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KOUKOUNARIES OF PAROS: ARCHITECTURAL EVIDENCE, THE INSTITUTION OF KINGSHIP AND THE CREATION OF THE PARIAN CITY-STATE

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Abstract

This paper analyses the architectural, urbanistic and, at the same time, social and economic transformations that characterised the appearance of the city-state in the Aegean island context, attesting to the birth of a phenomenon, which is not only continental, also in Koukounaries of Paros.

Nel presente contributo si analizzano le trasformazioni architettoniche, urbanistiche e, contestualmente, sociali ed economiche, che hanno caratterizzato la comparsa della città-stato in ambito insulare egeo, attestando la nascita di un fenomeno, che non è solo continentale, anche a Koukounaries di Paros.

Keywords

Greece, Cyclades, Bronze Age, Geometric Period, Archaic Period.

Grecia, Cicladi, età del Bronzo, Periodo Geometrico, Periodo Arcaico.



Fig. 1: Koukounaries. View of the Upper Acropolis from the SW

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1. Introduction

An interesting issue regarding Koukounaries[1] refers to the gradual transformation of a settlement with scattered buildings, to a town whose dwellings surround the temple of the central deity, thus recalling the concept of an early Polis. Koukounaries displays all characteristics of an early Aegean settlement, established on a remote and hard to access rocky hill (fig.1). The earliest traces of Koukounaries go back to the Final Neolithic. Life persisted at Koukounaries from Final Neolithic, all the way down to the age of Archilochos (first half of the 7th century B.C.). In addition to the fact that Koukounaries is listed among the most ancient Aegean acropolis, the excavation has produced evidence showing that although occupying a rugged and inaccessible part of Paros, the hill was both in the Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age a vivid center of life and creativity.

What is more important, by studying phases and distribution of structures on the hill, one can observe a recurring pattern of historical perseverance, where all buildings representing central political power were constructed in the same space at the top of the acropolis.

There are two principal observations arising from the study of such architectural material. A first deduction concerns the center of power, which in line with a deeply- rooted local tradition persisted through centuries at the summit of Koukounaries. A second deduction regards the significance of the transition from the late Geometric to the Early Archaic period in the constitutional history of Greece and the formation of the Polis, as confirmed by architectural remains discovered within the boundaries of the settlement.

The excavation was carried out during 1976 to 1992. Koukounaries is a rocky eminence, situated near the SW shores of the Naoussa bay. Due to this rugged and hostile morphology, only parts of the hill were occupied, especially the areas which had retained humus, necessary for creating appropriate living conditions. Three are the main sectors where annual excavations uncovered dwellings and fortifications: the Upper, the Middle and the Lower Plateau (fig. 2).

The top of Koukounaries is petal -shaped, stretching at +75m. The Upper Plateau was the central and most densely built sector of the hill.

Koukounaries became on account of such characteristics a powerful acropolis, before it was even occupied and fortified by Mycenaean refugees in the early 12th century B.C., after the fall of the Mycenaean palaces of the mainland (ca. 1200 B.C.). Earliest traces of habitation, going back to Final Neolithic, have been unearthed at the Lower Plateau. A series of excavation squares produced evidence of terracing, hearths, traces of a hut or shed and numerous artifacts[2]. The pottery has demonstrated that there was continuity from Final Neolithic to Early Cycladic II, the latter dated approximately 2700 - 2300 B.C. Comparisons between the strata of the Lower Plateau and evidence from the Upper Plateau have shown that in Early Cycladic II, the Upper and Middle Plateau had belonged to the same cultural horizon and the same settlement. There is no doubt that in Early Cycladic II the Lower Plateau was used for habitation and cultivation, judging by the existence of a thick layer of humus. All indications show this was a simple rural society, whose inhabitants were involved in agriculture, hunting and probably, maritime activities. Although for that early stage there are only flimsy traces of architecture, nonetheless, there is at the eastern edge of the Upper Plateau a rare building which must have played a central role in Early Cycladic II (fig. 3).

It consists of at least two rooms, built in a stepped arrangement, with a face represented by a strong retaining wall. There is behind the wall a room containing a small cellar, which in extending under the floor level, was kept dry by constructing a built drain crossing through the thickness of the wall. The building occupies the eastern slope of the Upper Plateau, affording a rare view towards the bay of Naoussa and the straight dividing Paros from Naxos. Because the excavation has not produced evidence of other Early Cycladic buildings at the Upper Plateau, it shows that in all probability, this building on account of its construction and location must have belonged to the chief of the Cycladic settlement[3]. In fact, this house marks the beginning of a series of buildings, representing the central power, which were

[1] Schilardi 2016, where bibl. See also, Schilardi 1983; 1984; 1988; 1966; 2002; 2018.

[2] Schilardi 2016, 88, fig. 139; Katsaro, Schilardi 2004, 34-36.

[3] Schilardi 2016, 89; Katsarou, Schilardi 2004, 31-32, fig.7, and page 42.

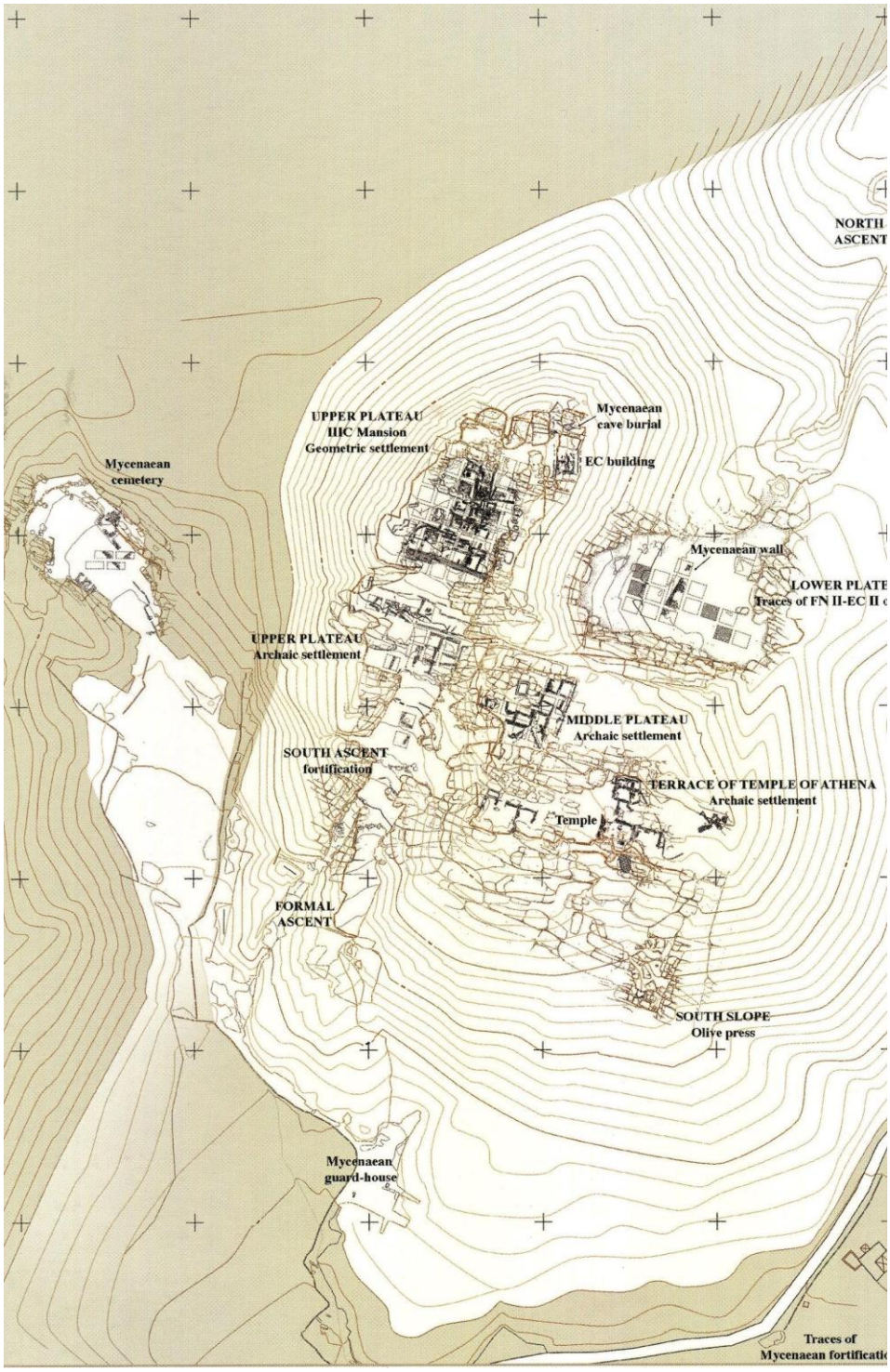


Fig. 2: Plan of Koukounaries. Central sector

constructed on the same plateau, at various periods of time. The combined study of architectural material of all phases, has shown that through all periods from Early Cycladic II to Early Archaic, the seat of power associated with the leader of the community was always on the Upper Plateau.

In LH IIIC, the hill became a strong Mycenaean acropolis. At Koukounaries, the LH IIIC horizon belongs to a fortified acropolis. When a group of Mycenaean refugees landed on Paros in LH IIIC Middle, they proceeded to fortify the south slopes, while placing at the same time a great deal of emphasis on the military strength of the summit. It



Fig. 3: The Early Cycladic building. View of the basement.

was during this time that the hill was transformed into an impregnable fort. On the Upper Plateau a fortified Mansion was constructed[4], a wealthy building, whose south face was a strong Cyclopean wall (fig. 4).

The site produced evidence of thousands of artifacts, including fineware vases, tools, arms and other items made in clay, marble, steatite, lead and bronze. Several ivory fragments must have belonged to furniture, while numerous luxury artifacts indicated the exceptional nature of the building. The building was the center of power of Mycenaean Paros. It was destroyed during a siege, by fire, in the middle of the 12th century B.C. But Koukounaries was never deserted.

Life persisted on the acropolis through Submycenaean, Protogeometric, Geometric and finally Early Archaic times. There are indications that Koukounaries was re-occupied by a group of its old inhabitants, soon after the first violent destruction[5].

This extremely interesting phase, known as post-destruction, represents remnants of the Mycenaean population. The survivors must have tried to restore life on the hill as squatters, by re-creating their dwellings amidst the ruined walls of the Mansion. The same plateau must have continued to attract attention as representing the center of power, in the next historical period.

The earliest traces of an Early Iron Age community can be studied through a number of finds, architectural material, ceramic deposits and generally speaking, abundant and carefully made Protogeometric pottery (about 900 B.C), discovered on the Upper Plateau[6]. A central feature belonging to this period is the apsidal



Fig. 4: The Mycenaean LH IIIC Mansion. South part. View from the east.



Fig. 5: Remains of apsidal wall of Protogeometric building A and Geometric megaron C. View from the west.

[4] Schilardi 2016, 30-47. On the pottery, Schilardi 1984a, 192-200 and Koehl 1984, 207- 221.

[5] Schilardi 2016, 50.

[6] Schilardi 2016, 54, 56, fig. 80.

building A, uncovered at the south side of the summit (fig. 5)[7].

The building has a curved west side. The length of this building must have exceeded 12 m. Due to its position and on account of its conspicuous size, building A has been identified with the megaron of the early basileus or leader of the acropolis. Resting on the architecture and on deposits of fine pottery, it appears that in the 10th and 9th century B.C. Koukounaries held a significant settlement. As in earlier times, Koukounaries of historical times is distinguished by clear signs of continuity.

Koukounaries experienced considerable prosperity in the Geometric period, especially the 8th century B.C., as shown by illuminating architectural evidence. During this period the security of geometric Koukounaries relied on existing old Mycenaean fortification walls, some of which were still surviving in the 8th century B.C. The geometric settlement was built on the debris of the earlier Mycenaean Mansion. Other traces of geometric occupation are evident at the Middle Plateau and at the Terrace of the temple of Athena (*infra*). Progressive excavation during 1977 to 1981 on the Upper Plateau brought to light a group of at least ten buildings (A-P), which on the basis of architectural features, location and wealth, were identified as dwellings of the local aristocracy[8]. Although there are indications that some early traces of this new stage should be dated in MGII, the main bulk of pottery dates the geometric settlement in the second half of the 8th century B.C. At Koukounaries, where on account of the uneven, rocky ground usable space is limited, the main group of houses is represented by self-standing buildings, stretching in direction E-W. They are small rectangular units, built at one level and topped with flat roofs[9]. Building material was local schist stone. In general, the majority shows one-room houses of the simple oikos type (units G, I, J, H). However, in the middle of the plateau, there are two large houses (E and F), each consisting of two rooms. Under the floor and apparently belonging to an earlier stage of building F were found the remains of a MG II hearth, which occupied a rock cavity[10]. The case of Building L requires attention (fig. 6).



Fig. 6: The foundations of building L from SW.

It is a rectangular building with massive foundations, having the north wall slightly curved (dim. 6.60 X 5.20m.). It was part of a large complex of rooms. The floor of L was covered with an extensive ash-layer containing fine ware sherds, carbonized bones and sea-shells, all evidence resulting from a domestic hearth. The dig uncovered a group of fragmentary vases, among others, a *kantharos* and a *hydria* with standing semicircles[11]. Both the heavy walls of L and its northern curved wall - presumably in relation to protogeometric architecture -, in combination with the density of the ash-layer, suggest that L was surely a central building. Further, on the east side of the plateau is building D, a comfortable, one-room house. A road (2 m wide), between building D and E, has a drain which runs along the eastern side[12]. The road was found littered with slabs and worked stones, fallen from above, on account of an earthquake. At the south edge of the plateau, right over a rectangular structure demarcated as building B, rest the foundations of building C (fig. 5). The remains of building C are known as Long Hall, a building measuring length m 13.70[13]. It is the largest and most important building of the settlement. A door on the east side and a row of columns on the axis, are probably to be restored. The Long Hall was constructed at the end of the 8th century B.C. Its construction led to the destruction of building P, associated with pottery dated in the last quarter of the 8th century B.C.[14]. The Long Hall occupied a distinctive

[7] Schilardi 2016, 54, figs. 79,81; 1983, 175.

[8] Schilardi 2016, 57, 59.

[9] Schilardi 2016, 57.

[10] Schilardi 2016, 59, fig. 87; 1983, 175-176.

[11] Σκιλάρντι 1978, 203; Schilardi 1983, 178, fig. 10.

[12] Schilardi 2016, 57, fig. 82.

[13] Schilardi 2016, 61, 64, fig. 91. On this building see Schilardi 1983, 177-178, Mazarakis 1997, 185.

[14] Schilardi 2016, 61, fig. 92.

position. A similar case may be observed at Emporio of Chios, where the fortified summit preserves remains of a megaron attributed to the local basileus[15]. With regard to building C, when considering position, dimensions and the carefully dressed masonry, all imply that it was the megaron of the geometric leader of Koukounaries. It is interesting that the seat of power was built exactly over the Mycenaean Mansion described earlier, thus affording a sense of continuity. All indications suggest that kingship was very ancient at Koukounaries, as resulting from the presence of building Cover the Protogeometric building A, the latter built over the Mycenaean Mansion. Because kingship was continuous, if the Long Hall is the successor of A and if it is assigned to the end of the 8th century B.C., one would like to identify the seat of the ruler in the interval between the two. Perhaps, the problem can be solved by surmising that the impressive building L had functioned as house of the local leader, between EG II and LG (early). before it was finally replaced by the Long Hall. Indeed, in describing building L, we emphasized some important features, the occurrence of its apsidal north wall, the thickness of the walls and the presence of a large hearth.

The history of this Parian settlement in the advanced LG can be visualized through ample archaeological documentation. Near the end of the 8th century B.C., the settlement suffered a serious destruction. A strong earthquake must have caused considerable damage, sometime near the end of the 8th century B.C. In that disaster, the north wall of the Long Hall collapsed on the floor[16] to be rebuilt immediately afterwards. Soon after this damage, the megaron was backfilled and a second floor was built at a higher level. A fine relief pithos, dated in early Archaic times (670/660 B.C.) was found on the surface of the second floor[17]. Although after the earthquake, the Long Hall and several geometric houses were reoccupied and repaired, this recovery must have lasted only for a short time, maybe for one decade (710-700 B.C.). Thereafter, the Upper Plateau was suddenly abandoned, except for the Long Hall, which must have remained in use until the final days of the settlement, an event dated about 650 B.C. (fig.7)[18].

Consequently, because there is no doubt that the Long Hall was used even in Archaic times, it is apparent that in the long history of Koukounaries, the seat of the chief or ruler was always at the Upper Plateau, until the settlement was abandoned. The presence of a central building, in Mycenaean, Protogeometric and Geometric times, always at the south part of the plateau, shows that this succession represents a strong, long-standing tradition, purposed to underline legal continuity of power through the centuries. Because of such data, it is certainly not without significance that in Early Archaic times, when the Upper Plateau was deserted (about 700 B.C.), the Long Hall remained in use, even amidst abandoned houses. In resting our argument on the history of the Long Hall, it appears that the power of the 'strong man', the ruler or community leader, was always outstanding and that the institution of kingship did not disappear without resistance. In all events, certainly, his power must have suffered a serious setback after 700 B.C. (*infra*).

This topic, concerning the elimination of the ruler or basileus and the rise of a new age, represented by a progressive communal life centred around the Polis ideal, serves as a suitable transition to the second argument of this essay. In opening this discussion, we underlined the significance of Parian history in the transition from the Geometric to Archaic times. A similar picture emerges from the study of greek constitutional history, as reconstructed from other contemporary cases. Although crucial political and institutional changes must have occurred in different places and at different times, it seems that on Paros developments purposed to encourage equality of rights (isonomy) and improvements in life conditions of the low class, occurred early, certainly before 700 B.C.[19]. An important observation resulting from this study and the examination of other Parian sites denotes that if the abandonment of the geometric settlement is placed about 700 B.C., the Parian state should have been formulated much earlier. Regarding the Parian state, it should be emphasized that on Paro, improvements in constitutional conditions concerning low class

[15] Boardman 1967, 31-34.

[16] Schilardi 2016, 64, fig. 93.

[17] Schilardi 2016, 64, fig.94.

[18] Schilardi 2012, 97; 1983, 182; 2003, 167.

[19] On political and social changes at Athens, with led towards a forerunner of isonomy, see Morris 1987, 216-217; Whitley 2001, 180, 183 and Σκιλάρντι 2011, 693.

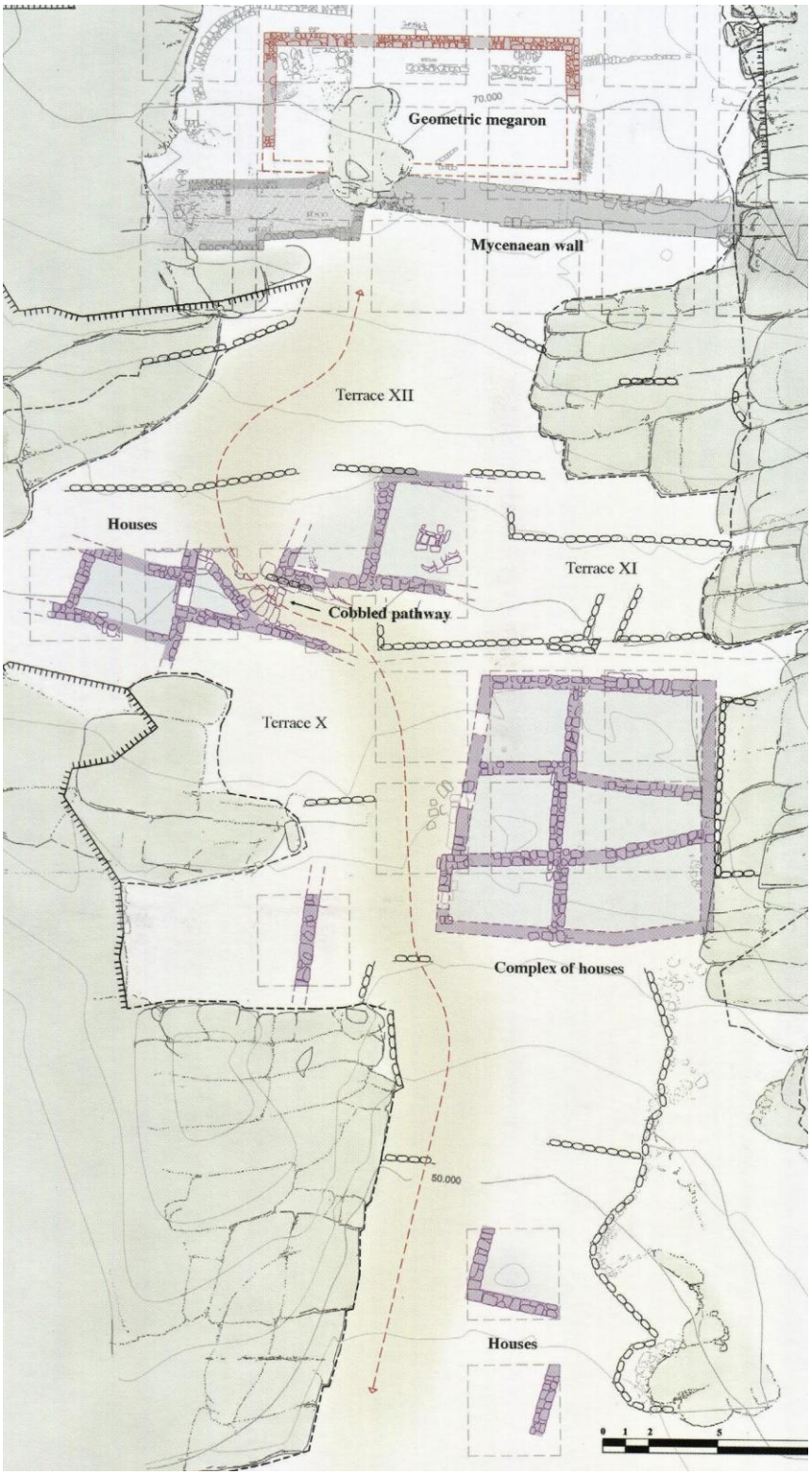


Fig. 7: Plan of Upper Plateau and South Ascent. Archaic quarter and Geometric megaron.

people must have occurred before 700 B.C.[20]. Generally, it is believed that life in many Cycladic islands of the Ionic orbit had nothing to do with contemporary conservative agrarian societies.

[20] On the possibility that Paros had acquired an organized capital (from about 750 B.C), which was the center of political and social life of the island, see Schilardi 2002, 241, 243. 2012, 98. On Archilochos and the 'democratic' oligarchy of Paros, see Kontoleon 1965, 89; Schilardi 2012, 97; Αλιφιέρης 2016, 1-3, 35-36.

These Cycladic islands were in an advantageous geographic position as they could easily communicate with developed centres of the east Ionic world, whose culture and life were generally more progressive than in the rest of Greece. It is possible that Paros' involvement with the sea, since early times, especially with trade and seafaring activities, must have contributed to the creation of a developed Cycladic – Ionic society, distinguished on the one hand by a devotion to the Ionic art and life -style and on the other, by the adaptation of progressive attitudes towards social and political matters[21]. Of course, this historical reconstruction does not apply to all Aegean islands but to a small group, including Paros, whose constitutional history is marked by early signs of political innovations[22]. At any event, what one should underline at this point concerns the wealth and significance of architectural evidence brought to light by the excavation. Indeed, by analysing the rich architectural material, one can follow the evolutionary stages of local constitutional history in the crucial transition from the 8th to the 7th century B.C. If geometric Koukounaries is associated with the strong constitutional figure of a basileus or a local ruler, a number of deep transformations which affected the structural base of this old Parian community at about 700 B.C., must have contributed to the growth of the power of local aristocracy, to the potential rise in the status of the low class and finally, to the shrinkage of power of the old leader.

Short after 700 B.C. Koukounaries witnessed a radical transformation. The Upper Plateau was abandoned, and the settlement was transferred to the lower slopes (fig. 7). Houses of a new, much larger settlement, were constructed in an extensive area covering a number of terraces spreading across the main ascent of the south slopes. The Early Archaic community of Koukounaries was apparently much larger than the geometric predecessor. New groups of houses were created representing three separate neighbourhoods, occupying Middle Plateau, South Ascent and Temple Terrace. Ceramic evidence reveals that houses of the Middle Plateau were probably built over some flimsy geometric remains. The Middle Plateau is a small field occupying an elevated position to the east of the South Ascent. Excavations revealed that houses of the Archaic period consist of stone- built, rectangular rooms, tightly interlocked and crowded together. Each house comprises one or two rooms. The complex has preserved thresholds of rooms and on the east side, built drains to take rain-water out of the inhabited area. In central unit H12, there is a room, or a hypaethral courtyard used for the production of food, as suggested by a stone grinder. A geometric road leads towards SE, where since ancient times a sanctuary of Athena had existed[23]. All rooms were found empty of associated finds. Nonetheless, pottery fragments from *skyphoi*, a small *oinochoe*, including a rare iron *obelos*[24], suggest a rich community. This neighbourhood flourished about 700 to 650 B.C. A striking phenomenon is associated with the manner by which the dwellings were built in a dense arrangement, such conditions showing that the population which had adopted communal life, must have increased, significantly[25]. The need for space was so urgent that the geometric road (*supra*) was at a second stage built over, completely, by the archaic houses.

Further, remains of a second Early Archaic neighborhood have been excavated, on the steep South Ascent. These houses, flanking the old Myceanean road, follow the axis of the South Ascent (fig. 7). Chronologically, the architecture represents houses which are contemporary with those of the middle Plateau, therefore corresponding to the age of Archilochos (*infra*). One may distinguish an architectural group (Squares CO5 – DO7) producing the effect of an articulate 'insula', consisting of three houses, set in a row. The houses are carefully built and comfortable (the SW room measures 3.80 x 3.80 m), the doors are on the side of the road and the floors are paved with flagstones. Except for a group of unpainted small vases and some Melian ware, all houses of the Middle Plateau were found empty of their content[26]. As with the Middle Plateau, all houses of the South Ascent were abandoned before the middle of the 7th century B.C. The urban aspect of the above insula,

[21] On Paros and the progressive character of its culture, people, art and life-style, see Kontoleon 1965, 77, 89-90. On the capacity of Parian art in absorbing Ionic traits and architectural forms and its central role in transmitting such elements to the mainland, see Schilardi 1984b, 270.

[22] Kontoleon 1965, 89-90; Αλιφιέρης 2016, 1-3.

[23] Schilardi 2016, 71, fig. 99, 106.

[24] Schilardi 2016, 71, fig. 108.

[25] On the problem of Parian overpopulation, see Schilardi 2012, 98. Also, Schilardi 2003, 168; 2002, 240-241.

[26] Schilardi 2012, 95.

represented by registers of houses set in a row, in which the units share both partition walls and a common façade, surely suggest a developed concept, implying an advanced social and political evolution. Although activities dealing with sea occupations, including fishing, made part of daily life, the economy was also based on animal husbandry and farming. Koukounaries was not a poor community as shown by its architecture, its pottery and numerous impressive offerings discovered at the Sanctuary of Athena (*infra*).

A third sector of this Early Archaic community occupies a lower level, extending immediately to the SE of the Middle Plateau. It contains several large buildings and the sanctuary of Athena. The principal deity of geometric Koukounaries was goddess Athena (fig. 8)[27].



Fig. 8: Ruins of temple of Athena from north.

Her sanctuary was discovered in 1984 at the Temple Terrace, occupying a central position and surrounded by an open area[28]. The sanctuary contains a stone-built temple and a temenos enclosure, immediately to the east. The temple, directed E-W, is oikos-shaped and measures 9.50 x 6.40 m. The roof was flat and supported by two wooden columns, as shown by a marble column base, which has survived in situ. Because the temple was built about 700 B.C., it is apparently one of the earliest stone temples known in the Aegean. The temenos area to the East is rectangular and contains an altar set against the north wall. The plot was intended for hypaethral cult activities, especially for sacrifices to worship the deity. The identification of the temple is based on fragments of votive vases inscribed with the name *Αθηναίης*. As at Zagora of Andros and at Emporio of Chios, the temple occupies the middle of an area, free of buildings[29]. At Koukounaries this space, suitable for political and religious functions



Fig. 9: Ruins of Gathering Hall. View from the west.

has been identified with an early agora[30]. A large building, known as Gathering Hall lies to the north of the temple (fig. 9)[31].

The NW room contains a big rectangular hearth, suggesting that large quantities of food were cooked on fire. On the other hand, the large room to SW, provided with a small hearth, was probably suitable for banqueting during communal gatherings. Several loom-weights and clay artifacts with decoration in relief, come from the same building, all dated in the first half of the 7th century B.C.[32]. It has been suggested that the structure belongs to a Gathering Hall, an early '*prytaneion*' where members of the aristocracy would gather to discuss community matters, at a time when the power of the local ruler (basileus) was in decline. The Gathering Hall is contemporary with the temple and the adjoining neighbourhoods (Middle Plateau, South Ascent). These developed features, temple, Gathering Hall and agora, show that Koukounaries was traversing a stage of becoming a small, organized town.

As these remains coincide with the lifetime of Archilochos, the study of his poetry can help us visualize social and political conditions on Paros in the early 7th century B.C. Archilochos' poetry represents a unique book of events dealing with his personal experiences and with the political and

[27] Schilardi 2012, 95.

[28] Schilardi 2016, 77, fig. 109, 117. Σκιλάρντι 1990, 120-121.

[29] Schilardi 2012, 95-96. For the temple of Athena at Zagora, see Cambitoglou 1971, 20-21; Mazarakis 1997, 175. For Emporio, see Boardman 1967, 249.

[30] Schilardi 2016, 77; 1996, 231; 2012, 96-97. Coldstream 2003, 407.

[31] Schilardi 2016, 81-82, fig.133; Σκιλάρντι 1985, 121-126; Schilardi 1996, 52; 2012, 97.

[32] Schilardi 2016, 81; Σκιλάρντι 1985, 126; Schilardi 1996, 52.

social conditions of his age. There are numerous indications that in his lifetime Archaic Paros had witnessed considerable progress. Distinctive political changes must have been introduced before the end of the 8th century B.C. helping to improve life conditions of the simple people[33]. His poetry provides clues that the state was administered by aristocrats with the consent of the demos. Interestingly, although Archilochos speaks about *astoi*, *demos*, *politai*, *stratos* and *strategoi*, and he certainly knows about kings and tyrants, there is nowhere a single word about Paros and kingship[34]. Generally, on account of the above distinctive features of the Long Hall and the Gathering Hall, as preserved at Koukounaries, it may naturally be assumed that while in Archilochos' lifetime Paros is featured as a grown state, there were still remote communities like Koukounaries, in which political life was less developed, because peripheral power was divided between ruler and members of local aristocracy.

In summarizing the evidence, Koukounaries has yielded ample architectural documentation which shows that although until the end of the Geometric period kingship was influential, after 700 B.C. the power of the leader diminished, apparently on account of political and social changes. To be sure, that is a crucial historical period marking the political life of most Greek states. At that stage, the town was placed under the protection of goddess Athena, while the administration passed to a group of aristocrats, who were in charge of all social and political affairs (*infra*).

Around 650 B.C., the entire Archaic community and the Long Hall, were peacefully abandoned, except for the Temple of Athena[35]. It was only the sanctuary of Athena, which remained in use and continued to be visited until early Hellenistic times. At Zagora, where the temple was built after the desertion of Koukounaries, the sanctuary remained active until the end of the 5th century B.C.; and a similar pattern has also resulted from the excavations at Emporio[36]. But the lifetime of Koukounaries shows a rather complex constitutional history. The evidence implies a gradual transition of power from the higher to the lower slopes of the acropolis, from the seat of the local ruler to the domain of the deity. In effect, it is apparent that due to the above architectural evidence it is possible to trace the progress of evolution, from early to Archaic times, when Koukounaries rose to the status of a small town. Presumably, this was a Parian community heralding the concept of the Polis, as an urban and political ideal. In general, scholars agree that in the long history of Greece, the transition from the 8th to the 7th century B.C., marks the emergence of the Polis and the simultaneous shrinkage of the ruler's power[37].

In summarizing the evidence, it is interesting to notice that around 700 B.C. the Parians abandoned the Upper Plateau and moved to the lower slopes, where they proceeded to create a small town, which spread over the South Ascent, the Middle Plateau and the Temple Terrace. Because the Long Hall remained active in the seventh century, even at the time when the Upper Plateau was deserted (fig. 7), we may suggest that such peculiarity might signify that the transition from kingship to a council headed by aristocrats was attained not without resistance, as adduced by such data. Although it has been proposed that after 700 B.C. the function of the Long Hall changed and that it was probably used as a communal hall or as an 'Andron'[38], there is a good possibility that the building represents a rare case, marking a crucial historical stage, when local kingship was superseded by the aristocracy. It has been suggested that following these historical changes, while in Greece monarchy was facing shrinkage, the protection of the community passed from the hands of the king to the power of the patron deity and that this change was a clear sign that the ideal of the Polis had started emerging[39]. At Koukounaries, the construction of a monumental temple for the goddess is certainly emblematic and points to the central role of the deity in the affairs of the community. Evidently, this pattern of evolution is a reflection of political transformations which marked the history of Paros - and potentially other areas of Greece - in the transition from Geometric to Archaic times. The shift of interest from the Upper Plateau to the Temple Terrace, the erection of the temple of

[33] Schilardi 2012, 97.

[34] Schilardi 2002, 243; 2012, 98. Also Αλιφιέρης 2016, 1-3.

[35] Schilardi 2012, 97; 2003, 167-168.

[36] Cambitoglou 1971, 84. On the duration in the cult of Athena at Emporio, Boardman 1967, 251-252.

[37] Snodgrass 1977, 212; Mazarakis 1997, 341; Schilardi 2012, 96.

[38] Mazarakis 1997, 185.

[39] Snodgrass 1977, 33.

Athena, the placement of the community under the protection of the local deity and the presence of the Gathering Hall, all these features lead to the conclusion that in Early Archaic times and before Koukounaries was abandoned, the site had reached the stage of becoming a developed political and urban entity. There are indeed good indications that before its abandonment, Koukounaries was about to reach the stage of becoming a Polis[40]. If this theoretical approach is valid, it may be assumed that the crystallization of the concept of the city-state, not only in the mainland but also in the Aegean islands, does not imply a simultaneous total eclipse of kingship.

Based on such archaeological evidence, it appears that the formation of the city-state and the relative emergence of a capital, were not related to the complete shrinkage of the ruler's power. It appears rather that the elimination of monarchy which must have occurred in a protracted and sporadic fashion, in accordance with regional developments, must have lasted for some decades around the end of the 8th century B.C.[41].

[40] Schilardi 2012, 96. Also, Snodgrass 1977, 24, n. 55, n. 24, 41, 43.

[41] Snodgrass 1980, 86.

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