

**Petras, Siteia**  
**The Pre- and Proto-palatial cemetery in context**

*Acts of a two-day conference held at the Danish Institute at  
Athens, 14-15 February 2015*

Edited by  
*Metaxia Tsipopoulou*



Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens  
Volume 21

*This volume is dedicated to all those individuals who participated over the years  
in the excavation, conservation, study, site development and publication  
of the results.*

*This lofty vision for Petras and its region was made possible by their hard work,  
dedication and support.*

*Petras, Siteia – The Pre- and Proto- palatial cemetery in context*

© The Danish Institute at Athens and Aarhus University Press, 2017

Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens

Volume 21

Series Editor: Kristina Winther-Jacobsen

Editor: Metaxia Tsipopoulou

Layout and typesetting: Ryeved Grafisk

This book is typeset in Minion Pro and Warnock Pro and printed on Luxo Satin 130g.

Printed at Narayana Press, Denmark, 2017

The publication was sponsored by:

The Institute of Aegean Prehistory

ISBN 978 87 7184 157 2

ISSN 1397 1433

Distributed by:

AARHUS UNIVERSITY PRESS

Finlandsgade 29

DK-8200 Aarhus N

Denmark

[www.unipress.dk](http://www.unipress.dk)

Gazelle Book Services Ltd.

White Cross Mills, Hightown

Lancaster LA1 4XS, England

[www.gazellebooks.com](http://www.gazellebooks.com)

ISD

70 Enterprise Drive

Bristol, CT 06010

USA

[www.isdistribution.com](http://www.isdistribution.com)



**PEER  
REVIEWED**

/ In accordance with requirements of the Danish Ministry of Higher Education and Science, the certification means that a PhD level peer has made a written assessment justifying this book's scientific quality.



Front cover:

The Petras cemetery (photo M. Tsipopoulou) and Protopalatial silver signet ring from HT 9 (photo C. Papanikolopoulos)

Graphic design: Garifalia Kostopoulou and Metaxia Tsipopoulou

Back cover: Excavation of House Tomb 1, Room 6. Prof. S. Triantaphyllou (photo G. Kostopoulou).

# Contents

11	List of Contributors
15	Preface
19	Abbreviations
21	Works Cited
55	Greetings from Rune Frederiksen Director Emeritus of the Danish Institute at Athens
56	Greetings from Kristina Winther-Jacobsen Director of the Danish Institute at Athens
57	Documenting sociopolitical changes in Pre- and Proto-palatial Petras: The house tomb cemetery <i>Metaxia Tsipopoulou</i>
103	The Tripartite Façade at the Petras cemetery <i>Philip P. Betancourt, Metaxia Tsipopoulou and Miriam Clinton</i>
111	Ceremonial Area 1: Identity and dating of a special ritual space in the Petras cemetery <i>Metaxia Tsipopoulou</i>
131	Pottery fabrics and recipes in the later Pre- and Proto-palatial period at Petras: The petrographic evidence from House Tomb 2 and Ceremonial Area 1 <i>Eleni Nodarou</i>
143	Further seals from the cemetery at Petras <i>Olga Krzyszkowska</i>

- 159 Variability and differentiation: A first look at the stone vase assemblage in the Petras cemetery  
*Maria Relaki & Christina Tsoraki*
- 179 The Petras ‘Sphinx’? An essay on hybridity  
*Anna Simandiraki-Grimshaw*
- 195 The use of querns and other ground stone hand tools in Early to Middle Minoan mortuary practices at Petras  
*Heidi M. C. Dierckx*
- 203 Special silver alloys from the Pre- and Proto-palatial cemetery of Petras, Crete  
*Alessandra Giumlia-Mair, Philip P. Betancourt, Susan C. Ferrence, & James D. Muhly*
- 215 An intriguing set of discs from the Protopalatial tombs at Petras  
*Thomas M. Brogan & Alessandra Giumlia-Mair*
- 225 The plant remains of the house tombs at Petras: Acts of destruction, transformation and preservation  
*Evi Margaritis*
- 237 Feeding the dead, toasting the living? The view from faunal remains  
*Valasia Isaakidou*
- 245 Male bonding and remembering the ancestors?  
The Late Minoan III reoccupation and use of the Kephala-Petras Cemetery Area  
*David W. Rupp*
- 269 The sea in the afterlife of the Minoans: The shell material from Petras cemetery in context  
*Tatiana Theodoropoulou*
- 271 “Όσο ψηλά και αν ανεβείς λέξη μην πεις μεγάλη ‘πο χώμα σε έφτιαξε ο θεός κι εκείά γυρίζεις πάλι’  
Cretan *mantinada* for death  
*Sevasti Triantaphyllou*
- 291 House Tomb 5: A preliminary analysis of the human skeletal remains  
*Sevasti Triantaphyllou, Sotiria Kiorpe & Metaxia Tsipopoulou*

301	Compare and contrast: The house tomb at Myrtos-Pyrgos <i>Gerald Cadogan</i>
311	Mortuary practices, the ideology of death and social organization of the Siteia area: The Petras cemetery within its broader funerary landscape <i>Yiannis Papadatos</i>
325	Mobility patterns and cultural identities in Pre- and Proto-palatial central and eastern Crete <i>Efthymia Nikita, Sevi Triantaphyllou, Metaxia Tsipopoulou, Diamantis Panagiotopoulos, Lefteris Platon</i>
341	Pezoules Kephala, Zakros. I. Form of the tombs and burial habits <i>Lefteris Platon</i>
355	Pezoules Kephala, Zakros. II. The chronological and evaluative position of the finds in the framework of the life of the neighboring settlement <i>Lefteris Platon &amp; Maria Tsiboukaki</i>
369	Funerary practices at Sissi: The treatment of the body in the house tombs <i>Ilse Schoep, Isabelle Crevecoeur, Aurore Schmitt &amp; Peter Tomkins</i>
385	Funerary ritual and social structure in the Old Palace period: A multifarious liaison <i>Giorgos Vavouranakis</i>
399	East Cretan networks in the Middle Bronze Age <i>Carl Knappett &amp; Cristina Ichim</i>
413	Final discussion <i>Chaired by Colin F. Macdonald</i>
425	Final remarks: Some comments on the Pre- and Proto-palatial cemetery and the Late Minoan IIIC settlement of Petras Kephala <i>Donald C. Haggis</i>
437	Index



The conference participants gathered in the courtyard of the Danish Institute at Athens 15 February 2015

# List of Contributors

**PHILIP P. BETANCOURT**

Department of Art History, Temple University  
2100 North 13th Street, Suite 2101, Philadelphia, PA  
19122, USA  
ppbcourt1@aol.com

**THOMAS M. BROGAN**

Director, INSTAP Study Center for Eastern Crete  
Pacheia Ammos, GR-72200 Ierapetra, Crete, Greece  
tombrogan@instapstudycenter.net

**GERALD CADOGAN**

British School at Athens  
3 The Old Rickyard, Moreton Pinkney, Daventry, NN11  
3TL, United Kingdom  
geraldcadogan2@gmail.com

**MIRIAM G. CLINTON**

Assistant Professor of Art and Art History, Digital Map-  
ping Specialist, Publication Team INSTAP  
Department of Art and Art History, Rhodes College,  
2000 North Parkway, Memphis, TN 38112, USA  
miriam.clinton@gmail.com

**ISABELLE CREVECOEUR**

Université de Bordeaux, Pessac, France  
UMR 5199 PACEA, CNRS  
Isabelle.crevecœur@u-bordeaux.fr

**HEIDI M.C. DIERCKX**

Associate Professor of Classical Studies, Elmira College  
One Park Place, Elmira, NY 14901, USA  
hdierckx@elmira.edu

**SUSAN C. FERRENCE**

Director of Publications, INSTAP Academic Press  
2133 Arch St., Ste. 301, Philadelphia, PA 19103, USA  
susanferrence@instapress.com

**ALESSANDRA GIUMLIA-MAIR**

AGM Archeoanalisi  
Via E. Toti 8, I – 39012, Merano (BZ), Italy  
Via della Costa 4, I – 39012, Merano (BZ), Italy  
giumlia@yahoo.it

**DONALD C. HAGGIS**

Nicholas A. Cassas Term Professor of Greek Studies,  
Department of Classics, University of South Carolina at  
Chapel Hill  
212 Murphey Hall, CB 3145, Chapel Hill, NC 27599-3145  
dchaggis@email.unc.edu

**VALASIA ISAAKIDOU**

Post-doctoral Research Assistant, The Agricultural Ori-  
gins of Urban Civilisation Project, Institute of Archaeol-  
ogy, University of Oxford  
36 Beaumont Street, Oxford, Oxfordshire, OX1 2PG,  
United Kingdom  
valasia.isaakidou@arch.ox.ac.uk

**CRISTINA ICHIM**

PhD Student, Institute of Archaeology, University College  
London, United Kingdom  
Institute of Archaeology, University College London,  
31-34 Gordon Square, London, WC1H 0PY, United  
Kingdom  
ichimcris@gmail.com



**KATERINA BOUKALA-KARKAGIANNI**

PhD Student, Department of History and Archaeology,  
National and Kapodistrian University of Athens  
Fotomara 18, GR-11743, Athens, Greece  
kmpoukala@hotmail.com

**SOTIRIA KIORPE**

Graduate Student, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki  
GR-54124, Thessaloniki, Greece  
skiorpe@hist.auth.gr

**CARL KNAPPETT**

Department of Art, University of Toronto, Canada  
Department of Art, 6063 Sidney Smith Hall, 100 St.  
George St., Toronto, M5S 3G3, Ontario, Canada  
carl.knappett@utoronto.ca

**GARIFALIA KOSTOPOULOU**

Petras Excavations Project  
Pasifae St. 10, GR-72100, Hagios Nikolaos, Crete, Greece  
garifaliakost@yahoo.gr

**OLGA KRZYSZKOWSKA**

Deputy Director, Institute of Classical Studies  
Senate House, Malet Street, London, WC1E 7HU, United  
Kingdom  
olgak2001@outlook.com

**COLIN F. MACDONALD**

British School at Athens  
Chersiphronos 8, GR-11631, Athens  
Colin.f.macdonald@gmail.com

**EVI MARGARITIS**

Assistant Professor, Science and Technology in Archae-  
ology Research Center (STARC), The Cyprus Institute  
Guy Ourisson Building – Athalassa Campus, P.O. Box  
27456, 1645 Nicosia, Cyprus  
evimargaritis@gmail.com

**JAMES D. MUHLY**

Professor Emeritus, University of Pennsylvania  
American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Souidias  
St. 54, GR-10676, Athens, Greece  
jimmuhly@yahoo.com

**EFTHYMIA NIKITA**

Assistant Professor, Science and Technology in Archae-  
ology Research Center (STARC), The Cyprus Institute  
20 Konstantinou Kavafi Street, 2121, Aglantzia, Nicosia,  
Cyprus  
efi.nikita@gmail.com

**ELENI NODAROU**

INSTAP Study Center for Eastern Crete  
Pacheia Ammos, GR-72200 Ierapetra, Crete, Greece  
enodarou@yahoo.gr

**DIAMANTIS PANAGIOTOPOULOS**

Director, Institute of Classical Archaeology, Heidelberg  
University  
Karl Jaspers Centre, Voßstraße, Building 4400, 69115,  
Heidelberg, Germany  
diamantis.panagiotopoulos@zaw.uni-heidelberg.de

**YANNIS PAPADATOS**

Associate Professor of Prehistoric Archaeology  
Department of History, Archaeology and History of Art,  
National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, School  
of Philosophy, University Campus, Zographou, GR-15784,  
Greece  
gpapadat@arch.uoa.gr

**LEFTERIS PLATON**

Assistant Professor of Prehistoric Archaeology  
Department of History, Archaeology and History of Art,  
National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, School  
of Philosophy, University Campus, Zographou, GR-15784,  
Greece  
eplaton@arch.uoa.gr

**ADRIANOS PSYCHAS**

Graduate Student, Department of History and Archaeology, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens  
New Tiryns, GR-21100, Nafplio, Greece  
adriano\_naf@hotmail.com

**MARIA RELAKI**

Associate Lecturer, The Open University, United Kingdom  
29 Smeeton Road, Kibworth Beauchamp, Leicestershire  
LE8 0LG, United Kingdom  
m.relaki@open.ac.uk

**DAVID W. RUPP**

Director, Canadian Institute in Greece  
Voulgaroktonou 68, GR-11473, Athens, Greece  
drupp@brocku.ca

**AUORE SCHMITT**

Aix Marseille Université, Marseille, France  
UMR 7268 ADES, CNRS  
Aurore.Schmitt@univmed.fr

**ILSE SCHOEP**

Department of Archaeology, Catholic University Leuven  
PB 3313, 3000 Leuven, Belgium  
Ilse.Schoep@arts.kuleuven.be

**ANNA SIMANDIRAKI-GRIMSHAW**

Humbolt-Universität zu Berlin, Herman von Helmholtz –  
Centre for Cultural Techniques  
Unter den Linden 6, Room 3029, D-10099, Berlin, Germany  
pytna@yahoo.co.uk

**TATIANA THEODOROPOULOU**

Wiener Laboratory for Archaeological Science of the  
ASCSA  
Souidias 54, GR-10676, Athens, Greece  
tatheod@hotmail.com

**PETER TOMKINS**

University of Sheffield, Department of Archaeology  
Northgate House, West Street Sheffield S1 4ET, United  
Kingdom  
pdtomkins@yahoo.co.uk

**SEVASTI TRIANTAPHYLLOU**

Associate Professor in Prehistoric Archaeology and Osteoarchaeology  
Department of History and Archaeology, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, GR-54124, Thessaloniki, Greece  
strianta@hist.auth.gr

**MARIA TSIBOUKAKI**

PhD Candidate, Department of History and Archaeology,  
National and Kapodistrian University of Athens  
L. Porfira 10, Iraklio, GR-14122, Athens, Greece  
mariatsiboukaki@gmail.com

**METAXIA TSIPOPOULOU**

Director Emerita, Hellenic Ministry of Culture, National  
Archive of Monuments, Director of the Petras Excavations  
Voulgaroktonou 68, GR-11473, Athens, Greece  
mtsipopoulou@yahoo.gr

**CHRISTINA TSORAKI**

Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University, Laboratory for  
Material Culture Studies  
Einsteinweg 2, 2333 CC Leiden, The Netherlands  
c.tsoraki@arch.leidenuniv.nl

**GIORGOS VAVOURANAKIS**

Associate Professor of Prehistoric Archaeology: Theoretical Archaeology  
Department of History, Archaeology and History of Art,  
National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, School  
of Philosophy, University Campus, Zographou, GR-15784,  
Greece  
gvavour@arch.uoa.gr

# Abbreviations

## Archaeological periods

EBA	Early Bronze Age
EH	Early Helladic
EM	Early Minoan
FN	Final Neolithic
LH	Late Helladic
LM	Late Minoan
LN	Late Neolithic
LBA	Late Bronze Age
MBA	Middle Bronze Age
MH	Middle Helladic
MM	Middle Minoan
MN	Middle Neolithic

## Petras Area

HT	House Tomb
R	Room
L	Lakkos
P	Petras
PTSK	Petras Cemetery

PTSOU	Petras Rock Shelter
Σ-palace	Stratigraphical trenches of the palace
W	Wall

## Other

A.S.L.	Above Sea Level
diam.	diameter
gr	gram
h	height
kg	kilogram
w	width
wt	weight
th	thickness
lt	liter
MMD	Mean Measure of Divergence
MNI	Minimum Number of Individuals
NISP	Number of Identifiable Specimens
SM	Archaeological Museum, Siteia
vol.	volume

The form of the English language for the native speakers (British or American) was the author's choice. For the non-native speakers the American form was used.

# Bibliographic Abbreviations

AAA – Archaïologika Analekta Athinon

*ActaPalaeobot* – Acta Palaiobotanica

AJA – American Journal of Archaeology

AJPA – American Journal of Physical Anthropology

AJS – American Journal of Sociology

*AmJHumBiol* – American Journal of Human Biology

*AnnMathStat* – Annals of Mathematical Statistics

AR – Archaeological Reports

*Arachne* – (on-line access to the CMS, with corrected information and enhanced illustrations) <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/drupal/?q=de/node/access> date March 2016.

*ArchDelt* – Archaeologikon Deltion

*ArchEph* – Archaeologike Ephemeris

AS – O. Krzyszkowska, *Aegean seals: an introduction* (BICS Suppl. 85), London.

*ASAtene* – Annuario della Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene

*BAR-IS* – British Archaeological Reports, International Series

*BCH* – Bulletin se correspondance hellénique

*BICS* – Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London

*BSA* – Annual of the British School at Athens

*CHIC* – J.-P. Olivier and L. Godart, *Corpus hieroglyphicarum inscriptionum Cretae* (Études Crétoises 31), Athens and Rome 1996.

*CMS* – Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel, Berlin 1964-2000, Mainz 2002-

*CretChron* – Kretika Chronika

*EtCret* – Études Crétoises

*JAS* – Journal of Archaeological Science

*JMA* – Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology

*Kentro* – Kentro: The Newsletter of the INSTAP Study Center for East Crete

*MA* – Monumenti Antichi

*OJA* – Oxford Journal of Archaeology

*Prakt* – Praktika tes en Athenais Archaeologikes Etaireias

*SIMA* – Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology

*SMEA* – Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici



## Works Cited

- Ackermann, A. 2012.** “Cultural Hybridity: Between Metaphor and Empiricism”, in *Conceptualizing Cultural Hybridization. A Transdisciplinary Approach*, P.W. Stockhammer (ed.), Heidelberg, Dordrecht, London and New York, 5-25.
- Agarwal, S.C. & B.A. Glencross (eds.) 2011.** *Social Bioarchaeology*, Blackwell Studies in Global Archaeology, Oxford.
- Alberti, M.E. 2000.** “Les poids de Mallia entre les premiers et les seconds palais: un essai de mise en context”, *BCH* 124, 57-73.
- Alexiou, S. & P. Warren 2004.** *The Early Minoan Tombs of Lebena, Southern Crete*, Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 30, Sävedalen.
- Alušík, T. 2002.** “Minoan Tripartite Shrines – the Beginnings of Its Architectonic Form and Its Relationship to the Ancient Cultures of the Near East”, *Studia Hercynia* 6, 111-22.
- Alušík, T. 2007.** *Defensive Architecture of Prehistoric Crete*, BAR-IS 1637, Oxford.
- Anastasiadou, M. 2011.** *The Middle Minoan three-sided soft stone prism: a study of style and iconography*, CMS Beiheft 9, Mainz.
- Andreou, S. 1978.** *Pottery Groups of the Old Palace Period in Crete*, Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cincinnati.
- Andrews, P. & S. Bello 2006.** “Pattern in Human Burial Practice”, in *Social Archaeology of Funerary Remains*, R. Gowland & C. Knüsel (eds.), Studies in Funerary Archaeology, Oxford, 14-29.
- Apostolakou, V., P.P. Betancourt & T.M. Brogan 2010.** “Ανασκαφικές έρευνες στην Παχειά Άμμο και τη Χρυσή Ιεράπετρας / Recent Excavations at Pacheia Ammos and Chrissi Island: A Preliminary Report”, in *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Κρήτης 1*, Πρακτικά της 1ης Συνάντησης, Ρέθυμνο, 28-30 Νοεμβρίου 2008, M. Andrianakis & I. Tzachili (eds.), Ρέθυμνο, 143-153.
- Aranda Jiménez, G. & S. Montón-Subías 2011.** “Feasting death: funerary rituals in the Bronze Age societies of south-eastern Iberia”, in *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner: Feasting Rituals in the Prehistoric Societies of Europe and the Near East*, G. Aranda Jiménez, Gonzalo, S. Montón-Subías & M. Sanchez Romero (eds.), Oxford, 130-157.
- Asouti, E. 2003.** “Wood charcoal from Santorini (Thera): new evidence for climate, vegetation and timber imports in the Aegean Bronze Age”, *Antiquity* 77, 471-484.

- Baddeley, A.J. & R. Turner 2006.** Modeling Spatial Point Patterns”, in *Case Studies in Spatial Point Process Modeling*, A.J. Baddeley, P. Gregori, M. Mahiques, R. Stoica & D. Stoyan (eds.), New York, 23-70.
- Basilicata, F. 1618.** *Regno di Candia*, Venice [Reprinted, 1994: V. Danezi-Lamprinou (ed.), *Το βασίλειον της Κρήτης / Cretae regnum*, Herakleion].
- Bass, M. 2011.** “Jan Gossaert’s *Neptune and Amphitrite* reconsidered”, *Simiolus* 35, 61-83.
- Baurain, C. 1987.** “Les nécropoles de Malia”, in *THA-NATOS. Les coutumes funéraires en Égée à l’âge du bronze: Actes du colloque de Liège (21-23 avril 1986)*, Aegaeum 1, R. Laffineur (ed.), Liège, Université de l’Etat à Liège, 62-73.
- Becker, M.J. 1975.** “Human skeletal remains from Kato Zakro”, *AJA* 79, 271-76.
- Becker, M.J. forthcoming.** “Η ανάλυση του ανθρωπολογικού υλικού από τους τάφους στις Πεζούλες Κεφάλας”, (transl. A. Alexandri), in *Ζάκρος I* (series of the final Zakros publication).
- Belli, P. 2003.** “On Measuring Tholoi in the Aegean Bronze Age”, in *METRON. Measuring the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the 9th International Aegean Conference, New Haven, Yale University, 18-21 April 2002*, Aegaeum 24, K. Foster & R. Laffineur (eds.), Liège/Austin, 403-409.
- Bello, S.M., A. Thomann, M. Signoli, O. Dutour & P. Andrews 2006.** “Age and sex bias in the reconstruction of past population structures”, *AJPA* 129 (1), 24-38.
- Bello, S.M. & P. Andrews 2006.** “The intrinsic pattern of preservation of human skeletons and its influence on the interpretation of funerary behaviours”, in *Social Archaeology of Funerary Remains*, R. Gowland & C. Knüsel (eds.), Oxford, 1-13.
- Bernabò Brea, L. 1964.** *Poliochni, città preistorica nell’isola di Lemnos*, Monografie della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle missioni italiane in Oriente 1, Rome.
- Bernstein, P.L. 2000.** *The Power of Gold: The History of an Obsession*, New York.
- Berry, A.C. 1978.** “Anthropological and family studies on minor variants of the dental crown”, in *Development, function and evolution of teeth*, P.M. Butler & K.A. Joysey (eds.), London, 81-98.
- Betancourt, P.P. 1983.** *The Cretan Collection in the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania. Volume 1, Minoan Objects Excavated from Vasilike, Pseira, Sphoungaras, Priniatikos Pyrgos, and other sites*, The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.
- Betancourt, P.P. 1985.** *History of Minoan Pottery*, Princeton University Press, Princeton.
- Betancourt, P.P. 2007.** “Lasithi and the Malia-Lasithi state”, in *Krinoi kai Limenes. Studies in Honor of Joseph and Maria Shaw*, P.P. Betancourt, M.C. Nelson & H. Williams (eds.), Prehistory Monographs 22, Philadelphia, 209-219.
- Betancourt, P.P. 2008.** *The Bronze Age begins: the ceramics revolution of Early Minoan I and the new forms of wealth that transformed prehistoric society*, Philadelphia.
- Betancourt, P.P. 2012.** “The Architecture of the House Tombs at Petras”, in *Petras, Siteia – 25 years of excavations and studies. Acts of a two-day conference held at the Danish Institute at Athens, 9-10 October 2010*, M. Tsipopoulou (ed.), Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 16, Athens, 107-116.

- Betancourt, P.P. & C. Davaras 2003.** *The Pseira Cemetery II: Excavation of the Tombs. Pseira VII*, Philadelphia.
- Betancourt, P., D.S. Reese, L.L. Verstegen & S.C. Ferrence 2008.** "Feasts for the Dead.: Evidence from the Ossuary at Hagios Charalambos", in *DAIS: The Aegean Feast. Proceedings of the 12th International Aegean Conference/12e Rencontre Égéenne Internationale, University of Melbourne, Centre for Classics and Archaeology, 25-29 March 2008*, Aegaeum, 29, L. Hitchcock, R. Laffineur & J. Crowley, eds., Liège & Austin, 161-165.
- Betancourt, P.P. & C. Davaras 2004.** "Discussion of the Architecture", in *The Hagia Photia Cemetery I: The Tomb Groups and Architecture*, C. Davaras & P.P. Betancourt (eds.), Philadelphia, 231-242.
- Betancourt, P.P. & J.S. Silverman 1991.** *The Cretan Collection in the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Vol. II. Pottery from Gournia*, University Museum Monograph 72, Philadelphia.
- Betancourt, P.P., C. Davaras & E. Stravopodi (eds.) 2014.** *Hagios Charalambos: A Minoan Burial Cave in Crete. I. Excavation and Portable Objects*, Philadelphia.
- Betancourt, P.P., C. Davaras, H.M.C. Dierckx, S.C. Ferrence, J. Hickman, P. Karkanas, P.J.P. McGeorge, J.D. Muhly, D.S. Reese, E. Stravopodi & L. Lanford-Verstegen 2008.** "Excavations in the Hagios Charalambos Cave: a preliminary report", *Hesperia* 77, 539-605.
- Betancourt, P.P., V. Karageorghis, R. Laffineur & W.D. Niemeier 1999.** *MELETEMATA. Studies in Aegean Archaeology presented to Malcolm H. Wiener as he enters his 65<sup>th</sup> year*, Aegaeum 20 (III), Liège & Austin.
- Bevan, A. 2004.** "Emerging civilized values? The consumption and imitation of Egyptian stone vessels in EM II-MM I Crete and its wider eastern Mediterranean context", in *The Emergence of Civilisation Revisited*, J.C. Barrett & P. Halstead (eds.), Sheffield Studies in Aegean Archaeology 6, Oxford, 107-126.
- Bevan, A. 2007.** *Stone vessels and values in the Bronze Age Mediterranean*, Cambridge.
- Bevan, A. & Wilson, A. 2013.** "Models of settlement hierarchy based on partial evidence", *JAS* 40 (5), 2415-2427.
- Binford, L.R. 1981.** *Bones: Ancient Men and Modern Myths*, Studies in Archaeology, New York.
- Bintliff, J.L. 1977a.** *Natural Environment and Human Settlement in Prehistoric Greece*, Oxford.
- Bintliff, J.L. 1977b.** "The number of burials in the Mesara tholoi", *BSA* 72, 83-84.
- Blackman, D. & K. Branigan. 1977.** "An archaeological survey of the lower catchment of the Ayiofarango valley", *BSA* 72, 13-84.
- Blakolmer, F. 2015.** "Was the 'Minoan Genius' a god? An Essay on Near Eastern Deities and Demons in Aegean Bronze Age Iconography", *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 7(3), 29-40.
- Blakolmer, F. 2016.** "Hierarchy and symbolism of animals and mythical creatures in the Aegean Bronze Age: a statistical and contextual approach", in *METAPHYSIS. Ritual, Myth and Symbolism in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the 15th Aegean Conference / 15e Rencontre égéenne internationale, Vienna, Institute for Oriental and European Archaeology (OREA), Department Aegean and Anatolia, Austrian Academy of Sciences and the Institute of Classical Archaeology, University of Vienna, 22-25 April 2014*, R. Laffineur, F. Blakolmer, S. Deger-Jalkotzy & J. Weilhartner (eds.), Leuven – Liège, 61-68.



**Bosanquet, R.C. & R.M. Dawkins 1923.** “The Unpublished Objects from the Palaikastro Excavations, 1902 – 6, Part I”, *BSA Supplement Paper 1*, London.

**Boyd, M.J. 2016.** “Becoming Mycenaean? The living, the dead and the ancestors in the transformation of society in second millennium BC southern Greece”, in *Death rituals, social order and the archaeology of immortality in the ancient world. ‘Death shall have no dominion’*, C. Renfrew, M.J. Boyd & I. Morley (eds.), Cambridge, 200-220.

**Boyd-Hawes, A. 1905.** “Gournia: Report of the American Exploration Society’s excavations at Gournia, Crete, 1904”, *Transactions of the Department of Archaeology, Free Museum of Science and Art, University of Pennsylvania 1*, 177-190.

**Boyd-Hawes, H., B.E. Williams, R.B. Seager & E.H. Hall 1908.** *Gournia, Vasiliki, and other Prehistoric Sites on the Isthmus of Ierapetra, Crete. Excavations of the Wells-Houstin-Cramp Expeditions, 1901, 1903, 1904*, Philadelphia.

**Branigan, K. 1970a.** *The Tombs of Mesara. A Study of Funerary Architecture and Ritual in Southern Crete, 2800-1700 B.C.*, London.

**Branigan, K. 1970b.** “Minoan foot amulets and their Near Eastern counterparts”, *SMEA 11*, 7-23.

**Branigan, K. 1970c.** *The Foundations of Palatial Crete. A survey of Crete in the Early Bronze Age*, London.

**Branigan, K. 1974.** *Aegean metalwork of the Early and Middle Bronze Age*, Oxford Monographs on Classical Archaeology, Oxford University Press, London.

**Branigan, K. 1987a.** “Ritual interference with human bones in the Mesara tholoi”, in *THANATOS. Les coutumes funéraires en Égée à l’âge du Bronze: Actes du*

*colloque de Liège (21-23 avril 1986)*, *Aegeum 1*, R. Laffineur (ed.), Liège, 43-51.

**Branigan, K. 1987b.** “Body counts in the Mesara tholoi”, in *Ειλαπίνη. Τιμητικός Τόμος για τον καθηγητή Νικόλαο Πλάτωνα*, L. Kastrinaki, G. Orfanou & N. Giannadakis (eds.), 299-309.

**Branigan, K. 1993.** *Dancing with Death: Life and Death in Southern Crete C.3000-2000 BC*, Amsterdam.

**Branigan, K. 1998.** “The nearness of you: proximity and distance in Early Minoan funerary landscapes”, in *Cemetery and society in the Aegean Bronze Age*, K. Branigan (ed.), *Sheffield Studies in Archaeology 1*, Sheffield, 13-26.

**Branigan, K. 1999.** “The Nature of Warfare in the Southern Aegean during the Third Millennium B.C.”, in *POLEMOS. Le contexte guerrier en Égée à l’âge du Bronze. Actes de la 7e Rencontre égéenne internationale, Université de Liège, 14-17 avril 1998*, *Aegaeum 19*, R. Laffineur (ed.), Liège & Austin, 87-94.

**Branigan, K. 2010a.** “History and Use of the Cemetery” in *Moni Odigitria: A Prepalatial cemetery and its environs in the Asterousia, Southern Crete*, A. Vasilakis & K. Branigan (eds.), *Prehistoric Monographs 30*, Philadelphia, 251-264.

**Branigan, K. 2010b.** “Metalwork”, in *Moni Odigitria: A Prepalatial cemetery and its environs in the Asterousia, Southern Crete*, A. Vasilakis & K. Branigan (eds.), *Prehistoric Monographs 30*, Philadelphia, 147-150.

**Branigan, K., T. Carter & P. O’Connor 1998.** “Prehistoric and early historic settlement in the Ziros region, east Crete”, *BSA 93*, 23-90.

**Branigan, K. & T. Campbell-Green 2010.** “The pottery assemblages: data and analysis”, in *Moni Odigitria: A Prepalatial cemetery and its environs in the Aster-*



ousia, *Southern Crete*, A. Vasilakis & K. Branigan (eds.), Prehistoric Monographs 30, Philadelphia, 69-126.

**Brogan, T.M. 2013.** “Reexamining the ‘EC III Gap’ from the perspective of Crete: a regional approach to relative chronology, networks, and complexity in the late Prepalatial period”, *AJA* 117, 555-567.

**Brogan, T., C. Sofianou, J. Morrison, D. Mylona & E. Margaritis 2013.** “Living off the fruits of the sea: new evidence for dining at Papadiokampos, Crete”, in *Diet, economy and society in the ancient world. Towards a better integration of archaeology and science*, Voutsaki, S. & Valamoti, T. (eds.), Pharos Supplement 1, 123-132.

**Budd, P. & B.S. Ottaway 1991.** “The properties of arsenical copper alloys: implications for the development of Neolithic metallurgy”, in *Archaeological Sciences 1989, Proceedings of the conference on the Application of Scientific Techniques to Archaeology*, P. Budd, B. Chapman, C. Jackson, R. Janaway & B. Ottaway (eds.), Oxbow Monographs 9, Oxford, 132-142.

**Buikstra, J. & M. Swegle 1989.** “Bone modification due to burning: experimental evidence”, in *Peopling of the Americas Publications*, R. Bonnichen & M. H. Sorg (eds.), Center for the Study of the First Americans, Institute for Quaternary Studies, University of Maine, Orono, 247-258.

**Cadogan, G. 1978.** “Pyrgos, Crete, 1970-7”, *AR* 1977-1978, 70-84.

**Cadogan, G. 1992.** “Myrtos-Pyrgos”, in Myers, J. W., E. E. Myers & G. Cadogan (eds.), *The Aerial Atlas of Ancient Crete*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, 202-209.

**Cadogan, G. 2006.** “A long-lived south coast community”, in *Πεπραγμένα Θ’ Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου, Ελούντα, 1-6 Οκτωβρίου, 2001, A2: Προϊστορική Περίοδος, Ανασκαφικά Δεδομένα*, E.

Tabakaki & A. Kaloutsakis (eds.), Ηράκλειο, Εταιρεία Κρητικών Ιστορικών Μελετών, 161-166.

**Cadogan, G. 2010.** “Goddess, nymph or housewife; and water worries at Myrtos?”, in *Cretan Offerings. Studies in Honour of Peter Warren*, O. Krzyszkowska (ed.), BSA Studies 18, The British School at Athens, London, 41-47.

**Cadogan, G. 2011a.** “Behind the façade: what social and political realities are behind the cultural regionalities of Middle Minoan Crete?”, in *Πεπραγμένα Ι’ Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου, Χανιά, 1-8 Οκτωβρίου 2006, A1: Παλαιοντολογία, Αρχαιολογία Κρήτη – Αιγαίο – Ανατολική Μεσόγειος, Περιβαλλοντική Αρχαιολογία, Φυσική Ανθρωπολογία, Γραφή – Διοίκηση – Σφραγιδογλυφία*, M. Andreadaki-Vlazaki & E. Papadopoulou (eds.), Φιλολογικός Σύλλογος ο Χρυσόστομος, Χανιά, 127-139.

**Cadogan, G. 2011b.** “Myrtos: from Phournou Koryphi to Pyrgos”, in K.T. Glowacki & N. Vogeikoff-Brogan (eds.), *ΣΤΕΓΑ. The Archaeology of Houses and Households in Ancient Crete*, Hesperia Supplement 44, Princeton, 39-49.

**Cadogan, G. 2011c.** “A power house of the dead: the functions and long life of the Tomb at Myrtos-Pyrgos”, in *Prehistoric Crete: Regional and Diachronic Studies on Mortuary Systems*, J.M.A. Murphy (ed.), Philadelphia, 103-117.

**Cadogan, G. 2013a.** “Myrtos and Malia: Middle Minoan ‘entente cordiale’? Or unitary state?”, *Creta Antica* 14, 105-121.

**Cadogan, G. 2013b.** “Where has MM III gone? A lack at Myrtos-Pyrgos – and elsewhere? What does it mean?”, in *Intermezzo. Intermediacy and Regeneration in Middle Minoan III Palatial Crete*, BSA Studies 21, C. F. Macdonald & C. Knappett (eds.), London, 179-181.

- Cadogan, G. 2014.** "Water worries and water works in Bronze Age southern Crete", in *PHYSIS. L'Environnement Naturel et la Relation Homme-Milieu dans le Monde Egéen Protohistorique*, Aegaeum 37, G. Touchais, R. Laffineur & F. Rougemont (eds.), Leuven, Liège: Peeters, 73-78.
- Cadogan, G. & A. Chaniotis, 2010.** "Inscriptions from Crete", *BSA* 105, 291-304.
- Cadogan, G. & C. Knappett in preparation.** *Myrtos-Pyrgos I. Late Protopalatial Pyrgos: Pyrgos III*, British School at Athens, Supplementary Volume, London.
- Caloi, Il. 2009.** "For a new ceramic sequence of Protopalatial Phaistos (MM IB-IIA) and some observations on barbotine ware", *Creta Antica* 10/II 2009, 373-439.
- Cameron, M.A.S. 1987.** "The 'Palatial' Thematic System in the Knossos Murals. Last Notes on Knossos Frescoes", in *The Function of the Minoan Palaces. Proceedings of the Fourth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 10-16 June, 1984*, R. Hägg & N. Marinatos (eds.), Stockholm, 321-325.
- Canguilhem, G. 1998 (repr. 2007).** "Monstrosity and the Monstrous", in *The Body: A Reader*, M.G. Fraser & M. Greco (eds.), London, New York, Routledge, 187-193.
- Carter, T. 1998.** "Reverberations of the International Spirit: thoughts upon 'Cycladica' in the Mesara", in *Cemetery and Society in the Bronze Age*, K. Branigan (ed.), Sheffield, 59-77.
- Carter, T. 2008.** "Beyond the Mohs Scale: Raw Material Choice and the Production of Stone Vases in a Late Minoan Context", in *New Approaches to Old Stones. Recent Studies of Ground Stone Artifacts*, Y.M. Rowan & J. R. Ebeling (eds.), London, 66-81.
- Carter, T. 2010.** "Of blades and burials, flakes and funerals: the chipped stone from Moni Odigitria", in *Moni Odigitria: A Prepalatial cemetery and its environs in the Asterousia, Southern Crete*, A. Vasilakis & K. Branigan (eds.), Prehistoric Monographs 30, Philadelphia, 151-169.
- Carter, T. 2015.** "Chipped stone", in *Livari Skiadi. A Minoan cemetery in Lefki, Southeast Crete. Volume I: excavation and finds*, Y. Papadatos & C. Sofianou, Prehistoric Monographs 50, Philadelphia, 113-126.
- Chalikias, K. 2014.** "Chryssi island: new evidence on the Bronze Age settlement patterns of the Ierapetra area", in *Minoan Archaeology, Perspectives for the 21st Century*, S. Cappel, U. Güntel-Maschek & D. Panagiotopoulos (eds), Aegis 8, Louvain, 37-51.
- Chapman, J. 1994.** "The living, the dead and the ancestors: time, life-cycles and the mortuary domain in later European prehistory", in *Ritual and remembrance: responses to death in Human Societies. International Symposium on the Archaeozoology of Southwestern Asia and Adjacent Areas*, J. Davies (ed.), Sheffield Academic Press, Sheffield, 40-85.
- Chapman, J., 2000.** *Fragmentation in Archaeology. People, Places and Broken Objects in the Prehistory of south-eastern Europe*, London, New York.
- Chapman, J.C. & B.I. Gaydarska, 2007.** *Parts and wholes: fragmentation in prehistoric context*, Oxford.
- Chamberlain, A. 2006.** *Demography in Archaeology*, Cambridge.
- Chesson, M.S. 1999.** "Libraries of the dead: Early Bronze Age charnel houses and social identity at Urban Babe dh-Dhra, Jordan", *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 18, 137-164.

- Chesson, M.S. (ed.) 2001.** *Social Memory, Identity and Death: Ethnographic and Archaeological Perspectives on Mortuary Rituals*, Archaeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association Number 10, Arlington.
- Chesson, M.S. 2001a.** "Social memory, identity and death: an introduction", in *Social Memory, Identity and Death: Ethnographic and Archaeological Perspectives on Mortuary Rituals*, M.S. Chesson (ed.), Archaeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association Number 10, Arlington, 12-26.
- Chesson, M.S. 2001b.** "Embodied memories of place and people: death and society in an Early Urban community", in *Social Memory, Identity and Death: Ethnographic and Archaeological Perspectives on Mortuary Rituals*, M.S. Chesson (ed.), Archaeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association Number 10, Arlington, 100-113.
- Christakis, K. S. 2005.** *Cretan Bronze Age pithoi. Traditions and Trends in the Production and Consumption of Storage Containers in Bronze Age Crete*, Prehistory Monographs 18, Philadelphia.
- Christie's London 1989.** *The Erlenmeyer Collection of Cretan seals* (sale catalogue, Monday 5 June 1989, 2.30 p.m.).
- Chrysoulakis, N., Abrams, M., Haralambos Feidas, H. & Velianitis, D. 2004.** "Analysis of Aster multispectral stereo imagery to produce DEM and land cover databases for Greek islands: the REALDEMS project", in *EARSel Workshop on Remote Sensing for Developing Countries*, Cairo.
- Chrysoulaki, S. 1999.** "Minoan Roads and Guard Houses – War Regained", in *POLEMOS. Le contexte guerrier en Égée à l'âge du Bronze. Actes de la 7e Rencontre égéenne internationale, Université de Liège*, 14-17 avril 1998, R. Laffineur (ed.), Aegaeum 19, Liège & Austin, 75-83.
- Clarke, C.F. 2013.** *The Manufacture of Minoan Metal Vessels: theory and practice*, SIMA Pocket Book 178, Uppsala.
- Colburn, C. 2008.** "Exotica and the Early Minoan Elite: Eastern Imports in Prepalatial Crete", *AJA* 112, 225-246.
- Connerton, P. 1989.** *How Societies Remember*, Cambridge.
- Correia, P. 1997.** "Fire modification of bone: review of the literature", in *Forensic Taphonomy: the Postmortem Fate of Human Remains*, U.D. Haglund & M.H. Sorg (eds.), New York, 275-293.
- Craddock, P. 1995.** *Early Metal Mining and Production*, Edinburgh.
- Crevecoeur, I. & A. Schmitt 2009.** "Etude Archéo-anthropologique de la Nécropole (Zone 1)", in *Excavations at Sissi: Preliminary Report on the 2007-2008 Campaigns*, Aegis: rapports de fouilles 1, J. Driessen, I. Schoep, F. Carpentier, I. Crevecoeur, M. Devolder, F. Gaignerot-Driessen, H. Fiasse, P. Hacıgüzeller, S. Jusseret, C. Langohr, Q. Letesson & A. Schmitt (eds.), Louvain-la Neuve, 57-94.
- Crevecoeur, I., Schmitt, A. & I. Schoep. 2015.** "An archaeothanatological approach to the study of Minoan funerary practices: Case-studies from the Early and Middle Minoan cemetery at Sissi, Crete", *Journal of Field Archaeology* 40 (3), 283-299.
- Cultraro, M. 2000.** "Il tipo di tomba ipogea a grotticella artificiale in ambito egeo: Alcune osservazioni", in *L'Ipogeismo nel Mediterraneo: Origini, Sviluppo, Quadri Culturali*, Atti del Congresso Internazionale Sassari-Oristano 23-28 Maggio 1994, 473-499.

- D'Annibale, C. 2012.** "Obsidian modes of production and consumption from a diachronic perspective as seen from Petras and the Siteia Bay environs", in *Petras, Siteia – 25 years of excavations and studies. Acts of a two-day conference held at the Danish Institute at Athens, 9-10 October 2010*, M. Tsipopoulou (ed.), Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 16, Athens, 105 (abstract).
- Dabney, M.K. & J.C. Wright 1990.** "Mortuary customs, palatial society and state formation in the Aegean area: a comparative study", in *Celebrations of Death and Divinity in the Bronze Age Argolid, Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 11-13 June, 1988*, R. Hagg & G.C. Nordquist (eds.), ActaAth, 4°, 40, Stockholm, 45-53.
- D'Agata, A.L. 2012.** "The Power of Images. A Figured Krater from Thronos Kephala (Ancient Sybrita) and the Process of Polis Formation in Early Iron Age Crete", *SMEA* 54, 207-247.
- D'Albiac, C. 1995.** "The 'Diagnostic' Wings of Monsters, in *Klados: Essays in Honour of J. N. Coldstream, BICS, Supplement* 63, C. Morris (ed.), London, Institute of Classical Studies, University of London, 63-72.
- Darmstädter, E. 1929.** "Subaeratae Münzen und ihre Herstellung", *Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Numismatischen Gesellschaft* 47, 27-38.
- Daux, G. 1960.** "Chronique des fouilles: Lébène", *BCH* 84 (2), 844-846.
- Davaras, C. 1972.** "The Oval House at Chamaizi Reconsidered", *AAA* 5, 283-288.
- Davaras, C. & P.P. Betancourt 2004.** *The Hagia Photia cemetery I: the tomb groups and architecture*, Prehistory Monographs 14, Philadelphia.
- Davaras, C. & P.P. Betancourt 2012.** *The Hagia Photia cemetery II: The Pottery*, Prehistory Monographs 34, Philadelphia.
- Dawkins, R. & T. Currelly 1903-1904.** "Excavations at Palaikastro III", *BSA* 10, 192-231.
- Day, L.P. 2009.** "Building A-B", in *Kavousi IIA: The Late Minoan IIIC Settlement at Vronda. The Buildings on the Summit*, L.P. Day, N.L. Klein & L.A. Turner (eds.), Prehistory Monographs 26, Philadelphia, 15-64.
- Day, L.P., N.I. Klein & L.A. Turner 2009.** *Kavousi IIA: The Late Minoan IIIC Settlement at Vronda. The Buildings on the Summit*, Prehistory Monographs 26, Philadelphia.
- Day, L.P. & L.M. Synder 2004.** "The 'Big House' at Vronda and the 'Great House' at Karphi: evidence for social structure in LM IIIC Crete", in *Crete Beyond the Palaces: Proceedings of the Crete 2000 Conference*, L.M. Day, M.S. Mook & J. Muhly (ed.), Prehistory Monographs 10, Philadelphia, 63-79.
- Day, P.M. 1991.** *A Petrographic Approach to the Study of Pottery in Neopalatial East Crete*, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Cambridge.
- Day, P.M. 1995.** "Pottery production and consumption in the Siteia Bay area during the New Palace period", in *Achladia: Scavi e Ricerche della Missione Greco-Italiana in Creta Orientale (1991-1993)*, M. Tsipopoulou & L. Vagnetti (eds.), *Incunabula Graeca* 97, Rome, 149-173.
- Day, P.M., A. Hein, L. Joyner, V. Kilikoglou, E. Kiri-atzi, A. Tsolakidou & D.E. Wilson 2012.** "Appendix A. Petrographic and Chemical Analysis of Pottery", in *The Hagia Photia Cemetery II. The Pottery*, C. Davaras & P.P. Betancourt (eds.), Prehistory Monographs 34, Philadelphia, 115-138.



- Day, P.M., D. Wilson & E. Kiriatzi. 1997.** “Reassessing specialisation in Prepalatial Cretan ceramic production”, in *TEXNH. Craftsmen, Craftswomen and Craftsmanship in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the 6th International Aegean Conference/6e Rencontre égéenne internationale, Philadelphia, Temple University, 18-21 April 1996*, Aegaeum 16, R. Laffineur & P.P. Betancourt (eds.), Liege, 275-289.
- Delvin, J.B. & N.P. Herrmann 2008.** “Bone color as an interpretative tool of the depositional history of archaeological remains”, in *The Analysis of Burned Human Remains*, C.W. Schmidt & S.A. Symes (eds.), New York, 109-128.
- Demargne, P. 1945.** *Fouilles exécutées à Mallia. Exploration des nécropoles (1921-1933)*, EtCret 7, Paris.
- Demargne, P. & H.G. De Santerre 1953.** *Fouilles exécutées à Mallia: exploration des maisons et quartiers d'habitation (1921-1948)*, EtCret 9, Paris.
- Dessenne, A. 1957.** *Le Sphinx. Étude iconographique I. Des origines à la fin du second millénaire*, Paris.
- Detournay, B., J.-C. Poursat & F. Vandenaabeele 1980.** *Fouilles exécutées à Mallia: le Quartier Mu. II, Vases de pierre et de métal, vannerie, figurines et reliefs d'appliqué, éléments de parure et de décoration, armes, sceaux et empreintes*, EtCret 26, Paris.
- Dierckx, H.M.C. 2012.** “Size does matter: the significance of obsidian microliths and querns at the Petras cemetery”, in *Petras, Siteia – 25 years of excavations and studies. Acts of a two-day conference held at the Danish Institute at Athens, 9-10 October 2010*, M. Tsipopoulou (ed.), Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 16, Athens, 171-178.
- Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki, N. 2005.** *The Archaeological Museum of Herakleion*, EFG Eurobank Ergasias S.A. & John S. Latsis Public Benefit Foundation, Athens.
- Doonan, R.C.P., P.M. Day & N. Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki 2007.** “Lame excuses for emerging complexity in Early Bronze Age Crete: the metallurgical finds from Poros Katsambas and their context”, in *Metallurgy in the Early Bronze Age Aegean*, P.M. Day & R.C.P. Doonan (eds.), Oxford, 98-122.
- Doumas, C. 1977.** *Early Bronze Age Burial Habits in the Cyclades* (SIMA XLVIII), Gothenburg.
- Doumas, C. 1987.** “Early Cycladic Society: the evidence from the graves”, in *THANATOS. Les coutumes funéraires en Égée à l'âge du bronze: Actes du colloque de Liège (21-23 avril 1986)*, Aegaeum 1, R. Laffineur (ed.), Liège, Université de l'Etat à Liège, 15-18.
- Driessen, J. 2010.** “Spirit of place. Minoan Houses as Major Actors,” in *Political Economies of the Aegean Bronze Age Papers from the Langford Conference, Florida State University, Tallahassee, 22-24 February 2007*, D.J. Pullen (ed.), Oxford, Oakville, 35-65.
- Duckworth, W.H.L. 1903.** “Excavations at Palaikastro II.11: Human Remains at Hagios Nikolaos”, *BSA* 9, 350-535.
- Duday, H. 2006.** “L'archéothanatologie ou l'archéologie de la mort”, in *Social Archaeology of Funerary Remains*, R. Gowland & C. Knüsel (eds.), Studies in Funerary Archaeology, Oxford, 30-56.
- Duday, H. 2009.** *The Archaeology of the Dead. Lectures in Archaeothanatology*, Studies in Funerary Archaeology, Oxford.
- Duday, H. & M. Guillon 2006.** “Understanding the circumstances of decomposition when the body is skeletonized”, in *Forensic Anthropology and Medicine. Complementary Sciences. From Recovery to Cause of*

*Death*, A. Schmitt, E. Cunha & J. Pinheiro (eds.), Towata, 117-157.

**Evely, R.D.G. 1984.** "The other finds of stone, clay, ivory, faience, lead etc.", in *The Minoan Unexplored Mansion at Knossos*, M.R. Popham (ed.), BSA Supplement 17, Oxford, 223-259.

**Evely, R.D.G. 1999.** *Fresco: A Passport into the Past. Minoan Crete through the Eyes of Mark Cameron*, British School at Athens & N.P. Goulandris Foundation – Museum of Cycladic Art, Athens.

**Ferrence, S.C. 2008.** "The human figurines", in "Excavations in the Hagios Charalambos Cave: a preliminary report", P.P. Betancourt, C. Davaras, H.M.C. Dierckx, S.C. Ferrence, J. Hickman, P. Karkanas, P.J.P. McGeorge, J.D. Muhly, D.S. Reese, E. Stravopodi & L. Lanford-Verstegen (eds.), *Hesperia* 77, 570-575.

**Ferrence, S.C., J.D. Muhly & P.P. Betancourt 2012.** "Affluence in Eastern Crete: Metal Objects from the Cemetery of Petras", in *Petras, Siteia – 25 years of excavations and studies. Acts of a two-day conference held at the Danish Institute at Athens, 9-10 October 2010*, M. Tsipopoulou (ed.), Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 16, Athens, 133-141.

**Floyd Ch., 1997.** "The alternating floral style as evidence for pottery workshops in East Crete during the Protopalatial period", in *TEXNH. Craftsmen, Craftswomen and Craftsmanship in the Aegean Bronze Age*, Aegaeum 16, Liège & Austin, R. Laffineur & P.P. Betancourt (eds.), 313-316.

**Fowler, C. 2003.** "Rates of (ex)change: Decay and growth, memory and the transformation of the dead in early Neolithic southern Britain", in *Archaeologies of Remembrance: Death and Memory in Past Societies*, H. Williams (ed.), 45-63.

**Fowler, C. 2004.** *The Archaeology of Personhood. An Anthropological Approach*, Themes in Archaeology Series, London.

**Fowler, C. 2013.** "Identities in transformation. Identities, funerary rites and the mortuary process", in *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of Death and Burial*, S. Tarlow & L.N. Stutz (eds.), Oxford, 511-526.

**Freeman, L. 1977.** "A set of measures of centrality based on betweenness", *Sociometry* 40, 35-41.

**Freeman, M.F. & J.W. Tukey 1950.** "Transformations related to the angular and the square root", *AnnMath-Stat* 21, 607-611.

**Gaignerot-Driessen, F. 2014.** "Goddesses Refusing to Appear? Reconsidering the Late Minoan III Figures with Upraised Arms", *AJA* 118.3, 489-520.

**Galanaki, K. 2006.** 'Πρωτομινωικό ταφικό σύνολο στην πρώην Αμερικανική Βάση Γουρνών Πεδιάδος', in *Πεπραγμένα Θ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου, Ελούντα, 1-6 Οκτωβρίου, 2001, A2: Προϊστορική Περίοδος, Ανασκαφικά Δεδομένα*, E. Tabakaki & A. Kaloutsakis (eds.), Ηράκλειο, Εταιρεία Κρητικών Ιστορικών Μελετών, 227-242.

**Galli, E. 2014.** "Where the past lies. The Prepalatial tholos tomb at Krasi and its stratigraphic sequence", *CretChron* 34, 231-248.

**Gardeisen, A., T. Gomrée, C. Knappett, M. Pomadère, T. Theodoropoulou & P. Westlake forthcoming.** "Deux dépôts MM IIA dans le secteur Pi de Malia", *BCH*.

**Gerontakou, E. 2003.** Δύο Μεσομινωικοί αποθέτες στο νεκροταφείο του Πλατάνου, in *Αργοναύτης. Τιμητικός Τόμος για τον Καθηγητή Χρήστο Γ. Ντούμα από τους μαθητές του στο Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών (1980-2000)*, A. Vlachopoulos & K. Mpirtacha (eds.), Athens, 303-330.

- Gesell, G.C. 1985.** *Town, Palace, and House Cult in Minoan Crete (SIMA 67)*, Gothenburg.
- Getz-Gentle, P. 1996.** *Stone Vessels of the Cyclades in the Early Bronze Age*, The Pennsylvania State University Press, University Park, PA.
- Gill, D.J.W. 2000.** "Collecting for Cambridge: John Hubert Marshall in Crete", *BSA* 95, 517-526.
- Girella, L. 2012.** "The Kamilari project publication", *Rivista di Archeologia* XXXV (2011), 123-136.
- Girella, L. 2013.** "Exhuming an Excavation: Preliminary Notes on the Use of the Kamilari Tholos Tomb in Middle Minoan III", in *Intermezzo: Intermediacy and Regeneration in Middle Minoan Iii Palatial Crete*, British School at Athens Studies 21, C.F. Macdonald & C. Knappett (eds.), London, 149-159.
- Girella, L. in press a.** "Variables and diachronic diversities in the funerary remains: the Kamilari tholos tomb", in *From the Foundations to the Legacy of Minoan Society*, M. Relaki & Y. Papadatos (eds.), Oxford.
- Girella, L. in press b.** "The Kamilari tholos tombs project: new light on an old excavation", *Πεπραγμένα ΙΑ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου, Πέθυμνο 21-27 Οκτωβρίου 2011*.
- Giumlia-Mair, A. 2000.** "Argento e leghe 'argentea' nell'antichità", *Atti del 7 convegno, "Le Scienze della Terra e l' Archeometria"*, Taormina, Palermo, Catania 22-26 Febbraio 2000, *Bollettino dell'Accademia Gioenia di Scienze Naturali*, Vol. 33, N 357, Catania, 295-314.
- Giumlia-Mair, A. 2001.** "Colouring Treatments on Ancient Copper Alloys", *Revue de Métallurgie, Cahiers d'informations Techniques*, 98e année, n.9, Sept., 767-776.
- Giumlia-Mair, A. 2002.** "Zosimos the Alchemist – Manuscript 6.29, Cambridge, Metallurgical Interpretation", in *I Bronzi Antichi: Produzione e tecnologia, Atti del XV Congresso Internazionale sui Bronzi Antichi, Grado-Aquileia, 22-26 maggio 2001*, A. Giumlia-Mair (ed.), Montagnac, 317-323.
- Giumlia-Mair, A. 2005.** "On Surface Analysis and Archaeometallurgy", *Nuclear Instruments and Methods in Physics, Research B: Beam Interactions with Materials and Atoms* 239 (1-2), 35-43.
- Giumlia-Mair, A. 2008.** "The metal of the moon goddess", in *Proceedings of the Session "Arts and Surfaces, Surface Modification Technologies (SMT21)"*, Paris 24-26 September 2007, *Surface Engineering*, March 2008, volume 24/2, A. Giumlia-Mair (ed.), Special Number Arts and Surfaces, 110-17.
- Giumlia-Mair, A. 2009.** "Ancient metallurgical traditions and connetions around the Caput Adriae", in *Journal of Mining and Metallurgy*, in *Special issue: Archaeometallurgy*, Vol. 45, N. 2, D. Živković & Ž. Živković (eds.), 149-164.
- Giumlia-Mair, A., V. Kassianidou & G. Papasavvas 2011.** "Miniature Ingots from Cyprus", in *Metallurgy: Understanding How, Learning Why. Studies in Honor of James D. Muhly*, P. Betancourt & S.C. Ferrence (eds.), Prehistory Monographs 29, Philadelphia, 11-19.
- Glowacki, K.T. 2007.** "House, household and community at LM IIIC Vronda, Kavousi", in *Building Communities: House, Settlement and Society in the Aegean and Beyond. Proceedings of a Conference held at Cardiff University, 17-21 April 2001*, R. Westgate, N. Fisher & J. Whitely (eds.), British School at Athens Studies 15, London, 129-139.
- Goodison, L. 2009.** "Gender, Body and the Minoans: Contemporary and Prehistoric Perceptions", in *FYLO. Engendering Prehistoric "Stratigraphies" in the Aegean*

and the Mediterranean Proceedings of an International Conference, University of Crete, Rethymno 2-5 June 2005, Aegaeum 30, K. Kopaka (ed.), Liège & Austin, 233-242.

**Goodison, L. & C. Guarita 2005.** "A new catalogue of the Mesara-type tombs", *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* 47, 171-212.

**Gowland, R. & C. Knüsel (eds.). 2006.** *Social Archaeology of Funerary Remains*, Studies in Funerary Archaeology, Oxford.

**Gradstein, E.M. 1973.** "The Neogene and Quaternary deposits in the Sitia district of Eastern Crete", *Annales Géologiques des Pays Helléniques* 25 (1972), 527-72.

**Gramsch, A. 2013.** "Treating bodies. Transformative and communicative practices", in *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of Death and Burial*, S. Tarlow & L.N. Stutz (eds.), Oxford, 459-474.

**Granovetter, M.S. 1973.** "The strength of weak ties", *AJS* 78 (6), 1360-1380.

**Haggis, D.C. 1999.** "Staple finance, peak sanctuaries and economic complexity in late Prepalatial Crete", in *From Minoan Farmers to Roman Traders: Sidelights on the Economy of Ancient Crete*, A. Chaniotis (ed.), Stuttgart, 53-85.

**Haggis, D.C. 2002.** "Integration and complexity in the late Prepalatial period: a view from the countryside in eastern Crete", in *Labyrinth Revisited: Rethinking Minoan Archaeology*, Y. Hamilakis (ed.), Oxford, 120-142.

**Haggis, D.C. 2005.** *Kavousi. The Results of the Excavations at Kavousi in Eastern Crete I. The Archaeological Survey of the Kavousi Region*, Prehistoric Monographs 16, Philadelphia.

**Haggis, D.C. 2007.** "Stylistic diversity and diacritical feasting at Protopalatial Petras: a preliminary analysis of the Lakkos deposit", *AJA* 111, 715-775.

**Haggis, D.C. 2012a.** "The Lakkos pottery and Middle Minoan IB Petras", in *Petras, Siteia – 25 years of excavations and studies. Acts of a two-day conference held at the Danish Institute at Athens, 9-10 October 2010*, M. Tsipopoulou (ed.), Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 16, Athens, 191-204.

**Haggis, D.C. 2012b.** "Neolithic and Bronze Age Pottery", in *An Archaeological Survey of the Gournia Landscape: A Regional History of the Mirabello Bay, Crete, in Antiquity*, L.V. Watrous, D. Haggis, K. Nowicki, N. Vogeikoff-Brogan & M. Schultz (eds.), Prehistory Monographs 37, Philadelphia, 135-154.

**Haggis, D.C. 2013.** "Destruction and the Formation of Static and Dynamic Settlement Structures in the Aegean", in *Destruction. Archaeological, Philological and Historical Perspectives*, J. Driessen (ed.), Louvain-la-Neuve, 63-87.

**Haggis, D.C. forthcoming.** "The Relevance of Survey Data as Evidence for Settlement Structure in Prepalatial Crete", in *From the Foundations to the Legacy of Minoan Society, Sheffield Aegean Round Table in Honour of Professor Keith Branigan*, M. Relaki & Y. Papadatos (eds.), Sheffield Studies in Aegean Archaeology, Oxford.

**Hall, E.H. 1912.** *Excavations in Eastern Crete. Sphoungaras*, University of Pennsylvania, The Museum Anthropological Publications Vol. III, No. 2, Philadelphia.

**Halstead, P. & J. Barrett (eds.) 2004.** *Food, Cuisine and Society in Prehistoric Greece*, Oxford.

**Hamilakis, Y. 1998.** "Eating the dead: mortuary feasting and the politics of memory in the Aegean Bronze Age societies", in *Cemetery and society in the Aegean*



*Bronze Age*, K. Branigan (ed.), Sheffield Studies in Archaeology 1, Sheffield, 115-132.

**Hamilakis, Y. 1999.** "Food technologies/technologies of the body: The social context of wine and oil production and consumption in Bronze Age Crete", *World Archaeology* 31, 38-54.

**Hamilakis, Y., 2013.** *Archaeology and the Senses. Human Experience, Memory and Affect*, Cambridge.

**Hamilakis, Y. & E Konsolaki 2004.** "Pigs for the dogs: Burnt animal sacrifices as embodied rituals at a Mycenaean sanctuary", *OJA* 23, 135-151.

**Hanihara, T. 2010.** "Metric and nonmetric dental variation and the population structure of the Ainu", *AmJHumBiol* 22, 163-171.

**Hankey, V. 1986.** "Pyrgos: the communal tomb in Pyrgos IV (Late Minoan I)", *BICS* 33, 135-137.

**Hardt, A. & M. Negri 2004.** *Multitude: War and Democracy in the Age of Empire*, New York.

**Harris, E.F. & T. Sjøvold 2003.** "Calculation of Smith's mean measure of divergence for intergroup comparisons using nonmetric data", *Dental Anthropology* 17, 83-93.

**Hayden, B.J. 2004.** *Reports on the Vrokastro Area, Eastern Crete 2: The Settlement History of the Vrokastro Area and Related Studies*, University Museum Monograph 119, Philadelphia.

**Hekman, J.J. 2003.** *The Early Bronze Age at Chalandriani on Syros (Cyclades, Greece)*, Ph.D. dissertation, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen.

**Hillson, S. 2005.** *Teeth*, Cambridge Manuals in Archaeology, Cambridge.

**Hitchcock, L., R. Laffineur & J. Crowley, 2008.** *DAIS. The Aegean Feast; Proceedings of the 12th International Aegean Conference / 12e Rencontre égéenne internationale, University of Melbourne, Centre for Classics and Archaeology, 25-29 March 2008*, Aegaeum 29, Liège.

**Hodder, I. 2012.** *Entangled: An Archaeology of the Relationships Between Humans and Things*, Chichester.

**Hoffman, C.R. 1999.** "Intentional damage as technological agency: breaking metals in Late Prehistoric Mallorca, Spain", in *The social dynamics of technology: practice, politics and world views*, M.-A. Dobres & C.R. Hoffman (eds.), Washington, DC, 103-123.

**Horwitz, L.K. 2001.** "Animal offerings in the Middle Bronze Age: Food for the Gods, Food for Thought", *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 133, 78-90.

**Hughes-Brock, H. 1995.** "Seals and beads: their shapes and materials compared", in I. Pini & J.-C. Poursat (eds.), *Sceaux minoens et mycéniens*, CMS Beiheft 5, Berlin, 105-116.

**Hughes-Brock, H. 2000.** "Echt oder falsch? Trials, rehabilitations and banishments of some suspects in the Ashmolean Collection", in *Minoisch-mykenische Glyptik. Stil, Ikonographie, Funktion*, I. Pini (ed.), CMS Beiheft 6, Berlin, 107-121.

**Hutchinson, D.L. & L.V. Aragon 2002.** "Collective burials and community memories: interpreting the placement of the dead in the southeastern and mid Atlantic United States with reference to ethnographic cases from Indonesia", in *The Space and Place of Death*, D.B. Small & H. Silverman (eds.), Arlington, 27-54.

**Hutton, P.H. 1993.** *History as an Art of Memory*, Hano-ver.

- I.G.S.R. 1954.** *Geological map of Greece, Sitia Sheet, 1:50 000.* Institute of Geology and Subsurface Research. Athens.
- I.G.S.R. 1955.** *Geological map of Greece, Kalo Chorio Sheet, 1:50 000.* Institute of Geology and Subsurface Research. Athens.
- Immerwahr, S.A. 1989.** “The pomegranate vase: its origins and continuity”, *Hesperia* 58, 397-410.
- Inge, D. 2014.** *A Tour of Bones: Facing Fear and Looking for Life*, London.
- Irish, J.D. 2006.** “Who were the ancient Egyptians? Dental affinities among Neolithic through Postdynastic peoples”, *AJPA* 129, 529-543.
- Isaakidou, V. 2005.** *Bones from the Labyrinth: Faunal Evidence for Animal Management and Consumption at Neolithic and Bronze Age Knossos, Crete*, Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University College London.
- Isaakidou, V. 2011a.** “Early Minoan I, the Palace Well: Faunal Remains and Taphonomy”, in *Knossos Excavations 1957-1961: Early Minoan*, BSA Supplementary Volume 46, S. Hood & G. Cadogan (eds.), London, 63-67.
- Isaakidou, V. 2011b.** “Early Minoan II-III, Area A. Royal Road North: Faunal remains”, in *Knossos Excavations 1957-1961: Early Minoan*, BSA Supplementary Volume 46, S. Hood & G. Cadogan (eds.), London, 229-233.
- Isaakidou, V. 2011c.** “Early Minoan II-III, Area B. The Early Houses: Faunal Remains”, in *Knossos Excavations 1957-1961: Early Minoan*, BSA Supplementary Volume 46, S. Hood & G. Cadogan (eds.), London, 237.
- Isaakidou, V. 2013.** “The faunal material”, in *The Monastiriako Kephali Tomb and ‘Deposit’ at Knossos*, L. Preston (ed.), British School at Athens Studies 22, Cambridge, 63-67.
- Isaakidou, V. in press.** “Kamilari Cemetery. The animal remains”, in *La Necropoli di tombe a tholos di Kamilari (Phaistos)*, L. Girella & I. Caloi (eds.).
- Kakavogianni, O., K. Douni, & F. Nezeri. 2008.** “Silver Metallurgical Finds Dating from the End of the Final Neolithic Period until the Middle Bronze Age in the Area of Mesogeia”, in *Aegean Metallurgy in the Bronze Age*, I. Tzachili (ed.), Athens, 45-57.
- Karetsou, A. & M. Andreadaki-Vlazaki (eds.) 2000.** *Κρήτη – Αίγυπτος. Πολιτισμικοί Δεσμοί τριών Χιλιετιών. Κατάλογος: Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Ηρακλείου, 21 Νοεμβρίου 1991-21 Σεπτεμβρίου 2000*, Ηράκλειο.
- Karo, G. 1930-1933.** *Die Schachtgräber von Mykenai*, Munich.
- Klein, N.I. & K.T. Glowacki. 2009.** “From Kavousi Vronta to Dreros: Architecture and Display in Cretan Cult Buildings”, in *Archaeologies of Cult: Essays on Ritual and Cult in Crete in Honor of Geraldine C. Gessel*, A.L. D’Agata & A. van de Moortel (eds.), *Hesperia Supplement* 42, American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Princeton, 153-167.
- Knappett, C. 1999.** “Assessing a polity in Protopalatial Crete: the Malia-Lasithi state”, *AJA* 103, 615-639.
- Knappett, C. 2005.** *Thinking through Material Culture. An Interdisciplinary Perspective*, Philadelphia.
- Knappett, C. 2007a.** “The beginnings of the Aegean Middle Bronze Age: a view from East Crete”, in *Middle Helladic Pottery and Synchronisms*, F. Felten, W. Gauss & R. Smetana (eds.), Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences, 215-231.

- Knappett, C. 2007b.** “Malia et ses relations régionales à l’époque du Minoen Moyen: les échanges céramiques à travers trois siècles (2000-1700 av. J.-C.)”, *BCH* 131, 861-864.
- Knappett, C. & A.C.F. Collar 2007.** “Unpublished Middle Minoan and Late Minoan I material from 1962-3 excavations at Palaikastro, Crete (PK VIII)”, *BSA* 102, 153-217.
- Knappett, C. & T. Cunningham 2012.** *Palaikastro Block M. The Proto-and Neopalatial Town. Excavations 1986-2003*, BSA Supplement 47, London.
- Knappett, C. & I. Schoep 2000.** “Continuity and Change in Minoan Palatial Power”, *Antiquity* 74.284, 365-371.
- Knappett, C. & S. van der Leeuw 2014.** “A developmental approach to ancient 18 innovation: the potter’s wheel in the Bronze Age East Mediterranean”, *Pragmatics and Cognition* 22 (1), 64-92.
- Knappett, C., M. Pomadère, A. Gardeisen, T. Gommée, T. Theodoropoulou & P. Westlake, with M.E. Alberti, H. Procopiou, V. Thomas & E. Morero in press.** Deux dépôts MM IIA dans le secteur Pi de Malia, *BCH*.
- Knüsel, C. 2005.** “The physical evidence of warfare – subtle stigmata?”, in *Warfare, Violence and Slavery in Prehistory*, M. Parker Pearson & I.J.N. Thorpe (eds.), Oxford, 49-65.
- Koehl, R.B. 2006.** *Aegean Bronze Age Rhyta*, Philadelphia.
- Kourou, N. 1992.** “Aegean Orientalizing versus Oriental Art: the Evidence of Monsters”, in *Proceedings of an International Symposium “The Civilisations of the Aegean and their Diffusion in Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean 2000-600 BC”, 18-24 September 1989*, V. Karageorghis (ed.), Larnaca, 110-123.
- Kourou, N. 2006.** “Following the Sphinx. Tradition and innovation in Early Iron Age Crete”, *Identità culturale, etnicità, Processi di trasformazione a Creta fra Dark Age e Arcaismo, per i cento anni dello scavo di Priniàs 1906-2006, Convegno di Studi (Atene 9-12 novembre 2006)*, G. Rizza (ed.), Consiglio Nazionale Delle Ricerche, I.B.A.M. Sede Di Catania, Università Di Catania, Centro Di Archeologia Cretese, 165-177.
- Krzyszkowska, O. 1999.** “Shell, bone and related materials”, in *Keos IX: Ayia Irini Periods I–III. The Neolithic and Early Bronze Age settlements 1. The pottery and small finds*, D. Wilson (ed.), Mainz, 157-159.
- Krzyszkowska, O. 2005.** *Aegean Seals. An Introduction*, Institute of Classical Studies, London.
- Krzyszkowska, O. 2010.** “Material matters: some challenges past, present and future for Aegean glyptic”, in *Die Bedeutung der minoischen und mykenischen Glyptik*, W. Müller (ed.), CMS Beiheft 8, Mainz, 249-257.
- Krzyszkowska, O. 2012.** “Seals from the Petras cemetery: a preliminary overview”, in *Petras, Siteia – 25 years of excavations and studies. Acts of a two-day conference held at the Danish Institute at Athens, 9-10 October 2010*, M. Tsipopoulou (ed.), Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 16, Athens, 145-160.
- Krzyszkowska, O. 2014.** “Cutting to the chase: hunting in Minoan Crete”, in *PHYSIS. L’environnement naturel et la relation humaine-milieu dans le monde égéen proto-historique*, Aegeum 37, G. Touchais, R. Laffineur & F. Rougement (eds.), Leuven, 341-347.
- Krzyszkowska, O. 2015a.** “Why were cats different? Script and imagery in Middle Minoan II glyptic”, in *The Great Islands: Studies of Crete and Cyprus presented to Gerald Cadogan*, C.F. Macdonald, E. Hatzaki & S. Andreou (eds.), Athens, 101-106.

- Krzyszowska, O. 2015b.** "Seal of the month, February 2015: CMS IX no. 36", (rock crystal discoid with "architectural" motif).
- Krzyszowska, O. forthcoming.** "Seals from Petras Siteia: new insights for MM II hard stone glyptic", in *Πεπραγμένα ΙΑ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου, Πέθυμνον 21-27 Οκτωβρίου 2011*.
- Kyriakidis, E. 2005.** *Ritual in the Bronze Age Aegean. The Minoan Peak Sanctuaries*, London.
- Lagia, A., I. Moutafi, R. Orgeolet & J. Zurback forthcoming.** "Mortuary Practices at the Transition to the Late Bronze Age in Kirrha, Phocis", in *Staging Death: Funerary Performance, Architecture and Landscape in the Aegean*, A. Dakouri-Hild & M.J. Boyd (eds.).
- Laneri, N. 2007.** *Performing Death. Social Analyses of Funerary Traditions in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean*, Oriental Institute Seminars 3, Chicago, Illinois.
- Lang, M. 1969.** *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia, vol. II. The Frescoes*, Princeton.
- Langford-Verstegen, L.C. 2015.** *Hagios Charalambos. A Minoan Burial Cave in Crete. II. The Pottery*, Prehistory Monographs 51, Philadelphia.
- Latour, B. 2005.** *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*, Oxford.
- Legarra Herrero, B. 2009.** "The Minoan fallacy: Cultural diversity and mortuary behaviour on Crete at the beginning of the Bronze Age", *OJA* 28, 29-57.
- Legarra Herrero, B. 2011.** "The secret lives of the Early and Middle Minoan tholos cemeteries: Koumasa and Platanos", in *Prehistoric Crete: Regional and diachronic studies on mortuary systems*, J.M.A. Murphy (ed.), Philadelphia, 49-84.
- Legarra Herrero, B. 2014.** *Mortuary Behavior and Social Trajectories in Pre- and Protopalatial Crete*, Prehistory Monographs 44, Philadelphia.
- Legarra Herrero, B. 2015.** "A square tomb with a round soul. The Myrtos-Pyrgos tomb in the funerary context of Middle Minoan Crete", in *The Great Islands: Studies on Crete and Cyprus Presented to Gerald Cadogan*, C.F. Macdonald, E. Hatzaki & S. Andreou (eds.), Athens, 76-81.
- Lenuzza, V. 2011.** "'The whole is a freak': a reassessment of the spatial organization of the Oval House at Chamaizi, Siteia", in *STEGA. The Archaeology of Houses and Households in Ancient Crete*, K.T. Glowacki & N. Vogeikoff-Brogan (eds.), *Hesperia* Supplement 44, Princeton, 59-70.
- Levi, D. 1961-1962.** "Le due prime campagne di scavo a Iasos (1960-1)", *Annuario della scuola archeologica di Atene e delle missioni Italiane in oriente* N. S. 39-40, 505-571.
- Levi, D. 1976.** *Festòs e la civiltà minoica, Incunabula Graeca* 60, Rome.
- Livarda, A. & G. Kotzamani 2014.** "The Archaeobotany of Neolithic and Bronze Age Crete: synthesis and prospects", *BSA* 108, 1-29.
- Lloyd, S. & J. Mellaart 1962.** *Beycesultan I. The Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age Levels*, Occasional Publications of The British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, No. 6, London.
- Lo Bue, E. 1981.** "Statuary Metals in Tibet and the Himalayas: History, Tradition and Modern Use," in *Aspects of Tibetan Metallurgy (British Museum Occasional Paper 15)*, W.A. Oddy & W. Zwalf (eds.), London, 33-68.

- Macdonald, C.F. & C. Knappett 2007.** *Knossos. Protopalatial Deposits in Early Magazine A and the South-West Houses*, Supplementary Volume 41, London.
- MacGillivray, J.A. 1998.** Knossos: Pottery Groups of the Old Palace Period, The British School at Athens, BSA Studies 5, Nottingham.
- MacGillivray, J.A., L.H. Sackett, J.M. Driessen & S. Hemingway 1992.** "Excavations at Palaikastro, 1991", *BSA* 87, 121-152.
- Maggidis, C. 1998.** "From polis to necropolis: Social Ranking from Architectural and Mortuary Evidence in the Minoan cemetery at Phourni, Archanes", in *Cemetery and Society in the Aegean Bronze Age*, K. Branigan (ed.), Sheffield Studies in Aegean Archaeology 1, Sheffield, 87-102.
- Manning, S. 1995.** *The Absolute Chronology of the Aegean Bronze Age: Archaeology, Radiocarbon and History*, Sheffield.
- Manning, S.W. 2010.** "Chronology and Terminology", in *The Oxford Handbook of The Bronze Age Aegean (ca. 3000-1000 BC)*, E.H.Cline (ed.), New York, 11-28.
- Margaritis, E. 2007.** "Archaeobotanical Investigations at the Geometric site of Krania, Southern Pieria in Macedonia, Greece, *Talanta* 38/39, 123-132.
- Margaritis, E. 2013a.** "Distinguishing exploitation, cultivation, production and domestication. The olive in the 3rd millennium Aegean", *Antiquity* 87, 746-757.
- Margaritis, E. 2013b.** "Arboriculture in the dawn of the Bronze Age in Crete, in *Aphrodite's Kephali: An Early Minoan I Defensive Site in Eastern Crete*, P.P. Betancourt (ed.), Philadelphia, 111-114.
- Margaritis, E. 2014.** "Acts of destruction and acts of preservation. Plants in ritual landscape of Prehistoric Greece", in *PHYSIS. L'environnement naturel et la relation homme-milieu dans le monde égéen protohistorique. Actes de la 14e Rencontre Égéenne Internationale, Paris, Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art, 11-14 Décembre 2012*, G. Touchais, R. Laffineur, F. Rougemont, H. Prokopiou & S. Andreou (eds.), *Aegaeum* 37, Leuven-Liege, 279-286.
- Margaritis, E. forthcoming a.** "Seeds for food, seeds for crafts? The Archaeobotanical remains of the site of Pefka at P. Ammos".
- Margaritis, E. forthcoming b.** "The plant remains from Late Minoan Mochlos".
- Mariani, L. 1895.** "Antichità cretesi", *MA* 6, 153-347.
- Marinatos, S. 1929.** "Πρωτομινωικός τάφος παρά το χωρίον Κράσι Πεδιάδος", *ArchDelt* 12, 102-141.
- McKinley, J. 1993.** "Bone fragment size and weights of bone from modern British cremations and the implications for the interpretation of archaeological cremations", *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 3, 283-287.
- McKinley, J. 1994.** "Bone fragment size in British cremation burials and its implications for pyre technology and ritual", *Journal of Archaeological Science* 21, 339-342.
- McKinley, J.L. 2000.** "The analysis of cremated bone", in *Human Osteology in Archaeology and Forensic Science*, M. Cox & S. Mays (eds.), London, 403-421.
- McKinley, J.K. 2013.** "Excavation, analysis and interpretation of material from cremation-related contexts", in *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of Death and Burial*, S. Tarlow & L.N. Stutz (eds.), Oxford, 147-171.



- Mee, C. & J. Renard (eds.) 2007.** *Cooking up the Past: Food and Culinary Practices in the Neolithic and Bronze Age Aegean*, Oxford.
- Meeks, N. 1993.** "Surface Characterization of Tinned Bronze, High-tin Bronze, Tinned Iron and Arsenical Bronze", in *Metal Plating and Patination: Cultural, Technical and Historical Developments*, S. La Niece & P. Craddock (eds.), London, 247-275.
- Megaloudi, F., S. Papadopoulos & M. Sgourou. 2007.** "Plant Offerings from the Classical Necropolis of Limes, Thasos, Northern Greece", *Antiquity* 81, 933-943.
- Mercando, L. 1978.** Lampade, lucerne, bracieri di Festòs (Scavi 1950-1970), *ASAtene*, Vol. LII-LIII, n.s. XXXVI-XXXVII (1974-1975).
- Meyers, P., L. van Zelst & E.V. Sayre. 1973.** "Determination of Major Components and Trace Elements in Ancient Silver by Thermal Neutron Activation Analysis", *Journal of Radioanalytical Chemistry* 16, 67-79.
- Michailidou, A. 2004.** "On the Minoan Economy: A tribute to 'Minoan Weights and Mediums of Currency', by Arthur Evans", in *Knossos: Palace, City, and State. Proceedings of the Conference in Herakleion, Organised by the British School at Athens and the 23rd Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities of Herakleion, in November 2000, for the Centenary of Sir Arthur Evans' excavations at Knossos*, G. Cadogan, E. Hatzaki & A. Vasilakis (eds.), *BSA Studies* 12, London, 311-321.
- Michailidou, A. 2005.** *Weight and Value in Pre-Coinage Societies II. An Introduction*, Meletemata 42, Athens.
- Michailidou, A. 2008.** *Weight and Value in Pre-Coinage Societies II. Sidelights on Measurement from the Aegean and the Orient*, Meletemata 61, Athens.
- Michelaki, F. & A. Vasilakis 2010.** "Jewelry and other small finds", in *Moni Odigitria: A Prepalatial cemetery and its environs in the Asterousia, Southern Crete*, A. Vasilakis & K. Branigan (eds.), Philadelphia, 187-299.
- Miller, E. B. 1984.** *Zoomorphic Vases in the Bronze Age Aegean*, Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, New York University.
- Molloy, B., J. Day, S. Bridgford, V. Isaakidou, E. Nod-arou, G. Kotzamani, M. Miliç, T. Carter, P. Westlake, V. Klontza-Jaklova, E. Larsson & B.J. Hayden 2014.** "Life and death of a Bronze Age house: Excavation of Early Minoan I levels at Priniatikos Pyrgos", *AJA* 118, 307-358.
- Morero, E., H. Procopiou, R. Vargiolu & H. Zah-ouani, 2008.** "Stone Vase Drilling in Bronze Age Crete", in *'Prehistoric Technology', Forty Years Later: Functional Studies and the Russian Legacy. Proceedings of the International Congress held at Verona, 20-23 April 2005*, Vérone, L. Longo & N. Skakun (eds.), Oxford, BAR 1783, 479-482.
- Moutafi, I. 2015.** *Towards a social bioarchaeology of the Mycenaean period: A multidisciplinary analysis of funerary remains from the Late Helladic chamber tomb cemetery of Voudeni, Achaea, Greece*, Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Sheffield.
- Muhly, J.D. 2008.** "The metal artifacts", in "Excavations in the Hagios Charalambos Cave: a preliminary report", P.P. Betancourt, C. Davaras, H.M.C. Dierckx, S.C. Ferrence, J. Hickman, P. Karkanas, P.J.P. McGeorge, J.D. Muhly, D.S. Reese, E. Stravopodi & L. Lanford-Verstegen (eds.), *Hesperia* 77, 557-560.
- Müller-Celka, S., D. Puglisi & F. Bendali 2014.** Settlement pattern dynamics and natural resources in MM-LM I Crete: the case of Malia. In *PHYSIS. L'Environnement Naturel et la Relation Homme-Milieu dans le Monde Égéen Protohistorique*, *Aegaeum* 37, G. Touchais, R. Laffineur & F. Rougemont (eds.), Leuven-Liège, 431-440.

- Murphy, J.M. 1998.** “Ideology, Rites and Rituals: A View of Prepalatial Minoan Tholoi”, in *Cemetery and Society in the Aegean Bronze Age*, K. Branigan (ed.), Sheffield Studies in Aegean Archaeology 1, Sheffield, 27-40.
- Murphy, J.M. 2011.** “Landscape and social narratives: a study of regional social structures in Prepalatial Crete”, in J.M. Murphy (ed.), *Prehistoric Crete. Regional and Diachronic Studies on Mortuary Systems*, Philadelphia, 23-48.
- Musgrave, J.H. & S.P. Evans 1980.** “By strangers honor’d: a statistical study of ancient crania from Crete, mainland Greece, Cyprus, Israel and Egypt”, *Journal of Medical Archaeology and Anthropology* 1, 50-107.
- Musgrave, J.H. 2015.** “Myrtos-Pyrgos: a snapshot of skeletal and dental health in Bronze Age Crete”, in *The Great Islands: Studies on Crete and Cyprus Presented to Gerald Cadogan*, C.F. Macdonald, E. Hatzaki & S. Andreou (eds.), Athens, 82-89.
- Mylonas, G.E. 1959.** *Aghios Kosmas: an Early Bronze Age Settlement and Cemetery in Attica*, Princeton.
- Nafplioti, A. 2015.** “Evidence for residential mobility at Myrtos-Pyrgos?”, in *The Great Islands: Studies on Crete and Cyprus Presented to Gerald Cadogan*, C.F. Macdonald, E. Hatzaki & S. Andreou (eds.), Athens, 90-93.
- Nanoglou, S. 2015.** “Situated Intentions. Providing a framework for the destruction of objects in Aegean prehistory”, in *Thravsmá. Contextualising the Intentional Destruction of Objects in the Bronze Age Aegean and Cyprus*, K. Harrell & J. Driessen (eds), Louvain-la-Neuve, 49-59.
- Nikita, E., D. Mattingly & M. Lahr 2012.** “Sahara: Barrier or corridor? Non-metric cranial traits and biological affinities of North African Late Holocene populations”, *AJPA* 147, 280-292.
- Nodarou, E. 2012.** “Pottery fabrics and recipes in the Final Neolithic and Early Minoan I period: the analytical evidence from the settlement and the Rock Shelter of Kephala Petras”, in *Petras, Siteia – 25 years of excavations and studies. Acts of a two-day conference held at the Danish Institute at Athens, 9-10 October 2010*, M. Tsipopoulou (ed.), Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 16, Athens, 81-88.
- Nodarou, E. & J. Moody 2014.** “‘Mirabello’ fabric(s) forever: an analytical study of the granodiorite pottery of the Vrokastro area from the Final Neolithic period to Modern times”, in *A Cretan landscape through time: Priniatikos Pyrgos and Environs*, B.P.C. Molloy & C.N. Duckworth (eds.), British Archaeological Reports International Series 2634, Oxford, Archaeopress, 91-98.
- Norberg-Schulz, C. 1991.** *Genius Loci: Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture*, New York.
- Nowicki, K. 2008.** *Monastiraki Katalimata: Excavation of a Cretan Refuge Site, 1993-2000*, Prehistory Monographs 24, Philadelphia.
- Nowicki, K. 2012.** “East Cretan peak sanctuaries revisited”, in *PHILISTOR. Studies in Honor of Costis Davaras*, E. Mantzourani & P.P. Betancourt (eds.), Prehistoric Monographs 36, Philadelphia, 139-154.
- Olivier, J-P. 1996.** “Addenda. Écriture Hiéroglyphique Crétoise”, in Poursat J.-C., *Fouilles exécutées à Mallia. Le Quartier Mu, III. Artisans minoens: les maisons-ateliers du Quartier Mu*, EtCret 32, École française d’Athènes, Athens, 157-159, pls. 68-75.
- Osterholtz, A. J., K.M. Baustian & D.L. Martin (eds.) 2014.** *Commingle and Disarticulated Human Remains: Working Toward Improved Theory, Method, and Data*, New York.

- Outram, A.K., C.J. Knüsel, S. Knight & A.F. Harding 2005.** “Understanding complex fragmented assemblages of human and animal remains: a fully integrated approach”, *JAS* 35, 1699-1710.
- Ovenden, D.M. 1976.** “An anthropological expedition to Crete”, *Radiography* 42, 132-136.
- Paliou, E. & A. Bevan forthcoming.** “Evolving settlement structures: A spatial interaction model of socio-political organisation in late Prepalatial south-central Crete”, in *Minoan Architecture and Urbanism: New Perspectives on an Ancient Built Environment*, Q. Letesson & C. Knappett (eds.), Oxford.
- Palmer, C. & M. Van Der Veen 2002.** “Archaeobotany and the social context of food”, *ActaPalaeobot* 42, 195.
- Palyvou, C. 2004.** “Timber in Aegean Late Bronze Age Architecture”, in *Interaction between Science, Technology, and Architecture in Timber Construction*, C. Bertolini Cestari, (ed.), Paris, 573-585.
- Palyvou, C. 2005.** *Akrotiri, Thera: An Architecture of Affluence 3,500 Years Old*, Prehistory Monographs 15, Philadelphia.
- Panagiotopoulos, D. 2012.** “Anaskafi Koumasas”, *Prakt* 2012, 185-216.
- Panagiotopoulos, D. forthcoming.** “Μινωική Κουμάσα: Ανασυνθέτοντας την ιστορία ενός μεθώριου κέντρου της νότιας Κρήτη”.
- Papadatos, Y. 1999.** *Mortuary Practices and their Importance for the Reconstruction of Society and Life in Prepalatial Crete: the Evidence from the Tholos Tomb Gamma in Archanes-Phourni*, Sheffield, Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation.
- Papadatos, Y. 2005.** *Tholos Tomb Gamma: a Prepalatial tholos tomb at Phourni, Archanes*, Prehistory Monographs 17, Philadelphia.
- Papadatos, Y. 2007a.** “Beyond cultures and ethnicity: a new look at material culture distribution and inter-regional interaction in the Early Bronze Age Southern Aegean”, in *Mediterranean Crossroads*, S. Antoniadou & A. Pace (eds.), Oxford, 419-451.
- Papadatos, Y. 2007b.** “The Beginning of Metallurgy in Crete: New Evidence from the FN-EM I Settlement at Kaphala Petras, Siteia”, in *Metallurgy in the Early Bronze Age Aegean, Sheffield Studies in Archaeology* 7, P.M. Day & R.C.P. Doonan (eds.), Oxford, 154-167.
- Papadatos, Y. 2012.** “Back to the beginnings: the earliest habitation at Petras on the basis of the evidence from the FN-EM I settlement on Kephala”, in *Petras, Siteia – 25 years of excavations and studies. Acts of a two-day conference held at the Danish Institute at Athens, 9-10 October 2010*, M. Tsipopoulou (ed.), Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 16, Athens, 69-79.
- Papadatos, Y. 2015a.** “Prepalatial pottery: Typological analysis”, in *Livari Skiadi. A Minoan cemetery in Lefki, Southeast Crete. Volume I: excavation and finds*, Y. Papadatos & C. Sofianou (eds.), *Prehistory Monographs* 50, Philadelphia, 27-60.
- Papadatos, Y. 2015b.** “Jewelry”, in *Livari Skiadi. A Minoan cemetery in Lefki, Southeast Crete. Volume I: excavation and finds*, Y. Papadatos & C. Sofianou (eds.), *Prehistory Monographs* 50, Philadelphia, 101-106.
- Papadatos, Y. 2015c.** “Metalwork”, in *Livari Skiadi. A Minoan cemetery in Lefki, Southeast Crete. Volume I: excavation and finds*, Y. Papadatos & C. Sofianou (eds.), *Prehistory Monographs* 50, Philadelphia, 93-97.



- Papadatos, Y. & C. Sofianou, 2012.** “Πολιτισμική ομοιογένεια και διαφοροποίηση στην Προανακτορική Κρήτη. Νέα δεδομένα από τις ανασκαφές πρωτομινωικών νεκροταφείων στην Επαρχία Σητείας”, in *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Κρήτης 2, Πρακτικά της 2ης Συνάντησης*, M. Andrianakis & I. Tzaachili (eds.), Ρέθυμνο, 48-59.
- Papadatos, Y. & C. Sofianou 2013.** “A Prepalatial Tholos Tomb at Messorachi Skopi, near Siteia, East Crete”, *Aegean Archaeology* 10, 7-31.
- Papadatos, Y. & C. Sofianou 2015.** *Livari Skiadi. A Minoan Cemetery in Lefki, Southeast Crete. Volume I: Excavation and Finds*, Instap Prehistory Monoographs 50, Philadelphia.
- Papadatos, Y. & C. Sofianou 2016.** “Χωροταξία οικισμών στη μετάβαση από τη Νεολιθική στην Εποχή του Χαλκού: τα αποτελέσματα της επιφανειακής έρευνας στη Σκοπή Σητείας”, in *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Κρήτης 3, Πρακτικά της 3ης Συνάντησης*, 1113-1125.
- Papadatos, Y. & P. Tomkins 2013.** “Trading, the long-boat, and cultural interaction in the Aegean during the late fourth millennium B.C.E.: The view from Kephala Petras, east Crete”, *AJA* 117, 353-381.
- Papadimitriou, G.D., & I. Kordatos. 2001.** “Metallurgical Study of Ancient Litharge from the Area of Laurion,” in *Archaeometry Issues in Greek Prehistory and Antiquity*, Y. Bassiakos, E. Aloupi, & Y. Facorellis (eds.), Athens, 713-735.
- Papadimitriou, N. 2011.** “‘Passing away’ or ‘passing through?’ Changing funerary attitudes in the Peloponnese at the MBA/LBA transition”, in *Honouring the Dead in the Peloponnese, Proceedings of the conference held at Sparta 23-25 April 2009*, H. Cavanagh, W. Cavanagh & J. Roy (eds.), 467-491.
- Parker Pearson, M. 1999.** *The Archaeology of Death and Burial*, Texas A&M University Anthropology Series, Stroud.
- Partington, J.R. 1937.** “Report of Discussion upon Chemical and Alchemical Symbolism: The Origin of the Planetary Symbols for the Metals”, *Ambix* 1, 61-64.
- Peebles, C.S. & S.M. Kus 1977.** “Some archaeological correlates of ranked societies”, *American Antiquity* 42, 421-448.
- Pelon, O. 1970.** *Fouilles exécutées à Mallia: Exploration des maisons et quartiers d’habitation (1963-66) III*, EtCret 16, Paris.
- Pendlebury, H.W., J.D.S. Pendlebury & H.B. Money-Coutts 1935-1936.** “Excavations in the plain of Lasithi I. The Trapeza Cave”, *BSA* 36, 5-131.
- Pendlebury, J. D. S. 1939.** *The Archaeology of Crete: An Introduction*, London.
- Pernicka, E., Th. Rehren S. & Schmitt-Strecker. 1998.** “Late Uruk Silver Production by Cupellation at Habuba Kabira, Syria”, in *Metallurgica Antiqua. In Honor of Hans-Gert Bachmann and Robert Maddin, Der Anschnitt, Beiheft 8*, T. Rehren, A. Hauptmann & J.D. Muhly (eds.), Deutsches Bergbau – Museum Bochum, 123-134.
- Pernier, L. & L. Banti 1935.** *Il Palazzo Minoico di Festòs*, Rome.
- Petruso, K. M. 1992.** *KEOS, Results of Excavations Conducted by the University of Cincinnati under the Auspices of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens VIII. Ayia Irini: The Balance Weights. An Analysis of Weight Measurement in Prehistoric Crete and the Cycladic Islands*, Philipp von Zabern, Mainz on Rhine.

**Philippa-Touchais, A. forthcoming.** “Το σπήλαιο στο Μαύρο Αυλάκι”, in *Ζάκρος I* (series of the final Zakros publication).

**Philippa-Touchais, A., G. Touchais, G.O. Decavallas, A. Gardeisen, M. Ghilardi, E. Msrgaritis, S. Triantaphyllou & E. Tsiolaki 2014.** “Environnement, alimentation, hygiène et mode de vie dans la Grèce mésohelladique: le cas de l’Aspis d’Argos”, in *PHYSIS. L’environnement naturel et la relation homme-milieu dans le monde égéen protohistorique. Actes de la 14e Rencontre Égéenne Internationale, Paris, Institut National d’Histoire de l’Art, 11-14 Décembre 2012*, Aegaeum 37, G. Touchais, R. Laffineur, F. Rougemont, H. Prokopiou & S. Andreou (eds.), Leuven-Liege, 531-538.

**Phillips, J. 2008.** *Aegyptiaca on the Island of Crete in Their Chronological Context: A Critical Review*, Vienna, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

**Pilali-Papasteriou, A. 1987.** “Social Evidence from the Interpretation of Middle Minoan Figurines”, in *The Meanings of Things: Material Culture and Symbolic Expression*, One World Archaeology 6, I. Hodder (ed.), London, New York, 97-102.

**Pini, I. 1972.** “Weitere Bermerkungen zu den minoischen Fußamuletten”, *SMEA* 15, 179-187.

**Pini, I. 1990.** “Eine frühkretische Siegelwerkstatt?”, in *Πεπραγμένα του ΣΤ Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου, Χανιά 24-30 Αυγούστου 1986*, A2, V. Niniou-Kindeli (ed.), Chania, 115-127.

**Pini, I. 2007.** “Die ‘Architektur motive’ in der MM-Glyptik”, in *Στέφανος Αριστείου: Archäologische Forschungen zwischen Nil und Istros. Festschrift für Stefan Hiller zum 65. Geburtstag*, F. Lang, C. Reinholdt & J. Weilhaartner (eds.), Vienna, 225-233.

**Pirelli, R. 1999 (reprint. 2000).** “Sphinx of Amenemhet III”, in *The Treasures of the Egyptian Museum*, F. Tiradritti (ed.), The American University in Cairo Press, Cairo, 133.

**Platon, L. 1995.** “Πλαστικής μορφής μινωικοί κρουνοί”, in *Πεπραγμένα του Ζ’ Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου, Α2: Τμήμα Αρχαιολογικό*, N.E. Papadogiannakis (ed.), Ρέθυμνο, Ιερά Μητρόπολις Ρεθύμνιου και Αυλοποτάμου, 767-775, tables ΠΕ’-ΠΗ’.

**Platon, L. 1999.** “New evidence for the occupation at Zakros before the LMI palace”, in *MELETEMATATA. Studies in Aegean Archaeology presented to Malcolm H. Wiener as he enters his 65<sup>th</sup> year*, Aegaeum 20 (III), P. P. Betancourt, V. Karageorghis, R. Laffineur & W.-D. Niemeier (eds.), Liège & Austin, 671-681.

**Platon, L. 2008.** “Η υιοθέτηση στην Κρήτη της δεύτερης χιλιετίας π.Χ. θρησκευτικών ιδεών και πεποιθήσεων προερχομένων από τον ευρύτερο χώρο της Ανατολικής Μεσογείου”, in *Tagung – Austausch von Gütern, Ideen und Technologien in der Ägäis und im östlichen Mittelmeer von der prähistorischen bis zu der archaischen Zeit. 19.-21.05.2006 in Ohlstadt/Obb. Deutschland. – Συνέδριο Εμπόριο: Διακίνηση και ανταλλαγή αγαθών, ιδεών και τεχνολογίας στο Αιγαίο και την Ανατολική Μεσόγειο. Από την προϊστορική μέχρι την αρχαϊκή εποχή*, A. Kyriatsoulis (ed.). Weilheim/Obb.: Verein zur Förderung der Aufarbeitung der Hellenischen Geschichte – Σύλλογος για την Μελέτη και Διάδοση της Ελληνικής Ιστορίας, 305-25.

**Platon, L. 2012.** “New Evidence on the Origin of the Late Minoan III Chest-shaped Larnax”, in *PHILISTOR. Studies in Honor of Costis Davaras*, E. Mantzourani & Ph.P. Betancourt (eds.), Prehistory Monographs 36, Philadelphia 2012, 161-168.

**Platon, L. forthcoming.** “Πεζούλες Κεφάλας Ζάκρου. Δύο τάφοι της εποχής των πρώτων μινωικών

ανακτόρων “, in *Ζάκρος I* (series of the final Zakros publication).

**Platon, N. 1956.** “Η αρχαιολογική κίνησις εν Κρήτη κατά το έτος 1956”, *CretChron* 10, 405-422.

**Platon, N. 1962.** “Ανασκαφή Ζάκρου”, *Prakt* 1962, 142-168, pls. 43-163.

**Platon, N. 1967.** “Ανασκαφαί Ζάκρου”, *Prakt* 1967, 190-194, pls. 166-173.

**Platon, N. 1968.** “Ανασκαφή Ζάκρου”, *Prakt* 1968 (1970), 149-183, pls. 146-164.

**Platon, N. 1969.** “Ανασκαφή Ζάκρου”, *Prakt* 1969 (1971), 197-237, pls. 253-271.

**Platon, N. 1970.** “Ανασκαφαί Ζάκρου”, *Prakt* 1970, 208-225, pls. 334-353.

**Platon, N. 1971a.** “Ανασκαφή Ζάκρου”, *Prakt* 1971, 231-275, pls. 328-350.

**Platon, N. 1971b.** *Zakros: The Discovery of a Lost Palace of Ancient Crete*, New York.

**Platon, N. 1972.** “Ανασκαφή Ζάκρου”, *Prakt* 1972, 159-192, pls. 156-176.

**Platon, N. 1973.** “Ανασκαφή Ζάκρου”, *Prakt* 1973, 137-166, pls. 158-170.

**Platon, N. 1974.** *Ζάκρος, το νέον μινωϊκόν ανάκτορον*, Η εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία, Αρχαίοι Τόποι και Μουσεία της Ελλάδας 5, Αθήναι.

**Platon, N. 1975.** “Ανασκαφή Ζάκρου”, *Prakt* 1975, 343-375, pls. 269-287.

**Platon, N. 1977.** “Ανασκαφή Ζάκρου”. *Prakt* 1977, 421-446, pls. 223-233.

**Platon, N. 1978.** “Ανασκαφή Ζάκρου”, *Prakt* 1978, 259-299, pls. 172-190.

**Platon, N. 1979.** “Ανασκαφαί Ζάκρου”, *Prakt* 1979, 282-322, pls. 163-177.

**Platon, N. 1981.** “Ανασκαφή Ζάκρου”, *Prakt* 1981, 331-366, pls. 239-253.

**Platon, N. 1982.** “Ανασκαφή Ζάκρου”, *Prakt* 1982, 320-348, pls. 208-221.

**Platonos, M. & K. Christofi forthcoming.** “Ο αποθέτης στο Καλυβομούρι”, in *Ζάκρος I* (series of the final Zakros publication).

**Popham, M.R. 1984.** *The Minoan Unexplored Mansion at Knossos*, BSA Supplement 17, Thames and Hudson, Oxford.

**Poursat, J.-C. 1973.** “Le sphinx minoen: un nouveau document”, *Antichità Cretesi: Studi in onore di Doro Levi* 1. *Chronache di Archeologia* 12, 111-214.

**Poursat, J.-C. 1993.** “Notes de céramique Maliote à propos de ‘La Céramique de Chrysolakkos’”, *BCH* 117, 603-607.

**Poursat, J.-C. 1996.** *Fouilles exécutées à Malia: Le Quartier Mu III. Artisans minoens: Les maisons-ateliers du Quartier Mu*, EtCret 32, Athens & Paris.

**Poursat, J.-C. & C. Knappett 2005.** *Le Quartier Mu IV. La poterie du Minoen Moyen II: production et utilisation*, EtCret 33, Athens & Paris.

**Prent, M. 2005.** *Cretan Sanctuaries and Cults. Continuity and Change from the Late Minoan III to the Archaic Period*, Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 154. Leiden, Brill.

- Preston, L. 2013.** *The Monastiriako Kephali Tomb and 'Deposit' at Knossos*, British School at Athens Studies 22, Cambridge.
- Rakita, G.F.M., J.E. Buikstra, L.A. Beck & S.R. Williams (eds.) 2005.** *Interacting with the Dead. Perspectives on Mortuary Archaeology for the New Millennium*, Gainesville.
- Ramage, A. & P. Craddock 2000.** "Historical Survey of Gold Refining", in *King Croesus' Gold: Excavations at Sardis and the History of Gold Refining*, A. Ramage & P. Craddock (eds.), Cambridge, 27-53.
- Read, H.H. 1962.** *Rutley's Elements of Mineralogy*, London.
- Rehak, P. 1997.** "The Role of Religious Painting in the Function of the Minoan Villa", in *The Function of the "Minoan Villa"*, 6-8 June, 1992, R. Hägg (ed.), Stockholm, 163-175.
- Rehren, Th., K. Hess, & G. Philip. 1996.** "Auriferous Silver in Western Asia: Ore or Alloy?", *Historical Metallurgy* 30, 1-10.
- Reilly, S. 2003.** "Processing the dead in Neolithic Orkney", *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 22 (2), 133-154.
- Relaki, M. 2004.** "Constructing a region: the contested landscapes of Prepalatial Mesara", in *The Emergence of Civilisation Revisited*, Sheffield Studies in Aegean Archaeology 6, J.C. Barrett & P. Halstead (eds.), Oxford, 170-188.
- Relaki, M. in press.** "Early Minoan and Middle Minoan I and II Pottery", in *Petras, Siteia I: A Minoan Palatial Settlement in eastern Crete. Excavation of Houses I.1 and I.2*, M. Tsipopoulou (ed.).
- Relethford, J.H. 2010.** "The study of human population genetics", in *A companion to biological anthropology*, C.S. Larsen (ed.), Blackwell Companions to Anthropology, Oxford, 74-87.
- Renfrew, C. 1972.** *The emergence of civilisation. The Cyclades and the Aegean in the third millennium BC*, London.
- Rethemiotakis, G. 1998.** *Ανθρωπομορφική Πηλοπλαστική στην Κρήτη: από τη Νεοανακτορική έως την Υπομινωική περίοδο*, Βιβλιοθήκη της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας 174, Αθήνα.
- Rethemiotakis, G. 2001.** *Minoan Clay Figures and Figurines from the Neopalatial to the Subminoan Period*, The Archaeological Society at Athens, The Archaeological Society at Athens Library 219, Ancient Sites and Museums in Greece 25, Athens.
- Roksandic, M. 2002.** "Position of skeletal remains as a key to understanding mortuary behavior", in *Advances in Forensic Taphonomy: Method, Theory, and Archaeological Perspectives*, W.D. Haglund & M.H. Sorg (eds.), New York, 99-118.
- Rosenberg, D. 2013.** "Not 'Just Another Brick in the Wall?' The Symbolism of Groundstone Tools in Neolithic and Early Neolithic Southern Levantine Constructions", *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 23, 185-201.
- Rupp, D.W. 2014.** "Foretelling the Future: Innovative Elements in Settlement Planning and Building Types at Late Minoan IIIC Halasmenos (Monastiraki – Ierapetra, Crete)", in *Meditations on the Diversity of the Built Environment in the Aegean and Beyond. Proceedings of a Colloquium in Memory of Frederick E. Winter, Athens, 22-23 June 2012*, D.W. Rupp & J.E. Tomlinson (eds.), Publications of the Canadian Institute in Greece 8, Athens, 161-183.
- Rutkowski, B. 1986.** *The Cult Places of the Aegean*, Yale University Press, New Haven.

- Rutkowski, B. 1991.** *Petsophas: a Cretan peak sanctuary*, Studies and Monographs in Mediterranean Archaeology and Civilisation I.1, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw.
- Sackett, L.H. & M.R. Popham 1965.** "Excavations at Palaikastro VI", *BSA* 60, 248-315.
- Sakellarakis, Y. & E. Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997.** *Archanes. Minoan Crete in a New Light*, Ammos Publications, Athens.
- Sampson, A. 1988.** *Μάνικα II. Ο ΠΕ οικισμός και το νεκροταφείο*, Αθήνα.
- Sarpaki, A. 2013.** "The economy of Neolithic Knossos: The Archaeobotanical data", in *The Neolithic Settlement of Knossos in Crete. New Evidence for the Early Occupation of Crete and Aegean Islands*, N. Efstratiou, A. Karetsou & M. Ntinou (eds.), Prehistory Monographs 42, Philadelphia, 63-94.
- Sarpaki, A. & A. Kanta. 2011.** "Monastiraki in the Amari Area of Crete: Some Interim Archaeobotanical Insights into Middle Bronze Age Subsistence", in *Πεπραγμένα Ι' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου (Χανιά, 1-8 Οκτωβρίου 2006)*, M. Andreadaki-Vlazaki & E. Papadopoulou (eds.), Vol. A1, Chania, 247-270.
- Sbonias, K. 2010.** "Seals from the cemetery", in *Moni Odigitria: A Prepalatial cemetery and its environs in the Asterousia, Southern Crete*, A. Vasilakis & K. Branigan (eds.), Prehistory Monographs 30, Philadelphia.
- Sbonias, K. 2012.** "Regional elite-groups and the production and consumption of seals in the Prepalatial period. A case study of the Asterousia region", in *Back to the Beginning: Reassessing Social, Economic and Political Complexity in the Early and Middle Bronze Age on Crete*, I. Schoep, P. Tomkins & J. Driessen (eds.), Oxford, 114-176.
- Schliemann, H. 1880.** *Mycenae. A Narrative of Researches and Discoveries at Mycenae and Tiryns*, Charles Scribner's Sons, Micro Photo Division, Bell and Howell Co., New York.
- Schnutenhaus, S. & F.W. Rösing 1998.** "World variation in tooth size", in *Dental anthropology: fundamentals, limits, and prospects*, K.W. Alt, F.W. Rösing & M. Teschler-Nicola (eds.), Vienna, 521-535.
- Schoep, I. 2002.** "Social and political organization on Crete in the Proto-Palatial period: the case of Middle Minoan II Malia", *JMA* 15, 101-132.
- Schoep, I. 2004.** "Assessing the Role of Architecture in Conspicuous Consumption in the Middle Minoan I-II Periods", *OJA* 23, 243-269.
- Schoep, I. 2009.** "The excavation of the cemetery (Zone 1)", in *Excavations at Sissi: Preliminary Report on the 2007-2008 Campaigns*, Aegis: rapports de fouilles 1, J. Driessen, I. Schoep, F. Carpentier, I. Crevecoeur, M. Devolder, F. Gaignerot-Driessen, H. Fiasse, P. Hacıgüzeller, S. Jusseret, C. Langohr, Q. Letesson & A. Schmitt (eds.), Louvain-la Neuve, 45-56.
- Schoep, I. 2010.** "The Minoan 'Palace-Temple' Reconsidered: A Critical Assessment of the Spatial Concentration of Political, Religious and Economic Power in Bronze Age Crete", *JMA* 23.2, 219-243.
- Schoep, I. In press..** "The house-tomb in context. Assessing mortuary behaviour in northeast Crete", in *From the Foundations to the Legacy of Minoan Society. Sheffield Round Table in Honour of Professor Keith Branigan*, M. Relaki & Y. Papadatos (eds.), Oxford.
- Schoep, I. & C. Knappett 2004.** "Dual Emergence: Evolving Heterarchy, Exploding Hierarchy", in *The Emergence of Civilisation Revisited*, Sheffield Studies in Aegean Archaeology 6, J. Barrett & P. Halstead (eds.), Oxford, 21-37.



- Schoep, I., A. Schmitt & I. Crevecoeur 2011.** “The cemetery at Sissi: report of the 2009 and 2010 campaigns”, in *Excavations at Sissi. Preliminary Report on the 2009-2010 Excavations*. Aegis: rapports des fouilles 4, J. Driessen, I. Schoep, F. Carpentier, I. Crevecoeur, M. Devolder, F. Gaignerot-Driessen, P. Hacigüzeller, V. Isaakidou, S. Jusseret, C. Langohr, Q. Letesson & A. Schmitt (eds.), Louvain-la-Neuve, 41-68.
- Schoep, I., A. Schmitt, I. Crevecoeur & S. Déderix 2012.** ‘The cemetery at Sissi: Report on the 2011 campaign’, in *Excavations at Sissi III. Preliminary Report on the 2011 Campaign*, Aegis: rapports des fouilles 6, J. Driessen, I. Schoep, M. Anastasiadou, F. Carpentier, I. Crevecoeur, S. Déderix, M. Devolder, F. Gaignerot-Driessen, S. Jusseret, C. Langohr, Q. Letesson, F. Liard, A. Schmitt, C. Tsoraki & R. Veropoulidou (eds.), Louvain-la-Neuve, 27-50.
- Schoep, I. & P. Tomkins in press.** “Death is not the end. Tracing the manipulation of bodies and other materials in the Early and Middle Minoan cemetery at Sissi”, in *Staging Death. Funerary Performance, Architecture and Landscape in the Aegean*, A. Dakouri-Hild and M.J. Boyd (eds.), Cambridge.
- Scott, G.R. & C.G. II Turner 1997.** *The anthropology of modern human teeth: dental morphology and its variation in recent human populations*, Cambridge.
- Seager, R.B. 1912.** *Exploration in the Island of Mochlos*, Boston & New York.
- Seager, R.B. 1916.** *The Cemetery of Pachyammos, Crete*, Philadelphia.
- Shaw, J.W. 1978.** “Evidence for the Minoan Tripartite Shrine”, *AJA* 82, 429-448.
- Shaw, J.W. 1999.** “A Tale of Three Bases. New Criteria for Dating Minoan Architectural Features”, in *MELE-TEMATA. Studies in Aegean Archaeology Presented to Malcolm H. Wiener as He Enters His 65th Year*, Aegaeum 20, P.P. Betancourt, V. Karageotghis, R. Laffineur & W.-D. Niemeier (eds.), Liège & Austin, 761-767.
- Shaw, J.W. 2015.** *Elite Minoan Architecture: Its Development at Knossos, Phaistos, and Malia*, Prehistory Monographs 49, Philadelphia.
- Shaw, J. W. forthcoming.** “Central ceiling and roof supports in Early Minoan (EM II–MM II) architecture”, *BSA*.
- Sherwood, T.F. 1937.** “Symbols in Greek Alchemical Writings”, *Ambix* 1, 64-67.
- Simandiraki-Grimshaw, A. 2010.** “Minoan animal-human hybridity”, in *The Master of Animals in Old World Iconography*, D.B. Counts & B. Arnold (eds.), Archaeolingua, Budapest, 93-106.
- Simandiraki-Grimshaw, A. 2011.** “Religious Exchanges between Minoan Crete and its Neighbours: Methodological Considerations”, *Intercultural Contacts in the Ancient Mediterranean, Proceedings of the International Conference at the Netherlands-Flemish Institute in Cairo, 25<sup>th</sup>–29th October 2008*, R.I. K. Duistermaat & I. Regulski (eds.), Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 202, Leuven, 79-87.
- Simandiraki-Grimshaw, A. 2013.** “Anthropomorphic Vessels as Re-Imagined Corporealities in Bronze Age Crete”, *Creta Antica* XIV, 17-68.
- Sjøvold, T. 1977.** “Non-metrical divergence between skeletal populations”, *Ossa* 4, Supplement 1, 1-133.
- Smith, R.A.K., M. Dabney, G. Kotzamani, A. Livarda, G. Tsartdiou & J.C. Wright 2014.** “Plant use in Mycenaean Mortuary Practice”, in *PHYSIS. L'environnement naturel et la relation homme-milieu dans le monde égéen protohistorique. Actes de la 14e Rencontre Égéenne Internationale, Paris, Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art*,

11-14 Décembre 2012, Aegaeum 37, G. Touchais, R. Laffineur, F. Rougemont, H. Prokopiou & S. Andreou (eds.), Leuven-Liege, 265-270.

**Soar, K. 2010.** "Circular Dance Performances in the Prehistoric Aegean", in *Body, Performance, Agency and Experience, Section I, Ritual and Agency*, A. Chaniotis (ed.), Wiesbaden Harrassowitz, 137-136.

**Sofianou, C. & T. M. Brogan 2012.** "Papadiokampos and the Siteia Bay in the second millennium BC: exploring patterns of regional hierarchy and exchange in eastern Crete", in *Petras, Siteia – 25 years of excavations and studies. Acts of a two-day conference held at the Danish Institute at Athens, 9-10 October 2010*, M. Tsipopoulou (ed.), Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 16, Athens, 327-340.

**Sofianou, C. & Y. Papadatos 2015.** "Chapter 2. Excavation and Stratigraphy", in *Livari Skiadi: A Minoan Cemetery in Southeast Crete. I Excavation and Finds*, Y. Papadatos & C. Sofianou (eds.), Prehistory Monographs 50, Philadelphia, 11-15.

**Soles, J. 1988.** "Social Ranking in Prepalatial Cemeteries", in *Problems in Greek Prehistory. Papers Presented at the Centenary Conference of the British School of Archaeology at Athens, Manchester, April 1986*, E.B. French & K.A. Wardle (eds.), Bristol, 49-61.

**Soles, J. 1992.** *The Prepalatial Cemeteries at Mochlos and Gournia and the House Tombs of Bronze Age Crete*, *Hesperia* Supplement 24, Princeton, New Jersey.

**Soles, J.S. 2001.** "Reverence for Dead Ancestors in Prehistoric Crete", in *POTNIA: Deities, Religion in the Aegean Bronze Age*, Proceedings of the 8th International Aegean Conference, Göteborg, Göteborg University, 12-15 April 2000, Aegaeum 22, R. Laffineur & R. Hägg (eds.), Liège/Austin, 229-236.

**Soles, J.S. 2008.** "Metal Hoards from LM IB Mochlos, Crete", in *Aegean Metallurgy in the Bronze Age, Proceedings of the International Symposium held at the University of Crete, Rethymnon, Greece, on November 19-21, 2004*, I. Tzachili (ed.), Rethymno, 143-156.

**Soles, J.S., A.M. Nicgorski, M.E. Soles, T. Carter & D.S. Reese, 2004.** "Ceramic, Stone, Bone, and Shell Objects", in *Mochlos IC, Period III, Neopalatial settlement on the coast: the Artisan's Quarter and the farmhouse at Chalinomouri. The small finds*, J.S. Soles, C. Davaras, J. Bending, T. Carter, D. Kondopoulou, D. Mylona, M. Ntinou, A.M. Nicgorski, D.S. Reese, A. Sarpaki, W.H. Schoch, M.E. Soles, V.S.-G. Spatharas, Zophia A., D.H. Tarling & C. Witmore (eds.), Prehistory Monograph 9, Philadelphia, 17-44.

**Srinivasan, S. 2015.** "Bronze Image Casting in Tanjavur District, Tamil Nadu: Ethnoarchaeological and Archaeometallurgical Insights", in *Metals and Civilizations*, S. Srinivasan, S. Ranganathan & A. Giumlia-Mair (eds.), Bangalore, 215-22.

**Starkovich, B.M., G.W.L. Hodgkin, M.E. Voyatzis & D.G. Romano 2013.** "Dating Gods: Radiocarbon Dates from the Sanctuary of Zeus on Mt. Lykaion (Arcadia, Greece)", *Radiocarbon* 55, 501-513.

**Stos-Gale, Z. & N. Gale. 1985.** "Lead and Silver Sources for Bronze Age Crete," in *Πεπραγμένα Ε' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου, Άγιος Νικόλαος, 25 Σεπτεμβρίου – 1 Οκτωβρίου 1981*, Α' (1), Th. Detorakis (ed.), Herakleion, 365-372.

**Stos-Gale, Z.A. 1989.** "Cycladic Copper Metallurgy", in *Old World Archaeology*, Der Anschnitt Beiheft 7, A. Hauptmann, E. Pernicka, & G.A. Wagner (eds.), Bochum, 279-292.

**Stos-Gale, Z.A. 1993.** "The Origin of Metal Used for Making Weapons in Early and Middle Minoan Crete", in *Trade and Exchange in Prehistoric Europe*, Oxbow

Monograph 33, C. Scarre & F. Healy (eds.), Oxford, 115-129.

**Stos-Gale, Z.A. 1998.** "The Role of Kythnos and Other Cycladic Islands in the Origins of Early Minoan Metallurgy", in *Kea-Kythnos: History and Archaeology*, *Meletemata* 27, L.G. Mendoni & A. Mazarakis-Ainan (eds.), Athens, 717-735.

**Stratouli, G. S., T. Triantaphyllou, T. Bekiaris & N. Katsikaridis 2010.** "The manipulation of death: a burial area at the Neolithic settlement of Avgi, NW Greece", *Documenta Praehistorica* 37, 95-104.

**Stürmer, V. 1993.** "La céramique de Chrysolakkos: Catalogue et réexamine", *BCH* 117, 123-187.

**Tarlow, S. & L.N. Stutz (eds.) 2013.** *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of Death and Burial*, Oxford.

**Todaro, S. 2011.** "Craft Production and Social Practices at Prepalatial Phaistos: The Background to the First Palace", in *Back to the Beginning. Reassessing Social and Political Complexity on Crete during the Early and Middle Bronze Age*, I. Schoep, P. Tomkins & J. Driessen (eds.), Oxford, 195-135.

**Todaro, S. 2012.** "Human remains at FN Phaistos: identifying and interpreting practices of disposal and manipulation of the dead from an archaeological perspective", *Creta Antica* 13, 13-39.

**Tomczak, P.D. & J.F. Powell 2003.** "Postmarital residence practices in the Windover population: Sex-based dental variation as an indicator of patrilocal", *American Antiquity* 68, 93-108.

**Tomkins, P. 2010.** "Neolithic Antecedents", in *The Oxford Handbook of the Aegean Bronze Age*, E. Cline (ed.), Oxford, 31-49.

**Tomkins, P. 2011.** "Behind the Horizon. Reconsidering the Genesis and Function of the 'First Palace' at Knossos (Final Neolithic IV-Middle Minoan IB)", in *Back to the Beginning. Reassessing Social and Political Complexity on Crete during the Early and Middle Bronze Age*, I. Schoep, P. Tomkins & J. Driessen (eds.), Oxford, 32-80.

**Treuil, R. 2005.** "Entre morts et vivants à Malia. La 'zone des nécropoles' et les quartiers d'habitation", in *Κρής Τεχνίτης. L'artisan crétois. Recueil d'articles en l'honneur de Jean-Claude Poursat, publié à l'occasion des 40 ans de la découverte du Quartier Mu*, *Aegaeum* 26, I. Bradfer-Burdet, B. Detournay & R. Laffineur (eds.), Liège & Austin, 209-220.

**Triantaphyllou, S. 2005.** "The human remains", in *Tholos Tomb Gamma: A Prepalatial Tholos Tomb at Phourni*, *Archanes*, Y. Papadatos (ed.), Philadelphia, 67-76.

**Triantaphyllou, S. 2009.** "EM/MM human skeletal remains from East Crete: the Kephala Petras rockshelter, Siteia, and the Livari tholos tomb, Skiadi", *Kentro. The Newsletter of the INSTAP Study Center for East Crete* 12, 19-23.

**Triantaphyllou, S. 2010.** "The human remains", in *Moni Odigitria: A Prepalatial Cemetery and its Environs in the Asterousia, Southern Crete*, Vasilakis A. & K. Branigan (eds.), Philadelphia, 229-248.

**Triantaphyllou, S. 2012.** "Kephala Petras Siteias: Human bones and burial practices in the EM rockshelter", in *Petras, Siteia – 25 years of excavations and studies. Acts of a two-day conference held at the Danish Institute at Athens, 9-10 October 2010*, M. Tsipopoulou (ed.), Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 16, Athens, 161-166.

**Triantaphyllou, S. in press.** "Managing with death in Prepalatial Crete: The evidence of the human remains", in *From the Foundations to the Legacy of Minoan So-*



ciety, M. Relaki & Y. Papadatos (eds.), Oxbow Monographs, Sheffield, Oxford.

**Triantaphyllou, S. forthcoming.** “Constructing identities by ageing the body in the prehistoric Aegean: the view of the human remains”, in *Embodied Identities in the Prehistoric Eastern Mediterranean: Convergence of Theory and Practice*, M. Mina, S. Triantaphyllou & Y. Papadatos (eds.), Oxford.

**Triantaphyllou, S., E. Nikita & T. Kador 2015.** “Exploring mobility patterns and biological affinities in the southern Aegean: first insights from Early Bronze Age eastern Crete”, *BSA*, 3-25.

**Triantaphyllou, S., M. Tsipopoulou M. & P. Betancourt in press.** “Κεφάλαια Πετράς Σητείας: ανθρώπινα οστά και ταφικές πρακτικές στην ΠΜ βραχοσκεπή και στο ΜΜ νεκροταφείο”, *Πεπραγμένα ΙΑ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου, Ρέθυμνο 21-27 Οκτωβρίου 2011*.

**Triantaphyllou, S. & L. Girella. in press.** “Η συμβολή της μελέτης των ανθρώπινων οστών στην ερμηνεία του θολωτού τάφου στο Καμηλάρι στην πεδιάδα Μεσαράς, ν. Ηρακλείου”, *Πεπραγμένα ΙΑ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου, Ρέθυμνο 21-27 Οκτωβρίου 2011*.

**Tsakanika-Theochari, E., K. Palyvou, & P. Touliatos 2011.** “Ο δομικός ρόλος του ξύλου στη νεοανακτορική αρχιτεκτονική της μινωικής Κρήτης”, in *Πεπραγμένα του Ι' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου, Χανιά, 1-8 Οκτωβρίου 2006*, Α' (2), M. Adreadaki-Vlasaki & E. Papadopoulou (eds.), Chania, 195-214.

**Tsipopoulou, M. 1988.** “Αγία Φωτιά Σητείας: το νέο εύρημα”, in *Problems in Greek Prehistory. Papers Presented at the Centenary Conference of the British School of Archaeology at Athens, Manchester, April 1986*, E.B.French & K.A.Wardle (eds.), Bristol, 31-47.

**Tsipopoulou, M. 1989.** *Archaeological Survey at Aghia Photia, Siteia*, Paul Åströms förlag, SIMA pocketbook 76, Göteborg, Sweden.

**Tsipopoulou, M. 1990.** “Μινωική κατοίκηση στην περιοχή της πόλης της Σητείας”, in *Πεπραγμένα του ΣΤ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου, 24-30 Αυγούστου 1986*, Α2, V. Niniou-Kindeli (ed.), Chania, 305-321.

**Tsipopoulou, M. 1999a.** “Before, during, after: the architectural phases of the palatial building at Petras, Siteia”, in *MELETEMATATA: Studies in Aegean Archaeology Presented to Malcolm H. Wiener as He Enters His 65th Year. Vol. III*, P.P.Betancourt, V. Karageorghis, R. Laffineur & W.-D. Niemeier (eds.), Université de Liège, Histoire de l'art et archéologie de la Grèce antique; University of Texas at Austin: Programs in Aegean Scripts and Prehistory, 847-855.

**Tsipopoulou, M. 1999b.** “From Local Centre to Palace: The Role of Fortification in the Economic Transformation of the Siteia Bay Area, East Crete”, in *POLEMOS. Le contexte guerrier en Égée à l'âge du Bronze. Actes de la 7e Rencontre égéenne internationale, Université de Liège, 14-17 avril 1998*, R. Laffineur (ed.), Aegaeum 19, Liège & Austin, 179-190.

**Tsipopoulou, M. 2002.** “Petras Siteia: The palace, the town, the hinterland and the Protopalatial background”, in *MONUMENTS OF MINOS. Rethinking the Minoan Palaces. Proceedings of the International Workshop “Crete of the hundred Palaces?” held at the Université Catholique de Louvain, Louvain-la-Neuve, 14-15 December 2001*, Aegaeum 23, J. Driessen, I. Schoep & R. Laffineur (eds.), Liège Austin, 133-144.

**Tsipopoulou, M. 2007.** “Aghia Photia-Kouphota: A Centre for Metallurgy in the Early Minoan Period”, in *Metallurgy in the Early Bronze Age Aegean* (Sheffield Studies in Archaeology 7), P.M. Day & R.C.P. Doonan (eds.), Oxford, 135-145.

**Tsipopoulou, M. 2009.** “Goddesses for the ‘Gene’? The Late Minoan IIIC Shrine at Halasmenos, Ierapetra”, in *Archaeologies of Cult: Essays on Ritual and Cult in Crete in Honor of Geraldine C. Gesell*, A.L.D’Agata & A. van de Moortel (eds.), *Hesperia* Supplement 42. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 121-136.

**Tsipopoulou, M. 2010.** “Προανακτορική ταφική βραχοσκεπή στον Πετρά Σητείας – πρώτη ανακοίνωση”, in *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Κρήτης 1, Πρακτικά της 1ης Συνάντησης, Ρέθυμνο 28-30 Νοεμβρίου 2008*, M. Andrianakis & I. Tzachili (eds.), Rethymnon, 121-138.

**Tsipopoulou, M. 2011.** “Πρόσφατα ευρήματα στον Πετρά Σητείας. Οι ανασκαφές του 21ου αιώνα” in *Πεπραγμένα του I’ Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου*, Χανιά, 1-8 Οκτωβρίου 2006 (A2), M. Andreadaki-Vlaziaki & E. Papadopoulou (eds.), Chania, 337-364.

**Tsipopoulou, M. (ed.) 2012.** *Petras, Siteia – 25 years of excavations and studies. Acts of a two-day conference held at the Danish Institute at Athens, 9-10 October 2010*, Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 16, Athens: The Danish Institute at Athens.

**Tsipopoulou, M. 2012a.** “Introduction: 25 Years of Excavations and Studies at Petras”, in *Petras, Siteia – 25 years of excavations and studies. Acts of a two-day conference held at the Danish Institute at Athens, 9-10 October 2010*, M. Tsipopoulou (ed.), Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 16, Athens, 45-66.

**Tsipopoulou, M. 2012b.** “The Prepalatial – early Protopalatial cemetery at Petras, Siteia: A diachronic symbol of social coherence”, in *Petras, Siteia – 25 years of excavations and studies. Acts of a two-day conference held at the Danish Institute at Athens, 9-10 October 2010*, M. Tsipopoulou (ed.), Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 16, Athens, 117-131.

**Tsipopoulou, M. 2012c.** “Defining the end of the Prepalatial at Petras, in *Petras, Siteia – 25 years of excavations and studies. Acts of a two-day conference held at the Danish Institute at Athens, 9-10 October 2010*, M. Tsipopoulou (ed.), Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 16, Athens, 179-190.

**Tsipopoulou, M. 2012d.** “Πετράς Σητείας: Προανακτορικό–πρώιμο Παλαιανοακτορικό Ταφικό Κτήριο 2”, in *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Κρήτης 2, Πρακτικά της 2ης Συνάντησης Ρέθυμνο*, 26-28 Νοεμβρίου 2010, M. Andrianakis, P. Varthalitou & I. Tzachili (eds.), Rethymno, 60-69.

**Tsipopoulou, M. 2012e.** “Kampos Group Pottery from the Cemetery at Petras, Siteia”, in *PHILISTOR. Studies in Honor of Costis Davaras (Prehistory Monographs 36)*, E. Mantzourani & P.P. Betancourt (eds.), Philadelphia, 211-220.

**Tsipopoulou, M. in press.** “A Middle Minoan Burial Cave in Eastern Crete”, in *M. Bettelli & M. del Freo (eds.), Festschrift for Lucia Vagnetti, Incunabula Graeca*.

**Tsipopoulou, M. & A. Papacostopoulou 1997.** “‘Villas’ and villages in the hinterland of Petras Siteia”, in *The Function of the ‘Minoan Villa’. Proceedings of the Eighth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 6-8 June 1992*, R. Hägg (ed.), ActaAth 4°, 46, Stockholm, 203-214.

**Tsipopoulou, M. & E. Hallager 2010.** *The Hieroglyphic Archive at Petras, Siteia*, Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 9, Athens.

**Tsipopoulou, M. & L. Vagnetti, 1997.** “Workshop attributions for some Late Minoan III East Cretan larnakes”, in *TEXNH. Craftsmen, Craftswomen and Craftsmanship in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the 6th International Aegean Conference, Philadelphia, Temple University, 18-21 April 1996*, Aegaeum 16, R. Laffineur & P.P. Betancourt (eds.), Université de Liège,

Histoire de l'art et archéologie de la Grèce antique, University of Texas, Austin, Program in Aegean Scripts and Prehistory, 473-479.

**Tsipopoulou, M. & M. Wedde 2000.** “Διαβάζοντας ένα χωμάτινο παλίμψηστο: Στρωματογραφικές τομές στο ανακτορικό κτήριο του Πετρά Σητείας”, *Πεπραγμένα Η' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου, Ηράκλειο, 9-14 Σεπτεμβρίου 1996, A3: Προϊστορική και Αρχαία Ελληνική Περίοδος*, A. Karetsou, Th. Detorakis & A. Kalokairinos (eds.), Herakleion, 359-377.

**Tsipopoulou, M. & A. Simandiraki in press.** “Cycladic figurines and pottery at Petras, Siteia”, in *Κυκλαδικά στην Κρήτη: Κυκλαδικά και κυκλαδίζοντα ειδώλια μέσα στην ανασκαφική τους συνάφεια. Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου, Μουσείο Κυκλαδικής Τέχνης, Αθήνα, 1-2 Οκτωβρίου 2015 (Cycladica in Crete: Cycladic and Cycladicizing figurines within their archaeological context. Proceedings of the International Symposium, Museum of Cycladic Art, Athens, 1-2 October 2015)*, N. Chr. Stamolidis & P. Sotirakopoulou (eds.).

**Tsoraki, C. 2012.** “Ground Stone technologies at the Bronze Age settlement of Sissi. Preliminary results”, in *Excavations at Sissi III. Preliminary Report on the 2011 Campaign*, J. Driessen, I. Schoep, M. Anastasiadou, F. Carpentier, I. Crevecoeur, S. Déderix, M. Devolder, F. Gaignerot-Driessen, S. Jusseret, C. Langohr, Q. Letesson, F. Liard, A. Schmitt, C. Tsoraki & R. Veropoulidou (eds.), Louvain-la-Neuve, 201-221.

**Tsoraki, C. forthcoming a.** “The Ritualisation of Daily Practice: Exploring the Staging of Ritual Acts at Neolithic Çatalhöyük, Turkey”, in *Religion, History and Place in the Origin of Settled Life*, I. Hodder (ed.), Boulder.

**Tsoraki, C. forthcoming b.** “Acts of deliberate destruction in Neolithic societies”.

**Turner, C.G. II 1987.** “Late Pleistocene and Holocene population history of east Asia based on dental variation”, *AJPA* 73, 305-322.

**Turner, C.G. II, C.R. Nichol & G.R. Scott 1991.** “Scoring procedures for key morphological traits of the permanent dentition: The Arizona State University Dental Anthropology System”, in *Advances in dental anthropology*, M.A. Kelley & C.S. Larsen (eds.), New York, 13-31.

**Ubelaker, D.H. 2008.** “The forensic evaluation of burned skeletal remains: a synthesis”, *Forensic Science International* 183, 1-5.

**Ubelaker, D.H. & J.L. Rife 2007.** “The practice of cremation in the Roman-era cemetery at Kenchreai, Greece: the perspective from archeology and forensic science”, *Bioarchaeology of the Near East* 1, 35-57.

**Valamoti, S.M. 2009.** “Σπόροι για τους νεκρούς; Αρχαιοβοτανικά δεδομένα από τη Μαυροπηγή Κοζάνης, θέση Φυλλοτσαϊρι”, *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στην Άνω Μακεδονία* 1, 245-256.

**Valamoti, S.M., Moniaki, A., & Karathanou, A. 2011.** “An investigation of processing and consumption of pulses among prehistoric societies: archaeobotanical, experimental and ethnographic evidence from Greece”, *Vegetation History and Archaeobotany* 20, 381-296.

**Van Effenterre, H. 1980.** *Le Palais de Mallia et la cité Minoenne. Étude de synthèse*, Incunabula Graeca 76, Rome.

**Van Effenterre H. & M. Van Effenterre, 1963.** *Fouilles exécutées a Mallia. Étude du site (1956-1957) et explorations des nécropoles (1915-1928)*, EtCret. 13, Fasc. 2, Guenther, Paris.

**Vargiolu, R., E. Morero, A. Boleti, H. Procopiou, C. Pailler-Mattei & H. Zahouani, 2007.** “Effects of abra-

sion during stone vase drilling in Bronze Age Crete”, *Wear* 263, 48-56.

**Vasilakis, A. 2008.** “Silver Metalworking in Prehistoric Crete. An Historical Survey,” in *Aegean Metallurgy in the Bronze Age*, I. Tzachili (ed.), Athens, 75-85.

**Vasilakis, A. 2010.** “Excavation and architecture of the cemetery”, in *Moni Odigitria: A Prepalatial Cemetery and its Environs in the Asterousia, Southern Crete*, A. Vasilakis & K. Branigan (eds.), Philadelphia, 47-65.

**Vasilakis, A. & K. Branigan (eds.) 2010.** *Moni Odigitria: A Prepalatial Cemetery and its Environs in the Asterousia, Southern Crete*, Philadelphia.

**Vasilogamvrou, A. 2000.** “Υστεροελλαδικές επεμβάσεις σε πρωτοελλαδικό Νεκροταφείο στο Καλαμάκι Ελαιοχωρίου Λουσικών”, in *Paysages d'Achaïe II, Dyme et son Territoire*, Meletemeta 29, A. Rizakis (ed.), Athens, 43-63.

**Vavouranakis, G. 2007.** *Funerary Landscapes East of Lasithi Crete, in the Bronze Age* (BAR-IS 1606), Oxford.

**Vavouranakis, G. 2014.** “Funerary Pithoi in Bronze Age Crete: Their Introduction and Significance at the Threshold of Minoan Palatial Society”, *AJA* 118, 197-222.

**Vavouranakis, G. 2015.** “Ανάκτορο και κράτος στη μινωική Κρήτη: η σημασία της κοινωνικής αναπαραγωγής”, in *Urban Conflicts. Εργαστήριο “Συναντήσεις και συγκρούσεις στην πόλη”*, K. Athanasiou, E. Vasdeki, M. Papsali, V. Makrygianni, F. Mamali, O. Pagkalos & H. Tsavdaroglou (eds.), Thessaloniki, 61-72 (<<https://urbanconflicts.files.wordpress.com/2015/06/urban-conflicts1.pdf>> accessed 3 December 2015).

**Vavouranakis, G. & C. Bourbou 2015.** “Breaking up the past: patterns of fragmentation in Early and Middle

Bronze Age tholos tomb contexts in Crete”, in *Thravsmata. Contextualising Intentional Destruction of Objects in the Bronze Age Aegean and Cyprus*, K. Harrell & J. Driessen (eds.), Louvain, 167-196.

**Veropoulidou, R. 2011.** “‘Spondylus gaederopus’ in tools and meals in central Greece from the 3rd to the 1st millennia BCE”, in *Spondylus in prehistory: new data and approaches – contributions to the archaeology of shell technologies*, F. Ifantidis & M. Nikolaidou (eds.), BAR-IS 2216, Oxford, 191-208.

**Vokotopoulos, L. 2007.** *Το κτηριακό συγκρότημα του Φυλακίου της Θάλασσας στον όρμο Καρούμες και η περιοχή του: Ο χαρακτήρας της κατοίκησης στην ύπαιθρο της Ανατολικής Κρήτης κατά τη Νεοανακτορική εποχή*, Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki.

**Vokotopoulos, L. 2011.** “A View from the Neopalatial Countryside: Settlement and Social Organization at Karoumes, Eastern Crete”, in *ΣΤΕΓΑ The Archaeology of Houses and Households in Ancient Crete*, K.T. Glowacki & N. Vokeikoff-Brogan (eds.), Hesperia Supplement 44, 137-149.

**Vokotopoulos, L. Plath, G. & McCoy, F. 2014.** “The yield of the land: soil conservation and the exploitation of arable land at Choiromandres, Zakros in the New Palace period”, in *PHYSIS. L'Environnement Naturel et la Relation Homme-Milieu dans le Monde Égéen Proto-historique*, Aegaeum 37, G. Touchais, R. Laffineur & F. Rougemont (eds.), Leuven Liège, 251-263.

**Voutsaki, S. 2010.** “Agency and personhood at the onset of the Mycenaean period”, *Archaeological Dialogues* 17.1, 65-92.

**Walberg, G. 1983.** *Provincial Middle Minoan Pottery*, Mainz am Rhein.



- Walker, P.L. Miller, K.W.P. & R. Richman 2008.** "Time, temperature, and oxygen availability: and experimental study of the effects of environmental conditions on the color and organic content of cremated bone", in *The Analysis of Burned Human Remains*, C.W. Schmidt & S.A. Symes (eds.), New York, 129-161.
- Ward, C. 2003.** "Pomegranates in Eastern Mediterranean Contexts during the Late Bronze Age", *World Archaeology* 34, 529-541.
- Warnier, J.-P. 2006.** "Inside and Outside: Surfaces and Containers", in *Handbook of Material Culture*, C. K. Tilley, W.Keane, S. Kuchler-Fogden, M. Rowlands & P. Spyer (eds.), London, Sage, 186-195.
- Warren, P. 1969.** *Minoan stone vases*, Cambridge.
- Warren, P. 1972.** *Myrtos: An Early Bronze Age Site in Crete*. BSA Supplementary Volume 7, London.
- Warren, P. 1973.** "The Beginnings of Minoan Religion", *Antichità Cretesi: Studi in onore di Doro Levi* 1.12, 137-147.
- Warren, P. 1984.** "Circular Platforms at Minoan Knossos", *BSA* 79, 307-323, pls. 30-35.
- Wasserman, S. & K. Faust. 1994.** *Social Network Analysis: Methods and Applications*, Structural Analysis in the Social Sciences, Cambridge.
- Watrous, L.V., D.M. Buell, J.C. McEnroe, K. Glowacki, S. Gallimore, A. Smith, J. Younger, L. Turner, B.S. Kunkel, P.A. Pantou, A. Chapin & E. Margaritis. 2015.** "Excavations at Gournia, 2010-2012", *Hesperia* 84.3, 397-465.
- Watrous, V., D. Haggis, K. Nowicki, N. Vogeikoff-Brogan & M. Schultz 2012.** *An Archaeological Survey of the Gournia Landscape: A Regional History of the Mirabello Bay, Crete*, in *Antiquity*, Prehistoric Monographs 37, Philadelphia.
- Weingarten, J. 2013.** The arrival of Egyptian Tawaret and Bes[et] on Minoan Crete: Contact and Choice", in *SOMA 2012, Identity and Connectivity. Proceedings of the 16<sup>th</sup> Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology, Florence, Italy, 1-3 March 2012*, Vol. I, L. Bombardieri, A. D'Agostino, G. Guarducci, V. Orsi & S. Valentini (eds.), Bar International Series 2581 (I), Oxford, 371-378.
- Weingarten, J. 2015.** The arrival of the Bes[et] on Middle Minoan Crete, in *There and Back Again – The Crossroads II. Proceedings of an International Conference Held in Prague, September 15-18, 2014*, J. Mynářová, P. Onderka & P. Pavúk (eds.), Charles University in Prague, Faculty of Arts, 181-196.
- Whitelaw T.M. 1983.** "The settlement at Phournou Korifi, Myrtos and aspects of Early Minoan social organization", in *Minoan Society*, O. Krzyszkowska & L. Nixon (eds.), Bristol, 323-345.
- Whitelaw, T.M. 2007.** "House, households and community at Early Minoan Fournou Korifi: Methods and models for interpretation", in *Building communities: house, settlement and society in the Aegean and beyond*, R. Westgate, N. Fisher & J. Whitley (eds.), London, 65-76.
- Whitelaw, T.M. 2012.** "The urbanisation of prehistoric Crete: Settlement perspectives on Minoan state formation", in *Back to the beginning: reassessing social, economic and political complexity in the Early and Middle Bronze Age on Crete*, I. Schoep, P. Tomkins & J. Driessen (eds.), Oxford, 114-176.
- Whitelaw, T.M. 2015.** "The divergence of civilisation: Fournou Korifi and Pyrgos", in *The Great Islands. Studies of Crete and Cyprus presented to Gerald Cadogan*,

C.F. Macdonald, E. Hatzaki & S. Andreou (eds.), Athens, 41-48.

**Whitelaw, T. M., P.M. Day, E. Kiriati, V. Kilikoglou & D.E. Wilson. 1997.** "Ceramic traditions at EM IIB Myrtos, Fournou Korifi", in *TEXNH. Craftsmen, Craftswomen and Craftsmanship in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the 6th International Aegean Conference/6e Rencontre égéenne internationale, Philadelphia, Temple University, 18-21 April 1996*, *Aegaeum* 16, R. Laffineur & P.P. Betancourt (eds.), Liège, 265-274.

**Whitley, J., M. Prent & S. Thorne, 1999.** "Praisos IV: A Preliminary Report on the 1993 and 1994 Survey Seasons", *BSA* 94, 215-264.

**Williams, H. 2004.** "Death warmed up. The agency of bodies and bones in early Anglo-Saxon cremation rites", *Journal of Material Culture*, 263-291.

**Wilson, D.E. & P.M. Day 1994.** "Ceramic Regionalism in Prepalatial Central Crete: the Mesara Imports from EM IB to EM IIA Knossos", *BSA* 89, 1-87.

**Wilson, D.E., P.M. Day & N. Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki 2008.** "The gateway port of: Trade and exchange between north-central Crete and the Cyclades in EB I-II", in *HORIZON. OPIZON. A colloquium on the prehistory of the Cyclades*, N. Brodie, J. Doole, G. Gavalas & C. Renfrew (eds.), McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, Cambridge, 261-270.

**Wright, J.C. (ed.) 2004.** *The Mycenaean Feast*, Princeton.

**Xanthoudides, S. 1906.** "Προϊστορική οικία εις Χαμαίζι Σητείας", *ArchEph*, 117-154.

**Xanthoudides, S. 1918.** "Μέγας Πρωτομινωικός τάφος Πύργου", *ArchDelt* IV, 136-170.

**Xanthoudides, S. 1924.** *The Vaulted Tombs of Mesara. An account of some early cemeteries of Southern Crete (Translated by J. P. Droop), With a preface by Sir Arthur Evans*, Liverpool & London.

**Xyritakis, D.A. 2011.** *Λόγω τιμής. Ιστορίες κρητικής βεντέτας*, Athens.

**Yule, P. 1980.** *Early Cretan seals. A study in chronology*, Marburger Studien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 4, Mainz.

**Zapheirou, P. 2008.** "Early Bronze Age cemeteries of the Kampos group on Ano Kouphonisi", in *HORIZON. OPIZON. A colloquium on the prehistory of the Cyclades*, M. Brodie, J. Doole, G. Gavalas & C. Renfrew (eds.), McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, Cambridge, 183-194.

**Žižek, S. 2009.** *The Sublime Object of Ideology* (second edition), London & New York.

**Zohary, D. & P. Spiegel-Roy 1975.** "Beginnings of Fruit Growing in the Old World", *Science* 187, 319-27.

**Zohary, D., M. Hopf, & E. Weiss, 2011.** *Domestication of Plants in the Old World*, Fourth Edition, Oxford.

**Zois, A. 1991.** *Κρήτη. Η Πρώιμη Εποχή του Χαλκού: αρχαιολογία και ιστορία σχεδόν όλων των θέσεων της νήσου από τις ανατολικές ως τις πιο δυτικές περιοχές, Τόμος Πρώτος, Τεύχος Πρώτο (Ζάκρος)*, Αθήνα.

**Zwicker, U., A. Oddy & S. La Niece. 1993.** "Roman Techniques for Manufacturing Silver-plated Coins", in *Metal Plating and Patination: Cultural, Technical and Historical Developments*, S. La Niece & P. Craddock (eds.), London, 223-246.





## An intriguing set of discs from the Protopalatial tombs at Petras\*

*Thomas M. Brogan & Alessandra Giumlia-Mair*

### *Abstract*

An intriguing set of twelve concave metal discs were recovered during excavations in the Pre- and Protopalatial cemetery at Petras, all in Protopalatial contexts, between 2011 and 2014. Five had been placed inside Room 2 of House Tomb 10, and several more were found in the exterior space north of the same Ceremonial Area 2. The discs are small and have a shallow but noticeably concave profile. Where preserved the upper surface is often polished, but there are no other visible traces of decoration or piercing that might shed light on their use in antiquity. To determine their function, we employed a combination of contextual and material analysis. The discs form part of a large deposit of small copper, bronze, silver and gold objects in Tomb 10. Ten of the discs were examined by XRF and the results reveal interesting choices of metal. One is made of a silver alloy. The others are copper alloys with a high percentage of arsenic which indicates that they originally had a silvery color. The use of such a special alloy suggests the discs had a specific function and meaning. Various possibilities are explored including their use as balances, mirrors and ornaments.

Among the objects recovered in Room 2 of Tomb 10 of the Pre- and Proto-palatial cemetery at Petras are a pair of bronze discs. Found together with MM II material, the objects resembled balance pans which are usually found in pairs. What makes this hypothesis so intriguing is the fact that so few sets of balance pans had been found in Bronze Age levels on Crete. Moreover, all the extant examples come from Late Minoan contexts, including seven sets of LM IB pans from Mochlos and Gournia.<sup>1</sup> While a handful of stone and lead discoid weights were found in MM

II levels at Malia, no contemporary pans had been found either on the island or on any other site in the EB or MB II Aegean.<sup>2</sup> The Petras material thus posed several problems, including its early date (MM II), its funerary context which is more common on the mainland, the small size of the pans and the apparent lack of suspension holes. We agreed to take a look, thinking some of the anomalies might be explained by the early date of the contexts. Moreover, if any site was likely to have served as a gateway for the introduction of measurement tools and technology,

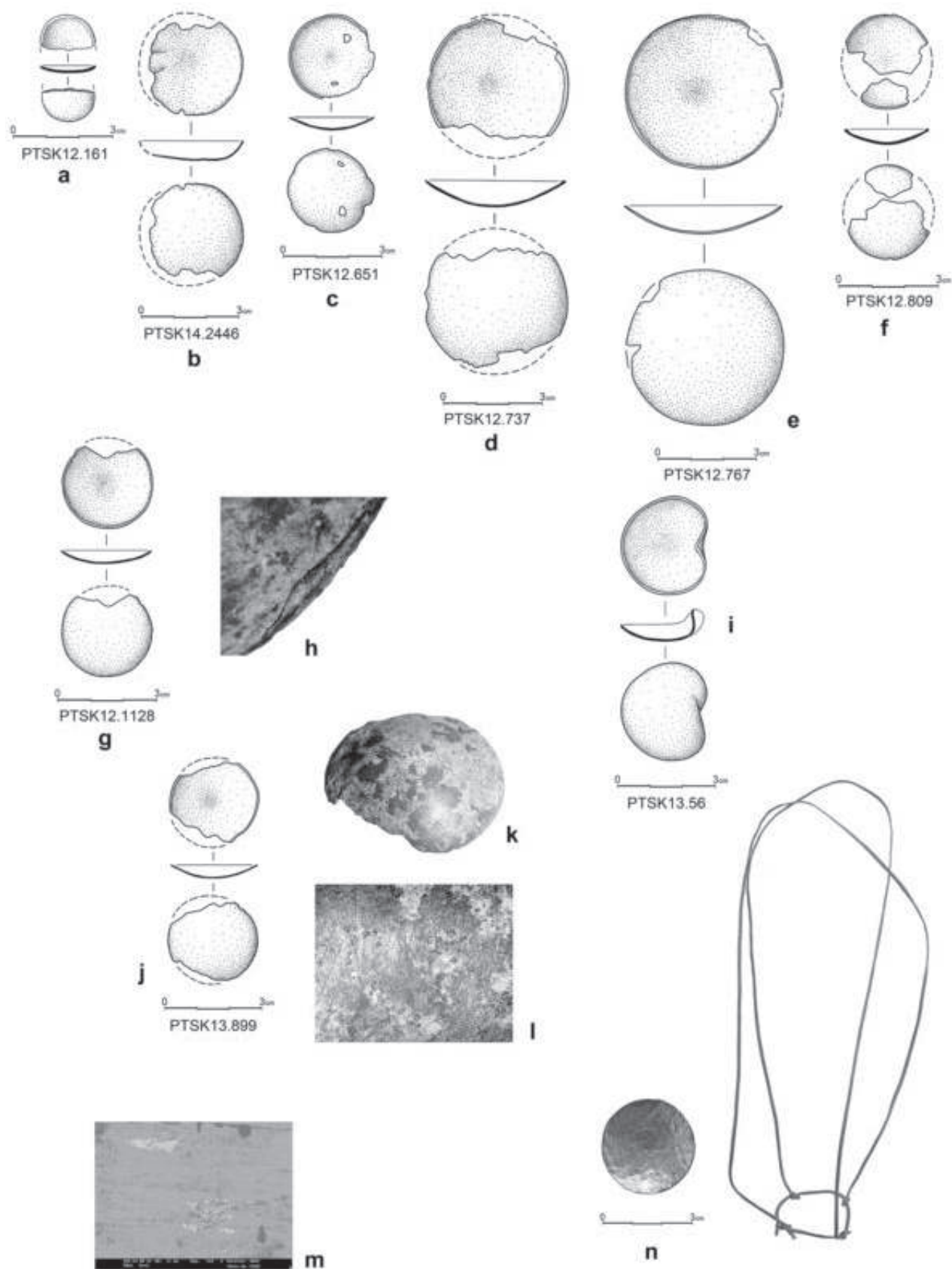
---

\* Clio Zervaki carefully cleaned the objects with the help of a microscope. The objects were then drawn by Doug Faulmann & Lily Bonga, photographed by Chronis Papanikolopoulos and X-rayed by Kathy Hall. The authors would also like to thank Ariel Pearce who recorded the excavation diaries for these contexts.

---

1 For the Gournia balances, see Boyd-Hawes *et al.* 1908, 34, pl. iv, no. 63a; for the Mochlos balances, see Soles 2008, 147-51; Giumlia-Mair *et al.* 2011, 151.

2 For Malia, see Alberti 2000. For Aegean pans, see Petruso 1992, 75-77; Michailidou 2008, 43-58, 131-78.



<< **Fig. 1a.** PTSK12.161. Drawing D. Faulmann.  
**Fig. 1b.** PTSK14.2446. Drawing D. Faulmann.  
**Fig. 1c.** PTSK12.651. Drawing D. Faulmann.  
**Fig. 1d.** PTSK12.737. Drawing D. Faulmann.  
**Fig. 1e.** PTSK12.767. Drawing D. Faulmann.  
**Fig. 1f.** PTSK12.809. Drawing D. Faulmann.  
**Fig. 1g.** PTSK12.1128. Drawing D. Faulmann.  
**Fig. 1h.** Detail of disc PTSK12.1128. The micrograph taken at the optical microscope shows the previously irregularly cut edge bent over to obtain a regular curve. The disc was carefully finished. Photo A. Giumlia-Mair.  
**Fig. 1i.** PTSK13.56. Drawing D. Faulmann.  
**Fig. 1j.** PTSK13.899. Drawing D. Faulmann.  
**Fig. 1k.** Disc PTSK13.899. The original polished surface is visible under the corrosion layer. Photo A. Giumlia-Mair.  
**Fig. 1l.** Detail of disc PTSK13.899. The micrograph taken at the optical microscope shows that the polishing was carried out by employing fine abrasives, for example marble powder. Photo A. Giumlia-Mair.  
**Fig. 1m.** SEM micrograph of an experimental copper alloy containing 1% As. The lighter spot is a formation of “arsenic sweat”; i.e. of the eutectic containing 21% As in Cu. Photo A. Giumlia-Mair.  
**Fig. 1n.** Experimental disc in its cradle. Photo T. Brogan.

it was Late Prepalatial and Protopalatial Petras where raw materials, finished goods and ideas were arriving from sources in the eastern Mediterranean where measurement systems with differing standards are attested from even earlier periods.

In this paper we employ a combination of contextual, material and experimental analysis to explore their possible function. The Petras Pre- and Protopalatial cemetery offers a rare opportunity to examine complete assemblages from several undisturbed communal tombs (with the exception of some later LM III building). The recovery techniques used in the field, which include 100% flotation of all the soil from the site, have produced an unparalleled set of artifacts and ecofacts, including an impressive set

of copper, bronze, silver and gold objects. Looking through the entire corpus of metal objects, the authors identified 12 total discs with a similar concave shape (Fig. 1a–j).

Eleven discs were found in or near Tombs 9 and 10; another lay in surface levels nearby. Two come from Tomb 9. PTSK12.161 (Fig. 1a) was found in House Tomb 5, Room 9 in a context dated EM III–MM IA. More than half of this bronze concave disc is preserved, with a diameter of 1.8 cm, but the surfaces of both the convex and concave sides are corroded making it impossible to assess its original appearance. PTSK14.2246 (Fig. 1b) was found in Level 6 of Room 4 of Tomb 9 with MM II material. This concave disc, measuring 3 cm in diameter, is nearly complete and the only example made of a silver alloy.

Nine more discs were found in the MM II levels inside and outside House Tomb 10, and we will concentrate on this group in the paper. Five were found inside Room 2. PTSK12.651 (Fig. 1c) was recovered in Level 3. This small bronze disc is nearly complete and bears almost no traces of surface corrosion. It measures 2.6 cm in diameter and both its concave and convex sides are polished. A pair of larger discs was recovered in Level 4 of Room 2. PTSK12.737 (Fig. 1d) is three-quarters preserved and measures 4.6 cm in diameter. It is made of very thin bronze sheet which is corroded but traces of the original polished surface are visible on both the interior and exterior. PTSK12.767 (Fig. 1e) is its better preserved twin, again measuring 4.6 cm in diameter. It is nearly complete and polished on both the interior and exterior and like its twin, the rim was also noticeably folded over in places to create a round shape. Two more discs were found in Levels 5 and 6 of Room 2. PTSK12.809 (Fig. 1f) was recovered in Level 5. This bronze disc is more than ½ extant and exhibits no corrosion on either polished side. It measures 2.6 cm in diameter and part of the rim was folded in to create a round edge. PTSK12.1128 (Fig. 1g) was found in Level 6. It is nearly complete and measures

2.8 cm in diameter. The rim was again folded over to create a round edge and both the interior and exterior surfaces were polished (Fig. 1h).

Four more discs were recovered with MM II material in the space immediately north of the tomb excavated as part of Trenches Gamma 4 and Delta 4. PTSK13.56 (Fig. 1i) was found in Level 2. It measures 2.8 cm in diameter and both its concave and convex sides were highly polished. One side has also been pushed upwards creating a distinct fold, but it is not possible to determine if this was an accident of preservation or an intentional feature. Small clay cups with this same shape are known from the Protopalatial period, like the examples from the Archanes cemetery. Parts of three more discs were recovered in Level 3 of the same area. Only PTSK13.899 (Fig. 1j) is preserved enough to warrant description (roughly 75% extant). It measures 2.7 cm in diameter, and both the interior and exterior surfaces were well polished with fine abrasives (figs. 1k–l).

To learn more about the manufacture and possible function of these discs, we analyzed them with a Faxitron X-Ray. The chief conservator of the INSTAP Study Center for East Crete, Kathy Hall, took the images and reports that the tiny holes visible on the images could be interpreted either as corrosion pits or fresh breaks when examined later under the microscope. The X-rays thus confirm our macroscopic study. The pans were highly polished but not decorated or altered for attachment to other objects.

Alessandra Giumlia-Mair then analysed 10 of the 12 discs from the cemetery with an XRF. The equipment employed for the analyses is transportable and consists of several parts: the head of the system with the X-ray's source, the support with devices for position and stability control, a transformer, a stabilizer and a computer with dedicated software. Several standards of different composition, as similar as possible to the ancient alloys and expressly produced by AGM Archeoanalisi for the investigation of cultural heritage items, have been employed for the calculation of the results. They are important to

determine drift and interference effects and were run at regular intervals so as to retain the standard of analytical precision and obtain reliable data. All the objects were again examined under the microscope before analysis to check their conservation and to determine the best spot for the measurements. Regrettably almost all the discs are in poor state of preservation. The analysis results of corroded items must be considered approximate and indicative only.

All but one of the discs are made of copper-based alloys, mostly containing noticeable amounts of arsenic. The other is made of a silver alloy, which is interesting because it is well known that copper alloys with higher amounts of arsenic assume a silvery color. This is due to the phenomenon of inverse segregation that occurs in the alloy during the cooling phase of the metal. The eutectic alloy with 21% of arsenic, commonly called “arsenic sweat”, is pushed to the surface through interdendritic filaments, also called “feeders”, and forms a silvery layer on the surface of the objects. As various laboratory experiments have showed in the past, this can happen with as little as 1-2% of arsenic in the alloy (Table 1).<sup>3</sup> The maximum limit of solid solubility of arsenic in copper is 7.5% As. The microstructure of the eutectic shows a phase of solid solution  $\alpha$  and a compound  $\gamma$ , containing 29,6% As ( $\text{Cu}_3\text{As}$ ). The compound gamma is malleable and can be hammered and worked as required. Antimony behaves like arsenic, and the presence in copper of both elements, as well as other elements such as silver, nickel or cobalt, enhances the segregation phenomena.<sup>4</sup>

The disc PTSK14.2446 appears to be made of a well-refined silver; unfortunately it is corroded, as confirmed by the presence of iron. Again the results can be only indicative. If we consider that most discs contain arsenic, some low amounts of silver and often some antimony, we can deduce that they

3 Budd & Ottaway 1991; Giumlia-Mair 2000, 300-301, fig. 2; 2008.

4 Giumlia-Mair 2009, 157-158.

an. n	object	inv.nr.	Cu	Sn	Pb	As	Sb
106	disk	PTSK14.2446		0,5			
107	disk	PTSK13.56	94			3	
108	disk	PTSK13.899	91	0,3	0,8	4	0,9
109	disk	PTSK12.737	90		2	4	1,6
110	disk	PTSK12.651	95	tr.	0,7	4	0,5
111	disk	PTSK12.809	89	1	2,5	2	1,3
112	disk	PTSK12.1128	94	tr.	2,8	0,7	1,1
113	disk	PTSK12.737	95		1,2	1,5	
114	disk	PTSK11.260	91	0,6	1,3	3,5	
115	disk frg	PTSK12.161	98	0,3		0,5	0,7

**Table 1.** Table of results of the XRF analysis.

must have had a rather silvery look. This composition using particularly high amounts of arsenic and the fact that one disc was made of a silver alloy suggest that all the objects had special value and meaning.

Before considering the possible function of the discs, it may be useful to summarize what we have learned. The 12 discs come in different sizes. The smallest is probably 1.8 cm and it is the only one not dated to an MM II horizon. Five more found inside and outside Tomb 10 cluster between 2.6 cm and 2.8 cm while two more measure 4.6 cm in diameter. A unique silver example is 3.0 cm in diameter. The largest discs were also found together in the same level. None show any signs of decoration or mode of attachment to another object by thread, nail or adhesive. The surfaces are often corroded but where preserved both the concave and convex sides are polished to a high finish. Although 11 were made of copper alloy with arsenic, all 12 were probably originally silver in color, and one was actually made with a silver alloy.

What are these objects and how were they used? Our preliminary contextual analysis reveals an unhelpful taphonomy that is all too common in Mi-

noan communal tombs. Ariel Pearce recorded the excavation of Rooms 1 and 2 of Tomb 10 where five of the discs were found. The tomb appears to have been used several times. To make room for new interments, the bones and grave goods of earlier burials were pushed to the side making it nearly impossible to associate particular goods with individual burials in the tomb. Drawing on her experience studying ancient metal objects around the world, Alessandra noted that the size, shape and color of the discs suggest their use as ornaments for everyday life or as funerary equipment. In this light it may be worth noting that the Petras tombs contained a large number of metal grave goods including jewellery, tweezers and small knives or awls, and a substantial number were recovered in Room 1 of Tomb 10.

Branigan's monumental corpus of EBA and MBA bronze weapons, tools, toilet implements and jewellery is a valuable resource for research questions like ours.<sup>5</sup> In it he identifies two types of metal discs which he distinguishes by the absence or presence of decoration. Examples of the first include discs made of bronze, gold and silver with diameters of

<sup>5</sup> Branigan 1974.



1.2 cm to 6 cm.<sup>6</sup> Of the six that are unperforated, none, however, exhibit concave profiles like those of the discs from Petras. Instead, the Petras material is closer to Branigan's group of decorative bosses which occur in several types: hemispherical or conical bosses with or without flat surrounding rims and bosses with projecting stems that acted as studs.<sup>7</sup> Among the hemispherical and conical bosses known in 1974, 11 were made of gold and bronze. The eight made of gold were found on Crete at Kalathiana, Platanos A, and Malia and at Seslko and Troy, and range in size from 0.9-2.8 cm. Of the three bronze examples, two are tiny (0.6 cm) while another from MBA levels at Kilindir in Macedonia is 4.0 cm in diameter. Branigan also records dishes in bronze, silver, gold and lead but all were larger in size.<sup>8</sup> Among the nearly 3,500 objects he recorded, the closest fit is probably the bosses which may have been attached to something with an adhesive. The problem with this hypothesis is the polished interior surface of the Petras discs. This feature would have been unnecessary if not counterproductive for attachment.

As part of the study, we also considered the possibility that the largest pair of discs served as a set of real or symbolic balance pans. The problem for this hypothesis is the absence of suspension holes which are otherwise present on all the balances so far identified from MB III and LBA contexts in the Aegean.<sup>9</sup> Otherwise, the concave shape of the Petras discs would be suitable for this use. Moreover, the largest pair of discs from Petras were found together in the same layer, which is a hallmark of balance pans. Measuring 4.6 cm in diameter, the Petras discs are the same size as the smallest set of pans from the Vapheio Tholos,<sup>10</sup> and one centimeter smaller than the smallest bronze pans from Akrotiri.<sup>11</sup> Interest-

ingly, Michailidou suggests this pair from House Delta South was probably used to weigh precious metal with the stone weights found in the same context. Michailidou's publication is an essential tool for anyone pursuing this topic. In it she provides a contextual analysis for the Aegean balances from Akrotiri, Mycenae, Pylos and Vapheio to explore both what was being weighed and by whom (i.e., merchants).

To examine the possibility that some of the Petras bronze discs were suitable for use as balance pans, we considered two issues. First, was there any evidence for weight measurement at Protopalatial Petras (e.g., balance weights or weighable commodities) and second could experimental archaeology offer clues to the use of small pans without suspension holes? Lead and stone discoid weights are known from MM II levels at Malia,<sup>12</sup> but none have been recovered so far from the Protopalatial levels at Petras.<sup>13</sup> The excavation did record a large number of pebbles from Tomb 10, which may have been part of the burial process. Several were weighed, but none offered any correspondence with known weight systems from the Aegean or eastern Mediterranean. The stones also did not appear to have been modified to achieve a specific mass.

The search for small, weight-appropriate commodities drew our attention to several gold and silver beads found in Room 1 of Tomb 10. I weighed 5 silver beads, 2 gold beads and one gold ring, and the data reveals a consistent pattern, with clusters around 6 grams, 8-9 grams, 17 grams, and 25 grams. This consistency may simply reflect a craftsman's interest in making beads in consistent sizes by dividing the raw materials first, but it is difficult to ignore the fact that the chosen weights also conform to the weight of the Mesopotamian Shekel of 8.4 grams, which was widely used in the eastern Mediterranean as a standard reference for mass and more importantly

6 Branigan 1974, 42, 186, type Ia-c discs, nos. 2412-2459.

7 Branigan 1974, 42-43, 186-87, type I, nos. 2470-481.

8 Branigan 1974, 48-49, 195, nos. 3164-180.

9 Michailidou 2008.

10 Michailidou 2008, 169-74, no. 1860.

11 Michailidou 2008, 50, no. 6874, fig. 11.9.

12 Alberti 2000.

13 Dierckx pers. comm.



value.<sup>14</sup> An example offered by Michailidou is an Old Babylonian marriage document recording the value of gold and silver jewellery by their mass and value using these same amounts.<sup>15</sup> Given Petras' position on important trade routes that developed between Crete and ports in the eastern Mediterranean from EM II,<sup>16</sup> it would be a surprising coincidence if the manufacturer or owner of the Petras beads was not aware of their underlying values.

With the suggestion that artifacts from Petras Tomb 10 could be measured by mass, our attention turned to experimental archaeology to test if replicas of the Petras discs from Tomb 10 could function as balance pans. The objective was not to build a working balance but simply to learn if it was possible to suspend pans of this small size without suspension holes. A craftsman selling copper jewellery on Aiolos Street in Athens beat out three sets of brass discs: one flat set, one concave set with suspension holes and another concave set without holes. The craftsmen also suggested that we use waxed thread. Our first experiment attempted to rest the pan inside two knotted loops but the disc kept falling from this flimsy cradle. The solution was to build a more stable cradle of net or macramé employing a base loop that was smaller than the pan and to which we tied four suspension strings (Fig. 1n). While this allowed me to suspend the pan easily, the INSTAP Publication Team Illustrator, Doug Faulmann, reminded us that a

Minoan artist capable of making seals and silver pans would probably also have been able to make suspension holes. This is however not true: the discs cannot be easily pierced. Arsenical copper is malleable, but when heavily worked, as in this case, it becomes hard and fragile. Trying to pierce the metal would be quite risky: the thin sheet would very easily crack. Nevertheless, it is probably fair to say that while the experiment was successful, it still failed to prove conclusively how the discs were used in antiquity.

The safest conclusion is the suggestion of several possible uses of the discs rather than one definite function. These include serving as silver colored bosses on one or more objects, working as small ceremonial dishes of silver color, or even operating as pans suspended from a balance. One final thought is inspired by the three gold balances found in Shaft Grave III at Mycenae (Karo 1930-33, 53-56 and Michailidou 2008, 135-49). Is it possible that one pair or more of the silver colored metal pans from Tombs 9 and 10 at Petras were deposited as symbolic balances, reflecting the status of the deceased as a merchant (a point stressed by Michailidou in her recent interpretation of the gold balances, 2008, 135-49) rather than with reference to Homeric belief of weighing souls in the afterlife? At least one silver balance was reported from excavations beneath the floor of Room 5 of the temple of E-Nun-Mah in Ur (Michailidou 2008, 135).

---

14 Michailidou 2004, 316-17; 2006, 18-22.

15 Michailidou 2008, 262.

16 Colburn 2008; Brogan 2013.

## Discussion

- MacGillivray:** I think your paper was really excellent. I have a comment. I do not think you have to go as far as Homer for the weighing of the soul. People working in the Kahun and El Alahun – they were Minoans and of course they knew about the weighing of the soul. When someone leaves their body the first thing that you want to preserve are the eyes. What if they had these polished things put on the eyes to preserve them much longer.
- Brogan:** It could be a possibility. One of the arguments against their use as pans is the fact that there are so many of them.
- Wright:** Would that exclude them being used as blanks for the production of jewellery?
- Giumlia-Mair:** Which kind of jewellery?
- Wright:** I do not know, you said that one could just hammer them
- Giumlia-Mair:** Of course they could hammer them to make them usable again, but I do not see how one could use this kind of shape.
- Wright:** So you think this is a finished product?
- Giumlia-Mair:** I think it is; you have seen the edges, and all of them have been polished, so I believe they are finished objects.
- Wright:** Maybe they are cymbals for dancing.
- Brogan:** I think it is very odd that we cannot find a better parallel. I visited several museums in Greece and was unable to find anything that was remotely similar.
- Giumlia-Mair:** There are many objects at Petras without parallels. Anyway, these discs are too small to be used as cymbals.

### *Greek abstract*

#### **Ένα αξιοπερίεργο σύνολο δισκαρίων από Παλαιοανακτορικούς τάφους του Πετρά**

Ένα περίεργο σύνολο 12 κυρτών μεταλλικών μικρών δίσκων ήρθε στο φως στην ανασκαφή του Προ- και Παλαιο-ανακτορικού νεκροταφείου του Πετρά, μεταξύ του 2011 και του 2014. Πέντε ήταν στο Δωμάτιο 2 του Ταφικού Κτιρίου 10, και μερικοί ακόμα δίσκοι βρέθηκαν στον εξωτερικό χώρο βόρεια του ίδιου τάφου. Τα δισκάρια έχουν περίγραμμα ρηχό, αλλά σαφώς κυρτό. Όταν σώζεται η άνω επιφάνεια είναι συνήθως γυαλισμένη, αλλά δεν υπάρχουν άλλα ορατά ίχνη διακόσμησης ή διάτρησης, που θα πρόσφεραν ενδείξεις για τη χρήση τους την Εποχή του Χαλκού. Για τον καθορισμό της λειτουργίας τους χρησιμοποιήθηκε μια

σύνθετη ανάλυση τόσο του υλικού, όσο και του περιβάλλοντος εύρεσης. Τα δισκάρια αποτελούν τμήμα μεγάλης απόθεσης μικρών αντικειμένων από χαλκό, ορείχαλκο, ασημί και χρυσό, τα οποία βρέθηκαν εντός ή κοντά στο Ταφικό Κτίριο 10. Δέκα από τα δισκάρια εξετάστηκαν με XRF και τα αποτελέσματα αποκαλύπτουν ενδιαφέρουσα επιλογή μετάλλου. Ένα από αυτά είναι κατασκευασμένο από κράμα αργύρου. Τα άλλα είναι από κράματα χαλκού με υψηλό ποσοστό αρσενικού, δηλαδή και αυτά αρχικά είχαν χρώμα ασημί. Η χρήση αυτού του ειδικού κράματος δηλώνει ότι οι δίσκοι είχαν ειδική χρήση και σημασία. Συμπερασματικά ερευνήσαμε διάφορες δυνατότητες, συμπεριλαμβανομένων δίσκων ζυγών για μέτρηση βάρους και ταφικών στολιδιών.

