



THE ANNUAL BALZAN LECTURE

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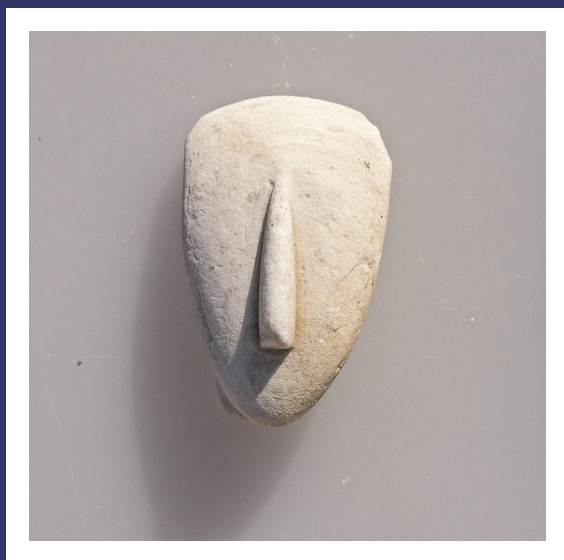
COGNITIVE ARCHAEOLOGY FROM THEORY TO PRACTICE

The Early Cycladic Sanctuary at Keros

by

COLIN RENFREW

2004 Balzan Prizewinner



LEO S. OLSCHKI

2012

COLIN RENFREW

*Cognitive Archaeology from Theory to Practice:
The Early Cycladic Sanctuary at Keros*

30 November 2011, Rome, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei



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Tutti i diritti riservati

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ALBERTO QUADRIO CURZIO

Member of the Board of the International Balzan Foundation “Prize”,
President of the Class of Moral, Historical and Philological Sciences of the
Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei

FOREWORD

The Annual Balzan Lecture series was inaugurated at the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei with a tandem lecture given by 2005 Balzan Prizewinners Professors Peter and Rosemary Grant entitled *The Evolution of Darwin’s Finches, Mockingbirds and Flies*. The second, in Zurich, *The Culture of Correction in Renaissance Europe: Humanists with Inky Fingers*, was delivered by Professor Anthony Grafton of Princeton University, 2002 Balzan Prizewinner. This series of lectures is the outcome of cooperation between the International Balzan Foundation “Prize”¹ and separately with the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei² and the Swiss Academies of Arts and Sciences.³ These agreements⁴ between the Balzan Foundation and the two national academies are designed to set in motion and sustain a series of initiatives. These initiatives have resulted in this present series of academic publications.

When the annual Balzan awards ceremony is held in Rome, an Annual Balzan Lecture is held in Switzerland in the same year and vice versa.

As Chairman of the Joint Commissions established by the International Balzan Foundation “Prize”, the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei and the Swiss Academies of Arts and Sciences, I am gratified to see this cooperation flourishing and in particular gaining recognition

¹ See p. 59.

² See p. 59.

³ See p. 60.

⁴ See p. 61.

through these lectures. The events themselves to date have been very memorable and it has been with great pleasure that we have hosted such esteemed academics as Lord Renfrew. The lecture published here represents the results of excavations on the island of Keros carried out over many years and Lord Renfrew has derived from this material a number of groundbreaking conclusions which have implications far beyond the field of archaeology itself.

WELCOME ADDRESS BY ALBERTO QUADRIO CURZIO

As President of the Class of Moral, Historical and Philological Sciences of the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, it gives me great pleasure to welcome Professor Lord Renfrew, who will deliver the 2011 Annual Balzan Lecture.

He is recognized also by those outside the field of Archaeology as one of the most eminent academics in the world. It is indeed appropriate that we host him here in the Accademia dei Lincei, the oldest academy in the world in the heart of the richest archaeological site in the world.

The Annual Balzan Lectures are intended to foster an interdisciplinary approach to research. In his lecture tonight Lord Renfrew brings together elements of History and Science to illuminate the fascinating life of a community in the remote past in the Greek archipelago. I will now hand over to Ambassador Bottai for his remarks.

OPENING REMARKS BY BRUNO BOTTAI

Chairman of the International Balzan Foundation “Prize”

I am very honoured to be here today. First I would like to thank the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei for their constant hospitality, in particular its Secretary General Ada Baccari and her staff for their diligent work on the occasion of Balzan events and lectures.

I would also like to express my appreciation to Lord Renfrew, 2004 Balzan Prizewinner for Prehistoric Archaeology for having accepted the invitation to deliver this third Annual Balzan Lecture. The International Balzan Foundation “Prize”, over which I preside, derives its relevance from its Prizewinners, through their great efforts to instigate new research and increase our store of knowledge.

Lord Renfrew of Kaimsthorn, Senior Fellow of the McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, Cambridge University, is one of the most eminent figures in the field of archaeology worldwide, one of the most eminent promoters of innovations in archaeological methods and the author of a brilliant series of works of magisterial interpretation and revolutionary impact in the arena of World and European prehistory. This was the motive for which he received the Balzan Prize in 2004. His research career has been something that has both involved and garnered strong interest from young researchers. This we can directly attest to, as on the occasion of the award of his Balzan Prize he delivered a lecture to a highly enthusiastic and appreciative audience of young scholars at the Odeion of the Museum of Classical Art, Faculty of the Humanities of the University La Sapienza. We have further successively seen how he was able to successfully employ a number of willing young researchers in the excavations at Kavos and Dhaskalio, as part of his Balzan Research Project.

Before handing over to Professor Matthiae, I wish sincerely to thank the Vice-President of the Accademia dei Lincei and member of the Board of the Balzan, Professor Alberto Quadrio Curzio for his ef-

forts in helping to arrange this Annual Balzan Lecture. Indeed thanks to the hard work he has carried out in facilitating the very effective cooperation between the Balzan Prize Foundation, the Accademia dei Lincei and the Swiss Academies of Arts and Sciences we are now seeing the first tangible benefits. Finally thanks to Professor Matthiae himself, a member of the Balzan General Prize Committee and of the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, for his valued contribution in making today's lecture possible.

PRESENTATION OF COLIN RENFREW
BY PAOLO MATTHIAE

Member of the Balzan General Prize Committee and of the
Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei

Mr Chairman, Ambassador, colleagues, friends, and students,

In the first instance I wish to express my deep satisfaction for the agreement between the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, and the International Balzan Foundation, together with the Swiss Academies which established the Annual Balzan Lectures.

In the second instance I wish to congratulate the Foundation in particular for the establishment of the second part of the award which provides support for research projects, involving many young researchers. Thus, the opportunity is offered to young scholars to take part in relevant researches for three to five years, side by side with Balzan Prizewinners, who are among the most eminent academics and scientists in their fields. This evening we have the privilege to witness the outcome of one such research, in Colin Renfrew's work.

It is a great privilege and an honour for me to introduce to our Academy Lord Renfrew, Professor Emeritus at the University of Cambridge.¹ He is so well known all over the world I will not need to present him to you, suffice to say that Lord Renfrew is one of the outstanding personalities in the field of archaeology, and that he was bestowed his title for his seminal contributions to our understanding of the ancient world. He is one of the most authoritative, innovative, and influential archaeologists in the world, and the fact that he can be defined by these three adjectives is quite rare. He has been a leader in the deep renewal of archaeology since the mid '60s/early '70s. He has always promoted innovation and development in archaeology, opening new, and fruitful paths. While providing enlightening suggestions, he is im-

¹ For full biographical and bibliographical information see p. 57.

mediately open to dialogue, stimulating discussion, also in congresses and conferences at the University of Cambridge, which are usually events of basic importance. One particular aspect I wish to underline here, namely the integrated global perspective characterising most of Colin Renfrew's writings. Archaeologists are usually specialists in one field; Colin Renfrew is an exception. His interests are wide, and it is impossible to recall all the marks he has left, and is still leaving in archaeology. I would like here to deal with four aspects, he is particularly interested in these recent years, and which may be briefly summarised as follows:

– *The ethical commitment to enlarge the horizon of our understanding of the past, beyond the typical western perspective.* He encouraged us to overcome our traditional perspective about the past. There are other ways of considering the past, even if they may be considered not equal from the scientific point of view, yet India, China, or the Islamic world have their own way of looking at the past, quite different from ours, yet not to be discarded. Our technology, or political theories do not allow us any kind of pretence to cultural domination. Such an attitude would be a serious mistake.

– *The scientific effort to correlate archaeology, general linguistics, and molecular genetics.* This is a bold, true interdisciplinary endeavour. Sometimes attempts at interdisciplinary research remain, particularly in our country, a wish, rather than a real accomplishment. This is a difficult, complex frontier, yet a border Colin Renfrew started to cross in a masterly way.

– *Cognitive archaeology or archaeology of mind,* an intellectual commitment he will present in this evening's lecture. Lord Renfrew is a forerunner in the study of ancient ways of thinking, and of the material remains of the past. One of Lord Renfrew's main merits is that he not only is a master in constructing theories, but he immediately follows up in their application.

– *Civil commitment* is certainly the last but not the least of his merits. He put a strong pressure on the British government to sign the UNESCO conventions against the trade and looting of antiquities. As an archaeologist working in the Near East I wish to recall the damages suffered by the Iraqi Museum of Baghdad, and by the Museum of Cairo, and we now fear that similar events may take place in other countries of the Near East, as recent events in Lebanon have shown. A strong civil commitment in this field must therefore be strongly appreciated.

I wish lastly to draw attention on Lord Renfrew's academic accomplishments. Some of his seminal work is also available in Italian, including *Before Civilization: The Radiocarbon Revolution and Prehistoric Europe*, 1973, published by Laterza as *L'Europa della Preistoria*, 1996; *Archaeology and Language. The Puzzle of Indo-European Origins*, 1987, published by Laterza as *Archeologia e Linguaggio*, 1989; *Archaeology. Theories, Methods, and Practice* (with Paul Bahn), 1991, translated by Zanichelli as *Archeologia. Teoria, metodi, pratica*, 1995, a superb manual, and an incredible source of stimulating ideas. Lastly, we can also mention *Prehistory: The Making of the Human Mind*, 2007, published by Einaudi as *Preistoria. L'alba della mente umana*, 2011, a masterly introduction to prehistory.

Thus, it is a great honour for the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, the Balzan Foundation, Italian archaeologists, and all of us here, to have the privilege to listen today to Lord Colin Renfrew.

Lecture by COLIN RENFREW

COGNITIVE ARCHAEOLOGY FROM THEORY TO PRACTICE
THE EARLY CYCLADIC SANCTUARY AT KEROS

1. INTRODUCTION

It was a great honour to be invited to deliver the third Annual Balzan Lecture, and I am grateful for the kind words of introduction. It was doubly so to be invited to lecture under the auspices of the Accademia dei Lincei. Once before I had the honour of lecturing in the rooms of the Lincei and recall the occasion with pleasure (Renfrew 1993).

The research funds generously made available to me with my Balzan Prize in 2004 were divided into two parts. With the first I was able to set up a Research Fellowship in Cognitive Archaeology, to be held for three years at the McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research in Cambridge. The second component was used to initiate a research excavation into an enigmatic prehistoric site on the Cycladic island of Keros, which I suspected to be the location of a prehistoric sanctuary. This, as I shall describe, took place from 2006 to 2008, with the participation of a number of young research workers. Several of these are contributing to the final publication of the project which is now in preparation.

In this account I shall first say something about the first component of the work, and of how it is relevant to the second, which I shall then try to describe. It is a pleasure to express my gratitude to the Balzan Foundation for the prize which made possible the work I shall describe.

2. A HEAD FROM KEROS

First, however, allow me to draw attention to an image relevant to most of the things pertaining to my theme. It is a marble head, almost life-sized which was given to the Musée du Louvre in Paris in

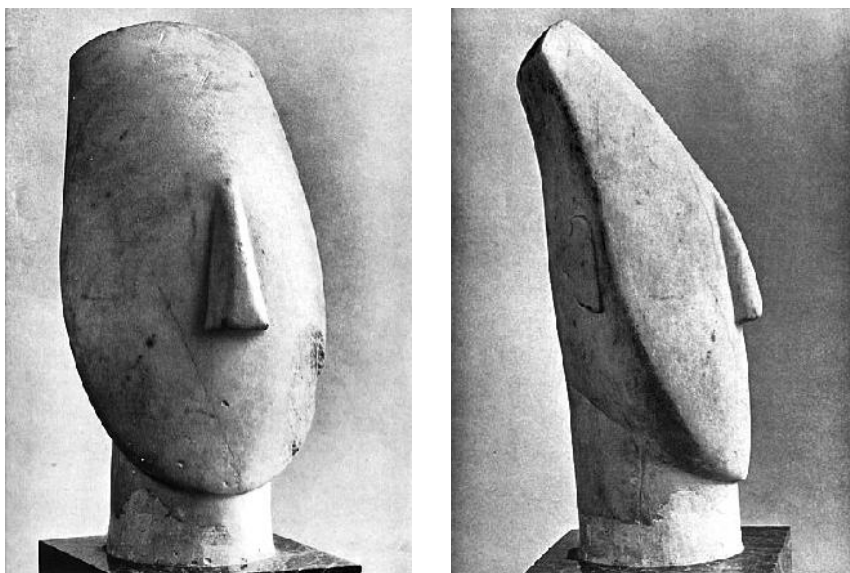


Fig. 1. Marble head from Keros, c. 2600 BC.

1873. I first saw and admired it in Paris in 1956. It is from a marble figure of exceptional size of a form well-known from the Cycladic Islands of Greece (Fig. 1).

Such figures, although rarely more than 30 cms in height, have been known from excavations in the Early Cycladic cemeteries. It is clear that these sculptures date from the Aegean early bronze age, around 2600 BC. When I first saw it I did not know that it had been found on the island of Keros. But it was admired for its sculptural qualities early in the twentieth century by artists such as Brancusi, Giacometti and Henry Moore and it figures prominently in *L'Art des Cyclades* published by Christian Zervos in 1957 (Zervos 1957, figs. 159-60). On my first visit to Greece in 1961 I saw other Early Cycladic figures in the National Museum in Athens and their remarkable aesthetic qualities, including their apparent sophistication in such early peasant communities, were one factor which led me to choose this area and period as the focus for doctoral research. Like others I have found it difficult to put into words the qualities which make these Early Cycladic sculptures so fascinating. This has remained for me something of an enigma since 1956. It will soon become clear, I hope, how the problem is relevant to the themes I am seeking to address.

3. FROM MIND TO MATERIAL ENGAGEMENT

In 1982 the theme of my inaugural lecture as Professor of Archaeology in the University of Cambridge, was *Towards an Archaeology of Mind*. It was an early step towards what one would now term Cognitive Archaeology, an expression of the view that there is abundant evidence in the archaeological record about how people thought in prehistoric times and of their preoccupations, although conventional archaeological wisdom at that time tended to maintain that such matters were no longer open to investigation. Yet great monuments like the Pyramids of Egypt or our own Stonehenge must be in part the product of past ways of thought. So too must be the stone cubes of the Indus Valley civilisation, which when weighed today give incontrovertible evidence of the existence then of units of measure.

Cognitive Archaeology may be defined as “the study of past ways of thought as inferred from material remains” (Renfrew 1994a, 3). This



Fig. 2. Indus Valley weights from Mohenjodaro, c. 2300 BC.

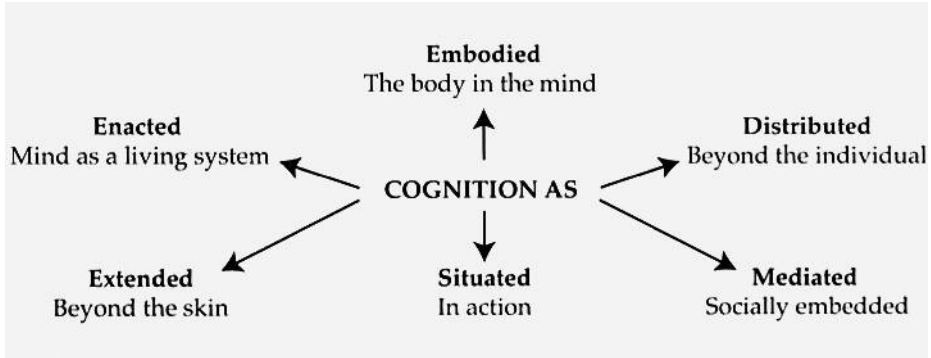


Fig. 3. Mind beyond cognitivism – diagram by Lambros Malafouris.

approach led on to the development of Material Engagement Theory (Renfrew 2001, 2004; Malafouris 2004) where the material engagement process between humans and the material world and between human individuals mediated by material artefacts is a central concern, and a key to the understanding of many social developments.

My thinking about Material Engagement Theory has been much stimulated by working with Dr Lambros Malafouris, who from 2005 to 2008 was Balzan Research Fellow in Cognitive Archaeology at the McDonald Institute in Cambridge. This diagram (Fig. 3), ‘Mind beyond cognitivism’ (Malafouris 2004, 57), indicates some features of the *Material Engagement* approach. The approach seeks to overcome the Cartesian dualism between mind and matter, seeing instead mind as embodied, situated, and extended in the material world.

The work with Dr Lambros Malafouris has proved stimulating and productive. In the course of it we were able to hold two major symposia focussing upon these approaches. The first, held in 2006 (Malafouris and Renfrew 2010) was *The cognitive life of things, recasting the boundaries of the mind*. The second in 2007 reflected our growing awareness of the relevance of the discipline of neuroscience to these discussions, and we invited the distinguished neuroscientist Chris Frith to join us (Renfrew, Frith and Malafouris 2009). It was published in the *Proceedings of the Royal Society* and then as a monograph with the title *The Sapient Mind: Archaeology Meets Neuroscience*. We have participated together in other publications. One of these, arising from a consideration of the issues raised by the Indus Valley weights, is highly relevant to the issues of Cognitive Archaeology: *The Archaeology*

of Measurement: Comprehending Heaven, Earth and Time in Ancient Societies (Morley and Renfrew 2010).

Dr Lambros Malafouris now holds a position at Keble College, Oxford, and some of his publications (Malafouris 2008, 2011a, 2011b) are listed on p. 45. They make some valuable contributions to the field of Cognitive Archaeology.

4. THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF RITUAL AND OF CULT

The field of Cognitive Archaeology has many dimensions, where material symbols are used in processes of material engagement. They include design, planning, measurement, social relations and the supernatural. Of these the last has been much discussed over the years and a whole field exists which may broadly be designated 'the archaeology of religion' (Renfrew 1994b). This is itself a vast subject, but it is one where it is difficult for the modern commentator, interested in prehistoric times, to escape from modes of thought conditioned by literacy. For most of the faiths of the modern world may be described as 'religions of the Book'. These are based on sacred texts, usually seen as divinely inspired, such as the Bible, the Koran, the Torah and the principal texts of the Hindu faith (including the Hymns of the Rig Veda, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana).

Cult

For that reason, when speaking of prehistoric times, I now prefer to avoid the term 'religion', with its more recent connotations, and to speak of cult and of ritual. In 1974 to 1977 I had the good fortune to excavate at the prehistoric site of Phylakopi on the Greek island of Melos, discovering what, it was argued, could be described as a 'sanctuary' or 'shrine'.



Fig. 4. Dr Lambros Malafouris.

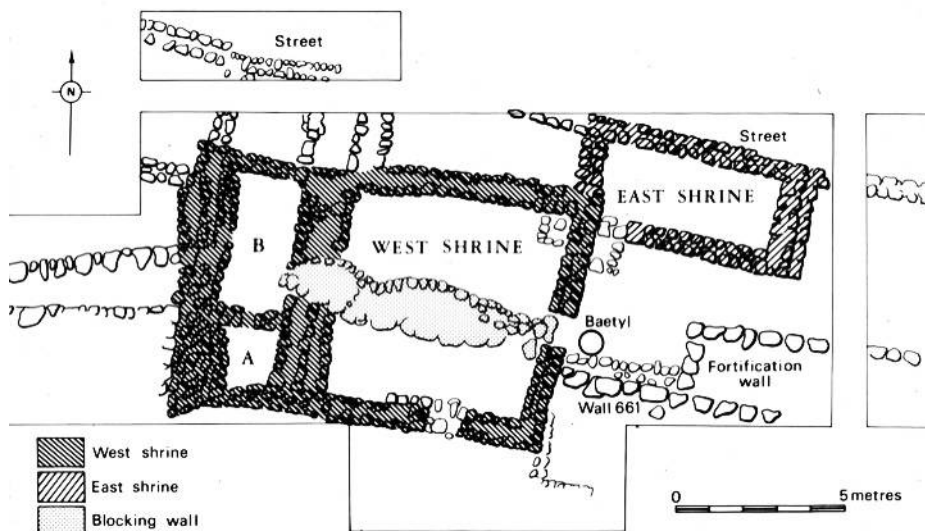


Fig. 5. The Mycenaean 'shrine' at Phylakopi, c. 1200 BC.

There, when speaking of 'cult' or 'religion' (which were treated as interchangeable terms) it was convenient to follow the Oxford English Dictionary definition of religion: 'Action or conduct indicating a belief in, or reverence for, and desire to please, a divine ruling power'. In the publication of the excavation (Renfrew 1985, 18) a system of 'archaeological correlates' was set out by which one might hope to document 'culturally patterned interaction with culturally postulated superhuman beings', where it was maintained that 'the deity or transcendent force must in some sense be present' if the practice of cult was to be claimed. And the Phylakopi shrine was felt to pass this test when the finds were considered. These included human representations ('figurines') interpreted as 'offerings', and a terracotta image, which when compared with other prehistoric Aegean finds of the Aegean late bronze age (around the twelfth century BC), might plausibly be interpreted as representing the deity (or a deity) herself (Fig. 6).

Although still accepting most of that analysis, I have, however, come to realise that when we are dealing with major monuments of the prehistoric period, it is often simply not possible to establish the existence of a deity, or of deities constituting a divine pantheon. It should be possible for us to conceive of sacred monuments, holy places



Fig. 6. The Lady of Phylakopi, c. 1300 BC.

and sanctuaries where there was no presiding deity, and where the very notion of a ‘deity’ in the sense of a supernatural entity, a divine person who can intervene in human affairs, like the Greek deities Zeus or Poseidon or Athena, has not been formulated.

Ritual

It is now possible to recognise, at a range of locations in the world, early sites which may be regarded as meeting places for the performance of collective rituals – and to see these in the context of ritual as material engagement. They may be the location of major monuments, of which Stonehenge (Fig. 28) and the other ‘henge’ monuments of the British neolithic (c. 3000 to 2200 BC) are excellent examples. In many cases they will be associated with special artefacts, like the jade axes of neolithic Brittany. The monuments are often recognisable as places of assembly, like the plazas of Caral in the preceramic period of coastal Peru (around 2500 BC) (Shady Solis, Haas and Creamer 2001), or the



Fig. 7. Excavation underway, under the direction of Professor Klaus Schmidt, at Göbekli Tepe, East Turkey, a place of congregation c. 10,000 BC.

remarkable stone circles at Göbekli Tepe in Eastern Anatolia, with the very early date of around 10,000 BC (Schmidt 2007).

The point here is that it is now possible to recognise special locations in different parts of the world which were clearly used on special occasions as places of assembly, and of ritual. We may define ‘ritual’ here as ‘the practice of performative acts with repetition of words and actions in formalised ways’ (Renfrew 2007). Such periodic meetings seem to be a feature of many human societies. Some of them have no cultic or supernatural associations: football matches or baseball games fall in this category. And indeed games can have a serious and sometimes religious function, like the periodic games (including the Olympic Games) of Classical Greece. Such periodic meetings at special places are sometimes termed ‘pilgrimages’. And again many pilgrimages are indeed associated with cult and religion. But it is important to note that others are not, although all are associated with activities which fall within the category of ritual.

5. THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF RITUAL IN KEROS

All of this is a necessary preliminary to the second part of my lecture, whose purpose is to describe the excavation in 2006 to 2008 which was funded by the second part of my Balzan Prize.

It is never easy, on initiating an excavation, to predict what one will find, although in this case I was aided by work which we had earlier undertaken nearby. The greater part of what follows will be rather descriptive. But I hope to indicate at the end how the findings help to clarify the category of sites which I have sought to identify above where each may be regarded as a place of ritual and of pilgrimage, and in that sense a sanctuary. Yet at the same time they do not provide evidence of cult, in the sense of observance accorded to a supernatural deity.

The island of Keros is one of the Cycladic Islands of Greece. It is today uninhabited, but became the focus of scholarly attention following discoveries which came to light in 1963. The remarkable early bronze age culture of the Cycladic Islands became known through the discovery of the Early Cycladic cemeteries, first systematically investigated



Fig. 8. The location of Keros (map).



Fig. 9. The island of Keros seen from the northwest.



Fig. 10. The looted 'special deposit' at Kavos with the island of Dhaskalio in the background, taken on 24th July 1963.

and published by Christos Tsountas in 1898. Since then settlements and cemeteries have been discovered on many of the Cycladic islands. But until 1963 there were only hints that there was something special about the small island of Keros. It is one of the Mikres Kyklades ("small Cyclades") lying to the south of Naxos and Amorgos. It was, however, already known for one or two very interesting finds. The first of these was a remarkable and large Early Cycladic head, to which I referred earlier, donated to the Musée du Louvre in 1873. Then there are the two beautiful small sculptures, a kithara player and a flautist, in the National Museum in Athens, discovered in 1884. It was not until 1963, however, that evident traces of illicit excavation on Keros, opposite the small island of Dhaskalio, at the location termed Kavos, brought to light numerous fragments of pottery, of marble sculptures and of broken marble vessels suggesting a site of major significance. The photograph in fig. 10 was taken during my visit to the site in the course of a systematic site survey, on 24th July 1963.



Fig. 11. Fragments of marble bowls and figurines recovered on 24th July 1963.

The looted site at Kavos and the summit of Dhaskalio, opposite, were the subject of a small excavation in 1963 by Christos Doulas (1964), who also recorded the remains of a small Byzantine chapel on Dhaskalio. They were followed up with further work by Photeini Zaphiropoulou in 1967 (Zaphiropoulou 1967; 1968a; 1968b). Some of the looted materials removed prior to 1963 were acquired for the Erlenmeyer Collection and were first exhibited to the public in the *Kunst der Kykladen* exhibition in 1977 at the Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe (Thimme 1977). The question as to whether the site at Kavos represented a damaged and looted Early Cycladic cemetery or perhaps alternatively the remains of an Early Cycladic sanctuary prompted further excavation in 1987 in the looted area at Kavos, termed the ‘special deposit’. It proved possible, with the aid of the Balzan Prize, to initiate further work in the years 2006 to 2008, conducted with the support of the British School at Athens and with the permission of the Greek Archaeological Service. For so large a project it was necessary to secure additional funding from several sources, which are separate-

ly acknowledged (p. 44). But without the impetus provided by the Balzan Foundation the project would not have begun.

6. THE EXCAVATION PROJECT OF 2006-2008

An archaeological excavation is a co-operative enterprise, relying upon the deployment of several disciplines. Among those deployed on the Keros project of 2006-2008, mostly by young research workers, were the specialisms of geology, petrology, geomorphology, palaeoethnobotany, archaeozoology, ceramic petrology, archaeometallurgy and radiometric dating. But in addition there are the standard archaeological techniques involving studies of stratigraphy, surveying, data handling and typological studies. Some of these were practised for Keros by graduate students, who used the materials recovered as the basis for their doctoral dissertations. For a number of those working with us, the Keros excavations contributed significantly towards their academic and professional development as archaeologists. Most of the



Fig. 12. Part of the Keros excavation team in 2008.

excavation team were volunteers who received no salary beyond board and lodging but who were already undergraduates or graduates in archaeology.

It is practical here to list only a selection of those committed younger personnel who have contributed to the success of the project, and whose archaeological experience has in most cases been significantly enhanced by it.

Dr Michael Boyd has been supported by the Stavros S. Niarchos Foundation and is Senior Research Associate at the McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research in Cambridge. His first degree was at Glasgow University, followed by a Ph.D. at the University of Edinburgh on prehistoric burial customs in the Peloponnese. He has been working as a full-time employee of the Project. He supervised the surface survey of Dhaskalio Island in 2008 and is documenting this for the final report. He is in charge of computing and data handling for the Project and is one of the editors of the final report, for which he has undertaken the final photography of finds.

Giorgos Gavalas, a Deputy Director of the Project, is himself a native of the Cycladic Islands and currently completing his doctoral dissertation at the University of Ioannina on the early textile history of the Cyclades. He has worked for the Greek Archaeological Service. He undertook much of the site supervision of the excavations in the Special Deposit South and on



Fig. 13. Dr Michael Boyd, survey.



Fig. 14. Giorgos Gavalas, site supervisor and study of marble vessels.



Fig. 15. Dr Evi Margaritis, palaeobotany.



Fig. 16. Ioanna Moutafi, site supervisor and human osteology.



Fig. 17. Dr Myrto Georgakopoulou, archaeometallurgy.

Dhaskalio. He is responsible in the final excavation report, now in preparation, of which he is an editor, for the classification and description of the numerous marble vessels recovered.

Dr Evi Margaritis, a graduate of the University of Athens, completed her doctoral dissertation at the University of Cambridge on olive and vine farming in Hellenistic Greece. She was responsible for the recovery of organic remains on site through flotation, and has written on the plant remains for the final report.

Ioanna Moutafi is a graduate of the University of Athens and is currently writing her doctoral dissertation at the University of Sheffield on Mycenaean burial practices. She has taken responsibility for the description and publication of the human remains recovered during the course of the project.

Dr Myrto Georgakopoulou is a graduate in Chemistry of Imperial College, London, and completed her doctoral dissertation at University College, London, on Early Cycladic metallurgy, using in part material recovered from the Keros programme of 1987. She is Scientific Research Officer at the Fitch Laboratory, British School at Athens. She has undertaken the metallurgical study for the final publication of the metal artefacts recovered.

Dimitris Tambakopoulos is a graduate in Physics and Nuclear Physics of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki and is currently writing his doctoral dissertation on marble provenance investigation at the Institute of Materials Science at the National Centre of Scientific Research “Demokritos”.

Dr Thomas Loughlin is a graduate of University College Dublin, and undertook his Ph.D. at Liverpool University working on Middle Neolithic ceramics from the Peloponnese. He worked as a site supervisor on the Dhaskalio excavation and undertook much of the site photography. He is now Assistant Director of the Irish Institute of Hellenic Studies at Athens.

Dr Barry Molloy is a graduate of University College Dublin, where he also undertook his doc-



Fig. 18. Dimitris Tambakopoulos, marble characterisation.



Fig. 19. Dr Thomas Loughlin, site supervisor and site photographer.



Fig. 20. Dr Barry Molloy, site supervisor.

toral research on bronze age weaponry and warfare. He was a site supervisor for the Special Deposit South, and has made a special study of its stratigraphical contexts.

These are some of the younger colleagues who have made important contributions to the Project. In many cases they have written specialist studies for the final report. It is planned that this will consist of four volumes, of which the first three will be going to the printer during 2012.

7. THE SPECIAL DEPOSIT SOUTH AT KAVOS

At the outset of the excavations in 2008 a second, and fortunately undisturbed special deposit, now designated the ‘Special Deposit South’, was recognised, lying some 150 metres south of the looted special deposit which we had examined in 1987. This has proved crucial to the resolution of the discussion concerning the nature of the two special deposits and the status of what may now, with confidence, be termed a ‘sanctuary’. The use of water sieving and other studies was able to clarify that this was not in fact a cemetery but rather a place

of systematic and repeated deposition, where fragmentary pottery and marble objects had been buried without accompanying human remains over several centuries. During the 2006 to 2008 seasons, the settlement on the islet of Dhaskalio was also investigated revealing a large Early Cycladic settlement (Renfrew et al. 2007a; 2007b; 2009).

The relationship between Dhaskalio and Kavos is seen in fig. 21. The west of Keros is rugged, with a thick vegetation of woodland scrub. This had to be cleared away to reveal the sloping terrain, where over an area of about 400 m², excavation of the

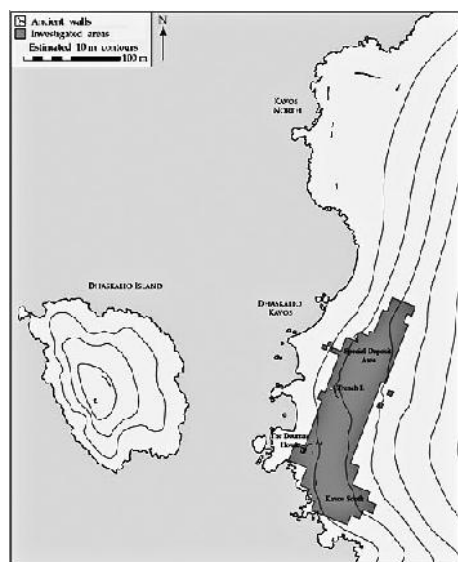


Fig. 21. The relationship between Dhaskalio and Kavos.

shallow soil (between 20 cms and 2 metres deep) revealed strata containing broken marble bowls and figurines, with fragmented pottery, lying thickly together. The excavation was conducted using a grid of 4 metre squares separated by 1 metre baulks. Careful recovery (with the aid of water sieving) and subsequent workroom study made clear that most of the fragments found in association did not join either with neighbouring fragments or with pieces recovered from other areas. It was also later established that there were no joins between fragments deriving from the earlier excavations in the Special Deposit North. The inference was clear that these objects had been broken elsewhere, on other islands before being transported to Keros. This did not conflict with the conclusion of the petrographic studies conducted on the pottery fabrics by Dr Jill Hilditch that most of the pottery recovered had been made on other islands. Since good quality marble is not available on Keros, it is likely that most of the marble vessels and figurines were also made elsewhere in the Cyclades.



Fig. 22. The Special Deposit South at Kavos under excavation.



Fig. 23. Marble vessel fragments from the Special Deposit South. Scale in centimetres.

No building traces or remains were found in the Special Deposit South, although a few linear features, in effect lines of stones, were discerned. So although systematic deposition, very possibly accompanied by ritual activities, can be documented and the term ‘sanctuary’ may be justified both by the nature of the deposits and the time over which they were made (several centuries), no installations or constructed facilities were found.

In some respects the pottery and marble finds resembled those made in the Early Cycladic cemeteries. Yet the absence of bones and particularly of teeth, even with careful water sieving, excludes the cemetery hypothesis. This view is supported also by the absence of beads or items of personal adornment, as well as the lack of artefacts of copper or bronze. The abundant although fragmentary pottery finds have been described by Dr Panagiota Sotirakopoulou. They include abundant sauceboats and other ceramic material of the Keros-Syros culture (sometimes termed ‘Early Cycladic II’). There are fairly frequent finds

also of the immediately succeeding period, represented by the Kastri Group. Later finds are very rare. Fragments of marble bowls with thickened rims, characteristic of the Keros-Syros culture, are also very abundant.

The Early Cycladic Sculptures from Kavos

The most astonishing feature of the Special Deposit South is the abundance of the much-fragmented marble figurines. These had all been deliberately broken, not just into two or three parts, but systematically into at least four or five pieces: smashed to smithereens! However it became clear that this breakage was not the result of hostile acts – of some episode of iconoclasm by hostile forces. To understand this phenomenon it is necessary to think in terms of the use life of these sculptures, and indeed of the marble vessels and fine pottery which accompanied them. It is to be supposed that these finely crafted objects were made for ceremonial use, and were indeed so used during the various ceremonies and rituals carried out in the settlements and villages of a whole range of islands in the Cyclades. Elisabeth Hendrix (2003) and Gail Hoffman (2002) have noted that the painted decoration commonly still seen on many Early Cycladic sculptures, sometimes showing traces of more than one episode of painting, might be explained and understood if they had been exhibited periodically, perhaps carried in processions, in the various communities where they were utilised. If so, after a use life perhaps of many years, the decision was taken to replace redundant iconic sculptures with new ones. At this point, it must be inferred, it was not appropriate simply to throw away the redundant sculpture. It had been in ritual use and should not be abused or disrespected by later, more mundane secular use. It must be inferred that there was some ceremony or ritual of breakage. In order to complete this ritual it was evidently necessary that a fragment or fragments of the now-disused ritual paraphernalia should be taken, on some appropriate occasion, to Keros and there formally discarded in an appropriate ritual of discard or deposition.

Most of the 553 figurine fragments recovered in the Special Deposit South are of the well-known and canonical ‘folded-arm’ form, with the arms of the naked figure, nearly always female, folded across the abdomen, usually right below left. These have the flat, often tri-



Fig. 24. Waist and pelvis from folded arm figure originally c. 1 m in height, c. 2600 BC.

angular face with prominent nose, typical of the Cycladic figurines. Most of the known and recognised varieties of the folded-arm figurine are represented, with the exception of the earliest, the Kap-sala variety. The Spedos variety is the most frequent at Kavos as elsewhere in the Cyclades. The slender, sometimes elegant Dokathismata variety is well-represented, as is the decidedly less elegant Chandriani variety. The size range of these sculptures, when complete, was from 5 cms to 116 cms. One large waist, found among stones in a linear arrangement, was found to join with a pelvis, giving the middle part of an impressive figure originally around one metre in height (Fig. 24).

8. THE SETTLEMENT AT DHASKALIO

The excavation of the settlement on Dhaskalio proved very informative. The island is only 218 m long and quite steep; rising to a height of 37 m. Survey indicated that much of it had been occupied

in Early Cycladic times. Massive stone terrace walls were constructed of local stone early in the time of the Keros-Syros culture. The well-preserved stratigraphy permitted a division of the strata into three phases. The earliest, Dhaskalio Phase A, could be assigned to the time of the Keros-Syros culture, contemporary with the first use of the Special Deposit South across the 90-metre channel at Kavos. Dhaskalio Phase B has pottery of the Kastri group. Occupation continued, apparently without any hiatus, into Dhaskalio Phase C, a late phase of the Cy-

cladic early bronze age. Radiocarbon samples from Dhaskalio have been dated by the Research Laboratory for Archaeology and the History of Art at Oxford, allowing the duration of the settlement at Dhaskalio to be set between c. 2750 BC and c. 2300 BC (Renfrew, Boyd and Bronk Ramsay 2012).

In the course of the 2007-2008 excavations, most of the summit area was excavated. At the south end were well-preserved drystone walls of buildings, flanked by a narrow road or alley which led up to the highest point. Near this was a roughly circular enclosure in which was found more than

400 white, rounded pebbles. Petrological study showed that these were not from Keros but had been brought from the island of Ano Kouphonisi, some 5 km distant and deliberately placed (perhaps one by one) in the enclosure. To the north of this lay the 'Hall' measuring some 16 metres by 4 metres, the largest building on the summit. There was abundant pottery, much of it restorable. A few small marble figurines were found, schematic in form, but not in general damaged. Remarkably, not a single fragment of a folded-arm figurine, a form so common in the special deposits on Kavos, was found on Dhaskalio. Nor were there any fragments of the rolled-rim bowl, the most common marble form in the Special Deposit South on Kavos, where it is represented by about 450 examples. One remarkable feature of the settlement at Dhaskalio is that most of the walls are built of good quality white marble, which is not found on Dhaskalio and is not available on Keros. It had to be brought by boat, almost certainly from the south coast of Naxos, lying 12 km to the north west.

The settlement at Dhaskalio presents many further features of interest, including the working of obsidian (brought from the Cycladic island of Melos). There are also clear indications of metal working in the settlement. The copper was probably smelted on Kavos, at a loca-

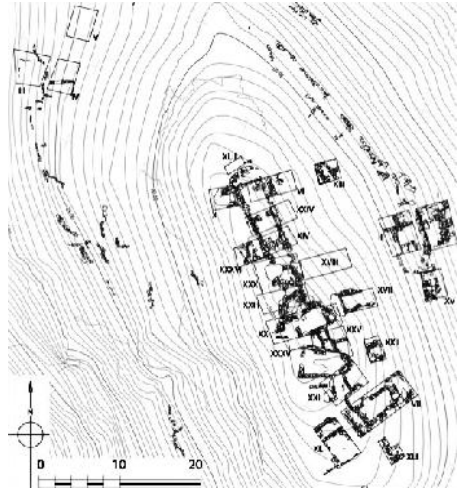


Fig. 25. Plan of the excavated areas of the settlement at Dhaskalio, c. 2300 BC.



Fig. 26. Buildings at the summit of Dhaskalio, c. 2300 BC.

tion a little to the north of the Special Deposit North. Copper ore is not available locally and had to be imported. The settlement at Dhaskalio was large – as great an area as any known from the Cycladic islands – and may, when full, have accommodated up to 300 people. But there are indications that the settlement may not have been occupied all the year round. The stone tools recovered represent a rather limited assemblage, poor in such important shapes as saddle querns. Other indications, including the environmental evidence and the range of imported artefacts, suggest that the settlement may have been a seasonal one.

9. BEYOND THE LOOTING

The finds from Keros are interesting in themselves, particularly the vast range of deliberately broken marble vessels and sculptures found in the Special Deposit South. Systematic work in the Special Deposit

North, by Doumas and then Zaphiropoulou, documents clearly the damage done in the earlier looting there prior to 1963 and the scale of the loss. The looters removed all the figurine fragments they could get their hands on, although some 317 pieces have been recovered in the successive archaeological investigations which have followed there. This is significantly less than the 553 figurine fragments recovered from our own excavations in the Special Deposit South. In those excavations we recovered some 2200 marble vessel fragments (including rolled-rim bowls). Yet this is less, by a factor of two or three, than the marble vessel fragments retrieved in the successive archaeological excavations since 1963 in the Special Deposit North. It is clear that the looters were not very interested in marble vessel fragments, preferring the sculptures, however fragmentary. This leads to the inference that the sculptural material removed by the looters prior to 1963 may have exceeded in quantity all that has been recovered at Kavos since that time. Some indication of the scale of the loss may be gathered from *The Keros Hoard* by Dr Panagiota Sotirakopoulou (2005), who illustrates many of the pieces which subsequently appeared on the antiquities market and which may have been taken at that time from Keros. Such is the implication of the testimony of the late Nicholas Koutoulakis, relating to these specific pieces, who has been shown to be the dealer responsible for their illicit sale in the west, and presumably for their previous illegal export from Greece (Getz-Gentle 2008a; 2008b).

The loss to scholarship from these clandestine activities on Keros is immense. Yet, in the light of the systematic work undertaken since 1963, a great deal can now be established. This rather strange island of Keros with its vast ritual deposits of deliberately fragmented artefacts, notably sculptures, marble vessels and fine ceramics, was for some four hundred years a focus, a symbolic attractor, for the Cycladic islands. Indeed there are indications that objects, always fragmentary, were also reaching Keros from as far away as mainland Greece, although none has yet been documented as coming from Crete. Certainly the ceramic petrology indicates ritual visits from a number of Cycladic islands, including Naxos, Amorgos and Syros. And the variety of forms of the folded-arm figurines recovered indicates that many or most of the Cycladic islands were involved.

More Cycladic sculptures are now documented from Keros than have come from all the previous archaeological excavations in the Cyclades put together. Although in the past it has often been supposed

that these marble vessels and sculptures were made primarily for use in the Cycladic cemeteries, this view can no longer be sustained. They were made for use, presumably ritual use, in the settlements of the living. Clearly it was indeed often appropriate to bury them with the deceased, from which practice the wealth of the Cycladic cemeteries arises. But as many marble vessels and sculpted figures as were used in this way, and probably more, were involved in these rituals of breakage at the end of their use lives. Of these many, or more precisely parts of many, were brought to Keros.

10. THE CONFEDERACY OF KEROS IN THE CYCLADIC EARLY BRONZE AGE

From this new work, a clear picture emerges. Keros was in the early bronze age the home of a major sanctuary, the first pan-Cycladic sanctuary. It served as a symbolic attractor for all the Cyclades, whose influence seems to have extended further, to mainland Greece also. The sanctuary itself did not feature impressive buildings, such as were seen at the Panhellenic sanctuary on the Cycladic island of Delos two millennia later. Its principal features were the ritual offerings placed, always in deliberately fragmentary condition, in the two special deposits on the terrace overlooked by the rugged cliffs at the west of the island of Keros.

The objects so offered belonged to a well-defined repertoire. The preferred medium was marble, used to make vessels in a restricted range of forms, and to make small sculptures or 'figurines' in standard shapes, usually in the canonical folded-arm format.

Now that we can recognise this sanctuary and its undoubted importance, we should pause to consider its wider significance. The sense of community fostered in those who participated in these rituals of deposition must have been immense. The strict conformity in style and shape of the offered goods, even though these were manufactured and used in a number of different islands, must underlie the 'Cycladic style' of these sculptures and vessels in marble and in pottery. Another form which features prominently is the 'pestle', cylindrical in shape and only a few centimetres long, often made of shell from the marine bivalve *Spondylus gaederopus*, and believed by some scholars to represent balance weights. This general function seems to us doubtful, although some stones of cylindrical shape may occasionally have been so



Fig. 27. Map showing islands from which offerings and other materials may have come to Keros in the early bronze age, c. 2600 BC.

used. But their presence in the sanctuary at Kavos may indicate some wider symbolic significance.

It is not necessarily correct to speak of ‘religion’ or ‘cult’ at Keros, if that implies the veneration of supernatural deities. That cannot be excluded, but what we see here is a pattern of repeated journeys, or ‘pilgrimages’ if that term can be used, to this specific and special place in order to perform certain closely prescribed ritual actions. These centred on the deposition of a narrow range of symbolic forms, always deposited in fragmentary condition after systematic breakage, which apparently took place elsewhere. Perhaps it is the communality which is of greater significance, and the periodic meetings, rather than some hypothetical religious cult. It is perhaps there that comparison with Delos is appropriate, not so much with reference to Delian Apollo and to Artemis but rather to the Delian League or Delian Confederacy. The participating community centred in the third millenni-

um BC upon Keros – it became, in effect, the Confederacy of Keros. For the first time in the Aegean an entire region – the Cyclades – was brought together in communal activity of a symbolic nature. This was a coherent participating community, a *koine*, which formed several centuries before the palaces of Crete became united in a single state. It came into being two millennia before the separate polities of Classical Greece came together, again through the operation of symbolic attractors (including the Olympic Games and other periodic rituals), into an enduring Panhellenic unity.

11. THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF CONVOCATION AND CONGREGATION

In the descriptive section of this lecture I have presented the finds rather straightforwardly, without making much reference to the earlier brief discussion of Cognitive Archaeology. But I hope that the evidence of the activities at Kavos make clear that the location was used for repeated visits, which involved the ritual deposition of the fragmentary materials described, in a structured way.

The point here is that there is no evidence for the practice of cult, in the sense of the veneration of a deity, as discussed earlier. Of course the issue does indeed arise, and has not been addressed here, of what the canonical folded arm figure of marble, which features so prominently, meant or conveyed to the pilgrims who practised their rituals at this place. There are many published speculations on this topic, some of them along the now-familiar ‘earth mother’ theme. A perfectly plausible case could be made that this figure represents a deity, and that the depositions made here were part of her cult.

But it is not necessary to see her as a deity. In the view developed here many of the meeting places discussed were indeed places where dispersed communities gathered together, and in doing so created a larger participating group, which became itself a community in a broader geographical sense. It can be argued that this is how ethnicity is sometimes constituted. In that perspective the canonical figure could be taken as symbolising the Confederacy of Keros. She could be regarded as the symbolic representative, the ‘logo’, of Keros and of the Cycladic community for which Keros was the ritual and pilgrimage centre. It is not necessary here to erect for her a religious superstructure, although clearly speculation along those lines is perfectly possible.

The deities of the palace societies of the Aegean world in the later second millennium BC are well enough documented (Marinatos 2010), and the iconography of the sanctuary at Phylakopi in Melos has been discussed in that light. In the third millennium the urban societies of Sumer and of Egypt had well-defined pantheons, richly documented in their iconography. But the Aegean in the third millennium BC was something different. The peak sanctuaries of Crete, which emerged at the beginning of the second millennium BC, have likewise been discussed by Kyriakidis (2005) in terms of ritual rather than of cult. And that approach seems more economical also for the sanctuary of Keros in the mid third millennium BC. The case is put here that it was a ritual centre, a symbolic attractor, but perhaps not the home of a deity and therefore not a place of cult. As such it is one of a class of sites where, in the specific region in question, ritual preceded cult.

This discussion offers an opportunity to note the wide variety of early places of convocation or congregation, from Göbekli Tepe to Chaco Canyon (Renfrew 2001b), and also to draw attention to the special role which seafaring may have in the early annals of pilgrimage. The site at Dhaskalio Kavos, although it does not have the monumentality of Göbekli Tepe, or of Tarxien in Malta, or indeed of Stonehenge, can now be claimed as the oldest maritime sanctuary in the world – maritime in the sense that it is only accessible by sea.

The wider problem here is for the study of early religion. The difficulties in using the term ‘religion’ have been well brought out recently in a volume devoted to social and cognitive life at Çatalhöyük (Hodder 2010) – another Anatolian site but a couple of thousand years more recent than Göbekli Tepe. Maurice Bloch (2010) argues persuasively that the term ‘religion’ cannot be validly applied at Çatal. We would likewise argue that its proper use requires the evidence for explicit reference to deities, such as noted above can be claimed for the Late Cycladic shrine at Phylakopi in Melos – some 1,500 years more recent than Kavos on Keros – or for the temples of Early Dynastic Egypt or Mesopotamia. The sanctuaries at Göbekli Tepe, Caral or Kavos on Keros cannot be identified as temples or shrines with such an explicit iconography. Yet, even if they are not temples or shrines in this sense, they can be regarded as places of convocation and pilgrimage, as locations of high devotional expression.

So it may now be appropriate to define a ritual behaviour of great antiquity (congregation), which we would not want to dignify with



Fig. 28. Stonehenge as a place of congregation, c. 2500 BC.

the designation ‘religion’, where that term implies the veneration of specific deities, of supernatural powers which can be separately identified (i.e. deism). Yet sites of congregation and convocation, whether marked by monumental meeting places (as at Göbekli Tepe or Stonehenge) or by the structured deposition of symbolic artefacts (as at Kavos on Keros) may be regarded as sanctuaries, as places of pilgrimage. The nature of the belief systems that motivated their devotees or participants requires further consideration. But it seems useful to establish, in a preliminary way, that such rituals of assembly and of deposition were practised millennia before the well-defined deities of organised religion can be identified.

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DISCUSSION AND QUESTIONS

Paolo Matthiae: Thank you very much. That was a splendid presentation, a very enlightening summation of your most recent field research, presenting a most interesting interpretation and understanding of this archaeological evidence in the form of broken fragments and shards. I think we can better appreciate the extraordinary effort put in to arrive at such a convincing interpretation. The point made in Lord Renfrew's presentation about the distinction between religion, cult and ritual is an essential one. I would now like to invite the audience to make comments or address some questions.

Question from the audience: At the end of your lecture you gave almost the impression that you believed that there was a kind of inheritance between the Cycladic civilization and early Greek civilization through the Kouroi. Do you actually believe there was also an inheritance of language, traditions etc.?

Colin Renfrew: Thank you for that very interesting question. First of all, the idea has been suggested that there might have been a sculptural continuity from the Cycladic figures to the Cycladic workmanship of the archaic period but I don't think that continuity can be demonstrated. In the later Bronze Age we have a whole series of what we can call religious manifestations. I gave an example from my excavations at Phylakopi, but your question goes further and asks about linguistic continuity and there I do think it is very possible. In my view, the origin of Indo-European speech may well have been in Anatolia where modern Turkey is and this of course is controversial. The best explanation to my mind for the distribution of the Indo-European languages of Europe and of Western Asia, is to associate the spread of Indo-European speech with the spread of farming. That of course would be proto-Indo-European speech and so the proto-Greek lan-

guage would be rooted in Greece from the beginning of the Neolithic period. Just as the Anatolian languages which later on became Hittite and Luvian and so on would have stayed at home and developed out of proto-Anatolian or whatever you wish to call it. So it would follow, I think, that the population of the early Bronze Age Cyclades were indeed speaking an early Indo-European language which would be related to proto-Greek and to proto-Anatolian. How closely related to Greek, it is difficult to say, but there were very strong links between the Cyclades and mainland Greece in the early Bronze Age. You can see many cultural similarities which might have also favoured linguistic relationships. So I think the answer is yes. There may have been similar religious developments. It is true that the origins of the religion of Classical Greece are not very well understood, and it is strange that many of the names of the Classical Greek Gods do not make much sense in Indo-European speech. Classical scholars here will know better than I do about these links in style from the early Bronze Age. They are maintained in the Mycenaean period and appear strongly, as again you are implying, when we look at the archaic sculptures of Attica, the Kouroi of Attica. They are very similar to the Kouroi of Naxos and of Melos. So the answer to your question is yes in the linguistic and cultural sense, but without a direct continuity in marble sculpture in the early Bronze Age to the archaic period which I do not think can be documented.

Question from the audience: I was wondering if you could recognize what specific part of the figurines bodies were used for the deposition? Were heads present more than other parts?

Colin Renfrew: Again, that is a very important question and we might well have expected selective use of parts, but in fact just about all body parts are represented with comparable frequencies. We have numerous heads. We have numerous feet and broken legs. When digging it seemed that there were more legs. We kept on having legs, indeed though I think there is no part that was found at a significantly reduced frequency. I agree it might have been expected that there would have been some selection in that respect, but it does not seem to have been the case. It is fair to say that it is impressive how the figures were broken. If you just dropped a Cycladic figure, you might get two or three pieces but that was not good enough. Generally the Cy-

cladic figures, we are recovering, were broken into at least six different fragments. We have not been able to recover a single complete figurine, as I explained, they only brought pieces with them. I think we can give a clear answer there.

Comment from the audience: I am fortunate enough to travel regularly to Greece, which in a sense is my second home for myself and my family. Therefore I have been able to observe the uniformity of culture also in contemporary society, which stretches from Cyprus to our Ionian Islands, ‘ours’ in the sense that the inhabitants until quite recently still spoke Italian. In regard to the breaking of the figurines I would like to add a point, though this I am sure you will probably already be aware of. On the island of Corfu which the Greeks call Kérkyra, and on certain islands, including Melos, on Easter Sunday, the day commemorating the Resurrection, which is the feast which is probably tied the most to pagan myths, in this case those surrounding the vernal equinox. In these islands right up to the present day, there is the tradition of shattering crockery, particularly vases, which I suppose – referring to your figurines – are the only objects that are handmade and of insubstantial value, which they have immediately to hand. Some of the shards of this crockery are taken away by participants in this rite and a certain amount are left in situ. I just wanted to draw your attention to this. On Corfu, this type of celebration is associated with the feast of the Orthodox saint, Agios Spyridon, one of the most important feast days throughout Greece.

Colin Renfrew: Thank you for this observation. I was not familiar with that. It is certainly the case that if one is talking about the early Bronze Age, one sees an international spirit, where there are links with the Ionian Islands, with mainland Greece and the Cycladic Islands. Although I do not think one finds any Cycladic figurines as far west as the Ionian islands. This notion however of breaking pottery on that particular day is very interesting. What is much more common or at any rate was more common in Greece until recently, was the habit of breaking pottery at celebrations, at weddings or other occasions. During the time of the Colonels however, signs went up: Απαγορεύεται το σπύσιμο – Breakages forbidden! – and since then that tradition of breaking crockery at celebrations has ended, but I think you are talking about something much more interesting, particularly if it is the

case that some of the broken material is left in place and some is taken elsewhere. I would like to know more about that. It does sound a very tempting parallel. Thank you.

Paolo Matthiae: Perhaps breaking objects during a wedding ceremony was a way to avoid the later fracturing of the marriage itself. Breaking shells instead of breaking the marriage.

Question from the audience: I think the evidence you have presented is extremely stimulating and interesting. If we are speaking about objects we use in ritual, a rather common problem is how to dispose of them when they are no longer needed. This is rather, as you know, especially an issue which affects figurative decorations in temples. In historical times they used to put all of the pieces of the old decorations from the temples in trenches and bury them. On the other hand, what you have here is something far more sophisticated and complicated and the only possible parallel I can think of, is something that has been studied by Gianni Bailo Modesti in relation to the Gaudio tombs at Pontecagnano. He put together a very accurate study and found that there were both pottery and bones, in the case of burials. Some of them, very few, were separately kept alone after burial. The tomb was sealed and probably these were the corpses of the most important people in the community, but the majority of the bones and grave goods, especially pottery were broken and taken from the grave and then placed at different times in new *grotticelle* – artificial caves. It was a long process which he interpreted as the need to deal with the dead and their objects until they were no longer active in some way. So there were different phases in this process. Well, of course the fact that we are not speaking of tombs in the case of Keros makes things rather different. There might however be some implications in this? What has been used in ritual has to be disposed of ritually in some way.

Colin Renfrew: Well that is very helpful. Thank you very much for this question. It is very useful to have this, as I do not have many points of comparison. As you say, there is the business of disposing effectively of ritual materials. It is quite a widespread one, but I do not have many good examples of materials which are then appearing elsewhere as you describe. I am looking forward very much to learning about references from you. Thank you very much.

Question from the audience: You briefly mentioned one of the famous temples of Malta. Are there any similarities with these structures?

Colin Renfrew: The temples of Malta are a marvellous example of ritual at a very early period, where the architecture is formidable and where there is also accompanying sculptural material including the great figure from Tarxien itself. So that is right, but I think there is one feature of the Keros sanctuary that is a little different. My impression is that in regard to the temples of Malta, each was important for its own region rather as the peak sanctuaries of Crete at a rather later period. They were important but they were locally regional as it were. I think the Keros sanctuary however seems to have been a focal point for a much wider region, indeed, for a large part of the Aegean, whereas, as I say, the Cretan sanctuaries were each to its own locality in Crete. I have always regarded the great temples of Malta as each one being in its own political unit and competing with each other in a kind of peer polity interaction, though there is still an ongoing debate on this. Thank you for that observation.

Question from Paolo Matthiae: I would like to pose an overarching question at this point. You have discussed the confederacy based on Keros, the essentially regional nature of the peak sanctuaries in Crete and the confederacy based on Delos in Archaic Greece. In the middle and late Bronze Age or at any rate in the Mycenaean horizon, would it be possible to find a kind of sacred place for congregation as you said not specifically related to a deity? Between Keros and Delos is it possible to imagine something in the Mycenaean period with the same function as a kind of place of pilgrimage?

Colin Renfrew: I think this is a very interesting question indeed. My present understanding is probably not. It does seem that in the Mycenaean period the Mycenaean religion was influenced by the Minoan religion. The iconography that you see in Minoan Crete is then learnt by the Mycenaean world and our shrine at Phylakopi, I think, was very similar to the shrines at Tiryns and Mycenae, and indeed in Crete itself you have Mycenaean features, that is mainland Greek features at the time that the Greek language is seen in the Linear B script in Crete, so you are quite right, it is possible to develop ideas about

the development of religion, but whereas in Keros a site that was significant for a very large region, I don't see that very much in the middle or late Bronze Age where you have individual shrines of Mycenaean character. So you could regard it as the same religion but I don't see any Mycenaean site as being of a pan-religious significance and these things did not really develop, I think until the Archaic period, when you do find sites like Delos. There other sanctuaries too in the Archaic period including up at Dodona for instance, right up in the north west where there are imports from a large area, a number of parts of the Aegean. So this notion of pan-Aegean sanctuaries does develop in the Archaic period, but I am not aware of anything apart from Keros before that time. That maybe something we will learn about as time goes on.

Paolo Matthiae: If there are no other questions, I would like to thank Lord Renfrew once again for this wonderful lecture and occasion to reflect and discuss what are fascinating ideas. I will hand over now to Professor Quadrio Curzio.

Alberto Quadrio Curzio: Lord Renfrew, we have listened to your lecture with much pleasure, and the Accademia dei Lincei would like to present you with a small gift, the *Lynceographum quo norma studiosae vitae Lynceorum philosophorum exponitur*. These are the constitutions of the Academy which were written by Federico Cesi the founder, and corrected by Galileo Galilei. This is something we only present to our most distinguished guests.

Lord Renfrew: Wonderful! Thank you so much.

Alberto Quadrio Curzio: Your lecture has reminded me of the words of a much more recent figure whose actions are only slowly becoming history. His words are nevertheless relevant: "The past is history, but history is made up of 'knowns', known and unknown." You have shed light on many of these unknowns and for that we are extremely grateful.

COLIN RENFREW

A BIOGRAPHY AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

COLIN RENFREW (Lord Renfrew of Kaimsthorn), born on 25 July 1937 in Stockton-on-Tees, United Kingdom, is a British citizen.

Present position: Senior Fellow, McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research; Emeritus Disney Professor of Archaeology, University of Cambridge. In 1991 he was awarded a life peerage, and chose the title “Lord Renfrew of Kaimsthorn”.

University of Cambridge, M.A. 1962, Ph.D. 1965, Sc.D. 1976.

Lecturer then Reader in Prehistory and Archaeology at the University of Sheffield 1965-72.

Professor of Archaeology and Head of Department at the University of Southampton 1972-81.

Disney Professor of Archaeology in the University of Cambridge 1981-2004, and founding Director of the McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research 1990-2004.

Master of Jesus College, Cambridge 1986-97.

Fellow of the British Academy 1980; Member of the Academia Europaea 1988; Honorary Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh 2001; Foreign Associate of the National Academy of Sciences of the USA 1996; Rivers Memorial Medal of the Royal Anthropological Institute 1979; Huxley Memorial Medal of the Royal Anthropological Institute 1991; Prix International Fyssen of the Fondation Fyssen, Paris, 1997; Lucy Wharton Drexel Medal of the University of Pennsylvania Museum 2003; European Science Foundation Latsis Prize 2003; Balzan Prize (in the field of Prehistoric Archaeology) 2004.

Honorary Degrees from the Universities of Sheffield, Athens, Southampton, Liverpool, Edinburgh, St. Andrews, Kent, London and Lima.

Foreign Member of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, and of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Corresponding Member of the German

Archaeological Institute, Foreign Member of the American Philosophical Society.

He has served as a member of the editorial boards of important reviews and journals, such as “New Directions in Archaeology” (Cambridge University Press), “Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory” (Academic Press), “The Journal of Social and Biological Structures”, “The Journal of Anthropological Archaeology”.

He has made television programmes with the BBC and also various radio programmes.

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