

HESPERIA

SUPPLEMENT 42

ARCHAEOLOGIES OF CULT
ESSAYS ON RITUAL AND CULT IN CRETE
IN HONOR OF GERALDINE C. GESELL



*edited by Anna Lucia D'Agata and
Aleydis Van de Moortel*

*American School of
Classical Studies at Athens
2009*

This article is © The American School of Classical Studies at Athens. This offprint is supplied for personal, non-commercial use only.

HARVEST RITES AND CORN DOLLIES IN THE BRONZE AGE AEGEAN

by *Anaya Sarpaki*

Harvest rites have probably existed at least since the onset of cultivation or domestication in agricultural societies, and they may have originated in even earlier periods of foraging and collecting wild plants.¹ In the Bronze Age Aegean, cereals were the main crops cultivated, along with a multitude of legumes and other plants. This statement is valid, based on our present knowledge, for prehistoric through Classical times. The site of Akrotiri, Thera, has yielded archaeobotanical evidence for the cultivation of barley and wheat as well as the preparation of wheat flour, barley flour, and barley meal (a type of bulgur).² In Crete, some of the storage facilities observed at central buildings and settlement sites of the 2nd millennium B.C. must have been reserved for cereals. In the 1st millennium B.C., Homer referred to barley meal and cereal flour as “the marrow of men.”³

Judging from early ethnographic accounts and the wealth of ritual connected with agriculture in traditional Greece,⁴ all of the stages of cultivation, including reaping, threshing, and storage, must have been associated

1. Several people made the work for this paper a pleasure. I warmly thank Christos Doumas for permitting me to study the Akrotiri jar and for providing photographs and drawings. I am grateful to Tania Devetzi, Lucy Valassi, and Sophia Vakirtzi for the photographs for Figs. 6.3 and 6.6 and for facilitating all the work involved. I thank Andreas Kontonis for making the drawings of the Akrotiri jar. Fani Konstantinou, director of the Benaki Museum photographic archive, together with her assistants, helped enormously in providing the photographs for Figs. 6.1:c and 6.2. The photograph Fig. 6.2 was taken by Elli Souyioultoglou-Seraïdari. I thank Jeremy Coote of the Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford, for Fig. 6.1:a.

I would also like to express my

gratitude to the Peloponnesian Folklore Foundation in Nauplion and to Angeliki Roumelioti, who very kindly provided me with all information and photographs on the corn dollies in their collection and allowed me to reproduce Fig. 6.1:b. I thank my colleague Marisa Marthari for allowing me to refer to her article, presently in press, which will be published in the 30-year celebration monograph of the Akrotiri excavations, and for allowing me to reproduce her photos in Fig. 6.7. Additional thanks are due to my colleague Kiki Birtacha, editor of the above-mentioned volume.

I am also grateful to Robert Koehl, John Younger, Fritz Blakolmer, Nigel Hetherington (conservation manager of the Theban Mapping Project www.thebanmappingproject.com), Eryk Nervik, and D. Rumpel for

providing me with published and unpublished information. I thank Rosemary Sault, an expert in corn dollies, for making the replica of the Late Bronze Age corn dolly shown in Fig. 6.6. Last but not least, I wish to thank my colleague and friend Katerina Kopaka, who applied constructive criticism and clarified some obscure areas of the text. All remaining errors are my own.

2. Sarpaki 1987, 1992, 2001.

3. Baudy 1995; Braun 1995, p. 25.

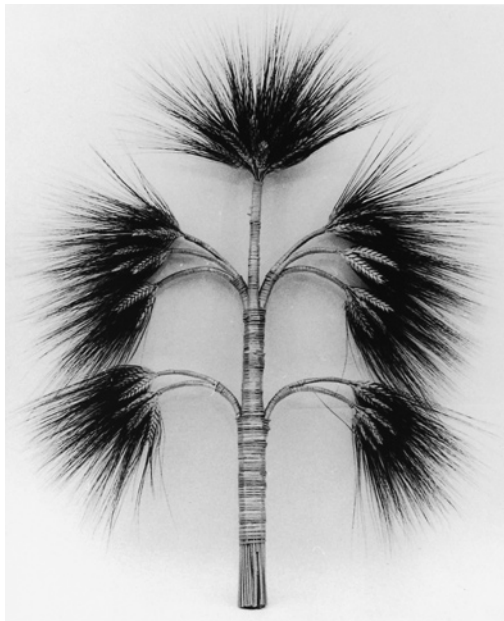
4. Consult Frazer 1911–1915 for a rich description of the “corn mother” in many lands. See Loukatos (1981) among others for the summer rites, described as the traditional rituals of Greece celebrated at every season of the year. For other seasons, see Loukatos 1979, 1982, 1985.



a



b



c

Figure 6.1 (*opposite*). Corn dollies from: (a) Kalabaka, Thessaly, collected by J. T. Bent and presented in 1888 to the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford (PRM 1888.37.2); (b) Corinth, collected in 1977 by I. Papantoniou, Nauplion (1977.12.0031); and (c) Acharnon (Attica), Folklore Museum of Acharnon (31008). Photos courtesy Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford, the Peloponnesian Folklore Foundation, Nauplion, and the Benaki Photographic Archives, Athens (M.1721)



Figure 6.2. Corn dolly hung in the doorway of a house in central Crete, ca. 1927–1939. Photo E. Souyioult-soglou-Seraïdari, courtesy Benaki Photographic Archives, 1927/39

with rites that have left no tangible remains in archaeology. The practice of these rites in prehistory can only be read in some symbols and crafts, in which the evidence is rarely so obvious as to stare us in the eye. One exceptional case is a Late Cycladic I decorated vase from Akrotiri, Thera. I suggest that two examples of corn dollies are depicted on this vessel, and I interpret these motifs as evidence of harvest rites.

CORN DOLLIES AND HARVEST RITES

Until the recent past in some cultures, the first or last straw of the cereals gathered at harvest time was reserved to make special craft items. These objects, referred to as corn dollies, were generally hung on the lintel of the house, inside the home, or even in the barn (Fig. 6.1:a–c).⁵ Such ornaments are not always made of straw, however, and most are not even doll-shaped. They are sometimes made of different types of dried plant stems, such as various cereals and palm leaves. In the Mediterranean, as far as I have been able to determine, the favored material was culms of wheat⁶ and perhaps sometimes barley straw.⁷

This ritual is linked to the belief that the Corn Spirit is present in the handful of corn left standing in the fields and that, with the cutting of this last handful, the spirit is caught, driven away, or killed. In the first instance, the last sheaf is carried joyfully home and honored as a divine being. This sheaf of corn is used to make the doll, which is then sometimes placed in the barn or over the door (Fig. 6.2). It may remain there until the harvesting

5. See Frazer 1911–1915 for an extensive examination of these rites.

6. The culm is the stem of the ear of cereals.

7. All the ones I saw at the Peloponnesian Folklore Museum in Nauplion were made from wheat stalks.

of the next year is over, when a new corn dolly is made with the new, fresh spirit. In other cases, the spirit is believed to live in the ornament until the next planting season, and it remains in place until the time comes to plow the fields for the next year's crop.

The details of these customs were not uniform, but they appear to have been variations on the same general theme. The essence of the belief is concerned with the cycle of the corn mother—death and rebirth, which must have been universal in the world of the past.⁸

A BRIDGE-SPOUTED JAR FROM AKROTIRI

Although corn dollies seem to have been an intricate part of material culture in most traditional societies,⁹ they have not survived archaeologically.¹⁰ It was a surprise, therefore, to observe that a bridge-spouted jar of local ware from the West House at Akrotiri, Thera, is decorated with two motifs that may be interpreted as corn dollies.¹¹ These two motifs are painted on the back of the jar (Figs. 6.3:a, 6.4). They depict two wreaths made of cereal culms and ears. In this case, art has preserved what taphonomy has not. Marthari presents a detailed description of this vase in which its connection to agricultural rites is noted but the symbolism of the corn dollies is not recognized as such.¹²

I suggest that the imagery of the bridge-spouted jar from Akrotiri would have been read from right to left. The starting point of the narrative would have been the corn dolly of the past harvest on the right, which probably represents “last year's spirit,” to be replaced by the current year's corn dolly on the left (Fig. 6.3:a). This is made quite clear to the spectator as the corn dolly on the left is adorned with ribbons, while the other seems to have lost its decoration.

The wavy line under the two corn dollies may represent rhythm and consecutive time events, or the present world. The next stage, following this proposed convention, is the harvest of the grape at the end of summer, most probably in September (Fig. 6.3:b).¹³ In the third stage, represented on the front of the bridge-spouted jar (Fig. 6.3:c), we have, probably, the symbol of the rebirth of nature, with overly mature beans springing from the underground, depicted as six lines around the base of the jar.¹⁴

8. Frazer 1911–1915.

9. See Frazer 1911–1915 for its many expressions in several traditions and continents, including Asia and the Americas.

10. Barnett (1989, pp. 5, 9) postulates that corn dollies originated in the Late Neolithic or Chalcolithic period in Canaan itself, although the area of origin still needs to be demonstrated. Corn dollies are traditionally present in wide geographic zones from the Mediterranean to the Near East and northern Europe (Lambeth 1974a, 1974b;

Frazer 1911–1915). The New World also has corn dollies. Barnett (1989, p. 5) believes that “the sign of Tanit,” which is a familiar symbol in Carthaginian iconography, could have portrayed a corn dolly.

11. It is on permanent exhibition at the Museum of Akrotiri at Fira, Thera (no. 5350).

12. Marthari, forthcoming.

13. September was traditionally the month of the grape harvest at Santorini, until the wine makers started to comply with European laws about

wine-making and the harvest was moved to August. In the Attic calendar, it corresponded to the month of Boeotromion, the month of the Eleusinian mysteries. The month of the Thesmophoria festival was elsewhere called Demetrios, i.e., celebrated for Demeter (see Simon 1983, p. 18).

14. This is the only point where decoration (part of the plant and stem) from under the lines seems to come out and join the decoration above the line, perhaps in representation of the world of the living.



a



b



c



d

Figure 6.3. Bridge-spouted jar (Akrotiri Museum, Fira, 5350) from Akrotiri, Thera, West House, room 6: (a) corn dollies; (b) grapes; (c) beans; (d) grapes. Photos T. Devetzi, L. Valassi, and S. Vakirtzi

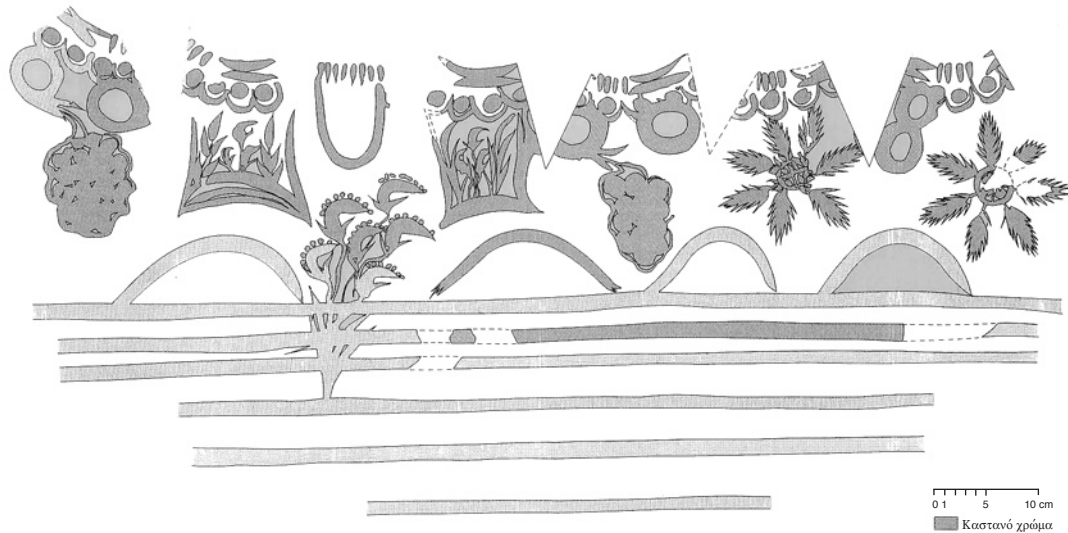


Figure 6.4. Bridge-spouted jar (Akrotiri Museum, Fira, 5350), overview. Drawing A. Kontonis

The mature bean symbolism may portray and reinforce a chant to nature, rebirth, and fertility. The two inverted boxes on either side of the bean motif could represent at least another three species of plants. The next stage, the fourth wavy line, leads again to the grape (Figs. 6.3:d), which is a symbol of plenty.¹⁵ The grape could also have referred to the season of the opening of the jars of wine, which occurred between February and March.

In Egypt, a depiction of probable harvest festivals come from an XVIIIth Dynasty context somewhat contemporary with the Akrotiri vase. In tomb 38 (the Tomb of Nakht) at Thebes, Blackman recognized corn dollies on a wall entirely dedicated to the harvest (Fig. 6.5).¹⁶ In tomb 57 (Tomb of Khâemhêt), reference to a similar festival was made. The information from the two tombs suggests that this harvest festival may have lasted four or five days. It is possible that the rites in Bronze Age Greece took place over a period of similar duration.

15. Marinatos (1987, p. 135) states that “Minoan religion . . . was structured by seasonally determined major festivals.” This seems to be a very reasonable assumption; see also Betancourt 2001, p. 148. Moreover, the ceremonies ostensibly conducted in the West Courts of the palaces are thought by N. Marinatos (1987, p. 137) to have had an agrarian character; see also Marinatos 1993, pp. 46–48. The “Sacred Grove and Dance” fresco from Knossos, reconstructed by Marinatos (1987, p. 142, fig. 7) is thought to refer to an open-air festival. I agree with both Marinatos and Koehl (discussions after Marinatos 1987, p. 185) that the men in the fresco could have been harvesters “branching their sticks.” Hallager

(1987, p. 174, fig. 2) suggests there were “Harvest Festival” rooms in four palaces, namely in the west wings of Knossos, Malia, Phaistos, and Zakros, which had immediate access from the central courts. A divinity equated to Persephone (Kore), Pe-re-twa, is apparently mentioned in the Linear B tablets from Pylos (Tn 316) (Ruipérez and Melena 1996). A Minoan Demeter is also inferred from the Linear A inscriptions on two axes from Arkalochori, ca. 1600 B.C. (Owens 1996, p. 175; disputed by Ruipérez and Melena 1996, p. 187).

16. Blackman 1922, pp. 235–236. There has been no detailed publication of these tombs as yet (N. Hetherington, pers. comm.).

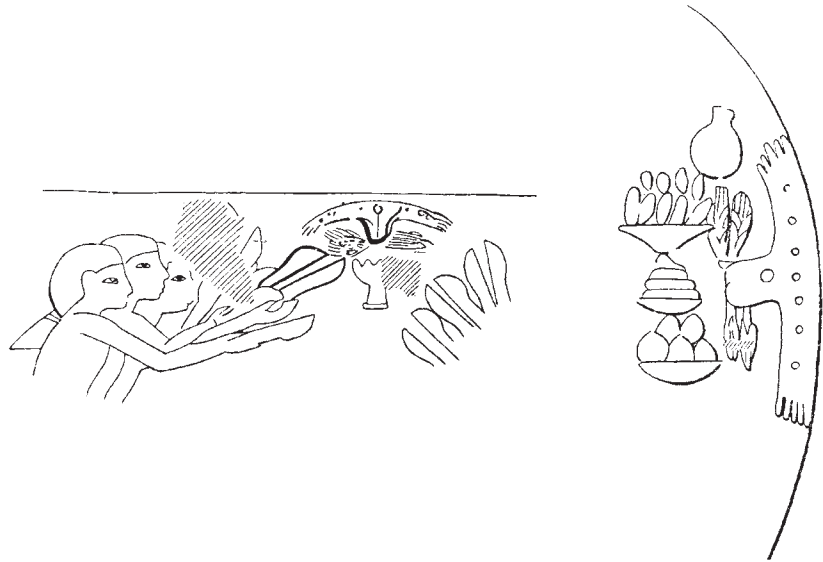


Figure 6.5. The corn-‘arûseh in Theban tomb 38, Tomb of Nakht (Dynasty XVIII). Blackman 1922, pl. XXVII:a, b

CONTEXT AND CONTENTS OF THE JAR

The Akrotiri bridge-spouted jar was found on the ground floor of the West House, in room 6. This building has been described as an urban house and is mainly known in the literature for its wall paintings.¹⁷ Room 6 may have been one of the main storerooms of the house.¹⁸ Notably, 15 archaeobotanical samples of cereals and pulses were recovered there. Room 6 apparently held agricultural products that were to be consumed more imminently than those kept in room 5, another storage room also located on the ground floor.

Unfortunately, no seeds were found in the pot with the corn dolly motifs, but the impressions of pulses were found on the inside walls of the jar, attesting to the contents just before the final destruction of the area. The impressions may have formed as the pulses rotted away, leaving only their shadow on its walls. Had they been charred, they would have been preserved.

The shape of the pot leads us to believe it was meant to be used for liquids. It is possible that the shadow of the pulses left on its walls does not portray its intended function, but rather what happened to be stored in the pot when the destruction occurred. Chemical analysis is needed in order to determine what drink, if any, was kept in the jar at other times.

The discovery of a household shrine at Pseira attests to the secularization of at least some religious rituals.¹⁹ Betancourt suggested that food preparation would have taken place in the “large ground-floor kitchen, kept deliberately away from the more formal and sacred activities that took place upstairs.”²⁰ Whether food was prepared in the ground-floor room 6 at the West House is not known; no hearth has been detected in that room, however. Nevertheless, the bridge-spouted jar found in this domestic context may have been used to hold offerings of crops in the performance of an agricultural ritual.

17. Televantou 1990; Dumas 1992; Sherratt 2000.

18. Sarpaki 1992; 2001, p. 34.

19. Betancourt 2001.

20. Betancourt 2001, p. 147.



Figure 6.6. Replica of the Late Bronze Age corn dolly depicted on bridge-spouted jar 5350 from Akrotiri. Made by Rosemary Sault, photo T. Devetzi, L. Valassi, and S. Vakirtzi

AGRICULTURAL RITES AND THE AKROTIRI JAR

The narrative of the bridge-spouted jar suggests that it depicts a version of the rituals in which it was used.²¹ This is consistent with Marthari's interpretation that it served in a form of "agricultural worship."²² In part because this worship involved communal oral traditions and crafts made from organic materials rarely preserved in the Aegean, the associated rituals would rarely have left any archaeologically visible material remains. The depiction of the corn dollies on this Late Bronze Age jar is so far unique in the Aegean (Fig. 6.6), and it affords a welcome window of insight into prehistoric harvest rites.

It is possible that such ceremonies were not confined to specific architectural structures, but might have taken place in fields, homes, stables, or storage areas.²³ It is also possible that no special groups of people (e.g., priests) presided over such ritual performances. Certain ritual rhyta found at Akrotiri (Fig. 6.7:a, b) may portray buildings best described as huts.²⁴ Could such light constructions have been dispersed in the Thera landscape²⁵ and used for these agricultural rituals, maybe even in sacred groves?²⁶

21. See Peatfield's (2001, p. 55) proposal for the peak sanctuary figurines.

22. Marthari, forthcoming.

23. An interesting hypothesis about harvest festivals taking place near the Minoan palace *kouloures* is presented by Marinatos (1987), who observes that these areas are causeways forming a triangle in which no major architectural structure has been detected. Marinatos states that "the triangle clearly serves as a behavioral 'focus' for the ceremonies, thus its associations with the circular

structures (*kouloures*) points to ritual action connected with the granaries" (1987, p. 137). This proposed connection of the palaces with agrarian concerns merits in-depth exploration in the future.

24. Koehl (1990, p. 350) suggests that Akrotiri rhyta were used in some settings that may be interpreted as cultic and in others where cultic and noncultic activities may have been intermingled. He also speculates on the association of the rhyta with harvest festivals (Koehl 1990, p. 359). See also

Marthari, forthcoming, p. 13, figs. 28, 29).

25. Compare the manner in which small chapels are dispersed on the landscape in Greece today.

26. It is known that in Classical times the Thesmophoria lasted for three days, and in the countryside sanctuaries of Demeter and Persephone were situated where people "built huts there in which they sat and where they slept on the ground" (Simon 1983, p. 18).

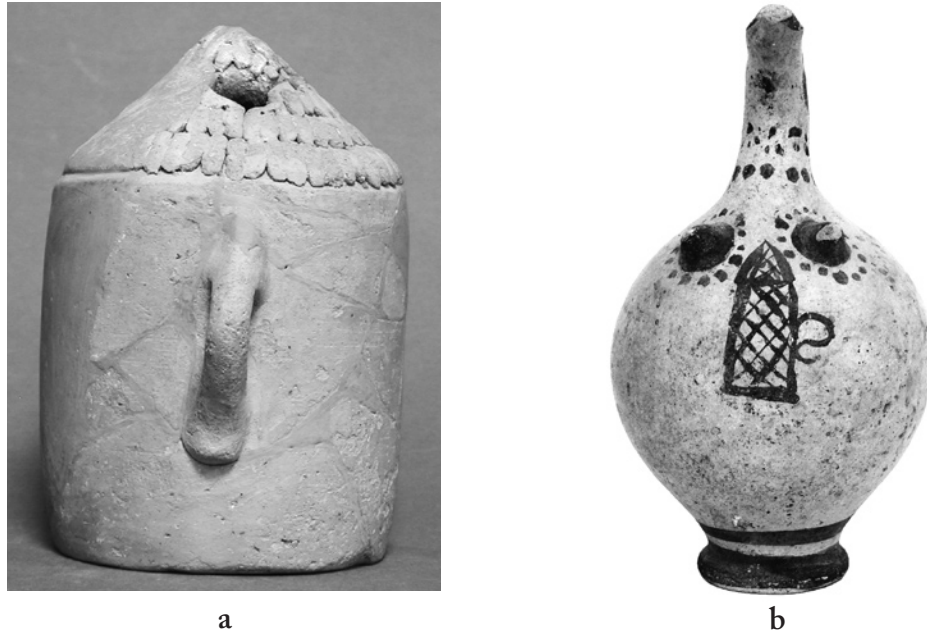


Figure 6.7. Rhyta in the form of huts: (a) Akrotiri Museum 3585; (b) breasted jug decorated with a similar rhyton, Akrotiri Museum 4359. Scale 1:2 (a), 1:3 (b); photos M. Marthari

Myres noted that symbols of Minoan divinity were “conspicuous by their absence” at the peak sanctuary of Petsofas.²⁷ Peatfield interprets this lack of symbols for the divinity as a possible indication that “they were not that important to the expression of the cult.”²⁸

The Akrotiri bridge-spouted jar is a vase of not very prestigious style, made of a common, unsophisticated ware. It was found in the West House, which appears to have been an urban but not a distinctive or special dwelling. Even so, just as wall paintings are believed to have been associated with the enactment of rituals, the Akrotiri jar may represent a class of pottery that portrayed the ceremonies in which it was used, including ritual feasting and other rites that lasted several days. Some of these rites may have been performed in ordinary domestic areas such as the West House at Akrotiri.

27. Myres 1902–1903, p. 380.

28. Peatfield 2001, p. 54.

REFERENCES

- Adams, E. 2004. "Power and Ritual in Neopalatial Crete: A Regional Comparison," *WorldArch* 36, pp. 26–42.
- Albers, G. 2001. "Rethinking Mycenaean Sanctuaries," in Laffineur and Hägg 2001, pp. 131–141.
- Alberti, B. 2001. "Faience Goddesses and Ivory Bull-leapers: The Aesthetics of Sexual Difference at Late Bronze Age Knossos," *WorldArch* 33, pp. 189–205.
- Alberti, L. 1999. "L'alabastron nelle necropoli TM II–III A1 di Crosso," in *Ἐπὶ πόντον πλαζόμενοι: Atti del simposio italiano di studi egei dedicato a L. Bernabò Brea e G. Pugliese Carratelli*, ed. V. La Rosa, D. Palermo, and L. Vagnetti, Rome, pp. 167–175.
- . 2004a. "The LM II–III A1 Warrior Graves at Knossos: The Burial Assemblage," in Cadogan, Hatzaki, and Vassilakis 2004, pp. 127–136.
- . 2004b. *Οι νεκροπόλεις της Κνωσού κατά την Υστερομινωική II–III A1 περίοδο* (diss. Univ. of Athens).
- Alcock, S. E. 2002. *Archaeologies of the Greek Past: Landscape, Monuments, and Memories*, Cambridge.
- Alcock, S. E., and R. Osborne, eds. 1994. *Placing the Gods: Sanctuaries and Sacred Space in Ancient Greece*, Oxford.
- Alexiou, S. 1950. "Πρωτογεωμετρικός ναΐσκος τῆς Συλλογῆς Γιαμαλάκη," *CretChron* 4, pp. 441–462.
- . 1956. "Ἱερὸν παρὰ τὸ Καβοῦσι Ἱεραπέτρας," *CretChron* 10, pp. 7–19.
- . 1958. "Ἡ μινωϊκὴ θεὰ μεθ' ὑψωμένων χειρῶν," *CretChron* 12, pp. 179–299.
- . 1967. "Ἀρχαιότητες καὶ μνημεῖα κεντρικῆς καὶ ἀνατολικῆς Κρήτης," *ArchDelt* 22, B'2, pp. 480–488.
- . 1992. "Areale H, G, F, and E," in *Amnisos nach den archäologischen, historischen und epigraphischen Zeugnissen des Altertums und der Neuzeit*, ed. J. Schäfer, Berlin, pp. 186–192.
- Alexiou, S., and P. Warren. 2004. *The Early Minoan Tombs of Lebena, Southern Crete (SIMA 30)*, Sävedalen.
- Alonge, M. 2005. "The Palaikastro Hymn and the Modern Myth of the Cretan Zeus," Version 1.0, December, *Princeton/Stanford Working Papers in Classics*, <http://www.princeton.edu/~pswpc/papers/authorAL/alonge/alonge.html>.
- Alroth, B. 1988. "The Positioning of Greek Votive Figurines," in *Early Greek Cult Practice (SkrAth 4°, 38)*, ed. R. Hägg, N. Marinatos, and G. C. Nordquist, Stockholm, pp. 195–203.
- Andreadaki-Vlasaki, M. 1987. "An Early Greek Child Burial at Gavalomouri, Kissamos," *SMEA* 26, pp. 307–335.
- . 1994–1996. "Ἀστρικας," *Κρητικὴ Ἐστία* 5, pp. 215–216.
- Andreadaki-Vlasaki, M., and E. Papadopoulou. 2005. "The Habitation at Khamalevri, Rethymnon, during the 12th century b.c.," in D'Agata and Moody 2005, pp. 353–397.

- Antonaccio, C. M. 1994. "Placing the Past: The Bronze Age in the Cultic Topography of Early Greece," in Alcock and Osborne 1994, pp. 79–104.
- . 1995. *An Archaeology of Ancestors: Tomb Cult and Hero Cult in Early Greece*, Lanham, Md.
- Apostolakou, V. 1998. "Υστερομινωικοί τάφοι στη Γρα Λυγιά Ιεράπετρας," *ArchDelt* 53, A', pp. 25–88.
- Appadurai, A., ed. 1986. *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, Cambridge.
- Åström, P., and L. Åström. 1972. *The Late Cypriot Bronze Age: Other Arts and Crafts (SwCyprusExp IV.1D)*, Stockholm.
- Bailey, D. 1992. "The Interpretation of Figurines: The Emergence of Illusion and New Ways of Seeing," *CAJ* 6, pp. 291–295.
- Banti, L. 1941–1943. "I culti minoici e greci di Haghia Triada (Creta)," *ASAtene* n.s. 3–5, pp. 9–74.
- Barber, R. L. N. 1984. "Early Cycladic Marble Figures: Some Thoughts on Function," in Fitton 1984, pp. 10–14.
- . 1987. *The Cyclades in the Bronze Age*, London.
- Barnett, R. D. 1989. "From Arad to Carthage: Harvest Rites and Corn Dollies," in *Eretz-Israel: Archaeological, Historical, and Geographical Studies* 27, ed. A. Ben-Tor, J. C. Greenfield, and A. Malamat, Jerusalem, pp. 1–11.
- Barrett, J. C. 1991. "Towards an Archaeology of Ritual," in *Sacred and Profane. Proceedings of a Conference on Archaeology, Ritual, and Religion, Oxford, 1989* (Oxford University Committee for Archaeology 32), ed. P. Garwood, D. Jennings, R. Skeates, and J. Toms, Oxford, pp. 1–9.
- Barrett, J. C., and P. Halstead, eds. 2004. *The Emergence of Civilisation Revisited* (Sheffield Studies in Aegean Archaeology 6), Oxford.
- Baudy, G. 1995. "Cereal Diet and the Origins of Man: Myths of the Eleusinia in the Context of Ancient Mediterranean Harvest Festivals," in *Food in Antiquity*, ed. J. Wilkins, D. Harvey, and M. Dobson, Exeter, pp. 177–195.
- Baurain, C., P. Darcque, and C. Verlinden. 1983. "Malia: Abords Nord-Est du Palais," *BCH* 107, pp. 901–904.
- . 1985. "Malia: Abords Nord-Est du Palais," *BCH* 109, pp. 892–895.
- . 1986. "Malia: Abords Nord-Est du Palais," *BCH* 110, pp. 816–822.
- Begg, P. 1991. *Late Cypriot Terracotta Figurines: A Study in Context (SIMA 101)*, Jonsered.
- Bennet, J. 1990. "Knossos in Context: Comparative Perspectives on the Linear B Administration of LM II–III Crete," *AJA* 94, pp. 193–211.
- . 2004. "Iconographies of Value: Words, People and Things in the Late Bronze Age Aegean," in Barrett and Halstead 2004, pp. 90–106.
- Bennett, C. 1996. *In Search of the Sacred: Anthropology and the Study of Religions*, London.
- Ben-Tor, D. 1993. *The Scarab: A Reflection of Ancient Egypt*, Jerusalem.
- Betancourt, P. P. 2001. "The Household Shrine in the House of the Rhyta at Pseira," in Laffineur and Hägg 2001, pp. 145–149.
- . 2003. "The Impact of Cycladic Settlers on Early Minoan Crete," *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry* 3, pp. 3–11.
- Betancourt, P. P., M. G. Ciaccio, B. Crowell, J. M. Donohoe, and R. C. Green. 1983. "Ceramic Stands: A Group of Domestic and Ritual Objects from Crete and the Near East," *Expedition* 26, pp. 32–37.
- Betancourt, P. P., V. Karageorghis, R. Laffineur, and W.-D. Niemeier, eds. 1999. *MELETEMATATA: Studies in Aegean Archaeology Presented to Malcolm H. Wiener As He Enters His 65th Year (Aegaeum 20)*, Liège.
- Betancourt, P. P., and J. S. Silverman. 1991. *The Cretan Collection in the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania 2: Pottery from Gournia* (University Museum Monograph 72), Philadelphia.
- Bevan, A. 2002. "The Rural Landscape of Neopalatial Kythera: A GIS Perspective," *JMA* 15, pp. 217–255.
- Beyer, I. 1976. *Die Tempel von Dreros und Prinias A und die Chronologie der*

- kretischen Kunst des 8. und 7. Jhs. v. Chr.*, Freiburg.
- Bittel, K. 1976. "The Great Temple of Hattusha-Boğazköy," *AJA* 80, pp. 66–75.
- Blackman, D. 1998–1999. "Archaeology in Greece 1998–99," *AR* 1998–1999, pp. 1–124.
- Blackman, D., and K. Branigan. 1975. "An Archaeological Survey on the South Coast of Crete, between the Ayiofarango and Christostomos," *BSA* 70, pp. 17–36.
- . 1982. "The Excavation of an Early Minoan Tholos Tomb at Ayia Kyriaki, Ayiofarango, Southern Crete," *BSA* 77, pp. 1–57.
- Blackman, D., K. Branigan, A. R. Doe, D. C. Homes, and J. Bintliff. 1977. "An Archaeological Survey of the Lower Catchment of the Ayiofarango Valley," *BSA* 72, pp. 13–84.
- Blackman, W. 1922. "Some Occurrences of the Corn-*arūseh* in Ancient Egyptian Tomb Paintings," *JEA* 8, pp. 235–240.
- Blake, E. 2005. "The Material Expression of Cult, Ritual, and Feasting," in *The Archaeology of Mediterranean Prehistory*, ed. E. Blake and A. B. Knapp, Oxford, pp. 102–129.
- Blomberg, M., and G. Henriksson. 1996. "Evidence for Minoan Astronomical Observations from the Peak Sanctuaries on Petsophas and Traostalos," *OpAth* 21, pp. 99–114.
- Blome, P. 1982. *Die figürliche Bildwelt Kretas in der geometrischen und früharchaischen Periode*, Mainz.
- Boardman, J. 1961. *The Cretan Collection in Oxford: The Dictaeon Cave and Iron Age Crete*, Oxford.
- Bonacasa, N. 1968. "Patrikies—una stazione medio-minoica fra Haghia Triada e Festos," *ASAtene* 29–30, pp. 7–54.
- Bosanquet, R. C. 1905. "Excavations at Palaikastro IV: The Temple of Dictaeon Zeus," *BSA* 11, pp. 298–308.
- . 1909. "The Palaikastro Hymn of the Kouretes," *BSA* 15, pp. 339–356.
- . 1939–1940. "Dicte and the Temples of Dictaeon Zeus," *BSA* 40, pp. 60–77.
- Bosanquet, R. C., and R. M. Dawkins. 1923. *The Unpublished Objects from the Palaikastro Excavations, 1902–1906* (BSA Suppl. 1), London.
- Bosanquet, R. C., R. M. Dawkins, M. N. Tod, W. L. H. Duckworth, and J. L. Myres. 1902–1903. "Excavations at Palaikastro, II," *BSA* 9, pp. 274–387.
- Bottema S., and A. Sarpaki. 2003. "Environmental Change in Crete: A 9000-Year Record of Holocene Vegetation History and the Effect of the Santorini Eruption," *The Holocene* 13, pp. 733–749.
- Boulotis, C. 1982. "Ein Gründungsdepositum im minoischen Palast von Kato Zakros: Minoisch-mykenische Bauopfer," *ArchKorrBl* 12, pp. 153–166.
- . 1985. "Μινωικοί αποθέτες θεμελίωσης," in *Πεπραγμένα του Ε' Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου*, ed. T. Detorakis, Herakleion, pp. 248–257.
- Bousquet, J. 1938. "Le temple d'Aphrodite et d'Arès à Sta Lenikà," *BCH* 62, pp. 386–408.
- Boyd Hawes, H., B. E. Williams, R. B. Seager, and E. H. Hall. 1908. *Gourmia, Vasiliki and Other Prehistoric Sites on the Isthmus of Hierapetra, Crete: Excavations of the Wells-Houston-Cramp Expeditions, 1901, 1903, 1904*, Philadelphia.
- Bradfer-Burdet, I., and M. Schmid. 2004–2005. "Sanctuaire aux Cornes," *BCH* 128–129, pp. 969–987.
- Bradley, R. 2000. *An Archaeology of Natural Places*, London.
- Branigan, K. 1970a. *The Foundations of Palatial Crete: A Survey of Crete in the Early Bronze Age*, London.
- . 1970b. "Minoan Foot Amulets and Their Near Eastern Counterparts," *SMEA* 11, pp. 7–23.
- . 1971. "Cycladic Figurines and Their Derivatives in Crete," *BSA* 66, pp. 57–78.
- . 1972. "Early Minoan Figurines in the Giamalakis Collection," *BSA* 67, pp. 21–23.
- . 1993. *Dancing with Death: Life and Death in Southern Crete, c. 3000–2000 B.C.*, Amsterdam.
- , ed. 1998a. *Cemetery and Society in the Aegean Bronze Age* (Sheffield Studies in Aegean Archaeology 1), Sheffield.
- . 1998b. "Prehistoric and Early Historic Settlement in the Ziros Region," *BSA* 93, pp. 23–90.
- . 1998c. "The Nearness of You: Proximity and Distance in Early Minoan Funerary Landscapes," in Branigan 1998a, pp. 13–26.
- Braun, T. 1995. "Barley Cakes and Emmer Bread," in *Food in Antiquity*, ed. J. Wilkins, D. Harvey, and M. Dobson, Exeter, pp. 25–37.
- Brock, J. K. 1957. *Fortetsa: Early Greek Tombs near Knossos* (BSA Suppl. 2), Cambridge.
- Brodie, N., and C. Hills, eds. 2004. *Material Engagements: Studies in Honour of Colin Renfrew*, Cambridge.
- Broodbank, C. 2000. *An Island Archaeology of the Early Cyclades*, Cambridge.
- Bryce, T. 2002. *Life and Society in the Hittite World*, Oxford.
- Burkert, W. 1985. *Greek Religion*, Cambridge, Mass.
- Cadogan, G. 1973. "Clay Tubes in Minoan Religion," in *Πεπραγμένα του Γ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου Α'*, Athens, pp. 34–38.
- . 1977–1978. "Pyrgos, Crete, 1970–77," *AR* 24, pp. 70–84.
- . 1981. "A Probable Shrine in the Country House at Pyrgos," in *Sanctuaries and Cults*, pp. 169–171.
- . 1997. "The Role of the Pyrgos Country House in Minoan Society," in *The Function of the "Minoan Villa"*. *Proceedings of the Eighth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 6–8 June, 1992*, ed. R. Hägg, Stockholm, pp. 99–103.
- Cadogan, G., E. Hatzaki, and A. Vasilakis, eds. 2004. *Knossos: Palace, City, State. Proceedings of the Conference in Herakleion Organised by the British School at Athens and the 23rd Ephoria of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities of Herakleion, in November 2000, for the Centenary of Sir Arthur Evans's Excavations at Knossos* (BSA Studies 12), London.
- Calligas, P. G. 1992. "From the Amyklaion," in *ΦΙΛΟΛΑΚΩΝ: Lakonian Studies in Honour of Hector Catling*, ed. J. M. Sanders, London, pp. 31–48.
- Carinci, F. 2001. "La casa a sud della Rampa e il Medio Minoico III a

- Festòs," in *I cento anni dello scavo di Festòs* (Atti dei convegni lincei 173), Rome, pp. 203–241.
- Carter, T. 2004. "Transformative Processes in Liminal Spaces: Craft as Ritual Action in the Throne Room Area," in Cadogan, Hatzaki, and Vasilakis 2004, pp. 273–282.
- Catling, E. A., H. W. Catling, and D. Smyth. 1979. "Knossos 1975: Middle Minoan III and Late Minoan I Houses by the Acropolis," *BSA* 74, pp. 1–80.
- Chadwick, J. 1976. *The Mycenaean World*, Cambridge.
- Chaniotis, A. 2006. "Heiligtümer über-regionaler Bedeutung auf Kreta," in *Kult-Politik-Ethnos*, ed. P. Funke, Stuttgart, pp. 197–209.
- Chapman, J. 2000. *Fragmentation in Archaeology: People, Places, and Broken Objects in the Prehistory of South Eastern Europe*, London.
- Chapouthier, F., and P. Demargne. 1962. *Fouilles exécutées à Mallia IV: Exploration du palais: bordure méridionale et recherches complémentaires (1929–1935 et 1946–1960)* (ÉtCrét 12), Paris.
- Charles, R.-P. 1965. *Anthropologie archéologique de la Crète* (ÉtCrét 14), Paris.
- Cherry, J. F. 1986. "Politics and Palaces: Some Problems in Minoan State Formation," in *Peer Polity Interaction and Socio-political Change*, ed. A. C. Renfrew and J. F. Cherry, Cambridge, pp. 19–45.
- . 2003. "Archaeology Beyond the Site: Regional Survey and Its Future," in *Theory and Practice in Mediterranean Archaeology: Old World and New Perspectives*, ed. J. K. Papadopoulos and R. M. Leventhal, Los Angeles, pp. 137–159.
- Christakis, K. S. 2003. "Pithoi and Staple Storage in the South House," in *Knossos: The South House* (BSA Suppl. 34), ed. P. A. Mountjoy, London, pp. 153–161.
- . 2004. "Palatial Economy and Storage in Late Bronze Age Knossos," in Cadogan, Hatzaki, and Vasilakis 2004, pp. 299–309.
- Chrysosoulaki, S. 2001. "The Traostalos Peak Sanctuary: Aspects of Spatial Organisation," in Laffineur and Hägg 2001, pp. 57–66.
- Coldstream, J. N. 1973. *Knossos: The Sanctuary of Demeter* (BSA Suppl. 8), London.
- . 1976. "Hero-cults in the Age of Homer," *JHS* 96, pp. 8–17.
- . 1978. "Kythera and the Southern Peloponnese in the LM I Period," in *Thera and the Aegean World I. Papers Presented in the Second Scientific Congress, Santorini, Greece, August 1978*, ed. C. Doumas and H. C. Puchelt, London, pp. 389–401.
- . 1984. "A Protogeometric Nature Goddess from Knossos," *BICS* 31, pp. 93–104.
- . 2000. "Evans's Greek Finds: The Early Greek Town of Knossos and Its Encroachment on the Borders of the Minoan Palace," *BSA* 95, pp. 259–299.
- Coldstream, J. N., and H. W. Catling, eds. 1996. *Knossos North Cemetery, Early Greek Tombs* (BSA Suppl. 28), London.
- Coldstream, J. N., and G. L. Huxley. 1972. *Kythera: Excavations and Studies*, London.
- . 1984. "The Minoans of Kythera," in *The Minoan Thalassocracy: Myth and Reality. Proceedings of the Third International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens*, ed. R. Hägg and N. Marinatos, Stockholm, pp. 107–112.
- Cole, S. G. 1994. "Demeter in the Ancient Greek City and its Countryside," in Alcock and Osborne 1994, pp. 199–216.
- . 2004. *Landscapes, Gender, and Ritual Space: The Ancient Greek Experience*, London.
- Collins, B. J. 1992. "The Puppy in Hittite Ritual," *The Oriental Institute News and Notes* 136, http://oi.uchicago.edu/research/pubs/nn/win92_collins.html.
- Conrad, G. W., and A. A. Demarest. 1984. *Religion and Empire: The Dynamics of Aztec and Inca Expansionism*, Cambridge.
- Cosmopoulos, M. B. 1991. *The Early Bronze 2 in the Aegean* (SIMA 98), Jonsered.
- Coulson, W., and M. Tsipopoulou. 1994. "Preliminary Investigations at Halasmenos, Crete, 1992–1993," *Aegean Archaeology* 1, pp. 65–86.

- Craxton, J., and P. Warren. 2004. "A Neocycladic Harpist?" in Brodie and Hills 2004, pp. 109–113.
- Crowther, C. 1988. "A Note on Minoan Dikta," *BSA* 83, pp. 37–44.
- . 2000. "Dikte," in MacGillivray, Driessen, and Sackett 2000, pp. 145–148.
- Cullen, T., ed. 2001. *Aegean Prehistory: A Review* (*AJA* Suppl. 1), Boston.
- Cultraro, M. 2000. "La brocchetta dei vivi per la sete dei morti: Riconsiderazione delle Camerette a Sud della Grande Tholos di Haghia Triada," in *Πεπραγμένα του Η' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου Α' 1*, Herakleion, pp. 309–326.
- Cunningham, T., and J. Driessen. 2004. "Site by Site: Combining Survey and Excavation Data to Chart Patterns of Socio-Political Change in Bronze Age Crete," in *Side-by-Side Survey: Comparative Regional Studies in the Mediterranean World*, ed. S. Alcock and J. Cherry, Oxford, pp. 101–113.
- D'Agata, A. L. 1989. "Some MM IIIB/LM IA Pottery from Haghia Triada," in *Transition: Le monde égéen du Bronze moyen au Bronze récent* (*Aegaeum* 3), ed. R. Laffineur, Liège, pp. 93–97.
- . 1992. "Late Minoan Crete and Horns of Consecration: A Symbol in Action," in *EIKON: Aegean Bronze Age Iconography: Shaping a Methodology. Proceedings of the 4th International Aegean Conference, University of Tasmania, Hobart, Australia, 6–9 April 1992* (*Aegaeum* 8), ed. R. Laffineur and J. Crowley, Liège, pp. 247–255.
- . 1997a. "Incense and Perfumes in the Late Bronze Age Aegean," in *Profumi d'Arabia*, ed. A. Avanzini, Rome, pp. 85–99.
- . 1997b. "The Shrines on the Piazzale dei Sacelli at Ayia Triadha: A Summary," in Driessen and Farnoux 1997, pp. 85–100.
- . 1997–2000. "Ritual and Rubbish in Dark Age Crete: The Settlement of Thronos/Kephala (Ancient Sybrita) and the Pre-Classical Roots of a Greek City," *Aegean Archaeology* 4, pp. 45–59.
- . 1998. "Changing Patterns in a Minoan and Post-Minoan Sanctuary: The Case of Ayia Triada," in *Post-Minoan Crete. Proceedings of the First Colloquium, London 10–11 November 1995* (*BSA Studies* 2), ed. W. G. Cavanagh, M. Curtis, J. N. Coldstream, and A. W. Johnston, London, pp. 19–26.
- . 1999a. "Defining a Pattern of Continuity during the Dark Age in Central-Western Crete: Ceramic Evidence from the Settlement of Thronos/Kephala (Ancient Sybrita)," *SMEA* 41, pp. 181–218.
- . 1999b. *Haghia Triada II: Statuine minoiche e post-minoiche dai vecchi scavi di Haghia Triada (Crete)* (Monografie della scuola archeologica di Atene e delle missioni italiane in Oriente 11), Padua.
- . 2001. "Religion, Society, and Ethnicity in Crete at the End of the Late Bronze Age: A Contextual Framework for LM IIIC Cult Activities," in Laffineur and Hägg 2001, pp. 345–354.
- . 2003. "LM IIIC–SM Pottery Sequence at Thronos/Kephala (Ancient Sybrita) and Its Connections with the Greek Mainland," in *LH IIIC Chronology and Synchronisms. Proceedings of the International Workshop Held at the Austrian Academy of Sciences at Vienna, May 7th and 8th, 2001*, ed. S. Deger-Jalkotzy and M. Zavadil, Vienna, pp. 23–35.
- . 2006. "Cult Activity on Crete in the Early Dark Age: Changes, Continuities, and the Development of a 'Greek' Cult System," in *Ancient Greece from the Mycenaean Palaces to the Age of Homer* (Edinburgh Leventis Studies 3), ed. S. Deger-Jalkotzy and I. Lemos, Edinburgh, pp. 398–414.
- D'Agata, A. L., and A. Hermary. Forthcoming. "Ritual and Cult in Crete and Cyprus in the Bronze and Early Iron Age: Towards a Comparative Framework," in *Parallel Lives: Ancient Island Societies in Crete and Cyprus* (*BSA Studies*), ed. G. Cadogan, M. Iacovou, K. Kopaka, and J. Whitley, London.
- D'Agata, A. L., and J. Moody, eds. 2005. *Ariadne's Threads: Connections between Crete and the Greek Mainland in Late Minoan III (LM IIIA2 to LM IIIC)*. *Proceedings of the International Workshop held at Athens, Scuola Archeologica Italiana, 5–6 April 2003* (Tripodes 3), Athens.
- Dalfes, H. N., G. Kukla, and H. Weiss, eds. 1997. *Third Millennium B.C. Climate Change and Old World Collapse*, Berlin.
- Darcque, P., and A. Van de Moortel. 2006. "Late Minoan I Architectural Phases and Ceramic Chronology at Malia," in *Πεπραγμένα του Θ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου Α' 1*, ed. E. Tampakaki and A. Kaloutsakis, Herakleion, pp. 177–188.
- Daux, G. 1966. "Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1965," *BCH* 90, pp. 715–1019.
- Davaras, C. 1972. "Two New Linear A Inscriptions on Libation Vessels from Petsophas," *Kadmos* 11, pp. 101–112.
- . 1974. "Ανασκαφή MM ιεροῦ κορυφῆς Βρύσινα Ρεθύμνης," *AAA* 7, pp. 210–213.
- . 1982. "Σπήλαιο Αγίου Χαράλαμπους," *ArchDelt* 37, B'2, pp. 387–388.
- . 1983. "Σπήλαιο Γεροντομουρί," *ArchDelt* 38, B'2, p. 375.
- . n.d. *Hagios Nikolaos Museum*, Athens.
- Davaras, C., and I. Pini. 1992. "Aj. Nikolaos, Archäologisches Museum, Kat. Nrs. 34–47," in *Kleinere griechische Sammlungen* (*CMS* 5, Suppl. 1A), ed. I. Pini, Berlin, pp. 32–52.
- Davis, J. L. 1984. "A Cycladic Figure in Chicago and the Non-funeral Use of Cycladic Marble Figurines," in Fitton 1984, pp. 15–21.
- Davis, J. L., and E. Mantzourani. 1991. *Landscape Archaeology as Long-Term History: Northern Keos in the Cycladic Islands from Earliest Settlement to Modern Times* (Monumenta Archaeologica 16), Los Angeles.
- Dawkins, R. M. 1905–1906. "Excavations at Palaikastro, V," *BSA* 12, pp. 2–8.
- . 1907. "Archaeology in Greece," *JHS* 27, pp. 284–299.
- Dawkins, R. M., and C. T. Currelly. 1903–1904. "Excavations at Palaikastro, III," *BSA* 10, pp. 192–231.

- Dawkins, R. M., C. H. Hawes, and R. C. Bosanquet. 1904–1905. “Excavations at Palaikastro, IV,” *BSA* 11, pp. 258–308.
- Dawkins, R. M., and M. L. W. Laistner. 1912–1913. “The Excavation of the Kamares Cave in Crete,” *BSA* 19, pp. 1–34.
- Day, L. P. 1997. “The Late Minoan IIIC Period at Vronda, Kavousi,” in Driessen and Farnoux 1997, pp. 391–406.
- Day, L. P., W. D. E. Coulson, and G. C. Gesell. 1986. “Kavousi, 1983–1984: The Settlement at Vronda,” *Hesperia* 55, pp. 355–387.
- Day, P. M., L. Joyner, V. Kilikoglou, and G. C. Gesell. 2006. “Goddesses, Snake Tubes, and Plaques: Analysis of Ceramic Ritual Objects from the LM IIIC Shrine at Kavousi,” *Hesperia* 75, pp. 137–175.
- Day, L. P., M. S. Mook, and J. D. Muhly, eds. 2004. *Crete Beyond the Palaces. Proceedings of the Crete 2000 Conference Held at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 11–12 July 2000* (Prehistory Monographs 10), Philadelphia.
- Day, L. P., and L. Snyder. 2004. “The ‘Big House’ at Vronda and the ‘Great House’ at Karphi: Evidence for Social Structure in LM IIIC Crete,” in Day, Mook, and Muhly 2004, pp. 63–79.
- Day, P. M., and D. E. Wilson. 2002. “Landscapes of Memory, Craft, and Power in Prepalatial and Protopalatial Knossos,” in *Labyrinth Revisited: Rethinking ‘Minoan’ Archaeology*, ed. Y. Hamilakis, Oxford, pp. 143–166.
- de Polignac, F. 1984. *La naissance de la cité grecque*, Paris.
- . 1994. “Mediation, Competition, and Sovereignty: The Evolution of Rural Sanctuaries in Geometric Greece,” in Alcock and Osborne 1994, pp. 3–18.
- . 1995. *Cults, Territory, and the Origins of the Greek City-State*, trans. J. Lloyd, Chicago.
- Deshayes, J., and A. Dessenne. 1959. *Fouilles exécutées à Mallia: Exploration des maisons et quartiers d’habitation II (ÉtCrét 11)*, Paris.
- Dessenne, A. 1949. “Têtes humaines,” *BCH* 73, pp. 307–315.
- . 1957. “Sanctuaire,” *BCH* 81, pp. 695–700.
- Dickinson, O. T. P. K. 1977. *The Origins of Mycenaean Civilisation (SIMA 49)*, Göteborg.
- Dikaios, P. 1969–1971. *Enkomi Excavations 1948–1958*, 3 vols., Mainz.
- Dimopoulou, N. 1985. “Κρουσώνας,” *ArchDelt* 40, Chronika, p. 297.
- Dimopoulou, N., and G. Rethemiotakis. 1978. “Υστερομινωικό νεκροταφείο στο Μετόχι Καλοῦ Ἡρακλείου,” *ArchDelt* 33, A’, pp. 40–109.
- . 2000. “The ‘Sacred Conversation’ Ring from Poros,” in *Minoisch-Mykenische Glyptik: Stil, Ikonographie, Funktion (CMS 6)*, ed. W. Müller, Berlin, pp. 39–56.
- . 2004. *The Ring of Minos and Gold Minoan Rings: The Epiphany Cycle*, Athens.
- Dinsmoor, W. B. [1950] 1975. *The Architecture of Ancient Greece*, 3rd ed., New York.
- Doumas, C. 1968. *The N. P. Goulandris Collection of Early Cycladic Art*, New York.
- . 1977. *Early Bronze Age Burial Habits in the Cyclades (SIMA 48)*, Göteborg.
- . 1979. *Cycladic Art: Ancient Sculpture and Ceramics of the Aegean from the N. P. Goulandris Collection*, Washington, D.C.
- . 1992. *The Wall Paintings of Thera*, Athens.
- Dowden, K. 2001. “West on the East: Martin West’s East Face of Helicon and its Forerunners,” *JHS* 121, pp. 167–175.
- Driessen, J. 1990. *An Early Destruction in the Mycenaean Palace at Knossos: A New Interpretation of the Field-notes of the South-east Area of the West Wing (ActaArchLov Monographiae 2)*, Leuven.
- . 1994. “A Fragmentary Linear A Inscription from Petsophas, Palaikastro (PKZa20),” *Kadmos* 33, pp. 149–152.
- . 2001. “Crisis Cults on Minoan Crete?” in Laffineur and Hägg 2001, pp. 361–368.
- . 2002. “‘The King Must Die’: Some Observations on the Use of Minoan Court Compounds,” in *Monuments of Minos: Rethinking*

- the Minoan Palaces (Aegaeum 23)*, ed. J. Driessen, I. Schoep, and R. Laffineur, Liège, pp. 1–14.
- . 2004. “The Central Court of the Palace at Knossos,” in Cadoğan, Hatzaki, and Vasilakis 2004, pp. 75–82.
- Driessen, J., and A. Farnoux. 1994. “Mycenaeans at Malia?” *Aegean Archaeology* 1, pp. 54–64.
- , eds. 1997. *La Crète mycénienne: Actes de la table ronde internationale organisée par l'École française d'Athènes, 26–28 mars 1991 (BCH Suppl. 30)*, Athens.
- Driessen, J., and C. F. Macdonald. 1997. *The Troubled Island: Minoan Crete before and after the Santorini Eruption (Aegaeum 17)*, Liège.
- Durkheim, E. 2001. *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, trans. C. Cosman, Oxford.
- Eder, B. 2001. “Continuity of Bronze Age Cult at Olympia? The Evidence of the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Pottery,” in Laffineur and Hägg 2001, pp. 201–209.
- Ekroth, G. 2003. “Small Pots, Poor People? The Use and Function of Miniature Pottery as Offerings in Archaic Sanctuaries in the Argolid and the Corinthia,” in *Griechische Keramik im kulturellen Kontext. Akten des Internationalen Vasensymposiums in Kiel vom 24.–28.9.2001, veranstaltet durch das Archäologische Institut der Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel*, ed. B. Schmaltz and M. Soldner, pp. 34–37.
- Eliopoulos, T. 1998. “A Preliminary Report on the Discovery of a Temple Complex of the Dark Ages at Kephala Vasilikis,” in *Eastern Mediterranean: Cyprus-Dodecanese-Crete 16th–6th Cent. B.C. Proceedings of the International Symposium, Rethymnon, Crete, May 13–16, 1997*, ed. V. Karageorghis and N. C. Stampolides, Athens, pp. 301–313.
- . 2003. “Ο Υστερομινωικός ΙΙΙ ‘ὄμφαλόεις’ βωμός της Κεφάλας Βασιλικής,” in *Αργοναυτής: Τιμητικός τόμος για τον καθηγητή Χρίστο Γ. Ντούμα*, ed. A. Vlachopoulos and K. Birtacha, Athens, pp. 389–408.
- . 2004. “Gournia, Vronda Kavousi, Kephala Vasilikis: A Triad of Interrelated Shrines of the Expiring Minoan Age on the Isthmus of Ierapetra,” in Day, Mook, and Muhly 2004, pp. 81–90.
- Erickson, B. 2002. “Aphrati and Kato Syme: Pottery, Continuity, and Cult in Late Archaic and Classical Crete,” *Hesperia* 71, pp. 41–90.
- Evans, A. J. 1899–1900. “Knossos: Summary Report of the Excavations in 1900,” *BSA* 6, pp. 3–70.
- . 1901. *Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult and its Mediterranean Relations*, London.
- . 1903. “The Palace of Knossos: Provisional Report of the Excavations for the Year 1903,” *BSA* 9, pp. 1–153.
- . 1906. *The Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos*, London.
- . 1912. “The Minoan and Mycenaean Element in Hellenic Life,” *JHS* 32, pp. 277–297.
- . 1914. “The ‘Tomb of the Double Axes’ and Associated Group, and the Pillar Rooms and Ritual Vessels of the ‘Little Palace’ at Knossos,” *Archaeologia* 65, pp. 1–94.
- Evely, R. D. G. 1984. “The Other Finds of Stone, Clay, Ivory, Faience, Lead, etc.,” in M. R. Popham, *The Unexplored Mansion at Knossos*, London, pp. 223–259, 288–300.
- . 1993. *Minoan Crafts: Tools and Techniques. An Introduction 1 (SIMA 92.1)*, Göteborg.
- . 1999. *Fresco: A Passport into the Past. Minoan Crete through the Eyes of Mark Cameron*, Athens.
- . 2000. *Minoan Crafts: Tools and Techniques. An Introduction 2 (SIMA 92.2)*, Jonsered.
- Exon, S., V. Gaffney, A. Woodward, and R. Yorston. 2000. *Stonehenge Landscapes: Journeys through Real and Imagined Worlds*, Oxford.
- Faure, P. 1965. “Recherches sur le peuplement des montagnes de Crète: Sites, cavernes, et cultes,” *BCH* 89, pp. 27–63.
- . 1967. “Nouvelles recherches sur trois sortes de sanctuaires crétois,” *BCH* 91, pp. 114–150.
- . 1969. “Sur trois sortes de sanctuaires crétois (suite),” *BCH* 93, pp. 174–213.
- Felsch, R. C. S. 1996. *Kalapodi: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen im Heiligtum der Artemis und des Apollon von Hyampolis in der antiken Phokis I*, Mainz.
- . 2001. “Opferhandlungen des Alltagslebens im Heiligtum der Artemis Elaphebolos von Hyampolis in den Phasen SH IIIC–Spätgeometrisch,” in Laffineur and Hägg 2001, pp. 193–199.
- Fernandez, N. 1988. “Cult Places of the Bronze Age: The Identification Problem,” in *Problems in Greek Prehistory. Papers Presented at the Centenary Conference of the British School of Archaeology at Athens, Manchester, April 1986*, ed. E. French and K. Wardle, Bristol, pp. 229–234.
- Ferrari, C., and N. Cucuzza. 2004. “I cosiddetti kernoi di Festòs,” *Creta Antica* 5, pp. 53–96.
- Fitton, J. L., ed. 1984. *Cycladica: Studies in Memory of N. P. Goulandris. Proceedings of the Seventh British Museum Classical Colloquium, June 1983*, London.
- Forsdyke, E. J. 1926–1927. “The Mavro Spelio Cemetery at Knossos,” *BSA* 28, pp. 243–296.
- Fotou, V. 1993. *New Light on Gournia: Unknown Documents of the Excavation at Gournia and Other Sites on the Isthmus of Ierapetra by Harriet Ann Boyd (Aegaeum 9)*, Liège.
- Frazer, J. G. 1911–1915. *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion*, 3rd ed., London.
- French E. 1971. “The Development of Mycenaean Terracotta Figurines,” *BSA* 66, pp. 101–187.
- Function of the Palaces = The Function of the Minoan Palaces. Proceedings of the Fourth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 10–16 June, 1984 (SkrAth 4°, 35)*, ed. R. Hägg and N. Marinatos, Stockholm 1987.
- Gardner, E. A. 1911. “Presidential Address,” *JHS* 31, pp. lii–lxi.
- Gell, A. 1998. *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory*, Oxford.
- Georgoulaki, E. 1990. “The Minoan Sanctuary at Koumasa: The Evidence

- of the Material," *Aegaeum* 6, pp. 5–23.
- Gesell, G. C. 1972. "The Archaeological Evidence for the Minoan House Cult and Its Survival in Iron Age Crete" (diss. Univ. of North Carolina, Chapel Hill).
- . 1976. "The Minoan Snake Tube: A Survey and Catalogue," *AJA* 80, pp. 247–259.
- . 1983. "The Place of the Goddess in Minoan Society," in *Minoan Society*, ed. O. Krzyszkowska and L. Nixon, Bristol, pp. 93–99.
- . 1985. *Town, Palace, and House Cult in Minoan Crete (SIMA 67)*, Göteborg.
- . 1987. "The Minoan Palace and Public Cult," in *Function of the Palaces*, pp. 123–128.
- . 1995. "The Goddesses with Up-raised Hands from Kavousi, Ierapetras," in *Πεπραγμένα του Ζ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου Α'1*, Rethymnon, pp. 349–351.
- . 1999. "Ritual Kalathoi in the Shrine at Kavousi," in Betancourt et al. 1999, pp. 283–287.
- . 2000. "Popular Religion in Late Minoan III Crete," in *Πεπραγμένα του Η' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου Α'3*, Herakleion, pp. 497–507.
- . 2001. "The Function of the Plaque in the Shrines of the Goddess with Upraised Hands," in Laffineur and Hägg 2001, pp. 253–258.
- . 2004. "From Knossos to Kavousi: The Popularizing of the Minoan Palace Goddess," in *ΧΑΡΙΣ: Essays in Honor of Sara A. Immerwahr (Hesperia Suppl. 33)*, ed. A. P. Chapin, Princeton, pp. 131–150.
- . 2006. "The Explosion of Goddess Figures in LM IIIB and C: New Evidence of a Popular Revolution in Religion?" *Abstracts of the 10th International Cretological Congress, Chania, Crete, Greece, 1–8 October 2006*, <http://web.archive.org/web/20070623040531/http://www.chrysostomos-kania.gr/congress/abstsectional-english.htm> (abstract).
- . Forthcoming. "The Explosion of Goddess Figures in LM IIIB and C: New Evidence of a Popular Revolution in Religion?" in *Proceedings of the 10th International Cretological Congress, Chania, Crete, Greece, 1–8 October 2006*.
- Gesell, G. C., W. D. E. Coulson, and L. P. Day. 1991. "Excavations at Kavousi, Crete, 1988," *Hesperia* 60, pp. 145–177.
- Gesell, G. C., L. P. Day, and W. D. E. Coulson. 1988. "Excavations at Kavousi, Crete, 1987," *Hesperia* 57, pp. 279–301.
- . 1995. "Excavations at Kavousi, Crete, 1989 and 1990," *Hesperia* 64, pp. 67–120.
- Gesell, G. C., and T. C. Saupe. 1997. "Methods Used in the Construction of Ceramic Objects from the Shrine of the Goddess with Up-raised Hands at Kavousi," in Laffineur and Betancourt 1997, pp. 123–126.
- Getz-Preziosi, P. 1987. *Sculptors of the Cyclades: Individual and Tradition in the Third Millennium B.C.*, Ann Arbor.
- Gilbert, K. S., ed. 1976. *Treasures of Tutankhamun*, New York.
- Girella, L. 2001. "Alcune considerazioni in margine al MM III: Archanes e Festòs," *Creta Antica* 2, pp. 57–70.
- Glowacki, K. 2004. "Household Analysis in Dark Age Crete," in Day, Mook, and Muhly 2004, pp. 125–136.
- Godart, L. 2001. "La Terre Mère et le monde égéen," in Laffineur and Hägg 2001, pp. 463–466.
- Goodison, L. 1989. *Death, Women, and the Sun: Symbolism of Regeneration in Early Aegean Religion (BICS Suppl. 53)*, London.
- . 2001. "From Tholos Tomb to Throne Room: Perceptions of the Sun in Minoan Ritual," in Laffineur and Hägg 2001, pp. 77–88.
- . 2004. "From Tholos Tomb to Throne Room: Some Considerations of Dawn Light and Directionality in Minoan Buildings," in Cadogan, Hatzaki, and Vasilakis 2004, pp. 339–350.
- . 2009. "Gender, Body, and the Minoans: Contemporary and Prehistoric Perceptions," in *FYLO: Engendering Prehistoric "Stratigraphies" in the Aegean and the Mediterranean. Proceedings of the International Conference, University of Crete, Rethym-*

- non, 2–5 June 2005 (*Aegaeum* 30), ed. K. Kopaka and R. Laffineur, Austin, pp. 233–242.
- Goodison, L., and C. Morris, eds. 1998. *Ancient Goddesses: The Myths and the Evidence*, London.
- Gormley, A. 1994. *Field for the British Isles*, Llandudno.
- Gormley, A., and C. Renfrew. 2004. “A Meeting of Minds: Art and Archaeology,” in Brodie and Hills 2004, pp. 9–29.
- Grove A. T., and O. Rackham. 2001. *The Nature of Mediterranean Europe: An Ecological History*, New Haven.
- Grove, J. M. 1997. “The Spatial and Temporal Variations of Glaciers during the Holocene in the Alps, Pyrenees, Tatra, and Caucasus,” in *Glacier Fluctuations during the Holocene* (ESF Project, “European Palaeoclimate and Man,” special issue 16, *Paläoklimaforschung* 24), Stuttgart, pp. 95–103.
- Grove J. M., and A. T. Grove. 2004. *Little Ice Ages: Ancient and Modern*, London.
- GSE II = E. Hallager and B. P. Hallager, eds., *The Greek-Swedish Excavations at the Agia Aikaterini Square, Kastelli, Khania 1970–1987 II: The Late Minoan IIIC Settlement* (*SkrAth* 4, 47.2), Stockholm 2000.
- GSE III = E. Hallager and B. P. Hallager, eds., *The Greek-Swedish Excavations at the Agia Aikaterini Square, Kastelli, Khania 1970–1987 and 2001 III: The Late Minoan IIIB:2 Settlement* (*SkrAth* 4, 47.3), Stockholm 2003.
- Hägg, R. 1981. “Official and Popular Cults in Mycenaean Greece,” in *Sanctuaries and Cults*, pp. 35–39.
- . 1986. “Die göttliche Epiphanie im minoischen Ritual,” *AM* 101, pp. 41–62.
- . 1990. “Cretan Hut-Models,” *OpAth* 18, pp. 95–107.
- . 1997. “Religious Syncretism at Knossos and in Post-palatial Crete?” in Driessen and Farnoux 1997, pp. 163–168.
- Hägg, R., and N. Marinatos. 1991. “The Giamalakis Model from Archanes,” in *La transizione dal Miceneo all’alto Arcaismo: Dal palazzo alla città*, ed. D. Musti, Rome, pp. 305–308.
- Hägg, R., and G. C. Nordquist, eds. 1990. *Celebrations of Death and Divinity in the Bronze Age Argolid. Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 11–13 June 1988* (*SkrAth* 4, 40), Stockholm.
- Haggis, D. C. 2001. “A Dark Age Settlement System in East Crete and a Reassessment of the Definition of Refuge Settlements,” in *Defensive Settlements of the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean after c. 1200 B.C. Proceedings of an International Workshop Held at Trinity College Dublin, 7th–9th May, 1999*, ed. V. Karageorghis and C. E. Morris, Nicosia, pp. 41–59.
- Halbherr, F. 1888. “Scavi e trovamenti nell’antro di Zeus sul monte Ida in Creta,” *Museo italiano di antichità classica* 2, ed. D. Comparetti, Florence, pp. 689–768.
- Hall, E. H. 1914. *Excavations in Eastern Crete: Vrokastro* (University of Pennsylvania, The Museum, Anthropological Publications 3.3), Philadelphia.
- Hall, H. K. 1999. “Ritual in Neolithic Crete” (M.A. thesis University College, Dublin).
- Hallager, B. P. 2000. “Late Minoan IIIC Pottery,” in *GSE* II, pp. 135–174.
- Hallager, E. 1987. “A ‘Harvest Festival Room’ in the Minoan Palaces? An Architectural Study of the Pillar Crypt Area at Knossos,” in *Function of the Palaces*, pp. 169–177.
- . 2001. “A Waste Deposit from a LBA Shrine in Khania?” in Laffineur and Hägg 2001, pp. 175–179.
- Harrison, J. E. 1909. “The Kouretes and Zeus Kouros: A Study in Pre-historic Sociology,” *BSA* 15, pp. 308–338.
- Hatzaki E. M. 2005. *Knossos: The Little Palace* (*BSA* Suppl. 38), London.
- . 2007a. “Ceramic Groups of Early Neopalatial Knossos in the Context of Crete and the South Aegean,” in *Middle Helladic Pottery and Synchronisms. Proceedings of the International Workshop Held at Salzburg, October 31–November 2, 2004* (Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean 14), ed. F. Felten, W. Gauss, and R. Smetana, Vienna, pp. 273–294.
- . 2007b. “Neopalatial (MM IIIB–LM IB): KS 178, Gypsades Well (Upper Deposit) and SEX North House Groups,” in *Knossos Pottery Handbook 1: Neolithic and Bronze Age* (*BSA* Studies 14), ed. N. Momigliano, London, pp. 151–196.
- Hayden, B. J. 1981. “The Development of Cretan Architecture from LM IIIA through the Geometric Periods” (diss. Univ. of Pennsylvania).
- . 1991. “Terracotta Figures, Figurines, and Vase Attachments from Vrokastro, Crete,” *Hesperia* 60, pp. 103–144.
- . 1997. “Evidence for ‘Megalthic Farmsteads’ of Late Minoan III through Early Iron Age Date,” in Driessen and Farnoux 1997, pp. 195–204.
- Haysom, M. 2005. “An Archaeology of Minoan Religion in the Neopalatial Period” (diss. Univ. of Oxford).
- Hemingway, S. 1996. “Minoan Metalworking in the Postpalatial Period: A Deposit of Metallurgical Debris from Palaikastro,” *BSA* 91, pp. 213–252.
- Herva, V.-P. 2005. “The Life of Buildings: Minoan Building Deposits in an Ecological Perspective,” *OJA* 24, pp. 215–227.
- Higgins, R. A. 1984. “Terracotta Figurines,” in *The Minoan Unexplored Mansion at Knossos* (*BSA* Suppl. 17), ed. M. R. Popham, Oxford, pp. 197–202.
- Hodder, I. 1999. *The Archaeological Process: An Introduction*, Oxford.
- Hogarth, D. 1900. “The Dictaeon Cave,” *BSA* 6, pp. 94–116.
- Hood, S. 1977. “Minoan Town-Shrines?” in *Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean in Ancient History and Prehistory. Studies Presented to Fritz Schachermeyr on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday*, ed. K. H. Kinzl, Berlin, pp. 158–172.
- . 1989. “A Baetyl at Gournia?” *Ariadne* 5, pp. 17–21.
- Hood, S., P. Warren, and G. Cadogan. 1964. “Travels in Crete, 1962,” *BSA* 59, pp. 50–99.
- Horden, P., and N. Purcell. 2000. *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History*, Oxford.

- Houlihan, P. F. 1996. *The Animal World of the Pharaohs*, London.
- Huaizhi, Z., and N. Yuantao. 2000. "Techniques Used for the Preparation and Application of Gold Powder in Ancient China," *Gold Bulletin* 33, pp. 103–105.
- Isaakidou, V. 2004. "Bones from the Labyrinth: Faunal Evidence for the Management and Consumption of Animals at Neolithic and Bronze Age Knossos, Crete" (diss. University College, London).
- Isaakidou, V., P. Halstead, J. Davis, and S. Stocker. 2002. "Burnt Animal Sacrifice at the 'Palace of Nestor,' Pylos," *Antiquity* 76, pp. 86–92.
- Isaakidou, V., and P. Tomkins, eds. 2008. *Escaping the Labyrinth: The Cretan Neolithic in Context* (Sheffield Studies in Aegean Archaeology 8), Oxford.
- Isthmia VIII* = C. Morgan, *The Late Bronze Age Settlement and Early Iron Age Sanctuary*, Princeton 1999.
- Johannowsky, W. 2002. *Il Santuario sull'acropoli di Gortina 2* (Monografie della Scuola Archeologie di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente 16), Rome.
- Johnson, G. 1982. "Organizational Structure and Scalar Stress," in *Theory and Explanation in Archaeology*, ed. A. C. Renfrew, New York, pp. 389–422.
- Jones, D. W. 1999. *Peak Sanctuaries and Sacred Caves in Minoan Crete: A Comparison of Artifacts (SIMA-PB 156)*, Jonsered.
- Joyce, R. 1993. "Women's Work: Images of Production and Reproduction in Pre-Hispanic Southern Central America," *CurrAnthr* 34, pp. 255–274.
- Kahn, C. H. 2001. *Pythagoras and the Pythagoreans: A Brief History*, Indianapolis.
- Kanta, A. 1980. *The Late Minoan III Period in Crete: A Survey of Sites, Pottery, and their Distribution (SIMA 58)*, Göteborg.
- . 2003. "The First Half of the Late Minoan IIIc: Correlations among Cretan Sites with Reference to Mainland and Cypriote Developments," in *The Synchronisation of Civilisations in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Second Millennium B.C. II. Proceedings of the SCIEEM 2000 EuroConference, Haindorf, 2nd of May–7th of May 2001*, ed. M. Bietak, Vienna, pp. 513–538.
- Kanta, A., and L. Rocchetti. 1989. "La ceramica del primo edificio," in *Scavi a Nerokourou, Kydonias 1*, Rome, pp. 101–280, 293–328.
- Karageorghis, V., M. Matthäus, and S. Rogge. 2005. *Cyprus: Religion and Society from the Late Bronze Age to the End of the Archaic Period. Proceedings of an International Symposium on Cypriote Archaeology, Erlangen, 23–24 July 2004*, Erlangen.
- Karantzali, E. 1996. *Le bronze ancien dans les Cyclades et en Crète (BAR-IS 631)*, Oxford.
- Karetsou, A. 1976. "Ἱερὸν κορυφῆς Γιούχτα," *Prakt* 1974, pp. 228–239.
- . 1977. "Τὸ ἱερὸ κορυφῆς τοῦ Γιούχτα," *Prakt* 1975, pp. 330–342.
- . 1980. "Τὸ ἱερὸ κορυφῆς Γιούχτα," *Prakt* 1978, pp. 232–258.
- . 1981. "The Peak Sanctuary of Mt. Juktas," in *Sanctuaries and Cults*, pp. 137–153.
- . 1982. "Το ἱερὸ κορυφῆς Γιούχτα (1979–1980)," *Prakt* 1980, pp. 337–353.
- . 2003. "Juktas Peak Sanctuary: Notes on 12th-Century Material," *AM* 118, pp. 49–65.
- Karetsou, A., and G. Rethemiotakis. 1990. "Κόφινας," *ArchDelt* 45, B'2, p. 429.
- . 1991–1993. "Ἐπαρχεῖα Μονοφατσίου. Ἱερὸ κορυφῆς Κόφινας," *Κρητικὴ Ἐστία* 4, pp. 289–292.
- Kavousi I = D. C. Haggis, *The Archaeological Survey of the Kavousi Region* (Prehistory Monographs 16), Philadelphia 2005.
- Kelly-Buccellati, M. 2002. "Ein hurritischer Untergang in die Unterwelt," *MDOG* 134, pp. 131–148.
- Kenna, V. E. G. 1960. *Cretan Seals with a Catalogue of the Minoan Gems in the Ashmolean Museum*, Oxford.
- Kilian, K. 1988. "Mycenaeans up to Date: Trends and Changes in Recent Research," in *Problems in Greek Prehistory. Papers Presented at the Centenary Conference of the British School of Archaeology at Athens, Manchester, April 1986*, ed. E. French and K. Wardle, Bristol, pp. 115–152.

- . 1990. "Patterns in the Cult Activity in the Mycenaean Argolid: Hagia Triada (Klenies), the Profitis Elias Cave (Hagios Hadrianos), and the Citadel of Tiryns," in Hägg and Nordquist 1990, pp. 185–197.
- Kilian-Dirlmeier, I. 1990. "Remarks on the Non-military Functions of Swords in the Mycenaean Argolid," in Hägg and Nordquist 1990, pp. 157–161.
- Kirsten, E. 1940. "Dreros" (RE Suppl. 7), pp. 128–149.
- Klein, N. L. 2004. "The Architecture of the Late Minoan IIIC Shrine (Building G) at Vronda, Kavousi," in Day, Mook, and Muhly 2004, pp. 91–101.
- Knappett, C. 2000. "Middle Minoan III at Knossos—Was Evans Right?" *BICS* 44, pp. 230–231.
- . 2004. "Technological Innovation and Social Diversity at Middle Minoan Knossos," in Cadogan, Hatzaki, and Vasilakis 2004, pp. 257–265.
- . Forthcoming. "Meaning in Miniature: Semiotic Networks in Material Culture," in *Excavating the Mind: Cross-sections Through Culture, Cognition, and Materiality*, ed. M. Jessen, N. Johanssen, and H. J. Jensen, Aarhus.
- Knappett, C., and T. F. Cunningham. 2003. "Three Neopalatial Deposits from Palaikastro, East Crete," *BSA* 98, pp. 107–187.
- Koehl, R. B. 1981. "The Functions of Aegean Bronze Age Rhyta," in *Sanctuaries and Cults*, pp. 179–187.
- . 1990. "The Rhyta from Akrotiri and Some Preliminary Observations on their Functions in Selected Contexts," in *Thera and the Aegean World III: Proceedings of the Third International Congress, Santorini, Greece, 3–9 September 1989* 1. *Archaeology*, ed. D. A. Hardy, C. G. Doumas, J. A. Sakellarakis, and P. M. Warren, London, pp. 350–362.
- . 2000. "Minoan Rhyta in Egypt," in *Κρήτη-Αίγυπτος: Πολιτισμικοί δεσμοί τριών χιλιετιών (Exhibition catalogue, Archaeological Museum of Herakleion)*, ed. A. Karatsou, M. Andreadaki-Vlazaki, and N. Papadakis, Athens, pp. 94–100.
- . 2006. *Aegean Bronze Age Rhyta*, Philadelphia.
- Kommos I.1 = J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw, eds., *The Kommos Region and Houses of the Minoan Town*, Princeton 1995.
- Kommos I.2 = J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw, eds., *The Kommos Region and Houses of the Minoan Town 2: The Minoan Hilltop and Hillside Houses*, Princeton 1996.
- Kommos II = P. P. Betancourt, *The Final Neolithic through Middle Minoan III Pottery*, Princeton 1990.
- Kommos III = L. V. Watrous, *The Late Bronze Age Pottery*, Princeton 1992.
- Kommos IV = J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw, eds., *The Greek Sanctuary*, 2 vols., Princeton 2000.
- Kourou, N., and A. Karatsou. 1994. "Το ιερό του Ερμού Κραναίου στην Πιασό Αμαρίου," in *Sybrita: La valle di Amari fra bronzo e ferro* (Incunabula Graeca 96), ed. L. Rocchetti, Rome, pp. 81–164.
- Krzyszowska, O. 2005. *Aegean Seals: An Introduction*, London.
- Kuniholm, P. I. 1990. "Archaeological Evidence and Non-evidence for Climatic Change," in *Earth's Climate and Variability of the Sun Over Recent Millennia*, ed. J.-C. Pecker and S. J. Runcorn, London, pp. 645–655.
- Kuniholm, P. I., B. Kromer, S. W. Manning, M. Newton, C. E. Latini, and M. J. Bruce. 1996. "Anatolian Tree Rings and the Absolute Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean, 2220–718 B.C.," *Nature* 381, pp. 780–783.
- Kunze, E. 1931. *Kretische Bronzereliefs*, Stuttgart.
- Kyriakidis, E. 2000–2001. "Pithos or Baetyl? On the Interpretation of a Group of Minoan Rings," *OpAth* 25–26, pp. 117–118.
- . 2001. "The Economics of Potnia: Storage in 'Temples' of Prehistoric Greece," in Laffineur and Hägg 2001, pp. 123–129.
- . 2005. "Unidentified Floating Objects on Minoan Seals," *AJA* 109, pp. 137–154.
- Laffineur, R., and P. P. Betancourt, eds. 1997. *TEXNH: Craftsmen, Craftswomen, and Craftsmanship in the Aegean Bronze Age (Aegaeum 16)*, Liège.
- Laffineur, R., and R. Hägg, eds. 2001. *POTNIA: Deities and Religion in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the 8th International Aegean Conference, Göteborg, Göteborg University, 12–15 April 2000 (Aegaeum 22)*, Liège.
- Lambeth, M. 1974a. *Straw Craft: More Golden Dollies*, London.
- . 1974b. *Discovering Corn Dollies*, Aylesbury, Bucks.
- Langdon, M. K. 1976. *A Sanctuary of Zeus on Mount Hymettos (Hesperia Suppl. 16)*, Princeton.
- . 1997. "Cult in Iron Age Attica," in *New Light on a Dark Age: Exploring the Culture of Geometric Greece*, ed. S. Langdon, Columbia Mo., pp. 113–124.
- La Rosa, V. 1997. "Haghia Triada à l'époque mycénienne: L'utopie d'une ville capitale," in Driessen and Farnoux 1997, pp. 249–266.
- . 1999. "Nuovi dati sulla tomba del sarcofago dipinto di H. Triada," in *Επί πόντον πλαζόμενοι: Simposio italiano di studi egei, dedicato a Luigi Bernabò Brea e Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli*, ed. V. La Rosa, D. Palermo, and L. Vagnetti, Rome, pp. 177–188.
- . 2000. "Baetyls: Between Funerary Rituals and Epiphanies," *JPR* 14, pp. 36–37.
- . 2001. "Minoan Baetyls: Between Funerary Rituals and Epiphanies," in Laffineur and Hägg 2001, pp. 221–227.
- La Rosa, V., and N. Cucuzza. 2001. *L'insediamento di Selì di Kamilari nel territorio di Festòs* (Studi di archeologia cretese 1), Padua.
- Lebessi, A. 1973. "Ἱερόν Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Ἀφροδίτης εἰς Σόμην Βιάννου," *Prakt* 1973, pp. 188–199.
- . 1973–1974. "Ἀρχαιοῦτες καὶ μνημεῖα κεντρικῆς καὶ ἀνατολικῆς Κρήτης," *ArchDelt* 29, B'3, pp. 885–887.
- . 1976. "A Sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite in Crete," *Expedition* 18, pp. 2–13.
- . 1977. "Ἀρχαιότητες καὶ μνημεῖα κεντρικῆς καὶ ἀνατολικῆς Κρήτης," *ArchDelt* 32, B'2, pp. 314–316.
- . 1981. "Ἡ συνέχεια τῆς Κρητομυκηναϊκῆς λατρείας. Ἐπιβιώσεις καὶ ἀναβιώσεις," *ArchEph* 1981, pp. 1–24.

- . 1985. *To ieró tou Ermí kai tēs Aphroδίτης στη Σύμη Βιάννου* I.1: *Χάλκινα κρητικά τορευύματα* (Βιβλιοθήκη της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας 102), Athens.
- . 2002. *To ieró tou Ermí kai tēs Aphroδίτης στη Σύμη Βιάννου* III: *Τα χάλκινα ανθρωπόμορφα ειδώλια* (Βιβλιοθήκη της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας 225), Athens.
- Lemerle, P. 1937. "Chronique des fouilles 1937," *BCH* 61, pp. 474–475.
- Lerna IV = M. H. Wiencke, *The Architecture, Stratification, and Pottery of Lerna III*, Princeton 1999.
- Leroi-Gourhan, A. 1974. "Les voies de l'histoire avant l'écriture," in *Faire de l'histoire 1: Nouveaux problèmes*, ed. J. Le Goff and P. Nora, Paris, pp. 134–150.
- Levi, D. 1925/1926. "Le Cretule di Haghia Triada," *Annuario* 8/9, pp. 71–156.
- . 1927–1929. "Arkades: Una città cretese all'alba della civiltà ellenica," *ASAtene* 10–12.
- . 1976. *Festòs e la civiltà minoica 1* (Incunabula Graeca 60), Rome.
- Levi, D., and F. Carinci, eds. 1988. *Festòs e la civiltà minoica 2: L'Arte festiva nell'età protopalaziale. Ceramica ed altri materiali* (Incunabula Graeca 77), Rome.
- Long, C. R. 1974. *The Ayia Triada Sarcophagus: A Study of Late Minoan and Mycenaean Funerary Practices and Beliefs* (SIMA 49), Göteborg.
- Longo, V. 1956. "Un'interpretazione di Omero," in *Antidoron Hugoni Henrico Paoli oblatum: Miscellanea philologica* (Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto di filologia classica 8), Genoa, pp. 183–203.
- Loukatos, D. 1979. *Χριστουγεννιάτικα και τῶν γιορτῶν*, Athens.
- . 1981. *Τὰ καλοκαιρινά*, Athens.
- . 1982. *Τα φθινοπωρινά*, Athens.
- . 1985. *Συμπληρωματικά του χειμῶνα και της άνοιξης*, Athens.
- Maass, M. 1977. "Kretische Votivdreifüsse," *AM* 92, pp. 33–59.
- Macaulay, D. 1979. *Motel of the Mysteries*, Boston.
- Macdonald, C. F. 1996. "Notes on Some Late Minoan IA Contexts from the Palace of Minos and its Immediate Vicinity," in *Minotaur and Centaur: Studies in the Archaeology of Crete and Euboea Presented to Mervyn Popham* (BAR-IS 638), ed. D. Evely, I. S. Lemos, and S. Sherratt, Oxford, pp. 17–26.
- . 2002. "The Neopalatial Palaces of Knossos," in *Monuments of Minos: Rethinking the Minoan Palaces* (Aegaeum 23), ed. J. Driessen, I. Schoep, and R. Laffineur, Liège, pp. 35–54.
- . 2003. Rev. of M. Panagiotaki 1999, in *JHS* 123, pp. 244–245.
- . 2004. "Ceramic and Contextual Confusion in the Old and New Palace Periods," in Cadogan, Hatzaki, and Vasilakis 2004, pp. 239–251.
- Macdonald, C. F., and C. Knappett. 2007. *Knossos: Protopalatial Deposits in Early Magazine A and the Southwest Houses* (BSA Suppl. 41), London.
- MacGillivray, J. A. 1998. *Knossos: Pottery Groups of the Old Palace Period* (BSA Studies 5), London.
- MacGillivray, J. A., and J. Driessen. 1990. "Minoan Settlement at Palaikastro," in *L'habitat égéen préhistorique*, ed. P. Darcque and R. Treuil, Paris, pp. 395–412.
- MacGillivray, J. A., J. M. Driessen, and L. H. Sackett, eds. 2000. *The Palaikastro Kouros: A Minoan Chryselephantine Statuette and its Aegean Bronze Age Context* (BSA Studies 6), London.
- MacGillivray, J. A., L. H. Sackett, and J. Driessen. 1999. "Aspro pato': A Lasting Liquid Toast from the Master-builders of Palaikastro to their Patron," in Betancourt et al. 1999, pp. 465–468.
- . 2007. *Palaikastro: Two Late Minoan Wells* (BSA Suppl. 43), London.
- MacGillivray, J. A., L. H. Sackett, J. M. Driessen, R. Bridges, and D. Smyth. 1989. "Excavations at Palaikastro 1988," *BSA* 84, pp. 417–445.
- MacGillivray, J. A., L. H. Sackett, J. M. Driessen, A. Farnoux, and D. Smyth. 1991. "Excavations at Palaikastro 1990," *BSA* 86, pp. 121–147.
- MacGillivray, J. A., L. H. Sackett, J. M. Driessen, and S. Hemingway. 1992. "Excavations at Palaikastro 1991," *BSA* 87, pp. 121–152.

- MacGillivray, J. A., L. H. Sackett, J. M. Driessen, and D. Smyth. 1987. "Excavations at Palaiakastro 1986," *BSA* 82, pp. 135–154.
- Mallwitz, A. 1981. "Kritisches zur Architektur Griechenlands im 8. und 7. Jahrhundert," *AA* 1981, pp. 599–642.
- Manning, S. W. 1995. *The Absolute Chronology of the Aegean Early Bronze Age* (Monographs in Mediterranean Archaeology 1), Sheffield.
- . 1997. "Cultural Change in the Aegean c. 2200 B.C.," in Dalfes, Kukla, and Weiss 1997, pp. 149–172.
- Marcus, J. 1998. *Women's Ritual in Formative Oaxaca: Figurine-making, Divination, Death, and the Ancestors*, Ann Arbor.
- Marinatos, N. 1984. *Art and Religion in Thera: Reconstructing a Bronze Age Society*, Athens.
- . 1986. *Minoan Sacrificial Ritual: Cult Practice and Symbolism* (*SkrAth* 8°, 9), Stockholm.
- . 1987. "Public Festivals in the West Courts of the Palaces," in *Function of the Palaces*, pp. 135–143.
- . 1989. "The Tree as a Focus of Ritual Action in Minoan Glyptic Art," in *Fragen und Probleme der bronzezeitlichen ägäischen Glyptik. Beiträge zum 3. Internationalen Marburger Siegel-Symposium, 5.–7. September 1985*, ed. W. Müller, Berlin, pp. 127–143.
- . 1993. *Minoan Religion: Ritual, Image, and Symbol* (Studies in Comparative Religion), Columbia, S.C.
- Marinatos, N., and R. Hägg. 1983. "Anthropomorphic Cult Images in Minoan Crete?" in *Minoan Society: Proceedings of the Cambridge Colloquium 1981*, ed. O. Krzyszkowska and L. Nixon, Bristol, pp. 185–201.
- Marinatos, S. 1936. "Le temple géométrique de Dréros," *BCH* 60, pp. 214–285.
- . 1955. "Ἀνασκαφαὶ ἐν Λυκάστῳ καὶ Βαθυπέτρῳ Κρήτης," *Prakt* 1955, pp. 306–310.
- Marinatos, S., and M. Hirmer. 1960. *Crete and Mycenae*, New York.
- Marthari, M. Forthcoming. "Ἀγροτική οικονομία και αγροτική λατρεία στο Ακρωτήριο Θήρας: Στοιχεία από την εξέταση μιας κεραμικής κατηγορίας," in *Ημερίδα για τα 30 χρόνια της ανασκαφής Ακρωτηρίου Θήρας*, ed. C. Doumas, Athens.
- Mazarakis Ainian, A. 1997. *From Rulers' Dwellings to Temples: Architecture, Religion and Society in Early Iron Age Greece (1100–700 B.C.)* (SIMA 121), Jonsered.
- McEnroe, J. 1996. "The Late Minoan Period," in *Kommos* I.2, pp. 199–235.
- McInerney, J. 1999. *The Folds of Parnassos: Land and Ethnicity in Ancient Phokis*, Austin.
- Merkelbach, R., and M. L. West, eds. 1967. *Fragmenta Hesiodica*, Oxford.
- Mersereau, R. 1993. "Cretan Cylindrical Models," *AJA* 97, pp. 1–47.
- Michaelidou, A. 1987. "Το δωμάτιο με τον κίονα στο μινωικό σπίτι," in *Αιητός: Τιμητικός τόμος για τον καθηγητή Μανόλη Ανδρόνικο* 1, Thessaloniki, pp. 509–526.
- Milner, N. P. 1998. *An Epigraphical Survey in the Kibyra–Olbasa Region Conducted by A. S. Hall* (British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara Monograph 24), London.
- Mochlos IA = J. S. Soles, *Period III: Neopalatial Settlement on the Coast. The Artisans' Quarter and the Farmhouse at Chalinomouri. The Sites*, Philadelphia 2003.
- Mochlos IB = K. A. Barnard and T. M. Brogan, *Period III: Neopalatial Settlement on the Coast. The Artisans' Quarter and the Farmhouse at Chalinomouri. The Neopalatial Pottery*, Philadelphia 2003.
- Monro, D. B., ed. 1888. *Homer: Iliad Books XIII–XXIV*, Oxford.
- Moody J. 1987. "The Environmental and Cultural Prehistory of the Khania Region of Northwest Crete" (diss. Univ. of Minnesota, Minneapolis).
- . 2001. "Holocene Climate Change in Crete: An Archaeologist's View," in *Landscape and Land Use in Postglacial Greece* (Sheffield Studies in Aegean Archaeology 3), ed. P. Halstead and C. Frederick, Sheffield, pp. 52–61.
- . 2005a. "Unravelling the Threads: Climate Changes in the Late Bronze III Aegean," in D'Agata and Moody 2005, pp. 443–468.
- . 2005b. "Drought and the Decline of Mycenae' Updated," in *Autocbthon: Papers Presented to O. T. P. K. Dickinson on the Occasion of his Retirement*, ed. A. Dakouri-Hild and S. Sherratt, Oxford, pp. 126–133.
- Moody, J., A. Peatfield, and S. Markoulaki. 2000. "The Ayios Vasilios Valley Archaeological Survey: A Preliminary Report," in *Πεπραγμένα του Η' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου Α'2*, Herakleion, pp. 359–371.
- Moody, J., and O. Rackam. 1996. *The Making of the Cretan Landscape*, New York.
- Moody J., O. Rackham, and G. Rapp. 1996. "Paleoenvironmental Studies of the Prehistoric Akrotiri Peninsula, Crete," *JFA* 3, pp. 273–297.
- Moody J., and L. V. Watrous. 2009. "Climate Change and the Aegean Bronze Age," in *Proceedings of the Second International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East, Copenhagen 2000* 1, ed. I. Thuesen, Winona Lake, Ind., pp. 73–84.
- Mook, M. S., and W. D. E. Coulson. 1997. "Late Minoan III C Pottery from the Kastro at Kavousi," in *Late Minoan III Pottery: Chronology and Terminology* (Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 1), ed. E. Hallager and B. P. Hallager, Athens, pp. 337–370.
- Moore, A., and W. Taylour. 1999. *The Temple Complex* (Well Built Mycenae 10), Oxford.
- Morgan, C. 1994. "The Evolution of a Sacral 'Landscape': Isthmia, Perachora, and the Early Corinthian State," in Alcock and Osborne 1994, pp. 105–142.
- . 1996. "From Palace to Polis? Religious Developments on the Greek Mainland During the Bronze Age/Iron Age Transition," in *Religion and Power in the Ancient Greek World. Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium 1993* (Boreas, Uppsala Studies in Ancient Greek and Near Eastern Civilization 24), ed. P. Hellström and B. Alroth, Uppsala, pp. 41–57.
- . 2003. *Early Greek States beyond the Polis*, London.

- Morris, C. E. 2001. "The Language of Gesture in Minoan Religion," in Laffineur and Hägg 2001, pp. 245–251.
- . 2004. "‘Art Makes Visible’: An Archaeology of the Senses in Minoan Elite Art," in Brodie and Hills 2004, pp. 31–43.
- Morris, C. E., and A. A. D. Peatfield. 1995. "Pottery from the Peak Sanctuary of Atsipadhes Korakias, Ay. Vasiliou, Rethymnon," *Πεπραγμένα του Ζ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου Α'2*, Rethymnon, pp. 643–647.
- . 2002. "Feeling through the Body: Gesture in Cretan Bronze Age Religion," in *Thinking through the Body: Archaeologies of Corporeality*, ed. Y. Hamilakis, M. Pluciennik, and S. Tarlow, New York, pp. 105–120.
- Morris, I. 2000. *Archaeology as Cultural History: Words and Things in Iron Age Greece*, Oxford.
- Morton, J. 2001. *The Role of the Physical Environment in Ancient Greek Seafaring*, Leiden.
- Mu II = B. Detournay, J.-Cl. Poursat, and F. Vandenabeele, *Fouilles exécutées à Mallia: Le quartier Mu II* (*ÉtCrét* 26), Paris 1980.
- Mu III = J.-Cl. Poursat, *Fouilles exécutées à Mallia: Le quartier Mu III: Artisans minoens. Les maisons-ateliers du quartier Mu* (*ÉtCrét* 32), Paris 1996.
- Mu IV = J.-Cl. Poursat and C. Knappe, *Fouilles exécutées à Mallia: Le quartier Mu IV: La poterie du minoen moyen II. Production et utilisation* (*ÉtCrét* 33), Paris 2005.
- Muhly, P. M. 1981. "Minoan Libation Tables" (diss. Bryn Mawr College).
- . 1984. "Minoan Hearths," *AJA* 88, pp. 107–122.
- Murphy, J. M. 1998. "Ideologies, Rites, and Rituals: A View of Prepalatial Minoan Tholoi," in Branigan 1998a, pp. 27–40.
- . 2003. "Changing Roles and Locations of Religious Practices in South Central Crete during the Prepalatial and Protopalatial Periods" (diss. Univ. of Cincinnati).
- . 2006. "Religion and Wealth: Aspects of the Social Dynamic in South Central Crete during the Prepalatial and Protopalatial Periods," in *The Archaeology of Cult and Death. Proceedings of the Session ‘The Archaeology of Cult and Death’ Organized for the 9th Annual Meeting of the European Association of Archaeologists, 11th September 2003, St. Petersburg, Russia*, ed. M. Georgiadis and C. Gallou, Budapest, pp. 81–111.
- Murray, G. 1909. "The Hymn of the Kouretes," *BSA* 15, pp. 357–365.
- Mylona, D. 2000. "The ‘Fishermen’ Frescoes in the Light of the Fish Bone Evidence," in *The Wall Paintings of Thera 2*, ed. S. Sherratt, Athens, pp. 561–567.
- Mylonas, G. E. 1973. *Ο ταφικός κύκλος Β των Μυκηνών* (Βιβλιοθήκη της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας 73), Athens.
- Myres, J. L. 1902–1903. "Excavations at Palaikastro II: The Sanctuary Site at Petsofa," *BSA* 9, pp. 356–387.
- Nagy, G. 1973. "Phaethon, Sappho's Phaon, and the White Rock of Leukas," *HSCP* 77, pp. 137–177.
- Niemeier, W.-D. 1989. "Zur Ikonographie von Gottheiten und Adoranten in den Kultszenen auf minoischen und mykenischen Siegeln," in *Fragen und Probleme der bronzezeitlichen ägäischen Glyptik: Beiträge zum 3. Internationalen Marburger Siegel-Symposium, 5.–7. September 1985*, ed. W. Müller, Berlin, pp. 163–186.
- Nilsson, M. 1927. *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and Its Survival in Greek Religion*, Lund.
- . 1950. *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and Its Survival in Greek Religion*, 2nd ed., Lund.
- Nixon, L. 1991. "Minoan Settlements and Greek Sanctuaries," in *Πεπραγμένα του ΣΤ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου Α'2*, Khania, pp. 59–67.
- . 1995. "The Cults of Demeter and Kore," in *Women in Antiquity: New Assessments*, ed. R. Hawley and B. Levick, London, pp. 75–96.
- . 2006. *Making a Landscape Sacred: Outlying Churches and Icon Stands in Sphakia, Southwestern Crete*, Oxford.
- Nowicki, K. 1987. "The History and Setting of the Town of Karphi," *SMEA* 26, pp. 235–256.

- . 1994. "Some Remarks on the Pre- and Protopalatial Peak Sanctuaries in Crete," *Aegean Archaeology* 1, pp. 31–48.
- . 2000. *Defensible Sites in Crete c. 1200–800 B.C. (LMIIIB through Early Geometric)* (*Aegaeum* 21), Liège.
- . 2001. "Minoan Peak Sanctuaries: Reassessing Their Origins," in Laffineur and Hägg 2001, pp. 31–37.
- Onassoglou, A. 1985. *Die talismanischen Siegel* (CMS Suppl. 2), Berlin.
- Ortner, S. B. 1972. "Is Female to Male as Nature Is to Culture?" *Feminist Studies* 1, pp. 5–21.
- Owens, G. A. 1996. "New Evidence for Minoan 'Demeter,'" *Kadmos* 35, pp. 172–175.
- Palaiokrassa, L. 1989. "Neue Befunde aus dem Heiligtum der Artemis Munichia," *AM* 104, pp. 1–40.
- Paley, F. A., ed. 1884. *The Iliad of Homer, Books XIII–XXIV*, London.
- Palio, O. 2001a. "I vasi in pietra dei van 8–11 del palazzo di Festòs," *Creta Antica* 2, pp. 79–90.
- . 2001b. *La casa tardo minoica I di Chalara a Festòs* (Studi di archeologia cretese II), Padua, pp. 243–422.
- Panagiotaki, M. 1993. "The Temple Repositories of Knossos: New Information from the Unpublished Notes of Sir Arthur Evans," *BSA* 88, pp. 49–91.
- . 1998a. "Dating the Temple Repositories' Vases," *BSA* 93, pp. 185–198.
- . 1998b. "The Vat Room Deposit at Knossos: The Unpublished Notes of Sir Arthur Evans," *BSA* 93, pp. 167–184.
- . 1999. *The Central Palace Sanctuary at Knossos* (BSA Suppl. 31), London.
- Papadopoulos, J. K., and R. M. Leventhal. 2003. "Engaging Mediterranean Archaeology: Old World and New World Perspectives," in *Theory and Practice in Mediterranean Archaeology: Old World and New Perspectives*, ed. J. K. Papadopoulos and R. M. Leventhal, Los Angeles, pp. 4–32.
- Papathanasopoulos, G. 1981. *Neolithic and Cycladic Civilization*, trans. A. Doumas, Athens.
- Pappalardo, E. 2002. "Il 'Tripillar Shrine' di Kommos: Alcune considerazioni," *Creta Antica* 3, pp. 263–274.
- Paribeni, R. 1904. "Ricerche nel sepolcreto di Hagia Triada presso Phaestos," *MonAnt* 14, pp. 677–756.
- Parke, H. W. 1967. *Greek Oracles*, London.
- . 1977. *Festivals of the Athenians*, London.
- Parker, R. 1996. *Athenian Religion: A History*, Oxford.
- Paschalides, C. 2006. "Στοιχεία μυκηναϊκού χαρακτήρα στην ανατολική Κρήτη κατά το τέλος της εποχής του Χαλκού: Νέα Μέγαρα στο Χαλασμένο Ιεράπετρας," *Πεπραγμένα του Θ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου Α' 1*, ed. E. Tampakaki and A. Kaloutsakis, Herakleion, pp. 219–232.
- Payton, R. 1991. "The Ulu Burun Writing-Board Set," *AnatSt* 41, pp. 99–106.
- Peatfield, A. A. D. 1983. "The Topography of Minoan Peak Sanctuaries," *BSA* 78, pp. 273–280.
- . 1987. "Palace and Peak: The Political and Religious Relationship between Palaces and Peak Sanctuaries," in *Function of the Palaces*, pp. 89–93.
- . 1990. "Minoan Peak Sanctuaries: History and Society," *OpAth* 18, pp. 117–132.
- . 1992. "Rural Ritual in Bronze Age Crete: The Peak Sanctuary at Atsipadhes," *CAJ* 2, pp. 59–87.
- . 1994. "After the 'Big Bang'—What? Or, Minoan Symbols and Shrines beyond Palatial Collapse," in Alcock and Osborne 1994, pp. 19–36.
- . 2000. "Minoan Religion for Ordinary People," in *Πεπραγμένα του Η' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου Α' 3*, Herakleion, pp. 9–15.
- . 2001. "Divinity and Performance on Minoan Peak Sanctuaries," in Laffineur and Hägg 2001, pp. 51–55.
- Pelon, O. 1966. "Maison d'Hagia Varvara et architecture domestique à Mallia," *BCH* 90, pp. 552–585.
- . 1970. *Fouilles exécutées à Malia: Explorations des maisons et quartiers d'habitation (1963–1966)* III (*ÉtCrét* 16), Paris.
- . 1982. "L'épée à l'acrobate et la chronologie maliote," *BCH* 106, pp. 165–190.
- . 1988. "L'autel minoen," *Aegaeum* 2, pp. 31–46.
- . 1992. *Guide de Malia: Le palais*, Athens.
- Pendlebury, J. D. S. 1939. *The Archaeology of Crete*, London.
- Pendlebury, J. D. S., H. W. Pendlebury, and M. C. Money-Coutts. 1937–1938. "Excavations in the Plain of Lasithi III. Karphi: A City of Refuge of the Early Iron Age in Crete," *BSA* 38, pp. 57–145.
- Pernier, L. 1902a. "Lavori eseguiti dalla Missione Archaeologia Italiana nel palazzo di Festòs," *RendLinc* 5.11, pp. 511–536.
- . 1902b. "Scavi della Missione Italiana a Festòs 1900–1901: Rapporto Preliminare," *MonAnt* 12, pp. 5–144.
- . 1904. "Scavi della Missione Italiana a Festòs 1902–1903. Rapporto preliminare," *MonAnt* 14, pp. 313–500.
- . 1906. "Scavi e scoperte: Crete," *Ausonia* 1, pp. 109–120.
- . 1907. "Lavori eseguiti dalla Missione Archaeologia Italiana in Crete," *RendLinc* 5.16, pp. 256–305.
- . 1914. "Templi arcaici sulla patela di Prinias: Contributo allo studio dell'arte dedalica," *ASAtene* 1, pp. 18–111.
- Pernier, L., and L. Banti. 1935–1951. *Il palazzo minoico di Festòs: Scavi e studi della Missione Archeologica Italiana a Crete dal 1900 al 1934*, Rome.
- Persson, A. W. 1942. *The Religion of Greece in Prehistoric Times*, Berkeley.
- Pilafidis-Williams, K. 1998. *The Sanctuary of Aphaia on Aigina in the Bronze Age*, Munich.
- Pini, I. 1972. "Weitere Bemerkung zu den minoischen Fussamuletten," *SMEA* 15, pp. 179–187.
- . 2000. "Eleven Early Cretan Scarabs," in *Κρήτη-Αίγυπτος: Πολιτισμικοί δεσμοί τριών χιλιετιών* (*Exhibition catalogue, Archaeological Museum of Herakleion*), ed. A. Karatsou, M. Andreadaki-Vlazaki, and N. Papadakis, Athens, pp. 107–113.
- Platon, L. 1997. "Caractère, morphologie, et datation de la bourgade postpalatiale de Képhali Chondrou

- Viannou," in Driessen and Farnoux 1997, pp. 357–373.
- Platon, L., and Y. Pararas. 1991. *Pedestalled Offering Tables in the Aegean World (SIMA-PB 106)*, Jonsered.
- Platon, N. 1951. "Τὸ ἱερὸν Μάζα (Καλοῦ Χωρίου Πεδιάδος) καὶ τὰ Μινωικὰ ἱερὰ κορυφῆς," *CretChron* 5, pp. 96–160.
- . 1952. "Χρονικά: Ἡ ἀρχαιολογικὴ κίνησις ἐν Κρήτῃ κατὰ τὸ ἔτος 1952," *CretChron* 6, pp. 471–481.
- . 1954. "Χρονικά: Ἡ ἀρχαιολογικὴ κίνησις ἐν Κρήτῃ κατὰ τὸ ἔτος 1954," *CretChron* 8, pp. 428–483.
- . 1957. "Ἀνασκαφὴ Χόνδρου Βιάννου," *Prakt* 1957, pp. 136–147.
- . 1971. *Zakros: The Discovery of a Lost Palace of Ancient Crete*, New York.
- Platon-Mandi, M. 1981. "Τελετουργικὲς σφύρες καὶ ρόπαλα στὸ μινωικὸ κόσμος," *ArchEph* 1981, pp. 74–83.
- PM = A. J. Evans, *The Palace of Minos at Knossos*, 4 vols., London 1921–1935.
- Popham, M. R. 1970a. "A Late Minoan Shrine at Knossos," *AAA* 3, pp. 93–94.
- . 1970b. "A Late Minoan Shrine at Knossos," *BSA* 65, pp. 191–194.
- . 1970c. *The Destruction of the Palace at Knossos: Pottery of the Late Minoan IIIA Period (SIMA 12)*, Göteborg.
- . 1974. "Trial KV (1969): A Middle Minoan Building at Knossos," *BSA* 69, pp. 181–194.
- . 1977. "Notes From Knossos, Part I," *BSA* 72, pp. 185–195.
- . 1984. *The Minoan Unexplored Mansion at Knossos (BSA Suppl. 17)*, London.
- Popham, M. R., E. A. Catling, and H. W. Catling. 1974. "Sellopoulo Tombs 3 and 4: Two Late Minoan Graves near Knossos," *BSA* 69, pp. 195–258.
- Poursat, J.-C. 1966. "Un sanctuaire du Minoen Moyen II à Mallia," *BCH* 90, pp. 514–551.
- . 1992. *Guide de Malia au temps des premiers palais: Le quartier mu*, Athens.
- Prent, M. 2003. "Glories of the Past in the Past: Ritual Activities at Palatial Ruins in Early Iron Age Crete," in *Archaeologies of Memory*, ed. R. M. Van Dyke and S. E. Alcock, Oxford, pp. 81–103.
- . 2004a. "Cult Activities at the Palace of Knossos from the End of the Bronze Age: Continuity and Change," in Cadogan, Hatzaki, and Vasilakis 2004, pp. 411–419.
- . 2004b. "Sanctuaries and Cults in Crete from the Late Minoan IIIc to the Archaic Period: Continuity and Change" (diss. Univ. of Amsterdam).
- . 2005. *Cretan Sanctuaries and Cult: Continuity and Change from Late Minoan IIIc to the Archaic Period* (Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 154), Leiden.
- Preston, L. 1999. "Mortuary Practices and the Negotiation of Social Identities at LM II Knossos," *BSA* 94, pp. 131–143.
- Preziosi, D., and L. A. Hitchcock. 1999. *Aegean Art and Architecture*, Oxford.
- Price, S. 2004. "Local Mythologies in the Roman East," in *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces*, ed. C. Howgego, V. Heuchert, and A. Burnett, Oxford, pp. 115–124.
- Pseira I = P. P. Betancourt and C. Davaras, eds., *The Minoan Buildings on the West Side of Area A*, Philadelphia 1995.
- Pseira III = C. Floyd, *The Plateia Building*, Philadelphia 1998.
- Pseira IV = P. P. Betancourt and C. Davaras, eds., *Minoan Buildings in Areas B, C, D, and F*, Philadelphia 1999.
- Rahmstorf, L. 2005. "Ethnicity and Changes in Weaving Technology in Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean in the 12th century B.C.," in Karageorghis, Matthäus, and Rogge 2005, pp. 143–169.
- Randsborg, K. 1995. *Hjörtspring: Warfare and Sacrifice in Early Europe*, Aarhus.
- . 2002. *Kephallenia: Archaeology and History. The Ancient Greek Cities*, 2 vols. (*ActaArch* 73.1–2, Suppl. IV.1–2), Copenhagen.
- Rappaport, R. A. 1999. *Ritual and Religion in the Making of Humanity* (Cambridge Studies in Social and Cultural Anthropology), Cambridge.

- Reese, D. S. 1982. "Recent and Fossil Shells from Tomb XVIII, Gypsades Cemetery, Knossos, Crete," *BSA* 77, pp. 249–250.
- . 1987. "The EM IIA Shells from Knossos, with Comments on Neolithic to EM III Shell Utilization," *BSA* 82, pp. 207–211.
- . 1995. "The Marine Invertebrates," in *Kommos I.1*, pp. 240–273.
- Rehak, P. 1984. "New Observations on the Mycenaean 'Warrior Goddess,'" *AA* 1984, pp. 535–545.
- . 1995. "The Use and Destruction of Minoan Stone Bull's Head Rhyta," in *POLITEIA: Society and State in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the 5th International Aegean Conference (Aegaeum 12)*, ed. R. Laffineur and W. D. Niemeier, Liège, pp. 435–460.
- . 1999. "The Mycenaean 'Warrior Goddess' Revisited," in *POLEMOS: Le contexte guerrier en Égée à l'âge du Bronze (Aegaeum 19)*, ed. R. Laffineur, Liège, pp. 227–239.
- Rehak, P., and J. G. Younger. 1995. "A Minoan Roundel from Pyrgos, Southeastern Crete," *Kadmos* 34, pp. 81–102.
- . 1998. "Review of Aegean Prehistory VII: Neopalatial, Final Palatial, and Post-palatial Crete," *AJA* 102, pp. 91–173.
- . 2001. "Review of Aegean Prehistory VII: Neopalatial, Final Palatial, and Postpalatial Crete," in Cullen 2001, pp. 383–473.
- Relaki, M. 2004. "Constructing a Region: The Contested Landscapes of Prepalatial Mesara," in Barrett and Halstead 2004, pp. 170–188.
- Renfrew, C. 1969. "The Development and Chronology of the Early Cycladic Figurines," *AJA* 73, pp. 1–32.
- . 1972. *The Emergence of Civilization*, London.
- . 1984. "Speculations on the Use of Early Cycladic Sculpture," in Fitton 1984, pp. 24–30.
- . 1985. *The Archaeology of Cult: The Sanctuary at Phylakopi (BSA Suppl. 18)*, London.
- . 1994. "The Archaeology of Religion," in *The Ancient Mind: Elements of Cognitive Archaeology*, ed. C. Renfrew and E. B. W. Zubrow, Cambridge.
- Renfrew, C., and A. Snodgrass. 2004. "Future Strategies for Aegean Prehistory" (paper, London 2004).
- Rethemiotakis, G. 1997. "Minoan Clay Figures and Figurines: Manufacturing Techniques," in *TEXNH: Craftsmen, Craftswomen, and Craftsmanship in the Aegean Bronze Age (Aegaeum 16)*, ed. R. Laffineur and P. P. Betancourt, Liège, pp. 117–121.
- . 1998. *Ανθρωπομορφική πηλοπλαστική στην Κρήτη από τη Νεοανακτορική έως την Υπομινωική περίοδο* (Βιβλιοθήκη της εν Αθηναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας 174), Athens.
- . 2001. *Minoan Clay Figures and Figurines: From the Neopalatial to the Subminoan Period* (Archaeological Society at Athens Library 219), trans. A. Doumas, Athens.
- . 2002. "Evidence on Social and Economic Changes at Galatas and Padiada in the New Palace Period," in *Monuments of Minos: Rethinking Minoan Palaces (Aegaeum 23)*, ed. J. Driessen, I. Schoep, and R. Laffineur, Liège.
- Rice, P. M. 1987. *Pottery Analysis: A Sourcebook*, Chicago.
- Richards, C. C., and J. S. Thomas. 1984. "Ritual Activity and Structured Deposition in Later Neolithic Wessex," in *Neolithic Studies: A Review of Some Current Research (BAR-BS 133)*, ed. R. J. Bradley and J. Gardiner, Oxford, pp. 189–218.
- Rizza, G., and V. Santa Maria Scrinari. 1968. *Il santuario sull'acropoli di Gortina 1 (Monografie della scuola archeologia di Atene e delle missioni Italiane in Oriente 2)*, Rome.
- Rohling E. J., P. A. Mayewski, R. H. Abu-Zied, J. S. L. Casford, and A. Hayes. 2002. "Holocene Atmosphere-ocean Interactions: Records from Greenland and the Aegean Sea," *Climate Dynamics* 18, pp. 587–593.
- Ruipérez, M. S., and J. Melena. 1996. *Οι μυκηναίοι Έλληνες*, Athens.
- Rutkowski, B. 1972. *Cult Places in the Aegean World* (Bibliotheca antiqua 10), Warsaw.
- . 1986. *Cult Places of the Aegean*, New Haven.
- . 1987. "The Temple at Karphi," *SMEA* 26, pp. 257–279.
- . 1988. "Minoan Peak Sanctuaries: The Topography and Architecture," *Aegaeum* 2, pp. 71–99.
- . 1991. *Petsophas: A Cretan Peak Sanctuary*, Warsaw.
- Sackett, L. H. 1996. "A Bull's Head Rhyton from Palaikastro," in *Minoan and Centaur: Studies in the Archaeology of Crete and Euboea Presented to Mervyn Popham (BAR-IS 638)*, ed. D. Evely, I. S. Lemos, and S. Sherratt, Oxford, pp. 51–58.
- Sackett, L. H., M. R. Popham, and P. M. Warren. 1965. "Excavations at Palaikastro, VI," *BSA* 60, pp. 248–315.
- Sakellarakis, J. A. 1987. "Αρχαιολογική έρευνα για μια αρχαιοκαπηλία το 1949 στην Κρήτη," in *Φίλια έπη εις Γεώργιον Ε. Μυλωνάν διά τα 60 έτη του ανασκαφικού του έργου* (Βιβλιοθήκη της εν Αθηναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας 103), Athens, pp. 31–70.
- . 1988. "Some Geometric and Archaic Votives from the Idaean Cave," in *Early Greek Cult Practice. Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 26–9 June 1986 (SkrAth 4°, 38)*, ed. R. Hägg, N. Marinatos, and G. C. Nordquist, Stockholm, pp. 173–193.
- . 1996. "Minoan Religious Influence in the Aegean: The Case of Kythera," *BSA* 91, pp. 81–99.
- Sakellarakis, J. A., and E. Sapouna-Sakellarakis. 1973. "The Adorant of Myrsine," *Antichità Cretesi: Studi in onore di Doro Levi I* (Cronache di Archeologia 12), Catania, pp. 122–126.
- . 1991. *Archanes*, Athens.
- . 1997. *Archanes: Minoan Crete in a New Light*, 2 vols., Athens.
- Sanctuaries and Cults = Sanctuaries and Cults in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the First International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 12–13 May, 1980 (SkrAth 4°, 28)*, ed. R. Hägg and N. Marinatos, Stockholm 1981.
- Sapouna-Sakellarakis, E. 1990. "Archanes à l'époque mycénienne," *BCH* 114, pp. 67–102.

- Sarpaki, A. 1987. "The Palaeoethnobotany of the West House, Akrotiri, Thera: A Case Study" (diss. Univ. of Sheffield).
- . 1992. "A Palaeoethnobotanical Study of the West House, Akrotiri, Thera," *BSA* 87, pp. 219–230.
- . 2001. "Processed Cereals and Pulses from the Late Bronze Age Site of Akrotiri, Thera: Preparations Prior to Consumption. A Preliminary Approach to Their Study," *BSA* 96, pp. 27–40.
- Sarris, A., K. Bichta, M. Giasta, A. Giourou, E. Karimali, V. Kevgas, K. Margetousakis, E. Peraki, S. Soetens, K. Tzaneteas, S. Topouzi, and A. Tripolitsiotis. 2002. "A Web-based Digital Archaeological Map of Lasithi, E. Crete," in *Archaeological Informatics: Pushing the Envelope. CAA 2001: Computer Applications and Quantitative Methods in Archaeology. Proceedings of the 29th Conference, Gotland, April 2001 (BAR-IS 1016)*, ed. G. Burenhult, Oxford, pp. 309–323.
- Savignoni, L. 1904. "Scavi e scoperte nella necropoli di Phaistos," *MonAnt* 14, pp. 501–675.
- Schachter, A. 1992. "Policy, Cult, and the Placing of Greek Sanctuaries," in *Le sanctuaire grec (Entretiens sur l'Antiquité classique 37)*, ed. A. Schachter and J. Bingen, Geneva, pp. 1–57.
- Schoep, I. 1994. "Ritual, Politics, and Scripts on Minoan Crete," *Aegean Archaeology* 1, pp. 7–25.
- . 2002. "Social and Political Organization on Crete in the Proto-Palatial Period: The Case of Middle Minoan II Malia," *JMA* 15, pp. 101–132.
- Schürmann, W. 1996. *Das Heiligtum des Hermes und der Aphrodite in Syme Viannou 2: Die Tierstatuetten aus Metall* (Βιβλιοθήκη της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας 159), Athens.
- Scurlock, J. A. 1988. "Magical Means of Dealing with Ghosts in Ancient Mesopotamia" (diss. Univ. of Chicago).
- Seiradaki, M. 1960. "Pottery from Karphi," *BSA* 55, pp. 1–37.
- Shaw, J. W. 1989. "Phoenicians in Southern Crete," *AJA* 93, pp. 164–183.
- . 1996. "Domestic Economy and Site Development," in *Kommos* I.2, pp. 379–400.
- . 2000a. "The Architecture of the Temples and Other Buildings," in *Kommos* IV, pp. 1–100.
- . 2000b. "Ritual and Development in the Greek Sanctuary," in *Kommos* IV, pp. 669–731.
- . 2004a. "Kommos: The Seagate to Southern Crete," in Day, Mook, and Muhly 2004, pp. 43–51.
- . 2004b. "Temple B at Kommos, Crete: A Response (con appendice di E. Pappalardo)," *Creta Antica* 5, pp. 199–204.
- Shaw, J. W., and A. Lowe. 2002. "The 'Lost' Portico at Knossos: The Central Court Revisited," *AJA* 106, pp. 513–523.
- Shaw, M. C. 1996a. "The North House and Peripheral Areas," in *Kommos* I.2, pp. 17–59.
- . 1996b. "The Terracotta Sculpture," in *Kommos* I.2, pp. 282–302.
- . 1996c. "Town Arrangement and Domestic Architecture," in *Kommos* I.2, pp. 345–377.
- . 2004. "Religion at Minoan Kommos," in Day, Mook, and Muhly 2004, pp. 137–150.
- Sherratt, E. S. 1990. "Reading the Texts: Archaeology and the Homeric Question," *Antiquity* 64, pp. 807–824.
- , ed. 2000. *The Wall Paintings of Thera. Proceedings of the First International Symposium, 30 August–4 September 1997*, 2 vols., Athens.
- Siebenmorgen, H. 2000. *Im Labyrinth des Minos: Kreta, die erste europäische Hochkultur. Catalog of an Exhibition Held at Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe, Jan. 27–Apr. 4, 2001* (Archäologische Veröffentlichungen des Badischen Landesmuseums 2), Munich.
- Sillar, B. 1994. "Playing with God: Cultural Perceptions of Children, Play, and Miniatures in the Andes," in *Archaeological Review from Cambridge: Perspectives on Children and Childhood* 13.2, pp. 47–63.
- Simon, E. 1983. *Festivals of Attica: An Archaeological Commentary*, Madison.
- Sjögren, L. 2003. *Cretan Locations: Discerning Site Variations in Iron Age*

- Crete (800–500 B.C.) (BAR-IS 1185), Oxford.
- Snodgrass, A. 1980. *Archaic Greece: The Age of Experiment*, London.
- Soetens, S. 2006. "Minoan Peak Sanctuaries: Building a Cultural Landscape Using GIS" (diss. Univ. of Louvain, Belgium).
- Soetens, S., J. Driessen, A. Sarris, and S. Topouzi. 2001. "The Minoan Peak Sanctuary Landscape through a GIS Approach," http://www.ims.forth.gr/peak_sanctuaries/peak_sanctuaries_articles.html.
- Soetens, S., A. Sarris, S. Topouzi, and A. Tripolitsiotis. 2001. "GIS Modeling of the Minoan Peak Sanctuaries of East Crete," http://www.ims.forth.gr/peak_sanctuaries/peak_sanctuaries_articles.html.
- Soetens, S., A. Sarris, K. Vansteenhuyse, and S. Topouzi. 2003. "GIS Variations on a Cretan Theme: Minoan Peak Sanctuaries," in *METRON: Measuring the Aegean Bronze Age (Aegaeum 24)*, ed. K. P. Foster and R. Laffineur, Liège, pp. 483–488.
- Soles, J. S. 1992. *The Prepalatial Cemeteries at Mochlos and Gournia and the House Tombs of Bronze Age Crete (Hesperia Suppl. 24)*, Princeton.
- Sourvinou-Inwood, C. 1971. "On the Authenticity of the Ashmolean Ring 1919.56," *Kadmos* 10, pp. 60–69.
- . 1973. "On the Lost 'Boat' Ring from Mochlos," *Kadmos* 12, pp. 149–158.
- Speziale, A. 2001. "Il MM II: La casa LXXXI–LXXXV, XCIV–XCV," in *I cento anni dello scavo di Festòs: Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, Atti dei convegni lincei* 173, Rome, pp. 157–167.
- Sporn, K. 2002. *Heiligtümer und Kulte Kretas in klassischer und hellenistischer Zeit* (Studien zu antiken Heiligtümern 3), Heidelberg.
- Stamatakis, P. 2003. "Τα ιερά μήλα του Κόφινα. Από την Μινωική δεντρολατρεία στο πανηγύρι του Τιμίου Σταυρού," *Κρητικό Πανόραμα* 2, pp. 28–71.
- Stampolides, N. 1998. "Imports and Amalgamata: The Eleutherna Expedition," in *Eastern Mediterranean: Cyprus–Dodecanese–Crete, 16th–6th cent. B.C. Proceedings of the International Symposium organized by the University of Crete, Rethymnon and the A.G. Leventis Foundation, Nicosia, Rethymnon 13–16 May 1997*, ed. V. Karageorghis and N. Stampolides, Athens, pp. 175–185.
- Stampolides, N., and A. Karetsou, eds. 1998. *Ανατολική Μεσόγειος: Κύπρος–Δωδεκάνησα–Κρήτη. 16ος–6ος αι. π.Χ.*, Herakleion.
- Stampolides, N., A. Karetsou, and A. Kanta, eds. 1998. *Eastern Mediterranean: Cyprus–Dodecanese–Crete, 16th–6th cent. B.C.*, Herakleion.
- Stanford, W. B., ed. 1962. *The Odyssey of Homer* 2, London.
- Steele, J. F. 1997. "Cave Rituals in Oaxaca, Mexico" (paper, Nashville 1997).
- Stewart, A. 1990. *Greek Sculpture: An Exploration*, New Haven.
- Stewart, S. 1993. *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*, London.
- Stocker, S. R., and J. L. Davis. 2004. "Animal Sacrifice, Archives, and Feasting at the Palace of Nestor," in *The Mycenaean Feast*, ed. J. C. Wright, Princeton, pp. 59–75.
- Stuiver, M., and R. S. Kra, eds. 1986. "Proceedings of the Twelfth International Radiocarbon Conference, June 24–28, Trondheim, Norway," *Radiocarbon* 28(2B), pp. 805–1030.
- Swindler, M. H. 1913. "Cretan Elements in the Cults and Ritual of Apollo" (diss. Bryn Mawr College).
- Symington, D. 1991. "Late Bronze Age Writing-Boards and Their Uses: Textual Evidence from Anatolia and Syria," *AnatSt* 41, pp. 111–123.
- Talalay, L. E. 1987. "Rethinking the Function of Clay Figurine Legs from Neolithic Greece: An Argument by Analogy," *AJA* 91, pp. 161–169.
- . 1993. *Deities, Dolls, and Deities: Neolithic Figurines from Franchthi Cave, Greece (Franchthi 9)*, Bloomington.
- Tawney, R. H. 1926. *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism: A Historical Study*, New York.
- Televantou, C. A. 1990. "New Light on the West House Wall-paintings," in *Thera and the Aegean World III: Proceedings of the Third International Congress, Santorini, Greece, 3–9 September 1989* 1. *Archaeology*, ed. D. A. Hardy, C. G. Doumas, J. A. Sakellarakis, and P. M. Warren, London, pp. 309–326.
- Thimme, J. 1965. "Die religiöse Bedeutung der Kykladenidole," *AnK* 8, pp. 72–86.
- Thommeret, Y., J. J. Labborel, L. F. Montaggioni, and P. A. Pirazzoli. 1981. "Late Holocene Shoreline Changes and Seismo-tectonic Displacements in Western Crete," *Zeitschrift für Geomorphologie* N.F., Suppl. 40, pp. 127–149.
- Thorne, S. M. 2000. "Diktaian Zeus in Later Greek Tradition," in MacGillivray, Driessen, and Sackett 2000, pp. 149–164.
- Thorne, S. M., and M. Prent. 2000. "The Sanctuary of Dikataean Zeus at Palaikastro: A Re-examination of the Excavations by the British School in 1902–1906," in *Πεπραγμένα του Η' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου Α'2*, Herakleion, pp. 169–178.
- Tournavitu, I. 1992. "Practical Use and Social Function: A Neglected Aspect of Mycenaean Pottery," *BSA* 87, pp. 181–210.
- . 2000. "Μινωικό ιερό κορυφής στα Κύθηρα: Η κεραμεική," in *Πεπραγμένα του Η' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου Α'3*, ed. A. Karetsou, T. Detorakis, and A. Kalokairinos, Herakleion, pp. 297–316.
- . 2006. "Ρυτά στα Μινωικά ιερά κορυφής. Η περίπτωση των Κυθήρων," in *Πεπραγμένα του Θ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου Α'1*, ed. E. Tampakaki and A. Kaloutsakis, Herakleion, pp. 391–408.
- Treuil, R. 2005. "La Crète minoenne: Encore un paradis perdu!" in *Mythos: La préhistoire égéenne du XIX^e au XXI^e siècle ap. J.-C. Actes de la table ronde d'Athènes, novembre 2002 (BCH Suppl. 46)*, ed. P. Darceque, M. Fotiadis, and O. Polychronopoulou, Athens, pp. 131–139.
- Tsiporoulou, M. 1984. "Τάφοι της Πρώιμης Εποχής του Σιδήρου στην ανατολική Κρήτη: Συμπλήρωμα," *ArchDelt* 39, Α', pp. 232–245.
- . 1987. "Τάφοι της Πρώιμης Εποχής του Σιδήρου στην ανατολική

- Κρήτη,” in *ΕΙΛΑΙΙΙΝΗ: Τόμος τιμητικός για τον καθηγητή Νικόλαο Παλάτωνα*, Herakleion, pp. 253–269.
- . 2001. “A New Late Minoan III C Shrine at Halasmenos, East Crete,” in Laffineur and Hägg 2001, pp. 99–101.
- . 2005. “Mycenoans’ at the Isthmus of Ierapetra: Some (Preliminary) Thoughts on the Foundation of the (Eteo)cretan Cultural Identity,” in D’Agata and Moody 2005, pp. 303–333.
- . Forthcoming. “Mycenaeanizing or Not at the End of the Bronze Age: A Comparative Study of Houses B1 and B2 with Megara A2 and A3 at Halasmenos, Ierapetra,” in *STEGA: The Archaeology of Houses and Households in Ancient Crete*, ed. N. Vogeikoff-Brogan and K. Glowacki, Princeton.
- Tsiporoulou, M., and K. Nowicki. 2003. “Μινωίτες και Μυκηναίοι στο τέλος της εποχής του Χαλκού στην ανατολική Κρήτη,” in *Second International Interdisciplinary Colloquium: The Periphery of the Mycenaean World, 26–30 September, Lamia 1999*, ed. N. Kyprarissi-Apostolika and M. Papakonstantinou, Athens, pp. 561–580.
- Tyree, E. L. 1974. “Cretan Sacred Caves” (diss. Univ. of Missouri, Columbia).
- . 2001. “Diachronic Changes in Minoan Cave Cult,” in Laffineur and Hägg 2001, pp. 39–49.
- . 2006. “Minoan Sacred Caves: The Natural and Political Landscape,” in *Πεπραγμένα του Θ’ Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου Α’ 2*, ed. E. Tampakaki and A. Kaloutsakis, Herakleion, pp. 329–342.
- Tzedakis Y. 1967. “A Minoan ‘Goddess’ Idol from SakhTouria,” *BSA* 62, pp. 203–205.
- . 1969. “Αρχαιότητες και μνημεία δυτικής Κρήτης,” *ArchDelt* 24, B’ 2, pp. 428–436.
- . 1970. “Αρχαιότητες και μνημεία δυτικής Κρήτης,” *ArchDelt* 25, B’ 2, pp. 465–478.
- . 1971. “Αρχαιότητες και μνημεία δυτικής Κρήτης,” *ArchDelt* 26, B’ 2, pp. 508–517.
- Tzedakis, Y., and H. Martlew, eds. 1999. *Minoans and Mycenaeans: Flavours Of Their Time*, Athens.
- Tzonou-Herbst, I. N. 2002. “A Contextual Analysis of Mycenaean Terracotta Figurines” (diss. Univ. of Cincinnati).
- Ucko, P. J. 1968. *Anthropomorphic Figurines of Predynastic Egypt and Neolithic Crete with Comparative Material from the Prehistoric Near East and Mainland Greece* (Royal Anthropological Institute Occasional Paper 24), London.
- Vallianou, D. 1997. “The Potters’ Quarter in LM III Gouves,” in Laffineur and Betancourt 1997, pp. 333–343.
- Van de Moortel, A. 1997. “The Transition from the Protopalatial to the Neopalatial Society in South-Central Crete: A Ceramic Perspective” (diss. Bryn Mawr College).
- . 2006. “A Re-examination of the Pottery from the Kamares Cave,” in *Pottery and Society: The Impact of Recent Studies in Minoan Pottery. Gold Medal Colloquium in Honor of Philip P. Betancourt, New Orleans 2003*, ed. M. H. Wiener, J. L. Warner, J. Polonsky, and E. E. Hayes, Boston, pp. 73–93.
- van Effenterre, H. 1948. *Nécropoles du Mirabello (ÉtCrét 8)*, Paris.
- . 1980. *Le palais de Mallia et la cité minoenne: Étude de synthèse* (Incunabula Graeca 76), Rome.
- van Effenterre, H., and Y. Tzedakis. 1977. “Matériel inédit des premières fouilles au palais de Mallia,” *ArchDelt* 32, A’ 1, pp. 156–181.
- van Effenterre, H., and M. van Effenterre. 1976. *Fouilles exécutées à Mallia. Exploration des maisons et quartiers d’habitation (1956–1960) IV. Le quartier Thêta (ÉtCrét 22)*, Paris.
- Vanschoonwinkel, J. 2004. “La double hache minoenne et l’Anatolie,” *Res Antiquae* 1, pp. 409–428.
- Vasilakis, A. S. 1988. “Τρυπητή,” *Κρητική Εστία* 2, pp. 331–332.
- . 1989. “Ο Πρωτομινωικός οικισμός Τρυπητής,” *Αρχαιολογία* 30, pp. 52–56.
- . 1990a. “Προϊστορικές θεσεις στη Μονή Οδηγήτριας Καλοί Λιμένες,” *Κρητική Εστία* 3, pp. 11–80.
- . 1990b. “Τρυπητή,” *Κρητική Εστία* 4, p. 287.

- . 1995. “Τρυπητή 1986–1991. Ζητήματα του προανακτορικού, μινωικού πολιτισμού στη νότια κεντρική Κρήτη και η ανασκαφή του οικισμού Τρυπητής,” in *Πεπραγμένα του Ζ’ Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου Α’ 1*, Rethymnon, pp. 69–74.
- Ventris, M., and J. Chadwick. 1973. *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, 2nd ed., Cambridge.
- Verbruggen, H. 1981. *Le Zeus crétois* (Collection d’ études mythologiques de l’Université de Paris 10), Paris.
- Verlinden, C. 1984. *Les statuettes anthropomorphes crétoises en bronze et en plomb du III^e millénaire au VII^e siècle av. J.-C.*, Providence.
- Vermeule, E. 1964. *Greece in the Bronze Age*, Chicago.
- Vermeule, E., and V. Karageorghis. 1982. *Mycenaean Pictorial Vase Painting*, Cambridge, Mass.
- Walberg, G. 1987. “Early Cretan Tombs: The Pottery,” in *Thanatos: Les coutumes funéraires en Egée à l’âge du Bronze. Actes du colloque de Liège, 21–23 avril 1986* (*Aegaeum* 1), ed. R. Laffineur, Liège, pp. 53–60.
- Wall, S. M., J. H. Musgrave, and P. M. Warren. 1986. “Human Bones from a Late Minoan IB House at Knossos,” *BSA* 81, pp. 333–388.
- Wallace, S. 2005. “Last Chance to See? Karfi (Crete) in the Twenty-first Century: Presentation of New Architectural Data and Their Analysis in the Current Context of Research,” *BSA* 100, pp. 215–274.
- Warren, E. 1970. “A Late Minoan Figurine from Kritsa,” *CretChron* 22, pp. 344–346.
- Warren, P. 1969. *Minoan Stone Vases* (Cambridge Classical Studies), Cambridge.
- . 1972. *Myrtos: An Early Bronze Age Settlement in Crete* (*BSA Suppl.* 7), London.
- . 1981. “Knossos: Stratigraphical Museum Excavations 1978–1980, I,” *AR* 1981, pp. 127–192.
- . 1988. *Minoan Religion as Ritual Action* (*SIMA-PB* 72), Göteborg.
- . 1990a. “Of Baetyls,” *OpAth* 18, pp. 193–206.
- . 1990b. “Of Baetyls,” in *Πεπραγμένα του ΣΤ’ Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου Α’*, ed. V. Niniou-Kindeli, Khania, pp. 353–363.
- . 1991. “A New Minoan Deposit from Knossos, c. 1600 B.C., and Its Wider Relations,” *BSA* 86, pp. 319–340.
- . 1999. “LM IA: Knossos, Thera, Gournia,” in Betancourt et al. 1999, pp. 893–903.
- . 2001. Rev. of Panagiotaki 1999, in *Antf* 81, pp. 422–433.
- . 2004. “Terra Cognita? The Territory and Boundaries of the Early Neopalatial Knossian State,” in Cadogan, Hatzaki, and Vasilakis 2004, pp. 159–168.
- Warren, P., and V. Hankey. 1989. *Aegean Bronze Age Chronology*, Bristol.
- Watrous, L. V. 1995. “Some Observations on Minoan Peak Sanctuaries,” in *POLITEIA: Society and State in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the Fifth International Aegean Conference, University of Heidelberg, Archäologisches Institut, 10–13 April, 1994* (*Aegaeum* 12), ed. R. Laffineur and W.-D. Niemeier, Liège, pp. 393–403.
- . 1996. *The Cave Sanctuary of Zeus at Psychro: A Study of Extra-Urban Sanctuaries in Minoan and Early Iron Age Crete* (*Aegaeum* 15), Liège.
- . 2001a. “Review of Aegean Prehistory III: Crete from Earliest Prehistory through the Protopalatial Period,” in Cullen 2001, pp. 157–215.
- . 2001b. “Addendum: 1994–1999,” in Cullen 2001, pp. 216–223.
- Watrous, L. V., and D. Hadzi-Vallianou. 2004. “Palatial Rule and Collapse (Middle Minoan IB–Late Minoan IIIB),” in *The Plain of Phaisstos: Cycles of Social Complexity in the Mesara Region of Crete*, ed. L. V. Watrous, D. Hadzi-Vallianou, and H. Blitzer, Los Angeles, pp. 227–304.
- Weber, M. 1968. *Economy and Society*, ed. G. Roth and C. Wittich, trans. E. Fischhoff, New York.
- Weingarten, J. 1989. “The Noduli, a Sealing, and a Seal,” *BSA* 84, pp. 438–444.
- West, M. L., ed. 1966. *Hesiod: Theogony*, Oxford.
- Whitehouse, R. D. 1996. “Ritual Objects: Archaeological Joke or Neglected Evidence?” in *Approaches to the Study of Ritual: Italy and the Ancient Mediterranean* (Accordia Specialist Studies on the Mediterranean 2), ed. J. B. Wilkins, London, pp. 9–30.
- Whitelaw, T. 2001. “From Sites to Communities: Defining the Human Dimensions of Minoan Urbanism,” in *Urbanism in the Aegean Bronze Age* (Sheffield Studies in Aegean Archaeology), ed. K. Branigan, Sheffield, pp. 15–37.
- . 2004. “Estimating the Population of Neopalatial Knossos,” in Cadogan, Hatzaki, and Vasilakis 2004, pp. 147–158.
- Whitley, J. 1998. “From Minoans to Eteocretans: The Praisos Region 1200–500 B.C.,” in *Post-Minoan Crete. Proceedings of the First Colloquium, London 10–11 November 1995* (*BSA Studies* 2), ed. W. G. Cavanagh, M. Curtis, J. N. Coldstream, and A. W. Johnston, London, pp. 27–39.
- . 2001. *The Archaeology of Ancient Greece* (Cambridge World Archaeology), Cambridge.
- . 2003–2004. “Sklaverochori, Kastelli,” *AR* 2003–2004, pp. 79–80.
- Whitley, J., M. Prent, and S. Thorne. 1999. “Praisos IV: A Preliminary Report on the 1993 and 1994 Survey Seasons,” *BSA* 94, pp. 215–264.
- Whittaker, H. 1996. “Catalogue of Miscellaneous Finds: Stone Slabs with Depressions,” in *Kommos I.2*, pp. 321–323.
- . 1997. *Mycenaean Cult Buildings: A Study of Their Architecture and Function in the Context of the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean* (Monographs of the Norwegian Institute at Athens 1), Bergen.
- . 2002. “Minoan Board Games: The Function and Meaning of Stones with Depressions (So-called Kernoi) from Bronze Age Crete,” *Aegean Archaeology* 6, pp. 73–87.
- Wide, S. 1901. “Mykenische Götterbilder und Idole,” *AM* 26, pp. 247–257.
- Willcock, M. M. 1976. *A Companion to the Iliad*, Chicago.

- Wright, J. C. 1994. "The Spatial Configuration of Belief: The Archaeology of Mycenaean Religion," in Alcock and Osborne 1994, pp. 37–78.
- . 1995. "The Archaeological Correlates of Religion: Case Studies in the Aegean," in *POLITELA: Society and State in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the 5th International Aegean Conference, University of Heidelberg, Archäologisches Institut, 10–13 April 1994 (Aegaeum 12)*, ed. R. Laffineur and W.-D. Niemeier, Liège, pp. 341–348.
- . 1996. "The Central Hillside at Kommos 2: The Middle Minoan Period," in *Kommos I.2*, pp. 140–199.
- . 2004. "The Emergence of Leadership and the Rise of Civilization," in Barrett and Halstead 2004, pp. 64–80.
- Xanthoudides, S. A. 1900. "Μῆτραι ἀρχαῖαι ἐκ Σητείας Κρήτης," *ArchEph* 1900, pp. 26–50.
- . 1906a. "Cretan Kernoi," *BSA* 12, pp. 9–23.
- . 1906b. "Ἐκ Κρήτης," *ArchEph* 1906, pp. 117–155.
- . 1918. "Ἀρχαιολογικὴ περιφέρεια. Δρῆρος," *ArchDelt* 4, pp. 9–32.
- . 1924. *The Vaulted Tombs of Mesara: An Account of Some Early Cemeteries of Southern Crete*, trans. J. P. Droop, London.
- Zeimbeki, M. 2004. "The Organization of Votive Production and Distribution in the Peak Sanctuaries of State Society Crete: A Perspective Offered by the Juktas Animal Figurines," in Cadogan, Hatzaki, and Vasilakis 2004, pp. 351–361.
- Zervos, C. 1956. *L'art de la Crète néolithique et minoenne*, Paris.
- Zois, A. 1996. *Κνωσός: Το εκστατικό όραμα. Σημειωτική και ψυχολογία μιας αρχαιολογικής περιπέτειας*, Herakleion.