

Kephallénia Masonry

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[...] the battering rams were moved up in two places and the walls attacked. [...] their resistance depended mainly on two things; first, the construction of a new wall, equally strong throughout, on the inner side and in place of the wall that was destroyed; second, their sudden sallies, now against the enemy's siegeworks, now against his outguards; ... For four months Same underwent the siege. Since every day some of their small number were killed or wounded and those who remained were wearied in both body and mind, the Romans at night, by way of the citadel which they call Cyneatis [...] crossed the wall [...] Then the next day the city was plundered and all who had surrendered were sold as slaves.

Livius 28-29, for 189 BC

1. Introduction

In Classical Antiquity the island of Kephallénia had four (five with the island of Ithaka) *poleis* with fortified capital centres erected in several stages and often encompassing planned cityscapes with street grids and plots of equal size, i.e. an egalitarian layout and architecture.¹ Ancient written sources on Kephallénia-Ithaka are very few, but the archaeology is much richer than is often believed.

The *poleis* on Kephallénia are Pale and Krane in the west, Same in the east, and Pronnoi in the southeast (Fig. 1).² Indeed, J. Partsch's meticulous, thus almost modern geographical-historical work proved to be of high value to the archaeologists of the present undertaking, working more than one hundred years later.³ In addition

to the cities of Kephallénia-Ithaka there are other fortified centres: towns like Poros (often mistaken for the centre of Pronnoi, rightly placed at the inland hilltop today named Palaeokastro), and smaller fortresses like Pyrgos in the far north.

Yet more constructions, no doubt rural settlements of the Neolithic or rather the early Bronze Age, comprise round compounds with rubble curtain walls, often situated on hilltops (new ones are still being found). Somewhat larger (and later) compounds include larger blocks in their fortifications; there is also a square Mycenaean fortress at Digaletto, between Same and Pronnoi. The latest farmsteads with curtain walls are from the Archaic or possibly the early Classical period, and are either round or

1 Cf. Hoepfner & Schwandner 1994.

2 Cf. Partsch 1890; Randsborg 2002.

3 The study of masonry on Kephallénia-Ithaka, and elsewhere in Greece, was undertaken by the author in very close collaboration with Thomas Roland, MA, assisted by Dorte Veien Christiansen, MA and Andreas Sotiriou, MA, the latter now of the present Ephorate of Kephallénia-Ithaka (cf. Randsborg 2002, 1, pls.). The Danes, who were graduate students in the 1990s in the Department of Archaeology, University of Copenhagen, are today of the office of Cultural Heritage, Copenhagen. Mapping with total station, in the early 1990s a very rare tool in archaeology, as were advanced computers (indeed, digitalization and even reliable GPS instruments), was carried out by a team headed by Thomas Vedelsbøl, BA, also a graduate student in the 1990s in the same department. Vedelsbøl also provided the crucial detailed map data, interpreted and superimposed on modern maps (cf. Randsborg 2002, 1 pls.). No doubt these operations were as tedious, and as uplifting, as J. Partsch's mule rides across the rocky island (Partsch 1890).

Other teams carried out scouting surveys and extensive and intensive field-walking surveys – even crawling under dense vegetation – and made architectural drawings of masonry uprights (Architect Elga Andersen). Several archaeologists supported the expeditions from Denmark, in particular by providing specialist knowledge, specifically on ceramics, by studying the very many lithics recorded during surveys (Pernille Foss, MA, also a former graduate student in the Department of Archaeology, University of Copenhagen), or by collecting data on earlier investigations on Kephallénia.

We are very grateful indeed for the support and collaboration of Greek antiquarian authorities during the fieldwork in the early to mid-1990s with the 6th Ephorate, Patras, and its then director Lazaros Kolonas. Invaluable help of very many kinds was provided by the then mayor of Poros, later prefect of Kephallénia-Ithaka, Mr. Makis Metaxas, a man highly devoted to his home region and its historical heritage.

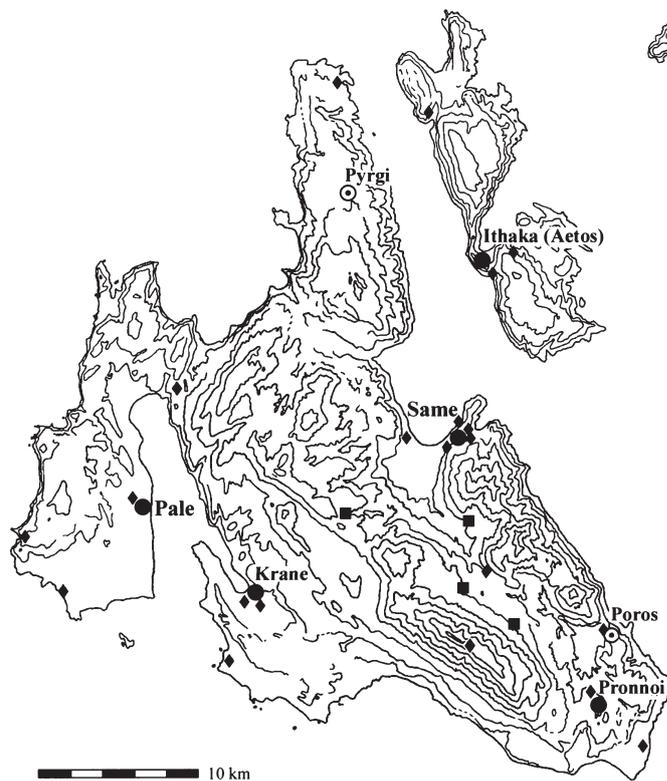


Fig. 1. Kephallénia-Ithaka in Classical Antiquity (after Randsborg 2002). Large black dot = polis centre. Ring with black dot = main fortress. Diamond = shrine/temples. Squares = Archaic/early Classical smaller fortified compound. Fortified Neolithic/early Bronze Age, as well as Mycenaean sites, are not included (the older ones tend to be found quite often, usually on hilltops).

rectangular in shape, both types about 20+ m across and equipped with a narrow entrance. Farmstead towers are known from the Classical period. Mycenaean tholos tombs are not uncommon on the islands of Homer's *Odyssey*, as well as temples from Classical Antiquity; there is even an elegant and rare tholos temple from around 300 BC, the Macedonian period, placed in a former Mycenaean fortress in the border lands of Same and Pronnoi, almost as if it were a Homeric reference (Fig. 2).

Classical and Hellenistic farmsteads and estates are also known. Several coastal villas (in brick) with baths and mosaics date to the Roman Imperial period. Roman monumental graves and even a tiny theatre have recently been found at Fiscardo in the far north, where a late Antique towered basilica cathedral overlooking the archipelago was also situated. In the high Middle Ages the acropoleis of the Greek cities of Kephallénia were re-used

and rebuilt for feudal castles in several cases.⁴ In this period, Latin churches and monasteries were also erected. The construction date of the fortified former capital of the island Ag. Georgios (to the east of Argostoli, the present capital) is uncertain. It certainly predates the massive Venetian Renaissance fortress on the site. Thus, at some point in time, possibly when the Byzantine military theme of Kephallénia was established around AD 750, Fiscardo gave way to hilltop Ag. Georgios as the central locality of the region. Indeed, further investigation of Ag. Georgios should be a priority for archaeologists researching the Medieval period on Kephallénia.

Kephallénia (with Ithaka) is thus rich in ruined masonry from Antiquity and later periods, although it is mostly preserved on the particularly hilly, and still rather "untamed" eastern part of the island.⁵ The small fortified sites of early date are all found in marginal areas, usually

⁴ Cf. Soustal 1981.

⁵ Randsborg 2002, vol. 2, 207-91; vol. 1, 80-110, with pls.

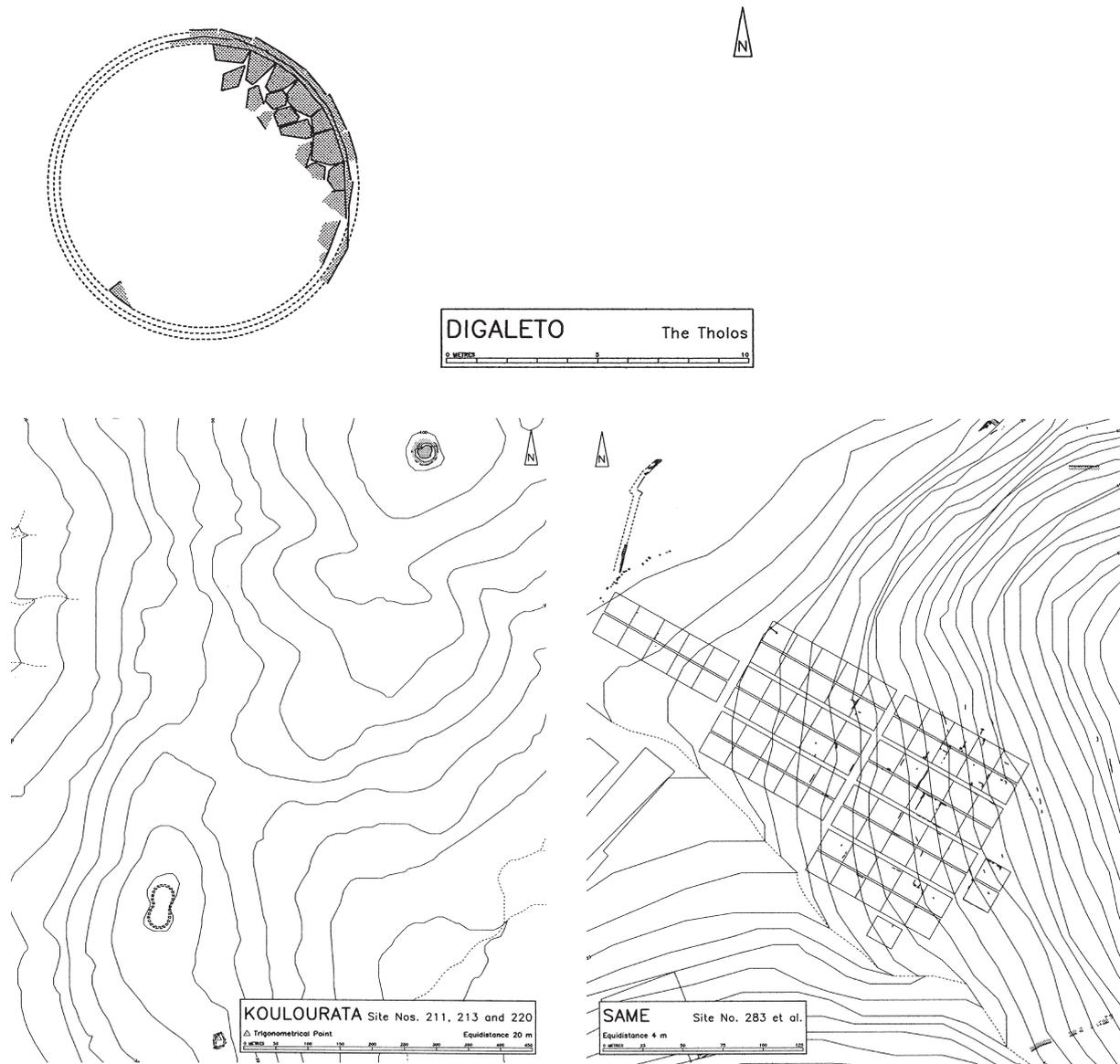


Fig. 2. Examples of maps constructed by total station (after Randsborg 2002). A: Koulourata with three, likely successive fortified compounds: from north to south dating from the Neolithic/early Bronze Age, the Mycenaean period, and the Archaic period. B: Digaletto, Hellenistic tholos temple. C: Detail of Same City with smaller stretches of preserved curtain walls and parts of the planned city in its terminal phase; note the pier to the north.

high in the hills. Perhaps they were established to guard flocks and territorial boundaries, but they may also have survived in these places due to their marginal location; similar sites that might have existed in the fertile lowlands, especially very early ones with rubble walls of smaller stones, are long gone due to intensive agriculture and construction.

In almost all cases the level of preservation of the masonry in question is poor or even very poor. This is due both to earthquakes and comprehensive re-use of materials. A particular property of Kephallénia should also be taken into consideration: in almost every city, town, or major fortress wall only the outer façade was in masonry; the rest of the wall was constructed with

the use of rubble and wooden scaffolding, the latter long gone. The use of wood should be viewed in light of the rich forest resources of the island, throughout providing large timbers, even for export. The one major exception is the elegant (but unfinished) double-façaded outer city wall, several kilometres long, of the city of Krane.

Another notable observation is that most major building projects on the island, such as city walls, were left unfinished, with construction only taken up again later, if at all, when new demands arose and sufficient financial support was provided. Characteristically, the only polis resisting the Romans when they arrived shortly after 200 BC was Same, which also happens to be the only city where the fortifications, including vital curtain walls, were completed and intact at that time, according to archaeological observations. The other cities may have been undefendable once the Romans had landed, Pale even sitting on a low coastal knoll. The masonry of Pale is virtually all gone; it was used in the 19th century to construct the nearby town of Lixouri.

Same city withstood a four-month siege according to Livius (cf. the quotation above), but was conquered in the end and its inhabitants enslaved [Livius 36.42, for the year 191 BC; 37.13 for 190 BC; 38.9 for 189 BC, and 38.28f. also for 189 BC]. Interestingly, even today, the town of Same seems a bleak and uninspiring place, lacking in atmosphere compared to the other centres. The poleis, now towns and sub-regions of Kephallénia, have all retained a particular identity to this very day, even though modernity and globalisation is rapidly transforming life on the Ionian Islands. The devastating massive earthquake of 1953, still a deep trauma, led to the abandonment of old settlements and the creation of new ones near the roads; abandonment of agriculture and support by the EU, e.g. for rather useless goat ranching, has caused heavy growth of vegetation.

2. Classification of masonry

Constant rebuilding (due to earthquakes and the widespread use of wooden constructions) coupled with the regular abandonment of major building projects have provided archaeology with important tools for the relative

dating of stretches of walls and different types of masonry. The types of masonry may in turn be given approximate absolute dates by comparing them with well-dated similar features elsewhere in the Aegean. Nonetheless, however rewarding it has turned out to be, working with masonry on Kephallénia has not been an easy task.

In the field, all masonry found was at first mapped in great detail by total station, a very strenuous task indeed due to the rocky terrain and vegetation (Fig. 2). Post-fieldwork studies comprised the production of detailed maps on the basis of the digital data. Each single stretch of usually poorly preserved wall was then very carefully studied for typological criteria, often block by block, since the styles and types of walling are highly variable. Superimposed masonry and a few instances of linked shifts of different types of masonry were very important in establishing relative chronologies and concurrency between types. Establishing the phases of development, usually of the expansion of major architectural sites such as cities, also served the same chronological ends, as well as contributing to our understanding in other ways.

Traditional classification of Greek masonry only considers a few main types, all based on the shape of the blocks: polygonal, trapezoidal, or rectangular, with the possible addition of rubble walls.⁶ Such crude characterisation does not provide the means for detailed dating; polygonal masonry, for instance, is found both in the Archaic and in the Hellenistic period. Other factors are rarely discussed, for example the availability and character of raw materials for production of blocks, as well as craftsmanship and the many functional aspects involved.

For dating and historical conclusions, detailed classification is required.⁷ The methodology provided here allows for a classification of each stretch of wall according to (1) Style of masonry (shape of the blocks), (2) Shape of the surface of the blocks, (3) Dressing of the blocks, (4) Fitting of the blocks, (5) Average block size/length and height, and (6) Number of preserved courses/height.

The style of masonry is defined as either (A) Rubble, (B) Polygonal, (C) Trapezoid, or (D) Rectangular. The shape of the surface of the blocks is described as (A) Flat, (B) Curved (or bulging), or (C) Irregular. In addition to

6 Cf. Scranton 1941; Winter 1971.

7 Randsborg 2002, esp. vol. 2, 207-91.

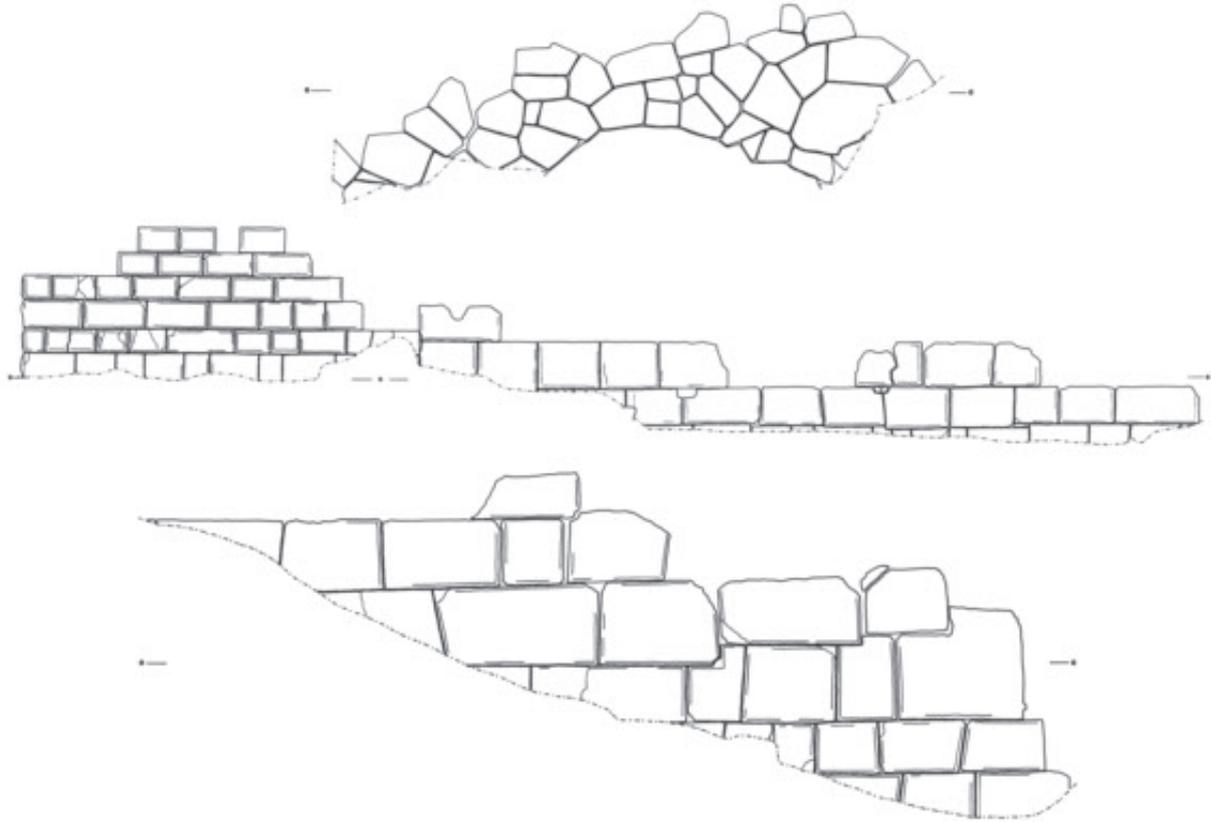


Fig. 3. Examples of masonry types from the curtain walls of Same: Polygonal Type 11 (top); Trapezoidal Type 22 (centre); Rectangular Type 27 (below left, originally free-standing watch tower); and Trapezoidal Type 21 (below right). After Randsborg 2002 (drawings: Elga Andersen).

these come features like “Peritaenia” (marginal drafting of the blocks). The dressing of the blocks is characterised as (A) Fine, (B) Demi-fine, (C) Demi-rough, or (D) Rough. The fitting of the blocks is also characterised as (A) Fine, (B) Demi-fine, (C) Demi-rough, or (D) Rough.

Specific terms were also employed, including (A) “Falling lines”, (B) “Accomplished courses”, (C) “Compact polygonal”, (D) “Quadrangular polygonal”, and (E) “L-stones”, in addition to “isodomic” (courses of exactly the same height) versus “pseudo-isodomic”. Rebates at corners are identical to guidance grooves for a plumb line. For a consideration of the whole Aegean, not to speak of the entire Greek world, more specific terms should pos-

sibly be added. On the other hand, the typology below seems to hold true for all of western Greece and probably even more areas. This is not to say that it is comprehensive. Characteristic masonry types must be added when dealing with other regions, but the basic methodology will work everywhere.

The Kephallénia(-Ithaka) masonry typology (Table 1; Fig. 3) comprises Rubble Walls (Types 1-3), Polygonal Masonry (Types 4-17), Trapezoidal Masonry: irregular and pseudo-isodomic (Types 18-22), and Rectangular Masonry (Types 23-27).⁸ Of particular interest are Types 2-6, 8-17, 19-24, and 27; in particular the latter ones are often rather well-dated.

⁸ Randsborg 2002, vol. 2, 209-51., with discussion, illustrations, and further details.

RUBBLE WALLS

- TYPE 2** Comprises rubble walls combining huge and small roughly dressed blocks, often with rounded edges in the masonry of higher quality (Randsborg 2002, 2 fig. IX.2-4). The date is Mycenaean.
- TYPE 3** Comprises rubble walls of roughly trimmed blocks with only lightly worked adapted curved surfaces (Randsborg 2002, 2 fig. IX.5-7). Such walls are usually of Archaic/early Classical date to judge from the small finds; however, some of the better executed ones are of the Hellenistic period: ad hoc fortifications?
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POLYGONAL MASONRY

- TYPE 4** Comprises very rough polygonal masonry; the blocks show some trimmed fitting (Randsborg 2002, 2 fig. IX.8).
- TYPE 5** Comprises masonry in "quadrangular" polygonal style. The blocks, many of which are L-stones, vary considerable in size (Randsborg 2002, 2 fig. IX.9-10).
- TYPE 6** Comprises less fine polygonal masonry (as compared to Types 7-17) built in slightly curved "quadrangular" polygonal blocks and seemingly in "accomplished courses" (Randsborg 2002, 2 fig. IX.11).
- TYPE 8** Comprises relatively well-built polygonal masonry with slightly curved blocks, giving a "compact" impression (Randsborg 2002, 2 fig. IX.14-16/17).
- TYPE 9** Resembles Type 8 above, but the blocks are more quadrangular (Randsborg 2002, 2 fig. IX.18-9).
- TYPE 10** Represents polygonal masonry with rather large often hexagonal blocks with roughly curved/rusticated surfaces (Randsborg 2002, 2 fig. IX.20).
- TYPE 11** Comprises rather well-built highly varying polygonal masonry of medium-sized blocks with a slightly curved or flat well-dressed surface (Fig. 3.?.; Randsborg 2002, 2 fig. IX.21-6).
- TYPE 12** Comprises masonry in curved or flat polygonal blocks with a rather fine fitting and a tendency towards "falling course-lines". Type 12 may be seen as a variant of Type 11.
- TYPE 13** Comprises relatively well-built polygonal masonry of blocks observably long in shape and with a flat surface (Randsborg 2002, 2 fig. IX.27-8).
- TYPE 14** Comprises polygonal masonry with blocks of good quality and relatively flat surfaces; a few truly huge blocks are included (Randsborg 2002, 2 fig. IX.29).
- TYPE 15** Represents polygonal masonry in flat or only slightly curved blocks, occasionally with a quadrangular appearance and small wedges (Randsborg 2002, 2 fig. IX.30).
- TYPE 16** Comprises finely built polygonal masonry in rather large blocks with well-dressed flat and smooth surfaces (Randsborg 2002, 2 fig. IX.31-2).
- TYPE 17** Represents complex and imposing polygonal masonry of irregular polygonal/trapezoid appearance constructed of a course of huge upright blocks on top of which are courses of smaller almost quadrangular blocks. Fitting is excellent and the surfaces are well dressed (Randsborg 2002, 2 fig. IX.33, with 34-5).
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TRAPEZOIDAL MASONRY	
TYPE 19	Comprises irregular trapezoid masonry with a rather good dressing and fitting of the blocks, which are laid in pseudo-isodomic courses.
TYPE 20	Represents masonry built of rather fine trapezoidal blocks with slightly curved fairly rough surfaces, but good fitting; the courses are only slightly irregular.
TYPE 21	Comprises masonry in rather large well-fitted and only slightly trapezoidal blocks in pseudo-isodomic courses; the surface is weakly curved and well dressed, including sometimes a weak peritaeneia (Fig. 3.?.; Randsborg 2002, 2 fig. IX.44, 47-8, with 46 (variant)).
TYPE 22	Represents pseudo-isodomic trapezoidal masonry resembling Type 21 but usually in rather large and relatively marked blocks with a good fitting; some L-stones are employed. The surface of the blocks is flat and carries distinct peritaeneia; vertically fluted or blown apergon is noted (Fig. 3.?.; Randsborg 2002, 2 fig. IX.49-54). In Athens the retaining wall of Pnyx is of this type.
REGULAR MASONRY	
TYPE 23	Represents regular masonry in pseudo-isodomic (approaching isodomic) courses. The blocks are huge and neatly fitted with a slightly curved well-dressed surface ("cushion-blocks") (Randsborg 2002, 2 fig. IX.55-8). Incidentally, this type is particularly common in the eastern Aegean.
TYPE 24	Comprises very well built masonry in rectangular medium-sized blocks; the surface of the blocks are flat and very well dressed (Randsborg 2002, 2 fig. IX.59).
TYPE 27	Comprises well-built masonry made in medium-sized rectangular blocks in pseudo-isodomic (approaching isodomic) courses. The front is flat with marked peritaeneia and an apergon with rustication in small blows (Fig. 3.?.; Randsborg 2002, 2 Fig. IX.63-8).

Table 1. *Short descriptions of significant and generally well-dated masonry types (cf. Randsborg 2002, with detailed descriptions).*

The short descriptions in Table 1 of some of the chronologically most important types gives an impression of the outline of the typological work carried out. Fig. 4 gives the suggested sequences of different masonry types in the poleis of Kephallénia-Ithaka and Poros on Kephallénia, a town or a larger harbour fortification.

Indeed, moving from three or four different types of masonry to at least twenty-seven well defined ones is providing the study of masonry in the western Aegean with a completely new outlook, similar to long-established detailed studies of sculpture or painted ceramics (Fig. 4). Relative chronology is provided mainly by observations in the field on Kephallénia, and absolute dates, as mentioned, mainly by comparison with well-dated examples of particular types of masonry found elsewhere in the Aegean, in addition to lucky absolute dates provided by

ceramics or by other finds and means. Thus, the whole approach is simple, even though highly time-consuming. Sometimes more time was actually spent on clearing vegetation than on mapping and studying masonry. Such clearing operations were especially important when establishing the extent of unfinished projects.

3. Planned cities

As mentioned above, some of the masonry on Kephallénia belongs to Mycenaean fortresses and compounds (some possibly going back to the early Bronze Age or even the Neolithic), but most is from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period, especially the late Classical and early Hellenistic phases (the Roman conquest implied a decline). Most of this masonry belongs to multi-period, and in terms of cur-

	PRONNOI	Poros	SAME	KRANE	PALE	AËTOS
VIII						
VII						
VI	Fortresses in borderlands, Acropoleis (?), Sanctuary – Types 3 & 4					
Va						
Vb						
Vc			↑	↑		
Vd			17	17		
IVa			27*	5		
IVb		13	22*#	↓	?	
IVc	10 14	↓	↓		↓	
IVd	↓ ↓					
IIIa	21* 15#?	8 #	21* 24	4 8 16* 21* # 8		8 21* #?
IIIb	11*		4 6 11* 12 23*	3 10 11*		
IIIc	↓	9(*)	↓↓↓↓	↓↓		
IIId		(□)			□	
IIa			□			
IIb						
IIc						
IIId						

Notes: (1) The activities in IVb (etc.?) are probably instrumented by Athens. (2) The activities in IVd at Krane (and at Same in IVd and IIIa) are probably instrumented by a Macedonian power/king (Pyrrhos, or perhaps rather Demetrios “Poliorketes”?).

Fig. 4. Sequences of different types of masonry at various polis centres (etc.) on Kephallénia-Ithaka (after Randsborg 2002). Bold numbers indicate local relative chronological sequences. Masonry types with an * are independently or otherwise well dated. # indicates a planned city being founded. □ indicates a known siege. Arrows indicate primary uncertainties in dating. The Roman numbers indicate centuries BC; letters indicate quarter centuries.

tain walls, highly complex city centres (only a few farmsteads and estates also employed fine masonry).

In spite of much of the ruined masonry being in its terminal phase, it was possible to map by total station, describe, and classify enormous quantities of walls. During the computer map work, “terrace walls” (always at right angles to each other) on the hilly slopes of the city of Same formed patterns that allowed the conclusion that the terraces were in fact remains of large courtyard houses built wall to wall with each other (Fig. 2c). In other words, a complex yet standardised cityscape was found, intersected by street grids. This planned city can, on the basis of masonry types and ceramics, be dated to the mid-4th century BC (IVb+ BC). Interestingly, it is built to the Athenian foot.

It is known that Kephallénia was part of the Athenian–Spartan/Corinthian rivalry in the late 5th century BC. After 400 BC Athens arrived with 90 ships, placed officials and a garrison on the island, and instituted taxation. New fortresses at Pyrgos in the far north and at Poros in

the southeast, and perhaps also at Krane city, were also rebuilt at this time and may have housed Athenians, but the planned city at Same is the best candidate for archaeologically demonstrable links with Athens. Contemporary new curtain walls at Same were constructed in masonry Type 22 that has a fine parallel in the retaining wall at Pnyx in Athens from the mid-4th century BC (Fig. 3). Incidentally, Athenian ceramic imports to Kephallénia predominate in the late Classical period.⁹

Possibly the most interesting observation on planned cityscapes concerns the unfinished project of “New Krane”, expected to be of the size of Athens and like Athens to possess a fine Dipylon gate of the same size as that in Athens, especially once one has taken Krane’s “false perspective” into consideration (Figs. 5-6). The Dipylon at Krane employed some of the largest blocks ever used in Greek city walls. This Macedonian period project may well have been executed by Demetrios I “Poliorketes” (336-283 BC; Macedonian king of various entities 306-285



Fig. 5. The unfinished planned city at Krane from around 300 BC, probably established by Demetrios I Poliorketes in 290/289 BC (after Randsborg 2002).

BC), who actually rebuilt the Dipylon of Athens a few years earlier (307-04 BC).

In 290 BC Demetrios I entered an alliance with his new father-in-law, Agathokles (361-289; Tyrant of Syracuse 317-289; King of Sicily 304-289 BC). Together they planned to conquer Carthage. Doing so would require a strong naval base in western Greece matching Demetrios' huge eastern Greek base at Volos, founded in 293 BC. For a western base, Kephallénia and Krane were convenient. The death of Agathokles in 289 BC probably explains why the project was never finished.

At any rate, the New Krane project was a gigantic undertaking for such a small area as Kephallénia, similar to founding the Danish capital of Copenhagen on the island of Bornholm in the Baltic. It requires a special explanation. Even though no written sources offer one, Demetrios I is a fine candidate for circumstantial temporally and geographically convincing evidence.

Not long after this adventure, around 225 BC, Greece experienced an invasion of Gauls and Kephallénia an Aitolian colonisation. This colony was probably established on the northernmost territory of Same, where building is in characteristic trapezoidal masonry of Types 19-20, common in Aitolia. Shortly after 200 BC, the island of Kephallénia fell to Rome, which furthered decline in the late Hellenistic period (cf. Table 2).

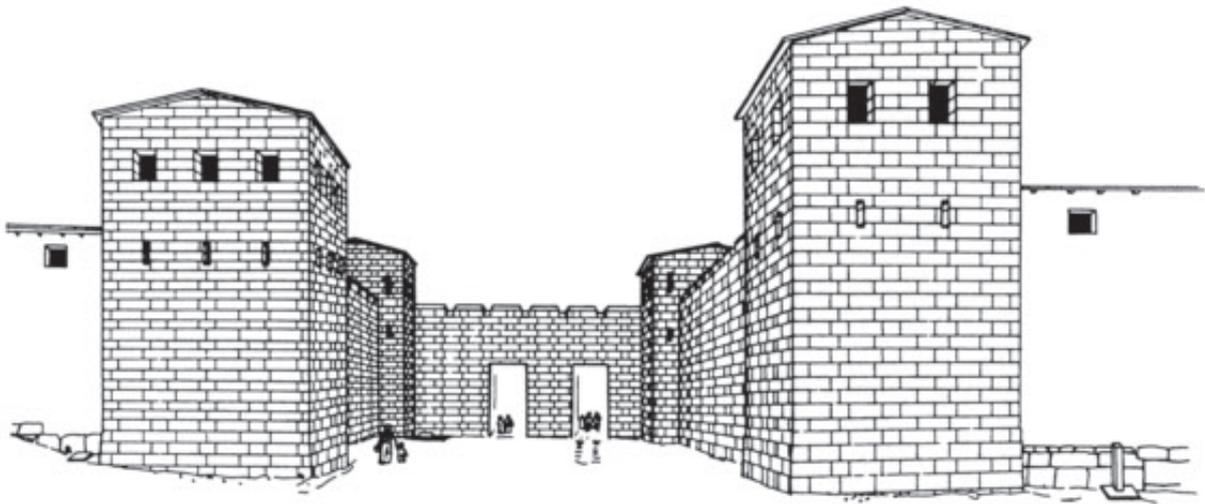


Fig. 6. Top: Reconstruction of the early Hellenistic phase of the Dipylon Gate at Athens (after Knigge 1991). Bottom: The Dipylon Gate of "New Krane" from the beginning of the 3rd century BC (after Randsborg 2002).

	PRONNOI Centre-Chora	SAME Centre-Chora	Σ	Sites in the heights
LITHICS				
Palaeolithic	0-8	0-2	10	0%
Neolithic	1-6	0-3	10	10%
Bronze Age	1-2	0-0	3	-
CERAMICS				
Prehistoric	8-21	6-14	49	49%
"Mycenean Red" ↓	6-19	1-9	35	40%
Geometric	4-1	1-0	6	-
Archaic	2-3	11-3	19	58%
Late Archaic/early Classical	4-4	8-3	19	63%
Classical / Late Classical	6-19	21-5	51	41%
Early Hellenistic / Hellenistic	10-9	28-14	61	44%
Late Hellenistic	0-6	21-10	37	19%
Imperial Roman	6-25	15-27	73	26%
Late Antiquity	1-5	6-11	23	39%
Middle Ages (high, late)	16-23	11-12	62	60%
MAP (PARTSCH 1890)				
Early Modern			131+	68%

Table 2. Table of narrowly dated settlements/site units established on the basis of lithics, shards, and other small finds collected during systematic field-walking surveys on eastern Kephallénia (poleis of Pronnoi and Same) in the early 1990s (cf. Randsborg 2002). Sites in the heights = percentage of sites in each period situated more than 200 m above sea level. The Centre-Chora dichotomy is only relevant for Classical Antiquity.

4. Conclusions

The archaeological survey of Kephallénia(-Ithaka), carried out in the early to mid-1990s, had several priorities.¹⁰ Comprehensive research history studies were accomplished.¹¹ Extensive culture history studies were pursued, from the Palaeolithic to World War II and the devastating earthquake of 1953. The comprehensive "Kephallénia

model" was later employed in ground-breaking archaeological studies in Bénin in West Africa, which are also comprehensively published.¹²

Field-walking surveys were carried out across larger parts of northern, eastern, central, and southern, including southeastern, Kephallénia (Table 2). In connection with these studies, and in view of the limited ceramic material

present, a typology of roof-tiles was developed and other comprehensive studies were made, for example of shrines and deities.¹³ The changes in numbers of finds and sites co-varied with the level above sea level, higher population densities forcing the incorporation of marginal lands.

Architectural studies concentrated on the surviving masonry which turned out to be highly fragmented, mainly due to the use of timbers for scaffolding and the many earthquakes. Strikingly, most building projects were left unfinished, only to be taken up, if at all, in later periods; great opportunities were therefore provided for chronological studies of various types of masonry. In all, twenty-seven types of masonry were employed, often superimposed or merging; only a few of these may be variations – the rest are quite clearly defined, as the comparative material demonstrates. The many types gave eyes to chronology, thus history, and enabled a series of important conclusions.

Finally, it would seem that the ancient poleis of Kephallénia-Ithaka have a long history, going back to

Bronze Age configurations and beyond. However, by the late Classical period the independent polis minting had ceased everywhere (around or rather before 350 BC). In fact, the periods in which curtain walls (as well as planned cities) were built on Kephallénia seem to be limited to phases of foreign intervention and rivalry (mainly by Athens and later by Macedonian princes): the cultural and political moral of the history of a small island through history in a dynamic and much larger world.

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¹⁰ Randsborg 2002.

¹¹ Cf. Partsch 1890.

¹² Randsborg & Merkyte 2009.

¹³ Randsborg 2002, vol. 2, 308-14.

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