

AKROTIRI, THERA Forty Years of Research (1967-2007)

SCIENTIFIC COLLOQUIUM
Athens, 15-16 December 2007

edited by
CHRISTOS C. DOUMAS
ANASTASIA DEVETZI



Society for the Promotion of Studies
on Prehistoric Thera



Athens 2021

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FOREWORD

The fourth decade (1997-2007) of archaeological activity at Akrotiri, Thera, saw the completion of the excavation of the shafts for the foundations of the pillars of the new bioclimatic shelter, and the satisfactory progress of study of the finds. Since the presentation of our excavation and research work at regular intervals is almost an institution, one more colloquium was organized in 2007, in order to present the particularly important new discoveries and the multifaceted scientific approach to the diverse issues arising from the recent excavations.

Needless to say, our obligation to make known to the scholarly community, as well as to the general public, the significant work being carried out at Akrotiri could not be met fully without the publication of the proceedings of that meeting. In 2021, fourteen years after the 2007 colloquium, our initial aim was eventually fulfilled, with the publication of the Proceedings of the Two-day Colloquium on *40 Years of Research at Akrotiri (1967-2007)*. This exceptionally long delay, which was due to many and varied setbacks, certainly beyond our control, in no way diminishes the scientific interest of this volume, the contributions to which are the fruit of many years of research and experience in the scientific field, offering a rich body of new material and expressing interesting interpretations and fresh ideas. Indeed, in order to reach as wide a readership as possible, it was decided to publish the book in English.

The grouping of the articles in this volume in five thematic units follows the programme of the papers presented at the two-day colloquium. The introductory chapter *40 Years of Research*, which precedes, is the *compte rendu* of work at Akrotiri over 40 consecutive years: excavation, conservation, documentation, infrastructure, management, protection and enhancement.

The first thematic unit, *Stratigraphy - Chronology*, deals with the geology and terrain of the area in which the prehistoric settlement at Akrotiri developed, and sketches the gradual cultural development of the settlement during the Neolithic, Early Cycladic and Middle Cycladic periods.

In the second unit, *Urban Planning and Architecture*, relevant articles present a part of the large 'public' building Xeste 4, trace over time the constructional development of Building Complex Delta from its founding to its final phase, propose the restoration of the picture of a quarter of the settlement in the northwest sector of the excavated site, attempt to remodel the open spaces and the drainage-sewerage network of the city, and, last, attempt a 3D virtual reconstruction of Xeste 3.

The third unit, *Technology - Economy*, refers to important productive activities and attempts to link some products with the economy. Presented are the preliminary results of an interesting study of inorganic material found in small quantities, mainly as residues on the surface of stone tools. Most samples are related to pigments, which were used widely for colouring the outside of the buildings and for the decoration of their interior spaces with wall-paintings, as well as to produce even cosmetics. The finding of a quantity of pulverized quartz suggests the possibility of local production of faience. The confirmation of the widespread use of zeolite points to its use in diverse applications, such as detergent, disinfectant, filtering.

At Akrotiri, the preservation of textiles is a unique challenge for studying the technology of spinning and weaving, as attested by tools of cloth production – spindle whorls and loom-weights – and by actual textiles.

With the classification of products of the crafts of basketry and pottery according to shape and size, their possible link with the system of measuring volume is sought. Particular emphasis is placed on studying systems of measuring values. Last, the role and significance of the enigmatic category of numerous stone spherules for Thera society is investigated: were they toys, units of measurement, weights, projectiles ...?

The fourth unit, *Environment - Diet*, explores an important sector. Through studying phytoliths from the pre-eruption soil, the remodelling of the island's natural environment is attempted. Part of the ecosystem is revealed by the study of the micro-fauna and the insects. The history of the olive tree and the study of the production of olive oil, as well as research on fishing and the management of the catch contribute to our knowledge of the dietary habits of the prehistoric society. The analyses of food residues in cooking vessels detect further information on foodstuffs.

The fifth and last unit, *Art - Ideology*, concerns two very wide fields which are the object of long-term research at Akrotiri. Related to the art of wall-painting is the study of the techniques of spatial organization of the mural compositions. Endeavoured too is the mapping of the points where wall-paintings have been located within the Late Cycladic city, thus enhancing the 'bourgeois' mindset of the community.

Issues bearing on ideology are in the majority in this unit. There is detailed presentation of the Early Cycladic funerary habit of jar burial (*enchytrismos*), mostly of infants, which was attested in the deep levels at Akrotiri, and presented analytically too is the custom of foundation deposits, which have been identified in the majority of the buildings uncovered in the settlement.

Ideological symbolisms are sought in the decoration of Thera vases, in painted or incised depictions: of an eagle on a Middle Cycladic jug, of a double axe on a sherd from a large vase, of figure-eight shields on a Middle Cycladic asaminthos. The wall-paintings are discussed largely as a source of information on the ideology of their users. Symbolic and ideological ramifications in the Aegean thematic cycle of the hunt are traced through two wall-painting compositions from Xeste 3, depicting animal capture. Last, a preliminary approach is made to interpreting the space of the so-called House of the Benches, where a gold ibex figurine and a pile of animal horns were brought to light. This seems to be a special deposition, strongly symbolic in character.

It is noted that the cut-off date for the bibliography is 2012, the year most of the papers were submitted and edited. There is reference to later bibliography only for works which were in preparation or in press in 2012.

The volume was completed thanks to the collaboration of all the contributors, to whom we address our gratitude. We are grateful to Alexandra Doulas, who, with her experience and knowledge, translated and edited the texts, contributing decisively to their final version. Particular thanks are due also to the association of friends and supporters of our work at Akrotiri, the 'Society for the Promotion of Studies on Prehistoric Thera', for continuing support and for covering the costs of the present publication.

VALUES AND MEASUREMENTS IN THE ECONOMIC LIFE AT AKROTIRI, THERA

Anna Michailidou

*to Ritsa**

As the title, Values and Measurements, denotes, this paper refers to various values running through the economic life of a settlement. Although gold comes to mind first when we mention the term value, the ranking of goods according to their exchange value is a critical parameter for exchange transactions, particularly in pre-coinage societies such as that at Akrotiri. We use the word value and not price, because price is a monetary expression of a good's value, whereas the exchange value is the relation between two goods and indicates the ability of one good to be exchanged for another in a specific measurable quantity.

So, what we are dealing with is the measurement of quantity and the measurement of value. We shall begin with the instruments for measuring weight.¹ At Akrotiri, balance scales are a much less frequent find than balance-weights, and this is a phenomenon observed at all archaeological sites. To date, disc-shaped pans from seven balance scales have been found and the usual suspension of these scale pans with twine of vegetal material has been confirmed (fig. 1). In one case balance-weights and a balance scale were found together in the same room, Room 1 of Building Complex Delta, while particularly interesting for the function of Room 16 in the same complex is the fact that two balance scales, the largest and the smallest ones so far at Akrotiri, were found together in this ground-floor storeroom.²

Due to oxidation, the ponderal values presented in tables are only of relative value, even for intact lead balance-weights.³ We shall not refer here to issues of metrology, about which reams have been written. What is important is that the largest – and heaviest – lead balance weights in the Aegean have come to light at Akrotiri (fig. 2). It is also significant that we have from this settlement sets of balance-weights, which allow for comparisons between such sets from different buildings. One set, for example,

* The paper is dedicated with affection to the conservator of the metal finds, Eleftheria Papadima, while I thank warmly for their contribution to my personal research the colleagues Aris Gerontas, Panagiotis Drivas, Yannis Bassiakos, Andreas Kontonis and Dimitris Sakatzis. In a paper delivered at the 40th anniversary celebration of an excavation, one cannot but reflect on what one has seen, learnt and experienced during the years of working at Akrotiri. The truth is that the passion for this excavation is not diminished by time. I wish to thank all the collaborators of the excavation for everything I have learnt from

them and experienced with them. I thank Professor Christos Doumas, Director of the Excavation, for entrusting me with the study of the metal artifacts from the site, and Tania Devetzi, the soul of the excavation, for her help to us all over the years.

1. For more on the balance scales and the balance-weights found at Akrotiri, see MICHAILIDOU 2008a, 41-99, 271-276.

2. MICHAILIDOU 2008a, 51, 49-50.

3. See Tables of balance-weights in MICHAILIDOU 2007 and 2008a.

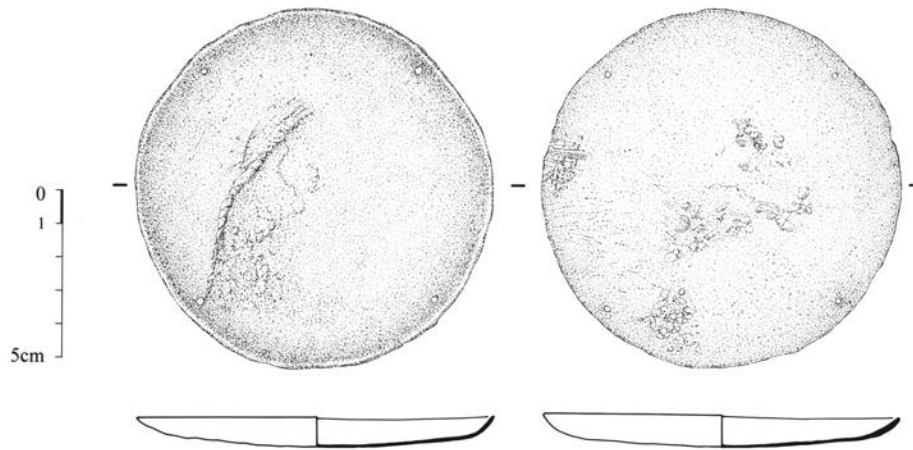


Fig. 1. The disc-shaped pans of the largest balance scale, which was found in Room Delta 16 (diam. 12.5 cm). Preserved inside one scale pan is the mineralized trace of vegetal twine and on the outer surface of the other scale pan are traces of matting.



Fig. 2. The three largest balance-weights from the group found in the West House.

was found in Complex Alpha, where there was a weaving workshop in the first storey, and in a corresponding workshop of the West House, the biggest set of balance-weights coexisted in the first storey with the biggest set of loom-weights, although no balance scale for weighing (wool in this case) was found.⁴ Apart from the highly probably use of wooden scale pans (as in the modern version in fig. 3),⁵ especially for the large lead balance-weights, the case of recycling of bronze scale pans should be borne in mind. The value of the balance scale emerges also from its place among the goods bequeathed in wills of Oriental texts.⁶ However, in Building Complex Delta, in addition to the balance-weights found in all four of its component buildings, three pairs of bronze disc-shaped pans from balance scales were found. The same complex also yielded a stone West Syrian *mina*⁷ and the heaviest lead weight in the Aegean, the half-talent.⁸ Furthermore, the gathering of samples of script in three of the four buildings of Complex Delta and the considerable number of imported and exotic goods in its storerooms, permit us perhaps to speak of its occupants as entrepreneurs or merchants.⁹

4. MICHAILIDOU 1990; 1999, 103; 2007, 224-230; 2008a, 74-80, 66-73.

5. MICHAILIDOU 2008a, 73, fig. II.42a-c.

6. See VAN DE MIEROOP 1992, 226.

7. MICHAILIDOU 2006a, 237, fig. 1; 2008a, fig. V.28.

8. MARINATOS 1976b, pls 15b, 56a; MICHAILIDOU 2008a, fig. II.70.

9. MICHAILIDOU 2008b, 29; BOULOTIS 2008, 88. For the use of the term merchant, see indicatively DOĞAN – MICHAILIDOU 2008.



Fig. 3. Wooden balance scale for weighing wool, from modern Cappadocia.



Fig. 4. The sole case in which two disc-shaped balance-weights, one of lead and the other of stone, were found in situ with the bronze scale pans.

Lead disc-shaped balance-weights are considered a norm for Aegean Bronze Age societies. The role of stone balance-weights in the Aegean has been largely overlooked, even though these were necessary for the precision weighing demanded for small quantities of precious goods, such as gold, aromatic substances, and so on. Unfortunately, stone balance-weights are not easily recognized among the host of stone minor objects, which is why we must look for the coincidence of various parameters, such as the material, the shape and the weight values which lead to multiples of a recognized unit.¹⁰ At Akrotiri there is also the interesting find of small stone spheres of different weight,¹¹ which could have been used for the needs of weighing and/or counting a specific quantity of goods destined for circulation or storage. However, who would characterize this particular artless stone disc as a balance-weight (fig. 4) if it were not found together with two pans of a balance scale and one lead balance-weight in an area with traces of wood¹² that point to the way in which the balance scale was stored? Also present together with these finds was a black ‘whetstone’, which may have functioned as a touchstone, although examination of the stone cannot preclude or confirm this possibility.¹³ Found too was a seal impression, the Cretan clay of which set Artemis Karnava, who studies sealings, thinking.¹⁴ The storing of the balance scale in a wooden (sealed?) box, sometimes also carefully decorated, was observed in the Uluburun shipwreck¹⁵ and is attested in Egypt, at Ebla in Syria¹⁶ and recently at Mochlos in Crete.¹⁷

After the measuring tools, we shall speak indicatively about the act of measuring of two *par excellence* exchange goods, textiles and metals.

10. See MICHAILIDOU 2006a. Always a happy coincidence is the sphendonoide shape and haematite stone (cf. PULAK 2005, 88, fig. 44).

11. See L. VALASSI, this volume.

12. The traces were observed by the excavator Nikos Sigalas in an area measuring 10 cm x 20 cm. MICHAILIDOU 2008a, 55-58.

13. MICHAILIDOU 2006a, 252-253, fig. 18; 2008a, 58, fig. II.22.

14. KARNAVA 2008b.

15. PULAK 2000a, 248, fig. 17.2.

16. PEYRONEL 2000, 1359.

17. I am most grateful to Tom Brogan for guiding me through the material from Mochlos.



Fig. 5. The two bronze basins, of the same size and weight (approx. 1.5 kilos), come from different houses in the settlement.

Textiles are first of all counted, as emerges from the way in which they are recorded on one of the tablets in Linear A script, found at Akrotiri,¹⁸ but mainly from their recording in the Mycenaean tablets in Linear B script.¹⁹ In certain series of Mycenaean tablets their weight is recorded too, calculated according to the type of textile, but not also the size of the textile. We gain an idea from the tablets of the Old Assyrian merchants, which were found at Kültepe near Caesarea (Kayseri) in Asia Minor:²⁰ there the size of the textile circulated is estimated as 4 metres by 4½ metres, while the weight of the most widespread type of textile has been calculated by researchers as 3 kilos, that is the same as the Mycenaean unit (LANA) of measuring and recording the weight of wool.²¹

As far as metals are concerned, the measurement of weight leads also to the calculation of their value,²² as emerges again from Oriental sources in which the values of metal artifacts recorded is identified with their weight. In the metal finds from Akrotiri we observe, apart from the expected variety of weight depending on the kind of the final product,²³ some standardization of size/weight in the production (fig. 5).²⁴ *In situ* metalworking is attested by the craftsman's tools, such as hammer-stones found in second use in the settlement,²⁵ crucibles, tuyères²⁶ for blowpipes or bellows, which so far are found

18. BOULOTIS 1998; 2008.

19. See indicatively, TZACHILI 2001.

20. VEENHOF 1972.

21. VEENHOF 1972, 89, 91-92, 95; MICHAÏLIDOU 2008a, 197-199.

22. MICHAÏLIDOU 2008a, 109.

23. MICHAÏLIDOU 2001, 97, pl. 1.

24. MICHAÏLIDOU 2008a, 112-115.

25. MICHAÏLIDOU 1995, 175, pl. 35; 2006b, 744, fig. 11; 2008b, figs 1-2.

26. MICHAÏLIDOU 1995, 173, pl. 23b; 2006b, 744, fig. 12.



Fig. 6. Depicted in the wall-painting from Xeste 3 is the ceremonial mode of use of the bronze kyathos, a specimen of which has been found in the settlement.

in the Aegean in pairs,²⁷ and the bronze fire-tongs, which is the best preserved specimen of the so-called ‘Aegean’ type,²⁸ as opposed to the Cypriot type.²⁹

As Aristotle was the first to point out, for every good there are two values, the use value and the exchange value.³⁰ The use value of the metal vessel is confirmed also by the frequent repairs made to it,³¹ while the ideological investment (fig. 6) affects its exchange value through the special artistic expression that is given to it. If we turn to humble tools, such as the bronze sickles, we observe that they do not occur everywhere at Akrotiri³² and when found they are often in pairs and have been used. One wonders whether this manner of their finding denotes seasonal activity, specialization or simply the storing of the tool. For the use value of the bronze sickle, eloquent is the excerpt from a Sumerian text,³³ in which bronze upholds its use value and declares to silver: “... *At harvest time you don’t give man the silver sickle. That’s why no one takes any notice of you ...*”. However, the sickle also has its exchange value, particularly in texts of Assyrian merchants active in the area of Cappadocia (with main trading station at Kültepe), where the sickle is referred to also as a codified form of money: “*I gave them two minas of tin, [x] minas in sickles, their expenses*”.³⁴ As a rule, in Mesopotamia the value of goods is calculated in silver, whereas copper and grain are what Powell has dubbed cheap money.³⁵ The small axe (*haššinnu*), in texts from Mari, is likewise considered to be a codified form of money, therefore small axes of copper

27. Cf. GALE 1998, 754, fig. 3; DIMOPOULOU 1997, pl. CLXXe.

28. MICHALIDOU 2008b, 19, fig. 4; 2008a, 247, fig. V.29a-b. Exactly similar ones were found at Zakros, together with another smaller pair (PLATON 1970a, pl. 338a), and at Mochlos too (BROGAN 2008, 164-165, fig. 6).

29. Such as from Enkomi in Cyprus (CATLING 1964, 99, fig. 11:4).

30. *Politics*, I, iii, 11.

31. MICHALIDOU 2006b, 747, fig. 20-22.

32. See relevant chapter in MICHALIDOU 2008a, 117-129. Sickles in Crete are referred to mainly from the Neopalatial period (EVELY 2000, 368).

33. PIGGOT 1996, 167.

34. *CAD*, s.v. *niggalu*.

35. POWELL 1996, 227-228.

sheet from the Juktas peak sanctuary could be a form of sacred money, in a cheaper version than the gold axes from Arkalochori.³⁶ A commoner form of money in the Oriental sources is rings of silver or copper, and there are candidate forms of money from Akrotiri,³⁷ the most important of which is the bundle of bronze strips (fig. 7), which refers to analogous finds from Crete.³⁸ At Mochlos specifically, many clutches have been found and Brogan observes a clear standardization in their weight.³⁹

Of interest for precisely this issue of the production of metal in standardized form and weight are moulds, such as the one from the upper storey of the West House (fig. 8),⁴⁰ which brings to mind analogous moulds⁴¹ or derivatives of moulds⁴² from other geographical regions. It is noted that the presence of the mould in the upper storey indicates ownership of the tool for repeated production/ commission. Especially interesting are the moulds for disc-shaped ingots of assorted sizes, from Kültepe in Asia Minor, as only from these areas have disc-shaped lead balance-weights been reported.⁴³ Perhaps the practice of weighing with lead balance weights began from the standardization of metal as disc-shaped ingots of lead.

With regard to the matter of standardization of metal, we mention two fragments of copper – very possibly from ingots – recovered at Akrotiri: the find-spot seems to indicate their storage in the upper storey of a building, together with other – ideologically precious – goods, such as two plastic clay bull rhyta.⁴⁴ In the case of the ingot from which the larger



Fig. 7. A bundle of bronze strips, today of total weight 5.5 gr.



Fig. 8. Both faces of the stone mould from the upper storey of the West House.

36. MICHAÏLIDOU 2003, 313.

37. E.g. silver hoops (MICHAÏLIDOU 2004, 319, fig. 26.13); MICHAÏLIDOU 2008a, 266, 284.

38. EVELY 2000, 362, with the view that the bronze strips were used to bind moulds, as for instance at Gournia. See also MICHAÏLIDOU 1995, 173, pl. 24a.

39. BROGAN 2006, 283.

40. MICHAÏLIDOU 1995, 172-173, pl. 24b; 2007, 231-233.

41. Two stone moulds for casting small bronze ingots, from Alonia at Marki, Cyprus (KASSIANIDOU 2004, 67; FRANKEL – WEBB 2001, 35-37, fig. 10,2), two moulds, one for rod-shaped

ingots and one for disc-shaped ingots (MÜLLER-KARPE 2005, 488, fig. 6, 490, fig. 8).

42. E.g. two silver ingots from the site of Pyla-Kokkinokremos, Cyprus (KARAGEORGHIS – GALE – STOS GALE 1983, 211-214, fig. 1) and copper ingots from Palestine (MICHAÏLIDOU 2006b, 745, fig. 14γ).

43. E.g., the mould published by ÖZGÜÇ (1986), is of different size (diam. 9.9 cm and th. 3.3 cm) from that illustrated in MÜLLER-KARPE 2005, 490, fig. 8.

44. MICHAÏLIDOU 2008a, 102, fig. II.85-86.

fragment comes (fig. 9a), its considerable thickness is not consistent with Muhly's suggestion that it comes from an ox-hide ingot, in which case we would have, of course, the earliest known ingot of this type.⁴⁵ The way in which the ingots are broken, by a blow from a hammer causing fractures on the back surface (fig. 9b), perhaps after heating, and aided by the uneven consistency of the impure copper, has been observed on the ingots

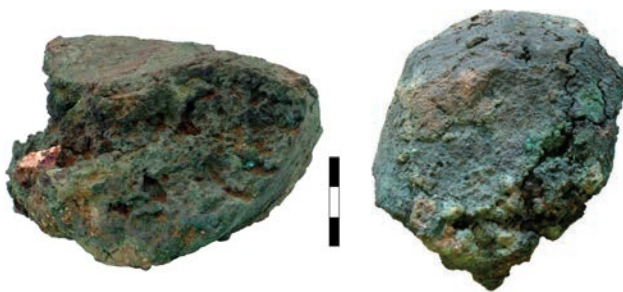


Fig. 9a-b. The large piece of a copper ingot (a) with fracturing on the curved surface (b).

of the Uluburun shipwreck⁴⁶ and is referred to also in a Hittite text.⁴⁷ The breaking of the ingot into smaller pieces also facilitated the weighing of copper, although for the weighing of intact ingots (and half-ingots) large balance scales would have been used, such as the one represented in a relief from the reign of Ashurbanipal.⁴⁸ The second – smaller – fragment from the same spot at Akrotiri⁴⁹ does not come from the same ingot, if we compare the preliminary analyses by Y. Bassiakos in the Demokritos laboratories.

It has been noted already that beyond weight, craftsmanship functions as added value for the metal product. We proceed to the case in which a specific and widely accepted ideological investment affects the exchange value of the object, through the standardization of artistic production. This is a bronze figurine of the 'adorant' type. Found in badly oxidized condition, to the west of the House of the Ladies,⁵⁰ it displays imperfections perhaps due to careless casting⁵¹ (fig. 10). This is the first adorant figurine found at Akrotiri. The head of a clay Cretan figurine from a building to the south of the House of the Ladies has been published by Athina Maniki.⁵² The tiny devotee fits into the palm of our hand and is somewhat smaller than the little Anatolian goddess who was travelling with the royal cargo of the Uluburun ship.⁵³ The transport of a figure of a deity is mentioned also in the famous tale of the voyage of the Egyptian Wenamun.⁵⁴ The summary rendering of the worshipper in combination with the rigidity of the torso are reminiscent of the LM IA male figurine from the site of Trianda on Rhodes, while the covering of the face by the right hand and the attire are close to the likewise small figurine from the site of Kalamonas on Rhodes (fig. 11), both published by Toula Marketou,⁵⁵ and perhaps to a figurine of unknown provenance, now in the Mitsotakis Collection.⁵⁶ I believe that we have here a clear case of ideological value, which led to the mass production⁵⁷ and to the distribution of the figurine, now with exchange value. In the case of the adorant from Akrotiri, its exchange value may well have been less than that of a more artistic – and larger – figurine, such as the one from Kalymnos.⁵⁸

45. See indicatively MUHLY 1977; GALE 1991.

46. PULAK 2000b, 145.

47. KEMPINSKI – KOSAK 1977, 88-89.

48. RENGER 1992, 209.

49. MICHAILEDIOU 2008a, fig. II.91-92.

50. Like all the metal objects, it was conserved by Eleftheria Papadima. The figurine was found in the trench excavated between New Pillar Shafts 25A and 26A of the new shelter, in the south branch, in the lowest layer of the final destruction level. I am most grateful to the excavator, Stephanos Kariotis, for

information on the excavation.

51. For the casting of the figurine in a mould, see EVELY 2000, 367, fig. 145:3.

52. MANIKI 2003.

53. PULAK 2005, 85, fig. 39 left.

54. LICHTHEIM 1976, 225, n. 8.

55. MARKETOU 1998, 61, fig. 9, and 63, fig. 11.

56. DAVARAS 1992, 248, 254, no. 311.

57. Cf. EVELY 2000, 366; SAPOUNA-SAKELLARAKIS 1995.

58. MARKETOU 1998, 64, fig. 12.



Fig. 10. The bronze adorant figurine from Akrotiri, after its cleaning in the Metals Conservation Laboratory.

Fig. 11. The bronze adorant figurine from Kalamonas, Rhodes.

The title of the paper is ‘values and measurements’. The measurement of quantity – and of value – is completed by record-keeping, an essential procedure in the sector of bureaucracy and a useful one in the wider sector of technology and exchanges. The close relation between measurement and script is self-evident and can prompt further questions in cases such as the practice of making ‘potter’s marks’ on clay vases.⁵⁹ Here we shall present just two potter’s marks from Akrotiri, which can be identified with two signs in Linear A script.⁶⁰ On both the vases illustrated (figs 12-13), the signs AB 81 and AB 164 have been incised before firing and in the same – conspicuous – position. We shall speak of their contribution to issues of dating, palaeography, etc., at some future date in the publication of the marks-signs from the site. Here we shall confine ourselves to the analogous phenomenon of ‘marking’ inside certain ideograms of vases in both scripts (fig. 16a-b): in Linear B there are clear cases in which the marking is an acrophone of the vase shape (e.g. the sign *ka* inside the ideogram for the stirrup jar denotes the name *ka-ra-re-we*, *χλαρήεις* for the specific vase shape),⁶¹ however, for Linear A script⁶² there are various views.⁶³

The first sign (fig. 15), AB 81,⁶⁴ is a syllabogram, but on one tablet from Chania⁶⁵ and on two tablets from Hagia Triada it functions as an ideogram, in one case indeed followed by a fraction,⁶⁶ therefore in that case it represents a good that is measured also in fractional quantities. This sign is very common on sealings of the hanging nodule type,⁶⁷ with 151 cases known, and scribes have been identified too.⁶⁸ The second sign (fig. 14), AB 164 α ,⁶⁹ which appears as a syllabogram on two tablets from Hagia Triada,⁷⁰

59. Research on potter’s marks at Akrotiri, by a team of archaeologists – Angelia Papagiannopoulou, Panagiotis Drivas and Anna Michailidou – is at the stage of gathering the material.

60. I am most grateful to my colleagues Maria Tsoulakou, for excavation details on the finding of the two vases, and Angelia Papagiannopoulou and Irene Nikolakopoulou for an exchange of views regarding provenance and the dating to MM IIB-III A of the pottery from the level.

61. See also the acrophone denoting of the amphora in tablet KN F 17.

62. VANDENABEELE 1974.

63. E.g. DUHOUC 2000-2001; PERNA 2003.

64. *GORILA* 5, XLI and 267.

65. KH 18: *GORILA* 3, 48-49.

66. HT 45b: *GORILA* 1, 86-87.

67. E.g. Wa 1533-1539: *GORILA* 2, 45.

68. See HALLAGER 1996, 171.

69. *GORILA* 5, 279.

70. HT 17 & 19: *GORILA* 1, 34-37.



12



13

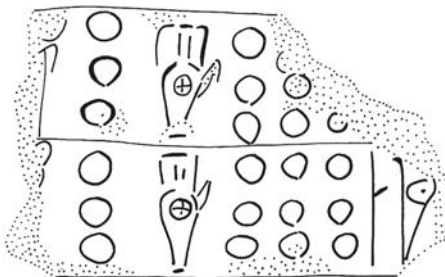
Figs 12.-13. Two vases of the same shape and size, found in the same building at Akrotiri, carry different 'potter's marks' in the same conspicuous position.



Fig. 14. The sign of Linear A script on the vase in fig. 12 is AB 164a.



Fig. 15. The sign of Linear A script on the vase in fig. 13 is AB 81.



16a



16b

Fig. 16 a-b. Detail of tablet KN K 700 in Linear B script, with the sign KA inside the ideogram of the stirrup jar (a), and from tablet MA 10 in Linear A script, with the inventory of vases that are differentiated also by the signs they carry (b).

is found alone on roundels from Chania.⁷¹ Hallager has argued that the roundels functioned as a kind of receipt in the circulation of goods, which is why there is a repeating seal impression/stamp on the circumference, whereas for the hanging nodules the same scholar supposes that these accompanied documents.⁷² However, he distinguishes the role of individual signs on the tablets and the roundels from their possible function on the nodules, where he does not consider them as ideograms.⁷³

The signs on both vases are not fractions, like certain of the signs inscribed inside the ideograms of vases on tablet MA 10,⁷⁴ nor are they recognized immediately, as for example the ideogram of wine on a pithos sherd from Kea.⁷⁵ The vases carrying the signs are of the same shape and size, which seems to rule out the marking of the capacity or of the name of the vase. The uniformity of the material carrying different signs reminds us of the problem with the diverse marking of uniform copper ingots.⁷⁶ The vases were found in the same spot, consequently the signs did not indicate a different destination, unless we found them at an intermediate halting point. The presence of the specific signs on both roundels and nodules, seems to boost the view that they denote the content of the vases, perhaps in relation to the equivalent – codified (?) – capacity of them. However, AB 164 in Linear B is considered a kind of textile, while AB 81 is combined in ligature with, inter alia, AB 120 (grain) and AB 54 (cloth⁷⁷). Research is just beginning. The marking of the ideograms of the vases recorded on tablets may have played a completely different informative role in relation to the marking of the actual vases. Nevertheless, the subject has returned to research with a vase from Malia, which has been marked with the ideogram of a vase inscribed inside with a fraction.⁷⁸

Apart from the issue of the relation or not of different signs to the capacity of two identical vases, it should be stressed that the specific signs were obviously incised by tablet scribes, which means that here we can be certain about the distinction of the vase-maker from the sign-inscriber. If we confirm that the vases are of local manufacture, we have another testimony on the presence of scribes at Akrotiri and indeed in the final Middle Cycladic period, and we are led thus to Karnava's burning question on where scribes were trained,⁷⁹ and to our own burning question of who 'employed' the scribes at Akrotiri.⁸⁰ And because not only who knew how to write but also who could read are important issues, we should remember the cases of signs scribbled after firing, which occur on pots at Akrotiri (fig. 17),⁸¹ thus attesting familiarity with the system of Linear A script, which moreover, since it was shorthand, was particularly suitable for the commercial notes of those living at Akrotiri.



Fig. 17. Rounded potsherd with a sign of Linear A script, incised after firing.

71. E.g. KH Wc 2043-2044: *GORILA* 3, 130.

72. HALLAGER 2000, 259.

73. HALLAGER 2000, 258.

74. *GORILA* 5, 50-51; PERNA 2003, 345.

75. *GORILA* 4, 73.

76. PULAK 1998, 196, fig. 10 (The example is later but cf. also the marking of the Hagia Triada ingots, GALE 1991).

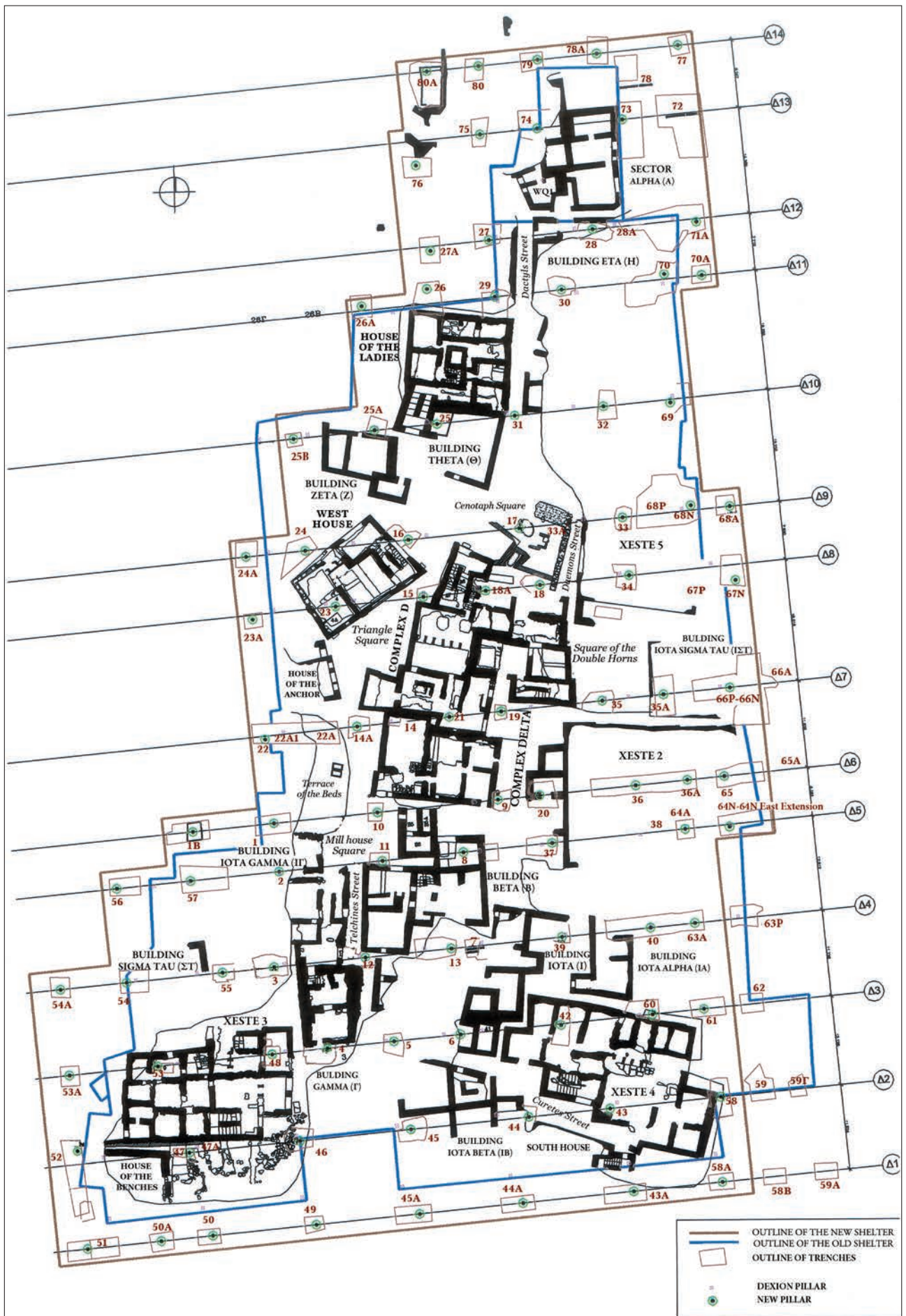
77. For the types of textiles in Linear B, see drawing by TZACHILI 2001, 192, pl. 2.

78. PERNA 2003, 346.

79. "... si può pensare che gli scribi ad Akrotiri...imparavano a scrivere alla stessa 'scuola' degli scribi cretesi", KARNAVA 2008a.

80. MICHAILIDOU 2000-2001.

81. MICHAILIDOU 2000-2001; 1992-1993.



Pl. 1. Akrotiri, Thera. Plan of the site.

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AA</i>	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
<i>AAA</i>	<i>Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν / Athens Annals of Archaeology</i>
<i>ADelt</i>	<i>Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίο</i>
<i>AE</i>	<i>Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς</i>
<i>Aegaeum</i>	<i>Aegaeum: Annales d'archéologie égéenne de l'Université de Liège</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AK</i>	<i>Antike Kunst</i>
<i>AAS</i>	Περιοδική Έκδοση της Εταιρείας Στήριξης Σπουδών Προϊστορικής Θήρας / Periodical Edition of the Society for the Promotion of Studies on Prehistoric Thera
<i>AM</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung</i>
<i>Annuario</i>	<i>Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente</i>
<i>Antiquity</i>	<i>Antiquity: A Quarterly Review of Archaeology</i>
<i>Αράχνη</i>	Ενημερωτικό Δελτίο του Κέντρου Έρευνας και Συντήρησης Αρχαιολογικού Υφάσματος
<i>Arch. Hom.</i>	<i>Archaeologia Homericæ</i>
<i>AnatSt</i>	<i>Anatolian Studies</i>
<i>AR</i>	<i>Archaeological Reports</i> (supplement to <i>JHS</i>)
<i>BAR-IS</i>	<i>British Archaeological Reports, International Series</i>
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i>
<i>BICS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London</i>
<i>BSA</i>	<i>British School at Athens Annual</i>
<i>CAD</i>	<i>Chicago Assyrian Dictionary</i>
<i>CMS</i>	<i>Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel</i>
<i>CretChron</i>	<i>Κρητικά Χρονικά: Κείμενα και μελέται της κρητικής ιστορίας</i>
<i>ENAAIA</i>	Περιοδική Έκδοση του Ινστιτούτου Εναλίων Αρχαιολογικών Ερευνών / The Journal of the Hellenic Institute of Marine Archaeology
<i>Ergon</i>	<i>Το Έργον της Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας</i>
<i>GORILA 1-5</i>	L. GODART - J.-P. OLIVIER, <i>Recueil des inscriptions en Linéaire A</i> (École Française d'Athènes, <i>Études Crétoises XXI</i> , Vols 1-5, Paris 1976-1985: P. Geuthner).
<i>Hesperia</i>	<i>Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens</i>
<i>IEE</i>	<i>Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους</i>
<i>IJNA</i>	<i>International Journal of Nautical Archaeology</i>
<i>JdI</i>	<i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i>
<i>JESHO</i>	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>LIMC</i>	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i>
<i>OJA</i>	<i>Oxford Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>PBF</i>	<i>Prähistorische Bronzefunden</i>
<i>Prakt</i>	<i>Πρακτικά της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας</i>
<i>PZ</i>	<i>Praehistorische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>RA</i>	<i>Revue Archéologique</i>
<i>SIMA</i>	<i>Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology</i>
<i>SMEA</i>	<i>Studi Micenei ed Egeo-anatolici</i>
<i>TMO</i>	<i>Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient</i>

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