

PROTOGEOMETRIC AND GEOMETRIC CRETE

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ABSTRACT

Catharine Elizabeth Judson: Protoegeometric and Geometric Crete
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The Protoegeometric period on Crete, generally the 10th and 9th centuries BCE, was characterized by a change in settlement patterns from small settlement clusters in Late Minoan IIIC to larger culture-regions defined by centralized and nucleated settlements linked to increasingly defined territories. Understanding the meaning of these changes in spatial structures and social organization, and their impact on later settlement patterns of the Cretan Early Iron Age requires a finer analytical scale and narrower temporal framework. It is, however, a necessary part of moving away from reductive historicizing narratives of palatial collapse or polis development prevalent in scholarship on Early Iron Age settlement development. Instead, reconstructing the material ways in which culture-regions were defined over the course of the Protoegeometric period and beyond allows us to consider new approaches for tracking the early development of polities normally predicated on historical paradigms.

This project gathers the published evidence for the Cretan Protoegeometric period in order to develop new models for visualizing ways in which deliberately-constructed relationships between communities in shifting settlement systems acted as mechanisms for the definition of culture-regions. The “adherent model” suggests that communities that closely adhered to Late Minoan IIIC settlements and cemeteries through the re-use of older

habitation sites for ritualized activities, such as burial or feasting, remained highly localized and organized according to close kinship ties for much of the Early Iron Age. In contrast, the “nucleated model” predicts a system in which communities abandoned Late Minoan III C sites over the course of the Protogeometric period and developed larger corporate groups at an earlier date. These models ascribe different relative rates of social cohesion to different spatial patterns at the regional and site levels. The usefulness of the adherent model for visualizing the spatial and cultural dimension of social change within communities over the course of the Early Iron Age is further explored through a series of case studies that examine differential patterns of mobility in habitation and ritual spaces. Case studies from the Kavousi region and Knossos underpin major parts of the discussion of these archaeologically visible patterns and their intersections with historical narratives.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used throughout. They are adapted from the standard abbreviations used in *Archaeological Reports*.

N	Neolithic
BA	Bronze Age
LM IIIC	Late Minoan IIIC
SM	Subminoan
EIA	Early Iron Age
PG	Protogeometric
PGB	Protogeometric B
SPG	Subprotogeometric
G	Geometric
LG	Late Geometric
O	Orientalizing
Ar	Archaic
Gr	Greek
Cl	Classical
HL	Hellenistic
R	Roman
Byz	Byzantine
V	Venetian
Ot	Ottoman

CHAPTER 1

The Protogeometric (PG) period in the Aegean was a crucial transformative phase in the historical and material transition between the Late Bronze Age and the new social systems of the Early Iron Age (EIA). The Protogeometric period has traditionally been characterized as the moment when society began to re-emerge after a decline in the Submycenaean phase of the eleventh century BCE, and thus was a formative moment for the development for later Greek civilization.¹ The study of the EIA is also situated between constructions of prehistory and history, however, with all of the methodological divisions and methods of analysis that these encompass in archaeological practice in the Mediterranean. On Crete, these concerns have been compounded and problematized by the island's Minoan past and by its physical and cultural distance from mainland patterns.

Fieldwork in EIA Crete has accelerated in the last thirty years in particular; the focus of research has increasingly turned towards tracing aspects of developing urbanism from the twelfth century onwards, with the goal of reconstructing the material correlates of polis development on the island. The large number of excavations and surveys that have taken place in recent decades have identified many new sites belonging to the EIA, and more specifically to the PG period, and have provided a wide range of new data with which to work.

¹ Unless otherwise specified, all dates are BCE.

Our picture of the period on Crete remains fragmentary, compared to later phases of the EIA, especially in settlement contexts. Given its position as a crucial transitional phase, in terms of material culture, settlement size and location, and external contacts with the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean, the Protogeometric period has thus been vulnerable to broad interpretation and conflation with the development of later phases of the EIA.

The broad purpose of this project is therefore to flesh out the Protogeometric phase on Crete by collecting all published archaeological data in an effort to develop a picture of the state of the evidence and interpretive frameworks for visualizing the period across the island. I focus in particular on the question of settlement development, and on how changes in habitation contexts in PG informed and influenced the appearance and organization of better-preserved later settlement phases in the Cretan EIA. I develop models for interpreting the meaning of PG settlement patterns and their underlying socio-political organization, and their relationship to broader historical trajectories of different regions of the island. At the same time, I begin to deconstruct some of the culture-historical narratives that remain in place concerning issues of ethnic identity and polis development on Crete.

Settlement development in the Cretan EIA

The following outline is intended to provide an overview of general shifts in settlements and material culture as they are currently understood. This summary is presented here with minimal commentary, but the historical concerns and biases that have shaped scholarship and fieldwork on this subject are outlined in the remaining sections of this chapter.

In late Late Minoan (LM) IIIB and into LM IIIC, there was a concerted move across much of the island away from coastal areas to new settlements in upland regions, often on peaks overlooking the coastal plain or inland plateaus and valleys. An early and typical example of this is the site of Karphi, a large settlement located on a high peak in the mountains on the northwest edge of the Lasithi Plateau. The site affords a good vantage point towards both the coast and the Lasithi Plateau, while being in a highly defensible location above both.² The reasons for this drastic shift in settlement location have been attributed to a range of factors, including both an increase in piracy (whether by outside invaders or inhabitants of the island) and a change in economic strategies following the collapse of hierarchical palatial-based systems in LM IIIA-B.³

The result of this shift was the creation in late LM IIIB or early LM IIIC of single settlements or aggregated clusters of small settlements whose catchment areas were defined by regional topographical boundaries, inter-regional access routes, and probably by economic networks based around localized subsistence strategies. Especially in East Crete and West Crete, and to a much lesser extent in Central Crete, clusters of settlements were composed of closely related hamlets or small villages whose populations were closely related and whose agricultural lands and pasturage would likely have been contiguous or overlapping.⁴ In Central Crete, settlements appeared to have been generally larger and in less easily-

² Pendlebury et al. 1937-8b.

³ Pendlebury et al. (1937-8b, 140) characterize the inhabitants of Karphi as both refugees and raiders; Nowicki (2000) follows this scenario of societal collapse, disruption, and the Minoan populations retreating to the mountains but (1987) rejects the idea that the inhabitants of Karphi practiced any sort of piracy. Haggis 1996, 410-14. Wallace (2003b) agrees that defensibility was part of the reason for new settlement locations rather than a new model of reliance on specialized herding. Cf. Haggis (2001) and Gaignerot-Driessen (2016a, 59-63) for critiques of the refugee settlement paradigm.

⁴ Haggis 1993.

defensible locations in LM IIIC, probably reflecting differences in both local topography and economic strategies.⁵

LM IIIC society appears to have been relatively egalitarian, based on low levels of differentiation in house size and elaboration in excavated settlements and on a lack of hierarchy in regional settlement patterns.⁶ The variation in house sizes and contents in some excavated settlements indicate the potential for a degree of social stratification within communities, however. Based on the archaeological evidence, descriptions of Homeric society, and ethnographic parallels, these societies have traditionally been reconstructed as organized around big men or petty *basileis*.⁷ In historical terms, they have previously been cast as Mycenaean elites who retreated from their palatial centers on Crete or even on the mainland after the political collapses at the end of the Bronze Age.⁸ More recently, these elements have been recast as the elite heads of kinship groups that were the predecessors of historically-attested Cretan clans and tribes.⁹ Based on the latter narrative and the available archaeological evidence, LM IIIC communities as a rule appear to have been structured by heterarchically-arranged and loosely related kinship groups whose members may have been differentiated by wealth but not necessarily by social status or identity.

The small size of most known LM IIIC settlements and a lack of evidence for a structured hierarchy between different groups within communities indicate a break with the

⁵ Wallace 2010-11, 65-6; Nowicki 2000, 241.

⁶ Wallace 2010, 113-16; Whitley 1991b, 346.

⁷ Whitley (1991b) reconstructs a “big-man” society for EIA Crete. Nowicki (2000, 238) dislikes this model, especially for very small communities like Vronda. Cf. Mazarakis Ainian 1997.

⁸ Pendlebury et al. 1937-8b, 139-40; Tsipopoulou 2005b; 2011a.

⁹ Nowicki 2000, 239.

former palatial systems, a strong social leveling, and the beginnings of the (re)negotiation of social identity and power between elites within and between settlements and regions. At the same time, aspects of Minoan material culture and practices continued through LM IIIC and in some cases beyond, especially in ceramic traditions and the realm of cult. The new settlements of the period formed the basis of later EIA occupation patterns and social structures across the island. For the most part, LM IIIC is therefore viewed as the beginning of the EIA on Crete.¹⁰

Many LM IIIC settlements were abandoned at the beginning of the Protogeometric period. The pattern varies across Crete, but in general there was an aggregative movement within regional populations towards a central site or sites. While many small settlements within an individual region were abandoned, one or two sites typically remained in use and grew in size and importance during this phase. Most of the smallest and most difficult-to-access LM IIIC sites were abandoned during this transition. A small number of new settlements were also established at the beginning of this period in Central Crete, but they represent a much lower percentage of Protogeometric settlements than those originally founded in LM IIIC. Regional territorial boundaries seem to have been much the same as they were in LM IIIC, with older settlement sites and more newly established extra-settlement sanctuary sites and cemeteries acting as visible territorial markers in many cases.¹¹ The number of imports, especially from the Eastern Mediterranean, also began to rise again

¹⁰ Cf. Wallace 2010, 22. The period is treated differently at Knossos, where LM IIIC is typically viewed as part of the Postpalatial period and SM marks the beginning of the EIA in the eleventh century: cf. Hatzaki (2007) and Coldstream (2001a).

¹¹ Cf. Wallace 2003a.

in PG after a strong decline in the 13th and 12th centuries, indicating an extension and diversification of regional economic networks.¹²

The formation and enlargement of many nucleated PG settlements would have required a renegotiation of power and social positions within communities by the inter-related kin-groups of the original LM IIIC settlements whose presence can be reconstructed from house plans and small collective tombs.¹³ The resulting increase in social complexity within PG communities was likely reflected in elaborations and reformations of the same types of structures already in place for negotiating status and group identities within LM IIIC communities. At the same time, the increased sizes of settlements and the growing availability of luxury imports by the end of the Protogeometric period point to the potential for increasing levels of social stratification and avenues for competitive display within some communities.

The Late Geometric (LG) period marked the largest extent of most of the known EIA settlements, which continued to expand from the Protogeometric period onwards. New construction took place at an accelerated rate during the eighth and early seventh centuries within many excavated sites. LG was also marked by a homogenization of pottery styles across the island and the codification of communal building types within settlements, especially the Cretan hearth temple.¹⁴ These developments would have required communal

¹² Hoffman 1997; Jones 2000; Boileau et al. 2010.

¹³ Cf. Glowacki 2004; 2007. See the catalogue of EIA tombs in Eaby (2007) for the regular attribution of collective tombs, especially the small tholoi typical of LM IIIC, to multi-generational family groups.

¹⁴ Wallace frequently uses the term “secular” to denote communal spaces or practices that were not cultic in nature. I avoid this term here, as it is a problematic one to use to describe ancient behaviors that were highly ritualized despite not being overtly related to cult practice.

cooperation based on the scale of some construction projects, suggesting the development of some form of centralized political power by this time, whether temporary or institutionalized. This is the period in which the beginnings of recognizable communal civic identities began to develop out of older EIA structures, probably in response to tensions or social exigencies developing in the context of increasingly large corporate groups that made up communities.

Most remaining sites that originated in LM IIIC-PG were abandoned over the course of the seventh and early sixth centuries as part of a series of further nucleations or aggregations to large, strategically positioned settlements. A number of communities abandoned upland locations and shifted closer to the coast (e.g. Anavlochos to Milatos), while others remained connected to EIA regional patterns but shifted the location of the settlement within those boundaries (e.g. Gortyn, Phaistos). Many of the settlements that remained or were established in this seventh century reformation became textually-attested Cretan poleis, with territorial boundaries that expanded over the course of the sixth century BCE. This is the moment at which the earliest legal inscriptions appeared that have formed the basis for discussions of the development of early civic identities and institutions.¹⁵ The historical question of polis development has traditionally driven both the investigation and the interpretation of archaeological evidence for the EIA, taking the seventh century map of Crete as the expected result of earlier developments.¹⁶

This summary emphasizes a broad material and cultural continuity between the twelfth and seventh centuries BCE that reflects the perspective of this dissertation and much current scholarship, but which does not enjoy full consensus. The degree of uncertainty and

¹⁵ Gagarin and Perlman (2016) provide the most recent assessment of Archaic Cretan legal inscriptions.

¹⁶ Cf. Kotsonas 2002.

the lack of detail with which most social elements of the Protogeometric period (and indeed the entire EIA) are described in this summary is indicative of the fragmentary nature of the available data for this phase of EIA settlement development and exposes the need for a targeted investigation of this transitional period. This now-standard narrative is also highly influenced by several strands of archaeological and historical scholarship that have often prioritized strong discontinuities between LM IIIC and the later EIA, however. Such approaches, especially those emphasizing ethnic identity and polis development, have been crucial to defining the Protogeometric period as both a chronological unit and as a cultural phase, but have also reinforced the dependence of Crete on mainland Greece for models of cultural development.

Pottery and Regional Chronologies

The term Protogeometric refers to a ceramic style first identified in the Kerameikos cemetery in Athens.¹⁷ The Attic school of Protogeometric pottery was the first to be identified and described in scholarship, and appears to first emerge on the Greek mainland.¹⁸ The subsequent appearance of Protogeometric styles in other regions signaled growing contacts with Athens, and led to an Athenocentric model of cultural development during the eleventh and tenth centuries. Desborough originally argued that the Attic school inspired all other regional schools of Protogeometric pottery, and that there was a long lag time in transmission to some of the further outlying regions of the Greek world, especially those areas that never developed a clear Attic-style Protogeometric repertoire even in their painted

¹⁷ Schweitzer 1917; Kraiker et al. 1939; cf. Lemos 2002, 3-4.

¹⁸ Desborough 1952.

pottery.¹⁹ He identified the start of the Protogeometric period in outlying regions by one of two criteria: a ceramic assemblage that was no longer related to the preceding Bronze Age one, or an assemblage that shared traits with the Athenian style of Protogeometric pottery.²⁰ Further work on regional Submycenaean pottery sequences has demonstrated that Protogeometric styles of pottery appeared outside of Athens much sooner and perhaps more independently than Desborough originally imagined, but this did not substantively change the picture of Athens as the center of a Protogeometric stylistic trend.²¹ Conservative regional ceramic traditions that adopted relatively little or none of the Attic Protogeometric spirit (including Crete) have typically been described as culturally stagnant or backwards.

These attitudes towards the style and spread of Protogeometric pottery throughout the Aegean provides the background to the original production of both relative and absolute ceramic chronologies on Crete. Several different chronologies have been proposed for various regions and sites on Crete, summarized in **Figure 1**. The divergences in these chronologies comes from a combination of types of excavated contexts and stratigraphic control, and the historical questions being asked of archaeological material, especially on social and economic trends. These latter concerns have not affected the accuracy or functional usefulness of current chronologies but have played a major part in constructions of the period characterized by Protogeometric styles of pottery.

¹⁹ Desborough 1952, 126.

²⁰ Desborough 1952, 235.

²¹ Lemos 2002, 3-26.

The primary ceramic sequence for EIA Crete is the one developed for Knossos by Brock, based on his study of the material from the Fortetsa cemetery.²² In this study, Brock developed a stylistic relative sequence based on both the shapes and decorative treatment of the ceramic material. Because the tombs in the cemetery were in use over multiple generations and had been excavated several decades earlier than his study, the resulting relative chronology was based almost entirely on stylistic development rather than on contextual data.²³ Brock's resulting chronology identified a PG period composed of four subphases: EPG, MPG, LPG, and PGB. The period was preceded by a Subminoan (SM) phase and succeeded by an Early Geometric (EG) phase. Brock also proposed an absolute chronology, based on a small number of datable Attic imports in the assemblage. In his scheme, the Protogeometric period was sharply offset from the Attic PG phase and lasted from the early tenth through the end of the ninth century BCE. This dating system, both relative and absolute, was largely confirmed by the large assemblage of pottery from the more recently excavated EIA tombs of the Knossos North Cemetery. Coldstream identified the same stylistic subphases as Brock in the North Cemetery pottery, and only slightly adjusted the absolute dates of some periods, again based on the presence of Attic imports in the tombs.²⁴ This chronology has been used to date most of the other EIA assemblages in both the settlement and the cemetery areas excavated at Knossos.²⁵

²² Brock 1957.

²³ Brock 1957, 142.

²⁴ Coldstream 1996, 409-12; Coldstream 2001a, 21-2.

²⁵ E.g. Coldstream 1972; Coldstream 1973a; Coldstream 2000a; Coldstream 2001a.

Because of its stylistic precision and the wealth of published pottery from the site, this chronology quickly became the standard one for use across Crete. The implications for identifying PG pottery based on this were threefold: the Knossos PG sequence was largely composed of an assemblage of decorated fineware shapes influenced by Attic styles; this sequence is almost entirely derived from tomb assemblages; and it does not contain many closely dated coarse ware shapes, meaning that it is of limited use for study of survey material.

The Knossos chronology works well in Central Crete, with the caveat that southern Central Cretan sites, such as Phaistos, were more conservative in their adoption of new shapes and decorations: some shapes popular in PG at Knossos, such as the straight-sided pithos, continued in use through the eighth century.²⁶ The largest chronological discrepancy is the absolute chronology proposed by Snodgrass for Central Crete, based primarily on the Knossos tomb assemblages, in which he proposed that SM lasted for most of the tenth century before giving way to the PG style.²⁷ He relied on the same dated Attic sequence as Brock for absolute dates but he also believed that the inherent conservatism of the local Cretan ceramic tradition produced a significant delay between the importation of Attic originals to centers like Knossos and the transmission of Attic stylistic elements into the Cretan repertoire.²⁸

Defining the transition between SM and PG in stylistic and chronological terms has proved to be a major challenge in working out regional chronologies and culture histories.

²⁶ Coldstream 1968a, 255.

²⁷ Snodgrass 1971, 128-9, 135.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 129.

Subminoan was a style of pottery first identified at Knossos, defined as a mixture between older Minoan and newer PG styles in the same vessel, often found in the same contexts as fully PG vessels.²⁹ At Knossos, SM pottery was in use for much of the eleventh century before the appearance of a recognizable EPG style.³⁰ Elsewhere on Crete, SM forms have been identified with much less frequency and, as they seem to appear only in tombs, may have been a stylistic rather than a chronologically defined phenomenon.³¹

The challenge of defining SM and PG chronologically and culturally has also proved to be a problem in understanding the chronological and stylistic framework of the tenth through eighth centuries in East Crete. In his study of Protogeometric pottery, Desborough only identified a handful of vessels from East Crete (all from tombs) that were PG in style.³² By this, he meant that the vessels showed signs of Attic stylistic influence of the sort seen at Knossos, and therefore conformed to his model of the introduction of Protogeometric in a region outside of Attica in which an Attic-inspired PG style appeared. Based on this, Desborough, and Snodgrass after him, identified a SM phase in East Crete that lasted through the entirety of the eleventh through eighth centuries with no discernable local PG phase. This lack was viewed as a sign that this part of the island was culturally stagnant and withdrawn from Central Crete as well as the rest of the Aegean.³³

²⁹ Catling 1996, 295-6; Brock 1957, 8, 142; Popham 1992, 60; Mook 1993, 169-70.

³⁰ Cf. Coldstream 2001a.

³¹ Hayden 2003, 5-6; Mook 2004, 169; Hallager 2010; Day 2011a, 3.

³² Desborough 1952, 250-70.

³³ Desborough 1952, 260-8; Desborough 1948. Snodgrass (1971, 237) argues that the available evidence instead points to a lack of isolation between Central and Eastern Crete, although he does not speculate about the nature of the contacts.

A local PG style has since been identified and codified for East Crete, based on many of the same tomb assemblages used by Desborough, as well as more recently excavated contexts.³⁴ This style has many parallels with the non-Atticizing portions of the Knossian PG repertoire, and points to a pan-Cretan PG aesthetic as well as to trade connections between different parts of the island. The regular presence of such shapes as the bell-skyphos also indicates that there was more diffusion of mainland styles of PG pottery to East Crete than originally thought by Desborough. SM remains a distinct chronological phase only in Tsipopoulou's chronology and typology of East Cretan EIA pottery, which is based primarily on mortuary assemblages.³⁵

The excavations at Kavousi Kastro have produced the first continuous ceramic chronology for East Crete (and indeed for the entirety of Crete) based on stratified settlement contexts rather than burial contexts.³⁶ This chronology consists of a long LM IIIC phase (Phases I-III) followed by a transitional LM IIIC-EPG phase (Phase IV), a relatively short PG phase (Phase V) in the tenth century, and a Subprotogeometric (SPG) phase (Phase VI) in the ninth century. This sequence has two implications for our understanding of EIA chronology and ceramic typologies in East Crete: first, that SM was not identified in settlement contexts on the Kastro, leading to the argument that this style of pottery was confined to tombs and was therefore contemporary with some part of the later LM IIIC and earlier PG phases in the settlement; and second, that a stylistically distinct SPG phase appeared in East Crete but not in Central Crete. The PG period identified at the Kastro

³⁴ Tsipopoulou 2005a.

³⁵ Tsipopoulou 2005a, 555-6.

³⁶ Mook 2004.

therefore very likely began in the tenth century, but it diverged from the Knossian sequence a half-century before the Geometric period started, pointing to the presence of regional idiosyncrasies.

There is no comparable full chronology developed for the EIA in West Crete. A chronology for LPG onwards is available from the Orthi Petra cemetery at Eleutherna.³⁷ This chronology is closely tied to the Knossos chronology, and is more similar to it than the East Cretan PG repertoire is. This partial PG chronology will hopefully be extended back in time with the publication of the extensive LM IIIC and PG deposits from Thronos Kephala, still under study.³⁸

The final chronological and stylistic problem related to the Cretan repertoire is the idiosyncratic Protogeometric B (PGB) style. This was a short-lived stylistic phenomenon that was first identified and described by Brock in the Fortetsa assemblage, characterized by the appearance of an array of “orientalizing” motifs similar to those found on contemporary imports from the Near East.³⁹ This style has caused much controversy, both in its origins and its cultural implications. Knossos appears to have been the epicenter of the style, where it was in vogue for much of the second half of the ninth century. It appears infrequently outside of north Central Crete and appears to have been a very localized style, although a PGB phase has been identified at Eleutherna and vessels of PGB style have been identified in East

³⁷ Kotsonas 2008a.

³⁸ D’Agata (2011a) has identified two phases of SM on Crete, based in part on deposits from Thronos Kephala.

³⁹ Brock 1957, 143; Coldstream 1968a, 235-9; Andreadaki-Vlaziaki 1990; Kotsonas 2013, 234-8.

Crete.⁴⁰ In economic and social terms, this style of pottery coincides with a period of increased display of imported luxury items from the Near East in burials and sanctuaries such as the Idaean Cave, and a greater degree of wealth at Knossos, through which many of the imports on Crete were presumably funneled.⁴¹ During the period that the PGB style was in use at Knossos, the SPG style had replaced the full PG style on the Kastro. The PGB phenomenon was relatively short-lived and was followed by an equally short-lived and ostentatious EG style at Knossos, after which the Knossian repertoire became much more subdued under the influence of Attic MG styles.⁴²

For the purposes of this project, I broadly define PG as encompassing the tenth and ninth centuries BCE across the island. Many sites and contexts discussed in this dissertation cannot be dated more specifically than this within the Protogeometric period, especially those known principally from surface survey. The chronologies discussed here will continue to be refined with further excavation and publication.

This discussion of the variety of PG ceramic sequences present on the island is intended primarily to highlight the diversity present on Crete during this period, both as a factor of actual regional variation and of differential patterns of excavation, as much as to lay out the chronological framework bounding this project. The interpretive power of these disparate chronologies and their intersections with broader Aegean-wide stylistic trends is bound up in larger long-standing assumptions about socio-political development on Crete that have traditionally driven historical narratives of the EIA. The result of arguments over

⁴⁰ Cf. Coulson 1990; Tsipopoulou 2005a, 557.

⁴¹ Cf. Hoffman 1997; Jones 2000.

⁴² Brock 1957, 143-4; Coldstream 2001a, 66-9.

the significance of subphases of PG and of the EIA in general has been the emergence of a very periodized and regionalized view of cultural period tied to changing ceramic fashions.

History of Settlement Research

The root of the larger problem of how to account for the changes in the Protogeometric period on Crete that made the foregoing discussion of chronologies thematically necessary lies in old historical models of migrations to Crete at the end of the Bronze Age, as well as in the concept of an older “Minoan” ethnic group that remained materially and culturally distinct from later immigrants. The presence of Mycenaeans or Mycenaeanizing groups (or Achaeans, in the Homeric terms sometimes applied in older scholarship)⁴³ is attested by pottery types and tomb contexts at various sites across Crete in LM IIIA-B.⁴⁴ The appearance of megaron-style structures in LM IIIC settlement like Karphi and Monasteraki Chalasmenos have also at times been interpreted as evidence for the continued presence of a Mycenaean ethnic group on Crete after the final collapse of Minoan political centers.⁴⁵

⁴³ For uses as a cultural descriptor in archaeological contexts of LBA/EIA date: Pendlebury et al. 1937-8b, 137; Pendlebury 1939, 309-11. The Homeric term is, of course, problematic in this context since, as Hooker (1969, 60) put it: “nothing in Homer suggests that Idomeneus is not as thoroughly ‘Achaean’ as Agamemnon himself.”

⁴⁴ Cf. Driessen and Farnoux 1997. See also Preston (2004) for a discussion of the problems of associating the material elements of emulative localized elite practices in LM I-III B with a “Mycenaean” ethnic identity.

⁴⁵ Karphi: Pendlebury et al. (1937-8b, 70-1) refers to the megarons as a Homeric oikos, while Day (2011a, 21) argues that the regularity of the plans of these structures is probably because of the topography rather than because of ethnic overtones. Wallace (2005, 265-70) argues that the use of the Mycenaeanizing megaron form was deployed by local elites as a means of producing status through emulation. Chalasmenos: Tsipopoulou (2005b, 2011) argues that the megaron-style buildings were either used by an upper class made up either of Mycenaeans from the mainland or by a mixed “Mycenoan” elite. Rupp (2007) argues that the megarons at Chalasmenos were the result of the repetition of convenient agglomerative building units rather than as a deliberate statement of

This Postpalatial wave of Mycenaean immigration was supposedly followed by a wave of migratory Dorian populations sometime in the early Early Iron Age.⁴⁶ These new mainland groups were culturally and linguistically distinct from the native Cretans (read: the older Minoan stock rather than the newer Mycenaean elites), and were assumed to have established themselves as elites within Cretan communities by pushing out or enslaving the older Cretan populations.⁴⁷ In contemporary material terms, the appearance of a new Atticizing style of pottery in Central Crete, and the more or less synchronous adoption of the practice of cremation burials was originally taken as evidence for the date of the arrival of the Dorians on the island.⁴⁸ Since then, no fully “Dorian” material assemblage has been identified that would prove the existence of a new distinct ethnic group in EIA settlements, and the ethnic implications of even the most Atticizing Knossian PG pottery have been disputed based on its clear development out of earlier local forms.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, the

ethnicity. In general, there is a distinction that should be drawn between the prevalence of mainland styles of architecture that appear on Crete in LM IIIA-B settlements and the presence of a distinct Mycenaean ethnic group that persisted as a distinct entity into LM IIIC on the island.

⁴⁶ Dorians, among other ethnic groups, were first textually attested on Crete at *Od.* 19.172-77. Archaeologists of early excavations typically followed this terminology, equating post-Minoan material culture with Dorians: cf. Coldstream 1984. Gagarin and Perlman (2016, 1) point to a disconnect between the literary and epigraphical sources about the homogenous Dorian nature of Cretan practices and institutions. See Hall (2002, 73-89) for an overview of the Dorian problem, including the roles of archaeology in the debate over the existence and date of a Dorian invasion and the identities of the Dorians in Greek history.

⁴⁷ Willetts 1955, 251; Perlman 2000, 63.

⁴⁸ Pendlebury et al. (1937-8b, 137-9) associates the Dorian invasion with the appearance of PG pottery on Crete. Desborough (1952, 260) points out chronological problems in equating cremation with PG pottery at such sites as Olous, where cremation appeared in LM III.

⁴⁹ Brock (1957, 217) argues that there is nothing clearly Dorian in the pottery from PG Knossos. Desborough (1964, 193-4) argues that there is no good ceramic evidence marking intruders into Central Crete in LM IIIC-PG.

assumption of a mainland Dorian presence on Crete as the dominant cultural group for much of the EIA has persisted in scholarship.⁵⁰

One reason for this lies in the historical record, including the later attestation of Doric tribal and calendar names in inscriptions; institutions such as the *andreion* that could be directly linked to mainland practices like the Spartan *syssition*; and traditional foundation narratives attested in later textual sources like Pausanias or Strabo.⁵¹ Most of these elements are not consistently or unequivocally attested across even the most traditionally Dorian cities in Central Crete, and at least some of the foundation narratives concerning mainland groups may have been later inventions used to create new local identities.⁵² This may also have been the case for the traditionally “native” Eteocretan centers in East Crete like Praisos, where a local ethnic identity was expressed through inscriptions in Eteocretan script in the Archaic and Classical periods, but whose material culture did not show any distinctive material

⁵⁰ Knossos is the site most usually labeled as Dorian, especially in scholarship by Coldstream. Nowicki (2000, 237, 242, 265) refers to ongoing waves of migration from the mainland in the twelfth and eleventh centuries which shaped the new ethnic form of Cretan communities. He does not label the migratory groups or connect them with specific material culture assemblages, however, nor is he specific about whether the newcomers came as immigrants or conquerors. Watrous et al. (2004, 309-11) accept the presence of a mixture of Minoans, Mycenaean, and Dorians at LM IIIC Phaistos, but are not explicit about what archaeological material demonstrates the Dorian presence. Hayden et al. (2004, 154-5) accepts the possibility that new groups, including Dorians, immigrated to the Vrokastro area and joined the existing population sometime between LM IIIC-EPG, perhaps introducing the tradition of corbel-vaulted tombs. See Gaignerot-Driessen (2016a, 26-8) for an overview of current evidence for the presence of a corresponding Eteocretan ethnic group in East Crete.

⁵¹ Cf. Willetts 1955; Gagarin and Perlman 2016; Perlman 2000. Koehl (1997) argues that the Cretan *andreion* evolved directly out of earlier Minoan practices.

⁵² Cf. Perlman (2005) for the argument that the Cretan Constitution and therefore the idea of a homogenous and highly conservative Doric Cretan political system was an Attic invention of the Classical period. Perlman (2000) also demonstrates that Gortyn’s foundation by mythological figures from the Peloponnese was not attested until several centuries after the foundation of the polis.

differences from non-Eteocretan cities.⁵³ There is still a tendency by historians and archaeologists to extend these ethnic identities that crystallized in the Archaic period as historical facts back into the EIA without a rigorous discussion of the underlying methodological problems of reconstructing ethnicity from the archaeological record. The result is that attributed regional social and ethnic identities during the EIA have been largely top-down and static impositions on archaeologically-attested Cretan communities.

More broadly, the arrival of the Dorians and their putative influences on the Cretan material culture have been identified as the moment when Crete became “Greek”, in contrast with earlier Minoan/indigenous forms.⁵⁴ In cases where it is still used in scholarship, the label “Dorian” is mostly synonymous with “mainland Greek” rather than more specifically as a (Peloponnesian) Doric Greek identity when used in the context of the EIA.⁵⁵ The implication is that developments like new material assemblages or mortuary practices and later, by extension, the appearance of historical poleis whose emergence has been well-studied and modelled at various sites on the Greek mainland should have direct observable and predictable parallels on Crete.

At the same time as the Dorians have provided Crete with a recognizably Greek cultural identity in scholarship, synthetic treatments of the EIA in the Aegean have typically

⁵³ Whitley (1998, 38) notes that there is nothing in the archaeological record from the Praisos area that would indicate a separate (Eteocretan) ethnic identity. At Azoria, both Greek and Eteocretan inscriptions have been found in recent excavations: Haggis 2013b, 81.

⁵⁴ Coldstream (2006, 581) views “Early Greek” as synonymous with “Early Iron Age” and prefers the former. In other Aegean contexts, Lemos (2002, 225) characterizes PG as the beginning of “Early Greece.” The cultural changes in burial and use of iron originally associated with this phase have sometimes been associated with the Dorians.

⁵⁵ Hall (2002, 111) emphasizes the difference between a shared Greek material culture and a shared expression of Greek identity, which only fully emerged by the fifth century BCE.

marginalized Crete as a cultural region, while treating mainland sites like Athens as the formative centers of Greek culture over the course of the EIA.⁵⁶ Desborough's argument that the Protogeometric period and style of pottery started in Athens was followed by Snodgrass, who called Cretan PG a "later derivative style," marking Crete as culturally distant from the rest of the Greek world.⁵⁷ An even more extreme example is the complete exclusion of Crete by Lemos from her monograph on the Protogeometric period in the Aegean.⁵⁸ The result of these trends in previous scholarship is that newer work, especially on questions of cultural continuity within the EIA and of polis development, must decide the extent to which Crete's role in the developing material and cultural koine of the EIA Aegean requires its settlements to follow the same historical trajectories as places like Athens, Corinth, or Eretria towards some form of statehood in the Archaic period. There is thus a dissonance in scholarship between the model of a unifying early Hellenism as promoted by historical narratives of ethnicity and that of the separate trajectory of the Cretan EIA settlement record from that of the Greek mainland. This dissonance is still present in current scholarship but is seldom explicitly acknowledged. It affects discussions of Cretan PG sites and society disproportionately within the EIA because of the combination of long-standing scholarly formulations of the period and an archaeological record sufficiently full of lacunae that can easily be filled with broad historical hypotheses.

Within scholarship specifically focused on the Cretan EIA, research has increasingly turned to questions of (dis)continuity in settlement patterns as localized responses to

⁵⁶ E.g. Desborough 1952; Snodgrass 1971; Whitley 1991a.

⁵⁷ Snodgrass 1971, 44, 68.

⁵⁸ Lemos 2002, 1. See Snodgrass (2004) and Papadopoulos (2004) for critiques of this exclusion.

economic and political changes. In particular, fieldwork across Crete has focused on tracing the movement and consolidation of populations within settlements between LM IIIC and the Archaic period as part of identifying the material components of early stages of polis development. Defining the social identities involved in polis development has by and large replaced the search for specific ethnic groups, but as a research agenda it still retains many of the same preoccupations with identifying the development of recognizably Greek political forms on the island. These preoccupations are clear in three recent discussions of the Protogeometric period and its deterministic role in later settlement and socio-political patterns.

Nowicki conducted a site prospecting survey of what he termed “defensible sites” or “refuge settlements” across Crete, focusing on the extreme changes evident in the settlement pattern between LM IIIB and the EIA proper.⁵⁹ He focused in particular on sites founded and occupied during LM IIIC, and on how their preoccupation with defensibility through elevation, difficulty of access, and fortification informs us about how political frameworks on Crete during the twelfth through tenth centuries were established in response to high levels of insecurity stemming from the collapse of palatial, hierarchical societies across the Eastern Mediterranean. Nowicki’s research re-codified a long-recognized pattern of LM IIIC sites across the higher elevations of island, and focused on identifying the new territorial organization that was established in the twelfth century as a response to the collapse of Bronze Age society and its economic system.⁶⁰ His characterization of many such sites as places of refuge from external threats has been criticized most recently by Gaignerot-

⁵⁹ Nowicki 2000.

⁶⁰ Nowicki 2000, 230-1; Nowicki 2001.

Driessen, who points out that most of these sites were significantly more long-lived and visible in the landscape than would make sense for a settlement established for the purpose of hiding from invaders.⁶¹ While Nowicki's research focus was on the LM IIIC phase of the sites that he and previous explorers identified, many of these sites continued to be occupied through the rest of the EIA.

Nowicki retains the narrative that the establishment of new EIA settlement systems, especially in East and West Crete, was a response to the immigration of other ethnic groups from LM IIIA-B onwards. He cites the introduction of cremation in newly established cemeteries like the Knossos North Cemetery in the eleventh century as one piece of evidence, but also notes that archaeological evidence for the wave of immigration that is supposed to have moved through Central Crete at this time is difficult to identify.⁶² Although he does not refer directly to a Dorian ethnic identity, Nowicki proposes that the defensible settlements that characterized East and West Crete were settled by Minoan refugees pushed out of their older territories.⁶³ He argues that the different ethnic groups would have co-existed along shared territorial boundaries, especially on the boundary between the Lasithi Mountains and the Pediada region, but would have occupied different economic spheres through LM IIIC. He characterizes the shift to a more consolidated PG settlement pattern along the same economic and adversarial lines: the appearance of large PG sites in East Crete in particular was the result of competitive territorial expansion among groups of LM IIIC

⁶¹ Gaignerot-Driessen 2016a, 60-3; cf. Haggis 2001.

⁶² Nowicki 2000, 242.

⁶³ Nowicki 2000, 242.

communities as well as increasing population through growth or additional immigration.⁶⁴ He therefore identifies the underlying factors behind the shift to larger nucleated sites in the tenth century as being driven by ethnic and economic factors. Nowicki's analysis stops with the transition to the PG settlement pattern, and he does not deal with how the PG settlement pattern affected the later EIA or Archaic period. The historical narrative that he develops relies on an essential chronological discontinuity between the settlement patterns and populations of LM IIIA and LM IIIC-PG, but also on a spatial discontinuity between ethnic regions on Crete throughout the EIA as an explanatory factor for why regional settlement patterns were different. In most respects, the historical narrative driving Nowicki's fieldwork and his interpretation of newly-identified sites does not differ in many respects from those proposed by Desborough and Snodgrass.

Wallace in turn has focused on the lack of destruction in LM IIIB sites on Crete, and the relatively uniform and organized transition to a new upland settlement pattern in LM IIIC. She describes this transition as a "successful collapse" and characterizes it as a highly adaptive response to the slow disintegration of the existing hierarchical socio-political structure following the destruction of the Minoan palaces.⁶⁵ Her overarching argument is that the nature of the Bronze Age-EIA transition on Crete meant that Cretan society settled into a new pattern much more quickly and sustainably than on the contemporary mainland. As a consequence of the fast and successful negotiation of new physical and social patterns, however, Cretan society remained more conservative in its structure than in the more volatile

⁶⁴ Nowicki 2000, 243-7. Nowicki 2000, 247: "[The PG sites] dramatically extended their LM IIIC border, either by immigration from beyond Crete, or by attracting the inhabitants of neighboring areas, or by physical destruction of the rivals and bringing the victims by force."

⁶⁵ Wallace 2010.

central Aegean. Among other results, Wallace argues that this early conservatism in the twelfth through ninth centuries meant that there was no chance for democracy or other such radical and potentially unstable forms of government to develop in Cretan poleis in the Archaic and Classical periods.⁶⁶ She focuses in particular on the formation of nuclei in PG as the moment of the full and successful coalescence of these emerging patterns that laid the foundation for structuring the rest of the EIA on Crete.

As part of this model, Wallace argues that the germs of the social structures that developed into civic institutions of the seventh century poleis were essentially in place and part of EIA society by at least the tenth century and possibly earlier.⁶⁷ While she does not view the Protogeometric phase of any site as any sort of proto-polis, she considers this period and its newly enlarged nucleated sites as the necessary starting point for polis formation. In particular, the formation of a generally stable social order in LM IIIC and the lack of major cultural disruptions during the EIA meant that any significant socio-political developments of the late eighth century had their origins in the society of the tenth and ninth centuries, rather than being radical departures from past practices.

Wallace approaches the EIA nuclei from a social and economic standpoint and focuses on the ways that underlying social structures would have governed the shift to a pattern of large PG-G nucleated settlements, rather than on the external forces foregrounded in Nowicki's model. Her thesis is largely predicated on an essential continuity and linear development between the beginning and the end of the EIA. This means that tenth and ninth century settlements were positioned as the formative stages for more visible eighth and

⁶⁶ Wallace 2010, 3.

⁶⁷ Wallace 2004; Wallace 2010, 4; Wallace 2010-11, 17, 66-8.

seventh century contexts, with later contexts capable of standing in archaeologically for earlier PG ones that are too fragmentary to interpret fully in and of themselves. This sense of continuity from the beginning of the EIA is also developed in Wallace's study of the ways in which Bronze Age and LM IIIC sites were reused or referenced to create communal legitimizing identities within broader regions by PG-Ar groups.⁶⁸ By highlighting the importance of the PG period in structuring later developments, Wallace pushes back against the more traditional narrative that places the beginning of polis development wholly in the eighth century through extensive discussions of PG settlement patterns and archaeological contexts. At the same time, her assumption of the inevitability of polis development along lines recognizable from a mainland perspective, even in PG, retains many of the hallmarks of older historical formulas.

Most recently, Gaignerot-Driessen conducted a study of EIA settlement development in the Mirabello region of East Crete in which she identifies a similar pattern of nucleation at large centralized sites in PG as Wallace.⁶⁹ She views the move to these large nuclei in PG partially as a product of an economic reorientation towards a more centralized exploitation of regional resources.⁷⁰ Gaignerot-Driessen diverges from Wallace's model of PG site development in that she sees PG-LG as a long period of gradual growth in size and social complexity, followed by a crucial watershed moment in LG when the development of clear clan identities and a more centralized authority within communities appeared.⁷¹ She argues

⁶⁸ Wallace 2003a.

⁶⁹ Gaignerot-Driessen 2016a.

⁷⁰ Gaignerot-Driessen 2016a, 172.

⁷¹ Gaignerot-Driessen 2016a, 156, 172-3.

that the basic social structure within communities did not change profoundly between LM IIIC and LG, and that it was partially the ability to call on the Late Bronze Age ancestral past in the form of tomb veneration and reuse that helped to drive and facilitate the creation of new clan-based identities in the eighth century that were related to later polis-based tribes on Crete. Her argument conforms to a more traditional chronological and historical framework for the Greek world that privileges the LG period as the moment of cultural acceleration towards larger and more concentrated polities rather than the PG period.

Current scholarship therefore agrees in broad strokes on the material appearance of settlement development between LM IIIC and the end of the Geometric period, including the impact of the large-scale nucleation of populations starting in the tenth century BCE on later settlement patterns.⁷² These treatments differ in their interpretations of the social motivations and outcomes behind the move to centralized settlements within larger territorial regions in PG and in the origins of their populations. Most importantly, however, they differ in the relative importance that they assign to the impact of the changes on the Protogeometric period in later proto-urban and social developments: Wallace believes that the PG settlement pattern was crucial for the ultimate form of the Cretan polis, while Gaignerot-Driessen (perhaps following a more traditional historical narrative) argues that it was the combination of settlement growth and changes in ritual practices in LG-O that principally resulted in the development of the polis in the Archaic period. Both of these treatments rely heavily on evidence from eighth and seventh century contexts for reconstructing the appearance of tenth

⁷² “Geometric” is used here to indicate the eighth century BCE (i.e. post-PG). In some publications, especially earlier ones, it can be used as a more generic term that can sometimes encompass PG material as well, referring to the broad changes in ceramic decoration. In general, “Geometric” as a stand-alone category is not well-defined in bounded chronological, ceramic, or cultural terms, and is thus used sparingly here.

and ninth century settlements. These differing views demonstrate both that the Protogeometric period is still not fully understood on Crete despite decades of research, and that the assumption of the eventual development of the (Greek) polis on the island continues to play a central role in the production of historical narratives about the EIA.

What this dissertation sets out to do, therefore, is to untangle the available evidence for occupation on Crete during the Protogeometric period from at least some of the historical preconceptions built around it as explanatory tools in order to build a more detailed and regionally-based picture of social change between the tenth and eighth centuries BCE. A primary outcome of this approach is to emphasize the potential for historical reductiveness in such labels as “Minoan”, “Greek”, and “polis” in a period in which none of these labels can be firmly attached to any physical remains in the inhabited landscape. I do not propose to disregard these labels, of course, but rather to highlight them as extremely etic categories that have been imposed on the EIA in ways that have often obscured underlying mechanisms of social and political development on Crete.

Chapter 2 is a full catalogue of Protogeometric sites on Crete, encompassing settlements, extra-settlement cult sites, and cemeteries/tombs. The purpose of this catalogue is to collect a full dataset of archaeological evidence in order to reassess the extent and nature of human occupation on Crete during the Protogeometric period, portions of which underpin the discussions in the rest of the dissertation. Chapter 3 is a regional study of settlement development, based on the catalogue in Chapter 2. This chapter discusses the transition between LM IIIC and PG in different parts of the island and develops two models for settlement and territorial development that led to the establishment of settlement patterns associated with large central sites in PG. These models provide a more diverse picture of

settlement development and socio-political transformation in PG than previous scholarship on the subject has suggested. Chapter 4 examines the changing appearance of EIA settlements in the Protogeometric period from the perspective of the individual excavated settlements of Kavousi Kastro and Knossos. It addresses the question of whether internal changes in the spatial organization of settlements reflected changes in the broader reorganization of territories and thus in changing social structures within these communities that took place in PG. Chapter 5 discusses changes in ritual behavior within settlements over the course of the EIA. It examines the changing uses of and interactions between communal cult spaces and communal dining contexts in order to discuss changes in how social groups and social cohesion were produced within communities over time. This chapter demonstrates how changes in the settlement pattern and social organization in the Protogeometric period led to changes in ritualized communal activities that helped to reinforce new community identities and territorial boundaries that persisted through the end of the EIA.

What is at stake in developing a fuller picture of the Protogeometric period is defining how Cretan society in turn defined itself and its political structure within the growing socio-political koine of the Aegean during the EIA. As part of this, this project addresses the tension in scholarship between a picture of cultural discontinuity produced by the introduction of new (mainland-oriented) ethnic identities in PG or by individual horizons of settlement nucleation, and more recent work that has emphasized an essential continuity of material culture and population while still by and large maintaining an unreflective notion of Greekness as an essential part of EIA culture. As the chronological and cultural linchpin between the Late Bronze Age and the Late Geometric period, the nature of occupation and social organization in the Protogeometric period is essential for understanding and describing

continuity in social and structural developments. The goal of this dissertation is thus to present a complete picture of the archaeological evidence for the Protogeometric period on Crete as a means of facilitating future discussions and fieldwork focused on the period as well as to ground the analysis presented here.

CHAPTER 2

The following is a catalogue comprising all sites on Crete that are known to have been occupied during the Protogeometric period (**Figure 2**). This catalogue, and the discussion of its contents in succeeding chapters, foregrounds the settlement evidence, but also includes all known extra-settlement cult and tomb sites in order to provide a full picture of the Protogeometric cultural landscape within and between regions of the island. This catalogue will form the basis for the synthetic discussions of regional patterns and site types in Chapters 3, 4, and 5. Entries are arranged geographically east to west across the island and also according to regional groupings. Catalogue A consists of settlement sites and includes descriptions of cult areas located within settlements. Catalogue B consists of extra-settlement and regional cult sites. Catalogue C consists of mortuary sites, both cemeteries and individual tombs.

Criteria for the selection of sites: Sites were chosen for inclusion in this catalogue based on available published evidence for their occupation during the Protogeometric period. Sites included here were identified through excavation, intensive survey, and extensive survey and site prospecting.⁷³ Excavated sites provide data from stratified PG deposits and residual PG

⁷³ Examples of intensive surveys include: Western Mesara (Watrous et al. 2004), Kavousi (Haggis 2005), Vrokastro (Hayden et al. 2004; 2005), Gournia (Watrous et al. 2012), Knossos (Kotsonas et al. 2012; Whitelaw et al. 2016; 2017), and Galatas (Watrous et al. 2017). Examples of extensive surveys and site prospecting include: Pendlebury et al. 1932-3; Dunbabin 1947; Hood 1965; 1967; Hood et al. 1964; Hood and Warren 1966; Nowicki 2000; Panagiotakis 2003; Wallace 2010-11; Wallace 2013.

material indicating some level of occupation. For sites known only through surface survey and site prospecting, sites containing discrete PG material in the assemblage are included here on the assumption that they were occupied through at least a significant extent of the period. Similarly, sites from survey publications whose date range is published as encompassing the tenth and ninth centuries (e.g. LM IIIC/EIA, LM IIIC-G, PG-O) are also included on the assumption that occupation was continuous even when material dating specifically to PG is not mentioned in publications. Most LM IIIC sites that were occupied only into EPG are not included here, on the rationale that these sites did not contribute to the newly-established PG settlement patterns, except by their abandonment. In the cases of these sites, their exclusion is based on a cultural criterion, as many of these sites included at least some stylistically PG pottery. The difference between the data recorded from intensive regional surveys and site prospecting projects is negligible at the level of the individual site for the purposes of this project, although intensive surveys often provide more carefully measured site sizes. These two types of investigation provide very different data at the regional level, however, in terms of the size range of identified sites and their density/location in the landscape. For the most part, intensive survey and site prospecting present complementary rather than overlapping pictures of regional landscapes in the EIA.

The small number of sites dating only to LM IIIC-EPG listed in the catalogue are included because of their prominent place in the scholarship and therefore in the narratives that have been previously constructed about socio-political and structural developments between LM IIIC and PG (e.g. Vasiliki Kephala).

The information in catalogue entries includes:

Site name/toponym(s): The site name as given in previous publications, along with any variations present in scholarship. For most sites, the toponyms are typically a combination of the name of the nearest village and the local toponym for the location of the actual site (e.g. Kavousi Vronda). Sites identified in regional surface surveys that were not identified based on a local toponym are listed here by the alpha-numeric or transect designations assigned to them in the original publications (e.g. B38, Western Mesara Survey). Transliterations of Greek toponyms have been standardized throughout this text and may therefore differ from previous publications.

Nomos: Current nomos boundaries (Lasithi, Heraklion, Rethymno, Chania). The modern administrative districts roughly follow existing geographical divisions of the island that helped to define older cultural regions with distinctive settlement patterns: East Crete as discussed here is equivalent to the Lasithi nomos; Central Crete is equivalent to the Heraklion nomos; and West Crete is equivalent to the Rethymno and Chania nomoi. These perceived ancient divisions have, to a certain extent, been produced by geographically and chronologically uneven modern archaeological research as well as by modern boundaries. As such, they are useful broad categories for organizing sites and looking for regional patterns, but they also have the potential for producing an over-simplistic reductive vision of ancient Cretan cultural topographies.

Description: A description of the site, including information about site type (settlement, cult, tomb); method of exploration (e.g. excavation vs. survey); the extent of the site where known; a description of architecture; and the contents of any excavated deposits. The focus

of each entry is on the PG phase of the site. Information about other phases of site use, especially of LM IIIC and G-Ar date, is included when relevant for understanding and contextualizing the PG material. Unless otherwise specified, this information is based on the published record, rather than personal observation by the author.

Size: An estimate of the extent of the site, in hectares, where published data is available. This information is primarily given for sites known only through survey, although it is also provided for excavated sites when this has been calculated by excavators or by initial survey work. This information only pertains to settlement sites.

Dates of occupation: A list of the full date range for the occupation of the site. The data are based on the publication of excavated and surveyed material. Chronological abbreviations are listed on page x.

Associated sites: Sites that were structurally or socially connected during the Protogeometric period. These typically include the cemetery and cult sites connected with a specific settlement, or simultaneously occupied settlements within a shared region. Cross-references to other catalogued sites are provided.

Bibliography: A selected bibliography related to the PG and EIA occupation of the site. For additional bibliography of other phases of occupation at many of the sites included in this catalogue, see especially: Nowicki 2000; Pendlebury 1939; Sjögren 2003; Eaby 2007; Prent 2005; Pilz 2011.

Catalogue A: Settlements

A1.

Site name/toponym(s): Zakros Ellinika/Lenika

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A settlement site located on the northern end of the Zakros Gorge. The site includes upper and lower settlements, located above the level of the gorge. Houses were constructed on built terraces, and there are traces of a possible fortification wall, consisting of built section between bedrock outcroppings. The settlement appears to have been occupied continuously throughout the EIA. The site was known by Hogarth and later excavators of Zakros as a Geometric settlement, usually classed with other well-known defensible settlements known at the time, such as Kavousi Kastro and Vrokastro. There is some evidence from the site for metallurgy in the form of slag. The site and its architecture have been surveyed intensively and sketched (Nowicki, Vokotopoulos) but not excavated.

Size: 0.6 ha

Dates of occupation: LM IIIC-Ar

Associated sites: Zakros Malakari tombs (C1)

Bibliography: Hogarth 1900-1, 145; Pendlebury et al. 1932-3, 98; Faure 1962, 39; Kanta 1980, 195-6; Vokotopoulos 1997-8, 248-69; Nowicki 2000, 54-5; Tsipopoulou 2005a, 220-1.

A2.

Site name/toponym(s): Atzikiari (Itanos Survey site 157)

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A habitation site that contained the undated remains of buildings, explored through intensive surface survey. A small amount of Geometric pottery was present, but it is unclear from the publication if this included PG material.

Dates of occupation: G

Bibliography: Duploux 2006.

A3.

Site name/toponym(s): Kalamaki (Itanos Survey site 24)

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: The function of this site is undetermined, but it was possibly a habitation site. As part of the Itanos survey, pottery was pulled from the scarp of a water reservoir cutting where a continuous stratified sequence was visible.

Dates of occupation: LM-O, Cl-HL

Associated sites: Kalamaki (Itanos Survey site 25) (A4)

Bibliography: Duploux 2006.

A4.

Site name/toponym(s): Kalamaki (Itanos survey site 25)

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A habitation site explored through surface survey. The preserved architecture is probably Minoan in date.

Dates of occupation: LM-Byz (same sequence present as Kalamaki site 24)

Associated sites: Kalamaki (Itanos Survey site 24) (A3)

Bibliography: Duplouy 2006.

A5.

Site name/toponym(s): Stephanos (Itanos Survey site 103)

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A habitation site explored through surface survey. An abundant and continuous ceramic sequence of PG-G date is present. There is architecture visible at the site, but it has not been precisely dated.

Dates of occupation: LM-R

Bibliography: Duplouy 2006.

A6.

Site name/toponym(s): Chandras Plakalona

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: The presence of a settlement site is indicated here by the large amount of ceramic surface material and architectural remains in the area of the chapel of Agios Konstantinos and above the Pentelis spring, identified by Faure and Nowicki.

Dates of occupation: LM IIIC, SM (identified only by Faure), PG

Bibliography: Faure 1962, 39; Kanta 1980, 182; Nowicki 2000, 58.

A7.

Site name/toponym(s): Sphakia Kastri

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: The presence of a settlement site is indicated by a sherd scatter on the summit and east slope of the Kastri peak. There are traces of architecture visible on modern terraces on the eastern slope of the hill. Platon identified LM III pithos sherds on the surface and thought that the site was likely only used through SM, given that it conformed physically to the refuge settlement type prevailing in scholarship at the time. Nowicki identified material in the surface assemblage later than LM IIIC.

Size: 0.8-1.2 ha

Dates of occupation: LM IIIC-Ar (PG-G material predominating)

Associated sites: PG tholos nearby at Sphakia Patela (C2)

Bibliography: Platon 1956a, 239-40; Platon 1956b, 413; Nowicki 2000, 55-6; Tsipopoulou 2005a, 317.

A8.

Site name/toponym(s): Kalamaphki Kypia

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A settlement site represented by pottery on the surface and some visible architectural remains, situated on built and natural terraces spread across three neighboring hills. The pottery from Nowicki's exploration of the site is generically LM IIIC-EIA, and he does not mention any material that is firmly diagnostic of PG. Platon reported only LM III pottery, and the presence of fragments of Goddess with Upraised Arms (GUA) figurines. The Praisos Survey's topographical exploration only identified LM IIIC pottery and discussed the site as an LM IIIC refuge site. Tsipopoulou thinks that the LM IIIC-PG phase of the site was

the most important. Kalamaphki Kypia was likely abandoned in favor of nearby Praisos sometime in the tenth century BCE.

Size: 1.2-1.5 ha

Dates of occupation: LM IIIB/C, EIA, O

Associated sites: Praisos (A9)

Bibliography: Platon 1952b, 481; Whitley 1998, 33-5; Whitley et al. 1999, 238-42; Nowicki 2000, 56-8; Tsipopoulou 2005a, 227.

A9.

Site name/toponym(s): Praisos

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A large settlement site spread across three acropoleis. Limited PG pottery comes from the site, although often not with good findspots. No PG material was recorded from the original excavations by Halbherr and Bosanquet. The lack of settlement evidence from the First Acropolis has been taken to indicate that the site was a ritual center rather than an urban one prior to the 4th century BCE. There is no architecture at Praisos from either survey or excavations that clearly dates to the EIA. Generic EIA pottery was identified in relative abundance across the First and Second Acropoleis by the Praisos Survey, but few sherds were specifically datable to PG. It is therefore not clear from the published survey results when in the EIA the settlement at Praisos was established, nor is there evidence that the population of Kalamaphki Kypia relocated there in EPG. No known tombs in the immediate area date to PG.

Dates of occupation: LM, EIA, Ar, Cl, HL

Associated sites: Kalamaphki Kypia (A8), Skales Cave (C5)

Bibliography: Halbherr 1901b; Bosanquet 1901-2; Hutchinson et al. 1939-40; Whitley et al. 1995; Whitley 1998; Whitley et al. 1999; Nowicki 2000, 58-9; Tsipopoulou 2005a, 255-64, 270.

A10.

Site name/toponym(s): Lithines Andromyloi Anginares

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A settlement site known through surface exploration by Nowicki, located on the summit and eastern slope of a hill. LM IIIC-PG pottery was found on the highest point of the site. The settlement was occupied continuously through the Ar period and was very extensive by the G period, based on the spatial extent of surface material.

Dates of occupation: LM IIIC, PG, G, O, Ar

Associated sites: Andromyloi Siteias? (C7)

Bibliography: Nowicki 2000, 218; Tsipopoulou 2005a, 199.

A11.

Site name/toponym(s): Chamaizi Liopetro/Liopetra

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A settlement site known primarily from surface exploration by Nowicki. PG and G pottery is visible on the summit and on the east slope outside of the Venetian fortification wall. Nowicki thinks that this site was possibly one of the largest PG-G towns in East Crete, based on the extent of the EIA pottery. The absolute quantity of EIA pottery is

very small in comparison with that from the Venetian village located on the site, and the distribution of the earlier pottery was also probably affected by the later occupation. A contemporary cache of PG pottery was turned in by locals from the general area of Liopetro, but it is not clear if this material came from the settlement or from an associated tomb.

Size: 1.5-4.5 ha (Geometric period)

Dates of occupation: LM IIIC, PG-G, O, Ar-CI?, Byz, V

Associated sites: SM-PG tholos cemeteries located at Phatsi (C10) and Skopi (C11)

Bibliography: Pendlebury 1939, 379; Platon and Davaras 1961-2, 290; Nowicki 2000, 101-2; Tsipopoulou 2005a, 317-22.

A12.

Site name/toponym(s): Myrsini Kastelli (Ellinika/ Sta Lenika)

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A settlement site on the summit and terraces of the Kastelli peak, known from surface exploration by Nowicki. The settlement appears to have moved slowly down the slope from the summit over time, based on the spread of diagnostic pottery of the LM IIIC-SM/PG and G-Ar periods respectively on upper and lower modern built terraces. Nowicki did not identify any EIA architectural remains. Faure mentions the presence of large schist-built walls and other ruined walls on the acropolis itself, although some of the latter are presumably modern.

Size: 1.2-1.5 ha (the size in LM IIIC; the settlement was probably twice as large by Geometric)

Dates of occupation: LM IIIC-Ar, CI-HL

Bibliography: Faure 1960, 196; Nowicki 2000, 103-4; Tsipopoulou 2005a, 229.

A13.

Site name/toponym(s): Tourloti Kastri

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A settlement site known from surface exploration, most recently by Nowicki.

Evans reported the presence of architecture and of relief pithoi sherds (one Ar in date, with a centaur).

Size: 1.5 ha

Dates of occupation: primarily G-Ar, but several LM IIIC-PG sherds were present

(Nowicki)

Bibliography: Evans 1896, 455, 459; Schachermeyer 1938, 473; Dunbabin 1947, 192;

Nowicki 2000, 104; Tsipopoulou 2005a, 317.

A14.

Site name/toponym(s): Pephki Stavromenos

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A settlement site located on built terraces below the summit of the peak and above the village of Pephki. The upper area of the site, just below the peak, is known through surface pottery, but with no visible architecture (Nowicki). Some traces of architecture are located approximately 40 m further downslope, along with additional pottery. Most of the pottery is diagnostic of LM IIIC in shape and fabric, but some decoration is potentially characteristic of PG-G as well (incised spirals, simplified herringbone). This settlement is

part of a larger LM IIIC cluster, and the only site in it that appears to continue after the end of LM IIIC.

Dates of occupation: LM IIIC, PG, G?

Bibliography: Faure 1962, 39; Nowicki 1994, 246-9; Nowicki 2000, 64-7; Tsipopoulou 2005a, 232.

A15.

Site name/toponym(s): Agios Stefanos Kastello

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: The presence of a settlement is suggested by a scanty amount of PG-G pottery on the surface on the summit of the hill, mixed with the much more abundant evidence for Byzantine and Venetian occupation. Papadakis calls it a possible Geometric acropolis site (presumably using Geometric in a generic sense). Nowicki could not identify any LM IIIC pottery here but would like the site to have been established in this period.

Dates of occupation: PG-G, Byz, V

Bibliography: Faure 1962, 39; Nowicki 2000, 71-2; Papadakis 2000, 18; Tsipopoulou 2005a, 194.

A16.

Site name/toponym(s): Oreino Kastri

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A settlement site comprised of two parts located on the summit of a hill, known primarily through surface exploration by Nowicki. There are extensive visible architectural

remains in both the Citadel and Lower Settlement areas, including a complex building with associated sherds and burned animal bones. This building has been tentatively identified as a shrine by Nowicki. He estimates there to have been between 30 and 60 houses in the entire settlement. Pendlebury also identified PG sherds on the surface.

Size: 1.8-1.96 ha

Dates of occupation: EM III-MM I-II, LM IIIC-SM/PG

Associated sites: Oreino Epano Ellinika (A17)

Bibliography: Pendlebury 1939, 385; Nowicki 2000, 73-7; Tsipopoulou 2005a, 230.

A17.

Site name/toponym(s): Oreino Epano Ellinika

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A settlement site known through surface exploration. The settlement is located on the peak of the mountain. There are also the remains of a possible “fort” first identified by Evans (dated to LM by Pendlebury, who calls it the “Dragon’s Gate”). Nowicki dates the settlement to LM IIIC-SM, while Pendlebury mentions the presence of PG sherds. Nowicki recorded a number of house remains, probably of LM IIIC date, with visible plans and multiple rooms, constructed of unworked dolomite blocks.

Size: 0.6-0.65 ha

Dates of occupation: LM IIIC-PG

Associated sites: Oreino Kastri (A16)

Bibliography: Pendlebury 1939, 385; Nowicki 1990, 172-3; Nowicki 2000, 78-9.

A18.

Site name/toponym(s): Stavrochori Skalia

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A settlement site known through surface exploration by Nowicki, located on the summit and slopes of a hill. PG-G material is present but scarce on the surface. The site grew extensively by the O and Ar periods.

Size: 1.75 ha

Dates of occupation: MM/LM?, PG-G (no certain LM IIIC), O, Ar, CI

Bibliography: Nowicki 1990, 175; Nowicki 2000, 218-19.

A19.

Site name/toponym(s): Kavousi Avgo: Trapeza (Locus 82, Kavousi survey, site no. 90)

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: The presence of a small settlement at the site is indicated by a light pottery scatter containing LM IIIC through G/Ar pottery. Nowicki reports that diagnostic PG and G sherds were especially prevalent on the surface in this location.

Size: 0.09 ha

Dates of occupation: MMI-II, LM IIIC-PG, G-Ar

Associated sites: Kavousi Avgo: Melisses (**A20**), Kavousi Kastro (**A21**), Azoria (**C12**),

Vronda (**C13**), Pachlitzani Agriada (**B2**)

Bibliography: Rutkowski and Nowicki 1986, 168; Nowicki 2000, 100; Haggis 2005, 140;

Tsipopoulou 2005a, 118; Gaignerot-Driessen 2016a, 431-2.

A20.

Site name/toponym(s): Kavousi Avgo: Melisses (Locus 84, Kavousi survey site no. 85)

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A dense pottery scatter containing LM IIIC-PG pottery, including many pithos fragments, that probably represents a small settlement or hamlet.

Size: 0.25+ ha

Dates of occupation: MM I-II, LM I?, LM IIIC-PG, G

Associated sites: Kavousi Avgo: Trapeza (**A19**), Kavousi Kastro (**A21**), Azoria (**C12**), Vronda (**C13**), Pachlitzani Agriada (**B2**)

Bibliography: Nowicki 2000, 101; Haggis 2005, 137-8; Tsipopoulou 2005a, 118; Gaignerot-Driessen 2016a, 430.

A21.

Site name/toponym(s): Kavousi Kastro

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A settlement located on the top of a low peak on the northern border of the Thripti mountains, settled in LM IIIC and occupied for the entire EIA (**Figure 3**). The excavated area consists of architectural units in the upper settlement and at the Northwest Building. The site began to expand in PG, with new construction and a regularization of building plans occurring on both the West Slope and in the Northwest Building. Much of the PG expansion in West Slope buildings involved the modification and regularization of existing LM IIIC structures. Stratigraphically, this phase change is marked by the construction of new floor levels with clearly PG assemblages in Buildings G and K. Building

L was probably also occupied during PG, but the preserved stratigraphy was LG in date. All of the PG levels are stratified under SPG and LG phases of these buildings. In the Northwest Building, PG was a period of major construction, with expansion from a single house in LM IIIC (NW 1-2) to four in PG (NW 1-2, NW 3-6, NW 7-9, NW 10). The ceramic phasing is the same as in the upper settlement. With the exception of the addition of NW 11 in LG and ongoing architectural modifications to the interiors of houses, the PG phase established the structure of the Northwest Building for the rest of its occupation. Kavousi Kastro was the primary settlement site in the Kavousi region after the abandonment of Azoria and Vronda settlements at the end of LM IIIC.

Size: 0.84 ha

Dates of occupation: LM IIIC-EO

Associated sites: Kavousi Avgo: Trapeza (**A19**), Kavousi Avgo: Melisses (**A20**), Panagia Skali (**A22**), Azoria (**C12**), Vronda (**C13**), Skala Aloni (**C14**), Plai tou Kastrou (**C15**), Pachlitzani Agriada (**B2**)

Bibliography: Boyd 1901; Gesell et al. 1988, 298-301; Coulson 1990; Gesell et al. 1991, 167-77; Mook 1993; Coulson et al. 1997; Coulson 1998; Nowicki 2000, 99; Mook 2004; Haggis 2005, 136; Gaignerot-Driessen 2016a, 414-21.

A22.

Site name/toponym(s): Panagia Skali (Locus 74, Kavousi Survey site no.70)

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A settlement site consisting of visible architectural remains and a dense pottery scatter 100 m east of the church, located on a broad agricultural terrace. The ancient

architectural wall remains are not dated. It is possible that the site was not occupied during PG, as at Azoria.

Size: 0.13 ha

Dates of occupation: LM IIIC, SM-PG?, G, LG, Ar

Associated sites: Kavousi Kastro (A21), Azoria (C12), Vronda (C13), Pachlitzani Agriada (B2)

Bibliography: Haggis 2005, 131; Gaignerot-Driessen 2016a, 398.

A23.

Site name/toponym(s): Kavousi Vronda

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: In preliminary reports, it was thought that Building E continued to be occupied into at least EPG, possibly MPG, after the abandonment of the rest of the settlement in late LM IIIC (Figure 4). Final study of the material indicated instead that the later material probably came from Grave 37 (Geometric) rather than from the building. There is therefore no evidence for PG occupation at Vronda contemporary with the tholos tombs.

Dates of occupation: EM II, MM-LM I, LM IIIC-SM/EPG, LG

Associated sites: Kavousi Kastro (A21), Azoria (C12), Vronda tholos tomb cemetery (C13)

Bibliography: Day et al. 1986, 378-87; Gesell et al. 1988, 286-7; Coulson 1990; Gesell et al. 1995, 92-120; Day 2012, 2-3.

A24.

Site name/toponym(s): Vasiliki Kephala

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A settlement site located on the summit of a low hill on the western side of the Ierapetra Isthmus, overlooking the Isthmus valley. Ten buildings were partially excavated, but most have not been published. One building, Building E, has been identified as a cult complex, based on the presence of cult objects (including Goddesses with Upraised Arms and accompanying paraphernalia) and installations in some rooms (**Figure 55**). Although the bulk of the architecture and finds from Building E (and presumably the rest of the settlement) date to LM IIIC, there is some sporadic PG pottery throughout, indicating that the complex was in at least partial use into the tenth century. The construction of Room E1 and perhaps the architectural modifications to Room E2 likely date to PG.

Dates of occupation: LM IIIC, PG

Associated sites: Kato Chorio Prophitis Elias (**A28**)?

Bibliography: Eliopoulos 1995b, 754; Eliopoulos 1996a, 653-4; Eliopoulos 1998; Eliopoulos 2003, 399; Eliopoulos 2004; Tsipopoulou 2005a, 72; Prent 2005, 147-9; Klein and Glowacki 2009, 159-61; Gaignerot-Driessen 2016a, 359-61.

A25.

Site name/toponym(s): Fields 809, 810, 845 (Gournia Survey site no. 81)

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A scanty sherd scatter from the LM IIIC-G periods represents a lower level of occupation at the site than in the Bronze Age (when it was identified as a hamlet or farm site) or in Ar-HL (identified as a small field house). The function of the site in the EIA is unknown. There is no specific mention of PG material in the publication.

Size: 0.18 ha

Dates of occupation: MM III(?)-LM IIIB, LM IIIC-G, Ar-HL

Associated sites: Kato Chorio Prophitis Elias (A28)

Bibliography: Watrous et al. 2012, 122.

A26.

Site name/toponym(s): Fields 1035, 1036 (Gournia Survey site no. 84)

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A surface sherd scatter dating to LM IIIC-PG that probably represents a field site.

Size: 0.14 ha

Dates of occupation: EM I-II, EM III-MM IA, MM IB-LM I, LM IIIA-B, LM IIIC-PG, V-Ot

Associated sites: Kato Chorio Prophitis Elias (A28)

Bibliography: Watrous et al. 2012, 122-3.

A27.

Site name/toponym(s): Agios Georgios (Gournia Survey site no. 97, Fields 1105-1107)

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A sherd scatter located on the slopes of the Thripti mountains. The surface assemblage included eight LM IIIC sherds, including two kraters. The site was identified as a farm site in LM IIIC-PG.

Dates of occupation: EM I-MM IA, MM IB-LM I, LM IIIC-PG, R

Associated sites: Kato Chorio Prophitis Elias (**A28**)

Bibliography: Watrous et al. 2012, 124-5.

A28.

Site name/toponym(s): Kato Chorio Prophitis Elias (Gournia Survey site no. 150)

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A large settlement site overlooking the Ierapetra Isthmus, dating to LM IIIC through Cl. The site is located on the summit and slopes of the Prophitis Elias peak. During LM IIIC-PG, the site measured approximately 150x340 m. Ceramics included cookware, stoppers, kraters, lekanides, deep bowls, skyphoi (including PG bell skyphoi), pendent semi-circle cups, incised/impressed pithoi, and PGB cups. This settlement site was the largest one in the surrounding region and probably controlled the southern Isthmus from at least PG onwards.

Size: 5-6 ha

Dates of occupation: LM IIIC-Cl, R, V-Ot

Associated sites: Gournia Survey sites 81 (**A25**), 84 (**A26**), and 97 (**A27**)

Bibliography: Nowicki 2000, 89-90; Tsipopoulou 2005a, 122; Watrous 2001; Watrous et al. 2012, 132-3.

A29.

Site name/toponym(s): Vrokastro

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A settlement site located on a peak overlooking the Mirabello Bay. The site consisted of Upper and Lower Settlements, both originally excavated by Edith Hall (**Figure 5, 6**). The settlement was occupied continually between LM IIIC and LG-O, when it was abandoned in favor of lower-lying areas on the coast and in the Meseleroi region to the south. The site was excavated in half meter passes, with little stratigraphy detected within architectural boundaries. Very little pottery was kept from the early excavations, meaning that it is difficult to discuss diachronic uses of space within the settlement. PG pottery retained from Hall's excavations is mainly in sherd form rather than mendable vessels. Hayden suggests, based on the preserved pottery from Hall's excavations, that the PG settlement was very limited in size, and that the contemporary population of the region was relatively dispersed across the surrounding landscape during this period. Despite this, Vrokastro remained the central site in the region throughout the EIA. Hayden estimates that major growth at the site probably occurred in the mid-9th century (PGB). The presence of figurines most likely dating to PG from Hall's excavations indicates the probable presence of a shrine within the settlement during this period. Vrokastro was re-surveyed and the architecture restudied as part of the Vrokastro Regional Survey Project.

Dates of occupation: LM IIIC-LG/O

Associated sites: A30-A44, C19-C25

Bibliography: Hall 1914, 86-122; Hayden 1983; Hayden 1991; Hayden et al., 1992; Nowicki 2000, 107-9; Hayden 2003; Hayden et al. 2004, 141-2; Hayden et al. 2005, 184-6 (VK1); Tsipopoulou 2005a, 42-5; Gaignerot-Driessen 2016a, 308-15.

A30.

Site name/toponym(s): Sphakolaggado (KM2, Vrokastro survey)

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A large settlement site located on the northern slopes of a ridge running from Mount Patema to the coast. The EIA is only represented by a small surface scatter, and it appears to have been a low point in the site's occupation between the Bronze Age and the historical period. None of the visible architecture at the site appears to date to the EIA.

Size: 1.02 ha

Dates of occupation: EM I-LM I, LM IIIC/EPG, G, R, V-Ot

Associated sites: Vrokastro (A29)

Bibliography: Hayden et al. 2004, 140; Hayden et al. 2005, 71-3.

A31.

Site name/toponym(s): Agios Phanourios (APh2, Vrokastro survey)

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A sherd scatter, probably representing a relatively small settlement site, located in the saddle between two hills. Undated ancient architecture is visible.

Size: 1.28 ha

Dates of occupation: MM, LM, LM III-O, R, Byz

Associated sites: Agios Phanourios/APh3 (A32)

Bibliography: Hayden et al. 2004, 140; Hayden et al. 2005, 13-14.

A32.

Site name/toponym(s): Agios Phanourios (APh3, Vrokastro survey)

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A settlement site located on the northern slope of a ridge above the Vrionisi peninsula. The dominant periods in the surface assemblage are LM IIIC and O/Ar, with a possible decline in PG (Hayden). Occupation appears to have been continuous, however. Walls probably dating to the EIA are visible, including a Bronze Age cyclopean structure that was likely reused in the EIA.

Size: 3.2 ha

Dates of occupation: MM I-LM I, LM IIIA-C, EIA-Ar (including PG), R, V-Ot

Associated sites: Agios Phanourios/APh2 (**A31**), Vrokastro (**A29**)

Bibliography: Hayden et al. 2004, 140-1; Hayden et al. 2005, 14-16.

A33.

Site name/toponym(s): Elias to Nisi (EN1, Vrokastro Survey)

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A settlement site marked by a sherd scatter, located on the western prong of the Elias to Nisi promontory. LM and later pottery is located on built terraces above a sharp drop-off to the sea and is accompanied by fragmentary architecture.

Size: 0.44 ha

Dates of occupation: FN?-EM I, LM III-EIA

Associated sites: Elias to Nisi/EN2 (**A34**), Vrokastro (**A29**)

Bibliography: Hayden et al. 2005, 24-5.

A34.

Site name/toponym(s): Elias to Nisi (EN2, Vrokastro Survey)

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A settlement site located on the southeastern slopes of the Elias to Nisi promontory leading down to a small cove. It was surrounded by a substantial rubble fortification wall, probably LM IIIC in date. Some visible walls are probably associated with the EIA. Jar sherds form the majority of the ceramic evidence for this period. Hayden suggests that the site might have had seasonal use rather than constant occupation.

Size: 2.5 ha

Dates of occupation: MM I-II, LM III-EIA, V-Ot

Associated sites: Elias to Nisi/EN1 (**A33**), Vrokastro (**A29**)

Bibliography: Hayden 2001; Hayden et al. 2004, 138-9; Hayden et al. 2005, 25-6.

A35.

Site name/toponym(s): Pylos, Elias to Nisi (EN3, Vrokastro Survey)

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A settlement site represented by a small sherd scatter located on a saddle on the Elias to Nisi promontory near the enclosure wall of EN2. Some of the pottery is EIA in date, but this does not seem to be a main phase occupation at the site.

Size: 0.35 ha

Dates of occupation: MM-LM, Gr-V (LM IIIC-G sherd catalogued)

Associated sites: Elias to Nisi/EN1 (**A33**), Elias to Nisi/EN2 (**A34**)

Bibliography: Hayden et al. 2005, 26-7.

A36.

Site name/toponym(s): KP9 (Vrokastro survey)

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A sherd scatter marking a possible settlement site located directly to the west of the Vouno peak. No architecture is associated with the pottery. PG and G storage and cooking vessels are present in the assemblage.

Dates of occupation: MM, EIA

Associated sites: Vrokastro (A29)

Bibliography: Hayden et al. 2004, 139; Hayden et al. 2005, 80.

A37.

Site name/toponym(s): Amigthali (VK3, Vrokastro survey)

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A large multi-roomed building visible on the surface, partially destroyed by road-building. The building is on a larger scale than those in the Vrokastro settlement. The building dates to PG-O, based on the associated pottery.

Size: 0.42 ha

Dates of occupation: MM I-II, G-O

Associated sites: Vrokastro (A29)

Bibliography: Hayden et al. 2004, 144; Hayden et al. 2005, 187.

A38.

Site name/toponym(s): Amigthali (VK14, Vrokastro survey)

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A settlement site represented by a small sherd scatter. The site is located on the eastern base of the Karakovilia ridge, where the pottery distribution is of a greater density than in the surrounding area. There is no associated architecture preserved, and the surveyors were not sure if this site should represent a settlement area or a tomb.

Size: 0.01 ha

Dates of occupation: LM IIIC-G

Associated sites: Vrokastro (A29)

Bibliography: Hayden et al. 2005, 195.

A39.

Site name/toponym(s): DL1 (Vrokastro survey)

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A sherd scatter representing a habitation site located on the upper slopes a ridge. Small fragments of undated architecture are visible.

Size: 0.06 ha

Dates of occupation: MM-LM, EIA-A/C1 (one LM IIIC-PG sherd catalogued)

Bibliography: Hayden et al. 2004, 144; Hayden et al., 2005b, 23.

A40.

Site name/toponym(s): Trapeza/Christos (AC6, Vrokastro survey)

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A small sherd scatter associated with a cave. The site's function is unclear.

EIA-Ar is listed as one of the primary periods of occupation in the publication, but there is no direct evidence for PG.

Size: 0.01 ha

Dates of occupation: EIA-Ar, V-Ot

Bibliography: Hayden et al. 2005, 8.

A41.

Site name/toponym(s): Xivouni (KK2, Vrokastro survey)

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A LM IIIC-PG settlement site on the summit and northern slopes of a hill. It was part of a line of sites set inland from the coast at the southern end of the Istron Valley. Some very fragmentary walls are probably contemporary with the pottery. A bull figurine suggests the presence of a shrine.

Size: 0.81 ha

Dates of occupation: LM IIIC-late EPG

Bibliography: Hayden et al. 2004, 145; Hayden et al. 2005, 58-9.

A42.

Site name/toponym(s): GN4 (Vrokastro survey)

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A possible fortified settlement or watch station on a knoll commanding the entrance to the Istron valley from the west, known through surface survey. The pottery is

mostly 7th-4th cent. BCE, but some LM IIIC and later storage jar fabrics are present. Hayden argues that the site is coeval with the PG-G phases at Vrokastro. Some built terraces and ancient walls (including a rubble fortification wall) are probably LM IIIC/EIA to Gr in date.

Size: 1.44 ha

Dates of occupation: FN?/EM I, LM IIIC-EIA, V

Bibliography: Hayden et al. 2004, 149; Hayden et al. 2005, 32-4.

A43.

Site name/toponym(s): Kato Prina (AG2, Vrokastro survey)

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A sherd scatter marks a settlement site on the top of a ridge in the pass between Prina and Meseleroi. Undated architecture is visible.

Size: 1 ha

Dates of occupation: LM-EIA (including a few PG-O jar sherds)

Bibliography: Hayden et al. 2005, 9-10.

A44.

Site name/toponym(s): PN2 (Vrokastro survey)

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A sherd scatter that probably represents the remains of a very poorly preserved settlement or, alternatively, field activity related to a nearby (unlocated) settlement. No associated architecture was visible on the surface during the survey.

Size: 1.2 ha

Dates of occupation: LM IIIC-Ar, HL (including a small amount of PG)

Bibliography: Hayden et al. 2005, 127-8.

A45.

Site name/toponym(s): Kalamaphka Castello

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A large settlement site known through surface exploration, located on the slope of the Castello hill. Architectural remains and areas of cut bedrock are present. LM IIIC-PG material is present in the pottery but is meager in comparison with the G-CI material. A bronze figurine from the acropolis, now in the Ashmolean, has been dated to PG.

Dates of occupation: LM, LM IIIC-CI, HL, R

Bibliography: Pendlebury 1939, 326, 343; Faure 1958, 514; Boardman 1961, 121; Naumann 1976, 99; Nowicki 2000, 127-8; Tsipopoulou 2005a, 122.

A46.

Site name/toponym(s): Anatoli Mesokastella, Site 1

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A small settlement site known from surface exploration. The site is part of a small cluster of four sites, most of which were established in LM IIIC. Site 1 probably represents the nucleation of these sites in PG.

Dates of occupation: PG-Ar

Associated sites: Anatoli Mesokastella Site 2 (A47), Anatoli Sochores (A48)

Bibliography: Faure 1958, 514; Nowicki 2000, 128-9; Tsipopoulou 2005a, 69.

A47.

Site name/toponym(s): Anatoli Mesokastella, Site 2

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A small settlement site known from surface material. The site is part of the same cluster of sites as **A46**, and its population probably moved there sometime in PG.

Dates of occupation: mostly LM IIIC-PG with possible continuity into G (Nowicki)

Associated sites: Anatoli Mesokastella Site 1 (**A46**), Anatoli Sochores (**A48**)

Bibliography: Nowicki 2000, 128-9; Tsipopoulou 2005, a 69.

A48.

Site name/toponym(s): Anatoli Sochores

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A settlement site known from surface exploration, primarily by Nowicki. The site is located on sloping built terraces.

Size: 1.5 ha

Dates of occupation: LM IIIC-PG, G-O

Associated sites: Anatoli Mesokastella sites (**A46**, **A47**)

Bibliography: Faure 1958, 513; Nowicki 2000, 129.

A49.

Site name/toponym(s): Mythoi Zonari

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A settlement site known from surface exploration by Nowicki located on the summit and southern slope of a high ridge. Pottery was scattered over an area of c.150-200 x 100 m along with some architectural remains. Most of the pottery is PG-G.

Size: 1.5-3 ha

Dates of occupation: LM IIIC, PG-G

Bibliography: Nowicki 2000, 133-4; Tsipopoulou 2005a, 125.

A50.

Site name/toponym(s): Christos Skistra

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A settlement site known from surface exploration by Nowicki, located on an acropolis above the Agia Paraskevi spring. Occupation appears to have started in PG and continued through the Archaic period, based on the pottery, although there is a discrete area where LM IIIC pottery was found near the spring. Architectural remains are located on the summit of the hill.

Size: 0.06-0.08 ha

Dates of occupation: (LM IIIC), PG-Ar

Bibliography: Nowicki 2000, 134-5.

A51.

Site name/toponym(s): Lato/Kritsa Goulas

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: Material from the EIA phase of the site is known from limited surface pottery identified by Nowicki on the summit of the northern acropolis and very fragmentary material from excavation. Any EIA architecture is covered by the later Archaic through Hellenistic city. There is possible evidence for the original presence of a SM/PG grave in the area of the Hellenistic Temple House (Gaignerot-Driessen).

Dates of occupation: LM IIIC-H

Bibliography: Nowicki 2000, 119; Tsipopoulou 2005a, 66; Gaignerot-Driessen 2012; Gaignerot-Driessen 2016a, 282-9.

A52.

Site name/toponym(s): Elounda Oxa

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A settlement site located along the summit of the rocky ridge of Oxa. Only one sherd dating to PG-G is mentioned by Nowicki, along with a small amount of general LM IIIC-G material from the western slope below the NE summit.

Dates of occupation: MM, LM IIIC, PG, G, O, Ar, Cl, HL, R, Byz

Associated sites: Elounda Sta Lenika (**B4**)? Elounda Mirambellou (**C27**)?

Bibliography: Nowicki 2000, 173-4; Gaignerot-Driessen 2016a, 262-3.

A53.

Site name/toponym(s): Adrianos Fortetsa

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A possible settlement site on the summit and slopes of the Fortetsa hill, known from surface exploration. Faure identified SM through G material, while Nowicki only identified LM IIIC. Faure also identified SM and PG pottery in the nearby Atzinganospilios cave, which probably served as a water source for the contemporary settlement.

Size: 1.5-2 ha

Dates of occupation: LM IIIB/C, PG, G(?)

Associated sites: Adrianos Xeropotamos Kolomati (C29)

Bibliography: Faure 1963, 499; Nowicki 2000, 117-119; Tsipopoulou 2005a, 39; Gaignerot-Driessen 2016a, 271-3.

A54.

Site name/toponym(s): Agios Konstandinos Armos

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A rural settlement site known through surface exploration, including a large structure of possible EIA date on the southern slope of the Armos hill.

Dates of occupation: MM, LM I, LM III, PG, G, Ar

Associated sites: Vryses Drasi Xelli/Selli (A56), Adrianos Fortetsa (A53)

Bibliography: Eliopoulos 1996b, 131; Gaignerot-Driessen 2016a, 269.

A55.

Site name/toponym(s): Vryses Prophitis Elias

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A settlement site represented by surface material on the Prophitis Elias hill. Most of the area of the site has been disturbed or destroyed by modern occupation. The chance finds of the head of a terracotta goddess figurine of the Karphi type and two pyxides dating to SM from the area indicate the probable presence of a local shrine (Davaras).

Size: 1.5 ha

Dates of occupation: LM IIIC-G

Associated sites: Vryses Drasi Xelli/Selli (A56), Agios Konstandinos Armos (A54)

Bibliography: Davaras 1981; Nowicki 2000, 113-14; Gaignerot-Driessen 2016a, 266-7.

A56.

Site name/toponym(s): Vryses Drasi Xelli/Selli

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A settlement site on a small hillock known from pottery on the surface (Nowicki), but without architectural remains.

Size: 0.79 ha

Dates of occupation: MM II, late LM IIIC (?), PG-G/Ar

Associated sites: Vryses Prophitis Elias (A55)

Bibliography: Nowicki 2000, 112-13; Gaignerot-Driessen 2016a, 268.

A57.

Site name/toponym(s): Limnes Kephali

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A small habitation site known through surface exploration (Nowicki) and through limited rescue excavation (Zographaki and Farnoux). The PG material was primarily found in the surface assemblage. This site was likely abandoned in PG for nearby Dreros (Gaignerot-Driessen).

Dates of occupation: FN, EM, MM II, LM I, LM IIIC, PG

Associated sites: Dreros settlement (**A58**), Dreros necropolis/Agios Georgos cemetery (**C30**)

Bibliography: Nowicki 2000, 173; Tsipopoulou 2005a, 64; Zographaki and Farnoux 2012-2013, 656; Gaignerot-Driessen 2016a, 218-21.

A58.

Site name/toponym(s): Dreros

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: The early settlement was located on the two acropoleis of the site and was probably occupied from LM IIIC onwards. PG occupation is only represented by limited surface sherds on the summits of the acropoleis, identified by Nowicki. These early habitation dates are confirmed by the presence of LM IIIC-PG graves in the Agios Georgos cemetery. No PG deposits have been excavated in the settlement area, and the earliest architecture at the site dates to the eighth century BCE.

Dates of occupation: LM IIIC-HL

Associated sites: Dreros necropolis/Agios Georgos cemetery (**C30**)

Bibliography: Nowicki 2000, 173; Van Effenterre 2009, 86; Gaignerot-Driessen 2016a, 221-9.

A59.

Site name/toponym(s): Anavlochos

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A large EIA settlement site with associated cemetery and sanctuary areas, located in the sloping central valley of the Anavlochos massif on the northern edge of the Lasithi mountains (**Figure 7**). Various excavations have taken place on ancient built terraces in the settlement and in the saddle between the site and the Neapoli valley. These excavations have uncovered a number of houses, dating to LM IIIC and LG-early Ar. The assemblages from the excavations in the settlement by Demargne, Zographaki, and Gaignerot-Driessen appeared largely domestic in nature. The remains of a probable iron smelting area were also excavated (Zographaki et al.). None of these excavations uncovered stratified PG levels in buildings, although there was some PG pottery found in the fill of LG terraces during excavations in 2012. Preliminary study of the pottery from the 2015-16 intensive survey of the site shows that PG pottery was found across the entire LG settlement area, however, although in much lower concentrations than later Geometric material.

Closely associated with the settlement and overlooking the cemetery is a sanctuary located on the Kako Plaï slope, which includes a one-room shrine building with a bench. The pottery and votives from the general area of the shrine, mostly discovered downslope due to erosion, date to LM IIIC through CI, including PG (Demargne, Pilz). There is PG pottery present inside the newly excavated cult building, providing a *terminus ante quem* for its construction.

Dates of occupation: LM IIIC-LG, A, CI (Kako Plaï sanctuary only), Ot

Associated sites: Anavlochos cemeteries (**C31**)

Bibliography: Demargne 1931; Farnoux and Driessen 1991; Nowicki 2000, 171-3; Tsipopoulou 2005a, 40-1; Prent 2005, 281-3; Zographaki 2006, 1174-6; Pilz and Krumme 2011; Pilz 2011, 129-33; Zographaki et al. 2012-2013; Gaignerot-Driessen 2016a, 200-7; Gaignerot-Driessen et al. forthcoming a; Gaignerot-Driessen et al. forthcoming b.

A60.

Site name/toponym(s): Milatos Kastellos

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A settlement site located on an acropolis near the coast with a long history of occupation on its summit, including LM IIIC. EIA occupation was primarily located below the summit of the acropolis on its western slope (Nowicki). The settlement gradually moved further down the slope towards the coast. The EIA settlement area has not been excavated. The LM IIIC and PG phases were significantly smaller than the later Archaic through Hellenistic site, based on the surface assemblage.

Dates of occupation: FN/EM I, MM?, LM IIIB?, LM IIIC, SM, PG, G, Ar, CI, HL

Bibliography: Xanthoudides 1918, 11; Nowicki 2000, 170-1; Tsipopoulou 2005a, 67; Gaignerot-Driessen 2016a, 197-200.

A61.

Site name/toponym(s): Mesa Lasithi (Armi)

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: SM and PG sherds were collected immediately above and north of the village of Mesa Lasithi by Pendlebury. It is unclear if these represent a settlement site or a shrine.

Pendlebury records “a story of an altar and bronze figurine discovered years ago” along with traces of burning but does not directly connect this story with the sherds that he discovered.

Dates of occupation: SM/PG

Bibliography: Pendlebury et al. 1937-8a, 2; Kanta 1980, 122.

A62.

Site name/toponym(s): Pinakiano: Tou Stavrakou o Lakkos

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A settlement site represented by a large surface scatter, the largest area of which “appears to belong to the Early Iron Age” (Watrous).

Size: 2.3 ha

Dates of occupation: EIA (no specific mention of PG or other chronological subdivisions)

Bibliography: Watrous 1974, 12-15; Watrous 1982, 38-9.

A63.

Site name/toponym(s): Kera Castello

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A small settlement site on a rocky ridge below Agios Georgios Papoura, known from surface exploration by Nowicki. No architecture is visible.

Size: 0.48 ha

Dates of occupation: LM IIIC?, PG-Ar

Associated sites: Agios Georgios Papoura (**A64**)

Bibliography: Nowicki 2000, 166-7.

A64.

Site name/toponym(s): Agios Georgios Papoura

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A large settlement site, known primarily through surface exploration (Watrous, Nowicki, Wallace), that is located on a large hill with a broad summit overlooking the Lasithi Plateau. The site was settled in the late LM IIIC and was enlarged in PG, most likely by the movement of the inhabitants of Karphi and other nearby LM IIIC settlements to the site. PG material is found densely across the summit of the hill and covers a large area. PG-Ar material and visible architecture is present across the summit and on the south and east sides of the ridge. Pendlebury excavated a trial trench containing no architecture or stratified material on the southern slope of the hill. The retained pottery from this excavation ranges in date between SM/PG and late Ar. An apparently open-air cult site was located on the summit of the hill, possibly dating as far back as PG, and continuing into Ar. It was partially excavated in a rescue excavation before OTE construction on the hill (Eliopoulos). The excavation exposed a black soil layer over bedrock containing animal bones and figurines.

Size: 18.2 ha

Dates of occupation: MM III, LM I, LM IIIC(late)-Ar/CI, R

Associated sites: Kera Kastello (A63), Kera Vigla (A65)

Bibliography: Evans 1896, 454-5; Taramelli 1899, 407-9; Pendlebury et al. 1935-6, 10; 1936-7, 195, 199; Pendlebury 1939, 324; Alexiou 1958, 285; Boardman 1961, 113; Faure 1967, 132; Watrous 1974, 24-37; 1980, 270-71, 282-3; 1982, 20-1, 39-40; Eliopoulos 1995c; 1996b, 128-9; Nowicki 2000, 167-70; Eaby 2007, 23; Wallace 2010-11, 23-31.

A65.

Site name/toponym(s): Kera Vigla

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A settlement site located on a large terrace known from surface exploration (Nowicki, Wallace). The majority of the pottery dates to G-Ar, but there is LM IIIC-PG pottery present. The site was likely occupied at the same time as Agios Georgios Papoura.

Size: 0.8 ha (estimate from terrace size recorded by Nowicki) or 6.1 ha (Wallace)

Dates of occupation: EM, MM I, LM IIIC-PG, G-Ar

Associated sites: Agios Georgios Papoura (A64)

Bibliography: Nowicki 1995, 698-9; 2000, 164-6; Wallace 2013, 120-3.

A66.

Site name/toponym(s): Krasi Kastello

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A settlement site known from surface exploration by Nowicki, probably contemporary with Agios Georgios Papoura. The settlement is spread out across two low hills and the saddle between them. There is preserved architecture present and visible, including House A1, a “megaron”-type building that Nowicki compares to Rooms K138-140 at Karphi. Other architectural is also visible. Nowicki did not identify any LM IIIC material in the ceramic material from the surface, and the site was likely established in PG.

Size: 0.65-0.85 ha

Dates of occupation: PG-G, O, Ar

Associated sites: Agios Georgios Papoura (A64)?

Bibliography: Alexiou 1963b, 405; Nowicki 1995, 698; 2000, 152-3.

A67.

Site name/toponym(s): Malia, Thesi Pezoula

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A large domestic building consisting of sixteen rooms located on the summit of a low hill (**Figure 8**), discovered during a rescue excavation south of Malia. It includes a central room with bench-like structures, a court area, storerooms, and a possible workshop area. The pottery is primarily domestic in character, with evidence for food preparation and consumption associated with the central room. Two phases of construction were identified in parts of the building.

Dates of occupation: LM-PG

Bibliography: Mandalaki 2006.

A68.

Site name/toponym(s): Skotino Kandari (Pediada Survey)

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A settlement site identified through extensive surface survey.

Dates of occupation: MM I-II, MM III-LM I, LM IIIC, PG

Bibliography: Panagiotakis 2003, 418.

A69.

Site name/toponym(s): Skopela Papoura/Psila Patitiria (Pediada Survey)

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A settlement site identified through extensive surface survey, located on the southern side of a hill.

Dates of occupation: MM I-II, PG

Bibliography: Panagiotakis 2003, 417.

A70.

Site name/toponym(s): Knossos

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: The EIA town at Knossos (**Figure 9**) was located directly to the west of the remains of the Minoan palace and was occupied between at least the twelfth and early sixth centuries BCE. PG material has been excavated in a large number of systematic and rescue excavations across the settlement area and throughout the broader region. *Stratigraphical Museum:* PG material was found in trench X, where there is a pit of this date as well as earlier LM IIIC walls that possibly continued in use into PG. There are the remains of a PG building in trench U, stratified over SM remains. In general, the PG period appears to be much sparser than the relatively extensive LM IIIC occupation in this area. *Royal Road:* *South excavations:* Hood excavated the very fragmentary remains of a PG house of EPG-MPG date set into older Minoan architecture, consisting of lower and upper occupation deposits separated by a floor level. PG material was also found scattered in mixed deposits throughout the excavation area. Additional PG material comes from a soil level with mixed sherds in trench F, excavated in 1972. In initial reports, Warren stated that the PG material from trench F may represent occupation rubbish from the house excavated by Hood. This

material is located 23.5 m away from Hood's excavation area, however, and Warren now does not consider the two areas linked. *Unexplored Mansion*: Portions of three stratified PG levels (including two floor surfaces) are preserved on the western edge of the excavation area, partially destroyed by the Little Palace sondage. There was no architecture associated with these floors and no pottery is published from these surfaces. Published PG included a deposit of whole vases on a patch of floor (Deposit GA), and from deposits in pits 44 (Deposit GB) and 60 (Deposit GC). The contents of Pit 44 may have been wholly PG, but pit 60 contained Minoan through Classical material. Miscellaneous PG material was also found throughout the excavation area in mixed fills (including individual examples published in Deposit GH). *Little Palace North*: Two shallow clay-lined pans of unknown function date to PG. *South-West Houses*: Five deposits of pottery (Deposits A-E) were published from PG contexts from the excavations in the area of the South-West Houses, representing SM/EPG-MPG occupation. These are roughly contemporary with the deposits from Hood's Royal Road excavations. Deposits D and E represent PG occupation of a reused Minoan house in trenches S VII 2 and 6. *Villa Dionysos*: stratified PG material is present under the area of the Roman Villa, representing domestic habitation. A small number of PG sherds from excavations in 1935, 1971, and 1999 have been published. A test trench was excavated in the Villa viridarium in 2000, revealing two PG floor levels (one with fragmentary architecture) overlying Minoan fill. The pottery is consistent with domestic activity. *Evans's excavations*: Scanty and dispersed PG material is present from Evans's excavations in the area of the Palace, including material from the votive deposit from the area of the Central Court, some of which probably dates to PG. *Rescue and other unpublished small excavations*: PG walls and material was present in Hutchinson's 1936-7 Archaic Dig south of Boughada (KS² 207).

PG material was present in Hutchinson's 1937 excavations under the car park (KS² 210), and in tests around the Kiln Site (KS² 178) of the same year. PG walls were present in excavations in Mathioudakis' plot (KS² 208). PG strata were present in the excavations of later Geometric houses excavated by Cook in 1953 (KS² 180). Trials in 1960 west of the main Heraklion road uncovered MM IA through Roman deposits, including PG material. Major PG levels were present in rescue excavations in the Vrondinou field (now the car park to the north of the archaeological site) in 1981.

Dates of occupation: N through present

Associated sites: Knossos North Cemetery (C40), Teke (C41), Fortetsa (C42), Isopata (C43), Agios Ioannis (C44), Ghypsades (C45)

Bibliography: Hood 1960, 266; Coldstream 1963; Popham 1969, 422; Coldstream 1972, 68-77; Warren 1973, 574-6; Warren 1979, 385; Warren 1980, 496; Hood and Smyth 1981; Sackett et al. 1992, 3-4, 67-70, 76; Coldstream and MacDonald 1997; Paton 1998, 124; Coldstream 2000a; Coldstream and Hatzaki 2003; Prent 2005, 261; Hatzaki et al. 2008, 236-46; Warren pers. comm.; Whitelaw, pers. comm.

A71.

Site name/toponym(s): Kalo Chorio Maza/Pediados

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A large settlement site located on the top of a flat-topped hill. There is some LM IIIC material present on the surface (Nowicki), but the main period of site use was PG-G. Architecture is visible on the surface. Taramelli and Platon both recovered figurines of PG types from the area of the site (Platon also excavated Minoan figurines of peak sanctuary

types), indicating the likely presence of a cult place. Taramelli's figurine deposit came from the summit of the hill, and probably indicates a cult space specifically within the settlement. He called the pottery that he found "Mycenaean," but later mentions of the figurines call them PG (Pendlebury). No part of the EIA settlement has been excavated. Wallace's surface survey of the site identified the area of densest sherd material as about 10.3 ha on the summit and upper slopes. She identified LM IIIC-G pottery.

Size: 10.3 ha

Dates of occupation: MM I-II, LM IIIC, PG-G, Ar?

Bibliography: Taramelli 1899, 377-87; Pendlebury 1939, 312; Platon 1947, 639; Desborough 1952, 259; Alexiou 1958, 214; Nowicki 2000, 175-7; Wallace 2013, 109-10.

A72.

Site name/toponym(s): Smari Prophitis Elias

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A possible settlement site located on the flat summit of the Prophitis Elias acropolis above the modern village of Smari (**Figure 10**). The site is best known for the LG-Ar feasting complex consisting of three megaron-shaped structures (Buildings A, B, and Δ) inside a large peribolos wall. Parts of the peribolos wall (originally built in the Bronze Age) were rebuilt or refurbished in LM IIIC. Building 1 and Megaron 2 outside of the peribolos wall appear to have been constructed in LM IIIC and contained destruction levels also dating to LM IIIC, with no mention of later PG material. In Building Δ, there was a stratigraphic level across the main room dating to LM IIIC, associated with column bases. There was also an EG phase in Building Δ, indicating a possible *terminus ad quem* date for the beginnings of

the construction of the feasting complex in the center of the plateau. Excavations in the interior of Megaron A produced earth layers below the building with mixed LM IIIC/SM through O pottery, but no stratified surfaces earlier than the building. In general, PG material is only known from disturbed material below the LG foundation levels of the existing architecture. Based on the published material, therefore, Smari appears to have been occupied as a settlement site during LM IIIC, but may have been abandoned during PG, or at least only minimally occupied before being revived as a large center for ritualized dining events in LG.

Dates of occupation: MM I-II, LM IIIC-Ar, HL, R

Bibliography: Chatzi-Vallianou 1980; Chatzi-Vallianou 1995; Chatzi-Vallianou 1996; Chatzi-Vallianou 1997; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 220-2; Chatzi-Vallianou 1998; Chatzi-Vallianou 1999; Chatzi-Vallianou 2000; Chatzi-Vallianou and Euthymiou 2000; Tsoukala and Chatzi-Vallianou 2000; Nowicki 2000, 178; Chatzi-Vallianou 2001-4.

A73.

Site name/toponym(s): Sgourokephali Monomerites (Pediada Survey)

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A settlement site identified through extensive surface survey, located on the summit of a hill.

Dates of occupation: MM I-II, MM III-LM I, LM III, PG

Bibliography: Panagiotakis 2003, 415.

A74.

Site name/toponym(s): Sambas Agia Triada (Pediada Survey)

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A settlement site identified through extensive surface survey.

Dates of occupation: MM I-II, MM III-LM I, LM IIIC, PG

Associates sites: Sambas Riza (A75), Sambas Trochaloi (A76)

Bibliography: Panagiotakis 2003, 413.

A75.

Site name/toponym(s): Sambas Riza (Pediada Survey)

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A settlement site identified through extensive surface survey, located on the slope of a hillside.

Dates of occupation: MM I-II, MM III-LM I, LM IIIC, PG, HL, R

Associated sites: Sambas Agia Triada (A74), Sambas Trochaloi (A76)

Bibliography: Panagiotakis 2003, 414.

A76.

Site name/toponym(s): Sambas Trochaloi (Pediada Survey, Galatas Survey)

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A settlement site identified through extensive surface survey, located on the top and western slope of the Trochaloi hill. A PG skyphos was present in the surface pottery collected by the Galatas survey. There was a greater amount of G-O material than PG.

Size: 0.24 ha.

Dates of occupation: MM I-II, MM III-LM I, LM IIIA-C, PG, G, O, Ar, Cl, HL

Associated sites: Sambas Agia Triada (A74), Sambas Riza (A75)

Bibliography: Panagiotakis 2003, 415; Watrous et al. 2017, 188.

A77.

Site name/toponym(s): Zophoroi Aspromouris (Pediada Survey)

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A settlement site identified through extensive surface survey.

Dates of occupation: MM III-LM I, LM II, LM III, PG

Associated sites: Zophoroi Bitzariano (A78)

Bibliography: Panagiotakis 2003, 429.

A78.

Site name/toponym(s): Zophoroi Bitzariano (Pediada Survey)

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A small settlement site identified through extensive surface survey.

Dates of occupation: LM IIIC, PG

Associated sites: Zophoroi Aspromouris (A77)

Bibliography: Panagiotakis 2003, 430.

A79.

Site name/toponym(s): Lyttos (Xidas)

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A settlement site located on the summit of the hill and on the ridge extending from the Agios Georgios chapel. The size of the EIA settlement is difficult to determine because it is obscured by the Classical and later phases of the site. PG and G sherds were visible to Nowicki in addition to LM IIIC material. The site probably started expanding in PG.

Dates of occupation: LM IIIB?, LM IIIC-G, O, Ar, Cl, HL, R

Bibliography: Taramelli 1899, 397; Nowicki 2000, 177-8.

A80.

Site name/toponym(s): Kastamonitsa Lygia/Tsapi metochi (Pediada Survey)

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A settlement site identified through extensive surface survey.

Dates of occupation: N, MM I-II, MM III-LM I, PG, G, O, Ar, Byz, V

Associated sites: Kastamonitsa Vigli (**A81**)

Bibliography: Panagiotakis 2003, 400.

A81.

Site name/toponym(s): Kastamonitsa Vigli (Pano) (Pediada Survey)

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A settlement site identified through extensive surface survey, located on a small foothill of the Lasithi massif, controlling the passage between the areas of modern Avdou and Kastamonitsa.

Dates of occupation: MM I-II, MM III-LM I, LM III, PG

Associated sites: Kastamonitsa Lygia (A80)

Bibliography: Panagiotakis 2003, 400.

A82.

Site name/toponym(s): Philissia Bakiri Sterna (Pediada Survey)

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A settlement site identified through extensive surface survey.

Dates of occupation: N, MM III-LM I, LM III, PG, G, Ar

Bibliography: Panagiotakis 2003, 411.

A83.

Site name/toponym(s): Agies Paraskies Kato Alonaki/ Chatzis Ali Plai A (Pediada Survey)

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A settlement site identified through extensive surface survey located on terraces on a slope.

Dates of occupation: MM III-LM I, LM IIIB, PG, R, Byz

Bibliography: Panagiotakis 2003, 395.

A84.

Site name/toponym(s): Agios Vassilios Zourgia/Kourabies (Pediada Survey)

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A settlement site identified through extensive surface survey, located on terraces on a slope.

Dates of occupation: MM I-MM II, MM III-LM I, MM III, PG, G

Bibliography: Panagiotakis 2003, 396.

A85.

Site name/toponym(s): Choudetsi Pezoulos/Lyrarogiorgi Pigai (Pediada Survey)

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A settlement site identified through extensive surface survey.

Dates of occupation: MM III-LM I, LM III, PG, G, Ar

Associated sites: Choudetsi Phlambouriaris (**A86**)

Bibliography: Panagiotakis 2003, 387.

A86.

Site name/toponym(s): Choudetsi Phlambouriaris (Pediada Survey)

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A settlement site identified through extensive surface survey.

Dates of occupation: N, MM III-LM I, LM III, PG, Ar, V

Associated sites: Choudetsi Pezoulos (**A85**)

Bibliography: Panagiotakis 2003, 388.

A87.

Site name/toponym(s): Melesses Ai Giannis (Pediada Survey)

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A settlement site identified through extensive surface survey, described in the publication as “extended.” It is unclear if this indicates a large continuous settlement or a linked but non-contiguous set of assemblages of surface material across a broad area.

Dates of occupation: MM III-LM I, LM III, PG, Ar, R

Bibliography: Panagiotakis 2003, 406.

A88.

Site name/toponym(s): Voni Korakies (Pediada Survey)

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A cave with possible evidence for human occupation located on the route between Voni and Thrapsano.

Dates of occupation: MM I-II, PG

Associated sites: Voni Sochora (**A89**)

Bibliography: Panagiotakis 2003, 424.

A89.

Site name/toponym(s): Voni Sochora (Pediada Survey)

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A settlement site identified through extensive surface survey.

Dates of occupation: LM II-III, PG

Associated sites: Voni Korakies (**A88**)

Bibliography: Panagiotakis 2003, 426.

A90.

Site name/toponym(s): Astritsi Kefala/Tritonia

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A large settlement site with visible architecture known through surface exploration (Nowicki, Panagiotakis). The EIA site was limited to the northern end of the plateau (Nowicki). Pendlebury and earlier travelers only identified Archaic and later material. The visible architecture appears to belong to the later periods of occupation. The site was identified by the Pediada Survey Project as Lykastos.

Size: 7.2-10 ha

Dates of occupation: N, MM I-II, MM III-LM I, LM IIIA1-C, PG, G, O, Ar, Cl, HL, Byz, V

Associated sites: Astritsi Rouma (**A91**)

Bibliography: Pendlebury 1939, 342, 351, 361; Nowicki 2000, 179; Panagiotakis 2003, 382-3; Watrous et al. 2017, 177-8.

A91.

Site name/toponym(s): Astritsi Rouma (Kato)/Galiotes (Pediada)

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A settlement site identified through extensive surface survey, located on a hill.

Dates of occupation: MM III-LM I, LM III, PG, G

Associated sites: Astritsi Kephala (**A90**)

Bibliography: Panagiotakis 2003, 383.

A92.

Site name/toponym(s): Alagni Mega Livali (Pediada Survey)

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A settlement site identified through extensive surface survey.

Dates of occupation: LM IIIC, PG, V

Associated sites: Alagni Panagia (**A93**)

Bibliography: Panagiotakis 2003, 374.

A93.

Site name/toponym(s): Alagni Panagia/Athanatos (Pediada Survey)

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A settlement site identified through extensive surface survey.

Dates of occupation: MM III-LM I, LM IIIC, PG, V

Associated sites: Alagni Mega Livali (**A92**)

Bibliography: Panagiotakis 2003, 375.

A94.

Site name/toponym(s): Galatiani Kephala (Galatas Survey)

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A small settlement site located on the southern part of the top of a ridge overlooking the river valley, near the Minoan palatial site at Galatas. A PG skyphos was among the surface finds reported by the Galatas Survey.

Size: 0.33 ha

Dates of occupation: EM-LM II, LM IIIA-B, LM IIIC, PG-O, Ar-CI, HL

Bibliography: Watrous et al. 2017, 181-2.

A95.

Site name/toponym(s): Rousochoria Pera Chorio/Agios Ioannis (Pediada Survey)

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A settlement site identified through extensive surface survey.

Dates of occupation: MM I-II, MM III-LM I, PG, Ar, V

Bibliography: Panagiotakis 2003, 413.

A96.

Site name/toponym(s): Kephala (Galatas Survey, Transect 209B)

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A settlement site, identified through intensive surface survey, located on terraces on the northeastern slope of a hill, above an EIA cemetery area. The PG-O phase of the site is larger than previous periods, based on the extent of the surface assemblage.

Size: 0.70 ha

Dates of occupation: EM-LM II, LM IIIA-B, LM IIIC, PG-Ar

Bibliography: Panagiotakis 2003, 429; Watrous et al. 2017, 196-7.

A97.

Site name/toponym(s): Galatas Survey Transect 206

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A settlement site located in a defensible saddle, identified through intensive surface survey. A PG skyphos base was included in the diagnostic surface assemblage.

Size: 0.6 ha

Dates of occupation: PG-O, Ot

Bibliography: Watrous et al. 2017, 196.

A98.

Site name/toponym(s): Arkalochori Prophitis Elias (Pediada Survey)

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A settlement site located on the summit of the Prophitis Elias hill, identified through extensive and intensive surface survey, including undated architectural remains and a cave.

Dates of occupation: MM IB-II, MM III-LM I, LM IIIA2-B, PG, O, Ar, HL, R, V

Size: 3 ha

Bibliography: Panagiotakis 2003, 380; Watrous et al. 2017, 178-9.

A99.

Site name/toponym(s): Aphrati Prophitis Elias/Arkades

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A settlement site with EIA-Ar houses concentrated on the eastern slope of the hill, with a possible Archaic sanctuary located on the summit. The houses, partially excavated by Levi, were arranged on built terraces. Most of the material from Levi's excavations was Geometric and Archaic. More settlement remains were found in various

excavations around Ai-Lia. One structure has been identified as either a shrine or an *andreion* in its seventh century phase (Lembesi). Activity started there in PGB (ninth century BCE) in the form of a paved area associated with open-air cult activities including animal sacrifice. Material from the settlement and the associated cemetery demonstrated connections with Cyprus from LM IIIC onwards.

Dates of occupation: PG-Ar

Associated sites: Aphrati cemetery (C59)

Bibliography: Halbherr 1901c, 393-9; Levi 1927-9a, 32-57; Lembesi 1970a; Lembesi 1970b; Kanta and Karetsou 1997; 1998; Nowicki 2000, 179-80; Prent 2005, 279-80.

A100.

Site name/toponym(s): Ini Kephala A (Pediada Survey)

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A settlement site identified through extensive surface survey, located on the summit of a hill.

Dates of occupation: MM III-LM I, LM IIIB-C, PG, G, Ar, Cl, HL, R

Bibliography: Panagiotakis 2003, 396.

A101.

Site name/toponym(s): Viannos Kerato/Vigla

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A large settlement site located on the summit and northern slope of the peak, identified through surface exploration. PG and G pottery is abundant across the site, which is

also covered by Byzantine ruins. The site appears to have grown in PG-G after the abandonment of nearby LM IIIC sites such as Arvi Fortetsa. A cave at the base of a cliff on the east side of the mountain also contained LM IIIC-G pottery in addition to Minoan sherds.

Dates of occupation: LMI, LM III, early LM IIIC (on top of summit), PG-G, CI-R, Byz, V

Associated sites: Viannos Korakia (A102), Geometric tomb in the vicinity of the acropolis (Platon 1956b, 420).

Bibliography: Faure 1956, 96; Hood et al. 1964, 84; Tyree 1974, 30-1; Nowicki 2000, 139; Wallace 2013, 120-3.

A102.

Site name/toponym(s): Viannos Korakia

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A settlement site known from surface exploration, located on the summit and southern slope of the Korakia hill above Viannos. Nowicki identified PG-G sherds, but no LM IIIC material. Pendlebury identified Archaic sherds. The summit also contained a Turkish fort and WWII construction.

Dates of occupation: PG-Ar, CI/HL, R

Associated sites: Viannos Kerato (A101)

Bibliography: Pendlebury 1939, 343; Hood et al. 1964, 83; Nowicki 2000, 138-9.

A103.

Site name/toponym(s): Tylissos

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: Limited stratified PG-G material was excavated by Hazzidakis. PG material from these early excavations is mentioned by Hall as comparanda for material from tombs at Vrokastro. Hazzidakis argued for cult continuity from the Bronze Age through the Roman period in the area of Building C and the LM III cistern, above which is a cult space with column bases and an altar with ashes and figurines. He did not illustrate any of the pottery, and the nature of evidence for EIA activity is therefore unclear, although Hazzidakis reports Geometric material. Kanta reported stratified EPG material from a small excavation and argued that the site was occupied as a settlement from at least LM IIIC through the early part of the Protogeometric period. Kanta also argued that the excavated cult material represents the religious center of the (unexcavated) contemporary town.

Dates of occupation: MM-LM III, PG, G, R

Bibliography: Hazzidakis 1913; Hall 1914, 130; Hazzidakis 1934, 66-9; Kanta 1980, 11-13; Prent 2005, 318-19; Kanta 2006; 2011.

A104.

Site name/toponym(s): Krousonas Koupo

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A settlement site known through surface exploration and excavation. Some unexcavated wall remains are visible on the surface. A large Geometric-Archaic house was excavated here with an underlying LM IIIC phase, mostly known from redeposited pottery and other material, especially from a pit in the corner of one room of the Archaic building. The pit contained carbon, figurines, and mixed LM IIIC, G, and Ar pottery.

Size: 32.5 ha (largest extent of site)

Dates of occupation: little LM IIIC-PG, predominantly G-Ar

Associated sites: Krousonas, Thesi Chalepa (C60)?

Bibliography: Xanthoudides 1918, 10-11; Pendlebury et al. 1932-3, 92; Xanthoudides 1948, 538; Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki 1983, 355-6; 1987c, 530-1; Nowicki 2000, 181-2; Wallace 2013, 116-120.

A105.

Site name/toponym(s): Prophitis Elias/ Lykastos (Kanli Kastelli)

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A settlement site centered on the Rokka peak in LM IIIC that spread to the Koriphi peak over the course of the EIA, with the large Ar phase of the site located on the saddle between the two summits. Nowicki found very little LM IIIC-PG pottery visible on the surface.

Dates of occupation: LM IIIB-C (?), PG, G, Ar, Cl, HL, R, Byz

Bibliography: Nowicki 2000, 182-3.

A106.

Site name/toponym(s): Prinias (Patela)

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A settlement site located on the large flat summit of the Patela hill (**Figures 11, 12**). Most of the excavated architecture of the settlement dates to the seventh century, including multiple buildings with ritual functions. Earlier levels have been excavated in various parts of the settlement in recent stratigraphic soundings. Soundings under Temple A

have uncovered LM IIIC-LG levels of earth mixed with copious burned material, animal bones, and drinking paraphernalia. The LM IIIC material represents ritual activities involving dining in this part of the site. No clear LM IIIC architecture has been identified in the soundings under Temple A. There is little evidence for activity in the area of Temple A between EPG and LPG. A pit under the area of the later hearth in Temple A containing half of a PGB krater marked the resumption of ritualized dining activities in this area. An additional two half-vessels of approximately the same date were uncovered under the pronaos of the building. PG figurines were found underneath houses throughout the block to the east of Temple A. Soundings to the west of Temple A uncovered SM/EPG pottery and stone tools, associated with Wall 9, stratified under the later LG-O levels in Room WC. This material is likely associated with the dining activities in the area of Temple A on the basis of proximity.

In the area south of Building B, and immediately adjacent to Building VA-VD, the later LG-Ar architecture overlaid a level of soil above the bedrock containing LM IIIC and PG pottery. There was no architecture associated with this stratum. Under Room VD, fragmentary walls and a surface have been dated to PG based on the presence of a krateriskos/skyphos and are associated with cooking pottery and animal bone. PG cups were also deposited in an LG foundation deposit in the corner of Room VE. Pautasso argues that the central zone of the settlement was realigned in PGB-EG, establishing the basis for the organization of the later settlement.

On the eastern margin of the site, Halbherr excavated an open-air votive deposit containing LM IIIC GUAs and snake tubes, which was revisited in the Geometric period when an *eschara* and a paved surface were built. The votive deposit was associated with, and

probably originally located in, a large fissure in the bedrock that runs parallel to the edge of the plateau. A re-excavation of this area and of earlier finds indicates that there was a gap in activity in PG in this location.

Fragmentary LM IIIC-EPG material excavated in the area of Temple C indicate the date of the establishment of activity in this part of the site. A small number of possible snake tube fragments suggest that cult activities took place here. LPG-EG pottery was found during the excavation of other rooms in the southern block, along with a small number of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines, indicating a resumption of religious activity in this part of the site after a probable break at the end of LM IIIC. The presence of large numbers of bell-skyphoi, decorated cups and skyphoi, painted kraters, and cooking vessels suggests that this area was also used for drinking and dining activities at the end of PG. The construction of Temple C by the seventh century appears to have incorporated and observed older architectural features already in place, including a bench.

LM IIIC through O pottery (including PG) was found in the excavation of a series of LG-Ar buildings along the northern edge of the Patela, especially in Rooms NA-ND. Test trenches in the valley immediately southwest of the Patela also produced LM IIIC through LG pottery, including PG.

Dates of occupation: LMIIIC, PG, G, LG, O/Ar, HL

Associated sites: Siderospilia cemetery (C61)

Bibliography: Orsi 1897, 252-4; Wide 1901; Pernier 1908, 455-62; 1914; Desborough 1952, 258-9; Alexiou 1958, 180-5; 1969, 414; Kanta 1980, 14-15; Rizza 1983, 46; Rizza and Rizzo 1984; Rizza 1991; 1995; Palermo 1999; Nowicki 2000, 180-1; Palermo 2001a; Palermo et al.

2004; Palermo 2007; Rizza 2008; Palermo et al. 2008; Rizza 2011; Perna 2011; Patanè 2011; Palermo et al. 2012; Pautasso 2013; 2014; 2015; Babbi 2015.

A107.

Site name/toponym(s): Kourtes Kephala

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A settlement site known through surface exploration, located on the southern slope of the Kephala hill. The settlement appears to have been continually occupied between LM IIIC and O/A, with PG-G predominating in the surface assemblage.

Dates of occupation: LM IIIB?, LM IIIC, PG, G, O, Ar?

Associated sites: Kourtes Kephala cemetery (C62)

Bibliography: Taramelli 1901, 294-5; Pendlebury et al. 1932-3, 90; Nowicki 2000, 187-8.

A108.

Site name/toponym(s): Gortyn

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: EIA settlement sites were located on the Agios Ioannis acropolis and on the Prophitis Elias peak (**Figure 13**). An amphora with semi-circles between the handles was reported from the general site in 1899, although it is not known if it came from a settlement or tomb context (Wide).

On the Agios Ioannis acropolis, LM IIIC-PG habitation levels were excavated under the later Sanctuary of Athena (**Figure 14**). These consist of a series of poorly preserved rooms arranged on descending terraces beneath and to the south of the later temple. The

presence of PG pottery in several of the excavated rooms indicates that this neighborhood was occupied through at least part of the period. Most of the PG pottery from this area comes from highly mixed deposits, however. Perna has reconstructed the remains under the later temple as a single agglomerative structure.

Rizza and Santa Maria Scrinari date the earliest phase of the overlying temple construction to the late ninth or early eighth century BCE, providing a *terminus ad quem* date for the abandonment of the settlement. D'Acunto argues that the temple was likely constructed later, and that at least part of the settlement was continually occupied between LM IIIC and the eighth century. This opinion is now the prevailing one regarding the date of the abandonment of the settlement.

A small number of figurines dating to PG-G and pottery of PG date were excavated in the area of the later altar and votive deposit (“stipe”) associated with the temple and may represent early cult activity by the inhabitants of the contemporary settlement on the summit of the hill. Santaniello has argued that the rooms excavated directly under the temple should be interpreted as an earlier open-air phase of the sanctuary, with the contemporary settlement located further down the slope to the south, meaning that the Sanctuary of Athena in its seventh century phase would not have been a new foundation related to the development of the Gortynian polis.

At the Prophitis Elias site (**Figure 15**), PG material was found stratified under the excavated LG-Ar houses, especially from the areas of rooms B1 and B2. This material consists of vessel types consistent with a domestic assemblage (including hydria and pithos sherds). The PG levels in this area were founded on sterile soil and therefore provide

evidence for the initial foundation of the settlement area. This settlement area likely spread west of the excavated area to the Armos hill.

A small amount of residual PG and G pottery was also produced by excavations under the Odeion by Pernier and Di Vita, suggesting the possible presence of a contemporary settlement area down in the plain in the area of the later city.

It is not clear if these settlement areas were part of the same larger community spread across contiguous hills, or if they were separate villages that combined populations in an act of synoicism in the seventh century. The gorge containing the Mitropolianos river separates the two upper settlement areas and makes direct access between them difficult.

Dates of occupation: N, EM I-II, MM I-II, LM II-III A, LM III C/SM, PG, G, LG, O, Ar, Cl, HL, R, Byz

Associated sites: Agios Georgios tholos tomb (**C63**)

Bibliography: Wide 1899, 40; Pernier 1925-6, 6-9; Rizza and Santa Maria Scrinari 1968; Kanta 1980, 91-2; Di Vita 1991; Allegro 1991; Erickson 1998-2000, 236; Nowicki 2000, 186-7; Perlman 2000; Johannowsky 2002; D'Acunto 2002; Bejor and Sena Chiesa 2003, 831; Prent 2005, 267; Pilz 2011, 156-62; Santaniello 2011; Allegro and Santaniello 2011; Perna 2012, 31-60; Santaniello 2013.

A109.

Site name/toponym(s): Phaistos

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: The EIA settlement at Phaistos consists of multiple parts (**Figure 16**). A large settlement block is located directly west and southwest of the Minoan palace (the Geometric

Quarter, **Figure 17**). There are a few possible LM IIIC walls in this area. The earliest clear excavated EIA feature in this area was a PG road surface that went through three phases of rebuilding, running roughly north-south and serving as the main artery of movement through the contemporary settlement. This road went out of use when a number of rooms were built over it, including the earliest phases of rooms AA, R₃, MM, and NN. The PG phases in these spaces appear to date to the later part of the ninth century, providing a *terminus ante quem* date for the construction and use of the older road. PG floor levels were stratified under LG levels in several rooms, and PG pottery was found in excavations throughout the entire quarter. The restructuring of this quarter at the end of PG indicated by the over-building of the road points to new approaches to common space and access routes through the G-Ar phases of the settlement. A possible fortification wall, tentatively dated to LM IIIC-PG, is located on the Acropoli Mediana. Another series of buildings of PG and G date were excavated in the Chalara area of the site. In these excavations, the PG phase was represented by pottery, but not by preserved architecture.

Dates of occupation: N, EM-LM, LM IIIC, PG, G, O, Ar, Cl?, HL, R

Associated sites: Agia Triada (**B13**), Kommos (**B14**), Neromylos (**C66**), Kalyviana Phaistou (**C68**), Ai Ioannis (**C69**)

Bibliography: Desborough 1952, 258; Levi 1956, 241; Levi 1957-8 221, 265-74; Levi 1961-2, 397-418; Renard 1967, 581-7; Levi 1967-8; Rocchetti 1969-70; Rocchetti 1974-5; Rocchetti 1978; La Rosa 1994, 711; Cucuzza 1998; Palermo 2001b; Watrous et al. 2004, 525-7; La Rosa 2005; Prent 2005, 263; Pernier 2009; La Rosa 2013.

A110.

Site name/toponym(s): A48 (Ieroditis Ridge SE of Voroï, Western Mesara Survey)

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A settlement site identified through intensive surface survey. No architecture is associated with the ceramic material.

Size: 0.64 ha

Dates of occupation: LM IIIC/PG?

Associated sites: Phaistos (A109)

Bibliography: Watrous et al. 2004, 531.

A111.

Site name/toponym(s): B38 (S edge of Sivas valley, Western Mesara Survey)

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A settlement site located 1 km SSE of the modern town of Sivas identified through pottery from intensive surface survey, but with no associated architecture. PG sherds were found in a WWII trench on the western top of the ridge.

Size: 0.88 ha

Dates of occupation: MM IA-G

Associated sites: Monasteriako Pigadi (C67)?

Bibliography: Watrous et al. 2004, 538.

A112.

Site name/toponym(s): Pobia Vigla/ Gria-Vigla

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A settlement site located on a plateau near the summit of a mountain on the edge of the Asterousia range overlooking the Lower Mesara. Pottery of LM IIIC-PG covered an area of approximately 150x100m, along with visible architecture (Nowicki). Vasilakis partially excavated two PG buildings at the site. The western one contained two post bases and carbonized remains of the wooden roof structure. The pottery included pithoi, a krater, drinking vessels, pouring vessels, and cooking vessels. Other finds included pithos stands, a Neolithic vessel, loom weights and spindle whorls, and stone tools. Carbonized figs and grapes were also found inside vessels. The second building was larger had two rooms (only one was excavated). The room contained thirty vessels, including pithoi and other storage vessels, kraters, drinking vessels, and cooking vessels. Three pithoi contained carbonized pea and other legume seeds. Other vessels contained grapes, wheat, and other grains. Both structures had benches built against the walls. Each building was built on bedrock, and largely robbed of stones for modern agricultural and herding architecture. Vasilakis compares the excavated architecture to that of Kavousi Kastro.

Size: 1.5 ha

Dates of occupation: MM I-II, LM IIIC, PG, CI

Bibliography: Nowicki 2000, 188-90; Vasilakis 2000.

A113.

Site name/toponym(s): Rotasi Kephala

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A very extensive settlement located on the summit and slopes of a large flat-topped acropolis, including on built terraces. The site is known through surface exploration only. The main occupation period is PG-Ar. There is a large amount of visible architecture present (Nowicki).

Size: 8 ha

Dates of occupation: LM I, LM IIIA-B?, LM IIIC (?), PG, G, O, Ar, Cl, HL, R

Associated sites: Rotasi Embasos/Berdeleto (C71), Rotasi (C72)

Bibliography: Pendlebury et al. 1932-3; Nowicki 2000, 190-1.

A114.

Site name/toponym(s): Ligortynos Kephala

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A large settlement site known through surface remains, located on the summit and slopes of the Kephala hill. Based on the various reports, PG and G material appears to have been widespread across the summit and down the south slope of the hill, while LM IIIC pottery was more concentrated near the higher part of the summit. Evans and Taramelli referred to many of the remains as “Mycenaean” and emphasized the continuity of the site from this period until the Classical period. Neither recognized (or at least mentioned) any material from intervening periods. Wallace estimates that the site extended at least 14.3 ha based on sherd coverage. The main period of use is LM IIIC through the seventh century BCE.

Size: 5-6 ha (Nowicki) or 14.3 ha (Wallace)

Dates of occupation: LM IIIA-B (?), LM IIIC, PG, G, O, Ar, Cl, HL, R

Bibliography: Evans 1896, 466; Taramelli 1899, 423; Pendlebury et al. 1932-3, 85; Desborough 1952, 259; Nowicki 2000, 185-6; Wallace 2013, 110-16.

A115.

Site name/toponym(s): Kasteliana Kastellos

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A settlement site identified through surface exploration. It was occupied from LM IIIC onwards, with considerable growth in PG-G, based on the relative quantities of sherds on the surface. No visible architecture dates to this period.

Size: 7 ha

Dates of occupation: LM IIIC, PG, G, O, Ar, Cl, HL, R, Byz, V

Bibliography: Nowicki 2000, 183-4.

A116.

Site name/toponym(s): Axos

Nomos: Rethymno

Description: A large settlement site known through surface exploration and excavation. LM IIIC-PG material is recorded on the summit of the hill (Nowicki), but most surface material belongs to Ar-HL/R. There is a sanctuary on the lower part of the settlement hill, the earliest figurines from which date to SM or PG. Contemporary settlement remains have not been excavated and the bulk of activity at the site (including in the sanctuary area) starts in the seventh century BCE, however.

Dates of occupation: LM IIIC-PG, Ar-R

Associated sites: Limnostratiaris (C73), Megalos Traphos/Teichio (C74)

Bibliography: Kanta 1980, 201; Nowicki 2000, 192-3; Prent 2005, 249-50; Aversa 2006; Tegou 2013; 2014.

A117.

Site name/toponym(s): Griovigla (Mylopotamos)/Vigla/Grivila/Griokephala Melidoniou

Nomos: Rethymno

Description: A settlement site on the summit of the hill. Platon opened some trenches there, uncovering PG or G houses in poor condition. The excavation was prompted by the discovery of a large bronze figurine of unspecified date. Faure also identified EIA material on the surface of the site.

Dates of occupation: MM, LM I, LM III, PG, G, Ar?

Bibliography: Taramelli 1899, 317; Platon 1948, 362, 365; 1951, 441; Gallet de Santerre and Deshayes 1952, 240; Hood et al. 1964, 56-8; Faure 1964, 136; Pilz 2011, 171.

A118.

Site name/toponym(s): Eleutherna

Nomos: Rethymno

Description: Settlement evidence comes from the summit and eastern side of the Prines hill and from the Pyrgi hill. Habitation possibly began as early as the ninth century BCE (contemporary with the establishment of the Orthi Petra cemetery), although the vast majority of EIA remains excavated in the settlement area are of the late eighth century BCE or later. Finds dating to the PG and G periods (figurines and sherds) come from the

excavation of a G-Ar building on the Pyrgi Hill, possibly a cult building. LM and G-Ar material was also reported from elsewhere on Pyrgi Hill. An open-air sanctuary on the Nisi Hill has material dating back to PG. Platon reported the presence of Geometric figurines and sherds on the acropolis. Themelis points to the presence of LM and G sherds near (?) the Hellenistic sanctuary and Basilica in Sector I as evidence for occupational continuity through the EIA but does not mention PG material. Stampolides has reconstructed the EIA settlement as *komai* rather than as a single nucleus.

Dates of occupation: N, EM, MM, LM, LM IIIC, PG?, G-Ar, Cl, HL, R, Byz

Associated sites: Orthi Petra cemetery (C75)

Bibliography: Hartley 1930-1, 108-14; Platon 1947, 637-8; Themelis 1989-90; Kalpaxis 1991-3, 258; Stampolides 1993, 35-6; Themelis 1995-6, 274; Kalpaxis 1995-6, 284-5; Nowicki 2000, 193-4; Stampolides 2004; Themelis 2004, 48-50.

A119.

Site name/toponym(s): Thronos Kephala (Sybrita)

Nomos: Rethymno

Description: A settlement site located on the plateau on the summit of a low hill overlooking the northern end of the Amari Valley, identified as ancient Sybrita. The excavated area on the summit of the hill revealed a large number of pits (n=55) dug into the bedrock containing debris from dining events, including drinking vessels and animal bones (**Figure 18**). Based on the lack of cross-joins between pits, the excavators have argued that each pit represents the debris from a single event. The pottery in the pits dates between early LM IIIC and PGB. The area of the plateau into which the pits were dug was open-air. Three buildings (Buildings

1, 2, and 3) located on the northern side of the plateau are contemporary with the pits. Building 3 was remodeled after a destruction in LM IIIC and appears to have become a ritual space in PG, most likely used for male initiation rituals and more exclusive feasting events. The pits and these three buildings went out of use at the end of PG. Two excavated LG structures are present on the summit (Buildings A1 and B1), but continuity between these two phases is not clear: D'Agata argues that the pit containing half of a PGB krater located below Building A1 acted as a foundation deposit and thus as a *terminus ad quem* for the building's construction, but all of the reported material from the use of the structure dates to LG. Later settlement material has not been excavated, with the exception of a Roman building on the summit of the hill. The settlement probably spread further down the slopes of the hill, but most of the surface material from an extensive survey of the surrounding landscape did not date to the EIA.

Dates of occupation: LM IIIC-LG, R

Associated sites: Pantanassa Veni (**A120**), Patsos Cave (**B20**)

Bibliography: Kirsten 1951; Hood et al. 1964, 71-2; Prokopiou and Rocchetti 1988; Metaxa-Prokopiou 1991b; Belgiorno 1994; Rocchetti 1994; Prokopiou 1994; Prokopiou, Rocchetti, and D'Agata 1994; D'Agata 1997-2000; 1999a; 1999b; 2000; Nowicki 2000, 199-200; Karamaliki and D'Agata 2000; D'Agata and Karamaliki 2001-2004; 2002; 2003; D'Agata and Boileau 2009; D'Agata; D'Agata 2012.

A120.

Site name/toponym(s): Pantanassa Veni

Nomos: Rethymno

Description: An extensive sherd scatter marking a settlement site, located on the summit of a flat-topped mountain at the north end of the Amari valley. EIA pottery was identified by Hood, Warren, and Cadogan, and by Nowicki, across most of the plateau. The exact size and form of the EIA settlement is largely masked by the later Ar-HL settlement, as well as by a Medieval fortress.

Size: 1.75 ha

Dates of occupation: EM III/MM I-II, LM IIIC, PG, G, Ar, O, Cl, HL, R(?)

Associated sites: Thronos Kephala (A119), Patsos Cave (B20)

Bibliography: Pendlebury 1939, 340, 349, 369; Dunbabin 1947, 186; Kirsten 1951, 150-1; Hood et al. 1964, 70-1; Nowicki 2000, 197-9.

A121.

Site name/toponym(s): Spili Vorizi (Area C)

Nomos: Rethymno

Description: A settlement site known through surface exploration, located on the west and southwest slopes of a rocky knoll overlooking the Spili spring.

Size: 0.3 ha

Dates of occupation: MM I-II, LM IIIC, PG, G/Ar(?)

Associated sites:

Bibliography: Nowicki 2000, 200-1.

A122.

Site name/toponym(s): Phrati Kephala

Nomos: Rethymno

Description: A settlement site is located on the south-west hill of the double-peaked Kephala massif, but also extends partially to the north-east hill. The surface assemblage is primarily LM IIIC/SM, but the site probably continued into PG and possibly into G/Ar, especially on the north-east hill. There is little to no visible architecture associated with the ceramic material.

Size: 0.9-1.5 ha

Dates of occupation: MM I-II, LM IIIC/SM, PG, G-Ar?

Bibliography: Nowicki 2000, 201-3; Moody et al. 2003, 68.

A123.

Site name/toponym(s): Potamous Kitrogianni (Sphakia Survey 2.01)

Nomos: Chania

Description: A settlement site identified through surface survey, located in a valley between two peaks.

Dates of occupation: LM IIIC-Ar/Cl

Bibliography: Nixon et al. 2000; Moody et al. 2003, 54.

A124.

Site name/toponym(s): Patsianos Kephala (8.30, Sphakia Survey)

Nomos: Chania

Description: A settlement site identified through surface survey, located on the summit and slopes of a hill overlooking the coastal plain.

Dates of occupation: EM, LM IIIC, PG, G, Ar

Bibliography: Nowicki 2000, 213-14; Nixon et al. 2000.

A125.

Site name/toponym(s): Biri Avlochi (Sphakia Survey 7.09)

Nomos: Chania

Description: A settlement site identified through surface survey.

Dates of occupation: EIA

Bibliography: Nixon et al. 2000.

A126.

Site name/toponym(s): 4.18 (Sphakia survey)

Nomos: Chania

Description: A settlement site identified through surface survey. It is unclear if occupation was continuous throughout the EIA.

Dates of occupation: LM IIIC-EIA, G-HL

Bibliography: Nixon et al. 2000.

A127.

Site name/toponym(s): Kolokasia Kastro (Sphakia Survey 8.31)

Nomos: Chania

Description: A settlement site identified through surface survey. A building of LM III-G/Ar date is present.

Dates of occupation: EIA (no specific mention of PG)

Bibliography: Nixon et al. 2000; Moody et al. 2003, 54.

A128.

Site name/toponym(s): Chania (property of N. Kaniamou)

Nomos: Chania

Description: Two wells contained stone, animal bones, stone tools, and much LM IIIC and PG pottery.

Dates of occupation: M, PG, Ar, Cl, HL, R, Ot

Bibliography: Andreadaki-Vlazaki 1992, 567.

A129.

Site name/toponym(s): Chania Kastelli, Agia Aikaterini square

Nomos: Chania

Description: PG and G sherds were found in Trench 3 of the Greek-Swedish excavation in 1970. Based on excavation reports, this represents a significant decrease in occupation from LM III. The PG material is extremely limited, with only a few identifiable sherds (both local and imports) and is mixed with much more copious LG material. LG was the main period of reoccupation of the area, and it is unclear what the scanty earlier material represents, if anything, beyond minor residual occupation.

Dates of occupation: MM I-LM IIIC, PG-G

Bibliography: Tzedakis 1971, 508; Kanta 1980, 219; Andreadaki-Vlazaki 1997, 229, 239.

A130.

Site name/toponym(s): Roka/Rokka

Nomos: Chania

Description: An extensive settlement site known through surface exploration, located on the slope to the south of the high rocky knoll of Troulli. There is abundant LM IIIC-G material on the surface, along with limited evidence for occupation continuing through the Hellenistic and later periods. No architecture is associated with the EIA material.

Size: 1.28-1.6 ha

Dates of occupation: LM IIIB?, LM IIIC, PG, G, Ar, Cl, HL, R, Byz, V

Bibliography: Nowicki 2000, 216-17.

A131.

Site name/toponym(s): Polyrinia

Nomos: Chania

Description: A settlement site represented by a small amount of surface pottery of probable LM IIIC-PG date found on the summit of the mountain. The site became much larger by the Archaic period, and it is not clear if there was continual occupation between PG and Ar.

Dates of occupation: N?, EM?, MM?, LM IIIC-PG, Ar-HL, R, Byz

Bibliography: Nowicki 2000, 221-2.

A132.

Site name/toponym(s): Kastelli/Trachillo Selli

Nomos: Chania

Description: A settlement site identified through surface survey. LM IIIC material is present in small quantities. There is a large number of PG-G sherds present, especially on the eastern edge and southern slope of the acropolis.

Dates of occupation: FN/EM I, LM IIIC, PG-G, CI, HL, R

Bibliography: Nowicki 2000, 222.

A133.

Site name/toponym(s): Phalasarna

Nomos: Chania

Description: A few PG-G sherds are present on the surface of the northern end of the acropolis above the harbor. Nowicki estimates that occupation at the site was temporary and/or very limited in size during the EIA.

Dates of occupation: FN/EM I, LM IIIC?, PG-G, CI-HL

Bibliography: Nowicki 2000, 222.

Catalogue B: Extra-settlement cult sites

B1.

Site name/toponym(s): Palaikastro, Sanctuary of Diktaean Zeus

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: Cult activity in the area of the later temple may date back to PG, but none of the preserved material is clearly diagnostic of the period.

Dates of occupation: BA, PG-Ar

Bibliography: Hutchinson et al. 1939-40, 40; Prent 2005, 350-1.

B2.

Site name/toponym(s): Pachlitzani Agriada/Makellos

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A sanctuary with a small shrine building containing part of a large clay statue and other offerings. The building was composed of a single rectangular room, most of which was destroyed prior to excavation. Part of a bench was preserved against the southern wall. Finds included Daedalic plaques depicting nude goddesses, figurines (bronze and terracotta, mostly female), a large clay cylindrical base with the feet of a larger figure, and ceramic vessels. The cult was probably established in PG, based on the date of the earliest figurine. Drerup preferred a later eighth to seventh century date for at least the shrine building, however. Alexiou argued that the cult was of Eileithyia or a related Minoan fertility/childbirth goddess. The building is now lost, probably destroyed by the construction of the road to Thripti.

Dates of occupation: LM IIIC-Ar

Associated sites: Kavousi Kastro (**A21**), Kavousi Avgo: Trapeza (**A19**), Kavousi Avgo:

Melisses (**A20**)

Bibliography: Platon 1951, 442-3; Alexiou 1956; Drerup 1969, 8; Naumann 1976, 52-4, 75, 77-8, 83, 86-8, 94, 99; Mazarakis Ainian 1988, 116; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 212-13, 334, 346; Haggis 2005, 137; Prent 2005, 299; Tsipopoulou 2005a, 117; Pilz 2011, 119-20; Gaignerot-Driessen 2016a, 428-9.

B3.

Site name/toponym(s): Monasteraki Chalasmenos

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: The site was a settlement dating to LM IIIC that was abandoned as a habitation site before PG (**Figure 19**). Votive figurines of SM-PG types and burned animal bones were found in Trench B11 in association with the space north of Room B.2.3 and in Room 4 of Building A.1 (Coulson's House). Room 4 appears to have been used as a public cult space in LM IIIC as well, based on the presence of figurines in the deposit on the floor and the fact that it was accessible only from the outside rather than from inside the house. The SM-PG material from this room was found in the fill above the LM IIIC floor. These finds appear to represent limited ritual activity after the abandonment of the site. Further reuse of the site occurred in LG, with the construction of a building used for feasting activities (**Figure 20**).

Dates of occupation: LM IIIC, PG, LG

Associated sites: Tholos tomb at Monasteraki Chalasmenos (**C16**), Kato Chorio Prophitis Elias (**A28**), Vasiliki Kephala (**A24**)?

Bibliography: Coulson and Tsipopoulou 1994, 82; Tsipopoulou 2004b, 128-9; 2011b, 465; Gaignerot-Driessen 2016a, 368.

B4.

Site name/toponym(s): Elounda Sta Lenika

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A PG or G sanctuary underlies the later Hellenistic Temple of Ares and Aphrodite. A hearth associated with PG sherds was mentioned in the original report, but the

form of the sanctuary during this period is unclear. A fragmentary cult building dates to the G period.

Dates of occupation: PG, G, HL

Associated sites: Elounda Oxa (A52)?

Bibliography: Lemerle 1937, 475; Bousquet 1938; Prent 2005, 348-9; Gaignerot-Driessen 2016a, 260-2.

B5.

Site name/toponym(s): Psychro Cave

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A cult site located in a large cave with apparently continuous use from the Bronze Age through the EIA. PG material is scarce and difficult to identify, but some of the bronze figurines, a cup, an aryballos, and several clay beads have been dated to this period. Hogarth does not mention or illustrate any PG material from his excavations, but he may have included any PG material with the “Geometric” material that he mentions. There was a major upswing in the concentration of votives in the eighth and seventh centuries before the cave went out of use in the sixth century. All material appears to represent individual votive depositions rather than organized group cult activities.

Dates of occupation: SN/EM, MM II, MM III, LM I, LM III, PG, G, Ar, R

Associated sites: Agios Georgios Papoura (A64)?

Bibliography: Hogarth 1899/1900; Demargne 1902, 580-3; Platon 1947, 637; Boardman 1961, 5, 56-7; Faure 1964, 154-5; Tyree 1974, 14-20, 118-20; Watrous 1974, 245-8;

Naumann 1976, 104-5; Kanta 1980, 122; Watrous 1982, 61-2; 1996, 43, 53; Prent 2005, 340; Pilz 2011, 138-40.

B6.

Site name/toponym(s): Phaneromeni Cave

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A cave containing possible evidence for cult from the Bronze Age through the seventh century BCE. At least one PG bronze votive male figurine was reported by Marinatos, but it may date instead to LM or Geometric based on stylistic grounds and on the date of other nearby finds. There was little to no other material diagnostic of the EIA, with the bulk of the finds being LM.

Dates of occupation: LM I, LM III, PG?, G-O, HL-R

Bibliography: Marinatos 1937, 222-3; Petrou-Mesogeitis 1938, 614-15; Boardman 1961, 118; Faure 1964, 160; Tyree 1974, 11-14; Naumann 1976, 50-1, 68 n.97, 82-3, 86-8, 101; Verlinden 1984, 166-8, 218-19; Prent 2005, 338; Pilz 2011, 140-1.

B7.

Site name/toponym(s): Sissi (Thesi Kremasma)

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: An open-air shrine/sanctuary whose presence is marked by clay human figurines, animal figurines, and miniature vessels. The chance find of a PG figurine in 1962 led to a small excavation in 1964 to the east of the modern village. The excavation turned up SM and PG sherds, and pieces of bovine figurines. The human figurines all appear to be

Minoan in date, but at least some of the bovine figurines were later. Alexiou attributed some or all of the figurines to the PG period. The area was disturbed by a WWII gun emplacement.

Dates of occupation: MM, LM I, LM III, SM-PG

Bibliography: Béquignon 1929, 529; Dessenne 1949; Alexiou 1963b, 405; Davaras 1964, 442; Müller 1991, 551; 1998, 551; Tsipopoulou 2005a, 67; Gaignerot-Driessen 2016a, 186.

B8.

Site name/toponym(s): Amnisos (Zeus Thenatas sanctuary)

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: PG-O sherds were found in levels below the Hellenistic cult building at the Zeus sanctuary, indicating the earliest phase of ritual activity at the site. The layer from which the PG sherds come has been interpreted as an ash altar, described as a thick greasy black layer containing ash, burnt bone, pottery, and figurines (**Figure 21**). This deposit overlies earlier Minoan architecture, elements of which were later reused in the construction of the sanctuary but do not appear to have been utilized during the period of the ash altar. There was no recognizable stratigraphy within the ashy layer. Marinatos identified LM, SM, and PG pottery in this layer, and argued for cult continuity between the Bronze Age and EIA. The restudy of this material by the German School noted that there is almost no material dating clearly to PG (four sherds were published of possible EPG date), and that the cult (and ashy layer) should probably be reconstructed as starting in the late ninth century rather than in the eleventh century.

Dates of occupation: MM, LM IIIA-C, SM, PG?, G-O, Ar, Cl, HL, R

Bibliography: Marinatos 1933, 97-100; 1934a, 245-8; 1934b; 1935a, 245-6; 1935b, 196-203; 1938; Desborough 1952, 250; Naumann 1976, 98; Schäfer 1991; 1992, 170-3; Stürmer 1992, 226-38, 244; Chaniotis and Schäfer 1992; Prent 2005, 333.

B9.

Site name/toponym(s): Mount Jouktas

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: The Bronze Age peak sanctuary had an uninterrupted sequence of use from LM IIIC through the entire EIA. PG material is scarce but present, mostly represented by small one-handled cups. There was a large increase in activity in LG, when cult activity was represented by figurines. Geometric cups, skyphoi, ash, and bones were found in Rooms III and IV. The sanctuary went out of use at the end of the EIA.

Dates of occupation: MMI-LM IIIB, LM IIIC-SM, PG, EIA, LG-EO

Bibliography: Orlandos 1975, 177-8; Karetsou 1975, 333-4, 340; 1976, 415, 417; Orlandos 1976, 185, 187-8; Karetsou 1978, 255; Prent 2005, 319.

B10.

Site name/toponym(s): Tou Diakou ta Kellia

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A cave site of unknown function, located northwest of Kanli Kastelli. Tyree thinks that it was probably not a cult place, but possibly a habitation site instead. Faure reported PG sherds. Marinatos excavated briefly, reporting no stratigraphy in the minimal amount of soil present. He recovered MM, LM, and PG sherds.

Dates of occupation: MM II-III, LM, PG

Bibliography: Marinatos 1955, 309; Faure 1964, 188; Tyree 1974, 37.

B11.

Site name/toponym(s): Volakas

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: Seven PG-G animal figurines were turned up by plowing, pointing to the presence of a probable cult site.

Dates of occupation: PG-G

Bibliography: Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki 1987d, 550; Prent 2005, 252.

B12.

Site name/toponym(s): Vourvoulitis (Gortyn survey site VII)

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A sanctuary site located immediately north of the summit of the Vourvoulitis hill. Some of the figurines found on the surface are SM and PG types, although the remains of a rectangular cult building probably date to the seventh century BC. There is also a curvilinear wall that might have been a temenos wall of uncertain date. The site has not been excavated.

Dates of occupation: EIA (especially G), HL, R, Byz

Associated sites: Vourvoulitis Charkia Pervoli? (Gortyn survey site V, Geometric site),

Gortyn (A108)

Bibliography: Di Vita 1985, 366; La Torre 1988-9, 290-8; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 227-8; Prent 2005, 275-6; Pilz 2011, 162-3.

B13.

Site name/toponym(s): Agia Triada

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: EIA cult activities took place in the Piazzale dei Sacelli area of the Bronze Age site, marked by the deposition of votive figurines. There was an apparent break in these activities between LM IIIC/SM and PGB, after which deposition of votives continued until the seventh century. Only a few votive figurines can tentatively be dated to the interim PG period based on style. D'Agata suggests that it is possible that the sanctuary did not go out of use at this time, but that worship changed from dedication of votives to less archaeologically visible practices such as libation or sacrifice. A small number of possible PG vessels offer support for this hypothesis. With the resumption of votive dedications in the late ninth century, the sanctuary area expanded significantly to the north between Stoa FG and the Minoan road, but not within the ruins of Stoa FG itself. The votives consist of clay and bronze figurines, mainly animals and human figures. In the Piazzale dei Sacelli, this material is associated with a paved area and stepped structures, but the date and function of these architectural features is uncertain.

Dates of occupation: MM-LM, LMIIC-O, HL

Associated sites: Phaistos (A109)

Bibliography: Banti 1941-1943, 67-9; Desborough 1964, 168; Naumann 1976, 99; Kanta 1980, 103; La Rosa 1985, 7; D'Agata 1998; 1999c, 106-96, 228-48; Watrous et al. 2004, 527; Prent 2005, 321.

B14.

Site name/toponym(s): Kommos

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A sanctuary site located on the coast, established on the ruins of the earlier Minoan town in the late 11th century BCE. Temple A (**Figure 22**) was the first structure established in the sanctuary, dating to the early PG period. It was a small Pi-shaped building, with evidence for a bench along at least one wall. Evidence for ritual activity in the sanctuary includes large numbers of animal figurines, chariot and wheel models, animal bones, and drinking vessels. Most of the recovered material for this phase came from outside of Temple A, where it had been dumped as a result of periodic cleaning of the interior of the cult building. Temple A was overbuilt by Temple B in the eighth century and Temple C in HL, both of which contained the same basic features of benches, central hearths and evidence for communal dining.

Dates of occupation: M, PG-Ar, HL

Associated sites: Phaistos (**A109**)?

Bibliography: Shaw and Shaw 2000; Prent 2005, 323-5.

B15.

Site name/toponym(s): Kophinas

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: The area of the Bronze Age peak sanctuary appears to have remained in use between LM IIIC and LG. The PG material consists of pottery and figurines. The exact nature of the cult activity is unclear.

Dates of occupation: MM III-LM I, LM IIIC, PG, HL, R

Bibliography: Karetsou and Rethemiotakis 1990, 429-30; Prent 2005, 331.

B16.

Site name/toponym(s): Tsoutsouros (Inatos)

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A large group of PG-O votives were dedicated in the cave of Eileithyia, including a small number of possibly PG stirrup jars and figurines excavated by Davaras and Platon. There is some SM material (Kanta argues that some of what Faure called SM is more likely PG), but most of the cult objects/votives date more broadly to the Geometric period and probably belong to the later part of that period. There is evidence for possible cult continuity between the Bronze Age and the EIA at this location. PG sherds were also found in the survey of the eastern and western sides of the nearby hill where a Minoan building had been excavated.

Dates of occupation: EM, LM (III), PG-O, R

Bibliography: Alexiou 1963c, 310-11; Faure 1964, 90-1; Daux 1965, 884-7; Tyree 1974, 31-3; Kanta 1980, 85; Gkalanaki 2005, 976-80; Prent 2005, 331-2; Pilz 2011, 150-2.

B17.

Site name/toponym(s): Kato Syme (Sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite)

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A sanctuary located on the southwest slopes of the Lasithi Mountains that was in more or less continuous use between c.1600 BCE and the Roman period (**Figure 23**). A PG altar was located above substantial Proto- and Neopalatial remains and contained ash and animal bones from sacrifices. This altar was expanded in the Geometric-early Archaic periods. A PG bench was set into the Neopalatial Room 1 to the southeast of the altar. A PG hearth was located above the walls of Protopalatial Room 15 to the southwest of the altar.

With the possible exception of the fragmentary SM-PG walls labeled as Building L, the activity at the sanctuary during this period appears to have been largely open-air. There was a continuous sequence of votives between the Bronze Age and the end of the EIA at the sanctuary that includes a small number of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines dating to PG on stylistic grounds. In addition, the ceramic sequence is also continuous between LM and the EIA, with both the BA and EIA assemblages being characterized by drinking vessels.

Dates of occupation: MM II, MM III-LM I, LM IIIC, PG, G, LG, Ar, Cl, HL, R, Byz

Bibliography: Lembesi 1972; 1973; 1974; 1975; 1976b; 1977; Kanta 1980, 119-20; Lembesi 1981; 1983; 1984; Kanta 1991; Schürmann 1996, 8-14; Lembesi 2002, 57-74; Prent 2005, 342-7; Muhly 2008; Zarifi 2008, 237-40; Pilz 2011, 142-6.

B18.

Site name/toponym(s): Idaean Cave

Nomos: Rethymno

Description: A sanctuary located in a large cave high up in the Psiloritis mountains, first used during the Minoan period. It continued in use through the EIA. There does not appear to have been any interruption during the EIA, but PG finds are relatively few and are only discussed very generally or not at all in the primary publications of early excavations (Halbherr and Orsi, Marinatos [Platon 1956b]). Published PG pottery from the most recent excavations by Sakellarakis includes a pyxis fragment and a lid. None of the clay figurines from the Sakellarakis excavations date specifically to PG. Metal finds appeared in the eleventh century but increase sharply in late ninth century. The bulk of EIA material dates to the end of the ninth through seventh centuries BCE, and includes pottery, figurines, many metal finds including weapons and shields, and many imported items, especially of Eastern Mediterranean origin. Cult activity and votive deposition during the EIA took place both inside and outside of the actual cave.

Dates of occupation: MM III-LM I, LM I-II, LM III, PG, G, O, Ar, HL, R

Bibliography: Halbherr and Orsi 1888; Platon 1956b, 409-10; Boardman 1961, 79-88; Faure 1964, 99-109; Tyree 1974, 40-3; Sakellarakis 1983; 1984; 1988-9; Hoffman 1997; Prent 2005, 314-316; Matthäus 2011; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakelleraki 2011, 143; 2013a, 171-2; 2013b, 18-21, 29-30, 31-88, 94-101.

B19.

Site name/toponym(s): Melidoni Cave

Nomos: Rethymno

Description: A cave site where there is evidence for cult activity, dedicated to Hermes by the Roman period. Faure reported PG sherds from the cave. More recent excavations by Gavrilaki have shown that there was little to no activity between LM and Ar, however.

Dates of occupation: N, EM, MM, LM I?, LM III, SM, PG, R

Bibliography: Tyree 1974, 43-5; Faure 1964, 135; Gavrilaki-Nikoloudaki 1988, 307; Tzedakis and Gavrilaki-Nikoloudaki 1989-90, 274; Gavrilaki 1994-96, 292; Tzedakis and Gavrilaki 1995; Pilz 2011, 169-71.

B20.

Site name/toponym(s): Patsos Cave/ Sanctuary of Hermes Kranaios

Nomos: Rethymno

Description: A sanctuary site in and around the rock shelter that contains the modern chapel of Agios Antonios. There appears to have been continual use of the site between LM IIIB and Ar. Terracotta animal and human figurines (both handmade and wheelmade) make up a large portion of the EIA assemblage, some of which can be dated to SM/PG. At least one bronze male figurine should date to PG, as should two female bronze figurines, on stylistic grounds. One bronze goat figurine is PG in date. An Attic LPG plaque was also found. Most of the EIA activity appears to have taken place in the area in front of the rock shelter rather than inside of it. The EIA was not a high point in the use of the sanctuary, based on the excavation reports.

Dates of occupation: LM I, LM IIIB-Ar, Cl, HL, R

Associated sites: Thronos Kephala (A119), Pantanassa Veni (A120)

Bibliography: Halbherr 1888; Dunbabin 1947, 187; Boardman 1961, 76-8; Faure 1964, 138-9; Hood and Warren 1966, 185-7; Tyree 1974, 45-7; Naumann 1976, 101; Kanta 1980, 204-5; Niniou-Kindeli 1989; 1994; Kourou and Karetsou 1994; Niniou-Kindeli 2000; 2001-4; Prent 2005, 312-14.

B21.

Site name/toponym(s): Kato Sarakena/Elleniko cave

Nomos: Chania

Description: A cave located above Therisso Gorge on the south slope of Gaidaromouri hill, c. 2.5 km north of Therisso village. Tyree does not see any evidence for cult activity in the PG material.

Dates of occupation: N, EM I, LM IIIA/B, PG

Bibliography: Faure 1960, 214-15; Tyree 1974, 59-60.

Catalogue C: Mortuary sites

C1.

Site name/toponym(s): Zakros Malakari

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: Burials located in rock shelters in the Zakros Gorge, c. 0.3 km north of Zakros Ellinika. Eight vessels, including some of PG date, came from the excavation of one of these (Cave A), and are housed in the Siteia Museum. Another of the caves contained 15 PG vases and seven to eight inhumations. The other two caves contained only LG pottery.

Dates of occupation: PG-LG/EO

Associated sites: Zakros Ellinika (A1)

Bibliography: Hogarth 1900-1, 145; Faure 1962, 39; Alexiou 1963a, 385; Tsipopoulou 1984, 240-2; 1987, 261; 2005a, 221-3; Eaby 2007, 94.

C2.

Site name/toponym(s): Sphakia Patela

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A tholos tomb (now destroyed) with a rectangular chamber, containing approximately 15 burials, and accompanied by at least 30 vessels (including kyathoi, juglets, aryballoi, and krateriskoi), bronze fibulae, and other ornaments. There were also a large number of animal bones at a higher stratigraphic level, but it was not clear if these were related to the burials.

Dates of occupation: PG (or solely SM)

Associated sites: Sphakia Kastri (A7)?

Bibliography: Platon 1955a, 563; 1955b, 295-6; Tsipopoulou and Little 2001, 92; Tsipopoulou 2005, 316-17; Eaby 2007, 91.

C3.

Site name/toponym(s): Kephala Piskokephalou, Thesi Laggoura

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A cave tomb containing at least ten burials (including at least one neonate) accompanied by at least 80 clay vessels, excavated in the area of Piskokephali. There were

two covered bothroi dug into the floor of the cave containing skeletal material. Vessels included jugs, skyphoi, kyathoi, and krateriskoi. The only other finds were a conical stone and a stone in the shape of a small skull. The entrance to the cave was partially built up with door jambs and a threshold.

Dates of occupation: PG (LPG-PGB), LG

Associated sites: Berati Piskokephalou (C4)

Bibliography: Platon 1953a, 485; 1953b, 292-4; Faure 1964, 67; Pini 1968, 90; Tsipopoulou 1984, 240-2; 1987, 262; 1995b, 180; Papadakis 2000, 103-4; Tsipopoulou 2005a, 234.

C4.

Site name/toponym(s): Berati Piskokephalou

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: Burials in a cave, partially carved out of the bedrock. There was a large amount of PG and G pottery, including approximately 40 whole vessels and sherd material. There was a LM larnax with a lid in the lowest level of the cave, as well as a burial pithos that probably also dated to LM III. The larnax was reused for burial in PG and contained ten vessels with this burial. There was also a clay fish dating to the Geometric period. Most of the burials were cremations, but the bones were not fully burned.

Dates of occupation: LM IIIC, PG, G-EO

Associated sites: Kephala Piskokephalou (C3)

Bibliography: Platon 1952a, 639-43; 1952b, 476; 1953a, 485; Tsipopoulou 1984, 240-2; 2005a, 233-4; Eaby 2007, 83.

C5.

Site name/toponym(s): Skales (or Chelidonies) Cave

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: The cave was occupied as a habitation (and burial?) space in the Neolithic period, and was used again between MM II and LM III, possibly as a cult site. It was used as a burial site from the beginning of PG. Human remains from inhumation burials were very scattered and in bad condition. They were originally placed on a platform in front of the entrance and inside the entrance to the cave. There is a large amount of PG-G pottery, but no ritual or religious material indicating cult use in addition to the burials.

Dates of occupation: N, MM II-LM III, PG-G

Associated sites: Praisos (A9)

Bibliography: Marshall and Bosanquet 1901-2, 235-6; Faure 1956, 95; Tyree 1974, 7-9; Papadakis 1983, 384; Papadakis and Rutkowski 1985; Tsipopoulou 1987, 262-3; Whitley et al. 1999, 252; Eaby 2007, 88-9.

C6.

Site name/toponym(s): Agios Spyridonas (Kalathiana/Petrota)

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: An unlooted cave burial site. Pottery was clustered in groups, probably representing individual burials. EIA pottery included amphoriskoi, hydria, oinochoai, aryballoi, an askos, a tripod cookpot, and skyphoi. Other finds include a triton shell, a stone vessel, and a fibula. There does not appear to have been any continuity of use between the LM IIIA and PG phases of use of the cave. It is unclear how many burials were present.

Dates of occupation: LM IIIA, SM/PG-LG/EO

Associated sites: Praisos (A9)?

Bibliography: Tsipopoulou 1983; 1987, 259-60; 2005a, 193-4; Eaby 2007, 69.

C7.

Site name/toponym(s): Andromyloi Siteias (Agios Antonios)

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: PG tholos tombs formed part of a larger cemetery of 18 rectangular built tholoi, looted previous to Platon's investigation. The tombs contained many vessels, as well as jewelry and iron weapons and tools. The cemetery is located between Andromyloi and Sykia.

Dates of occupation: LM IIIC-EO

Associated sites: Lithines Andromyloi Anginares (A10)?

Bibliography: Platon 1953a, 490; 1954b, 365-7; Kanta 1980, 186; Tsipopoulou 1984, 232-8; 1987, 260; Eaby 2007, 64.

C8.

Site name/toponym(s): Krya Siteias (Tsachali/Orthi Petra)

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: PG tombs are part of a larger cemetery of at least 28 tombs (mainly small tholoi and pseudotholoi) that largely dates to LMIIIC, located on the lower slopes of the hill topped by the Monferrate Venetian castle. Most of the tombs were unlooted, and contained pottery (stirrup jars, krateriskoi, thylastras, cups, pithoi) and metal items (including armor and jewelry). Tomb 26 contained at least six burials and Tomb 27 contained at least four burials.

Tomb 28 (a large isolated tholos tomb) contained bones and about 50 PG vessels (including a stirrup jar, an askos, a clay fish, and oinochoai) and small finds (buckles, pins, fragments of blades, beads, a pendant, and a Neolithic axe).

Dates of occupation: LMIIIC-PG, possibly continuing to LG

Associated sites: Krya Agios Georgios (Nowicki 2000, 63-4). The unpublished surface remains of a possible LM IIIC-SM settlement or sanctuary (represented by sherds and animal figurines) were collected near the Venetian fortress and were probably connected to the cemetery.

Bibliography: Davaras 1972a, 646-7; 1973-4, 931-2; 1976, 381-2; 1977, 336-8; 1978, 390-2; 1984; Tsipopoulou 1984, 233-8; 1987, 261-2; 1995b, 185-6; Eliopoulos 1995a,; Papadakis 2000, 75-6; Kanta and Davaras 2004; Eaby 2007, 73-5.

C9.

Site name/toponym(s): Stephanouli cave, Agios Stephanos

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A cave, located c.2.5 km west of Pephki, used for burials in PGB and LG contained 12 vessels. PG pottery included oinochoai, jugs, and cups.

Dates of occupation: PG, LG

Associated sites: Agios Stephanos Kastello

Bibliography: Platon 1954a, 512; 1954b, 368; Faure 1962, 40; Pini 1968, 76; Tsipopoulou 1984, 240-2; 1987, 260; 2005a, 194-8; Eaby 2007, 70.

C10.

Site name/toponym(s): Chamaizi Liopetro, Thesi Phatsi

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A LM IIIC-PG tholos tomb cemetery consisting of five small tholoi. The tombs were looted, but the remaining material indicates that the tomb contents were plentiful and rich: many vessels, a duck vase, a bronze dagger with an ivory hilt, a carnelian seal stone, some iron knives, and glass paste and rock crystal necklaces. Another contemporary tholos tomb was found to the west of this group, also looted, containing iron weapons and 14 vases dating to LM IIIC-PGB and early LG.

Dates of occupation: LM IIIC-PG (SM-PGB)

Associated sites: Chamaizi Liopetro (**A11**)

Bibliography: Davaras 1971, 199; 1972a, 650; 1972b, 44-5; Tsipopoulou 1984, 233-8; 1987, 267; Belli 1991, 441; Papadakis 2000, 174; Tsipopoulou 2005a, 322; Eaby 2007, 70-1.

C11.

Site name/toponym(s): Skopi, Phatsi Drongara

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A cemetery of small tholos tombs, five of which have been excavated, all badly looted and damaged.

Dates of occupation: SM, PG(EPG), G

Associated sites: Chamaizi Liopetro (**A11**)?

Bibliography: Davaras 1972b, 45; Tsipopoulou 1987, 266; Belli 1991, 441; Tsipopoulou 1995b, 185; Tsipopoulou 1997; Papadakis 2000, 148; Tsipopoulou 2005a, 312; Eaby 2007, 91.

C12.

Site name/toponym(s): Azoria

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: Azoria was occupied as settlement in LMIIIC and again in LG-Ar (**Figure 48**).

During PG, the site appears to have been abandoned as a habitation site, and only used for burial: a small tholos tomb is located on the west slope of the site that was later built into and built over by the Archaic settlement. The tomb dates to LM IIIC/SM-PG. It is a small tholos tomb with an ellipsoid chamber and a stomion with monolithic jambs and lintel. The tomb contained nine burials. No other contemporary tombs are known from the site. PG pottery has also been found in small quantities in mixed deposits throughout this part of the site.

Dates of occupation: FN-EM, LM IIIC-PG, LG-Ar, HL

Associated sites: Kavousi Kastro (**A21**), Kavousi Vronda (**C13**), Skala Aloni (**C14**)

Bibliography: Haggis 2005, 131-3; Tsipopoulou 2005a, 118; Eaby 2007, 52; Eaby 2010; Gaignerot-Driessen 2016a, 407.

C13.

Site name/toponym(s): Kavousi Vronda

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: Ten tholos tombs have been excavated on the slopes of the Vronda hill below the LM IIIC settlement (**Figure 4**). Three of the tombs originally excavated by Boyd in 1900 have not been relocated. The tholos tombs were constructed at the end of the settlement's life or immediately after its abandonment. Tombs I, II, IV, VII, IX, and X have identifiable PG material associated with them. The three main periods of use for the tombs, based on the pottery, were SM-EPG, PGB, and EG-MG. The tholos tombs all contained multiple inhumations. Some contained evidence for funerary rituals in the form of drinking vessels. There were also some probable PG vessels in the LG enclosure burials located in the LM IIIC buildings at Vronda, but these were most likely heirlooms rather than evidence for earlier burials in graves that were later reopened in the eighth century (e.g. Amphora 1 in Grave 28). Most of the tholos tombs with SM-EPG burials also contained PGB burials, pointing to use by multi-generational groups. These tombs were most likely in use by the inhabitants of Kavousi Kastro, as their main phase of use was after the abandonment of the settlement at Vronda and Azoria.

Dates of occupation: LM IIIC, PG-G, LG

Associated sites: Kavousi Kastro (**A21**), Azoria (**C12**), Skala Aloni (**C14**)

Bibliography: Boyd 1901, 132-6; Levi 1927-9b, 562-7; Platon 1951, 445; Desborough 1952, 268, 327; Platon 1954a, 516; Gesell et al. 1983, 394-409; Gesell 1985b; Day et al. 1986; Tsipopoulou 1987, 257; Coulson 1990; Liston 1993; Gesell et al. 1995, 86-7, 91-2; Day 1995, 792; Haggis 2005, 134; Tsipopoulou 2005a, 73-80; Eaby 2007, 55-9; Gaignerot-Driessen 2016a, 389-90.

C14.

Site name/toponym(s): Skala Aloni

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: Four tholos tombs with rectangular chambers, slightly larger than the Vronda tholoi. The small number of published finds date the tombs to LM IIIC/SM-LG, although most of the contents originally excavated by Blanche Wheeler in 1901 have now been lost. There was little pottery remaining when the tombs were re-explored in the early 1980s and Tombs I, II, and IV were re-located. Tomb III had originally contained an LM III larnax and may have dated to that period based on photos and Wheeler's notebook description. The directors of the Kavousi Project suggested that the tombs were in use in SM-EPG, PGB, and EG-LG, parallel to the phasing of the Vronda tholoi.

Dates of occupation: EIA

Associated sites: Kavousi Kastro (A21)

Bibliography: Boyd 1904, 15-16; Gesell et al. 1983, 393, 410-12; Tsipopoulou 1987, 257; Coulson 1990; Gesell 2004b, 5; Haggis 2005, 134-5; Eaby 2007, 51-2; Gaignerot-Driessen 2016a, 421.

C15.

Site name/toponym(s): Plaï tou Kastrou

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A large tholos tomb on the western slopes of the Kastro peak produced a large amount of pottery. It has been destroyed since its discovery. Evans acquired 117 vases from the tomb, of which 88 are still in the Heraklion Museum. The pottery dates to LM IIIC/SM-

EO, including some PG vessels. Associated with the tomb was a possible shrine consisting of terracotta animal figurines and sherds of unknown date displayed on a rocky ledge.

Dates of occupation: LM IIIC-EO

Associated sites: Kavousi Kastro (**A21**)

Bibliography: Hogarth and Bosanquet 1899, 321-2; Boyd 1901, 127, 137, 149; Boyd 1904, 15; Levi 1927-9b, 562-8, 579-609; Desborough 1952, 267; Gesell et al. 1983, 412-13; Tsipopoulou 1987, 257; Coulson 1990; Gesell 2004b, 4; Haggis 2005, 135-6; Tsipopoulou 2005a, 82-111; Eaby 2007, 54-5; Gaignerot-Driessen 2016a, 422.

C16.

Site name/toponym(s): Monasteraki Chalasmenos

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A possible PG tholos tomb was built into the south wall of Room 5 in Area B of the settlement after its abandonment (**Figure 19**). The fragmentary material from the tomb itself included a PG stirrup jar and the upper fill of the entire room also included many PG sherds, primarily cups and skyphoi, from trenches B3 and B4.

Dates of occupation: LM IIIC-PG, LG

Associated sites: Contemporary votive activity at Chalasmenos (**B3**)

Bibliography: Coulson and Tsipopoulou 1994, 82; Tsipopoulou and Coulson 1994-6, 372-3; Eaby 2007, 49; Gaignerot-Driessen 2016a, 369.

C17.

Site name/toponym(s): Vasiliki Kamaraki

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A tholos tomb containing 27 vessels and fragments of metal objects (bronze buckle, bronze and iron jewelry). The tomb contained seven burials: five adults and two children. Pottery included stirrup jars, amphoras, amphoriskoi, an oinochoe, pyxides, a lekythos, kalathoi, a lekane, skyphoi, and cups. Only one vessel (a stirrup-jar) belongs to PG (EPG) and may have been deposited later rather than being associated with a burial. All the rest of the pottery belongs to LM IIIC-SM.

Dates of occupation: LM IIIC-PG

Associated sites: Vasiliki Kephala (A24)

Bibliography: Tsipopoulou, Vagnetti, and Liston 2003; Tsipopoulou 2005a, 71-2; Eaby 2007, 61-2; Gaignerot-Driessen 2016a, 363-4.

C18.

Site name/toponym(s): Braimiana

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A cemetery containing multiple small tholos tombs located four km from Ierapetra on the road towards Kalamaphka. One tomb was excavated by Marinatos.

Dates of occupation: LM IIIC/SM-PG

Bibliography: Payne 1932, 255; Karo 1932, 176; Pendlebury et al. 1937-8b, 111; Pendlebury 1939, 315; Pini 1968, 77; Kanta 1980, 161; Tsipopoulou 1987, 257; 2005a, 72; Eaby 2007, 48.

C19.

Site name/toponym(s): Agios Phanourios (APh12, Vrokastro Survey)

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A possible cemetery area located on a ridge on the east side of the Chavga gorge. The preserved architecture at Locus 2 may be the remains of a bone enclosure.

Dates of occupation: LM IIIC-EIA

Associated sites: Vrokastro (A29), Agios Phanourios/APh3 (A32)

Bibliography: Hayden et al. 2005, 20-1.

C20.

Site name/toponym(s): Agios Phanourios (APh13, Vrokastro Survey)

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A cemetery or possible habitation site located in a small saddle on a ridge. The two-faced rubble wall foundations of a structure are possibly too well-built and large for a tomb.

Dates of occupation: LM IIIC-EIA

Associated sites: Vrokastro (A29), Agios Phanourios/APh3 (A32)

Bibliography: Hayden et al. 2005, 21.

C21.

Site name/toponym(s): Vouno (KP6, Vrokastro Survey)

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: Possible remains of a corbel-vaulted tomb, located in the saddle below a knoll of Kopranes along with sherds of LM IIIC-EIA date.

Dates of occupation: FN-EM I/II, LM III-EIA

Associated sites: Vrokastro (A29), Kopranes/KP7 (C22)

Bibliography: Hayden et al. 2005, 78-9.

C22.

Site name/toponym(s): Kopranes (KP7, Vrokastro Survey)

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A cemetery containing the remains of corbel-vaulted tombs of LM IIIC-PG date and at least one bone enclosure of LG date, located behind a knoll below the Vouno peak and above the saddle where site KP6 is located. Some of the tombs were excavated by Hall in 1912.

Dates of occupation: LM IIIC/PG-LG

Associated sites: Vrokastro (A29), Vouno/KP6 (C21)

Bibliography: Hall 1914, 149-54, 165-6; Tsipopoulou 1987, 254-5; Hayden 2003, 2; Hayden et al. 2004, 142; Tsipopoulou 2005a, 45-9; Hayden et al. 2005, 79-80; Eaby 2007, 44.

C23.

Site name/toponym(s): Karakovilia (VK2, Vrokastro survey)

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: Tombs and possible houses located in a saddle on the northeast tip of the Karakovilia ridge. The site includes remains of two built tombs (one corbel-vaulted), a bone enclosure, and a two-room building, all at least partially excavated by Hall (published as Chamber Tomb I, BE I, II?). Other architecture was visible on the surface during the Vrokastro survey.

Dates of occupation: LM IIIC-LG

Associated sites: Vrokastro (A29)

Bibliography: Hall 1914, 123-139, 155-9; Tsipopoulou 1987, 254-5; Hayden 2003, 2; Hayden et al. 2004, 142-3; Tsipopoulou 2005a, 45-9; Hayden et al. 2005, 186-7; Eaby 2007, 42-4.

C24.

Site name/toponym(s): Karakovilia (VK9, Vrokastro survey)

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A corbel-vaulted tomb located on the southern side of the Karakovilia ridge. This tomb was originally excavated by Hall (published as Chamber Tomb II or III?). Tomb III dates to PG-EG and contained seven inhumations and one cremation.

Dates of occupation: SM/PG or later

Associated sites: Vrokastro (A29)

Bibliography: Hall 1914, 139-44; Tsipopoulou 1987, 254-5; Hayden 2003, 2; Tsipopoulou 2005a, 45-9; Hayden et al. 2005, 192.

C25.

Site name/toponym(s): Amigthali

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: Tomb IV, excavated by Hall, is a small rectangular tholos tomb dating to SM-PG containing cremations in vessels of various types. Finds included a triple vase, stirrup jars, an incised steatite disk, and a Minoan sealstone. Other later tombs and burials were also found in the vicinity. This tomb was not re-identified in the Vrokastro survey.

Dates of occupation: EIA

Associated sites: Vrokastro (A29)

Bibliography: Hall 1914, 144-8; Tsipopoulou 1987, 254-5; Hayden 2003, 8; Eaby 2007, 42.

C26.

Site name/toponym(s): Drakos Demou Agiou Nikolaou

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: Two pithos burials. The pithoi were placed on their sides and the mouths were covered with stones. These were placed over earlier remains of burials consisting of bones.

Dates of occupation: LM IIIC/PG

Bibliography: Zographaki 2001-2004a, 494.

C27.

Site name/toponym(s): Elounda Mirambellou

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A LM-PG cemetery, including a PG pithos burial.

Dates of occupation: LM-PG

Associated sites: Elounda Oxa (A52)?

Bibliography: Davaras 1973, 586-7.

C28.

Site name/toponym(s): Kritsa Lakki (Thesi Stous Lakkous)

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A cemetery consisting of tholos tombs, two of which were excavated. The two excavated tombs have rectangular exteriors. Grave goods included several small vessels, one possible burial pithos, some bronze fibulae and pins, iron tools, and weights.

Dates of occupation: LM IIIA-C, SM, PG

Associated sites: Lato (A51)?

Bibliography: Platon 1953a, 485; Tsipopoulou and Vagnetti 1996; 1997; Gaignerot-Driessen 2016a, 293-4.

C29.

Site name/toponym(s): Adrianos Xeropotamos Kolomati

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: An unexcavated tholos tomb cemetery that dates to PG, located to the southeast of Adrianos Fortetsa across the Xeropotamos River.

Dates of occupation: PG

Associated sites: Adrianos Fortetsa (A53)

Bibliography: Faure 1963, 499; Eaby 2007, 31; Gaignerot-Driessen 2016a, 271.

C30.

Site name/toponym(s): Dreros/Agios Georgos cemetery

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: An organized cemetery used throughout the EIA. Out of 25 excavated tombs, two possibly date to PG: Tomb 2 was used in SM/PG, and Tomb 7 was possibly constructed in PG, but it was used until a later date. Tomb 2 was a rectangular pit with built walls and a paved floor. Poorly preserved bone fragments were found with a PG sherd in one corner. The grave contained the remains of a cinerary pithos, most likely from a second use in G. Most of the tombs in the cemetery date to LG. Desborough considered the single vessel from Tomb 6 to be in the Protogeometric tradition but probably dating later based on other finds in the tomb.

Dates of occupation: LM IIIC/SM-LG

Associated sites: Dreros settlement (A58)

Bibliography: Demargne and van Effenterre 1937, 5-6; van Effenterre 1948, 15-22, 59-66; Desborough 1952, 260-2; Pini 1968, 88; Tsipopoulou 1984, 242-4; 1987, 256; Belli 1991, 444; Tsipopoulou 2005a, 54-6; Eaby 2007, 34-6; van Effenterre 2009, 64, 66, 93; Gaignerot-Driessen 2016a, 229-33.

C31.

Site name/toponym(s): Anavlochos (cemeteries)

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: The EIA cemetery is located in the Lami area to the north of and below the settlement, and contains clusters of tombs within the larger cemetery area. The tombs dating

to PG that were excavated by Demargne are all small tholoi. The Lami area was surveyed in 2016 as part of the Anavlochos survey project, during which PG pottery was found on the surface in conjunction with additional probable tomb clusters as well as with those previously excavated by Demargne. The diagnostic material from the survey shows that the LM IIIC-PG use of the cemetery was concentrated in discrete areas, with additional new clusters being established later in the EIA.

Marinatos reported finds from another three rock-cut tombs at Kalaritis, of which two date to PG.

Dates of occupation: LM IIIC-LG/O

Associated sites: Anavlochos (A59)

Bibliography: Karo 1930, 162-3; Demargne 1931, 376; Marinatos 1931-2, 5-11; Pendlebury et al. 1937-8b, 111; Pendlebury 1939, 315, 326; Desborough 1952, 260, 326; Pini 1968, 93; Kanta 1980, 128; Tsipopoulou 1984, 232-8; 1987, 254; Belli 1991, 444; Tsipopoulou 2005a, 40-2; Gaignerot-Driessen 2016a, 207-8; Gaignerot-Driessen, Forthcoming b.

C32.

Site name/toponym(s): Lagou: Kephali

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A surface scatter marked a site sitting on the top and south slope of a low ridge, with the PG and G pottery coming from the slope. Watrous identified this as a possible EIA cemetery based on the character of the recovered pottery, but there are no remains of built tombs on the surface.

Dates of occupation: LM III, PG, G, Ar, late R

Bibliography: Alexiou 1966b, 409; Watrous 1974, 40-1; 1982, 41; Sjögren 2001, 275-6.

C33.

Site name/toponym(s): Tou Stephani o Lakkos, Agios Georgos

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A tholos tomb cemetery near the Armos saddle, of which only one tomb (tentatively identified with the one excavated by Pendlebury and Money-Coutts in 1937) has been excavated. The excavated tomb has a circular chamber, over two m in diameter, fully surrounded by rubble masonry. The date of the tomb is uncertain: Pini argues for PG based on the tomb type, but only MG (c.800-750 BCE) pottery is present in the retained pottery (although a stirrup jar was mentioned by Pendlebury, who dated the tomb to c.900-700 BCE), and most descriptions list it as simply “Geometric.” The tomb was likely in use over a long period of time and contained multiple burials.

Dates of occupation: EIA

Associated sites: Agios Georgos Papoura (A64)

Bibliography: Young 1937, 140-1; Pendlebury et al. 1935-6, 10; Pendlebury 1936-7, 199; 1939, 319, 324; Pini 1968, 86; Watrous 1980, 271-5; 1982, 20-1; Tsipopoulou 1984, 232-8; 1987, 254; Belli 1991, 442; Eaby 2007, 23-5.

C34.

Site name/toponym(s): Kera Pediados

Nomos: Lasithi

Description: A small built tholos tomb containing at least four burials. Pottery included two stirrup jars, two skyphoi, a kalathiskos, and one oinochoiskos. Other finds included an arrowhead, a stone tool, and a stone bead.

Dates of occupation: LM IIIC-PG

Bibliography: Zographaki 2001-2004b, 494.

C35.

Site name/toponym(s): Trochaloi (Stous Trochalous, Malia)

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A PG-G cist grave constructed of large stone slabs, located approximately one km to the west of the Agia Pelagia church. The tomb contained five cremation urns (including three whole vessels containing cremated remains) and 20 other vessels including stirrup jars, bowls, pitchers, cups, and a scuttle.

Dates of occupation: PG-G

Bibliography: Xanthoudides 1918, 18; Pini 1968, 87; Eaby 2007, 129-30.

C36.

Site name/toponym(s): Kato Vatheia

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A PG-G chamber tomb containing cremation urns and smaller vessels.

Dates of occupation: PG-G/EO

Bibliography: Marinatos 1937, 224; Petrou-Mesogeitis 1938, 615; Pendlebury 1939, 385; Platon 1958, 460; Pini 1968, 93; Eaby 2007, 122.

C37.

Site name/toponym(s): Mastabas Herakliou

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A chamber tomb containing 93 complete EIA vessels (72 in the chamber and 21 in the dromos) and figurines of animals dating to LG was excavated in the Tzouliadaki plot. Seventeen sets of cremated remains were placed in burial pithoi and were accompanied by grave offerings that consisted of ceramic vessels and bronze and iron vessels and tools. Vessels found in the dromos dating to PG originally belonged to burials in the chamber, but they were removed to accommodate the final LG burials in the chamber. Another chamber tomb approximately 700 m south of the first contained 21 PG-LG/EO vessels, including five cremation urns, skyphoi, plates, cups, jugs, hydriai, and terracotta figurines and metal objects.

Dates of occupation: LPG-LG/EO

Bibliography: Lembesi 1970a, 270-97; Orlandos 1970, 190; Lembesi 1976a, 351; Eaby 2007, 148-9.

C38.

Site name/toponym(s): Kollyva Metochi

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A rock-cut tomb containing PG pottery. Four preserved vessels were looted from the tomb which, when later investigated, did not contain any other material.

Dates of occupation: SM-G

Bibliography: Marinatos 1931-2, 1-2; Pendlebury 1939, 314; Desborough 1952, 252; Pini 1968, 75; Eaby 2007, 100-1.

C39.

Site name/toponym(s): Southwest of the Villa Ariadne

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A tightly-packed group of twelve vessels excavated together with no evidence of a chamber tomb in the vicinity, whose funerary character has been argued based on the nature of the assemblage. The largest vessel, a krater, had burning on the interior and was therefore identified as a cremation vessel. This assemblage has been reconstructed as a very rare intramural burial, connected with the fragmentary houses excavated by Cook in 1953. The other vessels in the group consisted of skyphoi, cups, aryballoi, and miniature vessels.

Dates of occupation: LPG

Associated sites: Knossos (A70)

Bibliography: Coldstream 1963, 39-41.

C40.

Site name/toponym(s): Knossos North Cemetery

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A large chamber tomb cemetery dating to SM-LO, containing tombs from the Teke plot and the larger Knossos Medical Facility plot. Of the 119 EIA tombs published from the excavated cemetery area, over 40 of them contained PG pottery. Almost all of the tombs in the cemetery were constructed between SM and PGB, meaning that the cemetery

had reached its largest geographical extent by the late ninth century BCE. Most of the tombs were collective and in use over multiple generations. There was a marked expansion of the cemetery northwards in PGB consisting of the construction of several large new tombs and an increase in the number of imports. Secondary cremation was the typical form of burial for most of the EIA in the North Cemetery, although there were inhumation burials from SM.

Dates of occupation: LM IIIC-LO, HL, R, Byz

Associated sites: Knossos (A70)

Bibliography: Catling 1979; Hood and Smyth 1981, 37, 39; Coldstream and Catling 1996; Coldstream 1998; 2000b; Wallace 2010, 304-11.

C41.

Site name/toponym(s): Teke

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A chamber tomb containing the remains of the inhumation burials of an adult and an infant, as well as vessels that could have served as cremation urns for additional burials. The contents of the tomb included amphorai, pithoi, kraters, pyxides, bell-skyphoi, stirrup-jars, and oinochoai. Two iron spearheads and a bronze ring were also recovered.

Dates of occupation: EPG

Associated site: Knossos (A70)

Bibliography: Hood 1959-60, 26; Coldstream 1963, 34-8.

C42.

Site name/toponym(s): Fortetsa

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A chamber tomb cemetery with burials ranging in date between LM IIIC and LO. Several independently excavated tomb clusters likely belonged to the same larger cemetery: 22 tombs were excavated by Payne and Blakeway, nine by Coldstream, and an additional three by Smollett (although some of this latter group may have been tombs originally excavated by Payne whose locations had been lost). The lack of precise locations for many of the tombs excavated by Payne and Blakeway precludes mapping diachronic shifts in use within different areas of the cemetery. All of the tombs contained multiple burials. Several of them contained large amounts of PG material, including cremation urns. Many of the tombs in the cemetery that were in use in PG went out of use before the Geometric period, with new ones being established in the eighth century BCE.

Dates of occupation: SM-O, HL

Associated sites: Knossos (A70)

Bibliography: Payne 1933, 288-92; 1935, 166-8; Brock 1957; Hood and Boardman 1961; Megaw 1967-8, 22; Coldstream 1968b, 412; Hood and Smyth 1981, 38.

C43.

Site name/toponym(s): Kephala ridge/Isopata (*KS*² 10)

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A PG chamber tomb containing a single inhumation burial, probably a re-use of a LM III tomb. It contained an amphora, a stirrup jar, a bronze ring, and a shaft of a bronze pin.

Dates of occupation: MPG

Associated sites: Knossos (A70)

Bibliography: Hood 1958, 21; Coldstream 1963, 38; Hood and Smyth 1981, 35.

C44.

Site name/toponym(s): Agios Ioannis (Knossos)

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: Eight chamber tombs, containing inhumations and cremations, some of which were partially or completely destroyed during WW II. 122 vessels and a large number of metal objects have been published from this group of tombs (most small finds are now lost). An additional four chamber tombs dating to SM-PG were also reported in 1980, containing much pottery (including stirrup jars and an amphora with pictorial decoration), iron weapons, and gold jewelry. These tomb groups were most likely part of a larger cemetery, but there is no indication that any unexplored tombs would have been in use past PG.

Dates of occupation: SM/EPG-LPG

Associated sites: Knossos (A70)

Bibliography: Robertson 1939, 204-5; Platon 1953a, 487; Cook and Boardman 1954, 167; Boardman 1960; Catling 1980-1981, 42; Hood and Smyth 1981, 34 (KS² 6); Eaby 2007, 151-2.

C45.

Site name/toponym(s): Ghypsades

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A large chamber tomb (Tomb 5), contained at least 11 burials based on the reported number of skulls. Other contents of the tomb included fragments of sarcophagi, a thylastron, and a juglet.

Dates of occupation: SM-PG

Associated sites: Knossos (A70)

Bibliography: Grammatikaki 1997, 987.

C46.

Site name/toponym(s): Ambelokipi

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A series of excavated chamber tombs that may or may not all belong to the same cemetery. One excavation in the Serpetsidaki plot exposed six tombs. Tomb 5 dates to PG, and contained pins, 23 large spherical clay beads, two biconical beads, a steatite whorl, a painted pyxis, three stirrup jars, a single-handled cup with a low foot, a small thylastron, a weight, and a pithamphora. Most individual tombs from these excavations were not published with specific dates, but it is likely that there was additional PG material present.

Dates of occupation: PG-O

Associated sites: Knossos (A70)?

Bibliography: Mazonaki-Grammatikaki 1991, 391-2; Grammatikaki 1993, 448-50; Serpetsidaki 1994, 698-9.

C47.

Site name/toponym(s): Kallithea (KS² 32)

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: Two excavated chamber tombs located about one kilometer northwest of the village of Kallithea. These tombs contained few vessels, some of which were small stirrup jars with geometric designs. Other contemporary tombs and remains of buildings were located in the same area but were not excavated.

Dates of occupation: PG

Bibliography: Platon 1959, 367; Hood and Smyth 1981, 36.

C48.

Site name/toponym(s): Phoinikia Herakliou (Thesi Drakouliari or Chochlidoloi)

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A rock-cut cave tomb with a small dromos and three different floor levels. The tomb contained a cremation pithos, at least eight vessels (amphorai, stirrup jars, trefoil-mouthed jars, and kraters), two bronze phialai, and bronze and iron weapons. A large number of vases from different periods (including PG-G) were also seized by the police in the same area, indicating the presence of other tombs.

Dates of occupation: PG

Bibliography: Marinatos 1931-2, 3-4; Pendlebury 1939, 314, 325; Desborough 1952, 254-5; Alexiou 1967b, 213-14; Orlandos 1967, 124-6; Pini 1968, 90; Alexiou 1968, 404; Eaby 2007, 169-70.

C49.

Site name/toponym(s): Kounavoi Pediados (Eltyna)

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A PG-G cemetery containing sixteen tombs, including chamber, rock cut, cist, and tholos tombs. All of the tombs were constructed and/or in use during some part of the PG period. Many metal objects were present. Material from the chamber tombs dating to PG included four animal figurines, three bird figurines, a cylindrical base, a seated female figurine, and large amounts of pottery. The chamber tombs all appear to belong to the PG period. Most of the five rock-cut pit tombs also belong to PG. One of the two tholos tombs (Tomb 11) is smaller and dates only to PG, and had evidence for burned and poured offerings in and around the tomb. The other tholos tomb (Tomb 10) dates between PGB and LG and contained approximately 100 vessels. It is larger than the first and has a paved floor. It was accompanied by evidence for a funerary meal immediately outside the tomb. This is the only excavated tomb in the cemetery dating past the end of PG. The pottery conforms to the Knossian style and sequence. The non-ceramic assemblage from the cemetery shows evidence for high status in its quantity, quality, and extra-island sources.

Dates of occupation: PG-G, R

Bibliography: Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki 1987b, 530; Rethemiotakis and Dimopoulou 1993, 463-5; 1994-1996; Rethemiotakis 1998, 845-7; Eaby 2007, 122-5; Rethemiotakis and Englezou 2010.

C50.

Site name/toponym(s): Stou Kastrinaki (Kounavoi Pediados)

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A PG cremation urn (krater) placed in a small pit in the bedrock. The burial also included an iron weapon, probably a sword.

Dates of occupation: PG

Associated sites: Eltyna tombs (C49)

Bibliography: Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki 1987b; 1988; Eaby 2007, 122.

C51.

Site name/toponym(s): Archanes

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A burial in very large (c. two m long) pithos decorated with plastic zones. The pithos was laid on its side, and the neck and mouth were covered with stones. The pithos contained two skulls, other bones, a bronze pin shaft, and a PG stirrup jar.

Dates of occupation: PG?

Bibliography: Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki 1987a, 530.

C52.

Site name/toponym(s): Vromonero (Archanes)

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: Two pits excavated at Vromonero containing approximately 40 PG and G vessels. Other PG-G pottery from the area was turned in by locals.

Dates of occupation: PG-G/O

Bibliography: Hartley 1930-1, 72-5; Blegen 1936, 372; Desborough 1952, 251; Sakellarakis 1986; Eaby 2007, 146.

C53.

Site name/toponym(s): Synoikismos (Archanes)

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A large PG pithos burial placed on its side in a pit. Two burials were inside and finds included a stirrup jar and a bronze pin.

Dates of occupation: PG

Associated sites: Archanes (C51), Vromonero (C52), Phythies (C54)

Bibliography: Eaby 2007, 146.

C54.

Site name/toponym(s): Phythies (Kambos)

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A cemetery dating between LM IIIC and PG, and possibly continuing until EO, consisting of approximately six rectangular built cist tombs. Finds from these tombs (vessels and a clay model of a tomb or shrine) were reported, but many were sold illegally including a model of a house shrine containing an epiphanic goddess that is now in the Giamalakis Collection and displayed in the Heraklion Museum. Its findspot was confirmed by the discovery in 1957 at Phythies of one of the figures of worshippers on the roof of the house model peering in at the goddess.

Dates of occupation: LM IIIC-EIA

Associated sites: Archanes (C51), Vromonero (C52), Synoikismos (C53)

Bibliography: Alexiou 1950a; Hood 1957, 20; Sakellarakis 1986, 50; Eaby 2007, 145.

C55.

Site name/toponym(s): Tsangkaraki

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: Finds from PG-G tombs were reported two km north of Kanli Kastelli/Prophitis Elias.

Dates of occupation: PG-G

Associated sites: Prophitis Elias/Lykastos (A105)?

Bibliography: Marinatos 1933-5, 56; Eaby 2007, 171.

C56.

Site name/toponym(s): Agies Paraskies Agia Marina

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A free-standing tholos tomb that had been robbed but still contained nearly 150 vessels, including 25 cremation urns, pitchers, cups, skyphoi, aryballoi/lekythoi, and lekanai. Platon originally dated the pottery purely to LG-O. Other tombs may have also existed but were not found in the area.

Dates of occupation: PG-O

Bibliography: Blegen 1936, 372-3; Pendlebury 1939, 313, 324, 340; Platon 1945-7; Desborough 1952, 250; Belli 1991, 444; Eaby 2007, 113.

C57.

Site name/toponym(s): Agies Paraskies Kellia

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A PG cremation burial located in a rock hollow, located northeast of the village and southwest of Agia Marina. At least three other cremation/burial vessels were also found at the site that had been destroyed. Vessels included a two-handled cup, a jug with vertical relief bands, a jug with mesh triangles, a kalathos, and sherds from other vessels.

Dates of occupation: PG

Bibliography: Platon 1958, 479; Pini 1968, 76; Eaby 2007, 113-14.

C58.

Site name/toponym(s): Panagia, tou Kophina to Kephali

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A cemetery containing at least five plundered tholos tombs. Halbherr studied two of them but was unable to recover any of the looted contents except for two spindle whorls and a fragmentary bronze ring left behind by the looters. Levi published the pottery from the additional four tombs excavated during his excavations (although one may have been Halbherr's second tomb, not completely cleared). The preserved burials were all inhumations. There is some evidence for possible funeral meal(s) or offerings outside of Tomb α . This area contained a large deposit of iron weapons mixed with pottery, burned bones, and carbon. The pottery appears mainly PG, without any published material that is clearly later in date.

Dates of occupation: SM-PG

Associated sites: Aphrati (A99)? Nowicki suggests an alternative possibility of a closer but still unidentified SM-PG settlement site.

Bibliography: Halbherr 1901a, 283-7; Levi 1927-9a, 389-400; Pendlebury et al. 1937-8b, 111; Platon 1945-7, 72; Desborough 1952, 253-4; Pini 1968, 89, Abb.104; Rizzo 1984, 257; Belli 1991, 444; Kanta and Karetsou 1998, 169; Nowicki 2000, 179-80; Eaby 2007, 130-1.

C59.

Site name/toponym(s): Aphrati Cemetery

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A large cemetery connected with the settlement at Aphrati Prophitis Elias that was in use between the ninth and sixth centuries BCE. The only clearly PG burial in the cemetery was Pithos 103, which consisted of a large PG krater containing cremated remains lying on its side with the mouth blocked by stones. Tholos tombs A, B, and C could possibly have been constructed as early as PG, but there is no published PG material from them. This cemetery appears to be the successor of the earlier burial area at Panagia tou Kophina to Kephali (C58). A group of looted vessels dating to SM-G that were confiscated by the police in 1966 probably come from a tomb in this general area.

Dates of occupation: PG-Ar

Associated sites: Aphrati (A99)

Bibliography: Halbherr 1896, 532; 1901a, 262; 1901c, 394; École française d'Athènes 1924, 491-2; Levi 1927-9a, 175-80, 184-9; Pendlebury 1939, 314, 324, 341; Desborough 1952, 254; Alexiou 1966c; Pini 1968, 76; Rizzo 1984, 257-8; Belli 1991, 444; Kanta and Karetsou 1997; Kanta and Karetsou 1998; Eaby 2007, 115-19.

C60.

Site name/toponym(s): Krousonas, Thesi Chalepa

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A pithos burial containing a child. Fragments of contemporary red-painted pithoi were also found. One of the three small vessels found inside the pithos with the body was probably a kernos, along with a spherical stone weight and a fragment of a pin.

Dates of occupation: PG

Associated sites: Krousonas Koupo (A104)?

Bibliography: Orlandos 1970, 189-90; Alexiou 1971, 493; Ioannidou 1973, 572; Eaby 2007, 103.

C61.

Site name/toponym(s): Siderospilia

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A large cemetery in use between LM IIIC and the first half of the sixth century BCE associated with the contemporary settlement at Prinias. The excavators have identified three phases of use in the EIA based on stratigraphy and burial types. The first phase, dating to LM IIIC-SM, was composed of cremations in pits dug into the bedrock. The second phase, beginning in EPG, was mainly composed of tholos tombs containing inhumation burials (**Figure 24**). The third phase, beginning in PGB and continuing through the end of the EIA, consisted of cremations in vessels placed in funerary enclosures and pits in large rubble platforms.

The PG tombs belonging to the second major phase of the cemetery consisted of 14 tholoi with inhumations (including Tombs F, J, Q, AQ, D, AH, AL, B, G, AR, AN, AV). These tombs varied in size and architectural elaboration. This phase also included 18 animal burials (including BU, BS, BV, and BE).

Dates of occupation: LM IIIC-O, R

Associated sites: Prinias (A106)

Bibliography: Rizza 1969, 24-32; 1972, 633-4; 1973, 579-80; 1973-4, 912-14; 1974; Levi 1974-5, 413; 1976, 321; Di Vita 1977, 357-8; 1978, 463-4; Rizza 1978, 106-27; 1979, 322; 1981, 472-4; 1983, 50-1; Day 1984, 25; Rizza and Rizzo 1984, 238-56; Belli 1991, 444; Rizza 1991, 331-4; Stampolides and Karetsou 1998, 76, 160; Eaby 2007, 104-8.

C62.

Site name/toponym(s): Kourtes Kephala

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A large cemetery of small tholos tombs located on the southwestern slopes of the Kephala hill. The cemetery was badly looted, but much pottery was rescued by Halbherr and Taramelli when they investigated three of the tombs. Metal objects were relatively scarce but included ornaments and weapons. Both inhumation and cremation burials were present. Two vessels in the Heraklion Museum dating to LM IIIB/C may indicate an earlier use of the cemetery, but they may also have come from elsewhere in the area. 234 vessels in the Heraklion Museum are catalogued as coming from this site. Because of the circumstances of their retrieval, none of the pottery can be assigned to specific tomb groups.

Dates of occupation: LM IIIB/C?, PG-G/O

Associated sites: Kourtes Kephala (settlement) (A107)

Bibliography: Halbherr 1901a, 260-1, 287-93; Taramelli 1901; Mariani 1901, 305-14; Levi 1927-9b, 558-62; Pendlebury et al. 1932-3, 90; 1937-8b, 111; Pendlebury 1939, 306, 315; Desborough 1952, 256-8; Pini 1968, 86; Kanta 1980, 88; Di Vita et al. 1984, 31; Rocchetti 1988-9; Belli 1991, 444; Eaby 2007, 97-8.

C63.

Site name/toponym(s): Gortyn (near Agios Georgios chapel at the foot of the acropolis)

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A large well-built tholos tomb with a paved floor and containing multiple burials was located near the Agios Georgios chapel at the foot of the Agios Ioannis acropolis. The material from the tomb appears to be chronologically homogeneous, all belonging to the Protogeometric period. The assemblage consisted of large amounts of pottery and iron weapons, including approximately 50 vessels: amphorae, pithoi, kraters with concentric circle and semicircle painted decoration, one-handled skyphoi, trefoil-mouthed jugs, spherical vessels with horizontal handles, hydrias, and cups. This is the only known EIA tomb associated with the Gortyn sites.

Dates of occupation: MPG-LPG

Associated sites: Gortyn (A108)

Bibliography: Orlandos 1966, 152-4; Alexiou 1966a, 189-91; 1967a, 485-6; 1967b, 215; Pini 1968, 94; Belli 1991, 449; Di Vita 1991, 316-17; Eaby 2007, 96-7.

C64.

Site name/toponym(s): Kambes (Kamares)

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A burial pithos and some other PG vessels were reported in 1964.

Dates of occupation: PG

Bibliography: Alexiou 1964, 284; Pini 1968, 81; Eaby 2007, 136.

C65.

Site name/toponym(s): Petrokephali (Myloi)

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A rectangular pit located north of the village of Petrokephali, identified as a tomb because of the recovery of cremated remains along with pottery. The material was very mixed because of a high water-level in the pit. The tomb deposit contained 77 vases including skyphoi, kraters, amphorae, oinochoai, kalathoi, pithoi, and tripod vessels. The pottery assemblage conforms to a PG date, including vessels with tall conical feet and concentric circle decoration. A number of burial assemblages were recreated by Rocchetti, but without any real surety because of the jumbled and fragmentary nature of the finds as excavated. The site was recorded as Ap2 as part of the Western Mesara survey. The tomb was discovered while constructing a well.

Dates of occupation: SM-PGB

Associated sites: The contemporary settlement was probably located under modern Petrokephali (Watrous et al. 2004).

Bibliography: Platon 1957, 336; Levi 1957-8, 359-61; Hood 1958, 17; Rocchetti 1967-8; Pini 1968, 89; Watrous et al. 2004, 533; Eaby 2007, 99.

C66.

Site name/toponym(s): Neromylos (“tombe del mulino”)

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A ceramic assemblage found during agricultural cleaning c. 30-40 m away from the watermill north of Phaistos. The presence of three cinerary urns with cremated skeletal remains mark this group as the remains of a tomb, although the tomb itself was not excavated. Pieces of iron weapons and at least one fibula were also recovered. The pottery dates stylistically to early PG. This area was surveyed as part of the Plakoures-Neromilos site in the Western Mesara survey, where it was characterized as part of a PG cemetery. The survey also mentioned a possible PG-G grave at Plakoures.

Dates of occupation: PG, G

Associated sites: Phaistos (A109)

Bibliography: Levi 1957-8, 355-9; Watrous et al. 2004, 534; Eaby 2007, 140-1.

C67.

Site name/toponym(s): Monasteriako Pigadi (700 m SSE of Sivas)

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A possible cemetery site. The pottery, associated with Western Mesara Survey site B37, dates to LM IIIC-PG and included kraters, monochrome bowls, a jar, a kalathos, and some burnt sherds spread over an area of 70x70m. The general site is a cemetery, but it is

unclear if any of the other tombs date to PG (early reports on the area [Marinatos, Alexiou] only mention EM tholos tombs).

Size: 0.49 ha

Dates of occupation: EM, LM IIIA-C/PG

Associated sites: possibly connected with Western Mesara survey site B38 (A111)

Bibliography: Marinatos 1924-5, 77-8; Alexiou 1968, 403; Watrous et al. 2004, 538; Eaby 2007, 142-3.

C68.

Site name/toponym(s): Kalyvia/Kalyviana Phaistou

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A cemetery containing PG through Hellenistic graves around Monastery Kalyviana. One of these is a rock-cut chamber tomb containing large amounts of pottery (cinerary urns, amphorai, amphoriskoi, pithoi, stirrup jars, jugs, cups, and kraters) and the remains of bronze and iron weapons. This tomb dates to EPG. The site was surveyed as part of the Western Mesara survey (site B49). There is also a LM IIIA cemetery in the same area.

Dates of occupation: LM IIIA, LM IIIC, PG-HL

Associated sites: Phaistos (A109)

Bibliography: Chatzi-Vallianou 1979, 384; Kanta 1980, 99; Watrous et al. 2004, 539; Eaby 2007, 139-40.

C69.

Site name/toponym(s): Phaistos, Ai Ioannis (property Kakoulaki)

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A chamber tomb. Pottery included thylaktra, stirrup jars, lekanides, a large one-handled cup, a small conical cup, a hydria, an aryballos, a hemispherical cup with plastic animal head, krateriskoi, wide-mouthed jugs, a pinax, an amphoriskos, kraters, a kalathos, amphorai, stamnoi, and a bird askos. Other contents of the tomb include remains of a skeleton, a bronze ring, two bronze buckles, and a bronze pin.

Dates of occupation: The report says “Geometric”, but pottery illustrated in a photo is diagnostic of PG.

Associated sites: Phaistos (A109)

Bibliography: Antonakaki 2001-2004, 364.

C70.

Site name/toponym(s): Alisandraki (Kamilari)

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A PG tomb containing a burial pithos and at least seven vessels, including a tripod, jugs, an oinochoe, an aryballos, and a cylindrical vase. The tomb type is unknown.

Dates of occupation: PG

Bibliography: Platon 1958, 480; Eaby 2007, 137.

C71.

Site name/toponym(s): Rotasi Embasos/Berdeleto

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: A tholos tomb containing about thirty PG vessels and two figurines with upraised hands/arms. Its findspot is unknown.

Dates of occupation: PG

Associated sites: Rotasi Kephala (**A113**), Rotasi (**C72**)

Bibliography: Platon 1954a, 516; 1955a, 567; Pini 1968, 91; Eaby 2007, 111.

C72.

Site name/toponym(s): Rotasi

Nomos: Heraklion

Description: An unrobbed tholos tomb containing more than 250 PG-EO vases, including burial urns, amphorai, jugs, aryballoi, and many metal objects. There were at least 40 burials in the tomb.

Dates of occupation: PG-O

Associated sites: Rotasi Kephala (**A108**), Rotasi Embasos (**C71**)

Bibliography: Platon 1958, 468; Pini 1968, 91; Belli 1991, 44; Kanta and Karetsou 1998; Eaby 2007, 111-12.

C73.

Site name/toponym(s): Limnostratiaris

Nomos: Rethymno

Description: A possible cemetery area whose presence is based on a collection of vessels turned in to the Greek Archaeological Service from tombs located at the northern foot of the Chalepa height, approximately 1 km north of Vouno, near a road.

Dates of occupation: SM-O

Associated sites: Axos (A116)

Bibliography: Andreadaki-Vlazaki 1991a; Tegou 2013, 89; 2014, 26.

C74.

Site name/toponym(s): Megalos Traphos/Teichio

Nomos: Rethymno

Description: A cemetery at the southwest foot of Vouno. The discovery of LM IIIB-EG vessels by Taramelli indicated the probable presence of a cemetery here. A PG burial (Tomb 14) was discovered here in later excavations. Although disturbed, it contained some bones and fragments of a PG stirrup jar. The remainder of the graves excavated in 1991 were Hellenistic and Roman, although large numbers of Archaic and Classical figurines were found in the same area.

Dates of occupation: LM III, PG, G, HL, R

Associated sites: Axos (A116)

Bibliography: Taramelli 1899, 314-15; Metaxa-Prokopiou 1991a, 432; Tegou 2013, 89; 2014, 25-6.

C75.

Site name/toponym(s): Eleutherna, Orthi Petra cemetery

Nomos: Rethymno

Description: A large PG-Ar cemetery. The earliest material dates to LPG (first half of the ninth century BCE). The best-published and dated material is from the A1K1 tomb, which

dates between LPG and Ar. The PG burials were all cremations stored in burial pithoi.

Pottery from the cemetery area (including three PG cremation pithoi) was also recovered in Payne's 1929 excavation.

Dates of occupation: PG-Ar, R

Associated sites: Eleutherna settlement (A118)

Bibliography: Woodward 1929, 225; Hartley 1930-1, 108-9; Pendlebury 1939, 303, 313, 323; Stampolides 1990; 1993; Nowicki 2000, 193-4; Agelarakis 2005; Eaby 2007, 179-85; Kotsonas 2008a; 2008b.

C76.

Site name/toponym(s): Pantanassa

Nomos: Rethymno

Description: An enchytrismos burial in a small pithamphora placed in a small pit, accompanied by a baby feeder and two small oinochoai. Remains of the funeral pyre were located to the southeast of the burial. A late SM tholos tomb is located nearby.

Dates of occupation: SM-PG

Associated sites: Pantanassa Veni (A120)

Bibliography: Tegou 1998, 875; 2000-2001; 2002; Eaby 2007, 177.

C77.

Site name/toponym(s): Vryses Kydonia (Thesi Timios Stavros)

Nomos: Chania

Description: Two individual SM/PG burials containing many vessels. Similar graves were reported to Faure by villagers, but they only showed him Classical graves, and a Hellenistic/Roman site at Timios Stavros.

Dates of occupation: SM/PG

Bibliography: Theophanidis 1940, 485; Dunbabin 1947, 192; Faure 1958, 499; Hood 1965, 106; Kanta 1980, 234; Eaby 2007, 196.

C78.

Site name/toponym(s): Pelekapina (Chania)

Nomos: Chania

Description: Two PG pithos burials containing inhumations were found in an embankment of the Kladisos River 2.5 km southwest of Kastelli. Pottery and metal objects were found in the burials.

Dates of occupation: PG

Associated sites: Andreadaki-Vlazaki thinks that the associated settlement was located nearby, rather than at Chania Kastelli (**A129**).

Bibliography: Catling 1984-1985, 67 (refers to the burials as G); Touchais 1985, 857; Andreadaki-Vlazaki 1991b, 414; Eaby 2007, 193.

C79.

Site name/toponym(s): Modi

Nomos: Chania

Description: Seven tombs were excavated in 1952, of which two are chamber tombs, one a rock shelter, and the rest pit graves. Most contained burial pithoi. The graves included a wide range of pottery (fewer than 50 vessels in total), iron weapons and tools, fibulae, and other small finds. Another contemporary tomb containing nine krateriskoi and oinochoai was excavated in the same location in 1967.

Dates of occupation: PG

Associated sites: Modi settlement on Agios Georgios hill 2 km west of the cemetery

Bibliography: Platon 1953a, 485-6; Tzedakis 1968, 418; Andreadaki-Vlazaki 1985, 14; Eaby 2007, 193-4.

C80.

Site name/toponym(s): Kavousi Kisamou

Nomos: Chania

Description: A PG tomb containing 18 vessels, clay spindle whorls, iron fibulae, and bone fragments. The material dates to the LPG and G periods, probably representing two phases of use.

Dates of occupation: PG, G

Associated sites: Andreadaki-Vlazaki thinks that the tombs are connected with Phalasarna (A133), but Eaby argues that they should belong to an unknown settlement a smaller distance away.

Bibliography: Tzedakis 1969, 432-3; Andreadaki-Vlazaki 1985, 19, 29-30; Eaby 2007, 190.

CHAPTER 3

Saro Wallace frames the development of large PG-G nucleated settlements across Crete as a major phase change in the landscape that structured social preconditions for the historical development of poleis on the island some three centuries later. In her model, strategically placed LM IIIC communities and culture-regions were transformed into new PG nuclei through the coalescence of populations over short distances from nearby sites abandoned during the LM IIIC-PG transition. This process created and recreated a strong and abiding notion of older regional identities that were actively perpetuated and developed by the newly nucleated communities.

Wallace argues that the perpetuation and the ongoing adaptation of these old regional identities was structured in such a way as to create new cohesive regional identities but also to allow for the continuation of factional activities probably organized along kinship lines that would otherwise have been destabilizing within the newly integrated communities.⁷⁴ As part of this model of nucleation and integration, Wallace identifies a series of small citadel sites closely connected with larger PG-LG nuclei that would have been occupied by distinct groups within the regional community as a means of preserving older localized identities and ancestral topographic references.⁷⁵ These sites and their visual and social interconnections

⁷⁴ Wallace 2003a.

⁷⁵ Wallace 2003a, 259-60; 2010, 254-64.

with larger nucleated centers would have potentially expressed localized identities within a broader regional community, but would also have served as unifying signifiers for the entire region through their high visibility in the landscape.⁷⁶ Wallace's model of the creation and maintenance of a PG political landscape, which she ultimately connects with the creation of poleis in the Archaic period, is therefore structured around memories of and deliberate interactions with the LM IIIC past. At the same time, her overarching model of PG nucleation is one of broadly contemporaneous, deliberate, and non-random movement to larger accessible sites centered in unified and formalized territories.⁷⁷ Wallace's model, especially when applied to the large PG-Ar sites of Central Crete that have informed much of her fieldwork, tends towards a site-level focus whose goal is understanding the mechanisms by which these EIA nuclei presaged the formation of poleis on the island.

Florence Gaignerot-Driessen's more recent model of "habitats polarisés" in the Mirabello region is similar to Wallace's: large PG-LG nuclei were formed via the abandonment of aggregated LM IIIC settlements in favor of lower-altitude but highly visible acropolis sites that dominated the local landscapes as part of a strategy of forming and grounding local and regional identities within the landscape.⁷⁸ In her model, the sites of individual PG-LG nuclei were deliberately located along major axes of communication through the landscape (e.g. the Neapoli Valley, the Ierapetra Isthmus) as a means of creating stronger and more integrated inter-regional economic and social networks than was possible

⁷⁶ Wallace 2003a; 2007; 2011a.

⁷⁷ Wallace 2010, 52, 234-48.

⁷⁸ Gaignerot-Driessen 2016a, 76-7.

by smaller, relatively inaccessible LM IIIC settlements.⁷⁹ These highly visible polarizing sites, in combination with topographical features like karstic basins that would have been exploited agriculturally, defined and reinforced newly enlarged territories along these communication corridors.⁸⁰ Gaignerot-Driessen focuses less on the use of high citadel sites as a means of preserving the identities of diverse localized groups than Wallace, but she emphasizes the continuing use of existing cemeteries and especially the revisitation of older cemeteries in LG-O as methods of connecting emerging contemporary communities with a local ancestral past.⁸¹ In her model, the increasingly formalized ritual behaviors focused on ancestral tombs in the late eighth and seventh centuries BCE, as well as the accelerated growth in absolute site sizes and architectural elaboration mark this period as the primary one for the creation of group identities that appeared in more institutionalized forms in the early polis.⁸² Gaignerot-Driessen also regards the emergence of the polis as the predictable historical outcome of EIA settlement development.

Both models describe systemic spatial movements and discontinuities within local LM IIIC landscapes that resulted in the observable nucleated PG-LG settlement pattern. They also highlight the resulting need for PG communities to develop strategies for both reinforcing socio-political cohesion within newly enlarged and potentially more diverse communities and for establishing the spatial dimensions of the cultural regions controlled by these communities. Both Wallace and Gaignerot-Driessen believe that the social organization

⁷⁹ Gaignerot-Driessen 2016a, 76.

⁸⁰ Gaignerot-Driessen 2016a, 42-5, 75-9.

⁸¹ Gaignerot-Driessen 2016a, 77-9, 117-21; 2012.

⁸² Gaignerot-Driessen 2016a, 133-4, 173.

of communities that developed during the EIA within these settlement nuclei were crucial for the development of the polis and could be seen reflected in later polis institutions like the tribe and the citizen body. The major difference between the two is that Wallace places the crucial formative moment for these social developments earlier in the period, in PG, while Gaignerot-Driessen assigns it to the late eighth century. The differences in chronological emphasis do not render these two models mutually exclusive, however, as PG and LG represent two periods of more intensive movement towards communal and social cohesion in the ongoing processes of the codification of group identities and territories that characterized the EIA and resulted in the emergence of historical poleis, rather than separate transformative periods.

Ideas of continuity and stability underlie these constructions of EIA society. The transition between the LM IIIC and PG settlement patterns can be reconstructed as one of spatial discontinuities at a large number of sites through processes of abandonment. At the same time, it appears clear that there was an overall demographic and cultural continuity within regional populations that underpins current understandings of PG-LG society. How this picture relates to social stability is still a point of contention, in large part because there is a lack of consensus about how stability should be defined on systemic socio-political or archaeological levels.

Drawing on this idea of continuous and discontinuous structures, James Whitley, for example, proposed a model of stable and unstable settlements in the EIA Aegean in which “stable” sites were continuously occupied through the entire EIA, sometimes since the LBA, and became city-states in the Archaic period (e.g. Athens).⁸³ “Unstable” sites were those that

⁸³ Whitley 1991b, 346-7.

were occupied for part or all of the EIA, but which did not make the transition to state-level systems of sociopolitical complexity. According to this model, therefore, almost all of the EIA Cretan sites discussed here, with the exception of some centers like Knossos, were inherently unstable. Whitley also extended this model of instability to settlement systems in which a number of sites were occupied consecutively within the same region over the course of the EIA, as was the case in the Kavousi region.⁸⁴ In his model, the longevity of case study settlement sites (many of which were only partially excavated or at the time known principally through mortuary data) was a reflection of levels of social stability or instability within the power structures of the communities that would have promoted the physical continuity or fragmentation of occupation patterns: he visualized unstable settlements using the social construct of a “big-man” system of governance that was inherently prone to disruption and discontinuous power distribution.⁸⁵ Whitley’s model has been criticized in part for his use of ethnographic parallels, but also for his over-simplistic criterion of longevity and polis development for tracking stability.⁸⁶ The weaknesses in this model highlight the historical preoccupation with polis development, but also the association between stability and a static formalized socio-political structure that leaves little room for any sort of ongoing decentralized or fluid identity negotiation over the course of the EIA.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ Whitley 1991b, 347. Cf. Haggis 1993; 2001.

⁸⁵ Whitley (1991b, 347): “Other than their relatively short duration of occupation, these [unstable] sites have little in common.”

⁸⁶ Cf. Wallace 2010, 165. Whitley (1991b, 361-2) himself acknowledges some of the problems inherent in using ethnographic parallels for understanding Dark Age and Homeric society.

⁸⁷ Mazarakis Ainian (2007-8, 388) suggests a model for central Greek sites in which EIA settlements characterized by an early establishment of reserved cemeteries and a cohesive settlement were less resilient and adaptable than those characterized by clusters of family compounds associated with individual burial areas, and thus likely to survive the social changes involved in polis development.

Drawing together the disparate strands from these narratives about settlement formation, the major problem that emerges is how to model the regional dimension of the PG nucleations on Crete in relationship with their LM IIIC pasts as a way of addressing issues of long-term continuity and stability within EIA society. It is particularly important to approach this problem as a major phase change that had contemporary significance for social structures and territorial definition rather than as the origin point for structures that crystallized materially in LG. This approach steps back from historicizing models of EIA settlement development and focuses on understanding what EIA settlements represented in and of themselves, rather than as a developmental precursor to polis development.

This chapter therefore proposes two related models of regional settlement formation and structure that provide a framework for understanding the spatial and social dynamics of newly nucleated communities in PG. These models describe the formation of cultural regions focused around a central PG site that were defined not just by the location and appearance of the settlement itself but also by its physical, topographical, and social relationships to the surrounding landscape.

The first model describes an “adherent” pattern. This pattern may be visualized through the model of the cluster pattern originally developed for the Kavousi region by Haggis.⁸⁸ In his model, the settlement cluster is defined as an economically interdependent group of small settlements whose individual identities were based on extended kinship ties but whose collective configuration was based on a combination of topography, subsistence patterns, kinship ties, patterns of communication, and transportation routes. The adherent model presented here is most clearly illustrated by the Kavousi region but is broadly

⁸⁸ Haggis 1993.

applicable to other regions as well that do not necessarily conform to the details of Haggis's cluster model in LM IIIC.

The adherent model is characterized by an original phase in which the geographical region was occupied by an interrelated group of LM IIIC settlements. In PG, most of these settlements were abandoned, with their inhabitants relocating to one or two settlements that continued to be occupied for the rest of the EIA. The concentration of populations in PG at a central settlement was accompanied by a series of deliberate reuses of older LM IIIC sites in the region as spaces for ritualized activities, often burials. This was carried out as part of ongoing dynamic processes of (re)creating contemporary identities by individual real or fictive kinship groups through the exploitation of memories of LM IIIC spaces in the landscape and, through them, the spatial, temporal, and social dimensions of the entire regional community. The inhabitants of the PG settlement(s) within the region structured their communal identity through an adherence to these older locations in the region and used them to mediate separate and perhaps occasionally competing group interests within the regional community. At the same time, the pattern of cemeteries and cult sites established in older abandoned LM IIIC settlements can be used to draw rough boundaries for the cultural, if not necessarily economic, catchment area of the PG settlement nuclei. The newly formed physical and social regional structures in PG thus defined themselves through a network of dispersed ties to the surrounding landscape that were rooted in the local LM IIIC patterns of occupation. In the cases described by this model, there was therefore a basic continuity in LM IIIC social identities that suggests a strong localizing tendency within the community.

The second model describes a "nucleated," or coalescent pattern. The regions that belong to this category are those that are characterized by the same complete or partial

abandonment of LM IIIC sites and shift to an enlarged central settlement as in the adherent model, but without an accompanying continuity of LM IIIC cemeteries or the reuse of LM IIIC settlements as ritual spaces within the broader territory of the PG nucleus. The priority of the PG community was rooted in the formation of a new cohesive group identity centered on a new nucleated settlement in the region. The regional pattern therefore represents a physical movement towards a single large settlement and an accompanying socio-political configuration that involved the development of a new regional identity deliberately disassociated from that of the older LM IIIC communities. These PG nuclei were still typically centered on sites founded in LM IIIC, although a few examples in Central Crete were newly established in PG. The general tendency in these regions was therefore one of centripetal movement towards a large center.⁸⁹

Some regions that fall into this category can be reconstructed as larger than those following the adherent model, which may help to explain the different strategies of appropriating the LM IIIC landscape: the aggregation of populations from a larger catchment area would have resulted in both a greater diversity of group identities to be negotiated, familial or otherwise, within the new PG nucleus and a greater physical distance from older abandoned settlement sites. Both of these factors would have prompted a move towards a new centralized communal identity at least partially divorced from older ones as a means of creating social cohesion. There is a danger in pushing the question of comparative scale as a predictor between these two models too far, however, given the number of lacunae in the archaeological record that currently informs the model here.

⁸⁹ Cf. Sjögren 2008, 196-215.

These models are not meant to represent absolute binary eventualities, but rather trends that played out across the landscape based on initial levels of social diversity and regional scale in PG. They are better conceptualized as two extremes on a spectrum of methods by which regional identities were negotiated in a period of sustained movement towards greater social cohesion across EIA Crete.

The purpose of introducing these descriptive models is twofold. First, they underline the diversity of localized responses to shifting settlement behavior and to the development of social structures in LM IIIC and later that would have contributed to these shifts. Second, they nuance the models proposed by Wallace and Gaignerot-Driessen by exploring the multiple trajectories that regions took towards their eighth and seventh century forms that are most visible in the archaeological record. In particular, an examination of regions described by these two models emphasizes that the original form of PG nuclei and their regional structures had little predictive value for longevity of place through the Archaic period, requiring a rethinking of ideas of regional and site-specific stability at the end of the EIA and of the connection between EIA settlements and polis development.

East Crete

East Crete provides many of the clearest examples of the two models for PG regional models. In part, this is because the large amount of systematic fieldwork, both survey and excavation, has provided the high density of spatial and chronological data necessary for understanding localized diachronic patterns within the EIA.⁹⁰

⁹⁰ Surveys and topographical projects: Duploux 2006; Branigan 1998; Schlager 1987; 1991; Tsipopoulou 1986; 1989; 1995a; Whitley et al. 1995; 1999; Haggis 2005; Watrous et al. 2012; Nowicki 2000.

Adherent regions

The Kavousi area provides the most detailed archaeological picture of an adherent regional settlement pattern (**Figure 25**).⁹¹ In LM IIIC, the small settlements at Vronda, Azoria, and the Kastro (**A21**) were established, all of which have been surveyed and excavated.⁹² There were also smaller sites in the Avgo valley at Trapeza (**A19**) and Melisses (**A20**) that were founded in LM IIIC. At the end of LM IIIC, the settlement at Vronda was abandoned. This was probably the case for the settlement at Azoria as well, based on the lack of evidence for stratified PG settlement contexts in recent excavations.⁹³ The Kastro appears to have become the central site in the surrounding region, with a continuous stratified settlement record through the seventh century, including discrete PG levels in a number of houses. The prominent visibility of the Kastro peak throughout the entire Kavousi valley may have been one factor in the choice of this LM IIIC settlement as the new center of the region, given that the excavated houses on the Kastro do not suggest that this settlement was originally wealthier or more complex than those at Vronda or Azoria in LM IIIC. The contemporary small settlement sites in the Avgo valley at Trapeza and Melisses represented a secondary cluster of farmsteads or hamlets probably connected with the Kastro through ongoing social and economic ties.⁹⁴ These sites lay along the main route through the West Siteia Mountains to the Siteia Valley, which likely accounts in part for their continued

⁹¹ Haggis 1993; 2005; Nowicki 2000, 97-101; Coulson et al. 1997; Gesell and Day 2009; 2012.

⁹² Boyd 1901; Gesell et al. 1983; Day et al. 1986; Gesell et al. 1988; 1991; 1995; Mook 1993; Haggis 1996; 2005; Haggis et al. 2007b; Gesell and Day 2009; 2012.

⁹³ Haggis and Mook 2014, 18-19; 2015, 21-2.

⁹⁴ Haggis 1993, 154; Haggis 2005, 83-4.

occupation through PG as well as their localized importance in regional subsistence practices. At the same time as the Kastro was emerging as the principal site in the Kavousi region, new tholos tomb cemeteries were established at Vronda (C13) and Azoria (C12). These cemeteries appeared in the LM IIIC-PG transition, roughly contemporary with the movement of populations to the Kastro. Through this ritualized repurposing, the community living on the Kastro in PG remained physically and socially connected with the sites of Azoria and Vronda, reinforcing the outlines of the cultural region controlled by the Kastro and refocusing the importance of the old LM IIIC sites towards the new centralized site and community. This pattern of interaction with the landscape therefore forms a picture of a dispersed set of identities that were most likely organized along the lines of kinship groups that were using individual tholos tombs and were grounded in older LM IIIC territorial relationships.

This adherent pattern in the Kavousi region was most strongly defined in the tenth century: the tholos tomb at Azoria went out of use sometime in PG, and the tholos tomb cemetery at Vronda went out of use in the first half of the eighth century.⁹⁵ At the same time, new large tombs began to be established closer to the Kastro over the course of PG at places like Plaï tou Kastrou (C15), Aloni (C14), and probably Skouriasmenos, indicating the gradual establishment of new burial locations not associated with specific LM IIIC sites. In LG, the cemetery was re-established or reformatted at Vronda, when a series of LG-EO graves in burial enclosures were set into the LM IIIC buildings, most likely as a means of once again connecting elements of the community on the Kastro with their ancestral past.

⁹⁵ The recovered pottery from the tombs falls into the broad phases of SM-EPG, PGB, and EG-MG: Gesell et al. 1983, 396-409; Coulson 1990; Eaby 2007, 56.

Shortly after, in the late eighth to early seventh century, the beginnings of reoccupation of Azoria as a settlement were marked by the construction of buildings used for ritual dining in close connection with the LM IIIC-PG tholos tomb and a LM IIIC bench sanctuary.⁹⁶

The Vrokastro/Istron region provides another example of this pattern of regional development. The excavation data from the settlement at Vrokastro, the center of the regional nucleation in PG, has been augmented by intensive survey data and by comparison with the patterns seen in finer detail at Kavousi.⁹⁷ In LM IIIC, habitation was concentrated around the sites of Vrokastro (**A29**), Agios Phanourios (**A32**), and Elias to Nisi (**A34**) in the coastal zone; and inland at Xivouni (**A41**) at the southern end of the Istron Valley (**Figure 26**).⁹⁸ These settlement areas, identified through survey, appear to have encompassed clusters of multiple habitation areas and ancillary sites in LM IIIC, rather than representing single large settlements.⁹⁹ At least Vrokastro and Agios Phanourios had associated cemeteries in LM IIIC. These LM IIIC settlement areas therefore represented at least two small clusters on the model of the Kavousi sites, one centered on Vrokastro and the other centered on Xivouni, probably defined by separate but related subsistence areas.¹⁰⁰ In the transition to PG, many of the smaller LM IIIC sites were abandoned, and the population of the region was concentrated at the neighboring sites of Vrokastro and Agios Phanourios, with an additional presence

⁹⁶ Haggis and Mook 2014, 18-19; Haggis et al. 2016, 7-9.

⁹⁷ Excavations: Hall 2014; Hayden 1983; 2003. Vrokastro survey data: Hayden et al. 1992; 2004; 2005.

⁹⁸ Hayden et al. 2004, 148.

⁹⁹ Hayden et al. 2004, 148. Cf. Gaignerot-Driessen (2016, 35) on the distinction between an archaeological site (defined by geographically-bounded traces of occupation) and an archaeological place (defined politically as well as topographically) when dealing with survey data.

¹⁰⁰ Hayden et al. 2004, 149; Haggis 1993, 162.

remaining on the promontory of Elias to Nisi (**Figure 27**). The site at Xivouni was abandoned early in PG, and there is little evidence for any occupation in the Istron Valley in the Meseleroi region during the rest of the EIA.¹⁰¹ Vrokastro therefore became the primary settlement in this part of the Mirabello region during the EIA, probably having attracted the populations of the outlying settlements over a fairly wide area. The Agios Phanourios site Aph3 (**A32**) probably acted as a secondary settlement site within Vrokastro's territory.

Hayden suggests that PG occupation was limited at Vrokastro itself, with a dispersed rather than nucleated population until an upswing in growth in the mid- to late-ninth century, based on her restudy of the pottery from Hall's excavations.¹⁰² Most of the EIA sites from the Vrokastro area that may have been occupied during PG are very small, and some may not have been permanent: PN2 (**A44**) represented field activity rather than a full settlement, and Hayden suggests that Elias to Nisi (EN2, **A34**) may only have been occupied seasonally during the EIA, pointing to a measure of decentralization and ruralization of the regional population during at least the tenth and early ninth centuries.¹⁰³ The overall regional pattern based on survey data shows a trend of gradual consolidation around Vrokastro over the course of the EIA, however.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ Hayden et al. 2004, 149.

¹⁰² Hall (1914, 90) records a generally diachronic stratification of pottery within rooms, with LM III pottery found at the lowest levels. Excavation was carried out in half meter passes and did not identify any floor levels, however. For restudy of the pottery and architecture from Hall's excavations: Hayden 1983; 2003, 13. Nowicki (2000, 107-9) believes that PG-G marked a period of growth at the site, however.

¹⁰³ Hayden et al. 2005, 25-6. Several of the outlying sites listed in Chapter 2 from the Vrokastro survey may not have been occupied in PG. Their lack of inclusion on the PG-G phase plan published by the Vrokastro survey (**Figure 27**) also demonstrates the interpretive stage between archaeological data and its interpretation that underpins phased maps.

¹⁰⁴ Hayden et al. 2004, 148-50.

At the same time as the population of the region moved towards a more nucleated pattern overlooking the coastal plain and controlling the head of the Istron Valley, the cemetery areas originally established in LM IIIC in the Karakovilia, Kopranes, and Amigthali areas to the south of Vrokastro and Agios Phanourios remained in use: most of the cemetery areas located by the Vrokastro Survey started in LM IIIC and continued to be used throughout the EIA. In the burial locations first excavated by Hall, LG bone enclosures (e.g. KP7/C22) were often spatially related to tholos tombs dating to LM IIIC and to PG, indicating that this area remained as a designated mortuary zone throughout the entire EIA. This picture of ritual continuity and the use of LM IIIC burial areas to structure the immediate hinterland of the newly enlarged PG settlement at Vrokastro is complicated by the possibility that there were also additional habitation areas interspersed with the cemetery areas: Hall observed several buildings that she interpreted as houses near tombs on Karakovilia and Kopranes, and the Vrokastro Survey identified some areas where possible non-tomb structures were in close proximity with tombs excavated by Hall, such as at site VK2 (C23) on the Karakovilia ridge.¹⁰⁵ These structures have not been dated, however, and it is thus impossible to determine if they were contemporary with the tombs or not.

On the basis of the pattern established by the Kavousi sites, the PG settlement structure of the Vrokastro region can be interpreted as a concentration of regional populations on and around a topographically prominent location in the local landscape that was originally occupied in LM IIIC, along with an adherence to existing burial areas in this settlement's hinterland. By extension, this pattern represents a tightly localized cultural region in PG whose identity was constructed around LM IIIC sites throughout the EIA. At

¹⁰⁵ Hall 1914, 82-4; Hayden et al. 2004, 142-4.

the same time, the economic territory of the community at Vrokastro can be hypothetically extended up the Istron Valley to the old LM IIIC center around. The move to Vrokastro in PG focused the region's economic position along multiple communication routes that kept it in contact with all parts of the Mirabello Bay as well as with the south coast through the Ierapetra Isthmus and through the Meseleroi area, while retaining a strong sense of local identity within the immediate landscape by adhering to older LM IIIC patterns of habitation and burial.

There are also a number of large PG sites in East Crete that may fall in broad terms into this regional model on the basis of the continued use of their cemeteries between LM IIIC and PG-G, even when defining their broader regional boundaries is more difficult. In at least some cases, almost a reverse of the Kavousi pattern appears to be at work: instead of the establishment of cemeteries at old LM IIIC habitation sites at the same time as the movement of a regional population to a single settlement, a single LM IIIC cemetery area that had been previously used by multiple settlements acted as a strong influence on the gradual unification of these communities into a single large nucleus. The cemetery area and, at some PG sites, cult locations helped to structure the transition to a single cohesive community within the local topography.

Anavlochos is perhaps the clearest example of this phenomenon. The settlement area, occupied between the twelfth and seventh centuries BCE, is centered in the large valley on the northern side of the massif, overlooking Milatos on the coast (**Figure 7**). Gaignerot-Driessen has argued that the area between the central valley and the Vigla peak on the south was occupied by a series of small LM IIIC hamlets.¹⁰⁶ In PG, these clusters began to nucleate

¹⁰⁶ Gaignerot-Driessen 2016b.

towards the central valley where an extensive LG settlement was located. Other nearby settlements such as Neapoli Kastri may also have moved to Anavlochos when they were abandoned at the end of LM IIIC.¹⁰⁷ The ceramic evidence from the recent intensive survey of the LG settlement indicates that the settlement was likely already large and concentrated by the end of PG. Further stratigraphic excavation, however, is required to determine if PG occupation represents a unified and contiguous habitation area or a continuation of a (condensed) clustered pattern of small occupation areas across the valley.¹⁰⁸

The cemetery area at Lami, located on the slopes below the LG-EO settlement area at Anavlochos, was established in LM IIIC, and continued in use through the seventh century.¹⁰⁹ Through PG, therefore, the Lami cemetery would have become the principal burial area for the entire population of the increasingly coalescent community. It may originally have been shared by multiple groups from different habitation sites even in LM IIIC, however, given the presence of multiple clusters of contemporary tombs excavated by Demargne and identified in survey. Similarly, newly discovered open-air votive deposits on the western ridge of the massif, the earlier of which dates principally to LM IIIC-PG, does not appear to have been directly connected with a habitation area and may have been used by multiple groups inhabiting the LM IIIC cluster, acting as part of the unifying centripetal force inherent in settlement nucleation in PG.¹¹⁰ There appears to have been a hiatus in the open-air votive dedications in this area between LM IIIC/PG and the seventh century. In the

¹⁰⁷ Gaignerot-Driessen 2016a, 72, 217; Nowicki 2000, 110-12.

¹⁰⁸ Gaignerot-Driessen et al. Forthcoming b.

¹⁰⁹ Demargne 1931, 374-9; Eaby 2007, 32-3; Gaignerot-Driessen et al. Forthcoming b.

¹¹⁰ Gaignerot-Driessen et al. Forthcoming b.

intervening period, the cult focus was taken up and reoriented again by the construction of a shrine on the Kako Plaï slope, overlooking the cemetery.¹¹¹ A newly-discovered cult building there was in use from at least PG and possibly from LM IIIC. It was likely another unifying location for the nascent PG nucleus as it formalized the spatial link between the settlement area and the cemetery.

A similar pattern may also be in play in the Dreros region, where the cemetery at Agios Georgos (**C30**) at the base of the Agios Antonios hill began in LM IIIC and continued in use through LG. It was associated with the contemporary settlement on the Dreros acropolis (**A58**), about which very little is known. Gaignerot-Driessen suggests that the inhabitants of the LM IIIC settlement at Limnes Kephali (**A57**) may already have been using the Dreros cemetery before the site was abandoned in favor of Dreros, however.¹¹² If true, this is another example where the use of a shared regional cemetery in LM IIIC helped to structure the formation of an EIA region around a single large settlement through an already established common ritual space in the landscape.

The implication of these latter two cases is that there were close enough social, probably kinship ties between settlements in LM IIIC to justify establishing common burial grounds rather than maintaining individual cemeteries. This is one indication of mechanisms by which the core family groups that made up the LM IIIC communities socially established themselves within the broader region and acted as a major structuring component of the transition to the PG regional pattern but also by which increasingly large (fictive) regional kinship groups could begin to emerge as social units within PG-LG communities. This

¹¹¹ Gaignerot-Driessen et al. Forthcoming a; Forthcoming b.

¹¹² Gaignerot-Driessen 2016a, 219; van Effenterre 2009.

suggestion is supported by the overall focus of communities in regions conforming to the adherent model on maintaining ties with LM IIIC sites, especially through the establishment of cemeteries.

Nucleated regions

The nucleated regional paradigm is best illustrated in the Ierapetra Isthmus, centered around the settlement at Prophitis Elias (**A28**). This site was originally founded in LM IIIC and was much larger than any of the Kavousi sites in all periods, measuring approximately 5-6 ha even in LM IIIC-PG.¹¹³ The Isthmus contained a number of other LM IIIC settlements, including Monasteraki Chalasmenos (**B3, C16**), Monasteraki Katalimata, Vasiliki Kephala (**A24**), and Vainia Stavromenos (**Figure 28**). Agios Ioannis Katalimata, located on the western side of the Katalimata ridge to the west of the Isthmus, should probably also be included in this group.¹¹⁴ As with the Kavousi sites, Monasteraki Chalasmenos and Vasiliki Kephala both contained groups of agglomerative houses and public cult buildings, as well as associated LM IIIC tombs.

By the end of LM IIIC, Chalasmenos was abandoned as a habitation site.¹¹⁵ Building Epsilon at Vasiliki Kephala contained some EPG pottery and possible evidence for the reconstruction of one of its rooms during this period, with the building presumably retaining its LM IIIC ritual function. There is no post-PG activity at Vasiliki Kephala, and the limited

¹¹³ Watrous 2001; Watrous et al. 2012, 132.

¹¹⁴ Nowicki 2000, 82-4; 2012, 73-4.

¹¹⁵ Haggis and Nowicki 1993; Nowicki 2000, 90-1; Coulson and Tsipopoulou 1994; Tsipopoulou 2004a.

ceramic evidence for PG suggests that the tenth century was one of strongly decreased or residual activity at the site as far as habitation was concerned. At the same time, known LM IIIC-SM tombs associated with these LM IIIC settlements, like the one at Vasiliki Kamaraki (**C17**), also only continued in use through EPG at the latest before being abandoned.

Prophitis Elias arguably incorporated the populations from these two LM IIIC communities in PG. The other three PG/EIA sites in the Isthmus, identified during the Gournia survey, were all located closer to Prophitis Elias. Two of these (**A26**, **A27**) represent small farm or field sites of LM IIIC-PG (EPG?) date, both measuring under 0.2 ha. These were also likely abandoned relatively early in PG, with the populations also presumably moving to Prophitis Elias. **A25**, whose function is unclear, and which was extremely small, may have lasted the entirety of the EIA based on the dates of the very scanty surface pottery.¹¹⁶

The gradual abandonment of outlying settlements *and* cemeteries in favor of Prophitis Elias in PG stands in contrast with the situation in the immediately proximate Kavousi region. In the Isthmus, there was an apparently deliberate break with the past LM IIIC landscape in PG by the communities living in the Isthmus as part of the nucleation process. Some lingering connections with these sites continued briefly into PG, especially in the case of the short-lived deposition of votive figurines and possibly burial in different contexts in the older settlement at Monasteraki Chalasmenos (**B3**, **C16**). In general, however, the older LM IIIC settlements were not reused as PG-G cemeteries or marked by other ritual activity past the tenth century, indicating that the community now living at Prophitis Elias was utilizing different strategies to define the cultural region controlled by the settlement that in

¹¹⁶ Watrous et al. 2012, 122.

turn helped to define the identity of the community living in it. In Gaignerot-Driessen's terms, Prophitis Elias became a polarizing settlement, defining its catchment area through a highly visible location in the landscape and the establishment of economic territorial boundaries. The residual activity at Vasiliki Kephala in PG and the establishment of a ritual dining building at Monasteraki Chalasmenos in LG may represent strategies of territorial marking by the community at Prophitis Elias over the course of the EIA, rather than exploitation by individual corporate groups or regional elites, as is often proposed. This situation is in marked opposition to one where a regional identity was defined by an adherence to local LM IIIC landmarks that helped to maintain and reinforce old relationships within the regional community.

There are two weaknesses with the data supporting this model in the Prophitis Elias region that must be addressed, as they hold true in general for all regions that may fit under this model: the first is that we do not know where the post-LM IIIC cemeteries used by the Isthmus population were located. Presumably, Prophitis Elias had its own cemetery or cemeteries in LM IIIC. The extent to which the community already living there in LM IIIC reorganized itself spatially and structurally in PG should be reflected in whether the original cemetery for the site was abandoned in favor of a new location or was significantly enlarged by the new population. The related problem is the fact that the PG-G territory of Prophitis Elias is reconstructed here largely *ex silencio*: the nucleated regional model relies on LM IIIC sites *not* being reoccupied in any significant fashion in PG-G.

This is reflected in particular in the proposed incorporation of Monasteraki Chalasmenos by the PG territory of Prophitis Elias. Wallace and Gaignerot-Driessen both believe that the population of this site, and possibly that of Vasiliki Kephala, moved to the

Kavousi region after their abandonment.¹¹⁷ I argue differently here for two reasons: First, the known size of the settlement on the Kastro in PG, even if only partially excavated, was not large enough to have incorporated the additional populations of up to four village-sized sites (Azoria, Vronda, Monasteraki Chalasmenos, and Vasiliki Kephala). A large portion of the population must have chosen to relocate to Prophitis Elias instead, and it is even possible that some families from Vronda or Azoria were attracted to Prophitis Elias rather than to the Kastro in PG. The second factor in assigning Monasteraki Chalasmenos to Prophitis Elias is the relative lack of residual lack of ritual activities at the site. After the cessation of burial and potential cult activity sometime in PG, both of which were short-lived and relatively ephemeral, the site was completely abandoned until the construction of a building used for feasting in LG.¹¹⁸ The settlement was therefore not exploited as a site of adherent identity marking for much of the EIA: the LG activity at Chalasmenos served to produce and reinforce some level of group identity through small-scale ritualized activities at a putative ancestral site, but probably at a different scale and with different aims than the reuse of local sites in PG in the Kavousi region.

The abandonment of Monasteraki Chalasmenos and Vasiliki Kephala should define the conceptual boundaries of the territory of Prophitis Elias to the north, therefore. The catchment area for the newly concentrated population of the Isthmus was subsequently probably much larger than in the Kavousi region, controlling much of the Ierapetra Isthmus with easy access to both coasts. The abandonment of the outlying sites by the end of PG demonstrates a different approach to marking and organizing the nascent urban center's

¹¹⁷ Gaignerot-Driessen 2016a, 72; Wallace 2010, 238.

¹¹⁸ Tsipopoulou 2004b.

hinterland in the Geometric period. The break in the use of older areas and the long hiatus between the small-scale PG votive deposit and the construction of the LG oikos at Monasteraki Chalasmenos indicates a different social and political relationship between the settlement at Prophitis Elias and the LM IIIC past of the local landscape: extended kin groups that originally belonged to the LM IIIC communities at sites like Vasiliki Kephala or Vainia Stavromenos did not maintain separate identities within the region through the continuing use of ancestral settlements as cemeteries. These spaces were given less ritual emphasis and therefore less political power, indicating that the newly formed social ties that governed the more concentrated social organization of the centralized settlement at Prophitis Elias also promoted the contemporary development of larger-scale social identities, perhaps to be equated with the clan, then those that can be reconstructed in LM IIIC settlements. The early development of such cohesive organizing principles by the end of PG rather than later in LG could help to explain why Prophitis Elias was one of the very few sites of this period in East Crete to persist as a major center through the Archaic and into the Classical period. The evidence from other regions suggests that the nucleation model was not necessarily predictive of longevity past the beginning of the Archaic period and therefore does not have a correlation with polis development, however.

The nucleated regional model also applies to the cluster of sites located to the northwest of the Lasithi Plateau (**Figure 29**). There were a large number of sites occupied in this area in LM IIIC including Kera Karphi, Kera Vigla (**A65**), Kera Kastello (**A63**), Agios Georgos Papoura (**A64**), Krasi Kastello (**A66**), Krasi Armi, and Krasi Siderokephala. During this period, Karphi was have been the principal site in the region, defined by its large size and by its topographical prominence. The settlement area excavated by Pendlebury

represents only a small portion of the inhabited area of the site. More recent surface mapping and excavation by Nowicki and Wallace have demonstrated that the site spread across most of the valley between the summits of Megali Koprana, Mikri Koprana, and Karphi (**Figure 30**).¹¹⁹ The settlement at Karphi was accompanied by the contemporary tholos tomb cemeteries at Ta Mnemata and Atsividero.¹²⁰ Karphi and its cemeteries, along with several of the other nearby LM IIIC settlements were abandoned by the beginning of PG.¹²¹

At this point, Agios Georgios Papoura became the principal site of the region in PG through the absorption of surrounding populations, especially that of Karphi.¹²² Associated with Papoura throughout the EIA were the sites of Kera Kastello and Kera Vigla, both of which remained much smaller. These sites overlooked and controlled the access route up to the Lasithi Plateau from the northwest along with Krasi Kastello, also of a similar size. The only other possible PG sites in this region were to the north of Mesa Lasithi/Armi (**A61**, which may represent a shrine rather than a settlement) and an EIA site near Pinakiano (**A62**). Watrous did not identify any EIA sites in his survey of the plain itself, and the only other probable activity in this region was represented by a small number of contemporary votives in the Psychro Cave.¹²³

¹¹⁹ Nowicki 1987; Nowicki 2000, 157-64; Wallace 2005; Wallace and Mylona 2012.

¹²⁰ Eaby 2007, 26-8.

¹²¹ Pendlebury et al. (1937-8b, 134) identified a small amount of PG pottery but most of it was reclassified as LM IIIC by Seiradaki (1960). Day (2011a) identified almost no PG pottery in her re-examination of the ceramic material from Pendlebury's excavations at Karphi. Cf. Nowicki 2000, 164.

¹²² Pendlebury et al. 1937-8b, 141; Wallace 2010-11, 23-4; Watrous 1974, 24-37; Watrous 1982, 20-1.

¹²³ Boardman 1961.

The establishment of Papoura as the central site of the region involved the abandonment of the older cemeteries that had served Karphi, including the Ta Mnemata tombs that were the closest to Papoura.¹²⁴ New cemetery areas were established for the enlarged nucleus, of which one or two later tholos tombs have been excavated (C33). The apparent abandonment of Mesa Lasithi in PG may also be related to this nucleation. The newly concentrated settlement system was anchored physically and politically on Papoura, which was situated to control the access routes between the upland Lasithi Plateau, and the northern Pediada and coastal plain.

The longevity of the subsidiary settlements located along this access route suggests a cooperative group of communities that remained stable until the Archaic period. Over the course of the seventh and sixth centuries, however, most of the EIA sites in the region were abandoned, including Papoura.¹²⁵ During the Archaic period, a series of smaller settlement sites emerged closer to the plateau at Donadhes, Kolonna, Kardamoutsa, Plati, Augosti, and Agia Anna, among other sites (**Figure 31**).¹²⁶ This new pattern demonstrates a movement away from the nucleated structure imposed by Papoura, with an increasing dispersal of population and concomitant social influence. The disuse of the Psychro Cave by the sixth century also points to the cessation of older regional ritual ties by the local communities. This pattern of abandonment and dispersal is a strong indicator that the application of a nucleated

¹²⁴ Pendlebury et al. 1937-8b, 100-12, 141; Eaby 2007, 28. In LG-Ar, offerings were left at a number of the LM IIIC tombs at Karphi and at the Vitzelovrysis Spring; Pendlebury et al. 1937-8b, 100. The Vitzelovrysis Spring probably continued to be used by the PG sites, based on the presence of contemporary pottery: Day 2011a, 221.

¹²⁵ Pendlebury 1936-7, 199; Watrous 1980, 270-1; Wallace 2010-11, 24.

¹²⁶ Watrous 1974, 329; Watrous 1980.

or coalescent strategy by PG communities and the probable emergence of new supra-familial social identities in the tenth and ninth centuries tied to the formation of new ritual areas and institutions did not guarantee the emergence of a stable polity in the Archaic period. The pattern of dispersal to smaller settlements identified in the archaeological record of the Archaic period in Lasithi also indicates that the abandonment of Papoura cannot solely be attributed to the rise of other polities.

In East Crete, PG populations in different (and sometimes contiguous) regions developed different strategies of reshaping regional settlement structures at the end of LM IIIC. Responses seem to have been largely tied to local landscape patterns, subsistence strategies, and extra-regional communication, while also being dependent on the expressions of identity by the groups of varying levels of inclusiveness that made up specific communities. In addition, neither of these models correlates to a specific type of topographical or political development in the seventh century, presaging or directly related to polis development: neither model shows a clear pattern of orthogenetic “success” in this regard. Some of the largest sites that seemed most ideally suited for urbanization based on economic position and topographical features, such as Papoura, never became a major historical site, while others that show little signs of being a major site in PG, such as Praisos (A9), became major polities by the Classical period. All the PG nuclei in East Crete underwent abandonments or major regional shifts in the Archaic period, with the possible exception of Prophitis Elias.

Central Crete

The PG settlement patterns in Central Crete were shaped by different topographies and relationships with past landscapes than in East Crete: in general, there was a continuous occupation from the Bronze Age into the EIA at many sites that is not seen in East Crete. This trend is clearly evident at some excavated sites, like Knossos, but also across large geographical areas, as is demonstrated by the large number of sites identified as part of the Pediada Survey. In terms of modeling regional development, this means that significant components of the EIA landscape were more entrenched in the Bronze Age past, providing a wider array of referential possibilities for establishing regional ties in PG. The question is the extent to which the adherent and nucleated models proposed for East Crete apply to Central Cretan regions as well.

Previous scholarship on Central Crete has projected an image of large nuclei forming in the EIA that transitioned into early urban polis sites. Much of Wallace's fieldwork surveying large PG-Ar settlements, for example, has focused on this interpretation.¹²⁷ This image is also produced by scholarship on textbook sites like Prinias and Gortyn, where the focus of interpretation has rested on polis development.

Adherent regions

In the case of East Crete, this pattern was defined by an adherence to the previous LM IIC settlement formation as a regional structuring factor in the growth of large PG centers. There is evidence that a similar pattern holds true for large parts of Central Crete as well. The primary question that needs to be considered here is whether the difference between adherent

¹²⁷ Wallace 2010-11; 2013.

and nucleated regions in Central Crete is one of divergent social strategies for regional definition or one of the effective analytical scale at which archaeologists have defined sites and culture-regions. The Central Cretan settlement pattern has been characterized as a series of highly nucleated population centers, but its connection with the broader landscape is under-explored. The settlement evidence produced by the Pediada Survey in particular provides preliminary data supporting a broad pattern of linked regions characterized by increasingly nucleated populations.¹²⁸

One potential region that may conform to the adherent model in PG, based on the available settlement and mortuary data, is in the Agies Paraskies/Philissia area of the Pediada. The site at Agies Paraskies Kato Alonaki (**A83**) was occupied for some part of PG but does not appear to have been a settlement during either LM IIIC or G. The settlement across the valley near Philissia (**A82**) was occupied continually between LM III and Ar. At the same time, the known tombs from this area were on the Agies Paraskies side of the river valley rather than the Philissies side: the PG tomb at Agies Paraskies Kellia (**C57**) and the longer-lived PG-O tholos at Agies Paraskies Agia Marina (**C56**) may represent a move to occupy older settlement areas as a method of marking a cultural region attached to Philissia Bakiri Sterna, on analogy with the Kavousi region. The nature of the available data on these settlement sites precludes any more detailed analysis, however.

In chronological terms, a number of excavated sites in Central Crete that were not part of LM IIIC clusters should also fit into the adherent category as well. For example, Prinias (**A106**) was founded in LM IIIC and was occupied through the Archaic period. Its associated cemetery at Siderospilia (**C61**) was in use for the entirety of that time,

¹²⁸ Panagiotakis 2003; Sarris et al. 2011; Watrous et al. 2017; Wallace 2010-11; 2013.

demonstrating a continuity of place in the local landscape. At the beginning of PG, there was a sharp change in ritual practices in both the settlement and the cemetery, however: new burial types were introduced at Siderospilia, and feasting and votive deposition areas at Prinias shifted or went out of use. These phenomena demonstrate a shift in the focus of ritual activities, possibly related to a realignment of social ties within the expanding community. In particular, burial practice changed to the use of small tholos tombs that could accommodate multiple burials rather than the individual cremations that characterized the LM IIIC period.¹²⁹ In this case, there may have not been a nucleation of the population from within a broader region to Prinias, but the same crystallization of a regional cultural structure combined with a shift towards a more clearly ordered social organization focused around corporate groups appears here in PG, perhaps on analogy with the contemporary developments seen at Anavlochos.

Phaistos (**A109**) may also provide another example of an adherent settlement pattern during the EIA. The Geometric Quarter located to the southwest of the Bronze Age palace was probably established in LM IIIC, but its first major phase of formalization and expansion was in PG with the construction of a road that was quickly covered over by houses (**Figure 32**).¹³⁰ This settlement area represents a concentration of both population and settlement activities at Phaistos and throughout the region: the LM IIIC activity on the Acropoli Mediana, marked by a possible fortification wall and extensive LM IIIC ceramic deposits,

¹²⁹ Eaby 2007, 104-8. Given the extreme rarity of cremation in LM IIIC on Crete, there may be other factors in play in changes in practice in the Siderospilia cemetery in addition to shifts in local social structures.

¹³⁰ La Rosa 2013.

appears to have gone out of use by PG.¹³¹ In the broader western Mesara, there was a general abandonment of LM IIIC sites (**Figure 33**). The authors of the Western Mesara survey interpreted this as a broad depopulation of the region, but it can also be interpreted as a strong nucleation towards the central settlement at Phaistos.¹³²

A strong awareness of the Bronze Age past of the region was preserved and marked, not only in the adherence to the Minoan palatial site as a settlement area, but also in the continuing use of such cemetery areas as Kalyviana Phaistou (**C68**). This pattern was not as tied to the specifically LM IIIC past as in areas of East Crete: many LM IIIC cemeteries, such as at Liliana, were abandoned before PG and several new burial areas established.¹³³ The LM IIIC-EPG cult activities at Agia Triada (**B13**) likewise appear to have ceased until PGB, most likely connected with the establishment of the sanctuary at Kommos (**B14**).¹³⁴ This move indicates that the PG community centered at Phaistos reoriented its ritual focuses in the landscape away from many of the loci of LM IIIC activities. The PG community at Phaistos emphasized the earlier Minoan past in the region: the sanctuary at Kommos was built over the earlier Minoan town abandoned in LM IIIB, and Kalyviana Phaistou was previously a LM IIIA cemetery. The movement of the major regional sanctuary from Agia Triada to Kommos was probably owing to a contemporary economic interest in the harbor there as well as to prior cultural claims on the site.¹³⁵ The example of Phaistos demonstrates

¹³¹ Cf. La Rosa 2005; 2013; Borgna 1997; 2003a.

¹³² Watrous et al. 2004, 307-9.

¹³³ Cf. Eaby 2007, 140.

¹³⁴ D'Agata 1998; 1999c; Prent 2005, 523-7; Lefèvre-Novaro 2013, 319; Watrous and Hadzi-Vallianou 2004, 344-6.

¹³⁵ Wallace 2010, 249, 318-19; Lefèvre-Novaro 2014, 55.

that the adherent and nucleation models of regional development and cohesion are not absolutes and should act primarily as lenses through which intrinsically localized factors can be interpreted.

EIA Knossos should also belong in the category of an adherent regional pattern, but it poses additional problems of defining site scales and a fluidity or mobility of settlement loci during the EIA, particularly as they have been interpreted through the lens of historical narratives. Its adherence to a dispersed pattern is introduced briefly here but will be discussed in much more detail in the next chapter. Knossos has typically been discussed in scholarship as a large unified urban nucleus throughout the EIA from SM onwards, with the implication that it was likewise a unified and cohesive social community.¹³⁶ Coldstream and others have described it in this way based on the idea that the settlement was a new foundation in the SM period, associated with the arrival of the Dorians.¹³⁷ Ongoing excavations have demonstrated a greater degree of continuity between LM IIIC and SM than this model of immigration would imply, however.¹³⁸ The ongoing use and expansion of cemetery areas established in the twelfth and eleventh centuries (e.g. the Knossos North Cemetery) through the entirety of the EIA also demonstrates a firm adherence to pre-PG spaces in the wider landscape.

Members of the community also periodically made use of older Minoan spaces and material in PG, as in the case of a probable ritual deposit in the Central Court of the palace and in the

¹³⁶ E.g. Coldstream 2006; 2013.

¹³⁷ Coldstream 1984; 1991. Andreadaki-Vlazaki (1991b, 422) suggests the same historical pattern at Chania.

¹³⁸ E.g. Warren 1982-3, 69-83; cf. Hallager (2010, 150-3) on the stylistic and terminological problems of distinguishing LM IIIC and SM contexts in the settlement and cemeteries at Knossos. Whitelaw (2016, 8) demonstrate growth between LM IIIC and PG in the Knossos Urban Landscape Project survey data, with no indication of settlement collapse between these periods.

reuse of larnakes in the North Cemetery. Knossos should therefore be expected to fit the adherent model, where strong connections to ritual and ancestral spaces structured ongoing social cohesion and organization. This model helps to begin to visualize the ongoing resilience of the community as it continued to adapt to very different political realities than in the Bronze Age and to a broader range of external influences than at many other contemporary Cretan communities. At the same time, however, there was a physical and practical movement away from LM IIIC-SM ritual spaces within the Knossos settlement in PG, including the abandonment of the Spring Chamber as a cult site and a probable shift away from the sort of Postpalatial private/domestic cult activity that it represented towards the sort of formalized communal ritual activities represented by LM IIIC bench sanctuaries at sites like Vronda and the early stages of the development of the hearth temple in PG at Kommos.¹³⁹

Nucleated regions

Other regions and sites also appear to have conformed to the nucleated pattern of regional development in Central Crete in PG, based on patterns of settlement abandonment at the end of LM IIIC and the high incidence of cemeteries that were established in PG. This latter factor is problematic, however, as many of the known PG tombs included in the catalogue in Chapter 2 were single tombs and may have originally belonged to burial groups or cemeteries established in LM IIIC. In addition, in many cases excavated cemeteries cannot be closely associated with identified habitation sites.

¹³⁹ Prent 2004, 414-16. Cf. Gaignerot-Driessen 2014.

Some of the areas covered in the Pediada Survey perhaps fall into this regional model. In the Sambas-Zophoroi area, there were at least five sites occupied during LM IIIC (A74-78) that formed a topographically interconnected group of communities, if not necessarily a cluster of the Kavousi type.¹⁴⁰ All of these sites were abandoned during PG except for Sambas Trochaloi (A76), which formed the primary settlement of the region through the Hellenistic period. Unfortunately, no EIA tombs have been identified in this area, and therefore the extent to which the newly constituted PG nucleus positioned itself in relationship to the older LM IIIC sites is unknown. The attribution of these sites to the nucleated model is therefore provisional and based in part on an idea pioneered by Wallace that large nucleated sites that became historical cities were those that emerged strongly in PG as the large central site within a region, as well as the general trend in Eastern Crete that nucleated regions were associated with larger catchment areas. This assumption, already demonstrated to be problematic by the case of Papoura, exposes the definitional problems in the overlapping ideas of a nucleated and essentially static *site* that underpins much current site-centered scholarship and that of a nucleated but dynamic *region* that I try to visualize here on the basis of varying levels of reliance in PG on LM IIIC settlement structures. Sambas Trochaloi is by this measure a nucleated site but its position as the center of a nucleated regional pattern, as opposed to an adherent one, needs more fieldwork to determine with certainty.

Aphrati (A99) presents a clearer chronological picture of the nucleated model: the cemetery excavated by Levi (C59) was established late in PG, roughly contemporary with the earliest (PGB) activity at the later shrine/*andreion* building at Ai-Lia and probably with

¹⁴⁰ Cf. Haggis 1993.

the establishment of the excavated settlement area.¹⁴¹ The cemetery in particular was possibly the successor to the earlier Panagia cemetery (**C58**). Aphrati therefore appears to have been established in the ninth century at a new center, presenting an extreme example of the nucleated model.

Gortyn (**A108**), on the other hand, complicates the two proposed regional models, in that the settlement system expanded from one settlement in LM IIIC (on the Agios Ioannis acropolis) to two in PG with the establishment of the settlement on the Prophitis Elias and Armi hills, creating a clustered pattern reminiscent of LM IIIC phases in other regions (**Figure 13**). The multiple settlements at Gortyn have traditionally been interpreted as evidence for the arrival of different ethnic groups to the region in PG.¹⁴² Johannowsky suggested instead that the two settlements represented two strata of a diverse population that separated in PG.¹⁴³ A movement of a cross-section of the original community in an act of short-distance and horizontal colonization from the settlement on Agios Ioannis is more plausible than the separation of different classes, however. Unfortunately, the only EIA tomb known from the area was the large single-phase PG tholos (**C63**) that was probably associated with the Agios Ioannis settlement based on proximity. The separation of populations and their eventual reconstructed synoicism as a single community in the plain below the two acropoleis in the seventh century suggest the presence of persistent but loose ties that were mediated through both the maintenance of the original settlement on the Agios Ioannis acropolis and probably by the later development of the Sanctuary of Athena over

¹⁴¹ Levi 1927-9a; Lembesi 1970a, 1970b.

¹⁴² Perlman 2000, 63-71.

¹⁴³ Johannowsky *EAA* III: 990, s.v. Gortina; Allegro 1991, 329.

parts of the older houses. Newer excavations and restudy of the material from older excavations have complicated this established vision of synoicism into a single polis, however, through the identification of sixth and fifth century material on the Prophitis Elias hill and the recognition that the sanctuary on the Agios Ioannis acropolis was already established as a dedicated cult site in PG.¹⁴⁴ In the case of Gortyn, therefore, there was no clear nucleation in PG but instead something that almost resembles a LM IIIC clustered pattern of occupation that persisted until at least the seventh century and remained more diffuse than previously thought even through the Archaic period. This runs counter to the entrenched idea of Gortyn as a single historical unit in scholarship that has so far precluded a detailed analysis of the EIA region as a settlement *system*.

The question to be asked of the Central Cretan survey and excavation data is whether the models of adherence or nucleation proposed for East Crete also hold explanatory value for the Central Cretan sites, considering their different chronologies and relationships with the Bronze Age past, and the difficulties in disentangling sites from regions. Most of the sites in this area of Crete were not major Bronze Age centers like Knossos or Phaistos, although many of them had Minoan occupation phases. The abandonment of many of these sites in favor of nearby centers within what were probably often clustered groups of settlements in LM IIIC follows the same patterns as those observed in East Crete and was most likely fueled by the same social mechanisms. The clear distinctions between examples of the adherent and nucleated models seen in East Crete break down to a greater extent, however, most likely because the greater array of locally relevant potential references to the past that

¹⁴⁴ Santaniello 2015

could be exploited as part of developments on regional and site levels resulted in a wider array of variations in localized patterns of social identity construction within regional communities.

West Crete

Western Crete is much less well-documented than the rest of the island in all periods. In the first half of the twentieth century CE, Pendlebury concluded that this portion of the island was essentially unoccupied during the EIA.¹⁴⁵ More recent fieldwork has started to fill in this blank, but there are still many more lacunae in the evidence than in East or Central Crete, especially on the regional level.

The low density of settlement in this part of the island was largely driven by geography in all periods. One of the main reasons for supposing a minimal occupation of the area is the presence of the White Mountains, which prevent sedentary habitation in a large portion of West Crete. The high-altitude location of the Idaean Cave demonstrates the ritual integration of the mountainous landscape into the political and religious life at lower altitudes, however, and there were numerous sites located in the foothills overlooking the coastal plains on both the northern and southern sides of the island.

The two major regional surveys that took place in the Chania nomos, as well as Nowicki's work, indicate that far western Crete was sparsely occupied even if it was not completely abandoned in EIA. The Sphakia Survey on the south coast identified a handful of sites located on hilltops overlooking the coast that were occupied in EIA. None of these

¹⁴⁵ Pendlebury 1939, 303-5; Gondicas 1988, 311.

appeared to have been particularly extensive sites, and the period in general was a low point in the region's occupation, however.¹⁴⁶

The lack of any specifically PG sites identified as part of the Khania Archaeological Survey on the Akrotiri peninsula on the north coast, and the small size and intermittent occupation of most of the other sites along the northern part of far West Crete indicate a partial abandonment of this part of the island, at least in terms of archaeological visibility, during the tenth and ninth centuries BCE.¹⁴⁷ The primary exception to this is Rokka (**A130**), which was a medium-sized site through the EIA and appears to have been continually occupied throughout post-Bronze Age Antiquity.¹⁴⁸

Based on the available survey evidence, habitation in Western Crete during PG and the broader EIA possibly followed the same basic pattern as in East Crete: small sites controlling small hinterlands, mostly in upland areas, but overlooking and probably controlling movement along coastal routes and the passes through the higher mountains like the Amari Valley. The presence of imported pottery from Central Crete at sites like Thronos Kephala demonstrates the close connections with other parts of the island.¹⁴⁹

The known excavated settlement sites from the region do not contradict this picture, but they also do not provide much additional detailed information about PG nucleation on a regional level: Thronos Kephala (**A119**) is the only site from this part of the island where PG

¹⁴⁶ Nixon et al. 2000; Moody et al. 2003, 68-76; Nowicki 2000, 209-10.

¹⁴⁷ Moody (1987, 315) notes the very limited number of sites with G material from the Akrotiri peninsula.

¹⁴⁸ Nowicki 2000, 216-17.

¹⁴⁹ Boileau et al. 2010.

forms a dominant occupation phase in the excavation record. The ongoing use of the summit of the site as a locus for ritualized dining activities between the twelfth and ninth centuries points to an adherence to LM IIIC practices by the community. In the broader region, Thronos was probably linked with the contemporary settlement at Pantanassa Veni (**A120**) for the entirety of the EIA, but the relationship between these settlements has not been fully defined.¹⁵⁰ Patsos Cave was a regional shrine probably used by both of these settlements, and its continued use from the Late Bronze Age through the historical period points to an awareness of and adherence to older ritual locations in the regional landscape. The same adherent pattern was probably true for Axos (**A116**) as well, where cemetery use was continuous throughout the EIA.¹⁵¹

In the Eleutherna region, the establishment of the Orthi Petra cemetery (**C75**) in the first half of the ninth century coincides with the earliest evidence of EIA habitation on Pyrgi Hill (**A118**).¹⁵² This pattern suggests that this site fits the nucleation model instead, along the same lines as at Aphrati Prophitis Elias. It also opens up the possibility that many areas in West Crete conformed to the nucleated model, but that the nucleation process lagged chronologically behind Central and East Crete.

Western Crete therefore followed the same trends seen in the rest of Crete of tendencies towards either a network of local social ties reaffirmed and negotiated through the uses of long-lived ritual spaces, or a newly established center with a socio-political

¹⁵⁰ The immediate area around Thronos Kephala was explored in the early phases of the excavations at the site but the evidence for the Geometric occupation of the area was too fragmentary to reconstruct with any certainty: Belgiorno 1994. Cf. Nowicki 2000, 197-200.

¹⁵¹ Tegou 2014.

¹⁵² Stampolides 2004.

framework organized spatially and conceptually around new ritual areas as a means of creating greater social cohesion within the new community. Much more fieldwork is required to clarify these patterns, however.

Conclusions

The settlement pattern in PG across Crete was one of linked regions whose territories were largely defined and connected by topographical boundaries and corridors of communication, but also by past cultural landscapes and social structures. In most areas, the tenth and ninth centuries represented a period of site-size growth that correlated with the abandonment of earlier LM IIIC sites and a concomitant increase in population at increasingly centralized settlements.

The PG pattern was directly related to the LM IIIC settlement system in all areas of Crete, but it also represented a major shift in the landscape in all parts of the island, even at the rare sites that remained occupied since the Bronze Age. The two primary models of PG regional formation presented here suggest different scales and rates for the development of social cohesion within newly defined settlement regions. The “adherent” model was characterized by a continuity and often mobility of settlement, ritual, and burial within a region between LM IIIC and LG. In social terms, these communities were likely made up of an interconnected network of several heterarchical groups that continued to be organized by kinship and that maintained their presences in the surrounding landscape in the form of cemeteries at ancestral sites. This model should not imply a lack of communal cohesion in the central settlement in PG or later, but it does suggest an internal structure organized around relatively small social units with traditional and local ties to the landscape that may

have resisted the swift development of larger social units that subsumed these real or fictive genetic identities anchored in the LM IIIC past.

The nucleated model, in contrast, implies the establishment of more unified social structures through a deliberate shift away from older cemetery locations and settlement sites in the surrounding landscape. These communities were most likely still internally organized along kinship lines, but these identities were subsumed to a greater degree than in adherent regions through a reorientation away from past ties to specific locations in the landscape: the dominant tendency was a centripetal one towards the central settlement rather than outwards from it towards regional boundaries as defined by older sites, at least before LG. The presence of residual ritual activity at PG sites or a reestablishment of ritual activities at LM IIIC sites later in the EIA within the regional territory has been reconstructed here in the case of the Ierapetra Isthmus and Prophitis Elias as means of marking the territorial boundaries of the nucleated community and was closely linked to the identity of the entire community rather than to a segment of it.

These models work well as preliminary ways of interpreting the formation of the PG-LG landscape across Crete, but they leave some questions unanswered. From the point of view of the dominant historical narratives, for example, they fail as predictive models for site survival through the Archaic period, and therefore as predictors of polis development per se. All of the sites discussed here underwent a phase of major structural, topographical, and presumably social shifts that disrupted EIA occupation patterns. These models therefore do not account for other conditions probably inherent in the development of historically known Cretan poleis, one of which may have been the rise of inter-regional conflict in the sixth century BCE. This should not be seen as a weakness in the models, however, but a further

indication that there is not a direct correlation between EIA settlement structure and polis development on Crete.

Scale is another problem in interpreting regional patterns and in applying these models. I suggested briefly that one characteristic of nucleated regions was that they were typically larger than adherent ones. This is a chicken and egg problem to a certain extent, however, as the boundaries proposed for regions like the Ierapetra Isthmus are based mostly on negative evidence. More fieldwork is required within these regions to further explore how they were physically and politically defined at various points in the EIA. The larger problem, however, is the ongoing fluidity under discussion here and elsewhere in scholarship about the definition of settlements and settlement systems in comparison with the idea of regional social communities: the site-specific focus of much of the archaeological work on EIA Crete and the emphasis on the large PG nuclei in particular has prioritized the equation of the central settlement with the regional community. This chapter has begun to challenge some of those assumptions. In the following chapter, this question of the scale of settlements and regional communities is further explored through the case studies of Kavousi Kastro and Knossos, which represent settlement and regional extremes within the adherent regional model.

CHAPTER 4

Chapter 3 proposed two models for understanding and tracking the underlying social dimension of the transition between LM IIIC and PG settlements. The adherent and nucleated patterns were distinguished in part by the topographical characteristics of the resulting central settlements within regions, but more by the orientation of the PG-G communities towards or away from LM IIIC elements in the surrounding territory as touchstones for social identity. The cultural hinterlands of PG settlements could thus be roughly reconstructed by charting through space and time processes of interaction with LM IIIC settlements, cemeteries, and cult sites. At the same time, the internal socio-political cohesion and organization of central settlements can be posited based on the changes in the hinterland in PG. The problem is that this regional modeling sheds light on the conceptual organization of PG settlements, but not on how social structures and identity formation would have manifested in the spatial organization within individual sites.

The challenge is therefore to determine the relationship between the internal structure of the new PG nucleations and the potentially rapid expansion of habitation areas with the influx of the populations of nearby LM IIIC sites in both adherent and nucleated regions. The larger question at stake here is the extent to which an exploration of the evolving internal organization of PG settlements can shed further light on the production of the micro-regional social structures discussed in Chapter 3.

The two case studies that are discussed at length in this chapter, Kavousi Kastro and Knossos, are both attributed to the adherent model of regional development based on the role that LM IIIC (and older) locations in the surrounding landscape had in structuring contemporary social development within the regional communities. These two sites were chosen for discussion here both because of their excavation histories and because they represent two extremes in the spectrum of PG sites on Crete in terms of site history, site scale, levels of internal mobility, and the relationships between settlement and region. Through these elements, they display highly divergent patterns in expressions of expanding social and perhaps political identities within the settlement zone.

Kavousi Kastro

Kavousi Kastro (**Figure 3**) is the only settlement site in East Crete in which coherent and stratified PG levels have been excavated, and therefore for the time being serves as a template for settlements in this part of the island in terms of settlement structure, building design, and chronology.¹⁵³

As presented in Chapter 1 and described in more detail below, the PG phase (ceramic Phase V) at Kavousi Kastro only appears to have lasted through the tenth century BCE in absolute terms. After this, the pottery assemblage changed to the related but distinct Subprotogeometric style (SPG: Phase VI), in which the diagnostic PG conical-footed skyphos appeared along with new flat-based drinking vessels, and a wider range of vessel types and decorative motifs came into use.¹⁵⁴ The contemporary architecture of the houses of

¹⁵³ Coulson et al. 1997; Mook 2004; Wallace 2010, 276.

¹⁵⁴ Mook 2004, 169-73.

both the West Slope and the Northwest Building was expanded and regularized over the course of the tenth century, but adhered to the location and general structure of the original LM IIIC houses. The settlement underwent little to no significant structural changes in SPG or indeed before LG, when a number of large new houses and other buildings were constructed. The PG phase was therefore both a major transformative moment in the life of the settlement, and presumably in the accompanying social structure of the families living in these houses. The basic organizing principles of the settlement did not change between the eleventh and the ninth centuries, however. Stratified floor deposits sealed by successive floor levels within houses demonstrate a continuous cycle of use and renewal within static PG house plans that lasted until the major architectural changes to the settlement that occurred in LG.¹⁵⁵ Allowing for outward expansion over multiple generations, the population and structure of Kavousi Kastro remained stable through the tenth and ninth centuries. In discussing the diachronic changes on the Kastro, there is therefore a minor tension between reading the stratigraphic changes in a periodic fashion (Phase IV, Phase V, etc.) and reading them as alternating phases of growth and deliberate stasis. In this regard, the ceramics and the architecture are not fundamentally at odds, but the ways in which they are often read or applied are.

The evidence for occupation during PG at the site is best preserved on the western slope of the upper settlement, where three terraces bear buildings occupied throughout the EIA. Of these, Buildings K and (probably) L contained stratigraphic sequences stretching between LM IIIC and LG/EO, covering all nine of the ceramic phases seen at the site. Building G was occupied between LM IIIC and G (Phases I-VII) but was put out of use by

¹⁵⁵ Coulson et al. 1997; Mook 2004; cf. Mook (2011) for a discussion of the LG form of the site.

the terracing operations undertaken on the summit of the hill in LG (Phase VIII). There are no other clear PG levels published in the upper settlement apart from these buildings. It is likely that the LG restructuring of the summit and the large amount of new construction disrupted and destroyed PG levels, and that Boyd's excavations in this part of the site obliterated most remaining traces of earlier occupation in this area.¹⁵⁶ The initial cleaning work of the Kavousi Project discovered limited amounts of PG material among the much more abundant LG material in the residual pottery left behind by Boyd.¹⁵⁷ Based on the relative amounts of pottery and the subsequent excavations on the summit and eastern slope of the peak by the Kavousi Project, this PG neighborhoods was likely confined to the western slope and consisted of approximately three houses.

Building G (**Figure 34**) is the best-preserved house on this part of the site, both because of its position higher on the slope and because of its burial under terrace fill in LG, thus preserving the earlier levels from erosion better than in the buildings further down-slope. Because of this preservation and the structure of the building itself, it presents the best example from the upper settlement for the development of houses at the Kastro in PG.¹⁵⁸

At the end of LM IIIC (Phase III), Building G consisted of a long narrow space with at least two rooms, built up against the bedrock on the east and supported by a long retaining wall (Wall G) on the west (**Figure 35**). A hearth was located in Room 25, stratigraphically

¹⁵⁶ Boyd (1901, 137-43) reports the presence of false-necked amphorae (i.e. stirrup jars) in her excavations, especially from Space *h* in Room 6 where the top of a stirrup-jar was recovered in an assemblage 0.50 m below the floor level in an area tentatively identified as a kitchen.

¹⁵⁷ Gesell et al. 1985.

¹⁵⁸ Architectural and stratigraphic descriptions and dating of the buildings on the West Slope are based on Coulson et al. (1997, 333-53); cf. Gesell et al. 1995, 101-7.

associated with Phase I. LM IIIC activity levels (Phase I-III) were only located in Room 25 and Room 24, preserved both by the abandonment of spaces and a lower level of bedrock that helped to preserve stratified deposits during the probable leveling of surfaces during the restructuring of the building in Phase IV. No LM IIIC stratigraphy was preserved in the area of later Rooms 22 and 23, although this space was most likely associated with the building based on the dates of the terrace walls extending the length of the terrace. These basic outlines of the LM IIIC house were preserved in all of the later phases of the building.

In Phase IV, the transitional period dating to late LM IIIC-EPG, the plan of Building G was regularized into a more rectangular shape and possibly lengthened on its northern end by the construction of spur walls extending from walls G and H.¹⁵⁹ At the same time, cross-walls B and C blocked off Room 25 and probably Room 26 (which was later fully blocked off by wall D in PG). Room 25 was filled with refuse and debris, probably in part from the renovation of the building. By the end of EPG, Building G consisted of a long narrow rectangular space, possibly a single room, with a stratified floor level preserved in Rooms 23 and 24. Room 22 did not contain any stratified Phase IV level, probably for the same reasons that it did not preserve any from Phases I-III.

In PG proper, Phase V, Building G was modified into its final plan, with the construction of Walls D and E. These walls formalized the building into a three-room structure consisting of Rooms 22, 23, and 24. The construction of these walls coincided with the laying of a new floor surface with a PG floor assemblage. This plan was preserved without further modification throughout the rest of the life of the building, which remained in use until the Geometric period (Phase VII) before it was covered over in LG. While it

¹⁵⁹ Cf. Coulson et al. 1997, 333-4.

underwent modifications, therefore, the plan of the building continued to be structured by its original LM IIIC form and position.

A similar, if less well-preserved, pattern can be seen in Building K further downslope (**Figure 36**). The building as preserved consisted of a single large room for most of its lifespan. Its shape was formalized in LM IIIC-EPG (Phase IV) with the construction of Wall A on its southern end and possibly Wall B on the northern end. This phase is represented by a stratified floor level in Rooms 32 and 33. This space was extended to the west in PG with the leveling of Wall F and the expansion of the terrace retained by Wall G. PG (Phase V) is also represented by a stratified floor level found in Rooms 31, 32, and 33. This plan was maintained in SPG, also represented stratigraphically by a floor level. The plan of the building was only modified and divided again in LG and again in EO with the construction of several small spur walls and the laying of new floors. Building K therefore follows the same basic building history and stratigraphic sequence as Building G: a domestic structure whose plan was formalized during the expansion and reformation of the LM IIIC terrace in the tenth century BCE and remained constant until LG.

There was minimal expansion on the West Slope and the summit in SPG. The evidence from Building L demonstrates that it was occupied by this phase, although it had probably been constructed in LM IIIC and would have followed the same developmental pattern as Buildings G and K. Evidence for the continued use of Rooms 21 and 7, and of various spaces along the northern margin of the upper settlement was also present in SPG but is difficult to interpret.¹⁶⁰ There was therefore some growth over the ninth and earlier eighth

¹⁶⁰ Gesell et al. 1985, 344; Coulson et al. 1997, 344; cf. Mook 2004, 173.

centuries, as would be expected for an expanding population, but no major departure from the original overall plan of the settlement.

The other area of occupation in PG was in the complex of houses making up the Northwest Building (**Figure 37**).¹⁶¹ The terrain in this area required different arrangements of rooms than on the West Slope, but units were still arranged along terraces defined by the bedrock. The construction of the complex began in LM IIIC, consisting of a single unit made up of NW 1 and 2. In PG, this unit was modified, and three more were constructed, establishing a much larger complex of four houses built over three different terraces, the form of which remained consistent until LG (**Figure 38**). These houses were all smaller in size than those on the West Slope.

The unit NW1-2 was maintained as a house into PG, but the originally large NW 2 was divided in PG in order to create rooms NW 3 and NW 4. This action was the only major modification of the original LM IIIC plan, with the remaining changes to the structure being new construction.

The house made up of rooms NW 3-6 consisted of reconstructions of existing LM IIIC space and the new construction of rooms. The construction of rooms NW 3 and NW 4 dates to the LM IIIC/PG transition or to early PG, and required the infilling of the space behind the newly constructed Wall J that divides them from NW 2. This four-room complex probably consisted of a storeroom (NW 3), a kitchen with a hearth (NW 4), a main room (NW 5), and a portico (NW 6).

¹⁶¹ Descriptions of architecture and pottery from the Northwest Building are based on Mook (1993); cf. Mook 1998.

NW 7-9 was an entirely new construction, and the component of the Northwest Building that most resembled the PG houses of the West Slope both in overall plan and in efforts to regularize the plan on an uneven terrace already partially defined on the northern side by existing LM IIIC architecture. This house, composed of three rooms arranged axially along the terrace below NW 1-2, was constructed in PG based on the pottery from the leveling fill used to construct the first floor above the bedrock. The regular rectangular interior of the space was achieved by the construction of multiple walls along the northern exterior of the building in order to fill in the uneven bedrock and earlier terrace walls. In contrast, the southern side of the building was composed of a single long terrace wall (Wall U). Almost all of the stratigraphic units containing PG from the Northwest Building were excavated in this unit (NW 7 Level 1; NW 7 Exterior Level 1; NW 8 Level 1, Level 2; NW 9 Level 1), all of which consist of leveling fill for the floor and clay packing of the floor. In this unit, and in all of the others in the Northwest Building, there were no stratified floor levels associated exclusively with PG habitation, in contrast with the houses of the West Slope. In general, floors in the Northwest Building were used over multiple chronological phases and did not accumulate good stratigraphic ceramic sequences. NW 10 was the final new unit constructed in PG in the Northwest Building, built on the lowest terrace of the area.

The PG plan of the complex of houses was not established as a single event: a sequence of wall construction moving down the three terraces can be reconstructed. In addition, the pottery associated with construction levels in house NW 3-6 (LM IIIC/PG transitional) appears earlier in date than NW 7-9 (PG). The construction of the full form of the Northwest Building therefore probably took place over the course of at least two generations, and possibly represents the expansion of the family unit that originally occupied

NW 1-2 in LM IIIC.¹⁶² An alternative explanation is an influx of population from the LM IIIC communities at Vronda and Azoria.

As on the West Slope, the PG plan of the Northwest Building persisted throughout the rest of the lifespan of the structure. The only change in SPG was the extension of the surface and the construction of an open-air hearth to the west of NW 10. Floor deposits in all units indicated the continued occupation of all spaces through the ninth century, although NW 3 and 4 may have gone out of use by the end of SPG. There was some change to the complex in LG, with the rebuilding of the NW 3 and 4 spaces and the construction of NW 11, but otherwise this area of Kavousi Kastro did not undergo as much change as the Upper Settlement in the late eighth century BCE.

The patterns of construction and occupation on the West Slope and in the Northwest Building were different between the eleventh and ninth centuries BCE, influenced by terrain and possibly also by the makeup of the different families that lived in these separate zones of the site. In general, however, the Kastro shows evidence for an expansion in size and in the regularization of construction in the tenth century, and then a maintenance of building sizes and plans through at least the first half of the eighth century.¹⁶³ Further expansion only occurred in LG, especially on the summit and East Slope of the settlement, marked by the construction of large new houses like Building A and the modification of existing structures. The overall pattern is therefore characterized by an additive and agglomerative approach to

¹⁶² Cf. Glowacki (2004; 2007) for a similar reconstruction of agglomerative building growth in Building I-O-N at Vronda.

¹⁶³ In contrast, Hayden (1983, 384) suggests that the plan at Vrokastro underwent little alteration over the course of the EIA from LM IIIC onwards, given the lack of evidence for phasing in the preserved architecture. Hayden 2003, 2.

expansion and definition that reflects a stability and longevity in the identities of the family groups inhabiting each house.

This pattern is paralleled by the burial evidence from the area. Tombs containing PG material have been excavated at Vronda, Azoria, Skala Aloni, and Plai tou Kastrou. The tholoi from Vronda were in use by at least SM, and continued into the early eighth century, based on fragmentary recovered ceramic material.¹⁶⁴ The Skala Aloni tombs may also have fit into this chronological framework.¹⁶⁵ The mortuary data for the population of the Kastro therefore belongs largely to the period immediately after these abandonments when cemeteries were established at the old village sites as a way of maintaining (familial) ties with these locations. The stability of the architectural form of the settlement at Kavousi Kastro in SPG coincides with one of the main phases of use of the tholos tombs at Vronda and possibly at Skala Aloni, demonstrating the ongoing presence and expression of a potential diversity of kinship identities within the regional landscape. The overall impression is one of parallel processes of the crystallization of kinship groups as the structural units of the community through the formalization of house architecture in the settlement and the ongoing mortuary activities over the tenth and ninth centuries at older LM IIIC sites.¹⁶⁶ These processes used LM IIIC spaces as loci for cementing group identities within spaces in the newly centralized community. This behavior extended into LG in a similar form with the establishment of the new cemetery consisting of enclosure burials set into the LM IIIC

¹⁶⁴ Gesell et al. 1983, 405; Eaby 2007, 56.

¹⁶⁵ Gesell et al. 1983, 412; Haggis 2005, 134-5; Eaby 2007, 51-2.

¹⁶⁶ Haggis 1993, 150-1; 2005, 83-4; Wallace 2011b. Borgna (2003b) argues instead that the establishment of tholos tomb cemeteries and the consumption of metals in burials in new LM IIIC settlements was part of a strategy used by emerging regional elites to consolidate status.

buildings at Vronda, contemporary with the extensive renovation of the houses on the West Slope and summit of the Kastro.¹⁶⁷ The reconstruction of the graves contained in individual buildings as familial groups is based on shared non-metric osteological traits within burials concentrated in the same LM IIIC building.¹⁶⁸

The layout and chronology of the settlement at Kavousi Kastro is what would be expected of a small central site under the adherent model of regional development: the structure of the houses was a direct development out of the LM IIIC plan of the settlement, with the PG changes focusing on a regularization and adherence to existing layouts. The deliberate adaptation of existing architecture points to more than mere expediency during the movement of population to the Kastro and the subsequent renegotiation and reiteration of local identities. The contemporary picture formed from house forms and burial patterns is one of a growing community but one that continued to structure its component parts along relatively limited familial lines, given that there is no evidence from within the settlement for participatory practices suggesting broader group identities in PG. The large size and longevity of the Plai tou Kastrou and perhaps the Skouriasmenos tomb suggest that at least some kinship groups may have grown significantly over a number of generations, perhaps in part through increasingly distant or even fictive ancestral ties.

The question that needs to be answered, and cannot be answered without further excavation and investigation, is whether the larger PG settlements in East Crete, especially Prophitis Elias and Agios Georgos Papoura were organized in the same way as the Kastro, i.e. as a collective of architecturally-defined and increasingly formalized and extended

¹⁶⁷ Day 1995; Eaby 2007, 56-9; Day 2011b; Coulson et al. 1997; Mook 2011.

¹⁶⁸ Liston 1993, 151-2; 2007, 60.

kinship groups, or if they developed some sort of early supra-familial clan-like organizational structure that looked forward to later historical tribal structures.¹⁶⁹ Excavations at these sites would clarify whether regionally nucleated settlements in PG maintained internally adherent approaches to domestic architecture, and therefore whether the social differences in PG nucleation patterns would have had any effect on the tendency towards agglomerative architecture typical of EIA Crete.¹⁷⁰

Knossos

EIA material was first exposed during Evans' excavations at Knossos at the beginning of the 20th century CE, and fragmentary deposits have continued to be recovered in the area of the EIA town during systematic and rescue excavation projects ever since.¹⁷¹ The excavated material covers the entirety of the EIA, and PG pottery is well-represented in these deposits. The evidence from the town has been supplemented with data from well-excavated EIA cemeteries and the recent Knossos Urban Landscape Project (KULP). Knossos was described in Chapter 3 as an (idiosyncratic) example of an adherent regional pattern in large part because of the continuity of use of its associated cemeteries. As will be discussed in this section, the pattern of occupation in the settlement itself does not adhere closely to its original LM IIIC-SM form, however, in contrast to the pattern seen at Kavousi Kastro. The implications of this picture for understanding the developing social structures of the site are

¹⁶⁹ Cf. Gaignerot-Driessen 2016a, 172-3.

¹⁷⁰ Cf. Renard 1967.

¹⁷¹ Coldstream 2000a.

investigated here through both the archaeological material and recent scholarship discussing Knossos as an emerging urban nucleus in the EIA that foreshadowed polis formation.

The EIA town was located directly to the west of the Minoan palace (**Figures 9, 43**). The settlement shrank to a small core in LM IIIC-SM, as suggested by the locations of excavated settlement deposits, but there was no complete break in occupation at the site between LM IIIB and LM IIIC. By the eleventh century, new cemetery areas were established in an arc to the north and west of the settlement. The settlement area expanded over the course of the EIA but remained fixed in place until the sixth century BCE, when it probably shifted farther to the north.¹⁷² Evidence for EIA occupation has been found as far east as the West Court of the Minoan palace, but there is little indication of activity within the palace itself during the EIA. The exception to this is a small ritual deposit in the area of the southwestern corner of the palace's Central Court whose associated activity may have started as early as the ninth century BCE.¹⁷³

The EIA contexts at Knossos were typically very disturbed by both later occupation at the site and by modern excavation practices prioritizing the Minoan levels. The ceramic contents of many EIA deposits from the settlement have been studied and published by Coldstream, resulting in a good diachronic picture of the settlement's occupation.¹⁷⁴ Coldstream's interest, however, in these deposits was primarily on the pottery – that is, stylistic and chronological rather than contextual. This meant that his analyses of individual

¹⁷² Cf. Hood and Smyth 1981, 18; Coldstream et al. 1999.

¹⁷³ Hartley 1930-1, 92-3. Popham (1978, 186) notes that the PG and G sherds described by Hartley are now missing. Coldstream 2000a, 286; Prent 2003, 90-1; 2004, 416-18; 2005, 261, 514-18.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. Coldstream 1972; Coldstream 1973a; Coldstream 2000a; Coldstream 2001a.

ceramic deposits or ceramic sequences within individual excavation areas seldom took spatial discontinuities or discontinuities into account, resulting in a picture of greater diachronic uniformity across the site than the archaeological record can necessarily support. This section therefore re-examines the archaeological evidence from three of the best-published EIA areas in the settlement area at Knossos in order to ground a discussion of how different scalar approaches to the data have driven current narratives about settlement development at the site in the EIA.

The Unexplored Mansion excavations uncovered extensive evidence for post-Minoan occupation dating from the EIA to the Roman period.¹⁷⁵ Because of the extent of the occupation in the later historical period, the excavated EIA contexts from this area of the settlement were very fragmentary (**Figure 39**). SM material is represented only by material in the fill of Pit 52. PG occupation consists of several components. In the northwest corner of the area there are three stratified levels (Levels 24-26) dating to PG, separated by two floor surfaces. Levels 26 and 25 dated to EPG, while Level 24 consisted of gravel strokes containing mixed MPG/LPG pottery above the second and later floor surface. These stratified contexts were partially destroyed by the sondage for the earlier Little Palace excavation. None of the pottery from these levels was published, however. A patch of floor containing whole LPG vessels was excavated farther to the west. The associated pottery, published as Deposit GA, consisted of two skyphoi and a cup. Deposit GA was stratigraphically and spatially isolated from other EIA contexts: the level above it contained a mixture of Geometric through Roman pottery. LPG-PGB material was found in pit 44

¹⁷⁵ Descriptions of pottery and architecture within UM contexts are based on Sackett et al.(1992) and especially Coldstream (1992).

(Deposit GB), which was also stratigraphically isolated from other PG deposits. The published material included skyphoi, cups, kraters, stirrup jars, amphorae, pyxides, hydriai, and a possible house model. The majority of the unpublished pottery associated with this deposit also appears PG, with a small number of possibly later EIA sherds.¹⁷⁶ The uniformity and consistency of material from Pit 44 therefore suggests that it was in use during the ninth century BCE and went out of use along with whatever (unpreserved) domestic space it was originally associated with. The remaining PG pottery from the Unexplored Mansion excavations came from highly mixed contexts: Deposit GC, dating to PGB-EG I, came from Pit 60, whose contents consisted of very mixed (Minoan through Classical) material redeposited into an older robbing pit. Other sporadic PG sherds and vessels came from mixed deposits throughout the excavation area, published together as part of Deposit GH.

From this fragmentary evidence, we can reconstruct two phases of PG activity in the area of the Unexplored Mansion. The first was a limited occupation in EPG, confined to the stratified floor levels preserved in the northwest corner of the excavation unit. This PG activity should most likely be associated with the first phase of the mysterious but contemporary clay-lined pan installations exposed during the Little Palace North excavations.¹⁷⁷ Their function has been suggested to be for cooking and could therefore support a picture of a food preparation area associated with a domestic context.

¹⁷⁶ With the exception of the Villa Dionysus and the Little Palace North excavations, all of the EIA pottery from deposits studied by Coldstream that is stored in the Stratigraphical Museum at Knossos was selected based on diagnostic criteria and the remainder of the undiagnostic excavated pottery was discarded. In my own preliminary study of the pottery from the Unexplored Mansion and the area of the Southwest Houses, undertaken with the permission of the excavators and the British School at Athens, the unpublished/uncatalogued material demonstrates the same general range of shapes, with some additional coarseware (including cooking vessels).

¹⁷⁷ Hatzaki et al. 2008, 226, 231, 235-9.

The pottery from Level 24 is the only evidence for MPG activity in the UM plot, but this level is not stratigraphically sealed and does not represent a floor deposit. The relatively extensive LPG-PGB material in the northern half of the excavation area indicates that this was the major phase of occupation in this area during PG. The disassociated patches of floor surface and pit fills described above could optimistically be reconstructed as elements of a single disturbed habitation area in use at the end of the ninth century. Given the lack of contemporary architecture, it is unclear if this would have been interior or exterior space.

The PG occupation within the Unexplored Mansion plot did not continue into the succeeding phases of the EIA: there is a small amount of EG pottery from the very mixed Deposit GC, but otherwise this phase is not present in a stratified context in the excavation zone. The next habitation phase of the area occurred in MG, when two patches of floor were excavated in the southern half of the area, one of which was also associated with a contemporary segment of wall (Wall gc) constructed of reused Minoan blocks. MG and generic Geometric material is well represented in the fill of several pits located to the north of the preserved floor surfaces. The MG evidence represents a spatial shift in occupation 10 to 20 meters south of the area of PG occupation. After MG, the evidence for LG is very sporadic, again mostly represented in pit deposits. The latest EIA occupation of the Unexplored Mansion excavation zone was in EO, represented by material from a number of pits (especially Deposit GF from Pit 47) and a probable road surface located in the same place in the northwest corner of the excavation area as the earlier PG stratified floor surfaces.

This sequence of EIA occupation in the Unexplored Mansion plot demonstrates a pattern of diachronically discontinuous and discontiguous habitation. Coldstream reported that a continual chronological sequence of pottery was preserved in the Unexplored Mansion

plot in the EIA.¹⁷⁸ This assertion, although technically correct, obscures the more complicated nature of the archaeological evidence, however: the limited snapshot of the EIA settlement above the Unexplored Mansion suggests a degree of diachronic horizontal mobility within the settlement that is not seen in other contemporary sites like Kavousi Kastro. The clear implication is that, within the settlement at Knossos, the PG phase did not adhere to a LM IIIC structure nor did later G phases adhere to the PG structure.

A similar pattern can be seen in the area of the Southwest Houses, where several deposits dating to PG were excavated, all from presumed domestic contexts (**Figure 40**).¹⁷⁹ All of these (Deposits A-E) dated primarily to EPG, with Deposits A and B also containing SM, and Deposit E containing MPG pottery. Deposits A and B are stratified deposits located outside a contemporary SM-EPG house, the interior of which was unfortunately outside of the excavation area. Additional fragments of contemporary walls were present in the excavation area but were not stratigraphically associated with these deposits. Wall 26 (of EPG date and constructed of reused Minoan blocks) is related to Deposit E, which represents material from an EPG-MPG floor surface. Deposit D (EPG) also comes from PG reuse of a Minoan house and probably is a continuation of the same house as Deposit E, based on proximity. Deposit C represents the contents of a pit located some distance from the other deposits, whose presence was probably related to the robbing of the Minoan blocks used in the EIA walls. The pottery from the published deposits, and the unpublished pottery associated with these deposits, included cups, skyphoi, kraters, amphorae, hydriai, pithoi, and

¹⁷⁸ Coldstream 1992, 67.

¹⁷⁹ Descriptions of all pottery and architecture from the area of the South-West Houses are based on Coldstream and MacDonald (1997).

cooking pots. Given the general disruption of the EIA contexts in this part of the site, it is impossible to say for certain if the EPG occupation of the area represents a single house, or portions of multiple buildings.

The area of the Southwest Houses was occupied continuously from the end of the Bronze Age through the tenth century BCE. The date range within individual deposits points to a possible expansion over the tenth century from north to south. After MPG, this entire area was unoccupied until sometime post-MG, when a number of walls (presumably of houses) were constructed. This new construction expanded in EO, however, when new architecture was constructed adjacent to the earlier post-MG walls, and a kiln and a road surface were added in the southeast corner of the excavation zone. This situation is a clearer and more marked example of the chronological discontinuity observed above the Unexplored Mansion, but perhaps in combination with it can suggest a diachronic movement westward within the confines of the town in the tenth century BCE. This additional evidence for diachronic mobility and fluidity within the broader settlement continues to demonstrate the lack of adherence to past patterns during PG or later in the EIA within the settlement.

The final case study is the PG levels from the test trenches dug into the viridarium of the Roman Villa Dionysos (**Figure 41**). This excavation is important because it is the excavation unit furthest removed from the presumed nucleus of the EIA town and has thus provoked arguments about whether it represents a part of the town or a subsidiary hamlet site until it was subsumed in the late eighth century. It also demonstrates a different chronological and spatial pattern than the two cases discussed above.¹⁸⁰ No LM IIIC-SM remains have been excavated in the area. In the original excavations of the Villa Dionysos,

¹⁸⁰ Coldstream 2000a, 299; Coldstream and Hatzaki 2003, 299.

only “Geometric/Orientalizing” remains were found, consisting of roughly parallel walls running east-west under the Villa’s peristyle, with a “floor of rough stone” between them, presumably representing the interior of a large building.¹⁸¹ The accumulated deposits above and below this floor surface also dated roughly to Geometric/Orientalizing, probably representing the later eighth and seventh centuries.

The single test trench later excavated in the viridarium revealed two levels of PG occupation beneath the later Geometric phase.¹⁸² These levels consisted of two stratified floors, both of which appeared domestic in character based on their ceramic contents. The first contained predominantly EPG material on its surface and was not associated with any architecture. The second floor level was associated with two segments of walls representing a rebuilding of the house with which these floor surfaces were associated. The material above the second floor surface dated to PG and stretches through PGB with some EG present. MG and later pottery was present in the overlying fill and provides a *terminus post quem* date for the partial robbing out of the PG walls.

Based on the combined evidence from the two phases of excavation at the Villa Dionysos, there appears to have been a more or less continuous sequence of pottery and even of stratified occupation between PG and O, unlike in other portions of the EIA town. There is no clear evidence for a temporary abandonment of the area at any point during the EIA. The rough similarity in orientation between the PG and later walls suggests at least an awareness of the earlier phase that is missing in most other excavated areas of the site. This is therefore

¹⁸¹ Paton 1998, 124.

¹⁸² Descriptions of pottery and architecture from the viridarium excavations are based on Coldstream and Hatzaki (2003).

the only area at Knossos with published evidence for more or less continuous habitation adhering to an initial established plan. It is located outside of what is usually interpreted as the town proper, or at least on its outskirts. This divergence from the highly mobile pattern seen elsewhere at Knossos supports the idea that the Villa Dionysos site represented a separate hamlet during most or all of the EIA.

Coldstream has commented on the apparent chronological discontinuities within individual excavation plots at Knossos, especially in the area of the Southwest Houses and the Royal Road excavations, which were roughly contemporary in both their occupation and their abandonment phases.¹⁸³ He envisioned that “empty spaces might often be left between the houses, or groups of houses; the dwellings of one period could become the gardens and *perivolía* of the next, and vice versa.”¹⁸⁴ This picture is in keeping with the archaeological evidence from Knossos, such as it is, but it does not explain the discrepancy between the highly mobile and dispersed pattern of occupation in the settlement zone at Knossos and the more agglomerative settlements plans typical of EIA Crete. While it is not necessary that every EIA settlement looked identical, such a large divergence at Knossos from the typically vertical and contiguous stratigraphic patterns for the period require explanation.

Questions of scale and settlement pattern therefore concern both the absolute size of the settlement at Knossos as it has been reconstructed and its diachronic organization, as both of these factors have played roles in how the site’s development has been visualized. In previous work, defining the spatial and social dimensions of the community at Knossos has

¹⁸³ Royal Road deposits: Coldstream 1972, 68-73.

¹⁸⁴ Coldstream 2000a, 299.

proved difficult, and has been principally reliant on cemetery evidence and historical models of polis development.

The data from the larger cemeteries have provided evidence for the establishment of burial areas by the local community at the beginning of the EIA (traditionally associated with the arrival of a new ethnic group) and their continual use by local familial groups through the seventh century BCE.¹⁸⁵ The North Cemetery (**C40**), which provides the largest cohesive mortuary dataset from the region, was occupied continuously between SM and LO, with most tombs in use for multiple generations.¹⁸⁶ The burying groups using individual tombs and spatially clustered groups of tombs within the cemetery have been interpreted as belonging to kinship groups that defined themselves through the maintenance of these tombs and through their inclusion in the broader communal cemetery.¹⁸⁷ The North Cemetery expanded to the north over time with the construction of new tombs, especially over the course of PG, but the core of the cemetery remained in the area of the original SM tombs (**Figure 42**). Much attention has been paid to other ways in which group identities were expressed in the cemetery: high numbers of decorated ceramics and the presence of metals and imported items in tombs have been associated with expressions of relative status, for example.¹⁸⁸ In addition, Coldstream pointed to the reuse of Minoan larnakes in the North

¹⁸⁵ Cavanagh (1996) has argued that some of the KMF tombs were Minoan chamber tombs that had been cleared out and reused, based on statistical modeling of tomb dimensions. The primary critique of this is the almost complete lack of LM II-III material from the excavations, too sparse to be the result of even careful cleaning of tombs before reuse: Whitelaw et al. 2017, 2.

¹⁸⁶ Coldstream and Catling 1996.

¹⁸⁷ Coldstream and Catling 1996, 717-18.

¹⁸⁸ Coldstream and Catling (1996, 720-1) draw a distinction between the relative wealth between tombs and evidence for social hierarchy within the community; Coldstream 1998; Hood and Boardman 1961.

Cemetery, particularly in the ninth century, as a mechanism by which local elites utilized elements of the Minoan past of the site as a means of legitimizing their claims to status within the contemporary community.¹⁸⁹

Whitley's analysis of the contents of the Knossos tombs points to a different range of identity markers than those associated with elite status: he demonstrated that the consistent pattern throughout the EIA at the site was one of eclecticism in expressions of status or identity as marked by tomb size or contents that resisted any sort of ranking.¹⁹⁰ This pattern is in direct contrast to the situation in Athens, where he argued that social rationing of emblems of rank and identity in burials played a part in the emergence of a hierarchically ranked society during the EIA.¹⁹¹ More recently, Wallace has argued that the increase in size and longevity of burying groups at Knossos starting in PG is evidence that well-defined supra-nuclear family groups acted as the important units within the mortuary sphere rather than ones involving individual status or rank.¹⁹²

Other excavated cemeteries, such as the Fortetsa cemetery (**C42**), demonstrate the same chronological framework and continuity as in the North Cemetery, although the Fortetsa tombs are more scattered and therefore less useful as a coherent cemetery assemblage. The cemetery data demonstrates the abiding spatial presence and ritual formalization of social groups of varying sizes present in the EIA community at Knossos that is at odds with the fluidity seen in the habitation area. Other smaller cemetery areas that have

¹⁸⁹ Coldstream 1998; Coldstream 2000b; Wallace 2003a, 269-70.

¹⁹⁰ Whitley 1991a, 186-7

¹⁹¹ Whitley 1991a, 181-3.

¹⁹² Wallace 2010, 304-11.

been excavated only contained PG tombs (e.g. Agios Ioannis [C44]) and may therefore represent more chronologically limited burial grounds that paralleled the non-adherent patterns seen in PG within the settlement. Some of these, especially the Agios Ioannis tombs, were located far enough away from the main settlement area that they may have belonged to outlying hamlets like the Villa Dionysos rather than to Knossos proper.

The uneven archaeological evidence from the cemeteries and the settlement have been interpreted differently over time, depending on the available published material and dominant historical trends. Before many of the known contexts from the Knossos settlement were excavated, a large number of tombs in the region had already been identified. Based on this evidence, Alexiou argued that the Knossos region was occupied by a population living in a series of dispersed hamlets, each associated with its own cemetery (the “village” model).¹⁹³ Therefore, each known cemetery should have marked the location of an EIA settlement, though no evidence of these had been excavated at that time. Alexiou’s model was in line with an Aristotelian (and Athenocentric) model of *komai* that united through synoicism to form the early polis.¹⁹⁴

Coldstream used more recent excavation data, including that from the excavated areas presented here, to argue that the settlement was a cohesive and nucleated site from the beginning of the EIA (the “polis” model).¹⁹⁵ He drew the putative boundaries of the site, based on the locations of known settlement and mortuary contexts, and concluded that the settlement nucleus covered some 1200 m² (**Figure 43**). He excluded the Villa Dionysos from

¹⁹³ Alexiou 1950b, 296-7.

¹⁹⁴ Cf. Coldstream 1984.

¹⁹⁵ Coldstream 2000, 261.

these bounds, arguing that it was only incorporated into the settlement by LG after an expansion northward of the core settlement in the eighth century. One of the problems with the archaeological record that had prompted Alexiou's model was the wide dispersal of cemeteries throughout the Knossos region. The subsequent excavations of the North Cemetery introduced a picture of a more concentrated cemetery area that could be associated with a single settlement nucleus, supporting Coldstream's model. This model has been the dominant one at Knossos since Coldstream proposed it in the 1980s and underlies the published interpretations of the excavation units discussed above.

Coldstream's model has been expanded and nuanced by recent results of the Knossos Urban Landscape Project (KULP), which was designed to examine the history and trajectory of urban development in the region through a restudy and mapping of old excavation data and an intensive survey of the Knossos region. This project has explicitly taken Coldstream's nucleated model as the basis for its re-interpretation of the Knossos settlement area.¹⁹⁶ For the most part, distinguishing subphases within the EIA in the resulting surface assemblage has proven to be impossible, and this period is generally treated as a single entity within the scope of the project.¹⁹⁷ Enough specifically PG material has been identified in the surface material, however, to estimate a settlement size and extent: the results point to a significantly larger area than that estimated by Coldstream, roughly 35-40 ha (**Figure 44**).¹⁹⁸ Among other implications, this new settlement easily encompasses the Villa Dionysos. This new

¹⁹⁶ Kotsonas et al. 2012, 224.

¹⁹⁷ Kotsonas et al. 2012.

¹⁹⁸ Whitelaw et al. 2016, 7-8.

settlement area is still interpreted as a single cohesive urban nucleus by the KULP team, however, only on a larger scale than previously construed by Coldstream.

The disconnect between the picture of a stable and growing urban center taken from the survey and mortuary data, and that of a mobile, if chronologically continuous, habitation pattern within the settlement zone at Knossos throughout the entire EIA suggests that the community living at the site was organized along different lines than communities like Kavousi Kastro, despite the fact that local identity was still structured through references to past occupation patterns in both places especially through deliberate tomb placement and use. The cemetery data provide a picture of heterarchical and increasingly inclusive kinship groups that promoted their presence within the larger community through the construction of collective tombs and an ongoing adherence to ancestral burial locations. The evidence from the settlement, on the other hand, contradicts this pattern: there is no evidence, with the exception of the stratigraphy from the Villa Dionysos excavations, that kinship groups established local identities and adherent ties within the community through the ongoing use and gradual formalization of houses and their accompanying households. Rather than gradually expanding outwards from a central unit of multi-generational houses established in the twelfth or eleventh centuries, the settlement area at Knossos was perhaps instead organized as a loose association of household clusters spread across most of the area identified by the KULP survey as occupied during PG. Some of these, like that under the Villa Dionysos, were occupied for long periods of time while many others were highly mobile and individually unstable.

The pattern may be analogous with that proposed for LM IIIC-PG Anavlochos, described earlier in Chapter 3: a series of closely connected habitation clusters spread across

a large settlement zone that gradually shifted towards a unified settlement structure were culturally united from the beginning of the EIA through shared ritual areas, such as cemeteries. The difference between Anavlochos and Knossos in this instance is chronological: Anavlochos probably coalesced sometime in PG into a single unit that set the pattern for the later LG settlement phase, while Knossos never settled into this sort of unified settlement structure. The solution can possibly be found in the different foundational circumstances of these settlements, with reference to Wallace's model of "successful" collapse: at sites like Kavousi Kastro or Anavlochos that were newly founded as both physical settlements and as social communities in LM IIIC, the identities of both families and the collective community would have necessarily emerged quickly and strongly in adaptive response to the new physical, social, and economic settings of EIA society. The changes that occurred within both regions and settlements in PG would therefore have been structured by these established social organizational principles. At Knossos, in contrast, the settlement developed out of the earlier Bronze Age community and was therefore contending in part with lingering memories of a hierarchical political structure even as it developed over LM IIIC-PG into an essentially heterarchical EIA community. This legacy, and also possibly the economic position of Knossos as one of the principal hubs on the island for Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean contacts, meant that Knossos lagged behind other sites in developing a fully cohesive internal organization during PG despite the fact that its overall development as an EIA Cretan community was essentially structured around an adherence to the local LM III landscape.

The Knossos pattern can be compared to that from Phaistos (**A109**), which shared a historical trajectory with Knossos, in that the main core of EIA occupation (the so-called

Geometric Quarter) was located near but not directly on the remains of the Bronze Age palace. In the Geometric Quarter at Phaistos, however, the architecture and stratigraphy followed a pattern of vertical accumulation and aggregative growth: the PG phase of the quarter is fragmentary, but it appears to represent the ongoing construction of houses whose architectural outlines were preserved in the renovations of the LG phase.¹⁹⁹ The LG phase also demonstrates the agglomerative type of architecture typical of other settlements on the island.²⁰⁰ The evidence from Phaistos, which also conforms, more or less, to the adherent regional model, indicates that the palatial legacy of the site was not the only factor in Knossos' idiosyncratic settlement development.

Conclusions

The comparison of Kavousi Kastro and Knossos demonstrates the extremes of settlement development trajectories on Crete in PG. The Kastro preserves a highly static plan for most of the EIA, while Knossos appears to be a dynamic settlement with high levels of diachronic mobility over the same period.²⁰¹ These opposing patterns both reflect the underlying social organizational principles of the communities established at the beginning of the EIA. The PG phases of these sites demonstrate the ongoing importance of the kinship group as the principle underlying both the organization of household units and of cemeteries. The difference between these two case studies is that these group identities were continually reinforced in the community at Kavousi Kastro through a close adherence to the LM IIIC

¹⁹⁹ Cf. Rocchetti 1974-5; La Rosa 2013.

²⁰⁰ Renard 1967.

²⁰¹ Cf. Haggis 2013a, 242.

landscape and architecture within the settlement and the broader region. Through this mechanism, the community constituted itself as a cohesive unit composed of a number of closely connected heterarchical groups that expressed themselves through an ongoing and visible maintenance of both ancestral architecture and tombs. The continuing importance of these kinship groups as the basic units of the regional community, and their expansion, is reflected in the construction of large houses as integral parts of the new urban plan that was established at Azoria in the late seventh century when the Kastro was abandoned in favor of the lower site, for example. At Knossos, in contrast, there is limited evidence for multi-generational extended kinship groups as a physical or social organizing unit within the settlement zone, suggesting a looser hypothetical social structure made up of smaller and less permanent units like nuclear families rather than a more formalized large kinship group. Evidence from the cemeteries, however, does point to larger and longer-lived kinship ties as important factors in cemetery organization.

The differences between these two sites in PG and later are at least partially due to their histories and geographical settings. The interpretive differences between them are also scalar, however, and may provide avenues for exploring other sites that do not clearly fit the models of PG site and regional development proposed in this dissertation. It appears that both the physical size and integration of the settlements within their respective regional settings and the social scale of the communities are important factors in visualizing the ongoing processes of social coalescence through the examination of settlement mobility and discontinuous patterns that reflect the social dynamics of kinship-corporate groups. In this approach, Knossos emerges as a much more complex community than the one occupying the Kastro, and one that emphasized entrenched group identities within established cemeteries

but that exhibited a great deal more fluidity within the settlement area. The embeddedness of the EIA social structures and their outward expressions in the local landscape means that Knossos followed the same general adherent pattern as the Kavousi region, but the scalar differences and the greater degree of localized fluidity in the settlement structure at Knossos point to a chronologically and spatially divergent emergence and solidification of larger social groups that resulted in different outcomes by the end of the EIA and the putative formation of a polis at the site.

Chronologically speaking, the physical sites and their inhabitants were not following a simultaneous or parallel trajectory towards the development of a cohesive and stable political unit, rendering the use of historical models such as polis development even more problematic. The analysis here of Knossos also demonstrates that there is still an ongoing methodological problem of defining sites as both spatial and conceptual units: Knossos is typically thought of as a single cohesive settlement, but the archaeological evidence from site instead offers the possibility that in PG and later it was instead composed of a series of habitation clusters composed of small numbers of households spread across the large area identified by the KULP data. The final logical conclusion to be drawn from this is that the major phase change at sixth century Knossos should undergo the same regional reorientation away from older locations in the landscape and towards a centralized nucleus as seen at other sites in the LM IIIC-PG transition. The abandonment of the EIA cemeteries and the settlement areas to the west of the Minoan palace in favor of the Archaic and later city site further to the north can therefore be interpreted as Knossos belatedly following the same

developmental trajectory that PG sites like Prophitis Elias had already undergone centuries before.²⁰²

²⁰² For the location of Archaic Knossos: Hood and Smyth 1981, 18-19; Coldstream 1973a, 45-63; Coldstream et al. 1999; Erickson 2014; cf. Kotsonas 2002.

CHAPTER 5

Explaining the evolving relationship between settlement structure and social structure in the EIA is the goal of much of the scholarship that has been produced to date. In particular, contexts involving ritualized activities, whether cult, burial, or feasting, have drawn a large amount of attention as places that illuminate communal or public interactions and therefore mechanisms for identity construction within EIA communities. This chapter focuses on the ways in which a closer diachronic examination of cult and feasting activities within settlements, and in particular the discontinuities in these spheres as revealed by excavation, can clarify models of social development throughout the EIA on Crete.

In this chapter, I argue that the interactions between the spatially and materially defined ritualized activities involved in communal feasting and communal cult activity can be used to track the evolution of social practices within EIA communities that were used both to promote both social cohesion and group identity. In the absence of sufficient numbers of complete excavated household contexts to address social organization in daily life, communal contexts that appear to be settings for inclusive (and exclusive) activities and have often been used to shed light on the evolution of the internal organization of individual communities. These specific contexts, especially those dating to PG, can be used as another body of evidence to test the regional and settlement-level patterns of social development described in Chapters 3 and 4. Protogeometric contexts provide the crucial bridge between the preceding LM IIIC period and the succeeding LG-EO phase that dominate much of the

scholarship on the subject. This approach is intended to produce a more nuanced and diachronic picture of changes in practice and in participants in order to develop a narrative that is not dependent on a teleological view towards the emergence of polis institutions out of EIA practices.

Early Iron Age Cult and Communal Dining Building Types

In LM IIIC, the most representative type of cult space was the bench sanctuary, a free-standing building consisting of one to two rooms with low benches lining multiple walls. These appear in several LM IIIC settlements, especially in East Crete, including Vronda, Azoria, Chalasmenos, Vasiliki Kephala, and Karphi. Standard cult assemblages associated with these buildings included Goddess with Upraised Arms figures (GUAs), snake tubes, kalathoi, and plaques.²⁰³ Cult assemblages containing these types of objects have also been found not clearly associated with a bench shrine at other sites, including at Kalamaphki Kypia, Vryses Prophitis Elias, Prinias, Ephendi Christos, and Agios Ioannis in the Amari Valley, indicating that a standard LM IIIC cult assemblage was in use beyond East Crete.²⁰⁴ This standardized cult assemblage evolved directly out of LM IIIB assemblages, familiar from sites like Gazi and Knossos, and are one of the primary pieces of evidence cited for a continuation of Minoan religious practices into the EIA.²⁰⁵

²⁰³ Prent 2005, 188-200; cf. Alexiou 1958. GUAs are also sometimes called Minoan Goddesses with Upraised Arms: MGUAs.

²⁰⁴ Kalamaphki Kypia: Platon 1952b, 481; Vryses Prophitis Elias: Davaras 1981, 405-6; Prinias: Gesell 1972, 253; Pautasso 2014, 64; Ephendi Christos: Watrous et al. 2004, 310; Agios Ioannis: Godart and Tzedakis 1991, 192 n.18.

²⁰⁵ Gesell 1972; Prent 2005, 181-4; cf. Gaignerot-Driessen 2014.

In most settlements containing evidence for LM IIIC cult buildings, there was also evidence for communal dining activities. These contexts took a variety of forms, including open-air spaces, dedicated dining buildings with axial plans and central hearths, and the periodic use of notional residential buildings. The uniting factor in all cases is that LM IIIC dining contexts were spatially and practically distinct from cult spaces. These spheres were linked but operated in different ways within the settlements where both were present. Wallace argues that the separation in activities in LM IIIC between specialized feasting buildings and cult buildings indicates the presence of separate institutions and further notes that “[t]his duality may help to explain the continued strong institutional role for secular public feasting in Archaic-Classical Cretan society.”²⁰⁶ The following discussion will outline the ways in which such a duality (and the notion of “secular” institutions) is difficult to discern after the LM IIIC period.

Most of the sites with clear archaeological evidence for LM IIIC cult and dining contexts were abandoned at the end of LM IIIC or early in PG, including all of the most characteristic examples of bench sanctuaries. In general, the standard LM IIIC cult assemblage also went out of use at this time, marking a material break with earlier Minoan cult paraphernalia and possibly practices at least within settlements.

By LG-EO, the most prominent form of cult building was the hearth temple, characterized by a one to two room plan and a central hearth in the main room.²⁰⁷ This class of structure began to develop as early as SM, most notably at Kommos with the construction

²⁰⁶ Wallace 2005, 270

²⁰⁷ Prent 2005, 441-76; 2007.

of Temple A (**Figure 22**), later replaced by the more canonical Temple B.²⁰⁸ Several examples of the hearth temple type had evidence for benches in the main room, either for the display of votives or for seating participants. Most examples of the hearth temple were located in settlements, as at Dreros and Prinias, but they also very occasionally appear in extra-settlement sanctuaries, as at Kommos. The common unifying element in the contents of excavated hearth temples, however, were the remains of dining debris represented by ash, burned animal bones, and drinking vessels, sometimes without any identifiable cult objects present. Votive figurines, both zoomorphic and anthropomorphic, were common in these structures, but potential cult images also began to appear, pre-eminent of which (though unique) were the sphyrelaton statues representing the Apolline triad from Dreros.²⁰⁹ Hearth temples, especially those from Dreros and Prinias, have therefore been associated with both cult practice and communal dining practices, sparking debates about their role in the development of later polis temples and *andreia* on Crete. Most of the known Cretan hearth temples went out of use during the seventh century, either because of the abandonment of the entire site (as at Prinias) or the deliberate abandonment of the individual building as part of the restructuring of the site (as at Azoria). Buildings conforming in plan and contents to the hearth temple type seldom appeared singly in EIA settlements.

One of the major changes from LM IIIC settlements, therefore, was the overlap in cult and dining practices that developed between the tenth and eighth centuries. This shift did not happen in a vacuum in PG and the following discussion of individual regions aims in

²⁰⁸ Shaw and Shaw 2000, 8-24.

²⁰⁹ Marinatos 1935c, 478-9; Romano 1980, 281-91; D'Acunto 2002-3, 25-6. A large fragmentary clay base preserving the feet of a female figure from the shrine at Pachlitzani may also be another early cult statue: Alexiou 1956, 7-8; Prent 2005, 299.

large part to shed light on this intervening period. In particular, it demonstrates that the hearth temple form, and the broader body of ritualized activities associated with it, began to develop in PG across Crete as new foci for communal and corporate ritual and religious activities. These activities were originally concentrated in large PG settlements, but by the eighth century began to be dispersed to nearby sites as a method of creating new corporate identities through reference to older ancestral sites within the regional boundaries established by the adherent patterns of PG nucleation. These developments happened concurrently with developments in the domestic and mortuary spheres discussed in Chapter 4, demonstrating the ongoing maintenance and integration of different levels of social group identities within EIA communities and culture-regions.

Defining the Problem

There are two major strands in the scholarship on feasting and cult contexts in the Cretan EIA that have dominated the discussion and have, to a certain extent, obscured the underlying importance of these ritualized activities within their contemporary settings. The first is the idea of a continuity of (Minoan) cult practice from the Bronze Age through at least part of the EIA. This argument owes itself in part to observations of material continuity in cult building and votive types through at least LM IIIC and even beyond.²¹⁰ The continuity of Minoan material forms in LM IIIC settlements, especially in East Crete, also contributed to the old notion of a remnant indigenous population that had been pushed out by new ethnic groups like the Dorians.

²¹⁰ Gesell 1972; 1985a; 2004a; Gaignerot-Driessen 2014.

Whitley, among others, has pointed out that continuity of material form did not equal a continuity of practice across the Bronze Age-EIA transition, arguing against older models of EIA religious practice as a debased form of earlier Minoan cult.²¹¹ In his view, therefore, an ongoing conservatism of material culture, already discussed in Chapter 1 with regard to regional ceramic styles, does not preclude the rise of new forms of cult better suited to the changed socio-political landscape of Crete. This general approach in particular serves to distance the discussion of EIA cult and ritual from overly-simplistic ethnic explanations.

Mieke Prent has produced the most detailed examination of processes of continuity and change in EIA cult practices on Crete, which provides a synthetic overview of the available archaeological data and a lengthy discussion of the diachronic social and spatial roles of different classes of cult activity.²¹² She argues in particular that sanctuaries with a clearly Minoan ancestry that appeared in LM IIIC-SM should be interpreted as a means of expressing a quintessentially local and *Cretean* identity, but not necessarily a *Minoan* one.²¹³ She also notes that the widespread foundation of new sanctuaries in PG-G across Crete marks a new beginning to regional practices if not necessarily a total break from older LM IIIC-SM traditions, especially in the appearance of suburban sanctuaries.²¹⁴ Most importantly for this discussion is Prent's argument that the new range of sanctuaries and votive behaviors appearing as part of this PG-G floruit provided increasingly distinct venues for the

²¹¹ Whitley 2009. Prent (2005, 37-102) provides an overview of the history of scholarship on the issue of cultural continuity between the Bronze Age and the EIA on Crete.

²¹² Prent 2005.

²¹³ Prent 2005, 616-17. Cf. Sjögren (2008, 58-60) on the cultural and linguistic challenges to demonstrating a continuity of identity between Minoan populations and the indigenous Eteocretans known from textual sources.

²¹⁴ Prent 2005, 625-6.

articulation of emerging elite aristocratic values and identifies, but also for the integration of distinct social groups into the entire broader community.²¹⁵

At the other end of the culture-historical spectrum from the Minoans is the old-fashioned view, still retained in textbook treatments, that the Cretan hearth temple of the eighth and seventh centuries at sites like Dreros and Prinias was an early phase in the development of Greek temples, both in form and in the use of architectural sculpture.²¹⁶ This argument is largely negated by the fact that a mainland-style tradition of monumental temple building never developed on Crete in the Archaic and Classical periods, but it serves to perpetuate the idea of an identifiably “Greek” set of Panhellenic practices and forms necessary to the emergence of poleis.²¹⁷

The other major strand in scholarship on ritualized activities within settlements and their political implications is the ongoing debate over the origin of the Cretan *andreion* and its connection with dining practices in the EIA.²¹⁸ The *andreion* was a polis institution, first attested epigraphically in the sixth century, in which citizen members of the polis dined

²¹⁵ Prent 2005, 627.

²¹⁶ Cf. Prent 2005, 441-3.

²¹⁷ Cretan temples were not entirely divorced from Aegean influences, as evidenced by Archaic column drums from Kydonia (Markoulaki 1997) and Classical Doric capitals from the Sanctuary of Demeter at Knossos (Coldstream 1973b, 6, 12-14; Coldstream et al. 1999, 297) and from the acropolis hill at the same site (Hood and Smyth 1981, 45 [KS² 105]). Most known temples with preserved Doric or Ionic architectural elements are Hellenistic in date at the earliest, however, and this is the earliest date at which pripteral temples appear on Crete.

²¹⁸ Connections have also been drawn to the institution of the prytaneion, which also involved dining practices on Crete in the historical period. As it is even more poorly understood than the *andreion* before the Hellenistic period, the development of the prytaneion is left out of the current discussion. For discussion and additional bibliography: Prent 2005, 456-68.

together as a whole or in tribal groups within a specialized structure.²¹⁹ There have been concerted efforts to identify the origin of this Cretan institution in the earlier archaeological record, and therefore to demonstrate a continuity of communal ritualized practice from at least the beginning of the EIA that helped to structure the transition to the polis on the island.

One of the problems addressed in this chapter is the methodological difficulty in defining what pre-polis forms of the *andreion* should look like archaeologically and culturally.²²⁰ No *andreion* has been irrefutably identified in the archaeological record in the historical period, meaning that there is no consensus about its typical physical appearance even in large Archaic sites.²²¹ Adding to this problem is the historical fact that the *andreion* was a polis-based institution and as such can only be understood in the political context of the polis, even if it grew out of earlier dining practices. The prevailing idea that this polis institution should be identifiable in a recognizable form in EIA settlements has meant that spaces associated with ritualized dining before the sixth century have often been identified as early forms of *andreia* without a critical examination of these contexts in their contemporary social and political environments, however.

In the EIA, ritualized dining routinely occurred in structures that have been identified as cult buildings (e.g. Temple of Apollo at Dreros, Temple B at Kommos), leading to additional confusion about how to categorize these buildings and their origins. One of the

²¹⁹ For a recent summary of the Cretan *andreion* as a polis institution: Gagarin and Perlman 2016, 93-5, 112-13; Erickson 2011.

²²⁰ Lavrencic 1988; Prent 2005, 441-76; Sjögren 2008, 83-4; Erickson 2011, 383-9; Haggis et al. 2011, 4-6; Perlman 2014, 185; Gaignerot-Driessen 2016a, 165.

²²¹ Haggis et al. (2011, 4-6) have argued that the Communal Dining Building and Monumental Civic Building at Azoria are associated with the institution of the *andreion* but have received criticism for the use of the term. Cf. Whitley 2011, 40-1.

more extreme expressions of this was the argument formulated by Koehl that the institution of the *andreion* originated in the Minoan period and grew out of Bronze Age initiation rituals rather than out of later Dorian/Greek practices.²²² As part of this argument, he reclassified the Dorian Temple of Apollo, Prinias A and B, and Kommos A1 and A2 as early *andreia* rather than as temples because of the evidence for dining contained in their assemblages. In Koehl's model, he allowed that religious practices might have taken place within these buildings, but that there could not have been any institutional or architectural overlap between cult and dining even in the EIA.²²³ Most other scholars do not agree with this model, considering it to be positivist in its functional approach to these buildings, but it is not out of line with general approaches to this class of building.²²⁴

In a similar attempt to interpret the often ambiguous overlap between cult and dining deposits in EIA communal buildings, Carter argued that Temple A at Prinias should be interpreted as an *andreion* rather than as a temple.²²⁵ This identification was part of Carter's argument for a connection between the Cretan *andreion* and the Phoenician *marzeah* in which the inhabitants of Prinias borrowed heavily from Near Eastern iconography associated with the *marzeah* in creating the sculptural program of Temple A. She drew the broader parallel that both the *andreion* and the *marzeah* consisted simultaneously of a group of (elite) participants, a civic institution, and a physical structure within which ritualized dining took

²²² Koehl 1997. Cf. Borgna (2004) for a discussion of Minoan feasting practices.

²²³ Koehl 1997, 143. Koehl identifies the building on the West Hill at Dreros as a temple, presumably because a settlement should only have one *andreion*.

²²⁴ Cf. Prent 2005, 452; 2007, 144.

²²⁵ Carter 1997.

place.²²⁶ As part of her discussion of the buildings at Prinias and the different aspects of the *marzeah*, Carter also demonstrated the ongoing problems inherent in assigning individual EIA structures with similar plans and evidence for use in communal dining activities to different institutional categories when those institutions had not yet fully crystallized.

These specifically Cretan views, in which a broadly similar group of contemporary structures located within settlements had the potential to be identified alternatively as a temple or as an *andreion*/dining building are closely connected with Mazarakis Ainian's broader thesis that Greek temples and their related communal cult practices developed out of EIA cult practices that took place in the house of the local ruler.²²⁷ He reconstructs these cult practices as involving dining by groups of elite male members of the community around the central hearth of the ruler's dwelling, drawing on a Homeric model of aristocratic exclusive dining groups introduced by Drerup.²²⁸ In his study, which included a large number of buildings from Crete, including most of those discussed in this chapter, Mazarakis Ainian develops an explicit picture of post-LM IIIC cult buildings as being essentially domestic in form and used by an exclusive subset of the community before the emergence of urban temples as part of polis development. In doing so, he explicitly conflates the form and function of Cretan hearth temples with contemporary cult buildings in the rest of the Aegean, and thus to broader models of polis development and elite identity.

The overarching problem inherent in associating the Cretan *andreion* directly or indirectly with EIA dining and ritual practices, therefore, lies in the fact that the historical

²²⁶ Carter 1997, 76-7.

²²⁷ Mazarakis Ainian 1997.

²²⁸ Drerup 1969, 125-7; Prent 2005, 448-9.

Cretan polis is usually described as a leveling institution, intended as a mechanism for resisting destabilizing tendencies represented by the exclusive symposiastic practices of aristocratic elites that are often identified in EIA settings.²²⁹ Social change on Crete during the EIA is typically reconstructed as driven by competition and negotiation between the elite members of different kin-groups within a community or region, acted out in marked public or communal spaces.²³⁰ Within specific EIA settlements, discussion has centered around the level of exclusivity of ritualized dining practices and cult activities, and the ways in which different groups might have tried to control or subvert them through the manipulation of space or resources. The search for archaeological “proto-*andreia*” in EIA settlements therefore often fails to consider this view of the historical *andreion* as a leveling response to increasing and potentially destabilizing competition between elites within communities. At the same time, the identities of the aristocratic elites that are often invoked in descriptions of EIA Cretan society are also difficult to define in either historical or archaeological terms.²³¹ They are at least in part an artifact of parallels drawn to ranked EIA communities in centers like Athens through perceived similarities in such practices as aristocratic sympotic behavior.

The conflicting ideas encapsulated in the various narratives presented above expose the essential problem in reconstructions of the relationship between EIA settlements and the succeeding Cretan polis: there is a strong belief in the continuity of institutionalized ritual practices and group identities from LM IIIC onwards, but also in the idea that the political and social roles of these practices as they crystallized by the late eighth century BCE were

²²⁹ Cf. Wallace 2010, 344-5.

²³⁰ Borgna 2003b; Wallace 2011b.

²³¹ Gagarin and Perlman 2016, 55.

abruptly reassigned in the seventh century from competitive aristocratic elites to a cooperative body of citizens.²³²

On a more basic level, the contrast drawn in scholarship is between exclusive practices and inclusive ones, along with the idea that exclusive ritualized dining reminiscent of the symposium and associated cult practices was inherently destabilizing and had to be suppressed in the seventh and sixth centuries on Crete.²³³ Wallace draws an explicit parallel between this strategy in stable Cretan poleis and the continued tradition of the aristocratic private symposium in the unstable contemporary poleis on the mainland, for example.²³⁴

The purpose of this chapter is to reassess the evidence for cult and communal dining practices with settlements diachronically through the Cretan EIA and its role in structuring social organization and emerging groups identities. The discussion focuses on the ways in which these sets of practices overlapped and separated at various points in the EIA within settlements and their broader regions, and the implications that these shifts held for understanding contemporary shifts in social structures within communities. I also argue that the different group identities constructed and expressed through ritualized activities were structured by an expanding series of ties to extended kinship and corporate groups that operated on different levels across the regional landscape. Communal cult and dining activities were spheres in which varying degrees of exclusivity served to negotiated changes

²³² Cf. Rabinowitz (2014) and Link (2014, 164-9) for discussions of the latitude for competitive display in the *andreion*.

²³³ Erickson 2011. Wallace (2010, 388) argues that state financing of the *andreion* left “little room for the *symposium* or any other kind of private feasting group to develop as a direct counterpoint to this important *habitus* of citizen equality.”

²³⁴ Wallace 2010, 390.

in social cohesion at the community level, rather than a venue for the expression of ranked elite status that eventually proved to be incompatible with polis development.

Of particular importance is understanding the implications of a broad pattern of discontinuities in the spatial and formal aspects of cult and dining contexts between LM IIIC and PG, with another major shift in LG-O. These discontinuities and their relationships with the formation of PG regional communities were closely related to the patterns of settlement abandonment and cemetery establishment that defined regional nucleation patterns in the LM IIIC-PG transition. The developing social structures that motivated the changes in cult and feasting practices over the course of the EIA in many regions, especially ones described here under the adherent model, were closely related to the ones influencing cemetery placement and house plans at sites like Kavousi Kastro: the use of local cult spaces and dining spaces was strongly tied to supra-nuclear family groups from LM IIIC onwards, but it also provides additional evidence for the formation of larger corporate groups within the community that eventually subsumed kinship-based clans as part of the formation of poleis in the late seventh and sixth centuries.

Case Studies

Kavousi

The Kavousi region provides a clear picture of the adherent pattern of regional development, as laid out in Chapters 3 and 4. The evidence for shifts in the locations and forms of cult and communal dining activities between different sites in the region add another layer of nuance to the patterns established by the settlement and burial data.

The LM IIIC settlement at Kavousi Vronda (**Figure 4**) contained evidence for both probable communal dining and cult: a large building on the summit of the hill, Building A-B, has been interpreted alternatively as a communal hall or the house of the settlement's leader. A separate bench shrine, Building G, was located downslope.

The interior of Vronda Building A (**Figure 45**) is too poorly preserved to determine its exact form, but it is the largest structure by far on site and it has more regular architecture than the rest of the Vronda buildings, most of which have been identified as houses.²³⁵ It consisted of two rooms, one of which was the largest on site (71 m²) and contained traces of what might have originally been a central hearth.²³⁶ The abutting Building B, consisting of at least four small rooms probably intended for storage, contained drinking and cooking pottery (including very large kylikes) as well as evidence for butchery and dining debris in the faunal record.²³⁷ It stands out as the only specialized storage space on site, containing significantly larger pithoi than those found in domestic contexts.²³⁸ Building B also contained several modified cattle skulls and a pair of agrimi horn cores, which have been interpreted as ritual objects.²³⁹ Building A-B is typically described as the house of the settlement's leader, while also serving as a space for communal dining at periodic intervals as a means of social cohesion within the entire community.²⁴⁰ Moreover, it faces onto a large open area which

²³⁵ Boyd 1901, 131-2; Day 2009a, 17.

²³⁶ Day 2009a, 17-18.

²³⁷ Day 2009a, 33-59; Day and Snyder 2004.

²³⁸ Day and Snyder 2004, 67; Day 2009a, 61.

²³⁹ Day 2009a, 42-3.

²⁴⁰ Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 209; Day and Snyder 2004, 73; Day 2009a, 61-2; Wallace 2010, 128.

could have served as an open-air gathering space for larger groups. Day has referred to Building A-B as a precursor to later *andreia*.²⁴¹

The bench sanctuary is located down-slope from Building A-B, and consists of a two-room structure with benches and platforms built against the eastern walls in both rooms (**Figure 46**).²⁴² The majority of finds from the building are of cult items, including GUA figures, snakes tubes, kalathoi, and plaques.²⁴³ Based on preliminary reports of Building G, the building lacks direct evidence for drinking, dining, or food storage. There is a small clay hearth in the first room, but it did not appear to have been a focus for dining activities.²⁴⁴ The interior of the building was partially disturbed by the insertion of LG graves. Most of the cult paraphernalia, especially the GUA figures and their accompanying objects had been discarded outside of the building rather than being preserved on the interior benches.

There was no formal connection between Building A-B and Building G. Klein also emphasizes that the shrine did not have any direct connection with any of the buildings on site and is most architecturally monumentalized on its western side, which faces away from the summit of the hill and the other buildings.²⁴⁵ Day and Klein argue that the functions of these two buildings were distinct and separate within the community.²⁴⁶ These buildings

²⁴¹ Day 2009a, 62.

²⁴² Klein 2004.

²⁴³ Gesell et al. 1991, 161-3; Klein 2004, 99.

²⁴⁴ Klein 2004, 96, 99

²⁴⁵ Klein 2004, 100.

²⁴⁶ Day 2009a, 62: "It is not fair to imply, however, that the activities that went on in Building A-B were in any way connected with those that occurred in the religious Building G. . . There may have been a connection between the two buildings, but there is no archaeological evidence to support this

present evidence for the practice of ritualized activity connected with expressions of different levels of group identity. In a small settlement like Vronda, the communal activities practiced in connection with Building A-B may have been hosted by a single family or kin-group associated with the monumental building, but the scale of storage and the presence of the large open space in front of Building A suggest a high level of communal inclusivity in the periodic events that likely took place in this setting.

The use of LM IIIC bench sanctuaries and the dedication of votives in them, including Building G, was probably limited to small groups at any given event. Based on study of votive objects from LM III shrines across Crete, especially of GUAs and their accompanying paraphernalia, Gaignerot-Driessen has argued that different corporate groups within the LM IIIC settlements would have dedicated sets of votives (GUA, snake tube, plaque) in order to promote their identities within the community in a public setting.²⁴⁷ The act of dedication of votive assemblages was thus both a religious act and an expression of separate group identity. Gaignerot-Driessen argues that this practice was a social development of the LM IIIB-C transition involving the construction of free-standing public cult buildings in settlements for use by the entire community, in a departure from previous LM IIIA-B shrines that were usually incorporated into large residential structures and did not typically include GUAs as part of the cult assemblage. The emphasis in the use of the LM IIIC bench sanctuaries was therefore on the expression of kin group identities as units of the community, rather than on exclusive cult practice by a single corporate group within the

idea, and there is much to suggest that the ritual activities that occurred in Building A-B were very different from those that occurred in Building G.” Klein 2004, 96-7.

²⁴⁷ Gaignerot-Driessen 2014.

community: materially, bench sanctuaries and their contents demonstrate continuity from the Bronze Age but in practice represent newly developed strategies of communal formation.²⁴⁸

We should therefore imagine repeated parallel rituals by these familial groups in and around the shrine as one of the unifying and organizing activities practiced by heterarchical segments of the community. The presence of these two levels of structuring communal and group identities in the LM IIIC settlement at Vronda points to an early formation of strong but non-destabilizing separate identities tied to kinship groups. The presence of a fragmentary bench sanctuary of LM IIIC date at Azoria indicates that a similar set of group and communal identities were developing along parallel at the other nodes in the LM IIIC Kavousi cluster.²⁴⁹

The abandonment of Vronda and Azoria at the end of LM IIIC involved the cessation of cult and dining activities at both sites. There is no evidence for communal activities along these lines in the settlement on the Kastro in PG-G, indicating that the newly centralized communities deliberately turned to different strategies of group identity formation at this time. The primary one was clearly the reuse of Vronda and Azoria as cemeteries as part of families maintaining ancestral ties with older sites in the surrounding landscape. Within the settlement itself, however, the increased diversity of groups united by looser kinship ties may have led to the suppression of the sorts of dedicatory practices seen in earlier bench sanctuaries as potentially destabilizing. Corporate groups instead relied on the adherence to

²⁴⁸ The transition from incorporated shrine to public sanctuary was a gradual process between LM IIIA-C, as demonstrated by the presence of an incorporated shrine in Room 58 at Karphi: cf. Gaignerot-Driessen 2014, 503-4, 515-16; Day 2009.

²⁴⁹ Cf. Haggis and Mook 2004, 7.

and renovation of LM IIIC house units as a means of formalizing their identities within the new physical framework of the Kastro.

In PG, the shrine at Pachlitzani Agriada was established as a new foundation unconnected to a previous LM IIIC site in the Kavousi region. The shrine was dedicated to a female deity, possibly Eileithya.²⁵⁰ Unlike the earlier bench sanctuary at Vronda, the votive figurines from the sanctuary were likely individual rather than group dedications. This development was another part of the dispersed strategy by which the community on the Kastro marked its territory from PG onwards, but it also provides evidence for the new emergence of suburban sanctuaries in PG that did not have a direct connection to LM IIIC locations.²⁵¹

The major phase of rebuilding and new construction on the Kastro in LG marks another point of realignment in the spatial and practical expression of group identities within the region. Building H on the summit of the Kastro in particular is architecturally similar to the hearth temples found at Dreros and Prusias because of its size, central hearth, post bases, and elaborate toichobate, although it has not formally been classified as such (**Figure 47**).²⁵² The construction of Building H was accompanied by the contemporary construction of a number of large LG houses and contemporary modifications to a number of earlier houses on the site that point to a possible restructuring of households and larger corporate groups in the

²⁵⁰ Alexiou 1956, 15-19.

²⁵¹ Prent (2005, 299-300, 506-7) argues that the Pachlitzani Agriada shrine preserved strong links with the cult *traditions* associated with bench sanctuaries.

²⁵² Coulson et al. (1997, 324-40) categorize Building H as domestic but leaves open the possibility that it had a special function within the community because of its size and architectural features.

Kavousi region in the late eighth century.²⁵³ Accompanying this phenomenon were the establishment of the LG cemetery at Vronda and the closely contemporary appearance of initial reoccupation at Azoria (**Figure 48**) in the form of two buildings intended for ritualized dining, sited in close connection with the LM IIIC tholos tomb and the LM IIIC bench sanctuary, respectively.

The Protoarchaic Building at Azoria (**Figure 49**) was a large rectangular structure constructed directly to the north of the LM IIIC-PG tholos tomb. In the first phase of the building, which probably belongs to the end of the eighth century or very early in the seventh, the building consisted of a large rectangular room with an additional storage room.²⁵⁴ In the center of the main room was a clay hearth. This phase of the building was carefully cleaned out at the end of its use, with the exception of the frontal bone of a cow left on the floor. Accompanying this phase change was a large deposit of eighth and seventh-century dining debris dumped directly outside the building, including drinking and serving wares, and large amounts of burned animal bone representing whole animals (rather than selected cuts of meat).²⁵⁵ Much of the pottery from this pyre deposit was also burned. In the seventh century, the hearth room was subdivided into two separate spaces on different levels by a crosswall, with a doorway and a series of three steps leading from one to the other. The crosswall was built directly over the hearth, putting it out of use. Sometime later in the seventh century, these floor levels were raised again, but the plan of the building stayed the same. There was no hearth preserved in either room in these two later phases. Accompanying

²⁵³ Coulson et al. 1997, 317-33; Mook 2011.

²⁵⁴ Haggis and Mook 2013, 5-7; 2014, 15-20.

²⁵⁵ Haggis and Mook 2006.

these changes to the interior was the construction of a kiln in the space to the east (B4000), and a series of subsidiary spaces to the south stretching between the Protoarchaic Building and the earlier tholos tomb.²⁵⁶

Stratigraphic soundings on one of the terraces of the Archaic Communal Dining Building further up the west slope of the Azoria hill have revealed a second hearth building dating to the seventh century (**Figures 50, 51**).²⁵⁷ The building consisted of at least four rooms. The southernmost preserved room contained a clay hearth in the center of the room in its first phase. At some later point in the seventh century, the floor level in this room was raised, and the hearth was covered over by three schist and sideropetra slabs. At the southern end of this room was a deposit of at least seven to eight bull figurines. Closely associated with this deposit of figurines was a burned area on the floor with a large amount of ash and part of a possible platform of schist slabs built against the southern wall. The figurines may originally have been displayed on this platform. The pottery from this room is characterized by drinking and pouring vessels. There is an additional space south of this room, but it has been so disturbed by later construction as to be unintelligible. The room to the north of the central room is also poorly preserved, and most of the earlier floor surface is gone because of erosion and later construction activity. The northernmost room was a small pantry or closet containing seventh century drinking cups and a krater.²⁵⁸

In the late seventh century, both of these buildings were deliberately put out of use. The Protoarchaic Building was partially filled in and then used as a dump until it was

²⁵⁶ Haggis and Mook 2013, 7-9; 2014, 17-18.

²⁵⁷ Haggis and Mook 2015, 20-1; Haggis et al. 2016, 7-9.

²⁵⁸ Haggis and Mook 2015, 20-1.

covered over by the construction of a street in the sixth century, which also covered over the earlier tholos tomb. The second hearth building was covered over by the construction of the Communal Dining Building, but its architecture was partially reused in the construction of the latter building on that terrace, perhaps preserving a memory of the previous space. These abandonments were contemporary with the final decline of the settlement on the Kastro and directly connected with the dramatic restructuring and growth of Azoria as an urban site. This restructuring included the construction of different scales of communal dining spaces in the Monumental Civic Building and the Communal Dining Building (the best candidates for Archaic *andreia* on Crete).²⁵⁹ These buildings, combined with the construction of large houses ringing the hill and structurally connected with the new civic buildings that probably belonged to large corporate groups within the community, argue for the ongoing importance of separate kinship groups for the organization of the Kavousi community but also the integration and institutionalization of the multiple levels at which these separate group identities were promoted.

The structural and topographic shift between the late eighth and the late seventh centuries within the Kavousi cluster provides evidence for another wave of reorientation of identities that was expressed through a renewal of ties to older settlement sites and the eventual abandonment of the settlement on the Kastro. The methods of mediating different group identities through separate cult and dining events in the LM IIIC settlements were disrupted, but social identities were maintained and reinforced across the break into PG-G through a subsequent crystallization of houses and their attendant households within the settlement and a corresponding maintenance of cemeteries at LM IIIC sites. The renovations

²⁵⁹ Haggis et al. 2007a; 2011; Wallace 2010, 278-9.

on the Kastro in LG and the establishment of spaces for ritual dining at Azoria mark another phase change that likely represents the emergence of larger corporate groups as the primary organizational and identity units rather than the nuclear households and closely related kinship groups that made up the LM IIIC-G community. These corporate groups probably emerged in response to a combination of factors including population growth and extra-regional economic ties. In their earliest forms in the Kavousi region, these coalescent larger groups began to develop additional expressions of identity over a couple of generations in LG-O through the use of the same mechanisms of adherence to older sites that had been exploited in the LM IIIC-PG transition before fully shifting the entire community from the Kastro to Azoria and establishing new unified modes of institutionalized dining and cult that characterized the emergence of the polis on Crete.²⁶⁰ The pattern described here is therefore one of a long and gradual development of increasingly large-scale group identities from PG onwards, where large corporate groups crystallized in the seventh and sixth centuries.

Dreros

Dreros is one of the canonical sites where the evidence for the Cretan hearth temple, with its overlapping cult and dining functions, has been excavated. Two EIA-Ar structures at Dreros, the Temple of Apollo and the West Acropolis building, have traditionally been interpreted in light of historically attested categories like temple, *andreion*, and prytaneion that drew them into the sphere of the polis. There is no evidence for the appearance and organization of the rest of the EIA settlement at Dreros, however, and these ritual buildings have no known predecessors at either the site or in the immediate region. In light of the

²⁶⁰ Haggis and Mook 2015, 21-3; Wallace 2003a, 259.

interpretation of the newly-excavated hearth buildings at Azoria presented above, I re-examine the Drerian buildings in their larger social contexts.

The temple of Apollo Delphinios (**Figures 52, 53**) is located in the saddle between the two acropoleis that define the site of Dreros, and has been dated to the late eighth to seventh century on the basis of recovered pottery and the form of the building.²⁶¹ A trio of associated sphyrrelaton statues, usually identified as cult statues, were also dated to no later than the beginning of the seventh century on stylistic grounds.²⁶² A platform in one corner of the temple that possibly supported the sphyrrelata statues was associated with a deposit of broken cups, animal bones, and ash interpreted as the remains of feasting activities possibly associated with sacrifices.²⁶³ Next to the platform stood the so-called keraton, a bin holding a large number of goat horn cores, presumably from the sacrificial victims.²⁶⁴ There was also a large rectangular hearth in the middle of the room. Excavations of the interior of the hearth revealed a layer of ashy soil covered by a layer of burnt clay, but no animal bone or pottery.²⁶⁵ Subsidiary rooms connected with the temple contained storage pithoi and cult-related objects, including figurines.²⁶⁶

The Temple of Apollo appears to have remained standing until the destruction of the site in the third century BCE. Marinatos reported that material dating later than the early

²⁶¹ Marinatos 1935c, 482; 1936, 255-6, 259-60. For a reappraisal of the temple and its contents, see D'Acunto (2002-3).

²⁶² Boardman 1967, 61.

²⁶³ Marinatos 1936, 222, 241.

²⁶⁴ Marinatos 1936, 224-5, 241-4.

²⁶⁵ Marinatos 1936, 226-7.

²⁶⁶ Marinatos 1936, 231-2; Demargne and van Effenterre 1937, 15-18.

seventh century was very rare in the interior of the building and consisted of individual sherds of possible Hellenistic date, however.²⁶⁷ He argued that the temple could not have been destroyed before the third century, and proposed that cult practice remained extremely conservative between the seventh and third centuries to account for the lack of later material.²⁶⁸

On the West Acropolis, Xanthoudides excavated a large building, in one room of which he identified a stone paved platform and a U-shaped structure that was probably a hearth (**Figure 54**).²⁶⁹ Fragments of bronze armor and terracotta figurines prompted him to identify the building as the Temple of Apollo Delphinios. Marinatos disagreed with this designation, thinking that the building was too large for a temple, and argued that it should be identified as the city's *andreion*, based on the presence of the armor in the assemblage.²⁷⁰

Re-excavation and study of this building revealed four different phases in the use of the space.²⁷¹ The first phase, dating to the eighth century, was open-air and was represented by drinking vessels, burned material, animal bone, and several large bull figurines. The second phase occurred in the seventh century and consisted of the construction of the large room identified as the cella of the temple by Xanthoudides. Fragments of armor and more figurines were found from this phase. The third and fourth phases consisted of architectural

²⁶⁷ Marinatos 1936, 268.

²⁶⁸ Gaignerot-Driessen (2013) also argues that the temple was destroyed in the Hellenistic period, as a deliberate act of destroying the ancestral institutions of the city. The date of the destruction is based on the findspots of Archaic inscriptions, which were built into its walls, in the HL cistern immediately to the east.

²⁶⁹ Xanthoudides 1918, 26.

²⁷⁰ Xanthoudides 1918, 27; Marinatos 1936, 254-5.

²⁷¹ Zographaki and Farnoux 2010, 597-8; 2011, 630-3; 2012-13, 658-9; 2014, 105-9.

modifications to the building. Because of the finds, the building has been reinterpreted as a second temple at Dreros.²⁷²

Dreros, along with Prinias, has acted as one of the type sites for the appearance and functioning of the Cretan hearth temple in the eighth and seventh centuries. As such, discussions of the Temple of Apollo in particular have been driven by a focus on the emergence of communal cult buildings as an integral part of polis development in LG. The buildings at Dreros provide an archaeological snapshot of structures that combined cult activities in the form of votive dedications and ritualized dining. They are chronologically and developmentally isolated in this setting, however, as there is no evidence at the site for either LM IIIC cult and dining activity or for a later Archaic *andreion* as in the Kavousi region. There is also no evidence that the ritualized activities represented in either the Temple of Apollo or the West Acropolis building evolved over the sixth century and beyond. The new evidence from Azoria begins to address this problem: the two hearth buildings there were only in use during the late eighth and seventh centuries before being deliberately put out of use. The building underneath the Communal Dining Building was covered over and no longer visible, although its function and form were largely preserved by the new structure. The Protoarchaic Building, on the other hand, was left standing and open into the sixth century before it was filled in for the construction of a street. These buildings marked a transitional moment in the development of civic dining institutions out of earlier EIA cult and dining practices, and as such temporarily occupied a place of heightened visibility in the physical and social landscape of the Kavousi region.

²⁷² Zographaki and Farnoux 2014, 109.

It is possible that the temples at Dreros represented this same transitional moment, but that the community at the site decided to preserve at least the Temple of Apollo as a visible marker of this foundational phase in the history of the early polis for much longer than the inhabitants of Azoria.

Ierapetra Isthmus

One of the ongoing questions addressed here is the implications about the scale and chronology of social cohesion within regional communities defined by adherent and nucleated strategies in PG-G. If these two patterns do in fact represent different trajectories towards the development of large clans or tribes by the seventh and sixth century in the context of the Cretan polis, then we can hypothesize that the nucleated strategy that has been described using the case study of the Ierapetra Isthmus should involve the earlier development of these larger-scale groups within the community than in adherent regions like Kavousi. The primary difficulty in tracking this hypothesized chronological divergence lies in the fact that only the LM IIIC predecessors to the PG nuclei have been excavated and published in the Isthmus and in northwest Lasithi, discussed below.

The LM IIIC settlement at Monasteraki Chalasmenos is similar to Vronda in its separation of cult building and communal dining spaces. Three so-called megarons located on the western side of the settlement in Sector A have been interpreted as specialized buildings used for feasting by small groups within the community (**Figure 19**).²⁷³ Each building contained a hearth and significant amounts of drinking, dining, and serving wares accompanied by small amounts of cooking and storage vessels. Tsipopoulou has

²⁷³ Tsipopoulou 2011a.

demonstrated that the assemblages in these structures was functionally different than those in other buildings on the site, indicating a specialized function that precludes a purely domestic label.²⁷⁴ More problematically, Tsipopoulou has also seen ethnic significance in the plans of these megarons and has suggested that they were principally used by mainland or at least strongly Mycenaeanized elites as a means of creating power and status in a post-palatial world.²⁷⁵ Rupp has countered this interpretation by commenting on the expediency and modularity of the “megaron” form of building, as well as the sequence in which the Chalasmenos megara were constructed.²⁷⁶ These ethnic and structural arguments distract from the internalized social purpose of these structures within the local community: they point to the presence of multiple small parallel groups within the settlement at Chalasmenos that participated in ritualized activities involving dining in specialized buildings. The participants can be more profitably defined through kinship ties rather than through hereditary or achieved status connected to a Mycenaean identity, on the basis of the pattern established at Vronda.

The bench sanctuary at Chalasmenos (**Figure 19**) was located close to the megarons but was not structurally or functionally associated with them.²⁷⁷ The shrine is a two-room building similar in appearance and assemblage to the Vronda shrine. It contained the typical assemblage of a LM IIIC bench sanctuary: GUA figurines, snake tubes, kalathoi, and

²⁷⁴ Tsipopoulou (2011a) argues that the dining activities that took place were supplied by complementary dedicated food preparation areas in Buildings B.1 and B.2, and that neither set of buildings were connected with individual households or nuclear families.

²⁷⁵ Tsipopoulou 2005b; 2011a.

²⁷⁶ Rupp 2007.

²⁷⁷ Tsipopoulou 2001; 2009

plaques. The shrine also contained pithoi and a small number of food preparation and consumption vessels in addition to the ritual equipment. The pithoi may have been late additions to the shrine, however, as they took up much of the space of one of the rooms. It is likely that these were placed in the shrine shortly before it went out of use rather than forming part of its working assemblage.²⁷⁸ Food storage for communal dining was most likely not part of the normal function of the Chalasmenos shrine, given the usual separation between cult and dining activities in LM IIIC settlements.

There was an additional probable shrine in the settlement at Chalasmenos located in Room 4 of House A.1 (Coulson's House), consisting of deposited animal figurines in a room that opened onto the exterior of the building and did not have any apparent internal communication to the rest of the house.²⁷⁹ This shrine presumably operated on a different social level than the bench sanctuary and the megarons. It also differs from them in that it was one of the few spaces at Chalasmenos that produced evidence for continued PG activity.

The evidence for ritualized activity in LM IIIC at Vasiliki Kephala is more ambiguous. Building Epsilon (**Figure 55**) was the only fully-excavated structure at the site and is composed of eight rooms divided into three components: an entrance and administrative section including storage and cooking functions (E6-E7); a ritual section (E2-E3) including an altar, a hearth, and a baetyl; and an "adyton" with religious functions (E4, E5, E8), where most of the GUAs originated.²⁸⁰ Eliopoulos suggested that the goddess

²⁷⁸ Tsipopoulou 2009, 127-8. Tsipopoulou also suggests that these pithoi, equal to the number of GUAs recovered from the sign, could have been dedicated by the same *gene* that dedicated the votive figures.

²⁷⁹ Tsipopoulou 2011b, 465.

²⁸⁰ Eliopoulos 1998; 2004; Prent 2005, 147-9; Klein and Glowacki 2009, 159-61.

figurines would have been processed between different rooms of the complex, and possibly through the open space outside of the building for more visible rituals.²⁸¹ Building Epsilon therefore appears to combine aspects of both cult and potentially dining functions in the same structure, but their definition and intersections require fuller publication. Building Epsilon was not abandoned until sometime in PG, but the form of the post-LM IIIC activity is unclear.²⁸²

The evidence from these sites, especially from Chalasmenos, demonstrates the same patterns of LM IIIC social organization along kinship lines that has been proposed for Vronda. The nucleation model implies a deliberate break in PG-G from the group and communal identity structures of LM IIIC, suggesting that larger corporate groups superseded the smaller kinship-based and household-based groups of LM IIIC communities much earlier in nucleated regions than in adherent ones. The lack of excavation at Prophitis Elias prevents a confirmation of this hypothesis, but we might expect the appearance of large-scale communal dining buildings like those at Azoria at a much earlier date as one possible archaeological correlate of an accelerated rate of social cohesion.

That this social cohesion was not absolute or unanimous in the Isthmus region is demonstrated by the short-lived appearance of a small LG oikos with a central hearth used for group dining built over one of the LM IIIC megarons at Monasteraki Chalasmenos (**Figure 20**), whose participants were interpreted by Tsipopoulou as local elites.²⁸³ Such practices indicate at least a vague social memory of past places in the broader regional

²⁸¹ Eliopoulos 2004, 85.

²⁸² Eliopoulos 2003, 399.

²⁸³ Tsipopoulou 2004b.

landscape and a desire by certain groups (or the regional community as a whole) to lay claim to that past. The re-abandonment of the site by the seventh century points to the continued attractive strength of the large regional centers.

Lasithi

The cluster of sites dominated by Karphi in LM IIIC and Papoura in PG-Ar pose the same challenge as the Ierapetra Isthmus example in associating changes in the presence and form of cult and feasting activities with relative rates of changing scales of social cohesion and integration within the regional community.

Cult activity has been identified in a number of different buildings at Karphi (**Figure 56**). The most prominent one is the Temple, so-called because of the large number of GUA figurines it contained.²⁸⁴ Its architectural form is different from contemporary bench sanctuaries like those at Vronda or Chalasmenos, but it contained the same types of cult objects and was similarly a dedicated free-standing cult building that presumably served the entire community. GUA figurines and accompanying ritual assemblages were also found in Room K116 of the Commercial Quarter, and in the Great House, although these latter figurines may have belonged to a dump deposit underneath rooms K15-17.²⁸⁵ In addition, there were also many other contexts that contained other types of cult equipment across the site that represent domestic or private ritual practices as well as more communal ones. Leslie Day has mapped the locations of different classes of ritual/cult equipment at Karphi and has argued that there were several different levels of religious activity occurring, probably

²⁸⁴ Pendlebury et al. 1937-8b, 75-6; Rutkowski 1987.

²⁸⁵ Day 2009b, 139-44.

indicating both a diversity of social groups and different levels of access to different spheres of ritual activity.²⁸⁶

Communal dining is also more difficult to isolate in a single setting at Karphi than at other contemporary sites. The Megarons (K135-44) were originally interpreted as large elite houses by Pendlebury, and have since been periodically associated with the Homeric megaron and therefore with a Mycenaean ethnic identity.²⁸⁷ They have more recently been identified as specialized dining buildings, especially in light of the excavation of buildings of similar form at Monasteraki Chalasmenos, Vronda, and Smari Prophitis Elias.²⁸⁸ This identification is based on the presence of centralized hearths, apparent food debris, and the contents of the ceramic assemblage. Wallace has pointed to the static form of the plan of the Megaron block as a factor that deliberately set it apart from the progressively agglutinative architecture that characterized many of the other buildings excavated by Pendlebury, and may have been a deliberate method of marking the buildings as special-purpose within the settlement.²⁸⁹ Wallace has more recently argued that the “Mycenaeanizing” megaron form might have been used to denote an exoticism and therefore a level of prestige associated with the use of the building.²⁹⁰

²⁸⁶ Day 2009b.

²⁸⁷ Pendlebury et al. 1937-8b, 70-2. Wallace (2005, 224-5, 238-42) summarizes the debate about ethnic affiliation and re-evaluates the architectural form of the structures.

²⁸⁸ See Wallace (2005, 261-70) for a discussion of the problems in identifying these structures as domestic or special-purpose based on formal characteristics and contents, and an overview of the debate about their cultural and ethnic identification.

²⁸⁹ Wallace 2005, 261-3.

²⁹⁰ Wallace 2011b, 329-30.

The Priest's House and the Great House at Karphi, which have been identified as domestic buildings, also contained evidence suggesting the practice of supra-household feasting and cult practice.²⁹¹ Wallace argues that small concentrations of cult items attached to domestic structures may have represented attempts by large or wealthy families to assert dominance in the community by appropriating ritual practices that were more centralized in other settlements.²⁹² More broadly, however, the multiplicity of areas used for periodic dining and cult practice at Karphi indicate a system where participation in different levels of cult and ritualized dining was a means of reinforcing group cohesion and possibly of accruing social capital, but did not structure the units of social organization to the degree that they did in smaller communities like Vronda and Chalasmenos.²⁹³

As at Chalasmenos, connecting the LM IIIC practices at Karphi with their hypothetical successors at Papoura is impossible without further excavation at the latter site. A similar prediction for a rapid development of larger corporate groups in PG-G can be proposed, however, based on the apparent diversity and contestation of social group dynamics already in place within the community in LM IIIC. In narratives driven by the presence of competitive elite groups, this can be read as evidence for potential instability.²⁹⁴ It also reveals a relatively weak array of adherent social ties to LM IIIC structures, and therefore a lack of the sort of resistance to nucleation and to the formation of larger corporate

²⁹¹ Wallace 2005, 263-4; Day 2009b; Day and Snyder (2004, 75) point to the presence of very large kylikes in the Great House, similar to those from Vronda A-B.

²⁹² Wallace 2005, 270.

²⁹³ Wallace 2011b; Day and Snyder 2004, 77.

²⁹⁴ Cf. Day and Snyder 2004, 77.

groups in PG-G that is apparent in regions like Kavousi. Returning to the question of relative scale, the large size of the population at Karphi compared to other LM IIIC sites discussed here also suggests that the formation of some sort of larger group identity would have been practically necessary for organizing a community of the size to which Papoura quickly grew. The historical fact that Papoura collapsed as a regional center by the sixth century indicates that, whatever the eventual social organizing unit(s) became, it did not produce long-term institutional stability, perhaps because of regionally weak ties to older cultural traditions and identities or even because of the very diversity of initial social groupings present at the beginning of the EIA.

Prinias

Prinias (**Figure 12**) provides the most complete set of diachronic evidence in Central for a similar trajectory in the gradual intersections of cult and communal dining as venues for the construction of group identities over the course of the EIA. Because Prinias was not part of a settlement cluster in LM IIIC, the discontinuities and shifts in practice all occurred within the bounds of the same settlement, but demonstrated many of the same diachronic spatial and practical trends seen in larger regions like Kavousi.

The evidence from LM IIIC Prinias shows a spatial separation of cult and dining practice. A votive deposit containing fragments of GUAs was excavated on the eastern edge of the Patela in association with a large fissure in the bedrock in which the figurines were placed.²⁹⁵ There is no architectural evidence that a bench sanctuary was ever present at the

²⁹⁵ Gesell 1972, 253; Palermo 1999; Pautasso 2014, 64.

site in LM IIIC, and the religious activity was probably open-air at this time.²⁹⁶ This area was abandoned at the end of LM IIIC and was not used again until LG, when additional votive figurines were dedicated and a small building with an *eschara* was built.²⁹⁷

Soundings underneath Temple A revealed activity beginning in LM IIIC in the central area of the settlement.²⁹⁸ The recovered material included a large amount of drinking and dining wares, as well as burned material and animal bone. There were some fragments of GUA figures found to the northeast of Temple A, but the lack of similar cult material in the LM IIIC levels under Temple A indicates that the activities taking place there were likely not strictly religious in nature.²⁹⁹

There was a chronological gap in the pottery from the soundings below Temple A between EPG and PGB/EG. The resumption of feasting activity in the late ninth century was marked by the contents of two pits in the EIA levels, one close to the later hearth in Temple A and the other in the area of its pronaos.³⁰⁰ Evidence for a continuation of communal dining functions after the PG hiatus is marked by a thick layer of very greasy, carbon-rich soil with high concentrations of drinking pottery and bone, dating to the eighth and seventh centuries. The thickness of this stratum of soil indicates that the feasting activities resulting in this

²⁹⁶ Palermo 1999; Prent 2005, 133.

²⁹⁷ Palermo 2006; Pautasso 2014, 64.

²⁹⁸ Pernier 1914, 25, fig. 40; Pautasso 2013.

²⁹⁹ Cf. Babbi 2015.

³⁰⁰ Pautasso 2013, 81-4.

deposition were a regular and periodic occurrence over these two centuries and of similar character to the earlier LM IIIC activity.³⁰¹

Temple B, Temple C, and Building VA-VD were constructed over the course of the later eighth and seventh centuries.³⁰² Temple B has been variously identified as a temple, a ruler's dwelling, and an early *andreion*, all labels based on the presence of a curbed rectangular hearth in the main room, drinking and dining vessels, and the presence of pithos storage in the back room.³⁰³ Temple C has a similar plan and a large rectangular hearth but is not free-standing, and might have served the block of houses in which it is embedded as a cult or group dining building.³⁰⁴ Recent stratigraphic work in this area of the site revealed an earlier phase below Temple C that included evidence for PG occupation and probable cult activity.³⁰⁵ The more recently excavated Building VA-VD has also been identified as another potential early temple/dining space/elite household because of its plan, the presence of a large central hearth, and a trilithic, possibly cultic, installation in Room VD.³⁰⁶ When this building was renovated in the sixth century and the central hearth was covered over, this possible shrine was left intact. The construction of these buildings, which have been identified as ritual spaces of the hearth temple type, as integral parts of the EIA settlement at Prinias points to the growing institutionalization of the architectural form as a recognizable

³⁰¹ Pautasso 2013, 84.

³⁰² Rizza 1983; 1991; 2008, 300-2; Pautasso 2014, 64-73.

³⁰³ Pernier 1914, 42; D'Acunto 1995, 26-9; Prent 2005, 253-4.

³⁰⁴ D'Acunto 1995, 17; Rizza 2008, 225-32; Prent 2005, 259.

³⁰⁵ Palermo 2006, 364; Rizza 2008, Rizza 2011, 45-6; Pautasso 2014, 65.

³⁰⁶ Rizza et al. 2003, 814-17; Palermo et al. 2004, 254-62; Rizza et al. 2005, 603-7; Palermo et al. 2007; Palermo et al. 2008, 195-206; Palermo et al. 2012; Pautasso 2014, 70.

component of settlements. It also drives home the embedded multiplicity of parallel ritual loci within the Geometric settlement that should correspond to contemporary social units.

Temple A was constructed in the mid-seventh century BCE, effectively putting an end to the open-air feasting activities that previously took place in this part of the site. Temple A is a large rectangular building with a curbed rectangular hearth in its center. Partially preserved along the western and southern walls are the remains of stone benches. Burned animal bones were excavated from the hearth and painted fine ware pottery and relief pithoi were present on the floor. There is no evidence for organized cult activity inside the building, such as a cult statue similar to those from Dreros or a base that could indicate that one had been removed. Unlike the earlier hearth-centered buildings at Prinias, Temple A was entirely free-standing, at a slightly different orientation from the rest of the settlement, and decorated with architectural sculpture depicting armed horsemen, seated goddesses, panthers, and stags.³⁰⁷ It represents the final stages of the development of the site plan at Prinias, but not necessarily a departure from the social or ritual function of the earlier hearth-centered buildings.

Prinias therefore underwent a series of transitions in the forms of cult and ritual dining practices recognizable from the Kavousi region. The sequence of use of cult spaces in particular demonstrates that the discontinuities in LM IIIC cult practices in the LM IIIC-PG transition were not just the result of the abandonment of sites: the LM IIIC votive deposit on the eastern margin of the Patela did not continue into PG, and no clear analogous separate locus of PG cult has been identified at Prinias, raising the likelihood that ritual activities

³⁰⁷ Pernier 1914. For a re-examination of the plan of Temple A and its relationship with the plan of the rest of the settlement, see Pautasso and Rizza (2013).

coalesced on the area of Temples A and B and Building VA-VD and communal dining became the dominant and continuous mode of negotiating and creating group identities. With the exception of the perceived chronological gap in the evidence for dining activities under Temple A, group feasting was an ongoing mode of communal interactions and identity production throughout the life of the settlement. The construction of multiple hearth-centered buildings over the course of the eighth and seventh centuries should therefore represent heterarchical corporate groups within the community that expressed their identity through the use of increasingly formalized and shared architectural structures. These developments at Prinias emerged out of a long-standing EIA tradition of hearth buildings used for ritualized dining, however, and should not be interpreted as the emergence of new political or architectural forms related specifically to polis development. Even Temple A, traditionally identified as an early stage in the emergence of civic temples because of its incorporation of architectural sculpture depicting armed horsemen and goddesses, belongs entirely to this EIA tradition rather than showing any clear evidence for the initiation of formalized public/poliad cult at Prinias.³⁰⁸

Thronos Kephala

Ritualized dining was practiced at Thronos Kephala in the Amari Valley starting in LM IIIC.³⁰⁹ In the excavated portion of the site, located on the flat top of the Kephala hill, most of the archaeological material comes from the contents of 53 pits dug into the soft bedrock. These deposits were composed of drinking, dining, and cooking wares,

³⁰⁸ Cf. Carter 1997.

³⁰⁹ Rocchetti 1994.

accompanied by animal bones and ash.³¹⁰ With the exception of one human figurine, there was no material that could be characterized as cultic in these deposits. The pit deposits continued in use between LM IIIC and the end of the Protogeometric period. Each deposit marked the gathered debris from a discrete dining event, based on the number of joins within deposits, and the lack of joins between pit deposits.³¹¹ The sizes of individual deposits varied, and is potential evidence for the presence of groups of different sizes that participated in individual events.

Three buildings arranged along the northern border of the plateau were contemporary with the contents of the pits. The exact function of two of these buildings is unclear in the LM IIIC period, but the hearth in Building 1 may have been used for the food preparation.³¹² Building 3, originally constructed in LM IIIC, was partially reconstructed in PG and contained material indicating a specialized function that included group dining. D'Agata argues that this building was used by a small elite group within the community as a space for feasting and initiation ceremonies based on the iconography of dancing warriors on a pictorial krater found there.³¹³ This development may point to the presence of different audiences within the community that operated on different social levels. There is no clear evidence for domestic occupation of the hill's summit, indicating that the Kephala hill represented specialized ritual space for the inhabitants of the Thronos community.

³¹⁰ Rocchetti 1994; Metaxa-Prokopiou 1994; Metaxa-Prokopiou 1991b; D'Agata 1997-2000. Similar pits excavated at Chamalevri, dating exclusively to LM IIIC, indicate similar patterns of activity, perhaps a regional pattern different than that seen in East and Central Crete: Metaxa-Prokopiou 1994, 253-4; Andreadaki-Vlazaki and Papadopoulou 2005.

³¹¹ Metaxa-Prokopiou 1991b, 379, 400.

³¹² Rocchetti 1994, 245.

³¹³ D'Agata 2002; 2003; 2012.

At the end of the ninth century, the periodic feasting activities that produced the pit deposits ceased. In the eighth century, new construction consisted primarily of Building A1, which D'Agata has argued is a hearth temple based on its form and the previous function of the deposits on the summit.³¹⁴ The structure was in use between the eighth and seventh centuries, but its internal form and contents were highly disturbed by a large Roman building.

Thronos provides no evidence for dedicated cult spaces and therefore does not demonstrate whether the discontinuities in cult practice between LM IIIC and PG apparent at other sites were also present at Thronos. The clear pattern of continuity in the evidence for feasting activities demonstrates a strong adherence to patterns established at the beginning of the EIA and therefore a continuity of foundational social units. The gradual appearance of dedicated buildings that have evidence for more exclusive practices suggest that new groups or social units began to emerge from the ninth century onwards at Thronos. D'Agata links these shifts in practice with social changes within the community that she associates with the early stages of state formation but does not discuss in the context of broader regional developments.³¹⁵

Conclusions

Based on this survey of several case studies, the spatial and social interactions between practices of communal cult and communal feasting provide a means of tracing the evolution of social organizing principles within regional communities over the course of the EIA on Crete. Many of these practices had their origins in the Bronze Age but were firmly

³¹⁴ D'Agata 1999b; 2000.

³¹⁵ D'Agata 1999a; 2000, 334.

established in newly regularized forms in many LM IIIC settlements. These practices operated as structured methods for the expression of social identity at different levels by discrete groups within small, newly-founded communities.

The contribution of this chapter is to highlight the role that these practices had in structuring the ongoing formation of larger social and political groups within the physical bounds of settlements that eventually emerged in the form of the tribal structure attested in the Cretan polis. I argue here that the reorganization of cult and dining practices in the context of emerging PG nuclei was the watershed moment for the early formalization of larger corporate entities, perhaps to be identified with clans. In particular, the continued centrality of communal dining events to these developments between LM IIIC and the seventh century provides evidence for a continuity of practice that helped to combat any instability that discontinuities in cult practice and settlement location within regions might have prompted.

One aspect of this argument is the reconsideration of the social role of the Cretan “hearth temple” of the eighth and seventh centuries. These structures and their associated activities developed out of social practices well established by at least the end of PG, as demonstrated by the examples presented in this chapter and by other prominent examples like Temples A and B at Kommos. Therefore, the hearth temple as it is understood as a LG-O architectural type within settlements like Dreros or Prinias was not a relatively short-lived phenomenon on Crete. Their prominence in LG-Ar settlements can be partially attributed to archaeological priorities in excavation but also to their role in the ongoing crystallization of large corporate groups within Protoarchaic proto-poleis like Azoria as part of the gradual

emergence of polis institutions like the *andreion* that continued to be structured by the presence of large corporate-kinship groups within the community.

CHAPTER 6

A goal of this project has been to visualize what the Protogeometric period looked like on Crete in spatial and social terms and, beyond this, to begin to connect the spatial directly with the social on the regional scale. By doing so, I propose here a narrative about socio-political development in settlement regions over the course of the EIA that is less dependent on anachronistic and teleological reconstructions of the origins of polis institutions and demonstrates the necessity of a more diachronic approach to the period. By combining and integrating available site types drawn from regional investigations, it is possible to take the first step in building a picture of increasingly complex physical and social communities, and their contemporary local strategies for creating and maintaining group identities in what has traditionally been interpreted as an unstable period in the Aegean.

The intention at the outset of this project was to avoid the thorny question of polis development on Crete to the extent that it is possible in any discussion of the EIA. What polis development looked like on Crete archaeologically is still an open question, given the lack of consensus about such things as the involvement and motivation of aristocratic groups in this process and the accompanying lack of excavated settlements of the sixth century. Given the centrality of polis development in current discussions of EIA archaeology and society on Crete, and especially the search for its origins in visible transitional moments in the EIA, this goal proved to be both impossible and ultimately self-defeating. Despite this, my approach throughout in considering the impact of the systemic changes experienced by the most

archaeologically visible regions across Crete in the tenth and ninth centuries BCE has been to treat them as contextualized phenomena rather than as precursors to the inevitable polis.

To that end, a focus on the Protogeometric period serves as an entry point into new formulations of political development during the EIA rather than as an end in and of itself: an understanding of the processes at work in PG sheds light on the larger historical trajectory of the period. As part of this, I sought to understand the relationship between the spatial patterns identifiable in the archaeological record on the regional and settlement levels and the social patterns that governed them. The archaeological evidence that supports the reconstructions of these patterns does not always provide integrated or even matching pictures of the spatial and social spheres. The spatial patterns are determined by topographical data, especially at the regional level, and illustrate the boundaries of the community. The social patterns are based on the organization and specific forms of settlement and mortuary contexts. These patterns illustrate the social organization and cohesion of the community but do not provide any information about the physical or economic boundaries of regional territories. In order to visualize the early stages of state formation on Crete, these two sets of archaeological and historical narratives must be integrated. The purpose of these adherent and nucleation models proposed as part of this project was to introduce new methods of conceptualizing these categories of evidence under the same rubric.

The spatial shifts in settlement patterns over the course of the EIA are relatively simple to reconstruct, especially thanks to the abundant survey data from many parts of Crete. Lacunae in the data exist in individual regions considered here, but overall trends can be recreated based on broad contemporary similarities across the island. Reconstructing social patterns is more difficult because of both the diversity of local strategies of managing

the sometimes-competing interests of different sets of group identities within topographically-mobile and growing communities, and a lack of consensus about the terminology and evidence necessary to defining these identities.

In overall terms, the social transformations that took place on Crete during the EIA can be described as a move from small kin-based groups in LM IIIC, which were materially defined through such things as architecturally distinct house units and genetically-based ritual activities, to the emergence of epigraphically-attested tribal affiliations that largely replaced kinship-based groups as the principal units of social organization and identity within newly formed polities. The ongoing challenge in archaeological fieldwork and scholarship is to define the intermediary stage between these two endpoints, which took place in the period of the EIA of lowest archaeological and historical visibility.

In broad terms, this intermediary stage should be characterized by the persistence of the kin-group identities that structured LM IIIC communities, but also marks the point at which these groups gradually became more inclusive or even increasingly fictive. These increasingly large and coalescent groups, which are often labeled as clans, defined themselves within regional landscapes and settlements through a variety of architectural and practical means that grew out of older LM IIIC traditions. At the heart of understanding the intersections between the new spatial and social patterns that emerged in different regions during PG, and the focus on patterns of continuity between LM IIIC and PG, is the historical need to visualize how these clans contributed to the emergence of proto-polities between the tenth and seventh centuries BCE.

In working to correlate the picture of expanding physical territories of nucleated sites with expanding social and political units, I argue that regions that adhered to highly localized

LM IIC landscapes during PG and later tended to maintain smaller kinship-based social units for a longer period of time than did faster-nucleating regions with larger territories and catchment areas. Because of the greater sizes of the original regions and the corresponding greater diversity of ancestral identities, nucleated regions are hypothesized here to have developed clan-level units at an earlier date as a response to the need for smooth processes of social integration involved in the formation of large PG communities.

More broadly, however, the growing levels of social ties evident in EIA communities means that networks of social identities became more complex and multivariable over time. The greater array of social identities resulted in the development of a parallel array of private and public venues in which to express them, such as houses and hearth temples. The challenge lies in determining which of them contributed directly to the development of political institutions and which remained tied exclusively to smaller-scale kinship-groups. Differentiating the social influences or expressions of these different groups should not imply the suppression of any of them as a consequence, even after the horizon of polis development in the seventh century: the presence of a citizen class or tribal groups does not mean that kinship on the familial or clan levels did not remain a crucial part of inclusion in the political community. That being said, the formalization of practices like group feasting, and the accompanying emergence of the hearth temple as an architectural and potentially exclusionary space for these activities, points to the abiding need for increasingly institutionalized mediation of tensions between different social groups or networks within EIA Cretan communities.

More broadly, the aim of this project has been to visualize the fluidity of these processes of regional and communal development that took place over the course of the EIA,

with an emphasis on the continual interplay between social and topographical components of various culture-regions. This picture of ongoing negotiations of social identity through the reuse and exploitation of older sites within regions and the longevity of ritualized behaviors speaks against traditional systems of cultural periodization built around ceramic typologies.³¹⁶

In terms of necessary future work, this project highlights two large holes in the material and chronological record that preclude a complete and nuanced understanding of social and political developments of EIA Cretan society. The first is the lack of excavations at large nucleated settlements, especially at Prophitis Elias and Papoura. Whether sites like Prophitis Elias did in fact represent a different strategy of achieving social cohesion or whether they represented a different scale of the adherent model for which there is not currently available archaeological evidence needs to be investigated through the excavation of the settlements themselves and the identification of their contemporary cemeteries.

Related to this need for the targeted excavation of PG-G settlement sites is the necessity of a more socially contextualized understanding of the chronology and use of hearth temples. The newly excavated hearth buildings from Azoria and the chronology of previously excavated hearth temples, like those from Deros and Prinias, indicate that these structures represented a transformative period in the formalization of larger corporate groups within the community and their use of specialized spaces for ritualized dining practices. Precursors of the hearth temple in its developed form, such as Temple A at Kommos, illustrate the long history of the general building type on Crete starting in PG and its connection with specialized functions, however. Moreover, the presence of hearth temples at

³¹⁶ Cf. Morris 1997; Kotsonas 2016.

Kommos and their use by a much wider audience composed of Cretans and non-Cretans demonstrates the need to reconsider this class of buildings as part of a suite of adaptable pan-Cretan practices that were rooted in LM IIIC communal identities. More broadly, all of the architectural and spatial settings of ritualized dining between PG and LG need to be explored more, as this is one of the remaining blind spots in the patterns of continuity and discontinuity seen between LM IIIC and the beginning of the Archaic period that contributes to the wide-spread tendency to attribute Archaic social identities and institutions like the *andreion* to Protogeometric populations.

Another focus of future work needs to be a new examination of the relationship between PG Crete and the rest of the Aegean. This dissertation was partially developed as a response to Irene Lemos' partitioning of Crete from the rest of the Aegean because of its different developmental trajectory.³¹⁷ The fuller picture of PG on Crete that has been built in the last sixteen years since the publication of *The Protogeometric Aegean* indicates the need for a new large-scale appraisal of Crete in its broader Aegean setting, discussing aspects of the transmission of material culture and economic interactions, and comparative levels of internal stability and cohesion as determined by settlement structures and reconstructed social organization.³¹⁸ This avenue of research will also require the careful untangling of models about polis development and EIA society that were developed based on mainland centers from the archaeological evidence presented on Crete, as well as from the influence of

³¹⁷ Lemos 2002, 1.

³¹⁸ Wallace (2006; 2010, 88-103, 249-500) has compared developments on Crete and in other areas of the Aegean, primarily as a means of demonstrating the "successful" response to widespread collapse that she identifies on Crete at the beginning of the EIA.

ideas of Cretan exceptionalism that originally rose out of Classical perceptions of Cretan society.³¹⁹

This study has demonstrated the importance of understanding the degree of continuity and stability inherent in PG developments as the period has been pulled between social constructions of stability and of instability based on different interpretations of topographical mobility and of evidence for social stratification within communities. This study works to support a model of the essential continuity of communities between LM IIIC and Ar and the organized efforts made by these communities to resist instability through an early organization of codified ritual practices that enabled the steady formation of increasingly inclusive corporate groups. This is not to say that the stability of PG-G communities and their social practices guaranteed the emergence of poleis, however: the almost universal pattern of spatial discontinuities in regional settlement patterns during the Archaic period on Crete points to additional social factors that are still poorly understood because of their low visibility.³²⁰ Understanding the Protogeometric period is essential to understanding the Late Geometric period and even the beginning of the Archaic period, but it is not enough to draw a straight line between the tenth and fifth centuries without understanding the complex of intersecting social interests that contributed to the slow emergence of the polis.

³¹⁹ Perlman 2005; Gagarin and Perlman 2016, 32-4.

³²⁰ Kotsonas (2002) argues that the low archaeological visibility of polis formation and the sixth century in general on Crete was because of a switch to less ostentatious and therefore less materially-marked expressions of social identity in addition to the low rates of excavations of Archaic sites.

FIGURES

	Attica	Knossos: Brock, Coldstream	Central Crete: Snodgrass	East Crete: Snodgrass	East Crete: Kavousi Kastro	West Crete: Eleutherna/ Orthi Petra
1200			LM IIIB?			
1150		LM IIIC	LM IIIC	LM IIIC	LM IIIC (Phases I- III)	
1100						
1050		SM				
1000	MPG		SM			
950	LPG	EPG		SM	LM IIIC- EPG (Phase IV)	
900		MPG				MPG
	EG I					
	EG II	LPG	PG		PG (Phase V)	LPG
850	MG I	PGB				PGB
			PGB		SubPG (Phase VI)	
800	MG II	EG	EG	MG	PGB	EG

Figure 1: Chronologies for PG Cretan pottery.

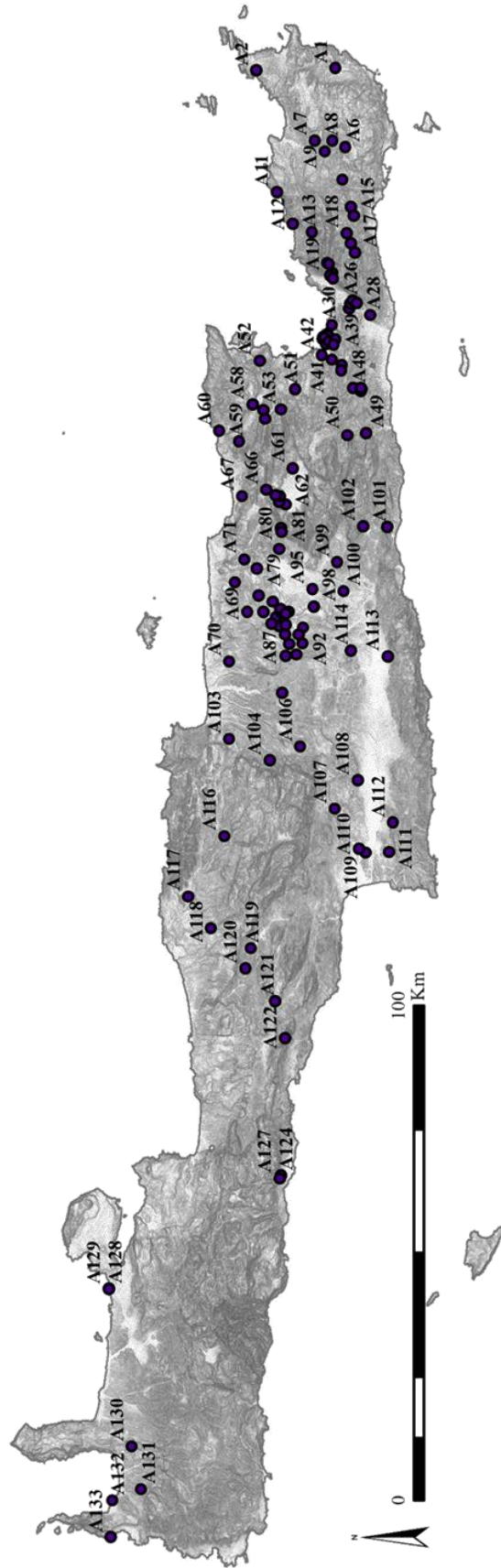


Figure 2: PG settlements on Crete

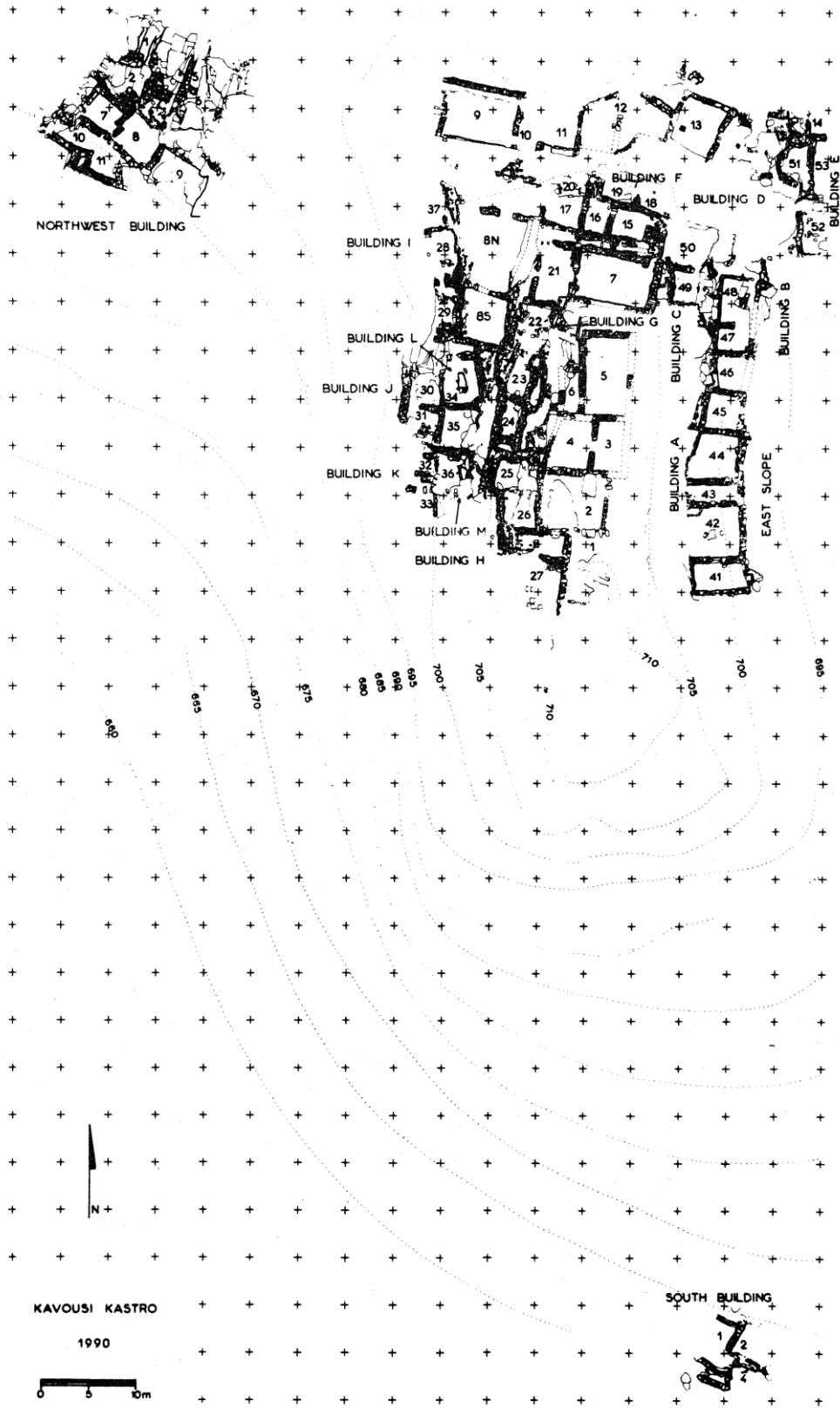


Figure 3: Kavousi Kastro (Gesell et al. 1995, fig. 2).

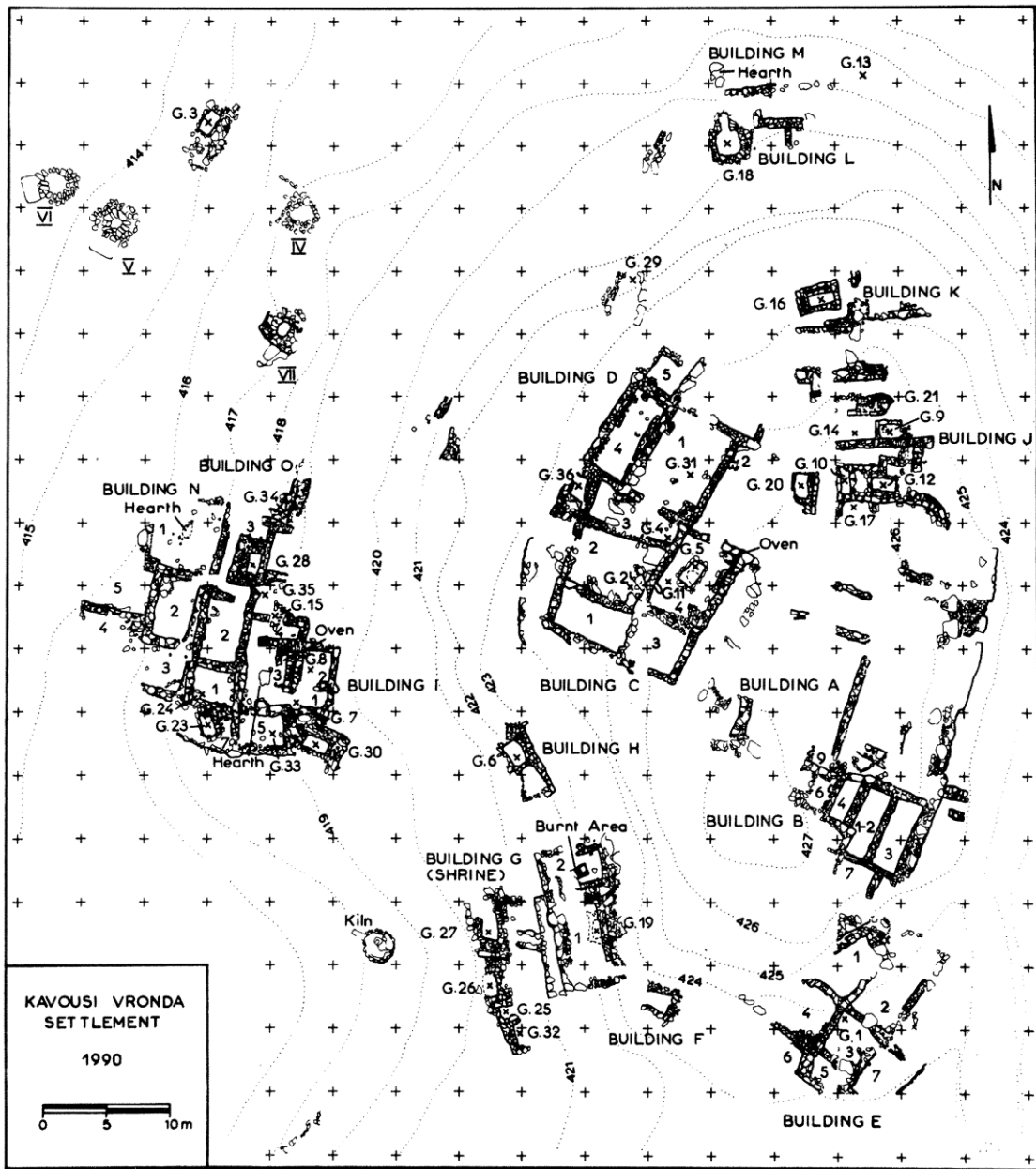


Figure 4: Kavousi Vronda state plan (Gesell et al. 1995, fig. 1

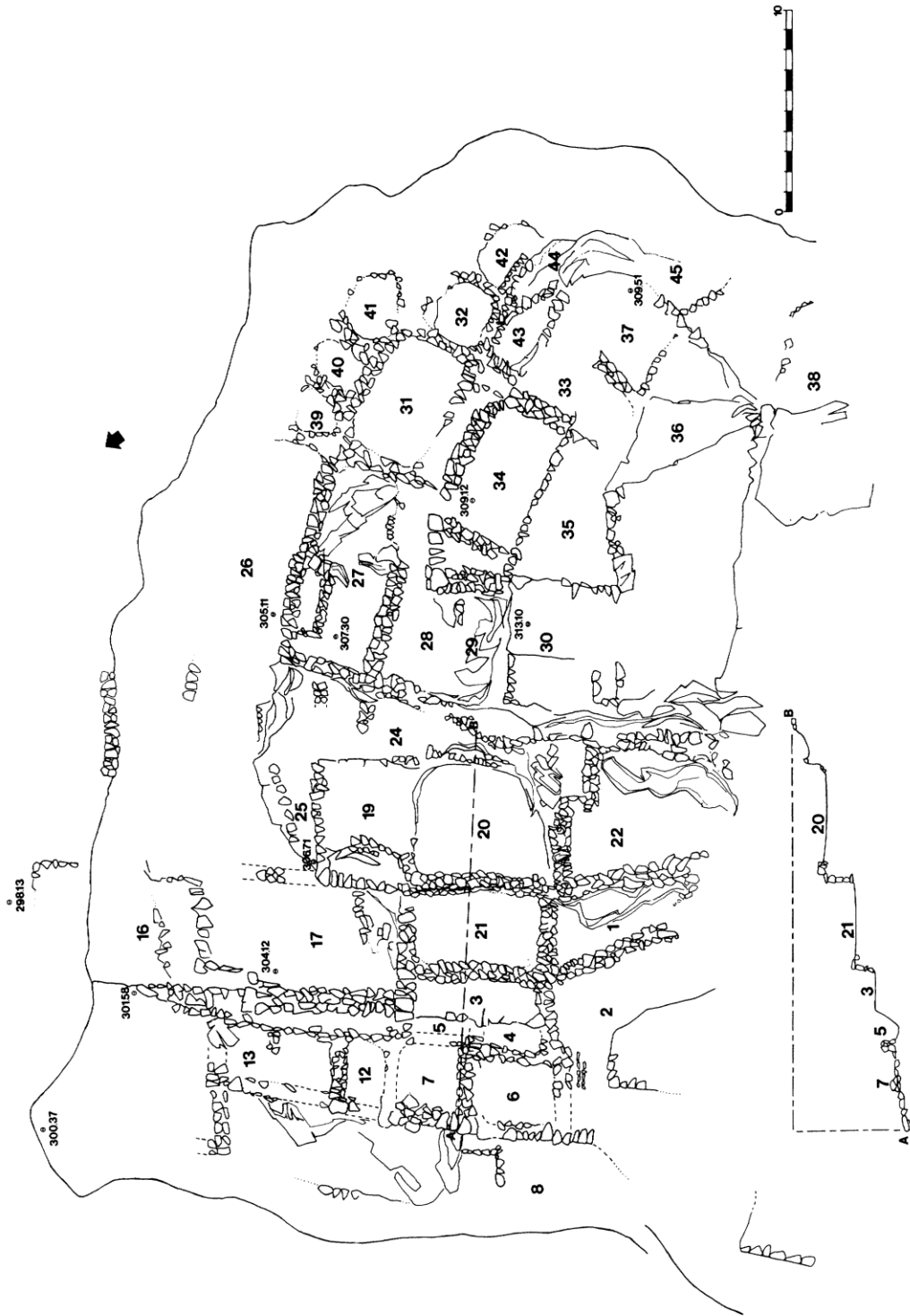


Figure 5: Vrokastro, Upper Settlement (Hayden 1983, fig. 3)

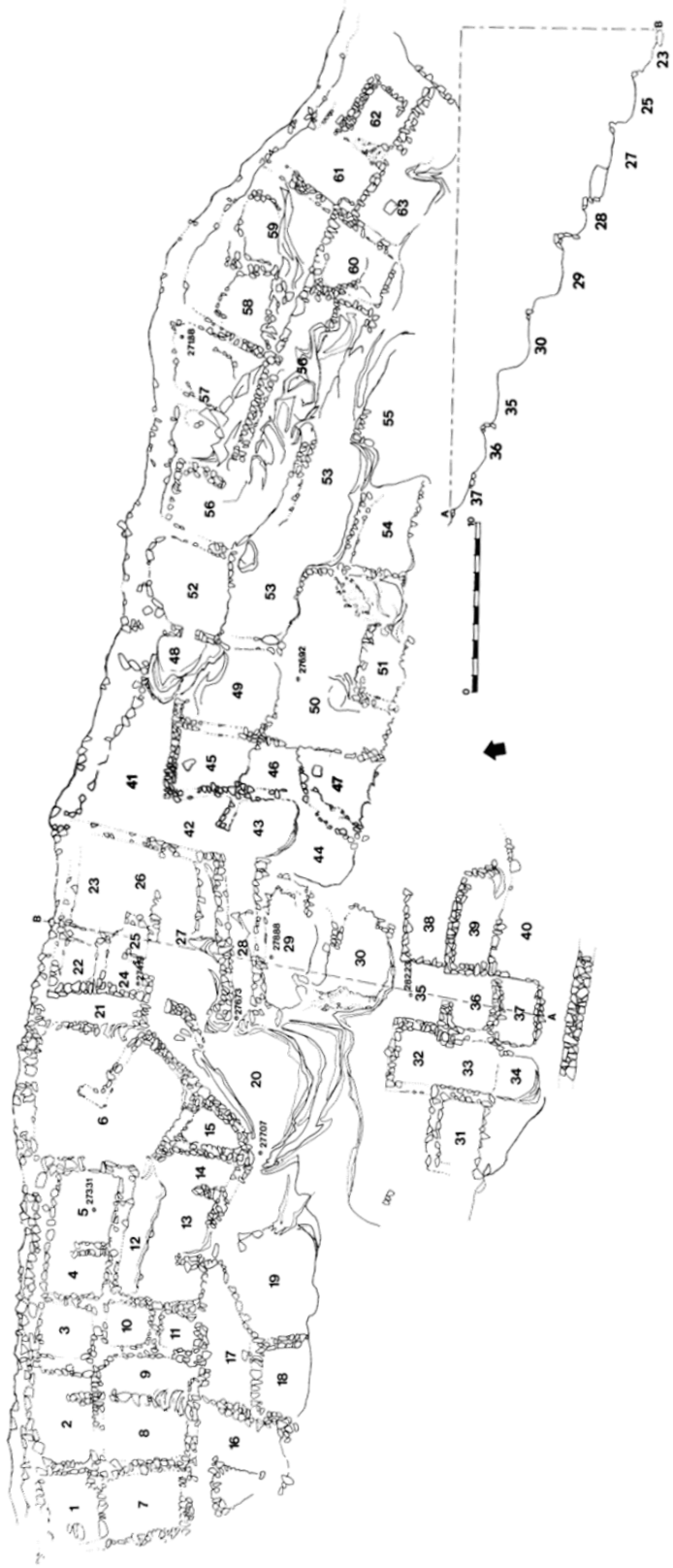


Figure 6: Vrokastro, Lower Settlement (Hayden 1983, fig.6, 7).

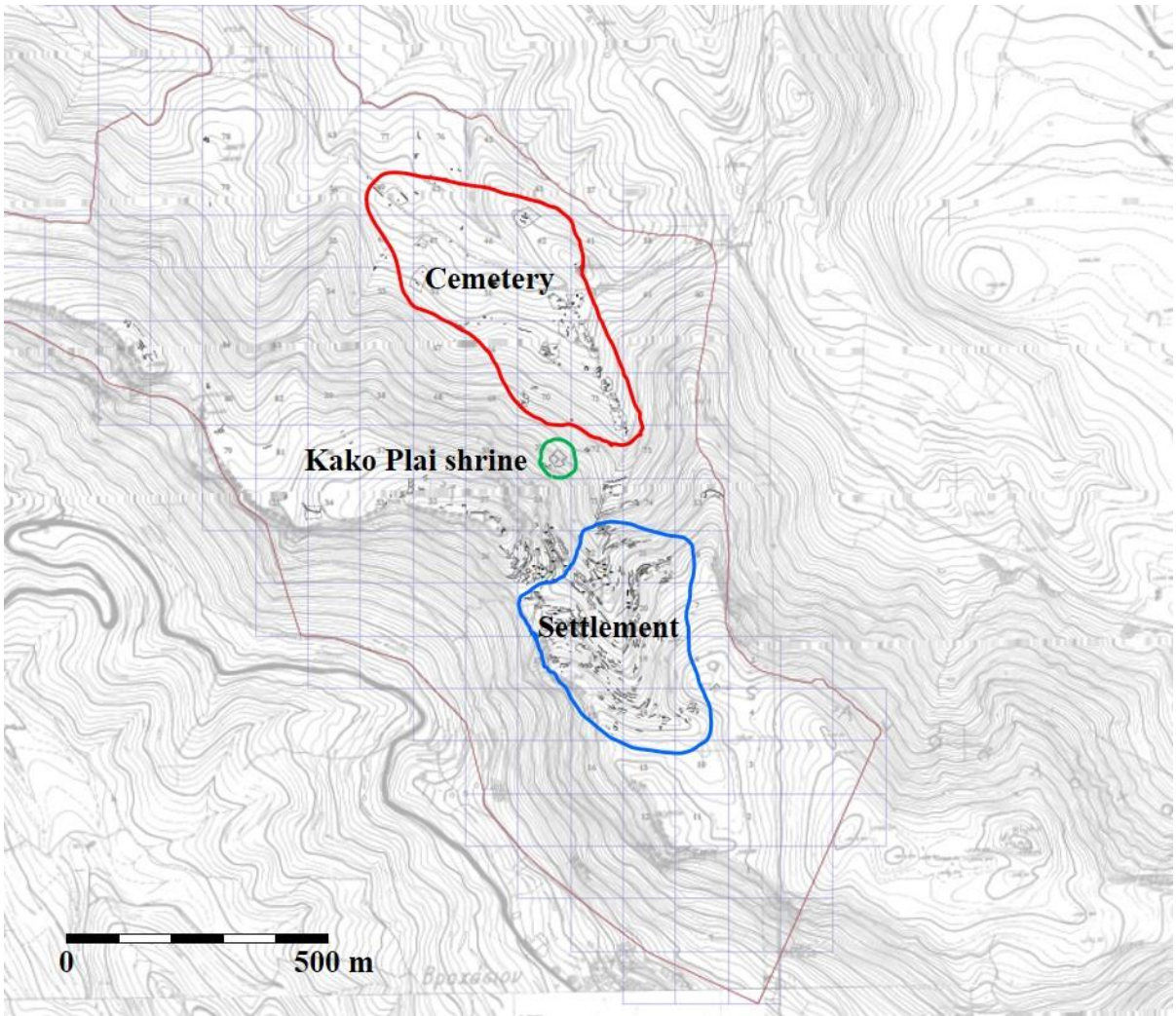


Figure 7: Anavlochos (map: EfA//Mission Anavlochos/L. Fadin).

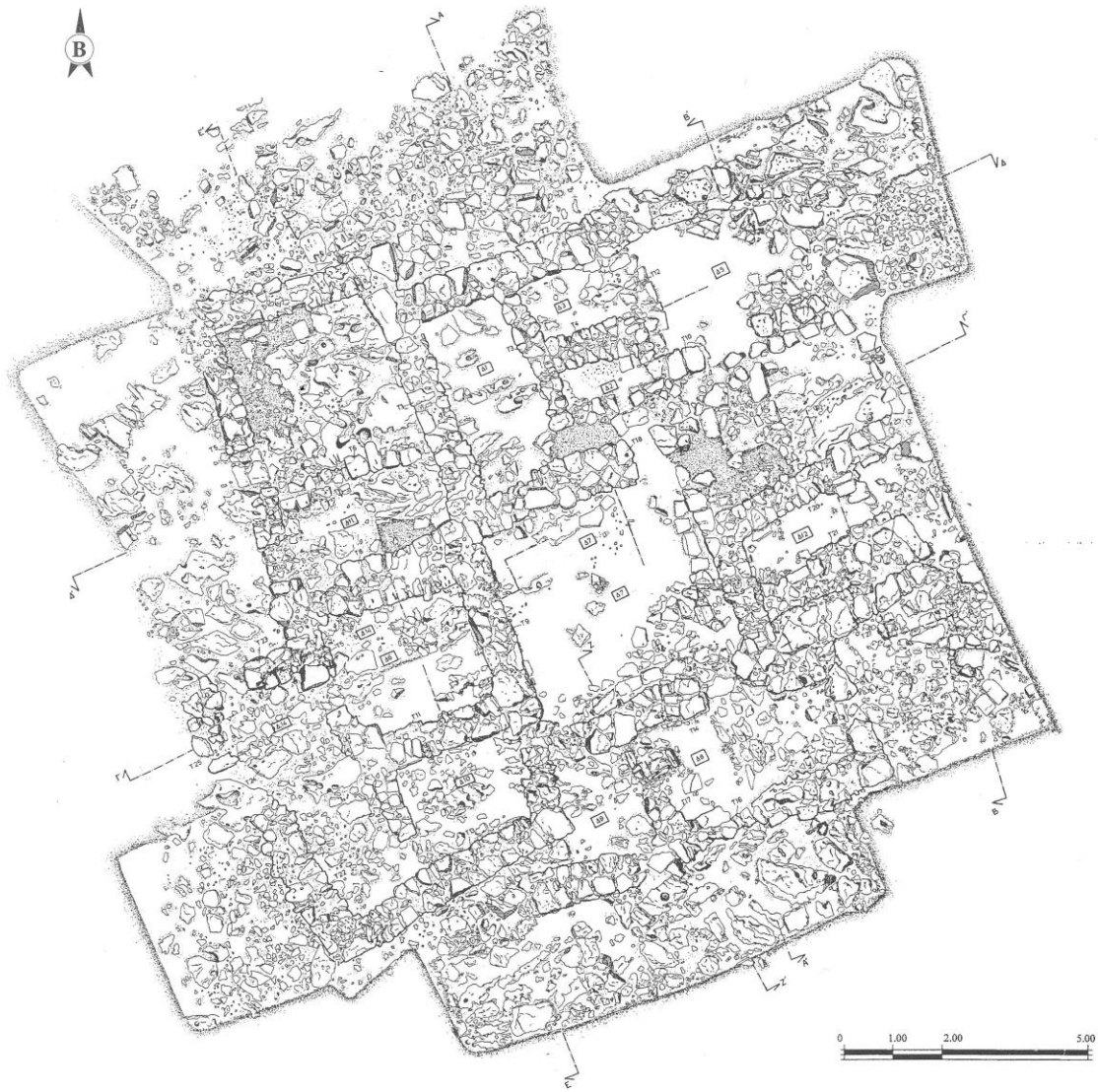


Figure 8: Thesi Pezoula state plan (Mandalaki 2006, fig. 25).

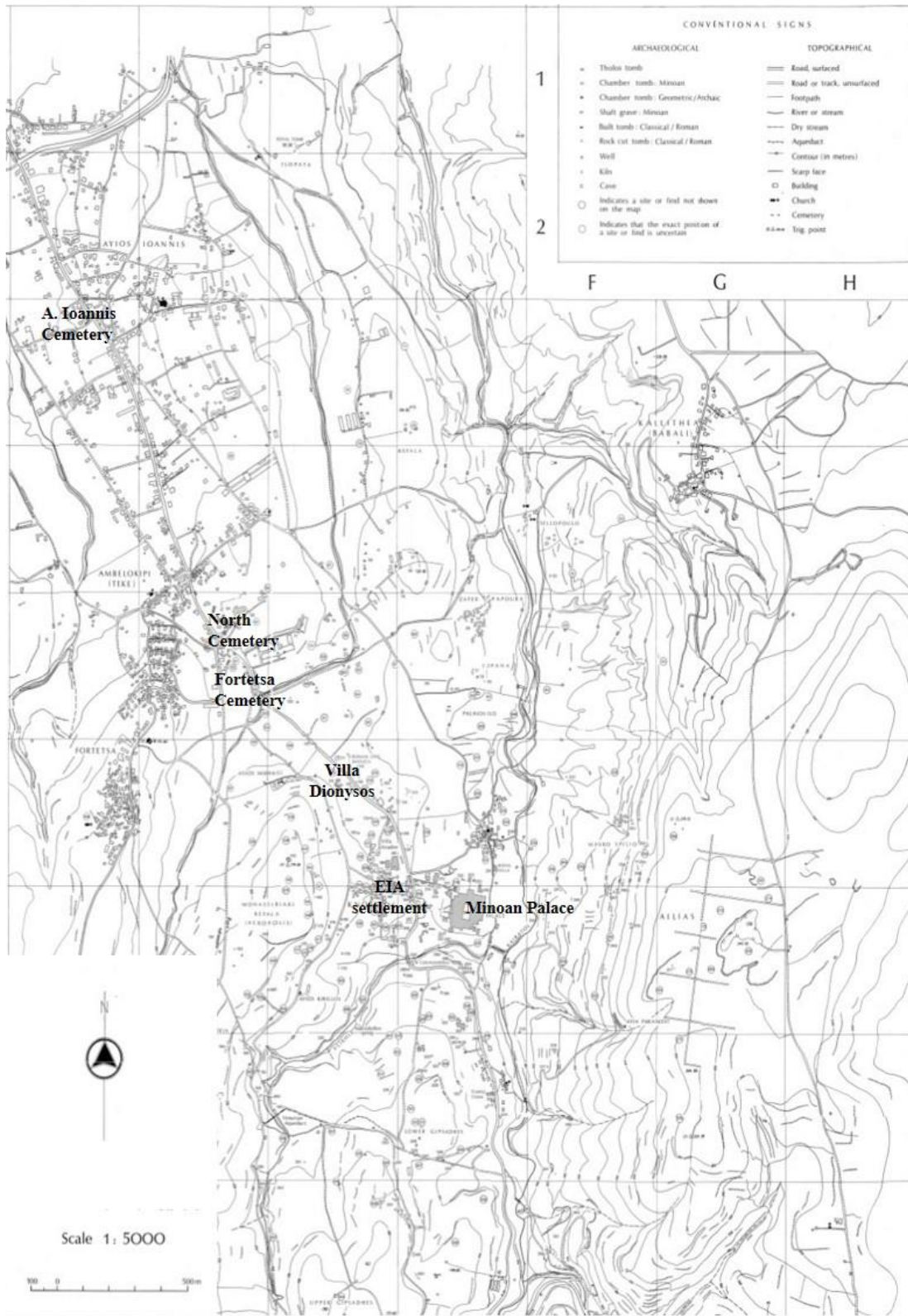


Figure 9: Knossos region (modified from Hood and Smyth 1981, foldout map).



Figure 10: Reconstruction of Smari Prophitis Elias in LM IIIC (Chatzi-Vallianou 2001-4, fig. 23).

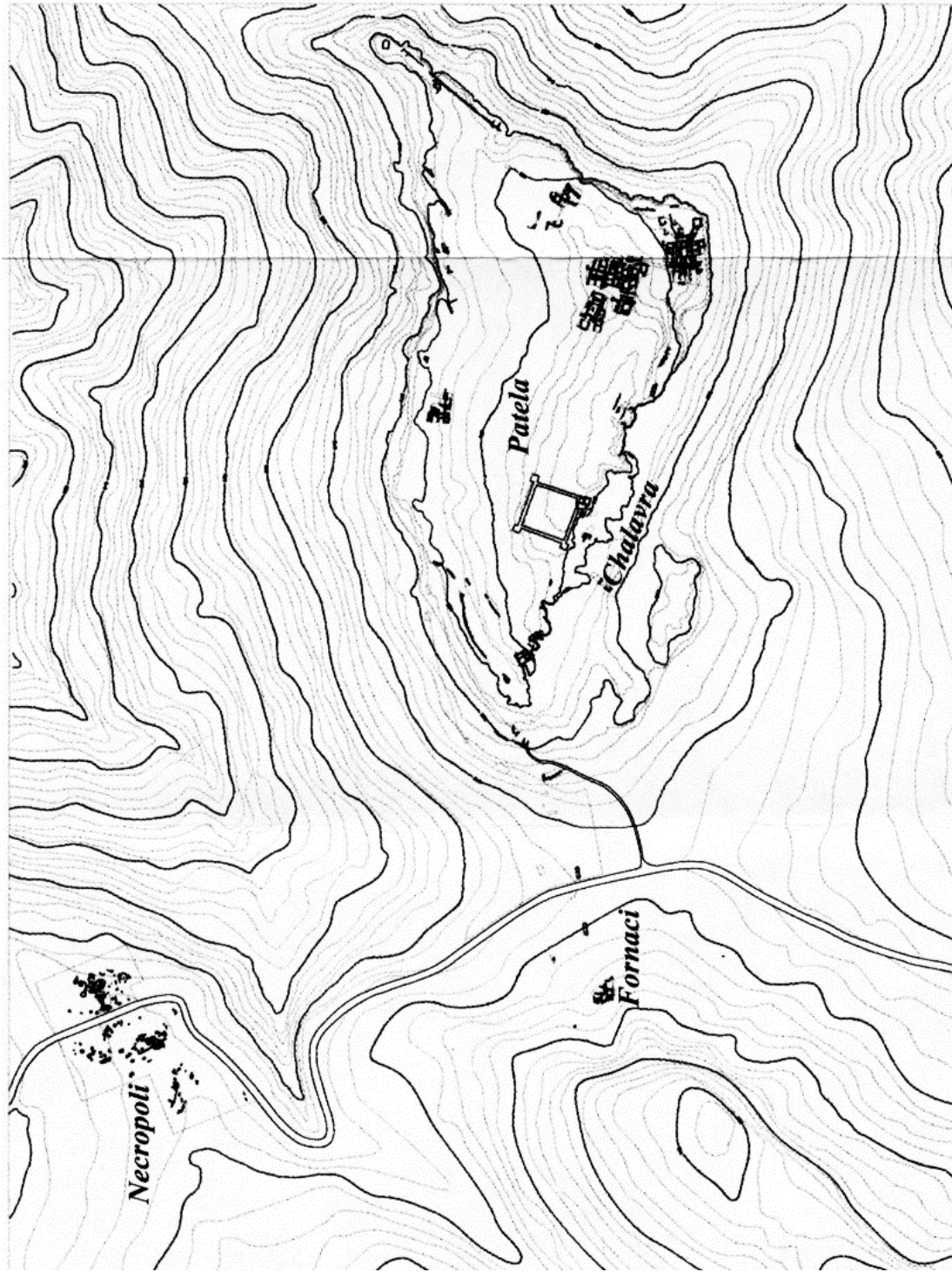


Figure 11: Prinias Patela (Rizza 2008, Tav. A)..

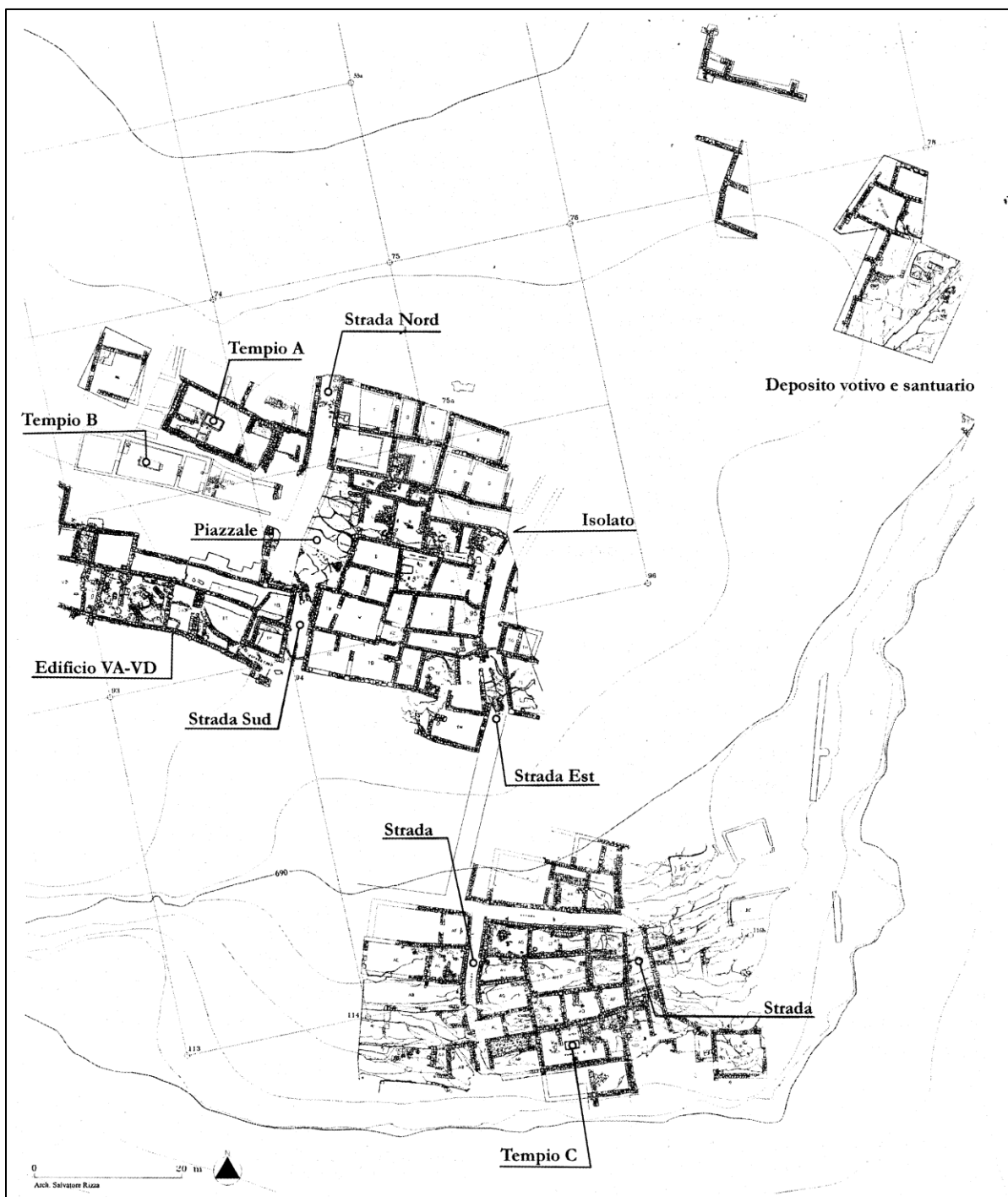


Figure 12: Prinias Patela settlement (Rizza 2011, fig. 28).

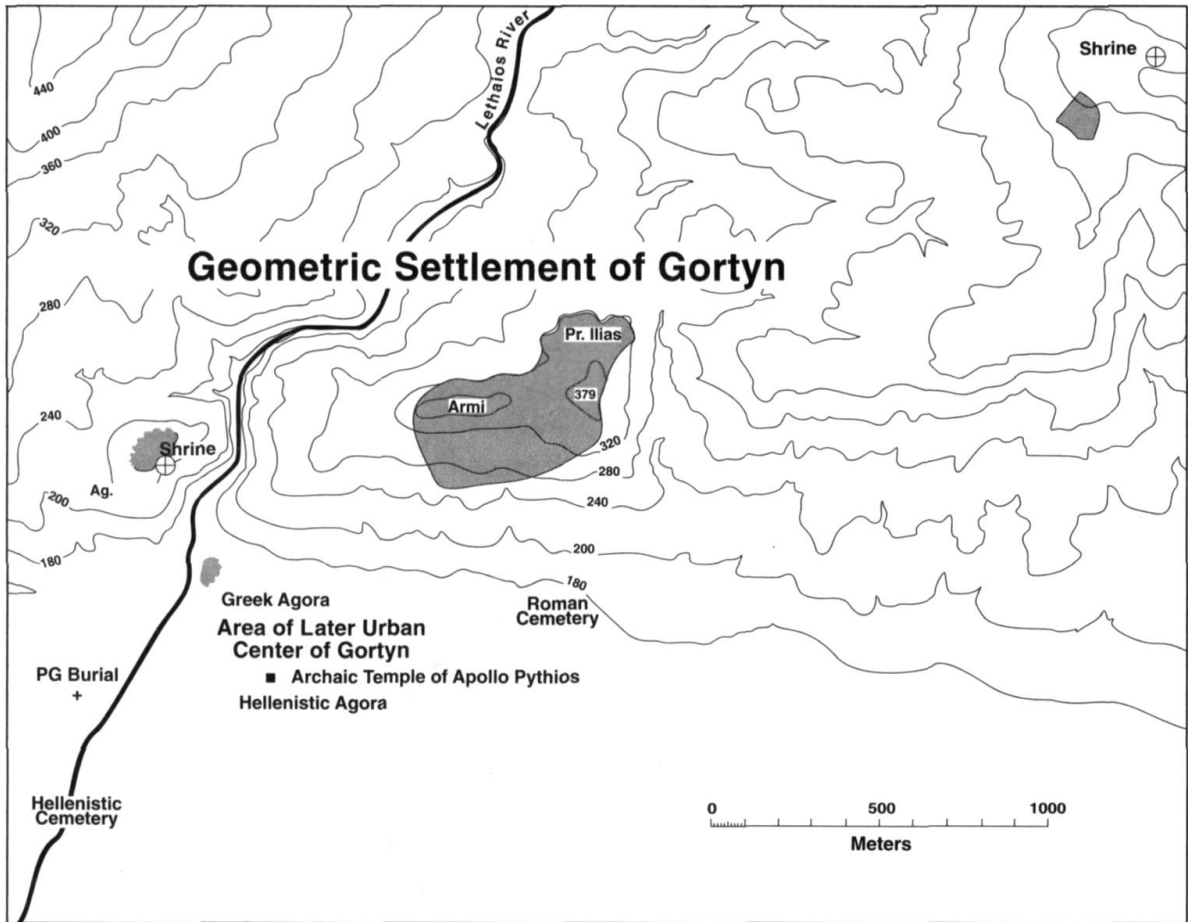


Figure 13: Gortyn region (Watrous et al. 2004, fig. 12.1).

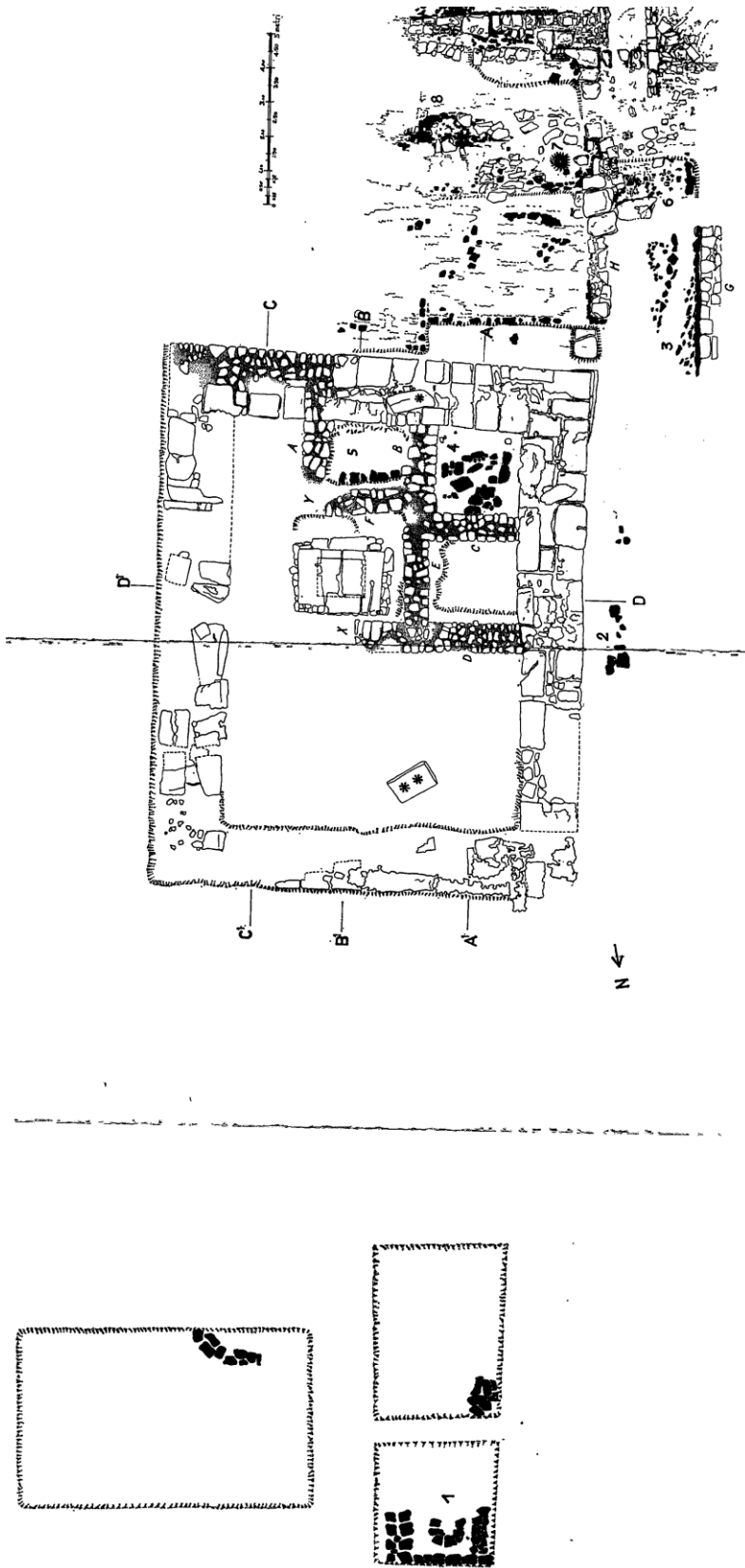


Figure 14: Gortyn, Agios Ioannis Acropolis: EIA architecture in solid black (Rizza and Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, Tav. A).

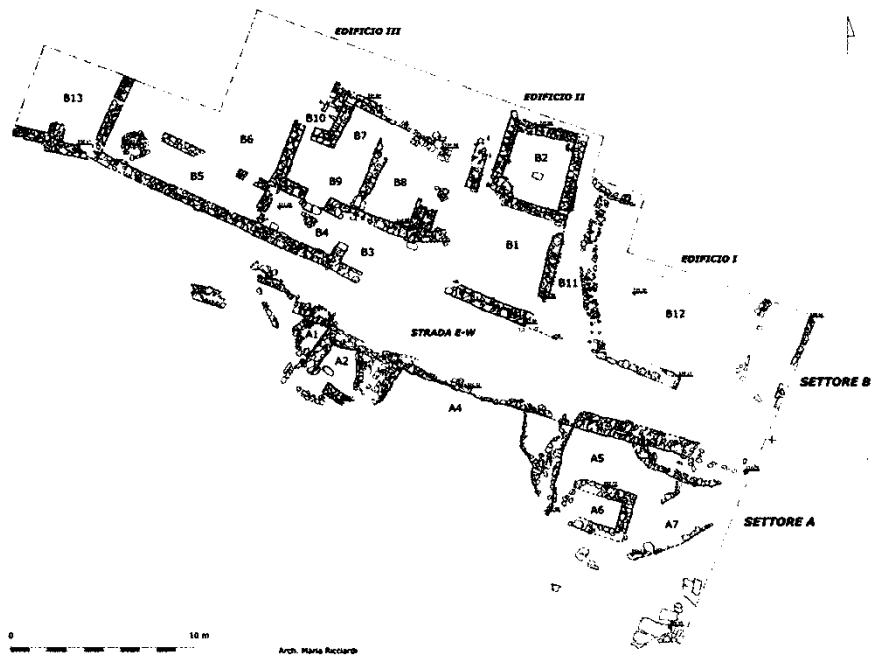


Figure 15: Gortyn, Prophitis Elias settlement (Allegro and Santaniello 2011, fig 5).

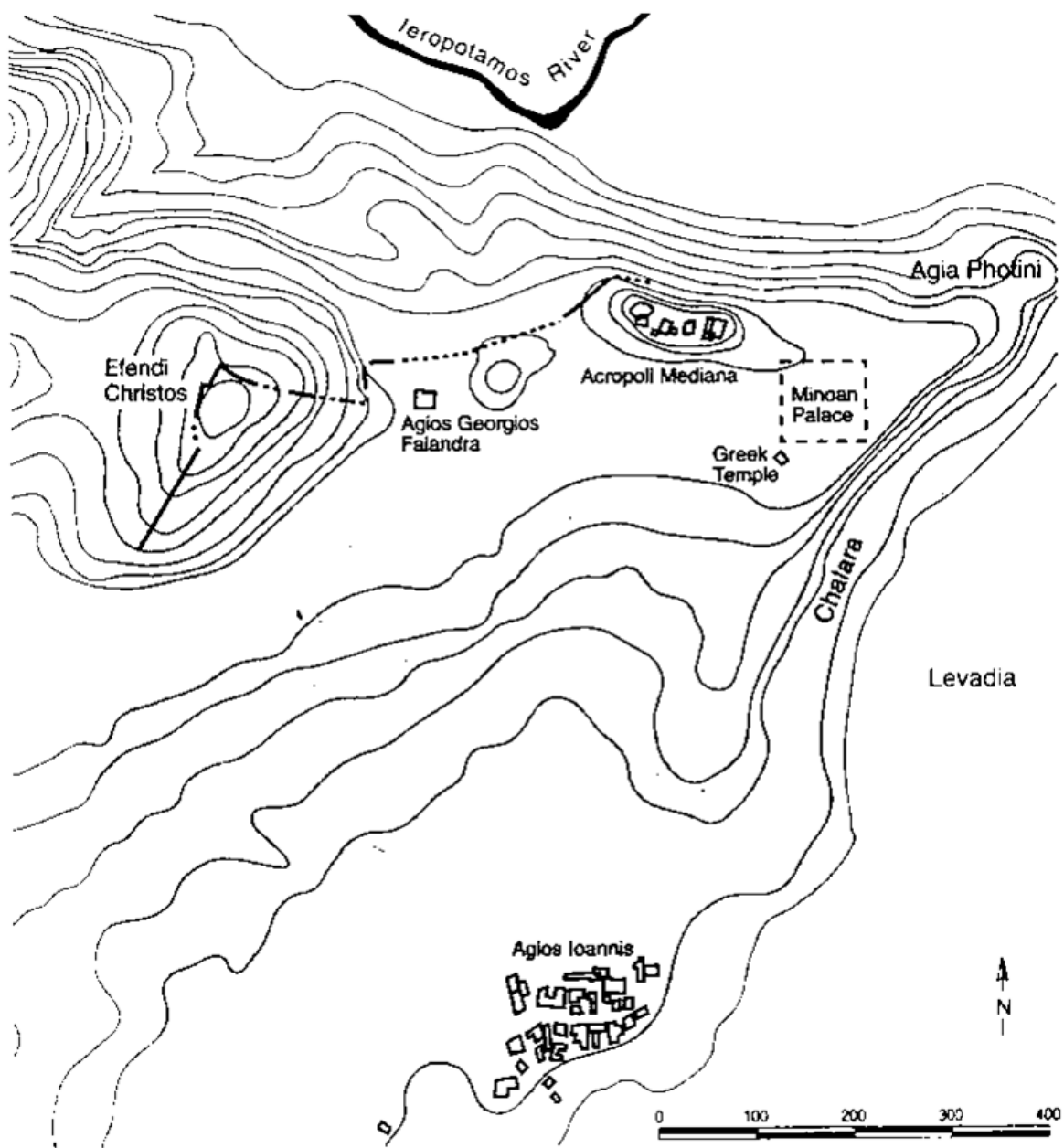


Figure 16: Phaistos (Watrous et al. 2004, fig. 11.19).

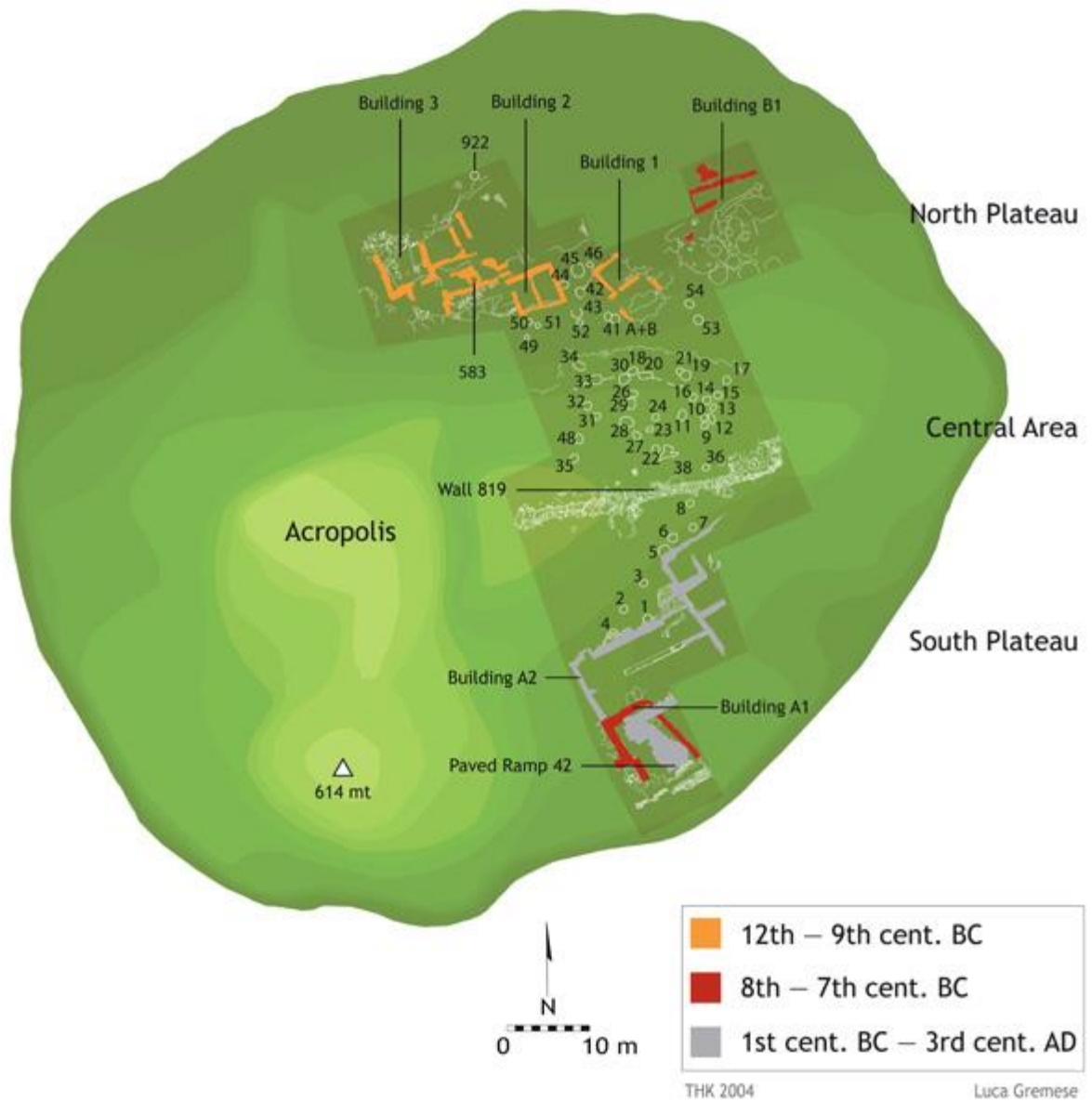


Figure 18: Thronos Kephala (D'Agata 2011b).



Figure 19: Monasteraki Chalasmenos (modified from Tsipopoulou 2011, fig. 29.1).



Figure 20: Monasteraki Chalasmenos, LG oikos outlined in black (modified from Tsipopoulou 2011, fig. 29.1).

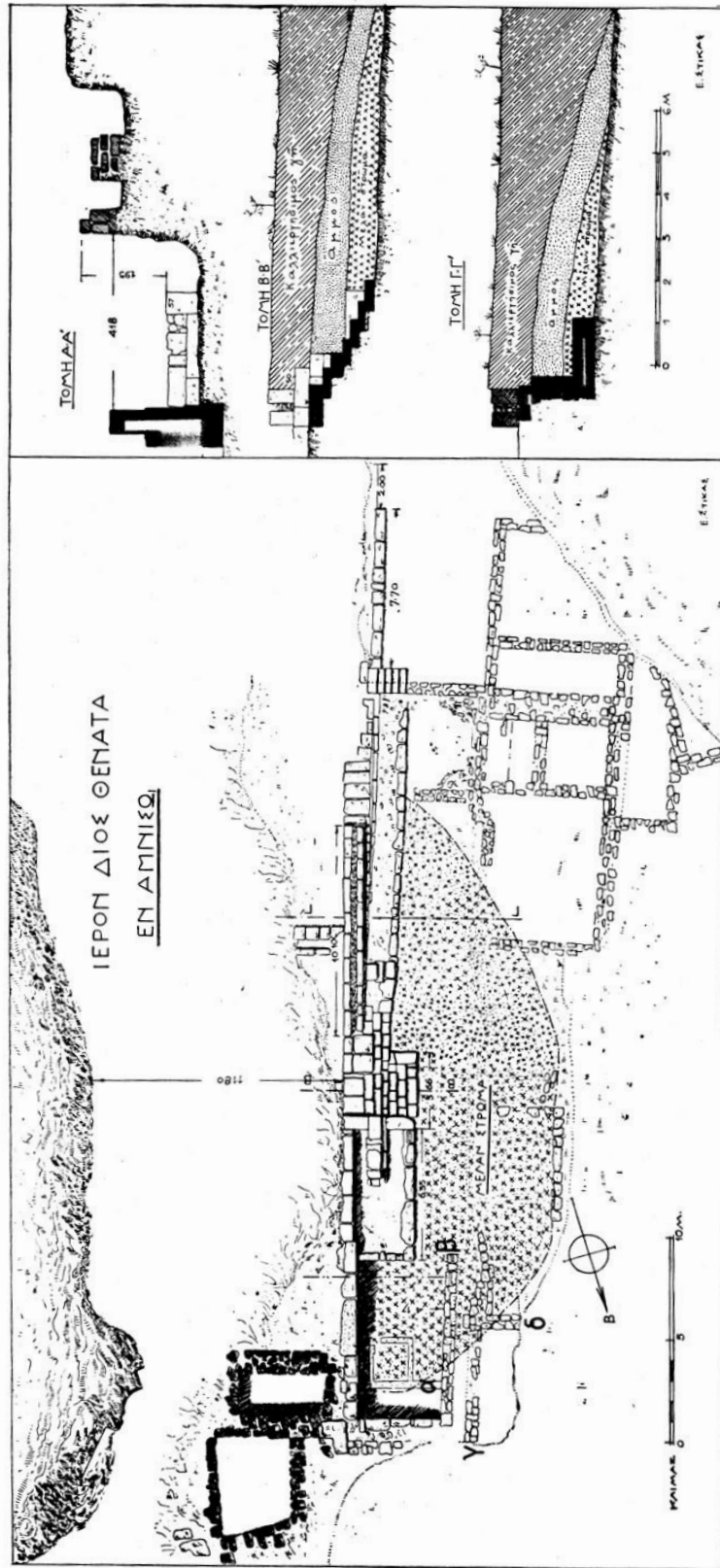
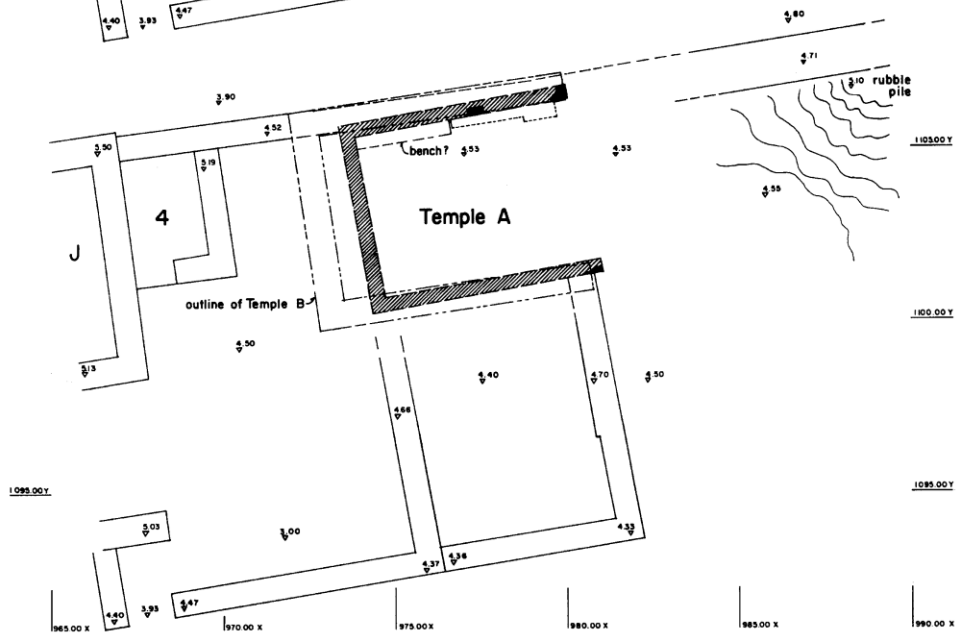
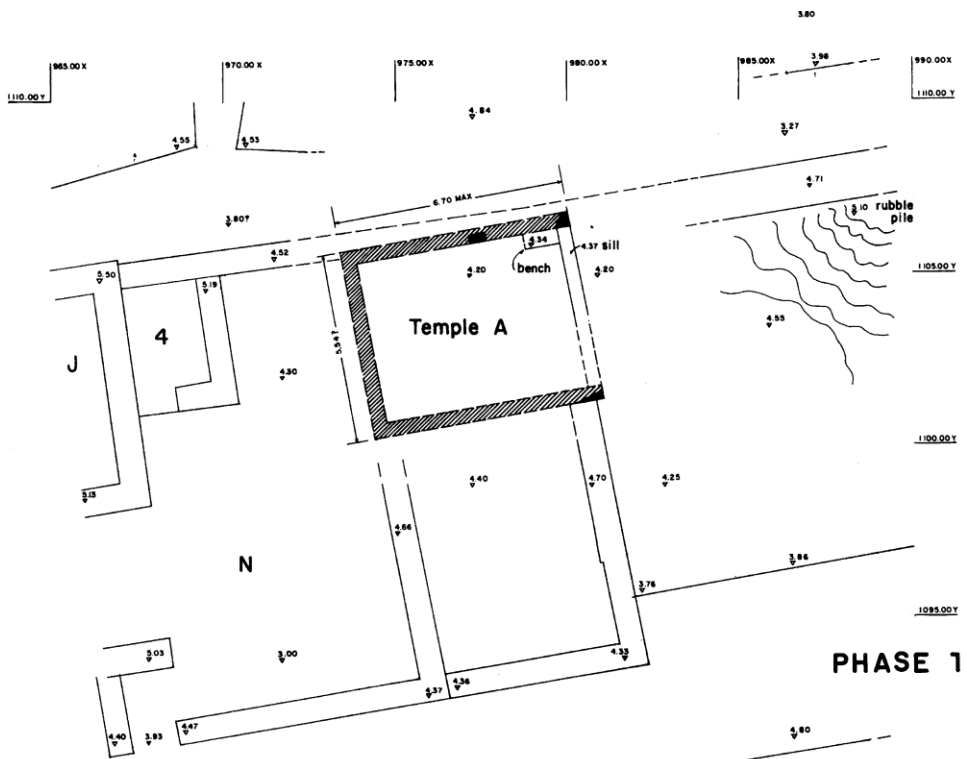


Figure 21: Sanctuary of Zeus Thanatas, Amnisos (Schäfer 1992, Taf. 29).



RESTORED PLANS

0 00 100 200 300 400 500 M
 SHAW
 JOSEPH W. SHAW - GIULIANA BIANCO 1990

Figure 22: Kommos, Temple A plan (Shaw and Shaw 2000, Pl. 1.19).

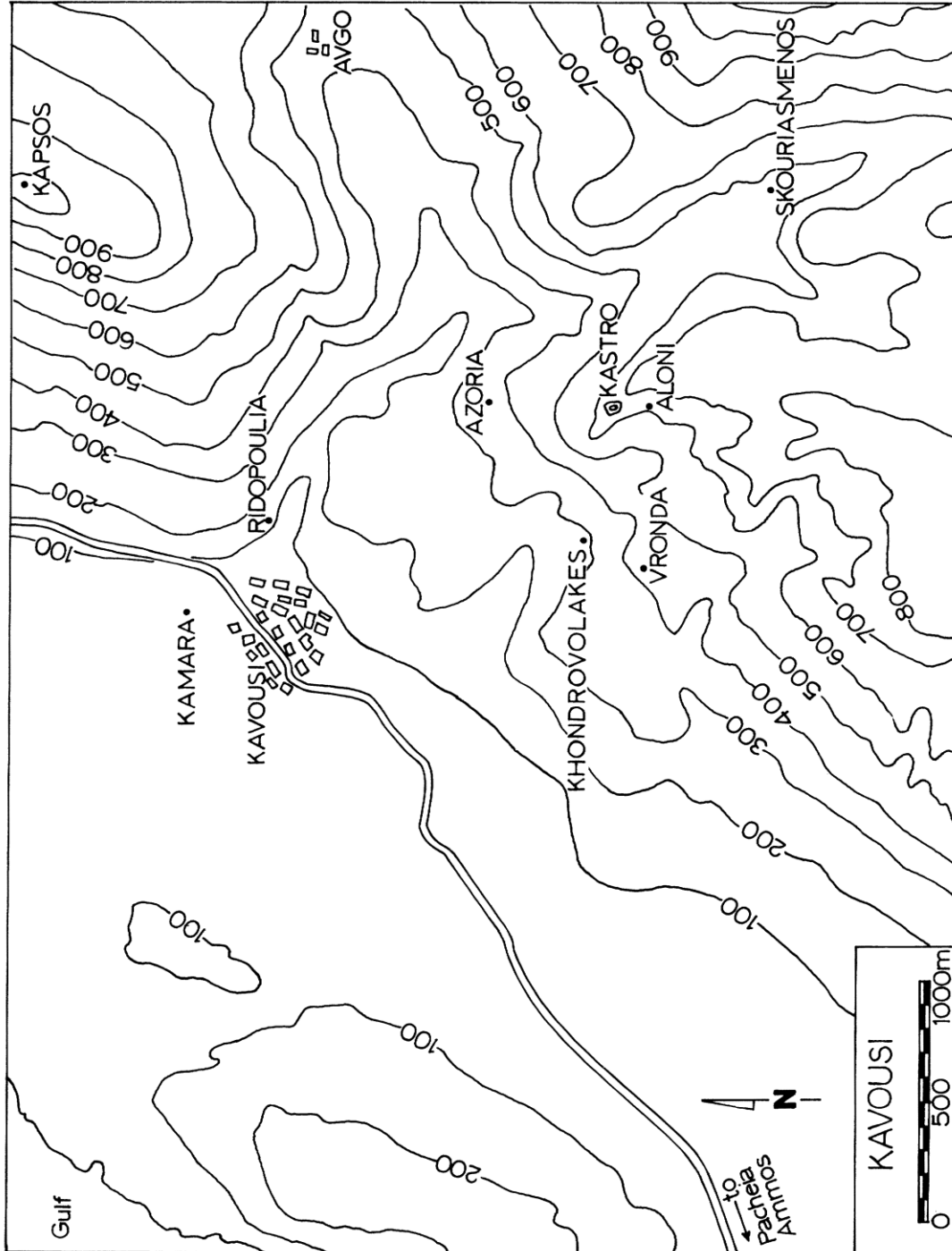


Figure 25: Kavousi region (Gesell et al. 1983, fig. 2).

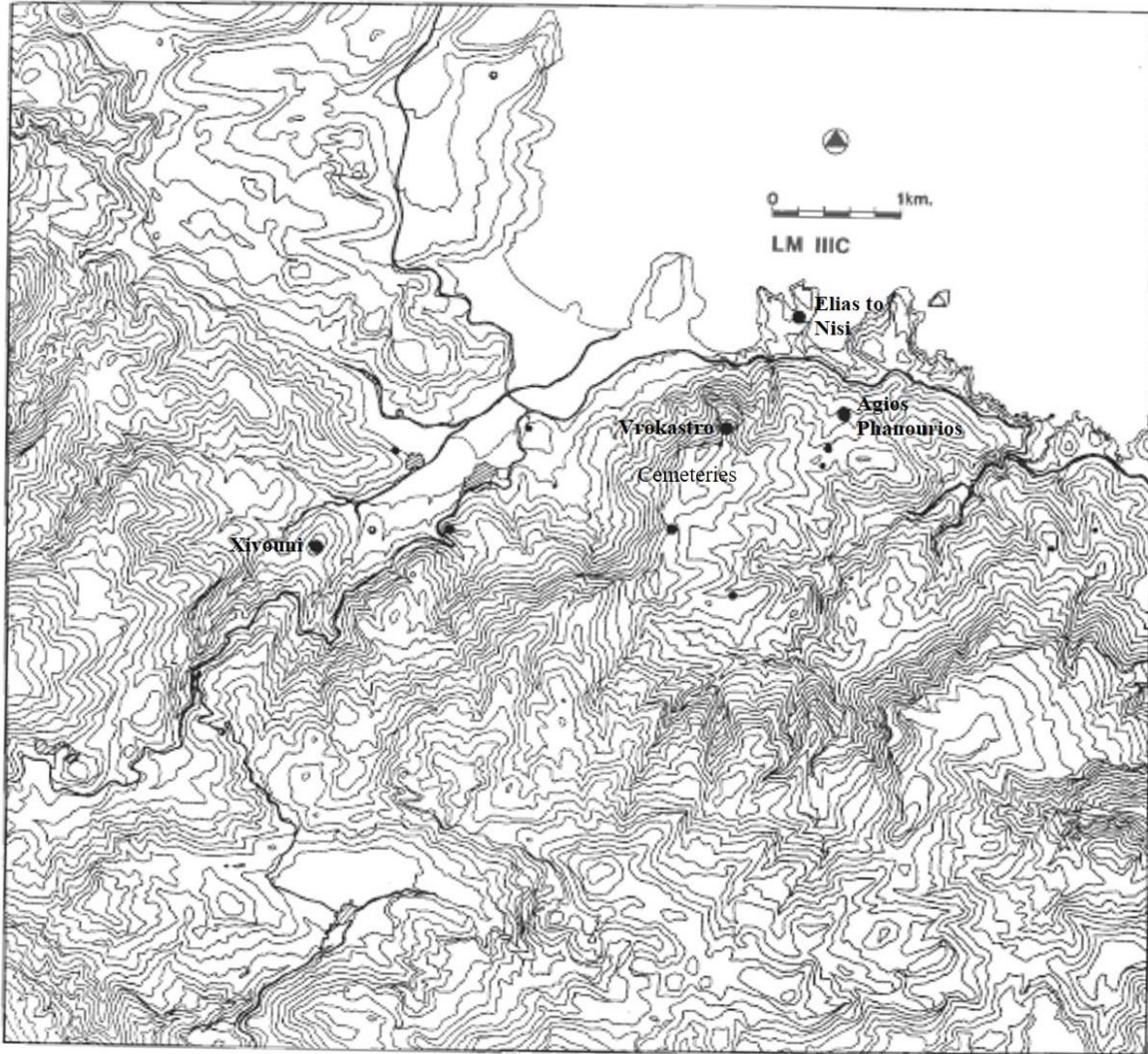


Figure 26: Vrokastro region in LM III C (adapted from Hayden et al. 2004, fig. 20).

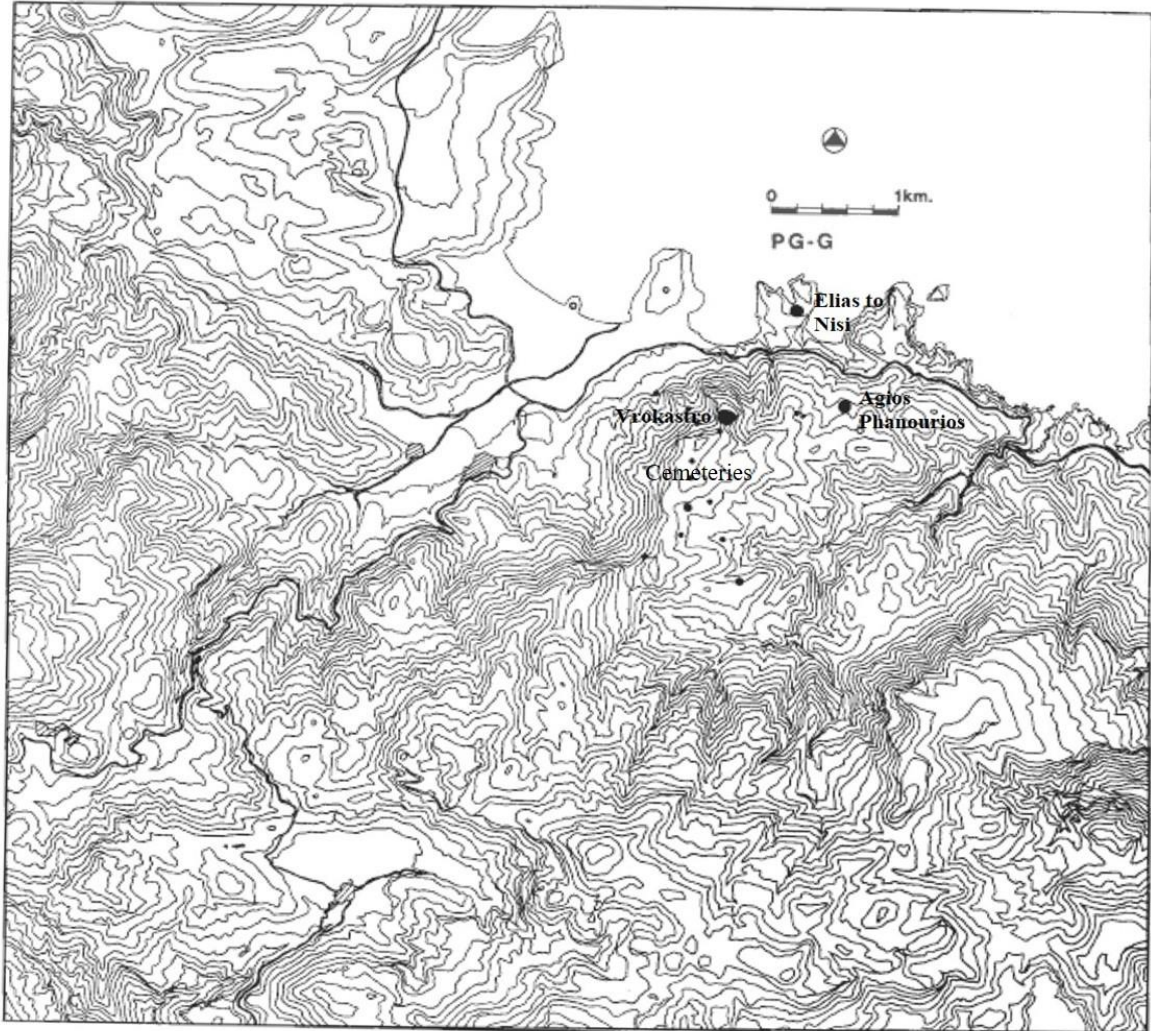


Figure 27: Vrokastro region in PG-G (adapted from Hayden et al. 2004, fig. 21).

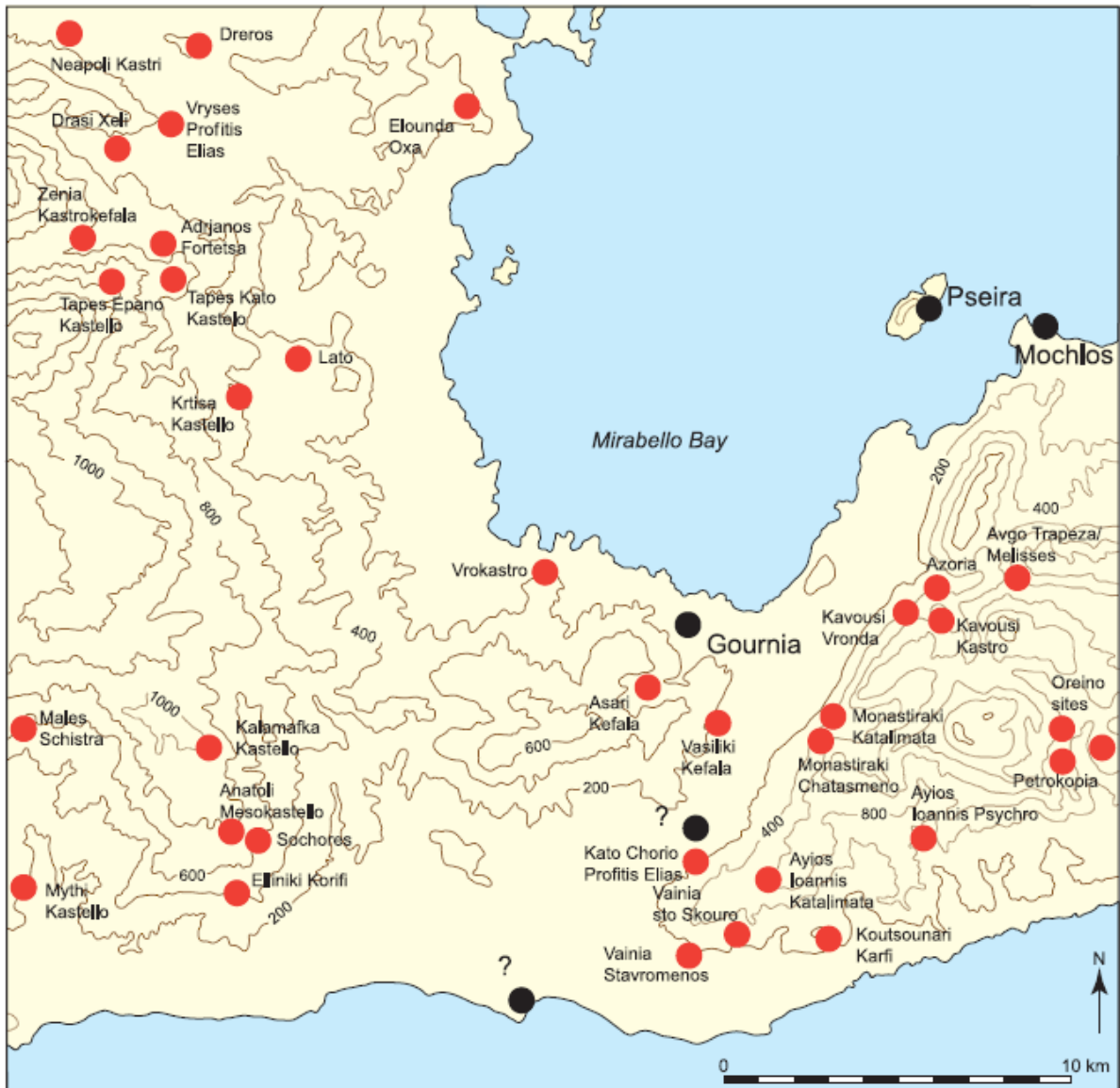


Figure 28: Ierapetra Isthmus region (LM III C sites in red) (Wallace 2007, fig. 2).



Figure 29: Northwest Lasithi sites (LM IIC sites in red) (Wallace 2007, fig. 10).

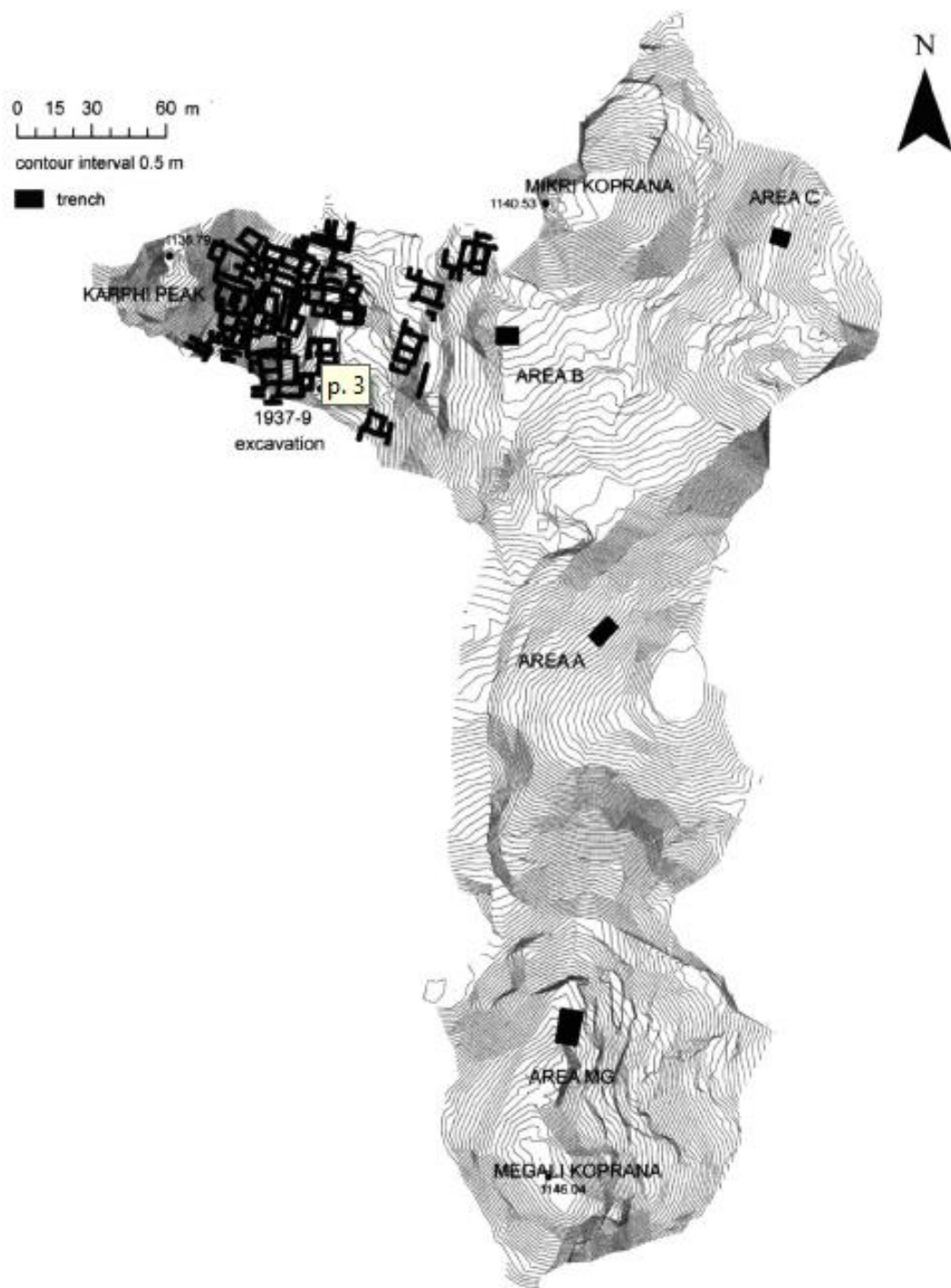


Figure 30: Karphi plateau (Wallace and Mylona 2012, fig. 1).

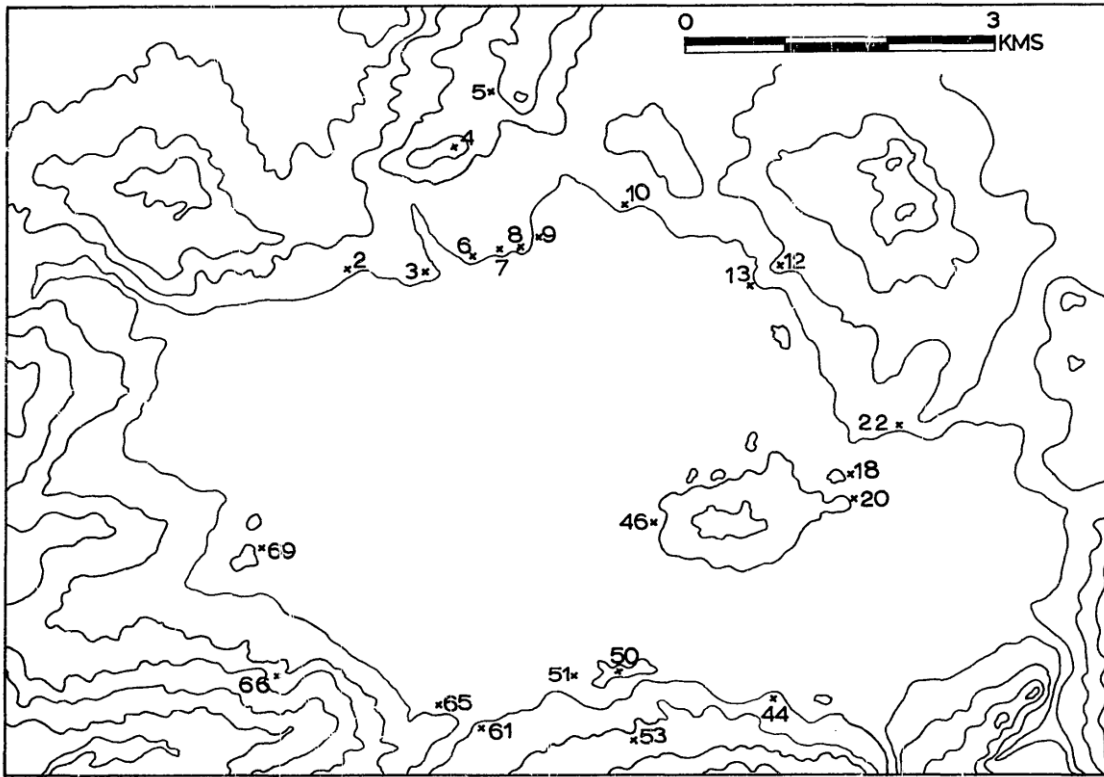
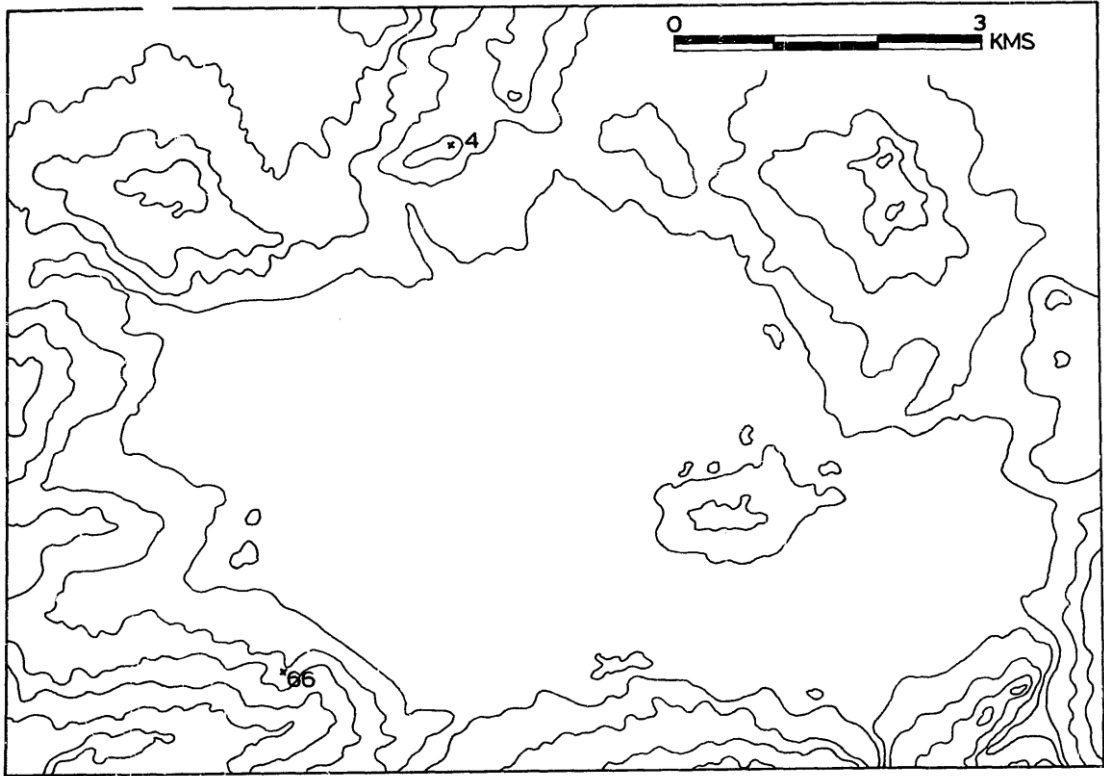


Figure 31: PG-Ar sites in the Lasithi Plateau (Watrous 1974, figs. 337, 338).

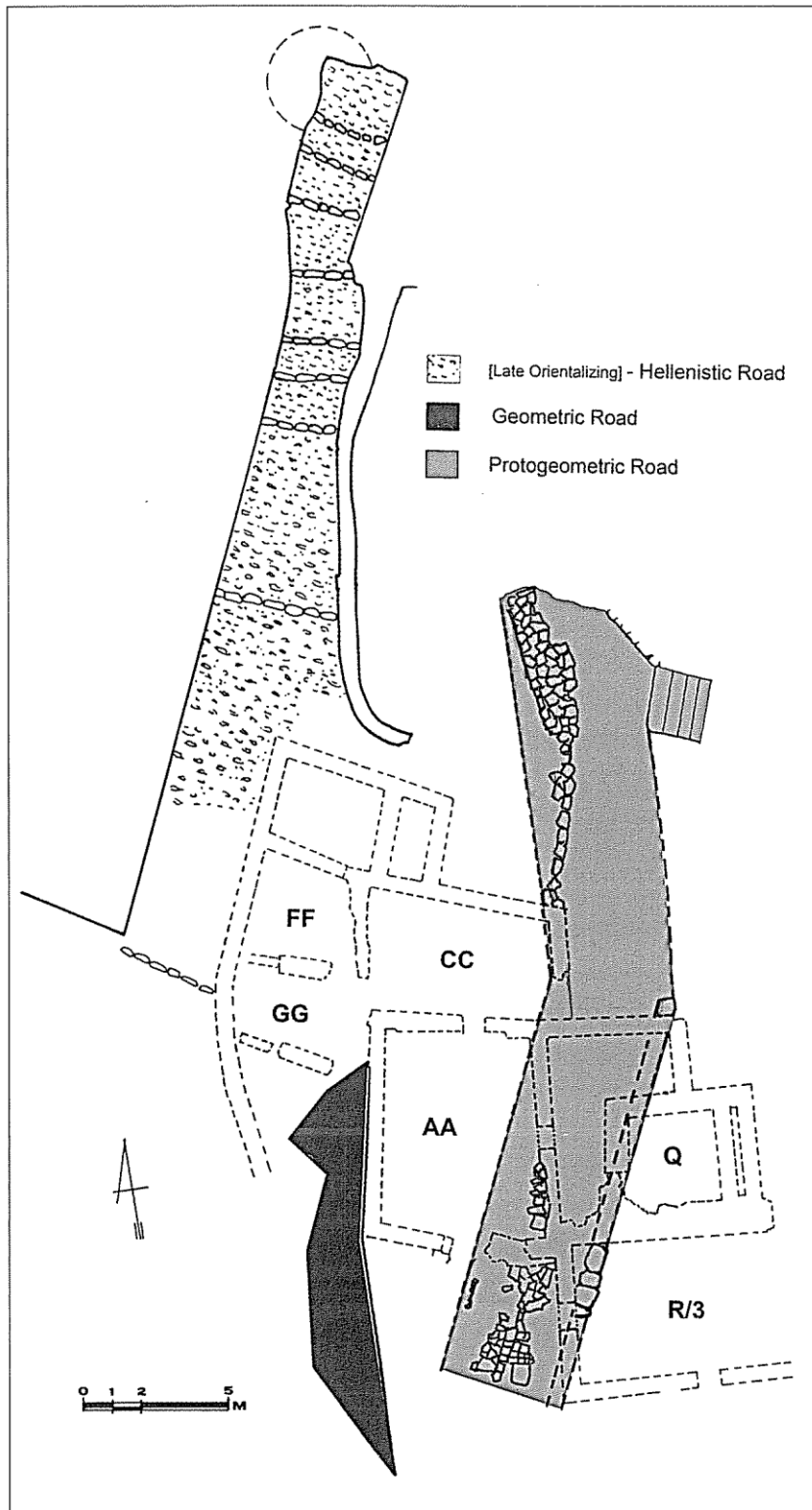


Figure 32: Phaistos Geometric Quarter, PG road (La Rosa 2013, fig. 19).

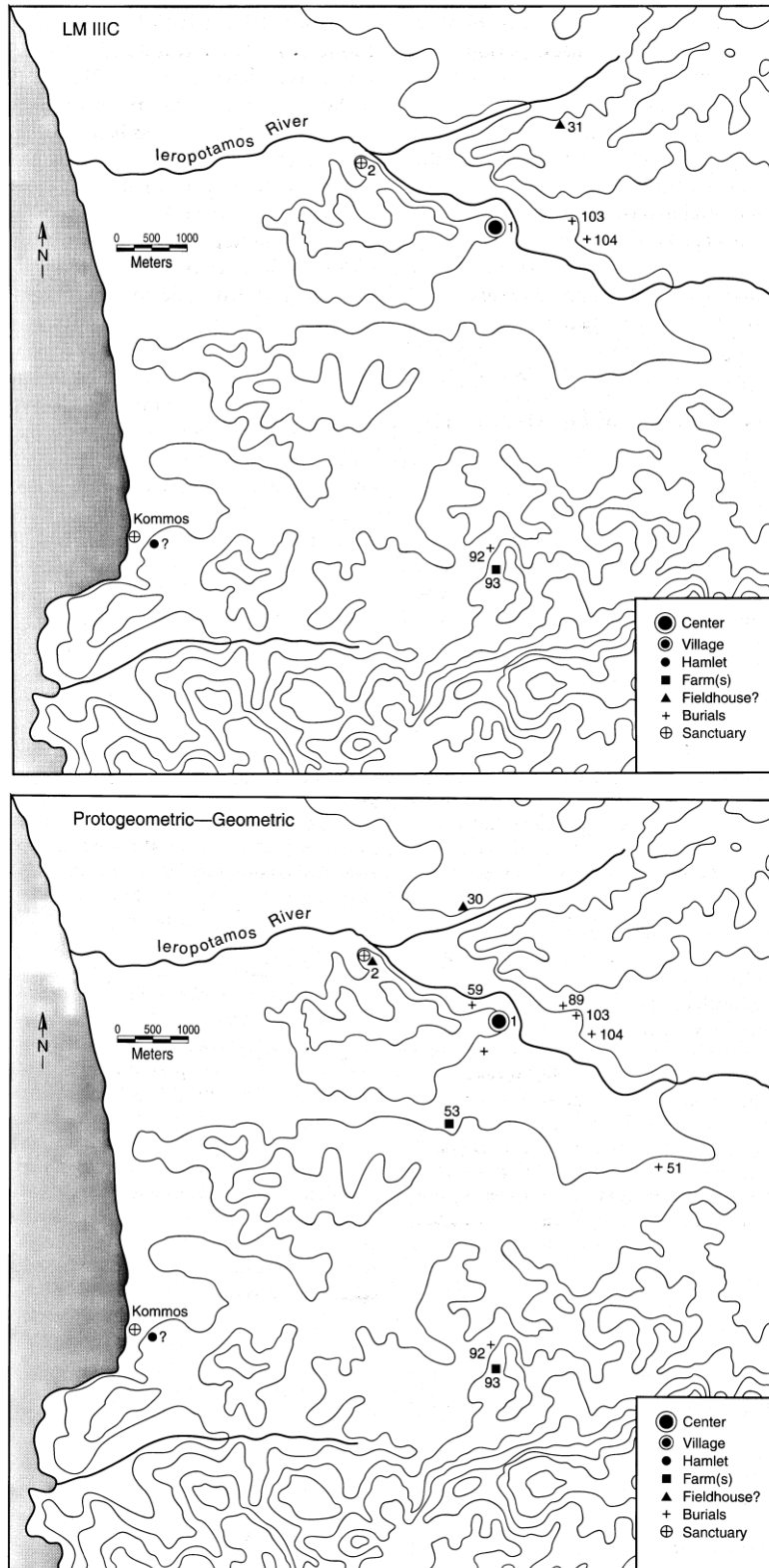


Figure 33: The Western Mesara in LM III C and PG-G (Watrous et al. 2004, figs. 11.1, 11.3).

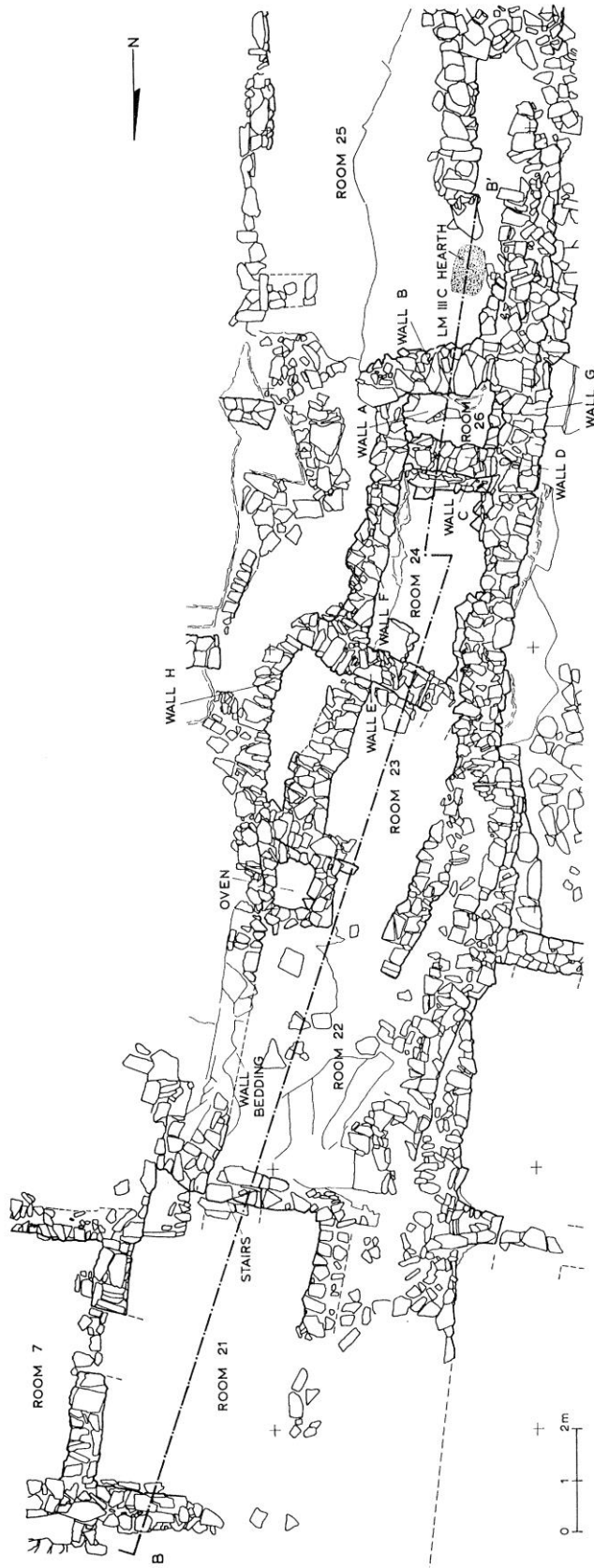


Figure 34: Kavousi Kastro, Building G (Coulson et al. 1997, fig. 15).



Figure 35: Building G construction phases (adapted from Coulson et al. fig. 15).

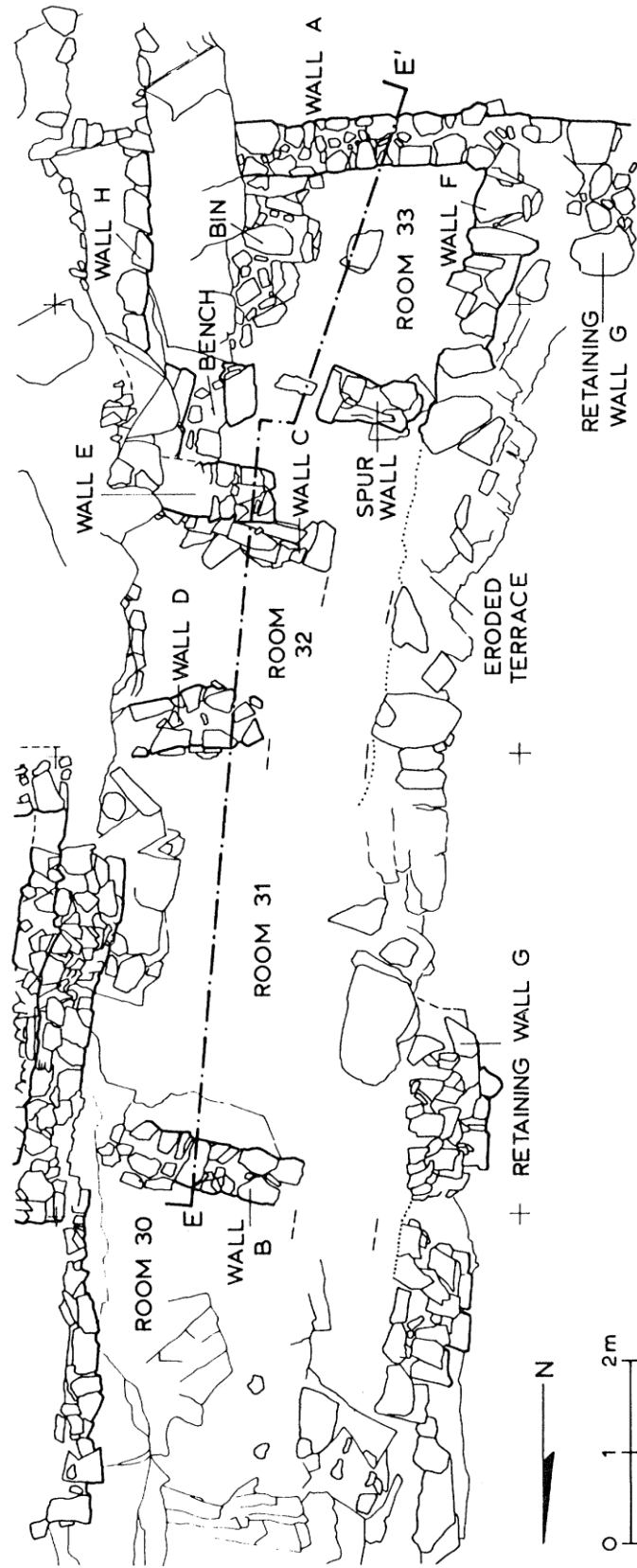


Figure 36: Kavousi Kastro, Building K (Coulson et al. 1997, fig. 21).

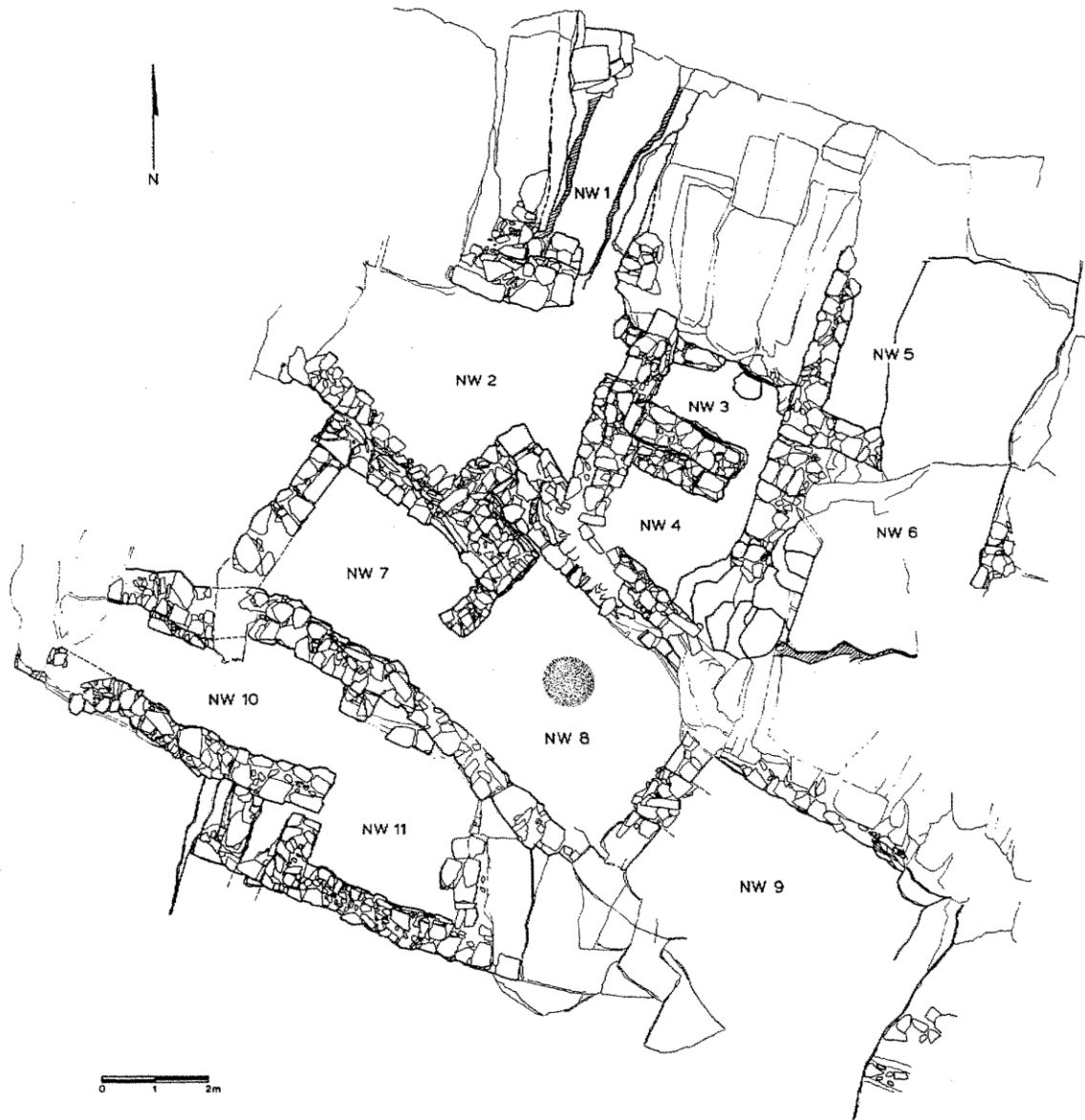


Figure 37: Kavousi Kastro, Northwest Building (Coulson et al. 1997, fig. 23).

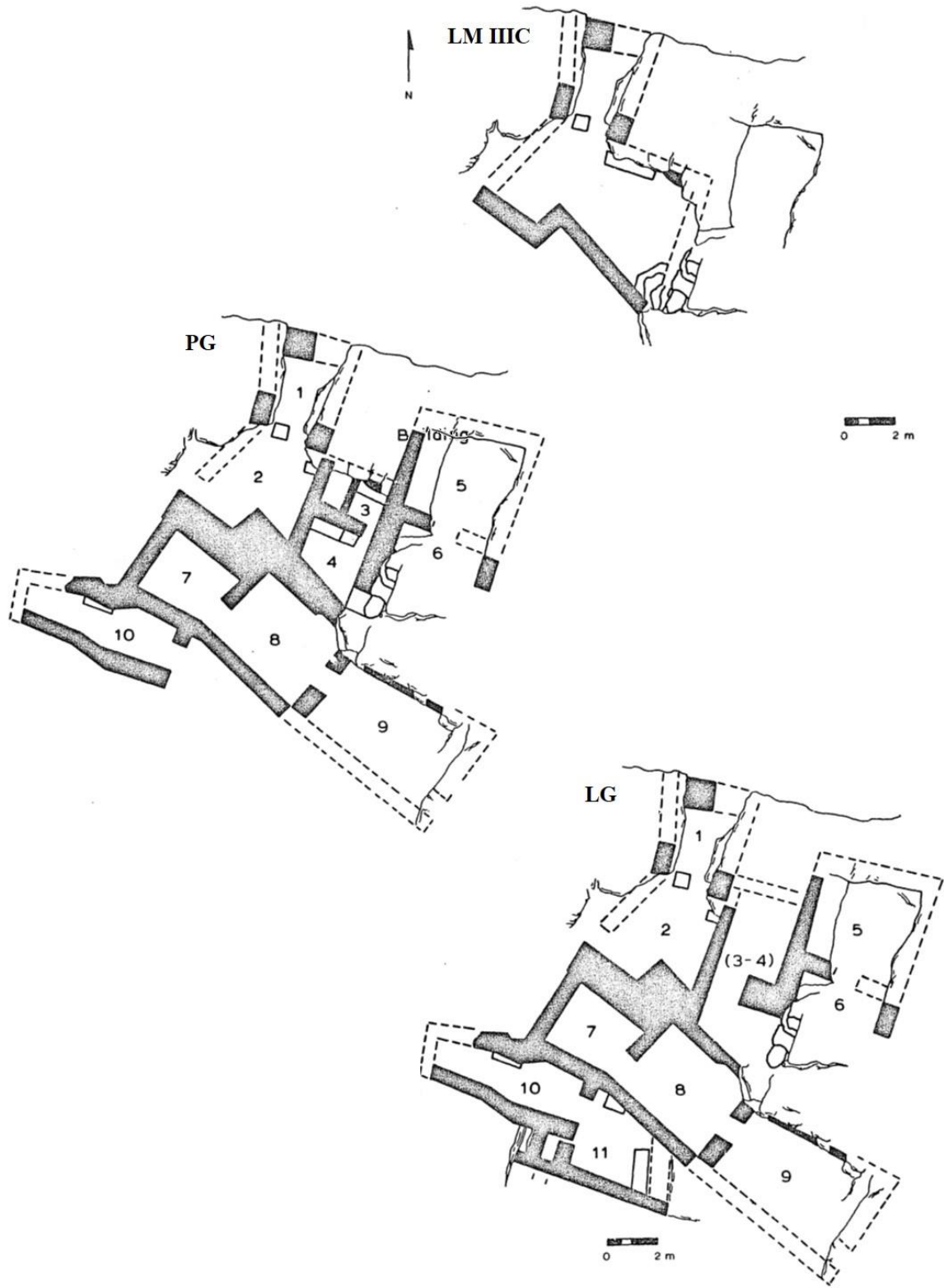


Figure 38: Northwest Building construction phases (adapted from Mook 1993, figs. 22, 25, 33).

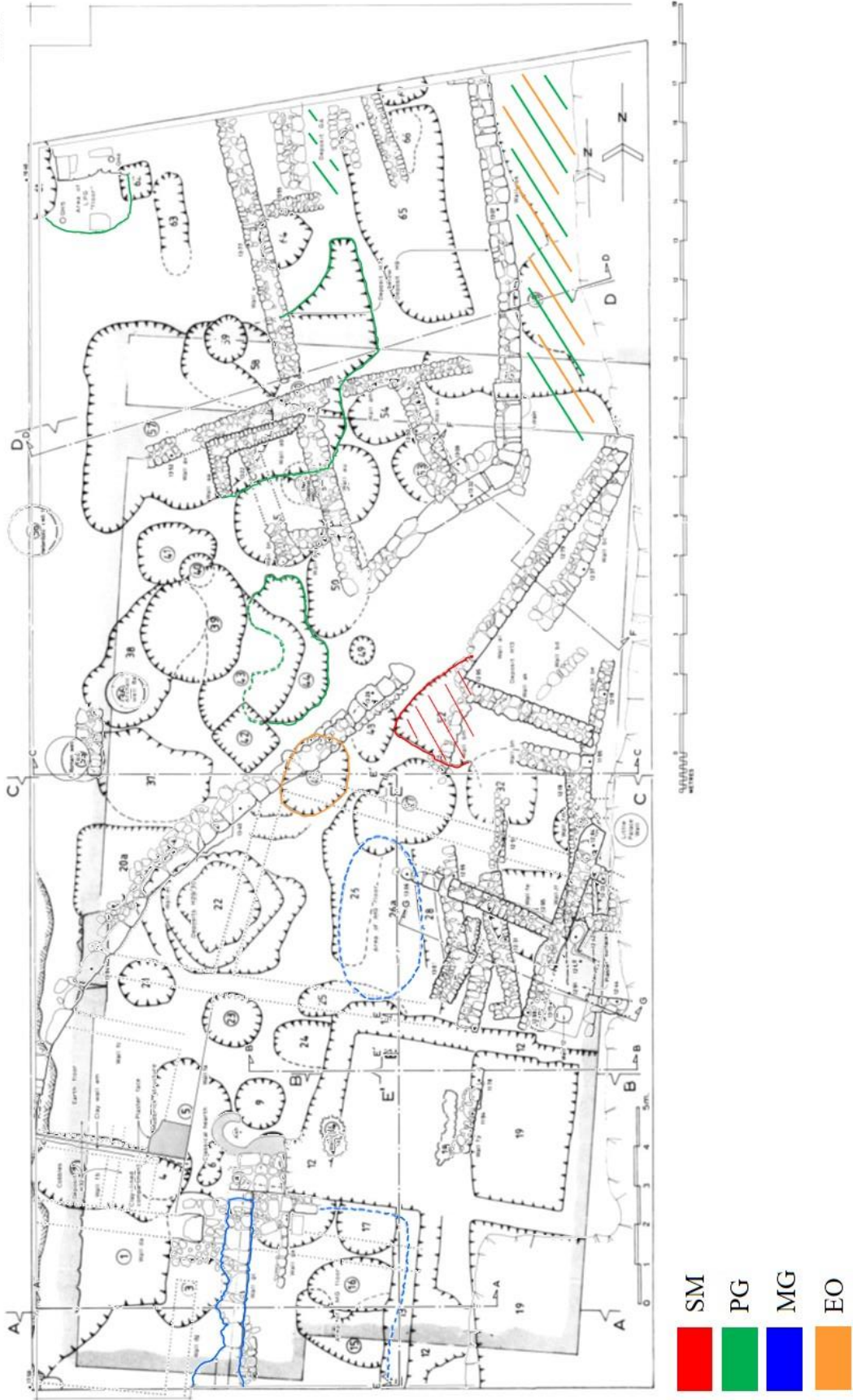


Figure 39: Post-Minoan phases above the Unexplored Mansion (modified from Sackett et al. 1992, Pls. 2, 5).



Figure 40: EIA contexts in the area of the Southwest Houses (adapted from Coldstream and MacDonald 1997, figs. 1, 3).

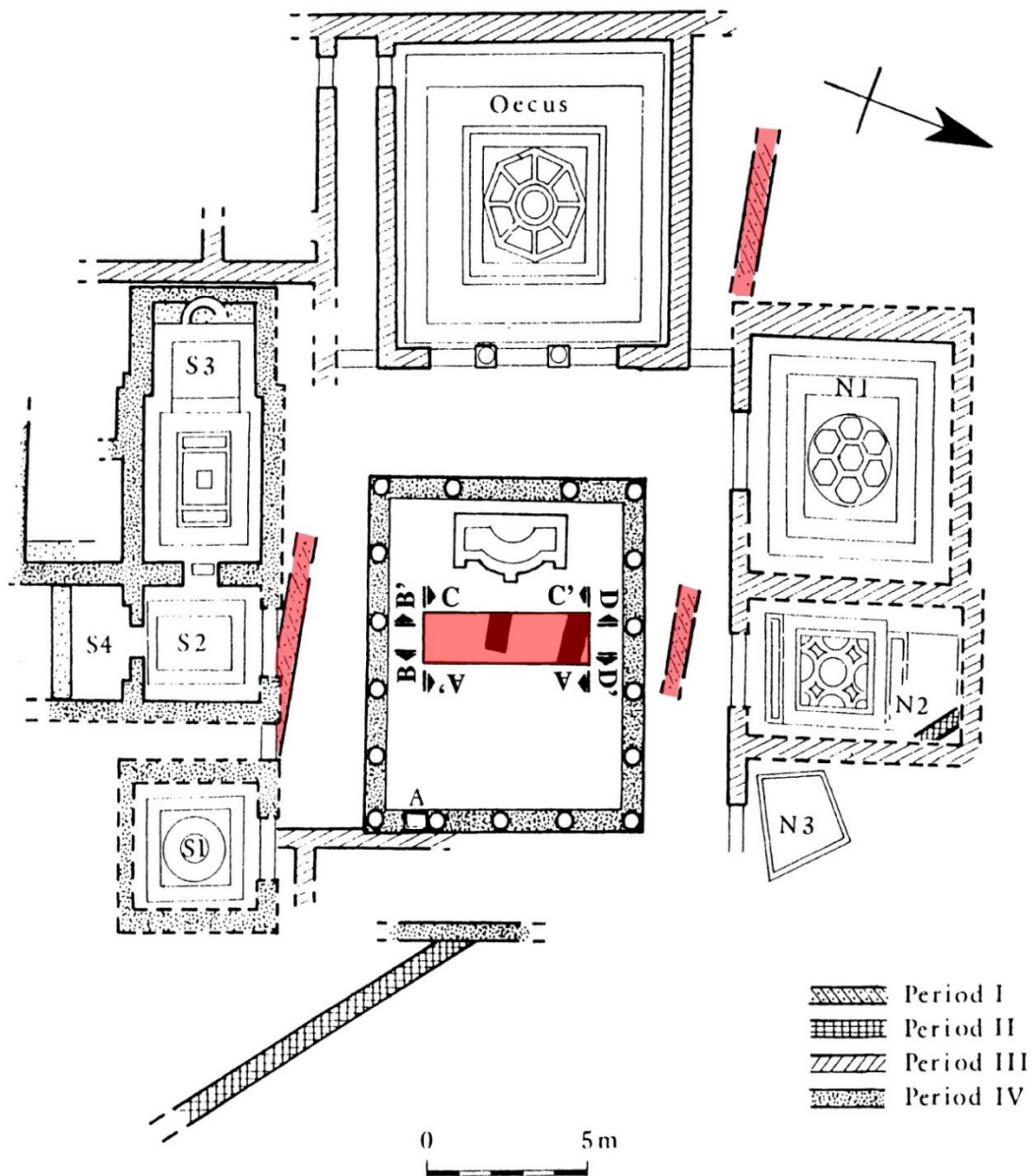


Figure 41: Villa Dionysos, EIA levels (Coldstream and Hatzaki 2003, fig. 1).

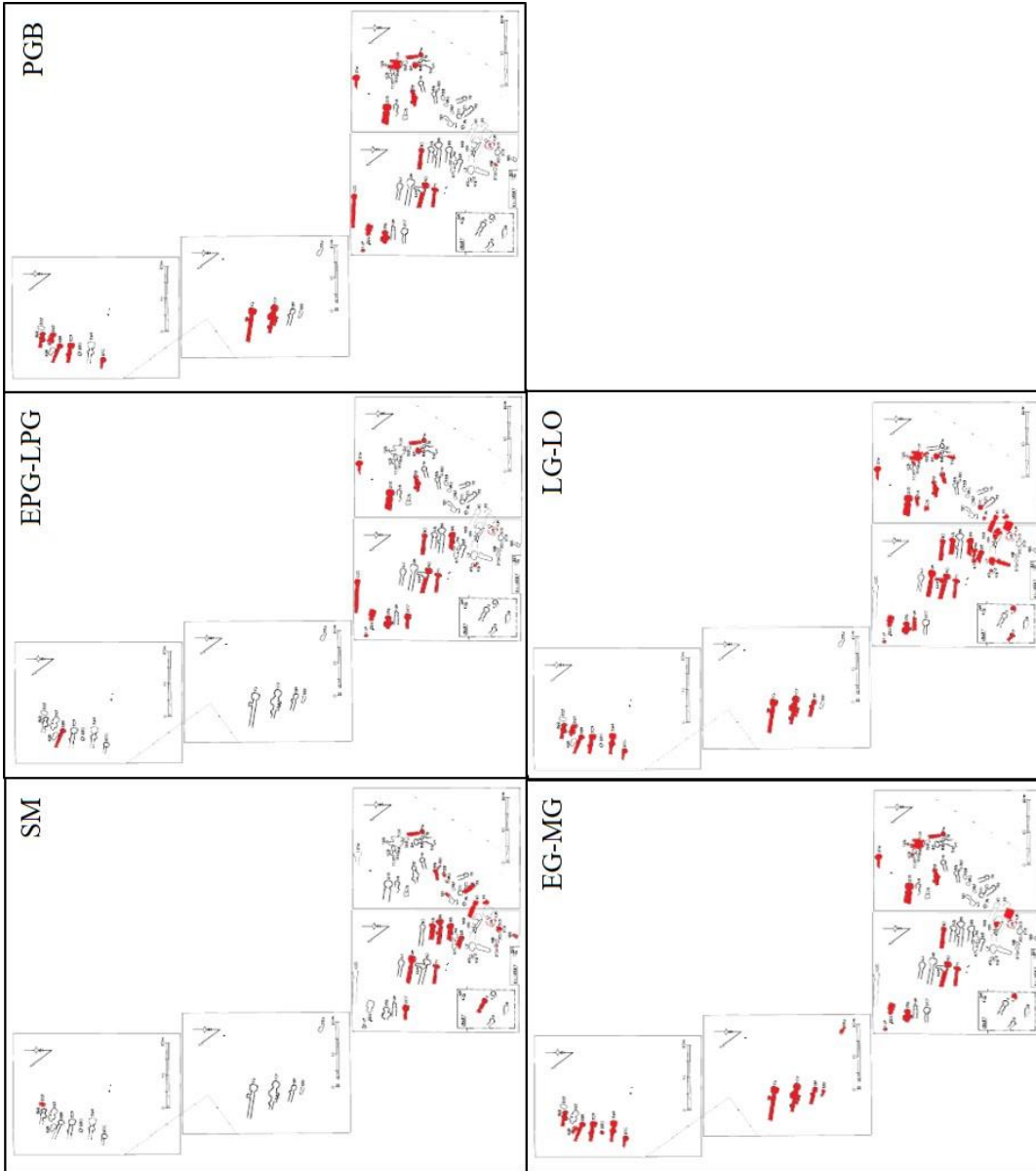


Figure 42: Knossos Medical Facility tombs (modified from Coldstream and Catling 1996, figs. 3-6).

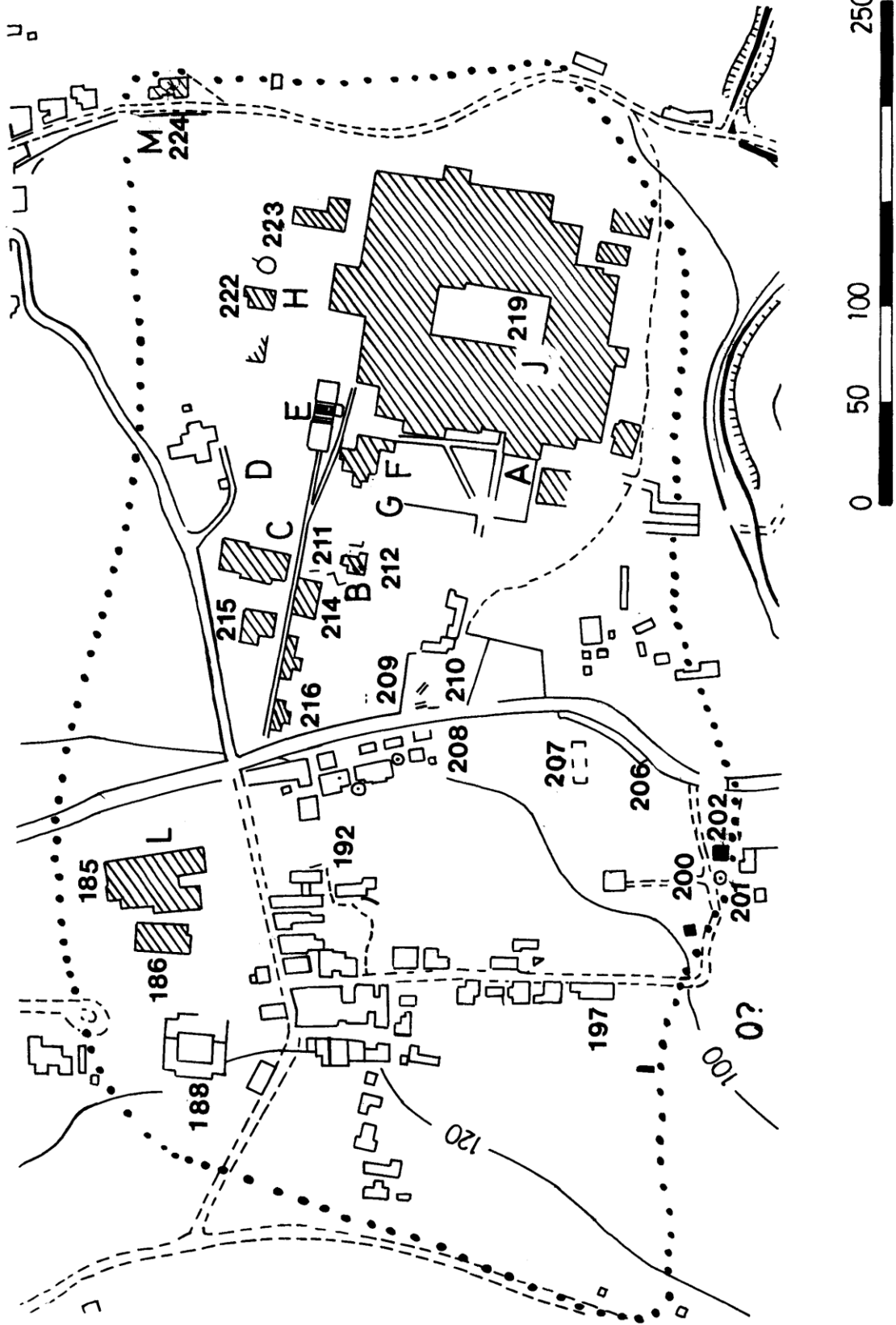


Figure 43: Boundaries of the EIA town at Knossos as reconstructed by Coldstream 2000a, fig. 1).

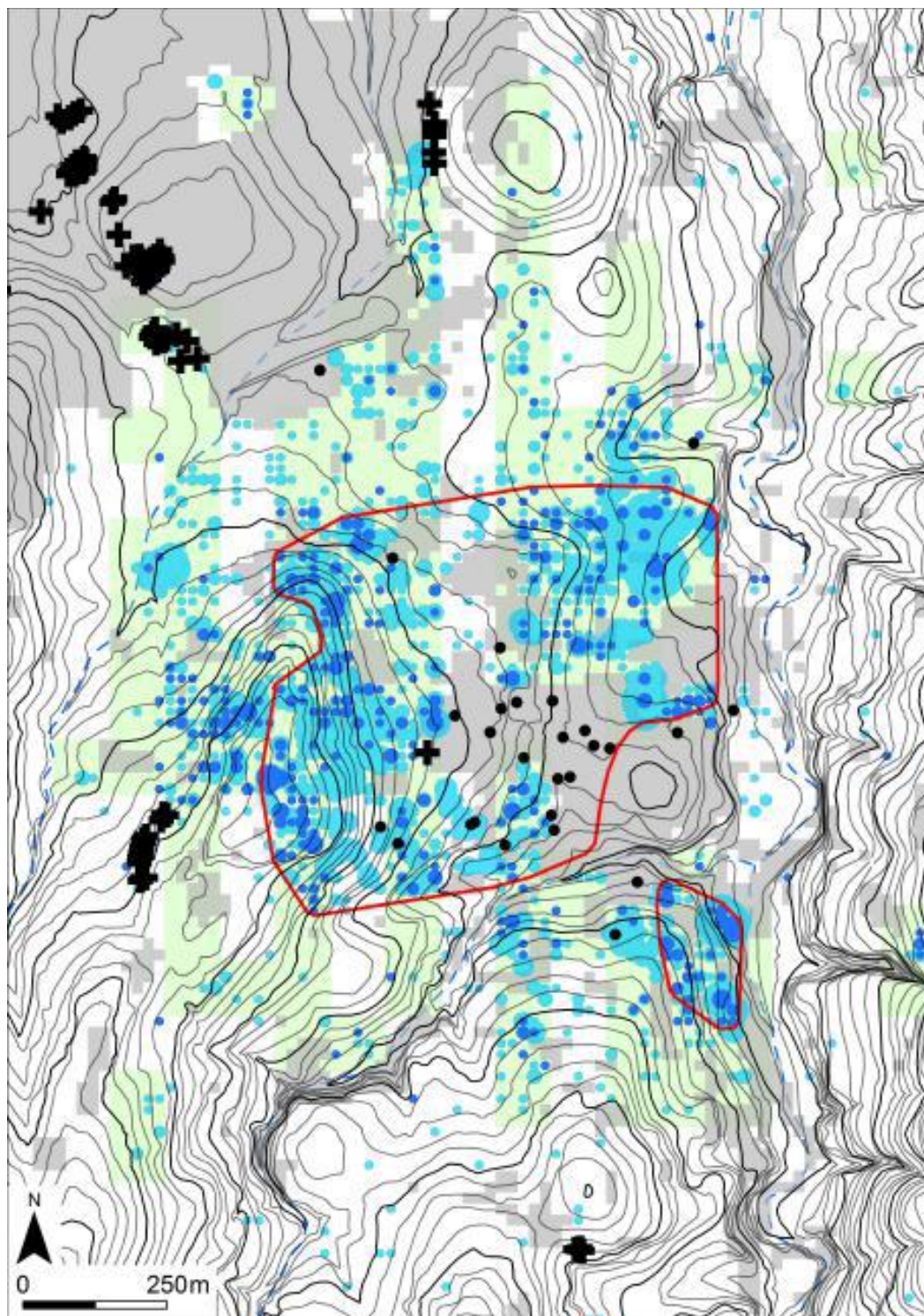


Figure 44: Distribution of SM-PG material from the KULP survey. Dark blue=SM-PG pottery; light blue=all EIA pottery; res line=hypothesized boundaries of the settlement (Whitelaw et al. 2017, fig. 11).

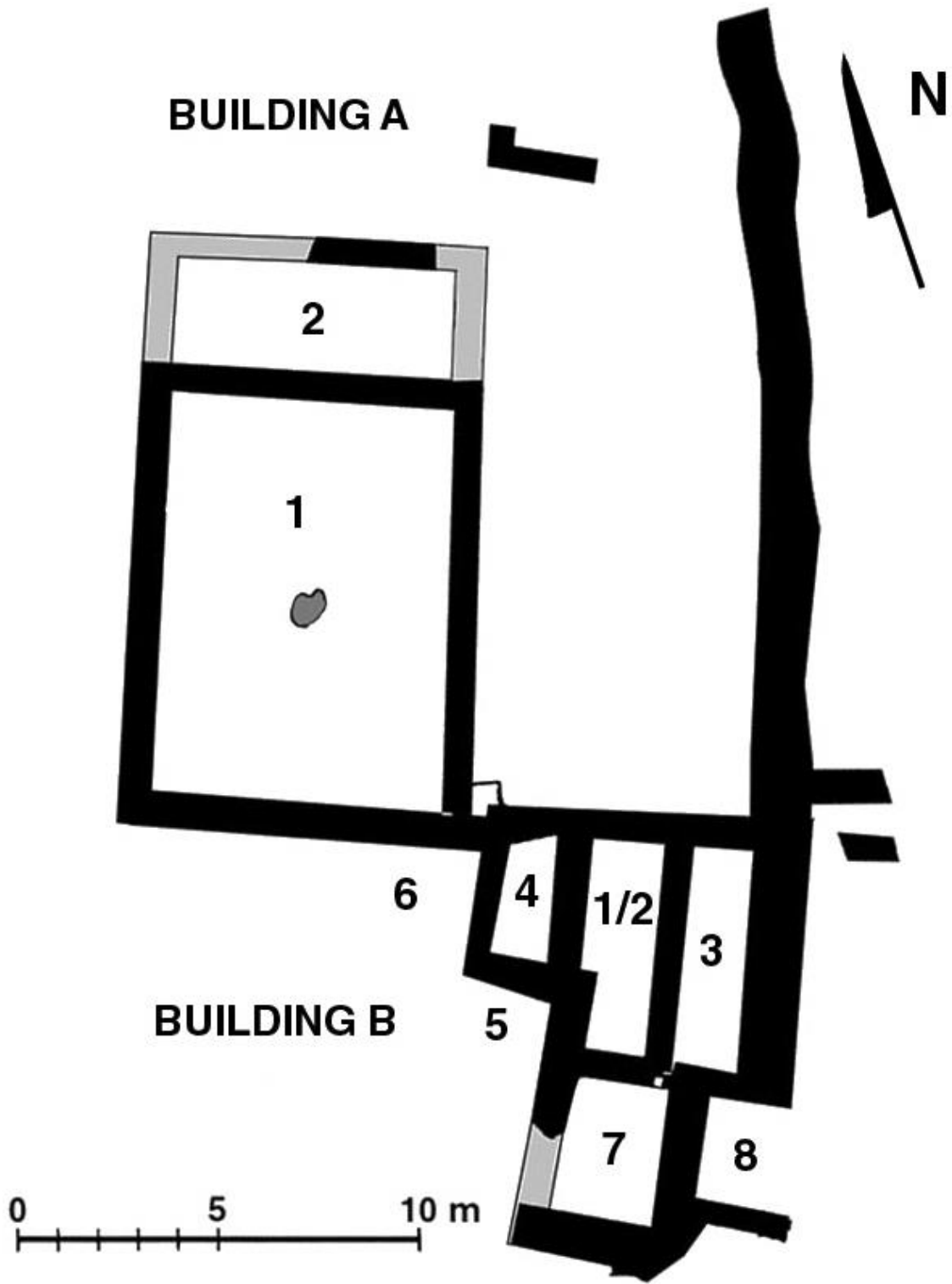


Figure 45: Restored plan of Vronda A-B (Day and Snyder 2004, fig. 5.2).

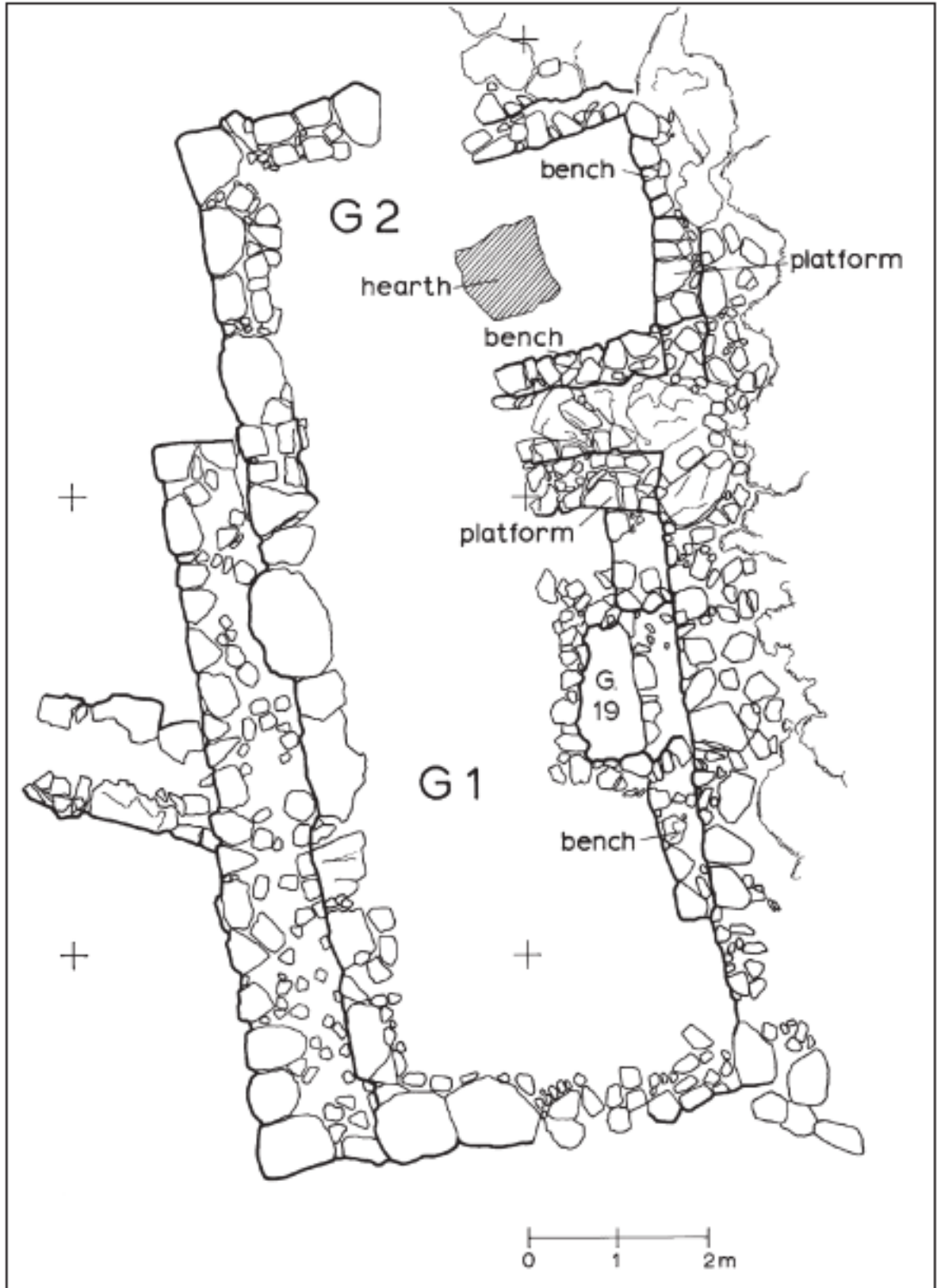


Figure 46: Vronda Building G (Klein 2004, fig. 7.4).

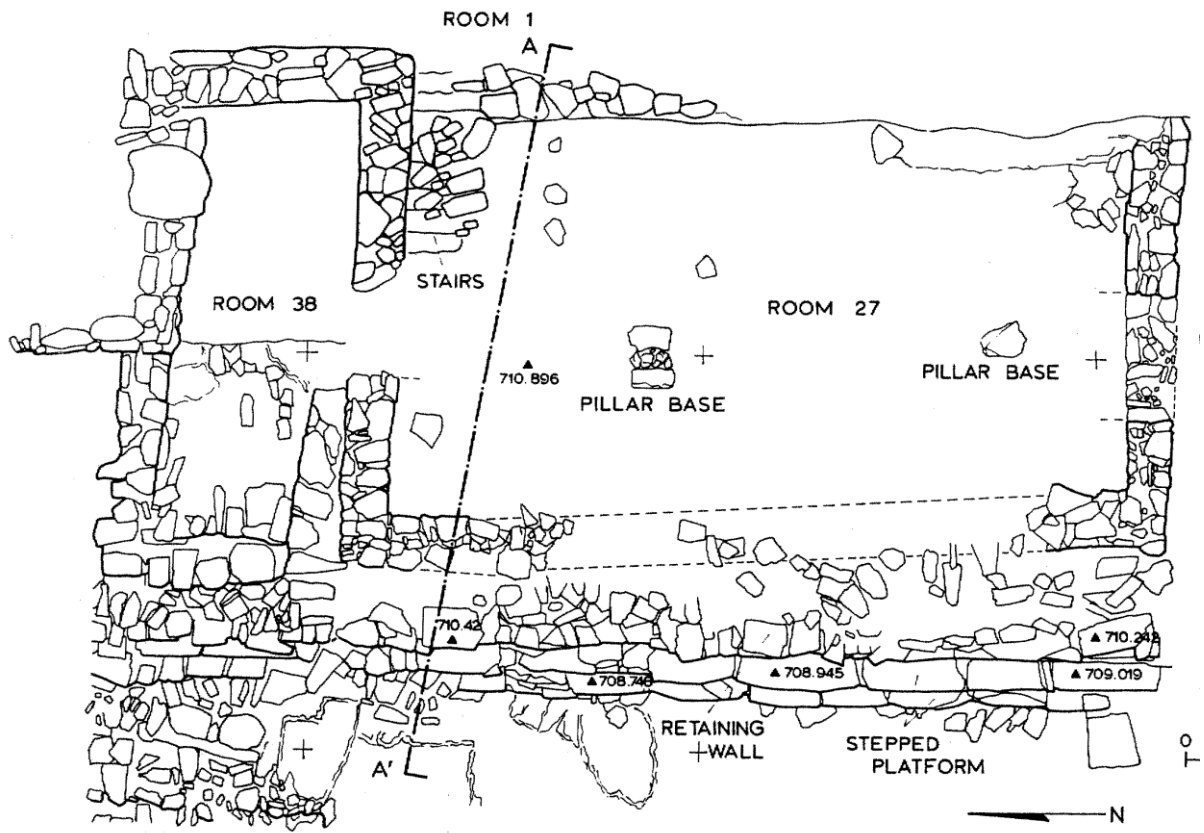


Figure 47: Kavousi Kastro, Building H (Coulson et al. 1997, fig. 13).

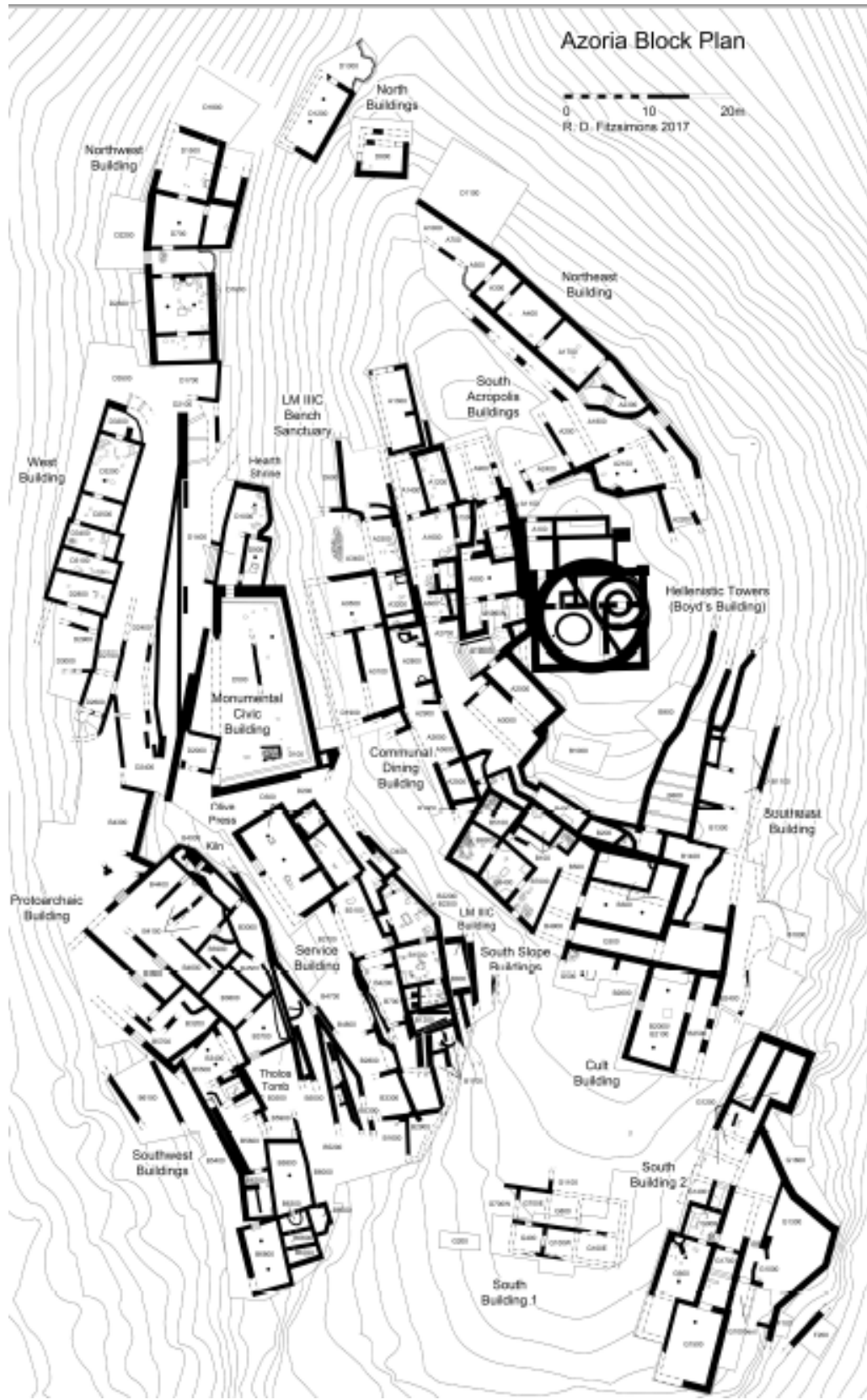


Figure 48: Azoria (R.D. Fitzsimmons, Azoria Project).

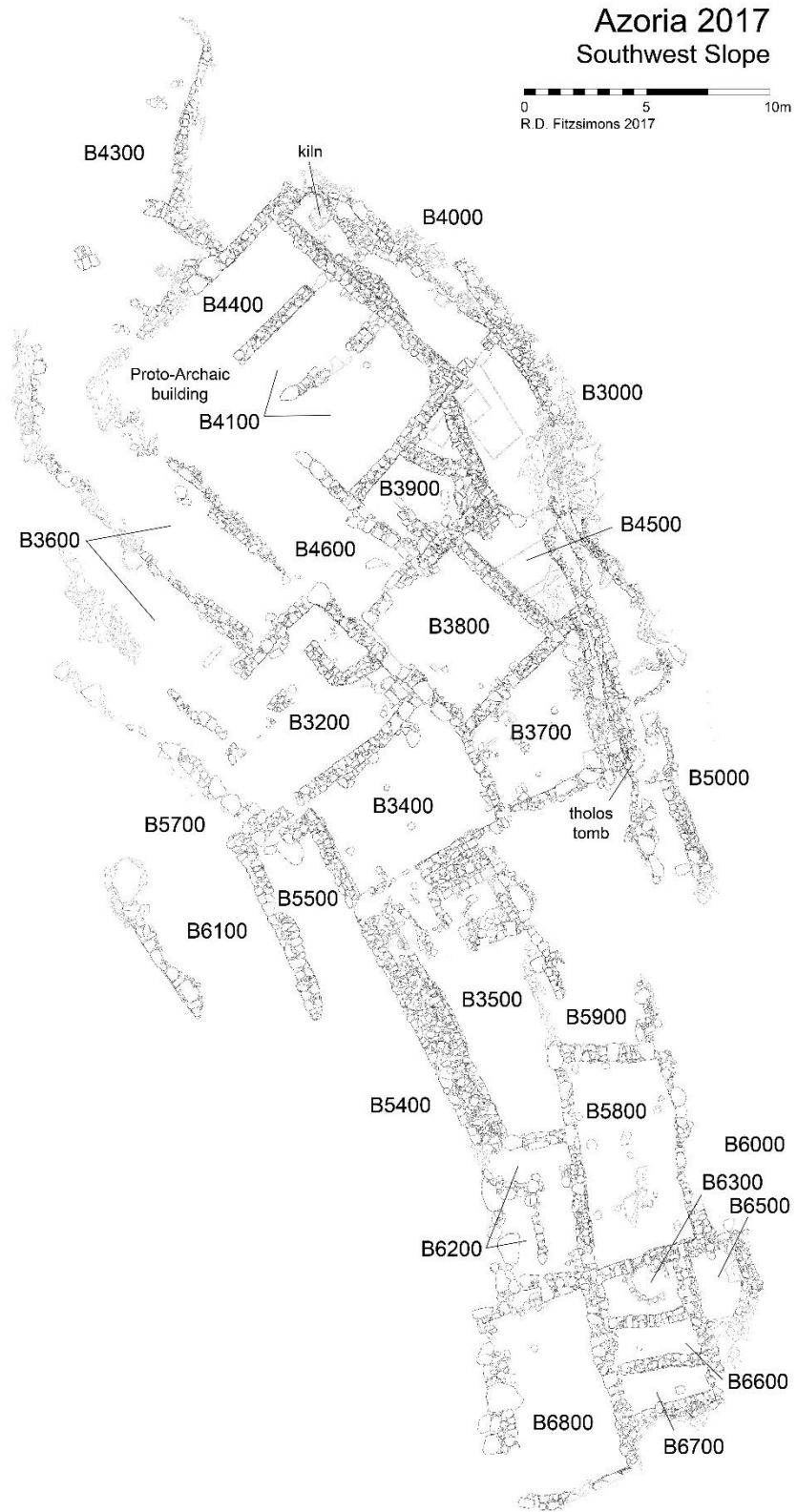


Figure 49: Azoria, Protoarchaic Building (B4100) and associated structures (drawing by R.D. Fitzsimons, Azoria Project).



Figure 50: Communal Dining Building (Azoria), with the hearth building in trenches A3300N, A3300, A3200, A2800 outlined in black (drawing by R.D. Fitzsimons, Azoria Project).



Figure 51: Azoria, 7th-century building under the Communal Dining Building (drawing by R.D. Fitzsimons, Azoria Project).

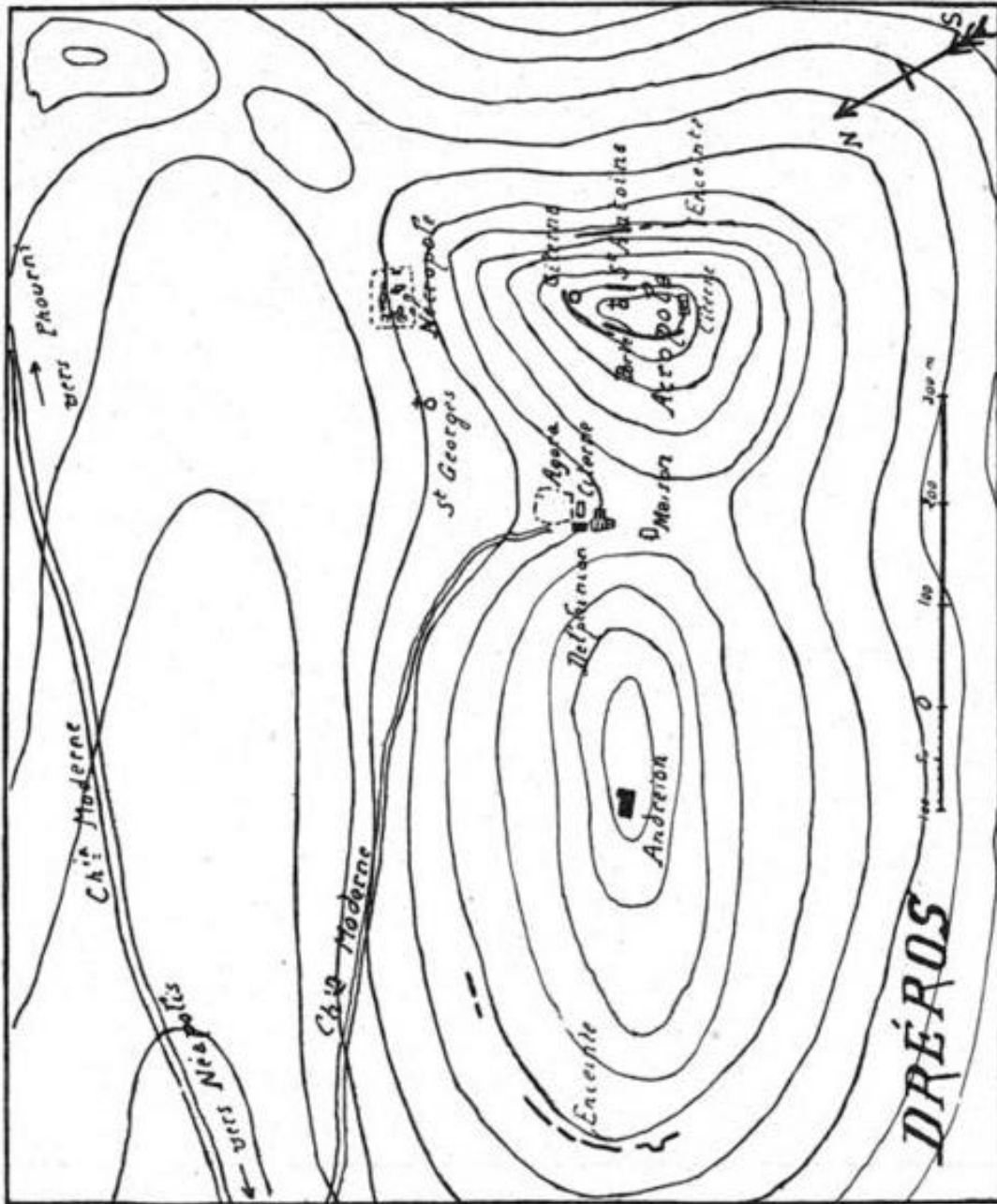


Figure 52: Dreros site plan (Demargne and van Effenterre 1937, fig. 2).

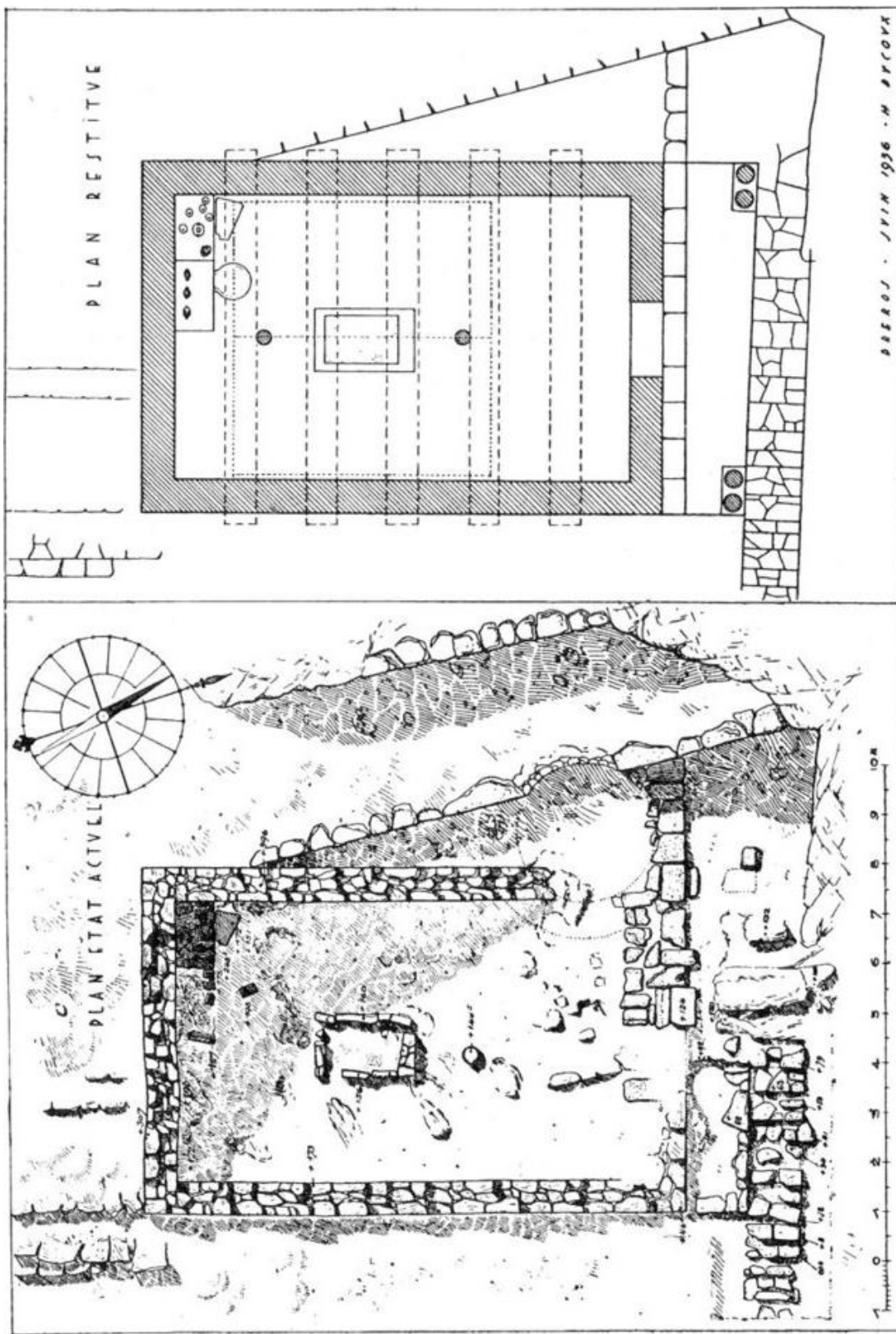


Figure 53: Dreros, Temple of Apollo (Marinatos 1936, Pl. XXVII).

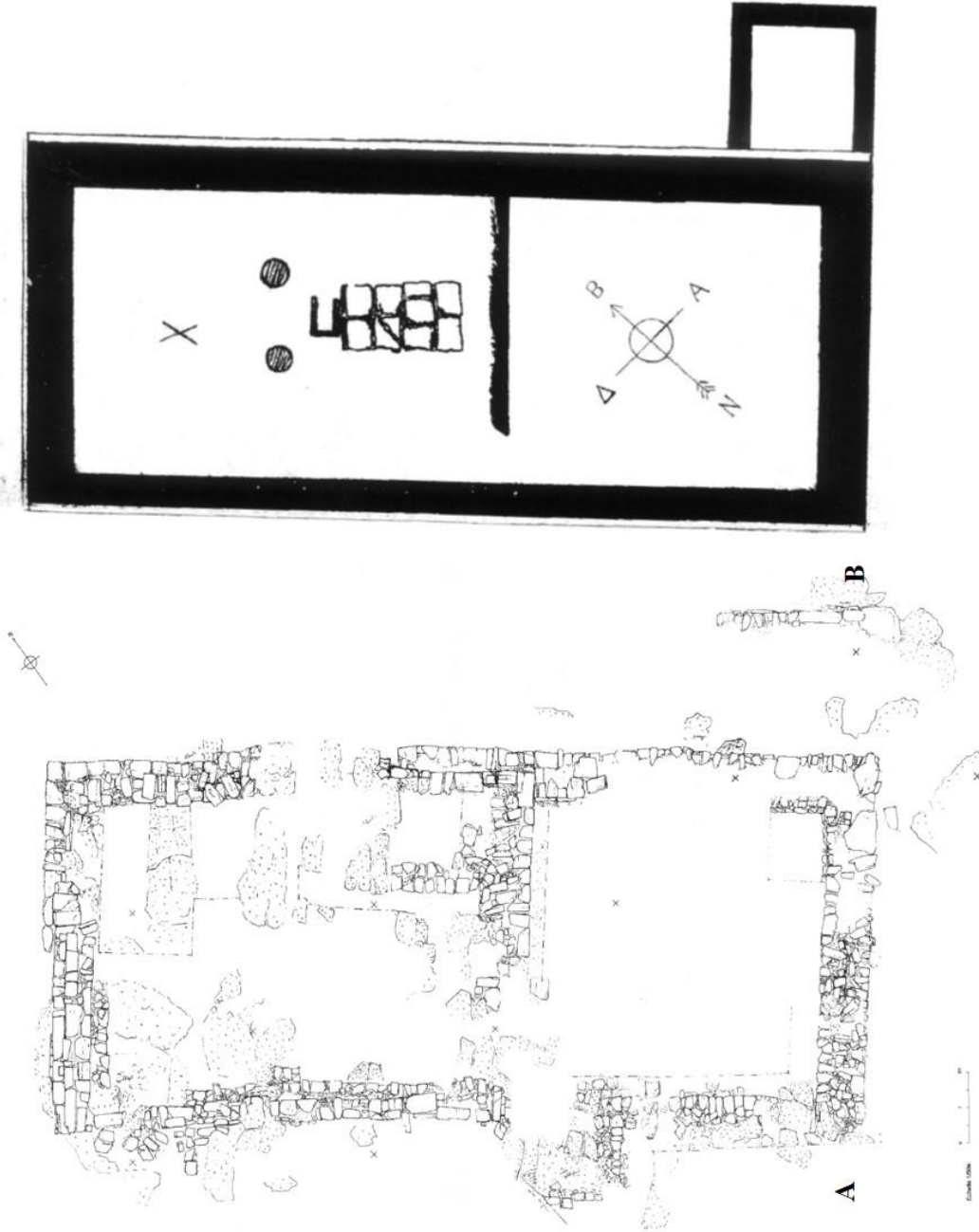


Figure 54: Dreros, West Acropolis building (a. Xanthoudides 1918; b. Zographaki and Farnoux 2014)

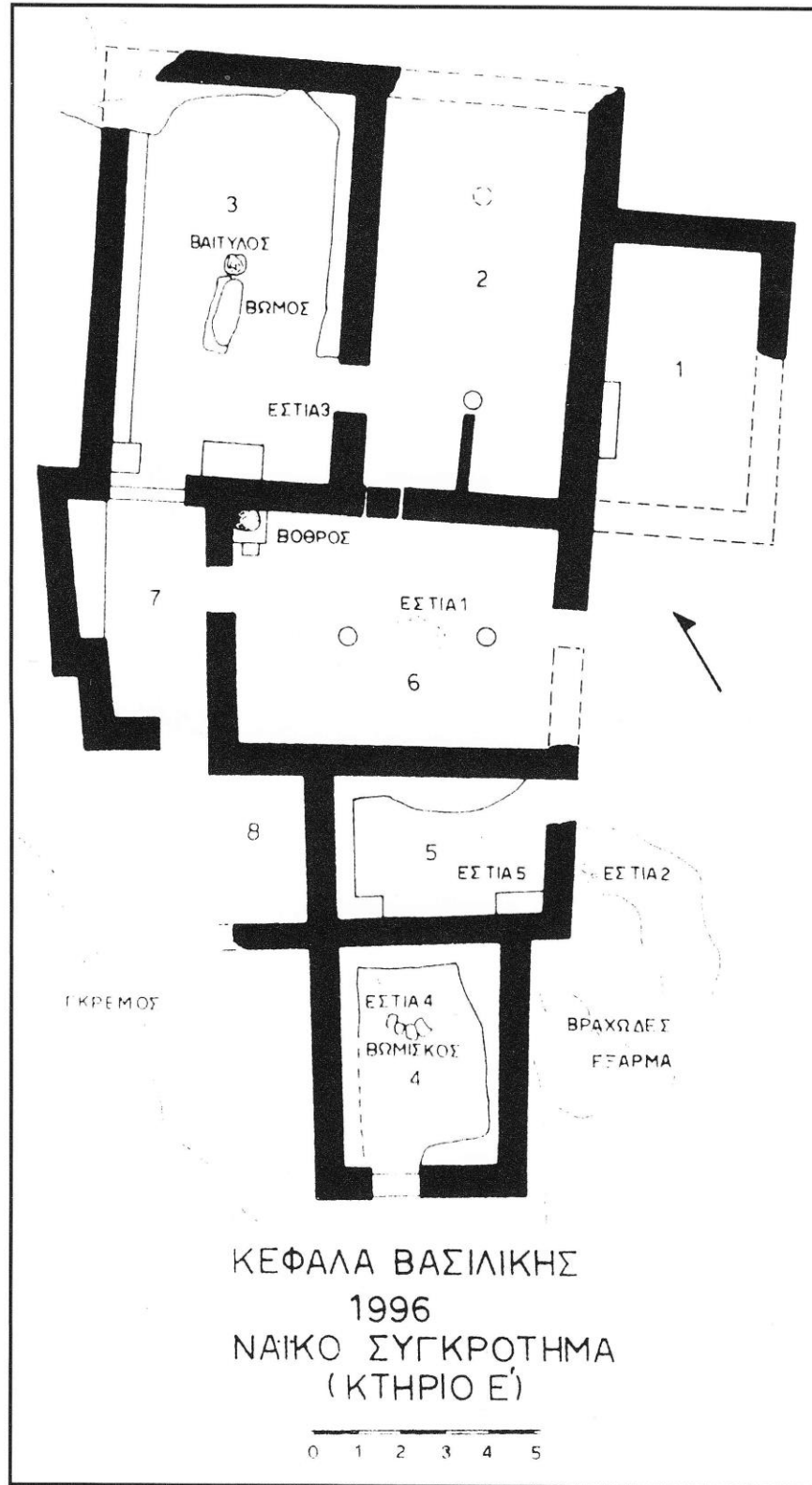


Figure 55: Vasiliki Kephala, Building Epsilon (Eliopoulos 2004, fig. 6.5).

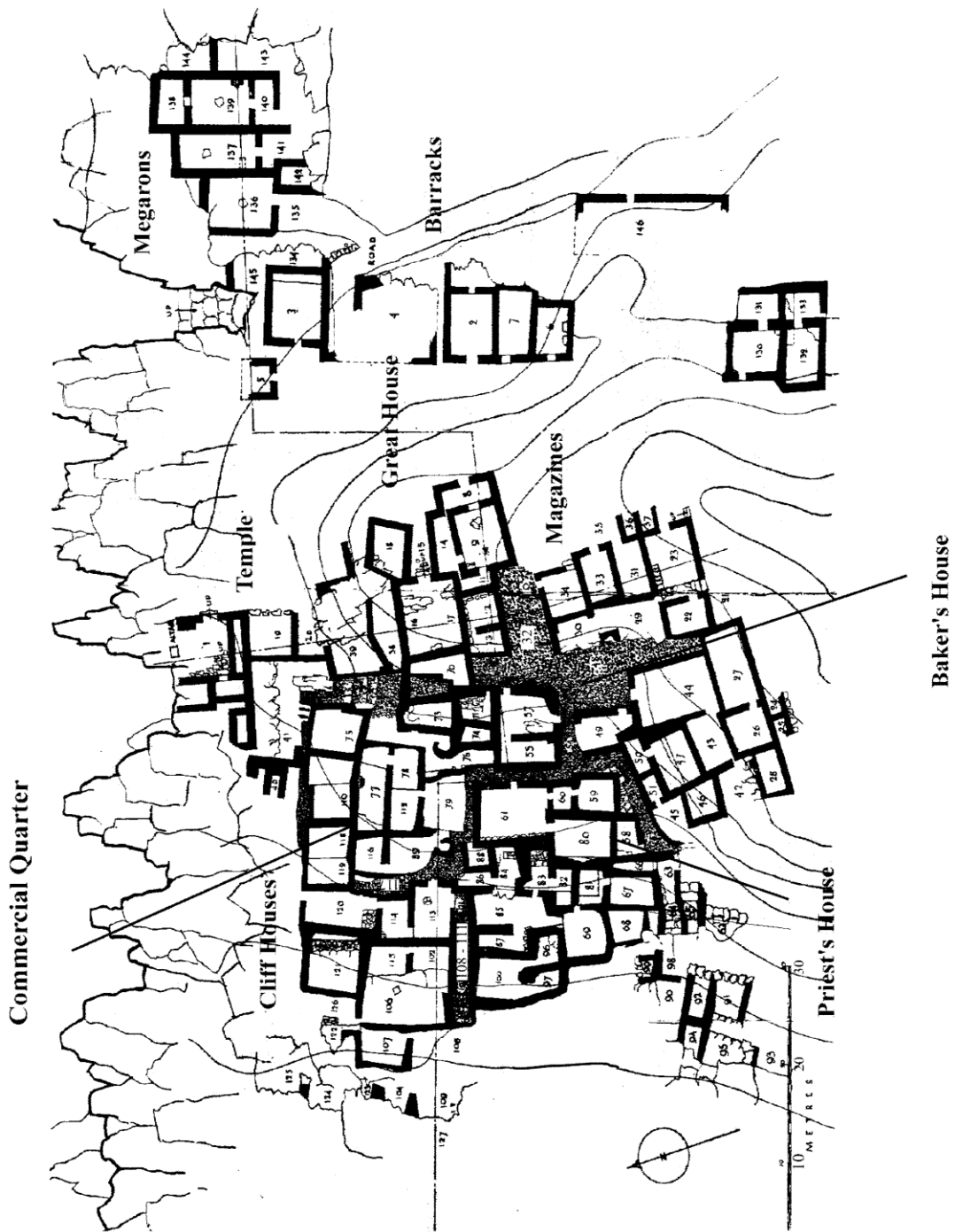


Figure 56: Karphi (Wallace 2005, fig. 1, after Pendlebury et al. 1937-8, Pl.IX).

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