# 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: Ryevad 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

Gazelle Book Services Ltd.
White Cross Mills, Hightown
Lancaster LA1 4XS, England
www.gazellebooks.com

ISD
70 Enterprise Drive
Bristol, CT 06010
USA
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.**

MIX
Paper from
responsible sources
FSC® C010651

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
*Metaxia Tsipopoulou*

103 The Tripartite Façade at the Petras cemetery
*Philip P. Betancourt, Metaxia Tsipopoulou and Miriam Clinton*

111 Ceremonial Area 1: Identity and dating of a special ritual space in the Petras cemetery
*Metaxia Tsipopoulou*

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
*Eleni Nodarou*

143 Further seals from the cemetery at Petras
*Olga Krzyszkowska*

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 εκειά 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
*Gerald Cadogan*

311 Mortuary practices, the ideology of death and social organization of the Siteia area: The Petras cemetery within its broader funerary landscape
*Yiannis Papadatos*

325 Mobility patterns and cultural identities in Pre- and Proto-palatial central and eastern Crete
*Efthymia Nikita, Sevi Triantaphyllou, Metaxia Tsipopoulou, Diamantis Panagiotopoulos, Lefteris Platon*

341 Pezoules Kephala, Zakros. I. Form of the tombs and burial habits
*Lefteris Platon*

355 Pezoules Kephala, Zakros. II. The chronological and evaluative position of the finds in the framework of the life of the neighboring settlement
*Lefteris Platon & Maria Tsiboukaki*

369 Funerary practices at Sissi: The treatment of the body in the house tombs
*Ilse Schoep, Isabelle Crevecoeur, Aurore Schmitt & Peter Tomkins*

385 Funerary ritual and social structure in the Old Palace period: A multifarious liaison
*Giorgos Vavouranakis*

399 East Cretan networks in the Middle Bronze Age
*Carl Knappett & Cristina Ichim*

413 Final discussion
*Chaired by Colin F. Macdonald*

425 Final remarks: Some comments on the Pre- and Proto-palatial cemetery and the Late Minoan IIIC settlement of Petras Kephala
*Donald C. Haggis*

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, Philadelpheia, 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 Mapping 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.crevecoeur@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@instappress.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 Origins of Urban Civilisation Project, Institute of Archaeology, 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 Archaeology 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 Archaeology 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

**AURORE 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* – Archaiologika 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 correspondence 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, Såvedalen.

**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 *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, 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.), Liége/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, cittá 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 65th 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 Symbolismin 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 Ishtmus 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 funeraires en Egée 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, Orone, 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, Α2: 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, Α1: 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. Günkel-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.

**Chryssoulaki, 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, Svilupro, 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 fromThronos 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: Lébèn", *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, Philadephia, 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. Kiriatzi, 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, Philadephia, 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 interepretative 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. Vandenabeele 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 a 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.), Totowa, 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", *AnnMathStat* 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, Α2: 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, Ρέθυμνο 21-27 Οκτωβρίου 2011*.

**Giumlia-Mair, A. 2000. "**Argento e leghe 'argentee' nell'antichit**à", ***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, Philadephia, 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, FunktionI*, 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*, Hanover.

**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 Vronda 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. Gesell*, 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. Gomrée, 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'environment naturel et la relation humaine-milieu dans le monde égéen protohistorique*, Aegeaum 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.

**Krzyszkowska, O. 2015b**. "Seal of the month, February 2015: *CMS* IX no. 36", (rock crystal discoid with "architectural" motif).

**Krzyszkowska, O. forthcoming**. "Seals from Petras Siteia: new insights for MM II hard stone glyptic", in *Πεπραγμένα ΙΑ΄ Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου, Ρέθυμνον 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 Limenas, 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. Nodarou, 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. Zahouani, 2008**. "Stone Vase Drilling in Bronze Age Crete", in *'Prehistoric Technology', Forty Years Later: Functional Studies and the Russian Legagy. 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 *Thravsma. 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 a Mallia. Le Quartier Mu, III. Artisans minoens: les maisons-ateliers du Quartier Mu*, EtCret 32, École française d'Athenes, Athens, 157-159, pls. 68-75.

**Osterholtz, A. J., K.M. Baustian & D.L. Martin (eds.) 2014**. *Commingled 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 sociopolitical 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 interregional 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 Monoagraphs 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 longboat, 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 'Architekturmotive' in der MM-Glyptik", in *Στέφανος Αριστείος: 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*, Ν.Ε. 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 *MELETEMATA. Studies in Aegean Archaeology presented to Malcolm H. Wiener as he enters his 65th 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, 208-2251, 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 utilization*, 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 Natufian 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-Sakellaraki 1997**. *Archanes. Minoan Crete in a New Light*, Ammos Publications, Athens.

**Sampson, A. 1988**. *Μάνικα ΙΙ. 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 Researchers 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 *MELETEMATA. 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, 25th–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 Harassowitz, 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. Hodgin, 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 patrilocality", *American Antiquity* 68, 93-108.

**Tomkins, P. 2010**. "Neolithic Antecendents", 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**. "Κεφάλα 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, Göteburg, 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 *MELETEMATA: 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 Ι' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου*, Χανιά, 1-8 Οκτωβρίου 2006 (A2), M. Andreadaki-Vlazaki & 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.), Festchrift 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, Α3: 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. Stampolidis & 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 theAsterousia, 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'Achaie 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 *Thravsma. 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 Protohistorique*, 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 16th 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. Kiriatzi, 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 Aglo-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. OPIZΩN. 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.

**Zapheiropoulou, P. 2008**. "Early Bronze Age cemeteries of the Kampos group on Ano Kouphonisi", in *HORIZON. OPIZΩN. A colloquium on the prehistory of the Cyclades*, M. Brodie, J. Doole, G. Gavalas & C. Renfrew (eds.), Mc Donald 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.

# Compare and contrast: The house tomb at Myrtos-Pyrgos*

*Gerald Cadogan*

*Abstract*

This paperexplores some parallels between the long-used house tomb at Myrtos-Pyrgos (Pyrgos II–IV; EM III/MM IA–LM I) on the south coast of Crete and the tombs in the Pre- and Proto-palatial cemetery at Petras, which is at least two days' journey away on the north coast. It is most unlikely that there was any sort of special relationship between the two sites, but apparent similarities — and dissimilarities — in how they coped with death should contribute to our understanding of both of them.

I focus on Pyrgos, while always looking towards Petras. Topics will include briefly: the placing of the Tomb in relation to the settlement and the river plain below; its monumental nature; the possibility (or not) of more tombs; the history of its use; the question of primary or secondary burials; differences between the human depositions in the Tomb chamber and the ossuaries; and changes over time in the types of goods deposited — where an unexpected parallel with Petras House Tomb 2 is found in the many early Protopalatial plates (shallow bowls) that had been deposited in a side-chamber.

Finally, I shall review the ideological significance of the Tomb, and give a quick summary of its use in Pyrgos IV (LM I).

This paper explore any similarities or differences between the Tomb, a house tomb, at Myrtos-Pyrgos and the house tombs at Kephala–Petras that may advance our explanations of both sites. We must keep in mind, however, that any analogies or contrasts are likely to be generic, and specific connections are less likely, as the sites are up to two days' walk from each other. Pendlebury gives 8.5 hours from Siteia to Gournia and 2.5 from Pacheia Ammos to Ierapetra.[1] From there to Myrtos along the coast used to be about two hours, as Mariani reported in 1895.[2]

Luckily, there are some similarities, which is why I am here; and we shall see some differences. But first I must stress that all remarks about the Tomb are provisional, until the volume in the forthcoming *Myrtos-Pyrgos* series is ready. It will also cover the evidence for occupation in the Pyrgos 0, I and II periods.

* My warmest thanks to Metaxia Tsipopoulou for inviting me, and for an excellent, constructive conference.

1 Pendlebury 1939, 9-11.

2 Mariani 1895, 155.

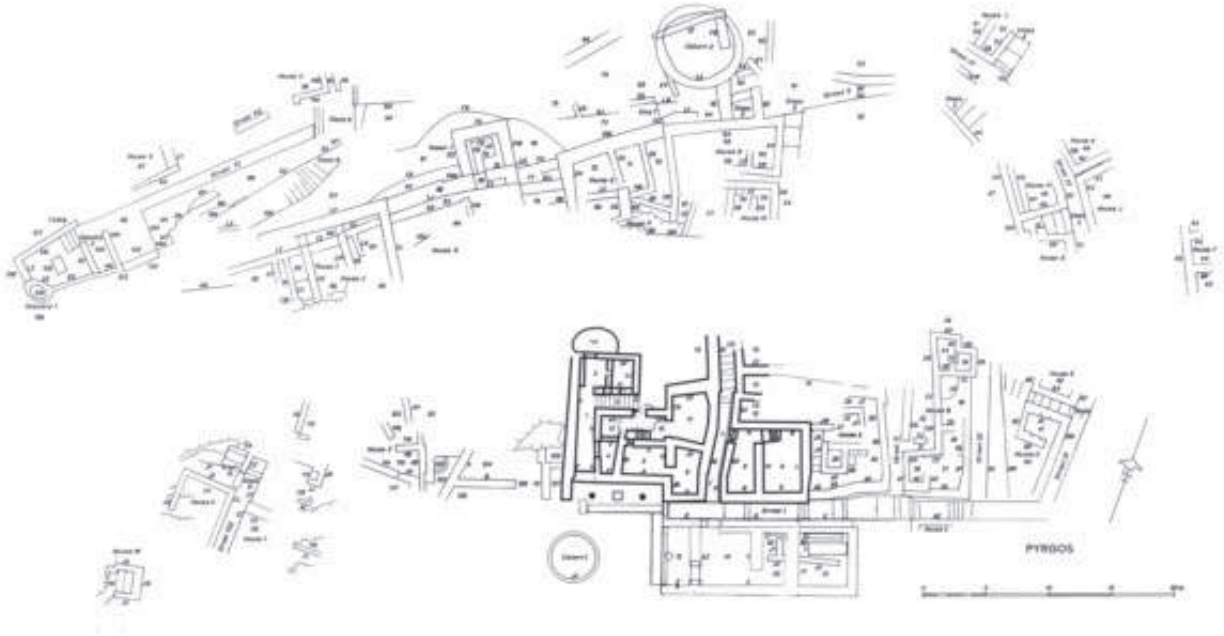


**Fig. 1**. Plan of Myrtos-Pyrgos, D. Smyth & P. Hacigüzeller.

In comparing the two sites, we can start at a blatant difference. The Pyrgos Tomb stands alone (Fig. 1).[3] It is not part of an extended cemetery like Kephala-Petras. The Pyrgos hill may, of course, hold other tombs — even house tombs — under the eroded debris that covered its slopes; but we have not found them, while the monumental character and, perhaps, the positioning of the Tomb may let us imagine that it was unique at Pyrgos. If this was the case, the implied big difference between Petras and Pyrgos must reflect different social needs: the Petras cemetery seems to have been for the use of all, or most, of its community, the Pyrgos tomb just for a sparse elite. This would reduce the value of comparing Pyrgos with Petras, except that the main comparisons at Pyrgos are with the superior House Tomb 2 at Petras (henceforth Tomb 2).[4]

Sound evidence supports the view that the Pyrgos Tomb was for the elite, indirectly in Pyrgos II (of EM III/MM IA to MM IIA) from the siting and arrangement of the Tomb complex, and directly in Pyrgos III (MM IIB) and IV (solely or mainly LM I) from the burials in the Tomb chamber and offerings in it or fallen into it. As I have discussed this, and other features of the Tomb, in the more recent papers cited in n. 3, what follows is a summary, focussed however on analogies with Petras.

Like Tomb 2,[5] the Tomb (Fig. 2) was placed in a conspicuous spot, at the west corner of the settlement and yet where it would have been seen by people working in the fields below in the Myrtos river valley or travelling through Myrtos by land. In the settlement, it was the destination of a stepped way (Steps 8) that came down the hill (Fig. 3), probably

3 Accounts and discussions of the Myrtos-Pyrgos Tomb, and its people and contents, include: Ovenden 1976; Cadogan 1978; 1992; 2006; 2011a; 2011b; 2011c; 2013a; Musgrave & Evans 1980; Hankey 1986; Legarra Herrero 2015; Musgrave 2015; Nafplioti 2015; Whitelaw 2015, 46.

4 Tsipopoulou 2012b; 2012d; this volume, "Documenting Sociopolitical Changes".

5 Tsipopoulou 2012b; 2012d.

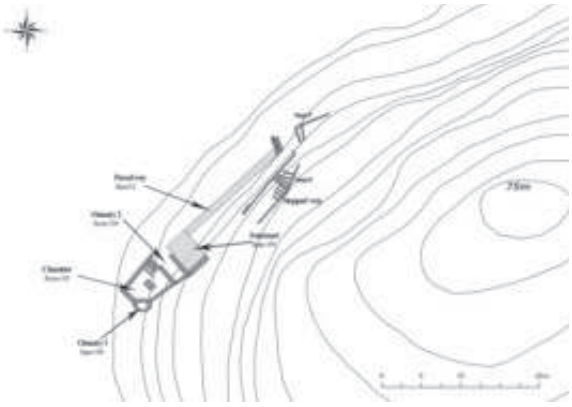

**Fig. 2**. Myrtos-Pyrgos: the Tomb complex. Drawing D. Smyth & P. Hacigüzeller.

**Fig. 3**. Forecourt with stone bench. Photo G. Cadogan.

from a gathering place of cosmological importance on the top of the hill (which could have been the Courtyard there), and passed through the settlement to join (at Steps 9) a paved processional way (Street VI) laid out on a terrace built over the debris of the destruction by fire that ended the EM II Pyrgos I settlement. The Street is 15 m long, and 20 m to the Tomb door.

Street VI led first to a small Forecourt (Space 100), where a restricted number of people could have gathered (the rest could have watched from nearby) outside the north entrance of the Tomb Chamber (Room 105), with access also to an ossuary (Ossuary 2/Room 104) next to the Chamber.

The east side of the Forecourt had a low stone bench or offering platform (Fig. 4); Tomb 2 had many. Where the Street and the Forecourt met was a stone with cupules (Fig. 5) — and there was another in much the same position when the Forecourt was re-laid towards the end of the Pyrgos II period. At Petras there were no such cupule-stones. The Street continued to the Chamber door. Here there would have been steps down from the Forecourt level, and there were more steps inside the door. In all it is a drop of about 2 m. But the vital details had vanished before we started — and we shall never know.

The Chamber, an irregular 5 x 3 m, has a stout central pier, still 1.10 m high, to support an upper floor or the roof, a feature that may derive from the Π-shaped central piers of the later houses at nearby EM II Fournou Koryfi.[6] EM II Pyrgos may well have had them too: the cultures are identical.

Sharing a party-wall with the Chamber was another ossuary (Ossuary 1/Space 106), a small oval pit containing a pithos, and packed with skulls set against the pithos and other bones.[7] A door socket in situ nearby shows access between the Ossuary and the Chamber.

The Tomb buildings and ceremonial approaches were built in EM III/MM IA at the start of the Pyrgos II period, when the site was re-inhabited following a break after the EM IIB destruction. The complex sits on and in burnt mud bricks and other debris of the destruction.[8]

A likely foundation deposit below the Forecourt,[9] with a combination of East Cretan EM III and poly-

6 Cadogan 2011b. For the Π-shaped piers of Fournou Koryfi, see now Shaw forthcoming.

7 Cadogan 1978, 73-4, fig. 9.

8 It may be that they were linked to the former life of Pyrgos, in the way that the EH IIB/III Tumulus at Argive Lerna was built over the House of the Tiles.

9 Cadogan 2011c, 108-9, figs. 5.5-5.6.

**Fig. 4**. Forecourt: cupule stone. Photo G. Cadogan.

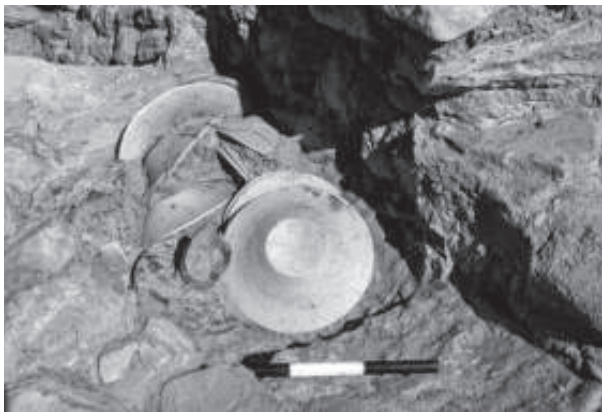

**Fig. 5**. Ossuary 2: some of the bowls and a lamp as found. Photo G. Cadogan.

chrome Central Cretan-style (and more Knossian than Phaistian) MM IA pottery,[10] exemplifies the fluctuating regional character of Pyrgos.[11] At Petras House Tomb 2 had two distinct phases. The earlier one is dated MM IA, and the burials, including one of the very few primary ones, were deposited in a large pit cut into the bedrock.[12] Culturally, Pyrgos was a frontier-site for much, if not all, of its long life. In Pyrgos I it seems to have marched with eastern Crete. In Pyrgos II central Cretan culture met eastern Cretan culture here, with links in pottery as far as Palaikastro — but more significant was the eastern type of tomb architecture. Pyrgos III saw an intimate relationship with Malia,[13] and the rest of the Lasithi-Mirabello region (as far as Chamaizi, I believe); in Pyrgos IV (LM I) the links reverted to Knossos. In (late) Hellenistic times its frontier role revived with the erection of a (frontier-) shrine of Hermes and Aphrodite to mark the western boundary of Hierapytna;[14] and in Venetian times, and later and, perhaps, earlier too, the Myrtos valley was the boundary between the provinces of Siteia and Candia.[15]

There are no burials in the Chamber from the time of the original use (Pyrgos IIb) of the Street and Tomb, but there were plenty of dead in Ossuaries 1 and 2. In later Pyrgos II, which continued into MM IB and IIA (paralleling Petras), the evidence of use comes not so much from burials (although some *may* date to Pyrgos IIc–d) as from the funerary equipment: lots of flaring bowls had been stacked (Fig. 6), with some lamps, on a plastered bench at the back of Ossuary 2. At Petras, the benches in HT2 were external, but not plastered; HT10, MM II has a large external plastered bench.[16] If there was not already an upper floor in Ossuary 2, one was probably inserted at this time when the Forecourt outside was raised 30 cm in a refurbishment of the Tomb. This can be linked to new gravel yards, with hearths, spread over the paving of Street VI, perhaps after disuse for some years, perhaps following violent storms and mud flows when the easiest thing was just to to lay out a new space over the debris. Either way, the changes

10 Cadogan 1978, 71, 73, figs. 6-7.
11 Cf. now Legarra Herrero 2015, 81.
12 Tsipopoulou this volume, "Documenting Sociopolitical Changes".
13 Cadogan 2013a.
14 Cadogan & Chaniotis 2010.
15 E.g., Basilicata 1618, pl. 27.
16 Tsipopoulou 2012a, 121, fig. 4; Tsipopoulou this volume, "Documenting Sociopolitical Changes".

show that the Tomb continued as an integral part of the life of the settlement.

The first semi-extended burials extant in the chamber are of Pyrgos III date: six men, who were given coarse ware jars from Malia, which were found upright in position next to them.[17]

In MM III Pyrgos seems abandoned:[18] the evidence includes the lack of burials in the Chamber, and rain-washed mud that had accumulated over the basal MM IIB burial level. Bits of charcoal and lime suggest fumigation (and/or cooking), and whitewashing (or burying in lime), which may mark the first steps to making the Tomb fit to use again, as happened in Pyrgos IV (LM I). The new burial level was around 50 cm higher than before. This would have reduced the height of the Chamber — and meant that, whether walking alive or laid out dead, one was literally on top of the Protopalatial (Pyrgos III) forebears who, for the first time in the history of the Tomb, had not been removed for re-deposition. Practically and ideologically, this is an important, if overlooked point about Minoan funerary practices, as Eirini Galli has highlighted in a recent article on the Krasi tholos tomb.[19]

The new level received fewer burials than were in the level below: three male trunks, but parts of four or more men in all. Two of the three skeletons were, one could say, enhanced, notably one young man who was given an older skull at an odd angle — perhaps it was his father's. There is no evidence for any female burials in the Chamber. More than 1000 pots had cascaded down over them from the room on the floor above (which probably had shelving), as well as daggers, stone vessels (at least two of them antiques), triton (*Charonia*) shells, and chlorite drill-guides,[20] suggesting that Pyrgos had a select group of stone vessel makers. (Making stone vessels is not surprising as the Myrtos area has some of the best serpentinite sources in Crete.) But the men were also hunters, in view of the goat or agrimi horns and dogs' paws in the Tomb.[21] And they were tall. Six of them, from both the Pyrgos III and the Pyrgos IV burial levels, averaged 1.69 m in height (as against 1.58 m in the Knossos Ailias cemetery),[22] and had good signs of longevity.[23] Finally, in interpreting this male elite, there may be a further piece of evidence to be extrapolated from Renaissance iconography: in his picture *Neptune and Amphitrite* (1516), Jan Gossaert paints a triton shell to cover/hide Neptune's penis (although the scrotum and testicles are still partly visible).[24] Could it be that the triton shell, several of which were among the goods fallen into the Chamber, had a specific male significance in Late Bronze Age Crete?

How does the Pyrgos Tomb help interpret the Petras cemetery? Apart from the big difference of its appearing to be an *ἅπαξ*, and without discussing the general point that it is another instance of the distinctive burial architecture of eastern Crete, I think we see the following similarities.

1. The Pyrgos Tomb was set so as to be both of the settlement and yet just outside it: a liminal position relating it to, and at the same time separating it from, the very first use or occupation of the hill in Pyrgos 0 (FN IV–EM I) and in EM II, while helping bestow the power through memory (whether real or imagined or both) of age and ancestry — as happened at Petras. For both sites we have no idea of the local 'political' history

17 Cadogan 1978, 73, fig. 8.

18 Cadogan 2013b.

19 Galli 2014. For a recent experience and the symbolic implications of the knowledge of living in a house built over a crypt full of human bones, see Inge 2014.

20 Cadogan 2011c, 113, fig. 5.10.

21 I thank Valasia Isaakidou, who is publishing the animal bones from Pyrgos, for the information.

22 I thank Jonathan Musgrave, who is publishing the human bones from Pyrgos, for the information.

23 Musgrave 2015.

24 The picture is in the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin. For a recent account of it (which, however, does not discuss this detail), see Bass 2011.

that influenced the decisions on where to site the burial grounds, but we can be sure there was some, as well as an indubitable spirit of place. Finally, it became clear at this Symposium how at Petras, as at Pyrgos, the new burial ground was sited over EM II buildings.[25]

2. Although on the west side and just below the top of the hill, it was still in a prominent position, a landmark emphasising authority and, I expect, ownership for a considerable distance around. Likewise, Kephala-Petras was a prominent site on a hill: its Greek toponym underlines that prominence.
3. In Pre- and Proto-palatial times the history of the two burial grounds is in general similar, and certainly some (perhaps all) of the burial practices were. Both burial grounds start at a time of consolidation (probably nucleation at Pyrgos) and would have been part of that process. And both the Pyrgos Tomb and Petras House Tomb 2 were monumental, Pyrgos as part of a grand design, but Tomb 2 stands out against the others. The Pyrgos Tomb had an upper floor and both tombs had gathering places, if for a limited number at Pyrgos (unless attendees were made to move on to allow access to others: the receiving line approach), and low platforms.

   The platforms were probably for offerings, if to benefit the living. (I recall a memorial service beside the grave [of Michalis Vrentzos] at the Analipsi church by the Idaian Cave, when the low cover of the tomb became a table for food, drink and cigarettes.[26]) By the late Prepalatial, the rites involved producing food that needed plates or bowls, such as soup or stew (and earlier we see a lot of cups, at least at Pyrgos), and there were lamps — which could mean ceremonies at night, or just that the tombs were dark. At both sites the bowls and lamps were stored to use another time.
4. The bones at both places show some evidence for family units among the dead. At Pyrgos it is a matter of recurring prominent jaws.[27] I am also struck by the males in Tomb 2 as a parallel for our males.
5. Since these are both burial places that were created in important locations at a time of civic resettlement and were then used for two or three centuries (not counting the LM I use of Pyrgos), I think we can see in both: the power of place and the power of ancestry linked to a naturally conservative view of life, and all deployed through the powerful symbolism of funerary rituals by the elite at Pyrgos and as represented in Petras Tomb 2 to maintain, among other things, the fact of their being in charge and, more than likely, the actual owners of the land. That the dead in the Chamber at Pyrgos are males makes it easier to accept some such scenario, at any rate by the end of the Protopalatial period. In Petras Tomb 2 on the other hand, there were also women, children and babies.
6. The refurbishment at Pyrgos in or by MM IIA may also be linked to a chain of important events, which Metaxia Tsipopoulou highlighted at the first Petras Symposium, both at Petras, with the building of the Palace overlapping the last uses of the Kephala cemetery (and a symbolic transference of power and ceremonial from the dead to the living), and elsewhere in the island with major works on the palaces or construction of Quartier Mu at Malia and, even at Pyrgos in MM IIA or IIB the construction of a Central Building with defence works and two remarkable cisterns.

All the same, we have to keep in mind that, almost as if in league with some of the tholos tombs of south central Crete (and perhaps as yet one more piece of

25 Tsipopoulou this volume, "Documenting Sociopolitical Changes".

26 This was in 1975. For the story of his death, and avenging, see Xyritakis 2011, 72-7.

27 Musgrave 2015, 89.

evidence of its frontier position), the Pyrgos Tomb does stand as a monument on its own, unlike the Petras cemetery. Furthermore, it was still in use in LM I, a time when few burials are seen anywhere in Crete, and not at Petras, although the LM IB jug and cup from the Rock Shelter[28] are a sign that, if not worship, at least awareness of what had been there before had not vanished altogether, recurring again in LM III, as David Rupp showed us.[29]

Both sites then offer a very long-lived sense of place and connection which, if it was at times interrupted, as must have happened, would all the same pop up again, to remind us of the inextinguishable diachronic values of life in Crete. As for the late Prepalatial and earlier Protopalatial, we have plenty of affinities between the two sites. I am sure that anyone making the two days' journey between them would have found much that was familiar when she or he reached the other end.

28 Tsipopoulou 2012b, 125-6, fig. 12.

29 Rupp this volume.

# Discussion

**Platon**: Did I understand correctly, the upper floor was used as a shrine?

**Cadogan**: I do not know. It seems that they deposited these 1000+ vases, and also the stone vases etc. at the upper floor, during LM I, but the truth is that we do not have any evidence about what was happening there in the earlier periods, in MM IIB as well as in the MM IIA.We know that there were all these dishes but for what purpose, or whether there was a shrine we do not know, although it should not be excluded.

**Platon**: In this case we might have a parallel with the Temple Tomb?

**Cadogan**: There is undoubtedly a parallel with the Temple Tomb, also for the tradition of its use.

**Muhly**: There must have been a real feeling that it was important to reoccupy the site, after the destruction in MM IIB. But when they came back things must have been a total mess. It must have taken them a long time to clean it up.

**Cadogan**: They did not only clean it up; they also built the Country House. One feels as if a Knossian master mason has been set down to put that there. And of course the importance of its position for the lines of communication must have played an important role. We know very well that the road goes through Viannos and comes down to the sea, at Myrtos. And also of course the route goes up through the river valley to the mountains. This is why it has always been such a global position and this is what we think is reflected in the changes of the material culture, especially the pottery, over the different periods, it is fluctuating because of the geoposition. But, incidentally, I am delighted to see the excavator of the tomb, and after that I found it pretty difficult and I was thinking I was not going to do much archaeology again, but here is Robin Barber, whom I have not spotted before, he was a trench supervisor, and he was a demanding undertaker.

**Palyvou**: Can I return to the issue of the upper floor?

**Cadogan**: Yes

**Palyvou**: I see the *υψομετρικές καμπύλες*, and, if I understand them correctly, the wall at the corner must be high. I mean if the road was shorter and the building was more to the right, it would fit better to the *υψομετρικές καμπύλες*. As I see it now, it looks more like a basement and ground floor, not like a ground floor and an upper floor.

**Cadogan**: You mean the Chamber?

**Palyvou**: Yes.

**Cadogan**: It is a semi-basement. There is quite a drop. Yes, you are right, and the unfortunate thing is that that bit of the wall washed away and there has been, I would not say illegal, but irregular excavation before we began which is precisely why you get a break in the architecture. It is easy enough to see this line carrying up straight on to the step, but there is a break in the architecture right there. Yes, it was semi-basement.

**Palyvou**: How you would approach it then?

**Cadogan**: You would then go first to the upper floor.

**Palyvou**: You would not see it then as an upper floor, not as a 2-story building from the road.

**Cadogan**: You would see it from down below as a 2-story building.

**Palyvou**: From down below, yes.

## *Greek Abstract*

**Σύγκριση και αντίθεση: Το ταφικό κτίριο στον Πύργο Μύρτου**

Η παρούσα ανακοίνωση ερευνά μερικά παράλληλα μεταξύ του μακρόβιου ταφικού κτιρίου του Πύργου Μύρτου (Πύργος ΙΙ–ΙV. ΠΜ ΙΙΙ/ΜΜ ΙΑ–ΥΜ Ι) στη νότια ακτή της Κρήτης και των τάφων του Προανακτορικού – Παλαιοανακτορικού νεκροταφείου του Πετρά, το οποίο απέχει τουλάχιστον δύο ημερών δρόμο προς τη βόρεια ακτή. Είναι απίθανο ότι υπήρχε οποιαδήποτε ειδική σχέση μεταξύ των δύο χώρων, αλλά εμφανείς ομοιότητες — και διαφορές — ως προς το πώς αντιμετώπισαν το θάνατο συνεισφέρουν στην κατανόησή μας και των δύο.

Εστιάζω στον Πύργο, ενώ παράλληλα κοιτάζω και προς τον Πετρά. Τα θέματα περιλαμβάνουν εν συντομία: – Την θέση του Τάφου σε σχέση με τον οικισμό και την κοιλάδα του ποταμού παρακάτω. – Την μνημειώδη φύση του. – Την πιθανότητα ύπαρξης (ή μη) άλλων τάφων. – Την ιστορία της χρήσης του. – Το θέμα των πρωτογενών και δευτερογενών ταφών. – Διαφορές μεταξύ των ταφικών αποθέσεων στον θάλαμο του Τάφου και στα οστεοφυλάκια. – Αλλαγές διαχρονικά στους τύπους των κτερισμάτων — όπου υπάρχει ένα απρόσμενο παράλληλο με το Ταφικό Κτίριο 2 του Πετρά στα πολλά ρηχά πινάκια που είχαν αποτεθεί σε ένα πλευρικό δωμάτιο.

Τέλος, κάνω επισκόπηση της ιδεολογικής σημασίας του Τάφου και δίνω σύνοψη της χρήσης του στη φάση Πύργος IV (ΥΜ Ι).

❋ ❋ ❋