

INVESTIGATIONS OF THE PREHISTORY OF CORFU DURING 1964-1966

During 1964-1966, thanks to a Traveling Fellowship from Harvard University, I made a survey of the prehistory of the Ionian Islands and the adjacent coast of western Greece.¹ This article presents a summary of the finds made on the island of Corfu during this period.

Corfu, in spite of her interesting geographical position, remained, until recently, almost a *terra incognita* in the field of prehistoric research, although chance finds were occasionally reported.²

The results of my 1964-1966 investigations may be summarized as follows:

A. PLEISTOCENE DEPOSITS AND SHORE-LINES

a. Terrestrial deposits

Extensive areas with thick deposits of Red Earths formed on top of late Pleistocene clays were located in various parts of the island (shown in the shaded areas of the Map). These deposits, characterized by light sandy soils of a bright red color, containing only very small rounded water-borne pebbles, and supporting a scant vegetation (typically heather) are being heavily eroded at present. All these deposits yielded great numbers of palaeolithic flints which will be described below.

b. Marine deposits

1. *Capo Sidero* (Site 14)

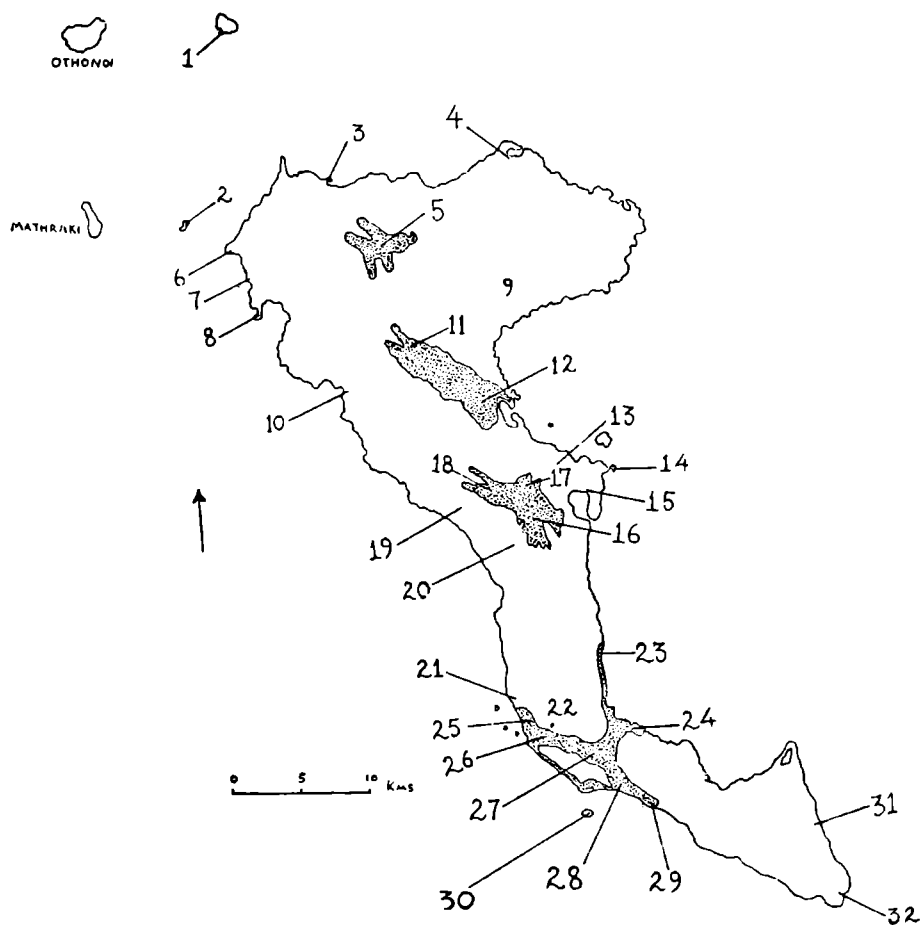
1. These investigations formed the basis for my Doctoral Dissertation (Sordinas, 1968a). I am grateful to Dr. Hugh Hencken for his untiring support, to Dr. S. Dakaris for his encouragement and high example, and for letting me study in detail all the materials from Epiros, to G. Dontas, now Director of the Acropolis Museum at Athens, for his cooperation and issuance of permits in his capacity of ephor for the Ionian Islands, and to Dr. H. Robinson, Director of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens for his hospitality and help. Various reports about the discoveries made in Corfu were reported by me in the *Kerkyraiká Néa* of 1965, issues of 25 January, 19 April, 14 and 18 June, 23 August and 25 October; also in the *Kerkyraiká Néa* of 1966, issues of 23 May and 19 December; also cf. articles in the *Kathimerini* of 8 June 1966 and 2 April 1967, and Sordinas (1967:64). For preliminary reports cf. Sordinas (1966:141-148 and 1968 b: 77-83).

2. Prehistoric pottery was found by the late W. Doerpfeld at Kefali (Doerpfeld, 1914: 161-176). An interesting excavation carried out by Bulle at the site of Aphiona or Afiona

MAP OF CORFU

List of Prehistoric Sites

1. *Erikoussa Isle* (North of Corfu island).
2. *Diaplo islet* (NW of Corfu island).
3. *Sidari* (West of Sidari village).
4. *Andiniotis lake* (South shore, near road).
5. *Rekini-Ropilla area* (Road junction of Ayioi Dhoulloi-Agrafoi).
6. *Kefali* (NW Corfu).
7. *A-rillas* (Between Kefali-Afiona).
8. *Afiona* (SW of Afiona village).
9. *Spartillas* (SE of Spartillas village).
10. *Ermones* (East of ancient water-mills).
11. *Kounoupena lake* (area SE of Doukadhes village).
12. *Gouvía-Tzavros* (N and NW of Tzavros road junction).
13. *Solari* (NW of Kollas house).
14. *Capo Sidero* (City of Corfu).
15. *Airport* (Near Greek Orthodox Cemetery).
16. *Paliostani* (East of Kothoniki village).
17. *Kombitsi* (Between Kombitsi village and Kothoniki).
18. *Stroya* (West of Triklino-Pelekas road junction).
19. *Molochi* (East and below Pelekas village).
20. *Skafonas* (East of Kouramadhes village).
21. *Denrilas shelter* (W slope of mount Ayios Mathias).
22. *Grava shelter* (North of Gardhiki castle).
23. *Ayios Yannis* (North of Moraitika village).
24. *Messonghi* (South of Messonghi river estuary).
25. *Stalakto* (W and NW coast of Gardhiki).
26. *Gardhiki* (SW of Gardhiki castle).
27. *Korissia* (Area surrounding Korissia lagoon).
28. *Ayios Yeoryios* (SE of Korissia).
29. *Glyfoneri* (SE of No. 28).
30. *Lagoudhia islets* (SW of Korissia).
31. *Foukario cliffs* (SE of Melikia village).
32. *Arkoudhilas* (Southern tip of Corfu island).



MAP OF CORFU. List of Prehistoric Sites. The shaded enclaves indicate Red Earth depositions containing Levallois-Mousterian implements.

This is the precipitous outcrop of mesozoic limestone cliffs upon which the historic fortress of Corfu was built. The cliffs now plunge abruptly into deep water toward the East. At a depth of 10 meters (and possibly more) one can see beach strands of large or small rounded pebbles. The nature of the perpendicular cliffs at this spot precludes the possibility that these pebbles were recently transported here. They are evidence of considerably lower sea levels. I shall return to this matter when I discuss the flint implements of sites No. 23 and 24.

Conversely, in the NW tip of Corfu there are thick formations of shingles and pebbles cemented into a hard conglomerate forming ledges now standing between 8-10 meters above the present mean sea level. The islet of Diaplo (2) is interesting in this respect. It is totally surrounded by such a hard ledge of conglomerates which forms an abrupt terrace about 5 meters above the present sea, rendering access to the islet very difficult. Most of the pebbles of the conglomerate are flints. They were quarried *in situ* by prehistoric mariners (see below).

2. Airport (15)

The present airport, also known as Alykes, is a recent alluvial deposit surrounded by eroded Pliocene clays upon which remnants, in isolated pockets, of sandy marine deposits are to be found. These sandy deposits are being rapidly washed away by erosion. One of these deposits located 50 meters to the SW of the Greek Orthodox cemetery (near Ayioi Theodoroi) now stands 8 meters above present sea level. It consists of fine silty layers of sand about two meters thick tilting toward the SSE at a dip of 40°. It contains no pebbles. The fauna is in good condition and heavily pock-marked. The sedimentation shows that when the fauna died it was deposited in still water. Samples of the fauna were donated to Dr. C. Vita-Finzi, Department of Geography, University College, London, who arranged for their partial identification.³ The species belong to a *warm temperate* fauna as follows:

Macrofauna:

Strombus aff *coronatus* Defrance (form with more depressed spire than typical *coronatus*, Sordinas, 1966, Fig. 1). *Conus mediterraneus*, *Triton Corrugatus*, *Apollon marginatus*, *Xenophora crispa*, *Calyptrea chinensis*, *Nassa*

gave an interesting typology (Bulle. 1934:147-243). An excellent synthesis of the role of prehistoric Corfu is provided by Hammond (1967: 363 ff.) This synthesis, however, is based on materials collected before WW II. For the history of prehistoric research in Corfu see Sordinas (1968a: 10-11, 29-30, 98, 115, 126, 329-30).

3. In collaboration with Dr. John D. Taylor, Department of Palaeontology, British Museum of Natural History (Letter of C. Vita-Finzi of 17 February 1967).

semistriata, *Peratotoma concinna*, *Murex* sp. *Actaeon tornatilis*, *Glycymeris pilosa*, *Ostrea edulis* Linne var. *ungulata* Nyst, *Amussium cristatum*, *Spondylus crassicosta*, *Cardium lians*, *Acanthocardium aculeatum*, *Callista chione*, *Solen marginatus*, *Corbula gibba*, ? *Pitar* sp.

Scaphopoda: *Cadulus gadus*, *Dentalium sexangulum*.

Echinodermata: *Maretia* sp., *Astropecten* sp.

Microfauna (i.e. microfaunal elements and immature shells or naturally small forms): *Nuculana fragilis*, *Area tetragona*, *Barbatia barbata*, *Aequipecten apercularis*, *Similipecten similis*, *Limatala sulcata*, *Anomia* sp., *Chama gryphoides*, *Parvicardium papillosum*, *Myrtea spinifera*, *Venus multilamel-lae*, *Divaricella divaricata*, *Turritella tricarinata*, *T. subanculata*, *Nassa lineata*, *Fusus* sp., *Enlimella scillae*, *Calliostoma cingulatum*, *Ringicula ventricosa*, *Natica leicina*, *Margillia bertrandi*, *Epitonium communis*, *Bulinella cylindracea*, *Rissoina* sp., *Fissurella graeca*, *Bittium reticulatum*, *B. palludosium*, *Rissoa cimex*, *Cerithium vulgatum*, *Turbinella lactea*, *Chama gryphides*, *Acanthocaria aculeata*, *Cardita trapezium*, *Loripes lucinalis*, *Thyasina lacteus*, *Dossinia lupinus*, *Venus verrucosa*, *V. striatula*, *Tellina pulchella*, *T. donacina*, *Abra* cf. *longicallus*, *Gastrona fragilis*, *Mactra corallina*, *Murex blainvillei*, *Cerithium vulgatum*, *Bittium reticulatum*, *Rissoa cimex*, *Gibbula filiformis*, *Nassa mutabilis*, *Vermetus* sp., *Bullinella cylindracea*, *Emarginula elongata*, *Chiton olivaceus*, *Turbinella pallida*, *Gibbula* sp., *Buccinum* sp., *Vermetus* sp., Various *Ctena* sp., Various bryozoa, ostracoda and foraminifera.

Some of the specimens had attained very large sizes like, for instance, the *Strombus*, which measured 18 cms. (Pl. 1, above), the *Xenophora crispa* Koenig with a diameter of 12 cms. and a 15 cm. *Conus* (Pl. 1, below). Another terrace with warm temperate faunal elements was located at Solari(13) but in this case the deposit stands at an elevation of 30 meters above present sea level.

3. *The Raised Beach of Stalakto-Gardhiki-Korissia-Ayios Yeoryios-Glyfoneri* (25-29). A raised beach approximately 8 kilometers long was located on the SW side of the island. This beach is also characterized by warm faunal elements but the fossils are in a hard sandstone matrix and have not been studied. A large number of complete *Strombus bubonius* specimens were extracted, however.⁴

This raised beach rests on Pliocene clays at varying elevations from 4 to 10 meters above the present sea level. The strata tilt toward the SE at a dip

4. Illustrated on p. 5 of the *Kathimerini* of 8 June 1966.

of approx. 30⁰. This raised beach is covered in turn by extensive deposits of Red Earths and consolidated aeolian sands containing a great number of palaeolithic implements. The cliffs offer fine stratigraphic sections almost 8 kilometers long. The geology of the raised beach can be studied well in the islets of Lagoudhia (30) and similar cliffs at Foukario (31).

The remains of various marine deposits on the island of Corfu will help in the understanding of the palaeoclimatology of Epiros and will offer correlations with the deposits at Taranto. The sure evidence of low sea levels and the presence of Lavalloiso-Mousterian inventories all over the island show that Corfu was part of the mainland during the extreme low sea-levels of Würm. Thus Corfu is a sort of palaeolithic outpost indicating possible connections between the palaeolithic cultures of the southern Balkans and southern Italy, probably via the Gargano.

B. THE CULTURAL REMAINS

Extensive collections of flint artifacts and pottery were made.⁵ All the finds were drawn and measured. On the basis of comparative measurements it has become possible to develop criteria enabling us to distinguish the palaeolithic flints from assemblages belonging to mesolithic, neolithic and Bronze Age occupations of the island (see Appendix).

1. Levalloiso-Mousterian Flints

Large numbers of highly patinated but normally unrolled, unstriated flint tools and débitage were found in most of the Red Earth formations⁶. Although no stratigraphy has so far been observed, the flints were clearly obtained from *within* these formations to a depth not in excess of one meter below the present eroded surface.

A significant ratio of these flints shows faceted platform preparation. Fine side-scrapers or double side-scrapers and Levalloiso-Mousterian points were obtained persistently and in many sites (Fig. 1).⁷ On the basis of the relative concentration of these types and the related débitage, and further, when no other artifacts of other periods were found in the same contexts, it was possible to establish the following Levalloiso-Mousterian sites:⁸

5. All the materials were deposited at the museum of Corfu.

6. The coastal sites of Ayios Yannis and Messonghi (23, 24) are a notable exception. Several flints are rolled by the present sea and are incorporated in the present beach. They derive from a submerged terrace. See discussion on Capo Sidero on page 396 above.

7. Some points were illustrated in Sordinas, (1966, Pl. 2). Also cf. Mellars (1964:229-244).

8. We are dealing with surface finds. I use the term "site" in a limited sense, not meaning

Rekini - Roppilla	(No. 5)
Kounoupena lake	(No. 11)
Gouvia - Tzavrou	(No. 12)
Stroya	(No. 18)
Paliostani	(No. 16)
Kombitsi	(No. 17)
Stalakto	(No. 25)
Gardhiki	(No. 26)
Korissia	(No. 27)
Ayios Yeoryios	(No. 28)
Glyfoneri	(No. 29)

Levalloiso-Mousterian inhabitations have not been located on the island so far. The abundance of the materials, however, are a sure indication that in these coastal regions we must look for important routes and points of contact perhaps linking Italy and Greece at a time when the Adriatic had shrunk all the way to the Gargano.

2. The Shelter of Grava

A terminal palaeolithic shelter was discovered in May 1966 on the southern slopes of mount Ayios Mathias (22). It is a fine living shelter c. 18 meters deep, with a large entrance facing the south, and with a commanding view of the entire southern region of the island. The occupation floor of the shelter extends to c. 5 X 14 meters of the present surface. Considerable erosion in the southern area of the floor and various rock dislocations have disrupted the occupation layers. Exploratory trenches scratched the top layers only. The talus under various rock-falls was not examined. The top layers form a hard ossiferous breccia containing a rich backed-blade industry.

Faunal elements:

The fauna is rich. Particularly interesting is the great number of large birds which I was not able to identify. Most of the bones were examined and partially identified by E. Higgs and M. Jarman of Cambridge University with the help of Miss Heather Stokes, Department of Palaeontology, University of California at Berkeley. The fauna represents many *Cervus elaphus* individuals and *Dama*, *Capreolus*, *Equus* of various sizes, rarely *Sus*, some *Lepus* and *Vulpes*, *Hyaena*, *Meles*, *Mustella*, rodents and snails. Most importantly, many bones of a large *Bos* were identified, the size of which falls within the range of the Eastern European *Bos primigenius*.

The Implements:

"living sites" or necessarily "occupation floors" but, rather, significant concentrations of flints. All the sites mentioned in this report represent a minimum concentration of 100 flints collected from a surface with a maximum radius of 50 meters. Also see Appendix.

No pottery was found in the shelter. The top layers of the breccia yielded 870 flints including the *débitage* (but excluding hundreds of fragments of manufacture which were collected separately). All the materials were mint fresh, made on translucent gray flint and some chocolate opaque flint of the kind that is common in Epiros. All the implements, *débitage* and fragments were individually drawn and measured. The study of the components clearly shows that this industry is the product of a blade technology which can be distinguished easily from the Levalloiso-Mousterian components discussed in section 1 above. The character of this industry is essentially Romanellian. The inventory comprises:

Blades and Bladelets (worked and unworked)	234
Cores	58
Scrapers	78
Burins	50
Pointed retouched blades	15
Small points on backed bladelets	39
Worked bone (? polisher), fragmented	1
Bone point	1
Globular bead (pierced tooth)	1
Various hammerstones, choppers, splintered or utilized flakes, and fire-reddened pebbles abound.	

The cores are atypical or small pyramidal when spent. The blades, with very thin nondescript butts, are generally small and assymetrical. Finished tools are well represented. The evidence taken as a whole points to prolonged use of this shelter as a living site. There is a variety of scrapers but thick plano-convex end-scrapers are very characteristic (Fig. 2/1-4). There is a fairly large number of nucleiform burins and atypical angle burins with beaked pointed ends, generally with many and clumsy spall removals (Fig. 2/5-9). Various composite burin-scrapers were obtained (Fig. 3/1,2). There are comparatively few pointed retouched blades or flakes but some are carefully worked bilaterally (Fig. 3/3-6).

The most characteristic elements are without doubt several points on small dexterously backed and retouched (but not truncated) bladelets often with partial bifacial retouch at the base and/or the tip (Fig. 4/13-17). A fragmentary bone point with a round section was obtained (Fig. 4/19). The surface is well finished, with symmetrically arranged clusters of short parallel incisions on two sides. The bead is of the globular variety (Fig. 4/18). It is made on a highly polished tooth. The perforation is of the round hour-glass type with thin inner walls. The loop is broken. Identical beads were discovered by E. Higgs in August 1966 in the Upper Palaeolithic shelter of Kastritsa in Epiros (personal communication).

3. Sidari

This site, situated of the NW tip of the island (3) has provided an interesting stratigraphic sequence.⁹ Various geological and cultural depositions now forming a long cliff (Plate 2) varying in total thickness between 4-6 meters were examined. A summary of the stratigraphic sequence (levels) from top to bottom is provided for convenience below:

a. *Stratigraphy and Chronology of Sidari:**Level A*

From present surface down to 0.80-1.00 m. Humus and sandy soil

Containing coarse pottery and flints of the "local Bronze Age"

Level B

Even thickness of 1.00 m. Aeolian sands

Culturally sterile

Level C

Level C is a thick stratum clearly divided into Top, Middle and Base

Level C, Top

Old land surface. Dark ashey layer with a max. thickness of 0.15 m.

Many flints associated with typical "neolithic-impressed" pottery. It has given a C-14 date of 5390 ± 180 B.C.¹⁰

Level C, Middle

Compact red sandy clay 0.70-0.80. m. thick

Culturally sterile. Clearly separating Level C, Top from Level C, Base

Level C, Base

Dark gray clay accumulation 0.50-60. 60 m. thick

Containing Earliest Neolithic pottery and flints in mint condition. Has given a C-14 date of 5720 ± 120 B.C.

Level D

Cigar-shaped accumulation with gray to black organic remains and ashes. Max. thickness is 0.90 m.

Mesolithic shell-mound, rich in microlithic flints (only). Has given a C-14 date of 5820 ± 340 B.C.

Level E

9. A full report of the excavation cannot be made here. For details cf. Sordinas (1968a: 29-96, 227-241).

10. For the chronological significance of Sidari in terms of the Mediterranean Neolithic cf. Sordinas (1967:64) and Quitta (1967: 264-5). Also cf. views of Whitehouse (1968: 189, 192).

Peaty formation unrelated to Level D. Culturally sterile
Visible thickness above sea level from
0.50 to 1.50 m. Elevated parts rest on
Pliocene.

b. *Technical Analysis of the Finds:*

Level D

This deposition is a shell-midden 60 meters long attaining toward the center a max. thickness of 0.90 m. Apart from ashes, burned twigs, numerous *Cardium* shells and very few burnt bones of small game, the distinctive feature of this midden is the absence of pottery and the presence of a large number of microliths in mint condition. These flints are found solely in Level D, and although large flints do occur in Level C, Base, this microlithic inventory is a distinct feature of the shell-midden. The localized shape and nature of Level D and the inclusions show clearly that we are dealing with a cultural rather than a geological feature.¹¹

All the artifacts were struck on diminutive nodules of fine grained gray translucent flint of unknown provenance. This is all the more interesting because other kinds of flint available in the vicinity were used by palaeolithic, neolithic and Bronze Age inhabitants of the area. One is forced to the conclusion that the makers of the microlithic tools of Sidari, Level D brought their flint from elsewhere and used local flints very little or not at all.

Technology:

The technology consists of a smashing technique utilizing small pebbles. Secondary retouch was done by fine marginal pressure. What is typical of this technology is the persistent smashing of small pebbles which naturally resulted in rather clumsy and intractable wedge-like fragments, chips and bits and diminutive amorphous micro-cores. A similar technique seems to have been employed in the northwestern Peloponnese (Leroi-Gourhan et al., 1936:262-4, Fig. V), and in some rich sites of southeastern Zante (Sordinas, 1968 a: 217-221; also cf. *Kathimerini*, Athens, 2 April 1967). Significantly this technology is comparable to some mesolithic technologies in Italy (Taschini, 1964:71, 78-9, Figs. 1-3; Escalon de Fonton et de Lumley, 1955: 379-394), whereas it is quite different from the "epipalaeolithic" technology in the sense employed by the Italian and Yugoslavian archaeologists (Palma di Cesnola, 1962) or from the backed blade industries of Epiros (Higgs and Vita-Finzi, 1966; Higgs, 1968), and the shelter of Grava on Corfu (supra, Section 2).

11. Professor Marinos who spotted this level during a seismological study believes that the layer is the result of a recent uplift and tilting of the stratum (Marinos and Sakellariou-Mane, 1964:14-24).

The salient features of this technology are shown in the following table (also cf. Appendix) which gives the mean of various measurements of 200 pieces:

Angle of percussion	Thickness of butt	Maximum thickness	Maximum length	Maximum width
102°	3.8	5	18	14
Measurements in mms. 200 observations				

Or, looking at a larger number of artifacts the technology can be indicated by the following list of arbitrary criteria of size:

Pseudo-bladelets (ca. 30 mm)	34
"Flakes" (30-50 mm)	161
Fragments (20-30 mm)	379
Chips (10-20 mm)	695
Bits (smaller than 19 mm)	407

1676 observations

I suppose that any carefully collected sample will show a majority of diminutive pieces of all sorts. However, in our case the *total* absence of larger implements or débitage is indicative of the pronounced microlithism of this industry.

Many flakes, fragments (predominantly) and chips, and a few bits were retouched. The conspicuous lack of backing distinguishes this assemblage from the backed blade tradition of the mainland. Here the techniques employed for the retouch were fine pressure on the dorsal (usually) or ventral face, oblique or alternate trimming, and notches.

The Implements:¹²

All the cores were fashioned out of diminutive pebbles. Those cores which were not intended to function as tools were used to the limit and then discarded (Fig. 5/1). Some cores exhibit deeply conchoidal bifacial chipping which resulted in a jagged edge showing signs of wear. Such micro-choppers were also found by Leroi-Gourhan and his co-workers in the NW of the Peloponnese. Similar implements were found by me in the SE of Zante (see below, p. 366). Other cores were fashioned into nucleiform burins (Fig. 5/3). Partial cores were used as angle burins (Fig. 5/2) presenting similarities with Riparo Blanc materials (Taschini, 1964:78, Fig. 1/12, 17). Others were turned into thick scrapers (Fig. 5/4, 6) or small knives occasionally with inverse fine or lateral retouch. There are several microburins (Fig. 5/5, 7, 8). The burin blow

12. Only broad categories are examined in this article. I am also omitting ponderous statistics.

or blows on several pieces was administered at the angle of a previously retouched truncation (Fig. 5/9). An angle burin on a straight truncation is represented by Fig. 5/10. It was made on a relatively thick pebble fragment of jasper, a rare substance in this collection, and has various lamellar scars on the dorsal face. The proximal end has a straight break which received a vertical burin blow at the right corner.¹³ This particular specimen was heavily utilized. On the whole, flat micropalls have been the most recurring technical feature of this category (e. g. Fig. 5/8).

Various pointed implements are also characteristic. For instance, the form in Fig. 6/1 exhibits a composite form with a retouched beaked tip (A) at one end, while the other is a transversal burin edge on a lateral marginal preparation. We also note considerable alternate nibbling on the sides, which is another recurrent feature in the collection. Related implements of diverse shapes could be classed as perforators (Fig. 6/2, 3).

Similar forms are very common at Riparo Blanc (16%) where they also show much variability in shape and retouch (Taschini, 1964:74-5).

The most common implements in this industry are an assortment of diminutive "points." They are non-geometric on the whole, and "atypical," and in this respect characteristic. For reasons of communication and convenience they can be classified as follows:

Microtranchets	10
Rectangles	86
Trapezes	37
Triangles	89
	<hr/> 222

Examples of microtranchets are shown in Fig. 6/4-7. We note that these implements are essentially triangles retouched at the transverse edge. Diminutive rectangles are typical (Fig. 6/8-12). Some pieces have three retouched sides (Fig. 6/13). Trapezes are similar (Fig. 6/14, 15). Triangles are like the microtranchets but the retouch and/or utilization appear on the converging sides (Fig. 6/16-23).

The evidence from Level D at Sidari is distinct, and should be regarded as a new unit for archaeological interpretation in western Greece. This industry cannot be related to the backed blade cultures of Grava (see above, Section 2) or those of the Greek mainland (e.g. Seidi in Copais, the almost forgotten finds of Markovits in Megaris, Jacobsen's finds in the Frachthi cave, and the

13. These burins show interesting similarities with the mesolithic inventories of La Porta (Radmilli, 1960:43, Fig. 9).

major finds at Asprochaliko and Kastritsa in Epiros). They might have some similarities with the Elis inventories in the NW Peloponnese. Turning to the north the shelter of Crvena Stijena presents some interesting parallels. Of particular interest is Level IVa which, according to Benac (1957a: 49), is characterized by a clearly aceramic horizon *devoid* of backed bladelets. Analogous manifestations have been noted in northern Italy (Radmilli, 1955). In my view, Level D of Sidari has typological affinities with the Italian mesolithic (facies with non-geometric microliths). Indeed, both the implements and the technology of Level D, Sidari are almost identical with the "atypical" series of La Porta near Positano of Campania which rest on top of a Romanellian deposit and have a date of $6,669 \pm 200$ B. C. Radmilli demonstrated that life at La Porta was based on shell collecting rather than small game hunting (Radmilli and Tongiorgi, 1958; Radmilli, 1960; Taschini, 1964 but cf. Peroni, n.d., p. 35). Some small game is evidenced at Sidari, Level D, but the number and depositional aspect of *Cardium edule* shells, and the location of the settlement leave little doubt about the prevalent subsistence patterns. Thus, this level at Sidari adds to the evidence of change from a small game hunting economy to a shell-gathering type which has been accumulating in recent years in various sites like, for instance, at Addaura of Palermo, Corrugì of Pachino, Sperlinga in Sicily, the Carso, the Grotte of San Croce and Castelcivita and Level B-1 of the Grotta del Cavallo, Bari (Palma di Cesnola, 1963a:72-4). I would also like to draw attention to the good evidence from Italy demonstrating that these economic adaptations seem to have been followed by technological modifications punctuated by the progressive rarity of backed blades and geometric microliths and a general technological "impoverishment."

I believe that similar adaptations are demonstrable at Sidari, Level D. The location of the site, the flint that seems imported, and the nature of the economy point to a settlement by "mariners" coming from the Adriatic or Italian coasts. The stratigraphy, typology, and C-14 determinations indicate that this took place during the late 7th or early 6th millenium B.C.

Level C

a. Level C, Base:

Overlying Level D (and chronologically very close according to C-14 indicators) the next occupation is characterized by a non-microlithic technology now employing local flints, and the appearance of a simple pottery. Technologically, the break with the past is diagnostic. I have designated this layer as Level C, Base.

Insofar as the flints of this layer are concerned I will not go into details here beyond stating that the making of microliths has now ceased. Converse-

ly, there is a 16% rise in large flake-blades accompanied by other technical features clearly distinguishing these flints from the Level D inventory (see Appendix).

The pottery of this level is new in western Greece.¹⁴ It is very fragmentary and in a state of disintegration. The shapes consist of simple open hemispherical bowls or larger spherical pots with closed mouths and straight rims. No handles, lugs or bases of any sort were found. The characteristic components of this pottery are: Well purified clay, ochreous brown paste, fine sandy texture with high percentage of sand. No other temper. Uneven firing resulting in the inner half of wall being darker than the outside. The fabric crumbles into mud when placed in water—like a lump of sugar in a cup of tea. This is a reflection on the poor technology. Both surfaces are smooth and are distinguished by a deep monochrome ochreous-brown color. Most of the pots are devoid of decoration. However, in some bowls an outer layer of clay was deeply incised with a sharp instrument to form consecutive crude and irregular zones filled with parallel wedges. Although parallel, the wedges change their direction abruptly. The zones tend to be concentric or vertical in relation to the rim (Pl. 3).

The primitive technical features of this pottery, its form, and an early C-14 date (5720 ± 120 B.C.) indicate probable affinities with the Early Pottery 'Frühkeramikum' of Thessaly or the Earliest Phase of Elateia. If this is so, Corfu would provide evidence for the diffusion of the earliest known Greek mainland pottery tradition to the northwesternmost parts of Greece and—incidentally—at the closest possible crossing point to Italy.¹⁵

b. Level C, Middle

It is significant, I think, that Level C, Base was eventually sealed off by a uniformly compact accumulation of red sandy clays 0.70-0.80 m. thick, which I have designated Level C, Middle. Evidently, there intervened a period of

14. Various soundings were made in an area 70 meters across. The information provided here is from a typical sounding (Square 22) which gave for Level C, Base the following:

Pottery sherds	374
Flint artifacts	188
Bone fragments (domesticated ovicaprids)	23
Lumps of ashes	7
Lumps of clay (? wattle and daub)	23
Fired pieces of sandstone	3
Slab	1

The C-14 date of $5,720 \pm 120$ B.C. was obtained from here.

15. In this regard cf. the dates from Epiros (Higgs, 1968:235)

alluviation during which the presence of man is not attested at this site. This period of alluviation was succeeded by a neolithic occupation with "impressed ware" (Level C, Top). This stratigraphic sequence shows that the "impressed ware" is *not* the earliest pottery in the Adriatic.

c. Level C, Top:

This is a thin floor with various neolithic flints technically similar to those from Level C, Base (see Appendix) and with fingernail impressed pottery dated by C-14 to 5390 ± 180 years B.C. This pottery is characterized by the following components: The paste has a very diagnostic pinkish color. Much gritty temper from crushed flint was added. Firing was even throughout. The fabric is hard and brittle. The walls are uniformly thin. The outer surface was smoothed when soft and decorated with the finger nail (Pl. 3, below) or stamp-impressed with a blunt instrument reproducing Benac's "estampillé" patterns (Benac, 1957b: 89, Pls. VII, VIII). Horizontal perforated lugs and flat slightly incurved bases were obtained. The shapes and technical or decorative details compare closely with the now classical description of Mayer (1924:74, Pls. V, No. 13 and X, No. 10); also see illustrations in Peroni, n.d., Fig. 9), and, most importantly, they also compare closely with the Impressed Ware from Crvena Stijena III, Zelena Pecina III and various other Yugoslavian sites (Batović, 1965:44; Benac, 1962:27-31; Miroslavljević, 1962:206 ff). It has been suggested that the Italian Impressed Ware sites are those of impoverished settlers (Whitehouse, 1968:192). Perhaps, but the question is what settlers. In my opinion, there is much evidence showing that these settlers were very much at home in the Western Balkans, and in this sense Sidari, Level C, Top and its early C-14 date acquires particular importance.

Levels B and A do not need elaboration here. Level B is a culturally sterile aeolian deposition, and Level A gave evidence of the "Local Bronze Age" which will be examined in Section 5 below.

4. The Islet of Diaplo

This article is not a detailed account of the numerous surface finds made on the island of Corfu and the adjoining isles during the 1964-1966 survey. All this evidence can only be summarized here, and the Diaplo collection will be used for this purpose.

This islet has a size of a mere 500 square meters. Moreover, it is waterless and exposed to violent storms. Further, it is made almost inaccessible by the cliffs surrounding it (supra, p. 396). Its strategic location, however, cannot be overlooked (Map, No. 396.) In October 1965, I was pleasantly surprised to find its present surface literally strewn with hundreds of large cores, flakes

and other flints.¹⁶ Upon inspection it became evident that the conglomerates of the beach terrace had been used as a quarry for flint nodules which were worked *in situ*.

On the whole the technology indicates that large pieces were obtained, including tranchet-like bifaces and large flakes with wide angles of percussion contrasting sharply with the Levallois-Mousterian indices (see Appendix). Taken as a whole the evidence is reminiscent of a Campignian workshop very much in the tradition of the Campignian of the Gargano (Palma di Cesnola, 1963b). Contrary to the careful marginal trimming of the Early Neolithic flints of Sidari, the Diaplo flints were retouched by percussion and often on the ventral side. The following categories were recognized:

1. Choppers (Large and small)
2. Burins on nuclei
3. Large knives and scrapers
4. Points and Burins on flakes

The choppers were made on large oores or large bifacially chipped flakes (Fig. 7/1). But, in addition, numerous bifacial pebble tools of a diminutive size were found (Fig. 7/2, 3). I found similar tools in astonishing profusion along the bleak SE shores of Zante. They are a curious phenomenon. Large knives and scrapers are common (Fig. 7/4,5) as well as large points on flakes and rare burins (Fig. 7/6). Lack of old soil depositions or any sign of stratigraphy preclude speculations on the ancestry of some of these tools. An attempt to classify these collections according to weathering proved inconclusive.¹⁷ On the basis of the typology and technological criteria (See Appendix) I have designated this collection as Campignian.

5. Local Bronze Age Sites

Lastly, we may briefly consider a number of sites that gave evidence of

16. No pottery was located. The extreme weathering conditions prevailing on this barren isle may have contributed in the obliteration of such evidence, however. During this exploration I was assisted by my friend Dr. William Scranton Simmons, Professor of Anthropology, University of California at Berkeley.

17. The Diaplo observations on the matter of patina gave the following results:

Flints with no patina	8
Flints with slight patina	35
Flints with light patina	85
Flints with considerable patina	19
Flints with thick patina	115
Flints with very thick patina	27
Flints with total chemical alteration	11

300 observations

occupation during the "local" Bronze Age. Two of these sites have been known for years.¹⁸ One of them, the site of Afiona, has been used (erroneously, I think) for hypothesized correlations with Italian Impressed Ware sites. The 1964-1966 survey brought to light many sites indicating considerable demographic density during the local Bronze Age. But, first, let me say something about the terminology. The term "local" Bronze Age derives from the study of the pottery. I use this term only to contrast and differentiate this pottery from the Helladic typology as it applies south of Nydri, Lefkas. By far the greatest amount of the Corfu pottery is related to the Epirotic and Macedonian Bronze Age and I consider it "local" in that sense. Some sites (e.g. Afiona, Stalakto, Ermones, Kefali, Sidari) also yielded evidence for maritime contacts with the West (Bulle's "scratched ware", see below). But this does not alter significantly the culturally "local" nature of the Bronze Age of Corfu. Here is a list of the relevant sites (see Map):

- Kefali (6)
- Arillas (7)
- Afionas (8)
- Sidari, Level A (3)
- Erikoussa (1)
- Andiniotis (4)
- Spartillas (9)
- Ermones (10)
- Molochi (19)
- Skafonas (20)
- Dendrilas shelter (21)
- Stalakto (25)
- Korissia (27)
- Lagoudhia (30)
- Arkoudhilas (32)

a. The Flints:

All these sites have yielded a rich harvest of flints—all drawn and measured. Interestingly, the data indicate certain uniformities (See Appendix) enabling us to classify them as Bronze Age flints.¹⁹ Technically, the data compare appreciably with the Diaplo inventories whereas they differ considerably from both Levallois-Mousterian and Neolithic flaking, chipping and retouch techniques.

b. The Pottery:

18. See footnote No. 2.

19. Post-palaeolithic flint typology is a vexing problem. For my opinion on the stone implements of the Bronze Age in Corfu and the adjacent islands, see Sordinas, (1968a:280 ff).

The evidence from the pottery indicates, in my opinion, overlapping periods. Three important categories emerged from the comparative (statistical) study of the total evidence. These are:

1. The Red Ware
2. The Scratched Ware
3. The Mottled Gray Ware

1. *The Red Ware:*

The diagnostic components of this ware are: Coarse handmade pottery: the clay is poorly sifted; there is much coarse gritty temper added; firing caused the surface to be red or brick-buff while the core remained dark and earthy (in Epiros the color of the surface varies considerably however); the fabrics are hard with shattered edges; the walls are invariably thick; the surfaces are coated with a levigated paste of clay and are slightly burnished. Decoration consists of scanty plastic cordons forming waves or a characteristic rope-like patterns or arcades forming an inverted V pattern or isolated pellets or blobs (common in Epiros but rare on the Ionian Islands) and occasionally *finger nail impressions*. The shapes are those of large pithoi with tongue handles or indented lugs, similar to the shapes illustrated by Doerpfeld in his description of the pithoi from the R-graves of Nydri, Lefkas or the illustrations provided in Hammond (1967, Fig. 13) who draws his repertory from Types 2 and 3 of the Dakaris typology. We are dealing with a local coarse pottery and there is no doubt that variants exist. But insofar as Corfu is concerned these variants are really minor and mostly related to the degree of firing. Otherwise the Corfu Red Ware is easy to recognize. This pottery is an offshoot of the coarse ware of Epiros (cf. Hammond, 1967:298 ff., Figs. 11-16 also see Pl. 4 in this article). I base this correlation on the results I obtained from a statistical analysis of all the materials from Dodoni and Kastritsa and a cross-comparison with the Corfu materials.

The chronology of this ware in Corfu is elusive. By analogy with the pithoi of the R-Graves in Lefkas which were associated with EH II pottery and also with Macedonia, it is possible to admit an Early Bronze Age date for the appearance of this pottery although the problem is compounded by the fact that once it took shape this pottery remained unchanged in NW Greece, Epiros and the Illyrian mountain valleys throughout the Bronze Age and, perhaps, even considerably later. But this is neither the first nor the last example of pronounced "conservatism" in various parts of the world.

The Red Ware is very common on the island (Sites 3,4,6,7,8,9,10,19,20, 21,25,27) and is usually but not necessarily found together with Scratched Ware

and Mottled Gray. In the shelter of Dendrilas (21) it appears by itself as far as I could determine from the talus. There are many similar sites in Epiros. I have concluded that this pottery *does not have* to be associated with the other two categories but, rather, that we have overlaps.

A note of caution regarding typological comparisons is required. The study of this pottery cannot be made from illustrations alone but only on the basis of a cluster of components (attributes) statistically examined. In illustrations some of this pottery looks like "unmistakable" neolithic Impressed Ware (see for example, Pl. 4 in this article which shows Bronze Age sherds from the Skaros tumulus in Lefkas; also cf. Hammond, 1967: Fig. 7). However, the proper examination of the various components listed on page 410 leaves no doubt as to the affiliation of this pottery. In my opinion, the impressed pottery from Afiona is not neolithic but clearly belongs to the Red Ware category of the Local Bronze Age (cf. B. Brea, 1956: 193).

It is quite likely that this pottery diffused across the Adriatic early in the Bronze Age. This was implied by Stevenson in his discussion of similar pottery in Italy with comparable shapes and identical plastic cordons (Stevenson 1947:98)

2. *Scratched Ware*

This ware was first brought to light by Bulle (1934:173) at the locality of Isthmos at Afiona (8) and was correctly compared with identical pottery found earlier in Lefkas.²⁰ Bulle's technological description is complete (his *ritzverzierte schwartzte Gattung*, with illustrations) and needs no elaboration. Here I wish to add that the 1964-1966 survey located this pottery in the additional sites of Stalakto (25), Ermones (10), Kefali (6) and Sidari, Level A (3).

We clearly deal with a maritime contact from the West. I hypothesize that the scratched ware came into contact with the indigenous culture which made Red Ware.

The components of this pottery with its peculiar brown-black fabrics and scratched rectilinear, curvilinear, and comet motifs reminds me of the strong tradition from Zebbug and Ggantija. On the whole I have found good similarities with the Sicilian style of Calafarina (Tin , 1965:147, Pl. VI, Nos. 9, 13-19 and Pl. VII) of the local Middle Chalcolithic.

What we really seem to have is regular contacts during the chalcolithic in a restricted area (Malta, Sicily, Apulia, Corfu, Lefkas and Meganisi). The

20. More of this pottery was later found by Miss Benton in the cave of Spartochori at nearby Meganisi.

evidence shows that these contacts were grafted onto pre-existing, or at any rate more widely distributed, settlements with Red Ware which are clearly more "continental" (Epirotic) than the essentially maritime scratched ware.

3. *The Mottled Gray Ware*

This ware was first encountered by Doerfpeld at the site of Kefali (6) where he was vainly trying to unearth Mycenaean remains. The diagnostic components of this ware²¹ are: Handmade but not coarse pottery; monochrome usually gray (rarely blue on the break) and occasionally turning buff; the clay is well sifted but may contain sand or other small impurities but very little intentional temper; the firing was good but produced a diagnostic mottled effect; the fabrics are hard; the surfaces are undecorated, mottled gray, smooth and lightly polished but seldom burnished; the shapes are carinated bowls and angular profiled kantharoi with vertical high-swung handles comparable with the shapes shown in Valmin (1938:245, Figs. 52, 55), Cavalier (1960: 338-440, Fig. 20), Hammond (1967: 309, Figs. 10/e-i, 17/4-9) or Servais (1964-21-25, Figs. 9-14) and Biancofiore (1963, Pl. XXVII, although here the quality is better). The site of Ermones (10) also yielded a complete dipper with a rounded bowl and a wide open mouth with a poorly made ribbon-handle reminiscent of the Chiusazza -Malpasso style. Apart from the carinated profile of the vessels, the handles are diagnostic, particularly many high-swung handles or forked horizontal lugs, horned handles with markedly triangular sections and knobbed wishbone handles.

In Corfu this ware can be regarded as a handmade Proto-Minyan tradition with clear connections on the mainland in the highlands of Akarnania and Epiros (Thermos, Dodoni, Kastritsa), a diffusion that seems to have thrust northward into Albania. Significantly, the Mottled Gray ware was used in the cist tumuli of Skaros and Grave F in Lefkas but none was found in the R-graves which gave pithos (Red Ware) burials instead.

In Corfu this ware was located in the sites of Kefali (6), Spartilas (9), Ermones (10) and Molochi (19). Two things should be emphasized regarding its distribution: a) that it is not as widely distributed as the Red Ware, and b) that all the sites are naturally defended sites.

By way of a statistical overview of the Bronze Age sites of Corfu I would like to offer Ermones as an example.²² The site is situated on a naturally de-

21. For my comparative criteria I used all the materials from the Ionian Islands, Thermos in Akarnania and the Epirotic evidence.

22. This site was accidentally brought to light by the blast of quarrying operations. I have selected Ermones for this overview because it is an extensive collection. It is also repre-

fended hill-top commanding a spectacular view toward the Adriatic. It can really be called a natural "acropolis" in the sense so aptly used for such sites as Lipari, Panarea, Filicudi etc., and undoubtedly it was so intended. Indeed, this hill-top forms a unique command post with absolute control of the sea nearby, the surrounding territory, the water springs and the only precipitous track that leads into the interior of the island. The hill-top is surrounded by gigantic rocks which in remote times were detached from an adjoining mountain and rolled down its slope to form a grotesque pile. At present the site is known by the local peasants as Gráves, meaning shelters, and according to local belief it is the place of an old city entirely buried by rocks as a result of an "earthquake". The size of the settlement is indicated by the localized distribution of prehistoric materials within a radius of 50-60 meters from the center. The analysis of the pottery has shown the following percentages:²³

1. Red Ware	54%
2. Scratched Ware	14.5%
3. Mottled Gray Ware	30.8%

In addition to the pottery, various spindle-whorls were found belonging to categories B, C, and D of Malthi (Valmin, 1938:335) and several stone implements in clear association with the pottery.

The stone implements were struck on gray or translucent flints, generally large and thick flakes with bifacial retouch, some step-flaking and steep marginal trimming. On the basis of pottery associations and measurements, we can speak of a Bronze Age flint technology which seems to be similar in the sites of Kefali (6), Sidari, Level A (3), Erikoussa (1), Lagoudhia (30), the shelter of Dendrilas (21) and the site of Arkoudhilas at the southern tip of Corfu (32) (see Appendix).²⁴

A bone awl, 60mm. long, with a cylindrical section and a fine conical tip, like the numerous forms Poliokhni (Brea, 1964; Pl. 43) was also recovered.

Several crates of fragmented bones were collected and were sent by the Archaeological Service to the University of Athens for identification. Accor-

sentative because everything was collected and deposited at the Museum of Corfu. I express my thanks to the museum authorities for having given me laboratory space and much time for the analysis of all the materials.

23. This, however, is only a sherd count. The scratched ware sherds are very small and the percentage appears inflated.

24. The flint measurements and the technology of these sites compared favorably with a similar analysis I made of the flints found by Heurtley during the excavation of the Early Bronze Age site of Pelikata in northern Ithaca. The flints (unpublished) are housed in the storeroom of the museum of Stavros, Ithaca. The flints were shown to me by Miss Benton.

ding to the report²⁵ the greatest number of bones belong to evolved domesticates like *Ovis aries*, *Capra hircus*, *Sus scrofa* and *Bos taurus*. In addition, there was a small amount of *Cervus elaphus*, *Lepus vulgaris* and many shells of *Pina*, *Patella* and common snails. Several bones show splitting by human agency.

Many lumps of fired clay (averaging 20 X 10 cms. and 5 cms. thick) containing fiber temper indicate widespread wattle-and-daub construction. A much larger piece with one side roughly smoothed many have been part of a clay roof like those Eutresis (Goldman, 1931:62). Lumps of white ashey clay scattered all over the place indicate that parts at least of the settlement were swept by fire.

The reader may well wonder about Mycenaean pottery on Nausicaa's island. The 1964-1966 survey found none. The tentative conclusion (in spite of the Parga tholos which is so near Corfu!) must still then be that, the incomparable shores, olives and wine notwithstanding, the island was not attractive to the Mycenaean—a situation that seems to have been general in NW Greece. The island seems to have been avoided even by the traders who apparently contented themselves with Cephalonia and Ithaca for their relations with Tarento. But this is a negative argument, and as such it may very well be the outcome of sheer ignorance or the peculiarities of discovery.

Memphis State University
Anthropological Research Center

AUGUSTUS SORDINAS

25. Letter of Professor M. K. Mitsopoulos to Corfu Museum dated 1 March 1965. ¶

APPENDIX

Metrical Analysis of the Flints

A focal area (site) of a maximum radius of 50 meters was selected. All the artifacts collected in this area were bagged separately to form a random sample. A minimum of 100 flints per site were recovered otherwise the site was not considered for this analysis, and does not appear on the Map.

Angle of Percussion: Was measured at the butt at the point of impact.

Thickness of butt: The maximum thickness was measured with a calliper in millimeters.

Thickness of flint: Maximum thickness between dorsal and ventral faces.

Length of flint: Not the full length of the flint. The flint was placed on a grid with the bulbar axis resting vertically against a base-line. The greatest distance between the point of impact and a parallel line on the grid was measured (also cf. Mellars, 1964: 232).

Width of flint: Maximum width measured at right angle to the bulbar axis.

Sites	Angle of Percussion	Max. thick. of butt	Max. thick. of flint	Max. length	Max. width	Comment
Ayios Yeoryios	91.5	6.7	9.2	40.6	26.5	Lev.-Mousterian
Gardhiki	99.2	6	8.3	43	32.8	Lev.-Mousterian
Kombitsi	98.5	5.6	8.3	42.4	27	Lev.-Mousterian
Rekini	98.9	6.4	9	49.6	31	Lev.-Mousterian
Sidari, Level D	102	3.8	5	18	14	Mesolithic
Sidari, Level C, Base	99.4	4.4	8	34.8	25.6	Neolithic
Sidari, Level C, Top	94.5	4.4	6	32	22	Neolithic
Sidari, Level A	103	5.3	7.4	38	23	Bronze Age
Erikoussa	105	5.4	9	32	27	Bronze Age
Lagoudhia	103	6.4	11.4	35	26.7	Bronze Age
Dendrilas	110	6	6	26	19	Bronze Age
Ermones	100	5.4	9.2	34.5	30	Bronze Age
Kefali	104.3	5.2	9.3	37	26.1	Bronze Age
Diaplo	106.1	6.8	6.8	41.2	30.7	Campignian Industry
Pelikata, Ithaca *	105	8.1	10.6	49	32.6	Early Bronze Age

* The flints from Pelikata are from W. A. Heurtley's excavations at Ithaca. Much small debitage probably was not collected.

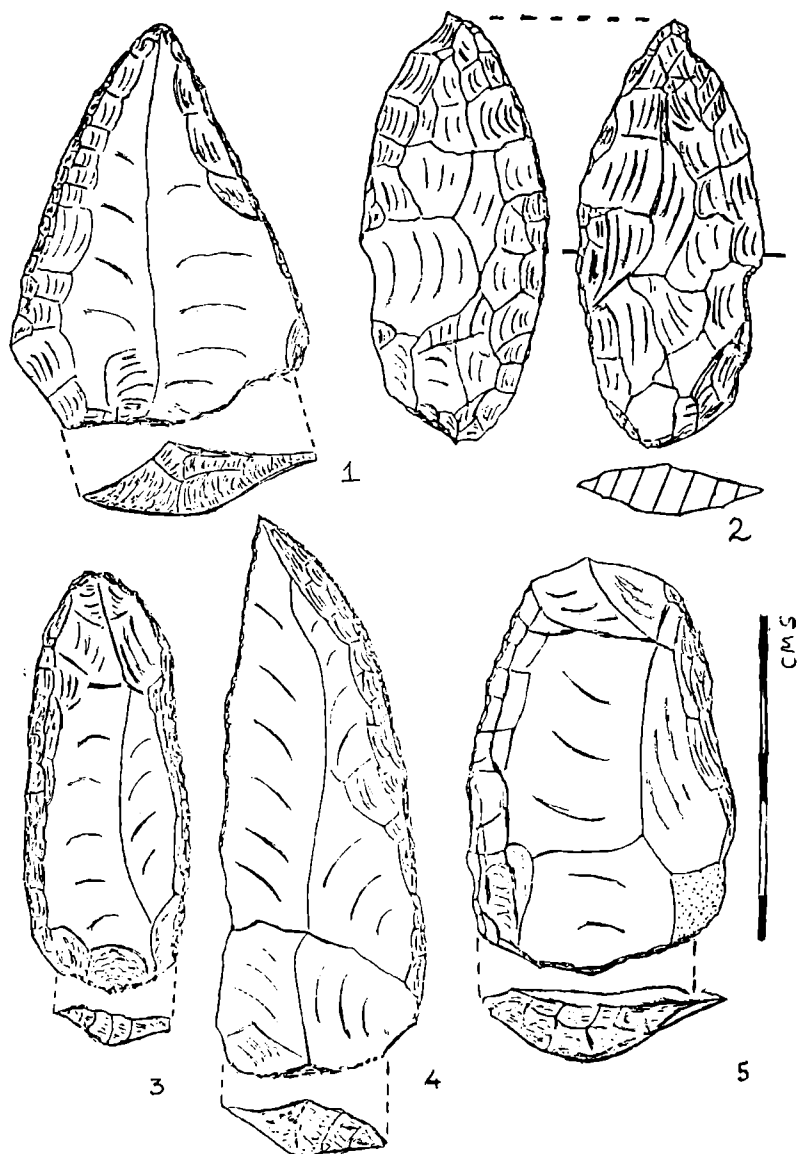


Fig. 1. Levalloiso-Mousterian artifacts from Corfu. No. 1, Unifacial point (Site 28) No. 2, Bifacial leafpoint (Site 18); Nos. 3-5, Scrapers (No. 3 from Site 28, No. 4 from Site 26, No. 5 from Site 5).

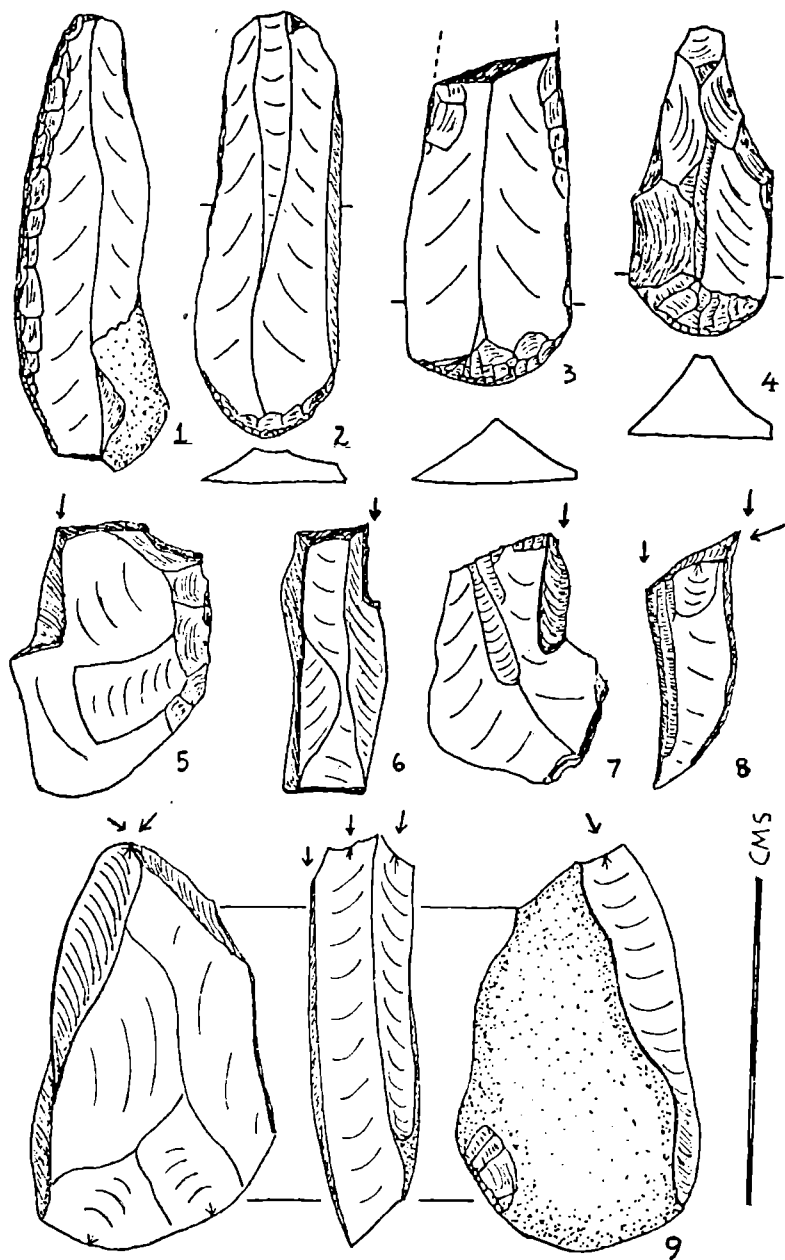


Fig. 2. Late Palaeolithic artifacts from Grava shelter, Corfu.

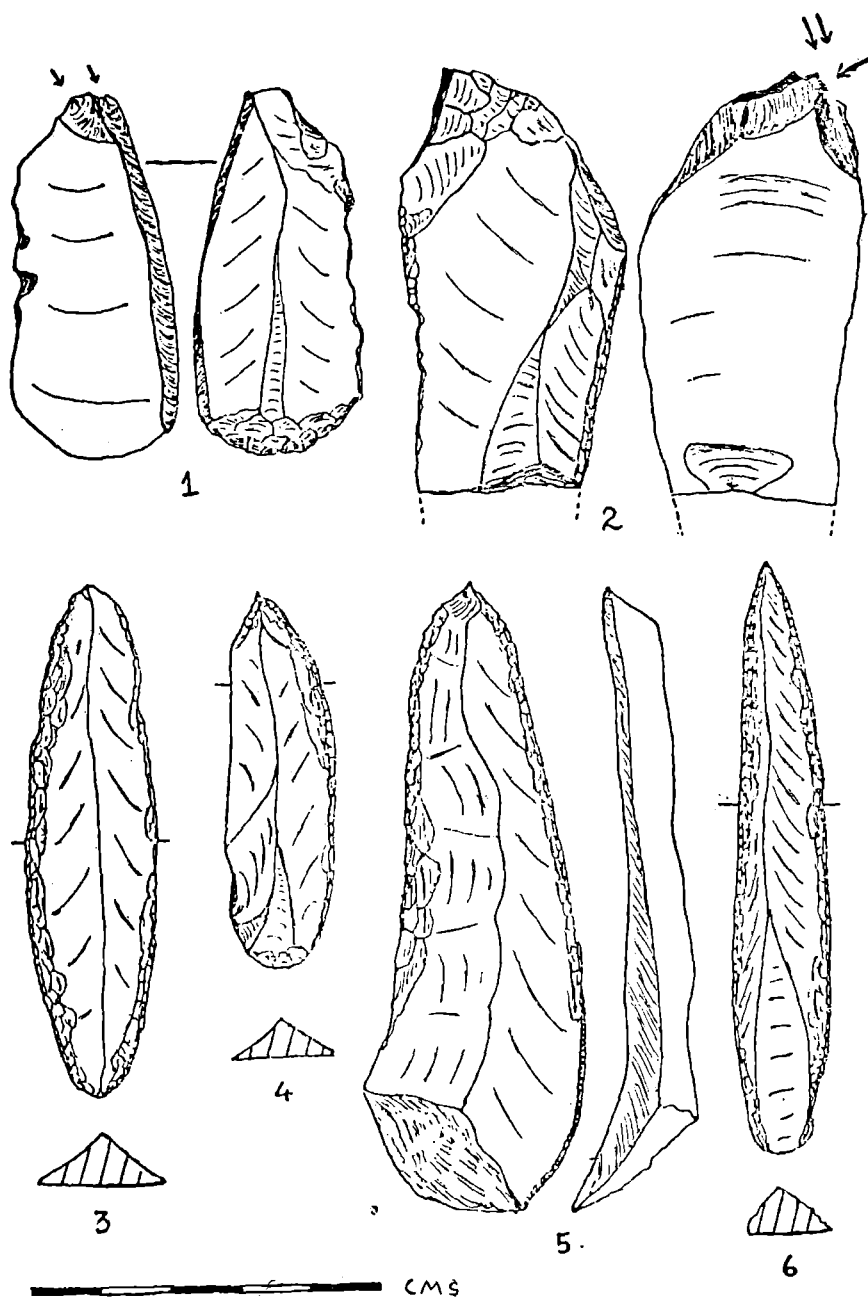


Fig. 3. Late Palaeolithic artifacts from Grava shelter, Corfu.

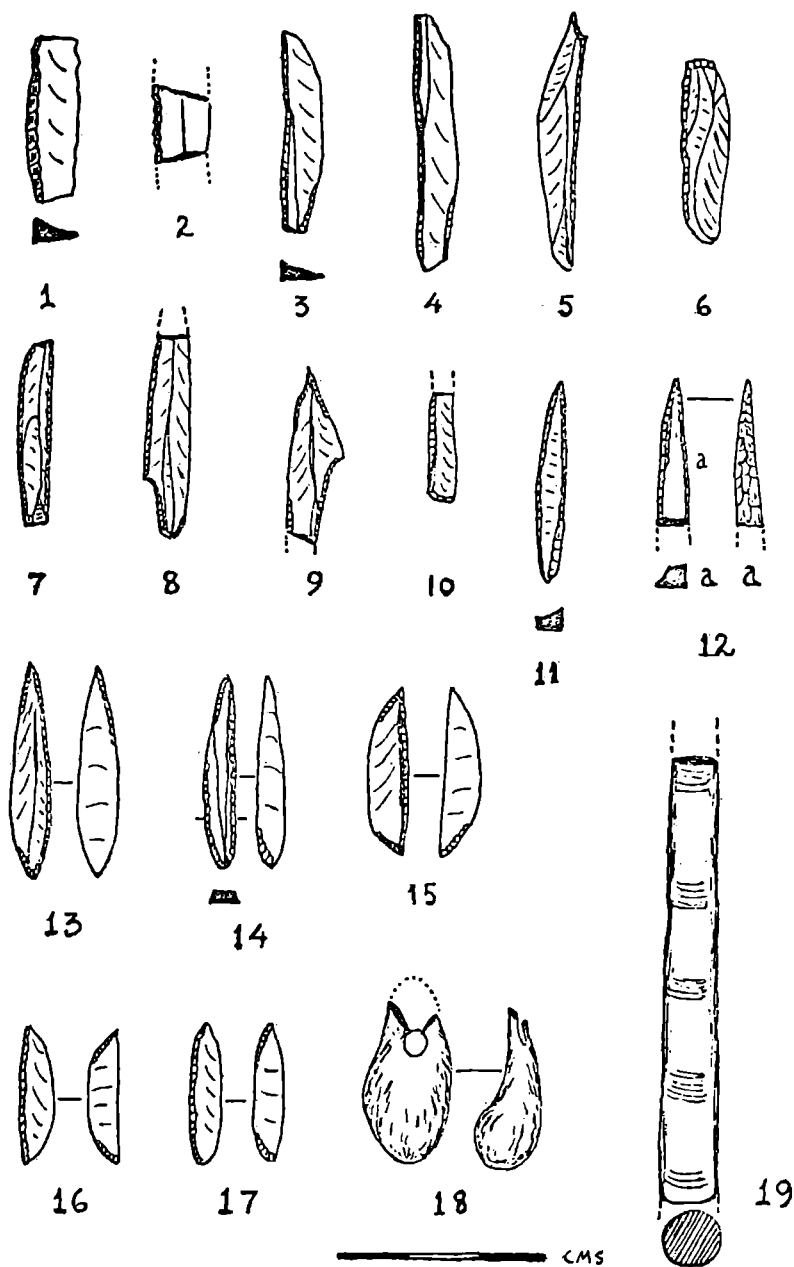


Fig. 4. Late Palaeolithic artifacts from Grava shelter, Corfu.

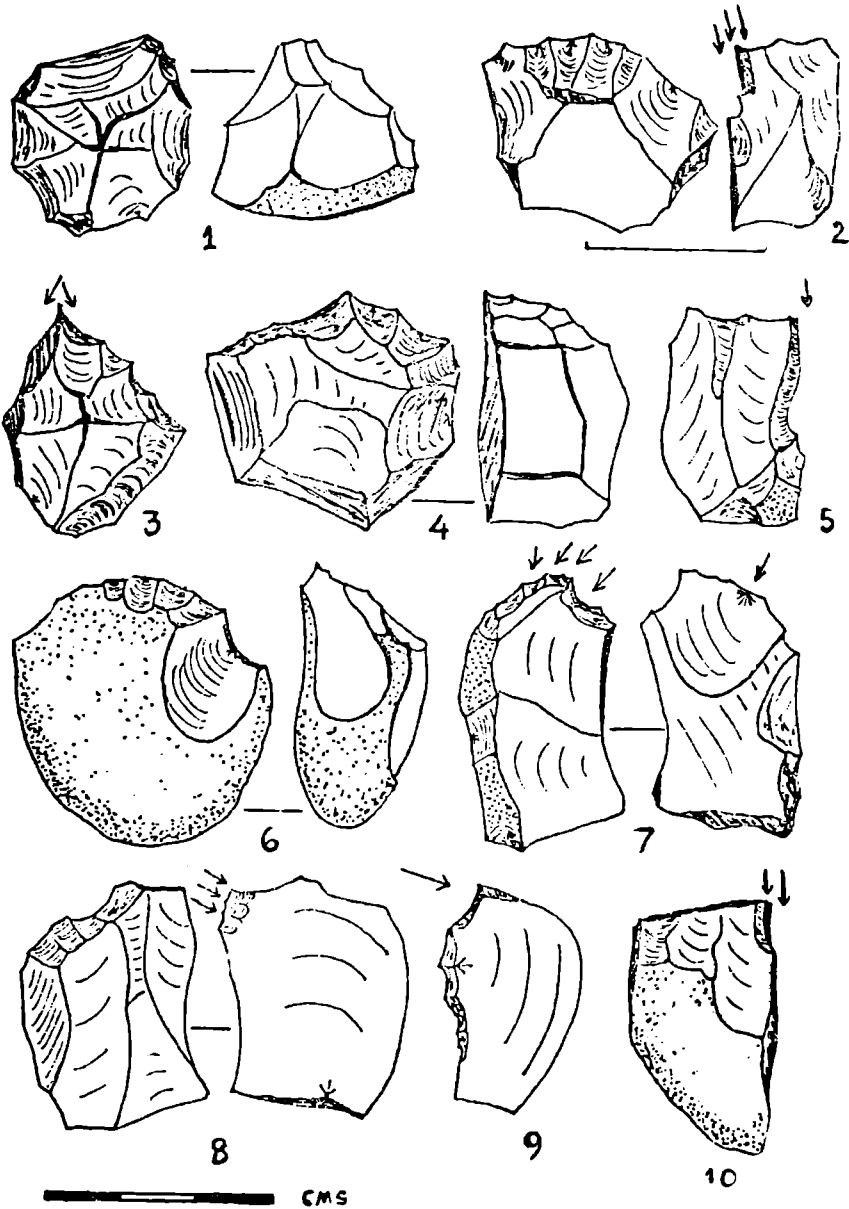


Fig. 5. Mesolithic artifacts from Sidari (Level D), Corfu.

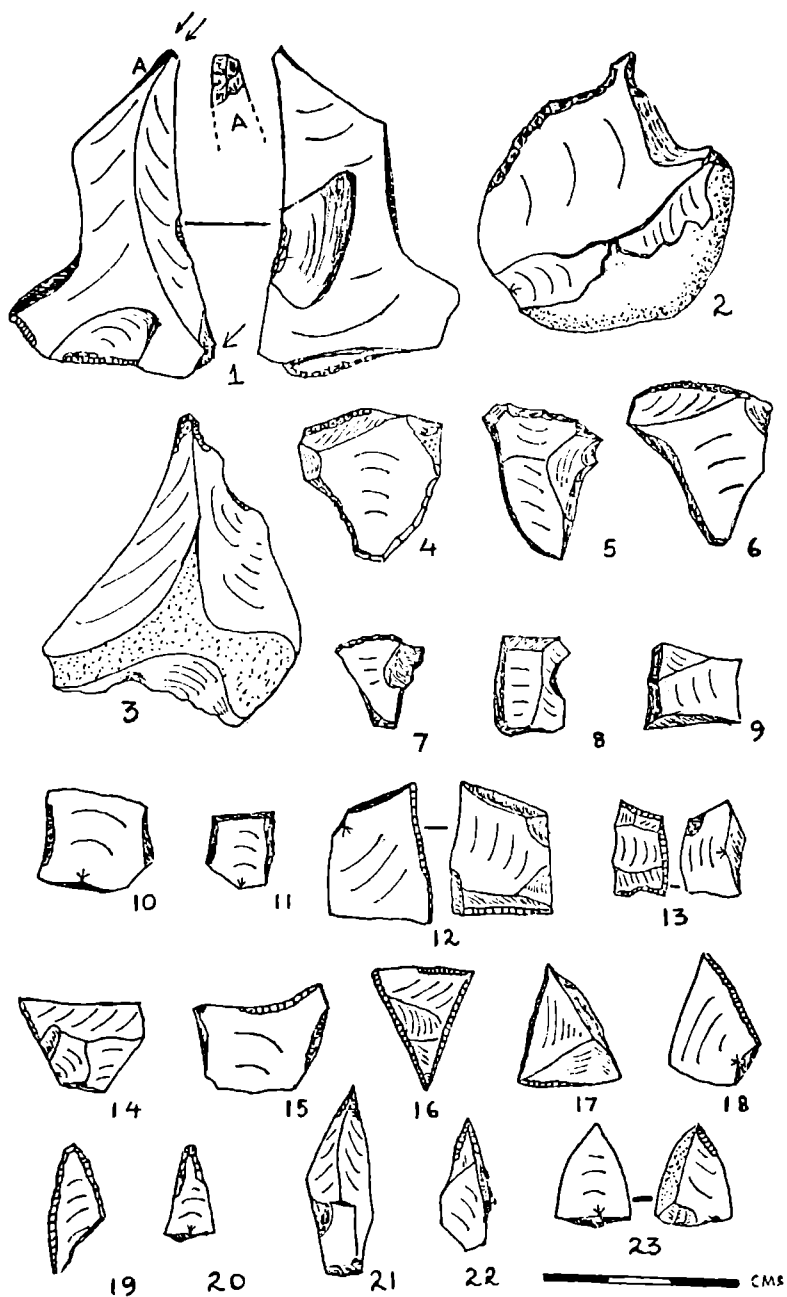


Fig. 6. Mesolithic artifacts from Sidari (Level D) Corfu.

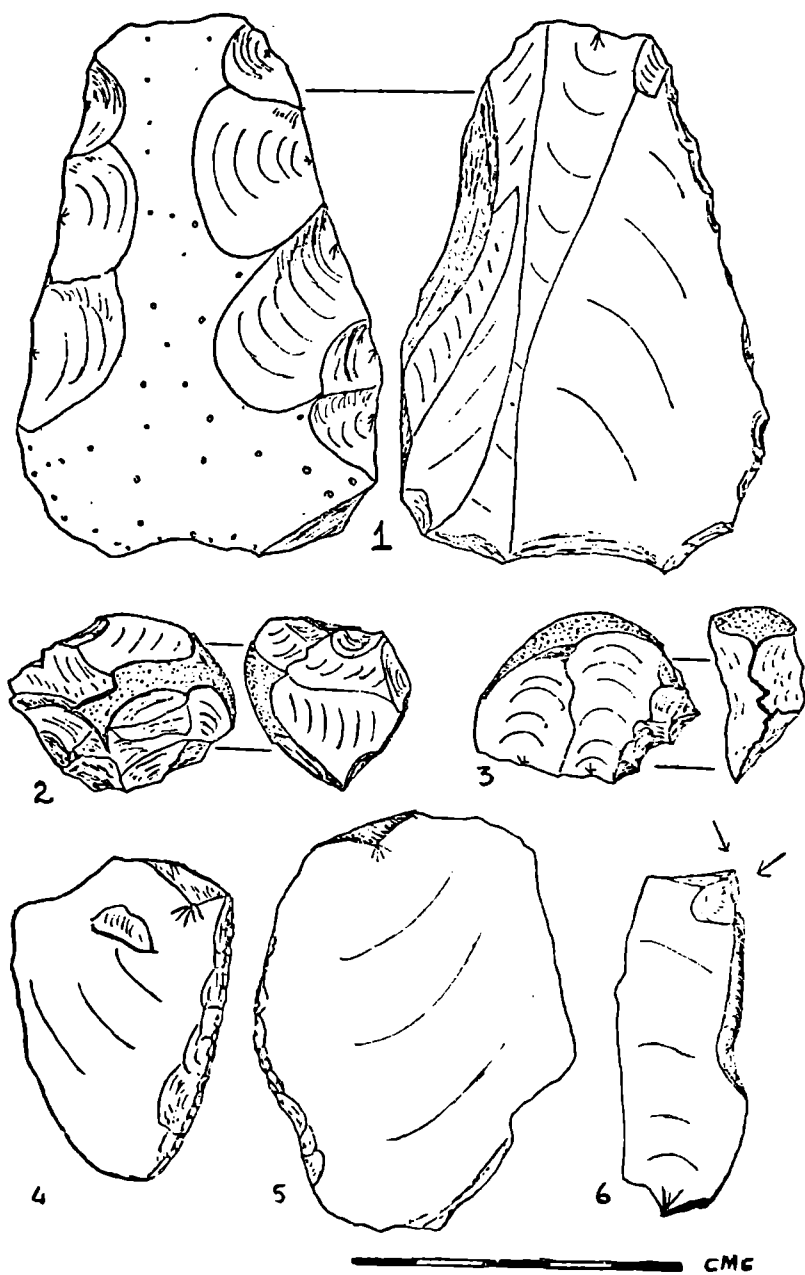


Fig. 7. Stone implements from the surface of the isle of Diaplo.

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PLATES



Plate 1. Large specimens of the warm fauna from the low terrace at the Airport, Corfu (Site No. 15).

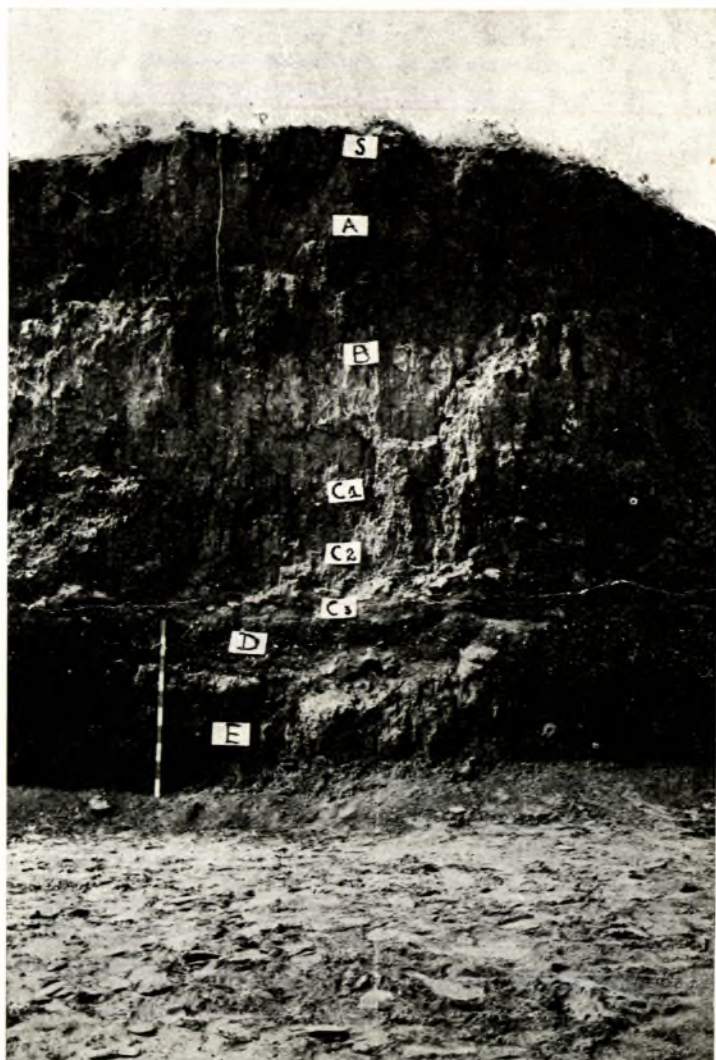


Plate 2. The stratigraphy of Sidary, Corfu. S=Surface, A=Level A; B=Level B; C1= Level C, Top; C2=Level C, Middle; C3=Level C, Base; E=Level E. The rod is one meter.

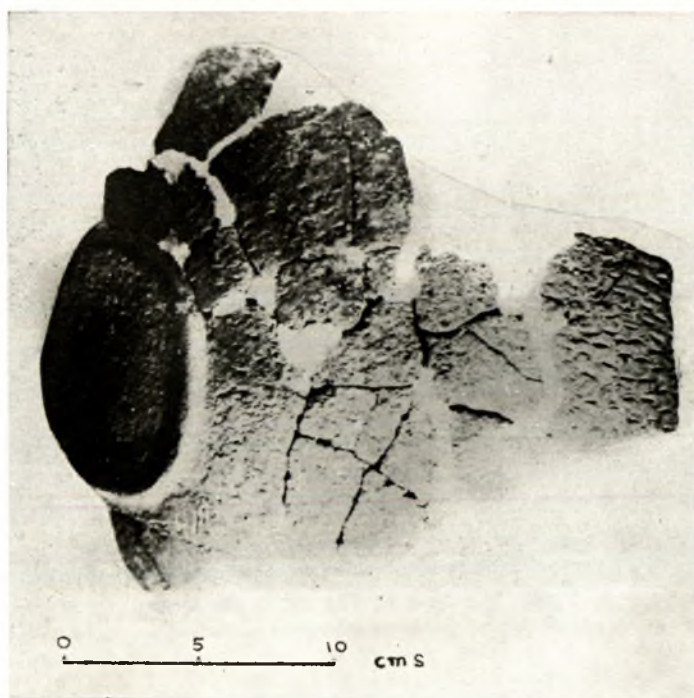


Plate 3. Neolithic pottery from Sidari, Corfu, Above: Incised ware from Level C, Base Below: Impressed ware from Level C, Top.



Plate 4. Bronze Age sherds from the tumulus of Skaros, Lefkas.



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