13

Lost in Translation

Settlement Organization in Postpalatial Crete—A View from the East

Louise A. Hitchcock and Aren M. Maeir

13.1. INTRODUCTION

This contribution will consider problems and issues related to understanding architecture and urbanism in postpalatial Crete in its larger Mediterranean context, with reference particularly to Philistia but also to Cyprus and mainland Greece (Fig. 13.1). Comparisons with Philistia and Cyprus are relevant because many scholars have argued for a migration to these regions in the form of large scale colonization, and they have attempted to identify Aegean influences and even direct architectural transfers in these regions (as outlined in sections 13.2 and 13.4). This paper takes a more moderate or minimalist position: that any migration to these regions from the Aegean was limited and entangled, taking the form of what Knapp (2008: 266–8, 289, 292, 356; see also Hitchcock and Maeir 2013) has termed a 'hybridization process.' However, a comparative approach among the Mediterranean regions has value regardless of where one positions oneself on the issue of migration, cross-cultural influence, and/or interconnections (see now Knapp and Manning 2016). The value lies in cross-cultural patterning that may be identified based on common postpalatial changes in social organization, structures, and practices; levels of technology; climate; and geography. It is the search for such patterning that typifies the approach to studying culture in cultural anthropology (e.g. Haviland et al. 2011). The benefit in identifying architectural patterns and differences across IIIC pottery-producing cultures can help to identify both common social practices and regional differences. Furthermore, we will argue that understanding architecture on multiple scales (urbanism, curation, design, and technique) in this era should emphasize IIIC commonalities,[1]

Fig. 13.1. Map of sites mentioned in the text (courtesy of Tell es-Safi/Gath Excavations, by J. Rosenberg).

rather than past studies that have privileged and over-emphasized continuities with the palatial Bronze Age. While such continuities are interesting and worth drawing attention to, emphasizing them minimizes the significance of the breakdown and diminishing of official architectural styles. In addition, given that the data base for architecture is much smaller than for ceramic studies, a comparative approach can bring new insights gained by using different methods—as in Driessen's study of complementarity in the different use of similar spaces by males and females as indicated by different types of artefact patterning in each space (see chapter 5). His approach might be usefully applied to LM IIIC settlements where there is a clear distinction in architectural forms (see section 13.2). This contribution will begin with a brief overview of previous work on Philistine architecture, then go on to compare and contrast Philistine, Cypriot, and Aegean buildings and urban landscapes with special reference to Crete, discuss the importance of regionalism, and conclude with a summary of major points and future directions.

A couple of paradoxes influence the study of the Philistines and the Sea Peoples with regard to the Aegean. As observed by Letesson and Knappett (chapter 1) and Devolder (chapter 4), similar paradoxes are also an issue in the Aegean. Ceramic and faunal evidence consistently receive detailed analysis, while architectural details are frequently glossed over, lacking Geertzian practice of 'thick description' (e.g. Silverman 1990, see also chapter 1) through the detailed documentation of construction techniques. This has been rather problematic for Cyprus and Philistia where various architectural features have been assigned an Aegean origin based on a superficial analysis of perceived similarities, or are selectively studied, or simply ignored. Another paradox is that while many scholars (e.g. Dothan and Dothan 1992; Yasur-Landau 2010) want the Philistines to have an Aegean (read, specifically Indo-European) origin, there has been a past reluctance to accept certain elements that are shared with the biblical Israelites, such as horned altars, as possibly entangled with the Aegean (e.g. Maeir, Hitchcock, and Horwitz 2013; Hitchcock 2002).

The traditional narrative around Philistine and Sea Peoples' architecture has been to make grandiose, overwrought, and inappropriate comparisons to Aegean architecture of the Late Bronze Age. Notable examples of the grandiose include Burdajewicz's (1990) attribution of the temples at Palaepaphos (Figs 13.2a, b) and Kition to Sea Peoples or Aegean migrants and the Dothan's (Dothan and Dothan 1992: 245; Dothan 1998: 156–7) and Karageorghis's (1998: esp. 277; 2002: 87–8) past and inappropriate comparisons of Philistine and Cypriot hearths to Mycenaean palatial hearths. At Enkomi, Karageorghis (1998) was most certainly influenced by Dikaios (1969: 106) whom he cites ('It is not difficult to recognise here the arrangement of the Mycenaean megaron and especially that of the palace at Pylos') with regard to Enkomi room 77 (Fig. 13.3). The pebble construction found in many Philistine hearths is largely absent in the Aegean, while a great deal of regional diversity in hearth

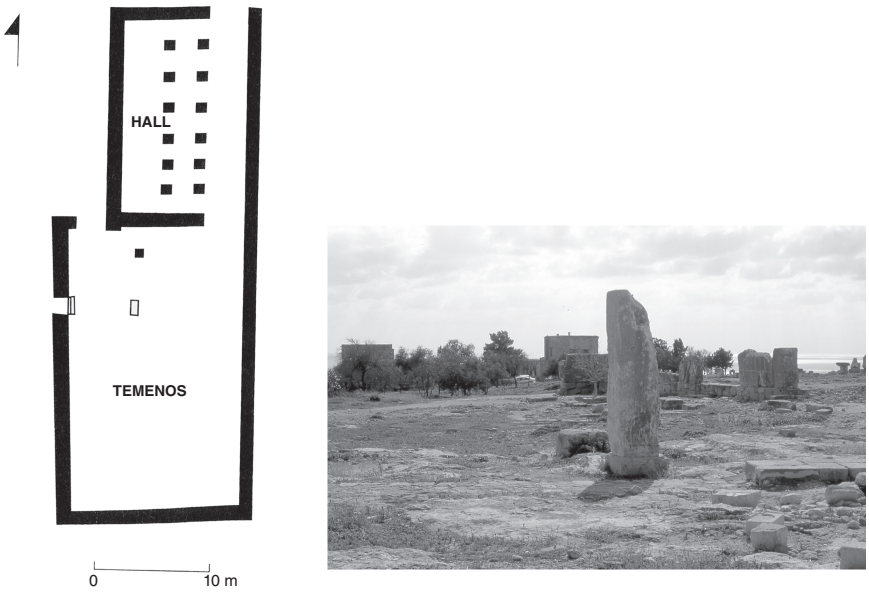


Fig. 13.2. (a) Reconstruction of the plan of the Temple of Aphrodite at Kouklia-*Palaepaphos*, Cyprus, thirteenth century BCE (from Webb 1999: fig. 20, with permission); (b) view of the remains of the Temple of Aphrodite at Kouklia-*Palaepaphos*, Cyprus, thirteenth century BCE (photograph by L. A. Hitchcock).

construction exists in Philistia itself (Maeir and Hitchcock 2011).[2] Thus, many claims suggesting architectural similarities between IIIC cultures of the Aegean and Cyprus and the Levant lack the detailed rigour applied to the study of ceramics. In another example, Karageorghis (2000: 265–6) compared the overlapping dog-leg gate at Maa-*Palaeokastro* (Fig. 13.4) to the dog-leg entrance that supposedly preceded the Lion Gate at Mycenae, and he has used this comparison to argue for Mycenaean colonization of the site. However, this feature was not preserved at Mycenae but was reconstructed based on conjecture (Mylonas 1962: 171 fig. 102, 182). More recently, Master and Aja (2011) suggest that 'horns of consecration' provide the most promising venue for understanding Installation 539 (Fig. 13.5), an intriguing plastered and horned feature recently discovered at Ashkelon interpreted as an altar, yet they cite few of the relevant studies or site reports of horns of consecration in either Cyprus or the Aegean and assign a Greek mainland origin to it, even though few examples come from the mainland, with more examples from Crete and Cyprus.[3]

Recent excavations and studies of LM IIIA–C sites in Crete and recent analyses of LH IIIC structures on the mainland provide evidence of a new reality in the Aegean: one without palatial centres or with modified ones as at

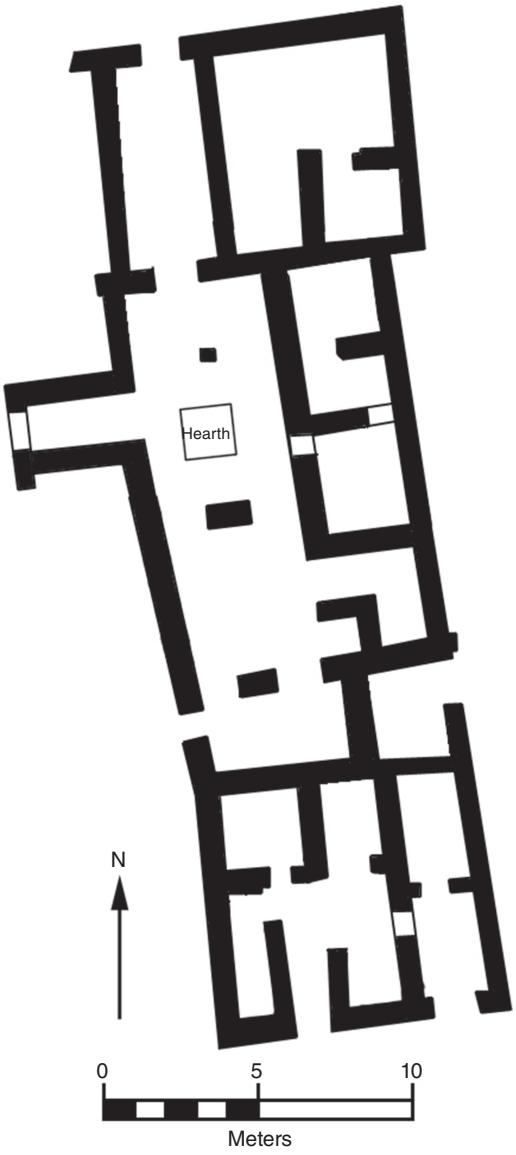


Fig. 13.3. Ashlar Building, Enkomi, thirteenth or twelfth century BCE (Hitchcock 2008a: fig. 6, illustration by B. T. O'Neill, reproduced by permission).

Tiryns and Midea, a decline in the quality of architecture (cf. Maran 2000: 121), and by IIIC, an almost complete disappearance of writing and administration. The decline of worked masonry in IIIC producing cultures in Greece and in Philistia stands in striking contrast to the palatial era with enormous ashlar blocks ~~used in~~ LM I on Crete, in LH IIIA–B Greece, and in LC IIC

Fig. 13.4. So-called Mycenaean style dog-leg gate, Maa-*Palaeokastro*, twelfth century BCE (photograph by L. A. Hitchcock).

Fig. 13.5. 'Horned Altar,' installation 539, at Ashkelon, twelfth century BCE (Master and Aja 2011: fig. 7, courtesy of the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon).

Cyprus. Striking examples of the monumentality of these eras and places include (but are not limited to) the orthostats at Kommos (Shaw 2013), the Treasury of Atreus at Mycenae (Frizell 1997–8), and in the sophisticated use of ashlar with drafted margins in LC IIC Cyprus (Hitchcock 2008a). Further, there was the symbolic use of certain decorative stones in the Late Bronze Age Aegean, such as conglomerate in the Mycenaean world and gypsum by the Minoans (~~Hitchcock, Maeir, and Dagan 2016~~, with further references). The monumental architecture of the Late Bronze Age among these cultures was a medium for the expression of power and control that seems to have largely dissipated by the early Iron Age, preserved mainly in remains (Maran 2006; see also Alexander 1998: 490). These remains include column bases and occasional worked pavements (Hitchcock 2012), incorporated as spolia as at Sissi (Crete) (Gaignerot-Driessen 2011: 93–4), in strategic areas of buildings such as corners—as at Quartier Nu (Crete) (Driessen and Farnoux 1994: 60)—and at Maa-*Palaeokastro* (Cyprus) (Demas 1988: 9–14). Haghia Triada (Crete) uses an enormous amount of reused ashlar, as carefully detailed in Privitera (2015), but this seems to be the exception rather than the rule. The monumental remains of the palatial era were memorialized in ruin cult as documented by Prent (2003; 2004; 2005: 531–2, 552) at Amnissos, Knossos, and Phaistos. Though ashlar is not absent in other postpalatial Cretan sites such as Palaikastro and Tylissos (see Hayden 1981: 122), such remnants still would have been highly significant based on their rarity (e.g. Wright 1994: 61).

The systemic changes resulting from the collapse of the Minoan palaces and later of the Mycenaean palaces (e.g. Cline 2014) would have eliminated the ability of wealthy patrons to harness labour and resources. If builders and designers were among the Sea Peoples and other potentially migrating (or mercantile, e.g. Sherratt 1998) groups, it is tempting to suggest that skilled builders turned their energies toward ship production as ships seem to maintain remarkable continuity between the Bronze and Iron Ages (cf. Wedde 2006; also Deger-Jalkotzy 2008: 399; recently Emanuel 2014). Devolder (chapter 4) has noted that with regard to stone-cutting technology, it was necessary to begin at a young age to develop the reflexes for stone working. Jo Cutler (~~forthcoming~~: 174–5) has made similar observations with regard to weaving technology as a long-term skill that can take several years for vertical transfer to occur, with an apprentice working alongside a parent. Motor habits are internalized through repeated actions, whereby it is more difficult to change an existing motor habit than to teach a novice. If builders transferred the motor skills used for building structures in both wood and stone to shipbuilding, we may be seeing an example of what Brysbaert (2007; also Brysbaert and Vetters 2010) terms cross-craft interaction (horizontal transfer). A perfect example of this is the ivory workshops in the Aegean where wood-working and ivory-working took place in the same workshop, using similar tools and techniques. Evely (1992), Tournavitou (1995: 126), and

Moak (2000: 76–9) discuss a wide range of possible tools used in ivory and wood carving in the Aegean Bronze Age. Tools that were used for both include the drill, small chisel, saw, compass, points, file, obsidian, and abrasives and polishers such as emery or pumice.[4]

Clearly, then, with the collapse of palatial society, there was a reorientation of the megaron as a cultural form and of urbanism in the IIIC Aegean, with a higher proportion of smaller settlements assuming very diverse urban layouts in LM IIIC, as suggested by Rupp (2014), rather than large urban centres. In addition, there was an attempt to rehabilitate the mainland palace centres as loci of communal activity through a reorientation of the megaron, while communal activity on Crete was focused primarily around simple shrines of the Goddess with Upraised Arms as at Kavousi and in open air feasting areas around pits as at Thronos-Kephala.[5] An exception is the impressive complex at Kephala-Vasiliki (Eliopoulos 1998, 2003, 2004), which was intervisible with the neighbouring site of Monastiraki-Halasmenos (also McEnroe 2010: 151). Any remaining centralized authorities in the Mediterranean may have been too weakened (e.g. Gilan 2013) to command the resources and mobilize the labour to undertake elaborate building programmes that match the grandeur of the Late Bronze Age (e.g. McEnroe 2010), although cult centres as at Enkomi, Kition, and Palaepaphos (Karageorghis and Demas 1985; Webb 1999: 58–84, 91–113) on Cyprus were an exception. The efforts of emerging elites in the postpalatial Mediterranean seem to have been more directed toward establishing genealogical links with the past through the acquisition and manipulation of surviving symbols of the Late Bronze Age or through establishing and maintaining social bonds and alliances through ritual drinking and/or feasting. Such activities have been detailed at Tiryns by Stockhammer (2009), illustrating the importance of spatial studies of the manipulation of ceramics in a highly visible architectural and spatial context. On Crete, an urban landscape of feasting pits documented at Thronos-Kephala by D'Agata (1997–2000; 2000), has made it possible to better understand a comparable urbanized landscape of rubbish deposits at Tell es-Safi, Philistine Gath (Hitchcock et al. 2015).

13.2. VALUE ADDED: COMPARING PHILISTINE, CYPRIOT, AND AEGEAN BUILDINGS

A starting point for understanding the architecture of the IIIC world is to approach it on several different scales. These include comparing and contrasting construction techniques, architectural design, the urban landscape—which is not always possible given the years needed to uncover a site, or later

Fig. 13.6. (a) Plan of 'megaron' forming south wing of monumental building at Alassa-*Palaiotaverna* (from Webb 1999: fig. 52, with permission); (b) north facade of monumental building at Alassa-*Palaiotaverna* (photograph by L. A. Hitchcock).

disturbances—and regional and supra-regional differences and similarities. There are some pertinent issues with regard to regionalism. Iacovou (2008: esp. 631–2; also Knapp 2008) has noted this for Cyprus, which does not present a uniform picture in the early Iron Age: the monumental central administrative court-centred structures at Alassa (Fig. 13.6), Kalavassos, and Maroni come to an end; religious centres at Kition and Kouklia thrive; mercantile cities at Hala Sultan Tekke and Enkomi continue; and new but short-lived settlements are founded at Maa-*Palaeokastro* and Pyla-*Kokkinokremos*, abandoned a short time later. Attempts have been made to associate Maa with settlements by Aegean 'Sea Peoples' and Pyla as a settlement founded by Aegean refugees (Karageorghis 1998, 2000, 2002, 2011a).[6] However, none of the domestic structures excavated thus far at Pyla-*Kokkinokremos* (dated to the final phase of LC IIC, *c.* 1230 BCE),[7] where two Cypro-Minoan tablets were recently discovered (Kanta 2014a: 110–11), appear to bear any relation to Mycenaean or Mycenaeanizing architecture. Two of the complexes, designated A (Fig. 13.7) and B, are comparable in form and in size to McEnroe's Type 3 of Minoan House, however they clearly draw on Cypriot antecedents as found at Alambra and at Kalavassos-*Ayios Dhimitreos* (Hitchcock 2011).[8] Hitchcock and Maeir (2014: 630) have stressed the defensive nature of the urban plan at Pyla, with houses constructed next to each other to form a protective wall. This suggestion is further supported by recent excavations exposing more such architecture, the use of casemate construction, and marshy surrounds suggesting the presence of rivers and torrents (Kanta 2014b: esp. 113). Architecturally, the situation at Maa-*Palaeokastro* suggests

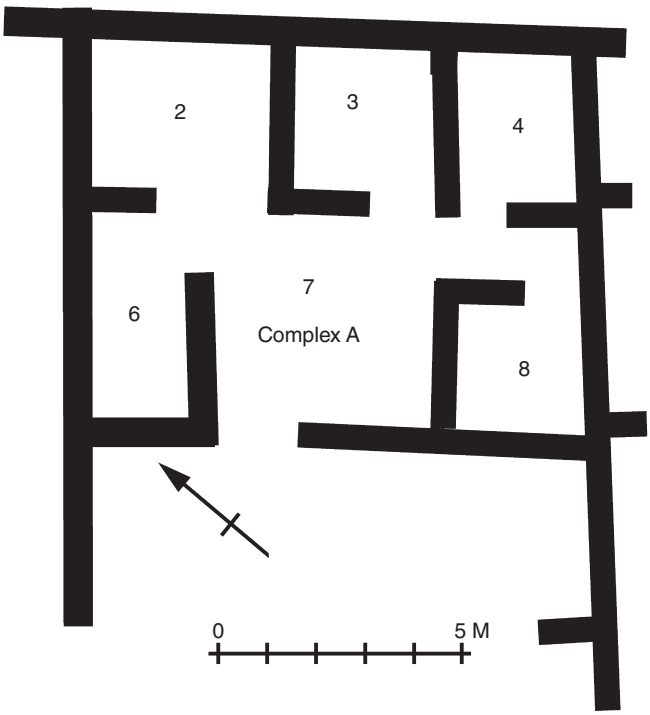


Fig. 13.7. Plan of House A at Pyla-Kokkinokremos, late thirteenth–early twelfth century BCE (after Karageorghis and Demas 1984: fig. 4, illustration by L. A. Hitchcock and B. T. O'Neill).

a greater level of entanglement.[9] A plan similar to those found at Pyla characterizes Building I at Maa during the first habitation period (Floor II), an LC IIC2 house, located at the north end of the site. Distinctively, it is one of only two buildings on the site that employs ashlar masonry in its construction.[10] Building I stands out as a dominant building at Maa because of its use of ashlar masonry, distinct plan, and different orientation. Buildings II and IV at Maa are also significantly different from Building I in layout and arrangement. Building II is an axial structure with a rectangular hall, a central doorway in the short side, a central hearth, and a series of side chambers recalling the 'megaroid' form found in postpalatial domestic units on Crete and on the Greek mainland.[11] Hearths were found in several of the large halls with smaller associated rooms on the site, such as Building IV, and may have also been located in outdoor spaces (Maeir and Hitchcock 2011). Thus, Maa clearly exhibits two different co-occurring building traditions, and suggests a situation more complex than a 'Sea Peoples'/Mycenaean colony (*contra* Karageorghis 2011a). It has recently been suggested that based on the date of its foundation, strategic siting on a promontory, and culturally entangled

architectural and ceramic differences, Maa functioned as a culturally mixed pirate enclave (Hitchcock and Maeir 2014).

In her study of architecture on both early and later Iron Age Greece, Christophilopoulou (2008) has made a strong case for regionalism among the islands, including east Crete, noting house plans may be apsidal, curvilinear, oval, rectangular, or subcategories of these.[12] Following Nowicki (1999) she observes that the individual household, sometimes with cohesive groupings of households, is one of the main organizing principles of LM IIIC Crete. She bases this on the individual distribution of hearths and ovens in separate houses as at Kavousi-Vronda (Christophilopoulou 2008: 183). However, as at Maa-*Palaeokastro*, Christophilopoulou (2008: 212–13; also Rupp 2014) notes the presence of two distinct building traditions at Halasmenos with both 'megaron' and 'agglomerated' styles of structures. Tsipopoulou (2005) associates these distinct architectural practices with distinct ethnic traditions of Mycenaean immigrants and indigenous Cretans. She also argues for stressing the differences as well as the similarities between postpalatial settlements, observing that Crete was in a transitional era between the highly stratified societies of the palatial Late Bronze Age and the development of an aristocratic later Dark Age (Tsipopoulou 2005: 324). Karphi is similarly distinguished by different building traditions (Wallace 2005). It is also characterized by a dense construction of structures, as is the less differentiated architecture at Vrokastro (e.g. Hayden 1981: 78–83; also McEnroe 2010: 147). The urban fabric is similarly characterized by wide variability at twelfth century BCE Ashkelon as detailed in section 13.3.

Walberg (1995: 87–91) and Maran (2000: 117) have discussed the significance of the abandonment of the monumental hearth in LH IIIC (*c*. 1190–1050/1030 BCE) Greece, noting that architectural plans were modified to suit new social realities. In addition, postpalatial roof supports assumed the form of a central, linear arrangement dividing the room into aisles, minimizing the significance of the hearth, rather than the square arrangement of the previous era which served to emphasise the hearth (Walberg 1995: 90).[13] A recently excavated building of similar style, that is, with a hall of linear arrangement of two columns at Mygdalia Hill, near Patras in Achaea, was presented at the Hesperos conference (Papazoglou-Manoudaki and Paschalidis forthcoming).

Maran (2000: 115117; 2006; also Wright 1994) has suggested that monumental hearths were linked to a ceremonial and ritual ideology celebrating the *wanax*, and their absence or minimization in the Aegean IIIC world ~~says something about~~ a change in the level of political complexity following the demise of the palaces. Against such observations made through comparative analysis and based on the details, attempts to compare large buildings with small hearths to Mycenaean palaces as done by T. and M. Dothan (1992: 245) for Philistine Ekron (which also has a linear arrangement of columns and

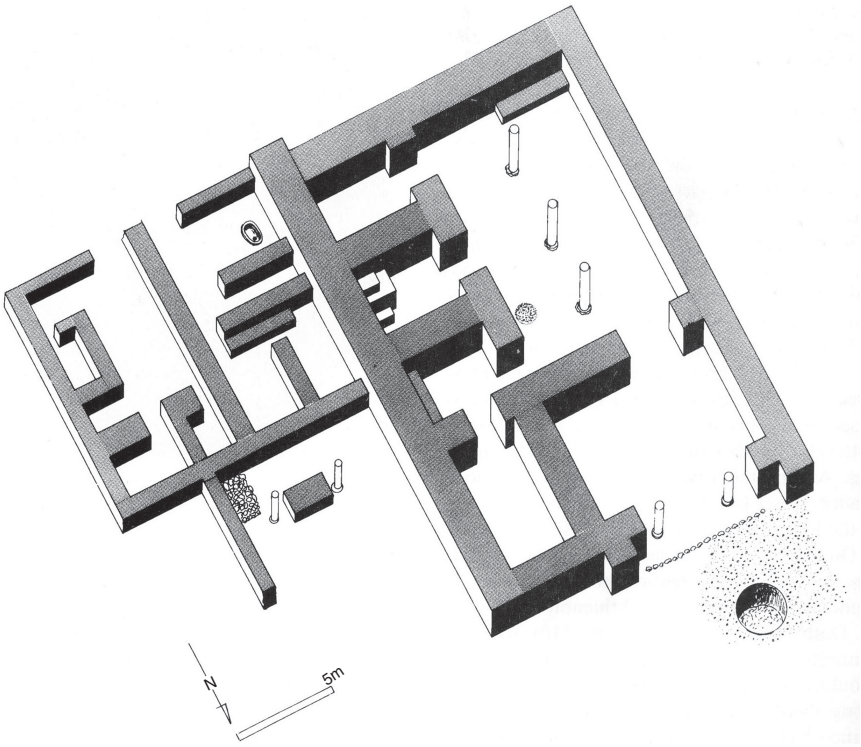


Fig. 13.8. Hearth Building, Building 350 at Tel Miqne-Ekron, Field IV, Stratum VI, *c*. twelfth century BCE (J. Rosenberg, Tel Miqne-Ekron publication project).

off-centred hearth as in Building 350) (Fig. 13.8) and by Karageorghis (1998: 277; 2002: 87–8) for the ashlar building at Enkomi (Fig. 13.3) become subject to critique and to new interpretations. The diverse distribution of such buildings also suggests a widely disbursed style of re-emerging elite architecture.

13.3. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF EARLY PHILISTINE BUILDINGS

Our understanding of architectural design for the earliest Philistine levels at the Philistine Pentapolis sites at Gath, Ekron, Ashdod, and Ashkelon is somewhat limited, hampered by limited exposure or publication in its preliminary stages at several sites.[14] Both house and hearth construction suggest regionalism in Philistia, along with an emphasis on strengthening social identity among the Philistines through feasting activity. Philistine house

construction relied on local materials, while their forms varied between the rectilinear shapes of Mycenaean-influenced houses (Aja 2009) and the pi-shaped or square-within-a-square plans known from Cyprus and from Crete (Hitchcock 2011).

As at Maa-*Palaeokastro*, house plans at the extremely important site of Ashkelon indicate that multiple, entangled traditions existed (e.g. Hitchcock and Maeir 2013) (Fig. 13.9). In addition, Ashkelon shows the greatest diversity in hearth construction at a single site. They are round, rectangular, and keyhole in style. Both sherd construction and mud brick and cobblestone construction techniques were employed.[15] This stands in contrast to the dominant tradition of pebbled hearths in inner Philistia ~~and~~ Tel Miqne/Ekron and at Tell es-Safi/Gath, a technique of hearth construction that is absent in the IIIC Aegean as noted in section 13.2.

Room 25, a rectangular hall in the north half of the early Philistine sector at Ashkelon, typifies the majority of structures excavated there thus far. In Phase 19, it had a bench against the south wall and a tub in the south-east corner, where a row of spool-style loom weights indicate weaving, and a rectangular, keyhole-shaped hearth was located in the centre (Stager et al. 2008: 266; Aja 2009). One can observe that the spatial pattern of this structure finds parallels at Tel Miqne/Ekron, Ashdod, and Mycenae, and suggest a relatively stable tradition in the region as observed by Dothan (2003). In fact, there is a great deal of diversity in the houses at Ashkelon.

Rooms 873 and 725 are located in the southern half of the Phase 19 area (Stager et al. 2008: 262). They are cater-corner to each other with Room 873 located within and opening into a larger square room designated 1023 on the north and 517 on the west. A rectangular hearth is against the wall of 1023, while an irregular ovoid hearth is placed just off-centre in 873, and a more regular, rectangular hearth is adjacent to the north end of a centrally placed column base in Room 725 (Stager et al. 2008: 262). The square-within-a-square room syntax which characterizes Rooms 1023, 517, and 873 mimics the syntax found in both Minoan and Cypriot houses (Hitchcock 2011). Interestingly, hearths were typically not found in structures with this style of plan, but a round, pebbled hearth has recently been discovered at Pyla-*Kokkinokremos* (Cyprus), which has a similar style of plan.[16] This fits Tsipopoulou's, Rupp's, and Wallace's observations about Halasmenos and Karphi having different traditions within a single site respectively, as noted in section 13.2.

Preliminary findings at Tell es-Safi/Gath indicate that the earliest Iron Age architecture seems to be characterized by a simple, settlement lifestyle (Fig. 13.10), as at other IIIC sites,. In the early Philistine levels in Area A, structures were built on modest foundations of large stones, followed by smaller stones creating a socle approximately 60–65 cm in width to carry a mud brick superstructure. Elsewhere on the site, in Area F near the summit of the Tell, large mud bricks were used for the foundation course (also minimally

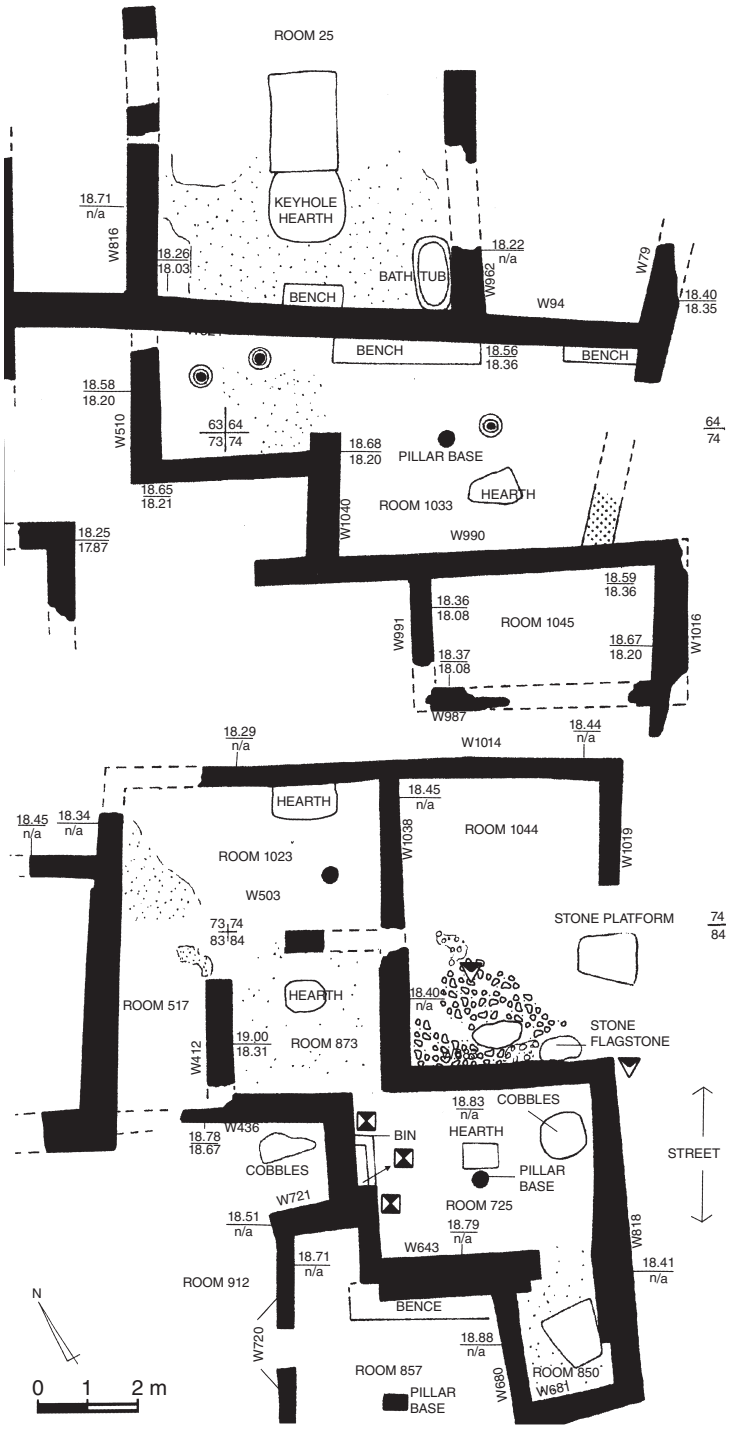


Fig. 13.9. Ashkelon, South Tell, Grid 38, Phase 19, plan of early Philistine area, early Iron Age I (Stager et al. 2008: fig. 15.22, courtesy of the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon).

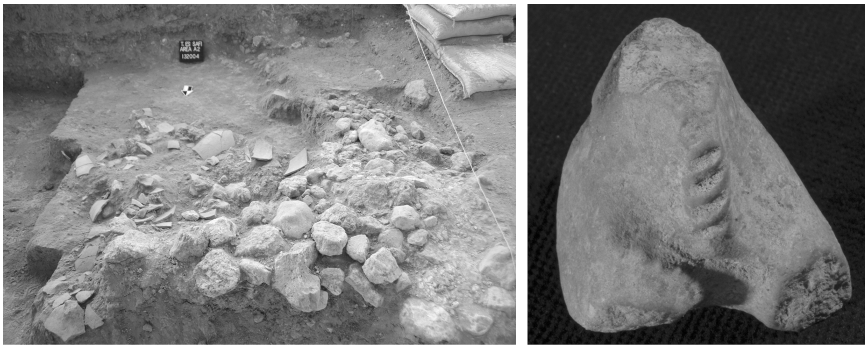
Fig. 13.10. Complete early Philistine room, Area A, provisionally dated to Stratum A6/A7, Late Bronze to Iron Age transition, Tell es-Safi/Gath (photograph courtesy of Tell es-Safi/Gath Excavations).

attested in Area A), a practice also seen at Tel Miqne-Ekron and at Ashkelon (e.g. Aja 2009; Master and Aja 2011). Open spaces with hearths (Fig. 13.11) for social gatherings and an associated landscape feasting remains in pits and dumps (Figs 13.12a, b) were plentiful in Area A at Tell es-Safi/Gath (Hitchcock et al. 2015). Such a landscape of feasting deposits has been well documented in IIIC Crete at Thronos-Kephala, but also appears in evidence at numerous other Cretan sites including (but not limited to) Chania (Hallager and Hallager 2000, 2003) at Kephala-Petras (Tsipopoulou 2012), at Khamalevri (Andreadaki-Vlazaki and Papadapoulou 2005),[17] at Quartier Nu (Driessen, Farnoux, and Langohr 2008a), and at Sissi (Devolder 2009, 2011: 157, 2012). Quartier Nu (cf. Driessen and Fiasse 2011: 286) and Sissi are distinct, however, from Thronos-Kephala, Khamalevri, and Tell es-Safi/Gath (Philistia) in that the pits are more closely situated within the architectural fabric of the settlement. In Quartier Nu, two are next to the south-east and south-west wings of the complex and are convincingly interpreted as feasting deposits, whereas the third is within room II12 and is regarded as a rubbish deposit (Driessen, Farnoux, and Langohr 2008a; Driessen et al. 2008b). Devolder excavated several pits dug in the bedrock and containing feasting debris and refuse material from an earlier phase of Building CD at Sissi. One pit was of a much earlier Early Minoan date,[18] while the two most relevant to this discussion seem to be from the open area between Buildings E and CD

Fig. 13.11. Philistine pebbled hearth 111222 from Tell es-Safi/Gath, Stratum 4, tenth century BCE, identical to hearths of the twelfth century BCE (photograph courtesy of Tell es-Safi/Gath Excavations).

(Devolder 2011: 155; 2012: 117, 120). One of those in the open area contained a layered multi-generational deposit and the other contained drinking ware, dated to Late Minoan IIIB, and architectural fragments (Devolder 2011: 156; 2012: 120).[19] Another deposit excavated along the south facade of Building CD (Devolder 2011: 158) contained materials of a character similar to the rubbish piles at Tell es-Safi/Gath, including decorated drinking vessel fragments, a fragmentary bull figurine, and stone tools (e.g. Hitchcock et al. 2015). If the pits were related to feasting, it nicely complements the information presented by Driessen (see chapter 5). Driessen, Farnoux, and Langohr (2008a: 204) suggest that the inhabitants of LM III Crete created many more pits for ceremonial and/or rubbish deposition than in earlier eras. This seems to suggest a pattern of social activity organized around commensality and construction of memory for promoting social cohesion in the urban landscape of the IIIC era. This merits further investigation,[20] despite some work already done in this field (e.g. Hitchcock et al. 2015; Hitchcock and Maeir ~~forthcoming;~~ Driessen, Farnoux, and Langohr 2008a; D'Agata 1997–2000).

Although an extensive part of the early Philistine levels has been uncovered in Area A at Tell es-Safi/Gath, only one complete and relatively undisturbed room has been documented (Fig. 13.10). The early Philistine habitations were



(a) (b)

Fig. 13.12. (a) Rubbish or feasting pit 132004, one of many from Area A, Tell es-Safi/Gath, late Iron I; (b) burned figurine fragment (bovine?) 1320463 from feasting deposit, Area A, Tell es-Safi/Gath, context is late Iron I (photograph courtesy of Tell es-Safi/Gath Excavations).

mostly disturbed by the reorientation of the community that followed in the ninth century BCE or Iron IIA (Fig. 13.13). The architecture of the ninth century at Tell es-Safi/Gath in Area A is characterized by massive well-built structures with enormous and megalithic stone foundations.[21] The development of a more skilled masonry technique in Philistia by the ninth century BCE is indicated by special features such as the monumental two-horned altar with flat tops of Cypriot style recently discovered in the lower city (Area D) at Tell es-Safi/Gath (Maeir et al. 2013) (Fig. 13.14). Despite the disturbances caused to the twelfth-century to tenth-century BCE settlement at Tell es-Safi/Gath, by the ninth century rebuilding there is clear evidence of reuse and curation of the earlier architecture. A single building shows the incorporation of an old (possibly twelfth-century BCE) wall into a later building with six distinct architectural phases (Fig. 13.13). The oldest wall had an extension built over it for the construction of a later building. Cleaning another one of the walls associated with this structure revealed that what had been interpreted in the first excavation report as a single wall was two distinct walls which abutted each other, with one chinked into a connecting wall. As we will see later, careful study of this area showed that floor levels were raised to cover some earlier walls, while continuing to make use of other associated walls. This apparent preference for the extensive modification and long-term re-use of existing structures rather than tearing down and constructing a new building suggests a continued, multi-generational use of the earliest Philistine architecture at Tell es-Safi/Gath. Thus, there was a reorientation of the community with new megalithic constructions in the ninth century BCE.

In separate studies of Aegean architecture, Tomkins (2013) and Haggis (2013) have regarded the reuse of existing structures as a type of 'curation' and

Fig. 13.13. Multi-phase, curated structure, provisionally dated to Stratum A6–A4, early Iron IA–early Iron IIA, disturbed by megalithic limestone walls of building 23033 above it, from the ninth century BCE, Area A, Tell es-Safi/Gath (photograph by L. A. Hitchcock).

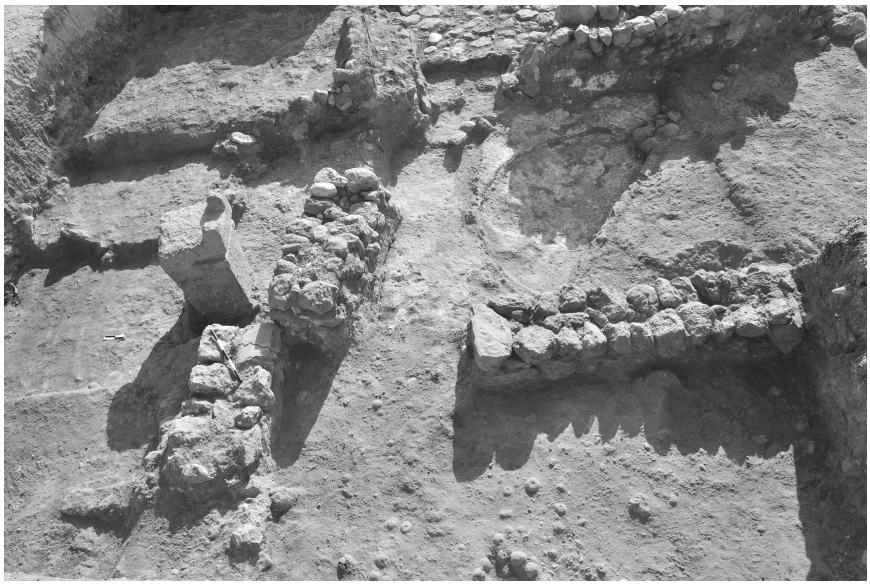


Fig. 13.14. Cypriot-style horned altar, carved from a single block of stone, surrounded by deposit of spherical loomweights, Area D, lower city, ninth century BCE, Tell es-Safi/Gath (courtesy of the Tell es-Safi/Gath Excavations).

as a form of ritualization. Intense curation and re-use also characterizes the site of Marki-Alonia in Cyprus, a single period site from the Middle Bronze Age, closely studied by Frankel and Webb (2012) to argue for intergenerational inheritance and control. In her study of Neolithic buildings from Çatalhöyük, Rogasch (2015) proposes studying architecture from the perspective of writing building biographies, taking into account multiple stages such as construction, use, modification, use, and abandonment. Such a proposal is based on object biography (e.g. Maeir et al. 2015) and as such, might also be expanded to include the conditions of disuse (for example, destruction, abandonment, or termination rituals) and rediscovery—the re-inscription into a new context in the present. These perspectives illustrate an important feature of comparative analysis—that of bringing new insights to the interpretation of patterns in architecture and different ways of approaching architecture, rather than simply using such analyses to look for influences, interconnections, or other forms of cultural diffusion. Haggis (2013) has noted that at particular times in Greek prehistory there has been a preference for curation or reuse of architectural remains, which he characterizes as a 'phenomenology of the static,' while at other times there was an emphasis on dynamic change and reorientation of the community. The situation at Karphi was interpreted as even more 'static' for the east sector of the site, with little modification of the architecture between construction and abandonment (Wallace 2005: 262).

An emphasis on detailing construction techniques can illustrate regional distinctions that become lost without such scrutiny (see chapter 1). Much of our work in the central part of Area A at Tell es-Safi/Gath has focused on defining what was probably a domestic structure, with a complicated history of construction and reuse, built on modest foundations of small stones (Fig. 13.13). Although, as evoked earlier, Iron IIA rebuilding of the ninth century BCE disturbs the plan of this structure there is clear evidence of architectural reuse with older walls being extended, floor levels being raised to cover some earlier walls, and continued use of other walls. These modifications indicate a continued preoccupation with multi-generational reuse or 'curation' of architecture. The preference for curation over rebuilding promotes cultural continuity with the past, which was deemed no longer necessary in the ninth century BCE.

Within part of this older, curated building twenty-four unbaked loom weights were documented Cassuto (2012: 469) (Fig. 13.15). They were in a pyramidal form as found in Cyprus, but were in a poor state of preservation on a Stratum A4 (eleventh to tenth centuries BCE) beaten earth floor associated with wall 43511 just to the north of it. Careful study of this wall showed it to be two separate walls that abutted each other. The west end of this wall was later covered by a chalk plaster surface excavated in 2008 and associated with an activity area, which a chalk stone pavement, goat pit, sherd surface, and pebbled hearth dated to the mid-tenth century BCE by ^{14}C, by pottery, and

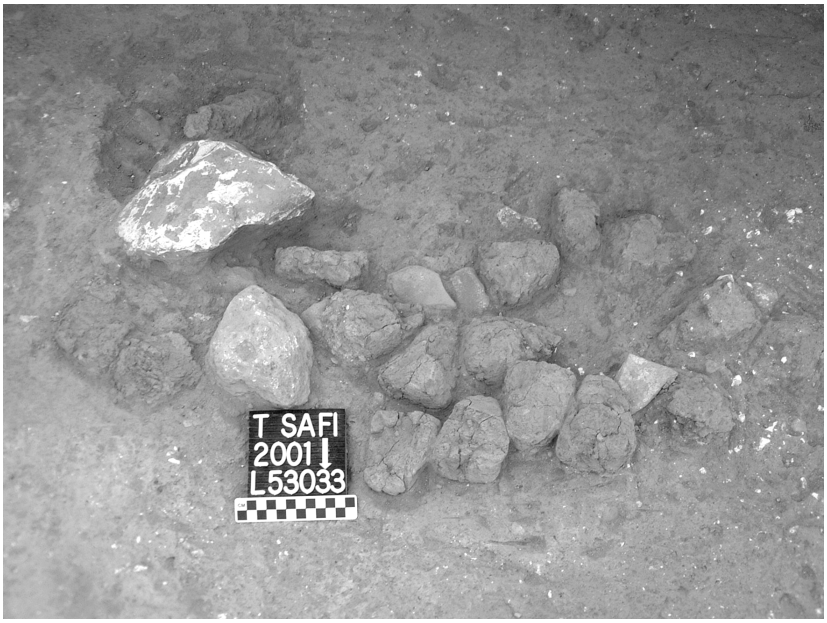


Fig. 13.15. Loom weight deposit associated with curated building in Area A, early Stratum IV (eleventh or tenth century BCE) (photograph courtesy of the Tell es-Safi/Gath Excavations).

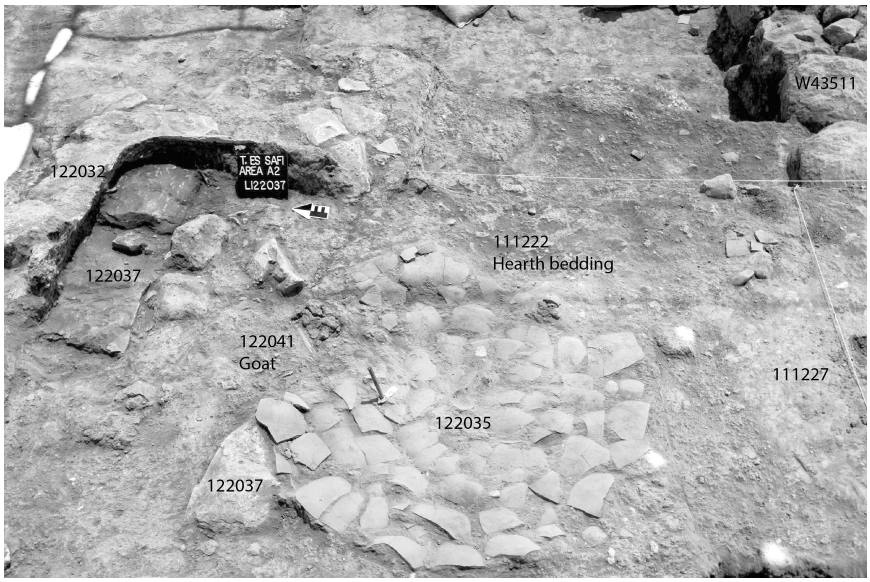


Fig. 13.16. Philistine sherd surface and surrounding features including goat pit, bedding of pebbled hearth (removed earlier), and chiselled pavement, Area A, Stratum IV Tell es-Safi/Gath, Area A, Stratum A4 middle-late, tenth century BCE, late Iron Age I/early Iron Age IIA and surrounding features (photograph courtesy of Tell es-Safi/Gath Excavations).

by a sealing in the style of the time of Pharaoh Siamun found within (Hitchcock et al. 2015) (Fig. 13.16). We believe this activity area was associated with the north–south wall with doorway and pivot stone just to the east of it (Fig. 13.13, wall 3). This would make the loom weight surface an earlier A4 stratum[22] and place the activity area in what we are now calling Stratum A4 middle–late. As we completed removal of the ninth century BCE wall to the west of the activity area we found a series of earlier strata, older than the ninth century BCE wall and the tenth century BCE hearth-activity area, but later than the loom weight deposit. These include a burned area below the ninth century BCE wall with a cluster of over one hundred olive pits. Beneath this olive pit cluster was a chalk plaster surface. The chalk plaster surface continues east and its preserved remnants indicate it extended under the hearth-activity area. We tentatively call these two layers (olive pits and chalk surface) Stratum A4 middle, although ^{14}C dating of the olive pits may enable us to further refine this chronology. The ceramics were not diagnostic. The Stratum A4 middle chalk surface below the ninth century BCE wall and further below the hearth-activity area to the west is a cut for a foundation trench for a north–south wall (Fig. 13.17), making this wall still later than the chalk plaster surface but earlier than the ninth century BCE wall (also Asscher et al. 2015).[23]

Fig. 13.17. Foundation trench cut into Stratum A4 middle chalk surface for later Stratum A4 wall, tenth century BCE, Area A, Tell es-Safi/Gath (photograph courtesy of Tell es-Safi/Gath Excavations).

Fig. 13.18. Keyhole hearth made of clay and sherds from Building 335 (the hearth building), Area C, Stratum XII, Tel Qasile, Philistine II (with permission of Prof. A. Mazar, Hebrew University of Jerusalem).

Our analysis of Philistine hearth construction (Maeir and Hitchcock 2011) made it possible to depart from simplistic comparisons of Philistine culture with Mycenaean culture. It also enabled us to document a great deal of regional diversity within Philistia, Cyprus, and the Aegean. Hearths in coastal Philistia were constructed of clay, clay and pebbles, or clay and sherds. As mentioned earlier, they may be round, square, ovoid, or keyhole (Fig. 13.18) in shape (Maeir and Hitchcock 2011, with further references). Most of them seem to have been located in buildings, which would promote diacritical feasting activity.[24] In contrast, locating pebbled hearths in open, outdoor areas in the interior of Philistia may have promoted larger, communal gatherings. Such gatherings seem to have occurred within the context of drinking and eating activities that included drinking sets consisting of

Fig. 13.19. Overlapping pebbled hearths, Area A, Stratum 5, late Iron Age I, Tell es-Safi/Gath. Note the higher hearth in the foreground is of irregular shape or partially preserved (photograph courtesy of the Tell es-Safi/Gath Excavations).

locally made Mycenaean style kraters and deep bowls. Such displays and performances of sociality would have fostered nostalgia, heightened by the effect of alcohol, and recalling a past that may have become mythologized through spatial and temporal distance, strengthened community bonds, and/or promoted the status of particular individuals (Hamilakis 2013: 135, 2008; Hitchcock 2008b).

There are numerous instances of hearths in open areas being renewed through superimposition at Tell es-Safi/Gath for as yet no clear functional reason (Fig. 13.19). The activity of constructing and renewing hearths might have been linked to promoting certain individuals or factions in the performance of competitive displays of sociality as a means of competing for leadership (cf. Maran 2006: esp. 143–4).[25] A similar situation may have existed at Tell Miqne-Ekron, where Dothan (1998: 157) mentions a large open area where twenty-five hearths were found in two superimposed layers at the top of the acropolis, which she associates with a special communal function.

Whatever the precise purpose of gatherings around external hearths may have been, the public display of shared symbolism would have served as an additional mechanism to foster and strengthen bonds of cultural and corporate identity among the Philistines at Ekron and at Gath, perhaps necessitated by their distance from the coastline. As the Philistines at Tell es-Safi/Gath

became more culturally established in the region, and perhaps as certain families became paramount, the role of mythologized memories, nostalgia, and the need for large-scale communal social activity may have decreased and social activity may have been channelled into more interior spaces. A similar series of activities has been postulated for the numerous pits excavated at Thronos-Kephala by D'Agata, whose work has helped us develop our ideas about a similar urban landscape at Tell es-Safi/Gath. Similar activities have also been hypothesized for the LM IIIC feasting pit at Petras-Kephala by Tsipopoulou (2012: 129), where less evidence is available due to poor preservation, and can be argued for Chania where there is limited exposure. It is significant that a preference for Mycenaean-style cooking jugs is in evidence not only in Philistia but also at Petras (Tsipopoulou 2012: 127) and at Chania.[26] In LM IIIB and in LM IIIC, Chania was also characterized by a curation of LM IIIB architecture and the creation of numerous and stratified LM IIIC rubbish deposits that included decorated ceramics, animal bones, and symbolic items such as bronze hooks, a bronze arrowhead, a violin bow fibula, a polished boar's tusk, a piece of pumice, an assortment of stone tools, a few spindle whorls, and two stone vessel fragments (as detailed in Hallager and Hallager 2000: 103–13, pls. 32–4, 104–7). Having this comparative evidence makes it easier to understand what is going on at other IIIC sites, by enabling us to build an archaeological fingerprint of the cultural processes taking place at this time.

At Tell es-Safi/Gath, the Iron IIA structures of the ninth century BCE retain a similar orientation to the earlier Iron I structures, but they represent the result of a completely new reconstruction of and a dynamic reorientation of the settlement using different building techniques in the form of massive megalithic-style stone foundations.[27] The builders maintained links with the past through the reuse of earlier worked stone such as a hammer dressed column base,[28] found while dismantling the remaining remnant of a ninth century wall (Fig. 13.20).[29] This is significant because its discovery suggests the presence of at least another earlier public building at Tell es-Safi/Gath in addition to the columned hall excavated to the east several years ago and discussed below. As we argued above, it continues a practice of maintaining links with the past. Removal of this ninth century BCE wall and careful excavation of the baulk beneath revealed the complex array of stratified features that we have already mentioned.

The plan of one of these ninth century BCE structures, Building 23033 (Zukerman et al. 2007: 66, Fig. 8), preserves some clear Mycenaean-style characteristics (e.g. Hitchcock 2010) (Fig. 13.21). It is composed of a hall with porch employing approximate 1:2 proportions and four side-chambers, but it is lacking the circulatory corridor separating the hall from side-chambers as found in canonical megara.[30] Its special character is reinforced by some of its finds that may be regarded as connected with Canaanite and

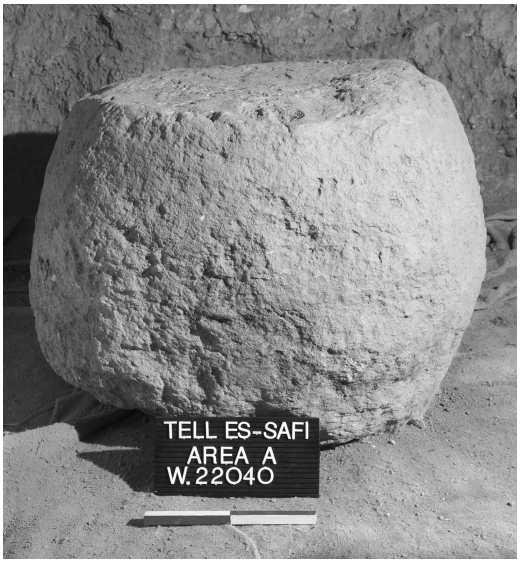


Fig. 13.20. Reused column base, hammer dressed on the sides to create a flat top surface, from ninth century BCE wall 22040 at Tell es-Safi/Gath (photograph courtesy of the Tell es-Safi/Gath Excavations).

Cypriot ritual practices, including chalices and notched scapulae. Thus, the building promoted an exotic and entangled set of foreign and local connections. The plan of Building 23033 and use of enormous stones as well as a reused column base in its construction indicates that it was a special building which required planning and mobilization of labour to construct (cf. Hitchcock 2011; McEnroe 2010). Frizell (1997–8: 114) has discussed how moving blocks into place at Mycenae must have been a performative and theatrical event similar to what Wright (2009: 50; see also chapter 4) has discussed with regard to architectural construction as a social and performative series of events in the Mycenaean world. However, such a demonstration of power does not characterize all domestic architecture of the ninth century BCE. In the lower city the earlier tradition of small stone socles is continued, despite other important features such as the horned altar and a gate and fortification system discovered in 2015 (Bar-Ilan University 2015). Architecturally, Crete does not always show the same level of sophistication and reorientation by this era, as exemplified by reuse and rebuilding of existing houses as on Kavousi-Kastro (Christophilopoulou 2008: 184–96). Although Prent (2005 esp. 223) suggests that the renaissance of the Geometric period had an earlier beginning, an increase in wealth in the early Protogeometric period seems to be mainly indicated by graves, dedications, and grave goods in the form of ceramics and metal items.

Fig. 13.21. Plan of Building 23033, Stratum A3, ninth century BCE, Area A, Tell es-Safi/Gath (photograph courtesy of the Tell es-Safi/Gath Excavations).

13.4. REGIONAL COMPARISON BETWEEN DOMESTIC AND RITUAL BUILDINGS IN THE AEGEAN AND THE EAST

Elite buildings in early Iron Age Philistia have tended to be interpreted as cultic and linked to Mycenaean temples, which may in turn, share characteristics with Canaanite ones as at Tel Mevorakh (Hitchcock 2005). Added to these is the growing corpus of LM IIIC temples, shrines, and elite complexes excavated on Crete.[31] The latter includes Quartier Nu at Malia and the recently excavated complex at nearby Sissi.

The Philistine temples from Stratum X at Tel Qasile (Mazar 1980) (Fig. 13.22) and at Tel Miqne-Ekron, such as Building 350 (Fig. 13.8) (e.g. Dothan 2003) share certain features in common with Canaanite, Cypriot, and Mycenaean temples. These include a rectangular hall supported by columns, a platform and/or benches to display the cult figures and offerings, rooms in the rear to store ritual paraphernalia, possibly a corner doorway, and a substantial quantity of ritual material. Though lacking some of these features, a recently uncovered structure on the western side of Area A at Tell es-Safi/Gath (Stratum A6–A4) is regarded as a temple by one of the authors (Maeir 2012: 27–30) and as an elite building entangled with Aegean characteristics by the other. The Tell es-Safi/Gath structure was provisionally in use from the twelfth century BCE through to the Iron IIA period (Figs 13.23a, b). The presence of two finely worked column bases in a squarish hall (worked masonry being rare in early Philistine contexts), evidence for communal gatherings taking place nearby to the east in the form of hearths and rubbish deposits, and continuity of practice with a cult corner rich in ritual finds found in the ninth century BCE levels immediately above it, confirm its importance. Furthermore, the later cult corner was associated with a metallurgical installation where both copper and iron production were taking place (Eliyahu-Behar et al. 2012). The relationship between these two features follows a pattern—namely a relationship between cult and metallurgy as established for Cyprus by Knapp (1986).

The form of the 'temple' at Tell es-Safi/Gath,[32] its formal similarity to other structures interpreted as temples, and the continued importance of the area as indicated by the cult corner and metallurgical area make it tempting to regard this building as a temple despite a lack of cult finds in the same concentration found at similar buildings at Tel Qasile (Mazar 1980), Phylakopi (Renfrew 1985), and at Mycenae (Whittaker 1997).[33] However, if we compare it to buildings from the postpalatial era on Crete, other interpretive possibilities are opened up. Squarish or rectangular halls with column bases not only typify Mycenaean cultic structures but form the core of important elite complexes as at Quartier Nu at Malia, which had several phases of construction and occupation but had its heyday from Late Minoan IIIA2–IIIB2 (Driessen and

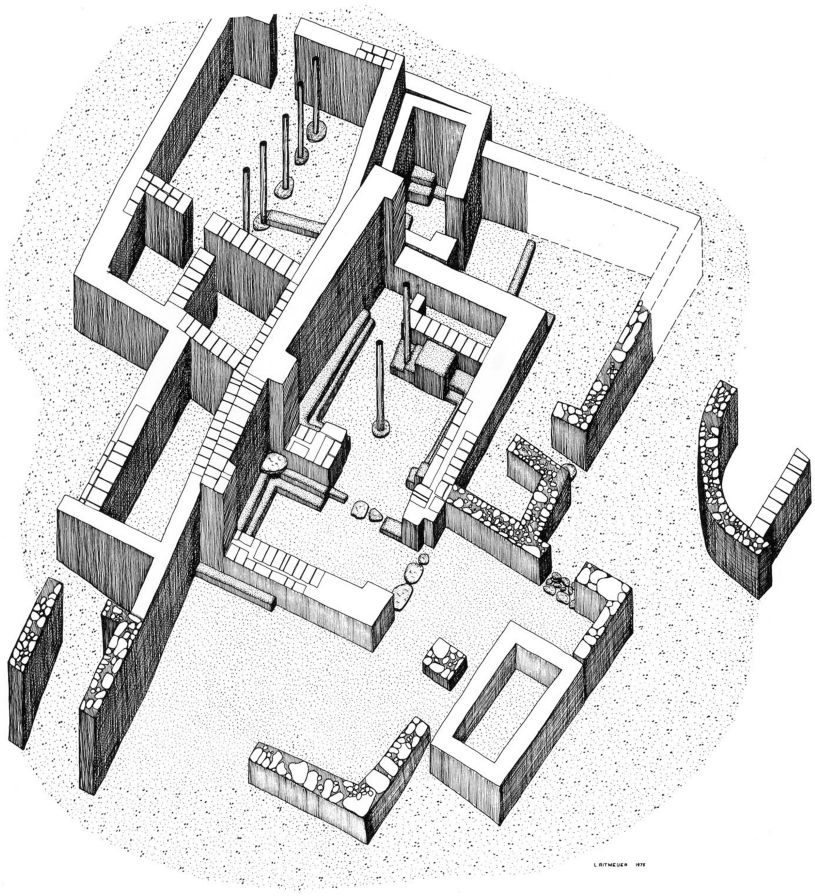


Fig. 13.22. Isometric reconstruction of the Temple Precinct in Stratum X, Iron IB, eleventh–tenth centuries BCE, Tel Qasile, Israel (with permission of Prof. A. Mazar, Hebrew University of Jerusalem).

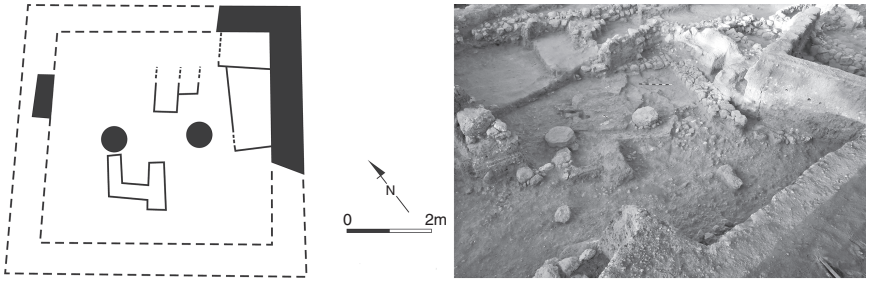


Fig. 13.23. (a) Plan of Philistine temple or elite building, early Iron IIA, Area A, Tell es-Safi/Gath; (b) Philistine temple or elite building, early Iron IIA, Area A, Tell es-Safi/Gath (photographs courtesy of the Tell es-Safi/Gath Excavations).

Fiasse 2011: 60; Driessen et al. 2008b). This enormous complex of approximately 750 m² consisted of three carefully planned but independent wings around a central court (Driessen et al. 2008b: 93, 97). It could have accommodated a large, extended family[34] involved in extensive feasting activities, as indicated by the artefacts and the associated pits (Driessen, Farnoux, and Langohr 2008a; Driessen et al. 2008b). One of the core rooms, X22, included two axially aligned column bases with a hearth between them, features that typify structures at the Cult Centre in Mycenae, a number of Philistine structures at Tel Miqne-Ekron (Mazow 2005), and even in the later Chieftain's House at Kavousi-Kastro. Several other halls with hearths and column bases are attested at Quartier Nu, but lack the sophisticated parallels of the *comparanda* found in Mycenaean temples as discussed above (also Driessen et al. 2008b: 96). Building CD at nearby Late Minoan IIIB Sissi is particularly interesting with regard to its architectural and artefactual linkages with the Sea People. Among them is a recently discovered deposit of over fifty spool-style loom weights, the earliest and largest found in the Aegean (Gaignerot-Driessen 2012; Cutler ~~forthcoming~~a: 178–81).[35] Building CD at Sissi was 450 m² and was composed of at least twenty ground floor rooms and spaces, organized around two large halls, a columned hall[36] 3.1 and a pillared hall with hearth 4.11. Porches gave access to both halls, and pillared hall 4.11 was connected to shrine 3.8. The shrine was lined with benches and its finds included two triton shells,[37] two cult stands, six kalathoi, and a deer antler. Understanding of the building is preliminary, but it seems to have been occupied by a single group and served as a locus for larger group activities. The pillared hall, 4.11, was slightly smaller, but was distinguished by two pillar bases, with a triangular, reddish clay hearth between them.[38] Driessen (see chapter 5) discusses in this volume the possibility of the distinct gendering of the two halls, based on distinct and complementary artefactual associations.[39] It is entirely plausible that these architectural forms could have also influenced early Philistine elite architecture. In addition, the excavators (Gaignerot-Driessen 2011: 100; Driessen and Fiasse 2011: 286) note ~~that~~ the similarity in axial plan, arrangement of column bases, and size of the buildings at Quartier Nu and at Sissi to the 'Hall of the Hearth' at LM IIIC Kephala Vassilikis (Eliopoulos 2004; Klein and Glowacki 2009: 157; 159–61). Wallace (2011: 329–30) suggests that the Karphi and Monastiraki-Halasmenos megara, Vronda Building A-B, and the complex at Kephala-Vassiliki represent 'purposefully designed secular feasting units built to a flexible template that deliberately concentrated certain "Mycenaeanizing" elements' that may cluster or occur in combination with feasting assemblages. These elements include axial entrances, full-width anterooms, central hearths, and the placement of one or more column bases in the main room. They represent more formalized settlement configurations for the promotion of diacritical commensality than the open air pits and hearths that also occur in the IIIC period as at

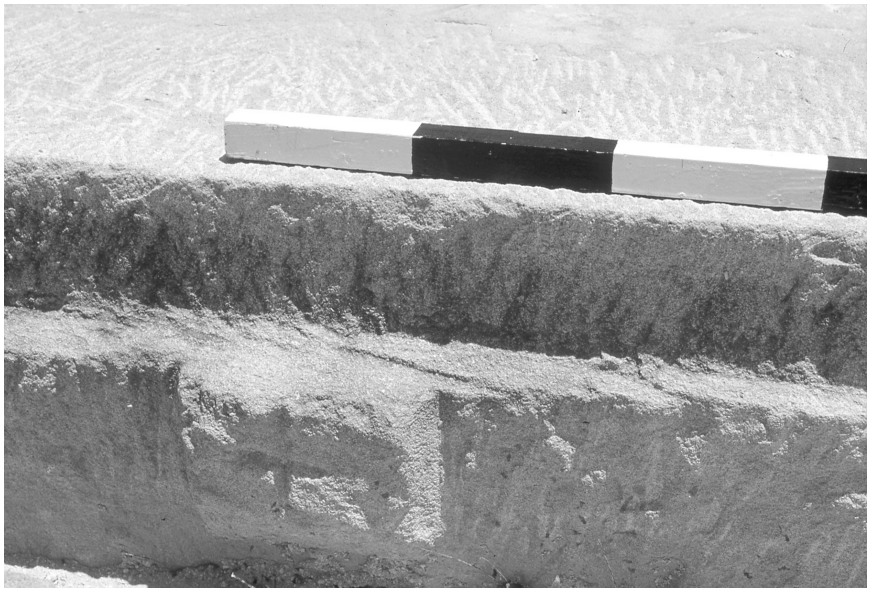


Fig. 13.24. Cypriot ashlar block with mason's mark on lifting boss from Building X, Kalavassos-*Ayios Dhimitrios*, Late Cypriot IIC, thirteenth century BCE (photograph by L. A. Hitchcock).

Thronos-Kephala and at Tell es-Safi/Gath (Hitchcock et al. 2015; Hitchcock and Maeir ~~forthcoming~~).

What all of these types of column and/or pillar hall buildings suggest, for the occurrence of this form in Philistia, is that columned halls need not be always understood as temples and a wider range of possibilities may be considered. However, secular and religious distinctions may not always be clear cut and Eliopoulos (1998) has argued for the cultic nature of Kephala-Vasiliki, which contained a baetyl and a significant amount of ritual material. However, many of these finds come from the two outward-facing rooms (McEnroe 2010: 152). Kephala-Vasiliki is also important as it establishes a chronological link between the architectural designs found earlier at Malia and Sissi, at a comparably similar time in Philistia at Tel Qasile and at Tell es-Safi/Gath, and later still in Crete in the 'Chieftain's House' on Kavousi-Kastro and in the Geometric Period temple at Dreros. The diversity of functions that may be assigned to elite architecture in the form of columned or pillared halls in postpalatial Crete make it possible to interpret the columned hall at Tell es-Safi/Gath as an elite building, based on the worked column bases, on the plan, and on feasting ware observed on one of its floors. It also remains possible that it was a temple that was cleaned out. Some mud-brick installations in the 'temple' may have been platforms; however, benches were found in the

columned hall at Kephala-Vasiliki in the non-cultic rooms. Clearly the columned hall at Tell es-Safi/Gath was important, and this importance was retained in cultural memory through the construction of the metallurgical installation and of the cult corner above it (Figs 13.23a, b). In this sense, the columned hall at Tell es-Safi/Gath functioned in a biographically similar way to a foundation deposit, establishing a highly charged symbolic link with the past. Thus, a comparative approach can open up rather than close off the interpretive possibilities, particularly with special buildings where fewer examples are present (e.g. Wallace 2005: 268).

13.5. CONCLUSIONS

To conclude, our picture of urbanism in the postpalatial Mediterranean has vastly changed in the last forty years. Excavations of LM IIIA–IIIC sites in Crete have provided us with a richly varied and complex picture of the Mycenoan (e.g. Tsipopoulou 2005) ethnogenesis of the Postpalatial era. Archaeological discoveries in Cyprus have pushed the widespread use of ashlar masonry with drafted margins ~~forward~~ into the thirteenth century (Fig. 13.24), confirming it was a Cypriot rather than a Sea Peoples innovation or a Mycenaean import. Sites that escaped destruction in Cyprus (e.g. Iacovou 2008) show that the phenomenon of collapse was not a uniform one. The new discoveries at Philistine sites are being published at a startlingly rapid pace. Thus, interpretations of IIIC settlement remains should be strongly grounded in available data, knowledge of *comparanda*, and sound theoretical frameworks, and must proceed with caution tempered by intellectual openness, curiosity, and a willingness to be flexible in our assessments. The role of space for the display and manipulation of symbols and the performance of sociality, the curation of architectural remains, the preference for columned halls, the transitional and mixed nature of the buildings, and the indication of smaller scale societies seem to be key areas of similarity between Philistia and the Aegean—both in Crete and on the mainland. The transitional and mixed character of buildings also characterizes Cyprus, which however is also distinguished by important cult centres as seen at Enkomi, Kition, and Kouklia-*Palaepaphos*. The importance of the hearth as an ideological symbol and as a locus for external gathering (versus internal gathering) in Philistia and, to a limited extent, in Cyprus seems to be a key distinction; however, more detailed studies are warranted. In identifying patterns in the use of spaces for the performance of identity over a broad area, we need to also remember that each site discussed is part of a wider region, with its own regional differences. There are now many well-documented examples of Aegeanization of architecture outside of the Aegean. Rather than simplistically ignoring it or viewing it as

evidence of colonization and diffusion, more subtle approaches are called for. These more nuanced approaches include insights gained from comparative analyses of similarities and differences, consideration of emulation and/or entanglement, cultural mixing, small-scale migration, and the role of space and place in the re-emergence of civilizations in the Iron Age.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors would like to thank the workshop organizers for putting together such a stimulating programme, where there was an unusually fruitful and candid discussion. The research for this paper was funded by the Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens, the Australian Research Council Discovery Project 1093713, and the National Endowment for the Humanities. Travel was funded by the University of Melbourne, Faculty of Arts. We are grateful to Rani Alexander, Jo Cutler, Lena Papazoglou-Manoudaki, Kostas Paschalidis, and Anastasia Christophilopoulou for providing us with copies of their work and as research assistant, Brent Davis for help with formatting. Quentin Letesson made many helpful comments on an early draft of the paper. Finally, we are especially grateful to the staff and team members of the Ackerman Family Bar-Ilan University Expedition to Gath.

NOTES

1. IIIC pottery producing cultures and 'IIIC phenomenon' is taken here to include the various regional cultural manifestations in the central and eastern Mediterranean where Mycenaean IIIC style pottery is locally produced, such as (but not limited to) LH IIIC, LM IIIC, LC IIIC, Philistine I.
2. Kanta (2014c: 116–17) presents a LM IIIC keyhole hearth made out of pebbles from the Anetaki plot Knossos, which shares similarities to both Cypriot and Philistines pebbled hearths and to keyhole shaped hearths at Tell Qasile and Tiryns. For a more nuanced view of Cretan hearths and their different contexts and symbolisms, see Letesson 2015.
3. Briault (2007: esp 254–6, 259–61) suggests that a pottery motif may have served as the mechanism of transmission for double axes and horns of consecration in general.
4. Feldman (2014) suggests that ivory carving might have co-occurred with stone carving, thus it may not be coincidental that the Minoan palace at Kato Zakro, where unworked ivory was found, also housed a stone vase-makers workshop (Platon 1971: 210–21, esp. 217).
5. The term temple is not favoured in the early Iron Age Aegean (see Klein and Glowacki 2009; but contrast with Eliopoulos 1998). Kavousi-Vronda is also distinguished by Building A-B, the 'Chieftain's House', indicating more social differentiation than at other LM IIIC sites (e.g. McEnroe 2010: 155).

6. Karageorghis (2011b: esp. 89; 2014) suggested that Cretans formed a substantial amount of the refugees settling at Pyla, which he subsumed under the essentializing term 'Aegeans,' observing that there was an 'abnormally high percentage' of Late Minoan IIIB storage jars there (also Karageorghis and Georghiou 2012). Now, Bretschneider and colleagues (2015) refer to the 'surprising ethnic mix of material culture' at the site (see also Georgiou 2014).
7. The abandonment of Pyla is dated to *c*. 1175 BCE based on the presence of imported LH IIIC pottery (Kanta 2014a: 111).
8. On the 'Type 3' house, see McEnroe (1982, pp. 10–13, fig. 3). With new excavations taking place at Pyla, our understanding of the site may change (e.g. Bretschneider et al. 2015; Karageorghis and Kanta 2014).
9. Alexander (1998: 490) observes that under processes of colonization the architectural landscape is transformed, while in situations of entanglement the presence of foreign architectural styles may indicate small numbers of non-locals or emulation of a core polity. In addition, there is a differential distribution of attributes with regard to vernacular versus civic structures. Other traits of the material culture at both sites—Aegean (Minoan and Mycenaean) and Canaanite ceramics and metalwork at Pyla; Canaanite and Myc IIIC ceramics at Maa—suggest an entangled culture. Our use of the concept of entanglement derives from the work of Philipp Stockhammer (2012a; 2012b). An entangled approach emphasizes the materiality of the object and its spatial relationship to context, which permits the reconstruction of the relationship between the object and agents (its makers, owners, and/or users are primary concerns). Stockhammer (2012a: 46–8; 2012b) distinguishes between 'relational entanglement' whereby new meanings become attached to a foreign object, which may even be transformed into a personal possession, and 'material entanglement' whereby a newly created object combines the familiar with the foreign, and may become appropriated and entangled with foreign social practices as well as local ones. We similarly promote a transcultural approach, which resists the duality implied by definitions of hybridity (situated in nineteenth-century practices of cross-breeding of plants and animals) and emphasizes the intentionality behind the use of an object. A transcultural approach regards the emergence and transformation of identity as multivocal, drawing on the symbolisms, objects, social practices, and artistic and technical styles of a broad cultural and ethnic range of interacting social actors (see also Hitchcock and Maeir 2013).
10. The ashlar is reused. The other building using ashlar masonry is a two-roomed tower just north of Building I and constructed on the same orientation, as detailed by Demas (1988: 15–16).
11. On the megaroid form, see Preziosi 1983: 177–93.
12. Christophilopoulou (2008: 149, 278) takes these observations a step further, stating that there is nothing in the Cyclades and eastern Aegean to indicate a significant Mycenaean influence on megaron-shaped buildings of the early Iron Age, citing the greater number of apsidal and oval houses in these regions.
13. This change could also be linked to functional purposes with regard to a reduced amount of space needing to be spanned. See discussions by Wace (1949: 77) and Holland (Wace et al. 1921–23: 279) who calculate the base to height ratio of

columns based on the amount of load that columns bore as related to the amount of space that needed to be spanned.

14. Gaza remains largely unexplored as it is covered by a densely populated contemporary city.
15. Which hearths utilize which form of construction is not thus far detailed in preliminary reports. Karageorghis (2011a: 22, n. 1) cites a personal communication from L. Stager that a total of sixteen hearths have been found at Ashkelon, always inside domestic structures.
16. Other structures at Ashkelon include Room 667, a squarish hall of Phase 18 (Stager et al. 2008: 266), dominated by a large circular hearth. A rectangular hearth with a sherd covering is located roughly in the centre of Room 910, where it is placed adjacent to a column. It is associated with a bench and with several bins (Stager et al. 2008: 266). Room 850 (Stager et al. 2008: 262–3, 265; figs 15.27–9) was paved with cobblestones and the walls were panelled with mud bricks set on edge to resemble orthostats, a characteristic with both Canaanite and Aegean traditions. Room 1033 is a rectangular hall with back room at west end—it had a central column and two mud brick and cobblestone hearths to the south-east. For more detail on Ashkelon, see <http://digashkelon.com/current-projects>. The pebbled hearth from Pyla (Kanta 2014b: esp. 12–13) re-enforces our suggestion (Maeir and Hitchcock 2011) that the Philistine pebbled hearth is a Cypriot innovation.
17. Eleven pits dominate the urban landscape at Khamalevri, where the architecture is also better preserved, but not to the same dramatic extent as at Thronos-Kephala where over fifty pits have been documented (e.g. Andreadaki-Vlazaki and Papadapoulou 2005; D'Agata 1997–2000; 2000).
18. The deposition of vessels and pits at Sissi, representing multiple periods including EM, MM, and LM I as well as LM IIIA and B, suggests a long history of similar disposal practices at the site, with pits that were both filled over time and others that represent single events (Devolder 2011, 2012).
19. The excavator interprets it as the cleaning of a destruction deposit.
20. Certainly both egalitarian and diacritical feasting enjoyed a long prehistory in the west and east Mediterranean. However, there are shifts in practice over time, as argued for the IIIC era by Hitchcock and Maeir (~~forthcoming~~). And, as Tomkins (2007: esp. 175–6) has observed, structured deposits in the Neolithic, for example, have not always been well-documented or recognized.
21. Compare these changes with a similar absence of monumentality at Mycenaean sites in the Middle Helladic period prior to the establishment of the Mycenaean palaces (e.g. Wright 1994: 56–7; Hitchcock and Chapin 2010).
22. Cassuto (2012: 469) refers to the loom weight deposit as eleventh to tenth century BCE, and it is noted that some may be of a rounded, more truncated conical form.
23. It also represents some of our earliest evidence for the construction of foundation trenches.
24. Diacritical feasting may be characterized as having differentiated cuisine, styles of consumption, and segmented social space through the use of architecture, which is used to reify and naturalize status differences (Dietler 2001: 85).
25. Wright (1994: 57–8) discusses a hearth-wanax ideology within the Mycenaean palaces whereby the king becomes the guardian of the hearth. The symbolism is

emphasized through the paraphernalia around the hearth and throne at Pylos such as the tripod table and miniature kylikes. More recently (Crielaard 2011) discusses the 'wanax to basileus' model, whereby the destruction of the palaces represented the decapitation of the Mycenaean socio-political hierarchy, but goes on to discuss how the changed socio-political and architectural landscape on the mainland was complex and varied, following different pathways.

26. Mycenaean and Philistine cooking jugs are characterized by one or two handles, a flat or ring base, and a mouth narrower than the widest part of the body (Yasur-Landau 2010: 126–32; also, papers in Karageorghis and Kouka 2011). The appearance of Mycenaean-style cooking jugs in Crete can be contrasted with the largely conservative Cretan preference for tripod cooking pots, which led Yasur-Landau (2010: 126–32; 329) to exclude Cretan presence or influence in Philistia. This argument now becomes untenable. Hallager and Hallager (2000: 159) make the point that without preserved bases it is difficult to distinguish Mycenaean-style cooking pots from tripod cooking pots.
27. Maran (2009: 253) observes that the social organization and ability to manipulate large stones disappeared with the collapse of palatial civilization. Thus, the construction of the ninth century BCE buildings at Tell es-Safi/Gath suggests increasing social complexity and ability to harness resources on a grander scale than in the previous period (twelfth to tenth centuries). To invoke 'thick description,' the megalithic limestone blocks used to construct the ninth century BCE walls are fairly enormous, with one of those still *in situ* from Wall A15AM09 measuring 40 cm in height with a maximum length of 1 m and a maximum width of 67 cm. Those parts of these walls that were dismantled were done so with great difficulty, requiring about six persons to carry them away. Attempts to break them up with a sledgehammer failed when the sledgehammer broke and we have had only limited success with a jackhammer, which simply failed to break the stone.
28. The top and bottom of the column base are unworked, but the top is flat. The sides are hammer-dressed to give it a rounded shape.
29. Wall 22040 extended north–south and was excavated prior to ~~our~~ involvement in the area.
30. The canonical Mycenaean megaron (see Hitchcock 2010; Barber 1992; Wright 1994) of the Late Bronze Age had a rectangular outline and consisted of a hall, fore-hall, and a porch with two columns in antis to support the roof. Both the fore-hall and the porch were approximately one-half the depth of the inner hall. The internal arrangement of the megaron was dominated by a circular hearth, and surrounded by four columns arranged in a square. The megaron frequently had rear chambers and side corridors giving access to smaller, square service rooms to the side. By the time of the postpalatial IIIC era in Greece, this plan becomes much simplified.
31. These were quite possibly influenced by earlier, small shrines, cult corners, publicly accessible palatial shrines, and peak sanctuaries (see Hitchcock 2011).
32. Remarks on the 'temple' are provisional as it was excavated by a different group of collaborators on the Tell es-Safi/Gath archaeological project.
33. At least one figurine was noted from fill substantially above the level of the floor in the Safi building.

34. On the distinction between nuclear and extended families see Haviland et al. (2011: 229–30).
35. The following discussion is summarized from Gaignerot-Driessen and Letesson (2011); Gaignerot-Driessen (2011); and Letesson (2011). Gaignerot-Driessen (2012: 73) also mentions four spools in Quartier Nu and Driessen (Letesson pers. comm.) has noted some found in the topsoil layers above Quartier Mu, while six have been found in the pit deposits at LM IIIC Khamalevri (Andreadak-Vlasaki and Papadoulou 2005: 389, 392).
36. The column bases are on a central axis and placed 2.0 m apart. This 2 m distance is common in Philistine temples as well, where it has been fancifully linked to Samson's dislodging of the pillars in the Philistine temple at Gaza as described in Judges 16:29–30. Only the east base at Sissi, C29 is carefully worked and the excavators suggest it was reused, a phenomenon known from Maa. A stirrup jar below the base was a foundation deposit and two more foundation deposits are noted (Gaignerot-Driessen 2011: 93).
37. A triton shell and a vessel in the shape of a conch shell were also found at Tel Qasile and an endolium shell found in a ritual context in the lower city at Tell es-Safi/Gath (Mazar 1980, 115–18, fig. 45, pl. 36.3; Hitchcock et al. 2016).
38. The bases were made of ammouda. In addition there was a column base that had fallen from above or was in reuse. Samples from the hearth, which contained ashes, flecks of charcoal, and bones are currently under analysis (Letesson 2011: 121, 123).
39. A similar argument is made for Quartier Nu, although status differentiation is also suggested as a plausible alternative (Driessen and Fiasse 2011: 291, 293).

REFERENCES

Aja, A. J. 2009. 'Philistine Domestic Architecture in the Iron Age I'. PhD dissertation. Harvard University.

Alexander, R. T. 1998. 'Afterword: Toward an Archaeological Theory of Culture Contact'. In *Studies in Culture Contact: Interaction, Culture Change, and Archaeology*, edited by J. G. Cusick. Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University: 476–95.

Andreadaki-Vlazaki, M. and E. Papadopoulou 2005. 'The Habitation at Khamalevri, Rethymnon, during the 12th Century BC'. In *Ariadne's Threads: Connections between Crete and the Greek Mainland in LM III (LM IIIA2 to LM IIIC)*, edited by A. L. D'Agata and J. Moody. Athens: Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene: 353–98.

Asscher, Y., D. Cabanes, L. A. Hitchcock, A. M. Maeir, S. Wiener, and E. Boaretto. 2015. 'Radiocarbon Dating Shows an Early Appearance of Philistine Cultural Material in Tell es-Safi/Gath, Philistia'. *Radiocarbon* 57.5: 825–50.

Bar-Ilan University. 2015. 'Archaeologists Uncover a Monumental City Gate and Fortification of the Biblical City of Philistine Gath (Home of Goliath)' (press release, 4 August 2015, accessed 20 November 2015, <http://www1.biu.ac.il/indexE.php?id=33&pt=20&pid=4&level=1&cPath=4& type=1&news=2460>).

Barber, R. L. N. 1992. 'The Origins of the Mycenaean Palace'. In *ΦΙΛΟΛΑΚΩΝ: Lakonian Studies in Honour of Hector Catling*, edited by J. M. Sanders. London: British School at Athens: 11–23.

Bretschneider, J., A. Kanta, and J. Driessen. 2015. 'Pyla-*Kokkinokremos*: Preliminary Report on the 2014 Excavations'. *Ugarit-Forschungen* 46: 1–37.

Briault, C. 2007. 'High Fidelity or Chinese Whispers? Cult Symbols and Ritual Transmission in the Bronze Age Aegean'. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 20.2: 239–65.

Brysbaert, A. 2007. 'Cross-Craft and Cross-Cultural Interactions during the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean Late Bronze Age'. In *Mediterranean Crossroads*, edited by S. Antoniadou and A. Pace. Athens: Pierides Museum: 32–59.

Brysbaert, A. and M. Vetters 2010. 'Practicing Identity: A Crafty Idea?'. *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry* 10.2: 25–43.

Burdajewicz, M. 1990. *The Aegean Sea Peoples and Religious Architecture in the Eastern Mediterranean at the Close of the Late Bronze Age*. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.

Cassuto, D. 2012. 'Chapter 19: Weaving Implements'. In *Tell es-Safi/Gath I: Report on the 1996–2005 Seasons*, edited by A. M. Maeir. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz: 467–84.

Christophilopoulou, A. 2008. 'Domestic Architecture, Spatial Organisation and the Use of Space in the Early Iron Age in Island Greece'. PhD thesis. University of Cambridge.

Cline, E. H. 2014. *1177 BC: The Year Civilization Collapsed*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Crielaard, J. P. 2011. 'The "Wanax to Basileus Model" Reconsidered: Authority and Ideology After the Collapse of the Mycenaean Palaces'. In *The 'Dark Ages' Revisited: Acts of an International Symposium in Memory of William D. E. Coulson, University Of Thessaly, Volos, 14–17 June 2007*, edited by A. Mazarakis Ainian. Volos: University of Thessaly Press: 83–111.

Cutler, J. ~~Forthcoming~~. 'Fashioning Identity: Weaving Technology, Dress and Cultural Change in the Middle and Late Bronze Age Southern Aegean'. In *Beyond Thalassocracies: Understanding the processes of Minoanisation and Mycenaeanisation in the Aegean*, edited by E. Gorogianni and P. Pavük. Oxford: Oxbow Press: 172–85.

D'Agata, A. L. 1997–2000. 'Ritual and Rubbish in Dark Age Crete: The Settlement of Thronos/Kephala (Ancient Sybrita) and the Pre-Classical Roots of a Greek City'. *Aegean Archaeology* 4: 45–59.

D'Agata, A. L. 2000. 'Religion, Society and Ethnicity on Crete at the End of the Late Bronze Age: The Contextual Framework of LM IIIC Cult Activities'. In *Potnia: Deities and Religion in the Aegean Bronze Age* (Aegaeum 22), edited by R. Laffineur and W.-D. Niemeier. Liège: University of Liège: 345–54.

Deger-Jalkotzy. S. 2008. 'Decline, Destruction, Aftermath'. In *The Cambridge Companion to the Aegean Bronze Age*, edited by C. Shelmerdine. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 387–415.

Demas, M. 1988. 'I. The Architectural Remains'. In *Excavations at Maa-Paleokastro, 1979–1986*, edited by V. Karageorghis and M. Demas. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, Cyprus: 1–100.

Devolder, M. 2009. '7. The Excavation of Zone 5'. In *Excavations at Sissi I: Preliminary Report on the 2007–2008 Campaigns* (Aegis 1), by J. Driessen, I. Schoep, F. Carpentier, I. Crevecoeur, M. Devolder, F. Gaignerot-Driessen, H. Fiasse,

P. Hacigüzeller, S. Jusseret, C. Langohr, Q. Letesson, and A. Schmitt. Louvain-la-Neuve: Presses universitaires de Louvain: 139–56.

Devolder, M. 2011. '6. The Excavation of Zone 5'. In *Excavations at Sissi II: Preliminary Report on the 2009–2010 Campaigns* (Aegis 4), by J. Driessen, I. Schoep, F. Carpentier, I. Crevecoeur, M. Devolder, F. Gaignerot-Driessen, P. Hacigüzeller, V. Isaakidou, S. Jusseret, C. Langohr, Q. Letesson, and A. Schmitt. Louvain-la-Neuve: Presses universitaires de Louvain: 143–62.

Devolder, M. 2012. '5. The excavation of the open area north of Building E in Zone 5'. In *Excavations at Sissi III: Preliminary Report on the 2011 Campaign* (Aegis 6), by 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, and R. Veropoulidou. Louvain: Presses universitaires de Louvain: 69–79.

Dietler, M. 2001. 'Theorizing the Feast: Rituals of Consumption, Commensal Politics, and Power in African Contexts'. In *Feasts: Archaeological and Ethnographic Perspectives on Food, Politics, and Power*, edited by M. Dietler and B. Hayden. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press: 65–114.

Dikaios, P. 1969. *Enkomi, Excavations 1948–58*, Vol. I: *The Architectural Remains, the Tombs*. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.

Dothan, T. 1998. 'Initial Philistine Settlement: From Migration to Coexistence,' In *Mediterranean Peoples Transition: Thirteenth to Early Tenth Centuries BCE. In Honor of Professor Trude Dothan*, edited by S. Gitin, A. Mazar, and E. Stern. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society: 148–61.

Dothan, T. 2003. 'The Aegean and the Orient: Cultic Interactions'. In *Symbiosis, Symbolism, and the Power of the Past: Canaan, Ancient Israel, and Their Neighbors from the Late Bronze Age through Roman Palestina*, edited by W. G. Dever and S. Gitin. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns: 189–214.

Dothan, T. and M. Dothan. 1992. *People of the Sea: The Search for the Philistines*. New York: Scribner.

Driessen, J. and A. Farnoux. 1994. 'Mycenaeans at Mallia'. *Aegean Archaeology* 1: 54–64.

Driessen, J., A. Farnoux, and C. Langohr. 2008a. 'Favissae: Feasting Pits in LM III'. In *DAIS: The Aegean Feast* (Aegaeum 29), edited by L. A. Hitchcock, R. Laffineur, and J. Crowley. Liège: University of Liège: 197–206.

Driessen, J. and H. Fiasse. 2011. '"Burning Down the House": Defining the Household of Quartier Nu at Malia Using GIS'. In *Στέγα. The Archaeology of Houses and Households in Ancient Crete*, edited by K. T. Glowacki and N. Vogeikoff-Brogan. Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens: 285–96.

Driessen, J., H. Fiasse, M. Devolder, P. Hacigüzeller, and Q. Letesson. 2008b. 'Recherches spatiales au Quartier Nu à Malia (MR III)'. *Creta Antica* 9: 93–110.

Eliopoulos, T. 1998. 'A Preliminary Report on the Discovery of Temple Complex of the Dark Ages at Kephala Vasilikis'. In *Eastern Mediterranean: Cyprus-Dodecanese-Crete, 16th–6th cent. B.C.*, edited by V. Karageorghis and N. C. Stampolidis. Athens: University of Crete and A. G. Leventis Foundation: 301–13.

Eliopoulos, T. 2003. 'The LM III "Omphalos" Altar at Kephalla Vasilikis'. In *Argonautes: Christos Doumas Festscrhift*, edited by A. Vlachapoulos and K. Birtaxa. Athens: Kathimerini: 389–408.

Eliopoulos, T. 2004. 'Gournia, Vronda Kavousi, Kephala Vasilikis: A Triad of Interrelated Shrines of the Expiring Minoan Age on the Isthmus of Ierapetra'. In *Crete Beyond the Palaces: Proceedings of the Crete 2000 Conference*, edited by L. P. Day, M. S. Mook, and J. D. Muhly. Philadelphia, PA: INSTAP Academic Press: 81–90.

Eliyahu-Behar, A., N. Yahalom-Mack, S. Shilstein, A. Zukerman, C. Shafer-Elliott, A. M. Maeir, E. Boaretto, I. Finkelstein, and S. Weiner. 2012. 'Iron and Bronze Production in Iron Age IIA Philistia: New Evidence from Tell es-Safi/Gath, Israel'. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 39: 255–67.

Emanuel, J. P. 2014. 'Sea Peoples, Egypt and the Aegean: The Transference of Maritime Technology in the Late Bronze–Early Iron Transition (LH IIIB–C)'. *Aegean Studies* 1: 21–56.

Evely, D. 1992. 'Towards an Elucidation of the Ivory-Worker's Took Kit in Neopalatial Crete'. In *Ivory in Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean from the Bronze Age to the Hellenistic Period*, edited by J. L. Fitton. London: British Museum Publications: 7–16.

Feldman, M. H. 2014. *Communities of Style: Portable Luxury Arts, Identity and Collective Memory in the Iron Age Levant*. Chicago: University of Chicago.

Frankel, D. and J. M. Webb. 2012. 'Household Continuity and Transformation in a Prehistoric Cypriot Village'. In *New Perspectives in Household Archaeology*, edited by B. J. Parker and C. P. Foster. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns: 473–500.

Frizell, B. S. 1997–8. 'Monumental Building at Mycenae: Its Function and Significance'. *Opuscula Atheniensia* 22–23: 103–16.

Gaignerot-Driessen, F. 2011. '5. The Excavation of Building CD: 5.2. The Excavation of Zone 3'. In *Excavations at Sissi II: Preliminary Report on the 2009–2010 Campaigns* (Aegis 4), by J. Driessen, I. Schoep, F. Carpentier, I. Crevecoeur, M. Devolder, F. Gaignerot-Driessen, P. Hacigüzeller, V. Isaakidou, S. Jusseret, C. Langohr, Q. Letesson, and A. Schmitt. Louvain-la-Neuve: Presses universitaires de Louvain: 89–101.

Gaignerot-Driessen, F. 2012. '4.2 The Excavation of Zone 3'. In *Excavations at Sissi III: Preliminary Report on the 2011 Campaign* (Aegis 6), by 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, and R. Veropoulidou. Louvain: Presses universitaires de Louvain: 69–79.

Gaignerot-Driessen, F. and Q. Letesson. 2011. '5. The Excavation of Building CD: 5.1. Introduction'. In *Excavations at Sissi II: Preliminary Report on the 2009–2010 Campaigns* (Aegis 4), by J. Driessen, I. Schoep, F. Carpentier, I. Crevecoeur, M. Devolder, F. Gaignerot-Driessen, P. Hacigüzeller, V. Isaakidou, S. Jusseret, C. Langohr, Q. Letesson, and A. Schmitt. Louvain-la-Neuve: Presses universitaires de Louvain: 83–8.

Gilan, A. 2013. 'Pirates in the Mediterranean—A View from the Bronze Age'. *Mittelmeerstudien* 3: 49–66.

Georgiou, A. 2014. 'Appendix III. The "Canaanite Jars"'. In *Pyla-Kokkinokremos: A Late 13th Century BC Fortified Settlement in Cyprus: Excavations 2010–2011*, edited by V. Karageorghis and A. Kanta. Uppsala: Paul Åströms Förlag: 175–87.

Haggis, D. 2013. 'Destruction and the Formation of Static and Dynamic Settlement Structures'. In *Destruction: Archaeological, Philological, and Historical Perspectives*, edited by J. Driessen. Louvain-la-Neuve: Presses universitaires de Louvain: 1–18.

Hallager, E. and B. P. Hallager. 2000. *The Greek-Swedish Excavations at the Agia Aikaterini Square Kastelli, Khania 1970–1987*. Vol. II: *The Late Minoan IIIC Settlement*. Stockholm: Paul Åströms Förlag.

Hallager, E. and B. P. Hallager. 2003. *The Greek–Swedish Excavations at the Agia Aikaterini Square Kastelli, Khania 1970–1987 and 2001*. Vol. III.1–2: *The Late Minoan IIIB2 Settlement*. Stockholm: Paul Åströms Förlag.

Hamilakis, Y. 2008. 'Time, Performance, and the Production of a Mnemonic Record: From Feasting to an Archaeology of Eating and Drinking'. In *DAIS: The Aegean Feast* (Aegaeum 29), edited by L. A. Hitchcock, R. Laffineur, and J. Crowley. Liège: University of Liège: 3–20.

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

Haviland, W. A., H. E. L. Prins, B. McBride, and D. Walrath. 2011. *Cultural Anthropology: The Human Challenge*. 13th edn. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Hayden, B. J. 1981. 'The Development of Architecture from the Late Minoan IIIA through the Geometric Periods'. PhD dissertation. University of Pennsylvania.

Hitchcock, L. A. 2002. 'Levantine Horned Altars: An Aegean Perspective on the Transformation of Socio-Religious Reproduction'. In *'Imagining' Biblical Worlds: Spatial, Social, and Historical Constructs: Essays in Honour of James W. Flanagan*, edited by P. M. McNutt and D. M. Gunn. London: Sheffield Academic Press: 223–39.

Hitchcock, L. A. 2005. '"Who Will Personally Invite a Foreigner, Unless He is a Craftsman?": Exploring Interconnections in Aegean and Levantine Architecture'. In *EMPORIA: Aegeans in the Central and Eastern Mediterranean* (Aegaeum 25), edited by R. Laffineur and E. Greco. Liège: University of Liège: 691–9.

Hitchcock, L. A. 2008a. '"Do you see a man skillful in his work? He will stand before kings": Interpreting Architectural Influences in the Bronze Age Mediterranean'. *Ancient West and East* 7: 17–48.

Hitchcock, L. A. 2008b. 'Architectures of Feasting'. In *DAIS: The Aegean Feast. Proceedings of the 12th International Aegean Conference University of Melbourne* (Aegaeum 29), edited by L. A. Hitchcock, R. Laffineur, and J. Crowley. Liège: University of Liège: 317–26.

Hitchcock, L. A. 2010. 'Architecture, Mycenaean'. In *The Oxford Handbook of the Bronze Age Aegean (3000–1000 BCE)*, edited by E. H. Cline. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 200–9.

Hitchcock, L. A. 2011. 'Fluid and Flexible: Revisiting the Vernacular Tradition in Bronze Age Crete and Cyprus'. In *Στέγα. The Archaeology of Houses and Households in Ancient Crete*, edited by K. T. Glowacki and N. Vogeikoff-Brogan. Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens: 233–45.

Hitchcock, L. A. 2012. 'Dressed to Impress: Architectural Adornment as an Exotic Marker of Elite Identity in the Eastern Mediterranean'. In *KOSMOS: Jewelry, Adornment and Textiles in the Aegean Bronze Age* (Aegaeum 33), edited by M. L. Nosch and R. Laffineur. Leuven: Peeters: 663–71.

Hitchcock, L. A. and A. P. Chapin 2010. 'Lacuna in Laconia: Why were there No Middle Helladic Palaces?'. In *Mesohelladika*, edited by G. Touchais, A. Phillippa-Touchais, S. Voutsaki, and J. Wright. Athens: École française d'Athènes: 817–22.

Hitchcock, L. A., A. P. Chapin, E. Banou, and J. Reynolds 2016. 'The Conglomerate Quarry at the Mycenaean Site of Vapheio-Palaiopyrgi in Laconia', *Hesperia* 85.1: 65–90.

Hitchcock, L. A., L. K. Horwitz, E. Boaretto, and A. M. Maeir. 2015. 'One Philistine's Trash is an Archaeologist's Treasure'. *Near Eastern Archaeology* 78.1: 12–25.

Hitchcock, L. A. and A. M. Maeir. 2013. 'Beyond Creolization and Hybridity: Entangled and Transcultural Identities in Philistia'. *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 28.1: 51–72.

Hitchcock, L. A. and A. M. Maeir. 2014. 'Yo Ho, Yo Ho, A Seren's Life for Me'. *World Archaeology* 46.4: 624–40.

Hitchcock, L. A. and A. M. Maeir. ~~Forthcoming~~. 'Fifteen Men on a Dead Seren's Chest: Yo Ho Ho and a Krater of Wine'. In *Context and Connection: Essays on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East in Honour of Antonio Sagona*, edited by A. Batmaz, G. Bedianashvili, A. Michalewicz, and A. Robinson. Leuven: Peeters.

Hitchcock, L. A., A. M. Maeir, and A. Dagan. 2016. 'The Entanglement of Aegean Style Ritual Actions in Philistine Culture'. In *METAPHYSIS: Ritual, Myth and Symbolism in the Aegean Bronze Age* (Aegaeum ~~series~~), edited by E. Alram-Stern, F. Blakolmer, S. Deger-Jalkotzy, R. Laffineur, and J. Weilhartner. Leuven: Peeters: 519–26.

Iacovou, M. 2008. 'Cultural and Political Configurations in Iron Age Cyprus: The Sequel to a Protohistoric Episode'. *American Journal of Archaeology* 112.4: 625–58.

Kanta, A. 2014a. 'Pyla-Kokkinokremos 2012'. In *Pyla-Kokkinokremos: A Late 13th Century BC Fortified Settlement in Cyprus: Excavations 2010–2011*, edited by V. Karageorghis and A. Kanta. Uppsala: Paul Åströms Förlag: 103–12.

Kanta, A. 2014b. 'The Site and Architecture of Pyla in Their Historical Setting'. In *Pyla-Kokkinokremos: A Late 13th Century BC Fortified Settlement in Cyprus: Excavations 2010–2011*, edited by V. Karageorghis and A. Kanta. Uppsala: Paul Åströms Förlag: 1–102.

Kanta, A. 2014c. 'Pyla-Kokkinokremos 2010, 2011: The Excavation and Architecture'. In *Pyla-Kokkinokremos: A Late 13th Century BC Fortified Settlement in Cyprus: Excavations 2010–2011*, edited by V. Karageorghis and A. Kanta. Uppsala: Paul Åströms Förlag: 113–21.

Karageorghis, V. 1998. 'Hearths and Bathtubs in Cyprus: A "Sea Peoples" Innovation?'. In *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition: Thirteenth to Early Tenth Centuries BCE: In Honor of Professor Trude Dothan*, edited by S. Gitin, A. Mazar, and E. Stern. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society: 276–82.

Karageorghis, V. 2000. 'Cultural Innovations in Cyprus Relating to the "Sea Peoples"'. In *The Sea Peoples and Their World: A Reassessment*, edited by E. D. Oren. Philadelphia, PA: University Museum, University of Pennsylvania: 249–73.

Karageorghis, V. 2002. *Early Cyprus: Crossroads of the Mediterranean*. Los Angeles: Getty Centre Publications.

Karageorghis, V. 2011a. 'What Happened in Cyprus c. 1200 BC: Hybridization, Creolization or Immigration? An Introduction'. In *On Cooking Pots, Drinking Cups, Loomweights and Ethnicity in Bronze Age Cyprus and Neighbouring Regions*, edited by V. Karageorghis and O. Kouka. Nicosia: A. G. Leventis Foundation: 19–28.

Karageorghis, V. 2011b. 'Handmade Burnished Ware in Cyprus and Elsewhere in the Eastern Mediterranean'. In *On Cooking Pots, Drinking Cups, Loomweights and*

Ethnicity in Bronze Age Cyprus and Neighbouring Regions, edited by V. Karageorghis and O. Kouka. Nicosia: A. G. Leventis Foundation: 87–94.

Karageorghis, V. 2014. 'Summary and Historical Conclusions'. *Pyla-Kokkinokremos: A Late 13th Century BC Fortified Settlement in Cyprus: Excavations 2010–2011*, edited by V. Karageorghis and A. Kanta. Uppsala: Paul Åströms Förlag: 155–62.

Karageorghis, V. and M. Demas. 1984. *Pyla-Kokkinokremos: A Late 13th Century BC Fortified Settlement in Cyprus*. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities.

Karageorghis, V. and M. Demas. 1985. *Excavations at Kition V: The Pre-Phoenician Levels, Areas I and II, Part I*. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities.

Karageorghis, V. and A. Georgiou. 2012. 'A Corpus of Late Minoan III Pottery from Pyla-Kokkinokremos'. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 2010: 301–24.

Karageorghis, V. and A. Kanta (eds). 2014. *Pyla-Kokkinokremos: A Late 13th Century BC Fortified Settlement in Cyprus: Excavations 2010–2011*. Uppsala: Paul Åströms Förlag.

Karageorghis, V. and O. Kouka (eds). 2011. *On Cooking Pots, Drinking Cups, Loomweights and Ethnicity in Bronze Age Cyprus and Neighbouring Regions*. Nicosia: A. G. Leventis Foundation.

Klein, N., and K. Glowacki. 2009. 'Chapter 13: From Kavousi to Vronda to Dreros: Architecture and Display in Cretan Cult Buildings'. In *Archaeologies of Cult: Essays on Ritual and Cult in Crete in Honor of Geraldine C. Gesell*, edited by A. L. D'Agata and A. Van de Moortel. Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens: 153–67.

Knapp, A. B. 1986. *Copper Production and Divine Protection: Archaeology, Ideology, and Social Complexity on Bronze Age Cyprus*. Göteborg: Paul Åströms Förlag.

Knapp, A. B. 2008. *Prehistoric and Protohistoric Cyprus: Identity, Insularity and Connectivity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Knapp, A. B. and S. W. Manning. 2016. 'Crisis in Context: The End of the Late Bronze Age in the Eastern Mediterranean'. *American Journal of Archaeology* 120.1: 99–149.

Letesson, Q. 2011. '5. The Excavation of Building CD: 5.2. The Excavation of Zone 4'. In *Excavations at Sissi II: Preliminary Report on the 2009–2010 Campaigns* (Aegis 4), by J. Driessen, I. Schoep, F. Carpentier, I. Crevecoeur, M. Devolder, F. Gaignerot-Driessen, P. Hacigüzeller, V. Isaakidou, S. Jusseret, C. Langohr, Q. Letesson, and A. Schmitt. Louvain-la-Neuve: Presses universitaires de Louvain: 103–41.

Letesson, Q. 2015. 'Fire and the Holes: An Investigation of Low-Level Meanings in the Minoan Built Environment'. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 22.3: 713–50.

Maeir, A. M. 2012. 'Chapter 1: The Tell es-Safi/Gath Archaeological Project 1996–2010: Introduction, Overview and Synopsis of Results'. In *Tell es-Safi/Gath I: Report on the 1996–2005 Seasons*, edited by A. M. Maeir. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz: 1–88.

Maeir, A. M., B. Davis, L. K. Horwitz, Y. Asscher, and L. A. Hitchcock. 2015. 'An Ivory Bowl from Early Iron Age Tell es-Safi/Gath (Israel)—Manufacture, Meaning and Memory'. *World Archaeology* 47.3: 413–38.

Maeir, A. M. and L. A. Hitchcock. 2011. 'Absence Makes the Hearth Grow Fonder: Searching for the Origins of the Philistine Hearth'. *Eretz Israel* 30: 46–64.

Maeir A. M., L. A. Hitchcock, and L. K. Horwitz. 2013. 'On the Constitution and Transformation of Philistine Identity'. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 32.1: 1–38.

Maran, J. 2000. 'Political and Religious Aspects of Architectural Change on the Upper Citadel of Tiryns: The Case of Building T'. In *Potnia: Deities and Religion in the Aegean Bronze Age* (Aegaeum 22), edited by R. Laffineur and W.-D. Niemeier. Liège: University of Liège: 113–22.

Maran, J. 2006. 'Coming to Terms with the Past: Ideology and Power in Late Helladic IIIC'. In *Ancient Greece: From the Mycenaean Palaces to the Age of Homer*, edited by S. Deger-Jalkotzy and I. S. Lemos. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press: 123–50.

Maran, J. 2009. 'The Crisis Years? Reflections on Signs of Instability in the Last Decades of the Mycenaean Palaces'. *Scienze dell'Antichità Storia Archeologia Antropologia* 15: 241–62.

Master, D. M. and A. J. Aja. 2011. 'The House Shrine of Ashkelon'. *Israel Exploration Journal* 61.2: 129–45.

Mazar, A. 1980. *Excavations at Tell Qasile, Part One: The Philistine Sanctuary—Architecture and Cult Objects*. Jerusalem: Hebrew University.

Mazow, L. 2005. 'Competing Material Culture: Philistine Settlement at Tel Miqne-Ekron in the Early Iron Age'. PhD dissertation. University of Arizona.

McEnroe, J. 1982. 'A Typology of Minoan Neopalatial Houses'. *American Journal of Archaeology* 86: 1–9.

McEnroe, J. C. 2010. *Architecture of Minoan Crete: Constructing Identity in the Aegean Bronze Age*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Moak, M. 2000. 'The Palaikastro Kouros'. In *The Palaikastro Kouros: A Minoan Chryselephantine Statuette and its Aegean Bronze Age Context*, edited by J. A. MacGillivray, L. H. Sackett, and J. Driessen. Athens: British School at Athens: 65–83.

Mylonas, G. 1962. 'H. The Periboloi of the Acropolis of Mycenae'. *Ephēmeris archaiologikē* 1962: 167–85, 197–8.

Nowicki, K. 1999. 'Economy of Refugees: Life in the Cretan Mountains at the Turn of the Bronze and Iron Ages'. In *From Minoan Farmers to Roman Traders: Sidelights on the Economy of Ancient Crete*, edited by A. Chaniotis. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner: 145–71.

Papazoglou-Manoudaki, L. and K. Paschalidis. Forthcoming. 'A Society of Merchants and Warriors to the East of the West: The Case of the Mycenaean Settlement on Mygdalia Hill, Near Patras, in Achaea'. In *HESPEROS: The Aegean Seen From the West*, edited by M. Fotiadis, R. Laffineur, Y. Lolos, and A. Vlachopoulos. Leuven: Peeters.

Platon, N. 1971. *Zakros: The Discovery of a Lost Palace of Ancient Crete*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Prent, M. 2003. 'Glories of the Past in the Past: Ritual Activities at Palatial Ruins in Early Iron Age Crete'. In *Archaeologies of Memory*, edited by R. M. van Dyke and S. E. Alcock. Oxford: Blackwell: 81–103.

Prent, M. 2004. 'Cult Activities at the Palace of Knossos from the End of the Bronze Age: Continuity and Change'. In *Knossos: Palace, City, State*, edited by G. Cadogan, E. Hatzaki, and A. Vasilakis. London: British School at Athens: 411–19.

Prent, M. 2005. *Cretan Sanctuaries and Cults: Continuity and Change from Late Minoan IIIC to the Archaic Period*. Leiden: Brill.

Preziosi, D. 1983. *Minoan Architectural Design: Formation and Signification*. Berlin: Mouton.

Privitera, S. 2015. *Haghia Triada III: The Late Minoan Buildings in the Villaggio.* Athens: National and Kapodistrian University of Athens and Italian Archaeological School at Athens.

Renfrew, C. 1985. *The Archaeology of Cult: The Sanctuary at Phylakopi*. London: Thames and Hudson.

Rogasch, J. 2015. 'Building Societies on the Way to Early Complexity: Re-Evaluating Late Neolithic and Early Chalcolithic Architecture in Central Anatolia and the Lake District' (presented paper, Australian Archaeology Association Annual Meeting, Fremantle, Australia, 2–4 December 2015).

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 Basin and Beyond*, edited by D. W. Rupp and J. E. Tomlinson. Athens: Canadian Institute in Greece: 161–91.

Shaw, J. W. 2013. 'Architectural Signposts: Datable Ashlar Style at Middle Minoan III Kommos in South-Central Crete'. In *Intermezzo: Intermediacy and Regeneration in Middle Minoan III Palatial Crete*, edited by C. Macdonald and C. Knappett. London: British School at Athens: 137–143.

Sherratt, E. S. 1998. '"Sea Peoples" and the Economic Structure of the Late Second Millennium in the Eastern Mediterranean'. In *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition: Thirteenth to Early Tenth Centuries BCE: In Honor of Professor Trude Dothan*, edited by S. Gitin, A. Mazar, and E. Stern. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society: 292–313.

Silverman, E. K. 1990. 'Clifford Geertz: Towards a More "Thick" Understanding?'. In *Reading Material Culture*, edited by C. Tilley. Oxford: Basil Blackwell: 121–59.

Stager, L. E., J. D. Schloen, D. M. Master, M. D. Press, and A. Aja. 2008. 'Part Four: Stratigraphic Overview'. In *Ashkelon 1: Introduction and Overview (1985-2006)*, edited by L. E. Stager, J. D. Schloen, and D. M. Master. Winona Lake, IN: Harvard Semitic Museum Publications, Final Reports of the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon: 212–323.

Stockhammer, P. W. 2009. 'The Change of Pottery's Social Meaning at the End of The Bronze Age: New Evidence from Tiryns'. In *Forces of Transformation: The End of the Bronze Age in the Mediterranean*, edited by C. Bachhuber and R. G. Roberts. Oxford: Oxbow Books: 164–9.

Stockhammer, P. W. 2012a. 'Conceptualizing Cultural Hybridization in Archaeology'. In *Conceptualizing Cultural Hybridization: A Transdisciplinary Approach,* edited by P. W. Stockhammer. Heidelberg: Springer: 43–58.

Stockhammer, P. W. 2012b. 'Performing the Practice Turn in Archaeology'. *Transcultural Studies* 1: 6–39.

Tomkins, P. 2007. 'Communality and Competition: The Social Life of Food and Containers at Aceramic and Neolithic Knossos, Crete'. In *Cooking up the Past: Food and Culinary Practices in the Neolithic and Bronze Age Aegean*, edited by C. Mee and J. Renard. Oxford: Oxbow Books: 174–99.

Tomkins, P. 2013. 'Making, Mending and Breaking: Contextualising and Interpreting the Intentional Destruction (and Curation) of Houses at Neolithic Knossos, Crete' (presented paper, International Round Table 'Destruction: Archaeological, Philological and Historical Perspectives' organized by the Centre for the Study of Ancient

Worlds (CEMA), Université Catholique de Louvain, Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium, 24–26 November 2013).

Tournavitou, I. 1995. *The 'Ivory Houses' at Mycenae*. London: British School at Athens.

Tsipopoulou, M. 2005. '"Mycenoans" at the Isthmus of Ierapetra: Some (Preliminary) Thoughts on the Foundation of the (Eteo)cretan Cultural Identity'. In *Ariadne's Threads: Connections between Crete and the Greek Mainland in LM III (LM IIIA2 to LM IIIC)*, edited by A. L. D'Agata and J. Moody. Athens: Scuola archeologica italiana di Atene: 303–33.

Tsipopoulou, M. 2012. 'The Pre-Palatial–Early Protopalatial Cemetery at Petras, Siteia: A Diachronic Symbol of Social Coherence'. In *Petras, Siteia: 25 years of Excavations and Studies*, edited by M. Tsipopoulou. Oxford: Oxbow Books: 117–31.

Wace, A. J. B. 1949. *Mycenae: An Archaeological History and Guide*. Princeton, NJ: University Press.

Wace, A. J. B., W. A. Heurtley, W. Lamb, L. B. Holland, and C. A. Boethius. 1921–3. 'The Report of the School Excavations at Mycenae, 1920–1923'. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 25: 1–434.

Walberg, G. 1995. 'The Midea Megaron and Changes in Mycenaean Ideology'. *Aegean Archaeology* 2: 87–91.

Wallace, S. 2005. 'Last Chance to See? Karfi (Crete) in the Twenty-First Century: Presentation of New Architectural Data and Their Analysis in the Current Context of Research'. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 100: 215–74.

Wallace, S. 2011. 'Tradition, Status Competition, and the Templates of Domestic and Special Buildings in Post-Collapse Crete'. In *Στέγα. The Archaeology of Houses and Households in Ancient Crete*, edited by K. T. Glowacki and N. Vogeikoff-Brogan. Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens: 323–32.

Webb, J. M. 1999. *Ritual Architecture, Iconography and Practice in the Late Cypriot Bronze Age*. Jonsered: Paul Åströms Förlag.

Wedde, M. 2006. 'Pictorial Evidence for Partial System Survival in the Greek Bronze to Iron Age Transition'. In *Pictorial Pursuits: Figurative Painting on Mycenaean and Geometric Pottery*, edited by E. Rystedt and B. Wells. Stockholm: Paul Åströms Förlag: 255–69.

Whittaker, H. 1997. *Mycenaean Cult Buildings: A Study of their Architecture and Function in the Context of the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean*. Bergen: Norwegian Institute at Athens.

Wright, J. C. 1994. 'The Spatial Configuration of Belief: The Archaeology of Mycenaean Religion'. In *Placing the Gods*, edited by S. Alcock and R. Osborne. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 37–78.

Wright, J. C. 2009. 'The Social Production of Space and the Architectural Reproduction of Society in the Bronze Age Aegean during the 2nd Millennium B.C.E.'. In *Constructing Power: Architecture, Ideology and Social Practice*, edited by J. Maran, C. Juwig, H. Schwengel, and U. Thaler. Berlin: Lit Verlag: 49–69.

Yasur-Landau, A. 2010. *The Philistines and Aegean Migration at the End of the Late Bronze Age*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Zukerman, A., L. K. Horwitz, J. E. Lev-Tov, and A. M. Maeir. 2007. 'A Bone of Contention? Iron Age IIA Notched Scapulae from Tell es-Safi/Gath, Israel'. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 347: 57–81.

Author/s:
HITCHCOCK, LA; Maeir, AM

Title:
Lost in Translation: Settlement Organization in Postpalatial Crete, a View from the East

Date:
2017

Citation:
HITCHCOCK, L. A. & Maeir, A. M. (2017). Lost in Translation: Settlement Organization in Postpalatial Crete, a View from the East. Knappett, C (Ed.). Letesson, Q (Ed.). Minoan Architecture and Urbanism: New Perspectives on an Ancient Built Environment, Minoan Architecture and Urbanism: New Perspectives on an Ancient Built Environment, (1), pp.289-333. Oxford.

Persistent Link:
http://hdl.handle.net/11343/194157

File Description:
Submitted version