PHILISTOR

Studies in Honor of Costis Davaras





Costis Davaras, Hagios Nikolaos, 2008.

PHILISTOR

Studies in Honor of Costis Davaras

edited by

Eleni Mantzourani and Philip P. Betancourt



Published by INSTAP Academic Press Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 2012

Design and Production

INSTAP Academic Press, Philadelphia, PA

Printing and Binding

Thomson-Shore, Inc., Dexter, MI

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Philistor: studies in honor of Costis Davaras / edited by Eleni Mantzourani and Philip P. Betancourt.

p. cm. — (Prehistory monographs; 36)

Includes bibliographical references.

ISBN 978-1-931534-65-9 (hardcover : alk. paper)

1. Crete (Greece)—Antiquities. 2. Excavations (Archaeology)—Greece—Crete. 3. Architecture, Minoan—Greece—Crete. 4. Bronze age—Greece—Crete. 5. Minoans. I. Mantzourane, Helene, 1954- II. Betancourt, Philip P., 1936- III. Davaras, Kostes.

DF221.C8P47 2012 939'.1801—dc23

2012013140

Copyright © 2012 INSTAP Academic Press Philadelphia, Pennsylvania All rights reserved Printed in the United States of America In Greek the word $\phi i\lambda i \sigma \tau \omega \rho$ (philistor) means the lover of learning, of history, the person who constantly seeks new knowledge.

The characterization of philistor fits the personality of Costis Davaras because he has always tried to expand his knowledge horizons and has never limited himself solely to his fields of specialization. His entire life is full of diverse activities, philosophical self-reflection, and sociopolitical interests.



Table of Contents

Li	st of Tables in the Textxi
Li	st of Figures in the Text
Bi	iography of Costis Davaras by Eleni Mantzouranixxi
Bi	ibliography of Costis Davaras
Li	st of Abbreviationsxxx
1.	The Frying Pans from Hagia Photia by Philip P. Betancourt
2.	The Genesis of the Early Minoan Tholos Tomb by Keith Branigan
3.	Harvesting an Old Rattle: The Bronze Sistrum from the "Royal" Villa at Hagia Triada by Thomas M. Brogan
4.	Γαία περίρρυτος: Some Thoughts on "Neo-Minoan" Mythology by Christos G. Doumas 25
5.	The Presence of Pumice in LM IIIB Levels at Sissi, Crete by Florence Gaignerot-Driessen and Jan Driessen

6.	The Kavousi Goddesses with Up-raised Hands: New Information on Technology by Geraldine C. Gesell
7.	An Early Minoan I Long Dagger and Razor from Kalo Chorio, East Crete by Donald C. Haggis 51
8.	"Firebars" and Other Ceramics of Problematic Function from Priniatikos Pyrgos by Barbara J. Hayden
9.	A Tomb from Gonies Pediados: The End of Final Neolithic IV Merges with the Dawn of the Early Bronze Age <i>by Athanasia Kanta with contributions by Eleni Nodarou and Argyro Nafplioti.</i> 65
10.	Two Stone Kernoi from the Juktas Peak Sanctuary by Alexandra Karetsou with a contribution by R.D.G. Evely
11.	A New Idol of Cycladic Type from Hagia Triada <i>by Vincenzo La Rosa</i>
12.	Sexuality or Fertility Symbol? The Bronze Figurine from Makrygialos by Eleni Mantzourani 105
13.	A Story of Lions: Palatial Ideology in Egypt, Knossos, and Mycenae by Nanno Marinatos 113
14.	Earth and Fire: Cretan Potting Traditions and Replicating Minoan Cooking Fabrics by Jennifer Moody, Jerolyn E. Morrison, and Harriet Lewis Robinson
15.	A Terracotta Foot Model from the Syme Sanctuary, Crete by Polymnia Muhly
16.	East Cretan Peak Sanctuaries Revisited by Krzysztof Nowicki
17.	An Early Minoan Boat Model from Kephala Petras, Siteia by Yiannis Papadatos
18.	New Evidence on the Origin of the Late Minoan III Chest-shaped Larnax by Lefteris Platon 161
19.	God Save Our Homes: The Case of the Horns of Consecration from Galatas by Giorgos Rethemiotakis
20.	The Hypostyle Crypt (Quartier Kappa) and the Large Court, Malia: An Athletic Center? by Martin Schmid
21.	Mochlos Boats by Jeffrey S. Soles
22.	The "Vrysinas Ephebe": The Lower Torso of a Clay Figurine in Contrapposto by Dimitris Sphakianakis
23.	Kampos Group Pottery from the Prepalatial Cemetery of Petras, Siteia by Metaxia Tsipopoulou 213
24.	Minoan Bee Smokers: An Experimental Approach by Loeta Tyree, Harriet Lewis Robinson, and Paraskevi Stamataki
25.	Headless, Armless but Sexuated Bodies: On Some Particular Figurines from the Peak Sanctuary of Vrysinas, near Rethymnon, Crete by Iris Tzachili
26.	Armenoi: The Late Minoan III Necropolis and the Town by Yannis Tzedakis and Holley Martlew
27.	The Neopalatial "Farmhouse" at Kephali Lazana, Chondros Viannou, Re-examined by Giorgos Vavouranakis

28. The Apogee of Minoan Civilization: The Final Neopalatial Period by Peter M. Warren	255
29. An Overview of Secondary State Formation on Crete: The Mirabello Region during the Bronze Age by L. Vance Watrous.	273



List of Tables in the Text

Гable 9.1.	Results of the element analysis on the three collared jars with cylindrical neck73
Гable 14.1.	MACFA description of the archaeological Minoan cooking pots
Гable 14.2.	MACFA description of the replicated Minoan cooking pots
Гable 24.1.	Neopalatial bee smokers from Zakros
Гable 29.1.	Neopalatial settlement changes by percentage



List of Figures in the Text

Frontispiece.	Costis Davaras, Hagios Nikolaos, 2008	ii
Figure 1.1.	Pottery from the Hagia Photia cemetery.	. 3
Figure 1.2.	Pottery from the Hagia Photia cemetery	. 4
Figure 1.3.	Stand (HNM 12,570) from the Hagios Charalambos Cave, EM IIA	5
Figure 2.1.	Plan of Lebena Gerokampos II as first constructed	10
Figure 2.2.	Plan of tholos A at Moni Odigitria.	10
Figure 3.1.	Detail view of the Harvester Vase showing the sistrum	. 16
Figure 3.2.	Linear A Tablet no. 6a from Hagia Triada, with sistrum ideogram on the far right of the third line from the top.	. 16
Figure 3.3.	Photograph of the bronze sistrum from Mochlos	17
Figure 3.4.	Photograph of the bronze sistrum (HM 1346) from Hagia Triada	17
Figure 3.5.	Drawing of the bronze sistrum (HM 1346) from Hagia Triada	. 18

Figure 3.6.	Plan of the Villa at Hagia Triada	. 19
Figure 3.7.	Drawing of a possible clay sistrum bead from Mochlos E4/4334.1	. 21
Figure 5.1.	Sissi-Kephali tou Hagiou Antoniou.	. 37
Figure 5.2.	Sissi 2008, state plan of Zones 3 and 4.	. 38
Figure 5.3.	Pumice densities in excavated areas of Zone 3 at Sissi associated with LM IIIB levels	. 38
Figure 5.4.	Concentration of pumice near fallen pithos close to north wall of space 3.5	. 40
Figure 5.5.	Selection of pumice samples from Zone 3, space 3.6 at Sissi	. 40
Figure 5.6.	Pumice densities in LM IIIB Quartier Nu at Malia	. 41
Figure 6.1.	Kavousi Goddess 1	. 45
Figure 6.2.	Goddess 9: left arm, palm (a); right arm, palm (b)	. 46
Figure 6.3.	No. 916: right hand, palm	. 47
Figure 6.4.	Arms, backs of hands: left nos. 153/154 (a); right no. 953 (b); right no. 327 (c); right no. 957 (d)	. 47
Figure 6.5.	Goddess 17: right arm, palm (a); left hand, palm (b)	. 47
Figure 6.6.	Goddess 24: left arm, thumb side of broken hand showing middle finger and interior of wrist (a); left arm, palm (b)	. 48
Figure 7.1.	Copper razor fragment (a) and long dagger (b)	. 53
Figure 7.2.	Ground stone tools from levels 14–15	. 55
Figure 8.1.	Examples of "firebars" found at Priniatikos Pyrgos	. 60
Figure 8.2.	Map of trenches at Priniatikos Pyrgos showing location of "firebar" and "firebox" sherds.	. 61
Figure 8.3.	Kiln G1004 from northwest showing location of "firebar" in left channel	. 62
Figure 8.4.	Sherds of possible "fireboxes".	. 63
Figure 9.1.	Map of Crete showing relevant sites.	. 66
Figure 9.2.	Village of Gonies, with Karphi visible in the top left	. 66
Figure 9.3.	Village of Gonies and the way toward the Lasithi plateau	. 66
Figure 9.4.	Aerial view of the village, with the location of the Papadakis house circled	. 67
Figure 9.5.	The Papadakis houses	. 67
Figure 9.6.	Collared jar with cylindrical neck (HM 19811).	. 69
Figure 9.7.	Collared jar with cylindrical neck (HM 19812).	. 69
Figure 9.8.	Collared jar with cylindrical neck (HM 19813)	. 69
Figure 9.9.	Unnumbered bowl sherd in the Herakleion Museum	. 69

Figure 9.10.	Stone beads	70
Figure 9.11.	Collared jar HM 9441 from the Amnissos Eileithyia Cave	71
Figure 9.12.	Skeletal material from the grave	75
Figure 9.13.	Skeletal material from the grave.	76
E' 10.1		0.5
_	Veined serpentinite kernos 1	
	Poros kernos 2.	
	Kernos 1.	
	Detail of kernos 1 upper surface.	
Figure 10.5.	Detail of kernos 1 base with encrustation.	84
Figure 10.6.	Poros kernos 2	85
Figure 10.7.	The altar from the south.	86
Figure 10.8.	The chasm from the northwest.	87
Figure 10.9.	Terrace I, south side of the altar, with arrows indicating the kernos find spots	87
Figure 10.10.	East side of the altar during discovery with preserved off-white stucco	88
Figure 10.11.	Kernos 1 as found during excavation	88
Figure 10.12.	"Pebbles" and clay bird figurines (indicated by arrows) from the stratum in which kernos 1 was found	89
Figure 10.13.	Pit showing votive copper axes in situ	89
Figure 10.14.	Foundation deposit of the shrine	90
Figure 10.15.	Pottery from the deposit of Terrace I	92
Figure 10.16.	Unfinished(?) kernos HM 3900 of grayish-white schist	93
Figure 10.17.	Poros kernos HM 4213 from the Juktas Peak Sanctuary	93
	Sandstone(?) kernos HM 2276 from the Temple Tomb at Knossos	
Figure 11.1.	Schematic and reconstructive axonometric plan of the so-called Tomba degli Ori and the Complesso della Mazza di Breccia, with the findspot of the idol (inv. no. HTR 2600) indicated by an arrow.	98
Figure 11.2.	Hagia Triada idol (inv. no. HTR 2600)	99
Figure 11.3.	Small idol in "Cycladic marble" retrieved from Phaistos	00
Figure 12.1.	Makrygialos ground plan and the built altar of the central court	06
Figure 12.2.	The bronze figurine HNM 4652 from Makrygialos	07
Figure 12.3.	Bronze figurine HNM 4652 from Makrygialos	08
Figure 12.4	Representations of naked females	10

Figure 13.1.	Lion head fragment from Tell el-Dab ^c a as found (left) and slightly restored (right)	114
Figure 13.2.	Fragment of lion (F 45) preying upon a bull from Tell el-Dabca	114
Figure 13.3.	Scene of lions preying on bull from Tell el- Dabca	114
Figure 13.4.	Ring Impression from Tylissos.	115
Figure 13.5.	Seal from Midea	115
Figure 13.6.	Lion inlay from Shaft Grave III, Mycenae	116
Figure 14.1.	Locations mentioned in the text.	120
Figure 14.2.	Replicated Chania Akrotiri Aeolianite "calc" fabric.	122
Figure 14.3.	Replicated Hagia Marina (Sphakia) Mixed Metamorphic fabric	123
Figure 14.4.	Replicated Hagios Vasileios MIg Meta fabric	123
Figure 14.5.	Morrison collecting "clay" in Hagios Vasileios Valley, October 1999	124
Figure 14.6.	Moody and Robinson collecting "clay" in Hagia Marina (Sphakia), May 2001	124
Figure 14.7.	Robinson and Moody crushing Hagia Marina clay, May 2001	125
Figure 14.8.	Moody sieving clay, May 2001	125
Figure 14.9.	Morrison making pinch pots out of Chania Akrotiri clay, October 1997	125
Figure 14.10.	Hagia Marina pinch pots set out to dry, May 2001	125
Figure 14.11.	Morrison demonstrating fuel processed into "armloads," October 1997	125
Figure 14.12.	Fuel processed into "armloads," May 2001	125
Figure 14.13.	Hagia Marina fabric firing, May 2001	126
Figure 14.14.	Chania Akrotiri fabric firing: Morrison placing warmed pinch pots on twig platform, October 1997	126
Figure 14.15.	Hagia Marina firing, May 2001	126
Figure 14.16.	Fired pots showing blackened surface	127
Figure 14.17.	Use-life experiment: boiling water in Hagia Marina cooking pot	128
Figure 15.1	Terracotta foot model from Syme	135
Figure 15.2.	Terracotta exedra model from Syme	136
Figure 16.1.	Peak sanctuaries in the Siteia region in East Crete	141
Figure 16.2.	Cape Trachilos and Ambelos with Kephala (A) seen from the northwest	143
Figure 16.3.	Etiani Kephala (A) and the hill above Etia (B) from the north	143
Figure 16.4.	Chandras-Armeni Plateau from the south: (B) the hill above Etia, (C) Etia, (D) the peak sanctuary on Prinias	144
Figure 16.5.	Kalamaki Kephala (A) from the north	

Figure 16.6.	Plan of Kalamaki Kephala
Figure 16.7.	Peak sanctuary on Prinias (A) from the east
Figure 16.8.	Prinias, Terrace I from the south
Figure 16.9.	Plan of Prinias
Figure 16.10.	Phaneromeni Trachilos from the west
Figure 16.11.	Phaneromeni Trachilos from the south
Figure 16.12.	Plan of the hilltop/peak sanctuary at Phaneromeni Trachilos
Figure 17.1.	Drawing of the Kephala Petras boat model
Figure 17.2.	The Kephala Petras boat model, side view (left) and top view (right)
Figure 18.1.	The interior of the larnax of Tomb B, with an almost intact interment
Figure 18.2.	The larnax of Tomb A as found
Figure 18.3.	Bottom pieces of a chest-shaped larnax
Figure 18.4.	Section showing lip and bottom of a chest-shaped larnax
Figure 18.5.	Small six-legged chest-shaped larnax from Tomb B
Figure 18.6.	Section of a slightly domed larnax lid
Figure 18.7.	Drawing of the jug found in the larnax of Tomb A
Figure 18.8.	The larnax of Tomb A with the protruding frame
Figure 19.1.	Ground plan (2005) of the excavation at Galatas showing the locations of the four horns 170
Figure 19.2.	Horns from House 2
Figure 19.3.	Horns from the east wing of the palace
Figure 19.4.	Building 3: the "recess" and the horns in Room 1 during the excavation
Figure 19.5.	Both sides of the horns from Building 3
Figure 19.6.	Building 3: the stepped construction in Room 1
Figure 19.7.	House 2: the model of horns in situ
Figure 19.8.	House 2: detail of the model in situ
Figure 19.9.	Model of horns from House 2
Figure 19.10.	Drawing of horns from House 2
Figure 20.1.	Aerial photograph of Hypostyle Crypt and Court, facing south
Figure 20.2.	General plan of the quarter at Malia
Figure 20.3A.	Restored plan, Hypostyle Crypt: basement and ground floor
Figure 20.3B.	Restored plan, Hypostyle Crypt: ground floor and upper story

Figure 20.4.	Hypostyle Crypt, room 5, access to magazines 1 and 2, facing south	. 181
Figure 20.5.	Hypostyle Crypt, view from west, facing south	. 181
Figure 20.6.	Bull-leaping rhyton from Hagia Triada	. 183
Figure 20.7.	Knossos bull-leaping fresco	. 183
Figure 20.8.	Bull-leaping scene on a modern Cretan house	. 183
Figure 20.9.	Bull-leaping gold ring from Archanes	. 184
Figure 21.1.	Boat 1 on gold signet ring.	. 189
Figure 21.2.	Boats (2) painted on cup IB.202	. 189
Figure 21.3.	Clay boat 3	. 189
Figure 21.4.	Stone boat 4	. 190
Figure 21.5.	Boat 5 drilled on signet seal	. 191
Figure 21.6.	Boat 6 incised on pithos	. 191
Figure 21.7.	Boat 7 incised on sealstone	. 192
Figure 21.8.	Clay boat 8	. 194
Figure 21.9.	Clay boat 9	. 194
Figure 21.10.	Clay boats 8 and 9 in situ.	. 194
Figure 21.11.	Clay boats 8 and 9	. 194
Figure 21.12.	Stone boat 10.	. 195
Figure 21.13.	Clay boat(?) 11	. 196
Figure 21.14.	Clay boat 12	. 196
Figure 21.15.	Clay boat 13	. 196
Figure 22.1.	The Vrysinas Ephebe	. 202
Figure 22.2.	Front and back view of the Vrysinas Ephebe	. 203
Figure 22.3.	Views of the Vrysinas Ephebe with superimposed hypothetical grid	. 204
Figure 22.4.	Two variations of the loincloth (zoma) for the Vrysinas Ephebe	. 206
Figure 22.5.	Possible method of binding a single piece of cloth around the torso of the Vrysinas Ephebe	. 207
Figure 22.6.	Modern mannequin used to display men's undergarments	. 209
Figure 23.1.	Globular pyxides 1–5.	. 217
Figure 23.2.	Globular pyxides 6–10.	. 218
Figure 23.3.	Globular pyxides 11 and 12; pyxis lids 13 and 14; cylindrical pyxis 15	. 219
Figure 23.4.	Bottles 16 and 17	. 220

Figure 24.1.	Zakros Neopalatial ceramic bee smoker HM 2113
Figure 24.2.	Underside of ceramic bee smoker HM 2133
Figure 24.3.	Traditional bee smoker from Paros with a large tubular opening for adding fuel and a smaller tubular opening (nozzle) at the opposite end to emit the smoke
Figure 24.4.	Traditional bee smoker from Kos with a perforated dome
Figure 24.5.	Cross-section of the air flow pattern through the Zakros bee-smoker replica
Figure 24.6.	Zakros clay replica made by Archanes potter Theonimphi Genetzaki
Figure 24.7.	Beekeeper Dimitris Vogopoulos of the Herakleion area lights pine needles used for fuel in the Zakros bee-smoker replica
Figure 24.8.	Beekeeper Dimitris Vogopoulos moves the smoking Zakros clay replica with the aid of a stick that is placed through the vessel's handles
Figure 24.9.	The Zakros clay replica at the bees' entrance to a modern vertical beehive where beekeeper Dimitris Vogopoulos inspects his bees after smoking the hive
Figure 25.1.	Figurine 1
Figure 25.2.	Figurine 2
Figure 26.1.	Geological map of West Central Crete showing metal and stone resources for the region240
Figure 26.2.	View from Mt. Vrysinas. Arrows indicate the Minoan house complex and the village of Kastellos, which are above and slightly southwest of the necropolis
Figure 26.3.	Larnax RM 1710
Figure 26.4.	Larnax RM 1712
Figure 26.5.	Larnax RM 1707
Figure 26.6.	Larnax RM 5121
Figure 26.7.	Larnax RM 1706
Figure 27.1.	Ground plan of the building at Kephali Lazana
Figure 27.2.	Space D at Kephali Lazana
Figure 27.3.	Bench outside room A1 at Kephali Lazana
Figure 28.1.	LM IB sites mentioned in the text



Biography of Costis Davaras

Eleni Mantzourani

Costis Davaras was born in Athens on the 19th of March in 1933. He grew up in a highly intellectual environment. His mother, Julia, came from an old family of Cephallonia and was awarded the Ouranis Prize for Literature. Costis graduated from the high school of Plaka, located just below the Acropolis. The window of his room overlooked Hadrian's Gate. He studied Archaeology at the Universities of Vienna, Munich, and mainly Athens, from which he received his first degree in 1956. His professors of archaeology, indeed all of them outstanding scholars, were Ernst Buschor in Munich and Spyridon Marinatos, Georgios Mylonas, Nikolaos Kontoleon, and Anastasios Orlandos in Athens.

During his undergraduate years, he took a degree at the Palmer Technical School in Athens as a wireless operator of the Merchant Marine in order to be able to travel, which he actually did for a short time, visiting various countries. This, among other features of his character, shows his inquisitive spirit. He continued his postgraduate studies as a bursar of the German State in Munich. His Professors were Ernst Homann-Wedeking for Archaeology and Hans Wolfgang Müller for Egyptology. He served in the Greek Army as an interpreter and translator for several NATO languages.

Before entering the Greek Archaeological Service he served, for a short time, as an assistant to the Ephor Markellos Mitsos in the Epigraphical Museum in Athens and Ioannis Threpsiades in the excavations at Athens and the Temple of Artemis at Aulis in Boeotia. Davaras entered the Archaeological Service in 1960 after examinations, which, unfortunately, were later abolished for some decades, indeed a heavy blow in meritocracy. His first position as Epimeletes was in Herakleion under Nikolaos Platon and later under Stylianos Alexiou, both well-known scholars and excellent tutors. At that time, those three men were the only archaeologists serving on Crete.

He was an assistant to Platon in several of his excavations all over Crete, including the peak sanctuary at Kophinas and the palace of Zakros. He also conducted his own excavations, including tholos tomb II at Apesokari and the important caves of Skoteino near Knossos and Eileithyia at Inatos. A second campaign, in collaboration with Nikolaos Platon, was undertaken at Eileithyia. He also brought to light several Minoan chamber tombs and a Geometric tomb at Knossos.

In 1964 he was transferred to Athens as Epimeletes of Attica and Boeotia. There he excavated the Geometric cemetery of Anavyssos and the Thesmophorion of Eretria, later turned over for publication to Ingrid Metzger of the Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece. During this period he was the first Greek archaeologist to be trained by the Navy in underwater archaeology. He even directed a research team below the temple of Poseidon at Sounion in order to locate fallen blocks and part of its sculpture.

At his own insistence he was re-posted to Crete in 1965, this time as Head of the Archaeological Service for West Crete (Chania–Rethymnon) with Yiannis Tzedakis as his assistant.

Davaras's excavations in the region included the tholos tomb at Maleme, a tholos tomb at Apodoulou, and the rich peak sanctuary of Vrysinas overlooking the Rethymnon area. His main care in this new post was the legal protection of the numerous archaeological sites of West Crete, which, until then, were not officially listed as such and thus "ignored" by the State. It should be noted that the "Palace of Minos" at Knossos and a narrow zone around it, under the auspices of the British School at Athens, was the only legally defined archaeological site on Crete before that time. By specific order of the Ministry he also tried, alas in vain, to protect the Venetian-Ottoman old towns of Chania and Rethymnon and even received serious threats on his life in his office by a furious fishmonger. It was during this period that he married his beloved Dione, a Baroque harpsichordist and his life companion ever since. In 1968 he went to the Sorbonne University in Paris for his Ph.D. under the supervision of Pierre Demargne, Henri van Effenterre, and Jean Deshayes. His two-volume typewritten dissertation was a study on the Minoan-Mycenaean Double Axe, including a corpus of all then-extant axes in corpore—the functional ones,

the votives, and the representations in painting. The subject was examined mainly from a religious point of view. Davaras managed to show that the functional double axe was definitely a tool and not a weapon, as even today many scholars continue to believe it was a weapon. The dissertation was not published, as this was not required by the French Law, pending the collection of photographs for publication in the German Series *Prähistorische Bronzefunde*, a work that would, by agreement with H. Müller-Karpe, also include the pottery. However, the future reserved much adversity for him and his family.

After his return to Greece in 1970, and during the dictatorship of the Colonels, he was not allowed to go back to Crete, his second home and place of archaeological interests. Instead, he was transferred to Sparta, in Laconia, as well as to Mystras, as an "acting" Epimeletes of Byzantine Antiquities. There he managed to officially establish and define the ancient town of Sparta for the first time as an archaeological site. Additionally, he organized, again for the first time, the extensive archives of Mystras. It also should be noted that Davaras protected with strict rules the Medieval town of Monemvasia. A year later he was again transferred, this time to Patras for six months, under the Ephor Photios Petsas, who was also in disfavor.

At his insistence, he managed to return to Crete. This time he was appointed as a newly promoted Ephor in East Crete (Nomos Lasithiou and Malia). By necessity, East Crete had also been "promoted" to an Ephorate, the now well-known 24th Ephorate of Antiquities. This is the only reason why Crete has three Ephorates, and not two or four.

As a matter of fact Davaras was the first and last Ephor of this Ephorate, for the title of "Ephor of Antiquities," the oldest title in Greece (since 1830), was later abolished by the newly elected administration that advocated "the equality of all civil servants" with titles such as "Director of Antiquities" and so forth. However, the title of Ephoreia paradoxically remained. Characteristically, all administrations that followed until today did not reinstate the title of the Ephor, as archaeologists have obviously been "the black sheep" of the state apparatus, above pressures and other concomitant evils.

When Costis Davaras became the head of the new Ephorate in Hagios Nikolaos, its state was

embryonic, with the telephone on the floor. He had to organize everything *ex nihilo*. He considered it his duty to begin the legal protection of the numerous and highly important archaeological sites of East Crete, as he had done in West Crete. This was, indeed, an onerous and difficult task, as the protected areas (Zones A and B) had to be accurately defined on the map. At the same time this was a very delicate enterprise as these areas were not supposed to be excessively large and beyond the rule of "pan metron Ariston." The trouble was that these new measures went hand-in-hand with the beginning of the touristic development of the island. Thus, a reaction to this novel legality was to be expected.

For instance, Davaras managed to stop the demolition of the Venetian fortress of Spinalonga (albeit outside his official jurisdiction), the spolia of which were being taken and imbedded as decoration in the "grand hotels" then under construction. Unfortunately, he did not manage to bring about the conviction in court of a serious perpetrator of bulldozing part of the Minoan town of Palaikastro, who was actually a school teacher! Again regarding Spinalonga, Davaras managed, despite the serious threats he received, to avert the construction there of a base for torpedo boats, which the administration of the Colonels wished to build. Fortunately, finally they realized the enormity of it and constructed the base near Cavo Sidero. Some years later, after the Colonels were gone, the dismal fate of another small island was also averted: the Air Force wished to make the beautiful, subtropical Chryssi to the south of Ierapetra a target area for bombing. Fortunately, the Ministry of Defense gave up this enterprise, persuaded by Davaras's personal arguments.

After some time he was again transferred to Komotini in Thrace, but he never went there as he was then suspended from his duties. He was reinstated after the happy end of an adventure in a court of justice.

As an Ephor in Hagios Nikolaos Davaras installed a new provisional exhibition at the Museum, and he conducted many rescue excavations under very difficult conditions, some of which, alas, came too late. In any case, the volume of new material collected was so enormous that it would take several archaeological lives to be properly published. Perhaps the most important of these excavations was the exploration of part of

the Early Minoan I Cycladic cemetery at Hagia Photia, near Siteia, with no assistants, architects, photographers, or other assistants, but with armed workers watching it at night. This excavation is now partly published in collaboration with his close friend Prof. Philip Betancourt.

Among Davaras's other important excavations were those of several Minoan peak sanctuaries in various stages of plundering, including Traostalos, Petsophas (re-excavated), Prinias Zou, Modi, and others. The re-excavation of the oval house at Chamaizi was also crucial, as he was able to clarify its function. It was neither a peak sanctuary, as usually believed, nor oval because of lack of space. The early burial cave of Hagios Charalambos Gerontomouri on the plateau of Lasithi, with its rich finds—especially seals and a great number of human skulls, some of them showing signs of trepanation, the earliest in Greece—is also included among Davaras's field work. This excavation was later continued with Phil Betancourt as codirector. Other less important excavations include Minoan and later tombs and cemeteries (especially the one at Krya in Siteia) as well as a number of Hellenistic and later houses at Hagios Nikolaos and Ierapetra.

Last but not least in his long list of fieldwork comes the important excavation of the Late Minoan I "cult villa" at Makrygialos on the southern coast. According to his view, this building is unique insofar that it closely imitates the Minoan palaces on a very small scale. He gave the edifice this strange name because of its rich religious elements, although he later thought that it should rather be named a "mini palace," as it is actually a real miniature of a Minoan palace in several of its architectural features. In fact, its central court has the dimensions and orientation of the palace at Petras on the opposite north coast. He does not consider it as a simple "country mansion" aping its superiors. Instead, he believes that, exactly because of its close resemblance, its functions would have been similar to those of the palaces, especially regarding religion. Hence, it was initially dubbed a "cult villa." He has raised the question whether the edifice at Makrygialos could perhaps help us better understand the main function of the palaces, which it so closely mirrors.

It is true that Davaras is very happy and proud that he had the opportunity to re-open East Crete

to the excavations of American archaeologists. This was done under the form of a *synergasia* as a co-director. These excavations took place at Pseira and Mochlos for several campaigns, in collaboration with his eminent colleagues and friends Phil Betancourt and Jeffrey Soles.

These excavations, with extraordinary results, funded with grants from several sources, including the Institute for Aegean Prehistory (INSTAP) founded by Malcolm Wiener, the great benefactor of this branch of archaeology, are being published by the INSTAP Academic Press in a rhythm and perfection unthinkable for Greece. Thus, Davaras is quite proud of his official archaeological contribution to these projects. Many eminent scholars involved in Minoan archaeology have, on different occasions, praised his role in these projects.

It should be mentioned that the very last official paper out of several thousands Davaras signed as an Ephor was the one that founded, from the Greek side, the INSTAP Study Center for East Crete at Pacheia Ammos, a center that astounds and dazzles every visiting Greek archaeologist.

He has always been happy and proud that he has been the instigator of the new British excavations at Palaikastro, a site that was then seriously endangered by developers, both local and foreign. The new excavations have not only been extremely successful, but they stopped pending threats—at least for the time being. The Cavo Sidero area, property of the Toplou monastery north of Palaikastro, seemed at this time to be safe, and so no special measures were taken.

Another side of Davaras's character may be traced through an interesting event. In an unusual way he was able to contribute financially to the great Greek excavations of Zakros. He refused the offer of a Mexican millionaire to re-open the excavation of the famous Diktaian Cave, which must certainly still contain many treasures in its bowels. Instead, he persuaded the gentleman to support the Palace of Zakros project.

As tourism developed by leaps and bounds at the shores of Crete, it was unavoidable that woes were yet to come. In 1985, as he continued to press to save archaeological sites in the face of mounting pressure from building, Davaras was once more suspended from his duties as an Ephor for East Crete for five long years. He was ordered to go to

Herakleion to the "Archaeological Institute of Crete," which until then did not exist. He has confessed that he was personally grateful to the Minister of Culture Melina Merkouri, who graciously allowed him to stay in the Hagios Nikolaos Museum in "suspended animation," as he humorously states. As a measure of clemency he stayed there to supervise its exhibition and cleanliness.

In 1990, under the new "Coalition Administration," Davaras was re-instated in his duties as an Ephor, but as he says, "he had lost his mood" for the Archaeological Service and turned to a new challenge, the University of Athens. In 1993 he was elected Associate Professor of Minoan Archaeology and later Full Professor. There he concentrated on his new duties, a real heaven in comparison to the past, as he usually says. He retired as Professor Emeritus in 2000. To quote his own words, "now I have more time for carefree, less stressful research."

Now his ardent wish and vision is to see in the European Union commission a new member: a Commissioner for Cultural Heritage who would cover a most important area, until now sadly unprotected and badly needed for Greece.

Davaras has received many academic and other distinctions. He is Member for Life of the Archaeological Society at Athens; Honorary Member of the Historical and Archaeological Society of Crete in Chania; Honorary Citizen of the Municipality of Ierapetra; Korrespondierendes Mitglied des Deutsches Archäologischen Instituts, Berlin; Chevalier dans l'Ordre des Arts et Lettres de la République Française; Member of the Editorial Board of the periodical *Kadmos*, Berlin; and General Editor of the periodical *Cretan Studies*, Amsterdam. Finally, he has received an Honorary Diploma from the University of Tehran for the protection of the endangered remaining mosques on Crete.

Indicative of Costis's vividness, creativity, and overall devotion to a better future for Greece is his very recent participation in the newly formed party of Greek Ecologists, of which he is an active member. Costis is one of the last noblemen in the Greek and international archaeological family and will always remain "young at heart." From the depth of my heart, I wish him all the best in every aspect of his life. He still has much to offer us.



Bibliography of Costis Davaras

- Davaras, C. 1960. "Ἐπιγραφαὶ ἐκ Κρήτης Ι," *CretChron* 14, pp. 457–465.
- Davaras, C., and N. Platon. 1960. "Άρχαιολογική κίνησις ἐν Κρήτη κατὰ το ἔτος 1960," *CretChron* 14, pp. 504–527.
- ——. 1961–1962. "Άρχαιότητες καὶ μνημεῖα Κρήτης," *ArchDelt* 17 (Β΄, Chronika) [1963], pp. 281–291.
- Davaras, C. 1963. "Έπιγραφαὶ ἐκ Κρήτης ΙΙ," *ArchDelt* 18 (A', Meletes) [1964], pp. 141–160.
- Crile, G., and C. Davaras. 1964. "The Possible Site of Menelaus' Shipwrecks," *CretChron* 17, pp. 47–49.
- Davaras, C. 1965. "Άρχαιότητες καὶ μνημεῖα Εὐβοίας 1964," *ArchDelt* 20 (B΄, 2 Chronika), pp. 256–261.
- . 1965. "Άττικὴ (1. Περιφέρεια τέως Διοικήσεως Πρωτευούσης, 2. Υπόλοιπος περιφέρεια Άττικῆς),"
 ArchDelt 20 (B΄, 1 Chronika) [1967], pp. 118–127.
- ——. 1966. "Άνασκαφὴ θολωτοῦ τάφου Μάλεμε," Prakt 121 [1968], pp. 185–188.

- . 1967. "Άρχαιότητες καὶ μνημεῖα Δυτ. Κρήτης 1966," ArchDelt 22 (B΄, 1 Chronika) [1968], pp. 495–501.
- ——. 1967. "Εἶς νεώσοικος παρὰ τὴν Σητείαν," ArchEph 106, pp. 84–90.
- ——. 1967. "Zur Herkunft des Diskos von Phaistos," *Kadmos* 6, pp. 101–105.
- ——. 1968. "Άρχαιότητες καὶ μνημεῖα Κεντρικῆς καὶ Άνατολ. Κρήτης: Περιοχὴ Μονῆς Όδηγητρίας," ArchDelt 23 (B΄, 2 Chronika) [1969], pp. 405–406.
- ——. 1968. "Two Geometric Tombs at Atsalenio near Knossos," *BSA* 63, pp. 133–146.
- ——. 1969. *La double hache minoenne et mycénienne*, Ph.D. diss., Sorbonne University.
- ——. 1969. "Trois bronzes minoens de Skoteino," *BCH* 93, pp. 620–650.
- ——. 1970. "Άρχαιότητες καὶ μνημεῖα Λακωνίας 1969," *ArchDelt* 25 (Β΄, 1 Chronika) [1972], pp. 172.

- ——. 1970. "Δαιδαλικὸν ἄγαλμα ἐξ ᾿Αστριτσίου Κρήτης," ArchDelt 25 (Α΄, Meletes) [1971], pp. 87–96.
- ——. 1970. "Νέοι διπλοῖ πελέκεις ἐκ τῆς ΣΤ΄ 'Αρχαιολογικῆς Περιφερείας," ΑΑΑ 3, pp. 311–313.
- ——. 1971. "Άνασκαφαὶ εἰς Στῦλον Ἀποκορώνου," ΑΑΑ 4, pp. 42–44.
- ——. 1971. "Άρχαιολογικὲς ἔρευνες στὴ Σητεία κατὰ τὸ θέρος 1971," *Άμάλθεια* 8, pp. 197–200.
- . 1971. "Άρχαιότητες καὶ μνημεῖα Δυτ. Κρήτης
 1970: Ἀνασκαφὴ εἰς Στύλον Ἀποκορώνου,"
 ArchDelt 26 (B΄, 2 Chronika) [1975], pp. 517–519.
- ——. 1971. "Νέαι ἔρευναι εἰς τὴν ἐλλειψοειδῆ οἰκίαν Χαμαιζίου," in Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Γ΄ Διεθνοῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου Α΄, Athens, pp. 46–53.
- ——. 1971. "Περισυλλογή ἀρχαίων ἀνατολικῆς Κρήτης," Prakt 126 [1973], pp. 301–303.
- ——. 1971. "Πρωτομινωικὸν νεκροταφεῖον Άγίας Φωτιᾶς Σητείας," ΑΑΑ 4, pp. 392–397.
- Davaras, C., and P.P. Betancourt. 1971–1994. "Diktaion," in *Enciclopedia dell' arte antica, classica e orientale*, Suppl. II, Rome, pp. 382–383.
- . 1971–1994. "Hagios Nikolaos," in *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica, classica e orientale*, Suppl. II, Rome, pp. 17–18.
- ------. 1971–1994. "Hagia Photia," in *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica, classica e orientale*, Suppl. II, Rome, pp. 11–12.
- ——. 1971–1994. "Lato," in *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica, classica e orientale*, Suppl. II, Rome, pp. 297–299.
- ——. 1971–1994. "Makrygialos," in *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica, classica e orientale*, Suppl. II, Rome, pp. 518–519.
- ——. 1971–1994. "Olunte," in *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica, classica e orientale*, Suppl. II, Rome, pp. 73–75.
- ——. 1971–1994. "Palekastro," in *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica, classica e orientale*, Suppl. II, Rome, pp. 208–210.
- ——. 1971–1994. "Pseira," in *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica, classica e orientale*, Suppl. II, Rome, pp. 668–670.
- Davaras, C. 1972. "Άρχαιότητες καὶ μνημεῖα Άνατολικῆς Κρήτης 1971," *ArchDelt* 27 (B΄, 2 Chronika) [1977], pp. 645–654.
- ——. 1972. "The Oval House at Chamaizi Reconsidered," AAA 5, pp. 283–288.

- . 1972. Die Statue aus Astritsi: Ein Beitrag zur dädalischen Kunst auf Kreta und zu den Anfängen der griechischen Plastik (Beiheft zur Halbjahresschrift Antike Kunst 8), Bern.
- ——. 1972. "Two Linear A Inscriptions on Libation Vessels from Petsophas," *Kadmos* 11, pp. 101–112.
- ——. 1973. "Άρχαιότητες καὶ μνημεῖα Ἀνατολικῆς Κρήτης 1972," ArchDelt 28 (B΄, 2 Chronika) [1977], pp. 585–596.
- . 1973. "Άρχαιότητες καὶ μνημεῖα Δυτ. Κρήτης
 1972: Βρύσινας Ρεθύμνης, Στύλος Ἀποκορώνου,"
 ArchDelt 28 (B΄, 2 Chronika) [1977], pp. 583–584.
- . 1973. "Cremations in Minoan and Sub-Minoan Crete," in *Antichità cretesi: Studi in onore di Doro Levi 1 (Cronache di archeologia* 12), G.P. Carratelli and G. Rizza, eds., Catania, pp. 158–167.
- ——. 1973. "Κεραμεικὴ κάμινος εἰς Ἰστρωνα Ἀνατολικῆς Κρήτης," *ArchDelt* 28 (A΄, Meletes) [1975], pp. 110–115.
- . 1973. "Μινωικὴ κεραμεικὴ κάμινος εἰςΣτῦλον Χανίων," ArchEph 112, pp. 75–80.
- ——. 1973. "Μινωικαὶ σφραγίδες τοῦ Μουσείου 'Άγ. Νικολάου," ArchEph 112, pp. 81–86.
- ——. 1973. "A New Hieroglyphic Seal from Mochlos," *Kadmos* 12, pp. 109–113.
- ——. 1973–1974. "Άρχαιότητες καὶ μνημεῖα Άνατολικῆς Κρήτης 1974," ArchDelt 29 (B΄, Chronika) [1977], pp. 931–934.
- ——. 1974. "Άρχαιότητες καί μνημεῖα Άνατολικής Κρήτης," *Άμάλθεια* 18–19, pp. 40–62.
- ——. 1974. "Άνασκαφὴ ΜΜ ἱεροῦ κορυφῆς Βρύσινα Ρεθύμνης," ΑΑΑ 7, pp. 210–212.
- ——. 1974. "Rock-Cut Fish Tanks in Eastern Crete," *BSA* 69, pp. 87–93.
- ——. 1975. "Early Minoan Jewelry from Mochlos," *BSA* 70, pp. 101–114.
- 1975. "Λαξευτὴ ἰχθυοδεξαμενὴ στὰ Φέρμα Ἰεραπέτρας," ArchDelt 30 (A΄, Meletes), pp. 149–154.
- ——. 1975. "Three Sherds Inscribed in Linear A, from Traostalos," *Kadmos* 13, pp. 167.
- ——. 1976. "Αρχαιότητες καὶ μνημεῖα Ἀνατολικῆς Κρήτης 1975," ArchDelt 31 (B΄, 2 Chronika) [1984], pp. 373–383.

- ———. 1976. *Guide to Cretan Antiquities*, Park Ridge, NJ.
- . 1976. "Σύνθετα ἱερὰ κέρατα ἀπὸ τὸ ἱερὸ κορυφῆς τοῦ Πετσοφᾶ," in Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Δ΄ Διεθνοῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου Α΄(1), Athens, pp. 88–93.
- Davaras, C., and W. Brice. 1977. "A Fragment of a Libation Table Inscribed in Linear A, from Vrysinas," *Kadmos* 16, pp. 5–6.
- Davaras, C. 1977. "Άρχαιότητες καὶ μνημεῖα Άνατολικῆς Κρήτης 1976," *ArchDelt* 32 (B΄, 2 Chronika) [1984], pp. 334–340.
- ——. 1977. "Μινωικὸς ἐγχάρακτος ἀγωγὸς ἀπὸ τὸ Παλαίκαστρο," ArchDelt 32 (A΄, Meletes), pp. 65–69.
- . 1977. "Περισυλλογή ἀρχαίων Ἀνατολικῆς Κρήτης," Prakt 132 [1980], pp. 491–496.
- . 1977. "Χάλκινοι μινωικοὶ λάτρεις τῆς Συλλογῆς Μεταξᾶ," ArchEph 116 [1979], pp. 109–127.
- ——. 1978. "Αρχαιότητες καὶ μνημεῖα Ανατολικῆς Κρήτης 1977," ArchDelt 33 (B΄, 2 Chronika) [1985], pp. 385–395.
- ——. 1979. "Άρχαιότητες καὶ μνημεῖα Ἀνατ. Κρήτης 1979," ArchDelt 34 (B΄, Chronika) [1987], pp. 402– 406, 410.
- ——. 1979. "A Double Axe Design (?) from Vrokastro," *ArchEph* 118 [1981], pp. 114–117.
- ——. 1979. "Das Grab eines kretischen Wettkampfsiegers?" *Stadion* 5, pp. 193–219.
- ——. 1979. Μινωικὴ τέχνη στὸ Μουσεῖον Ἡρακλείου: Ἀρχαιολογικὸς ὁδηγός, Athens.
- ——. 1979. Φαιστός—Άγία Τριάδα—Γόρτυς: Άρχαιολογικός Όδηγός, Athens.
- . 1980. Κνωσός: Άρχαιολογικὸς ὁδηγός, Athens.
- ———. 1980. "Κρητικὲς ἐπιγραφὲς ΙΙΙ," *ArchEph* 119 [1982], pp. 1–42.
- ——. 1980. "A Minoan Graffito from Traostalos," *Kadmos* 19, pp. 87–92.
- ——. 1980. "A Minoan Pottery Kiln at Palaikastro," *BSA* 75, pp. 115–126.
- ——. 1980. "Περισυλλογή ἀρχαιοτήτων στὴν Πραισό," Prakt 135 [1982], pp. 408–411.
- ——. 1980. "Une ancre minoenne sacrée?" *BCH* 104, pp. 47–71.

- ——. 1980. "Χρονικὸ ΚΔ΄ Ἐφορείας Ἀρχαιοτήτων," *ArchDelt* 35 (Β΄, 2 Chronika) [1988], pp. 518–523, 525–526.
- ——. 1981. "Αρχαιότητες καὶ μνημεῖα Ἀνατολικῆς Κρήτης 1981," ArchDelt 36 (B΄, 2 Chronika) [1989], pp. 405–406.
- ——. 1981. "Αρχιτεκτονικὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς ΥΜ ΙΒ ἔπαυλης τοῦ Μακρυγιαλοῦ," in Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Ε΄ Διεθνοῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου Α΄, Herakleion, pp. 77–92.
- . 1981. Μουσεῖον Άγίου Νικολάου: Άρχαιολογικός ὁδηγός, Athens.
- ——. 1981. "Ο χρυσὸς στὴν προανακτορικὴ Κρήτη," Άρχαιολογία 1, pp. 11–16.
- ——. 1983. "Χρονικὸ ΚΔ΄ Ἐφορείας Ἀρχαιοτήτων," *ArchDelt* 38 (Β΄, 2 Chronika) [1989], pp. 375–376.
- Davaras, C., and O. Masson. 1983. "Cretica: Amnisos et ses inscriptions," *BCH* 107, pp. 383–403.
- Davaras, C. 1984. "Μινωικὸ κηριοφόρο πλοιάριο τῆς Συλλογῆς Μητσοτάκη," *ArchEph* 123 [1986], pp. 55–95.
- ——. 1984. "Une tombe à voûte en Crète orientale," in *Aux origines de l'Hellénisme: La Crète et la Grèce. Hommage à Henri van Effenterre*, Paris, pp. 297–310.
- ———. 1985. "Ρωμαϊκὸ νεκροταφεῖο Άγίου Νικολάου," ArchEph 124 [1987], pp. 130–216.
- ——. 1985. "Une tombe à voûte en Crète orientale (note complémentaire)," *BCH* 109, pp. 625–628.
- 1986. "A New Interpretation of the Ideogram *168," *Kadmos* 25, pp. 38–43.
- Betancourt, P.P., and C. Davaras. 1986. "Ανασκαφική ἔρευνα Ψείρας: Περίοδοι 1985 καί 1986," Αμάλθεια 68–69, pp. 183–200.
- Davaras, C. 1986. "Ένα παλαιοανακτορικό πρίσμα ἀπό τὸ σπήλαιο Γεροντομουρί Λασιθίου," *Cretan Studies* 1, pp. 49–55.
- ——. 1988. "A Minoan Beetle-Rhyton from Prinias Siteias," *BSA* 83, pp. 45–54.
- ——. 1988. "Mykene und Kreta," in *Das Mykenische Hellas: Heimat der Helden Homers*, K. Demakopoulou, ed., Athens, pp. 58–59.
- . 1988. "Πρώιμες μινωικὲς σφραγίδες και σφραγιστικοὶ δακτύλιοι ἀπὸ τὸ σπήλαιο Γεροντομούρι Λασιθίου," ArchEph 125 [1990], pp. 9–43.
- Betancourt, P.P., and C. Davaras. 1988. "Excavations at Pseira," *Cretan Studies* 1, pp. 35–38.

- ——. 1988. "Excavations at Pseira, 1985 and 1986," *Hesperia* 57, pp. 207–225.
- Davaras, C. 1989. "Μινωικὰ μελισσουργικὰ σκεύη," in Φίλια ἔπη εἰς Γεώργιον Έ. Μυλωνᾶν διὰ τὰ 60 ἔτη τοῦ ἀνασκαφικοῦ του ἔργου Γ΄ (Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Έταιρείας 103), Athens, pp. 1–7.
- Betancourt, P.P., and C. Davaras. 1990. "Άρχαιολογικὲς ἔρευνες στὴν Ψείρα: Περίοδοι 1987–1989," "Αμάλθεια 82–85, pp. 20–37.
- Soles, J., and C. Davaras. 1990. "Theran Ash in Minoan Crete: New Excavations on Mochlos," in *Thera and Aegean World III*. 3: Chronology, D.A. Hardy and C. Renfrew, eds., London, pp. 89–95.
- Davaras, C. 1991. "The Wace and Blegen Conference in Athens, 1989," *Kadmos* 30, pp. 81–82.
- Betancourt, P.P., and C. Davaras. 1991–1993. "Ψείρα 1989," *Κρητική Εστία* 4, pp. 304–305.
- Davaras, C. 1992. "Ajios Nikolaos: Archäologisches Museum," in *Kleinere griechische Sammlungen: Ägina–Korinth (CMS* V, Suppl. 1A), I. Pini, ed., Berlin, pp. 29–71.
- ——. 1992. "Chamaizi," in *The Aerial Atlas of Ancient Crete*, J.W. Myers, E.E. Myers, and G. Cadogan, eds., Berkeley, pp. 78–81.
- ——. 1992. "Makrygialos," in *The Aerial Atlas of Ancient Crete*, J.W. Myers, E.E. Myers, and G. Cadogan, eds., Berkeley, pp. 172–174.
- ——. 1992. "Minoan Civilization," "The Clay Boat," "Bronze Figurines," "Bronze Double Axes," and "Gold Double Axes," in *Minoan and Greek Civilization from the Mitsotakis Collection*, L. Marangou, ed., Athens, pp. 31–38, 107–108, 243–257, 262–266, 267–268.
- ——. 1992. "The Seventh International Conference for Cretan Studies, Rethymnon 1991," *Kadmos* 31, pp. 164–170.
- Davaras, C., P.P. Betancourt, and W.R. Farrand. 1992. "Pseira," in *The Aerial Atlas of Ancient Crete*, J.W. Myers, E.E. Myers, and G. Cadogan, eds., Berkeley, pp. 262–267.
- Davaras, C., and J.S. Soles. 1992. "Άνασκαφές στόν Μόχλο Σητέιας: Περίοδος 1989," Άμάλθεια 90–93, pp. 37–43.
- Soles, J.S., and C. Davaras. 1992. "Excavations at Mochlos, 1989," *Hesperia* 61, pp. 413–445.
- . 1993. "Άνασκαφὲς στὸν Μόχλο Σητείας:Περίοδος 1990–91," Αμάλθεια 94–97, pp. 45–65.

- Davaras, C., and J. Soles. 1994. "Ένας νέος ἀνατολικὸς σφραγιδοκύλινδρος ἀπὸ τὸν Μόχλο," *Cretan Studies* 4, pp. 71–76.
- Soles, J.S., and C. Davaras. 1994. "Excavations at Mochlos, 1990–1991," *Hesperia* 63, pp. 391–436.
- Betancourt, P.P., and C. Davaras. 1995. "Recent Excavations at Pseira, Crete," in Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Ζ΄ Διεθνοῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου Α΄ (1), Rethymnon, pp. 81–86.
- Betancourt, P.P., and C. Davaras, eds. 1995. *Pseira* I: The Minoan Buildings on the West Side of Area A (University Museum Monograph 90), Philadelphia.
- Davaras, C., and J.S. Soles. 1995. "A New Oriental Cylinder Seal from Mochlos. Appendix: Catalogue of the Cylinder Seals Found in the Aegean," *ArchEph* 134 [1997], pp. 29–66.
- ——. 1996. "Excavations at Mochlos, 1992–1993," *Hesperia* 65, pp. 175–230.
- Soles, J.S., and C. Davaras. 1995. "Some Stratigraphic Observations at Mochlos," in Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Ζ΄ Διεθνοῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου Α΄ (2), Rethymnon, pp. 881–886.
- Davaras, C. 1997. "The Cult Villa at Makrygialos," in 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), R. Hägg, ed., Stockholm, pp. 117–135.
- Betancourt, P.P., and C. Davaras. 1998. "Lithic Materials," in *Pseira* III: *The Plateia Building* (*University Museum Monograph* 102), by C.R. Floyd, with P.P. Betancourt and C. Davaras, eds., Philadelphia, pp. 153–162.
- Betancourt, P.P., and C. Davaras, eds. 1998. *Pseira* II: Building AC (the "Shrine") and Other Buildings in Area A (University Museum Monograph 94), Philadelphia.
- ——, eds. 1998. *Pseira III: The Plateia Building (University Museum Monograph* 102), C.R. Floyd, Philadelphia.
- ———, eds. 1999. *Pseira* IV: *Minoan Buildings in Area B, C, D, and F (University Museum Monograph* 105), Philadelphia.
- Davaras, C. 1999. "Comments on the Plateia (Area BR)," in *Pseira* IV: *Minoan Buildings in Area B, C, D, and F (University Museum Monograph* 105), P.P. Betancourt and C. Davaras, eds., Philadelphia, pp. 167–169.
- 2000. "Αρχαιότητα," in Ο Άγιος Νικόλαος και η περιοχή του, Herakleion, pp. 11–45.

- ———. 2001. "Comments on the Plateia Building," in *Pseira* V: *The Architecture of Pseira* (*University Museum Monograph* 109), J.C. McEnroe, with P.P. Betancourt and C. Davaras, eds., Philadelphia, pp. 79–86.
- Betancourt, P.P., and C. Davaras, eds. 2001. *Pseira* V: The Architecture of Pseira (University Museum Monograph 109), J.C. McEnroe, Philadelphia,
- ——, eds. 2003. *Pseira* VI: *The Pseira Cemetery.* 1: *The Surface Survey (Prehistory Monographs* 5), Philadelphia.
- ———, eds. 2003. *Pseira* VII: *The Pseira Cemetery*. 2: *Excavation of the Tombs (Prehistory Monographs* 6), Philadelphia.
- Soles, J.S., and C. Davaras, eds. 2003. Mochlos IA: Period III. Neopalatial Settlement on the Coast: The Artisans' Quarter and the Farmhouse at Chalinomouri. The Sites (Prehistory Monographs 7), J.S. Soles, Philadelphia.
- ——, eds. 2003. Mochlos IB: Period III. Neopalatial Settlement on the Coast: The Artisans' Quarter and the Farmhouse at Chalinomouri. The Neopalatial Pottery (Prehistory Monographs 8), K.A. Barnard and T.M. Brogan, Philadelphia.
- Davaras, C. 2003. Führer zu den Altertümern Kretas, Athens.
- ——. 2003. Parallels and Affinities between Crete and India in the Bronze Age: Some Speculations (Cretan Studies Suppl. 1), Amsterdam.
- Davaras, C., and E. Banou. 2003. "A Post-palatial Tomb at Kalochoraphitis, Messara," *Cretan Studies* 8, pp. 41–78.
- Betancourt, P.P., C. Davaras, and R. Hope Simpson, eds. 2004. *Pseira* VIII: *The Archaeological Survey of Pseira Island*. Part 1 (*Prehistory Monographs* 11), Philadelphia.
- Davaras, C. 2004. "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 (Prehistory Monographs 9), J.S. Soles and C. Davaras, eds., Philadelphia, pp. 3–16.

- Davaras, C., and P.P. Betancourt. 2004. *The Hagia Photia Cemetery* I: *The Tomb Groups and Architecture* (*Prehistory Monographs* 14), Philadelphia.
- Soles, J.S., and C. Davaras, eds. 2004. Mochlos IC: Period III. Neopalatial Settlement on the Coast: The Artisans' Quarter and the Farmhouse at Chalinomouri. The Small Finds (Prehistory Monographs 9),
 J.S. Soles, C. Davaras, J. Bending, T. Carter, D. Kondopoulou, D. Mylona, M. Ntinou, A.M. Nicgorski, D.S. Reese, A. Sarpaki, W.H. Schoch, M.E. Soles, V. Spatharas, Z.A. Stos-Gale, D.H. Tarling, and C. Witmore, Philadelphia.
- Betancourt, P.P., C. Davaras, and R. Hope Simpson, eds. 2005. *Pseira* IX: *The Archaeological Survey of Pseira Island*. Part 2: *The Intensive Surface Survey (Prehistory Monographs* 12), Philadelphia.
- Soles, J.S., and C. Davaras, eds. 2008. *Mochlos* IIA: *Period IV. The Mycenean Settlement and Cemetary. The Sites (Prehistory Monographs* 23), J.S. Soles, Philadelphia.
- Betancourt, P.P., and C. Davaras, eds. 2009. *Pseira X: The Excavation of Block AF (Prehistory Monographs* 28), Philadelphia.
- Davaras, C. 2010. "One Minoan Peak Sanctuary Less: The Case of Thylakas 71," in *Cretan Offerings: Studies in Honour of Peter Warren (BSA Studies* 18), O. Krzyszkowska, ed., London, pp. 71–88.
- Soles, J.S., and C. Davaras, eds. 2010. *Mochlos* IIB: Period IV. The Mycenaean Settlement and Cemetery. The Pottery (Prehistory Monographs 27), R.A.K. Smith, Philadelphia.
- Kanta, A., and C. Davaras. 2011. ΕλΟΥΘΙΑ ΧΑΡΙΣΤΗΙΟΝ: Το ιερό σπήλαιο της Ειλειθυίας στον Τσούτσουρο, Heraklion.
- Soles, J.S., and C. Davaras, eds. 2011. *Mochlos* IIC: *Period IV. The Mycenaean Settlement and Cemetery. The Human Remains and Other Finds (Prehistory Monographs* 32), J.S. Soles, J. Bending, T.M. Brogan, K. Caldwell, T. Carter, A. Giumlia-Mair, K. Kopaka, D. Mylona, A. Nicgorski, M. Ntinou, D.S. Reese, G. Rethemiotakis, R.A.K. Smith, S.L. Smith, M.E. Soles, S. Triantaphyllou, and P. Westlake, Philadelphia.



kg

kilogram

List of Abbreviations

ASCSA	American School of Classical Studies	km	kilometer	
	at Athens	L.	length	
cm	centimeter	LBA	Late Bronze Age	
dia.	diameter	LC	Late Cycladic or Late Cypriot	
dim.	dimension	LH	Late Helladic	
EBA	Early Bronze Age	LM	Late Minoan	
EM	Early Minoan	LN	Late Neolithic	
EN	Early Neolithic	m asl	meters above sea level	
FAF	folded-arm figurine	m	meter	
gr	gram	MACFA	macroscopic ceramic fabric analysis	
h.	height	max.	maximum	
HM	Herakleion Archaeological Museum	MHS	Minoan Hall System	
HNM	Hagios Nikolaos Archaeological Museum	MM	Middle Minoan	
HTR	Hagia Triada	MN	Middle Neolithic	

XXX	1	1

MNI minimum number of individuals th. thickness width personal communication pers. comm. w. personal observation pers. obs. wt. weight preserved X-ray fluorescence XRF pres. Archaeological Museum RM of Rethymnon



An Early Minoan Boat Model from Kephala Petras, Siteia

Yiannis Papadatos

A small clay model (Figs. 17.1, 17.2) of what seems to be a boat was found during recent excavations at the settlement of Kephala Petras, near Siteia. The site has two major phases of occupation: the earlier dates to the very end of the Final Neolithic (FN), the FN IV phase, and the later dates to the very beginning of the Early Bronze Age (EBA), Early Minoan (EM) IA (Papadatos 2008; Papadatos et al., forthcoming). The boat model was found on the bedrock in an open area immediately outside the southwestern corner of the EM IA building complex (Papadatos 2008, fig. 15.3). It was not found in situ but in a secondary deposit, lying directly on the bedrock. However, the associated pottery and the stratigraphy of the area clearly suggest a dating to the EM IA phase, which is reinforced also by pottery typology. More specifically, the model is made of semicoarse reddish-brown clay with a surface fired to a grayish-black color.

In terms of fabric, surface treatment, and visual appearance, it belongs to the Dark Gray Burnished ware, the most common locally made ware, dating to the EM IA phase (Papadatos 2008; Papadatos et al., forthcoming).

Nearly one-third of the model is preserved. It is an oval shape with a pointed end, and the side walls have an outward inclination. The preserved terminal is angular and slightly raised above the level of the gunwale line, but it is not clear whether it represents the bow or the stern of the boat. The base is flat, probably depicting the boat afloat (Brodie 2006, 210). The quality of production is quite meticulous and the appearance identical to the finest pottery of the site. The maximum preserved length is 6.9 cm, and the width is 5.9 cm; the maximum height is 3.1 cm, and the minimum is 2.8 cm. If restored, the total length would be approximately 18–20 cm and the width approximately 7–8 cm.

In general, boat models constitute a rare category of finds in the Early Bronze Age Aegean. A complete catalog was provided over 25 years ago by C. Davaras in his article on the Mitsotakis Collection model (Davaras 1984). Of the 45 specimens, only 11 are dated to the EBA or the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age (MBA; Davaras 1984, 59-60). Six of them were found on Crete—at Mochlos, Palaikastro, Christos, Traostalos, Myrtos Pyrgos, and one is now housed in the Mitsotakis Collection. The rest come from the Cyclades: one stone model from Phylakopi and four lead models from Naxos. The authenticity of the latter, however, has been seriously challenged and should be treated with caution (Sherratt 2000, 102, 106). More recent additions to Davaras's small corpus, apart from the Kephala Petras specimen, are one model from Markiani Amorgos (Brodie 2006, 210–211), two from Mochlos (Soles 2004, 5, fig. 7; this vol., Ch. 21), two from Troy (Marangou 2001, figs. 10, 11), and one from Thermi (Marangou 2001, figs. 12, 13). The recently found Mochlos models show that another "possible" model from the same site, found by Seager and discussed by Davaras (1984, n. 5) but not included in his catalog, is indeed a boat model and not horns of consecration, as

suggested by some scholars in the past (Vagnetti and Belli 1978, 137, pl. VIII:7). Thus, a new revised corpus of boat models would include 11 specimens from Crete (4 from Mochlos and 1 each from Palaikastro, Christos, Traostalos, Myrtos Pyrgos, the Mitsotakis Collection, and Kephala Petras), 2 from the Cyclades (Phylakopi and Markiani), and 3 from the northeast Aegean (2 from Troy and 1 from Thermi). The rarity of boat models from the Cyclades comes in contrast to a relatively large corpus of two-dimensional depictions, which includes the incised longboats on the Chalandriani frying pans (Coleman 1985, fig. 5) and the rock carvings from Korphi t'Aroniou on Naxos (Doumas 1965, fig. 4) and Strophilas on Andros (Televantou 2008, figs. 6.8, 6.10).

With the exception of the Phylakopi model, which is made of stone, all the others are made of terracotta. In terms of context, most have been found in settlements, with the exception of one model coming from the Traostalos peak sanctuary and two from funerary contexts (the Christos and Mitsotakis Collection specimens). The Kephala Petras specimen is the earliest, dating to the beginning of EBA 1. The Markiani and Thermi models are a little later,

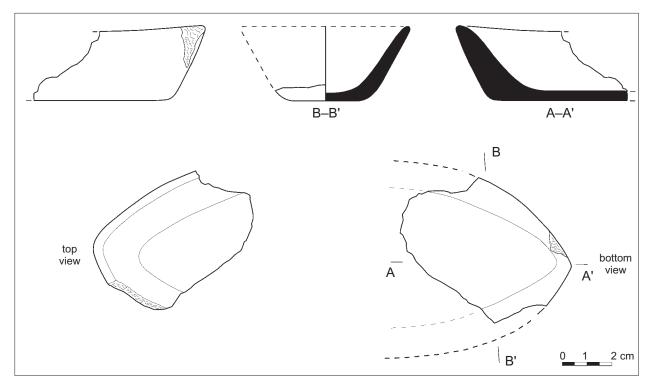


Figure 17.1. Drawing of the Kephala Petras boat model.



Figure 17.2. The Kephala Petras boat model, side view (left) and top view (right). Photo by Chronis Papanikolopoulos.

dating to the end of EBA 1 or the beginning of EBA 2; the Palaikastro and Mochlos models date to EBA 2, while the rest (Christos, Mitsotakis Collection, Myrtos Pyrgos, and Traostalos) date to the end of the EBA or the beginning of the MBA. The Phylakopi and Troy models are not securely dated, but they seem to fall within the confines of the EBA.

On the basis of the available iconographic evidence (whether two- or three-dimensional), it is traditionally accepted that during the Neolithic and the earlier part of the EBA, seafaring was carried out by simple dugout logboats (Basch 1991; Marangou 1991, 2001). These boats were seaworthy, but their traveling range and floating capabilities were rather limited. The situation is considered to change in the EBA 2 period, when large longboats suitable for long-range maritime activity appeared. These longboats were either made entirely of wooden planks (Basch 1991; Broodbank 1989, 329) or were extended dugouts, having dugout keel and wash strakes added to their sides (Johnston 1985, 6). The depictions on frying pans indicate that they were powered by a large number of paddlers. The building of such boats, the mobilization of the paddlers, and the undertaking of long-range maritime travel was a difficult and demanding task, one requiring a certain degree of social complexity, the agency of leaders, and the development of important maritime

centers (Broodbank 1989; 2000, 211–222). On this basis, their appearance is often considered as part of the International Spirit phenomenon and the intense inter-regional interaction of the EBA 2 Aegean (Renfrew 1972, 451–455). However, rock-carved depictions of such longboats were recently found in the FN settlement of Strophilas on Andros (Televantou 2008, figs. 6.8, 6.10). These reinforce the idea that the corresponding shipbuilding technology existed since the end of the Neolithic. It is only their iconography that became so prominent in the EBA 2 period, for reasons related to changes in the cultural and social significance of maritime activity rather than to technological innovation (Broodbank 2000, 256).

In contrast to their increased capabilities for long-range seafaring, longboats had very poor cargo capacity, especially with a full crew at open sea. It is rather difficult to imagine that they functioned as transport vessels; it is more likely that they were used as special-purpose prestige crafts (Broodbank 2000, 96–102). Other more mundane activities, such as transportation, fishing, and commuting, had to be fulfilled by other type(s) of vessels. Of particular importance is the Palaikastro model, which is the only existing three-dimensional representation with typical longboat features such as one high end and one low end with a spur-like projection. It appears,

however, to depict a small craft rather than a large longboat (Johnston 1985, 7). This shows that these features were not exclusive to longboats but may have existed also on smaller crafts powered by only a few paddlers.

On the basis of shape and analogies, the Kephala Petras model certainly does not represent anything like the longboats. The preserved end, whether bow or stern, is very different not only compared to longboats but also to other models that are close in space and time, such as those from Mochlos and Palaikastro. Moreover, the length/width ratio is rather low, around 3:1, compared to that of the longboats, which was probably around 10:1. It lies between the Mochlos and Palaikastro specimens (5.5:1 and 4.5:1 respectively) and the Markiani model (2:1).

Concerning the means of manufacture, the model itself does not offer much evidence. It seems most probable that dugout logships, skin boats, or coracles were used in the beginning of the EBA. However, as discussed above, the rock carvings of Strofilas indicate that the technology of building a ship entirely or almost entirely with wooden planks probably existed as early as the FN period. The Markiani and Troy models, which have been identified as simple dugout logboats (Brodie 2006; Marangou 2001, 742), have a rounded section, and their walls have an inward inclination that reflects the section of the tree trunk from which they were formed (Greenhill 1976, 134; Marangou 1991, pl. II:f). Moreover, these models have rounded terminals and the transition from the bottom to the sides is smooth, features that are also regarded typical for simple dugout logboats. In contrast, the Kephala Petras model walls have an outward inclination, the terminal is pointed, and the angle between the sides and the bottom is sharp. For this reason it seems probable that the Kephala Petras model is closer to the Mochlos, Palaikastro, and Thermi specimens, which are considered as extended dugouts-i.e., boats with dugout keel and wash strakes added to the sides in order to increase the freeboard (Johnston 1985, 6-7; Marangou 2001, 743-744). A boat of this structure would require some sort of thwart, but this may have originally existed in the missing part of the Kephala Petras model.

The final issue to be discussed is the function of the boat that corresponds to the Kephala Petras model. Even if it is not an accurate representation, it seems clear that it corresponds to a boat suitable for transportation due to its wide keel. If it belongs to the advanced type of the extended dugout, its floating capabilities exceed the limitations of the simple dugouts allowing travel to the open sea, though not without taking into serious consideration the weather and the sea conditions.

All these are admittedly highly hypothetical, but the archaeological evidence from the site of Kephala Petras may give additional support. The entire chipped stone assemblage of the settlement is composed of Melian obsidian. It could derive from a small number of exhausted cores, corresponding only to a small number of interspersed and sporadic arrival episodes (D'Annibale 2008, 193). The prevalence of Melian obsidian and the non-utilization of waste products, particularly in the EM IA phase, may suggest that shortages of obsidian were not considered imminent. The typological and petrographic study of the pottery showed that approximately 10% of the FN ceramic assemblage and a smaller percentage of the EM I assemblage was imported from outside Crete, probably from the Cyclades (Papadatos et al., forthcoming). The site also produced limited but indisputable evidence for copper smelting in the form of copper ores and slag (Papadatos 2007; Catapotis, Bassiakos, and Papadatos 2011). The provenance of the raw material remains uncertain, but it is most probably off-island.

The evidence above suggests that Kephala Petras imported goods and raw materials from off-island sources, probably from the Cyclades. It is difficult to reconstruct the intensity, frequency, and scale of this maritime activity, but it could be suggested that boats suitable for transportation, like the one modeled in clay, played a significant role. The rarity of boat representations in such an early period may suggest that maritime activity has not yet acquired the symbolic, social, and cultural importance seen in the later phases of the EBA. On this basis, the Kephala Petras boat model seems to belong to a crucial formative phase during which maritime activity increased in significance but had not been transformed yet into a restricted domain related to high-status individuals and/or communities.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank Dr. M. Tsipopoulou who kindly gave me permission to study the Kephala Petras material, the 24th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities for facilitating my study in the Siteia Museum, and the Institute for Aegean Prehistory for funding the study and publication of the excavation and the finds from the FN IV–EM I settlement at Kephala Petras.

References

- Basch, L. 1991. "Carènes égéennes à l'âge du bronze," in *THALASSA: L'Egée préhistorique et la mer (Aegaeum* 7), R. Laffineur and L. Basch, eds., Liège, pp. 43–54.
- Brodie, N. 2006. "The Terracotta Boat Model," in *Markiani Amorgos: An Early Bronze Age Fortified Settlement. An Overview of the 1985–1991 Investigations*, L. Marangou, C. Renfrew, C. Doumas, and G. Gavalas, eds., London, pp. 210–214.
- Broodbank, C. 1989. "The Longboat and Society in the Cyclades in the Keros-Syros Culture," *AJA* 93, pp. 319–337.
- ———. 2000. An Island Archaeology of the Early Cyclades, Cambridge.
- Catapotis, M., Y. Bassiakos, and Y. Papadatos. 2011. "Reconstructing Early Cretan Metallurgy: Analytical Results from the Study of the Metallurgical Evidence from Kephala Petras, Siteia," in *Metallurgy: Understanding How, Learning Why. Studies in Honor of James D. Muhly (Prehistory Monographs* 29), P.P. Betancourt and S.C. Ferrence, eds., Philadelphia, pp. 69–78.
- Coleman, J.E. 1985. "'Frying Pans' of the Early Bronze Age Aegean," *AJA* 89, pp. 191–219.
- D'Annibale, C. 2008. "Obsidian in Transition: The Technological Reorganization of the Obsidian Industry from Petras Kephala (Siteia) between FN IV and Early Minoan I," in *Escaping the Labyrinth: The Cretan Neolithic in Context (Sheffield Studies in Aegean Archaeology* 8), V. Isaakidou and P.D. Tomkins, eds., Oxford, pp. 191–200.
- Davaras, K. 1984. "Μινωικό κηριοφόρο πλοιάριο της συλλογής Μητσοτάκη," *ArchEph* 123, pp. 55–95.
- Doumas, C. 1965. "Κορφή τ' Αρωνιού," *ArchDelt* 20 (A), pp. 41–64.
- Greenhill, B. 1976. Archaeology of the Boat: A New Introductory Study, Middletown, CT.
- Johnston, P.F. 1985. Ship and Boat Models in Ancient Greece, Annapolis, MD.
- Marangou, C. 1991. "Maquettes d'embarcations: Les débuts," in *THALASSA: L'Egée préhistorique et la mer*

- (Aegaeum 7), R. Laffineur and L. Basch, eds., Liège, pp. 43–54.
- Types and Uses," in *Archaeometry Issues in Greek Prehistory and Antiquity*, Y. Bassiakos, E. Aloupi, and Y. Facorellis, eds., Athens, pp. 737–751.
- 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 (Sheffield Studies in Aegean Archaeology* 7), P.M. Day and R.C.P. Doonan, eds., Oxford, pp. 154–167.
- ———. 2008. "The Neolithic–Early Bronze Age Transition in Crete: New Evidence from the Settlement at Petras Kephala, Siteia," in *Escaping the Labyrinth: The Cretan Neolithic in Context (Sheffield Studies in Aegean Archaeology* 8), V. Isaakidou and P.D. Tomkins, eds., Oxford, pp 261–275.
- Papadatos, Y., P. Tomkins, E. Nodarou, and I. Iliopoulos. Forthcoming. "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*, C. Doumas, A. Gannikouri, and O. Kouka, eds., Athens.
- Renfrew, C. 1972. The Emergence of Civilisation: The Cyclades and the Aegean in the Third Millennium B.C., London.
- Sherratt, S. 2000. Catalogue of Cycladic Antiquites in the Ashmolean Museum. The Captive Spirit, Oxford.
- Soles, J. 2004. "The 2004 Greek-American Excavations at Mochlos," *Kentro: Newsletter of the INSTAP Study Center for East Crete* 7, pp. 2–5.
- Televantou, C. 2008. "Strofilas: A Neolithic Settlement on Andros," in *Horizon: A Colloquium on the Prehistory* of the Cyclades, N. Brodie, J. Doole, G. Gavalas, and C. Renfrew, eds., Cambridge, pp. 43–53.
- Vagnetti, L., and P. Belli. 1978. "Characters and Problems of the Final Neolithic in Crete," *SMEA* 19, pp. 125–163.