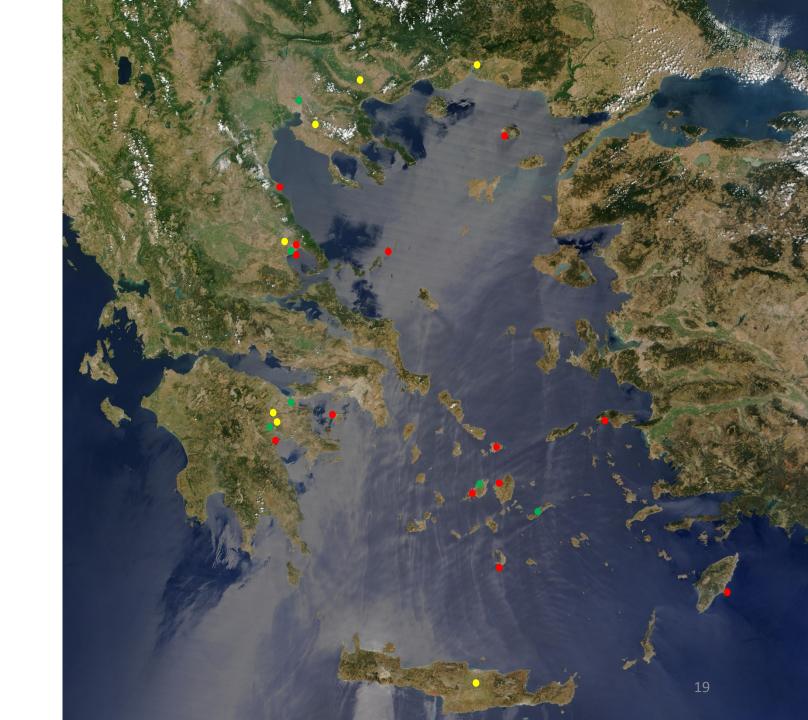
3. Non-Coastal

- Inland (above 5km),
- Arable valleys or elevated inland positions
- Not be visible from the coast, nor visibility with the coast
- At 15km, it would have taken around a full day to travel to the coast
- Example: Midea, Argolid.



Late Neolithic

Red = Coastal
Green = semi-coastal
Yellow= non-coastal





Late Neolithic: (preliminary) thoughts

- Non-coastal pattern on the mainland. Coastal on islands
- Placement of settlements for seafood and subsistence Saliagos culture?
- Settlers arriving in a new landscape,
 - communication networks within the new territory and back to the original location
- Space inscribed with significance and 'place-ness'.
 - Understandable syntax for finding other similar settlements in the islandscape
 - Suitable departure points for sea-craft.
- Possible to live on the interior of larger islands but choice not to
- Coastal choice not just in Cyclades. Also in Northern Aegean e.g. Mikro Vouni on Samothraki and Agios Petros on Kyra Panagia.
- Contrast with Crete. Knossos seems to be the only inhabited settlement site
 - Dodecanese follows Crete cave sites
 - No relationship with the sea in Macedonia and Thrace settlements close to large stretches of arable land and rivers.



Final Neolithic

Red = Coastal
Green = semi-coastal
Yellow= non-coastal





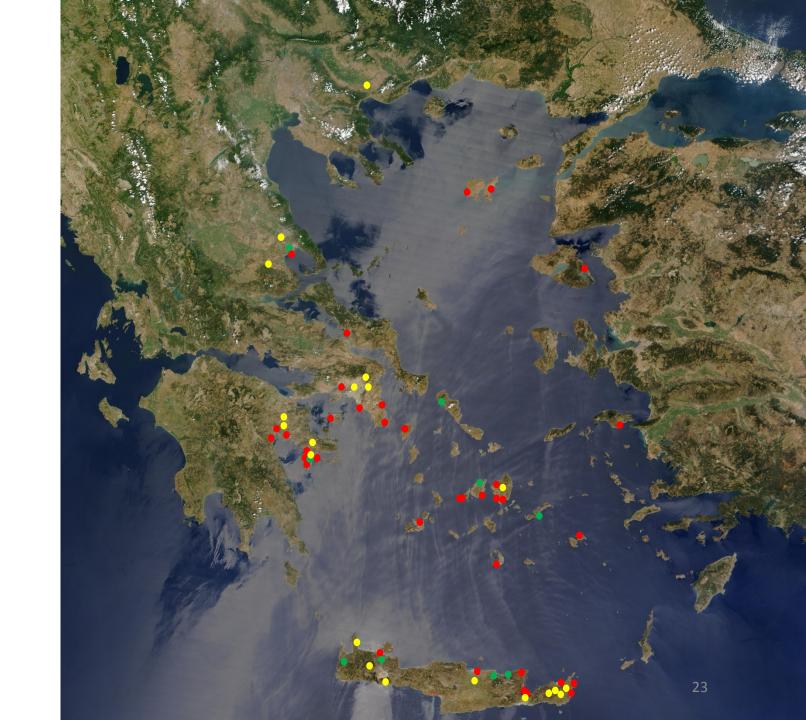
Final Neolithic: (preliminary) thoughts

- Emergence of elevated, defensive settlements in a semi-coastal fashion: Strofilas (Andros), Rethi (Andros), Kastro Alimnia (Alimnia)
 - Pastoral sites? One eye on the coast.
- Focus in N. Cyclades-Attica-S. Euboia region
 - Southern Euboia a part of the 'Cyclades' during this period?
- N. Aegean distribution of coastal settlements: Toroni, Pigi Athinas,
 Mikro Vouni, Myrina and Poliochni.
 - Unlike N. Cyclades, N. Aegean coastal settlements are not in defensive locations – directly beside the coast
- Rhodes and Crete habitation focused mostly on the interior



Early Bronze Age I (EBA A) (Grotta-Pelos)

Red = Coastal
Green = semi-coastal
Yellow= non-coastal





Early Bronze Age I-IIA (EBA B)

(Kampos/Keros-Syros)

Red = Coastal

Green = semi-coastal

Yellow= non-coastal



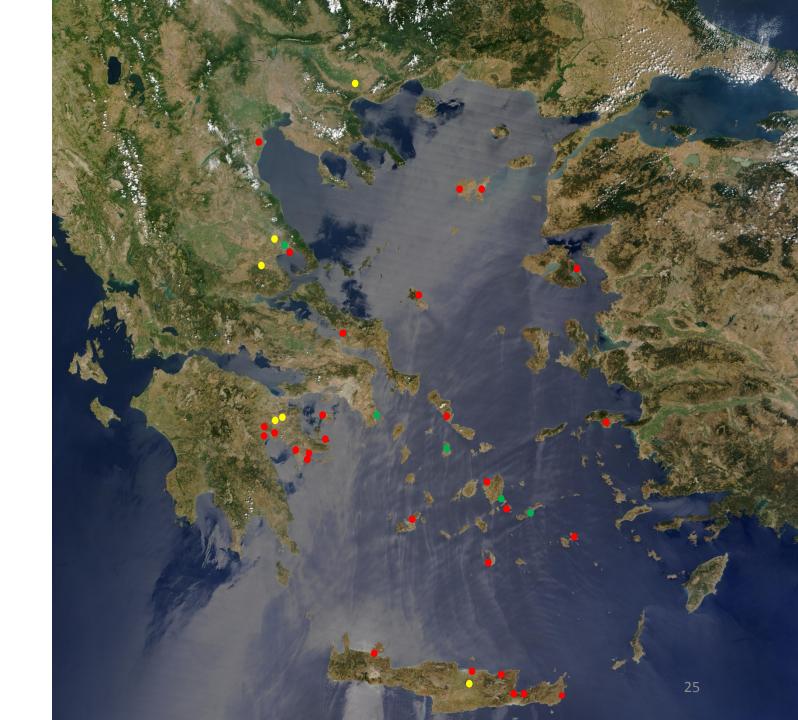


Early Bronze Age IIB (EBA C) (Kastri/Lefkandi)

Red = Coastal

Green = semi-coastal

Yellow= non-coastal





Early Bronze Age: (preliminary) thoughts

- Increase in coastal habitation in Early Bronze Age, particularly our EBA A and EBA B Drop our EBA C
 - Perhaps as a result of the adoption of the sail?
 - Or more linked to climatic shifts? Plausible in the Cyclades. Depopulation?
- Concentration of coastal sites in the Argolid.
 - Other ways to inhabit space in the Argolid, i.e. **Prosymna**, **Midea**, **Epidavros Apollo Maleatas**.
 - **Choice** to inhabit coastal locations
 - Can mainland communities be as **maritime** as island communities?
- Islands are the focus of coastal settlement.
 - Shift in the Cyclades from N.Cyclades to the C. Cyclades.
 - Appearance of elevated coastal settlements in the Cyclades and Saronic Gulf in EBA B.
- Crete becomes more 'coastal'
 - EBA A there is an even spread of non-coastal and coastal sites. Habitation of isolated, inland elevated sites pastoralism?
 - EBA B onwards there are more coastal sites.
- Correlation between seafaring identity (ie. FN and EB II) and defensive, elevated settlements.
 - FN-EM I Crete and the EC IIA-B Cyclades.
 - Increased conflict?



Early Bronze Age III - Middle Bronze Age I (MBA A)

Red = Coastal
Green = semi-coastal
Yellow= non-coastal



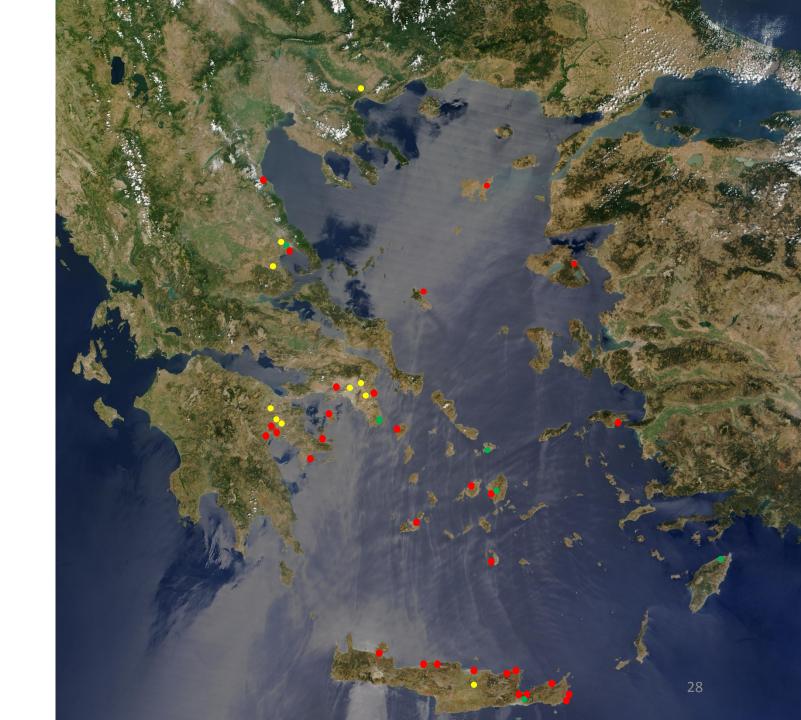


Middle Bronze Age II-III (MBA B)

Red = Coastal

Green = semi-coastal

Yellow= non-coastal





Late Bronze Age I (MBA C)

Red = Coastal

Green = semi-coastal

Yellow= non-coastal





Middle-Late Bronze Age: (preliminary) thoughts

- Lower incidence of coastal habitation than in the Early Bronze Age, exception in Cyclades and N. Aegean islands.
 - Focus also on Crete runs in start contrast to the Neolithic and first part of the EBA.
- Most coastal settlements are on coastal plain or low hills beside the coast not defensive positioning
 - Developments in fortifications?
- Exception is the Saronic region. E.g. Elevated defensive positions such as Sklavos and Kanakia on Salamis,
 Kiapha Thiti in Attika and Megali Magoula Galatas near Galatas.
 - All MH III, a link to the power of Kolonna on Aegina?
- Nucleated settlements in the Cyclades are joined by smaller settlements close to these centres in LB I
 - i.e. Raos and Ftellos on Thera, in the vicinity of Akrotiri; Troullos near Agia Irini
 - Phylakopi?
- On Crete there is strong continuity from EBA B through to our MBA B. In our MBA C we see appearance of costal 'villa' sites
 - Katevati, Karoumes, Papdiokambos and Pacheia Ammos.
 - Timing corresponds to emergence of Neopalatial palaces Dispersal of villa sites not all are coastal but coastal villas are an option.



- 1. There is a correlation between long-lived settlements and coastal regions
 - a) Lerna, Akrotiri, Kolonna, Phylakopi, Thermi, Grotta, Mikro Vouni, Poliochni, Palamari, Pefkakia to name some.
 - b) Inland exceptions, such as **Knossos**, **Sesklo**, **Dikili Tash** and **Prosymna** but still quite a lot of continuity in coastal habitation
 - c) Stability of coastal settlements?
 - d) Dynamic and adaptable places?



- 2. Some sites can be accounted for as safe harbours against prevailing winds and currents
 - a) **Phylakopi** on Melos and **Agia Irini** on Kea are protected against both the sorocco and meltemi, but close to areas where easy access to the wind can be obtained
 - b) **Akrotiri** protected against *meltemi* but exposed to *sorocco*
 - c) Change in the position of settlements before and after adoption of the sail
 - d) Prior, i.e. before EB III, coastal settlement could be found on capes and exposed shores, such as at **Dhaskalio** on Keros, **Kastraki** on Naxos, **Agios Kosmas** in Attica and **Kephala** on Kea.
 - e) After adoption of the sail, relation to wind became more important. **Dhaskalio**, **Agios Kosmas** abandoned. **Phylakopi**, **Agia Irini** etc. gain prominence.
 - f) The sea transforms from a place of the waves to a place of the winds?



- 3. Some island sites are not in close contact with the sea and pursue alternate pathways
 - a) Debla on Crete: EM I-IIA settlement located on the uplands south of Chania. High elevation and probable focus on animal husbandry
 - b) Comes at the same time as **Gournia**, **Zakros** and **Malia** are gaining prominence in coastal locations. Choice to avoid the coast.
 - c) **Agioi Anargyroi** on Naxos: EC I community rejected coastal habitation to move further inland.
 - d) At the same time Kastraki and Grotta were in occupation beside the coast.
 - e) Life beside the coast is a viable and popular option but not the *only* option. Negotiation of relationship with seascapes



- 4. Defensive or semi-coastal settlements are generally one phase or short-lived
 - a) Panormos, Kastri, Korfi t'aroniou, Strofilas etc. are only in use for relatively short periods
 - b) Significant effort invested in their construction
 - c) Not practical spaces for habitation
 - d) Important for view over the sea defensive relationship with the seascape



What has been completed?

- Introduction to seascapes and previous research (Chapter 1)
- Theoretical implications and analytical framework (Chapter 2)
- Space and Place in Coastal habitation (Chapter 3)





Where to next?

- 1. Representation of seascapes in material culture (Chapter 5)
- The consumption of seafood and sea-related materials, (Chapter 4)
- 3. The relationship between death and the sea in the Aegean? (Chapter 6)
- 4. Pulling it all together! (Chapter 7).



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