

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

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

Edited by
Metaxia Tsipopoulou



Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens
Volume 21

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

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

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

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

Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens

Volume 21

Series Editor: Kristina Winther-Jacobsen

Editor: Metaxia Tsipopoulou

Layout and typesetting: Ryeved Grafisk

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

Printed at Narayana Press, Denmark, 2017

The publication was sponsored by:

The Institute of Aegean Prehistory

ISBN 978 87 7184 157 2

ISSN 1397 1433

Distributed by:

AARHUS UNIVERSITY PRESS

Finlandsgade 29

DK-8200 Aarhus N

Denmark

www.unipress.dk

Gazelle Book Services Ltd.

White Cross Mills, Hightown

Lancaster LA1 4XS, England

www.gazellebooks.com

ISD

70 Enterprise Drive

Bristol, CT 06010

USA

www.isdistribution.com



**PEER
REVIEWED**

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



Front cover:

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

Graphic design: Garifalia Kostopoulou and Metaxia Tsipopoulou

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

Contents

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

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

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



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

List of Contributors

PHILIP P. BETANCOURT

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

THOMAS M. BROGAN

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

GERALD CADOGAN

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

MIRIAM G. CLINTON

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

ISABELLE CREVECOEUR

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

HEIDI M.C. DIERCKX

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

SUSAN C. FERRENCE

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

ALESSANDRA GIUMLIA-MAIR

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

DONALD C. HAGGIS

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

VALASIA ISAAKIDOU

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

CRISTINA ICHIM

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

KATERINA BOUKALA-KARKAGIANNI

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

SOTIRIA KIORPE

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

CARL KNAPPETT

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

GARIFALIA KOSTOPOULOU

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

OLGA KRZYSZKOWSKA

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

COLIN F. MACDONALD

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

EVI MARGARITIS

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

JAMES D. MUHLY

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

EFTHYMIA NIKITA

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

ELENI NODAROU

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

DIAMANTIS PANAGIOTOPOULOS

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

YANNIS PAPADATOS

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

LEFTERIS PLATON

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

ADRIANOS PSYCHAS

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

MARIA RELAKI

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

DAVID W. RUPP

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

AUORE SCHMITT

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

ILSE SCHOEP

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

ANNA SIMANDIRAKI-GRIMSHAW

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

TATIANA THEODOROPOULOU

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

PETER TOMKINS

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

SEVASTI TRIANTAPHYLLOU

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

MARIA TSIBOUKAKI

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

METAXIA TSIPOPOULOU

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

CHRISTINA TSORAKI

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

GIORGOS VAVOURANAKIS

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

Abbreviations

Archaeological periods

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

Petras Area

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

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

Other

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

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

Bibliographic Abbreviations

AAA – Archaïologika Analekta Athinon

ActaPalaeobot – Acta Palaiobotanica

AJA – American Journal of Archaeology

AJPA – American Journal of Physical Anthropology

AJS – American Journal of Sociology

AmJHumBiol – American Journal of Human Biology

AnnMathStat – Annals of Mathematical Statistics

AR – Archaeological Reports

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

ArchDelt – Archaeologikon Deltion

ArchEph – Archaeologike Ephemeris

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

ASAtene – Annuario della Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene

BAR-IS – British Archaeological Reports, International Series

BCH – Bulletin se correspondance hellénique

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

BSA – Annual of the British School at Athens

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

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

CretChron – Kretika Chronika

EtCret – Études Crétoises

JAS – Journal of Archaeological Science

JMA – Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology

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

MA – Monumenti Antichi

OJA – Oxford Journal of Archaeology

Prakt – Praktika tes en Athenais Archaeologikes Etaireias

SIMA – Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology

SMEA – Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici



Works Cited

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Gesell, G.C. 1985. *Town, Palace, and House Cult in Minoan Crete (SIMA 67)*, Gothenburg.

Getz-Gentle, P. 1996. *Stone Vessels of the Cyclades in the Early Bronze Age*, The Pennsylvania State University Press, University Park, PA.

Gill, D.J.W. 2000. "Collecting for Cambridge: John Hubert Marshall in Crete", *BSA* 95, 517-526.

Girella, L. 2012. "The Kamilari project publication", *Rivista di Archeologia* XXXV (2011), 123-136.

Girella, L. 2013. "Exhuming an Excavation: Preliminary Notes on the Use of the Kamilari Tholos Tomb in Middle Minoan III", in *Intermezzo: Intermediacy and Regeneration in Middle Minoan Iii Palatial Crete*, British School at Athens Studies 21, C.F. Macdonald & C. Knappett (eds.), London, 149-159.

Girella, L. in press a. "Variables and diachronic diversities in the funerary remains: the Kamilari tholos tomb", in *From the Foundations to the Legacy of Minoan Society*, M. Relaki & Y. Papadatos (eds.), Oxford.

Girella, L. in press b. "The Kamilari tholos tombs project: new light on an old excavation", *Πεπραγμένα ΙΑ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου, Πέθυμνο 21-27 Οκτωβρίου 2011*.

Giumlia-Mair, A. 2000. "Argento e leghe 'argentea' nell'antichità", *Atti del 7 convegno, "Le Scienze della Terra e l' Archeometria"*, Taormina, Palermo, Catania 22-26 Febbraio 2000, *Bollettino dell'Accademia Gioenia di Scienze Naturali*, Vol. 33, N 357, Catania, 295-314.

Giumlia-Mair, A. 2001. "Colouring Treatments on Ancient Copper Alloys", *Revue de Métallurgie, Cahiers d'informations Techniques*, 98e année, n.9, Sept., 767-776.

Giumlia-Mair, A. 2002. "Zosimos the Alchemist – Manuscript 6.29, Cambridge, Metallurgical Interpretation", in *I Bronzi Antichi: Produzione e tecnologia, Atti del XV Congresso Internazionale sui Bronzi Antichi, Grado-Aquileia, 22-26 maggio 2001*, A. Giumlia-Mair (ed.), Montagnac, 317-323.

Giumlia-Mair, A. 2005. "On Surface Analysis and Archaeometallurgy", *Nuclear Instruments and Methods in Physics, Research B: Beam Interactions with Materials and Atoms* 239 (1-2), 35-43.

Giumlia-Mair, A. 2008. "The metal of the moon goddess", in *Proceedings of the Session "Arts and Surfaces, Surface Modification Technologies (SMT21)"*, Paris 24-26 September 2007, *Surface Engineering*, March 2008, volume 24/2, A. Giumlia-Mair (ed.), Special Number Arts and Surfaces, 110-17.

Giumlia-Mair, A. 2009. "Ancient metallurgical traditions and connetions around the Caput Adriae", in *Journal of Mining and Metallurgy*, in *Special issue: Archaeometallurgy*, Vol. 45, N. 2, D. Živković & Ž. Živković (eds.), 149-164.

Giumlia-Mair, A., V. Kassianidou & G. Papasavvas 2011. "Miniature Ingots from Cyprus", in *Metallurgy: Understanding How, Learning Why. Studies in Honor of James D. Muhly*, P. Betancourt & S.C. Ferrence (eds.), Prehistory Monographs 29, Philadelphia, 11-19.

Glowacki, K.T. 2007. "House, household and community at LM IIIC Vronda, Kavousi", in *Building Communities: House, Settlement and Society in the Aegean and Beyond. Proceedings of a Conference held at Cardiff University, 17-21 April 2001*, R. Westgate, N. Fisher & J. Whitely (eds.), British School at Athens Studies 15, London, 129-139.

Goodison, L. 2009. "Gender, Body and the Minoans: Contemporary and Prehistoric Perceptions", in *FYLO. Engendering Prehistoric "Stratigraphies" in the Aegean*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Platon, N. 1970. “Ανασκαφαί Ζάκρου”, *Prakt* 1970, 208-2251, pls. 334-353.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

Giorgos Vavouranakis

Abstract

The diversity of the Middle Minoan funerary record continues to defy patterning, since several tombs and cemeteries continue to be used and even expand, although the majority falls out of use by the MM II. Researchers are still puzzled as regards the interpretation of such a non-pattern, but there is a general consensus that the funerary record is more or less reflective of wider social dynamics, namely the emergence of the institutionalized social organization that characterizes the Old Palace period. The continuing funerary sites are usually explained away as remnants of Prepalatial organization or as archaistic strategies for the ritual expression of the new social dynamics. These approaches fail to recognize that funerary ritual, like any type of ritual, may either reflect or deny its related social reality. Such a fact is better appreciated through a post-humanocentric approach, which hinges upon the materiality of the funerary arena and regards the latter as a socially active entity rather than a passive medium for human signification.

This premise is employed here in order to argue that people attained a continuous and dynamic encounter with the funerary arena during the Middle Minoan, which evolved in parallel and actively responded to the wider social trajectories through a tendency towards formalisation and thus towards concrete expression of features of funerary ritual that had remained materially elusive in the Prepalatial period. Such an argument may also challenge the wider picture about Old Palace society as it deconstructs the emergence of centralized institutions as the main driving force of socio-historical evolution on the island.

Introduction

There is a wide consensus among researchers that Prepalatial Crete was characterized by many small-scale kin-based communities, whose coherence was

symbolically appropriated mostly – albeit not exclusively – in the course of funerary ritual activity. As the processes of the regional integration of these communities escalated during the late Prepalatial period, investment in the funerary field peaked. New tombs were built, more artifacts were deposited in tombs and dead bodies were handled in increasingly elaborate ways, one of which was their trussing in clay receptacles. The Old Palace period saw the culmination of these processes with the establishment

* I wish to thank Metaxia Tsipopoulou for her kind invitation to participate in the second Petras Symposium. This paper is offered in appreciation of her drive to push our understanding of Minoan society beyond established interpretations, both with her fieldwork and her ideas.

of institutionalized social life that largely revolved around the formation of the first palaces and urban centers on the island. It is assumed that burial locales then lost their popularity because they were connected to the old social regime. The period favored the symbolic appropriation of social relations within the context of the palaces.

This narrative has always been better suited for central Crete than east Crete, where the palace at Petras, the first and until now the only such Middle Minoan edifice in east Crete, was built relatively late, i.e., in the MM IIA period.¹ This chronological mismatch between east and central Crete blurs the line between the Prepalatial and the Old Palace periods in east Crete and renders necessary both a separate examination of Middle Minoan east Cretan burials and a distinct narrative about sociocultural evolution during the Early Minoan and the Middle Minoan periods for the area east of the Lasithi massif. For example, it has been argued that funerary locales in east Crete were repositories of social memory, which helped people react to wider social transformations, such as the eastern reverberations of the palatial phenomenon, in a knowledgeable manner.² By the Middle Minoan period they had become landmarks and thus were able to retain their significance and place in the landscape, both in the natural and social sense, despite the wider transformations of the social web at the time.

This argument is now in need of fresh reflection. On the one hand, new evidence has been brought to light, such as the spectacular finds that the excavation of the cemetery at Petras has recently yielded.³ In addition, new bottom-up approaches to the first palaces and to the function of Minoan society⁴ have coupled with post-humanocentric calls for the rec-

ognition of the active role of material culture within the Middle Minoan social web.⁵ As a result, both the funerary record and the conceptual framework of its interpretation prompt the re-examination of the social dimension of Middle Minoan burials in east Crete. The present paper is a contribution towards such an aim and revolves around two questions that are fundamental for any examination of funerary remains: What is the role of material culture in the mechanism of funerary ritual? What does this role reveal for the ways in which funerary ritual contributed to the function of society?

The Middle Minoan funerary evidence in east Crete

The Early and Middle Minoan burial record of Crete has been recently reviewed,⁶ while the latest finds, both from Petras and from other east Cretan sites, are presented in this volume.⁷ Hence, it suffices here to note a few key features of the existing MM funerary evidence in east Crete, including the areas of Mirabello and of Ierapetra. Middle Minoan tombs are mostly found either isolated or in small clusters. Exceptions are the relatively small North Cemetery at Gournia⁸ and the extensive pithos cemeteries at Sphoungaras,⁹ at Gournia again, and Pacheia Ammos.¹⁰ They are not far from their related settlements. Their forms demonstrate considerable variety, although rectangular built tombs, usually called “house tombs,” had been and continued to be the most popular type of burial edifice. Typical examples are the tombs at the North Cemetery of Gour-

1 Tsipopoulou 2002, 137.

2 Vavouranakis 2007, 162-163.

3 Tsipopoulou this volume, “Documenting Sociopolitical Changes”.

4 Driessen 2010.

5 Knappett 2005, 133-166.

6 Legarra Herrero 2014, 91-134, including references to specific sites.

7 E.g., see papers by Cadogan, Papadatos, Schoep and Tsipopoulou.

8 Soles 1992, 1-40.

9 Soles 1992, 1-3.

10 Seager 1916.

nia and the Palaikastro tombs at Sarantari and the Galeti Ridge.¹¹ The tomb at Myrtos-Pyrgos featured an upper story.¹² Other tomb types include probable enclosures, such as the two tombs at Pezoules, Zakros¹³ and Tomb VIIa at Palaikastro,¹⁴ and tholos tombs, such as the one at Myrsini Galana Charakia¹⁵ and possibly the round structures at Hagia Photia Kouphota.¹⁶ Burials were also placed in rock shelters and caves, such as the ones excavated at Kavousi-Evraika¹⁷ or the Mavro Avlaki at Zakros,¹⁸ and in pithoi, as in the case of the aforementioned cemeteries at Pacheia Ammos and Sphoungaras.

The practices regarding the handling of the dead were equally diverse. The record includes primary burials either directly on the ground or in clay receptacles such as pithoi and larnakes. The piling of skulls in the tombs of Pezoules suggests secondary burial treatment, while in other cases, such as at Kavousi-Evraika, bones were found heaped as if they had been casually pushed aside, probably in order to practically make room for the next interment.¹⁹ The small compartments that constitute Tomb VIIa at Palaikastro may represent a series of built ossuaries. The same function accompanied a pithos placed in a specially built compartment at Myrtos-Pyrgos. By contrast, most funerary sites show uniform features regarding the material depositions that accompany the dead. These usually comprise a few pottery vessels, mostly for serving and consuming liquids. Other types of paraphernalia, such as stone vessels or seals, appear less frequently.

As a general rule, the excavated burials represent only a small part of the assumed population. Exceptions are the extensive pithos cemeteries of Sphoungaras and Pacheia Ammos. The several dispersed tomb groups at Palaikastro and the similar pattern at Zakros may account for part but not all of the funerary activity of their respective Middle Minoan communities. The reason behind this mismatch is archaeological visibility. Isolated or small groups of enclosures and modestly sized edifices and clay receptacles in simple pits or rock crevices are difficult to pin down, while they are easily destroyed in the course of modern agricultural works.

The above review has deliberately left out Petras,²⁰ in order to underline that it constitutes an exceptional case. It is an extensive cemetery of built house tombs spatially organized around open air spaces for public gatherings furnished with stepped and tripartite built features that operated as foci of ritual activity. It has yielded a significant number of burials and a wealth of accompanying objects. It may be compared only to Mochlos²¹ in the early Prepalatial period or Archanes-Phourni in central Crete. Despite its exceptionality, the cemetery of Petras was abandoned in MM II, like most of the other burial locales.

Existing interpretations of the MM funerary record

The features of the Middle Minoan funerary record of east Crete are similar to the developments in central Crete. This common pattern is usually explained as connected to island-wide social tendencies of the time, which included the emergence of regionally integrated societies and a shift from funerary to other types of ritual. In central Crete this shift is

11 Legarra Herrero 2014, 114, 119, 130.

12 Soles 1992, 178.

13 Platon this volume; Platon & Tsiboukaki this volume.

14 Soles 1992, 188-191.

15 Platon 1956; also Legarra Herrero 2014, 73.

16 Tsipopoulou 1988, 31-47. Belli 2003.

17 Tsipopoulou in press.

18 Platon 1971b, 235; also Legarra Herrero 2014, 124-125, 128-130, 132-133.

19 Tsipopoulou in press.

20 Tsipopoulou this volume, "Documenting Sociopolitical Changes".

21 Soles 1992, 41-113.

usually attributed to the establishment of the palaces. The latter are traditionally assumed to have dominated the social web because they were seats of elite authority. Alternatively, they are explained as ceremonial centers,²² which expressed the ideology of indigenism triggered by the cease of imports in the late Early Bronze Age and the consequent turn of social interaction on Crete to the consumption of agro-pastoral produce.²³

East Crete is usually seen as a similar, albeit not identical, case to central Crete.²⁴ Here funerary ritual is supposed to have lost its popularity to cult events that took place at peak sanctuaries. These proved better suited arenas to facilitate inter-communal competition as well as the social goals of aspiring elite groups. Signs of the latter are taken to be the built tombs of the North Cemetery at Gournia,²⁵ the two-story tomb at Pyrgos²⁶ and the Lakkos deposit at Petras.²⁷ The general lack of palaces with the relatively late exception of the court-centered building at Petras and the lack of formal areas for public gathering outside east Cretan tombs have been taken to suggest that social processes were less intense in east Crete than in the central part of the island. Following this line of reasoning, the distribution of tombs into small and dispersed groups may be interpreted as a sign of small-scale social groupings, such as households, holding strong despite the wider phenomena of regional social integration.

As much as the above narrative accommodates the material evidence comfortably, it still leaves pending questions. For example, it is difficult to understand why the shift from funerary to other types of ritual happened in MM I and not earlier, since the palace sites, such as Knossos and Phaistos, had attained special status already in the Final Neo-

lithic.²⁸ In the same vein and before tombs started losing their popularity, there was a sudden growth of funerary investment in EM III and mostly in MM IA. This phenomenon suggests social processes that were more complex than the ones assumed so far. This suggestion is further supported by the possibility that the shift from Prepalatial kin-based communities to regionally integrated societies was not easy or straightforward. The destruction of EM II settlements in east Crete, such as Myrtos-Phournou Koriphi and Vasiliki, the shift of habitation to upland and naturally defensible locations, one of which is Monastiraki-Kataleimata,²⁹ and the establishment of fortification³⁰ imply social turbulence with human casualties.³¹ The latter would have highlighted and not downplayed the social importance of the funerary arena.

In addition, and with the exception of the Lakkos deposit at Petras,³² the arguments for the existence of aspiring elite groups are based upon manifestations of funerary display, namely a type of social strategy that suits the early more than the late Prepalatial or the Old Palace period, since the latter is assumed to have endorsed an opposite shift away from funerary ritual. Nonetheless and even if it is accepted that exceptions to the rule existed, such as the North Cemetery at Gournia, Chrysolakkos at Malia³³ and the tomb at Pyrgos, Petras presents another problem, namely the relation between the arena of the elaborate cemetery and the events of conspicuous consumption at Lakkos. Do these two assemblages represent one or two social groups? Were they complementary or competing arenas of social interac-

22 Schoep 2010.

23 Hamilakis 2013, 129-190.

24 Legarra Herrero 2014, 150-160.

25 Soles 1988.

26 Cadogan this volume.

27 Haggis 2007.

28 Todaro 2011; Tomkins 2011.

29 Nowicki 2008.

30 Alušík 2007.

31 Cf. Branigan 1999, 91-92 and Chrysosoulaki 1999, 81-82 for opposing views; Tsipopoulou 1999b, 185-188 for the political, economic and wider social aspects of late Prepalatial upheavals.

32 Haggis 2007.

33 Soles 1992, 160-179.

tion? These questions are beyond the scope of the present paper. Nevertheless, they demonstrate the necessity of revisiting the relationship between burials and social structure in Middle Minoan east Crete in order to achieve a meticulous understanding of the ways in which changes in the funerary arena are linked to their wider historical and social contexts.

Towards an appreciation of the active role of material culture

Tsipopoulou³⁴ and I³⁵ have in parallel suggested that the key to understanding the social dimension of Minoan burial places lies in the role they attained as repositories of social memory. I have further argued that such a role rendered funerary ritual the obvious choice for the symbolic filtering and re-appropriation of the wider social changes that Crete saw in the beginning of the Middle Minoan period. Nevertheless, the social emphasis upon funerary locales pushed the latter beyond the limits of their symbolic and social malleability. As people attempted to filter everything and anything that was happening to them through these places, they lost their strict funerary character. The parallel emphasis on increasingly effective techniques of handling the bodies of the dead, such as their placement in clay receptacles and built ossuaries, brought to the fore a distinction between mortuary rites that tackle the dead body itself and veneration rites that have a strong but generic social dimension.³⁶ Hence, Middle Minoan house tombs looked like their Early Minoan counterparts but may have operated within a completely different system of symbolic signification.

The above narrative accounts both for the sharp popularity and the following drop in the popularity of burial places. However, it has an important short-

coming. It is over-intellectual, as it places primary emphasis on the conceptual framework that upheld the social function of Middle Minoan communities. As Hamilakis has rightly pointed out recently,³⁷ the engagement of people with burial and the rest of their surroundings was foremost practical and mediated by sensory and experiential regimes. Hence, the funerary process was about the re-negotiation of a corporeal landscape and the practical engagement of people with dead people, other living people and with the material paraphernalia of this activity.

It would be plausible to argue additionally that the materiality of such engagements was cast into relief in the Middle Minoan period, because of the fundamental changes in the material facilitation of social life at the time. The cease of imports since the EM IIB may have increased the emphasis on other funerary depositions and the pottery vessels that are predominantly found in Middle Minoan tombs may not have been as simple as we sometimes assume. The Middle Minoan technological innovations in pottery manufacture, such as the increasing use of the wheel and the production of Kamares ware, may have further accentuated the symbolic stress on all vessels, including the ones used in funerary ritual. In addition, the social trajectory towards regional integration and its reverberations upon agro-pastoral economy may have prompted a similar symbolic stress upon the food and drink that was consumed in the course of funerary ritual.

The turbulent conditions of the late Prepalatial period and the human casualties that may have entailed certainly raised social awareness of both the concept of human life and of the physicality of human existence. This suggestion is not only in accord with the adoption of elaborate techniques for handling corpses at the time but it is also supported by the deposition of human figurines at peak sanctuaries. Male figures wearing daggers in particular

34 Vavouranakis 2012, 123-126.

35 Vavouranakis 2007, 160-164.

36 Vavouranakis 2014, 215-218.

37 Hamilakis 2013, 135-143.

may be signs not only of high status,³⁸ but also of a reflection that had been trending in the Middle Minoan period. Such a reflection would revolve around the materiality of human life, namely the practical ways in which human life was safeguarded but also of the ways in which it was possible to physically take it away.

It follows that the Middle Minoan period attained all the necessary conditions for an increased awareness of the material implementation of social relations. This phenomenon may operate as a guide for a fresh approach to Middle Minoan funerary remains. Such an approach should move away from any view of material culture as directly reflective of people's thoughts, actions and relations. Social developments should not be assumed to form first in people's minds and then take the form of action, wherein material culture is instrumental. Instead, we should focus on the active role of material culture in the web of social relationships and a symmetrical approach to both people's actions and the entanglement of people and the material paraphernalia of these actions.³⁹

This focus has a specific conceptual premise. Things and places are polysemous, much like ritual acts that they facilitate, including the funerary performances during the Middle Minoan period that are discussed here. Polysemy triggers a specific process. People try to pin down the symbolic content of ritual in order to render the latter socially effective. The usual strategy is the addition of behavioral cues, which are supposed to ensure the proper performance of ritual. These cues are usually material. Relevant examples from Early and Middle Minoan funerary ritual may be open air spaces that became paved courtyards, and dead bodies that started to be contained in clay receptacles or built spaces. As already mentioned, Hamilakis⁴⁰ has proposed that

such developments attempted to fix funerary ritual to the promotion of an ideology of indigenism in late Prepalatial central Crete.

However, the more material cues that are added, the more the symbolic potential of a ritual performance opens up, and thus late Early Minoan and early Middle Minoan funerary contexts may have accommodated a variety of symbolisms; it would probably be chimeric to try and chart them. Instead, it would be more realistic to step back and appreciate the fact that funerary contexts highlighted the fluid boundaries between people and the material world. After all, the funerary process is by definition about this relationship. It takes a person, namely a social subject that has died, out of the world of people and turns her/him into an artifact or an object, since the living participants of a funeral manipulate the dead body in its final resting place. In other cases, artifacts may become so emblematic of the meanings they carry that they achieve a social status of their own. It is not hard to envisage such a status for an elaborately decorated eggshell Kamares cup. This type of vessel carried with it the connotations of its elaborate manufacture techniques and the cost of its acquisition. At the same time, its elegant form almost obliges the person that uses it to handle it with care.

As a result, the materiality of things allows them to affect and modify human behavior, and due to this capacity they may be considered as active social agents. The example of the Kamares cup shows that the blurring of the boundaries between people and things is not an exclusive privilege of the funerary context. However, it is in the latter that the materiality of things, upon which their status hinges, may come under contest. For example, the finding of Kamares cups smashed in funerary contexts suggests that their material constitution was brought to the limit and with it their capacity to be meaningful social entities. Their biographies ended with their smashing and/or deposition, much like the biographies of the dead were terminated during their burial and the fragmentation of their bod-

38 Pilali-Papasteriou 1987, 98.

39 Hodder 2012.

40 Hamilakis 2013, 171-174.

ies in the course of secondary funerary rites. The contrast between dead bodies and things, both of which became fragmented and/or discarded, created powerful metaphors and increased the living participants' awareness about the possible meaning of life and death and also about the ways in which they should engage with eggshell Kamares cups on future occasions.

It follows that material culture is not merely instrumental to people's actions, either in practical or symbolic terms. There is always a dynamic relation between people and things, including both artifacts and buildings, wherein both people and things are "act-ants".⁴¹ This dynamic relation is usually brought to the fore in funerary contexts, where the very definition of human life and its relation to the material world are central issues of the ritual performances that take place. Below, I provide a few examples of such a relationship from Middle Minoan east Cretan burial assemblages in order to demonstrate its potential for a renewed understanding of these assemblages.

The importance of Early Minoan remains for the construction of the first EM III house tombs above them at Petras may be employed as an illustrative example of the autonomous agency of objects and other non-human entities. Beyond the quest for the specific connotations that such an action may have entailed, it is plausible to argue that the architectural remains stood out of their environs and thus oriented or "collected", as phenomenological thinkers would put it,⁴² the gaze of people upon them, and in a sense attracted the building of the house tombs and led to the formation of the lower part of the later area of Ceremonial Area 2. In a similar process, House Tomb 2, with its benches, tripartite façade and open court, was established not only due to the symbolic or wider social aspirations of the people that built and used it, but also – or at least partly – in response

to the house tombs that had already existed in this place.

It follows that the final stages of the development of the Middle Minoan cemetery with the rest of the house tombs, the corridors and the complete formation of Ceremonial Area 2 constituted a response to House Tomb 2. As much as it is not possible to know whether the difference between the lower and upper part of the cemetery with their respective open air areas reflected a binary opposition between two different social groups, it would not be unreasonable to suggest that the inevitable effect of such a spatial arrangement created the potential for the formation of different funerary practices and regimes of value and, effectively, for intra-communal competition.

Similar examples of the importance of the material world may be sought beyond Petras in other examples of the east Cretan funerary record. Part of the contents of the early Prepalatial Tomb III at Gournia, both skulls and pottery vessels, were preserved in a pit in the later Tomb I at the same site.⁴³ This act may be seen as the material expression of reverence for the past importance of the tomb and the local burial, which was re-collected and appropriated, materially and conceptually. Chrysolakkos at Malia was also founded upon an earlier stratum of buildings, either houses or house tombs.⁴⁴ Beyond the funerary sphere, the house at Chamaizi⁴⁵ is nothing more than the result of another active engagement with the previous structures, as its oval plan was based upon and re-appropriated the plan of the previous building phase. In all these cases we may not be certain what exactly it meant to respect and transform an old building, but we can be confident that people decided to engage in a symmetrical relationship with past monuments and the results of this dialectic entanglement acquired material form.

41 Latour 2005.

42 Norberg-Schulz 1991.

43 Soles 1992, 8-9.

44 Treuil 2005, 213-214.

45 Davaras 1972.

The late Prepalatial and Old Palace periods were not the only time of dynamic interaction between human and non-human act-ants in Crete. An early Prepalatial similar case is “organic architecture”.⁴⁶ The term describes the use of the natural bedrock as a backdrop for most of the built tombs of Mochlos and for built Tomb III at the North Cemetery of Gournia.⁴⁷ Organic architecture fused natural and manmade additions and created burial spaces that stood in between natural rock shelters and *stricto sensu* house tombs. The difference between the early Early Minoan and the late Early Minoan to early Middle Minoan periods is the focus of the latter in the interplay between human and artificial non-human entities, namely buildings and artifacts.

This suggestion is supported not only by architecture but also by the similar treatment of dead bodies and artifacts, such as the broken and discarded stone vessels.⁴⁸ Furthermore, while Early Minoan organic architecture created buildings that constituted hybrid entities with a fusion or mixing of natural and artificial elements, the Middle Minoan funerary practices shifted the focus of such hybrid making practices from nature to human-artifact relations. The best relevant example is the close connection of dead bodies to the funerary pithoi wherein they were trussed. The fit was so tight that the two became amalgamated until the flesh rotted. The same may be argued for the small built ossuaries at Myrtos-Pyrgos⁴⁹ and Palaikastro Tomb VIIa.⁵⁰ The ossuary of Pyrgos was a triple hybrid entity, comprising the built space, a path and the human remains that tightly filled the space. The small cells at Palaikastro Tomb VIIa were custom-sized to the requirements of space of each bone assemblage that was placed in them. In all these cases human remains fused with

the built environment and with artefacts and created what are dubbed “mixed hybrids”.⁵¹

The emphasis on the re-creation of material entities, both human and non-human, resulted in a material abundance of expressions of funerary symbolism, as a greater part of the burial and veneration process left visible traces. In the early EM, the bones from old burials were deposited in the Rock Shelter of Petras and thus remained invisible. By contrast, late Early Minoan and Middle Minoan human remains in the cemetery remained visible as they accrued in the form of bone heaps in the various house tombs, such as the heaps of dishes found at Petras House Tomb 2. The same happened to the human remains in other contemporary tombs as well as to the material paraphernalia deposited with them, hence the deposits of pottery that are frequently found in Middle Minoan burials. These practices may be plausibly interpreted as attempts to spell out the established funerary rites of passage by rendering them more concrete than before.

The sublime status of materiality and the function of Middle Minoan society

If the diversity of the MM funerary record is attributed to people’s attempts to actualize the symbolic capital of their funerary traditions and to give this material form, then it was indeed the materiality of funerary ritual that mattered as a whole, and more than the various significations it was able to facilitate. This phenomenon is reminiscent of Žižek’s thesis about the relation between objects and ideology in society.⁵² Žižek argues that sometimes people let things believe for them, instead of first thinking and then attributing meaning to things. To substantiate this reasoning he mentions the Tibetan prayer

46 Soles 1992, 210-211; Vavouranakis 2007, 99-111.

47 Soles 1992, 28-33.

48 Relaki this volume.

49 Soles 1992, 178.

50 Soles 1992, 188-191.

51 Ackermann 2012, 15-16.

52 Žižek 2009, 31-33.

wheels. In order to pray, a Tibetan monk simply writes a name on a piece of paper and then turns the wheel. It does not matter what the monk thinks. As long as he turns the wheel he is objectively praying, both in the literal and the metaphorical sense. The wheel and the written paper do the praying and thinking for him.

The promotion of materiality did not only intensify the funerary interaction between people and things. It also prompted the formalization of funerary rites. However, and as already noted, this formalization did not necessarily fix the meaning of funerary rites. In its final form, the cemetery of Petras was a spatially complex place, with different open areas, alleys and morphologically diverse house tombs, which accepted an equally diverse collection of depositions. This complexity opened up the connotations of the cemetery to different interpretations. The interpretative potential of such a place may be highlighted by contrasting House Tomb 2 with the benches, the tripartite façade and the consumption of food to House Tomb 10 and its plastered walls, the bench and horns of consecration, as well as its extraordinary depositions. The ritual performances at each of the two tombs probably entailed and renegotiated different regimes of social value.

The same may be argued beyond the limits of funerary ritual and through a contrast between the cemetery and the Lakkos deposit. The decoration of the artifacts that were found at Lakkos copied the motifs of objects deposited at peak sanctuaries and it has been proposed that these aesthetic affinities were part of a social strategy by the aspiring elites of Petras to infiltrate places of popular activity.⁵³ This strategy is radically different from what was happening at the cemetery, where the sphere of funerary symbolism was blended with other regimes of signification, resulting in tombs that resembled domestic architecture, and the tripartite arrangement and the

horns of consecration that made reference to cult contexts.

The open and diverse character of the symbolic potential of funerary contexts is compatible with the general picture that has been established for Middle Minoan society. This picture shows a balance between co-existing but diverse hierarchical and heterarchical structures,⁵⁴ and between an increasing importance of corporate groups such as houses⁵⁵ and greater network connectivity.⁵⁶ As Legarra Herrero has pointed out,⁵⁷ corporate groups and networks are not compatible in terms of social organization and this suggests that the constitution and function of Middle Minoan society was an idiosyncratic hybrid of different types of social constituents. The only way to achieve this mixture and make it work, as it evidently did, was a relaxed regime of social principles, wherein diverse systems of value were able to co-exist. Co-existence should not be misinterpreted as a lack of social friction, though. The emphasis on house tombs may be demonstrating a need to charge the notion of the house symbolically, perhaps because regional integration had started threatening real households and corporate affiliations were becoming more popular than actual kin-based relations.

I have elsewhere argued⁵⁸ that the mosaic of larger and smaller social units that constituted Crete in the Middle Minoan period may be described as a manifestation of the “multitude”.⁵⁹ This is a 17th-century concept that describes a wide social group, which is less coherent than the nation or the people but more organized than the mass or the mob. It is a network of individual social subjects and groups connected via the production of immaterial wealth, such as common life values. The multitude is based

⁵³ Haggis 2007, 762-768.

⁵⁴ Schoep & Knappett 2004.

⁵⁵ Driessen 2010.

⁵⁶ Knappett this volume.

⁵⁷ Legarra Herrero 2014, 164.

⁵⁸ Vavouranakis 2015.

⁵⁹ Hardt & Negri 2004 for analysis and further references.

upon swarm intelligence and thus does not suppress individuality as it does not require uniformity. The diversity of the Middle Minoan funerary record, the similarities and regional differences between peak sanctuaries and even the guarded road networks are signs of the emergence of such a social entity. Thomas Hobbes in his famous work *Leviathan* argued that the multitude must be harnessed because it is so eager for power that it becomes a threat to humanity. This is why he believed that authority is a necessary evil for societies. Leaving aside the Hobbesian pessimistic view of the human condition, it is important to note that the multitude produces authorities and not vice versa. Perhaps the exceptional house tombs of Petras and Gournia, the Lakkos deposit and the exceptional building at Gournia, as well as the later palace of Petras, were the offspring of a similar social process.

Conclusion

In conclusion, I have argued that the difficulty in discerning a pattern in the Middle Minoan burial record of east Crete does not necessarily mean that the Middle Minoan communities were not interested in funerary investment and its symbolism. Rather, the diversity of the funerary record reflects the fluid-

ity of social organisation that characterized Middle Minoan Crete, especially its eastern regions. The parallel existence and competence of different types of social relations and groupings needed a stable reference point which would anchor diverse regimes of collectively held values. The very materiality of the funerary field of ritual activity constituted an ideal solution to this need. An emphasis on the material implementation of funerary ritual itself may be the common thread behind the morphological diversity of the record, and it may explain the intensity of practical engagement that late Early Minoan and early Middle Minoan funerary ritual demanded.

The high status of funerary materiality was part of a generalized awareness of the material conditions of social life and the autonomous and active social role of these material conditions, since they facilitated the transformation of Minoan Crete from a group of dispersed kin-based communities to a series of regionally integrated and institutionalized societies. As material mediums became more stable and reliable in the ideological connotations they carried, the way was paved for the de- and re-construction of social relations and the contexts wherein these relations were being re-appropriated, hence the funerary arena started losing its popularity to other ceremonial contexts, such as the peak sanctuaries and the palatial courts.

Discussion

- Relaki:** This was very interesting; as you know we like the same things. I am not so sure I understood how you envisage this interaction between individuals and the multitude. I mean this is a new theory to me and I have probably not understood the basics of it. I think this is the interesting new thing here: how do we understand individuals and the multitude in the funerary context. Could you expand a little bit on that?
- Vavouranakis:** The relation of the individual to the multitude in general is that the multitude does not extinguish individuality. On the contrary, the aggregation of many individuals means something a lot bigger than simply adding them.
- Relaki:** Right, this is what I understood. So, how do we pin that down materially? So, let us say that at Petras we see fragmented individuals, thrown all over the place, and fragmented pots and other objects, so we can see the fragmentation, how do we see the coming together of individuals as opposed to the multitude?
- Vavouranakis:** I think the diversity of treatment of the bodies may well be a sign of individuality, but at the same time there is a wider picture that is not uniform, because there are individual cases, but still it does show a general tendency.
- Wright:** Thank you for providing us with a framework for discussing so many of the things that we have been discussing today. I would like to go back to the paper that Yiannis Papadatos gave and the one that followed by Efi Nikita, because they actually help us deal with some of these issues and I think that in current social history we are very concerned with issues of agencies and actors, and within a long discourse basically in argument with Marx – basically carried out in social history – about the heavy hand of history and historical circumstance on individual and on social groups and social actors. That is a central topic that sociologists have been wrestling with for the last 50 years at least. And I think people have tended to resolve that today when we talk about agencies and social actors; we really do have to think about how individuals do not exist except in relationship with other social actors, other individuals, who form different forms of social groups, which have agency and which create, as you said, structures that act back to individuals in different ways. What I found appealing in the papers they gave, which speaks to the issues that you are contending with here, is on the one hand Yiannis Papadatos pointed out that there are different ways in which the material record, looking at these burials and mortuary practices, seems to reflect a community of communication within Crete and

outwards into the islands that creates differentiation that does not have to be explained by people moving around according to patterns just of migrations, but rather through some kinds of social relation that Efi Nikita points to as probably managed socially – if I understood what she is looking at – because we are looking at genetic changes, people making relationships with each other that become genetic, that is there is intermarriage going on. And if you think about how the knowledge people have about living in the Mesara or people living in eastern Crete, the geographic knowledge, the knowledge of different communities, the personal relations that are built up, what happens when those heat up and get to a point when they are having an impact on social relations and economic production, that really is leading to higher levels of organization, that lead in other words to something that we might describe as quasi-hierarchical, because it is extracting something from the economy? Donald Haggis has talked about this in different ways too. What I am pressing here is why would we need to invent a new theoretical perspective when we have one in social agency models which seems to be working very well? And what we might want to do is take some of this work by bioarchaeology or work that is looking at different community groups that are engaging in different kind of practices, community practices that have to do with consumption and production of objects to get into exchange and interchange among people, based on very diverse growing and communities of interaction. What I am pointing to is that the ceramic analysis, the dental work here, all seem to be pointing to agents acting in different ways as they get to know the geography, the social geography of the landscape, increasingly well, and we can even then refer to the work that some of the other papers have presented, about metallurgy for instance, which is bringing in outside influences that are inquisitive in nature and people want to go on what they want brought in – they want copper and they want tin, and they are finding ways to move out into the Aegean to bring these in. It seems to me that we have a pretty good way of dealing with these, I guess I am a little bit leery of the notion of the multitude, because as you said it is sort of plucked out without any particular social theory context – that is my comment. You seem to be asking us to engage in a model that, to my mind, is not going to advance us beyond the models we have here. But I might have missed something, so. Sorry about this long comment.

Vavouranakis:

No, it is a very interesting comment/question. So, I will try to give an answer that is as brief as possible for such an important series of issues that you have raised. (a) I think that the notion of agents as it is now has overestimated the cognitive ability of people in contrast with their dynamic relation to their material entrance and I think there is exactly this growing body of literature in case studies that says so. (b) I find I have to say I am not happy with the idea that households or houses existed throughout the Bronze Age and followed a linear process towards a different kind of society. I do think that the Protopalatial society at least is qualitatively different from the previous periods and that this difference in quality is a historical phenomenon, and on one hand this phenomenon is political and we have to account for it, on the other hand it has to do with the regionalization of the societies – and to say that we have houses or bigger houses or bigger households, this is too minimalistic to explain the regional scale of organization.

We need a different concept for this. The concept is not straight out of Thomas Hobbes and Spinoza – to mention the two main 17th-century theorists – it has also been used more and more progressively, but what they find intriguing about the original conceptualization of the multitude is that it pertains to fluid political institutions and, I think, Middle Minoan Crete was about fluid political institutions. Not quite as much, as you have very well commented on a previous talk of mine, as early proto-states; a bit less than that maybe, but certainly more than simple houses and the Prepalatial configuration of social organization. And this is where my problem lies. At the same time we do have this funerary field, where we see material forms that do not really conform, so I think that we have to accept that the materiality of death, like the materiality of any kind of human activity, is slightly autonomous from the human subject, at least in an interesting and dynamic relation: the same way that it would be, I mean, of course I can put on my nice suit and then sleep on my couch, but I am not likely to do that, because the niceness of my suit tells me not to put it on if I want to lie on my couch. It is my jumper that tells me to put it on. Of course I have given the jumper and the suit those meanings, but then they project them back to me.

Relaki: I am quite fascinated, I mean I do agree that the Protopalatial people wanted to be different, but as you well know I have argued that they looked back a lot, and I still see that in funerary patterns, so I was wondering where do you see the differences from the previous periods and within this new framework that you have developed? And the bottom line is we have talked about networks and broad sorts of connections, so whatever it is that the multitude will bring, it is not served by these concepts. That is my idea.

Vavouranakis: I think that the multitude is compatible with the idea of the network.

Relaki: Yes, indeed. And I think it is probably too compatible. So what is the new thing?

Vavouranakis: I think that the network places more emphasis on who is the navigator. It sees sailors who become navigators. I think that the multitude has a much more possibilistic attitude.

Relaki: I think that we agree. I do not see the network as that, as having a beginning and a direction, it is multidirectional and I think this is what you are describing here – if I understand correctly, a multidirectional interaction that probably is not very hierarchical.

Vavouranakis: Yes, the two concepts are very similar, just that one gives more emphasis on the relations themselves and the other gives more emphasis on identities themselves and people – where you draw the line, or where you construct lines.

Greek abstract

Ταφικό τελετουργικό και κοινωνική δομή στην Παλαιοανακτορική περίοδο: μια πολυσχιδής συσχέτιση
Η ποικιλία των ΜΜ ταφικών στοιχείων εξακολουθεί να αποφεύγει την τυπολογική ένταξη, εφόσον αρκετοί τάφοι και νεκροταφεία όχι μόνον συνεχίζουν, αλλά και επεκτείνονται, αν και η πλειονότητα σταματά να χρησιμοποιείται στην ΜΜ ΙΙ. Η έρευνα ακόμα εκπλήσσεται σε σχέση με την ερμηνεία μιας τέτοιας μη-τυπολογίας, αλλά υπάρχει γενικά η παραδοχή ότι τα ταφικά δεδομένα αντικατοπτρίζουν λίγο ως πολύ τις ευρύτερες κοινωνικές δυναμικές, ιδιαίτερα την ανάδυση της θεσμικής κοινωνικής οργάνωσης που

χαρακτηρίζει την Παλαιοανακτορική περίοδο. Οι συνεχιζόμενοι ταφικοί χώροι ερμηνεύονται συνήθως ως λείψανα μιας Προανακτορικής οργάνωσης ή ως αρχαϊστικές στρατηγικές για την τελετουργική έκφραση των νέων κοινωνικών δυναμικών. Αυτές οι προσεγγίσεις δεν είναι σε θέση να αναγνωρίσουν ότι το ταφικό τελετουργικό, όπως κάθε τύπος τελετουργικού, μπορεί είτε να αντανakλά, είτε να ακυρώνει τη σχετική κοινωνική πραγματικότητα. Ένα τέτοιο γεγονός εκτιμάται καλύτερα μέσω μιας μετα-ανθρωποκεντρικής προσέγγισης, η οποία στηρίζεται στην υλικότητα της ταφικής αρένας και βλέπει την τελευταία μάλλον ως κοινωνικά ενεργή οντότητα παρά ως παθητικό μέσον ανθρώπινης σημασίας.

Αυτή η προσέγγιση χρησιμοποιείται εδώ ώστε να υποστηριχθεί ότι οι άνθρωποι κατακτούσαν μια συνεχή και δυναμική διαδραστική σχέση με την ταφική αρένα κατά τη ΜΜ περίοδο, η οποία εξελίχθηκε παράλληλα και επέδρασε ενεργητικά στις ευρύτερες κοινωνικές συντεταγμένες μέσω μιας τάσης προς την τυποποίηση και επομένως την συγκεκριμένη έκφραση χαρακτηριστικών του ταφικού τελετουργικού τα οποία έμεναν υλικά ασαφή στην Προανακτορική περίοδο. Αυτό το επιχείρημα μπορεί εξάλλου να κλονίσει την ευρύτερη εικόνα μας για την Παλαιοανακτορική κοινωνία, καθώς αποδομεί την εμφάνιση κεντρικών θεσμών ως την κύρια κινητήρια δύναμη της κοινωνικο-ιστορικής εξέλιξης στο νησί.

