

Petras, Siteia

25 years of excavations and studies

Edited by *Metaxia Tsipopoulou*



Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens
Volume 16

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

Edited by

Metaxia Tsipopoulou



Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens
Volume 16

© Copyright The Danish Institute at Athens, Athens 2012

Petras, Siteia – 25 years of excavations and studies

Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens

Volume 16

General Editor: Rune Frederiksen

Graphic design: Erik Hallager and Garifalia Kostopoulou

Proof reading: Metaxia Tsipopoulou, David W. Rupp, Maria Psallida

Translation of abstracts: Metaxia Tsipopoulou

Printed at Narayana Press

Printed in Denmark on permanent paper

Conforming to ANSI Z 39.48-1992

The publication was sponsored by:

The Institute for Aegean Prehistory

ISBN: 978 87 7124 053 5

Distributed by:

AARHUS UNIVERSITY PRESS

Langelandsgade 177

DK-8200 Århus N

www.unipress.dk

Gazelle Book Services Ltd.

White Cross Mills, Hightown

Lancaster LA1 4XS, England

www.gazellebooks.com

The David Brown Book Company (DBBC)

P.O. Box 511

Oakville, CT 06779, USA

www.oxbowbooks.com

Front cover:

Dapper, O. 1688, *Naukeurige Beschryving der Einlanden in de Archipel der Middellantsche zee; en ontrent dezelve, gelegen*, 215 (Collection of Metaxia Tsipopoulou)

Graphic design by Garifalia Kostopoulou and Metaxia Tsipopoulou

Back cover:

Graphic design by Garifalia Kostopoulou and Metaxia Tsipopoulou

Contents

11 List of contributors

13 Preface
Metaxia Tsipopoulou

15 Abbreviations

16 Bibliography

43 Greetings
from *Erik Hallager*

45 Introduction: 25 years of excavations and studies at Petras
Metaxia Tsipopoulou

I. The earliest occupation: FN-EM I Kephala

69 Back to the beginnings: the earliest habitation at Petras on the basis of the evidence from the FN-EM I settlement on Kephala
Yiannis Papadatos

81 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
Eleni Nodarou

89 Neolithic and Minoan marine exploitation at Petras: diachronic trends and cultural shifts
Tatiana Theodoropoulou

105 Obsidian modes of production and consumption from a diachronic perspective as seen from Petras and the Siteia Bay environs (abstract)
Cesare D'Annibale

II. The Prepalatial-early Protopalatial cemetery

107 The architecture of the house tombs at Petras
Philip P. Betancourt

117 The Prepalatial-early Protopalatial cemetery at Petras, Siteia: a diachronic symbol of social coherence
Metaxia Tsipopoulou

- 133 Affluence in eastern Crete: metal objects from the cemetery of Petras
Susan C. Ferrence, James D. Muhly & Philip P. Betancourt
- 145 Seals from the Petras cemetery: a preliminary overview
Olga Krzyszkowska
- 161 Kephala Petras: the human remains and the burial practices in the Rock Shelter
Sevasti Triantaphyllou
- 171 Size does matter: the significance of obsidian microliths and querns at the Petras cemetery
Heidi M.C. Dierckx

III. The transition from the Prepalatial to the Protopalatial

- 179 Defining the end of the Prepalatial period at Petras
Metaxia Tsipopoulou
- 191 The Lakkos pottery and Middle Minoan IB Petras
Donald C. Haggis

IV. Neopalatial Petras

- 205 Petras, Siteia: political, economic and ideological trajectories of a polity
Kostis S. Christakis
- 221 House II.1 at Petras, Siteia: its architectural life
Nektaria Mavroudi
- 235 Vessels in cooking fabrics from Petras House I.1 (LM IA): overview and capacity measures
Maria Emanuela Alberti
- 255 Miniature vessels from Petras
Anna Simandiraki-Grimshaw
- 265 Literacy at Petras and three hitherto unpublished Linear A inscriptions
Erik Hallager
- 277 Death in Petras: two men fighting on a LM IA lentoid seal
David W. Rupp
- 291 The Petras intramural infant jar burial: context, symbolism, eschatology
Photini J.P. McGeorge
- 305 Priestess? at work: a LM IA chlorite schist lentoid seal from the Neopalatial settlement of Petras
David W. Rupp & Metaxia Tsipopoulou

V. The Byzantine cemetery

- 315 Pottery of the Middle Byzantine period and the first centuries of the Venetian occupation from Petras, Siteia
Natalia Poulou-Papadimitriou

VI. The Siteia Bay area

- 327 Papadiokampos and the Siteia Bay in the second millennium BC: exploring patterns of regional hierarchy and exchange in eastern Crete
Chrysa Sofianou & Thomas M. Brogan

VII. www.petras-excavations.gr

- 341 The website www.petras-excavations.gr
Konstantinos Tógias

- 347 **VIII. Final discussion**
chaired by *J. Alexander MacGillivray*

IX. Concluding remarks

- 355 Petras in context: localism, regionalism, internationalism
Peter M. Warren
- 361 Index

Preface

Βίος ἀνεόρταστος, μακρά ὁδὸς ἀπανδόχεντος.
Demokritos (470–370 BC)

It is indeed hard and dull to lead a life, both personal and professional, without celebrations, anniversaries, gatherings of friends and colleagues, symposia of any type. The 25th anniversary of the Petras excavations offered a wonderful opportunity for me to organize a Symposium, and for an international group of scholars, known for many things, including being members of the Petras team, to work hard, and then gather in Athens and present the results of their studies.

It was an exciting experience organizing and conducting this two-day Conference, and also editing the Proceedings and preparing the present book. I was very happy to be able to work during the multiple tasks of the preparation, the coordination of the contributors, the two days of the event itself, the collection of the papers and the editing of the present volume, with two hard working, creative, and very patient colleagues, Ms Garifalia Kostopoulou and Dr Maria Psallida. They are responsible before the event for the invitations, the preparation of the catering, the reservation of the restaurant for the speakers' dinner, and the printed material of the Conference. During the Symposium they made sure that everything went smoothly. After the Conference they worked for many months to do the pagination, the bibliography and the list of contributors, and they helped significantly with the proof reading and the index (Psallida), and the plates and the cover design (Kostopoulou). The editing of the volume was a very interesting task for me, and having no day job at the Ministry after the end of November 2011, a victim of the crisis that struck Greece, I was able to dedicate myself entirely to it. Furthermore, I am responsible for the transcription of the discussions, an interesting first-time experience. Many thanks go to David Rupp who patiently corrected all the English manuscripts of the 11 non-native speakers, as well as the dis-

cussions. Also my warmest thanks to Melissa Eaby for the final proof reading and significant improvements. The specialized text of Konstantinos Togias, the developer of the Petras website, was translated from Greek by Ms Effie Patsatzi, Museologist, a specialist in the Management of Digital Heritage.

Dr Erik Hallager is responsible for the final pagination and the insertion of the figures into the text.

I wish also to thank the creators of the four posters presented at the Conference: two posters, one of which was in collaboration with the director of the excavation, were by Ms Clio Zervaki, the Petras Conservator, MA in Museology and MA in Cultural Management, and another two were by Garifalia Kostopoulou.

The Danish Institute at Athens, and its two consecutive Directors, Erik Hallager, a dear old friend and member of the Petras team, and Rune Frederiksen, have my gratitude for hosting the Symposium and for including the publication in the series of monographs of the Institute.

The Institute for Aegean Prehistory (INSTAP), which has been supporting the excavations at Petras, the conservation of the finds and the studies since 1987, also funded the Symposium and the publication of the present volume. My deep gratitude goes to INSTAP and its Executive Director, Philip Betancourt, also a good friend and member of the Petras team.

The success of the Symposium, which was really a wonderful and very stimulating experience, is due to all the participants, the speakers, and the chairpersons. More than 100 colleagues, Greeks and foreigners, from the Hellenic Archaeological Service, the Universities and the Foreign Schools of Archaeology in Greece, including senior members and graduate students, were present at the Danish Institute, and were very active during the discussions. They contributed to the creation of a very

friendly and positive atmosphere throughout the Symposium. A very special thanks goes to the chairpersons, Philip Betancourt, Michael Wedde, David Rupp, Erik Hallager, Colin Macdonald, Lefteris Platon, Thomas Brogan, Olga Krzyszkowska and Alexander MacGillivray. I am very grateful to Peter Warren, my mentor, who enthusiastically agreed to write the concluding remarks for this volume.

Three generations of scholars participated at the Symposium, some of the younger ones had come to Petras as undergraduate or graduate students, long ago. Their names in the order they presented their papers are: Yiannis Papadatos, Eleni Nodarou, Tatiana Theodoropoulou, Cesare D'Annibale, Philip P. Betancourt, Susan C. Ferrence, James D. Muhly, Olga Krzyszkowska, Sevasti Triantaphyllou, Heidi M.C. Dierckx, Donald C. Haggis, Maria Emanuela

Alberti, Kostis S. Christakis, Nektaria Mavroudi, Erik Hallager, David W. Rupp, Anna Simandiraki-Grimshaw, Photini J.P. McGeorge, Natalia Poulou-Papadimitriou, Chrysa Sofianou, Thomas M. Brogan and Konstantinos Togias.

The 25 years of the Petras excavations and studies coincided with a period of crisis for Greece that worsened significantly between October 2010, the time of the Symposium, and spring 2012, the time these lines are written. From the beginning my idea for the organization of this event and its publication was an idea of resistance to the crisis. I am very happy that we succeeded and very grateful to all who worked hard and made this success happen.

Athens, Exarcheia, Easter 2012
Metaxia Tsipopoulou

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
PPN	Pre-Pottery Neolithic

Petras Area

HT	House Tomb
L	Lakkos
P	Petras

P.TSK	Petras cemetery
P.TSU	Petras-Rock Shelter
Σ-palace	Stratigraphical trenches of the palace

Other

A.S.L.	Above Sea Level
diam.	diameter
gr	gram
h	height
kg	kilogram
w	width
wt	weight
th	thickness
lt	liter
NISP	Number of Identifiable Specimens
MNI	Minimum Number of Individuals
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 applied.



The Petras intramural infant jar burial: context, symbolism, eschatology*

Photini J.P. McGeorge

Abstract

A LM IA intramural infant pot burial was discovered at Petras in 1989, found in an inverted position and interred in the courtyard of House I.1. This paper briefly presents the results of the anthropological study, discusses evidence for the dangers of childbirth at that period and reviews the cultural practice of intramural burials of infants not only in Greece, but also in Anatolia, the Levant and Egypt. This age-old and widespread practice began with the earliest settled communities in the Near East and continued down to the Iron Age. It seems to suggest an underlying *koine* of belief, though given the complexity of human nature and the infinite variety in the expression of human culture and beliefs there need not necessarily be a single explanation for its use at all times and in all places. Inverted pithos burials have been reported in tombs and at numerous formal cemeteries on Crete, for instance at Sphoungaras (Hall 1912) and at Pacheia Ammos, where all 213 pithos burials were inverted (Seager 1916). This curious phenomenon has never been satisfactorily explained. At Petras, the purposeful placement of the infant in the pithos in an inverted position conveys a funerary symbolism, which is possibly the clearest and most unambiguous articulation of the Minoans' religious belief in rebirth and hope for an afterlife.

In 1989 the remains of an infant buried in a small pithos were recovered in the west courtyard of House I.1 (Fig. 1), close to a wall and enclosed by a circle of stones. The jar is Neopalatial and its stratigraphic context dates the burial to LM IA; the child's head (Fig. 2a) was near the opening of the jar. The mystery was why had the jar been placed in

an inverted position (Fig. 2b). The infant's bones, though fragile, were in a reasonably sound state of

* I sincerely thank Metaxia Tsipopoulou for her invitation to study this find and for generously providing the plan and photos from the excavation archive and Garifalia Kostopoulou for locating and sending them to me.

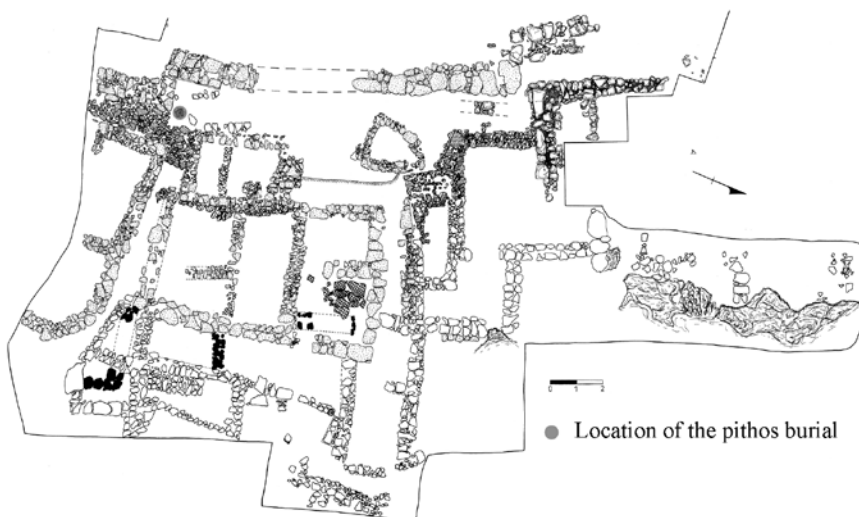


Fig. 1. Location of pithos burial marked on excavation plan.

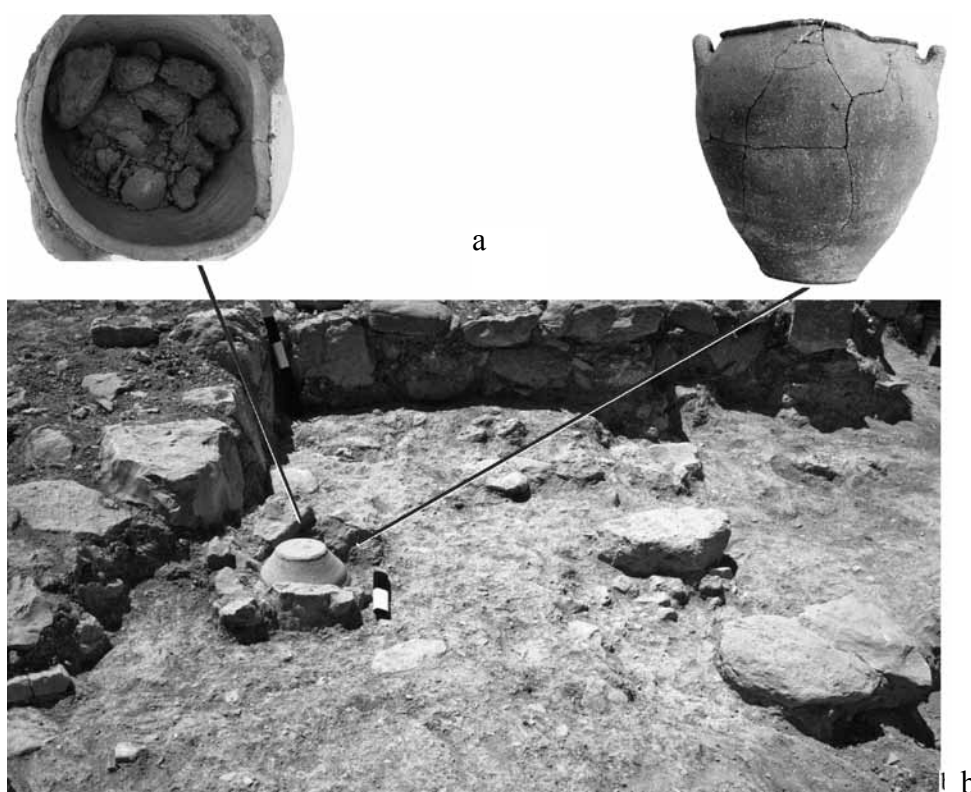


Fig. 2. a) Burial pithos and its interior with cranium and bones visible; b) Burial *in situ*: inverted pithos encircled by stones.

preservation. They consist of fragments of the cranium: the frontal bones the zygomatic, the parietal bones, and squamous part of the occipital bone. Vertebral elements, ribs, even tiny fingers and toes were also found. Upper and lower limb bones included: humeri, radii, a right ulna, right femur, tibia and fibula.

The mandible (right horizontal ramus) retained a deciduous first molar in the crypt (Fig. 3a). The development of the first molar tooth germ begins at five months in utero. The maxilla must have melted in the process of decomposition but loose teeth (Fig. 3b) were found, including the deciduous up-

per right central incisor, which begins to calcify at 3–4 months in utero. The occlusal surface of the distal half of the crown of the deciduous 2nd molar was formed. Initial calcification of this tooth begins at 6 months in utero. The state of mineralization of the milk teeth indicates that this was a pre-term infant.

This is verified by the measurements of the petrous bones (25.3 & 26.7 mm) (Table 1, Fig. 3c) and the pars lateralis (16.3 mm), which correspond to an age of about 32 weeks gestation.¹ This pre-term infant must have been either stillborn or died soon after birth, as its survival would have been seriously compromised by the immaturity of its vital organs.

The preservation of this 32-week fetus's remains is exceptional thanks to the pithos. Very immature fetal remains are rarely found in excavations due to their fragility. Cemetery data for the LM I period are virtually non-existent, but studies of skeletal material from LM III cemetery populations show a high perinatal and neonatal mortality. At Arme-

Table 1

	Right	Left	Fetal
Pars Petrosa Length	26.7	25.3	27.7*
Pars Petrosa Width	11.6	13.6	13.5*
Pars Lateralis Length		[16.3]	17.0*

Square brackets denote preserved length

*Fetal data from Scheuer & Black 2000.

¹ Scheuer & Black 2000, 83.

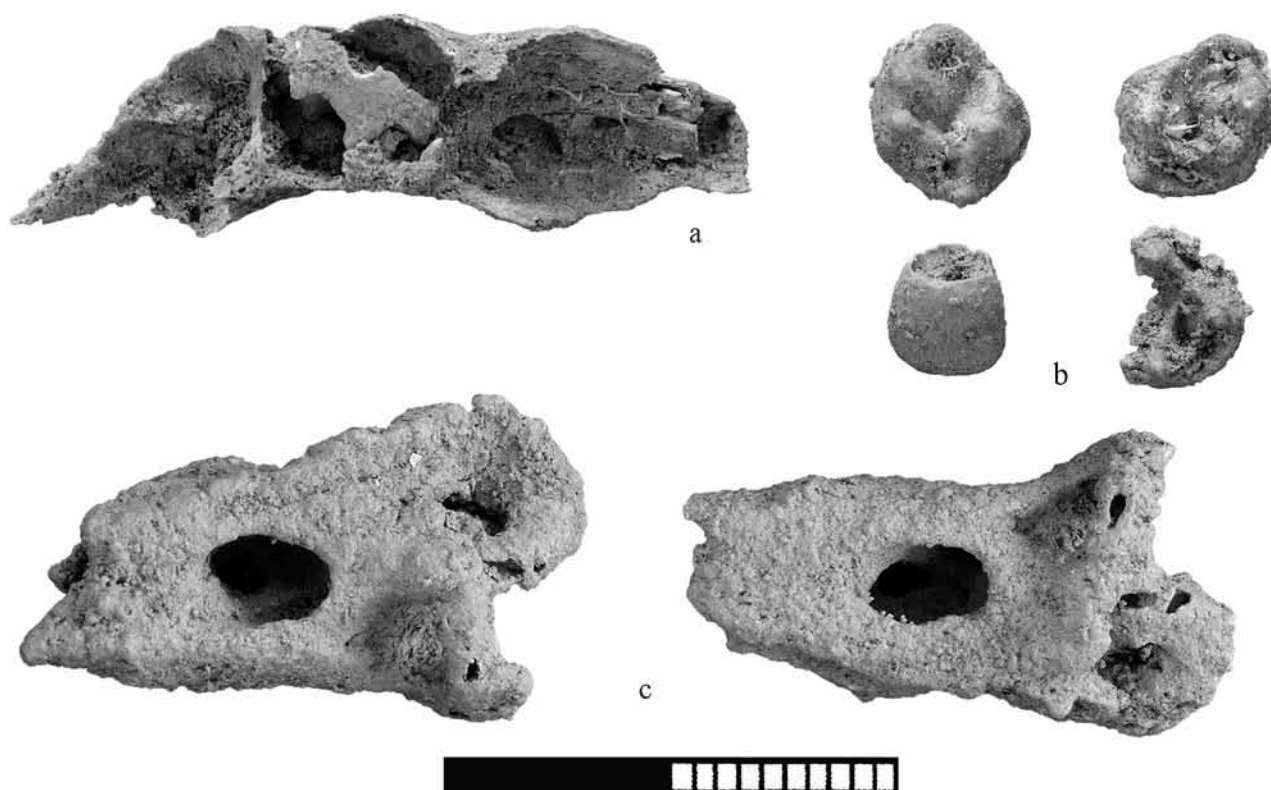


Fig. 3. a) Mandible with encrypted molar; b) Loose teeth; c) Petrous bones.

noi, in a sample of 114 sub-adults including fetal, neonatal, infant and children's remains up to the age of sixteen, 22–25% had died either at or not long after birth. At Palama St., one teenage mother had died with a fetus still in her womb, illustrating that childbirth was an event with a very uncertain outcome.² These dangers gave rise to the cult of Eileithyia, guardian of women in childbirth.³ Common causes of mortality around birth are associated with poor maternal health during pregnancy, genetic or developmental abnormalities and birth trauma.

Intramural infant and child burials at other Minoan sites

Interments inside a house, or outside a house in an open area such as a courtyard, are designated intramural, in contrast to extramural burials in cemeteries. The Minoans normally buried their dead extramurally. The intramural burial of infants

or children is not common at Minoan sites, but there are a score of examples now known from sites throughout the island (Fig. 4).

The earliest Minoan intramural jar burial is the one dated to EM II found at Nopigeia, Kissamos. At the corner of a building in an open area paved with pebbles, a pithos (<0.5 m tall) lay on its side in a shallow pit, the mouth of the jar pointing westwards. The child, less than three years old, was buried with two obsidian blades. This burial is of course many centuries earlier than the one at Petras.⁴

Two intramural burials, contemporary with the burial at Petras, were discovered in 2009–2010 in

² McGeorge 2008; Hallager & McGeorge 1992.

³ The sacred caves at Amnisos and Inatos were dedicated to her worship. Offerings of honey to *e-re-u-ti-ja* are recorded in the Linear B tablets. Eileithyia was later incorporated into Greek mythology as daughter of Hera and is portrayed on a pictorial vase assisting Leto at the birth of Apollo (Kakrides 1987, 142).

⁴ Karantzali 1997, 66–81.

the excavations at Sissi, in different rooms of the same House BC. One was a newborn infant, the other a child of three to four years old. Both were interred in pyxis-type vessels, and date to LM IA. Moreover, an LM IB sub-floor burial was reported in the Artisans' Quarter at Mochlos.⁵

There are more intramural burials at Knossos than at any other site: several date to LM IA/IB; one is dated to LM II, but the majority date to LM IIIC and the Subminoan period. Popham found four sub-floor intramural burials in the Unexplored Mansion (three fetuses: 33, 35 and 38 weeks and a newborn) in Rooms C, M and L. He had some doubts about the date of the one found in the fill of Corridor L, but the other three were securely dated to LM IA: a 38-week fetus had been buried in a shallow pit close to the west wall in Room C; a 35-week fetus was buried under the floor of Room M, and a newborn, which had survived a few days, lay crouched on its side in a stone-lined cist below the west end of Corridor L. There were no finds with these burials.⁶

Hogarth found the grave of a newborn infant under "the flooring of a room" in one of the houses excavated on Gypsades Hill. There were no finds with the burial, which may be dated to LM IA or possibly to within the LM IB period. A stemmed cup with a banded adder pattern was found in the room.⁷

Theoretically, one might add to this list the interment of multiple children excavated by Warren in the basement of the LM IB North House at Knossos. Two small rooms were accessed through a corridor leading off the north courtyard. In the first and smaller of the two rooms (1.85 x 1.10 m) were the remains of four children, aged 12, 8 and younger. Many bones bore cut marks, which created an enigma.⁸ A collection of drinking vessels and bowls were stored in the adjacent room (2.18 x 1.60 m). In another much larger room accessed from the courtyard, there were similar vessels, tripod cooking pots and a jug inside a large pithos which contained nine more human bones (one a vertebra with a cut mark), besides other items characterized as cult equipment. The excavator estimated that the cut marks on the bones in the small room, in conjunction with the finds in the other rooms, were evidence of ritual. These, albeit unusual, inhumations are also intramural.⁹

In the same excavation, Warren discovered an infant burial in a building, which he called the Gypsum House (impressive for the liberal use of gypsum for floors, thresholds, staircases and cupboards). Next to the central room which was adorned with frescoes, there was a room with a simple earthen floor and kitchenware. On the floor were several vases: a tripod cooking pot, a stirrup jar, a decorated jug and a plain kylix. The baby had been laid in a pit below this floor. The find is dated to LM II.¹⁰

At Phaistos there are two intramural pithos burials of full-term low birth weight or near-term newborn infants. The infant in Room 5 was buried in a double-handled globular cooking jar and covered with the bottom of another coarse ware vessel near the north wall of the room. On the LM IIIC floor, a stone cupboard located directly above the burial contained another cooking jar with burnt seeds. The "cupboard" actually appeared to be constructed around the jar to keep it stable. It is believed that the seeds might have been an offering.¹¹ A few metres to the east of this burial, another infant was buried in a tubular vase below the floor of Room 4. Both burials date to LM IIIB.

At Palaikastro there is a parallel to the Phaistos infant also buried below a cupboard. Two rooms, designated Areas 25 and 26, were excavated in 1987

⁵ Thanks to J. Driessen for information about the Sissi burials; Soles 2003, on Mochlos.

⁶ Popham 1984, 309.

⁷ Hogarth 1899–1900, 70–84, fig. 23.

⁸ There were two skulls. A tooth and a skull fragment which could not be attributed to child A or B represented a third individual, whilst leg bones proved that there were four children. 40% of the bones bore cut marks suggesting that they had been de-fleshed (Wall *et al.* 1986, 81, 341, table 2.374, 377). Nine adult bones were found, one outside the corridor and eight in the courtyard, but none of these had cut marks (Wall *et al.* 1986, 346).

⁹ A discussion of the stratigraphic sequence, Wall *et al.* (1986, 344–5) debated whether or not the bones had fallen from an upper floor; and whether they preceded or were part of the destruction layer. The interpretation of the find as evidence of human sacrifice or cannibalism (Wall *et al.* 1986, 386–8) is one possible explanation; another is preparation for secondary burial (Tumasonis 1983, 306–7); also Hughes 1991, 18–26.

¹⁰ Warren 1982–83, 63–87.

¹¹ See E. Borgna: *Casa a ovest del piazzale I*, and my contribution McGeorge forthcoming, "Due sepolture a enchytrismos".

at the southeast corner of Building 3.¹² The larger, Area 25, gave access through a 50 cm wide doorway to Area 26, which had an unusual rhomboidal plan, interpreted as a “small cupboard or storage compartment” (1.60 x 0.80 x 1.40 m). Set in the trodden earth surface of the southwest corner, to the right of the entrance, was a *gourna*. Below the floor was a 50 cm dense deposit of pottery, which included a decorated amphoroid krater with “the almost complete, articulated skeleton of a child”, placed in a crouching position with a small kalathos over its head. The skeleton, which is illustrated, appears to be a newborn.¹³ The suggested date of the deposit is LM IIIA2/B.

A slightly later intramural burial was found at Khania, in the Hagia Aikaterini Square excavations. This pre-term infant, about 37 weeks’ gestation, had not been buried in any kind of vessel. Nevertheless, the two surviving iliac bones were excellently preserved, buried under the LM IIIB2 floor. There was a hearth in the centre of the sizeable Room E (6.5 x 4.5 m). On the clay floor there were two bowls found in different corners, a small tripod cooking pot and a cooking dish. The infant had been laid in a shallow pit less than a metre distant from the hearth.¹⁴

In the archaeological reports on the Stratigraphical Museum excavation at Knossos, Warren mentions that sub-floor “infant burials were found over the whole site”. The majority were provisionally dated to LM IIIC. One burial, found under the floor of a room with a clay bench, had been covered by a large *lekane*; a revised LM IIIB date is given in a later publication.¹⁵ A large krater was found in the fill of the room. Warren’s report is provisional and does not give details or the precise number of burials, which are attributed to Mycenaean influence. Two more intramural infant burials found were dated to the Subminoan period.¹⁶

This brings the current total to a minimum of 21 intramural burials of infants or children at several sites spread over the length and breadth of the island, though concentrated more in East and Central Crete, with the majority at Knossos. Six cases were full-term newborn infants;¹⁷ five were pre-term, born prematurely.¹⁸ Two older children were buried at Nopigeia (< three years old) and

at Sissi (a three to four year old), not to mention the older children from the basement of the North House. The other LM IIIC and Subminoan cases from Knossos were reported as “infants”.

In Crete the EM II burial at Nopigeia coincides with the simultaneous appearance in EH II–III of intramural infant burials at numerous sites on the Mainland and the islands, attributed to a westward movement of populations from Anatolia. In LM IA the custom re-appears in East Crete at Petras and Sissi, and in the centre of the island at Knossos, where the majority of cases have been found and where the population was probably densest and the social landscape most cosmopolitan, perhaps already including Mainlanders.¹⁹ In LM III intramural burial appears at Phaistos, Khania and Palaikastro, urban centres whose populations probably also included foreigners. At Knossos, the custom may have persisted from LM IA to Subminoan, or elsewhere been re-introduced by later incursions of foreigners, probably predominantly Mycenaean. Extramural cemeteries of the LM I period are virtually unknown, so it is difficult to appraise this

¹² I am grateful to A.J. MacGillivray for kindly mentioning the Palaikastro burial to me; MacGillivray 1988, 259–73, fig. 7, pl. 47f.

¹³ Using the scale in the photograph, the femur appears to be 73.3 mm and the tibia 6.66 mm, corresponding well with the lengths of diaphyses at 10 lunar months. Scheuer & Black 2000, 393, table 11.1.

¹⁴ Hallager & Hallager 2003, 24–33, 276, 301–3.

¹⁵ Warren (in Hallager & Hallager 1997, 169–72) has revised the date to LM IIIB.

¹⁶ Warren 1980–81, 73–92; Warren 1982–83, 63–87.

¹⁷ Sissi, the Unexplored Mansion, Gypsades, Phaistos (2), and Palaikastro.

¹⁸ Petras, the Unexplored Mansion (3) and Khania.

¹⁹ An examination of 170 personal names on the Knossos As tablets, compared with tablets from Pylos, Mycenae and Thebes, concluded that: 1) there was a common stock of Greek names at Knossos and on the Mainland; 2) that non-Greek names found their way to the Mainland between the fall of Knossos and the destruction of the Mainland palaces, perhaps through intermarriage and migration; 3) at the time the tablets were written, Greek and non-Greek names were “inextricably mixed”, though non-Greek (= local) names outnumber Greek names at Knossos by 3:1; 4) there are a few names that show similarities to Near Eastern names, especially Hittite. Baumbach 1983, 3–10.

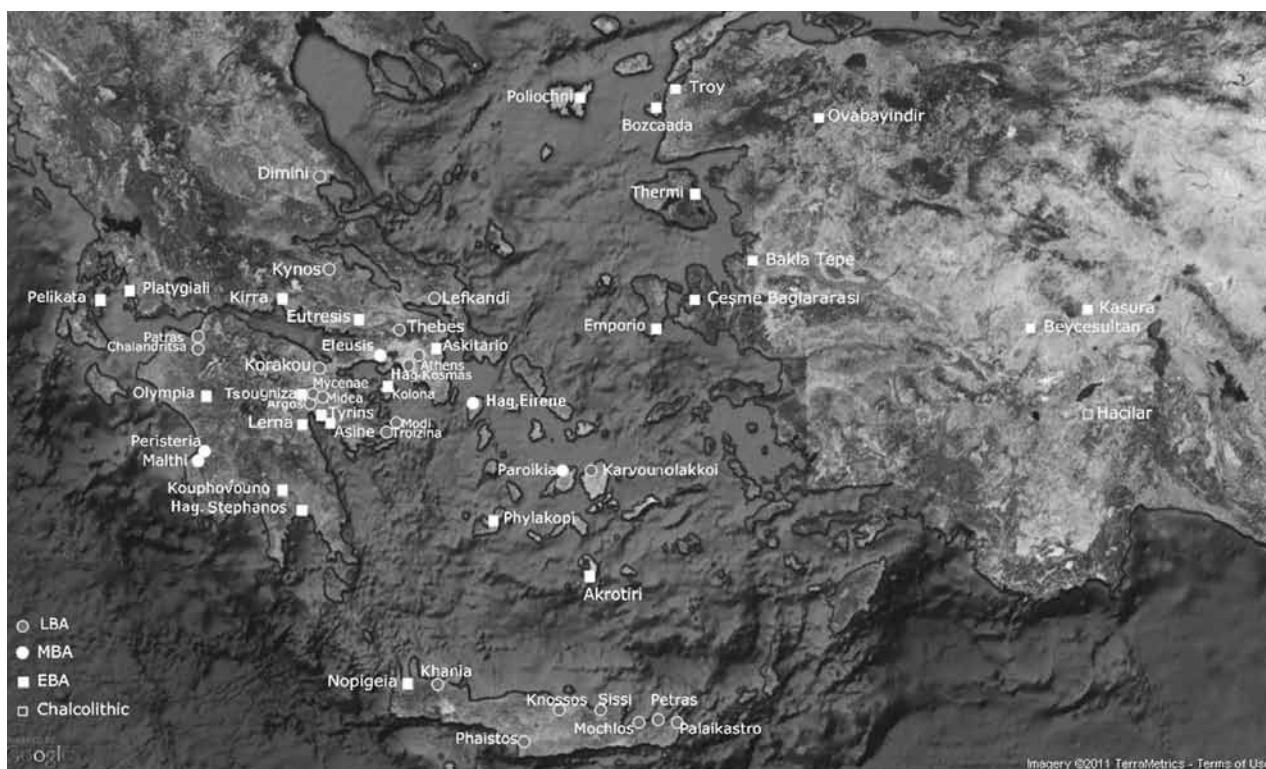


Fig. 4. Map of Crete, Greece and western Anatolia.

custom as an alternative to whatever methods of disposal were preferred for adults.²⁰

Most intramural burials were made in places where daily household tasks, involving the preparation of food in particular, would have been undertaken, in an area where a child's mother would probably have spent much of her day. At Khania the child was buried close to the household hearth; at Phaistos and Palaikastro infants were buried below cupboards probably used for the storage of grain. In the Gypsum House a child was buried below a room with a simple earthen floor on which vessels associated with eating and drinking were found. Courtyards, like the one at Petras, must have been places where people spent time on household or social activities. There is little uniformity in these intramural burials apart from a generic resemblance amongst coarse ware vessels used as receptacles²¹ and the absence of gifts. The unifying characteristic is that the burials were made under floors where there must have been constant domestic activity, possibly signifying a desire to keep newborn infants within the family circle.

Intramural burials of infants and children on the Greek Mainland and islands

Intramural burial occurs on the Greek Mainland and at Knossos from the Early Neolithic period, and on various Aegean islands from the Early Bronze Age. Intramural burials of newborn infants and babies were sometimes placed in simple pits below the floors of houses, in baskets or wrapped in cloth of which an impression occasionally survives, in cists or small clay storage jars, or sometimes placed on a layer of pebbles. Such burials are known at over 40 sites throughout Greece and the islands (Fig. 4); the majority date to EH II/III. Eight sites are Neolithic: the earliest is at Axios, where a newborn was placed in a pithos under the floor; at Sesklo there are possibly two infants buri-

²⁰ An exception is the House Tomb at Myrtos Pyrgos, last used in LM I according to the excavator, G. Cadogan.

²¹ The decorated amphoroid krater at Palaikastro is the exception.

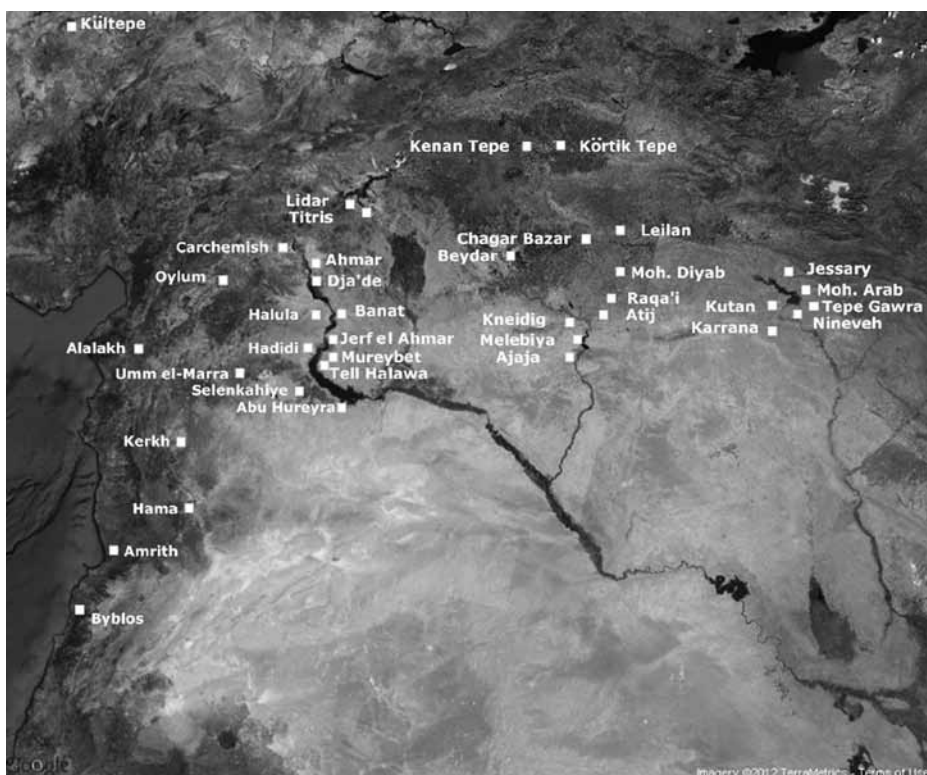


Fig. 5. Map of southeast Anatolia, Syria and northern Mesopotamia.

als; one at Argissa; Chaeronea and Hagios Petros (MN); Lerna, Nea Nikomedeia and Rachmani in Thessaly (LN).²² There are over 20 EH II/III sites, and a similar number of MBA/LBA sites,²³ amongst which Asine stands out with a record number of 57 infant or child burials in pithoi, small vases or pits. An LH IIIA intramural child burial was reported from Mycenae, Petsas House Room T, with three vases and gold papyrus beads; but there are apparently numerous unpublished infant burials from this site.²⁴ Lefkandi on Euboea is another site with an exceptional number of LH II and LH IIIC intramural burials: 15 fetuses, infants, children and five adults. A late LBA sub-floor child's burial was reported at Karvounolakkoi on Naxos.²⁵

Intramural burials of infants and children in the Near East, Anatolia, Cyprus & Egypt

The practice of burying infants and children in a domestic setting has an impressively long lineage in the Near East. The earliest settled communities

practised intramural burial of children and adults at Natufian and PPN sites (Körtik Tepe, Ain Mallaha, Nahal Oren; Jericho and Ain Ghazal²⁶ – where half of the burials were infants). The same custom occurs in Cyprus in the PPN and Aceramic Neolithic at Khirokitia and Kalavassos-Tenta,²⁷ and it appears in Crete in the Aceramic at Knossos.²⁸

In Syria (Fig. 5), during the tenth millennium

²² Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 7.

²³ EH II/III sites include: Hagios Stephanos, Asine, Askitarion, Eutresis, Kirra, Kolona on Aigina, Kouphovouno, Lerna (8), Olympia, Pelikata on Ithaca, Phylakopi on Melos (8), Platygiali, Poliochni on Lemnos, Therma on Lesbos, Tiryns, Tsangiza. MH sites: Akrotiri on Thera, Hagia Eirene on Keos, Paroikia on Paros, Asine, Eleusina, Eutresis, Korakou, Malthi, Peristeria. For bibliography, McGeorge 2003, 301–3; Chalandritsa in Achaea, Kolonas 1985, 138; Kolonas & Gazis 2006, 27.

²⁴ Mentioned in a paper by K. Shelton at the recent Conference: 'Mycenaeans up to date: the archaeology of the NE Peloponnese-current concepts and new directions', 10th–14th November 2010.

²⁵ Schallin 1993, 106.

²⁶ Özkaya & Coşkun, 2009; Boyd 1995, 17–23; Gopher & Orrelle, 1995a, 24–8.

²⁷ Dikaios 1953; Peltenberg & Swiny 2001.

²⁸ Evans 1964, 136.

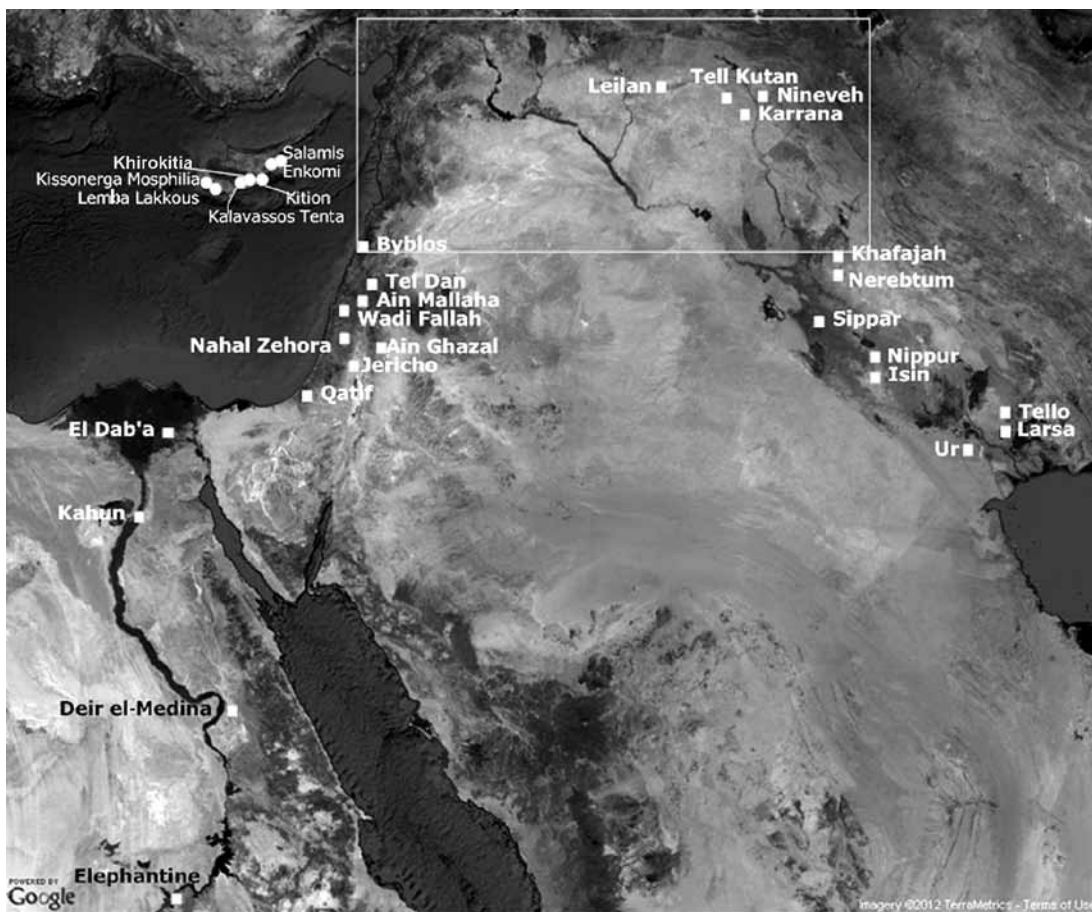


Fig. 6. Map of Cyprus, Israel, Mesopotamia and Egypt.

adults, children and fetuses were buried in shallow pits, sometimes wrapped in matting coated with bitumen, below house floors or just outside houses, at many sites: Mureybet, Jerf el-Ahmar, Abu Hureyra, Tell Halula and Dja'de al-Mughara, Ain el-Kerkh.²⁹ Then in the Ceramic Neolithic, vases were used to bury infants less than a year old, usually without grave gifts, at Ain el-Kerkh, Halula, Khazna II, and at Byblos.³⁰ The pot was typically laid on its side with the infant's head pointing towards the mouth of the jar. From the Chalcolithic period onwards, when burial was transferred from living sites to cemeteries outside the settlement, the custom of intramural jar burial for infants continued. The practice had particularly strong roots in North Syria and Mesopotamia.

Through the late sixth down to the first millennium BC, burial within the settlement beneath house floors, usually of infants and children without grave goods, appears to be the rule. Infants under one-year old were never given grave goods, but children above

a year old had a range of offerings. Stone or shell pendants of animals are often found with them.³¹ Sub-floor burials in pits, jars, cooking pots, bowls and mudbrick or stone-lined cists are found at sites almost too numerous to name, for instance: at Hama Level K, Tell Banat, Selenkahiye, Raqa'i 2, Atij, Abu Hgaira, Beydar, Umm el-Marra, Chagar Bazar 2–3 and Tell Leilan at Barsip, Carchemish, Oylum, Lidar and Titris.³² In the second millennium BC they were found at Alalakh level VIII–V, Tell Hadidi, Umm el-

²⁹ Van Loon 1968; Cauvin 1979; Stordeur *et al.* 1997; Moore *et al.* 2000; Molist 1999; Coqueugniot 1999; Parker Pearson 1999; De Contenson 1992; Tsuneki *et al.* 2000.

³⁰ Munchaev *et al.* 1993; Dunand 1973.

³¹ Dunham 1993.

³² Fugmann 1958; McClellan & Porter 1999; McClellan & Porter 1997; Van Loon 1979; Martin & Wartke, 1993–94; Akkermans & Schwartz 2003, 270; Schwartz & Curvers 1992; Schwartz *et al.* 2000; Mallowan 1936; 1937; 1947; Thureau-Dangin & Dunand 1936; McMahon *et al.* 2001; Carter & Parker 1995.

Marra, Mohammed Diyab & Chagar Bazar; in first millennium BC at Tell Ajaja and Kneidig.³³

From northern Mesopotamia (Fig. 5), in the late fifth/early fourth millennium there are 108 infant pot burials at Tepe Gawra.³⁴ In the late fourth and third millennium BC infants are never buried in cemeteries. They are buried intramurally usually, though not always, in a cooking pot. At Tells Melebiya, Kutan and Karrana 3, infants inside cooking pots have been found in Ninevite V levels. At the latter, children were placed in pots horizontally sawn in half.³⁵ At Tell Mohammed Arab one grave contained a horizontally sectioned urn with the body of an adult male and a child. At Tell Jessary there were some Late Uruk burials (3400–3000 BC). At Mohammed Arab and Kutan the infants were buried without grave goods.³⁶

In southern Mesopotamia (Fig. 6), intramural burial for all age groups seems to be normal. The custom is strong in the cities of the Old Babylonian period (20th–16th centuries BC), such as at Ur, Larsa, Isin, Sippar-Amnanum, Nerebtum, Nippur, Khafajah, Tello, Tell Haddad, Tell Al-Sib and Tell Al-Zawiyah, but also from Haradum and at Tell Halawa in Upper Mesopotamia.³⁷ At Ur, Woolley excavated 198 graves under houses in Areas AH and EM, and he identified ten variants of intramural burial, ranging from simple inhumations to those employing a variety of receptacles, including larnakes (unusual outside of Crete), bowls (5), “hutches” (4) and pots which are sometimes doubled, as well as several forms of built tombs. The dead were usually buried under the floors of the reception room or the chapel of the house, identifiable by niches and altars, but sometimes under a courtyard. Preferred gifts for infants were shells or beads, whereas older children were given toys or necklaces.³⁸

In Israel (Fig. 6) in the Chalcolithic (late fifth millennium BC), intramural burials have been reported at: Tel Teo, Tel Dan, Qatif Y-3, Teluliot Batashi (level III), and Nahal Zehora II.³⁹ At Nahal Zehora two pre-term infants were buried in the settlement: one in a jar and the other close to the wall of a structure, while a third child was buried in a stone cist. In the MBA at Tel Dan (*ca.* 2000 BC), interment was solely intramural under the floors of dwellings or courtyards. Jar burials were used for

infants under two years of age and were often broken to insert the corpse. The head was almost always at the jar opening, which was sometimes covered with a potsherd, and in some cases the jar was set in a circle of stones. The jars were usually placed next to, or aligned with, walls.

In Anatolia (Figs. 4–5) intramural burial of adults and children, usually in jars, is found at many EBA sites: at Alişar, Kalinkaya, Kasura,⁴⁰ Beycesultan, Hacilar II, Ovabayindir and at Troy, where six intramural burials were found in Troy I, all newborn or between two to three weeks old (four were buried in amphorae). At Kalinkaya, 13 burials in pithoi with flat stone lids were found under house floors. At Boğazköy (Hattusa), the intramural burials were mostly simple inhumations, with few gifts, sometimes covered by a stone slab. In the coastal region of the Aegean, a few intramural infant burials have been found at Bakla Tepe and at Çeşme Bağlararası in level 2b, where the pottery is said to be of Central Anatolian character, with a small amount of imported pottery corresponding to the MM III period. At Çeşme one jar burial had a fragment of bronze, possibly a gift.⁴¹

In Cyprus (Fig. 6) in the Chalcolithic period, burials at Lemba-Lakkous and Kissonerga-Mosphilia, in pits between houses, were mainly of children or infants (62–65%). At Kissonerga two of the burials were in urns. Intramural burials of infants, not in jars, were found at Enkomi. In the Iron Age, newborn and premature babies were buried in re-used Canaanite jars in the settlements at Salamis and Kition.⁴²

³³ Woolley 1955; Dornemann 1979; Castel 1996, 273–84; Schwartz *et al.* 2000; Mallowan 1936; 1937; 1947; Suleiman 1995; Klengel-Brandt *et al.* 1997.

³⁴ Peasnell in Rothman 2002.

³⁵ Exact parallels have been found at Boğazköy, see the paragraph below on Anatolia.

³⁶ Battini-Villard 1999.

³⁷ Battini-Villard 1999.

³⁸ Woolley 1976, pl. 39b.

³⁹ Ilan 1995; Gopher & Orrelle 1995a; Gopher & Orrelle 1995b.

⁴⁰ Here, as in northern Mesopotamia, pithos-halves, cut lengthwise (probably for economy) were used for burial.

⁴¹ Wheeler 1974; Blegen 1950; Angel & Biesel 1986, 12; Erkanal & Keskin 2009.

⁴² Peltenberg 1991, 17–36; Steel 1995.

In Egypt (Fig. 6) intramural burial occurs sporadically at second millennium BC sites. At Elephantine there are only two early second millennium intramural burials, a newborn in rubbish,⁴³ and another under the floor of a house, buried with a single bead.⁴⁴ At Kahun, the pyramid builders' town in the Faiyum, there were numerous burials of newborn infants under the floors of the workmen's houses. They were buried in wooden boxes originally used for other purposes, sometimes two or three infants per box. Infants who were some months old had been buried with beads or amulets.⁴⁵ At Deir el-Medina near Thebes (late 16th century BC), amphorae, baskets, boxes and coffins were all used for the intramural burial of children. Stillborn children were not usually given amulets or jewellery, just food in one or two vessels.⁴⁶ 30 foreign names identified amongst the 100 or so individuals in the community lend support to the theory that intramural burial was a foreign custom. At Tell el-Dab'a "jar burials of babies have been found in the settlement located next to walls and in corners".⁴⁷ Rosalie David contends that intramural burial for infants was not an Egyptian custom, but was introduced by immigrant Asiatic workers employed in Egypt households.⁴⁸

Conclusion

This concise review of intramural infant burials was intended to highlight the fact that the Petras burial is an expression of a millennia-old behaviour, which began amongst the earliest sedentary populations in a wide geographical area of the Near East. The practice had particularly strong roots in North Syria and Mesopotamia in the Ceramic Neolithic, continuing through the Bronze and Iron Ages. Burials were often in coarse ware cooking pots, and infants under a year old were only rarely given gifts. The custom radiated from this area along the Tigris and Euphrates and their tributaries, filtering westwards with the movement of people, goods and ideas through Anatolia and the Aegean and into Egypt, acquiring variations en route.

The 1989 discovery of the Petras intramural burial was bemusing since Minoan burial customs

are predominantly extramural. However, current evidence shows that there are a fair number of intramural burials in Crete. Most are from Knossos where, as far as one can tell, with the exception of the inverted *lekane*, they were not buried in pots, whereas outside Knossos and Khania, all the intramural burials were in pots. This may mean that the people burying the infants, or their customs and beliefs, had different origins. The Petras infant was buried in a pithos without gifts possibly because it was stillborn. The burial of the infant, its head near the mouth of the jar, which was aligned with the courtyard walls and set in a circle of stones, seems a distant echo of burials at Tel Dan.⁴⁹ Perhaps trade was the portal for the intangible ebb and flow of ideas, religious beliefs and customs.

Customs have value, meaning and symbolism, which we must try to interpret. Whatever the original idea behind a custom, transference to new cultural environments may have led to variations in the practice (such as the use of different receptacles) and shifts in meaning and symbolic significance according to the cultural context.

Death is regarded by all cultures, societies and religions as a serious matter. I doubt whether the fact that infant deaths were more frequent in ancient societies made the experience any less painful for the living. There are invariably rules, restrictions and procedures that have to be observed, and the observance of these rituals often provides solace to the bereaved. In modern Greece if a newborn child is likely to die it has to be "air-baptized", to ensure its passage to heaven, otherwise there is a danger that an Orthodox priest might refuse to bury the

⁴³ Von Pilgrim 1996, 174.

⁴⁴ Grajetzki 2003, 53.

⁴⁵ Petrie 1890, 24.

⁴⁶ At Deir el-Medina most houses had four rooms: an entrance hall with a birthing bed and chapel was adorned with Bes, god of childbirth. Infant burials were made in the second room under a low platform, which functioned as a seating area by day and a bed at night.

⁴⁷ Van den Brink 1982, 19–20, 28–9.

⁴⁸ David 1996, 189–90.

⁴⁹ At Tel Dan there is a "Mycenaean" tomb dated to the 14th/13th century BC, with an assemblage of Mycenaean vessels, indicating trade between Dan and Mainland Greece.



Fig. 7. The Tale of Aqhat recorded on a *stele* from Ugarit.

child. Similar taboos probably existed in ancient times. This could explain why the youngest infants were buried intramurally in spite of the existence of extramural cemeteries. If a child died at birth or soon afterwards, it may not have been acknowledged as a member of the community. Having no social identity, it may have been excluded from the cemetery. Burial in the community cemetery ratifies membership of the community. Burial at home acknowledges membership of the family.

The convention of burying an infant in an area of the house – the courtyard is an integral part – perhaps frequented most by women doing their daily tasks preparing and cooking food for a household, must have been invested with symbolic meaning, perhaps associated with nurturing and caring as Hodder has suggested.⁵⁰ It could also have had associations with fertility. In ancient times, it was not obvious how children were conceived. Given the lengthy gestation of human babies there was no obvious cause and effect. In fact, it was not until the 1820's that the respective roles of men and women in the process of reproduction were understood (Aristotle thought the direction of the wind had something to do with conception and the sex of a child). The choice of the burial in the courtyard might be related to primitive perceptions of the mechanism of human reproduction, fertility and

customs that were believed to promote the generation/regeneration of new life. In Greek mythology, the story of Persephone illustrates the ancient belief that new life came out of death; so by keeping a dead infant in the vicinity of the mother, perhaps it was believed that it would somehow help promote fertility and help the mother to conceive again.

As for the significance of the pithos, in Levantine mythology, the jar burial's connexion to the netherworld is alluded to in Ugaritic texts and in the Baal Epic.⁵¹ The entrance to the netherworld was Mt. Knkny, the name of which is a derivative of the Ugaritic, Akkadian, Aramaic and Canaanite (*"knkn"*) words for storage jar, and the use of storage jars for burial is mentioned specifically in the Ugaritic Tale of Aqhat (Fig. 7).⁵²

In Crete and in the rest of Greece, when pottery vessels were used for burial they were sometimes placed in pits or on a pebble paved surface, horizontally or vertically, and sealed with a slab or another pot or potsherd. At Petras the purposeful inversion of the pithos appears unique. Was this just a practical solution for sealing the pot in the absence of a sherd or a slab, or is there some other eschatological explanation? Pithos inversion was seen in earlier Minoan tombs and cemeteries, at Vorou and Hagios Myron, at Galana Charakia, where 32 jars were inverted; at Sphoungaras 150 and at Pacheia Ammos 213 burial pithoi were inverted.⁵³

The Petras intramural pot burial could be interpreted as evidence of a foreign custom or person; however, the inversion of the pithos suggests fusion with local customs and ideas. What symbolism did placing the pithos in an inverted position convey? The interpretation of funerary symbolism can be very elusive, but undoubtedly a particular significance was attached to the inversion of the pithos. By inverting the pithos, the child's head was placed in a downward position, which is the correct presentation for a fetus to be born, or in this case re-born and perhaps that was the point. Belief in the

⁵⁰ Hodder 1990.

⁵¹ Astour 1980; Pritchard 1969, 139; Ilan 1995, 136.

⁵² Pritchard 1969, 154.

⁵³ Marinatos 1930–31; Alexiou 1970; Platon 1954a; 1956; Hall 1912; Seager 1916; Platon 1957; Alexiou 1964.

afterlife is incorporated in most religions. Belief in regeneration and the hope that this infant would have another chance at life must have dictated the inversion of the pithos so that the fetus was in the appropriate position to facilitate its rebirth.

Discussion

Paschalidis I would love to congratulate you, and I am enthusiastic about this presentation. I would wonder why there are no burial gifts at a time when we do not have burials in general.

McGeorge Because the child is a newborn, it has absolutely no social identity.

Paschalidis I started thinking that you have shown us the pot burials of newborn babies throughout the region of the Near East and throughout time. It looks like it is a very strong common belief for humankind, and what stimulates me very much is that it occurs in Neopalatial Crete, where generally we do not have burials, but we have that. I think this is amazing, as an exception. At Petras I do not know whether we have any mention of Neopalatial burials, apart from the offering of the two vases in the Rock Shelter. In Archanes, to my knowledge, there is a building dated to the Neopalatial period, which is not a burial building, and this period lacks tombs. Here you have shown on this map, at Knossos, the Unexplored Mansion, a contemporary case of a newborn infant burial, and then at Sissi, and then at Petras, Phaistos and Khania (LM IIIB), and at Nopigeia in EM II. So you have three cases in the Neopalatial period, not very far from each other, all with newborn infants in pots.

McGeorge Yes, this is open for you to interpret.

Haggis I liked your closing comments about the inverted pithos. I think certainly in Pacheia Ammos and maybe in Sphoungaras too, this connection with rebirth might also explain this insistence in the reuse of the pithoi, in tearing off the bottoms and putting in the bodies through the bottom, instead of building a new pithos or re-inverting it, and re-filling it and then putting it back in position. They seem to be forcing them down through the bottom.

McGeorge Yes, I remember reading something.

Blackman I found the last part very convincing. I wanted to go back to an earlier point. The intramural burials, you said that the family recognized the child, but that the community would not. I would wonder, whether if, in fact, it is so secret a burial, maybe the family did not want to recognize it in any way so that the community would not know, and, therefore, it was done within the building.

McGeorge People have suggested things like that, because at the beginning of my conclusions I did mention the sacrifice at Knossos, and Venediktos Lanaras, who published the Middle Cycladic inverted bowl burial from Thera, mentioned such theories, and this would have been the product of an illegal relationship, but he preferred a ritual

explanation. I do not think there is a need for a ritual explanation, given that it is so common. I think it is more likely that we have a foreign wife and they just decided to incorporate this belief in their religion.

Blackman The reaction of our religions, whether orthodox or catholic to a stillborn child even today is that it is not clear whether life is there. Even now the reactions to this phenomenon are very disturbing and emotive for the families. I have personal experience myself.

McGeorge Yes, so have I.

Greek abstract

Μια intra muros ταφή σε αγγείο στον Πετρά

Μια YM IA *intra muros* ταφή βρέφους ανακαλύφθηκε στον Πετρά το 1989, σε ανεστραμμένο πιθοειδές και θαμμένο στην αυλή του Σπιτιού Ι.1. Η παρούσα μελέτη παρουσιάζει τα αποτελέσματα της ανθρωπολογικής μελέτης, συζητεί τα δεδομένα για τους περιγεννητικούς κινδύνους αυτήν την εποχή και παρουσιάζει τις πολιτισμικές πρακτικές ταφών βρεφών όχι μόνον στην Ελλάδα, αλλά στην Ανατολία, στην Συροπαλαιστινιακή περιοχή και στην Αίγυπτο. Η πανάρχαια αυτή και διαδεδομένη πρακτική ξεκίνησε στις παλαιότερες κοινότητες, στην Εγγύς Ανατολή, και συνεχίστηκε αδιάλειπτα μέχρι την Εποχή του Σιδήρου τουλάχιστον. Φαίνεται να δηλώνει μια υποφώσκουσα *κοινή* δοξασιών, αν και, δεδομένης της πολυπλοκότητας της ανθρώπινης φύσης και της άπειρης ποικιλίας έκφρασης του ανθρώπινου πολιτισμού και της πίστης, δεν είναι απαραίτητο να υπάρχει κοινή εξήγηση για αυτήν σε όλους τους χρόνους και όλες τις περιοχές. Ταφές σε ανεστραμμένους πίθους έχουν αναφερθεί σε τάφους και σε πολλά οργανωμένα νεκροταφεία της Κρήτης, για παράδειγμα στο Σφουγγαρά (Hall 1912) και στην Παχειά Άμμο, με τα 213 ανεστραμμένα ταφικά αγγεία (Seager 1916). Το περίεργο αυτό φαινόμενο δεν έχει ποτέ ερμηνευθεί επαρκώς. Στον Πετρά, η σκόπιμη τοποθέτηση του βρέφους στο πιθοειδές σε ανεστραμμένη στάση προσδίδει ένα ταφικό συμβολισμό, ο οποίος, πιθανώς, αποτελεί το σαφέστερο και αδιαμφισβήτητο δείγμα της Μινωικής θρησκευτικής πίστης στην αναγέννηση και την μετά θάνατον ζωή.



Final discussion

chaired by *J. Alexander MacGillivray*

MacGillivray I do not know about you, but I feel dizzy after two days full time; Petras information overload in some ways. I think like with all excavations and all research projects you come away with more questions than you do answers, but I guess that is why we do it. Like many people yesterday, I should probably start by asking why Metaxia Tsipopoulou asked me. That is possibly because we are such good neighbors, and we have been good neighbors – I worked at Palaikastro since the very beginning. Hugh Sackett and I went in 1983 to Palaikastro though we did not start digging until 1986. We were both younger then, it was a really long time ago. So I have been associated with Petras, and with Metaxia, for all of those 25 years. One thing that does come through is the sheer amount of hard work that is involved, I do not just mean the digging, that is the easy part, it is the bureaucracy, the fund raising, and she had to deal with land owners. That part does not really show in the Symposium. We sit back now and we marvel at these results, but there is a whole back story to this, that perhaps should never be told, or nobody would ever go into archaeology. In Metaxia's case, it was very complicated, very difficult, and she showed amazing staying power, and we are very grateful that she did. When I first went to eastern Crete in 1983, you would drive by Petras, and there was nothing there, now 25 years later, what Metaxia has done is that she has given us this amazing site, she has put Petras on the map. Bosanquet went through there for a couple of days in 1901, and wrote about it, but Metaxia has effectively put Petras on the map. It has now become a fairly big dot in the discussions of Bronze Age Crete. One of the things she has shown us, and Costas Paschalidis was reminding me that, from the very beginning, from the Final Neolithic IV to the Byzantine period, Petras, I suppose by virtually being by the sea, has an international spirit and it has international connections. We are even talking about connections with Egypt in MM IB, and it functions very well as a harbor town.

What I thought I might do, in order to lead this discussion, and you may want to talk more with the speakers, was really think about what these 25 years at Petras have given us. Being an old school archaeologist I still tend to think chronologically, instead of thematically. I thought it would be simpler really to run through what these excavations have given us in terms of the broader picture of Bronze Age Crete, and then Bronze Age Aegean, and then in the later periods, in Byzantium. Obviously the place to start is FN IV, when we have the first settlers, and we have strong Cycladic influence. What do you think that means? Are the people of Petras like people from Hagia Photia in the next period? I suppose Petras was looking for metals and lithics. The thing that still amazes me is that these people who we see trading abroad, which means that either they are going by the sea, or somebody is coming to them by sea, were not eating fish; there is a problem sailing over all this wonderful food, and not eating it, although we did see the fish hooks.

So, you can look at EM I and EM II and see what that gives us, in terms of the overall picture, what happens in EM III–MM IA, when we have the wonderful ossuaries with their pots, especially that collection of whole vases, at the end of that period. MM IB is a very interesting period when you had very expensive well painted ceramics that were put down in the Lakkos. And there is the wonderful tempting reconstruction that the hill was used, certainly in that period, if not earlier, for social gatherings, people coming together; feasting, if we want to use that trendy term, it is a focal point, for perhaps more than one community going there. What they are consuming is, certainly, when we are looking at the pottery, material locally made, but also imported, and therefore, slightly more expensive. Who are these people, where do they live, are they coming from further afield, to gather at this place? This was obviously important, and then this was replaced by the first palace, which if I am not mistaken, could be fortified; you think that the terrace wall could work as a fortification wall?

Tsipopoulou Not entirely, one part yes.

MacGillivray So it gives an impression, like the façades of the other palaces, we then have this change. There is enough wealth, enough power and enough desire to build this larger center, and this coincides with the change, it seems, in the Kephala cemetery, where, instead of re-deposited burials, we have these two males, these two fairly interesting individuals, who are using, presumably, these wonderful seals, that we saw Olga Krzyszkowska present. As they coincide with the construction of the palace, it would be interesting to speculate who were these young men, and why they were buried differently, inhumations, as opposed to whatever their normal practice was.

Then there is the destruction of this first palace, at the end of MM IIB, and we have the archive, that is one of the main reasons why we can talk about it as a palace. How big a center is Petras, is it controlling a wide area, can we tell that from the goods in the archive? I am still not entirely convinced, we might be misleading ourselves with these big state maps that we draw for Middle Minoan Crete. They could be much smaller, like Hellenistic city-state areas, much smaller areas of control. I think we are reading back almost from the modern Greek church boundaries, which currently separate Crete, and so we trying to recreate something like that, but that may have not been the case. That is something we can discuss.

This palace then, like many other buildings throughout Crete, towards or at the end of MM IIB, gets trashed, fortunately for people like Erik Hallager, who then have all this wonderful material to work with, and allows him, or us, to reconstruct what is actually being recorded in this building. And does this palace, that is very well excavated now, much better excavated than Knossos, does this allow us to answer the question that Jan Driessen has posed most recently, is this, are these, social ritual centers, or are they really the palaces of a monarch? Are we meant to view kings, or queens, living here? Or is Crete the only place in the ancient world where you do not have some divinely inspired, or actually divinely stated ruler in charge? Can Petras help us to solve that question in this period?

We then go to MM III, and that is something that we will have to see what it gives us over time, but we have that rather amazing rod, with the Linear A inscription. So, certainly there is administration in that period. But where is the building that has

been used? It is probably the building in which they have the LM IA floor deposits afterwards.

The LM IA period is amazing, I thought that we would never go through a whole two-day conference about a site in the Aegean, talking about its Bronze Age history, without mentioning the Theraeruption. But it came through at Papadiokampos, and it is kind of interesting that it was not mentioned by any of the workers at Petras.

Tsipopoulou We do not have ash.

MacGillivray You would not have ash, because the tsunami does not get up on a hill. That is what is preserving the ash at Mochlos, Papadiokampos, Palaikastro and other places. But even without the ash, you have destruction, you have abandonment, and then you have a change in LM IB, when you have a smaller courtyard, a slightly rearranged building, could that be a reflection of the kind of damage you had in the period, depopulation, etc.? When Zakros and Gournia and Mochlos and other sites have all these wonderful buildings in LM IB, the Late Minoan Renaissance, Petras has suffered somehow, the harbor at Petras may have silted in, as a result of the debris flows coming back? It is worth discussing.

Then you have the LM IB destructions. Petras comes in line with the rest of the world. You do not seem to have evidence for LM II, so there is no instant reoccupation of the area, and in a sense it is your great LM IA palace with the Linear A that may be the last glory days at the site.

It is interesting that there is that memory of the place, where for some reason, I suppose it is the topography that demands it as well, where people would come and relocate, but not necessarily relocate to live, because in different periods you live in different places but some local community, possibly even just a family, was coming through where you have the LM IIIC settlement and megaron on Kephala.

Then in the Byzantine period, with a time span of 150 years for the use of the cemetery, it would not have been simply serving just one family, one farmstead. And they were manufacturing stuff also, up on the hill, but it remains a sacred place.

The fun thing is that Hill I has now become a sacred place again. Metaxia has fought tooth and nail to keep it from becoming a suburb of Siteia, and instead she has turned it into a place that reminds people from Siteia, or at least should remind people from Siteia, like Giorgos Alexopoulos, that they do have a very long and rich history, with a lot of external communications.

These are some of the themes I am thinking of. Then there is the theme of burial practices. That would be very interesting, changes in burial practices, what happens in MM III–LM I. If anybody would like to start, attacking, commenting on ideas that have come up, please do.

Hallager I was struck by one thing that you mentioned, at the very beginning, the lack of fish, and if I may suggest one possible solution. Based on my experience from the excavations in Khania, it has always been a very great mystery to me why you have no rubbish pits in the LM I settlement. As I travelled around the island I asked all our colleagues excavating LM I settlements “where are your rubbish pits?”, and they were not there. It was Phil Betancourt who gave me an answer, which I am going to suggest also for the missing fish bones. He said that during that period and probably

also in the earlier periods, such organic remains were very important and they were taken out into the fields to be used as manure. This might be one possible suggestion for the missing fish bones.

MacGillivray Interesting.

Vallianou I just want to point out that Metaxia must be a very happy Greek archaeologist. After 25 years of hard work, and having faced many difficult problems, she managed to complete an important work, to excavate a particularly important site, to establish its relations with other areas, to have very good collaborators, to publish a lot, to reach almost the end of her research, and to make the site accessible to the public, with modest but appropriate interventions. I would like to wish her luck in the future, and I believe that she deserved all she has achieved up to now.

MacGillivray Excellent. She has been very clever about getting the right sort of collaborators.

Macdonald Can I just ask about the end of LM IB, perhaps you did not go into detail, at least House II.1 is abandoned, not destroyed by fire?

Tsipopoulou There is fire, especially since the industrial activity taking place there was connected with hearths, heating water, etc. The whole of Room E gave evidence for a fire. In the Shaw Festschrift, the *Krinoi kai Limenes* volume (Tsipopoulou 2007c), I published, for the first time, several pictures of the destruction deposit over the central court of the palace. There was a thick LM IB destruction deposit, full of blocks fallen from the upper floor, door jambs, from *polythyra*, many with mason's marks among them (we have identified 29 on fallen blocks, and some more are *in situ*). There was this very thick deposit with intense burning, all over the central court and to the east of it. In the central court we had 10 Byzantine graves and also the ossuary. Some of them, as Natalia Poulou-Papadimitriou said, used one Minoan wall and then built another three walls, to have a cist built tomb. In other cases, they excavated in this very thick and compact destruction deposit, which was like the bedrock, and they put their dead in it.

MacGillivray So the LM IB fire destruction reached very high temperatures.

Tsipopoulou It is something very similar to the Phaistos "*astraki*". We do not have much LM IB pottery, because what we call the west wing of the palace, the parallel corridors on the plan, are all basement, or rather they are structural features to support the upper floors, so they were practically empty of any traces of the latest use. When we dug deeper, we found the walls of previous buildings. The latest phase of the palace is not well preserved, but we do have the destruction deposit.

Besides the central court, there was a room with an intense LM IB destruction deposit. This room is adjacent to the so-called "shrine" with the 4 m long plastered bench. This room with the bench was Protopalatial, and following the MM IIB destruction was sealed and never re-used. To the northeast of it, there was a long room with a flagstone floor, and in it even the slabs were burnt. It was also full of plaster and mudbricks both from the ground and from the upper floors.

- MacGillivray** That suggests that in LM IB the building was sufficiently important for someone to need to destroy it.
- Tsipopoulou** What always makes me wonder is why they kept this smaller, sort of symbolic, central court, and they did all the re-arrangement with the alternating columns and pillars. It has always been a palace with the memory of the earlier glory.
- MacGillivray** The Linear A tablets come from that?
- Tsipopoulou** Yes.
- MacGillivray** So there is administration.
- Tsipopoulou** Yes, but we do not know about the existence of an archive. There were two tablets, in the same trench, at the west part of the building, the same trench that contained the hieroglyphic archive in a deeper stratum. And in between there was also an LM IA destruction deposit, all that in the same trench, we excavated almost 3 m. Kostas Christakis excavated the LM IA destruction deposit.
- MacGillivray** I wonder if, maybe Kostas Christakis will talk about the notion of foreigners and locals that Tina McGeorge brought up quite clearly.
- Paschalidis** I would like to change the subject, based on a comment we exchanged yesterday with Metaxia. In this Symposium, the LM III period was not adequately represented, not because it did not exist at Petras.
- Tsipopoulou** Right.
- Paschalidis** So, in order to have a complete picture of the site we should need to include this important period as well.
- MacGillivray** Is there LM IIIA and IIIB?
- Tsipopoulou** And also LM IIIC, as we saw.
- Paschalidis** There was a cemetery, Metaxia, that you showed us yesterday.
- Tsipopoulou** Yes, there has been a cemetery; we had the larnakes, both chest-shaped and bathtub. The cemetery started in LM IIIB and continued into LM IIIC.
- MacGillivray** The interesting thing about having a settlement like Petras, that was occupied for thousands of years, is that you can almost visualize populations coming and going. One of the best ways to see them is through their burial practices and to see how these change over time. Because you are dealing with the same spot, but obviously you are not dealing with the same people, you are watching populations come and go.

- Tsipopoulou** I would like to remind you about the Achladia tholos, which is Mycenaean in type and construction. This is very close to Petras, only 4 km from the coast, and it was also almost on top of an earlier settlement, a very small one, a *metochi* type, both Proto- and Neopalatial.
- MacGillivray** Was that the one with the 80-year old in it?
- Tsipopoulou** Not 80, she was 45–65 years old when she died.
- MacGillivray** That is pretty old, anyway.
- Tsipopoulou** It was pretty old, and she had suffered from a very significant stress when she was very young, probably malnutrition.
- MacGillivray** The Theraeruption? No the Mycenaean invasion.
[Laughs from the audience!]
- Tsipopoulou** The LM IB destruction. She was an upper class lady.
- MacGillivray** Does everybody know whatever they possibly want to know about Petras?
- Blackman** I am actually working on Ramnous and I found out about this conference while studying there, with surprise. It is actually wonderful to be there. We are studying with *EΛKEΘE* [Hellenic Center of Marine Research] the problem of relative sea level change. Relative is the important word here, has the sea gone down and the land gone up, or both phenomena? The question goes back to Spratt and the whole question of what Crete has done, we know about elevation in the west, but something was happening in the east, and we have these submerged buildings at Palaikastro, which we wanted to survey. The whole issue of reconstructing the palaeoenvironment is very important. Now, at Siteia we have a *neoreion* that is classical, too late for our Prehistorian friends, but there you have something which functions with a precise sea level, not far from your site. First the geologists disagree about what has happened to the sea. Secondly the land is not one block, so what applies to Palaikastro will not necessarily apply to Siteia.
- MacGillivray** No, you have local tectonics.
- Blackman** But, nevertheless, a local study of the evidence for submerged beach lines would enable you to understand what has happened in the later periods, including eruptions, what has happened to the shoreline. Geologists can help with all that. Keep working with geologists, it is a challenge, they do not know how to apply for archaeological permits, and also the jealousies of geologists are far greater than the jealousies of archaeologists.
- MacGillivray** Impossible!
[Laughs in the audience!]

Blackman Nevertheless, it is very important for reconstructing communications by sea in the Minoan period, it is very important to try to reconstruct where the coastline was before you can understand the use of harbors, whatever harbors mean. It has been a wonderful conference. Congratulations to Dr Tsipopoulou.

MacGillivray I think this is probably the best time, to thank not only Metaxia but also her whole crew, for putting together the Symposium, and obviously these two days represent the end-result of 25 years of hard work, but you are probably less than half way there on the site, so we should probably meet every five years and get all the new information.
[Laughs in the audience]

And I hope you will all join me thanking Metaxia and her colleagues for this fantastic Symposium!

Bibliography

Bibliographic abbreviations

AASOR – *Annual of the American School of Oriental Research*

ActaArch – *Acta archaeologica Lovanensia*

AJA – *American Journal of Archaeology*

AJPA – *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*

AR – *Archaeological Reports*

ArchDelt – *Archaeologikon Deltion*

ArchEph – *Archaïologike Ephemeris*

ASAtene – *Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni italiane in Oriente*

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

BASOR – *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*

BCH – *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*

BCH Suppl. – *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique. Supplément*

BÉFAR – *Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes e de Rome*

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

BSA – *Annual of the British School at Athens*

BSPF – *Bulletin de la Société préhistorique française*

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

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

GORILA – Olivier, J.-P. & L. Godart 1976–1985, *Recueil des inscriptions en linéaire A*, 1–5 (Études Crétoises 21, 1–5), Paris.

CretChron – *Kretika Chronika*

Curr.Anthr – *Current Anthropology*

JAnthArch – *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*

JAS – *Journal of Archaeological Science*

JMA – *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology*

JPR – *Journal of Prehistoric Religion*

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

OpAth – *Opuscula Atheniensia*

Prakt – *Praktika tes en Athenais Archaïologikes Etaireias*

SIMA – *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology*

SkrAth – *Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen*

WorldArch – *World Archaeology*

Works cited

Akkermans, P.M.M.G & G.M. Schwartz 2003
The archaeology of Syria, Cambridge.

Albani, J. 2004
‘Grabbeigaben aus der byzantinischen und nachbyzantinischen Sammlung in Chania/Kreta’, in *Beiträge zum Symposium Vierzig Jahre Institut für Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik der Universität Wien im Gedenken an Herbert Hunger*, Wien 4-7 Dezember 2002, W. Hörandner, J. Koder & M.A. Stassinopoulou (eds.), (Byzantina et Neograeca Vindobonensia 24), Wien, 53–60.

Alberti, M.E. 2007
‘Washing and dyeing installations of the ancient Mediterranean: towards a definition from Roman times back to Minoan Crete’, in *Ancient textiles: production, craft and society, proceedings of the first international conference on ancient textiles, held at Lund, Sweden, and Copenhagen, Denmark, on March 19–23, 2003*, C. Gillis & M.L. Nosch (eds.), Oxford and Oakville, 59–63.

Alberti, M.E. 2011
‘The vessels in cooking fabrics from Room Epsilon of House II.1’, in Tsipopoulou & Alberti 2011, 481–98.

Alexiou, S. 1964
‘Αρχαιότητες και μνημεῖα Κρήτης, Α' Περιφέρεια Ἡρακλείου/μικραὶ σκαφικαὶ ἐρευναὶ, περισυλλογή

- ἀρχαιοτήτων', *ArchDelt* 19, Chronika, 3.
- Alexiou, S. 1970
'Αρχαιότητες καὶ μνημεῖα Κεντρικῆς καὶ Ἀνατολικῆς Κρήτης, ἀνασκαφαὶ καὶ περισυλλογὴ ἀρχαιοτήτων', *ArchDelt* 25, Chronika, 454–7.
- Alexiou, S. & P. Warren 2004
The Early Minoan tombs of Lebena, southern Crete (SIMA 30), Sävedalen.
- Anastasiadou, M. 2011
The Middle Minoan three-sided soft stone prism: a study of style and iconography (CMS Beiheft 9), Darmstadt & Mainz.
- Andreadaki-Vlazaki, M. 2011
'LM IB pottery in Khania', in Brogan & Hallager 2011, 55–92.
- Andreadaki-Vlazaki, M. & E. Papadopoulou 2005
'The habitation at Khamalevri, Rethymnon, during the 12th century BC', in D'Agata & Moody 2005, 353–98.
- Andreadaki-Vlazaki, M. & E. Papadopoulou 2007
'Recent evidence for the destruction of the LM IIIC habitation at Khamalevri, Rethymnon', in *LH IIIC Chronology and Synchronisms II. LH III Middle*, S. Deger-Jalkotzy & M. Zavadil (eds.), Wien, 27–53.
- Andreadaki-Vlazaki, M., G. Rethemiotakis & N. Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki (eds.) 2008
From the land of the labyrinth: Minoan Crete, 3000–1100 BC, New York.
- Angel, L. & S. Biesel 1986
'Health and stress in Early Bronze Age Anatolia', in *Ancient Anatolia: aspects of change and cultural development. Essays in honour of Machteld J. Mellink*, J.V. Canby, E. Porada, B.S. Ridgway & T. Stech (eds.), (Wisconsin Studies in Classics), Wisconsin, 12–30.
- Apostolakou, S. 2008
'A workshop for dyeing wool at Pefka near Pacheia Ammos', *Kentro* 11, 1–2.
- Apostolakou, S., P.P. Betancourt & T.M. Brogan 2009
'Excavating the bronze saw on Chryssi island', *Kentro* 12, 3–5.
- Apostolakou, S., P.P. Betancourt & T.M. Brogan forthcoming
'New evidence for the collection of murex shells for the Minoan purple dye industry in East Crete', in *KOSMOS: jewellery, adornment and textiles in the Aegean Bronze Age* (Aegaeum).
- Asdrachas, S. 2007
Greek economic history. 13th–19th centuries, Athens.
- Astour, M.C. 1980
'The netherworld and its denizens at Ugarit', in *Death in Mesopotamia; papers read at the XXVIe rencontre Assyriologique internationale*, B. Alster (ed.), (Mesopotamia 8), Copenhagen, 227–38.
- Åström, P. & D.S. Reese 1990
'Triton shells in East Mediterranean cults', *JPR* 3–4, 5–14.
- Aufderheide, A.C. & C. Rodríguez-Martín 1998
Cambridge encyclopaedia of human palaeopathology, Cambridge.
- Aura Jorro, F. 1985
Diccionario micénico, Madrid.
- Bailey, D.W. 2005
Prehistoric figurines, representation and corporeality in the Neolithic, London and New York, esp. 'Miniaturism and dimensionality', 26–44.
- Bakirtzis, Ch. 1989
Βυζαντινά τσουκαλολάγην, συμβολή στη μελέτη ονομασιών, σχημάτων και χρήσεων μαγειρικών σκευών, μεταφορικών και αποθηκευτικών δοχείων, Athens.
- Barnard, K.A. & T.M. Brogan 2003
Mochlos IB: Period III. Neopalatial settlement on the coast: the Artisans' Quarter and the farmhouse at Chalinomouri. The Neopalatial pottery (Prehistory Monographs 8), Philadelphia.
- Barnard, K.A. & T.M. Brogan 2011
'Pottery of the late Neopalatial period at Mochlos', in Brogan & Hallager 2011, 427–50.
- Barthes, R. 1999
Camera Lucida, New York.
- Battini-Villard, L. 1999
L'espace domestique en Mésopotamie de la IIIe dynastie d'Ur à l'époque paléo-babylonienne (BAR-IS 767), Oxford.
- Baumbach, L. 1983
'An examination of the personal names in the Knossos tablets as evidence for the social structure of Crete in the Late Minoan II period', in Krzyszkowska & Nixon 1983, 3–10.
- Baurain, C. 1987
'Les nécropoles de Malia', in Laffineur 1987, 62–73.
- Baurain, Cl. & P. Darcque 1987
'Un triton en pierre à Malia', *BCH* 107, 3–73.
- Becker, C. 1996
'Nourriture, cuillères, ornements... les témoignages d'une exploitation variée des mollusques marins à Ayios Mamas (Chalcidique, Grèce)', *Anthropozoologica* 24, 3–17.

- Becker, M. 1975
'Human skeletal remains from Kato Zakro', *AJA* 79, 271–6.
- Bennett, E.L., Jr. 1955
The Pylos Tablets. Texts of the inscriptions found 1939–1954, Princeton.
- Benzel, K. 2008
'Ornaments of interaction: the art of the jeweler', in *Beyond Babylon: art, trade, and diplomacy in the second millennium BC*, J. Aruz, K. Benzel & J.M. Evans (eds.), New Haven and London, 101–3.
- Bernabò Brea, L. 1964
Poliochni, città preistorica nell'isola di Lemnos (Monografie della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle missioni italiane in oriente 1), Rome.
- Betancourt, P.P. 1980
Cooking vessels from Minoan Kommos. A preliminary report (Institute of Archaeology University of California Occasional Paper 7), Los Angeles.
- Betancourt, P.P. 1984
East Cretan white-on-dark ware: studies on a handmade pottery of the Early to Middle Minoan periods (University Museum Monograph 51), Philadelphia.
- Betancourt, P.P. 2004
'Pseira and Knossos: the transformation of an East Cretan seaport', in Day, Mook & Muhly 2004, 21–8.
- Betancourt, P.P. 2006
'Joining techniques of Early Bronze Age Trojan jewelry', *Studia Troica* 16, 89–95.
- Betancourt, P.P. 2007
'Lasithi and the Malia-Lasithi State', in Betancourt, Nelson & Williams 2007, 209–21.
- 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. 2010
'The EM I pithoi from Aphrodite's Kephali', in Krzyszkowska 2010a, 1–10.
- Betancourt, P.P. & C. Davaras (eds.) 2003
Pseira VII. The Pseira cemetery 2. Excavation of the tombs, Philadelphia.
- Betancourt, P.P. & N. Marinatos 2000
'Το σπήλαιο της Αμνισού: η έρευνα του 1992', *ArchEph* 139, 179–236.
- Betancourt P.P. & J.S. Silverman 1991
The Cretan Collection in the University Museum University of Pennsylvania. Vol. II. Pottery from Gournia, Philadelphia.
- Betancourt, P.P., S. Apostolakou & T.M. Brogan forthcoming
'A workshop for dyeing wool at Pefka near Pacheia Ammos', in *KOSMOS: jewellery, adornment and textiles in the Aegean Bronze Age* (Aegaeum).
- Betancourt, P.P., V. Karageorghis. R. Laffineur & W.-D. Niemeier 1999
MELETEMATATA: studies in Aegean archaeology presented to Malcolm H. Wiener as he enters his 65th Year (Aegaeum 20), Liège.
- Betancourt, P.P., M.C. Nelson & H. Williams (eds.) 2007
Krinoi kai limenes: studies in honor of Joseph and Maria Shaw (Prehistory Monographs 22), 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. Langford-Verstegen 2008
'Excavations in the Hagios Charalambos cave: a preliminary report', *Hesperia* 77, 539–605.
- Betts, J.H. 1967
'New light on Minoan bureaucracy', *Kadmos* 6, 15–40.
- Bevan, A. 2010
'Political geography and palatial Crete', *JMA* 23.1, 27–54.
- Bintliff, J.L. 1977
'The number of burials in the Mesara tholoi', *BSA* 72, 83–4.
- Blackman, D. & K. Branigan 1973
'An unusual tholos tomb at Kaminospilio', *CretChron* 29, 199–206.
- Blackman, D. & K. Branigan 1982
'The excavation of an Early Minoan tholos tomb at Hagia Kyriaki, Ayiofarango, southern Crete', *BSA* 77, 1–57.
- Blanton, R.E. 1998
'Beyond centralization: steps toward a theory of egalitarian behaviour', in *Archaic States*, G.M. Feinman & J. Marcus (eds.), Santa Fe, 135–72.
- Blanton, R.E., G.M. Feinman, S.A. Kowaleskim & P.M. Peregrine 1996
'A dual-processual theory of the evolution of the Mesoamerican civilization', *CurrAnthr* 37, 1–14.
- Blegen, C. 1950
Troy I, Princeton.
- Boardman, J. 1989
'The finds', in *Excavations in Chios. 1952–1955. Byzantine Emporio*, M. Ballance, J. Boardman, S. Corbett & S. Hood (eds.), Oxford, 86–142.
- Borboudakis, M. 1968
'Δοκιμαστική ανασκαφή Αγίου Πέτρου των Ένετων Ήρακλείου',

- ArchDelt* 23, Chronika, 427–9.
- Borgna, E. 2004
‘Aegean feasting: a Minoan perspective’, in *The Mycenaean feast*, J.C. Wright (ed.), Princeton, 127–59.
- Bosanquet, R.C. 1901–1902
‘Excavations at Palaikastro’, *BSA* 8, 282–4, 286–316.
- Bosanquet, R. & R. Dawkins 1902–1903
‘Excavations at Palaikastro, II’, *BSA* 9, 274–387.
- Bosanquet & Dawkins 1923
The unpublished objects from the Palaikastro excavations 1902–1906. Part I (BSA Suppl. 1), London.
- Boskamp, A. 1966
‘Minoan storage capacities (1): graffiti on the pithoi in the palace magazines at Knossos’, *BSA* 91, 103–8.
- Botsi, B.–M. 2004
Μικρογραφικά αγγεία. Μία παραμελημένη αρχαιολογική ενότητα. Παραδείγματα από την Ανατολική Κρήτη της Εποχής του Χαλκού, MA Thesis, University of Crete, Rethymnon.
- Boyd, B. 1995
‘Houses and hearths, pits and burials: Natufian mortuary practices at Mallaha (Eynan), Upper Jordan Valley’, in Campbell & Green 1995, 17–23.
- Boyd, H. 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 13), Philadelphia.
- Brandes, W. 1999
‘Byzantine cities in the seventh and eighth centuries–different sources, different histories?’, in *The idea and the ideal of the town between late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages*, G. Brogiolo & Br. Ward-Perkins (eds.), Leiden, Boston, Köln, 25–57.
- Branigan, K. 1968a
Copper and bronze working in Early Bronze Age Crete (SIMA 19), Lund.
- Branigan, K. 1968b
‘Silver and lead in Prepalatial Crete’, *AJA* 72, 219–29.
- Branigan, K. 1970a
The foundations of palatial Crete: a survey of Crete in the Early Bronze Age, London.
- Branigan, K. 1970b
The tombs of Mesara, London.
- Branigan, K. 1974
Aegean metalwork of the Early and Middle Bronze Age, Oxford.
- Branigan, K. 1987
‘Ritual interference with human bones in the Mesara tholoi’, in Laffineur 1987, 43–50.
- Branigan, K. 1988
Prepalatial: the foundations of palatial Crete, Amsterdam.
- Branigan, K. 1991
‘Funerary ritual and social cohesion in Early Bronze Age Crete’, *JMS* 1, 183–92.
- Branigan, K. 1993
Dancing with death: life and death in southern Crete c. 3000–2000 BC, Amsterdam.
- Branigan, K. 1994
‘Open-air shrines in Pre-Palatial Crete’, in *ΑΙΟΙΒΗ, εις μνήμην Ανδρέα Γ. Καλοκαιρινού*, Herakleion, 279–90.
- Branigan, K. 1995
‘Social transformation and the rise of the state in Crete’, in Laffineur & Niemeier 1995, 33–42.
- Branigan, K. (ed.) 1998a
Cemetery and society in the Aegean Bronze Age, Sheffield.
- Branigan, K. 1998b
‘The nearness of you: proximity and distance in Early Minoan funerary landscapes’, in Branigan 1998a, 13–26.
- Branigan, K. 1999
‘The nature of warfare in the southern Aegean during the third millennium BC’, in Laffineur 1999, 87–94.
- Branigan, K. 2001a
Urbanism in the Aegean Bronze Age, Sheffield.
- Branigan, K. 2001b
‘Aspects of Minoan urbanism’, in Branigan 2001a, 38–50.
- Brodie, M., J. Doole, G. Gavalas & C. Renfrew (eds.) 2008
Horizon: a colloquium on the prehistory of the Cyclades, Cambridge.
- Brogan, T.M. 2011
‘Introduction’, in Brogan & Hallager 2011, 39–53.
- Brogan, T.M. & E. Hallager (eds.) 2011
LM IB pottery: relative chronology and regional differences. Acts of a workshop held at the Danish Institute at Athens in collaboration with the INSTAP Study Center for East Crete, 27–29 June 2007 (Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 11), Athens.
- Brogan, T.M. & Ch. Sofianou 2009
‘Papadiokambos: new evidence for the impact of the Thera eruption on the northeast coast of Crete’, in *Time’s up! Dating the*

- Minoan eruption of Santorini. *Acts of the Minoan eruption chronology workshop, Sandbjerg November 2007 initiated by Jan Heinemeier & Walter L. Friedrich*, D.A. Warburton (ed.), (Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 10), Athens, 117–25.
- Brogan, T.M., Ch. Sofianou & J.E. Morrison 2011a
‘In search of the upper story of LM I House A.1 at Papadiokampos: an integrated architectural and ceramic perspective’, in *Our cups are full: pottery and society in the Aegean Bronze Age. Papers presented to Jeremy B. Rutter on the occasion of his 65th birthday*, W. Gauss, M. Lindbloom, R.A.K. Smith & J.C. Wright (eds.), Oxford, 31–9.
- Brogan, T.M., Ch. Sofianou & J.E. Morrison 2011b
‘The LM IB pottery from Papadiokampos: a response to Leonidas Vokotopoulos’, in Brogan & Hallager 2011, 573–93.
- Brogan, T.M., Ch. Sofianou, J.E. Morrison, E. Margaritis & D. Mylonas forthcoming
‘Living off the fruit of the sea in House A.1 at Papadiokampos’, in *Subsistence economy and society in the Greek world: improving the integration of archaeology and science, international conference, Athens, 22 – 24 March 2010, organized by The Netherlands Institute at Athens (NIA) and the Hellenic Society of Archaeometry (EAE)*.
- Broodbank, C. 2000
An island archaeology of the Early Cyclades, Cambridge.
- Bruin, F. 1970
‘Royal purple and the dye industries of the Mycenaeans and Phoenicians’, in *Sociétés et campagnes de commerce en Orient et dans l’Océan Indien, Actes du huitième colloque international d’histoire maritime, Beyrouth (5–10 septembre 1966)*, M. Mollat (ed.), Paris, 73–90.
- Brumfiel, E.M. & T.K. Earle 1987
‘Specialization, exchange, and complex societies: an introduction’, in *Specialization, exchange, and complex societies*, E.M. Brumfiel & T.K. Earle (eds.), Cambridge, 1–9.
- Burke, B. 2005
‘Materialization of Mycenaean ideology and the Ayia Triada sarcophagus’, *AJA* 109, 403–22.
- Burke, B. 2006
‘A textile workshop in House II at Petras, Siteia’, in *Proceedings of the 9th International Cretological Conference (Elounda, 1–6 October 2001)*, A1, Herakleion, 279–95.
- Cadogan, G. 1977–1978
‘Pyrgos, Crete 1970–1977’, *AR* 24, 70–84.
- Cadogan, G. 1995
‘Mallia and Lasithi: a palace state’, in *Proceedings of the 7th International Cretological Conference (Rethymnon, 26–30 August 1991)*, A1, Rethymnon, 97–104.
- Cadogan, G., E. Hatzaki & A. Vasilakis (eds.) 2004
Knossos: palace, city, state. Proceedings of the conference in Herakleion organized 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 (British School at Athens Studies 12), London.
- Caloi, I. 2009
‘For a new ceramic sequence of Protopalatial Phaistos (MM IB–MM IIA) and some observations on barbotine ware’, *Creta Antica* 10, 373–400.
- Campbell, S. & A. Green (eds.) 1995
The archaeology of death in the ancient Near East (Oxbow Monograph 51), Oxford.
- Carter, T. 1998
‘Reverberations of the “international spirit”: thoughts upon “Cycladica” in the Mesara’, in Branigan 1998a, 59–77.
- Carter, T. 1999
‘Through a glass darkly’: obsidian and society in the southern Aegean Early Bronze Age, Ph.D. dissertation, University College, London.
- Carter, T. 2010
‘Of blades and burials, flakes and funerals. The chipped stone from Moni Odigitria’, in Vasilakis & Branigan 2010, 151–69.
- Carter, E. & A. Parker 1995
‘Pots, people and the archaeology of death in northern Syria and southern Anatolia in the latter half of the third millennium BC’, in Campbell & Green 1995, 96–119.
- Castel, C. 1996
‘Un quartier de maisons urbaines du Bronze Moyen à Tell Mohammed Diyab’, in *Houses and households in ancient Mesopotamia*, K. Veenhof (ed.), Istanbul, 273–84.
- Catapotis, M., Y. Bassiakos & Y. Papadatos 2011
‘Reconstructing early Cretan metallurgy: analytical evidence from Kephala Petras, Siteia’, in *Metallurgy: understanding how, learning why, studies in honor of James D. Muhly*, P.P. Betancourt & S. Ferrence (eds.), (Prehistory Monographs 29), Philadelphia, 69–78.
- Catling, E., H. Catling, D. Smythe, G. Jones & R.E. Jones 1979
‘Knossos 1975: Middle Minoan III and Late Minoan I houses by the Acropolis’, *BSA* 74, 1–80.

- Cauvin, J. 1979
'Les fouilles de Mureybet (1971–1974) et leur signification pour les origines de la sédentarisation du Proche-Orient', *AASOR* 44, 19–48.
- Cavanagh, W. & C. Mee 1998
A private place: death in prehistoric Greece (SIMA 125), Göteborg.
- Chaniotis, A. (ed.) 1999
From Minoan farmers to Roman traders: sidelights on the economy of ancient Crete, Stuttgart.
- Cherry, J.F. 1986
'Politics and palaces: some problems in the Minoan state formation', in *Peer-polity interaction and socio-political change*, C. Renfrew & J. F. Cherry (eds.), Cambridge, 19–45.
- Christakis, K. 1999
'Pithoi and food storage in Neopalatial Crete: a domestic perspective', in *Food technology in its social context: production, processing and storage*, D.T. Kenyon (ed.), (WorldArch 31), 1–20.
- 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.
- Christakis, K.S. 2008a
The politics of storage. Storage and sociopolitical complexity in Neopalatial Crete (Prehistory Monographs 25), Philadelphia.
- Christakis, K.S. 2008b
History and trade in Crete from prehistory to the beginning of the 20th century, Herakleion.
- Christakis, K. 2011
'Pithoi and economy in LM IB state societies', in Brogan & Hallager 2011, 241–54.
- Christie's London 1989
The Erlenmeyer Collection of Cretan seals (sale catalogue, Monday 5 June 1989, 2.30 p.m.).
- Chrysosoulaki, S. 1999
'Minoan roads and guard houses-war regained', in Laffineur 1999, 75–85.
- Chrysosoulaki, S. 2001
'The Traostalos peak sanctuary: aspects of spatial organisation', in Laffineur & Hägg 2001, 57–66.
- Chrysosoulaki, S. & L. Platon 1987
'Relations between the town and palace of Zakros', in Hägg & Marinatos 1987, 77–84.
- Claassen, C. 1998
Shells (Cambridge manuals in archaeology), Cambridge.
- Clark, J.E. & M. Blake 1994
'The power of prestige: competitive generosity and the emergence of rank societies in lowland Mesoamerica', in *Factional competition and political development in the New World*, E.M. Brumfiel & J.W. Fox (eds.), Cambridge, 17–30.
- Coqueugniot, E. 1999
'Tell Dja'de al-Mughara', in Del Olmo Lete & Montero Fenollos 1999, 41–55.
- Crowley, J.L. 1995
'Images of power in the Bronze Age Aegean', in Laffineur & Niemeier 1995, 475–91.
- Cunningham, T. 2001
'Variations on a theme: divergence in settlement patterns and spatial organization in the far east of Crete during the Proto- and Neopalatial periods', in Branigan 2001a, 72–86.
- D'Agata, A.L. 1992
'Late Minoan Crete and horns of consecration: a symbol in action', in Laffineur & Crowley 1992, 247–56.
- D'Agata, A.L. 1997–2000
'Ritual and rubbish in Dark Age Crete: the settlement of Thronos/Kephala (ancient Sybrita) and the Pre-Classical roots of a Greek city', *Aegean Archaeology* 4, 45–59.
- D'Agata, A.L. & J. Moody (eds.) 2005
Ariadne's Threads: connections between Crete and the Mainland in Late Minoan III (LM IIIA2 to LM IIIC). Proceedings of an international workshop held in Athens, Scuola Archeologica Italiana, 5–6 April 2003 (Tripodes 3), Athens.
- D'Agata, A.L. & A. Van de Moortel (eds.) 2009
Archaeologies of cult: essays on ritual and cult in Crete in honor of Geraldine C. Gesell (Hesperia Suppl. 42), Princeton.
- D'Annibale, C. 2006
'Production and consumption of obsidian in the Siteia Bay area: Final Neolithic through Late Minoan', in *Proceedings of the 9th International Cretological Congress (Elounda, 1–6 October 2001)*, A1, Herakleion, 332–45.
- D'Annibale, C. 2008
'Obsidian in transition: the technological reorganization of the obsidian industry from Petras Kephala (Siteia) between Final Neolithic IV and Early Minoan I', in Isaakidou & Tomkins 2008, 191–200.
- Darcque, P. 2005
L'habitat mycénien. Formes et fonctions de l'espace bâti en Grèce continentale à la fin du II^e millénaire avant J.-C. (BÉFAR 319), Paris.
- Darcque, P. & R. Treuil (eds.) 1990
L'habitat égéen préhistorique. Actes de

- la table ronde internationale organisée par le Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, l'Université de Paris I, et l'École française d'Athènes, Athènes (23–25 juin 1987) (BCH Suppl. 19), Paris.
- Darrouzès, J. 1981
Notitiae episcopatum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae. Texte critique, introduction et notes, Paris.
- Davaras, K. n.d.
Μουσείον Αγίου Νικολάου, Athens.
- Davaras, C. 1971
‘Αρχαιολογικές έρευνες στη Σητεία κατά τό θέρους τοῦ 1971’, *Amaltheia* 2, 197–200.
- Davaras, C. 1972
‘Πρινιάς’, *ArchDelt* 27, Chronika, 651.
- Davaras, C. 1976
Guide to Cretan antiquities, New Jersey.
- Davaras, C. 1985
‘Une tombe à vouûte en Crète orientale (note complémentaire)’, *BCH* 109, 625–8.
- Davaras, C. 1988
‘A Minoan beetle rhyton from Prinias, Siteia’, *BSA* 83, 45–54.
- Davaras, C. 2004
‘Chapter 1: The Mochlos ship cup’, in *Mochlos IC: Period III. Neopalatial settlement on the coast: the Artisans’ Quarter and the farmhouse at Chalinomouri. The small finds*, J.S. Soles (ed.), (Prehistory Monographs 9), Philadelphia, 3–15.
- Davaras, C. & P.P. Betancourt 2004
The Hagia Photia cemetery I: the tomb groups and architecture (Prehistory Monographs 14), Philadelphia.
- David, R. 1996
The pyramid builders of Egypt, London & New York, 189–90.
- Davidson, G.R. 1952
Corinth XII: the minor objects, Princeton.
- Dawkins, R.M. 1903–1904
‘Excavations at Palaikastro, III’, *BSA* 10, 192–231.
- Dawkins, R.M. & J. Droop 1911
‘The excavations at Phylakopi in Melos’, *BSA* 17, 1–22.
- Dawkins, R.M., C. Hawes & R.C. Bosanquet 1904–1905
‘Excavations at Palaikastro, IV’, *BSA* 11, 258–308.
- Day, P.M. 1997
‘Ceramic exchange between towns and outlying settlements in Neopalatial East Crete’, in Hägg 1997, 219–28.
- Day, P.M. & M. Relaki 2002
‘Past factions and present fictions: palaces in the study of Minoan Crete’, in Driessen, Schoep & Laffineur 2002, 217–34.
- Day, L.P., M.S. Mook & J.D. Muhly (eds.) 2004
Crete beyond the palaces: proceedings of the Crete 2000 Conference (Prehistory monographs 10), Philadelphia.
- De Contenson, H. 1992
‘Les coutumes funéraires dans le Néolithique Syrien’, *BSPF* 89 (6), 184–91.
- Del Freo, M. 2008
‘Rapport 2001–2005 sur les textes en écriture hiéroglyphique crétoise, en Linéaire A et en Linéaire B’, in *Colloquium Romanum. Atti del XII colloquio internazionale di Micenologia*, A. Sacconi, M. Del Freo, L. Godart & M. Negri (eds.), (Pasiphae 1), Pisa & Rome, 199–222.
- Del Freo, M. forthcoming
‘Rapport 2006–2010 sur les textes en écriture hiéroglyphique crétoise, en Linéaire A et en Linéaire B’, in *Actes du XIIIème colloque international sur les textes égéens (Sèvres-Nanterre-Paris, 20–23 septembre 2010)*, P. Carlier, N. Guilleux, P. Carlier, M. Egetmeyer, Ch. De Lamberterie & J. Zurbach (eds.).
- Del Olmo Lette, G. & J.-L. Montero Fenollos (eds.) 1999
Archaeology of the Upper Syria Euphrates: the Tishrin Dam area. Proceedings of the international symposium held at Barcelona (January 28–30, 1998) (Aula Orientalis Supplementa 15), Barcelona.
- Demakopoulou, K. 1996
The Aidonia Treasure: seals and jewellery of the Aegean Late Bronze Age, Athens.
- Demargne, P. 1930
‘Bijoux minoens de Mallia’, *BCH* 54, 404–21.
- Demargne, P. 1945
Fouilles exécutées à Mallia: exploration des nécropoles (1921–1933) (Études Crétoises 7), Paris.
- Didioudi, S. 1995
‘Καρδάμυνα’, *ArchDelt* 50, Chronika, 828–30.
- Dierckx, H.M.C. 2008
‘Chipped and ground stone implements’, in Betancourt *et al.* 2008, 562–6.
- Dikaïos, S. 1953
Khirokitia. Final report on the excavation of a Neolithic settlement in Cyprus on behalf of the Department of Antiquities 1936–1946, Oxford.
- Dornemann, R.H. 1979
‘Tell Hadidi: a millennium of Bronze Age city occupation’, in *Archaeological reports from the Tabqa*

- Dam Project: Euphrates Valley, Syria*, D. Freedman (ed.), (AASOR 44), Cambridge, 115–51.
- Doumas, Ch. & A.G. Constantinides 1990
‘Pithoi, size and symbols: some preliminary considerations on the Akrotiri evidence’, in Hardy *et al.* 1990, vol. 1, 41–3.
- Driessen, J. 1982
‘The Minoan hall in domestic architecture on Crete: to be in vogue in Late Minoan IA?’, *ActaArchLov* 21, 27–74.
- Driessen, J. 1989–1990
‘The proliferation of Minoan palatial architectural style (1): Crete’, *ActaArchLov* 28–29, 3–23.
- Driessen, J. 2001
‘History and hierarchy: preliminary observations on the settlement pattern of Minoan Crete’, in Branigan 2001a, 51–71.
- Driessen, J. 2002
“‘The king must die’: some observations on the use of Minoan court compounds”, in Driessen, Schoep & Laffineur 2002, 1–14.
- 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, 35–65.
- Driessen, J. forthcoming
‘Beyond the collective. The Minoan palace in action’, 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.
- Driessen, J. & C.F. Macdonald 1997
The troubled island: Minoan Crete before and after the Santorini eruption (Aegaeum 17), Liège.
- Driessen, J. & J.A. MacGillivray 1989
‘The Neopalatial period in East Crete’, in Laffineur 1989, 99–113.
- Driessen, J. & J. Sakellarakis 1997
‘The Vathypetro-complex: some observations on its architectural history and function’, in Hägg 1997, 63–77.
- Driessen, J., I. Schoep & R. Laffineur (eds.) 2002
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), Liège & Austin.
- Dunand, M. 1950
Fouilles de Byblos 1933–38, vol. II, Paris.
- Dunand, M. 1973
Fouilles de Byblos, vol. 5: *L’architecture, les tombes, le matériel domestique, des origines Néolithiques à l’avènement urbain*, Paris.
- Dunham, S. 1993
‘Bead for babies’, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 83, 237–57.
- Effinger, M. 1996
Minoischer Schmuck (BAR-IS 646), Oxford.
- Emerson, T.E. 1997
Cahokia and the architecture of power, Tuscaloosa.
- Erkanal, H. & L. Keskin 2009
‘Relations between the Urla peninsula and the Minoan world’, in *The Minoans in the central, eastern and northern Aegean – new evidence: acts of a Minoan Seminar 22–23 January 2005 in collaboration with the Danish Institute at Athens and the German Archaeological Institute at Athens*, C.F. Macdonald, E. Hallager & W.-D. Niemeier (eds.), (Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 8), Athens, 97–110.
- Evans, A.J. 1909
Scripta Minoa I. The hieroglyphic and primitive linear classes, Oxford.
- Evans, A.J. 1928
The palace of Minos at Knossos, vol. II, London.
- Evans, J.D. 1964
‘Excavations in the Neolithic settlement of Knossos 1957–60. Part I’, *BSA* 59, 132–240.
- Evans, J.D. 1974
‘The archaeological evidence and its interpretation: some suggested approaches to the problem of the Aegean Bronze Age’, in *Bronze Age migrations in the Aegean*, R.A. Crossland & A. Birchall (eds.), London, 17–26.
- Evely, R.D.G. 2000
Minoan crafts: tools and techniques. An introduction, Vol. II (SIMA 92:2), Jonsered.
- Evely, D., H. Hughes-Brock & N. Momigliano (eds.) 1994
Knossos: a labyrinth of history. Papers in honour of Sinclair Hood, London.
- Fedalto, G. 1973
La chiesa Latina in Oriente, vol. I (Studi Religiosi 3), Verona.
- Ferrence, S.C. 2008
Lasithi before the new palaces: a study of selected elite artifacts from the Hagios Charalambos cave, Ph.D. dissertation, Temple University, Philadelphia.
- Fischer, P. 1949
‘Rôle des coquillages dans les

- premières civilisations humains', *Journal de Conchyliologie* 89, 82–157.
- Fischer, W., M.L. Bauchot & M. Schneider (eds.) 1987
Fiches FAO d'identification des espèces pour les besoins de la pêche-Méditerranée et Mer Noire-Zone de pêche 37, Révision 1. Vol. I: Végétaux et invertébrés, Rome.
- Fitton, J.L. 2009
The Aigina Treasure: Aegean Bronze Age jewellery and a mystery revisited, London.
- Floyd, C. 1997
'The alternating floral style as evidence for pottery workshops in East Crete during the Protopalatial period', in Laffineur & Betancourt 1997, 313–6.
- François, V. 1994
'La céramique à glaçure à Malia: productions médiévales italiennes et productions ottomanes', *BCH* 118, 375–87.
- François, V. 1998
'La céramique médiévale d'Alexandrie: Kom el-Dikka et Kom el-Nadoura, deux dépotoirs de la période Islamique', in *Colloque International d'Archéologie islamique (Le Caire, 3–7 février 1993)*, R.-P. Gayraud (ed.), (Textes arabes et études islamiques 36), Paris, 319–34.
- Fugmann, E. 1958
L'architecture des périodes pré-Hellénistiques. Hama: fouilles et recherches, 1931–1938, vol. 2, part 1, Copenhagen.
- Galanaki, K. 2006
'Πρωτομινωικό ταφικό σύνολο στην πρώην Αμερικανική Βάση Γουρνών Πεδιάδος', in *Proceedings of the 9th International Cretological Conference (Elounda, 1–6 October 2001)*, A2, Herakleion, 227–42.
- Gates, C. 1999
'Why are there no scenes of warfare in Minoan art?', in Laffineur 1999, 277–83.
- Germain, L. 1924
'Les animaux marins d'après les écrivains et les artistes de l'Antiquité', *Bulletin de la Société d'Océanographie de France* 15–17, 359–93.
- Gerola, G. 1908
Monumenti veneti nell'isola di Creta, vol. II, Venezia.
- Girella, L. 2002
'Vasi rituali con elementi miniaturizzati a Creta, in Egeo e nel Mediterraneo orientale alla fine dell'età del bronzo. Indicatori archeologici ed etnici', *Creta Antica* 3, 168–215.
- Girella, L. 2003
'Un pitharaki MM III dal nuovo "Settore Nord-Est" di Haghia Triada', *Creta Antica* 4, 343–58.
- Goodison, L. 1989
Death, women and the sun. Symbolism of regeneration in early Aegean religion (BICS Suppl. 53), London.
- Gopher A. & E. Orrelle 1995a
'New data on burials from the Pottery Neolithic period (sixth-fifth millennium BC) Israel', in Campbell & Green 1995, 24–9.
- Gopher A. & E. Orrelle 1995b
'Preliminary report on excavations of Nahal Zehora II – seasons 1990–1991', *Mitekufat Haeven* 23, 169–72.
- Graham, J.W. 1972
The palaces of Crete, Princeton.
- Grajetzki, W. 2003
Burial customs in ancient Egypt: life in death for rich and poor, London.
- Grasso, L. 2004
'Ceramica miniaturistica da Pompei', *Quaderni Di 'Ostraka'* 9, 15–20.
- Grasso, L. 2006
'La ceramica miniaturistica: un tentativo di definizione', in *Archeologie: studi in onore di Tiziano Mannoni*, N. Cucuzza & M. Medri (eds.), Bari, 321–6.
- Greene, M. 2000
A shared world: Christians and Muslims in the early modern Mediterranean, Princeton.
- Gregory, T.E. 1989
'Late Byzantine pottery from Isthmia: new evidence from the Korinthia', in *Recherches sur la céramique Byzantine. Actes du colloque organisé par l'École Française d'Athènes et l'Université de Strasbourg II (Athènes, 8–10 avril 1987)*, V. Deroche & J.-M. Spieser (eds.), (BCH Suppl. XVIII), Athens, 201–8.
- Günsenin, N. 1989
'Recherches sur les amphores Byzantines dans les musées Turcs', in *Recherches sur la céramique byzantine*, V. Deroche & J.-M. Spieser (eds.), (BCH Suppl. XVIII), Athens, 267–76.
- Günsenin, N. 2009
'Ganos wine and its circulation in the 11th century', in *Byzantine trade, 4th–12th centuries*, M. Mandell Mango (ed.), Surrey, 145–53.
- Hägg, R. (ed.) 1997
The function of the "Minoan villa". Proceedings of the eighth international symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 6–8 June 1992 (SkrAth 4°, 46), Stockholm.
- Hägg, R. & N. Marinatos (eds.) 1987
The function of the Minoan palaces. Proceedings of the fourth international

- symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 10–16 June 1984* (SkrAth 4°, 35), Stockholm.
- Haggis, D.C. 1999
‘Staple finance, peak sanctuaries, and economic complexity in Late Prepalatial Crete’, in Chaniotis 1999, 53–86.
- Haggis, D.C. 2000
‘Coarse ware ceramic distribution in the North Isthmus of Ierapetra in the Bronze Age’, in *Proceedings of the 8th International Cretological Congress (Herakleion, 9th–14th September 1996)*, A1, Herakleion, 535–43.
- Haggis, D.C. 2002
‘Integration and complexity in the Late Pre-palatial period. A view from the countryside in eastern Crete’, in Hamilakis 2002b, 120–42.
- Haggis, D. 2007
‘Stylistic diversity and diacritical feasting at Protopalatial Petras: a preliminary analysis of the Lakkos deposit’, *AJA* 111, 715–75.
- 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.
- Hahn, M. 1997
‘Modern Greek, Turkish and Venetian periods’, in *The Greek-Swedish excavations at the Agia Aikaterini Square, Kastelli, Khania, 1970–1987*, vol. I:1, E. Hallager & B.P. Hallager (eds.), (Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 1), Stockholm, 79–192.
- Haider, P.W. 2001
‘Minoan deities in an Egyptian medical text’, in Laffineur & Hägg 2001, 479–82.
- Hall, E.H. 1912
Excavations in eastern Crete. Sphoungaras, Philadelphia.
- Hallager B.P. & P.J.P McGeorge 1992
Late Minoan burials at Khania: the tombs, finds and deceased in Odos Palama (SIMA 93), Göteborg.
- Hallager, E. 1995
‘Four inscribed hanging nodules in the Heraklion Museum’, in *Proceedings of the Danish Institute at Athens* 1, 9–19.
- Hallager, E. 2002
‘Wine and pithoi: written and archaeological evidence’, in *Οίνος παλαιός ηδύποτος. Το κρητικό κρασί από τα προϊστορικά ως τα νεότερα χρόνια, Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Επιστημονικού Συμποσίου*, Aik. Mylopotamitaki (ed.), (Δημοσιεύματα του Αρχαιολογικού Ινστιτούτου Κρήτης, Αρ. 1), Herakleion, 61–8.
- Hallager, E. 2010
‘The archival documents’, in Tsipopoulou & Hallager 2010, 69–132.
- Hallager, E. 2011
‘On the origin of Linear B administration’, in *Proceedings of the 10th International Cretological Congress, Khania 2006 (Khania, 1–8 October 2006)*, A3, 317–29.
- Hallager E. & B. Pålsson-Hallager 1995
‘The Knossian bull – political propaganda in Neopalatial Crete?’, in Laffineur & Niemeier 1995, 547–56.
- Hallager, E. & B.P. Hallager (eds.) 1997
Late Minoan III pottery. Chronology and terminology. Acts of a meeting held at the Danish Institute at Athens (August 12–14 1994) (Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 1), Athens.
- Hallager, E. & B.P. Hallager 2003
The Greek-Swedish excavations at the Agia Aikaterini Square Kastelli, Khania 1970–1986 and 2001, Vol III:1, The Late Minoan IIIB:2 settlement (SkrAth 4° 47/3 i-ii), Stockholm.
- Hamilakis, Y. 1998
‘Eating the dead: mortuary feasting and the politics of memory in the Aegean Bronze Age societies’, in Branigan 1998a, Sheffield, 115–32.
- Hamilakis, Y. 2002a
‘Too many chiefs? Factional competition in Neopalatial Crete’, in Driessen, Schoep & Laffineur 2002, 179–99.
- Hamilakis, Y. (ed.) 2002b
Labyrinth revisited. Rethinking ‘Minoan’ archaeology, Oxford.
- Hardy, D.A. et al. (eds.) 1990
Thera and the Aegean world III. Proceedings of the 3rd international congress (Santorini, Greece, 3–9 September 1989), vols. 1–3, London.
- Hastorf, C.A. 1993
Agriculture and the onset of political inequality before the Inka, Cambridge.
- Hatzaki, E. 2007a
‘Neopalatial (MM IIIB – LM IB): KS 178, Gypsades Well (Upper Deposit) and SEX North House Groups’, in Momigliano 2007, 151–96.
- Hatzaki, E. 2007b
‘Final Palatial (LM II-III A2), and Postpalatial (LM IIIB-LM IIIC early): the MUM South Sector, Long Corridor Cists, MUM Pits

- (8, 10–11), Makritikhos “Kitchen”, MUM North Platform Pits and SEX Southern Half Groups’, in Momigliano 2007, 198–253.
- Hawes, H. Boyd, B.E. Williams, R.B. Seager & E.H. Hall 1908 *Gournia, Vasiliki and other prehistoric sites on the isthmus of Hierapetra, Crete. Excavations of the Wells-Houston-Cramp Expeditions 1901, 1903, 1904*, Philadelphia.
- Hayden, B.J. 2003 ‘Final Neolithic – Early Minoan I/IIA settlement in the Vrokastro area, eastern Crete’, *AJA* 107, 363–412.
- Hayden, B. & A. Cannon 1982 ‘The corporate group as an archaeological unit’, *JAnthArch* 1, 132–58.
- Hayes, J.W. 1972 *Late Roman pottery*, Oxford.
- Hayes, J.W. 1992 *Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul II: the pottery*, Princeton.
- Hayes, J.W. 2001 ‘Early Christian pottery from Knossos: the 1978–1981 finds from the Knossos Medical Faculty Site’, *BSA* 96, 431–54.
- Heltzer, M.L. 1989 ‘Some questions of the Ugaritic metrology and its parallels in Judah, Phoenicia, Mesopotamia and Greece’, *Ugarit Forschungen* 21, 195–208.
- Hickman, J. 2008a *Gold before the palaces: crafting jewelry and social identity in Minoan Crete*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
- Hickman, J. 2008b ‘The gold strips’, in Betancourt *et al.* 2008, 561–2.
- Higgins, R.A. 1980 *Greek and Roman jewelry*, Berkeley & Los Angeles.
- Hilditch, J. 2007 ‘Petrological analysis of the ceramics from Kavos, Keros’, in *Keros, Dhaskalio Kavos. The investigations of 1987–88*, C. Renfrew, C. Doumas, L. Marangou & G. Gavalas (eds.), Cambridge, 238–63.
- Hiller, S. 1999 ‘Scenes of warfare and combat in the arts of Aegean Late Bronze Age. Reflections on typology and development’, in Laffineur 1999, 319–30.
- Hiller, S. 2001 ‘Potnia/Potnios Aigon. On the religious aspects of the goat in the Aegean Bronze Age’, in Laffineur & Hägg, 293–304.
- Hillson, S. 1996 *Dental anthropology*, Cambridge.
- Hodder, I. 1990 *The domestication of Europe: structure and contingency in Neolithic societies*, Oxford.
- Hodder, I. 1999 *The archaeological process*, Oxford.
- Hogarth, D.G. 1899–1900 ‘Knossos: II. Early town and cemeteries’, *BSA* 6, 70–84.
- Hood, M.S.F. 1990a ‘Settlers in Crete c. 3000 BC’, *Cretan Studies* 2, 150–8.
- Hood, M.S.F. 1990b ‘Autochthons or settlers? Evidence for immigration at the beginning of the Early Bronze Age in Crete’, in *Proceedings of the 6th International Cretological Conference (Khania, August 1986)*, A1, Khania, 367–75.
- Hood, S. 2010 ‘The Middle Minoan cemetery on Ailias at Knossos’, in Krzyszkowska 2010a, 161–8.
- Hooker, J.T. 1980 *Linear B: an introduction*, Bristol.
- Howison, J., A. Wiggins & K. Crowston 2008 ‘E-research workflows for studying free and open source software development’, *Paper presented at the Open Source Software conference in Milan*.
- Hughes, D.D. 1991 *Human sacrifice in ancient Greece*, London & New York, 18–26.
- Hughes-Brock, H. 1995 ‘Seals and beads. Their shapes and materials compared’, in *Sceaux minoens et mycéniens*, I. Pini & J.-C. Poursat (eds.), (CMS Beiheft 5), Berlin, 105–16.
- Iakovides, Sp. 1969–1970 *Περατή: τό νεκροταφείον* (Βιβλιοθήκη της ἐν Ἀθῆναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας 67), Athens.
- Ilan, D. 1995 ‘Mortuary practices at Tel Dan in the Middle Bronze Age: a reflection of Canaanite society and ideology’, in Campbell & Green 1995, 117–39.
- Immerwahr, S.A. 1990 *Aegean painting in the Bronze Age*, London.
- Isaakidou, V. & P. Tomkins (eds.) 2008 *Escaping the labyrinth. The Cretan Neolithic in context* (Sheffield Studies in Aegean Archaeology 8), Oxford.
- Jacobsen, T.W. 1973 ‘Excavations at Franchthi Cave, 1969–71, Part II’, *Hesperia* 42, 253–83.

- Jasink, A.M. 2009
Cretan hieroglyphic seals. A new classification of symbols and ornamental/filling motifs (Biblioteca di 'Pasiphae' 8), Pisa & Rome.
- Johnston, F.E. 1962
'Growth of long bones of infants and children at Indian Knoll', *AJPA* 20, 249–54.
- Johnson, M. 1996
An archaeology of capitalism, Oxford & Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Kakrides, I.Th. 1987
Ελληνική μυθολογία: οι Θεοί, vol. 2, Athens.
- Kalomenopoulos, P. 1894
Κρητικά, Athens.
- Karali, L. 1999
Shells in Aegean prehistory (BAR-IS 761), Oxford.
- Karantazali, E. 1997
'Στοιχεία Προτομινωικής κατοίκησης στα Νοπήγεια Κισάμου', *ArchDelt* 47–48, Meletes, 66–81.
- Karetsou A., M. Andreadaki-Vlazaki & N. Papadakis (eds.) 2000
Crete-Egypt, cultural connections over three millennia. Catalogue, Herakleion (in Greek).
- Karetsou, A., L. Godart & J.-P. Olivier 1985
'Inscriptions en Linéaire A du sanctuaire de sommet Minoen du Mont Iouktas', *Kadmos* 24, 89–147.
- Karnava, A. 2000
The Cretan hieroglyphic script of the second millennium BC: description, analysis, function and decipherment perspectives, vols. I–II, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Brussels, Brussels.
- Katifori, M. 2010
'Ανασκαφή στο Ναό των Αγίων Αποστόλων στην Κάτω Επισκοπή Σητείας: επίσκεψη σε ένα Βυζαντινό λουτρό', in *Αρχαιολογικό έργο Κρήτης 1: Πρακτικά της 1ης συνάντησης, (Ρέθυμνο, 28–30 Νοεμβρίου 2008)*, M. Andrianakis & I. Tzachili (eds.), Rethymnon, 211–22.
- Katsa-Tomara, L. 1990
'The pottery-producing system at Akrotiri: an index of exchange and social activity', in Hardy *et al.* 1990, vol. 1, 31–40.
- Katzenberg, M.A., D.A. Herring & S.R. Saunders 1996
'Weaning and infant mortality: evaluating the skeletal evidence', *AJPA* 39, 177–99.
- Klengel-Brandt, E., S. Kulemann-Ossen, L. Martin & R.-B. Wartke 1997
'Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen des Vorderasiatischen Museums auf Tall Knedig/NO-Syrien, Ergebnisse der Kampagnen 1995 und 1996', *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 129, 39–87.
- Knappett, C. 1999
'Assessing a polity in Protopalatial Crete: the Malia-Lasithi state', *AJA* 103, 615–39.
- Knappett, C. 2009
'Scaling up: from household to state in Bronze Age Crete', in *Inside the city in the Greek world: studies of urbanism from the Bronze Age to the Hellenistic period*, S. Owen & L. Preston (eds.), (University of Cambridge Museum of Classical Archaeology Monographs 1), Oxford, 14–26.
- Knappett, C. forthcoming,
'Meaning in miniature: semiotic networks in material culture', in *Excavating the mind*, M. Jessen, N. Johannsen, & H. Juel Jensen (eds.).
- Knappett, C. & A. Collar 2007
'Unpublished Middle Minoan and Late Minoan I material from the 1962–3 excavations at Palaikastro, Crete (PK VIII)', *BSA* 102, 153–217.
- Knappett, C. & T.F. Cunningham 2003
'Three Neopalatial deposits from Palaikastro, East Crete', *BSA* 90, 107–87.
- Kollias, I. 2004
Η Ρόδος από τον 4^ο αιώνα μ.Χ. μέχρι την κατάληψή της από τους Τούρκους (1522): Παλάτι Μεγάλου Μαγίστρου, Athens.
- Kolonas, L. 1985
'Νομός Αχαΐας, Χαλανδρίτσα', *ArchDelt* 40, Chronika, 138.
- Kolonas, L. & M. Gazis 2006
'Ο Μυκηναϊκός οικισμός της Χαλανδρίτσας, νεότερα στοιχεία', in *Πρακτικά 1^{ης} Αρχαιολογικής Συνόδου Νότιας και Δυτικής Ελλάδος (Πάτρα, 9–12 Ιουνίου 1996)*, Athens, 27.
- Kontorli-Papadopoulou, L. 1999
'Fresco fighting scenes as evidence for warlike activities in the LBA Aegean', in Laffineur 1999, 331–9.
- Kopaka, C. 1984
Aménagements intérieurs des habitations et activités domestiques en Crète et à Thera à l'Âge du Bronze. Thèse de Doctorat, Université de Paris I, Paris.
- Kopaka, K. & L. Platon 1993
'Ληνοί Μινωικοί. Installations minoennes de traitement des produits liquides', *BCH* 117, 35–101.
- Koşay, H.Z. 1944
Ausgrabungen von Alaca Höyük, Ankara.
- Kountoura-Galaki, E. 1996
'Η «Εικονοκλαστική» NOTITIA

3 και το λατινικό της πρότυπο', *Σύμμεικτα* 10, 45–73.

Krattenmaker, K. 1995
'Architecture in glyptic cult scenes in Minoan examples', in *Sceaux minoens et mycéniens: IV^e symposium international, 10–12 septembre 1992, Clermont-Ferrand*, W. Müller (ed.), (CMS Beiheft 5), Berlin, 117–33.

Krzyszkowska, O.H. 1989
'Early Cretan seals: new evidence for the use of bone, ivory and boar's tusk', in *Fragen und Probleme der bronzzeitlichen ägäischen Glyptik*, I. Pini (ed.), (CMS Beiheft 3), Berlin, 111–26.

Krzyszkowska, O. 2005
Aegean seals. An introduction (BICS Suppl. 85), London.

Krzyszkowska, O. (ed.) 2010a
Cretan offerings. Studies in honour of Peter Warren (British School at Athens Studies 18), London.

Krzyszkowska, O.H. 2010b
'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, 249–57.

Krzyszkowska, O. & L. Nixon (eds.) 1983
Minoan society. Proceedings of the Cambridge colloquium (1981), Bristol.

Lacovara, P. 2008
'The burial of Queen Ahhotep', in *Beyond Babylon: art, trade, and diplomacy in the second millennium BC*, J. Aruz, K. Benzel & J.M. Evans (eds.), New Haven and London, 119–22.

Laffineur, R. 1987
THANATOS: les coutumes funéraires en Égée à l'âge du Bronze. Actes du colloque de Liège, 21–23 avril 1986. (Aegaeum 1), Liège.

Laffineur, R. (ed.) 1989
Transition. Le monde Égéen du Bronze moyen au Bronze récent. Actes de la deuxième rencontre égéenne internationale de l'Université de Liège, 18–20 avril 1988 (Aegaeum 3), Liège.

Laffineur, R. (ed.) 1999
POLEMOS: Le contexte guerrier en Égée à l'âge du Bronze, Actes de la 7^e rencontre égéenne internationale, Université de Liège, 14–17 avril 1998 (Aegaeum 19:I–II), Liège & Austin.

Laffineur, R. & J.L. Crowley (eds.) 1992
EIKΩN: Aegean Bronze Age iconography: shaping a methodology. Proceedings of the 4th international Aegean conference, University of Tasmania, Hobart, Australia, 6–9 April 1992. Annales d'archéologie égéenne de l'Université de Liège (Aegaeum 8), Liège.

Laffineur, R. & R. Hägg (eds.) 2001
POTNIA: Deities and religion in the Aegean Bronze Age, Proceedings of the 8th International Aegean Conference/8^e rencontre égéenne internationale, Göteborg, Göteborg University, 12–15 April 2000 (Aegaeum 22), Liège/Austin.

Laffineur, R. & W.-D. Niemeier (eds.) 1995
POLITEIA: Society and state in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the 5th International Aegean Conference, University of Heidelberg, Archäologisches Institut, 10–13 April 1994 (Aegaeum 12), Liège & Austin.

Laiou, A. 2005
'The Byzantine village (5th–14th century)', in *Les villages dans l'empire Byzantine, IV^e–XV^e siècle*, J. Lefort, C. Morisson & J.-P. Sodini (eds.), (Réalités Byzantines 11), Paris, 31–54.

Lake, D.A. 2009
'Hobbesian hierarchy: the political economy of political organization,' *Annual Review of Political Science* 12, 263–83.

Lang, M. 1964
'Pylos pots and the Mycenaean units of capacity', in *The Palace of Nestor Excavations of 1963*, C.W. Blegen & M. Lang (eds.), *AJA* 68, 93–105.

Lang, M.L. 1969
The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in western Messenia, vol.II: the frescoes, Princeton.

Laskaris, N. 2000
Monuments funéraires paléochrétiens et byzantins de Grèce, Athens.

Lefort, J. 2002
'The rural economy, seventh–twelfth centuries', in *The economic history of Byzantium: from the seventh through the fifteenth century*, A. Laiou (ed.), Washington D.C., 231–310.

Lefort, J. 2006
'Η αργροτική οικονομία (7^{ος}–12^{ος} αιώνας)', in *Οικονομική Ιστορία του Βυζαντίου. Από τον 7^ο έως τον 15^ο αιώνα*, A. Laiou (ed.), Athens, 377–494.

Leon, G.B. 1972
'Ελληνική έμπορικὴ ναυτιλία (1453–1850)', in *Ελληνική έμπορικὴ ναυτιλία (1453–1850)*, S.A. Papadopoulos (ed.), Athens, 13–48.

Lilyquist, C. 1993
'Granulation and glass: chronological and stylistic investigations at selected sites, ca. 2500–1400 B.C.E.', *BASOR* 290–291, 29–94.

Lyman, R.L. 1994
'Quantitative units and terminology in zooarchaeology', *American Antiquity* 59, 36–71.

- Macdonald, C.F. 2000
'Knossos: present and future',
in *Cretan quests. British explorers,
excavators and historians*, D. Huxley
(ed.), London, 61–8.
- Macdonald, C.F. & C. Knappett
2007
*Knossos: Protopalatial deposits in
Early Magazine A and the South-
West House* (BSA Suppl. 41),
London.
- MacGillivray, J.A. 1998
*Knossos: pottery groups of the Old
Palace Period* (British School at
Athens Studies 5), London.
- MacGillivray, J.A. 2007
'Protopalatial (MM IB–MM IIIA):
Early Chamber beneath the West
Court, Royal Pottery Stores, the
Trial KV, and the West and South
polychrome deposits groups', in
Momigliano 2007, 105–49.
- MacGillivray, J.A. & J. Driessen
1990
'Minoan settlement at Palaikastro', in
Darcque & Treuil 1990, 395–412.
- MacGillivray, J.A., L.H. Sackett,
J. Driessen, C. Macdonald & D.
Smyth 1988
'Excavations at Palaikastro, 1987',
BSA 83, 259–82.
- MacGillivray, J.A., L.H. Sackett, J.
Driessen, R. Bridges & D. Smyth
1989
'Excavations at Palaikastro, 1988',
BSA 84, 417–45.
- MacGillivray, J.A. L.H. Sackett,
J.M. Driessen 2007
Palaikastro: two Late Minoan wells
(BSA Suppl. 43), London.
- Maggidis, C. 1994
*Burial Building 19 at Archanes:
a study of Prepalatial and Early
Protopalatial funerary architecture and
ritual*, Ph.D. dissertation, University
of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
- Maisels, C. 2010
The archaeology of politics and power,
Oxford & Oakville.
- Malamut, E. 1988
Les îles de l'empire Byzantin, Paris.
- Mallowan, M.E.L. 1936
'The excavations at Tell Chagar
Bazar and an archaeological survey
of the Habur region 1934–35', *Iraq*
3, 1–87.
- Mallowan, M.E.L. 1937
'The excavations at Tell Chagar
Bazar and an archaeological survey
of the Habur region. Second
campaign 1936', *Iraq* 4, 91–177.
- Mallowan, M.E.L. 1947
'Excavations at Brak and Chagar
Bazar', *Iraq* 9, 1–259.
- Mannino, M.A. & K.D. Thomas
2002
'Depletion of a resource? The
impact of prehistoric human
foraging on intertidal mollusc
communities and its significance
for human settlement, mobility and
dispersal', *World Archaeology* 33,
452–74.
- Manteli, K. 1992
'The Neolithic well at Kastelli
Phournis in eastern Crete', *BSA*
87, 103–20.
- Marinatos, N. 1986
*Minoan sacrificial ritual. Cult practices
and symbolism*, Stockholm.
- Marinatos, N. 1989
'The tree as focus of ritual action
in Minoan glyptic art', in *Fragen
und Probleme der Bronzezeitlichen
Ägäischen Glyptik. 3. Internationalen
Marburger Siegel-Symposium 5.–7.
September 1985*, I. Pini (ed.), (CMS
Beiheft 3), Berlin, 127–43.
- Marinatos, N. 1990
'The tree, the stone, and the
pithos: glimpses into a Minoan
ritual', in *Annales d'archéologie
égéenne de l'Université de Liège.
Histoire de l'art et archéologie de la
Grèce antique*, R. Laffineur (ed.),
(Aegaeum 6), Liège, 79–92.
- Marinatos, N. 1993
*Minoan religion. Ritual, image and
symbol*, Columbia.
- Marinatos, N. 2005
'The ideals of manhood in Minoan
Crete', in *Aegean wall painting. A
tribute to Mark Cameron*, L. Morgan
(ed.), (BSA Suppl. 13), London,
149–58.
- Marinatos, S. 1929
'Πρωτομινωικός θολωτός τάφος
παρά τὸ χωρίον Κράσι Πεδιάδος',
ArchDelt 12, 102–41.
- Marinatos, S. 1930
'Ἀνασκαφαὶ ἐν Κρήτῃ', *Prakt* 1930,
91–9.
- Marinatos, S. 1930–1931
'Δύο πρῶτοι μινωικοὶ τάφοι ἐκ
Βοροῦ Μεσσαρᾶς', *ArchDelt* 13,
Chronika, 137–70.
- Marchetti, C. 1994
'Anthropological invariants in
travel behaviour', *Technological
forecasting and social change* 47,
75–88.
- Martin, L. & R.B. Wartke 1993–
1994
'Tall Abu Hgaira 1987–1990',
Archiv für Orientforschung 40–41,
200–15.
- Matthiae, P. 2008
'Ebla', in *Beyond Babylon: art,
trade, and diplomacy in the second
millennium BC*, J. Aruz, K. Benzel
& J.M. Evans (eds.), New Haven
and London, 34–41.
- Matthiae, P., F. Pinnock & G.
Scandone Matthiae (eds.) 1995
Ebla: alle origini della civiltà urbana,
Milan.

- Mavroudi, N. 2004
Προσεγγίσεις της οικιακής αρχιτεκτονικής στην Κρήτη κατά την Νεοανακτορική περίοδο: το παράδειγμα του Σπιτιού II στον Πετρά Σητείας. MA Thesis, University of Crete, Rethymnon, Institutional Repository, Library Information Center:
http://elocus.lib.uoc.gr/dlib/6/8/a/metadata-dlib-f2d2582fde3cd39192a1da99446953b0_1241687914.tkl
- Mavroudi, N. 2011
‘Interpreting domestic space in Neopalatial Crete: a few thoughts on House II at Petras, Siteia’, in *ΣΤΕΓΑ: The archaeology of houses and households in ancient Crete*, K.T. Glowacki & N. Vogeikoff-Brogan (eds.), (Hesperia Suppl. 44), Princeton, 119–24.
- McClellan, T. & A. Porter 1997
‘Banat’ in ‘Archaeology in Syria’, H. Weiss (ed.), *AJA* 101, 106–8.
- McClellan T. & A. Porter 1999
‘Survey of excavations at Tell Banat: funerary practices’, in Del Olmo Lette & Montero Fenollos 1999, 107–16.
- McEnroe, J.C. 1982
‘A typology of Minoan Neopalatial houses’, *AJA* 86, 3–19.
- McEnroe, J.C. 1990
‘The significance of local styles in Minoan vernacular architecture’, in Darcque & Treuil 1990, 195–202.
- McEnroe, J.C. 2010
Architecture of Minoan Crete. Constructing identity in the Aegean Bronze Age, Austin.
- McGeorge, P.J.P. 1988
‘Μυθικοί πυγμαίοι και γίγαντες: νέα στοιχεία για το ύψος των Μινωιτών’, *Κρητική Εστία* 2, 10–8.
- McGeorge, P.J.P. 2003
‘Intramural infant burials in the Aegean’, in Hallager & Hallager 2003, 301–3.
- McGeorge P.J.P. 2008
‘Morbidity and medical practice in Minoan Crete’, in Andreadaki-Vlazaki *et al.* 2008, 118–27.
- McGovern, P. 1985
Late Bronze Palestinian pendants: innovation in a cosmopolitan age (JSOT/ASOR Monograph Series 1), Sheffield.
- McMahon A., O. Tunca & A. Bagdo 2001
‘New excavations at Chagar Bazar 1999–2000’, *Iraq* 63, 201–22.
- Metaxa-Prokopiou, N. 1994
‘Σύβριτος Αμαρίου. Η μετάβαση από το τέλος της Εποχής του Χαλκού στην Πρώιμη Εποχή του Σιδήρου’, in Rocchetti 1994a, 249–54.
- Michailidou, A. 1986
‘Το δωμάτιο με τον κίονα στο μινωικό σπλιτ’, in *Αμνηστός, Τιμητικός τόμος για τον καθηγητή Μανώλη Ανδρόνικο*, Thessaloniki, 509–25.
- Militello, P. 2012
‘Emerging authority: a functional analysis of the MM II settlement of Phaistos’, in Schoep, Tomkins & Driessen 2012, 236–72.
- Milner, N., J. Barrett & J. Welsh 2007
‘Marine resource identification in Viking Age Europe: the molluscan evidence from Quoygre, Orkney’, *JAS* 34, 1461–72.
- Molist, M. 1999
‘Tell Hallula: un village des premier agriculteurs-éleveurs dans la vallée de l’Ephrate’, in Del Olmo Lette & Montero Fenollos 1999, 27–40.
- Momigliano, N. (ed.) 2007
Knossos pottery handbook. Neolithic and Bronze Age (Minoan) (British School at Athens Studies 14), London.
- Moody, J.A. 1987
The environmental and cultural prehistory of the Khania region of West Crete: Neolithic through Late Minoan III, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota.
- Moore, J.D. 1996
Architecture and power in the ancient Andes. The archaeology of public buildings, Cambridge.
- Moore, A.M.T., G.C. Hillman & A.J. Legge (eds.) 2000
Village on the Euphrates: from foraging to farming at Abu Hureyra, Oxford.
- Moore, A.M.T. & T.I. Molleson 2000
‘Disposal of the dead’, in Moore, Hillman & Legge 2000, 277–99.
- Morgan, C.H. 1942
Corinth XI: the Byzantine pottery, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Morgan, L. 1995
‘Frontal face and the symbolism of death in Aegean glyptic’, in *Sceaux minoens et mycéniens: IV^e symposium international, 10–12 septembre 1992, Clermont-Ferrand*, W. Müller (ed.), (CMS Beiheft 5), Berlin, 135–49.
- Morrison, J.E. T.M. Brogan, Ch. Sofianou & D. Mylonas forthcoming
‘Cooking up new perspectives for Late Minoan domestic activities: an experimental approach to understanding the possibilities and the probabilities of ancient cook-pot use’, in *Ceramics, cuisine and culture: the archaeology and science of kitchen pottery in the ancient Mediterranean world. International Symposium at the British Museum, 17–20 December 2010*.

- Mortzos, C. 1972
‘Πάρτιρα, μία πρώιμος μινωική
κεραμεική όμας’, *Επετηρίδα
Επιστημονικών Ερευνών Γ*’, 386–421.
- Muhly, J.D. 2008a
‘Ayia Photia and the Cycladic
element in Early Minoan
metallurgy’, in *Aegean metallurgy
in the Bronze Age, Proceedings of
an international symposium held at
the University of Crete (Rethymnon,
19–21 November 2004)*, I. Tzachili,
(ed.), Athens, 69–74.
- Muhly, J.D. 2008b
‘The metal artifacts’, in Betancourt
et al. 2008, 557–60.
- Muhly, J.D. forthcoming
‘11. Objects of gold, silver, and
lead’, in *Hagios Charalambos cave
I: the excavation and portable objects*,
P.P. Betancourt, C. Davaras &
E. Stravopodi (eds.), (Prehistory
Monographs), Philadelphia.
- Muhly, P. 1992
*Μινωικός λαξευτός τάφος στον Πόρο
Ηρακλείου (ανασκαφής 1967)* (Greek
Archaeological Society Monograph
129), Athens.
- Munchaev, R.N., N.Y. Merpert,
N.O. Bader & S.N. Amirov 1993
‘Tell Hazna II’, *Rossiiskaya
arheologia* 4, 25–42.
- Murphy, J.M. 1998
‘Ideologies, rites and rituals: a view
of Prepalatial Minoan tholoi’, in
Branigan 1998a, 27–40.
- Murphy, J.M. (ed.) 2011a
*Prehistoric Crete. Regional and
diachronic studies on mortuary systems*,
Philadelphia.
- Murphy, J.M. 2011b
‘Introduction’, in Murphy 2011a,
1–22.
- Murphy, J.M. 2011c
‘Landscape and social narratives: a
study of regional social structures
in Prepalatial Crete’, in Murphy
2011a, 23–47.
- Mylona, D. 2003
‘Archaeological fish remains in
Greece: general trends of the
research and a gazetteer of sites’,
in *Zooarchaeology in Greece. Recent
advances*, E. Kotjabopoulou, Y.
Hamilakis, P. Halstead, C. Gamble
& P. Elefanti (eds.), (British School
at Athens Studies 9), Athens,
193–200.
- Mylona, D. 2010
‘The bones’, in Tsipopoulou &
Hallager 2010, 221–31.
- Mylopotamitaki, C.C. 1986
‘Ο ναός των Αγίων Γεωργίου και
Χαραλάμπου στην Επισκοπή
Ιεράπετρας’, *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής
Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* 12, 441–52.
- Negbi, O. 1970
*The hoards of goldwork from Tell el-
‘Ajjul* (SIMA 25), Göteborg.
- Neimeier, W.-D. 1981
‘Probleme der Datierung von
Siegelten nach Kontexten’,
in *Studien zur minoischen und
mykenischen Glyptic*, I. Pini (ed.),
(CMS Suppl. 1), Berlin, 91–103.
- Nodarou, E. 2007
‘Exploring patterns of intra
regional pottery distribution in
Late Minoan IIIA–B East Crete:
the evidence from the petrographic
analysis of three ceramic
assemblages’, in *Archaeometric and
archaeological approaches to ceramics:
papers presented at EMAC ’05,
8th European Meeting on Ancient
Ceramics Lyon 2005*, C.Y. Waksman
(ed.), (BAR–IS 1691), Oxford,
75–83.
- Nodarou, E. 2011
*Pottery production, distribution and
consumption in Early Minoan West
Crete: an analytical perspective*,
(BAR–IS 2210), Oxford.
- Nodarou, E. forthcoming
‘Petrographic analysis of the Early
Minoan pottery from Aphrodite’s
Kephali’, in *Aphrodite’s Kephali:
an Early Minoan I defensive site
in eastern Crete*, P.P. Betancourt
(ed.), (Prehistory Monographs),
Philadelphia.
- Nowicki, K. 1994
‘Some remarks on Pre- and
Protopalatial peak sanctuaries
in Crete’, *Aegean Archaeology* 1,
31–48.
- Nowicki, K. 2000
*Defensible sites in Crete c. 1200–800
B.C. (LM IIIB/IIIC through Early
Geometric)* (Aegaeum 21), Liège &
Austin.
- Nowicki, K. 2002
‘The end of the Neolithic in
Crete’, *Aegean Archaeology* 6, 7–72.
- Nowicki, K. 2012
‘East Cretan peak sanctuaries
revisited’, in *PHILISTOR:
studies in honor of Costis Davaras*
(Prehistory Monographs 36),
Philadelphia, 137–52.
- Orlandos, A. 1960
‘Ανασκαφή της Παλαιοχριστιανικής
βασιλικής «Τριῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν»
Πάρου’, *Prakt* 1960, 246–58.
- 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,
1699–710.
- Özkaya, V. & A. Coşkun 2009
‘Körtik Tepe, a new Pre-pottery
Neolithic A site in south-eastern
Anatolia’, *Antiquity, Project Gallery*,
Vol 83, 320.

- <http://antiquity.ac.uk/projgall/ozkaya/>
- Palmer, L.R. 1963
The interpretation of Mycenaean Greek texts, Oxford.
- Palmer, R. 1994
Wine in the Mycenaean Palace economy (Aegaeum 10), Liège & Austin.
- Palyvou, C. 1999
Ακρωτήρι της Θήρας. Η οικοδομική τέχνη (Βιβλιοθήκη της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας, no. 183), Athens.
- Palyvou, C. 2002
‘Central courts: the supremacy of the void’, in Driessen, Schoep & Laffineur 2002, 167–77.
- Panagiotopoulos, D. 2002
Das Tholosgrab E von Phourni bei Archanes (BAR-IS 1014), Oxford.
- Papadakis, N. 1983
Siteia. Fatherland of Myson and Kornaros, a historical, archaeological and cultural guide, Siteia.
- Papadatos, Y. 2005
Tholos Tomb Gamma: a Prepalatial tholos tomb at Phourni, Archanes (Prehistory Monographs 17), Philadelphia.
- Papadatos, Y. 2007
‘The beginning of metallurgy in Crete: new evidence from the FN-EM I settlement at Kephala-Petras, Siteia’, in *Metallurgy in the Early Bronze Age Aegean*, P.M. Day & R.C.P. Doonan (eds.), (Sheffield Studies in Aegean Archaeology 7), Oxford, 154–67.
- Papadatos, Y. 2008
‘The Neolithic-Early Bronze Age transition in Crete: new evidence from the settlement at Petras Kephala, Siteia’, in Isaakidou & Tomkins 2008, 261–75.
- Papadatos, Y. 2011
‘Οικιακή οργάνωση και χρήσεις χώρων στο Νεολιθικό – Πρωτομινωικό οικισμό στην Κεφάλα Πετρά, Σητείας’, in *Proceedings of the 10th International Cretological Congress (Khania, 1–8 October 2006)*, A3, 365–78.
- Papadatos, Y. 2012
‘An Early Minoan boat model from Kephala Petras, Siteia’, in *PHILISTOR: studies in honor of Costis Davaras*, E. Manztourani & P.P. Betancourt (eds.), (Prehistory Monographs 36), Philadelphia, 153–7.
- Papadatos, Y., P. Tomkins, E. Nodarou & I. Iliopoulos in press
‘The beginning of Early Bronze Age in Crete: continuities and discontinuities in the ceramic assemblage at Petras Kephala, Siteia’, in *The Aegean Early Bronze Age: new evidence, international conference, Athens, April 11th–14th 2008*, C. Doumas, G.A. Giannikouri & O. Kouka (eds.).
- Papaggelos, I. 1988
‘Το μεσαιωνικό νεκροταφείο της Ιερισσού’, in *7th Symposium of Byzantine and Post Byzantine archaeology and art, abstracts*, Athens, 78–9.
- Papaggelos, I. & K. Doukas 2008
‘Η Παλαιοχριστιανική βασιλική της Ιερισσού’, *Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και τη Θράκη* (oral presentation).
- Papanikola-Bakirtzi, D. (ed.) 1999
Βυζαντινά εφραλωμένα κεραμικά. Η τέχνη των εγγραφίστων, Athens.
- Papanikola-Bakirtzi, D., F. Mavrikiou & Ch. Bakirtzis 1999
Βυζαντινή κεραμική στο Μουσείο Μπενάκη, Athens.
- Parker Pearson, M. 1999
The archaeology of death and burial, Phoenix Mill.
- Peatfield, A.A.D. 1983
‘The topography of Minoan peak sanctuaries’, *BSA* 78, 273–9.
- Peatfield, A. 1999
‘The paradox of violence: weaponry and martial art in Minoan Crete’, in Laffineur 1999, 67–74.
- Peltenberg, E. 1991
Lemba Archaeological Project Volume II.2: a ceremonial area at Kissonerga, (SIMA 70), Göteborg, 17–36.
- Peltenberg, E. & S. Swiny 2001
The earliest prehistory of Cyprus: from colonization to exploitation (Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute. Monograph series, Vol. 2), Boston.
- Pendlebury, J.D.S. 1939
The archaeology of Crete. An introduction, London.
- Pendlebury, H.W., J.D.C. Pendlebury & M.B. Money-Coutts 1935–1936
‘Excavations in the plain of Lasithi, I, the cave of Trapeza’, *BSA* 36, 5–131.
- Perakis, M. 2005
Έρευνες για την οικονομία και την κοινωνία της Κρήτης του 19ου αιώνα, Athens.
- Peres, T.M. 2010
‘Methodological issues in zooarchaeology’, in *Integrating zooarchaeology and paleoethnobotany: a consideration of issues, methods, and cases*, A.M. Vanderwarker & T.M. Peres (eds.), New York, 15–36.
- Petrie, W.M.F. 1890
Kahun, Gurob and Hawara, London.

- Phillips, J. 2008
Aegyptiaca on the island of Crete in their chronological context: a critical review (Contributions to the chronology of the eastern Mediterranean 18), Vienna.
- Pini, I. 1968
Beiträge zur minoische Gräberkunde, Wiesbaden.
- Pini, I. 1989
‘Zur “richtigen” Ansicht minoisch-mykenischer Siegel- und Ringdarstellungen’, in *Fragen und Probleme der Bronzezeitlichen Ägäischen Glyptik. 3. Internationalen Marburger Siegel-Symposium 5.–7. September 1985*, I. Pini (ed.), (CMS Beiheft 3), Berlin, 201–17.
- Pini, I. 1992
‘Seals’, in *Minoan and Greek civilization from the Mitsotakis Collection*, L. Marangou (ed.), Athens, 200–20.
- Pini, I. 2010a
‘A short history of the Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel’, *CMS Beiheft* 8, 3–10.
- Pini, I. 2010b
‘An unusual four-sided prism’, in Krzyszkowska 2010a, 239–42.
- Pini, I. 2010c
Aegean and Cypro-Aegean non-sphragistic decorated gold finger rings of the Bronze Age (Aegaeum 31), Liège & Austin.
- Pini, O. 2010d
‘Soft stone versus hard stone seals in Aegean glyptic: some observations on style and iconography’ (CMS Beiheft 8), 325–39.
- Platon, L. 1997
‘The Minoan “villa” in eastern Crete. Riza, Akhkladia, and Prophetes Elias Praissos: two different specimens of one category’, in Hägg 1997, 187–202.
- Platon, L. 1999a
‘New evidence for the occupation at Zakros before the LM I palace,’ in Betancourt *et al.* 1999, 671–81.
- Platon, L. 1999b
‘Ανυπόγραφα “έργα τέχνης” στα χέρια ιδιωτών κατά τη Νεοανακτορική περίοδο στην Κρήτη’, in *Eliten in der Bronzezeit: Ergebnisse zweier Colloquien in Mainz und Athen*, I. Kilian-Dirlmeier & M. Eggs (eds.), (Monographien des Romisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums 43), Mainz, 37–50.
- Platon, L. 2000
‘Ανακτορικά χαρακτηριστικά στη Μινωική οικιακή αρχιτεκτονική’, in *Proceedings of the 8th International Cretological Conference (Herakleion, 9–14 September 1996)*, Herakleion, 51–77.
- Platon, L. 2002
‘The political and cultural influence of the Zakros palace on nearby sites and in a wide context,’ in Driessen, Schoep & Laffineur 2002, 145–56.
- Platon, L. 2004
‘Το Υστερομινωικό Ι ανάκτορο της Ζάκρου: μία «Κνωσός» έξω από την Κνωσό,’ in Cadogan, Hatzaki & Vasilakis 2004, 381–92.
- Platon, N. 1952a
‘Ιερόν Πισκοκεφάλου Σητείας’, *Prakt* 1952, 631–6.
- Platon, N. 1952b
‘Μινωική έπαυλις Σητείας’, *Prakt* 1952, 636–9.
- Platon, N. 1952c
‘Μεσομινωική Ι οική Πίζας Αχλαδιών’, *Prakt* 1952, 646–8.
- Platon, N. 1953
‘Συνέχισις της ἀνασκαφῆς τῆς μινωικῆς ἐπαύλεως τῆς Σητείας’, *Prakt* 1953, 288–91.
- Platon, N. 1954a
‘Ἡ ἀρχαιολογικὴ κίνησις ἐν Κρήτῃ κατὰ τὸ ἔτος’, *CretChron* 8, 506–16.
- Platon, N. 1954b
‘Ἀνασκαφαὶ περιοχῆς Σητείας’, *Prakt* 1954, 361–8.
- Platon, N. 1955
‘Μινωικὴ ἀγροικία Ζου Σητείας’, *Prakt* 1955, 288–93.
- Platon, N. 1956
‘Ἡ ἀρχαιολογικὴ κίνησις ἐν Κρήτῃ κατὰ τὸ ἔτος 1954’, *CretChron* 10, 416.
- Platon, N. 1957
‘Ἡ ἀρχαιολογικὴ κίνησις ἐν Κρήτῃ κατὰ τὸ ἔτος 1954’, *CretChron* 11, 339–40.
- Platon, N. 1959
‘Ἀνασκαφὴ Ἀχλαδιῶν Σητείας’, *Prakt* 1959, 210–9.
- Platon, N. 1960
‘Μινωικὴ ἀγροικία Προφήτου Ἡλίας Τουρτοῦλων’, *Prakt* 1960, 294–300.
- Platon, N. 1962
‘Μία σφραγιστικὴ ιδιορρυθμία τῆς Προανακτορικῆς μινωικῆς περιόδου’, in *Festschrift für Friedrich Matz*, N. Himmelfmann-Wildschütz & H. Biesantz (eds.), Mainz, 14–8.
- Platon, N. 1967a
‘Ἀνασκαφαὶ Ζάκρου’, *Prakt* 1967, 162–94.
- Platon, N. 1967b
‘Ζάκρος’, *Ergon* 1967, 102–15.
- Popham, M.R. 1984
The Minoan Unexplored Mansion at Knossos (BSA Suppl. 17), London, 309.

- Popham, E.A. & H.W. Catling 1974
‘Sellopoulou Tombs 3 and 4, two Late Minoan graves near Knossos’, *BSA* 69, 195–257.
- Portale, E.C. & I. Romeo 2001
‘Contentitori da trasporto’, in *Gortina V. 3, Lo scavo del Pretorio (1989–1995), vol. V.3, t. I, I Materiali*, A. Di Vita (ed.), Padova, 260–410.
- Poulou-Papadimitriou, N. 1990
‘Church complex at Pseira. Excavations at Pseira, 1987 and 1988’, *Cretan Studies* 2, 5–9.
- Poulou-Papadimitriou, N. 1995
‘Le monastère Byzantin à Pseira (Crète): la céramique’, in *Akten des Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie (Bonn 22–28 September 1991)*, vol. 2, Münster, 1119–31.
- Poulou-Papadimitriou, N. 2001
‘Κεραμική από τον νησιωτικό χώρο και από την Πελοπόννησο (7^{ος}–9^{ος} αι.): μία πρώτη προσέγγιση’, in *Οι σκοτεινοί αιώνες του Βυζαντίου, EIE/IBE, Αθήνα, Μάιος 1999*, E. Kountoura-Galaki (ed.), Athens, 231–66.
- Poulou-Papadimitriou, N. 2003
‘Μεσοβυζαντινή κεραμική από την Κρήτη: 9^{ος}–12^{ος} αιώνας’, in *VIIe congrès international sur la céramique Médiévale en Méditerranée (Thessaloniki, 11–16 Octobre 1999)*, Ch. Bakirtzis (ed.), Athens, 211–26.
- Poulou-Papadimitriou, N. 2005
‘Classical to Byzantine pottery’, in *Pseira IX: the archaeological survey of Pseira Island, Part 2: the intensive surface survey*, P.P. Betancourt, C. Davaras & R. Hope Simpson (eds.), Philadelphia, 7–19, 29–38, 41–8, 51–9, 63–70, 75–104, 114–22, 126–33, 141–9, 159–67, 173–219, 227–33, 241–4, 267–73.
- Poulou-Papadimitriou, N. 2008a
‘Στιγμές από την ιστορία του Ηρακλείου. Από την Πρωτοβυζαντινή εποχή έως την περίοδο της Οθωμανικής κυριαρχίας’, in *Ηράκλειο. Η άγνωστη ιστορία της αρχαίας πόλης*, A. Ioannidou-Karetsou (ed.), Herakleion, 148–201.
- Poulou-Papadimitriou, N. 2008b
‘Βυζαντινή κεραμική από την Ελεύθερνα: η στέγνα της Αγίας Άννας’, in *Ελεύθερνα, Τομέας II, 3. Βυζαντινό σπίτι στην Αγία Άννα*, Th. Kalpaxis et al. (eds.), Rethymnon, 25–187.
- Poulou-Papadimitriou, N. & E. Nodarou 2007
‘La céramique Protobyzantine de Pseira: la production locale et les importations. Étude typologique et pétrographique’, in *LRCW 2, Archaeology and Archaeometry*, M. Bonifay & J.-C. Trégliat (eds.), (BAR-IS 1662: II), Oxford, 755–66.
- Poursat, J.-C. 1987
‘Town and palace at Malia in the Protopalatial period’, in Hägg & Marinatos 1987, 75–6.
- Poursat, J.-C. & C. Knappett 2005
Le Quartier Mu IV. La poterie du Minoen Moyen II: production et utilisation (Études Crétoises 33), Athens & Paris.
- Pritchard, J.B. 1969
Ancient Near Eastern texts relating to the Old Testament, 3rd ed., Princeton.
- Raison, J. & M. Pope 1980
Corpus transnuméré du Linéaire A, Louvain-la-Neuve.
- Rehak, P. (ed.) 1995
The role of the ruler in the prehistoric Aegean. Proceedings of a panel discussion presented at the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, New Orleans, Louisiana, 28 December 1992 (Aegaeum 11), Liège.
- Reitz, E.J. & E.S. Wing 1999
Zooarchaeology (Cambridge manuals in archaeology), Cambridge.
- Relaki, M. 2003
Social arenas in Minoan Crete: a regional history of the Mesara in South-Central Crete from the Final Neolithic to the end of the Protopalatial period, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Sheffield.
- Relaki, M. 2004
‘Constructing a region: the contested landscapes of Prepalatial Mesara’, in *The emergence of civilisation revisited*, J.C. Barrett & P. Halstead (eds.), Oxford, 170–88.
- Relaki, M. 2009
‘Rethinking administration and seal use in third millennium Crete’, *Creta Antica* 10, 353–72.
- Relaki, M. 2012
‘The social arenas of tradition. Investigating collective and individual social strategies in the Prepalatial and Protopalatial Mesara’, in Schoep, Tomkins, & Driessen 2012, 290–324.
- Renfrew, C. 1972
The emergence of civilisation: the Cyclades and the Aegean in the third millennium BC, London.
- Renger, J. 1979
‘Interaction of temple, palace, and “private enterprise” in the Old Babylonian economy’, in *State and temple economy in the ancient Near East. Proceedings of the international conference organized by the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven from the 10th to the 14th of April 1978*, vol. I (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 5), Leuven, 249–56.
- Reynolds, P. 2003
‘Pottery and the economy in

- 8th century Beirut: an Umayyad assemblage from the Roman Imperial Baths (BEY 045)', in *VIIe congrès international sur la céramique Médiévale en Méditerranée (Thessaloniki, 11–16 Octobre 1999)*, Ch. Bakirtzis (ed.), Athens, 725–34.
- Rizzo, M.A. 2001
'Terra sigillata LRC', in *Gortina V.3, Lo scavo del Pretorio, vol. V.3, t. I, I Materiali*, A. di Vita (ed.), Padova, 55–64.
- Rocchetti, L. 1994a
Sybrita. La valle di Amari fra Bronzo e Ferro, Rome.
- Rocchetti, L. 1994b
'Sybrita: Lo scavo', in Rocchetti 1994a, 237–47.
- Romano, J.F. 1980
'The origin of the Bes-image', *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar* 2, 39–56.
- Rothman, M.S. 2002
Tēpe Gawra: the evolution of a small prehistoric center in Iraq, Philadelphia.
- Rose, M. 1994
With line and glittering bronze hook: fishing in the Aegean Bronze Age, Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, Ann Arbor, Bloomington.
- Rupp, D.W. 2006
'Political power posturing at Petras, Siteia? A new MMIA/B conoid stamp seal from Sector III', in *Proceedings of the 9th International Cretological Conference (Elounda, 1–6 October 2001)*, A1, Herakleion, 263–78.
- Rupp, D.W. & M. Tsipopoulou 1999
'Conical cup concentrations at Neopalatial Petras: a case for a ritualized reception ceremony with token hospitality', in Betancourt *et al.* 1999, 729–39.
- Ruscillo, D. 2005
'Reconstructing Murex royal purple and biblical blue in the Aegean', in *Archaeomalacology. Molluscs in former environments of human behaviour. Proceedings of the 9th ICAZ conference, Durham 2002*, D.E. Bar-Yosef Mayer (ed.), Oxford, 99–106.
- Ruscillo, D. 2006
'Faunal remains and Murex dye production', in *Kommos V: The monumental Minoan buildings*, J.W. Shaw & M.C. Shaw (eds.), Princeton, 776–840.
- Russell, J. 1986
'Transformations in early Byzantine urban life: the contribution and limitations of archaeological evidence', in *The 17th International Byzantine Congress, major papers, New Rochelle 1986*, New York, 137–84.
- Sackett, L.H. & M.R. Popham 1965
'Excavations at Palaikastro VI', *BSA* 60, 248–315.
- Sakellarakis, Y.A. 1972
'Τὸ προσχέδιον τῆς σφραγίδος ἐκ Βαφειοῦ CMS I 220 ἐκ Βαφειοῦ', *ArchEph* 113, 234–44.
- Sakellarakis, Y. 1974
'Ἀνασκαφές Ἀρχαίων', *Prakt* 1974, 207–12.
- Sakellarakis, Y.A. 1975
'Ἀνασκαφές Ἀρχαίων', in *Περὶ τὴν τεχνικὴν καὶ τὸ θεματολόγιον τῆς χρητομνηναϊκῆς σφραγιδογραφίας*, Athens, 27–42.
- Sakellarakis, J. & E. Sakellaraki 1982
'Ἀρχάνες', *Ergon* 1982, 54–6.
- Sanders, G.D.R. 2000
'New relative and absolute chronologies for 9th to 13th century glazed wares at Corinth: methodology and social conclusions', in *Byzanz als Raum. Zu Methoden und Inhalten der historischen Geographie des östlichen Mittelmeerraumes*, K. Belka, F. Hild, J. Koder & P. Soustal (eds.), (Tabula Imperii Byzantini, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften in Vienna, December 1997), Wien 2000, 153–73.
- Sanders, I.F. 1982
Roman Crete. An archaeological survey and gazetteer of late Hellenistic, Roman and early Byzantine Crete, Warminster.
- Saunders, T. 1990
'The feudal construction of space: power and domination in nucleated village', in *Social archaeology of houses*, R. Samson (ed.), Edinburgh, 181–96.
- Sbonias, K. 1995
Frühkretische Siegel: Ansätze für eine Interpretation der sozial-politischen Entwicklung auf Kreta während der Frühbronzezeit (BAR-IS 620), Oxford.
- Sbonias, K. 1999
'Social development, management of production, and symbolic representation in Prepalatial Crete', in Chaniotis 1999, 25–51.
- Schallin, A.-L. 1993
Islands under influence. The Cyclades in the Late Bronze Age and the nature of Mycenaean presence, Jonsered.
- Scheffer, C. 1984
'Aegean, bronze-age, spit supports with scalloped tops', *OpAth* 15, 155–62.
- Scheuer, L. & S. Black 2000
Juvenile developmental osteology, London.

- Schoep, I. 1995
‘Context and chronology of Linear A administrative documents’, *Aegean Archaeology* 2, 29–65.
- Schoep, I. 2002a
‘Social and political organization on Crete in the Proto-Palatial period: the case of Middle Minoan II Malia’, *JMA* 15, 101–32.
- Schoep, I. 2002b
‘The state of the Minoan palaces or the Minoan Palace-State’, in Driessen, Schoep, & Laffineur 2002, 15–33.
- Schoep, I. 2006
‘Looking beyond the first palaces: elites and the agency of power in EM III-MM II Crete’, *AJA* 110, 37–64.
- Schoep, I., P. Tomkins & J. Driessen (eds.) 2012
Back to the beginning. Reassessing social, economic and political complexity in the Early and Middle Bronze Age on Crete. Proceedings of an international workshop, Leuven 1–2 February 2008, Oxford.
- Schwartz, G. & H. Curvers 1992
‘Tell al-Raqa’I 1989 and 1990: further investigations at the small rural site of early urban northern Mesopotamia’, *AJA* 96, 397–419.
- Schwartz, G., H. Curvers, F. Gerritsen, J. MacCromack, N. Miller & J. Weber 2000
‘Excavation and survey in the Jabbul Plain, western Syria: the Umm el-Marra Project 1996–1997’, *AJA* 104, 419–62.
- Seager, R.B. 1912
Explorations in the island of Mochlos, Boston.
- Seager, R.B. 1916
The cemetery of Pachyammos, Crete, Philadelphia.
- Shaw, J.W. 1973
‘Minoan architecture: materials and techniques’, *ASAtene* 33, 1–236.
- Shaw, J.W. 1987
‘A ‘palatial’ stoa at Kommos’, in Hägg & Marinatos 1987, 101–10.
- Simandiraki, A. 2002
Middle Minoan III pottery from Building B of the Mount Juktas peak sanctuary, Crete, and a general re-assessment of the Middle Minoan III period, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Bristol.
http://www.anna-simandiraki.co.uk/Publications/2002-Dr. Anna_Simandiraki_PhD_%20Entire.pdf (accessed 27/02/2011).
- Simandiraki-Grimshaw, A. 2009
Miniature vessels in Minoan Crete project report for 2009, Institute for Aegean Prehistory (INSTAP), Philadelphia, unpublished manuscript.
- Simandiraki, A. 2011
‘Miniature vessels in Minoan Crete’, in *Proceedings of the 10th International Cretological Congress (Khania, 1–8 October 2006)*, A3, 45–58.
- Simandiraki-Grimshaw, A. in preparation
Miniature vessels in Minoan Crete.
- Smith, R.A.K. 2010
Mochlos IIB: Period IV. The Mycenaean settlement and cemetery. The pottery (Prehistory Monographs 27), Philadelphia.
- Sofianou, Ch. & T.M. Brogan 2009a
‘The excavation of House A.1 at Papadiokampos’, *Kentro* 12, 6–9.
- Sofianou, Ch. & T.M. Brogan 2009b
‘Πρόσφατη ανασκαφική έρευνα στον
- Παπαδιόκαμπο Σητείας’, *Κρητική Εστία* 12, 23–32.
- Sofianou, Ch. & T.M. Brogan 2010
‘Μινωικός οικισμός Παπαδιοκάμπου Σητείας. Η ανασκαφή της Οικίας B.1 κατά το 2008’, in *Αρχαιολογικό έργο Κρήτης 1. Πρακτικά της 1ης Συνάντησης, Ρέθυμνο, 28–30 Νοεμβρίου 2008*, M. Andrianakis & I. Tzachili (eds.), Rethymnon, 134–43.
- Sofianou, Ch. & T.M. Brogan in press
‘Μινωικός οικισμός Παπαδιοκάμπου Σητείας. Η ανασκαφή της Οικίας B.1 κατά το 2009–10’, in *Αρχαιολογικό έργο Κρήτης 2, Πρακτικά της 2ης Συνάντησης, Ρέθυμνο, 26–28 Νοεμβρίου 2010*, M. Andrianakis & I. Tzachili (eds.).
- Soles, J. 1988
‘Social ranking in Prepalatial cemeteries’, in *Problems in Greek Prehistory*, E. French & K. Wardle (eds.), Bristol, 49–62.
- Soles, J. 1991
‘The Gournia palace’, *AJA* 95, 17–78.
- Soles, J.S. 1992
‘The Prepalatial cemeteries of Mochlos and Gournia and the house tombs of Bronze Age Crete (Hesperia Suppl. 24), Princeton.
- Soles, J. 1995
‘The functions of a cosmological center’, in Laffineur & Niemeier 1995, 405–14.
- Soles, J.S. 1999
‘The ritual “killing” of pottery and the discovery of a Mycenaean telestas at Mochlos’, in Betancourt *et al.* 1999, 787–92.

- Soles, J.S. 2001
‘Reverence for dead ancestors in prehistoric Crete’, in Laffineur & Hägg 2001, 229–36.
- Soles, J.S. 2002
‘A central court at Gournia’, in Driessen, Schoep & Laffineur 2002, 123–32.
- Soles, J. 2003
Mochlos IA: Period III. Neopalatial settlement on the coast: the Artisans’ Quarter and the farmhouse at Chalinomouri. The site (Prehistory Monographs 7), Philadelphia.
- Soles, J. 2004
‘New construction at Mochlos in the LM IB period’, in Day, Mook & Muhly 2004, 153–62.
- Soles J.S. & C. Davaras 1992
‘Excavations at Mochlos’, *Hesperia* 61, 413–46.
- Spanier, E. & N. Karmon 1987
‘Murcid snails and the ancient dye industries’, in *The royal purple and the biblical blue, argamon and tekhelet*, E. Spanier (ed.), Jerusalem, 179–92.
- Staley, P.S., J.L. Phillips & J.D. Clark 1974
‘Interpretations of prehistoric technology from ancient Egyptian and other sources. Part I: ancient Egyptian bows and arrows and their relevance for African prehistory’,
- Stampolidis, N. (ed.) 2004
Ελευθέρα. Πόλη – Αρχόπολη – Νεκρόπολη, Athens.
- Stamos, A., Ch. Sofianou & T.M. Brogan forthcoming
‘Making the invisible visible: ground penetrating radar at Papadiokampos, Crete’, in *Minoan archaeology. Challenges and perspectives for the 21st century*.
- Heidelberg, 23–27 March 2011, D. Panaiotopoulos (ed.).
- Starida, L. 2003
‘Μεσοβυζαντινή εφυσωμένη κεραμική από το Ηράκλειο’, in *VIIe Congrès international sur la céramique Médiévale en Méditerranée (Thessaloniki, 11–16 Octobre 1999)*, Ch. Bakirtzis (ed.), Athens, 713–24.
- Stavrakis, N. 1890
Στατιστική τοῦ πληθυσμοῦ τῆς Κρήτης, Athens.
- Stegmann, A.T. 1985
‘Eighteenth century British military stature: growth cessation, selective recruiting, secular trends, nutrition at birth, cold and occupation’, *Human Biology* 57, 77–95.
- Steel, L. 1995
‘Differential burial practices in Cyprus at the beginning of the Iron Age’, in Campbell & Green 1995, 199–205.
- Stordeur D., D. Helmer & G. Willcox 1997
‘Jérif el Ahmar – un nouveau site de l’horizon PPNA sur le moyen Euphrate syrien’, *BSPF* 94, 282–5.
- Stürmer, V. 1993
‘La céramique de Chrysolakkos: catalogue et réexamen’, *BCH* 117, 123–87.
- Suleiman, A. 1995
‘Tell Boueid’, in *Chronique des activités archéologiques en Syrie*, M. al-Maqdissi (ed.), (Syria 72:II), 164–70.
- Televantou, C.A. 2008
‘Strofilas: a Neolithic settlement on Andros’, in Brodie *et al.* 2008, 493–528.
- Tenwolde, C. 1992
‘Myrtos revisited: the role of relative function ceramic typologies in Bronze Age settlement analysis’, *OJA* 11, 1–24.
- Theodoropoulou, T. 2007a
‘La mer dans l’assiette: l’exploitation alimentaire des faunes aquatiques en Egée pré- et proto-historique’, in *Cooking up the past, Proceedings of the international symposium on the dietary practices in Neolithic and Bronze Age Greece, April 2004, Clermont-Ferrand*, C. Mee & J. Renard (eds.), Oxford, 72–88.
- Theodoropoulou, T. 2007b
L’exploitation des faunes aquatiques aux périodes pré- et protohistoriques, Ph.D. dissertation, Université de Paris 1, Panthéon-Sorbonne.
- Thureau-Dangin, F. & M. Dunand 1936
Til Barsib, vol. 1–2 (Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique 23), Paris.
- Todaro, S. 2005
‘EM–MM IA ceramic groups at Phaistos: towards the definition of a Prepalatial ceramic sequence in South Central Crete’, *Creta Antica* 6, 11–46.
- Todaro, S. 2009
‘The latest Prepalatial period and the foundation of the first palace at Phaistos: a stratigraphic and chronological re-assessment’, *Creta Antica* 10, 105–45.
- Todaro, S. 2012
‘Craft production and social practices at Prepalatial Phaistos: the background to the first ‘Palace’, in Schoep, Tomkins & Driessen 2012, 195–235.
- Todaro, S. & S. Di Tonto 2008
‘The Neolithic settlement at Phaistos revisited: evidence for ceremonial activity on the eve of the Bronze Age’, in Isaakidou & Tomkins 2008, 177–90.

- Tomkins, P. 2007
‘Neolithic: strata IX–VIII, VII–VIB, VIA–V, IV, IIIB, IIIA, IIB, IIA and IC groups, in Momigliano 2007, 9–48.
- Tomkins, P. 2008
‘Time, space and the reinvention of the Cretan Neolithic’, in Isaakidou & Tomkins 2008, 22–51.
- Tomkins, P. 2010
‘Neolithic antecedents’, in *The Oxford handbook of the Bronze Age Aegean*, E. Cline (ed.), New York, 31–49.
- Tournavitou, I. 2009
‘Does size matter? Miniature pottery vessels in Minoan peak sanctuaries’, in D’Agata & Van de Moortel 2009, 213–30.
- Triandafyllidou–Baladié, G. 1988
Το εμπόριο και η οικονομία της Κρήτης (1669–1795), Herakleion.
- Triantaphyllou, S. 2005
‘The human remains’, in Papadatos 2005, 66–75.
- Triantaphyllou, S. 2009
‘EM/MM human skeletal remains from East Crete: the Kephala Petras Rock Shelter, Siteia, and the Livari Tholos Tomb, Skiadi’, in *Kentro* 12, 19–23.
- Triantaphyllou, S. 2010a
‘The human remains’, in Vasilakis & Branigan 2010, 229–48.
- Triantaphyllou, S. 2010b
‘Report of human bone preliminary work in 2008’, Appendix in Tsipopoulou 2010b, 125–9.
- 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 society*, Y. Papadatos & M. Relaki (eds.), (Oxbow Monographs), Sheffield.
- Triantaphyllou, S., M. Tsipopoulou & P. Betancourt forthcoming
‘Κεφάλαια Πετρά Σητείας: ανθρώπινα οστά και ταφικές πρακτικές στην ΠΜ βραχοσιεπή και το ΜΜ νεκροταφείο’, in *Proceedings of the 11th International Cretological Congress (Rethymnon 21–26 October 2011)*.
- Tsanana, A. & Th. Dogkas in press
‘Νεότερες πληροφορίες για τη μεσαιωνική Ιερισσό’, *Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και τη Θράκη*.
- Tsangaraki, E. 2010
‘Sealings with representations of human figures: a Neopalatial repertoire and its significance in the administrative system’, *CMS Beiheft* 8, 363–81.
- 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 (SIMA- Pocketbook 76), Partille.
- Tsipopoulou, M. 1990a
‘Μινωική κατοίκηση στην περιοχή της πόλης της Σητείας’, in *Proceedings of the 6th International Cretological Conference (24–30 August 1986)*, A2, Khania, 305–21.
- Tsipopoulou, M. 1990b
‘Potters’ marks’ from Petras, Siteia’, *Kadmos* 29, 92–106.
- Tsipopoulou, M. 1991a
‘Έρευνα στον Πετρά και τον κόλπο της Σητείας (1988)’, *ArchDelt* 41, Meletes, 340–400.
- Tsipopoulou, M. 1991b
‘Τεκτονικό σημείο από τον Πετρά Σητείας’, *AAA* 19, 171–7.
- Tsipopoulou, M. 1991c
‘Έρευνα στον Πετρά και τον κόλπο της Σητείας’, *AAA* 20, 11–30.
- Tsipopoulou, M. 1991d
‘Μινωική άγκυρα από τον Πετρά Σητείας’, *ArchEph* 128, 121–8.
- Tsipopoulou, M. 1995
‘Κεραμεικά σημεία από την ανασκαφή του Πετρά Σητείας (1989–1990)’, in *Proceedings of the 7th International Cretological Conference (Rethymnon, 25–31 August 1991)*, A2, Rethymnon, 931–71.
- Tsipopoulou, M. 1997a
‘Palace-centered politics in eastern Crete: Neopalatial Petras and its neighbors’, in *Urbanism in antiquity: from Mesopotamia to Crete*, W.E. Aufrecht, N.A. Mirau & S.W. Gauley (eds.), Sheffield, 263–77.
- Tsipopoulou, M. 1997b
‘Late Minoan III reoccupation in the area of the palatial building at Petras, Siteia’, in Hallager & Hallager 1997, 209–52.
- Tsipopoulou, M. 1999a
‘From local centre to palace: the role of fortifications in the economic transformation of the Siteia Bay area, East Crete’, in Laffineur 1999, 179–90.
- Tsipopoulou, M. 1999b
‘Before, during, after: the architectural phases of the palatial building at Petras, Siteia’, in Betancourt *et al.* 1999, 847–55.
- Tsipopoulou, M. 2001
‘Πετράς Σητείας’, *ArchDelt* 51, B2, Chronika, 649–51.
- Tsipopoulou, M. 2002
‘Petras, Siteia: the palace, the town, the hinterland and the Protopalatial background’, in Driessen, Schoep & Laffineur 2002, 133–44.

- Tsipopoulou, M. 2003
‘The Minoan palace at Petras, Siteia’, *Athena Review* 3(3), 44–51.
- Tsipopoulou, M. 2005a
‘Filling the gaps: recent excavations at Petras Siteia (a celebration of 20 years of work at the site)’, INSTAP Study Center for East Crete, Summer Lecture Series, 25 June 2005.
- Tsipopoulou, M. 2005b
“Mycenoans” at the Isthmus of Ierapetra: some (preliminary) thoughts on the foundation of the (Eteo)Cretan cultural identity’, in D’Agata & Moody 2005, 303–33.
- Tsipopoulou, M. 2006
‘Counting sherds at Neopalatial Petras, Siteia, East Crete: integrating ceramic analysis with architectural data’, in *Deconstructing context: a critical approach to archaeological practice*, D. Papaconstantinou (ed.), Oxford, 138–58.
- Tsipopoulou, M. 2007a
‘Aghia Photia-Kouphota: a centre for metallurgy in the Early Minoan period’, in *Metallurgy in the Early Bronze Age Aegean*, P.M. Day & R.C.P. Doonan (eds.), (Sheffield studies in Aegean archaeology 7), Oxford, 135–45.
- Tsipopoulou, M. 2007b
‘Το προανακτορικό νεκροταφείο στον Πετρώ Σητείας: προανακτορικές παρατηρήσεις’, *Minoan Seminar*, 2 March 2007, (Unpublished manuscript), Athens.
- Tsipopoulou, M. 2007c
‘The central court of the palace of Petras’, in Betancourt, Nelson & Williams 2007, 49–59.
- Tsipopoulou, M. 2009
‘Goddesses for “Gene”? The Late Minoan IIIC shrine at Halasmenos, Ierapetra’, in D’Agata & Van de Moortel 2009, 121–36.
- Tsipopoulou, M. 2010a
‘The archaeological context. The palatial building’, in Tsipopoulou & Hallager 2010, 21–68.
- Tsipopoulou, M. 2010b
‘Προανακτορική ταφική βραχοσκεπή στον Πετρώ Σητείας – πρώτη ανακοίνωση’, in *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Κρήτης 1, Πρακτικά της 1^{ης} Συνάντησης, Πέθρυνο, 28–30 Νοεμβρίου 2008*, M. Andrianakis & I. Tzachili (eds.), Rethymnon, 121–38.
- Tsipopoulou, M. 2011a
‘Chalasmenos, Ierapetra: “Mycenaeanizing” or not at the end of the Bronze Age’, in *STEGA: the archaeology of houses and households in ancient Crete. Papers of an international workshop held in Ierapetra in May 2005*, K. Glowacki & N. Vogeikoff-Brogan (eds.), (Hesperia Suppl. 44), Princeton, 333–47.
- Tsipopoulou, M. 2011b
‘Πρόσφατα ευρήματα στον Πετρώ Σητείας, οι ανασκαφές του 21^{ου} αιώνα’, in *Proceedings of the 10th International Cretological Congress (Khania, 1–8 October 2006)*, A3, 337–64.
- Tsipopoulou, M. 2012
‘Kampos group pottery from the cemetery at Petras, Siteia’, in *PHILISTOR: studies in honor of Costis Davaras* (Prehistory Monographs 36), Philadelphia, 211–20.
- Tsipopoulou, M. in press a
‘Πετρώ-Σητεία. Προανακτορικό-πρώιμο Παλαιοανακτορικό Ταφικό Κτίριο 2’, in *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Κρήτης 2, Πρακτικά της 2ης Συνάντησης, Πέθρυνο, 26–28 Νοεμβρίου 2010*, M. Andrianakis & I. Tzachili (eds.).
- Tsipopoulou, M. in press b
‘Πετρώς, Σητεία, από την Προανακτορική στην Ανακτορική περίοδο’, in *The Aegean Early Bronze Age: new evidence, international conference, Athens, April 11th-14th 2008*, C. Doumas, G.A. Giannikouri & O. Kouka (eds).
- Tsipopoulou, M. & M.E. Alberti 2011
‘LM IB Petras: the pottery from Room E of House II.1’, in Brogan & Hallager 2011, 463–98.
- Tsipopoulou, M. & H. Dierckx 2006
‘Υστερομινωικό ΙΑ Σπίτι στον Πετρώ Σητείας. Δομή, λειτουργία και κατανομή των ευρημάτων’, in *Proceedings of the 9th International Cretological Conference, (Elounda, 1–6 October 2001)*, Herakleion, A1, 297–315.
- Tsipopoulou, M. & E. Hallager 1996
‘Inscriptions with hieroglyphs and Linear A from Petras, Siteia’, *SMEA* 37, 7–46.
- Tsipopoulou, M. & E. Hallager (eds.) 2010
The hieroglyphic archive at Petras, Siteia (Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 9), Athens.
- Tsipopoulou, M. & A. Papacostopoulou 1997
“Villas” and villages in the hinterland of Petras, Siteia’, in Hägg 1997, 203–14.
- Tsipopoulou, M. & L. Vagnetti 1995
Achladia: scavi e ricerche della Missione Greco-Italiana in Creta Orientale: 1991–1993 (Incunabula Graeca 37), Rome.
- Tsipopoulou, M. & L. Vagnetti 1997
‘Workshop attributions for

- some Late Minoan III East Cretan larnakes', in Laffineur & Betancourt 1997, 473–9.
- Tsipopoulou, M. & M. Wedde 2000
'Διαβάζοντας ένα χωμάτινο παλίμψηστο: στρωματογραφικές τομές στο ανακτορικό κτίριο του Πετρά Σητείας', in *Proceedings of the 8th International Cretological Conference (Herakleion, 9–14 September 1996)*, A1, Herakleion, 359–77.
- Tsougarakis, D. 1988
Byzantine Crete. From the 5th century to the Venetian conquest (Historical Monographs 4), Athens.
- Tsountas, Chr. 1898
'Κυκλαδικά Ι', *ArchEph*, 137–212.
- Tsountas, Chr. 1899
'Κυκλαδικά ΙΙ', *ArchEph*, 74–134.
- Tsuneki, A., J. Hydar, Y. Miyake, O. Maeda, T. Odaka, K. Tanno & A. Hasegawa 2000
'Fourth preliminary report of the excavations at Tell el-Kerkh (2000), northwestern Syria', *Bulletin of the Ancient Orient Museum* 21, 1–36.
- Tufnell, O. & W.A. Ward 1966
'Relations between Byblos, Egypt, and Mesopotamia at the end of the third millennium BC', *Syria* 43, 165–228.
- Tumasonis, D. 1983
'Aspects of Minoan society: a view from social anthropology', in Krzyszkowska & Nixon 1983 303–10.
- Tzachili, I. 1997
Υφαντική και υφάντρες στο Προϊστορικό Αγαίο 2000–1000 π.Χ., Herakleion.
- Tzachili, I. 2001
'Counting and recording textiles in the Mycenaean archives of Knossos', in *Manufacture and measurement. Counting, measuring and recording craft items in early Aegean societies*, A. Michailidou (ed.), Athens, 177–93.
- Tzedaki-Apostolaki, L. 2004
'Ψηφίδες ιστορίας: Νομός Ηρακλείου 1900–1925', in *Heraklion and its area: a journey through time*, N.M. Gigourtakis (ed.), Herakleion, 411–46.
- Tzedakis, Y. & S. Chrysoulaki 1987
'Neopalatial architectural elements in the area of Chania', in Hägg & Marinatos 1987, 111–5.
- Vagnetti, L. 1996
'The Final Neolithic: Crete enters the wider world', *Cretan Studies* 5, 29–39.
- Vagnetti, L., A. Christopoulou & I. Tzedakis 1989
'Saggi negli strati neolitici', in *Scavi a Nerokourou, Kydonias*, I. Tzedakis & A. Sacconi (eds.), (Ricerca Greco-Italiana in Creta Occidentale I), Roma, 9–97.
- Van den Brink 1982
Tombs and burial customs at Tell el-Dab'a (Beiträge zur Ägyptologie 4), Vienna.
- Van de Mieroop, M. 1997
The ancient Mesopotamian city, Oxford.
- Vandenabeele, F. & J.-P. Olivier, 1979
Les idéogrammes archéologiques du Linéaire B (Études Crétoises 25), Paris.
- Van Effenterre, H. 1980
Le palais de Mallia et la cité minoenne (Incunabula Graeca 76), Rome.
- Van Effenterre, H. & M. Van Effenterre 1963
Fouilles exécutées à Mallia. Étude du site et exploration des nécropoles de Mallia, deuxième fascicule (Études Crétoises 13), Paris.
- Van Loon, M.N. 1968
'The Oriental Institute excavations at Mureybit, Syria: preliminary report on the 1965 campaign', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 27:14, 265–90.
- Van Loon, M.N. 1979
'1974 and 1975 preliminary results of the excavations at Selenkahiye near Meskene, Syria', in *Archaeological reports from the Tabqa Dam Project, Euphrates Valley, Syria*, D. Freedman (ed.), (AASOR 44), Cambridge, 97–112.
- Vasilakis, A.S. 1996
Ο χρυσός και ο άργυρος στην Κρήτη κατά την Πρώιμη Περίοδο του Χαλκού, Herakleion.
- Vasilakis, A.S. 2008
'Silver metalworking in prehistoric Crete. A historical survey', in *Aegean metallurgy in the Bronze Age*, I. Tzachili (ed.), Rethymnon, 75–85.
- Vasilakis, A. & K. Branigan 2010
Moni Odigitria. A Prepalatial cemetery in the Asterousia, southern Crete (Prehistory Monographs 30), Philadelphia.
- Vavyloupoulou-Charitonidou, A. 1989
'Céramique d'offrande trouvée dans des tombes Byzantines tardives de l'Hippodrome de Thessalonique', in *Recherches sur la céramique Byzantine*, V. Deroche & J.-M. Spieser (eds.), (BCH Suppl. 18), 209–26.
- Vaughan, S.J. 1990
'Petrographic analysis of the Early Cycladic wares from Akrotiri, Thera', in Hardy *et al.* 1990, 470–87.
- Vaughan, S.J. 2006
'Macroscopic and petrographic studies of pottery from Markiani on Amorgos', in *Markiani Amorgos*,

- an Early Bronze Age fortified settlement. *An overview of the 1985–1991 investigations*, L. Marangou, C. Renfrew, C. Doumas & G. Gavalas (eds.), London, 99–101.
- Vaughan, S.J. 2007
‘Material and technological analysis of the Early Bronze Age pottery’, in *Excavations at Phylakopi in Melos 1974–77*, C. Renfrew (ed.), London, 110–25.
- Ventris, M. & J. Chadwick 1973
Documents in Mycenaean Greek, (2nd ed.), Cambridge.
- Vickery, K.F. 1936
Food in Early Greece (Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences 20, No 3), Chicago.
- Vialou, D. 1974
‘Grotte de Kitsos: La parure’, *BCH* 98, 743–8.
- Vialou, D. 1981
‘Objets de parure’, in *La grotte préhistorique de Kitsos (Attique)*, N. Lambert (ed.), (Recherches sur les grandes civilisations 7, vol. 1), Paris, 399–419.
- Vogt, Ch. 2000
‘The Early Byzantine pottery’, in *Πρωτοβυζαντινή Ελεύθερα, Τομέας I*, vol. 2, P. Themelis (ed.), Rethymnon, 37–199.
- Von Pilgrim, C. 1996
‘Elephantine XVIII: Untersuchungen in der Stadt des Mittleren Reiches und der zweiten Zwischenzeit’, *Archäologische Veröffentlichungen* 91, 165–74.
- Wall, S.M., J.H. Musgrave & P.M. Warren 1986
‘Human bones from a Late Minoan IB house at Knossos’, *BSA* 81, 333–88.
- Warren, P. 1972
Myrtos. An Early Bronze Age settlement in Crete (BSA Suppl. 7), London.
- Warren, P. 1974
‘Crete, 3000–1400 B.C.: immigration and the archaeological evidence’, in *Bronze Age migrations in the Aegean*, R.A. Crossland & A. Birchall (eds.), London, 41–7.
- Warren, P.M. 1980–1981
‘Knossos Stratigraphical Museum excavations, 1978–80. Part I’, *AR* 27, 73–92.
- Warren, P.M. 1982–1983
‘Knossos Stratigraphical Museum excavations, 1978–82. Part II’, *AR* 29, 63–87.
- Warren, P.M. 1985
‘Minoan palaces’, *Scientific American* 253, 94–103.
- Warren, P.M. 1987
‘The genesis of the Minoan palace’, in Hägg & Marinatos 1987, 47–55.
- Warren, P.M. 1997
‘Late Minoan III pottery from the city of Knossos: Stratigraphical Museum Extension Site’, in Hallager & Hallager 1997, 157–84.
- Warren, P.M. 2004
‘Terra cognita? The territory and boundaries of the early Neopalatial Knossian state’, in Cadogan, Hatzaki & Vasilakis 2004, 159–68.
- Warren, P. 2011
‘The Cretan Stone Age’, *Aegean Archaeology* 9, 135–9.
- Watrous, L.V. 2007
‘Harbors as agents of social change in ancient Crete’, in Betancourt, Nelson & Williams 2007, 101–6.
- Watrous, L.V. & H. Blitzer 1999
‘The region of Gournia in the Neopalatial Period’, in Betancourt, et al. 1999, 905–11.
- Watrous, L.V., H. Blitzer, D. Haggis & E. Zanegger 2000
‘Economy and society in the Gournia region of Crete: a preliminary report on the 1992–1994 field seasons of the Gournia project’, in *Proceedings of the 8th International Cretological Congress*, A3, Herakleion, 471–83.
- Weingarten, J. 1999
‘War scenes and ruler iconography in a Golden Age: some lessons on missing Minoan themes from the United Provinces (17th c. A.D.)’, in Laffineur 1999, 347–57.
- Weingarten, J. 2010
‘Corridors of power. A social network analysis of the Minoan “replica” rings’, *CMS Beiheft* 8, 395–412.
- Wenke, R.J. 1997
‘City-states, nation states, and territorial states’, in *The archaeology of city-states: cross-cultural approaches*, D.L. Nichols & T.H. Charleton (eds.), Washington D.C., 27–50.
- Wheeler, T.S. 1974
‘Early Bronze Age burial customs in western Anatolia’, *AJA* 78, 415–25.
- Whitelaw, T.M. 1983
‘The settlement at Fournou Koryfi Myrtos and aspects of Early Minoan social organisation’, in Krzyszkowska & Nixon 1983, 323–45.
- Whitelaw, T.M. 2001
‘From sites to communities: defining the human dimensions of Minoan urbanism’, in Branigan 2001a, 15–37.
- Wiener, M.H. 1987
‘Trade and rule in palatial Crete’, in Hägg & Marinatos 1987, 261–6.

- Wiener, M.H. 2007
‘Neopalatial Knossos: rule and role’, in Betancourt, Nelson & Williams 2007, 231–42.
- Wilson, D.E. 1994
‘Knossos before the Palaces: an overview of the Early Bronze Age (EM I–EM III)’, in Evelyn, Hughes–Brock & Momigliano 1994, 23–44.
- Wilson, D.E., P.M. Day & N. Dimopoulou–Rethemiotaki 2008
‘The gateway port of Poros–Katsambas: trade and exchange between North–Central Crete and the Cyclades in EB I–II’, in Brodie, Doole, Gavalas & Renfrew 2008, 261–70.
- Woolley, L. 1955
Alalakh: an account of the excavations at Tell Atchana in the Hatay, 1937–49, Oxford.
- Woolley, L. 1976
Ur excavations. Vol. VII, The Old Babylonian period, London.
- Xanthopoulou, M. 2004
‘Παλαιοχριστιανική κεραμική της αρχαίας Ιτάνου’, in *Creta Romana e Protobizantina. Atti del congresso internazionale, Iraklion, 23–30 settembre 2000*, vol. III/1, A. Di Vita (ed.), Padova, 1013–27.
- Xanthoudides, S. 1906
‘Προϊστορική οἰκία εἰς Χαμαίζι Σητείας’, *ArchEph*, 117–56.
- Xanthoudides, S. 1921,
‘Μαρμαροκέφαλον’, *ArchDelt* 4, 15–23.
- Xanthoudides, S. 1924
The vaulted tombs of Mesara, London.
- Yangaki, A. 2004
‘Λήμνα Καταλόγου, “Πινάκιο, 13^{ος}–14^{ος} αι. μ.Χ.”’, in *Ελεύθερα. Πόλη – Ακρόπολη – Νεκρόπολη*, N. Stampolidis (ed.), Athens, 200.
- Yangaki, A. 2005
La céramique des IV^e–VIII^e siècles ap. J.-C. d’ Eleutherna, Athens.
- Younger, J.G. 1988
The iconography of Late Minoan and Mycenaean sealstones and finger rings, Bristol.
- Younger, J.G. 1993
Bronze Age Aegean seals in their middle phase (ca. 1700–1500 B.C.) (SIMA 102), Jonsered.
- Younger, J. 2011
‘Petras hieroglyphic documents, a web edition with commentary’, <http://people.ku.edu/~jyounger/Hiero/PEtexts.html>, January 2011.
- Yule, P. 1980
Early Cretan seals. A study in chronology (Marburger Studien zur Vor-und Frühgeschichte 4), Mainz.
- Zamora, J.-A. 2000
La vid y el vino en Ugarit (Banco de Datos Filológicos Semíticos Nordoccidentales, Monografías 6), Madrid, 2000.
- Zapheirou, P. 1984
‘The chronology of the Kampos group’, in *The prehistoric Cyclades: contributions to a workshop on Cycladic chronology (in memoriam: John Langdon Caskey, 1908–1981)*, R.L.N. Barber & J.A. MacGillivray (eds.), Edinburgh, 31–40.
- Zapheirou, P. 2008
‘Early Bronze Age cemeteries of the Kampos group on Ano Kouphonisi’, in Brodie *et al.* 2008, 183–94.
- Ziffer, I. 1990
At that time the Canaanites were in the land: daily life in Canaan in the Middle Bronze Age 2, 2000–1550 BCE, Tel Aviv.
- Zois, A. 1990
‘Pour un schéma évolutif de l’architecture minoenne: A. Les fondations. Techniques et morphologie’, in Darcque & Treuil 1990, 75–93.
- Zois, A. 1997
Κρήτη: Η Πρώτη Εποχή του Χαλκού. Αρχαιολογία και ιστορία σχεδόν όλων των θέσεων της νήσου από τις πιο ανατολικές ως τις πιο δυτικές περιοχές, 1–7, Athens.
- Zois, A. 1998
Κρήτη: Η Πρώτη Εποχή του Χαλκού. Αρχαιολογία και Ιστορία σχεδόν όλων των θέσεων της νήσου από τις πιο ανατολικές ως τις πιο δυτικές περιοχές 4: Βόρεια Κεντρική Κρήτη: Κνωσός, Πύργος, Αρχάνες, Κυπαρίσσι και άλλες θέσεις, Athens.