

**FROM *POWER* TO *PARADIGM*:  
RETHINKING THE EMERGENCE OF THE  
“PALATIAL PHENOMENON” IN BRONZE AGE CRETE**

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*Στην οικογένεια μου*

## Abstract

Over the past century of investigation of the Minoan past, perhaps the most persistent field of enquiry has been that of the “emergence of the palatial phenomenon”. Only recently has this begun to be challenged, as the discipline of Minoan archaeology has gone through several marked changes. These have been stimulated mostly by a growing body of empirical data and by new techniques of investigation, but other changes go far deeper, with the unusually rigorous scrutiny of what constitutes the very backbone of the discipline: the “palace” category itself.

One of the central themes of this thesis is the examination of the processes that led to the present state of affairs in Minoan studies, to ask how and why was the concept of the “palace” “constructed” and more recently “deconstructed”. It demonstrates that the development of these two radically opposed points of view is inextricably connected with broader developments and transformations in Post-Enlightenment Western thought. In arguing this, the thesis suggests that neither “the palace” nor its repudiation allow us to get closer to the “reality” of the (Minoan) past, as *both* premises constitute nothing more than “situated” points of view. If the decision to adhere (or not) to the concept of the “palace” is really *a matter of perspective*, then we need to pay closer attention to how these perspectives deal with fundamental issues such as (ontological and epistemological) ethics, value and responsibility. It is suggested that a future for Minoan archaeology can be guaranteed only if at this particular historical conjuncture, the ethical implications as well as consequences of archaeological/epistemological performance are assessed in more critical fashion.

Discussion proceeds by offering some insights as to how the handling of these issues can be achieved in practice and concludes with a very specific suggestion: in order to be able to re-articulate theory and practice in our study of this particular segment of the Cretan past, a *new analytical question/direction of enquiry* ought to be established. It is suggested that for this new question to be defined and operationalized, a radical redefinition of the “palace” question ought to be sought. Through the detailed investigation of specific case studies, the thesis deduces that the “emergence of House Society” has an immense analytical potential as a replacement of the long dominant issue of the “emergence of civilization”.

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## The *rise and fall* of “Minoan civilization”

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“Let us, too, resist the idea that archaeologists’ accounts are fictions”  
(Fotiadis 1994: 551).

### [1.1] The problem

From the late stages of the 19<sup>th</sup> century until very recently, archaeological work in Crete had been dominated by the concept of the “palace” in terms of both theory and fieldwork (Hamilakis 2002a) [Plate 1.1]. Even a cursory glance at the tremendous bulk of material and associated literature, from what appears to be one of “the most intensively explored archaeological periods/localities in the world” (Hamilakis 2002b: 3), demonstrates that the appearance of these monumental structures on the island during the early stages of the Middle Bronze Age, has been taken to signal far more than the development of yet another architectural novelty. Essentially, the general consensus within the confines of the discipline for a period spanning little more than a century had been that the “palaces” ought to be viewed as the clearest token of a watershed event: *the establishment of a highly “complex” form of social organization on the island of Crete for the first time in its history* (Evans 1921-1936; Branigan 1988; Cherry 1983; Renfrew 1972). The term “complexity” was employed to describe what appeared to constitute a “larger, more internally differentiated and more complexly articulated” social structure, which relied upon a centralized authority mechanism (i.e. the “palace”) for its effective operation (Trigger 1998: 10). The surplus of importance accorded to (what we may broadly describe as) the “palatial phenomenon” is exemplified by the degree of *directionality* that this “phenomenon” had imposed to Minoan studies: examples here range from the division of the early history of

Crete into “*pre-palatial*”, “*palatial*” and “*post-palatial*” phases (Day *et al.* 1997) to the tendency to portray the island as a “Minoan entity” the latter being painted in turn, as a “laboratory” of “socio-political achievement” (Hamilakis 2002b: 17).

Over the last decade however, this impressive and highly persistent core of agreement has slowly begun to dissolve. For some scholars the need to reconfigure this long standing consensus has been largely dictated by recent advances in the field. In particular, the data accumulated from the wide range of ongoing excavations, extensive expeditions, rescue and intensive survey projects, have challenged several long-held assumptions tied to the concept of the “palace” and the “emergence of complexity”. On the one hand, the plethora of “palaces” and “palace-type” buildings that have been discovered (and continue to be discovered) in various parts of the Cretan landscape have called for a reconsideration of the “palace” category itself (Driessen *et al.* 2002). On the other hand, equally serious have been the concerns raised over the close association established between “complexity” and the “palatial” periods for it now appears that the periods prior to the construction of the “palaces” also exhibited clear signs of “complexity” (Day *et al.* 1997; Hamilakis 2002b: 14-15; Schoep & Knappett 2004).

For other scholars, nonetheless, the foregoing “anomalies”/“fallacies” should not be perceived as the main reason why long dominant accounts of the Minoan past are currently scrutinized; after all, many of the former have been known to us for quite some time (Cherry 1986). They argue instead that the problem with those accounts goes far deeper and concerns the very pattern of thought through which the Minoan past has been approached (Hamilakis 2002b: 4). Patterns of thought are commonly referred to as *paradigms*, a term initially launched by a prominent figure in philosophy of science, Thomas Kuhn. Kuhn used the term “paradigm” to describe a set of “universally recognized scientific achievements that for a time provide model problems and solutions to a community of practitioners” (Kuhn 1970: x). Hamilakis has recently stressed that such a paradigmatic framework may be shown to have operated in Minoan studies since Arthur Evans’ initial explorations on the island of Crete and to survive in the writings of several scholars even until today (Hamilakis 2002b: 5-13). The paradigm to which Hamilakis refers is “(cultural) evolutionism” (Hamilakis 2002b: 5).

A particular way of dealing with and perceiving (past) social existence, the “evolutionary” paradigm is the product of the operation of a series of developing discourses whose origins ought to be traced back in the period of the Enlightenment (Bierstedt 1974: 559-60; Foucault 1984; Herzfeld 2001; Outram 1995; Thomas 1996). This intellectual tradition is firmly associated with the very emergence of “scientific” practice and the

simultaneous decline of medieval theological determinism (Outram 1995: 45). From that point onwards, scientific knowledge began to be perceived as disembodied and essential, real and unprejudiced and was thus accorded a status of undisputed truth (Thomas 1996: 11-16). The enquiring and penetrating gaze of the scientist served as the metaphor for the acquisition of objective knowledge as a result of this emphasis on scientific "vision", the description and interpretation of society's "visual" culture (such as may be seen in artefacts), was as far as scientific enquiry would go in search of meaning (Herzfeld 2001: 36). In archaeological terms, this resulted in what has been referred to as *archaeology of representation* (Barrett 1994: 154; Miller 1985: 2; Patrik 1985); the past was taken to have inscribed a truth about itself upon the material record and so by "explaining" the data we could automatically "explain" the past itself (Barrett 1994: 156).

A second cardinal element in "evolutionary" thought was the correlation between biological and social evolution (Spencer 1891; Trigger 1998). It was argued in particular that "the cosmos" (essentially including "plant and animal life" as well as "human society") had "evolved" from "simple homogeneous beginnings" into "increasingly differentiated entities" and that "societies" which were "more complex" and "better integrated" (Spencer 1891: 9-10, 402-3), were able to "prosper at the expense of less complex ones, just as human individuals and groups who were better adapted to social life, supplanted those who were less well adapted" (Trigger 1998: 57). The concept of social evolution became even more prominent in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century Western thought, with examples involving the comparison of "whole societies, or social institutions, legal systems, kinship systems, or knowledge and belief systems" (Chapman 2003: 5; Gosden 1999; Outram 1995; Trigger 1989a). Underlying all of these "evolutionary" sequences was not only the adherence to the "universal" truth/law inherent in the "organic analogy" but also the firm belief in *progress*, with greater complexity being equated with progress towards *modernity* (i.e. the gradual transition from the "simplest" hunter-gatherers to the more "complex" states) (Chapman 2003; Shanks & Tilley 1987a, 1987b; Trigger 1998). Echoes of this mode of thinking are apparent in Evans' portrayal of Minoan civilization as "successive, gradual and organic" (Hamilakis 2002b: 6) and in particular, his adoption of a three-stage chronological system (Early, Middle and Late Minoan), corresponding to the "evolutionary" perception of gradual growth, maturity and decline (Cherry 1983; MacNeal 1973; McEnroe 1995). An "evolutionary" typology has also been put forward by Renfrew, who proposed a unilinear and directional scheme on the basis of which "primitive societies" could be classified as "bands", "tribes" and "chiefdoms" (*see also* Service 1962). The next stage involved the development of the "state", in which "primitive" societies were supposed to have been "civilized" (Renfrew 1972).



At the heart of this recent critique of “evolutionism” and its associated principles, lies a more general discontent with its paradigmatic intentions, as well as effects. Kuhn describes such reactionary views against a dominant paradigm as indications of a *paradigm shift* leading to the emergence of a new paradigm (Kuhn 1970); in this case, the emerging paradigm is broadly known as “postmodernism” (Harvey 1989), an intellectual movement whose origins are to be found in early 20<sup>th</sup> century transformations. In archaeology however, this fundamentally “anti-evolutionist” school of thought made its appearance much later, i.e. in the 1980s (Hodder 1982, 1986).

The “postmodernist” movement in archaeology sets itself in radical opposition to modes of thinking which are reductionist or essentialist, reducing the particular to an abstract social logic, to *a priori* categories, defining and searching for essential (and allegedly “objective”) features of “society” and “history” (e.g. Bapty & Yates 1990; Hodder 1986; Shanks & Tilley 1987a, 1987b, 1989a; Thomas 2004; Yates 1990). It is argued that there can be no hierarchy of determination in our analytical enterprises and concomitantly, that there are no universal series of social units available for use in archaeological analysis. For “postmodern” archaeology such over-generalised concepts need to be abandoned altogether (Thomas 2004).

An immediate consequence of the above is the deep problematization over “evolutionary” images of the past which tend to portray “history” as essentially “closed in on itself” (Shanks & Tilley 1987a: 175), residing in a predetermined set of processes, offering explanations “once and for all... in an absolute sense” (Shanks & Tilley 1987a: 175). The “messy and richly networked character” of past existence is separated into a definable set of elements (Latour 1993: 7) and the understanding is that these elements represent real units of analysis which have been “discovered” rather than created by science (Thomas 1996: 12). These “objective” categories organize past human life “in layers” (Thomas 1996: 16), with those layers essentially being perceived as “given” and “beyond question” (Strathern 1988: 69). With these units being presented as “fundamental” and “real”, archaeological analysis may in fact be evaded; it is in a way unnecessary, for the answers are supposedly known to us in advance (Thomas 1996: 13).

Another fundamental problem currently identified in “evolutionary” archaeological programmes concerns the fact that the latter have always been riddled with *ethnocentric* evaluations (Hamilakis 2002b; Shanks & Tilley 1987a: 155). By ethnocentrism is meant “the manner in which a group identifies with its own socio-cultural individuality and creates a privileged and central image of itself in relation to others” (Shanks & Tilley 1987a: 155); as

such, it marks the persistence of the intellectual legacy of “racism, colonialism and imperialism and the denigration of cultural diversity” (Chapman 2003: 6). The schemes of “explanation” in evolutionary theories easily slip into “ideologies of self-justification or assert the priorities of the West in relation to other cultures whose primary importance is precisely to act as offsets for our contemporary civilization” (Shanks & Tilley 1987a: 164).

In view of all aforementioned issues, “postmodernist” archaeology advances a markedly different agenda to that proposed by the proponents of the “evolutionist” school. What it underscores first of all is that we need to give up the task of “Westernizing” human history. History and the past are now portrayed as having been made possible by the active engagement of “knowledgeable beings” with the (material) conditions of their existence (Barrett 1994: 169). This implies that we should no longer seek to compartmentalise the history of “society”; the latter cannot be defined as “a layer cake of flow diagram” (Shanks & Tilley 1987a: 59), but rather as an ongoing and inherently dynamic process of construction and constitution of various forms of “sociality”. Being “an overdetermined relational whole, an open field of relations, and indeterminate articulation” (Shanks & Tilley 1987a: 59), the “social” is therefore constituted in the practice of individual actors; moreover it is something which relates to historical contexts and cannot be perceived as an abstract universal pattern. An attempt to speak about past societies thus requires that we take into serious account the primacy of practical negotiation, strategy and power in the structuring of social reality (Barrett 1994).

According to “postmodernist” archaeological programmes, what is also of crucial significance is to recognize that the principles of diversity, dynamism, active negotiation, historical situatedness operate also in the case of present archaeological narratives. It is professed in particular, that no single history of the past could ever be written (Jenkins 1991); there is no past state of history “out there” which is represented by our data and is waiting for us to discover it (Barrett 1994: 169). The archaeologist constructs a past through his/her own interpretive endeavours and in this respect, there is no absolute against which to measure the accuracy of different narratives about the past:

“All we have are the contexts of our desires to know a past, positions from which we may then examine the material conditions which others, at other times and from other perspectives, also sought to understand” (Barrett 1994: 169).

It is precisely in the context of these debates that the plethora of “palatial-type” buildings and the evidence for “complexity” in the periods preceding the “palaces” began to be viewed as empirical factors challenging in profound fashion the validity of the very idea

of “civilization”. Encouraged by the analytical potential if not the very possibility of a new perspective in the discipline, several Minoan scholars have thus embarked upon the investigation of questions that were challenging the *problematique* of the discipline down to its very foundations:

“But if such terms such as the “state” are weakened and relativised ... what is the point of using such a term at all? Why do we have to introduce into the debate on prehistoric societies all the modernist connotations that a term such as “state” implies? Why do we have to start from the idea of the supposedly centralized administrative structure and then try to find terms to explore its fluidity and diversity? Why not write the history of the Minoan societies from below, as the multiple and diverse stories of Minoan societies?” (Hamilakis 2002b: 13).

In the past five years, the enterprise of establishing a “future” for the Minoan past that will not involve “evolution”, “civilization” and the “palace” has become even more concretised as well as collectivised. The most moderate voices amongst the proponents of this new trend urge for greater sensitivity towards empirical detail and a greater investment upon producing “fine-grained” interpretations (elevating in importance the “local”, the “particular”, the “idiosyncratic”); those in favour of a more “radicalist” attitude against the “evolutionary” legacy on the other hand, call for a thorough reshaping of the discipline. In more practical terms, this has resulted in the proliferation of “local-scale” and/or “synchronic” studies as well as the introduction of a wide array of new theoretical standpoints ranging from alternative forms of “social organization” and “power” to “phenomenology”, “embodiment”, “gender” and “agency”. Three volumes have come out, “*Labyrinth revisited*” (Hamilakis 2002a), “*Monuments of Minos*” (Driessen *et al.* 2002), “*The Emergence of Civilization revisited*” (Barrett & Halstead 2004), aiming at bringing together voices which challenge previous ideas about this particular segment of the Minoan past, anticipating at the same time that “the second century of the archaeology of Bronze Age Crete will be more exciting than the first” (Hamilakis 2002b: 22).

## **[1.2] Whither Minoan archaeology? Aims and outline of the thesis**

In the international archaeological forum, “postmodernist” trends began to develop since the 1980s as we already mentioned earlier, in Minoan archaeology however they are still very “fresh”, a development of the last few years. It is for this reason, after all, that Hamilakis speaks of the need “to situate” the discipline “within the broader archaeological discussion and debate, by entering into a dialogue with some of the ongoing discussions in mainstream archaeological theory and practice” (Hamilakis 2002b: 4). But how mainstream

and up-to-date is the “postmodernist” wave in the wider archaeological field at this particular historical conjuncture?

While Minoan archaeologists remain busy trying to introduce concepts like “diversity”, “fluidity”, “fragmentariness”, “subjectivity” into the study of the past and to convince the remaining sceptics that the discipline is finally discovering “something which is generally true about what it is to be human” (Barrett 1994: 164), within the wider archaeological forum, and for that matter the (even broader) scientific community, another significant shift of perspective has begun to take place, subjecting to rigorous scrutiny “postmodernism” itself (Carrithers 2005; Dobres & Robb 2000; Haraway 1991; Longino 1990; Wylie 1994). At the heart of this critique lies the confusion now surrounding the fundamental concept of “being social” (Johnson 2004: 100): if “sociality” is about “*inter-individuality*” then how are we to sustain such a notion for the past, when our current paradigmatic agenda sees *heteroglossia* and the construction of “difference” as the driving forces of the human condition (Joyce 2002)? How “social” on the other hand, can archaeological practice itself be when each one of us is encouraged to commit him/herself to the production of his/her own impressionistic versions of the past (Trigger 1989b: 777)? In view of these questions, is it not time to consider the possibility that the “postmodernist” paradigm causes more serious problems than those that allegedly it helps to resolve?

The aim of the present thesis is to investigate these questions/themes with reference to Minoan studies, and in particular the trajectory of intellectual development that Minoan scholars have decided to follow in recent years. Taking into full account the conceptual risks and dead-ends that the adherence to “postmodernist” principles entails, it cautions against the prospect of abandoning the idea of a “social” past as well as a “social” future for (Minoan) archaeology. More to the point, it seeks to demonstrate that even if we accept that the “palace” can no longer constitute the backbone of the discipline, the hope for establishing new, broadly relevant questions and themes should not be given up. As is usually the case in “moments of crisis” (be that a relationship or a discipline in crisis!), what may allow the precise definition of “the way ahead” is *critical retrospection* and *constructivist intention*. For this reason, the thesis embarks upon the investigation of two interrelated themes/sets of questions:

[a] First of all, it seeks to investigate and by extension, to provide a detailed *understanding* of how the “emergence of civilization” in Bronze Age Crete was *constructed* and subsequently *deconstructed*; it offers an insight into the logic behind the arguments put forward and the vocabularies established; it demonstrates on what basis certain elements of

the record were brought to the fore while others were suppressed and/or underrated. In short, *it digs the past of Minoan historiography* in an attempt to critically assess what aspects of this package of knowledge may help us bring the discipline forward, at a time when most of its intellectual achievements are questioned and/or rejected. By the end of this investigation, we will be in a position to demonstrate: (i) why it is crucial to maintain some sense of consensus within the confines of Minoan archaeology, (ii) how this consensus could be realized *in practice* and finally, (iii) how such a shift of (ontological as well as epistemological) perspective could lead us to the actual *reconstruction* of the discipline.

The structure of the first part of the thesis is the following: In **Chapters Two and Three**, we examine two interpretive schemata concerning the “palatial phenomenon” and its “emergence”, which have dominated archaeological work on the island of Crete for most of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Those have been termed the “endogenous/production-oriented” and the “exogenous/consumption-oriented” approach respectively. Emphasis is laid mainly upon explaining why the proponents of the “endogenous/production-oriented” approach *have chosen* to portray the “palace” as the product of long-term changes occurring mainly in the domain of land use and management while the proponents of the “exogenous/consumption-oriented” approach *preferred to stress* the role and contribution of exchange and consumption to our understanding of “civilization”. To do so, it has been considered necessary to begin our discussion by examining the principles (i.e. “endogenous/exogenous”, “production-oriented/consumption-oriented”) on the basis of which the general *problematique* and questions of the two approaches have been formulated (i.e. “What is the palace”? “What caused its emergence?”). The chapters proceed with the investigation of different “readings” of these principles and questions, as seen in the works of various scholars. In **Chapter Four**, the main points of agreement between the two approaches are identified. In the same chapter, we also explain why the foregoing points of agreement imply that the “endogenous/production-oriented” approach and the “exogenous/consumption-oriented” approach belong to the same paradigmatic tradition, i.e. the “evolutionary” tradition. Finally, the historical context that brought “evolutionism” into being is discussed in detail.

Having established how the concept of the “palace” was “created” and employed in archaeological narratives, we proceed by investigating a wide range of (old and new) empirical discoveries that are taken to challenge “evolutionary” interpretations of the “palatial phenomenon” and its emergence (**Chapter Five**); in **Chapter Six**, we seek to emphasize that these “fallacies” have essentially become *more “visible”* after the emergence of “postmodern” trends in (Minoan) archaeology. The historical conditions and processes

that lead to the emergence of the new paradigm are also appraised. After demonstrating that the deconstruction of the “palace” is yet another intellectual construct (closely associated with the rise to prominence of a new paradigm), discussion then continues with the critical assessment of the wider implications of this paradigmatic shift, first in relation to archaeological/scientific practice as a whole and in **Chapter Seven**, with regard to Minoan archaeology. Ultimately, what both those chapters (i.e. Chapter Six, Chapter Seven) aim to caution against is the current tendency to “*post-modernise*” the past (Bender 1993). What does this imply in more practical terms? Even though the discipline seems to be now moving well beyond “cultural evolutionism”, what has not yet been recognized is that the paradigmatic perspective we currently perceive as highly promising, may lead to problems of epistemological, ontological and above all, *ethical* nature. Once this final point is realized, then it becomes readily apparent that a future for the study of the (Minoan) past can be guaranteed, only if decide to commit ourselves to *the reinstating of epistemological dialogue and communication*. Chapter Seven concludes with the suggestion that in the case of Minoan archaeology, dialogue and communication with and about the “past” may be warranted only if we invest our energy less on *deconstruction* and more upon replacing the “palace” concept with a new question which is not only *innovative* but also *broadly relevant, intelligible and effective*.

[b] The second aim of the thesis is to attempt to assess how a new question would arise from but also work with reference to empirical data sets, which were inextricably connected with the “palace” question for several decades. In **Chapters Eight and Nine** we focus upon the old and trite distinction between the “palatial” and “prepalatial” period(s) and attempt to explore alternative conceptual/terminological means for talking and writing about the two chronological horizons. Discussion proceeds with the investigation of the following issues:

-If the terms “palatial”/“prepalatial” no longer seem to enhance but rather undermine our understanding and appreciation of Minoan (pre)history, then what could take their place? Moreover, if this distinction (i.e. “palatial”/“prepalatial”) supports (conceptually as well as methodologically) the very idea/question of the “emergence of civilization”, then how would our redefinition of the two periods contribute to the formation of a new question?

-How would a change of question affect our terminology as well analytical methodology? In the prospect of a new question that seeks to move beyond the “palace” and the “prepalatial”/“palatial” distinction, how and where would we first of all, draw the temporal/chronological boundaries of our analytical enterprise? On the other hand, what would constitute our spatial unit of analysis? Would we be still examining Crete as a whole

or as a plethora of *locales* (i.e. Mesara, East Crete etc.)? Could it be the case that the island ought to be integrated into an even larger (spatio-temporal) system of analysis?

-After having established our (general) question as well as the area(s)/period(s) to which this question is relevant, we *then* turn to what may be broadly perceived as “detail” and in particular, to the examination of two contexts of practice, i.e. cemeteries and settlements (Chapters Ten and Eleven). In particular, we will attempt to demonstrate how the posing of a new question can influence the ways whereby we have so far examined these social *loci* as well as their role and contribution to our understanding of this particular segment of Cretan (pre)history. Finally in Chapter Twelve, we revisit the so-called “palaces”: to argue (as we did earlier) that the very “existence” (or not) of these complexes is really a matter of (paradigmatic) perspective, then what also needs to be elucidated is how these complexes could be approached and understood when our general archaeological question is rephrased. A summary of the conclusions drawn by analysis is also provided along with a brief assessment of their implications and prospects.

## Constructing the “palace” question: The “*endogenous/production-oriented*” approach

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### [2.1] Principles for understanding (past) human life

What we might term the “endogenous/production-oriented” approach has looked particularly towards biology as the science providing the closest and most compatible model for social sciences (including archaeology), and has sought to understand humans in terms of the function and structure of all other living organisms. The tendency to express a naturalistic viewpoint has been taken to imply that human societies are not only “a part of” nature but also “apart from” it (Preucel & Hodder 1996: 24). To live and operate in a manner similar to that of all other living organisms meant that humans ought to behave in such a way as to perpetuate their kind by responding to and by modifying features of their physical environment (Boughey 1971). This continuous interaction with the environment has been explained as a process of *adaptation* by which organisms and/or groups of organisms, through responsive changes in their states, structures and/or compositions, maintain a state of equilibrium in and among themselves in the face of both short-term environmental fluctuations and long-term changes (Rappaport 1971: 60).

According to White, non-human species attempt to develop a life-sustaining behaviour through the employment of their bodies (muscles, organs etc), in other words, by *somatic* means (White 1959: 8). Humans do that as well but they also create this *extrasomatic* tradition that we call *culture* in order to sustain and perpetuate their existence and give it full expression. Culture is therefore taken to constitute an *extrasomatic* mechanism employed by human beings in order to make their life secure and continuous



(White 1959: 8) [Fig. 2.1]. Such a mode of understanding implies at the same time that culture has an *endogenous* character, since it is closely related to (if not thoroughly dependent upon) the nature of the environment to which human beings try to adapt (Binford 1962)<sup>1</sup> [Fig. 2.2]:

Humans — [Culture] → Environment

Fig. 2.1 Culture as an “extrasomatic means of adaptation”.

Humans ← [Culture] — Environment

Fig. 2.2 The *endogenous* character of culture.

But what exactly would the analytical implications of this dual definition of culture be for the approach in question? According to Renfrew, the first task of an archaeologist must be to define the culture under study both in space and time; only when the culture has been “identified, defined and described is there any hope of “taking it apart” to try to reach some understanding of how it came to have its own particular form” (Renfrew 1972: 17). In this respect, the notion that culture has an *endogenous* character (i.e. emerging as a response to specific environmental conditions) may prove very useful, because it brings us a step closer to defining the *boundaries* of our unit of analysis (Renfrew 1972: 17).

In order to achieve this, the “endogenous-production oriented” approach seeks to identify the broader unit within which culture develops and operates. This unit is the “ecosystem”<sup>2</sup>; a unit of adaptation, as one might call it. This unit is taken to represent *the largest and most inclusive system*, and thus the most appropriate starting point for any form of analysis (Preucel & Hodder 1996: 24). Culture and its sub-systems on the other hand, are seen as the functional *components* of this wider entity. Such forms of analytical/spatial distinction have been used extensively in Aegean Bronze Age studies (Wagstaff 1987) and can be seen to operate in the following cases: (i) the distinction made between broad environmental zones such as the North (i.e. the “large basins of Northern Greece”) and South of Greece (“the heterogeneous terrain of Southern Greece”) (Halstead 1994: 196), (ii) between possible sub-units of broader environmental zones (i.e. “island communities” vs.

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<sup>1</sup> It is for this reason that Binford has suggested jokingly that we would not for example expect to find large quantities of fishhooks among the archaeological remains from the Kalahari desert (Binford 1962: 218)!

<sup>2</sup> The term “ecosystem” was originally proposed by the plant ecologist A.G. Tansley to refer to all the plant and animal organisms (including humans) living together in a habitat (Tansley 1935). At the heart of his concept lies the utility of systems as a framework for analysis in which it is possible to combine human and environmental phenomena (Unwin 1992: 128). In later years, this integration between people and environments in a systems framework found its clearest expression in the development of the “ecosystem” concept by biologists (Odum 1963) and geographers (Stoddart 1986).

“mainland communities”), (iii) between smaller areas/regions within these environmental sub-units (i.e. the further breaking down of the Southern Aegean “seascape” into “micro-entities” such as Crete, the Cyclades, the Dodecanese etc). Site catchment analysis (Higgs & Vita-Finzi 1972; Vita-Finzi & Higgs 1970) could also be added to this list of examples, since it constitutes another method used extensively by the “endogenous/ production-oriented” approach. This technique involves the determination of available resources in the vicinity of an archaeological site and their comparison with data gathered from excavation and/or survey:

“The selection of survey zones is made on the basis of the principals’ intimate knowledge of the contemporary countryside and ancient resources that deal with topography. Factors which structured the choice of areas to investigate included location of best agricultural land, copious water, defensibility, good drainage and good possibilities for communication” (Kardulias 1994: 11).

So far, we have discussed the emphasis laid by the “endogenous/production-oriented” approach on the premise that culture has an *endogenous* character. In what follows, we are going to explain what we mean by the term *production-oriented*. As already mentioned at the beginning of this section, the first principle set by the approach in question is that people produce culture (and for that matter *material culture*) in order to survive (White 1959). In White’s words, culture might well be defined in this sense, as the way in which a given social unit “makes use of its particular technology in the various life-sustaining processes: subsistence, protection from the elements, defence from enemies, combating disease etc” (White 1959: 19). (Material) culture is thus taken to be created (i.e. outcome) and employed (i.e. means) by people in order to satisfy *real* needs (i.e. survival). If however people’s main concern is to guarantee survival then it follows that their main intention in life would be to produce *as much as they need* or rather as much as is required for them to survive (Herzfeld 2001: 112-7; Sahlins 1972: 5; Turner & Rojek 2001: 32-35):

“We should entertain the empirical possibility that hunters are in business for their health, a finite objective, and that bow and arrow are adequate to that end” (Sahlins 1972: 5).

To produce what is needed and to simply need what is produced (Sahlins 1972: 82-83) implies an intention of, or rather a tendency towards *autarky*. As Sahlins rightly points out, it is better to use the terms “intention” and “tendency” here, because one has to bear in mind that autarky cannot be a real condition; put simply, people cannot achieve (and/or sustain) self-sufficiency as individuals (Sahlins 1972). Every individual living solely by his/her own means sooner or later discovers he/she has not the means to live. As Marx had once advocated the notion of an “individual and isolated hunter and fisherman... belongs to

the unimaginative conceits of the eighteenth-century Robinsonades”, in other words “utopias on the lines of Defoe’s Robinson Crusoe” (Marx 1973: 82). In fact, Marx claims, the more deeply we go back into history, “the more does the individual... appear as dependent, as belonging to a greater whole” (Marx 1973: 84). Rather than “failing” to survive and in order to cope with the multiplicity of everyday tasks, people thus construct relationships, they find ways to cooperate with other people. By doing so, people create “cooperative units” (Marx 1973; Sahlins 1972) and it is precisely through the construction of these smaller and greater “cooperative units” that human societies are established (Marx 1973: 82-84).

According to the majority of scholars, the most basic (if not the most reliable) cooperative unit is the “household”<sup>3</sup>. What is important is that the “household” contains within itself the division of labour required for the conduct of everyday tasks because “from the beginning and at the minimum” (Sahlins 1972: 78-79) a household emerges from the union of an adult male and an adult female. Hence, from its inception the “household” combines the two essential elements of (re)production:

“The first division of labour is that between a man and a woman for the propagation of children” (Marx & Engels 1964: 42)

“Division of labour by sex is not the only economic specialization known to primitive societies. But it is the *dominant* form, transcending all other specialization in this sense: that the normal activities of any adult man, taken in conjunction with the normal activities of an adult woman, practically exhausts the customary works of society. Therefore marriage, among other things, establishes a generalized...group constituted to produce the local conception of livelihood” (Sahlins 1972: 79).

It becomes evident from the above that the significance of the “household” is, in a sense, twofold. Not only does it constitute the most basic form of labour division (i.e. man-woman) but also guarantees the reproduction of its “own” labour force (i.e. man-woman-child). Both these elemental features of the “household” unit secure self-sufficiency for its members. The “household” is the only viable means for achieving autarky. This autarky however, is a condition which involves the *entire* “household” unit and not its individual members. In short, whereas individual autarky is impossible, “household” autarky can be feasible (Sahlins 1972).

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<sup>3</sup> For a detailed discussion of the term in archaeology/anthropology see Arnould & Netting 1982; Beaudry 1989; Bender 1967; Blanton 1994; Bloch 1995; Byrd 1994; Carsten & Hugh-Jones 1995; Deetz 1982; Flannery 1972; Flannery & Winter 1976; Goody 1958; Hodder 1990; Kent 1990; Netting 1989; Netting *et al.* 1984; Sahlins 1972; Wilk & Ashmore 1988; Wilk & Rathje 1982; Yanagisako 1979).

We undertook this detailed discussion of culture, needs and the “household” in order to demonstrate how the “endogenous/production-oriented” approach addresses once again the issue of *boundaries*, and in particular of how we define the boundaries of our analytical units. We already mentioned earlier that the largest unit of analysis advanced by this particular conceptual schema is the *ecosystem* and we have now also demonstrated that the smallest unit (and in this case also analytical unit) is the *household*.

In seeking to illuminate how the two units interact and how their interaction develops through time, Renfrew has suggested that this is a relationship that ought to be perceived not only as a continuous process of adaptation but also of *insulation* (Renfrew 1972: 11). By the term “insulation”, Renfrew referred to people’s attempts to create a self-made environment, fashioned in such a way as to insulate themselves “from the primeval environment of nature alone” (Renfrew 1972: 11). These processes of insulation are thought to have resulted in significant conjunctures in the history of mankind that are termed *revolutions*, and the *agricultural revolution* is taken to be the first one of those.

Why is the inception of farming to be perceived as “revolutionary”? An (implicit and/or explicit) assumption shared by the proponents of the “endogenous/production-oriented” approach is that the most important thing people need to do so as not to die is to eat<sup>4</sup>. Subsistence is therefore taken to be the most basic of all necessities; it has a “biological survival value” (Piddington 1957: 36) and it is for this reason that Malinowski had once claimed that “man does not live by bread alone, but primarily by bread” (Malinowski 1944: 72). In view of the above, it now becomes clear why a surplus of emphasis is laid upon subsistence and why agriculture is painted as the first (revolutionary) step towards insulation. With the inception of agriculture, i.e. by residing permanently in certain areas and by cultivating/producing food all year round, it is assumed that people would have managed to overcome barriers of nature (Sahlins 1972: 5). Agriculture and its products would have constituted the first controllable economic resource, only partially substituted by the wild (i.e. hunting):

“Capital in the form of human labour was being sunk into the land. Its expenditure bound men to the soil” (Childe 1951: 89-90).

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<sup>4</sup> A “hierarchy of needs” was outlined in the 1940s by the psychologist A.H. Maslow, who proposed in his famous article “A theory in human motivation” that human needs are hierarchically organized with subsistence (food and drink) being the most important of all (Maslow 1943).

Broadly speaking, the period we examine belongs to this developmental stage and for this reason, Bronze Age societies are commonly referred to as primarily “agrarian”<sup>5</sup>. This premise was introduced by Max Weber (Weber 1976) and subsequently formalised by the Cambridge School of ancient historians, particularly Moses Finley (Finley 1951; 1973). As Keith Hopkins once noted:

“Over the last twenty years or so a new orthodoxy has become dominant... [It] stresses the cellular self-sufficiency of the ancient economy; each farm, each district, each region grew and made nearly all that was needed. The main basis of the wealth was agriculture. The vast majority of the population in most areas of the ancient world was primarily occupied with growing food” (Hopkins 1983: xi).

That agriculture should be viewed as the most important economic resource of prehistoric times was not merely the result of the fact that it contributed to the satisfaction of basic biological needs but also because it did so *within an increasingly competitive context of natural scarcity* (Turner & Rojek 2001: 32). In times of risk (environmental and/or social), the impact that the latter would have to available subsistence resources would automatically lead to a situation where not everyone’s needs could be easily satisfied (Turner & Rojek 2001: 92-93). On the other hand, the fear of dealing with such adverse (environmental and/or social) circumstances, may also urge people to resort to risk buffering mechanisms such as the accumulation of some sort of surplus in order to be in a position to deal with shortage at the time that it occurs. Eventually, the fear or actual experience of shortage is taken to lead to a situation therefore where what satisfies the needs of certain groups may be denying this opportunity to others. Under such conditions a situation of conflict is very likely to occur.

That the proponents of the “endogenous/production-oriented” approach attribute a surplus of social (hence analytical) value to agricultural resources stems therefore not only from the fact that the latter can guarantee biological survival but also because of the fear as well as the effects brought by a possible condition of scarcity of such resources. It is for this reason essentially, that the “endogenous/production-oriented” approach associates agriculture not only with “power” (i.e. asymmetrical relations) but also with the emergence of “centralized authority” (Brumfiel 1980; Brumfiel & Earle 1987: 2-3; Earle 1978; Fried 1960; Halstead & O’Shea 1982; Johnson 1973; Polanyi 1980: 48-49; Service 1962, 1975; Wittfogel 1957; Wright & Johnson 1975). In particular, it is argued that asymmetrical relations (i.e. “power”) develop because of the shortage of means to satisfy commonly held ends and subsequently lead to control of land, production, surplus and/or labour by fewer

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<sup>5</sup> Until the advent of the so-called “industrial revolution”, societies are taken to be “agrarian” in character (Ashton 1948; Fairchild 1923; Flinn 1966; Hudson 1992; Jacob 1997; Jones 1974).

groups of people (i.e. élites). According to Polanyi (1980), this transformation marks the transition from relations based on and dictated by *reciprocity* to relations based on and dictated by *redistribution*. “Reciprocity” works mainly with regard to “the sexual organization of society, that is family and kinship” whereas “redistribution” is mainly effective “in respect to all those who are under a common chief and is, therefore, of a territorial character” (Polanyi 1980: 47). For the proponents of the “endogenous/production-oriented” approach “redistribution” marks a new form of “social organization”, a new stage of development which always follows “reciprocity”, or rather social formations organized upon the principle of “reciprocity”.

This final point is of particular importance and indicative of this importance is that the establishment of “centralized authority” in Crete during the Middle Bronze Age automatically has been taken to derive from the unequal distribution of agricultural resources and subsequently, a shift from “reciprocity” to “redistribution”. For the models belonging to the conceptual schema under examination, of central analytical concern has therefore been to demonstrate that the Minoan “palaces” presented evidence for accumulation of surplus that was mainly of a subsistence nature.

## [2.2] What is a “palace”?

“...the growth of the “palaces” has to be seen in the first instance as the development of “redistribution” centres for *subsistence commodities*, controlled by a well-defined social hierarchy”  
(Renfrew 1972: 297)

Halstead once suggested that it would be hard to think of a model of “palatial” origins which does not (explicitly or implicitly) presuppose some form of centralized control over agricultural production, “whether for benign “redistribution”, occasional risk buffering or élite-oriented mobilisation” (Halstead 1997: 105). For many scholars, this definitely seems to be the case in Crete since it has been repeatedly suggested that one of the most striking features of a “palace” is the amount of space it devotes to the storage of foodstuffs (Branigan 1987; Christakis 2004; Graham 1962: 129-37; Halstead 1981; Moody 1987; Renfrew 1972: 291-96):

“On a purely regional basis, the early “palaces” functioned both as places for the storage of surplus foodstuffs, and as organizers and facilitators of the exchange of foodstuffs and other goods” (Palaima 1990).

From time to time, several attempts have been made to calculate in a more precise fashion what percentage of the “palatial” compounds constituted storage areas for foodstuffs, albeit with different results (Christakis 2004: 307; Graham 1962: 129; Halstead 1981: 203; Moody 1987: 236-37). Despite the differences between these estimates, there remains the consensus that storage facilities were too *extensive* to have been designed just to provision the local élite (residents?) and their retainers (Halstead 1981: 201). The possibility of associating this surplus with a larger number of people has therefore been put forward as a likely interpretive scenario.

This scenario has been professed to find further support in various sets of empirical evidence. Reference has been made first of all by several scholars upon the information deriving from survey projects, since the latter seems to be pointing towards population increase and settlement nucleation during the period of the emergence and subsequent development of the “palaces” (Driessen 2001; Watrous 1994; Whitelaw 2001). “Territories” have been “reconstructed” through this type of approach, by taking archaeological site distributions to represent rank-size distributions of centres and by looking for “naturally” emerging distribution patterns of large (dominant) and smaller (subordinate) sites, from which spheres of political influence could be ultimately deduced (Cherry 1987: 154). Each “palace” is therefore taken to correspond with a “territory” [Plate 2.1]: for instance, Knossos, a site which has presented a steady growth throughout the Neolithic and the Bronze Age (Evans 1971; Hood 1958; Hood & Smyth 1981; Panagiotakis 2004; Whitelaw 2001, 2004a, 2004b), reaches its greatest size (*ca.* 75-112 ha.) during “palatial” times (Hood & Smyth 1981: 8-10; Whitelaw 2004b: Figs. 10.7, 10.8). A similar phenomenon of population increase/concentration is suggested for the Malia region (Müller 1991, 1992, 1996, 1998) while a population increase has also been recognized in the area around Phaistos, in the Western Mesara (Watrous 1994; Watrous *et al.* 1993). It is important to note here that during the same period, the site of Phaistos is reported to measure “at least 0.90 x 1.0km in size” (Watrous 1994: 736).

On the other hand, the writing systems of Linear A and (later) Linear B have been taken to provide some further insights into the purpose of “palatial stores”. Among the ideograms most commonly appearing on the tablets are those for wheat, oil, barley, olives and figs, which occur in that order already on the Linear A tablets of Aghia Triada (Renfrew 1972: 296). On the other hand, wheat, oil, olives and figs are already seen in the hieroglyphic inscriptions of the Middle Minoan period. On the Knossos F series several foodstuffs occur in a constant order: barley, figs, flour, oil, wine, honey (Palmer 1963: 237). According to Renfrew, all the above suggest that the tablets actually document what the large food

reserves in the “palatial” compounds should lead us to suspect in the first place; namely that the “palace” constituted the pivot of “a massive redistributive operation” (Renfrew 1972: 296-97) involving mainly subsistence goods but also other products (Olivier 1989; Weingarten 1990, 1994).

However, by acknowledging, as suggested earlier [*see* Section 2.1], that the main human concern is the sustenance of autarky and self-sufficiency (especially as far as subsistence is concerned), how do we then end up with a situation where people seem to depend for survival on a central mechanism? On what basis have these formal institutions with effective power emerged at this particular area and in this particular point in time? More specifically, how is it that leadership (of centralized nature) now plays a dominant role in the organization of agricultural production?

### **[2.3] “The Emergence of Civilization”: The Early Bronze Age period in the Aegean**

In the 1970s, Colin Renfrew attempted to explain the emergence of “social complexity” in the Southern Aegean through his idea of “Mediterranean polyculture”, a concept which gave pride of place, within an array of potential technological, economic and social factors, to the introduction and systematic exploitation of olive and grapevine in the area during the early stages of the Bronze Age (Renfrew 1972: 480).

According to Renfrew, the intensive exploitation of this new spectrum of food plants (notably tree crops) allowed the cultivation of marginal lands. This was taken to have led not only to a dramatic increase in the carrying capacity of the land, but also to a population rise, especially in areas with limited fertile land such as the Southern Aegean (Renfrew 1972: 305). Given the character/nature of the terrain in Southern Greece, a single village in the region would now have the potential of being within reach of both arable land and of the hill slopes suitable for olive cultivation and viticulture. What was also taken to be important for the village economy, in this respect, is that olive and vine would not compete for land with cereals and would thus have required labour at periods other than those critical for agriculture (Renfrew 1972: 481-2). Since the highly diverse landscape of Southern Greece appears to favour the cultivation of different crops in different areas (and/or times), it should not come as a surprise that, at a certain point, agricultural activities would diversify and result in local specialization (Renfrew 1972: 305-6). According to Renfrew, diversification and specialization in agricultural production would prompt and pose the need for an authority to organize the exchange of different products from specialized units. This central



managerial authority, apparently a product of the need for “redistribution” (Polanyi 1980; Sahlins 1958, 1972; Service 1962), is what eventually became the Minoan/Mycenaean “palatial” authority (Renfrew 1972: 307). The scenario that centralized redistributive hierarchy evolved as an efficient means to distribute subsistence goods among the locally specialized communities also seems to suggest that Bronze Age élites were in a way responsible for the general well-being of their subjects (Halstead 1988: 523).

In the 1980s, the emphasis previously laid on the managerial skills of Bronze Age élites came into dispute. Several researchers, notably Gilman (Gilman 1981, 1991) and Gamble (Gamble 1979, 1981, 1982), offered an alternative interpretation for the emergence of “social complexity” in Bronze Age Aegean by attributing an exploitative and/or coercive role to the élites. This contrasted with the managerial role for the common good, advocated by Renfrew.

Gilman begins his argument by accepting the “Mediterranean polyculture” hypothesis proposed by Renfrew but suggests that olive cultivation and viticulture would have undoubtedly constituted a “capital-intensive subsistence technology” (Gilman 1981: 5) since tree crops would have required a considerable amount of labour before they could be actually brought to crop:

“Vine cuttings do not yield fruit until three years after they have been planted but produce for generations thereafter. Olives do not yield fruit for ten to fifteen years after planting, come into full production some twenty years later, and continue to give fruit for centuries. In the meantime, the trees must be pruned, the ground around them plowed. In other words, the farmer must invest a lot of work before he (or his heir) [sic] receives a return” (Gilman 1981: 6).

This large investment of work in long-lasting assets, which could not easily be relinquished, would have a pronounced caging effect upon the communities (Childe 1951: 90). In other words, local populations would now be bounded to their land (Gilman 1981: 5). On the other hand, the invaluable assets of land would have to be somehow protected so that future production could be secured. A hereditary ruling élite would thus have gradually emerged out of this necessity, seizing the opportunity to exploit this protection of farmers (Halstead 1988: 523):

“The investment of labour to ensure future production would have to be defended. But the value of these same assets would dampen the potential for social friction, so that it would be difficult to check the aspirations of those to whom the defense had been entrusted. In the face of a protector whose exactions seem excessive, the household’s choices are limited...and over the long term consistently favour the protectors. In the end there would be arisen a permanent ruling class” (Gilman 1981: 7).

Advancing a similar case for the area/period in question, based on survey results from the small Cycladic island of Melos, Clive Gamble discusses the emergence of leadership in the Bronze Age (once again) from the perspective of subsistence organization (Gamble 1979, 1982). According to his model, significant shifts in settlement pattern are attested in Melos but also in the broader Southern Aegean region at the onset of the Middle Bronze Age. They are marked by the transition from a pattern of small dispersed farmsteads/settlements to settlement nucleation and aggregation of population. For Gamble, a major consequence of this transformation would have been the change in use and management of agricultural resources. In particular, this is suggested because the integration of dispersed self-sufficient villages into a wider social unit would have required increased labour costs in subsistence agriculture and hence would have rendered self-sufficiency unattainable:

“...an increase in travel time to agricultural plots and a possible fragmentation in land holding would require greater labour inputs, if households were to maintain the same subsistence patterns. We might expect therefore a change in the management of agricultural resources in order to cope with this circumstance and ensure the strategic goal of household and community self-sufficiency in food items” (Gamble 1982: 101).

This shift could also have reflected a dependent relationship between a minor and major partner in a system of alliance (Gamble 1982: 103). An essential component of this model is the dominant role that a potential leadership could now play in the organization of agricultural production. To begin with, élite groups might have been those who forced or persuaded self-sufficient farmers to live in large settlements where a diversified subsistence pattern was difficult. These very same leading groups might have aimed to encourage (and maintain) a regime of specialization and surplus production, not only in order to prevent the subsistence self-sufficiency of households, but also in order to force the latter to continue to look to the center for the coverage of their needs. In return, élite groups would also have provided local populations “with a variety of benefits such as high status, ceremonial participation and luxury items” (Gamble 1979: 131). Under these newly established conditions, (previously self-sufficient) farmers would end up depending on the central authority for their survival:

“Once villages became dependent for a part of their subsistence needs on the redistributive services of a central place, then the option of returning to their former largely autonomous status would be less attractive” (Gamble 1979: 131).

An alternative interpretation for the emergence of centralized authority in the Aegean has been offered by Paul Halstead and is more generally known as the “social

storage” hypothesis (Halstead 1981, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1992; Halstead & O’Shea 1982; O’Shea 1981). This concept presupposes that some inherent problems and risks in agricultural production within the heterogeneous environment of the Southern Aegean are always present as an ecological factor. Consequently, the development of various risk buffering strategies would have been a common social response to these risks (Halstead 1990).

Risk buffering mechanisms may range from direct storage to different forms of indirect storage (Halstead 1988: 524). The latter are essential since the primitive storage technologies of the Bronze Age would probably make this asset impractical and certainly cannot insure against a run of bad years (Halstead 1988: 524). There are two main types of indirect storage, “indirect storage in livestock” and “social storage through exchange or feasting” (Halstead 1997: 106):

“Surplus grain can be fed to livestock and so converted to animal food -and in this respect the sheep is particularly valuable because of the way it stores fat and because it provides a fleece every year in return for delaying slaughter (Halstead 1987); alternatively, surplus grain can be given to needy neighbours in the expectation that help will be reciprocated when circumstances are reversed” (Halstead 1988: 524)

Social storage transactions may have operated on trust within small social groups, but on a larger scale, food could also be exchanged against more durable tokens (craft goods or even labour), whose possession may have conferred prestige (Halstead 1988: 525). These tokens could be reconverted for food in times of need and so “provide a vehicle for vital exchanges of food between a far wider network of communities than can be maintained by direct, reciprocal relationships alone” (Halstead 1981: 192; O’Shea 1981). Here Halstead also stresses the possibility that the use of craft goods as exchange “tokens” could have been the driving force behind the unusual growth of craft skills attested in the Southern Aegean record during the Early Bronze Age (Halstead 1988: 525)

Over a long period of time in this heterogeneous environment, some groups would have been “net lenders” and others “net borrowers” (Halstead 1988: 525). In other words, the continuous pressure of failed harvests, and the extensive use of tokens in transactions would have permitted the sustained accumulation/manipulation of wealth and power by certain groups; for instance, successful farmers could have reinforced their (already advantageous) position by making favourable marriage settlements, acquiring rights to labour and so on. Their status could have been further strengthened by the power of persuasion through their apparent capacity to mediate with supernatural forces in order to stop harvest failure. From

this, it becomes evident that mechanisms of social storage, in a heterogeneous environment, such as the Southern Aegean, are likely to lead to increasing inequalities of wealth, status and power. Thus, in seeking to ensure a stable food supply (because unsuccessful farmers preferring equality to subjugation would probably have starved), early farmers paved the way for the unequal access to resources which is the hallmark of social stratification (Halstead 1989: 80).

#### **[2.4] The “emergence of civilization”: The Early Bronze Age period in Crete**

The morphology, soils and climate of Crete bear strong similarities to those of the broader Southern Aegean region and as such, they constitute the essential backdrop for all models belonging to the “endogenous-production oriented” approach. The island was initially an uneven limestone surface “which suffered severe and variable geological changes (fractures, dislocations, upheavals and subsidences)” (Hamilakis 1995: 70); these changes have given Crete the extremely diverse topography we see today:

“Even within very small distances, the landscape changes dramatically and includes a great variety of local micro-environments. Areas of relative geographical and environmental homogeneity are few and of limited extent” (Hamilakis 1995: 70).

Predominantly mountainous, with more than 50% of the land lying over 500m, the island is by far the largest Greek island and the fifth largest in the Mediterranean, being about 250km long, with a breadth that varies from 12,5km at the isthmus of Ierapetra to 58km across the Psiloriti massif (Cadogan 1992: 31). The mountain massifs divide Crete into four main regions, which correspond more or less to the present four νομοί (i.e. prefectures). According to Cadogan, these are “the far west”, with the White Mountains; “the near west” with Psiloritis; “the centre”, between Psiloritis and the Lasithi mountains; and “the east”, which may be divided into the Lassithi massif with its hinterland (sometimes seen as with the centre, sometimes as with the far east) and “the far east” beyond the Isthmus of Ierapetra and the Thryphiti mountains (Cadogan 1992: 31). Given that the mountains dominate the scenery, it is usually suggested that there are only few areas on the island that may be agriculturally exploited<sup>6</sup>.

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<sup>6</sup> Cretan soils are generally considered poor. Agronomists have stated that only 7% of the island is of prime agricultural importance and 2/3 of this is in the Mesara region (Allbaugh 1957: 58).

The largest plain is the Mesara in the centre of the island on the south coast (48km long and 9-10km wide). Smaller alluvial plains include those of Khania as well as the coastal plains of Rethymnon (around the modern town), Kissamos, Herakleion (inland from the modern town and close to the site of Knossos) and Siteia (Branigan 1988: 8). There are also small high plains in the mountain massifs of which the best known are those of Lassithi (in the east part of the island, altitude *ca* 850m)<sup>7</sup>, Nidha in the Psiloritis range (in central Crete, altitude *ca* 1390m), Omalos in the White Mountains (in West Crete, altitude *ca* 1050m), Askifou in the White Mountains (altitude *ca* 670m), Katharo in the Dikti mountains (East Crete, altitude *ca* 1100m) and Handras-Ziros (in the Siteia district of East Crete, altitude *ca* 500 m) (Hamilakis 1995: 71). Between 600 and 1400m altitude, these plateaux constitute a special feature of the Cretan landscape and may actually present several important advantages from an agricultural point of view<sup>8</sup>.

In terms of climatic conditions it could be said that generally speaking, Crete has a Mediterranean climate; however, its shape, insularity and diverse topography result in rather idiosyncratic climatic conditions and a great climatic variability (Hamilakis 1995: 72). The year on the island is sharply divided; on the one hand, the rainy season of winter, “warm and seldom frosty” (Rackham & Moody 1996: 33) is the time of activity and growth, whereas on the other, the dry season of summer is “hot, arid, relentlessly sunny and is the dead season” (Rackham & Moody 1996: 33). This rough distinction more or less describes a typical season on the island but one needs to bear in mind that very few seasons are typical. Crete therefore exhibits large climatic variations from place to place as seems to be the case also in other areas of the Southern Aegean<sup>9</sup> (Halstead 1994). The environmental conditions on the island of Crete serve as a point of departure for the development of Renfrew’s “subsistence-”redistribution”” model, Halstead’s “social storage” hypothesis and in more implicit fashion, the interpretations proposed by Gilman and Gamble [see Section 2.3]. Although these conditions are seen as the pivot for the emergence of “social complexity”, several important empirical observations are also being employed by all aforementioned interpretive schemata

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<sup>7</sup> The Lassithi plain is the biggest flat area in the island and is situated 850m higher up in the mountains. It is about 5 by 5km and is surrounded on all sides by higher mountains (Rackham & Moody 1996: 27).

<sup>8</sup> By being in the mountains, these plateaux enjoy a higher precipitation than the lowland areas (Hamilakis 1995: 70). They also contain deep soil which is the product of erosion from the surrounding hills and of the weathering of the calcareous massif (Hamilakis 1995: 70-71). Also human settlements around these plateaux (especially at their edges) offer the advantage of exploiting different ecological zones (Hamilakis 1995: 71).

<sup>9</sup> “In the NW lowland areas the mean temperature does not usually exceed 25° C in summer and 10-11° C in winter. In the mountain areas of central Crete (Anogeia, *ca* 800 m altitude), where data are available, these figures are 20-22° C and 6-9° C respectively (Mariopoulos 1938: 20). In the SE areas like Ierapetra, temperatures may rise to 40-42° C or more in summer but they very rarely drop below 10° C in winter” (Hamilakis 1995: 72-73).

in order to demonstrate how the first signs of social differentiation are reflected on the archaeological record.

The first important observation made by several scholars is that the Early Bronze Age in Crete is not only a period of settlement expansion but also a time when a (gradual?) tendency towards settlement nucleation is attested (Branigan 2001; Driessen 2001: 59; Shaw 2003; Watrous 1994: 701; Whitelaw 2001: 140, 2004a, 2004b). What we see however is not simply a development of smaller and larger sites (Whitelaw 1983: 337-339); more importantly, it has been argued that large sites seem to suggest considerably more elaborate forms of social organization (Whitelaw 1983, 2001, 2004a). Examples here include Mochlos (Whitelaw 1983: 337-339, 2004a: 236-242, Fig. 13.2), Knossos (Hood & Smyth 1981; Shaw 2003: 239-241; Warren 2004; Whitelaw 1983: 337-339; 2004a: 243, 2004b: 153, Fig. 10.7), Phaistos (Driessen 2001: 57; Shaw 2003: 239-241; Watrous *et. al.* 1993: 224-225) and Malia (Driessen 2001: 57, 60, Fig. 4.2; van Effenterre 1980: 83-94; Pelon 1989, 1991, 1993; Poursat & Darque 1993; Shaw 2003: 239-241; Whitelaw 1983: 338-339, 2004a: Fig. 13.3); what is also emphasized with respect to the above observations is that most of those larger-scale sites develop into “palatial” centers in the following period (Shaw 2003; Watrous 1994; Whitelaw 1983, 2004a).

Another feature of the Early Minoan period which has been taken to reflect social inequality derives from the burial record. The cemeteries of Mochlos (Seager 1909, 1912; Soles 1992a, 1992b) Gournia (Boyd-Hawes 1905a, b, Boyd-Hawes *et al.* 1908; Hall 1905, 1912; Soles 1979, 1992a) Malia (Chapouthier & Charbonneaux 1928; Chapouthier & Demargne 1942; Chapouthier *et al.* 1962; Chapouthier & Joly 1936; Demargne 1945; Deshayes & Dessenne 1959; van Effenterre 1980; van Effenterre & van Effenterre 1976) as well as several Mesaran tholos tombs (Branigan 1970, 1993; Xanthoudides 1924), have yielded evidence which for many scholars have been taken to suggest the emergence of social ranking (Soles 1988, 1992a). Those tombs present a wide array of imported materials and goods (such as gold and silver jewellery, fine ceramic forms and copper artefacts) as well as a considerable elaboration in their architectural form. For Halstead in particular, this “wealth” has to be explained as the result of the exchange of food against more durable tokens, whose possession may confer prestige (Halstead 1981: 192). We mentioned earlier that according to Halstead, eventually these networks could have been predisposed “to simplification through centralization at a sufficiently intensive level” and that his notion of “social storage” could ultimately constitute a factor “favouring the concentration of population or the development of centralized “redistribution” under a managerial élite” (Halstead 1981: 192).

## **[2.5] Conclusions**

The “endogenous/production-oriented” approach establishes an understanding of society on the basis of the natural resources available to this society and the manner in which these resources are distributed amongst the members of society. Changes in the type, degree of availability and management of agricultural resources (in terms of availability and/or type) affect the ways whereby the former are distributed within the social unit. Although people aim towards autarky, this process of change leads -gradually and inevitably- to more centralized forms of control over resources and by extension, to the emergence and development of hierarchical societies [see Section 2.1]. The “palaces” represent a conjuncture at which the distinctive elements of inequality began to crystallize in Minoan Crete. In particular, it is suggested that the large concentrations of agricultural surplus in the “palatial” edifices testify the existence of some form of centralized authority [see Section 2.2]. A wide array of interpretations has been put forward in order to shed light on the processes that lead to the concentration of surplus in the hands of the few. In most models, emphasis appears to be laid on the environmental conditions of the wider Southern Aegean ecosystem during the Early Bronze Age period and on the ways those may have affected the living conditions of local communities (including Cretan communities). It is argued that the inherent characteristics of a heterogeneous environment (i.e. Southern Aegean, Crete) necessitated the development of strategies in agricultural management, which favoured increasing inter-dependence [see Section 2.3]. Whether by choice or for reasons beyond people’s immediate control, increasing inter-dependence eventually led to the establishment of centralized control over agricultural surplus. The Minoan “palaces” are seen as the direct outcome of this process.

## Constructing the “palace” question: The “*exogenous/consumption-oriented*” approach

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### [3.1] Principles for understanding (past) human life

We have seen so far that the “endogenous/production-oriented” approach concentrates on the investigation of internal dynamics of developmental change [*see* Chapter Two]. Its endogenous character is reflected by the fact that it tends to emphasize ecological factors, access to land resources and technologies of land management as mechanisms with which to explain historical trajectories [*see* Section 2.3]. By way of contrast, the “exogenous/consumption-oriented” approach, which is examined in this section, advocates that no society can be understood in complete isolation from its neighbours (Stein 1999: 154) and consequently *contact* with the outside ought to be perceived as the main factor explaining socio-historical developments and transformations. Following what Sherratt has termed a “diffusionist”/“interventionist” form of historical explanation (Sherratt 1993a: 1), interpretive models belonging to this schema should be expected to underscore the role and contribution of outside contacts, trade and the dissemination of ideologies in understanding socio-political development and history.

As far as the Aegean is concerned, this diffusionist view may be first seen in the writings of Childe on early civilizations (including the Minoan/Mycenaean “civilizations”) during the early stages of the 20th century (Childe 1925, 1929). Childe’s conception also drew upon the idea that human existence is characterized by its continuous struggle for survival (Childe 1950: 2). However, and by way of contrast to the “endogenous/production-oriented” approach, this intellectual tradition does not limit itself to a view of “culture” and



“cultural change” that strictly refers to the relationship between people and “ecosystem”; what it puts forwards instead, is a more *mentalist* understanding of “culture” (Thomas 1996).

Moving beyond Kossina’s famous scheme of things which promoted racial distinction and genetic determinism<sup>1</sup> through his conception of “culture” (Trigger 1989a), Childe has suggested that the latter corresponds with a specific group of people, or rather constitutes a set of characteristics which *define* this group of people, “including everything from technology to religion” (Friedman 1994: 67).

“Culture and race do not coincide...there are no grounds for assuming that the creators or bearers of a culture were always a single race, all of whose members shared distinctive genetic characteristics” (Childe 1950: 1).

“Culture is a social heritage; it corresponds to a community sharing common traditions, common institutions and a common way of life. Such a group may reasonably be called a people...It is then a people to which the culture of an archaeologist must correspond. If ethnic be the adjective for people, we may see that prehistoric archaeology has a good hope of establishing an ethnic history of Europe, while a racial one seems hopelessly remote” (Childe 1935: 198-199).

This assumption was based on a normative conception of “culture”; that within a given group cultural practices and beliefs tend to conform to prescriptive ideational forms or rules of behaviour. Such a conceptualization is based on the assumption that “culture” is made up of a set of shared ideas or beliefs, which are maintained by regular interaction within a group, and by the transmission of shared cultural norms to subsequent generations through the process of socialization. Once lodged in the mind, “cultural” ideas are unlikely to be transformed: they continue to serve as a template for material production throughout the individual’s life, and are kept in place by the “dead-weight of conservatism” (Childe 1936: 30). This results in a continuous, cumulative “cultural tradition”, i.e. regular patterns of material association (Childe 1956); in archaeology, this definition of “culture” is precisely what is taken to provide the link between (past) material culture and people:

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<sup>1</sup> The name of the German philologist and prehistorian Gustaf Kossina, is inextricably tied to the practice of ethnic interpretation in German archaeology. Kossina developed an ethnic approach which he called “settlement archaeology”. “Settlement archaeology” was based on the axiom that “in all periods, sharply delineated archaeological “culture areas” coincide with clearly recognizable peoples or tribes” (as cited in Childe 1956: 28). “Cultures” were defined on the basis of material culture traits associated with sites in a particular region, and at a particular time, and it was assumed that cultural continuity indicated ethnic continuity. On the basis of his methodology he claimed that it was possible to identify major ethnic groups, such as the Germans, the Slavs and the Celts, in prehistory on the basis of “culture provinces”, while individual “cultures” correspond with tribes, such as the Vandals and the Lombards (Trigger 1989a: 165).

**“Generation after generation has followed society’s prescription and produced and reproduced in thousands of instances the socially approved standard type. An archaeological type is just that” (Childe 1956: 8).**

**It is clear that Childe regarded “culture” as a conservative phenomenon. According to Thomas, this theoretical stance could be seen as embodying a notion of “exteriorization” as well as “interiorization” (Thomas 1996: 24). This is suggested because Childe argues on the one hand, that gradual changes in the material record should be attributed to internal drift in the prescribed “cultural” norms of a particular group, whereas on the other, he states that sudden large-scale changes would have to be explained in terms of external influences. A high degree of homogeneity in material culture would thus have to be regarded as the product of regular contact and interaction, whereas discontinuities in the distribution of material culture, as the result of social and/or physical distance. Put simply, continuities in the flow ought to be seen as a product of contact and interaction, while discontinuities a product of distance and separation (Jones 1997: 24-26).**

**The above demonstrate that Childe accorded a restricted degree of autonomy to material culture (Renfrew 1979: 9). Only a few particularly creative groups were capable of generating internal cultural change and innovation under these conditions, either because of their inherent biological and/or “cultural” characteristics or because of their environmental circumstances. In a sense, Childe’s view tended to underplay human creativity, implying that any cultural innovation would be unlikely to be invented more than once in world history (Thomas 1996: 23). It is from this point of departure that Childe finally reached the conclusion that the “dawn of European civilization” should be traced in the areas of Near East and Egypt (Childe 1925).**

**One might distinguish here an implicit understanding of “culture” as a unitary phenomenon in which the different peoples of the world would have a particular rank, according to their more or less developed “culture” (Friedman 1994: 67). In the case of Minoan “palaces” for example, civilization would have come about as a result of a string of contacts, with the aforementioned “creative centres”, namely Egypt and the Near East. Radical changes would have occurred in the Aegean system (and by extension Crete) “following the introduction of new customs (and artefacts) from outside” (Renfrew 1972: 477-478) [*see also* Section 3.2]. Childe’s view of the transference of “civilization”, to secondary and tertiary “centres” (such as the Aegean and Crete), implies the adoption of a whole series of innovations, most of these being activity patterns already well established in the primary “centre” (Childe 1927). It becomes obvious from the above that the receipt of**

new ideas or processes from outside is of fundamental importance for Childe's interpretive schema and constitutes what is broadly known as *diffusionist* theory.

Recently, all these ideas found their way back into current thinking, through the introduction of "world-systems" theory, a model developed by Immanuel Wallerstein and its followers in order to explain the emergence and current state of the "modern" world (Wallerstein 1974). According to Wallerstein, a "Great Transformation/Divide" in human history occurred during the sixteenth century AD with the emergence of the "modern world-system", namely the capitalist world economy (Kohl 1989: 218); this "transformation" is what is commonly taken to divide human history into "pre-modern" and "modern" epochs (Giddens 1984). The basis of Wallerstein's synthesis was the idea that whatever small technological and organizational advantage Europe may have possessed up until the end of the 15th century, it was turned into a much greater superiority by the West's exploitation of non-western peripheries from the 16th century onwards:

"Peripheral areas were primary product-exporting regions, at first in eastern Europe and South America, whose economies and societies were subordinated by the power of the Western (or core) states' arms and markets. Drawing off the periphery's resources enriched the capitalist core and allowed it to increase its sphere of control throughout the world. This simultaneously retarded and impoverished the periphery and forced its development into social and political paths that made technological and economic dynamism difficult, if not impossible. To Proudhon's "property is theft", Wallerstein added in effect, that capitalist progress is theft on a global scale" (Ragin & Chirot 1984: 276-277).

It becomes evident from the above that the single social system that Wallerstein identified was not merely a loose collection of capitalist nation-states, but a unique and encompassing *economic entity* spanning continents and polities. This is not to say that smaller-scale units (i.e. nation-states, "regions", "cities") are irrelevant to world-system analysis and in fact, Wallerstein incorporates such concepts in his analytical programme. What distinguishes his approach, however, is the fact that the employment of the above concepts serves to illustrate general features of the world system. The similarities and differences between smaller units are not interesting in their own right. They are identified only as a way to demonstrate the nature of the world system as a whole (Ragin & Chirot 1984: 286).

From this concept of the "world-system" a new political perspective could now be seen to emerge which proposed a somewhat modified version of Marxism by viewing classes as "transnational actors" (Ragin & Chirot 1984: 277). Within these total systems, asymmetrical relations could be reproduced between different social configurations

operating in *different* geographical localities. As initially conceptualized, these asymmetries operated to accumulate wealth in particular “core” communities where that wealth has been derived from the exploitation of “peripheral” and dependant regions (Barrett 1998: 13):

“The modern world system is characterized by a highly complex global division of labour that results in major regional differences: some areas become exporters of primary resources, while others produce and successfully market industrial products. The exchange uniting different regions is not symmetrical but culturally weighted or tipped in favour of the politically more powerful and technologically advanced core states of the West. The exchange relations that develop are thus beneficial to the core areas and detrimental to the peripheries, which essentially are exploited or “underdeveloped” by these relations” (Kohl 1989: 219).

To sharpen this imagery of the European capitalist system, Wallerstein contrasted his conception of the “world economy” with the concept of the “world empire” by suggesting that the latter existed in various places at different times “extending back to the dawn of history or the beginnings of state societies” whereas the former is actually a unique product of European civilization “that has developed over the past 500 years” (Kohl 1989: 218.). Wallerstein makes this distinction even more explicit by stating that political empires are a primitive means of economic domination with the political centralization of an empire being at one and the same time its strength and weakness. By contrast, the social achievement of the “modern” world is to have invented “the *technology that makes it possible* to increase the flow of the surplus from the lower strata to the upper strata, from the periphery to the centre, from the majority to the minority by eliminating the “waste” of too cumbersome a political structure” (Wallerstein 1974: 15-16).

To an extent echoing aspects of the substantivist strand in what Frank once called the “ancient economy” debate (Frank 1993: 385-386)<sup>2</sup>, Wallerstein believed that prehistorians, as well as ancient and medieval historians should not be constrained or influenced by the “world-system” concept (Kohl 1989: 218). It seems that he also insisted upon the “agrarian base” of the ancient world and recognized that the scale of its production and exchange activities was incomparably miniscule relative to “modern times”. According to Kohl however, such distinctions between the “modern” and the “premodern” may undoubtedly be meaningful and illuminate real differences but at the same time they hardly ever describe distinctive phenomena (Kohl 1989: 221), they should not be viewed as

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<sup>2</sup> The debate between the *formalist* and the *substantivist* school of economic thought climaxed in the late 1960s. “Formalists” argued in favour of the existence/operation of “pure” economic systems in the past whereas the substantivists treated the “economic” as embedded in other dimensions of past social life (Herzfeld 2001: 90).

“ghettoised” concepts, in other words, restricted only to particular sets of observations (Sherratt 1995: 5).

Kohl proceeds by arguing that even though it is practically impossible to deny that capitalism in the “modern” industrial age differs fundamentally from those social formations characteristic of the earliest history of humanity, important aspects of *continuity* can still be traced, and as in the aforementioned, unresolved substantivist-formalist controversy, a position that altogether rejects any correspondences between capitalist and pre-capitalist or Western and non-Western societies, often tends to “distort our vision of the present and idealize that of the past” (Kohl 1989). In sum, the search for the divide between “modern” and “pre-modern” times can be particularly arbitrary, if not counter-productive:

“It is dangerous to fence off the past in this way. More broadly, we could include as examples of this danger any mode of thinking which assumes that people in the remote past were only concerned with calories, and therefore that other achievements such as ...trade... must come after some calorific advance. This form of periodization is a major source of misinterpretation” (Sherratt 1995: 5).

Despite all doubts and reservations, the idea that archaeology can have a special role in developing “world-systems theory” has therefore begun to gain ground amongst the members of the archaeological community. A series of studies on prehistoric world-systems have been (and continue to be) produced advocating that the analytical power of the concept is contingent upon general features inherent in all periods of social reproduction. Perhaps more importantly, a number of archaeologists have also undertaken the difficult task of reshaping world-systems theory to make it more applicable to non-capitalist, non-Western societies (Champion 1989; Chase-Dunn 1992; Chase-Dunn & Hall 1991a, 1991b; Frank 1993; Kardulias 1999; Peregrine & Feinman 1996; Rowlands *et al.* 1987; Schortman & Urban 1992; Sherratt 1993a, 1993b, 1995; Sherratt & Sherratt 1991).

To grasp fully the significance of Wallerstein’s world-system perspective for archaeological analysis, it is necessary to contrast it with its main competitor, the *endogenous* perspective. The defining feature of the latter is its view of change as an endogenetic process [see Section 2.1], for world-systems theory however, a shift of emphasis is required towards features relating to *interaction* and *exchange*, among disparate societies at different levels of cultural development:

“Whether one prefers to refer to “peer polity”, “cluster” or some other form of inter-societal interaction (Renfrew 1982a) the basic fact remains that the development...of any society is dependent upon its relations with other

societies; that cultures are open, not closed, systems; and that studies...that fail to consider broad patterns of interaction are necessarily incomplete and partial. A boundary problem, in short, exists for prehistory that is every bit as real as that which besets later historical studies or analyses of the contemporary world" (Kohl 1989: 218).

Such an approach therefore sets as its point of departure a broader analytical unit from that proposed by the "endogenous/production-oriented" approach. What holds this unit together and secures its integration is a "core" point on the map and its relation to the "peripheries" developing around it. In our case, the core area is to be found in the Near East and what this basically implies is a return to the premise (mentioned also earlier on in our discussion of *diffusionism*) that a society, which is more advanced (i.e. the Near East) will at a certain point affect its surroundings (essentially including the Aegean/Crete):

"... the picture I am proposing...suggests continuous innovation, even if under the stimulus of an original event which happened elsewhere. It was not just a "package" which was "spreading" and was "accepted" or "rejected" in different areas: it was more like a chain reaction, creating certain zones of similarity because of the logic to their position in the chain" (Sherratt 1993b: 246).

In effect, all parts of the world system (and their transformation through time) can only be understood in relation to the system as a whole (Hall 1999: 7). The reverse is also taken to hold and by this is meant that the system is also constructed/informed by processes and changes in its constituent components<sup>3</sup> (Hall 1999: 5-7). In the light of the above it is therefore claimed that any such system is a "world" in the sense that constitutes a *self-contained division of labour* (Wallerstein 1974: 15) and that there is a sharp break in the relative levels of interactions within the system from those with the outside (Hall 1999: 8). If this "globalization" however is not simply reduced to macro-economic forms and processes, it should be taken to mean first and foremost the extension of social relations and the interconnection of social contexts across time and space. This in turn implies forms of "local transformation", as locale and locality become the site of intersecting distanced social relations (Giddens 1984: 64, 108-109). It is precisely under this spectrum that Robertson has suggested the conceptualization of the dialectical phenomenon of local globalization and global localization as "glocalization", so that "the local is *not* best seen, at least as an analytical interpretive departure point, as a counterpoint to the global" (Robertson 1995). He advocates instead that it should be regarded, "subject to some qualifications, as *an aspect of globalization*" (Robertson 1995: 28ff).

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<sup>3</sup> "...if there is a "system" to the world-system, even if it is a "ramshackle affair" its processes and dynamics should be manifested in some form *everywhere* in the system, even on its far peripheries" (Hall 1999: 5).

But how would this happen, and why? This is where world-systems theory provides a more specific account than cultural-historical approaches and it does so by decentering production in favour of *consumption*, in other words by breaking the main assumption of the “production-oriented” approach. We mentioned earlier that the “endogenous/production-oriented” approach is dominated by a form of understanding, which focuses around the pole of production and claims that the latter serves as the basis of socio-historical existence [see Section 2.1]. This framework of thought treats consumption as unproblematic, as the acquisition of goods on the basis of their utility value and the consumer as the “rational man”, making “rational” decisions on the basis of these given needs (Buchli & Lucas 2001: 21).

Despite various forays into issues of consumption throughout this century from writers such as Veblen, Simmel and Weber (Simmel 1978; Veblen 1925; Weber 1930), the study of consumption as a problematic field emerged only in the 1970s and 1980s (Appadurai 1986; Barthes 1973, 1977; Bourdieu 1984; Hebdige 1993; Miller 1995, 1998). Perhaps the earliest critic of consumption was Georges Bataille, who was sought to challenge the notion that economies worked on a basis of finite or limited resources [see Section 2.1] and argued instead that social and historical structures are defined on the basis of *excess* rather than scarcity (Bataille 1998). Cultural life is ultimately characterized by *how societies deal with the problem of excess* (Turner & Rojek 2001: 7). The notion that consumption, as a means of dealing with excess rather than defined by utility and need was taken up by Baudrillard who has pushed the idea to its limit by claiming that needs are not given but socially and culturally created; in other words, that objects are not inherently useful but can indeed become whatever we want them to be (Baudrillard 1998). In a similar vein, Douglas and Isherwood have suggested that it should be standard practice to assume that all material possessions carry meanings and to analyse their use as communicators (Douglas & Isherwood 1979). In general terms, it could be said that this gradual realization of the potentials of the concept of consumption stems from the fact that “modern” societies are characterized by the strongly rooted belief that *to have is to be* (Dittmar 1992). This is related to the privileging of a relationship between individuals and things in terms of *possession*. According to Lury, the emergence and growth of this preference seems to be tied up with the rise of individualism and mass consumer society, which are in turn seen to have led people to define themselves and others in terms of the things they possess (Lury 1996: 7). Indeed, most people describe possessions as aspects of the self or what Baudrillard has once termed *Ego consumans* (Baudrillard 1998: 85). Conversely, several scholars have argued, a potential loss of these possessions is often experienced as a personal violation and a lessening of the self. It is in this context that possessions have come to serve as key symbols

of personal qualities, attachments and interests (Turner & Rojek 2001: 7). Dittmar sums up this view in the following quote:

**“[I]n western materialistic societies...an individual’s identity is influenced by the symbolic meanings of his or her own material possessions, and the way in which s/he relates to those possessions. Material possessions also serve as expressions of group membership and as means of locating others in the social-material environment. Moreover, material possessions provide people with information about other peoples’ identities (Dittmar 1992: 205).**

By this premise, Dittmar seeks to put forward the idea that consumption decisions emerge through a variety of social practices and classifications ; people can therefore be “irrational, superstitious, traditionalist or experimental” in their material choices (Douglas & Isherwood 1979: 36). Seen under this spectrum, consumption decisions become a vital source in negotiating “culture” (Douglas & Isherwood 1979: 37). People who belong to a particular “culture” see it change in the course of their lives. “Culture” evolves and people play an active part in this change, with consumption constituting the main arena in which “culture” is fought over and licked into shape (Douglas & Isherwood 1979: 37, 49).

In an attempt to push this deconstruction of “need” and “utility” one step further, a number of scholars have sought to extend the aforementioned ideas also to non-capitalist societies. For Appadurai as well as Douglas and Isherwood, consumption as a practice should apply both to so-called “traditional” and “modern societies” (Appadurai 1986; Douglas & Isherwood 1979). Douglas and Isherwood in particular suggest that the application of this approach reveals that there are similarities in the ways in which all societies (i.e. “traditional” and “modern”) make meaning through the use of material goods (Douglas & Isherwood 1979: 12). For instance, archaeology is taken to have demonstrated effectively and repeatedly that materials and ideas moved, sometimes in quantity and often over long distances, long before what we could conventionally think of as markets or capitalist rationality” (Sherratt 1995: 5). As Miller suggests, in situations where an alienation from production can be attested (a case now made as we said, not only for “modern” but also “traditional” societies), consumption becomes the prime means for forging a relationship with the world (Miller 1995: 17). In this manner, archaeology could demonstrate the uses of past material culture in social signalling, “using new media to enhance the presentation and significance of the body in past forms of social interaction, by means of cosmetics, perfumes, ornaments and clothing” (Sherratt 1995: 14). This understanding of past consumption shifts attention “from staples to exotics” (Sherratt 1995), an aspect that Wallerstein chose not to develop in his theory of the “modern world-system” but nevertheless one that archaeologists have employed extensively in their analysis of past world-systems (Friedman 1982;



Kristiansen 1987; Peregrine 1996). The demand for “exotics” and in general new modes of consumption drive trading activities, which eventually “lead both to local intensification of production *for exchange* and to the emergence of wider systemic structures” (Sherratt 1995: 14, *my emphasis*).

For the proponents of the “exogenous/consumption-oriented” approach, power is bound to derive from the very access to and control of such material resources. It is professed that the person who has, or facilitates provision of the “other”, is the one who acquires high status. This is after all, how the term “consumption” is introduced in the literature through the writings of Thorstein Veblen. Veblen’s key concept is “conspicuous consumption” (Veblen 1925), but to understand how this becomes an important term for this approach, we need to begin with a brief discussion of another term that Veblen made famous, namely “conspicuous leisure”. Veblen argues that what he calls the “leisure class” developed initially through its predatory acquisition and ownership of private property. To own property became a mark of honour (Veblen 1925: 25) and Veblen has described in detail how this developed into a struggle for pecuniary emulation. The process was complicated further, however, by the need to display to others one’s pecuniary strength. In other words, to possess wealth was not in itself a sufficient means to gain and to hold the respect and esteem of others. To win esteem, one had to *display* one’s pecuniary strength. “Conspicuous leisure”, according to Veblen, became the principal means to openly display one’s wealth and status. In other words, one communicated one’s honour by conspicuously absenting oneself from useful work (Storey 1999: 36-42). The leisure class’s increasing exemption from productive work resulted in exemption itself becoming honorific. To engage in productive work on the other hand, became generally a sign of inferior status:

“Elegant dress serves its purpose of elegance not only in that it is expensive, but also because it is the insignia of leisure. It not only shows that the wearer is able to consume a relatively large value, but it argues at the same time that he consumes without producing (Veblen 1925: 171).

The above view about consumption and power is based upon certain key assumptions concerning both human motivation and the nature of societies. The motive behind much human activity is emulation and the end sought by wealth accumulation is to rank high in comparison with the rest of a given community (Veblen 1925: 31). In a sense, this view appears “to make pride and its companion envy, the root causes of human action” (Campbell 1989: 36-37). Clearly, if consumption is seen as a manifestation of a competitive striving for the scarce commodity of high status, then it would also appear as if one has also provided an answer to the problem of the source of its dynamic. Not surprisingly therefore,

economists have come to employ the term “Veblen effects” to refer to phenomena which are not explicable within the parameters of utility theory (Campbell 1989).

Taking all the above into consideration, how should we understand the contribution of the “exogenous/consumption-oriented” approach to archaeological analysis? According to this approach what needs to be acknowledged first of all is that “endogenous” approaches are neither effective nor adequate. Emphasis has to be given instead to *contact* and *interaction* and this implies that consumption and exchange (and their developmental trajectory) have to be placed at the centre of analytical enquiry<sup>4</sup>. Under this alternative analytical schema, exchange will therefore not be taken to constitute the last resort for the viability of a bounded social system (Snodgrass 1991) but rather what lies *at the heart of* human history and development (Sherratt & Sherratt 1991; Broodbank 2000a).

A second issue that should concern us would be to understand how the “exogenous/consumption-oriented” approach sets out to explore the issue of “social complexity” and the emergence of centralized authority in Minoan Crete. To answer this question, the approach lays special emphasis on the mechanisms whereby the Aegean and Crete in particular, are introduced to a wider socio-political system (i.e. the Orient) and the reasons behind the development of exchange relations between the two areas. What is also of central importance for this approach is to explore different patterns of access to this network of interaction. The need to do so relates to the assumption that varying degrees of access may then be taken to correspond to varying forms of social authority.

An implicit assumption of the “exogenous/consumption-oriented” approach is that uneven distribution of power refers to the placing of the consumers at the highest level of social status and the producers at the lowest. Although there is a sharp contrast between the number of consumers and that of producers, the system nevertheless manages to operate effectively because even the lowest in status recognize that power stems from the distinction drawn between those who have and those who have not (Turner & Rojek 2001: 7). What this implies is that the system is dynamic (rather than static) because all those (communities/peoples) that are lower in status will wish *and* aim to achieve higher status through the acquisition of goods. The need to acquire, as a constant source of motivation (perhaps to an extent the “Veblen effect” that we described above) implies that at any point in the history of the system, what might once have acted as a “periphery” might become a

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<sup>4</sup> “Without constant giving and taking...no society would have come into existence. For giving is not all a mere effect of one person upon another; it is precisely what is required of a sociological function: it is interaction” (Simmel 1958: 44 *cited in* Berking 1999: 31)

“semi-periphery”, what might once have been a “margin” might be transformed into a “periphery”. In a sense, all sub-parts of the system are therefore aiming to be part of a more exclusive consumer group. These socially assigned (rather than “real”) needs secure a sense of dynamic equilibrium for the entire system.

### **[3.2] What is a “palace”?**

“We see in fact, the more or less simultaneous introduction into the island  
at various points of an already stereotyped model.  
That this model was derived from an Eastern source is a reasonable conclusion”  
(Evans 1928: 269).

In the first half of the 20th century, many scholars attributed the rise of “palatial” civilization on Crete to intense foreign influence from Egypt and the Levant (Evans 1921; Pendlebury 1939; Xanthoudides 1924). Although a substantial number of recent studies on this subject views the establishment of the Cretan “palaces” as a local development (in reaction to earlier claims) [*see* Chapter Two], we still find scholars who maintain the central thesis that signs of Near Eastern and Egyptian influence on Crete are extensive and start to appear on the island as early as the late “prepalatial” period (Broodbank 2000a; Hiller 1987; Kopcke 1987; Sherratt 2000; Sherratt & Sherratt 1991; Warren 1987, 1994; Wiener 1987).

Beginning with architecture, it has been suggested that while some of the “palatial” features (i.e. light well, exterior court, storage magazines) may derive from Early Bronze Age Crete, the characteristics which distinguish the structure are new to the island. To begin with, the general organization around a central court does resemble that of Near Eastern “palaces”, for instance, the “palace” at Mari in Syria (Warren 1987: 69) [Plate 3.1]. In addition, there are other resemblances of a general nature such as the use of “different quarters of the “palaces” for specific purposes (storage, work, worship, residence etc) (Graham 1962: 232). Certain general methods of construction are also shared such as the use of ashlar orthostates for example (Watrous 1987: 69).

Apart from these architectural affiliations, a wider array of features/elements (deriving from the “palaces” themselves but also from the broader Cretan record) argues strongly in favour of close ties to the East. These empirical sets are taken to range from minor to major influences like the borrowing of decorative features, the integration of foreign habits, symbols and equipment (Kopcke 1987: 256), the development of writing systems (Watrous 1987: 69-70) and perhaps even shared religious practices as shown by the popularity of Cretan-type rhyta in Egypt and in Syria, the affinities between Cretan and Near

Eastern cult and divine iconography, or even the Near Eastern influences identified in the case of peak sanctuaries (Watrous 1987: 65). All the above have been taken to imply that high-level contacts of considerable intensity and regularity were common.

The role of the “palaces” in the organization of overseas trade (Dimopoulou 1997, 2004; Kopcke 1987, 2000; Michaelidou 2004; Niemeier 2004; Shaw & Shaw 1985; Wiener 1987, 1991) and particularly in the acquisition of copper and tin is another issue considered to be of major socio-historical importance (Michaelidou 2001; Wiener 1987, 1991). Cretan sources of copper seem scanty, and there is no known source of tin anywhere in the Aegean (Branigan 1968). However, tin as well as copper was available and widely traded in the Near East during the time of the “palaces”. Thus and despite the fact that the possibility of an existence of “independent merchantmen” has not been entirely ruled out (Wiener 1987: 262), the general consensus amongst the proponents of the “exogenous/consumption-oriented” approach seems to be that the bulk of long-distance trade (particularly the trade in prestige goods and metal) was carried out by the “palatial” authorities. According to Wiener, the “palatial” interest in long-distance trade would by no means have been limited to metals (tin and copper/bronze), yet their acquisition would have been a primary “palatial” concern (Wiener 1987: 262).

At the same time, it is noteworthy that particular types of metals that were only found in the Aegean are assumed to have been in demand in the East. As several scholars have claimed, not only was there a continuing demand in the “palatial” and urban centres of Egypt and the Levant for Aegean silver (possibly channelled through Crete) but also for finished Cretan metalwork, of the kinds presented, perhaps, by the Tûd treasure from 12<sup>th</sup> dynasty Egypt (Warren & Hankey 1989: 131-134) or the drinking cups and weapons from “Kaptara” recorded on contemporary documents from Mari (Dalley 1984: 51). With regard to the period of the “New Palaces” in particular, Branigan cites glyptic evidence for “palatial” control over internal affairs, increased Minoan trading interest in the Aegean, the existence of presumably “palatial” prestige gift exchange with Egypt (inferred from depictions of Keftiu on Egyptian tombs and objects bearing the Pharaonic cartouche in Crete) as well as the “concentration of skilled craftsmen in the palaces”, the last point leading him to conclude that metal was now very likely to have been controlled by the “palaces” (Branigan 1987: 245-249).

Taking all these into consideration, it now remains to be seen how those adhering to the “exogenous/consumption-oriented” approach envisage the process whereby the “palace” as an institutional mechanism achieved access to these wide exchange networks and also

control over the products being exchanged. In order to do so, we may now shift attention to the period prior to the “emergence of the palaces”, namely the Early Bronze Age.

### [3.3] “The emergence of civilization”: The Early Bronze Age period in the Aegean

Since Childe portrayed the Aegean as “civilized” by diffusion from the Orient, three models have been proposed to explain the relationship between this region and the outside world. Renfrew, (whose book the *Emergence of Civilization* (Renfrew 1972) was essentially an attempt to introduce an analytical program that would constitute an explicit reaction to Childe’s diffusionism), advocated a model of systemic internal growth which stressed the allegedly limited case for links between Early Bronze Age Aegean and the Near East. Through his “subsistence-redistribution” model, he chose to explore the explanatory potential of internal processes of “positive feedback” between the several sub-systems of a largely independent Aegean system [see Section 2.3]. However, in what follows, it will be suggested that his “craft specialization/wealth model” (the second model he proposes in the *Emergence*), makes obvious references to Childe’s ideas on “social complexity” and should therefore be seen as belonging to the “exogenous/consumption-oriented” strand of reasoning.

With his “craft-specialization/wealth” model, Renfrew sought to argue that a decisive factor in the development of centralized authority in the Bronze Age would have to be the correlation of “high status with material wealth and military prowess” (Renfrew 1972: 483). Metals, partly as necessary utilitarian replacements for stone tools and weapons (Childe 1951: 35-36; Renfrew 1972: 339), but above all as a substantial means for wealth accumulation, would have played a central role in this process:

“The rapid development of metallurgy in the third millennium BC, and the variety of new products gave a new meaning to the notion of “goods”. There was now, for the first time, a whole range of valuable objects worth hoarding in quantity. This particular consequence of metallurgy, a transformation in the idea of wealth, establishes it as the most important craft of the time” (Renfrew 1972: 339).

Renfrew draws a comparison between industrial and prehistoric societies, arguing that for an industrial society, “a precondition for “take-off” into sustained growth” is that production (including agricultural production) “be stimulated by a demand for goods, “stemming from a propensity to consume them” (Renfrew 1972: 481). Although Renfrew admits that “no prehistoric society was an industrial society in this sense”, he nevertheless claims that a clearly analogous process may still be detected; the increasing demand for

goods (and most emphatically metals) in many parts of the Aegean during the Early Bronze Age must be recognized as a significant factor favouring increase both in subsistence and craft production:

“...agricultural production could be increased...when the agricultural producer, in exchange for his produce, can acquire attractive and desirable goods which will serve to enhance his status, and offer opportunity for the display of wealth. The craft specialist supported in this way supplies goods to an acquisitive society, where social status is closely and competitively linked to the display and consumption of wealth. Hostility and warfare are accompanying features” (Renfrew 1972: 483).

“If we ask what was spreading, then the answer can be summarized as consumer demand” (Sherratt & Sherratt 1991: 355-356).

Renfrew proceeds by arguing that the desire for metals would have been conducive to the development of long-distance inter-community exchanges (i.e. in search of raw materials and/or finished items) while on the other hand, the production of *surplus* above and beyond the levels of autarky of local communities would have been required for long-distance expeditions to be sustained and operate successfully. The very same point has also made by Childe:

“Trade in the sense of transmission of commodities from one group to the other is indeed quite well attested in the Stone Age, or even in the Old Stone Age. But the objects of Stone Age trade were always luxuries -if not merely shells or similar “ornaments”, at least things that men could easily have done without. A Stone Age community was, at least potentially, self-sufficing. In so far as a society is dependent on copper or bronze for weapons or tools, it has sacrificed this self-sufficiency and is obliged to rely on trade for necessities” (Childe 1951: 35).

According to the “craft-specialization/wealth model” the need for both metals and surplus would have provided the basis for emergent inequality in the Aegean with increase in specialization, creation of surplus and the development of exchange reflecting a growing economy. Renfrew argues that local rulers would have been given an important role in organizing specialization and exchange, since specialists would have at least initially been operating at a village level; eventually, the status of the village chief, as controlling their production, would have increased and is likely to have been expressed more conspicuously through the use of “fine metal goods and other prestige objects” (Renfrew 1972: 482).

Since Renfrew and in an attempt to lay greater emphasis on some (previously unexplored) dimensions of the issue of “social complexity”, several writers have focused their attention on the investigation of the inherent potentialities and dynamics of insular

environment in this process, taking the island societies of the Southern Aegean as an example. Amongst them, Cyprian Broodbank was the first to suggest that the “traditional” assumption that seafaring was endemic to island life (Barber 1987: 18; Renfrew 1972: 484) had to be challenged (Broodbank 1989, 1993, 2000a). In particular, he sought to question Renfrew’s remark that “the geography of the Aegean is such that given adequate shipping, maritime contact and the search for raw materials rapidly spreads any innovation of form or technique throughout the area” (Renfrew 1972: 48). For Broodbank, the impression gained from the area and the extant archaeological evidence seemed quite different:

“What we see is a richly variegated mosaic of landlubbers and sailors that criss-cross islands as frequently as it jumps straits and on several occasions confronts polar opposites within close geographical confines” (Broodbank 1993: 323).

Broodbank therefore suggested that long-distance maritime expeditions might have been controlled by a very small number of highly specialized centres, larger communities whose power would be based on their ability to manipulate local trade to their advantage and to monopolize longer-range voyages beyond the islands (Broodbank 1989). Given these circumstances, Broodbank claims, the origins and development of authority should be viewed as inextricably bounded with the very activity and practice of maritime movement itself:

“The very infrequency with which many people used the sea would also only serve to increase their dependency when things not available within the ambit of the terrestrial world were eventually required; that the maritime trading centres reinforced their natural advantages culturally is clearly evident from their size and wealth” (Broodbank 1993: 323).

In a similar vein, Georgia Nakou has offered a redefinition of the role and significance of metals in the Early Bronze Age and claimed that their characteristics were pressed into the service of the newly established interests (Nakou 1995), mentioned by Broodbank. Moreover, she stressed that the geographical distribution of insular metal sources was modified by social strategies that sought to control crucial communications among the islands and thus both long distance voyaging and various kinds of technological know-how (including more than those associated with metals) were consequently drawn into a new kind of symbolism, identifying emergent social groups of exclusive membership.

Following a similar line of argument, the detailed analysis of Early Bronze Age obsidian assemblages by Tristan Carter has sought to provide a response to previous models that supported full-time blade production in the Southern Aegean communities from the beginning of the Bronze Age (Carter 1994, 1998; *contra* Torrence 1979, 1986). Carter

presents a set of archaeological data to support the point that not only was production limited to a minority of sites but even more, limited to those that would appear to have been the largest and of higher social status (Carter 1994: 138). The actual restriction of production at certain sites or even restricted areas within a site implies a certain degree of manipulation of technological knowledge (Carter 1994: 138). In Broodbank's terms, it was precisely this unequal distribution of knowledge that created uneven values for non-local goods thus forming a trajectory to an uneven distribution of power in the broader area of the Aegean at the time (Carter 1994: 331).

A summary of all the above evidence has to a certain extent been provided by Sherratt and Sherratt in their consideration of the development of a Bronze Age "world-system" in the eastern Mediterranean (Sherratt & Sherratt 1991). Through the analysis of a wide set of material practices, such as craft production, artefact exchange and deposition, they have sought to argue that neighbouring areas in the southern part of the Aegean archipelago began to present a higher degree of interaction from the beginning of the Early Bronze Age onwards, by virtue of changing social perceptions of contact and exchange. In particular Sherratt and Sherratt suggest that different local contexts were gradually incorporated within a larger global system, the operation of which could be documented in the archaeological record in the form of large scale distributions of similar sets of artifacts; a phenomenon that Renfrew has conventionally termed the "international spirit"<sup>5</sup> (Renfrew 1972: 451-455). During the Early Bronze Age, the position occupied by local units within the larger system was therefore taken to determine their history and development, for the cycles through which these units reproduced themselves were seen as deriving from an even wider geographical and social world:

"Bronze Age Aegean societies were, indeed, small and primary agrarian. But their neighbours in the Levant were considerably more complex in their organization, and behind them stood the much larger, urban economies of Mesopotamia and Egypt...Aegean civilization was undoubtedly culturally independent, in that it retained its own languages and developed its own style; but its growth can only be understood in the context of its interaction with these larger economic structures" (Sherratt & Sherratt 1991: 355).

For the Sherratts, the exchange networks which tied the social units together internally, and those which gradually bound that and other units into the regional components of the larger system, not only represented contrasting geographical scales, but

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<sup>5</sup> Renfrew contrasted the paucity of evidence for long-range interaction in Early Bronze I, excepting a continuing outflow of Melian obsidian, with a burgeoning "international spirit" (i.e. dispersion of low-bulk/high-value objects exhibiting some degree of association with the Cycladic cluster), that spread across much of the Aegean in the Early Bronze II period (Renfrew 1972).



also different political values. The political status of privileged groups within the Aegean was presumably created from the increasing manipulation of internal and external exchange relations and was converted, in turn, into an increasingly ritualized status by the appropriation of exotic materials. This appropriation was via the control either of their production or their social display and conspicuous consumption:

“Participation in long-distance exchanges gave local élites the opportunity to absorb some of the values and practices of the core areas, generating their own raw material requirements and adding a further diversity of finished products to the system. The urban economy was a contagious process, in which the desire for luxuries preceded the production of commodities” (Sherratt & Sherratt 1991: 356).

What the two authors consider to be an important characteristic of such a system is that even when large numbers of people were involved in the productive process, consumption was still limited to a minority. This particular notion has some very important implications. The alleged “centres” of this particular world-system could not be modelled as market centres, for the élite commodities so produced were *not* to be redistributed or marketed to the general population; they were exclusively for élites either at the point of production or at comparable “centres” elsewhere, but in any case not in the immediate peasant hinterland (Sherratt & Sherratt 1991: 359):

“...Civilization is dependent on inter-regional trade and on the labours of those who do not participate in the consumption of the products which are traded” (Sherratt & Sherratt 1991: 360).

The Sherratts therefore seem to be reaching a similar conclusion to those expressed in the writings of all aforementioned scholars, namely that during the Early Bronze Age period in the Aegean “the civilized lifestyle is limited to an exclusive and self-defined élite” (Sherratt & Sherratt 1991: 360).

#### [3.4] “The emergence of civilization”: The Early Bronze Age period in Crete

The “wealthy” burials at the cemeteries of Mochlos and Gournia in East Crete and the Mesaran tholoi in south-central Crete, the increase of settlement size, patterns of nucleation etc. [see Section 2.4] are seen as clear signs of social differentiation in the Early Minoan not only by the “endogenous/production-oriented” but also by the “exogenous/consumption-oriented” approach. In the case of the latter however, evidence for inter-regional contacts and mechanisms of *social distinction* are brought to the fore as the *main means* for explaining the phenomenon of “social complexity”.

Signs for *elaborated interaction* between Crete and other areas of the Southern Aegean (particularly the Cyclades) have been acknowledged for some time now (Renfrew 1972). Initially, it was argued that inter-regional links reached an apogee during the middle stages of the Early Bronze Age but in the light of a steadily growing body of empirical information it is now believed that these only furnished the fullest image for the preceding phases:

[a] Excavations at two Early Minoan I sites on the north coast of Crete, Poros-Katsambas (a coastal settlement due north of Knossos) (Day & Wilson 2002, 2004; Day *et al.* 1998: 139, 145; Dimopoulou 1997, 1998; Wilson *et al.* 2004) and the cemetery at Aghia Photia, near the north-east extremity of Crete (Davaras 1971a, 1971b; Davaras & Betancourt 2004; Day *et al.* 1998; Tsipopoulou 1992), have yielded ample evidence bearing close affinities to the Cyclades and have thus improved our resolution of the human activities behind these newly discovered early phases of long-range interaction (Day & Wilson 2002; Wilson & Day 2000; Wilson *et al.* 2004).

[b] Detailed pottery studies have revealed that ceramic production may have been restricted in a limited number of centres around the island during the period(s) in question (Day *et al.* 1997; Relaki 2003; Whitelaw *et al.* 1997; Wilson & Day 1994, 1999, 2000). Along with the evidence for regionalism at the level of production, recent studies have demonstrated that intra-island pottery exchange networks also developed markedly at the time. It is indicative in that respect that even in small-scale settlements like the Early Minoan IIb site at Phournou Koryfi, almost 50% of the total ceramic assemblage appears to have been imported (Whitelaw *et al.* 1997).

[c] The analysis of several Early Minoan lithic assemblages (Carter 1994, 1998) has demonstrated the widespread use/distribution of obsidian (as is also the case in the Neolithic); what has been also suggested is that obsidian working was limited to a few sites on the island (Carter 1998; 2004: 293; Dimopoulou 1997: 433-434). Often, these sites are very large in size and are associated with a wider range of material culture, craft activities and other purported aspects of social differentiation (i.e. Mochlos) (Carter 1998: 71, 2004: 296). In other cases, sites bearing evidence for lithic production are found to be in spatial association with other important sites (i.e.; Poros-Katsambas and Knossos) (Day & Wilson 2002; Dimopoulou 1997; Wilson *et al.* 2004).

[d] Evidence for metallurgical operations in different areas of North Crete (such as Poros-Katsambas, Chrysokamino and more recently, Kephala-Petras) (Betancourt *et al.* 1999;

Boyd-Hawes *et al.* 1908: 33; Muhly 2004; Papadatos & Tsipopoulou forthcoming) has confirmed that different stages of the metallurgical *chaîne opératoire* were taking place on the island (Catapotis 2004; Catapotis & Basiakos *in press*). It has also been taken to indicate that metals reached the island not only as finished objects but also in the form of primary/semi-processed material. Such complex networks of production, circulation and consumption have suggested to many that we need to take into serious account the possibility that varying degrees and levels of access of both metal production and consumption would have been at work at the time (Catapotis 2004; Papadatos 1999).

The considerable level of investment on craft production and the restriction of its performance in specific locations coupled with the widespread distribution of imported craft goods from specific sites on the island have been taken to suggest that emergent groups of exclusive membership controlled and /or benefited from these processes. At the same time, it has been argued that the conspicuous consumption of these products would have contributed immensely to status generation and negotiation (Broodbank 2000a; Carter 1998, 2004; Nakou 1995).

It is noteworthy that several proponents of the “exogenous/consumption-oriented” approach, whose work focuses exclusively upon the Cretan Bronze Age, have recently laid emphasis upon another interesting aspect of conspicuous consumption other than control and/or display of material possessions, which is no other than *feasting*, i.e. large scale events of food and drink consumption (Dietler & Hayden 2001). In particular, after Hamilakis’ pioneering work entitled “*Strategies for Survival and Strategies for Domination: Wine, Oil and “Social Complexity” in Bronze Age Crete*” (Hamilakis 1995), many scholars concerned with the anatomy of the “palatial phenomenon” began to recognize a huge analytical potential in the study of food and drink consumption. The vast quantities/concentrations of eating and drinking vessels identified in most “palatial” compounds prompted many to the conclusion that conspicuous ceremonial feasts constituted a strategic means of fundamental importance, whereby the “palace” sought to legitimize its élite status (Day & Wilson 1998; Hamilakis 1995, 1996, 1999).

Equally noteworthy in that respect is the fact that evidence for large-scale food and particularly drink consumption has been recently reported from the “palace-to-be” site of

Knossos<sup>6</sup> (Hood 1990: 371; Wilson & Day 2000: 51; Day & Wilson 2004: 46, 55) [Plate 3.2] as well as several funerary contexts (Branigan 1993; Georgoulaki 1996; Hamilakis 1995, 1996, 1998, 1999); a similar case has been recently put forward by Relaki also with regard to Final Neolithic Phaistos (Relaki 2004: 177). It is considered likely that the consumption of food and drink at places of ancestral significance such as the ones described above would have been connected to the intensification of competition among élites and would have subsequently led to the establishment of “palatial” authority in the Middle Bronze Age. That the production *and* consumption of alcohol (wine) during the subsequent periods continues to be closely associated with the “palaces” provides further empirical support to the suggestion that “power” in Bronze Age Crete is generated and sustained mainly through strategies of conspicuous display.

### [3.5] Conclusions

For the “exogenous/consumption-oriented” approach, the key factors for understanding how societies are organized and why they undergo changes in their organization are *communication* and *openness*. What drives societies to plasticity, according to the “exogenous/consumption-oriented” approach, is the need to acquire more than one already has. It is important that although power is bound to derive from the very access to and control of such material resources (i.e. the person who facilitates provision of the “other” acquires high status), what essentially secures a sense of equilibrium for the entire society is the fact that all its members are constantly aiming to be somehow part of the more exclusive consumer group (i.e. the person who *has*, acquires status) [see Section 3.1]. According to the “exogenous/consumption-oriented” approach, the emergence of the Minoan “palaces” has resulted from the introduction to the island of new customs and ideas from “outside” (i.e. the East). The architectural design of the “palaces” (which is highly reminiscent of oriental prototypes) as well as the large quantities of imported craft goods and raw materials found in the “palatial” compounds, are only some of the empirical evidence employed to confirm the

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<sup>6</sup> Probably the most interesting Early Minoan I deposit from Knossos derives from the Palace Well (Hood 1990: 371; Wilson & Day 2000: 51; Day & Wilson 2004: 46, 55). A very specific episode is likely to be represented here since the pottery is homogeneous in style and the fill itself was uniform in character, both suggesting that all the pottery may have been dumped into the well at the same time (Hood 1961-2: 92-93; Day & Wilson 2002: 149). The Early Minoan I well assemblage consists of a large proportion of drinking as well as eating vessels (Hood 1990: 269-270; Day & Wilson 2004: 46). These large serving vessels are conspicuous for their high quality of manufacture, size and attention to decorative finish, suggesting a deliberate emphasis on visual display (Day & Wilson 2002: 149; Wilson & Day 2000: 51-52). Far from being a “normal domestic assemblage”, this pottery was most likely used for “ritualised drinking/feasting practices on a significant scale” (Day & Wilson 2002: 149).

existence of close links between Crete and the East at the time and by doing so, to unveil the basis upon which the “palatial” élites exercised their authority [*see* Section 3.2]. The fact that both the circulation and production of craft goods are controlled by a restricted group of people already from the period prior to the construction of the “palaces” (i.e. the Early Bronze Age) is seen as the main causal factor for the subsequent development of centralized authority on the island of Crete [*see* Sections 3.3, 3.4].

## Common ground: “Palace”, “complexity” and “evolution”

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### [4.1] Paradigms

“The man who is striving to solve a problem defined  
by existing knowledge and technique is not just looking around. He knows  
what he wants to achieve and he designs  
his instruments and directs his thoughts accordingly”  
(Kuhn 1970: 96).

Barrett has commented recently that all forms of study exact the construction of a language and by so doing, involve us in a process of *objectification* (Barrett 2001). Our object of study must be defined, however provisionally, and an analytical framework, a *context*, needs to be somehow established. We remake the world through our study of it and this implies that things, which are taken to exist independently of us, are defined with reference to our analytical programme. In short, our study does not aim for the revelation of the world as it is; rather, to study is to build an understanding from a particular perspective and “out of our ways of looking at the world, of working on the world, and of talking about the world” (Barrett 2001: 147).

At the simplest level, we could thus say that our understanding of the world (in our case of past worlds) expresses *a direction of enquiry*; what this implies for archaeological research is that what we are trying to understand and how we best go about understanding it, are questions not immediately answered with reference to material evidence; we cannot list all the material we have available and then see what we can say and what more we need. Artefacts do not speak for themselves and instead, have to be viewed as pertinent to issues

that concern us (cf. Hodder 1999: 30ff). To be conversant with a research programme one must therefore be able to situate it within a paradigmatic way of thinking and working. A *paradigm* (Kuhn 1970) expresses broad ideas about the nature of the object of enquiry, defines the kinds of data relevant to such an enquiry and the methodologies required in analysis. As such it therefore constitutes *the largest frame within which a particular research programme sits and against which it may be assessed* (Barrett 2001: 147).

The present chapter seeks to confirm the existence of such a paradigmatic frame in Minoan studies, particularly those concerning the “emergence of the palaces”. By way of contrast to the previous chapters which acknowledged the distinction of two approaches in the current archaeological programme [*see* Chapter Two, Chapter Three], this chapter seeks to uncover the points of agreement between the disputing parties and the shared presuppositions which were taken for granted by both. The ultimate goal will be to demonstrate that despite their otherwise marked differences, these two interpretive schemata have formulated their object of study in strikingly similar ways, with the most obvious point of consensus amongst them undoubtedly being their (explicit and/or implicit) acceptance of the concept of “social complexity”. In what follows, discussion begins with the investigation at a general level, of the assumption and values that the concept of “complexity” embodies; emphasis then shifts to Minoan studies, in order to expose that the “emergence of the palaces” is not only a product of this mode of paradigmatic thinking but also a form of enquiry which necessitates (in the case of both the “endogenous/production-oriented” and the “exogenous/consumption-oriented” approach) that certain issues are highlighted and some questions are accorded primacy over others.

#### **[4.2] What is "social complexity"?**

To use the term “social complexity” in archaeology is rather gratuitous if it does not have at least some connections with the conceptual vocabulary which has been established by the “evolutionary” paradigm (Bowler 1984). The latter implies an overall shape of direction to human history that can be explained rationally and at least one aspect of this directionality is an alleged trend towards greater “complexity” (Trigger 1998: 1, 10).

Etymologically speaking, the term “evolution” derives from the Latin *evolutio*, which refers to the unrolling of a scroll or parchment (Giddens 1984: 224). In the 17<sup>th</sup> century however, the term was introduced to the natural sciences in order to designate the then highly controversial Darwinian notion of the origin of biological species by

development from earlier forms<sup>1</sup>. A similar trend soon followed in the social sciences; in the 1850s, Herbert Spencer was amongst the first to advocate that ultimately all aspects of the universe, whether organic or inorganic, social or non-social, were subject to the laws of “evolution”. To Spencer, it was axiomatic that sociology could become a science only when it was based on the idea of the natural, “evolutionary” law. His sociological reflections concentrated on the parallels between biological and social “evolution”, between similarities in the structure and development of organic and social units. The ethical and metaphysical position that Spencer sought to establish through his use of the term was the doctrine that the universe and all things in it have reached their present forms through *physically necessitated successive stages*.

“As between infancy and maturity there is no shortcut by which there may be avoided the tedious process of growth and development of insensible increments; so there is no way from the lower forms of social life to the higher, but one passing through small successive modifications...The process cannot be abridged and must be gone through with due patience” (Spencer 1891: 402-403).

A significant element of this mode of thinking was that “evolution” referred to a process of progressive *increase in size* (Cosser 1977: 91). Both organic and social aggregates, Spencer claimed, “originate from masses which are extremely minute in comparison with the masses some of them eventually rich” (Spencer 1891: 9). Societal growth is taken to come about through two processes, which go on “sometimes separately and sometimes together” (Spencer 1891: 10). It results either from an increase in population, “by simple multiplication of units” or from the joining of previously unrelated units “by union of groups, and again by union of groups of groups” (Spencer 1891: 10). Increase in the size of units was seen as invariably accompanied by an increase in the “complexity” of their structure (Spencer 1891: 3).

This process of growth, by definition, is to Spencer a process of integration. And integration in its turn must be accompanied by a progressive differentiation of structures and functions, if the organism or the societal unit is to remain viable, that is, if it is to survive in the struggle for existence. In particular, Spencer suggested that societies, like biological organisms, grew from relatively undifferentiated states, in which the parts resemble one another, into differentiated states in which these parts become dissimilar. Moreover, once parts had become unlike, they were mutually dependent on each other. Thus, with growing

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<sup>1</sup> Darwin proposed that, because all creatures vary individually and tend to increase in numbers faster than their food supplies, those individuals who are best adapted to the environment in which they live are the ones most likely to reproduce and hence pass their traits on the next generation. The culling, generation by generation, of those individuals least able to compete in the struggle for life gradually alters the biological nature of all but the most perfectly adapted species (Trigger 1998: 60).



differentiation came growing interdependence and hence integration. "Evolution" could therefore be seen as a trajectory of development, leading from a state of "relatively indefinite, incoherent homogeneity" to a state of "relatively definite, coherent heterogeneity" (Carneiro 1967: xvii):

"As [society] grows, its parts become unlike: it exhibits increase of structure. The unlike parts simultaneously assume activities of unlike kinds. These activities are not simply different, but the differences are so related as to make one another possible. The reciprocal aid thus given causes mutual dependence of the parts. And the mutually dependent parts, living by and for another, form an aggregate constituted on the same general principle as is an individual organism" (Spencer 1891: 8).

The consensus of functions within a society becomes closer as "evolution" advances. In low aggregates, both individual and social, the actions of the parts are only slightly dependent on one another, whereas in developed aggregates of both kinds the components of actions which constitutes the life of the whole makes possible the component actions which constitute the lives of the parts (Carneiro 1967: 25). It follows as a corollary that, "where parts are little differentiated they can readily perform one another's functions, but where much differentiated they can perform one another's actions very imperfectly, or not at all" (Carneiro 1967: 25). It appears therefore that for Spencer, "complex" societies are more vulnerable and more fragile in structure than their predecessors. The increasing mutual dependence of unlike parts in "complex" societies and the vulnerability it brings in its wake necessitate the emergence of a *regulatory system* that controls the actions of the parts and ensures their coordination:

"As compound aggregates are formed...there arise supreme regulating centres and subordinate ones and the supreme centres begin to enlarge and complicate" (Carneiro 1967: 46).

Early in the process of "evolution", Spencer maintains, regulating centres are mainly required for dealing with the outside environment, with the "enemies and prey" (Coser 1977: 92); but later such regulating systems assume the burden of internal regulation and social control when "complexity of functions" no longer allows the entirely spontaneous adjustment of parts to one another. The stringency and scope of internal regulations was to Spencer a major distinguishing mark between types of societies, and he attempted to classify them in terms of the scope of *internal control*.

A final point of significance with regard to "evolution" is that it constitutes a concept which specifies something more than just a progression of change in respect of certain designated criteria, that something being a *mechanism of change*. Identifying a

mechanism of change means explaining the latter in some way which applies across the whole spectrum of human history, if not as the exclusive mechanism then definitely as the dominant one (Giddens 1984: 235). The key concept here is undoubtedly *adaptation*, since it figures somewhere in virtually all “evolutionary” theories, however much they differ in other respects. Generally speaking, the term is defined as the securing and conserving of control over the physical environment (i.e. nature) and/or social environment (i.e. “mutual adjustment” of different societies) (Alland 1970; Dubos 1965; Giddens 1984: 235). “A social organism”, Spencer argues, “like an individual organism, undergoes modifications until it comes into equilibrium with enviroing conditions; and thereupon continues without further change of structure” (Spencer 1891: 96). Once such equilibrium has been reached, “evolution” continues to “show itself only in the progressing integration that ends in rigidity [and] practically ceases” (Spencer 1891: 95).

#### [4.3] “Evolution” and “complexity” in historical context

“The life of savages is so simple, and our societies are such complicated machines!”  
Denis Diderot, *Supplément au Voyage de Bougainville*.

The idea that progressive change and increasing “complexity” were the essence of the human condition was a revolutionary concept of 18<sup>th</sup> century thought which called into question traditional European beliefs and undermined many of the principles that had guided European life prior to the period (Bierstedt 1974: 559-560; Foucault 1984). These concepts may not be an intellectual construct of this century in particular<sup>2</sup>, yet it was only in the context of accelerating social transformations in Western Europe at this particular historical conjuncture that the idea became something more than a subject for idle speculation.

Amongst the most significant 18<sup>th</sup> century transformations was undoubtedly the radical redefinition of the character and nature of traditional theology. During this period, the Christian Church found itself competing with internally generated reforming movements, new religious sects, and more fundamentally with religious enquiries, which seemed bent on nothing so much as “removing religion from religious faith” (Outram 1995: 45). Ultimately, those attempts to construct a “reasonable” or “rational” Christianity sought to erect human reason as the focus of a new religion.

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<sup>2</sup> In his long poem *De Rerum Natura*, written in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, the Roman Epicurean philosopher Titus Lucretius Carus outlined a comprehensive theory of “evolution” in which primordial atoms spontaneously combined to create even more “complex” physical and then biological entities (Trigger 1998: 3).

Along with the gradual shift in the meaning and context of religious belief, the 18<sup>th</sup> century witnessed the simultaneous rise to prominence of scientific truth<sup>3</sup>. During that period, science started out as an insecure form of knowledge and had to confront many crucial questions the most important of which was to develop means for concentrating on problem solving *within* a clearly delineated intellectual area. As such, it had to grapple with larger issues such as the relationship between humans and nature, the very possibility of knowledge of the surrounding world and of the best way of organizing such knowledge. The ethical norm that scientific knowledge sought to address was that of “reason” and “rationality” and as we mentioned earlier, this was a notion deeply implicated also in religious development. By “rationality” was usually meant objective thinking, without passion, prejudice or superstition and without constant reference to non-verifiable statements as those of religious revelation. Through this mode of thinking, people were slowly introduced to a new conceptual regime which encouraged them to believe that human beings possess the capacity, once released from superstition, mythology and fear, to become masters of their own identity (Outram 1995: 9; Trigger 1989a: 5).

It is important to state at this point, that the 18<sup>th</sup> century was also the age of European *expansion* (Friedman 1994: 47) to the point that by the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the external space of Europe had already taken on a new reality with various Western European countries having established colonies in the Americas, the Caribbean, India and what is now known as Indonesia (Friedman 1994: 47; Outram 1995: 17). Although 1492, the year Columbus “sailed the ocean blue”, is usually taken to constitute the beginning of the colonization process, it is actually in the 18<sup>th</sup> that the broad-scale mapping of the world by Europeans began to develop (Hulme 1986, 1990; Pagden 1993). For the first time, through explorations by James Cook (1728-79), Louis-Anne de Bougainville (1729-1811) and others, Europeans were to gain an accurate knowledge of one-third of the earth’s surface covered by the Pacific Ocean (Frost 1976). Quite apart from the discoveries in the Pacific, dramatic though these were, European colonial empires in other parts of the world also expanded. The end of the Seven Year’s War in 1763 had produced a transfer of colonial territory from France to Britain, which laid the basis for the expansion of colonial settlement in North America and of colonial exploitation in the Indian sub-continent (Outram 1995: 64).

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<sup>3</sup> The term “science” is anachronistic. The words “science” and “scientist” were not invented until the 1830s in England. In French *science* like the German *Wissenschaft* meant “knowledge” not necessarily connected with knowledge of nature. The term *scientifique* to label specifically those involved in such investigations was a coinage of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Thus, “science” was not yet clearly separated from other intellectual areas, nor were its practitioners readily distinguished from practitioners of other forms of intellectual enquiry (Ross 1962: 65-86).

By confronting new lands and peoples, Western society found itself confronting the deeply ethical question of *difference*. The experience of the non-“European”, collectively described as “exotic” was constructed through processes of intense exploitation of both tropical nature and its human inhabitants and as such it had to recognize a hierarchical relation between “us” and “them”, essentially between those who exploited and those who were exploited (Friedman 1994: 4). As Pagden rightly points out, for this process to take place, Europeans *had to classify before they could see* and they could only do this through existing categories of thought (Pagden 1993).

Before the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Europeans confronted the “Other” with a complex mixture of motives and ideals, amongst which religion was strong. Especially in the colonial territories owned by Catholic states like Spain, Portugal and France, missionary effort had been essential so as to legitimate the enterprise of the conquest of exotic lands and peoples; it was thus advocated that Non-Christians lived in a state of turmoil and sin, they were slaves to their passions and as such they needed to be saved (Gosden 1999: 18).

By the 18<sup>th</sup> century however, prior experiences and images of the New World along with the transforming religious character of Europe changed the very nature of European concerns when faced with the “exotic”. An idea that became of central importance at the time was that of a “universal” human nature. Until the time of the voyages of Columbus, travel literature was filled with odd semi-human creatures “with heads on their chests, a single foot or who lived on a diet of human flesh” (Gosden 1999: 18). It is possible to see these as projections of European fears about the world and when none of these things turned out to be true (from the voyages of Columbus onwards), it caused a great deal of thought about the unity of humanity (Outram 1995: 65).

With the gradual acceptance of a “universal” humankind, “humanness” could no longer be seen as the defining element of the Old World; before long, the difference between the “West” and the “exotic” acquired an entirely new dimension and begun to be treated as difference in *degree* rather than in *kind* (Friedman 1994: 42-57). Essentially, this was a process which inclined the “civilized” to regard the ways of life of people that they were encountering in various parts of the world as survivals of a primordial condition (Hamilakis 1995: 49). As Friedman notes this conversion of spatial into temporal distance is epitomised in Locke’s renowned exclamation that “in the beginning, all the world was America” (Locke 1952 *cited in* Friedman 1994: 50).

By the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the aforementioned tendency found its full expression by recognising that what was seen so far as a spatial distance between the West (situated at the centre of the world) and the primitive element (situated at the periphery) could also be taken to hold a historical dimension. In other words, what was now becoming a central concern was not only to view the world as consisting of “advanced” and “less advanced” cultures but also to describe the *history* of the world as a “progressive” journey from “primitiveness” to “civilization” (Hamilakis 1995: 49).

The discipline of archaeology is a product of this particular mode of thinking; its very establishment as a discipline in other words was made possible by the emergence and dominance of these intellectual advances (Thomas 1996: 12). The idea of progress that we examined above and its connection with the lapsing of time was crucial to the nascent discipline (Sahlins & Service 1960: 12-13) and is best exemplified in Service’s unilinear and directional “evolutionary” scheme recognising (a) *bands*, (b) *tribes* and (c) *chiefdoms* as the three stages on the basis of which primitive societies could be classified (Service 1962). The next stage involved the development of the *state*, in which “primitive” societies were finally “civilized” (Hamilakis 1995: 50). Although the term “progress” was rarely used, later “stages” of “social evolution” were positively evaluated. Bands would eventually “rise” to the status of a state or a civilization; the latter could only “decline” or “fall” (Shanks & Tilley 1987b: 163).

This *appointed* and *irreversible* trajectory is also implied when we refer to the “emergence”, “development” and “collapse” of the Minoan “palaces”. Evans was the first one to adopt a three-stage chronological system (Early, Middle and Late Minoan) corresponding to the “evolutionary” perception of “gradual growth”, “maturity” and “decline” of the “palatial civilization” (Cherry 1983; Hamilakis 2001; MacNeal 1973). The subtitle of his monumental work, *The Palace of Minos* (Evans 1921, 1928, 1930, 1935), further confirms how Evans envisaged the history of Minoan civilization: *A comparative account of the successive stages of the Early Cretan Civilization as illustrated by the discoveries at Knossos* (Hamilakis 1995: 10-11, 2002a: 6).

All the above suggest of course that Western history, or rather Western accounts of the past, were ultimately treated “as *the* history of humanity”, as a “world-growth history” (Gellner 1964). Under this spectrum, to think about human affairs without an image of an all-embracing upward growth would have been difficult for anyone from the West (Gellner 1964: 12):

“Western history seems to have a certain continuity and a certain persistent upward swing -or at any rate, so it seemed, and so it came to be taught. Emerging from the river valleys of the Middle East, the story of civilization seems one of continuous and in the main upward growth, only occasionally interrupted by plateaus or even retrogressions: history seemed to creep gently around the shores of the Mediterranean and then up the Atlantic coast, things getting better and better. Oriental empires, the Greeks, the Romans, Christianity, the Dark Ages, the Renaissance, the Reformation, industrialization and struggle for social justice...the familiar story, with variants especially in the later details, stresses and anticipation; all this is extremely familiar and still forms the background image of history for most of us...” (Gellner 1964: 12-13).

The aforementioned popular perception which is heavily embedded in all aspects of Western thought, is very emphatically illustrated by the way we hang maps, showing the North upwards (Hamilakis 1995). As Hamilakis notes, progress and civilization may have started their journey from somewhere in the south centre of the map but they finally decided to settle in the North (Hamilakis 1995). This idea is confirmed by Evans’ construction of the modernist myth of Minoan Crete as a primarily European high civilization; his revitalization of a wondrous world of peaceful prosperity, stable divine aristocrats and benevolent aristocracy, owes a great deal to the general socio-political “Angst” in Europe of his time (Bintliff 1984: 35). It is an indication of Evans’ influence on aspects of archaeological thinking, that despite the overwhelming amount of material which is at odds with his concepts, the very same notions and terminologies still determine much of archaeological writing on the subject (Hamilakis 2002b: 181). An obvious example here, concerns the fact that since Evans, the terms “civilization”, “complexity” and “state” has been virtually interchangeable in most archaeological studies of Minoan Crete.

Such “evolutionary” schemes are highly prone to merge “progression” and “progress” and are thus also inclined to make ethnocentric assumptions. Smith has noted with regard to this point that the popularity of cultural “evolutionary” ideas coincides with industrial development and the emergence of nationalism in Europe at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Smith 1973: 156). With the emergence of industrial capitalism on the one hand, arose the belief that human progress should be measured and evaluated in terms of the domination of nature through technology and that the “collective powers of state society” had the potential to increase remarkably the rates of extraction and exploitation of natural resources (Macnaghten & Urry 1998). It was also presumed within organized capitalism on the other hand, that most economic and social problems/risks were produced by and soluble at the level of individual states. In other words, these risks were seen as principally located within the geographical borders of each societal unit and that solutions were to be devised and implemented within these societal/national frontiers (Lash & Urry 1987, 1994; Rose 1996: 328). National societies were thus centered upon the concept of the “citizen” who

owed duties to, and received rights from society through the core institutions of the “nation-state”<sup>4</sup> (Rose 1996: 328; Urry 2000: 11) and it would be not far from the truth to suggest that this was a period dominated by the notion that to be human literally meant to be a member of a particular “society” (Urry 2000: 6). The necessary “myth of origin”, on which the “imagined community” of nation-state could be built was provided by “evolutionism”. It is unlikely that the contemporaneity of these two developments is simply a chronological and geographical coincidence (Hamilakis 1995: 56) since this was obviously an easily comprehensible and attractive myth which offered a convenient and sound ideological basis for the idea of the nation-state<sup>5</sup> (Dietler 1994: 584; Jones 1997: 7-8; Woodman 1995: 285-286).

Since the 19<sup>th</sup> century and for most of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the term “society” (and other roughly synonymous concepts such as “culture” and the “social system”) retained a status of undisputed value and truth in “evolutionary” discourse and appears to have been employed – implicitly or explicitly- in virtually every work of sociology, anthropology, psychology, political science, economics, geography, history as well as archaeology<sup>6</sup> (Mann 1986: 13-14). Regardless of their otherwise diverse intellectual backgrounds (i.e. “functionalist”, “systemic”, “Marxist”, “structuralist” or other), all forms of discourse in social sciences perceived “society” as an aggregation of *people and resources*, a *bounded* whole, clearly marked off from other surrounding “societies” (Giddens 1984: 163-165). The members of this societal unit were taken to relate to each other in meaningful ways however that might have been expressed or revealed (Jenkins 2002: 43). This collectivity may be the result of some form of “value consensus” (i.e. common tasks, common beliefs etc) whereas in other cases, individuals may indeed be aware of belonging to a definite collectivity (i.e. physical

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<sup>4</sup> Of course this “societal model”, at best, only applied to the dozen or so of societies of the North Atlantic rim (as well as Japan), since most of the rest of the world remained subject to domination (Urry 2000: 11).

<sup>5</sup> Similar ethnocentric assumptions are also witnessed in Minoan studies. According to Hamilakis, in many archaeological narratives, an explicit association of political/administrative divisions of Minoan Crete with the “evolution” of modern European nation-states can be witnessed: societal transformations on the island through time led from small independent polities to a strong unifying (nation-) state which imposes a centralized form of political and administrative structure and a homogenisation in many aspects of life for its “citizens” (Hamilakis 2002b: 181).

<sup>6</sup> For instance, the “cultural/historical” approach takes regularly occurring patterns of different material items to represent “peoples” or “bounded entities” (Childe 1936). Systems theory largely reduces the meaning of society to function, as an adaptive interface between people and the environment and, to a lesser extent, as a means of cementing together individuals and/or groups (Binford 1973; Clarke 1968). The structuralist school assumes that “culturally specific meanings” were once inscribed upon the durable medium of past material culture (Hodder 1982) and treats the latter as a textual record encoding specific ideas and meanings which were created by past societies. Finally over the last decade, the concept of “ethnicity” was reintroduced in archaeological discourse arguing in favour of “culturally ascribed identity groups, which are based on the expression of a real or assumed shared culture and common descent” (Jones 1997: 84).

proximity, common rules) without necessarily agreeing that it is right or proper (Giddens 1984: 165).

#### **[4.4] “Complexity” in Minoan studies**

While the contemporary “evolutionary” literature in Minoan studies may no longer be quite so all-embracing as the framework initially adopted by Spencer and other early evolutionists (Trigger 1998), the basic “explanatory” perspective remains strikingly similar, irrespective of the details of the various frameworks advocated ever since. This general unity of conceptualization can be summarized by the following points:

[a] The “emergence of the palaces” in Crete is seen as the outcome of a series of developmental and cumulative processes leading from “simple” to “complex” forms of social organization. History is asserted to be an intelligible unity and continuum, a longitudinal totality made up of logical progression or developments in which there is a continuous concretization of particular social forms (i.e. “Neolithic society”/“Prepalatial society”/“Palatial society”). This mode of understanding lends justification to the idea of necessity in the historical process; in other words, history is viewed as a developmental trajectory which is both *predetermined* and *irreversible*.

[b] To be in a position to reconstruct “evolutionary” trajectories and to make “evolutionary” statements in general, what needs to be specified first of all is *what exactly evolves* and one does not need to look hard to realize that in Minoan studies, this purpose has been served almost exclusively by the concept of *society*. Particularly in the case of the “endogenous/production-oriented” and the “exogenous/consumption-oriented” approach, the criteria upon which the definition of “society” and its “boundaries” has been based may be at variance [see Chapter Two, Chapter Three], yet the very establishment of a “boundary” is of critical analytical importance for both approaches. We have already demonstrated in earlier chapters that for the “endogenous/production-oriented” approach the “boundary” is the “environment” [see Section 2.1] and for the “exogenous/consumption-oriented” approach the “boundary” is “culture” [see Section 3.1]. In the former case, this “boundary” not only specifies the “societal unit” (i.e. people and natural resources) but also indicates what has the potential of bringing changes to that unit (i.e. resource scarcity); simply put, “societal order” as well as “societal change” in this case, are seen to depend for the most part (if not exclusively) to “endogenous” factors [see Section 2.1]. The “exogenous/consumption-oriented” approach on the other hand, acknowledges the existence of discernible and ordered



“wholes” (i.e. “cultures”) but also the contribution to “societal development/change” of “cross-cultural” contact [see Section 3.1]. Therefore and despite the fact that the “boundaries” of a “culture” are portrayed as “porous”, the very notion of the “boundary” is inevitably maintained in order to be able to distinguish what is “internal” and what is “external” to a given system. Put simply, in order to be able to speak of the “exo-tic”, i.e. the medium and outcome of “cross-cultural contact” one also needs to specify what can be recognized as “local”.

[c] However defined, ideas of *adaptation* and *selection* have had a major impact on most studies which are concerned with the rise and subsequent development of the “palatial” phenomenon. It is important to note here that adaptation is not only understood as the teleological cause and consequence but also the *measure* of social development (Shanks & Tilley 1987b: 54). The need of societies to adapt to internally developed (i.e. “endogenous/production-oriented” approach) or externally induced (“exogenous/consumption-oriented” approach) socio-environmental stresses is a *measure of success*. The pressure brought about by changes within societies, leads *inevitably* to a critical point or “threshold” at which the social units “must collapse, fission or reach a new organizational level by undergoing a qualitative transformation” (Abbott-Graves 1982: 293). Societal adaptation may be efficient or inefficient, effective or ineffective with some societies achieving “complexity” and with others failing. For instance, Cherry suggests that the “emergence of complexity” in Crete cannot be explained unless we can also account for the many other “negative” cases beyond Crete (Cherry 1984: 21-2); in particular, he terms these latter cases “null cases” and defines them as instances where the “expected” result (i.e. the “emergence of complexity”) was not “achieved”. By way of contrast, the successful society (in our case Crete) is indeed a “predator” in this respect (Gall & Saxe 1977) (Fig. 4.1):

REGION	EARLY BRONZE AGE	MIDDLE BRONZE AGE
Crete	Adaptation (process)	Adaptation (outcome)
Cyclades	Adaptation (process)	X
Southern Greek Mainland	Adaptation (process)	X

Fig. 4.1 Measuring the adaptive efficiency of Crete, Cyclades and the Southern Greek Mainland during the transition from the Early to the Middle Bronze Age.

[d] It was demonstrated earlier that both organic and social aggregates are characterized by Spencer according to *progressive increases in size*. Size may refer to such things as “the

actual size of a society, the number and distinctiveness of its parts, the variety of specialized social roles that it incorporates, the number of distinct social personalities present, and the variety of mechanisms organizing these into a coherent, functioning whole” (Tainter 1988: 23). Augmenting any of these dimensions increases the “complexity” of a society. Similarly, in most of the Aegean/Minoan literature on “social complexity”, there exists the (implicit or explicit) assumption that a society in which a large number of people play a range of highly specialized roles is somehow more complicated than one in which a relatively small number of people play a similar, or even larger variety of roles, some of them highly specialized, some of them less so (McGuire 1983). A common view running through these various approaches is that of individuals’ social lives becoming more and more differentiated and/or specialized, in all of their social relations but most emphatically in their *labour* (Spencer 1891):

“This division of labour, first dwelt on by political economists as a social phenomenon, and thereupon recognized by biologists as a phenomenon of living bodies, which they called the “physiological division of labour” is that which in a society, as in the animal, makes it a living whole” (Spencer 1891: 5).

This trend may also be witnessed in Minoan studies. For instance, the majority of models belonging to the “endogenous/production-oriented” approach produce their image of heterogeneity with reference to how people work their land (Gamble 1979, 1981; Gilman 1981, 1991; Renfrew 1973). In the case of the “exogenous/consumption-oriented” approach, emphasis appears at first glance, to be laid on the multiplicity of social personae constructed through the consumption of goods; this view however, appears to also take for granted changes in the field of agricultural management (i.e. the need for surplus in order to participate to exchange transactions leads to agricultural specialization and thus greater interdependence) (Renfrew 1972) and/or in the field of craft production (i.e. “complex” inter-societal networks of craft production and exchange render different societal units inter-dependent) (Broodbank 1989, 1993, 2000a, 2000b; Sherratt & Sherratt 1991).

[e] In addition to his classification of societies by their degree of heterogeneity, Spencer proposed yet another basis for distinguishing between different societal types which is inextricably connected with the issue of *power*. In this order the focus is on the type of internal regulation attested within a given social unit. The argument here is that an increasingly differentiated social unit will eventually develop some kind of regulatory/managerial mechanism to coordinate and direct its disparate parts (Abbott-Segraves 1982: 293). The emergence of centralized authority is in this respect the product of shared societal needs and interests (Tainter 1988: 34). In suggesting on the other hand that

centralization is socially useful, it is also accepted that differential rewards are likely to accrue to the managerial élite yet this will be a cost that must be borne to realize the potential benefits of integration (Lenski 1966: 15-17)<sup>7</sup>.

Echoes of this form of understanding can be also found in many of the studies dealing with the emergence of centralized authority in Crete [see Sections 2.2-2.4, 3.2-3.4]. The most representative examples are undoubtedly Renfrew's "subsistence/redistribution" [see Sections 2.2, 2.3] and "craft specialization/wealth" models [see Sections 3.2, 3.3]. In his "subsistence/redistribution" hypothesis, Renfrew argues that the domestication of olive and vine in Crete and the wider Southern Aegean region during the Early Bronze Age, would have generated an increase of productivity and local subsistence specialization (i.e. heterogeneity); in turn, high productivity and specialization would have given rise to new organizational mechanisms which would be in a position to secure that subsistence goods were distributed among the locally specialized communities (i.e. centralized authority) (Renfrew 1972: 307). In his "craft specialization/wealth" model on the other hand, he suggests that the demand for goods (particularly metals) during the Early Bronze Age may be seen as a significant factor favouring increase in local subsistence and craft production (Renfrew 1984: 286-287). Control of the specialized sub-parts of the local system once again necessitates regulation and management (Renfrew 1972: 482).

It has to be noted at this point that already from the Enlightenment years (if not earlier) the idea that "centralized authority" was the product of "real", population-wide needs was receiving substantial criticism<sup>8</sup>; subsequently this led to a reconsideration of some of its basic assumptions (Haas 1982: 21-24; Tainter 1988: 33). It was argued in particular that the costs and benefits of centralized power are not always as balanced as the managerial/integrationist hypothesis might imply. Compensation of élites does not always match their contribution to society and throughout history, élites have probably been overcompensated relative to performance more often than the reverse. Exploitative and

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<sup>7</sup> The European Enlightenment produced a florescence of thought and writing on this subject (for detailed discussions see Behrens 1985; Gay 1973; Grimsley 1973; Koselleck 1988; Mossner 1980; Outram 1995; Raeff 1975).

<sup>8</sup> The clearest expressions of this wave of critique are to be found in the writings of the Marxist school. In his 1884 *Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State*, Engels argued that the differential acquisition of wealth led to hereditary nobility, monarchy, slavery and wars for pillage (Engels 1978). To secure the new sources of wealth against older, communistic traditions, and resulting class antagonisms, the state was developed. According to Krader, another leading theorist of this tradition, centralized authority (i.e. the state) is the product of society divided into two classes: those directly engaged in social production and those not. The surplus produced is appropriated by and for the non-producers. The "state" is the organization of society for regulating relations within and between these classes, in other words a formal organization of "class-composed and class-opposed" societies (Krader 1978: 96).

coercive authoritarian regimes would therefore have to be seen as “undeniable facts of history” (Tainter 1988: 36).

Amongst the studies on the emergence of centralized authority in Crete and the Southern Aegean in general, Gamble’s model is undoubtedly the one which most emphasizes the coercive features of centralized authority [see Section 2.3]. For the majority of models seeking to explain the “palatial” phenomenon however, coercion takes a slightly different meaning and is portrayed as “as an inevitable covariable of an essential benefit” (Haas 1982: 83). It is argued in particular that risks (of any kind) and the threat of withholding benefits can be a powerful inducement to compliance. The “unprivileged” in this case have to depend on the “privileged” in order to guarantee survival and and/or serve other crucial needs and it is precisely this unbalanced (yet inevitable) relationship that would have led eventually to the emergence of centralized authority. The models proposed by Gilman, Halstead, Broodbank and the Sherratts seem to belong to this latter category [see Sections 2.3, 3.3].

It is worth pointing out here that all aforementioned approaches have an important point in common in spite of their otherwise marked differences and this is that they all conceive of centralized authority as a problem-solving societal mechanism. In other words, they all see the “palaces” as arising out of changed circumstances, and as being a response to these circumstances. For those closer to the Spencerian line of thought, centralized authority emerges in order to secure the well-being of the total populace. For those against the managerial/integrationist definition of power, “palaces” are manipulatory in nature yet they are still seen as a means for avoiding/solving problems emerging from differential economic success. While the purposes of the state are indeed taken to be different, we could nevertheless argue that at least on this level centralized authority as envisaged by both strands is essentially of the same kind.

#### **[4.5] Conclusions**

This chapter sought to demonstrate that despite their differences, the “endogenous/production-oriented” approach and the “exogenous/consumption-oriented” approach are part of the same paradigmatic tradition [see Section 4.1], which is none other than the so-called “evolutionary” paradigm. This paradigm rests upon four main principles which may also be witnessed in the writings concerning the emergence and development of the “palatial phenomenon” in Crete: (a) the “social” and the “societal” are essentially synonymous terms and this equation works not only at an epistemological but also at an

ontological level, (b) “societies” have properties analogous to biological organisms and as such, follow a predetermined and irreversible trajectory leading towards greater “complexity”, (c) the development of “increasingly complex societal forms” is the most effective adaptive response to factors that are “internal” or external” to a given system and (d) “complex” forms of social organization are characterized by a high degree of internal differentiation and centralized control [see Section 4.2]. The “evolutionary” paradigm is firmly based upon a series of socio-historical developments which took place in Northwest Europe during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries (i.e. industrial revolution, colonial expansion, the birth and rapid development of “scientific” knowledge, the idea of the “nation-state” etc) [see Section 4.3]. Since then, “evolution” has been (implicitly or explicitly) acknowledged by most proponents of the scientific community as supplying the *foundation* for its further practice. Even until recently, emphasis continued to be laid upon extending the knowledge of those “facts” that the “evolutionary” paradigm displayed as particularly revealing (such as the concepts of “society”, “change” and/or “power”) and on increasing the extent of the match between those facts and the paradigm’s predictions. With the “evolutionary” paradigm having been entrenched deeply in thought for over two centuries (essentially from its onset), it should not come as a surprise that even until today, many scholars cannot come to terms with the possibility that “human history” and “the trajectory towards (greater) complexity” are not interchangeable. Our discussion so far has demonstrated that a similar degree of compatibility may also be witnessed between the notions of “Minoan archaeology” and the “palatial phenomenon” [see Section 4.4].

## Empirical fallacies and the emergence of “scientific novelty”

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“Let us avoid the ancient belief in the magic power of words,  
which can make us turn names into real things,  
and so fulfil a primitive conviction that when you have given a thing a name  
you have command over it,  
like knowing someone’s secret name.  
It is possible to persuade oneself that having named a concept,  
therefore, it actually exists and can be dealt with accordingly”  
(Stuart Piggott in Ucko *et al.* 1972: 948-949).

### [5.1] “Scientific novelty”

In his seminal book “*The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*” (Kuhn 1970), Thomas Kuhn mentions that in the development of any science, a certain paradigm is initially felt to account quite successfully for most of the observations and experiments easily accessible to that science’s practitioners. Thus, its further development, normally calls for the construction of even more elaborate equipment as well as the establishment of “an esoteric vocabulary and skills” (Kuhn 1970: 64). This conceptual and practical refinement of the paradigm, Kuhn argues, leads inevitably –at least at an initial level- to an increasing restriction of the scientist’s vision and to a considerable resistance to paradigmatic alternatives. In a somewhat paradoxical manner however, it is precisely this increasing detail and precision-of-match which may prepare the ground for the actual rethinking of the paradigm. For Kuhn, novelty emerges only when the scientist knows *with precision* what he/she should expect and it is this precision which allows him/her ultimately to recognize that something has gone wrong (Kuhn 1970: 65). Put simply, the more precise and far-reaching that paradigm becomes, the

more sensitive an indicator it provides of anomaly and hence of an occasion for reconsideration:

“Initially, only the anticipated and usual are experienced even under circumstances where anomaly is later to be observed. Further acquaintance, however, does result in awareness of something wrong or does relate the effect to something that has gone wrong before. That awareness of anomaly opens a period in which conceptual categories are adjusted until the initially anomalous has become the anticipated. At this point the discovery has been completed. [This] process or one very much like it is involved in the emergence of all fundamental scientific novelties...Recognising the process, we can at last begin to see why...a pursuit not directed to novelties and tending at first to suppress them, should nevertheless be so effective in causing them to arise” (Kuhn 1970: 64).

In 2001, an international workshop was held at the Université Catholique de Louvain under the title “*Crete of the Hundred Palaces?*” and its proceedings were published only a year later, in 2002. At the introductory section of the volume, the three editors, Jan Driessen, Ilse Schoep and Robert Laffineur, explain that the reason for organizing the meeting in the first place has been the veritable explosion of research on the island over the last few years, involving excavations, intensive surveys, extensive explorations, plus a wide range of material studies and (more recently) provenance analyses:

“It is perhaps a surprise, only fifteen years after a conference on “*The Function of the Minoan Palaces*” that a new workshop focuses on a very much similar problem. The reason for this is especially the remarkable developments in the field... [The Minoan] socio-political landscape at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century not only looks entirely different from that discovered by Evans, Hatzidakis, Xanthoudides, Pernier, Halbherr, Boyd, Seager and Chapouthier a hundred years ago but even considerably different from the one the people attending the *Function of the Minoan Palaces* conference had to worry about” (Driessen *et al.* 2002: i).

In the midst of this empirical maelstrom, many preconceptions concerning the “palatial phenomenon” in Crete have been seriously challenged and what appears to be first and foremost at stake at the moment, is the “palace” itself (Driessen 2002; Day & Relaki 2002; Hamilakis 2002a, 2002b). Very much in line with Kuhn’s description of the transition from “anomaly” to “novelty”, Day and Relaki suggest that the erosion and subsequent loss of what has for long constituted a conceptual cornerstone in Minoan studies, “has been coming for quite a while” (Day & Relaki 2002: 217). Several times in the past, significant discoveries in the field induced Minoan scholars to partly modify and/or reconsider the long-held assumption that “palaces” were élite residences occupying a supreme position within a hierarchical socio-political structure. Recent empirical discoveries however have managed to cause so much turmoil and confusion that scholars have now slowly begun to realize that the need for new terminologies, concepts and ideas has become imperative and by extension,

that the tactic of simply modifying *aspects* of their understanding of the “palaces” ought to be abandoned altogether.

## [5.2] “Complexity” revisited: Inequality

A cardinal element of both interpretive schemata concerning the emergence and development of the “palaces” in Crete has been that these monumental compounds constitute *loci* of centralized authority (i.e. they accommodate groups of exclusive membership, which manage and/or exercise control over some form of *surplus*) [see Sections 2.2, 3.2, 4.4]. Several times in the past however, it has been suggested that a closer look upon the available sets of empirical information reveals a number of substantial problems attending upon this particular form of reasoning and challenges the manner in which the nature and function of “palatial” edifices have been empirically justified.

To begin with, as many have rightly stressed (Adams 2004; Cadogan 1988; Cherry 1986; Day & Relaki 2002; Driessen 2002; Hägg 1997; Momigliano 2000; Schoep 2004; Schoep & Knappett 2004), to speak of “Minoan palaces” is largely a matter of *convention*. The striking majority of scholars have used the term “palace” to refer to an architectural complex of monumental size and elaborate/sumptuous design however through time, ongoing developments in the field have repeatedly called for partial as well as more radical revisions of this (admittedly too broad) definition.

Few would deny for instance, that “palaces” in Crete exhibit some very idiosyncratic morphological characteristics, since through time, each of them “developed architecturally in its own locally distinct way” (Adams 2004; Cherry 1986: 27; Knappett 1999; Macdonald 2005; Schoep 2002a, 2002b, 2004; Schoep & Knappett 2004) and not as mere repetitions of some formal design “copied” from or “imposed” by a single centre (Cherry 1986: 28). Moreover, several studies have underlined the differences attested not only between different “palatial” compounds but also between the different occupational phases of a *single* “palace” (Macdonald 2002, 2004, 2005; Relaki 2003; Schoep 2002a, 2002b, 2004); the traditional distinction between a “Protopalatial” (approx. 19<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> century BC) and a “Neopalatial” phase (approx. 17<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century BC) is indicative in that respect since it has been established in order to mark not only chronological but also “typological” differences (Cadogan 1988; Cherry 1986). The more recent realization on the other hand, that each “palace” constitutes the result “of complicated histories, with numerous episodes of building, destruction and rebuilding” even within what we would normally consider to be a single chronological



horizon has added yet another dimension to this image of “complexity” and “diversity” (Adams 2004: 196-199; Knappett 1999: 621); at the moment, it is therefore stressed that the aforementioned “Old/New Palace” distinction may only partially capture the multiple morphological idiosyncrasies and nuances that the broader term “palace” encapsulates (LaRosa 2001, 2002; Macdonald 2002, 2004; Platon 2000; Relaki 2003; Schoep 2002b).

Although all the points we have discussed so far, have had a considerable contribution in the ongoing debate concerning the definition of the term “palace”, it is undoubtedly the concept of the “Minoan villa” (Hägg 1997) and the increase of “palatial-type” buildings in the last few years (Driessen *et al.* 2002) which have played the most decisive role in this process. Along with the conventional “palaces” of Knossos, Phaistos, Malia and Zakros, we have Goumia (Boyd-Hawes *et al.* 1908; Soles 1991, 2002) but also Petras, Galatas<sup>1</sup> and quite likely, Kommos (Shaw 2002) and Makrygialos (Davaras 1985, 1997) [Plate 5.1]. In fact, if we move beyond the sites that possess a “central court”, more or less consistent in shape and orientation (but not size) and include other monumental sites with public courts, the list becomes longer, i.e. Aghia Triadha, Nirou Chani, Amnissos etc. (Driessen 2002: 11; Hamilakis 2002c: 189; Palyvou 2002: 176). To portray Crete as “the island of the hundred palaces” is in this respect not a mere figure of speech since it is precisely this multiplicity, density and proximity of “palatial-type” edifices that can no longer sustain the notion that the “palace” is a distinct (and above all exceptional) architectural type.

The aforementioned plethora of monumental buildings in Crete may no longer be viewed as compatible with the long held premise of “centralization”, put forward by both the “endogenous/production-oriented” and the “exogenous/consumption-oriented” approaches. It is noteworthy that even before these recent discoveries, there have been numerous indications in the record warning scholars against the assumption that surplus accumulation and management/control were an exclusive “privilege” of the “palace”. For example, the introduction of the “peer polity interaction” hypothesis in Minoan studies (Renfrew & Cherry 1986) was not only a reaction against Evans’ s “Knossocentric ideal” (which portrayed the “palace” at Knossos as the political and administrative centre dominating the entire island) (Cadogan 1988; Hallager & Hallager 1995; Hood 1978; LaRosa 1989; Wiener 1990) but also the first serious attempt to emphasize regional dynamics and the possible existence of *multiple* elite groups within the island (Bennet 1990; Cherry 1986; Driessen &

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<sup>1</sup> For Petras see Tsipopoulou 1989, 1991, 1992, 1997, 1999a, 1999b, 2002; Tsipopoulou & Wedde 2002; For Galatas see Rethemniotakis 1991, 1992, 1992-93, 1999a, 1999b, 1999c, 1999d, 2002; Rethemniotakis & Christakis 2004.

Macdonald 1997; Weingarten 1990). As Hamilakis rightly points out however, the model of independent polities really ought to be viewed as a redefinition and not an overall rejection of the concept of “centralization” (Hamilakis 2002c: 184); in maintaining the notion of bounded and clearly defined territories, what it essentially sought to do was to modify the scalar framework within which surplus accumulation and management/control would have operated.

At an empirical level, this mode of understanding was soon to be proven equally problematic. The continuously increasing number of “palatial” sites and “palatial-type” buildings (i.e. “villas”) along with the realization that these are often found in close proximity to each other rendered impossible the specification of territorial boundaries and the subsequent association of the latter with a ruling élite (Hamilakis 2002c: 190-191; Platon 2000: 52). Moreover, the impression gained from these new sites and buildings at a functional level, is that they not only encompass several architectural elements of a “palace” but also seem to be serving many of its supposed functions (McEnroe 1979, 1982; Schoep 2002a: 20). It is on the basis of all the above reasons that Hamilakis once described them as “centres of authority and power *in their own right*”, consisting of many “palatial” architectural features, sizeable ceremonial spaces, substantial storage facilities and often bearing evidence of record-keeping (Hamilakis 2002c: 183; *my emphasis*).

Many scholars have sought to minimize the effect of these discoveries on the notion of “centralization”, by emphasizing that the proliferation of “palatial-type” edifices and sites is really a phenomenon of the “New Palace” period whereas at the time of the “Old Palaces”, “palaces” were more limited and thus quite possibly operating as *loci* of centralized authority. The proposed argument is that after a period of “centralization”, the “palace” strategically modified its role either by further intensifying its control/power (“the palace is spreading its emissaries, who are performing the same functions as the palace”) or by decentralizing it (“the functions of the palace are spread out and are appropriated by officials”) (Marinatos 1987: 333). This hypothesis however, cannot be sustained for a number of reasons, the most important undoubtedly being, that new evidence from “palatial sites” (such as Galatas and Petras) (Rethemniotakis 1999a, 1999b, 2002; Tsipopoulou 1999, 2002) as well as “palatial-type” buildings (such as Monastiraki, Nerokourou and Myrtos-Pyrgos) (Chryssoulaki 1997; Kanta 1992; Knappett & Schoep 2000; Niemeier 1997) now indicates that those are very likely to have had “Protopalatial” predecessors.

What is equally noteworthy is that repeatedly in the past, serious doubts have been expressed concerning the degree of plausibility of the evidence for “centralization”

originating from the “Old Palaces” themselves. For instance, even though there is certainly convincing evidence for large-scale accumulation of staple goods within the “palatial” centres at the time (Branigan 1987; Graham 1962: 129-137; Halstead 1981; Moody 1987; Renfrew 1972: 291-296), it is still difficult to speak of “centralized control/management” and hence to securely associate a “palace” with a “territory”. To begin with, estimations of agricultural surplus storage capacity have been mainly based on evidence deriving from the period of the “New Palaces” (Schoep 2002b: 105) and with the possible exception of Phaistos, the available empirical information from the “Protopalatial” phase is still by no means conclusive. While the identification of very large circular stone-lined pits at Knossos and Phaistos (i.e. the so-called *kouloures*) and the *silos* at Malia has led some scholars to the assumption that they actually constitute grain repositories (Halstead 1997), others have stressed that this may not have been necessarily the case (Strasser 1997). Finally, in cases like the “palace” of Malia, the existence of large storage units in a number of “public” buildings (such as Quartier Mu, the Magasins Dessenne, the Crypte Hypostyle and others) (Schoep 2002a: 20) gives the impression that accumulation of agricultural surplus was taking place in various locations and not within a unified architectural frame (Cherry 1986: 28).

Similar problems arise with regard to the premise that the “Old Palaces” would have controlled both the production and circulation of “luxury” and/or “exotic” crafts (Branigan 1987). Although at the level of consumption, there exists indeed ample evidence confirming that relatively large quantities of high quality crafts were concentrated within the confines of the “palaces”, the assumption that this “surplus” can be associated with an élite group (exercising –direct and/or indirect- control over (luxury/exotic) craft production/ circulation) is highly dubious. Evidence for craft production is mentioned only from in a *single* room (Room LX) at Phaistos (Platon 1993) whereas the presence of wasters of “Protopalatial” date at the same site, have suggested pottery production in the near vicinity (Carinci 1997). On the other hand, a kiln excavated to the West Court of the Phaistian “palace” has been recently re-dated to the latest phase (Middle Minoan IIb) of the “Protopalatial” period (Van de Moortel 2001: 106). Knappett and Schoep suggest that the most impressive evidence for élite craft production so far comes from Middle Minoan II Malia (Knappett & Schoep 2000: 368). At the town complex Quartier Mu (Poursat 1996), a number of workshops were identified and were thought to be occupied “by skilled artisans devoted to the production of fine craft items”. However we have already stressed that Quartier Mu has most of the features of the contemporary “palace” at Malia but its relation to the latter is still quite ambiguous (Poursat 1983, 1988).

Finally, useful information may be drawn from the study of finished products, as for example Kamares Ware pottery, the finest pottery in the whole of the eastern Mediterranean during the “Protopalatial” period (Betancourt 1985; Knappett & Schoep 2000; MacGillivray 1998; Schoep & Knappett 2004). For long it was assumed that the production of Kamares Ware during the time of the “Old Palaces” took place exclusively in “palatial” workshops (cf. Cherry 1986: 37-38). However, petrographic analysis of Kamares Ware from Knossos shows that a significant portion of this high-quality pottery was not produced at the site but actually derived from south-central Crete (Day & Wilson 1998: 352, 358; Schoep 2002a: 19). In a somehow similar fashion, Knappett has more recently argued for a decentralized character of the Malia state, by comparing pottery from Myrtos-Pyrgos (a site allegedly in the hinterland of Malia) and that of Malia itself (Knappett 1999). The identification of marked differences in the modes of production together with the evidence for substantial trade between Malia and Myrtos-Pyrgos has been taken to suggest that Malia was *not* at the head of a centralized state at the time (Knappett 1999; Schoep & Knappett 2004: 27).

Another point worth examining in relation to the above is the evidence deriving from the Early Minoan period. Although both the “endogenous/production-oriented” and the “exogenous/consumption-oriented” approach argue that the first signs for centralization of surplus control and/or management occur in the “Prepalatial” period(s), a closer look at the extant record reveals that “palace-to-be” sites (such as Knossos, Phaistos, Malia and possibly Petras) give no such impression. As far as storage of agricultural surplus is concerned, evidence from “palatial” sites remains minimal (Strasser 1999: 817) with the only possible exception being the so-called “Early Hypogaeum” at Knossos, a large underground chamber which *may* have served as a granary in the late third millennium. On the other hand, although the operation (both within and beyond Crete) of highly complex networks of craft production and exchange has been confirmed, “Prepalatial” sites which later develop into “palaces” do not appear to hold a special status in these transactions, at least as far as the “Prepalatial” period is concerned (Karantzali 1996: 56, 73-74; Levi 1957-8: 176-177; van Effenterre 1980: 35; Wilson 1984: 305, 1985: 358-359, 465-472).

If we maintain the premise (as both the “endogenous/production-oriented” and the “exogenous/consumption-oriented” approaches appear to be doing) that surplus accumulation is somehow connected with the emergence of elite status [*see* Chapter Two, Chapter Three], then several other sets of empirical information deriving from the Early Minoan period may be seen to further challenge the idea that the first signs of “centralization” appear on the island of Crete at this particular point in time. For instance, even if we accept the long held assumption that “wealthy” cemeteries/tombs, such as the

“Prepalatial” cemeteries at Mochlos (Seager 1909, 1912), Gournia (Boyd-Hawes 1905a, b, Boyd-Hawes *et al.* 1908; Hall 1905, 1912) as well as several of the tholos tombs in the Mesara plain (Branigan 1970, 1993; Warren & Hood 2004; Xanthoudides 1924), do indeed confirm the existence of some form of social ranking at the time (Soles 1988, 1992a), then we would also have to acknowledge that none of the aforementioned cases presents any clear signs of association with “palace-to-be” sites. Quite on the contrary, surveys in the areas around Knossos (Hood & Smyth 1981: 11) and Petras (Tsipopoulou 2002: 135-137; Tsipopoulou & Wedde 2000), have so far yielded no evidence that would allow us to speak securely of funerary structures and/or activity corresponding to those sites<sup>2</sup>. At Phaistos, the recent discovery by the Western Mesara Survey of a “flat” (non-tholos) cemetery on the Ieroditis ridge to the north of Phaistos (Vallianou & Watrous 1991: 121; Watrous *et al.* 1993: 224) may be representing the necropolis of the “palace-to-be” site, yet the multiplicity of tombs in the wider area of the Mesara at the time along with the (relatively) wide distribution of “valuables” amongst them argues against “capital concentration”. Probably the closest association between a “wealthy” cemetery and a “palace-to-be” site is attested in the case of Malia (Chapouthier & Charbonneaux 1928; Chapouthier & Demargne 1942; Chapouthier *et al.* 1962; Chapouthier & Joly 1936; Demargne 1945; Deshayes & Dessenne 1959; van Effenterre 1980; van Effenterre & van Effenterre 1976) but even here we are dealing with a problematic and highly ambiguous relationship since, as we already mentioned, the nature and character of the early phases of the “palace” at Malia are still not that clear (i.e. there may indeed exist “wealthy” tombs but many “wealthy” buildings –other than the “palace”- also exist at the time).

The appearance of nucleated settlements and the establishment of “settlement hierarchies” on the island of Crete during the Early Minoan period has been taken to constitute another key argument in support of the existence of administrative/political “centralization” at the time, however, several empirical (and by extension) conceptual implications have been recently shown to challenge the validity of this premise. First of all, as Hamilakis has stressed, the notion of “settlement hierarchy” in Minoan studies is (more often than not) deriving from the deployment of heterogeneous and fragmentary data sets as well as partially excavated and thus poorly understood sites which are then “drafted to fill in the invented tiers of the administrative/political system” (Hamilakis 2002c: 185). A further problem with the alleged phenomenon of “nucleation” is that it is often taken to present a

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<sup>2</sup> No burials assignable to the Early Minoan period have yet been identified in the Knossos area but some tombs have been discovered on the Acropolis and probably on the slopes of Ailias and are taken to have been in use in Middle Minoan I. The earliest burials on the Acropolis were assigned to Middle Minoan Ia whereas in the area of Gypsadhes several built tombs are thought to possibly belong to the early stages of the “Protopalatial” period (Hood & Smyth 1981: 11).

steady and uninterrupted increase through time particularly as far as the “palace-to-be sites” are concerned (Relaki 2003). However, as Cherry has pointed out (Cherry 1986), there are cases as for example Knossos, where the size of the site appears to have been much larger in the Neolithic as opposed to the Early Bronze Age; at Phaistos on the other hand, the subdued nature of the site throughout the “Prepalatial” period (Levi 1960) along with the relative lack of Early Minoan III/Middle Minoan Ia material (LaRosa 1992b: 232) also argue against the idea of a steadily growing “core site”. What is also indicative (in a somehow reverse manner) is also the fact that there are several cases (as for example Mochlos) (Whitelaw 1983) where a certain site appears to have been quite extensive during the Early Bronze Age but never developed into a “palace” in subsequent periods (Whitelaw 2004). In view of all the above, a direct association between “settlement hierarchy” and the emergence/development of the “palatial phenomenon” in Crete may no longer be sustained.

Significant observations can also be made with regard to the issue of food and drink. Contrary to Hamilakis’ argument that feasting events during the “Neopalatial” period took place mainly (if not exclusively) within the confines of “palaces”, “palatial-type” structures and “villas” (Hamilakis 1995, 1996, 1999), the evidence seems to indicate that occasions of similar nature (or even scale) to those discovered in (what we would broadly define as) the “palatial” sector were also associated with more “ordinary” houses. Some indicative examples are the following: [a] In Late Minoan I occupation layers at the settlement of Tourkogeitonia at Archanes, an abundance of conical cups is often noted (Sakellarakis & Sakellarakis 1980: 319, 1984: 411); [b] In a Late Minoan I House at Gypsades, Knossos (House B), approximately 200 of conical cups were found inverted and arranged in orderly rows (Hogarth 1899-1990); [c] At Kastelli, Khandia, in House IV (Aghia Aikaterini Square), a Late Minoan I deposit of 77 complete conical cups was found in room F (Hallager & Tzedakis 1988: 13) whereas in room N of the same house, “many” semi-globular cups were reported to have been placed upside down in the undisturbed part of the room (Tzedakis & Hallager 1980: 39). “Extremely many conical cups” were also found in House III (north of room B) at the same site (Hallager & Tzedakis 1993: 34); [d] In Late Minoan I building A (in room 2) at Mochlos, many conical and hemispherical cups were reported, some of them complete (Soles & Davaras 1993: 59). Massed of cups were also brought to light in Late Minoan I House C (rooms 1 and 4) (Soles & Davaras 1993: 49-50); [e] In Late Minoan I House B at Palaikastro, 48 complete plain cups and many broken ones were found in association with cups of larger size, serving vessels etc (Bosanquet 1901-2: 314; Gesell 1985: 118).

This is also true with regard to the “prepalatial” period. Once we start looking at other “palace-to-be” sites, as well as “non-palatial” (i.e. funerary) sites, a number of problems arise with regard to this premise. The situation in “Prepalatial” Mesara for instance, is particularly confusing since most conclusive evidence for ceremonial feasting appears to derive from the Early Minoan site of Aghia Triadha (La Rosa 1988: 329-330, 1992a: 70; Todaro 2001; Wilson & Day 2000: 56) as opposed to the allegedly “core-site” of Phaistos. Equally noteworthy is the discovery of a rich Middle Minoan Ia assemblage of drinking vessels at Patrikies (Bonacasa 1967-8; LaRosa 2005), a site situated closely to Phaistos, but whose degree of association to the latter remains unclear. With regard to “non-palatial” contexts on the other hand, both Branigan and Hamilakis (Branigan 1970, 1993; Hamilakis 1998) have stressed that feasting ceremonies were also an integral part of funerary as well as post-funerary rituals in late “Prepalatial” Crete; as we mentioned in earlier sections [see Section 3.4] Hamilakis has claimed these ceremonies would have acted as a powerful symbolic resource and would therefore have constituted another chief medium of power and status negotiation during the period(s) prior to the construction of the “palatial” complexes. However, until the relation between the funerary domain and “palace-to-be” sites during the Early Minoan period is further clarified, the only “safe” point to be made is that feasting was *not* a strategic medium exclusively employed by the “palace” but rather commonly in use also beyond the “palatial” sector [see also Chapter Eight, Chapter Ten].

### [5.3] “Complexity” revisited: Heterogeneity

In the previous chapter [see Sections 4.2, 4.4] it was demonstrated that the degree of *heterogeneity* attested within a given societal unit (in our case the island of Crete) has also been extensively employed as a further criterion for identifying “complexity”. For both the “endogenous/production-oriented” and the “exogenous/consumption-oriented” approach [see Chapter Two, Chapter Three], the increasing levels of heterogeneity through time led Minoan communities to the establishment (either by choice or out of necessity) of “centralized” authority on the island. The striking majority of studies dealing with the emergence/development of the “palatial phenomenon” in Crete use the term “heterogeneity” to refer to different levels/ degrees of differentiation of roles in the domain of *production* (i.e. agriculture and/or craft production) [see Section 4.4].

Based on these criteria of classification (which essentially equate heterogeneity with *labour division*), one might indeed argue that Minoan society presents clear signs of internal differentiation at the time of the “palaces”, evident both at the level of land use/management

(for the “endogenous/production-oriented” approach) and that of craft production/circulation (for the “exogenous/consumption-oriented” approach). In view of our previous discussion regarding “palatial” authority however [see Section 5.2], it appears that this admittedly highly “complex” society operates under a *decentralized* as opposed to an (increasingly) centralized socio-political regime (Knappett 1999; Yoffee 1995). In other words, the close association between “heterogeneity” and “centralization” (i.e. inequality) that both interpretive schemata regarding the “palatial phenomenon” have long endeavoured to establish are seriously challenged by most sets of empirical information now at our disposal. That those two “criteria” may be indeed disconnected is further reinforced by the fact that most signs of differentiation attested in the period(s) of the “palaces” are not only found to exist also in “Prepalatial” society (i.e. which is traditionally portrayed as representing a “pre-complex” stage and thus exhibiting the first signs of a “complex” unit –including heterogeneity), but also in what is often perceived as the “non-complex” society *par excellence*, namely Neolithic society (Perlès 2001: 3). Over the last few years, a series of new studies on the production/circulation of craft goods during the Aegean Neolithic has begun to cast serious doubts on the view that Neolithic communities (including Crete) should be seen as isolated and self-sufficient units<sup>3</sup>. Instead, it is now becoming widely acknowledged that both Crete and the Aegean present substantial evidence for complex networks of production, exchange and maritime activity already from the Neolithic (Broodbank 2000a; Demoule & Perlès 1993; Efstratiou *et al.* 2004; Nakou 1995; Perlès 2001; Perlès & Vitelli 1999; Tomkins 2001; Tomkins & Day 2001; Tomkins *et al.* 2004). It is indicative that Perlès’ construction of a tripartite operational scheme<sup>4</sup>, in an attempt to demonstrate that Neolithic networks of exchange are far from “simple” or uniform (Perlès 1992), has been soon characterized as “insufficient” since the complexities of Neolithic value systems and contexts of exchange as we currently understand them “were probably more intricate than even Perlès’ categorization allows” (Broodbank 2000: 156).

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<sup>3</sup> This is a point made explicitly by the proponents of the “endogenous/production-oriented” approach but it is also one that most advocates of the “exogenous/consumption-oriented” approach accept in seeking to justify their (“evolutionary”) image of a transition from “lower” to “higher” levels of interaction and complexity in Crete and the Aegean as we approach the period of the “palaces”.

<sup>4</sup> Perlès has proposed three principal varieties of exchange: (i) utilitarian (e.g. obsidian) (ii) local/social (e.g. pottery) and (iii) ritual/prestige (e.g. figurines, stone vessels or jewelry) (Perlès 1992). She mentions: “The first system is mainly economic in purpose and concerns utilitarian goods, widely distributed geographically and socially. The second corresponds mainly to inter-group alliances and involves goods of high stylistic visibility and social function; it has a much more restricted geographical scope. The third is the well-known trade in “prestige goods”, which is wide-ranging but limited in terms of social access” (Perlès 1992: 115).



#### **[5.4] “Complexity” revisited: Adaptation**

So far, it has been suggested that the both the “endogenous/production-oriented” and the “exogenous/consumption-oriented” approach [see Chapter Two, Chapter Three] face serious problems not only at the level upon which they construct their understanding of the outcome but also of the process leading towards the emergence of “social complexity” in Crete. In this section, the third key element of “evolutionary” theory, *adaptation*, will be examined.

In earlier sections [see Sections 2.3, 3.3], it was demonstrated that the one major event that underpins both interpretations of the “palatial phenomenon” in Crete, concerns the colonization of marginal environments in southern Greece during the Neolithic/Early Bronze Age transition (Cherry 1990; Halstead 1994, 1995; Renfrew 1972). In the case of the “endogenous/production-oriented” approach, this observation is of fundamental importance because it implies that new environmental conditions would have triggered an adaptation processes which would have eventually resulted in changes in patterns of land use/management in southern Aegean communities (including Cretan communities) [see Section 2.3]. For the “exogenous/consumption-oriented” approach on the other hand, the same observation is taken to allow the realization and subsequent exploitation of the advantages of a seascape (which is ultimately what the southern Aegean/Crete are considered to be) through the development of long-term maritime expeditions and exchange [see Section 3.3].

Over the last two decades, the quantity of evidence regarding the early phases of the Neolithic has multiplied, thus inviting a re-examination of long agreed patterns and corresponding arguments (Broodbank 1999, 2000a). A salient point emerging is that the Neolithic ought to be seen as the major period of initial island colonization, with Neolithic material now being reported on over two-thirds of those islands for which adequate data exists (Broodbank 1999, 2000a). This contrasts with the picture some decades ago, when the handful of Neolithic sites were perceived as an indication of rare, possibly ephemeral phenomena. Sufficient incentives to colonise a wide variety of islands, and the mechanisms required to sustain such settlements now seem to have existed “for much, if not all, of the Neolithic” (Broodbank 1999: 19). In the light of these recent discoveries, the once attractive association between a generalized trend at the end of the Neolithic and during the Early Bronze Age towards settlement of marginal lands, and the enabling role during the Early Bronze Age of new strategies of land management/use and/or intensive maritime exchange networks no longer appears to be an effective explanatory scenario (Broodbank 1999: 19). This is particularly true in the case of Crete, whose clear evidence of habitation already from

the Early Neolithic (Evans 1994) leaves no space for the establishment of a direct association between environmental factors and the construction of the “palaces”<sup>5</sup>.

## [5.5] Conclusions

Several studies have recently begun to stress that the two dominant interpretive schemata concerning the rise of the “palaces” in Crete are not particularly sensitive to empirical “detail”. If these empirical shortcomings and contradictions are indeed so obvious (and they have been for quite some time now) however, one cannot help but wondering why this mode of thinking about the emergence of the “palatial phenomenon” has not been abandoned altogether. Is it not time to consider replacing what threatens to operate as a counterproductive conceptual framework, since it appears to direct more attention toward fitting the data to a model than to understanding what those data can indicate about the complexity of sociopolitical dynamics at the time (Smith 1985: 97)?

According to Kuhn, what we have described so far represents a phase of “scientific novelty” yet this “novelty” should not be equated with “paradigmatic shift” (Kuhn 1970: 77). Kuhn stresses that the realization of the limitations imposed by a certain paradigm does not automatically lead to the abandonment of the latter (Kuhn 1970: 77). Faith may partially be lost, alternatives are likely to be taken into account, *ad hoc* modifications may indeed be devised in order to eliminate any apparent conflict, yet a scientific community does not just denounce the paradigmatic framework that leads it into crisis (Kuhn 1970: 81). Rather, the problem is (more often than not) perceived as resulting from the failure to possess the necessary tools with which to solve it and so scientists set it aside for a future generation with more developed tools. For Kuhn, a paradigm is declared invalid *only if* an alternative candidate is available to take its place. Thus, transition from a paradigm in crisis to a new one is never a cumulative process but one which involves *the reconstruction of a given field from new fundamentals* (Kuhn 1970: 85). This reconstruction changes the field’s foundational theoretical generalizations, alters conceptual rules and affects profoundly methods and applications. In so doing, what a new paradigm therefore achieves is the establishment of an entirely different *universe of discourse*.

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<sup>5</sup> Apart from the island of Crete, other early examples derive from the island cluster of the Northern Sporades (i.e. Skyros, Kyra Panaghia, Gioura)<sup>5</sup> (Broodbank 1999: 30; Efstratiou 1985; Sampson 1996, 1998) and the island of Thasos<sup>5</sup> (Blackman 1997).

In order to understand how certain ways of “seeing” and “perceiving” are abandoned and how new ones emerge, in order to explain in other words, how a new paradigm actually becomes available, one needs to realize that such kinds of transformation do not occur in laboratory conditions. Although arguments on paradigmatic development and change tend to be sometimes restricted on the internal workings of scientific discourse (as for example in Kuhn’s case) this may be only be seen as a matter of some form of convenience. In reality, the nature and character of paradigms as well as paradigmatic change can make sense only if they are situated in the historical context that produces them (Fabian 1983; Gramsci 1971; Marx & Engels 1970); this implies that paradigmatic development constitutes an essentially *relational* process, a product of interaction between the scientist, his/her object of study and the wider socio-political framework within which the scientist operates (Feyerabend 1975). So far no reference has been made to the last component of this tripartite association; in what follows, we will therefore attempt an assessment of the relevance and contribution that current historical conditions may have had to the increasing “visibility” of all aforementioned empirical “fallacies”.

## A paradigmatic shift

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“The change we are speaking about  
is an *epochal change* that will be at once subtle and all-pervasive.  
The expressions that come to mind to describe it are  
*a new way of looking at things, a new way of thinking, a new arrangement of emphases  
on what is important and not important in human life*”  
(Finch 2001: 6)

### [6.1] *Vive la différence*

Since 1945, the problems that have challenged thought on a deep philosophical level, with the same urgency that abstract, timeless and universal issues had in the earlier centuries, were matters of *ethics* and *practice*, essentially including the ethical dimension of “scientific” practice. It has been argued that nuclear war, medical technology and claims of the environment were the three sets of problems which not only attracted most attention but also impacted quite heavily upon this radical rethinking of “Science” and its long held association with all that is “true”, “right” or “legal” (Chapman 2003: 6; Flax 1990: 41). To exemplify this point, Toulmin offers several quite illuminating examples. He mentions for instance, that when the atom bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, it soon became obvious to most that “science” had the potential of becoming irredeemably destructive and antihuman (Toulmin 1990). From then on, there was a groundswell of rational sentiment even amongst the atomic scientists themselves, in favour of entering as direct participants into the political debates about the use of nuclear weapons and power (Flax 1990: 41; Toulmin 1990: 182). Toulmin stresses that the line dividing the moral and technical aspects of medicine have also become thinner and thinner during the last thirty years; in the present phase of medicine, the very definition of a “medical” problem must thus

be given in terms that cover both its technical and moral features (as for example in the case of genetic science and biotechnology) (Toulmin 1990: 181). Additionally, by the late 1980s, it had become readily apparent that questions of “environmental impact” could no longer be ignored. Earlier, the possibility of using natural resources “in the service of human good” was a compelling argument by itself. By now, people understand however that “nature” is not a set of neutral resources, to be exploited for our benefit: quite as much, it is *our terrestrial home* (Toulmin 1990: 182). In political and social debate, therefore, questions about “ecology” have irreversibly moved to the centre of the practical stage. Beck’s book “*Risk Society*” (Beck 1992) is an explicit sign of this new tendency; his main argument rests upon the premise that we have now moved to a new kind of “society”, “risk society” as opposed to “industrial society” and that the former is organized around the dangerous flows of wastes produced by diverse social practices and of their frequently unknowable consequences.

With the “scientific” scaffolding having been largely dismantled, studies of the “social” soon followed the transformation attested in the natural sciences and directed themselves towards a thorough reshaping of their agenda and the formation of “humanly relevant” goals (Toulmin 1990: 183). For instance, in his collection of essays entitled “*Farewell to Reason*”, Feyerabend bids farewell to what he calls “scientific rationalism” (i.e. the dream of a *universal* rationality shared by Enlightenment philosophers from Descartes to Popper) and argues that “the appeal to reason is empty” and must be replaced by a notion of science that subordinates it to the diverse needs of different people and different forms of community (Feyerabend 1987). In a similar vein, Best and Kellner suggest that the “naturalistic religion” (which replaced “God” and the supernatural as objects of worship since the Enlightenment and for most of the “industrial” era) did not produce the results that its “prophets” had predicted (Best & Kellner 1991: 2). At the moment, because there can be no overarching explanation and truth for the way things are and because there is no “external” reason for being (and no external “God” to provide moral direction), social thought shows itself as overtly *anti-totalitarian* in character (Toulmin 1990: 184). By this is meant that the main intellectual task in current scientific discourse is not only to reject uniformitarian concepts pertinent to evolutionary thought (i.e. “truth”, “objectivity”, “rationality”, “totality”) but also to demonstrate practically that our perception of the social world and the human condition in general, ought to be based upon the fundamental concept/value of *diversity* (and by extension “subjectivity”, “individuality”, “multivocality” and/or “fragmentariness”). These new ideals and trends can be seen to have had applications in most (if not all) academic (i.e. philosophy, sociology, economics, architecture) as well as non-academic fields (i.e. different forms of artistic expression essentially including film,

television or even fashion); the table below summarizes briefly how the new conceptual framework has been employed in each of the aforementioned cases [Fig. 6.1]:

<b>Philosophy</b>	Characterized by a sceptical turn which no longer seeks either the dogmatic or critical repudiation of the discipline because it has come to the view that all arguments for or against rational foundations are in themselves pointless. If it remains “philosophy” at all it is only as <i>post-philosophy</i> , the reflection which seeks no more than to convince the philosophical legacy of its own self-defeated irrelevance.
<b>Sociology</b>	Seeks to bring what was previously thought as the “marginal” at the centre of analytical enquiry. A critical distance from the mainstream is afforded and a particular critique of Western society is developed concerning the conscious tendency of earlier scholarship to render “invisible”, those who are obliged to occupy cultural locations in which they are oppressed.
<b>Economics</b>	Refers to multi-nationalist, consumer-based capitalism as opposed to the earlier forms of market and subsequently monopoly capitalism.
<b>Art</b>	Aims to unseat universals/fundamentals of art and to embrace diversity and contradiction. Rejects the distinction between “low” and “high” ideas and forms. Dismisses rigid genre boundaries and favours the idea of mixture. As the gravity of the search for underlying truth is relieved, it is replaced with “play”, “parody” and “irony”.
<b>Architecture</b>	Functional and mostly bland forms/spaces are replaced by unapologetically bold aesthetics. Styles collide, form is adopted for its own sake, and new ways of viewing familiar styles and space are bound. Buildings are usually not so grand and imposing and often, through the use of mirrored glass that reflects the sky and surrounding buildings, call attention to their environment rather than to themselves.
<b>Linguistics</b>	Renewed concern with oral language, communication, rhetoric and discourse. A shift from the expression of beliefs in written propositions to their transient, contextual expression in language games, speech acts and oral utterances in general. Owes much to the “post-structuralist” school which represents the first systematic attempt to redefine the relationship between language and the objects to which it referred.
<b>Literature</b>	Concerned with the inner states of consciousness, the fragmentariness of contemporary experience, the artificiality of meaning, and with the ultimately subjective nature of all experience. In contrast to earlier writings, this fragmentariness tends to be celebrated rather than being regarded as some sort of crisis.

Fig. 6.1 How late 20th century principles and ideals apply to academic and non-academic fields.

Over the last decade, another set of interrelated transformations has added yet another dimension to the above conceptual framework, which sees the social world as a “pluriverse” as opposed to “universe” (Law & Urry 2003: 8), and this is none other than the focus of attention upon the issues of *mobility* and *interconnectedness*. In particular, it is

argued that the marked increase in recent years of (i) corporeal travel of people (for work, leisure, family life, pleasure, migration and escape) (Castells 1996: 417, Urry 2000: 50-64), (ii) physical movement of objects delivered to producers, consumers and retailers (Appadurai 1986: 5; Makimoto & Manners 1997), (iii) imaginative travel through images of places and people on TV (Castells 1996: 339), (iv) virtual travel on the internet (as Microsoft asks: "where do you want to go today?") (Harvey 1996: 245), and (v) communicative travel through person-to-person messages (via letters, telephone, fax and mobile) (Urry 2000: 35) does not merely confirm the existence of unprecedented and diverse modes of travel/communication but also unveils some aspects of the complex spatiotemporal patterning which characterizes people's varied and changing social activities.

Urry explains that these flows produce the hollowing out of existing societies especially as a plethora of "sociations" have developed, concerned to reflect upon, argue against, retreat from, provide alternatives to and campaign for these various flows, often going beyond the limits of a "societal unit" (Urry 2000: 32-37). This generates within any existing "bounded whole", a complex, overlapping, disjunctive order of "off-centredness", as these multiple flows are chronically combined and recombined across times and spaces "often unrelated to the regions of existing societies, often following a kind of hypertextual patterning" (Urry 2000: 36). Particularly in the field of social science, the analytical significance attributed to this fluid interdependence has increased dramatically in the recent years and the following titles are quite indicative in that respect: "*Liquid Modernity*" (Bauman 2000), "*Sociology beyond societies: mobilities for the 21<sup>st</sup> century*" (Urry 2000), "*The Rise of Network society*" (Castells 1996), "*Cybersociety*" (Jones 1995), "*Cyberia: life in the trenches of hyperspace*" (Rushkoff 1994), "*Global Diasporas*" (Cohen 1997), "*Nomadic subjects*" (Braidotti 1994), "*Living the Global City*" (Eade 1997), "*Transnational connections*" (Hannerz 1996), "*Transnational citizenship*" (Bauböck 1994), "*World citizenship*" (Rotblat 1997). The impossibility of "society" as a valid object of discourse (Laclau & Mouffe 1985) -resulting from the necessarily incomplete and porous character of any form of totality- thus appears to have lead to the realization that there is no underlying principle which fixes and hence constitutes the relevant field of differences that marks off one society from the other. In what follows, some latter-day "post-societal" definitions are provided, culled more or less at random:

"While our political, professional, moral and cultural authorities still speak happily of "society", the very meaning and ethical salience of this term is under question as "society" is perceived as dissociated into a variety of ethical and cultural communities with incompatible allegiances and incommensurable obligations" (Rose 1996: 353).

**“Societies are not the organic wholes with structures and laws that we thought them to be until recently but fluid entities stretched on all sides by migrations, border crossing and economic forces; cultures are no longer bounded, discrete, and localised but deterritorialised and subjected to multiple hybridizations” (Herzfeld 2001: 47)**

**“Human beings do not create unitary societies but a diversity of intersecting networks of social interaction...Human beings are tunnelling ahead to achieve their goals, forming new networks, extending old ones, and emerging most clearly into our view with rival configurations of one or more of the principal power networks” (Mann 1986: 16).**

**“[Objects of social scientific enquiry] only ever manifest themselves in open systems; that is, in systems where invariant empirical regularities do not obtain. For social systems are not spontaneously, and cannot be experimentally closed” (Bhaskar 1979: 57).**

**“Empirical proof can be seen in the answer to a simple question: In which society do *you* live? Answers are likely to start at two levels. One refers to national states: My society is the “United Kingdom”, “the United States”, “France” or the like. The other is broader: I am a citizen of “industrial society” or “capitalist society” or possibly “the West” or the “Western Alliance”. We have a basic dilemma—a national state society versus a wider “economic society”. For some important purposes, the national state represents a real interaction network with a degree of cleavage at its boundaries. For other important purposes, capitalism unites all three into a wider interaction network, with cleavage at its edge. They are both “societies”. Complexities proliferate the more we probe. Military alliances, churches, common language, and so forth, all add powerful, sociospatially different networks of interaction. We could only answer after developing a sophisticated understanding of the complex interconnections and powers of these various crosscutting interaction networks. The answer would certainly imply a confederal rather than a unitary society” (Mann 1986: 16).**

**In the above quotations, it is suggested (implicitly or explicitly) that such flows across societal borders may also have important implications in the way power relations are constructed since nation-states can no longer pursue goals based upon society as a region (Castells 1996, 2000; Rose 1996; Stevenson 1997; Urry 2000). In other words, such configurations weaken the power of the “societal” to draw together its citizens as one, “to govern in its unique name, to endow all with national identity and to speak with a single voice of the nation-state” (Urry 2000: 37). The weakening of state power and status (which is further undermined by the politics of scandal and its dependence on media politics) (Castells 2000) induce people to build their own systems of defence and representation around their identities, and this further delegitimises the state. As a result, the state has entered a process of dramatic transformation by building partnerships with other nation-states on the one hand and/or by sharing sovereignty to retain influence on the other (Allen 1998; Castells 2000; Martin & Schumann 1997). This decisive shift of power towards multi-national and transnational institutions is quite apparent in the case of the European Union as well as NATO, World Trade Organization, United Nation agencies and so forth (Urry 2000:**



172-173). It is also noteworthy that in seeking to regain some form of legitimacy, most states are also engaged in a process of power devolution, decentralizing responsibilities and resources to nationalities, regions, local governments but also non-governmental organizations (Castells 2000; Loader 1997). Thus, overall, the new state can no longer be seen as a “nation-state” but rather as a “network state” (Castells 1996, 2000) made out of a complex web of power sharing and negotiated decision making between various crosscutting socio-political institutions (Clegg 1989: 267).

In social theory, the notion that power ought to be conceived as flowing from the top to the bottom of a given social order (i.e. from super-structural political forces that possess it to populations which are subjected to its exercise) may have received criticism for quite some time now<sup>1</sup>, but it is only in the last twenty years that its portrayal as an *oversimplified* as well as *negative* conception, has become commonplace.

For instance, in his attempt to demonstrate that earlier forms of understanding have been monolithic and limited in their definition of power, Mann argues that dwelling in a bewildering variety of “social worlds” –of occupation, class, neighbourhood, gender, generation, hobbies etc- runs counter to the tendency of social theory to “heroically simplify, by selecting out relations that are more “powerful” than others, influencing the shape and the nature of other relations and therefore, the shape and nature of social structures in general” (Mann 1986: 5). In a similar vein, Clegg stresses that it is now time for the traditional spectacle of power to retreat to the margins; the centre stage is now occupied by the dispositional and the productive in an array of new capacities, empowerments and pathways which are immune to any pretensions to “painterly architectonics” that sovereign power might once have had since “the canvas is not fixed; the palette not given; the style not dictated” (Clegg 1989: 275). In short, power representations and actualizations can be fixed “anywhere, anyhow, anyway” (Clegg 1989: 275). It is thus claimed that power ought to be conceived as a “net-like organization”, “never localised here or there, never in anybody’s hands, never appropriated as a commodity or piece of wealth” (Foucault 1980: 98). In circulating between the threads of this organization, people are always in the position of undergoing but also of exercising power (Clegg 1989: 14). Foucault’s *problematique* develops along similar lines; he also stresses that earlier studies of power defined it in a quite

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<sup>1</sup> The roots of the concept of “power” are to be found in political theory and philosophy (Clegg 1989). During the post-war era, the concept became a mainstay of political science and subsequently dispersed into political sociology. With Lukes’ and Giddens’ work, the concept moved out of the arena of political sociology to become the most important concept for late-20<sup>th</sup> century sociology (Giddens 1977, 1984, 1985; Lukes 1974, 1977, 1986). Since then, the dispersion may be said to have been even greater, spanning off into areas of literary, film and textual criticism, feminist analysis, social history, organization analysis and so on (Clegg 1989: xviii).

restrictive manner and explains that the latter was seen to only have the force of the negative on its side, “incapable of doing anything, except to render what it dominates incapable of doing anything either” (Foucault 1981: 85). But power, Foucault claims, cannot be conceived as a unitary phenomenon since it constitutes a general term for describing a wide spectrum of “micro-powers” (Foucault 1977, 1981). Power is to be found in specific institutions (hospitals, prisons, schools etc.), factories, state apparatuses, families, interest groups – (Foucault 1977), in other words in all social forms- but is never exactly located in them. It operates via a multiplicity of centres and a variety of mechanisms. To ask “who holds power?” and “what is the source of this power?” are thus misplaced questions. It is “the moving substrate of force relations, which by virtue of their inequality, constantly engender states of power... the name that one attributes to a complex strategical situation in any particular society” (Foucault 1981: 93). A strategy, according to Foucault, is not possessed or formulated by any particular individual or state apparatus, but is a combination of a multiplicity of force relations arising throughout society and characterized by those relations’ positioning, forms, techniques etc. In short, power has to be seen as being omnipresent in the social body (Miller & Tilley 1984: 6). A product of this mode of thinking has been a substantial body of literature on the relation between “power” and “resources” (i.e. power is coextensive with the social field and does not simply arise from control over resources) as well as on the distinction between “empowered” and “powerful” leadership (Bourdieu 1984, 1991; Bryant & Jary 1991; Cohen 1989; Giddens 1984; Held & Thompson 1989; Scott 1990, 1994; Westwood 2002).

## **[6.2] A new agenda for archaeology**

“...no formula account of the nature or purpose of archaeology (even allowing for agreement over whether there should even be a discipline of archaeology) is going to satisfy all parties now, or at any other time”  
(Murray 1993: 114).

It is in the wake of all aforementioned debates that archaeologists have also been encouraged to rethink the terms in which they have so far conceived their object of study (Murray 1993: 105; Sherratt 1995: 122; Wylie 1989: 13). The impetus to the development of fresh concepts may indeed originate (almost exclusively) from outside the discipline but has nevertheless managed to bring the students of the past in far closer contact with general debates in social theory (Chippindale 1993: 27; Sherratt 1995: 122; Wylie 1989: 13).

Of central concern in current archaeological writings has been first and foremost to demonstrate that “evolutionary” understandings of “past societies” and their “history” are largely based upon what Shanks and Tilley have once described as a *logic of necessity* (Shanks & Tilley 1987a: 54-57). This logic of necessity specifies the necessary categories, the necessary character and relations of elements of a given “unit” and ultimately the things which are necessary for “society” to be “society”. To speak of a logic of necessity is really to speak of a research strategy of *selection*: everything has to be accounted for, whether in terms of incorporation or exclusion, conceived as representing the necessary as well as that which is deemed irrelevant. The criteria upon which selection is made are pre-defined, essential and universal so that both “society” and its “history” are conceived as having essences, given and thus uncontested features. Put simply, the *telos* of this logic of necessity is no other than to bring order to what otherwise looks as an anarchy of dispersed particularity and difference (Shanks & Tilley 1987a: 55).

For “post-evolutionary” archaeology however it is particularity and difference that matters the most. Its main task is to provide us with a conceptual framework for understanding how, “far from compromising epistemological integrity” (Wylie 2003: 1), different kinds of *diversity* may alter quite drastically our previous modes of understanding (past) social life. Put simply, this is a form of thinking which encourages us to bring *to the fore* what was previously thought to be a (disturbing and confusing) anarchy of detail. The position that *diversity* should be placed at the focus of analytical enquiry means that archaeologists ought to redefine their attitude towards a wide spectrum of interrelated themes. First of all, the notion that the present is an amalgam of multiple (and often contradictory) social forms is taken to undermine the “dogmatism” and “spurious certainty” of previous approaches to the “past” and to thus help the discipline become “more aware of its own frailty”: the common bodily form we have does not just create one “world” for us, it can be shaped socially in myriad ways (Gosden 1994: 194). Whether we refer to the “present” or the “past”, the “social” is an *open field*, fixed in the politics of various social relations and strategies and in the interpretative practices of various discourses; ultimately, it is precisely through this array of *relations* and *practices* that the meaning of the world is realized and given some sort of empirical evaluation. Put simply, it is thus argued that people’s understanding of the world and of themselves has always been constructed and negotiated *through various forms* and *at various levels of interaction*. The necessary direction of meaning implied by totalitarian conceptual schemata and labels such as “past society”, fails to capture that the actual *experience* of “Being-in-the-world” (Heidegger 1962), has *always* been a practical, relational and strategic process.

Although this particular mode of understanding the “social” has been described by many as a largely “amorphous phenomenon” that could assume “many forms and shapes” when applied to “past” evidence (Kohl 1993: 13), Wylie invites us to abide to what is usually perceived as a purely conventional form of unifying core for this intellectual stance (i.e. commitment to the concept of social diversity) and to then recognize that it actually incorporates two main research programmes rather than an infinite variety of idiosyncratic *problematiques* (Wylie 1991). The first one commonly referred to as *standpoint* archaeology (Wylie 1989) is an *explicitly politicized* programme whose central and motivating insight is to enhance politically engaged research and in so doing, displace the “scientism” and “objectivism” of “evolutionary” archaeology (Gero & Conkey 1991; Conkey & Spector 1984). The cardinal thesis of this strand is essentially one of *inversion*: those who are subject to structures of domination that systematically marginalise and oppress them by, may in fact be epistemologically privileged in several significant respects (Wylie 2003) [see also *sociology* in Fig. 6.1]. Therefore, the aim here is first, to understand how the systematic partiality of authoritative knowledge arises and operates and then, to account for the constructive contributions made by those working from marginal standpoints in countering this partiality (Wylie 1991). *Post-colonial* theory (Bhabha 1994; Blunt & McEwan 2002; Gosden 1999, 2001; Loomba 1998; Meskell & Preucel 2004; Prakash 1995; Yaeger 1996), *feminist* theory (Gero & Conkey 1991; Meskell & Preucel 2004; Moore 1994; Tringham 1991; Wylie 1989, 1991a, 1991b) and more recently *queer* theory (Dowson & Lewis-Williams 1994; Meskell 1998; Meskell & Preucel 2004) constitute the three most distinctive branches of this broad intellectual stance [Fig. 6.2]:

<p><b>Feminist theory in archaeology</b></p>	<p>“At the very heart of feminist scholarship is the visionary argument that modern arrangements –in human relationships as well as in scientific understandings- might be radically otherwise. Feminist scholars in all scientific fields must contend... with the systematic exclusion of women from systems of knowledge” (Gero 2000: 304).</p>
<p><b>Queer theory in archaeology</b></p>	<p>“Archaeology has been consistently underpinning a heterosexual artifice of human prehistory- archaeologists produce constructions that provide the origins for modern, Western family values” (Dowson 2000: 283).</p>
<p><b>Post-colonial theory in archaeology</b></p>	<p>“The mixed character of colonial populations, in which elements of settler and local culture combined to shape a distinct cultural entity has suggested that hybridity and ambiguity more accurately characterize colonial relations” (Lyons &amp; Papadopoulos 2002: 7).</p>

Fig. 6.2 “Standpoint” theories in archaeology

In seeking to challenge all appeals to foundational, predetermined and transcontextually valid standards [see also *linguistics* in Fig. 6.1], the second “post-modernist” strand introduces a much more radical critique of scientific practice and in so doing, disassociates itself entirely from the presumption of epistemological privilege that both “evolutionists” and “standpoint” theorists alike seek to justify. It is argued that working with predetermined categories (of any kind) not only runs the risk of creating (conceptual and empirical) myths but even more importantly, denies that any form of identity is constructed first and foremost as *relationship*; as Barrett points out the understanding of such a relationship cannot depend upon a methodological breakthrough which professes to be in a position to associate predefined “groups” or “identities” with specific aspects/elements/sectors of the archaeological record (Barrett 1988). A given “standpoint” theory is just *one version amongst many others* that have been obscured by the “totalizing” theories of the Enlightenment tradition. When this diversity is taken “seriously” (Wylie 1991: 43), then all these deviant “standpoints” may be found to be deeply divided *among themselves* and with that being the case, the search for a commensurating analytical framework which will encompass and unify all such frameworks –the central aim of Enlightenment Science- ought to be given up altogether (Bapty & Yates 1990; Barrett 1987a, 1987b; Gosden 1994; Hodder 1986, 1990, 1991; Hodder *et al.* 1995; Olsen 1986; Patrik 1985; Shanks & Tilley 1987a, 1987b, 1989a, 1989b; Thomas 1996). The possibility for an archaeology is thus deferred *ad infinitum* because, neither “us” nor the people and things we seek to wish to study can be formalised, reduced, totalised and/or exhausted (Yates 1990: 273).

Despite their differences, both “post-evolutionary” research programmes lay particular emphasis upon the serious implications of the fact that “evolutionary” theory has served Western ideologies of self-justification by permitting the evaluation, elevation and ultimately the celebration of one social form *vis à vis* others (see for example, Shanks & Tilley 1987a, 1987b). The notion that “complexity” can be elevated in relation to “simplicity”, “inequality” in relation to “equality” and so on is argued to constitute a product of the tendency to classify societies in an evaluative hierarchy and to judge them (implicitly or explicitly) by their degree of deviation from our own society. In “post-evolutionary” thought however, writing about the past cannot be conceived as a reductionist and/or essentialist process, subsuming the particular to an abstract social logic, to *a priori* categories, defining and searching for essential and “objective” features of “society” (Shanks & Tilley 1987a: 59). And if it is no longer possible to provide a precise definition of the “societal” then it is also not possible to reconstruct universal developmental sequences of “societal units”. What is proposed instead is that thought and unthought differences create

complex time-scales of action so that ultimately, the fabric of history is made up of many contradictory elements, each with their own power to pull and push the social process. The task in the present is therefore not to dissolve difference, to make it go away, but to find unparalleled forms of mutuality so that the concept of “history” no longer refers to abstract measures of global time-zones but to the multiple facets and temporalities of being human (Gosden 1994: 196; Shanks & Tilley 1987a: 176). In a sense, instead of perceiving history as a universal temporality, an attempt is now made to demonstrate that different temporal orientations contribute to its shaping; history is thus a contingent and not a necessary process, contingent upon determinate and historically variable sets of social relations:

“Evolutionary theories suggest that history is essentially closed in on itself, residing in a basic set of processes; but there are no such basic processes to be found. Processes exist but they are always different, singular, non-identical with each other. It is this non-identity, this singularity that we should be stressing. Rather than attempting to formulate positions which would once and for all explain the past in an absolute sense, we should be emphasizing that there are no absolutes, no fundamentals to dig down to in order to ground our analyses. The attempt to isolate series of events or essential elements and processes results in a turning away from history which becomes overlooked. It results in the production of a reductionist and ideological history” (Shanks & Tilley 1987a: 176).

It almost goes without saying that in stressing the existence of multiple forms of human involvement with the world, archaeologists have also been encouraged to redefine the human relationship with the *material* world. We mentioned earlier that the very act of doing archaeology requires that we place ourselves in front of the world in a particular way and read it as evidence. What this implies is that there are a number of different ways in which we as human beings can comport ourselves towards our material surroundings and just as this insight illuminates our practice as archaeologists, it may also help us understand the relationships between persons and things which have existed at various times in the past (Thomas 1996: 64). Under this scheme, the previously dominant notion that material culture can provide a window through which we can see through and read-off past social reality, no longer appears to be valid (Patrik 1985). Since any attempt to understand material culture is an act of interpretation, then it follows that meaning will always depend on context and the position of the interpreter in relation to this context, whether prehistoric social actor or contemporary archaeologist:

“If archaeology were to operate on the assumption that only one interpretive programme was presented in our data, in other words that the data meant something (a truth to which they referred) and that the meaning is recoverable by us today (rather than material conditions having once given rise to a number of readings), then we would never grasp how history is created from multiple strands of human practice...An interpretive archaeology tries to get close to

understanding how other ways of seeing the world were once –and one hopes, still remain- possible: nothing more” (Barrett 1994a: 171).

### [6.3] Postmodern risks

“[The “postmodernist” turn] has lead to far too many rehearsals of arguments which go like this: (i) an attack on Cartesian or Cartesian-influenced theory, (ii) some ambitions to “deconstruction”, (iii) a few allusions to an all-purpose foil like “the other” and (iv) a call for “a politics of difference”. It is all much too *safe* and antiseptic” (Thrift 1991: 459).

As Murray has rightly stressed, even if we accept that all aforementioned developments point to a paradigmatic shift in social sciences and archaeology in particular, what we should also be prepared to recognize is that the implications of this new perspective have proved very hard for many archaeologists to accept (Murray 1999: 24). In “post-evolutionary” quarters, this skepticism is taken to stem from understandable fears about the consequences of changing a familiar relationship between “past” and “present”. If one examines more carefully however, the issues and themes that have occasioned such widespread unease within the confines of the discipline (and epistemological practice in general), it becomes obvious that the chasm between “evolutionary” and “post-evolutionary” archaeologists is largely due to the fact that the latter have been unable to articulate convincingly their theories *in practice* (Chippindale 1993; Kohl 1993). As Chippindale claims the two variants of “post-evolutionary” archaeology that we examined in the previous chapter [see Section 6.2] can be portrayed as archaeological ambitions beginning with “a large aim, which the best method of study does not seem able to deliver” (Chippindale 1993: 28).

With regard to “standpoint” archaeology on the one hand, several scholars (belonging not only to the “evolutionary” but for that matter, also to the “post-evolutionary” school) have stressed that this has been an ambitious tendency whose end is usually declared to have been fulfilled although it has patently failed to do so. According to Wylie, it is important first of all to recognize that a number of important similarities between this particular mode of thinking and the “evolutionist” paradigm may be identified, despite of their otherwise marked differences (Wylie 1991, 1996). What we are dealing with here is essentially a strand which rejects the option of denouncing the entire “evolutionary” enterprise, at least in part because of its concern to guard against the possibility that its own practice might itself be dismissed as “merely political” “biased” or “marginalised”, i.e. an alternative view that has credibility only for its practitioners. “Standpoint” archaeologists

profess that the standards against which the quality and the credibility of their own results are judged, are in fact “objective standards” (even though they are certainly not the ones envisaged by a -white, male, heterosexual, Western- “evolutionary” agenda). The distinction that they thus draw between “post-evolutionary” and “evolutionary” thought is therefore really a distinction between “good” and “bad” science (Wylie 1991: 42), “science” *per se* is not considered a problematic term. Put simply, if the “evolutionary” vocabulary (and to an extent the “evolutionary” paradigm itself) becomes “enriched” or approached from a different “point of view”, then it may even qualify as epistemologically effective and ontologically sensitive. So for instance, we find cases where the solution to the “problem of bad science” is merely an issue of bringing in higher resolution concepts and a new “angle of vision” which may provide the opportunity to *add* previously overlooked “possibilities” and “readings” to already existing conceptual and analytical constructs. For others however, counter-theories and “evolutionary” theory do not bear equal “validity” (and this is a point predominantly expressed in gender studies); the insights of the former are preferred because it allegedly establishes an “angle of vision” which offers the opportunity to see “more” clearly than others. In feminist archaeology for instance, several scholars have claimed that “evolution” becomes a problem only in so far as it is portrayed as an “androcentric” phenomenon (Conkey & Gero 1991; Gero & Conkey 1991; Fausto-Sterling 1985; Tringham 1991).

Another serious implication of “standpoint” theories in archaeology, has to do with the unfortunate fact that archaeological remains are all too frequently “silent” on the problem of actually specifying differences and determining contributions of distinct social groups in the past (Kohl 1993: 15). At best, what archaeological analysis can confirm is that at the micro-scale of certain activities, a given social milieu does not *necessarily* presuppose and/or encourage such distinctions as the ones drawn today (i.e. women in the past did *not* have an “inferior” status, people in the past were *not* homophobic). If however present distinctions (and/or forms of understanding such distinctions) do not apply to the archaeological evidence, why should we carry on using them as a means for gaining more access to and/or a “better” image of that past? For example, if there appears to be no distinction between “men” and “women” in pottery production, hunting, agricultural activities etc<sup>2</sup> why do we then maintain that gender ought to be seen as a constituent element of “every aspect of human experience” (Flax 1987: 622)?

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<sup>2</sup> One might even argue that a similar case is essentially made for the striking majority of activities that may be inferred by the archaeological evidence.



It is partly because of the above implications that the second “post-evolutionary” strand in archaeology adopts a far more radicalist perspective, opening up considerable space for the insinuation of a wider variety of “external” interests and values into the process of both formulating and evaluating the “past”. Under this scheme, “truth” is nothing more than a “[mobile] army of metaphors” (Shanks & Tilley 1987a: 22); “knowledge” of the “past” “consists of little more than the description of what has already been theoretically constituted” (Shanks & Tilley 1987b: 43). And if all those concepts are constantly under negotiation in the “present” nothing should prevent us from arguing the same for the “past”. As several proponents of this strand have argued we should not deny but rather *welcome* the possibility that “past agents” were *strategic* and *flexible*. Put simply, the infinite variety of “individual”, “micro-political” and other “contextually specific interests” (Wylie 1996: 439) would have been the main impetus, the driving force for social action and interaction in the “past” (Barrett 2004).

But if what we previously perceived as our object of study is inherently “polysemous”, located along open systems of signified-signifiers, if there is simply no single meaning for archaeologists to discover (Barrett 1988) then what is it precisely that we as analysts seek to grasp? How does one study a “moving target”? How can one face the threat of “madness and chaos where nothing is fixed?” (Bernstein 1983: 18)? Even if we go along with the premise that the exaggerated centredness of “active individuals” (Hodder 1986; Shanks & Tilley 1987a, b), “knowledgeable agents” (Giddens 1984; Barrett 1994a, 2000, 2001), “bodies that matter” (Butler 1993; Hamilakis *et al.* 2002; Rainbird & Hamilakis 2001) or *Dasein*-“the activity of being human” (Heidegger 1962; Gosden 1994; Thomas 1996, 2000: 8) found within this alternative conceptual framework does indeed contribute to the establishment of empowered subjects in the “past”, is it not the case that it simultaneously denies such a possibility/potential for archaeologists in the “present”? If on the other hand we accept that archaeologists’ current vision of the “past” is not only a product of *their* time but also one which can be broken down into a series of “pasts” linked with the specific sociopolitical interests, prejudgments and standpoints that each one of them is driven from and seeks to serve (Trigger 1989b: 777), then what credibility could such “pasts” claim on their own behalf? Would not their results be as limited and biased as those they are meant to displace (Wylie 1989: 2-3, 1996: 436)? Even more worrisome, if all these “standpoints” reveal the partiality of accounts of the past and bring into view a different “past”, or new ways of understanding that “past”, does it not follow that *any number* of such “standpoints” might do the same (Wylie 1993: 21)? And in such a case, what could stop the proliferation of conflicting views of history and the slide into “hyperrelativism” (Trigger 1989b: 777), i.e. an extreme “standpoint relativism” according to which “the credibility of each of these

“versions” is strictly context or perspective and interest specific” (Wylie 1989: 2, 1996: 436)?

It follows from the above that to accept, as the second “postmodernist” strand does, that all (or at least most) of the core concepts and categories of “evolutionary” archaeology are deeply problematic is one thing, but to suggest that the only response to the “tyranny” of “evolutionary determinism” can be an adherence to the “anarchy” of the object *as well as* the subject of epistemological discourse is quite another (Bernstein 1983; Shennan 2002: 9; Whitley 1992: 88)! As Gellner rightly stresses, the awesome difficulty of gaining access to the meaning of “others” in the “past” coupled with the recognition of the multi-dimensional, inherently complex fabric of human existence and social being may all too easily end up “softening us up”; it does not “illuminate us” (Gellner 1995: 50).

In seeking to further strengthen this final point, some scholars make a very strong case when arguing that the application of the “deconstructionist” version of the “postmodern” paradigm in archaeology ought to be viewed as an implicit (or rather explicit?) manifestation of the workings of late 20<sup>th</sup> century high capitalism (Bender 1993; Carrithers 2005; Dobres & Robb 2002; Moore 1995). Moore is the one who stresses most emphatically that archaeology has now become (or at least runs the risk of becoming) a strange kind of market place where everything has equal value and everything is equally valueless (Moore 1995: 52-53). In the context of meaning endlessly deferred, with one story being as good as any other, everything is up for sale, everything offers itself for instantaneous consumption (Eagleton 1986). There is simply no “past” but only a plethora of idiosyncratic and highly volatile impressions of “a present past, a present future and a present present” (Moore 1995: 53). Explanation and interpretation become a mere description of “alternatives” in the process, *because no mechanism can be adduced or permitted for choosing between those alternatives*. Methodological and conceptual commitment to disruption, fragmentation and critique in the context of a chronic instability of meaning ultimately makes self-reflection futile, drains it of its critical purchase and of its potential for *motivated* paradigmatic change. In short, the temporary and shifting nature of value to which “post-evolutionary” thought is committed undermines any purpose it might have in the world; while able to deconstruct old “certainties”, it becomes powerless when it tries to apply the same critical tools to itself (Eagleton 1986; Moore 1995).

But if this is indeed the case, can archaeology afford to embrace a mode of thinking (if not *a politics of style*) (Moore 1995: 52) which is devoid of any *shared* notion of aspiration and value? Ultimately (if not ironically) can archaeology afford to embrace a

mode of thinking which professes to be focusing on the “social” when in fact, it provides no means for sustaining that notion neither for its subjects nor its object of study (Johnson 2004: 100; Joyce 1997)?

#### **[6.4] Conclusions**

From the Enlightenment years until the early decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the “evolutionary” paradigm constituted a middle ground shared by various (and often competing) theoretical perspectives, a terrain in other words, on which most intellectual discussions (and battles) were fought out. Since then, the fissures in this common ground have opened up dramatically and they go very deep. Their origins were as much political as intellectual (i.e. rejection of the notion of scientific “progress”/ “truth”, collapse of “nation-state” organization/power) and had the effect of largely dissolving whatever consensus existed before about how the human condition should be approached. As a result of these developments, key “evolutionary” idea(l)s, such as “objectivity” and “society”, have been abandoned altogether whereas other fundamental concepts such as “power” or the “individual” have been largely redefined; a new form of paradigmatic reasoning is thus now becoming available, emphasizing “diversity”, “subjectivity” and effectively the “multifaceted” as well as “situational” character of human life and existence. In the wake of these debates, archaeologists have been encouraged to recognize that archaeology can also provide food for thought about the things that (are now taken to) make us “human”. In recognizing material culture as “polysemous” and inherently dynamic, multiple (spatiotemporal) levels of connection are now established between the “material” and the “social” whereas on the other hand, the pre-eminence previously enjoyed by the concept of “History” has been now replaced by a wide variety of “readings” and “writings” about the past.

Despite the obvious contribution that this paradigmatic shift had to our ways of thinking and writing about the “past”, it currently seems to be leading to some (equally serious) epistemological problems and ontological dead-ends. In this chapter we suggested that however essential “theory ladenness”, ‘multivocality’ and “pluralism” are to “epistemological” thinking and performance (Wylie 2000: 154), this is not necessarily to endorse that the *only* principle of practice which holds across the board (whether we refer to the “past” or the “present”) is that any “rule” and/ or interpretation can be transgressed: “anything goes” (Feyerabend 1988). Very much in line with what various critics of the “postmodern” paradigm have repeatedly pointed out, we concluded that this is a school of

thought which fails to give any satisfying account of how archaeologists can (or do) make and justify judgements about the credibility of competing claims about the past (Wylie 2000: 147).

Interestingly, if one looks more closely at the early writings of even the most enthusiastic proponents of “post-evolutionary” archaeology, the fear of “anything goes” tolerance was readily apparent from the late 1980s (Hodder 1986: 16, 1991: 10; Shanks & Tilley 1987a, 1987b). While these scholars had endorsed a “radical pluralism” according to which “any interpretation of the past is multiple and open to change” (Shanks & Tilley 1987: 109) they also made sure to mention that “we cannot afford the essential irrationality of subjectivism or relativism as *this would be cutting the very ground away from our feet*” (Shanks & Tilley 1987a: 110, my emphasis). That this concern has become revitalized in recent years may indicate that the discipline may this time be ripe for a renewed effort at “bridge building” (Schiffer 2000: 5) and a commitment to rethink current intellectual polarizations “in a more productive and less polemical way” (Shanks & McGuire 2000). This intention as expressed in several recent works is *in itself* of fundamental importance; it implies that a new kind of *ethos* is slowly but steadily becoming established amongst the scholars of our generation, an obdurate principle of which is that a shift from the current state of disarray, splits and divisions, doubts and uncertainties (Bintliff 1993; Flannery 1982) will be possible only if we archaeologists *assume the responsibility for exercising far more creative thought in creating -rather than demolishing- paths of communication amongst ourselves*<sup>3</sup> (Preucel & Hodder 1996: 674; Schiffer 2000: 6; Wylie 1989: 6).

To understand what such an (epistemological as well as ontological) enterprise would entail in more practical terms requires that we now return to Minoan archaeology. So far, it has been suggested that the recent tendency in Minoan studies to express a loss of confidence in formal categories such as the “palace” and in long dominant concepts such as “complexity” and/or “social evolution”, is not merely a result of ongoing developments in the field [see Chapter Five] but also a product of the direct or indirect, partial or full, implicit or explicit involvement of Minoan scholarship in what we have here described as the broader theoretical discourses and intellectual transformations of the late 20<sup>th</sup> –early 21<sup>st</sup> century [see Sections 6.1, 6.2]. Although this involvement was initially inferred through writings that remained more remedial in tone (with the previously dominant “evolutionary” models being the obvious target), what we have been witnessing within the last five years is the gradual

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<sup>3</sup> Interestingly, in recent years there is a wider and generally increasing concern with “ethics” not just in archaeology (Pluciennik 2001; Vitelli 1996) but also in many other disciplines (Pluciennik 2001: 1).

crystallization of “postmodern” trends within the confines of the discipline. The following chapter will describe how this new intellectual wave seeks to redefine our previous modes of understanding the “Minoan past” (a term which has so far been used essentially as a synonym of the “palatial phenomenon” and its “history”) but in view of what we have discussed in this chapter it will at the same time caution against the conceptual and epistemological problems/risks [see Section 6.3] that such a shift of perspective potentially entails for Minoan archaeology. Discussion will proceed by arguing that current trends in archaeology in general and Minoan archaeology in particular are not so much in need of a “postmodern” transformation as of “renewed resolve to come to grips with the problems, issues and concerns that modern, processual archaeology and its antecedents have rightly addressed” (Wylie 1993: 25). It will be argued that the only thing that would help us surmount the (highly problematic) current state of affairs in studies of the (Minoan) past [see Section 6.4] would be to shift attention towards the identification/exploration of epistemological as well as ontological options that will allow *(re-)construction* as opposed to *deconstruction*. In the course of developing these arguments, emphasis will then be laid upon exemplifying how a *constructivist* perspective can illuminate some key questions and themes related to the “palatial phenomenon” and its “emergence”.

## On categories and questions

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“The way in which we think and examine a problem will itself give rise to what are seen as appropriate solutions”  
(Bauman & May 2001: 124, *my emphasis*).

### [7.1] Postmodern echoes in Minoan archaeology: Rethinking the “palace” category

In earlier chapters, we demonstrated that amongst the most significant developments of recent years in Minoan studies, has been the systematic rethinking of the concept of the “palace” both in terms of empirical validity as well as analytical potential [see Chapter Five]. In order to appreciate more fully the impact that those revisionist attempts had upon Minoan archaeology, one only needs to be reminded of the robust hold that the “palace” possessed on the “evolutionary” scholarly imagination [see Sections 2.2, 3.2, 4.4]. In fact, the immense epistemological weight and ontological importance accorded to the concept of the “palace” brings to mind what “postmodern” writings refer to (at least in part) when they describe “evolutionary” archaeology as an “archaeology of representation” (Barrett 1994: 154; Miller 1985: 2; Patrik 1985). The term essentially refers to the tendency to view a particular assemblage of material culture (in this case the “palace”) as the *mark* of a particular historical reality. This tendency is grounded on the one hand, upon the belief in the *empirical cohesion* and *uniqueness* of a certain category (i.e. the “palace” is analytically distinct, well-defined and “special”), and the desire on the other, to *associate* that cohesion with a relatively uniform set of past cultural values. Under this scheme, the significance accorded to the “palace” is twofold: not only does it have special value for us in the present (i.e. as a well-defined analytical unit and an extra-ordinary building programme) but is also taken to

have carried an equally significant value for people in the past (i.e. as the material expression of a new form of authority, a more complex kind of social organization and a new stage in history). In a way, the “palace” category may be thus viewed as an “aggregate construction” (Barth 2002: 25), covering and combining aspects/issues pertinent to both epistemology and ontology (Hitchcock 2000: 30-33; Klynne 1998: 207). The table below summarizes how this “complex category” (Lakoff 1987: 145-148) has informed “evolutionary” ways of thinking and approaching the Minoan past [Fig. 7.1]:

<b>P A L A C E</b>	<b>Epistemology</b>	<i>A well-defined analytical category</i>
		<i>An unprecedented material phenomenon</i>
	<b>Ontology</b>	<i>A locus of centralized authority</i>
		<i>A new/more complex kind of societal order</i>
		<i>An unprecedented historical phenomenon</i>

**7.1 An insight into the anatomy of “aggregate constructions”:  
What the Minoan “palace” represents for “evolutionary” archaeology.**

Another issue that we discussed in previous sections [see Chapter Six] is how and on what grounds, “postmodernist” archaeology rejects “representation”. First of all, the disquiet with and critique against this concept (as well as methodological strategy) have been fuelled by the idea that classifications of material culture are not a neutral device and independent of theory [see Sections 6.1, 6.2]. As Strauss rightly claims “nothing is more absolute than the fact that nothing is absolute” (Strauss 1994: 4). Efforts to create some kind of “natural” classification is simply unattainable, since any such attempt involves the definition of significant criteria (i.e. significant to the classifier) (Bernard 1994: 24; Jenkins 1996: 86; Shanks & Tilley 1987b: 83). The arrangement of these criteria in some order of importance depends on prior knowledge and expectations (i.e. what we know or want to know) (Ramenofsky & Steffen 1998: 3). As Bernard rightly stresses, unit construction is really about “deciding which value to record” (Bernard 1994: 24). It follows from this that an infinite number of different classificatory systems may be developed for the same data set (Ramenofsky & Steffen 1998: 6; Strauss 1994: 4). At the same time, it is very likely that the taxonomic systems modeled by the archaeologist are not compatible with those utilized in

the past [see Section 6.2]. Our categories therefore are not necessarily “real” to the people to whom they refer and nor should we have any such expectations of them (Jenkins 1996: 86). In short, the notion that material culture is an *open text* encourages us to direct our attention away from epistemological knowledge (which strives for the discovery of “essential”, “neutral”, “monolithic” meanings), towards the realm of ontological *polysemy*: (past) material culture (i.e. the product and medium of social actions) should not be taken to have a fixed meaning, neither for us in the present nor the people of the past. As a result of this, no category or “classificatory” schema that we establish as archaeologists is “better”, more “reliable” or more significant than others [see Section 6.2]. No category will ever help us capture the intrinsic complexity of past social life in its totality and of this point, “postmodern” archaeology insists, we constantly need to be reminded.

Following this line of thinking, various Minoan scholars have recently cast serious doubt upon what was long taken to constitute the central and most striking feature of the Minoan record (i.e. the “palace”). In particular, it has lately begun to be stressed that it is now time to come to terms with the idea that the “palace” category is not as *power-full* (epistemologically and ontologically) as previously anticipated (Ramenofsky & Steffen 1998: 9). At a purely empirical level, an increasing number of writings is currently acknowledging that it is no longer plausible to speak of a morphologically and functionally distinct unit [see Section 5.2]. Along with these doubts and uncertainties over the category’s empirical validity, has come the realization that the ontological value previously attributed to the “palace” (essentially on the basis of its so-called epistemological distinctiveness and singularity) should also be recast: the “palace” ought no longer be viewed as the fulcrum, the driving force of all socio-political processes in the history of the island [see Sections 5.2, 5.3, 5.4]. Being essentially a construction arising from our study of the Minoan record, it is not representative of any social or economic conditions (Knappett 1999); to think so would be a over-simplified characterization of a quite diverse and complex set of data (Barrett 2004).

For this body of evidence to work as the basis of ontological and historical understanding, it must not be reduced from the representations of a particular event (the construction of a building we choose to call “palace”) to a characterization of a socio-historical process [see Sections 5.2, 5.3, 5.4]. What our engagement with the evidence must address instead are *the conditions of possibility* for human action, that is the “diversity of conditions out of which new and at times old, similar forms of order arose at different times, in different places, and from diverse conditions” (Barrett 2004: 23) [see Sections 6.1, 6.2].



But how exactly would such a programme of analysis be realized? And how promising a future could it guarantee for Minoan archaeology now that our expectations concerning the “palace” category have fallen through? In the last few years, increasing attention has been directed towards this issue and although we are still at the early stages of this admittedly painstaking enterprise, two strands have already begun to crystallise in the literature.

The proponents of the first strand (Adams 2004; Relaki 2003, 2004; Schoep 2002a, 2002b) argue that, even if we take the “palace” to be a distinct category and one which indeed reflects the emergence of a new form of social organization on the island of Crete, this should not necessarily lead us into forming a single classificatory schema and explanatory horizon for all “palatial” structures. What is advocated here instead is that a program of analysis that wishes to find an escape route from “representation” (and its pitfalls), will have to concern itself with the operation of *particular conditions* and their possible consequences (Adams 2004; Day & Relaki 2002: 228; Schoep 2002a, 2002b, 2004: 245, 255). Put simply, how the “palace” category was historically generated and reproduced, may be grasped only by reference to *local variations* and *idiosyncratic readings*. Essentially therefore, the greater the emphasis on (empirical) detail (i.e. on the complex and fine-grained nature of these structures), the closer we get to appreciating the multiplicity of meanings and purposes that each of these structures we broadly term “palaces”, actually encapsulated (Day & Relaki 2002: 229; Schoep 2002a, 2002b, 2004: 245, 255).

The emphasis (epistemological and ontological) laid upon the examination of the particularities of each “palace”, seems to be directing attention to the exploration of what is broadly conceived of as “local dynamics”. This notion of the “local” *dictates* in a way, how the “social” and the “historical” are also perceived. In the case of the former (i.e. the “social”), it appears that the morphological and functional typology of each “palatial” monument is to be viewed as the result of “local” needs and “local” in this case, refers to the immediate surroundings of each “palace” (Adams 2004; Relaki 2003; Schoep 2002a; 2002b). Similarly, the morphological and functional development of each “palace” (the biography of each of these compounds in other words) (Schoep 2004: 245, 255), is also taken to be inextricably connected with “local” processes and transformations (Relaki 2003, 2004; Schoep 2002a, 2002b, 2004; Vansteenhuyse 2002: 241; Whitelaw 2004a). The paramount position that “regional” studies and studies of the (spatio-temporal) “micro-scale” currently occupy in Minoan literature, is a phenomenon associated explicitly with this very form of *problematique* (Adams 2004; Knappett 1999; Relaki 2003; Schoep 2002a, 2002b, 2004; Whitelaw 2004a).

The second strand appears to adopt a more radical perspective than the one discussed above. In particular, several scholars have recently reminded us that the “palace” category is not problematic merely on the grounds that each “palatial” building has many idiosyncratic morphological and functional elements but also because a good number of the features previously taken to be (exclusively) associated with the “palatial” sector are now found to be widely diffused also in the “non-palatial” sector [see Section 5.2]. This diffusion led the proponents of this strand to the conclusion that the “palace” can no longer stand as a unique case; by extension, the focus of enquiry in this case shifts upon identifying other, more effective epistemological categories/classificatory schemata that could replace the “palace” altogether (Driessen *et al.* 2002; Hamilakis 2002c) [see also Chapter 8]. Here however, the construction of these alternative epistemological units does not depend upon the meticulous and systematic investigation of the “micro-scale” as envisaged by the first strand (i.e. examine each “palace” as an independent case); instead the wide distribution of “palatial” features and functions (monumental architectural elements, agricultural storage, feasting, evidence for luxurious craft production and consumption) is taken to call for the expansion of our scope of analysis towards the “broader geographic, social and political landscape” and thus a wider (and highly complex) web of socio-political interactions and interconnections (Day & Relaki 2002: 219, 222; Hamilakis 2002c: 198-199).

What precisely is meant by the term “wider web” remains somehow unclear; however the practical application of these ideas has been so far limited to the New Palace period (Hamilakis 2002c), where the evidence points to a wide distribution of “palatial” features and structures, unprecedented in scale (Driessen 1982, 1989-90; Driessen *et al.* 2002; Hitchcock 2000). Moreover and contrary to the first strand, no specific reference appears to be made either to *regional* variation or *diachronic development* (Hamilakis 2002c: 199). Rather, the central concern here appears to be more general, i.e. to devise more flexible accounts for the Minoan past, which will allow the *fluidity* of archaeological patterns in our interpretations (Day & Relaki 2002: 219; Hamilakis 2002b: 16). In seeking to do so, along with the diffusion of “palatial” features outside the “palaces”, this strand also directs attention to social relations (and material expressions) other than those dictated/imposed by the “outdated and dangerous” “evolutionary” categorizations (such as the “palace”) (Hamilakis 2002b: 15-21). For instance, in a recent volume entitled “*Labyrinth Revisited: Rethinking “Minoan” Archaeology*” (Hamilakis 2002a), various scholars experiment with interpretive angles and directions of enquiry such as “gender” and other “standpoint” theories (Alberti 2002; Hamilakis 2002b; Nikolaidou 2002), “phenomenology” and “mnemonics” (Day & Wilson 2002; Hamilakis 2002b; Nikolaidou 2002), crafts, “technological choices” and “bodily experience” (Knappett 2002). For the editor, the wide

variety of approaches found in the volume is *a product of our times* (Hamilakis 2002b: 21), a fearless recognition of “situated” narratives (Hamilakis 2002b: 22), a manifestation of *awareness* of the “links, relations, feelings, aspirations and expectations” that drive any kind of archaeological production, including the “Minoan past” (Hamilakis 2002b: 16). To exemplify this point further, Hamilakis goes on to argue that “the collectivity of Minoan archaeologists is fragmented along various lines of epistemological tradition, academic affiliation, nationality, political conviction, social and economic status, gender and age” and as such, it would be “futile (as well as undesirable)” to attempt to propound a suggestion for a new research agenda “which would be acceptable by all, or even by most researchers” (Hamilakis 2002b: 15). In arguing so, Hamilakis is basically encouraging us to embrace the “postmodernist” notion that any view on how the “Minoan past” could be written is just that, a view; not an evangelical “call for action” but rather an invitation for “an open, multi-vocal, critical and self-critical debate” (Hamilakis 2002b: 15).

## **[7.2] Obstacle or boon? Some further thoughts on “palaces”, “categories” and “category making”**

“To change the very concept of a category is to change not only our concept of the mind,  
but also our understanding of the world”  
(Lakoff 1987: 9)

Our discussion so far has demonstrated why it is possible to link recent developments in Minoan studies (particularly those concentrating on the redefinition of the “palace” category) with broader paradigmatic developments in the discipline of archaeology and beyond [see Sections 6.1, 6.2]. Notions such as “detail”, “peculiarity”, “diversity”, “fluidity” etc. have been shown to typify all recent attempts to move beyond the classificatory apparatus of evolutionary thinking, particularly the “palace”. However, despite this triumphant elevation of (epistemological *and* ontological) complexity/subtlety within the confines of Minoan archaeology, the trajectory of the literature seems somewhat discouraging. Being still at a preliminary stage of development (Day & Relaki 2002: 231-234), all approaches we examined in the previous section paint a picture, which remains “very coarse and sketchy, with many loose ends” and in fact, this is something that even the actual advocates of these new ideas seem to acknowledge (Hamilakis 2002c: 199). But is it simply a matter of time before these ideas can further increase our hopes for the future of Minoan archaeology (Day & Relaki 2002: 231-232) or is it rather the case that the new avenues of enquiry we are encouraged to follow, are very likely to be proved (equally, if not more) problematic than those we are meant to abandon? Might this shift of perspective in

other words, be more of an obstacle to our understanding of the “Minoan past” rather than a boon?

For instance, if we examine more closely the principles put forward by the first strand [see Section 7.1], one question immediately comes to mind: if we choose indeed to view the “palace” category as a “broad convention”, then whom exactly does this convention *make sense* to? Following the main argument put forward by the proponents of this strand (i.e. “palaces” differ quite significantly amongst themselves, their morphological and functional characteristics are very idiosyncratic), on what grounds and for what purposes do *we archaeologists* consider the “palace” an epistemological category to be maintained? If at a purely ontological level on the other hand, we espouse the notion that broad categories (such as the “palace”) would have been perceived and experienced first and foremost as “local” phenomena [see Section 7.1], then the possibility exists that those monumental structures *we* have lumped into a single category may have *never* been considered or thought of as such in the past. Going back to the initial question therefore, why is the “palace” category not given up once and for all [Fig. 7.2]?

Ontology	“Palace”	Epistemology
A “local”, expression/phenomenon	<i>A conventional category relevant to whom?</i>	An empirically unsustainable category

### 7.2 The epistemological and ontological impossibility of the “palace” category

The reproduction of the “palace” category (even if referred to as merely being a “broad convention”) plays an instrumental role in the formation and methodological direction/orientation of our entire research programme (Brück & Goodman 1999: 2; Ramenofsky & Steffen 1998: 9) and this is another serious implication of this strand that requires consideration. As we mentioned earlier [see Section 7.1], based upon the principle that the “palace” is a “local” phenomenon, the actual “boundaries” (temporal and spatial) of the corresponding “locality” are also constructed/defined. On the other hand, along with the epistemological boundaries that *we* establish in this manner, we also assume that the very same boundaries would have existed/operated in the past (i.e. experience of immediate conditions/surroundings/relations is the *actual reality* of social existence in the past). In short, the “local” becomes the largest epistemological and ontological unit/framework that can be established [see Section 7.1]. Consequently, anything that lies *outside* that unit has little contribution (if any) to the study as well as the actual operation of the socio-historical process. In the light of the foregoing speculation however, one could not help but wondering

whether at the level of principle, this strand differs at all from the conceptual scheme put forward by those “evolutionary” models that we have previously characterized as “endogenous” [see Chapter Two]. Although it is certainly true that in this case we are dealing with far smaller (and admittedly more dynamically constituted) scales than the ones envisaged by scholars like Renfrew<sup>1</sup> [see Sections 2.2, 2.3], the prioritization of “internal” over “external” factors constitutes nevertheless an obvious point of consensus amongst the two *problematiques*.

The most fundamental point that needs to be highlighted here, however, with regard to this strand is ultimately the association it establishes between “empirical detail” and “ontology”. In seeking to oppose itself to the “evolutionary” tendency to produce “general” categories and “large-scale” patterns, it brings the “peculiarities” of the material record (in this case the “palaces”) to the fore. But could the current insistence on detail actually bring us closer to the ontological authenticity of the “palaces” (and for that matter the past in general)? Does it really render them into a more manageable object for empirical enquiry and theoretical analysis than before [see Section 6.3]? The more empirical “details” we consider, the more “voluble” the “palaces” become, this is true. Yet at the same time, the more the material evidence “speaks”, the more likely it is for archaeologists to become “silent”, for fear that there will always be more “alternatives”, “peculiarities”, “contingencies” requiring consideration; the complexity of the empirical record is something that could never be epistemologically “tamed”; what is broadly perceived as the ontological dimension of the “past” and its materialities could never be grasped in their entirety. But if this is the case, then where does our quest for increasing detail stop? As Bender has once rightly made plain, to be willing to treat past social life (and its material expressions) as “voluble” (instead of “mute”) is by all means important, but what is equally (if not more) crucial is that archaeologists establish the necessary means to be able to “*speak back*”, they have to be prepared in other words, not to *hide behind the “past”* (Bender 1998: 214-215). To admit every voice on the past “would take as long as that past itself” (Given 1998: 126).

Ultimately, to imply that ontology and empirical detail are inextricably associated, contradicts yet another cardinal element of this strand, namely that the past (or rather the image of it) arises out of *our* socio-historical position and as such, conforms to our own description(s) and expectations of it (King 2002: 123; Ota 2002: 79; Outhwaite 1985: 25). “Speaking back” therefore (Bender 1998: 214-215), requires first of all that we come to

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<sup>1</sup> One needs to admit nevertheless that Renfrew’s concept of the “multiplier effect” acknowledges the role of past social dynamics and involves a stress on *complex* causality: “no single factor, however striking its growth, can of itself produce changes in the structure of culture” (Renfrew 1972: 39).

terms with the point made at the beginning of this chapter, i.e. that it is basically impossible to approach a certain object of enquiry without “prejudice” and “preconceptions”. In fact, we need to *reconcile* with the idea that it is precisely through these “preconceptions” and “prejudices” that our understanding of the past is constructed in the first place (Gadamer 1989). If we take this point seriously however, then what also becomes apparent is that these prejudices are not an obstacle to knowledge so much as *a condition of knowledge*, making up the fundamental structure of our relationship with our object of enquiry. Such “prejudices” are bound up with our awareness of the historical influence or effectivity of our object and without this awareness *we would simply not comprehend it*<sup>2</sup> (Outhwaite 1985:25). To reconcile with the notions of “situatedness” and “bias” therefore, is really about accepting that the object of historical understanding does not consist of events but of their significance (which is related to the present), i.e. their significance *for today* (Outhwaite 1985:27). In short, approaching and understanding the past is not a *quaestio facti* but a *quaestio juris* (Bleicher 1980: 84).

With these ideas in mind, let us now briefly return to the “palace” problem. By way of contrast to the strand in question, it could be argued that there is nothing “wrong” with the formulation of the “palace” category in itself. “Evolutionary” writings in Minoan archaeology, (quite rightly) proceeded with the construction of an analytical “unit” and “justified” its existence and “effectiveness” (Gadamer 1989) on the basis of certain empirical criteria and the principles of a given socio-historical (paradigmatic) agenda. This turned the “palace” into an *epistemologically visible* and *valid* unit, a category in other words, *relevant* to the archaeological community but also the wider Western world.

This point cannot (and should not) erase the fact that “evolutionists” wrongly substituted the “reality of the model” for the “model of reality” (i.e. what is epistemologically “central”/“real”/“true”/“essential” is also ontologically “central”/“real”/“true”/“essential”) (Bourdieu 1977: 29); nor does it doubt the serious implications of the (conscious or unconscious) tendency to “Westernize” the (pre)history of Crete (and humankind in general) (Hamilakis 1995, 2002a) [*see also* Chapter Five]. To condemn all above practices and tactics is one thing; but it is quite another to conjecture that the only means to guarantee that (Minoan) archaeology becomes more “ethical” and “pragmatic” in the “post-evolutionary” era is the adoption of a methodological strategy focusing on the “particular”. As Marquardt claims, the act of prioritizing certain criteria over

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<sup>2</sup> “Understanding is never subjective behaviour towards a given “object”, but towards its effective history—the history of its influence; in other words, understanding belongs to the being of that which is understood” (Gadamer 1989: xix).

others is *what expressing an opinion is ultimately all about*; and at the end of the day, creating a category is precisely that: the expression of an opinion. In addition, Lakoff stresses that “every view of reason” must have “an associated account of categorization” (Lakoff 1987: 8). Any act of categorization and interpretation is reductionist *by definition* (Marquardt 1992: 104). Any attempt to express an opinion on something (be that a person, an object or even a situation) requires that we emphasize some elements/aspects/characteristics of it over others (Jenkins 1996; Marquardt 1992; Miller 1985). We may thus allow the possibility of *misjudgment* (i.e. that there are “ill-defined” categories or even “unethical” research agendas), as far as the very act of “category making” is concerned however, this is something we really need to view as imperative (if not unavoidable) (Lakoff 1987):

“Categorization is not a matter to be taken lightly. There is nothing more basic than categorization to our thought, perception, action and speech. Every time we see something as a *kind* of thing, for example, a tree, we are categorizing. Whenever we reason about *kinds* of things –chairs, nations, illnesses, emotions, any kind of thing at all- we are employing categories...And any time we either produce or understand any utterance of any reasonable length, we are employing dozens if not hundred of categories: categories of speech sounds, of words, of phrases and clauses, as well as conceptual categories. Without the ability to recognize, we could not function at all, either in the physical world or in our social and intellectual lives. An understanding of how we categorize is central to any understanding of how we think and how we function, and therefore central to an understanding of what makes us human” (Lakoff 1987: 5-6).

For the reasons just spelled out, it could be argued that amongst the two strands that have been recently crystallized in Minoan archaeology, the second is the one admittedly closer to such a perspective; it is a strand in other words which appears to be developing a more realistic attitude towards the issue of the relation between the past and the present, or more precisely, between past ontology and scientific (archaeological) practice. As mentioned earlier, what is vigorously stressed under this scheme, is that the “fluid” and “dynamic” character of material culture ought to be taken far more seriously (with the notions “fluid” and “dynamic” making reference not only to the way(s) material culture was understood and experienced in the past, but also (perhaps even more importantly) to the way(s) it is perceived in the present) (Hamilakis 2002a, 2002b). In other words, what this mode of thinking acknowledges is not only the inherently complex character of (past) human life (and its materialities) but also the futility of epistemological efforts to *equate* empirical detail and ontology. Emphasis seems to be shifting (rightly) towards the present; there is full awareness of the fact that all archaeological narratives are “situated” and to the proponents of this strand, this implies that the hope of ever going back to monolithic concepts such as the “Minoan past”, ought to be given up altogether (Hamilakis 2002b: 16, 22). In view of

this *problematique* and by way of contrast to the first strand, the second one has been shown to abandon the “palace” category altogether [see Section 7.1].

The ideas that this strand advances have obvious associations with the most radical versions of “postmodernist” archaeology that we examined in the previous chapter [see Section 6.2, “*deconstructionists*”]. As a result, the shortcomings we have pointed out with regard to the “deconstructionist” stance [see Section 6.3], apply also to this case. In heralding “a sort of overrun” (Yates 1990: 237), which aims at spoiling all the boundaries of conventional epistemological discourse and at wiping away all reference-points that could protect the sharing of (at least a minimum set of) categories/terms and questions in Minoan archaeology, this is an intellectual wave which may quite rightly raise concerns over the relation developed between “us” and the “past” (i.e. we *construct* the past, we do not discover it) (Zimmerman 1996: 214) but unfortunately it also breaks the points of communication *amongst* “us” in the present: under the “deconstructionist” scheme, the only thing that can be recognized/accepted as common ground amongst Minoan scholars is the need to challenge the intellectual edifice of “evolution” (and by extension, the “palace”) and to allow for “centrifugal” intellectual tendencies to develop<sup>3</sup> (Hamilakis 2002b: 21-22). And although it is certainly plausible to voice concerns over the tendency to equate the “Minoan past” with the a single issue/theme (i.e. the “biography” of the “palatial phenomenon”), it is equally problematic to assert that Minoan archaeology will become “dialogical” (as opposed to “monological”) (Joyce 2002) only insofar as it allows *heteroglossia*, the expression and “flourishing” of multiple and diverse opinions, terminologies and interpretations (Joyce 2002).

The shift from “monologue” to “dialogue” however, is not guaranteed merely by recognizing that everyone has the right to “speak”; at the end of the day how can a dialogue be facilitated when no common issues, concerns, questions and points of reference are established? If this is the case, why maintain the notion of a discipline (in our case (Minoan) archaeology) at all, when in every single opportunity we tend to question its very boundaries? As in our general discussion on “postmodern” risks in current archaeological practice, the conclusion we seem to be reaching also at this juncture is that the conditions that would allow fruitful communication in Minoan archaeology (especially after the

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<sup>3</sup> “[Our] present “loss of innocence” allows for a more explicit acceptance of the contingent nature of our enquiry. In other words, these and other writers show an awareness of their situated ontological, epistemic and social status as producers of archaeological stories. This is their “Ariadne’s thread” in their venture into the multi-layered labyrinth of simulacra that is the Cretan Bronze Age. Inevitably, as with all archaeology, the critical rethinking of the “Minoan phenomenon”, its production and consumption, is possible only from that position of reflexivity” (Hamilakis 2002: 21-22).



repudiation of the “palace”), do not seem to be met. Although we might have now moved beyond the “monological” approaches advanced by “evolutionary” archaeology<sup>4</sup>, this new intellectual scheme appears to be equally problematic for the simple reason that it continues to foster intellectual soliloquy.

To the proponents of this mode of thinking, as Marquardt once claimed, the prospect of establishing a consensual direction of enquiry for archaeology seems as a task “presumptuous at best, pretentious at worst” (Marquardt 1992: 113). Engaging in quite deliberate provocation for the purpose of unsettling the orthodoxy of archaeological conventions (such as the “palace”) becomes of cardinal importance (Hamilakis 2001, 2002c), but does this free us from the need to deal more directly with the further development of Minoan archaeology as a whole and the duty to engage in constructive and serious dialogue and interplay even with our actual critics (Wylie 2000: 155)?

### [7.3] The way ahead: Re-establishing a basis for “dialogue” in (Minoan) archaeology

“To deserve the name, I contend, knowledge must be communicable  
and in that sense public and also useful”  
(Childe 1956: 4)

In seeking to demonstrate the difference between “monologue” and “dialogue”, the Russian literary theorist Mikhail Bakhtin<sup>5</sup> once made the simple observation that “dialogue” –as opposed to “monologue”– is an act which is by definition *inter-individual* and it is in this respect that we may consider it to be a *social* act (Bakhtin 1986). To be “dialogical” (and by extension “social”) translates into *engagement* with another person or person(s) (Holquist 1990: 21-33; Todorov 1984: 29-34). By way of contrast to what we have termed “evolutionary” archaeology, Bakhtin does not use the term “engagement” to refer to the

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<sup>4</sup> In earlier sections we stressed that “evolutionary” archaeologists conjure up and consent to a basic set of fundamental (allegedly “objective”/“universal”) principles. These principles produce a unifying framework for archaeologists also at the level of *methodology*: the same classificatory schemes, societal typologies, models of societal change are employed by different scholars and then applied in various spatio-temporal contexts with the effect of yielding strikingly similar (if not identical) results. As Deetz rightly states, this particular form of “doing archaeology” seems to have been perpetuated “*by example*” (i.e. “what others say I have to follow/say as well”) (Deetz 1998: 94). This mutual trust and shared orientation however, creates a form of discourse which *traps* its interlocutors since no one is allowed to take up a rejecting stance to what is being said (Harré 1990: 83-85). All “evolutionary” “attempts to “speak” thus end up repeating the exact same “words”, “sentences” and “expressions”; communication between “us” in the “present” occurs so that a single “monologue” can be reiterated (Joyce 2002: 11).

<sup>5</sup> Bakhtin developed his concept of dialogue most completely in his studies of the novel (Bakhtin 1981, 1984) but also explored the implications of dialogue for the human sciences as a whole (Joyce 2002).

conversion of the self into a representation of a larger whole, “sacrificing the irreducible experience of subjectivity for the power of speaking for others” because such an understanding misses the whole point of communicating<sup>6</sup> (Morson & Emerson 1990: 183). What Bakhtin argues instead is that the condition required for communication is *non-identity* (Bakhtin 1993: 42) since people with “identical” opinions do not really need to converse with one another<sup>7</sup> (Joyce 2002). And yet this final point should not make us jump into conclusions similar to those put forward by that “postmodernists” (particularly the “deconstructionists”), who choose to see “engagement” as a means for confirming that the differences between oneself and another are irresolvable<sup>8</sup> (Bakhtin 1981: 269-280). Rather than dwelling upon the differences *per se*, Bakhtin prefers to focus his attention instead, upon the *relational process* through which differences are constituted.

The key element for understanding how this relational process operates is the concept of *response*<sup>9</sup> (Bakhtin 1981, 1984; Levinas 1967). Response, according to Bakhtin, is what gives meaning to the speaker’s words and it does so by continuously supplying an evaluation of these words, affirming or contesting them<sup>10</sup>. Simply put, communication derives meaning and acquires substance from utterances which are *dialogic*, taking place between speaking subjects and addressed, and thus potentially answering subjects (Bakhtin 1986: 121-122). This implies that “discourse” is not only “inter-individual” (Bakhtin 1986: 121-122) but even more importantly, a product and an explicit manifestation of “double-voicedness” and “rhythmizing” (Bakhtin 1981: 434, 1984: 185-186). This is an act in other words, in which neither the “self” nor the “other(s)” dominate; rather the “self” is compelled to *attune* to the “other(s)”:

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<sup>6</sup> “Monologism, at its extreme, denies the existence outside itself of another consciousness with equal rights *thou*). With a monological approach *another person* remains wholly and merely an *object* of consciousness and not another consciousness... Monologue manages without the other, and therefore to some degree

materializes (objectivizes) all reality. Monologue [thus] pretends to be the *ultimate word*”. (Bakhtin 1984: 292-293; alternatives in brackets after Todorov 1984: 107).

<sup>7</sup> A similar argument is put forward by Emmanuel Levinas who claims that: “only when we try to understand the human person in his [sic] whole situation, in the possibilities of his [sic] relation to all that is not himself [sic], do we understand man [sic] (Levinas 1967 cited in Hand 1989: 67).

<sup>8</sup> “The most important acts...are determined by their relation to another consciousness (a “*thou*”). Cutting oneself off, closing oneself off, those are the basic reasons for loss of self...The very being of man [sic] (both “internal” and “external”) is a *profound communication*. *To be means to communicate*...To be means to be for the “other”, and through him [sic], for oneself (Bakhtin 1984: 311).

<sup>9</sup> The idea that “communication” ought to be seen as an active process of encounter and response has been touched upon by Hans-Georg Gadamer (i.e. “fusion of horizons”) (Gadamer 1976, 1981), Jürgen Habermas (i.e. “theory of communicative action”) (Habermas 1984) and to a lesser extent, Anthony Giddens (i.e. “double hermeneutic”) (Giddens 1984).

<sup>10</sup> Levinas goes as far as to suggest that “the presence of the *Thou*, of the other, *ipso facto* implies a “word” which is addressed directly to me and which requires a response” (cited in Hand 1989: 66).

“In the actual act of speech, every concrete act of understanding is active...Understanding comes to fruition only in the response. Understanding and response are diametrically merged and mutually condition each other; one is impossible without the other”(Bakhtin 1981: 282).

“The word in living conversation is directly, blatantly oriented towards a future answer-word: it provokes an answer, anticipates it and structures itself in the answer’s direction. Forming itself in an atmosphere of the already spoken, the word is at the same time determined by that which has not yet been said but which is needed and in fact anticipated by the answering word. Such is the situation in any living dialogue” (Bakhtin 1981: 282).

For Bakhtin, the decisive role that response plays in the actual performance of a dialogue needs to be examined also from an *ethical* perspective. That the words *response* and *responsibility* stem from the same root is particularly interesting in this respect, implying both the practical demand that dialogue makes for a response and the ethical weight of making that response (Barnes 2000: ix; Holquist 1990: 152-155; Morson & Emerson 1990: 25-27). In similar fashion, Levinas argues that only a being that is responsible for another being can enter dialogue with it (Levinas 1967). Responsibility is ultimately what the words “dialogue” and “commitment” stand for; the necessity of responding to the “word” is a transcendent reality which “tells me something” and to which I am somehow committed (Levinas 1967: 143-144).

What are the implications of the above to epistemological practice and (Minoan) archaeology in particular? To what extent may the acknowledgement of the close associations developed between “dialogue” and “response”, “response” and “responsibility” help us overcome the epistemological dead end that Minoan archaeology currently faces? With respect to the “palace” problem, to what extent can these ideas contribute to *re-integration*, i.e. the formulation of a more constructive, inclusive and consensual interpretive agenda for Minoan studies?

[a] *With whom are we establishing communication?*

First of all, as we repeatedly stressed in this chapter, we have to come to terms with the idea that the (Minoan) “past” is *constructed* and not *reconstructed* (Zimmerman 1996: 214); our understanding of “Minoan Crete” is therefore not established through direct communication with the latter but rather through “dialogue” *amongst “us” in the “present”* [see Section 7.2]. The past always escapes us, as it should, since it is not our past (alone) (Joyce 2002). This can be seen as an illuminating point indeed, urging us to pay closer attention to the socio-political, historical and ethical capacities/effects of knowledge-claims of all kinds and by extension, to attend scrupulously to the strategies that make theory and

empirical research more than simply re-presentations of a putatively external reality (i.e. the “past”) (Carrithers 2005). More fundamentally however what the notion of situated knowledge also implies is that the audience to which we seek to render our ideas intelligible and relevant are not the people of the “past” but rather *of the present*.

[b] *Is “dialogue” necessary or unnecessary?*

Essential as this stringent attention to the “impurity” of all knowledge claims is, we need to think twice nevertheless, before embracing the notion that those claims can be reduced to, or exhausted by the positionality of the subjects who make them (i.e. scientists/archaeologists) (Gregory 1991; Sayer 1993). Our reconciliation with the fact that there is a distance separating us from that “past” and our simultaneous shift of attention towards the “present”, should not lead to the (uncritical and unconditional) *apotheosis* of positioned, “privatized” knowledge (Arendt 1977) at the expense of intellectual interplay and communication; such an issue would be unfortunate and would eventually lead to the transformation of epistemological (archaeological) practice into mere “intellectual noise”; by so doing however, we would end up silencing even our own conditions of communicative potential within the epistemological (archaeological) community (Trouillot 2002: 39).

In the foregoing section [see Section 7.2] we demonstrated that the first signs of this confusion/crisis have been witnessed also in Minoan studies which, after the thorough deconstruction of the “evolutionary” paradigm, has found itself striving (so far unsuccessfully) to formulate an invigorating conceptual/methodological schema that could allow the redefinition of the relation between the subject and object of the discipline. In view of all the above, it is perhaps worthwhile to reconsider the possibility that our last hope of finding the sought-after “effective” schema may in fact lie in us consciously encouraging the cultivation of some form of collective direction, a common framework within which the members of any discipline (in our case (Minoan) archaeologists) could accommodate their arguments or participate in a dialogue (Wylie 1991a, 1991b; Joyce 2002). Granting that a common direction of enquiry is worth pursuing, the question that immediately follows is how this can be realized in practice.

[c] *Options beyond “objectivism” and “relativism”*

Although this framework we envision and argue in favour of, is not going to be “objective” or “absolute” in any way (as the “palatial phenomenon” for instance), it is not going to be thoroughly arbitrary either. The only means to guarantee this would involve, in

Wylie's words a process of *triangulation*. Although Wylie adheres to the "postmodern" principle that "we very largely see or understand what our background knowledge and theoretical commitments prepare us to see" (Wylie 1993: 25), she nevertheless stresses that when independently constituted lines of evidence do converge, they provide much more compelling support for the framework/category with which they are consistent than any individual line of inference could do (Binford 2001; Odell 2001). In practical terms, she explains that this process begins by the investigation of previously dominant frameworks/categories; she argues, in Kuhnian fashion (Kuhn 1970) [see Section 5.1], that when we realize that independently constituted lines of evidence fail to converge, assumptions thought unproblematic may suddenly be thrown into question, exposing an area of "ambiguity" as Binford himself has recently argued (Binford 1989: 224, 230). Marquardt succumbs to the observations made by Wylie and characterizes this stage of the process as the "negative/sceptical" stage, in the sense that the "old" framework/category has been found to exhibit underlying, and often hidden contradictions and inconsistencies, failing therefore to fulfill its own intent or purpose (Marquardt 1992: 110). Let us not forget after all that this is precisely what happened in the case of the "palace" category first at an empirical [see Chapter Five] and later, also at a conceptual level [see Chapter Six, Section 7.1].

From that point onwards, an attempt to further develop "dialogue" is given if we accept a crucial observation made by Marquardt: he argues that the category we have initially perceived as unrelated to other entities (hence "bracketable" for consideration at a certain effective scale) is now breaking down, its boundaries become "porous" and the consequence of this is that it begins to reveal its relations, its connectivity to other entities at broader and narrower scales (Marquardt 1992: 110). In short, discovery of "internal" contradictions and "external" relations reveals the potential for transformation and ultimately the formation of new, more sustainable categories.

It needs to be pointed here that the terms "internal contradictions" and "external relations" do not merely emanate from the investigation of the available empirical evidence. Similarly important evidence is the body of knowledge we acquire through the examination of previous or alternatives readings of (i.e. opinions about) a given data set. To be "responsible" and "dialogical", requires that (a) we take great care to distinguish –in a clear and visible fashion- between statements corroborated by available empirical evidence and those propositions that can claim the status only of provisional, untested ideas and also (b) that we do not dismiss or pass by in silence over other views that have been voiced as regards our object of enquiry, however inconvenient they may be to our argument (Bauman & May 2001: 8).

Through this process, the category/framework that is formulated can by no means be considered “relativist” or “subjective”. In fact the best way to describe it would be to call it a *conventional* category, a “meeting point”, also inferred by the Latin verb *convenire*, meaning “to come together” (i.e. *con*, for *cum*, together; and *venire*, to come, cognate with). The word “convention” is employed here therefore, because it is not absolutist and yet does involve minimum points of agreement, a broadly shared basis, it is the product of continuous empirical and conceptual evaluation and in this respect, it is characterized by some degree of *mitigated objectivism*<sup>11</sup> (Finch 2001: 34; Shanks 1992; Wylie 1985a, 1985b, 1988, 1989a, 1989b, 1991a, 1991b, 1992, 2000). As in the case of the “palace”, such a “convention”/broadly shared basis would also stimulate a new direction of enquiry, an *aide pensée*, in our studies; it would help us “figure out” (in the rhetorical sense of the word “figure”) what it is we are investigating and how we can proceed practically with this investigation. In so doing, the possibility of re-introducing broad concepts in our enquiry (such as the “social” or the “historical”) would also be justified. In the following chapter, the same methodological procedure will be applied and as a starting point we need to set once again the re-examination of the “palace” category.

#### [7.4] Conclusions

Responsible epistemological practice is really about aiming towards *utility* and *relative consensus*, which in practical terms, refers not only to deconstruction and negation of old categories but also to the ethical commitment upon establishing new ones which are *broadly* valid, intelligible and relevant *to us in the present*. By doing so, we set ourselves against current “postmodern” trends in epistemological (archaeological) practice, which appear to have developed a circumspect attitude not only towards “broadly relevant categories” but also in some cases, towards the act of “category making” itself. A substantial part of this chapter was devoted to explaining why the adoption of this mode of thinking would have serious repercussions for the future of epistemological practice and for Minoan

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<sup>11</sup> According to Shanks, the continuous process of reworking of one’s arguments/ideas in the course of a dialogue, is highly reminiscent of the Hegelian term *aufheben*, which combines two meanings: on the one hand, it means to cancel, terminate, annul, suspend but also to take up, keep, save (Shanks 1992: 43). Instead of adopting the term “convention”, he uses the verb to *sublate* as the best translation in English of the German *aufheben* and stresses that to sublate means to *transcend* or *suspend* distinctions without suppressing either element; sublation thus contains a notion of preserving but also of reconciliation (Shanks 1992: 43): a move from initial statements leading not to a mere sum or overall rejection of initial positions but rather to *amalgamation* and *consensus*, minimum points/nodes of agreement arising from and based upon mutual cancellations and preservations. In view of the above, it appears that his definition of “sublation” and our description of the term “convention” are not very far apart.

archaeology in particular. Therefore, contrary to recent trends in the discipline, we ended up advocating a methodological strategy, which starts off as a critique aiming at revealing the “internal” contradictions of an existing unit of analysis but does so, essentially in order to show the way towards its transformation and subsequently its replacement (Marquardt 1985: 84-85, note 3, 1992: 110-113, 129, note 4). According to Marquardt, this is an epistemological enterprise which can be envisaged as a three-stage process involving *suspension, transcendence and preservation at a higher level* (Marquardt 1992: 111) and as such, it takes us back –inevitably– to the “palace”. We “return” to the “palace” however, not simply because it constituted the previously dominant category of our discipline but also (and perhaps more importantly) because it is through its *own* (empirical *and* conceptual) “internal” contradictions that we can begin to get closer to the identification of alternative, “external” connections and thus ultimately, to the formulation of a new, more effective broad category/question for the discipline.

## **From *suspension* to *transcendence*, Part I: After “civilization”**

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### **[8.1] *Suspension***

Recent trends in Minoan archaeology identify two main contradictions in evolutionary accounts of the “palatial phenomenon” and its “emergence”. The first stems from the fact that the image of the “palace” as portrayed by those accounts, does not seem to be confirmed empirically either at the level of function or morphology [*see* Section 5.2]; as such, the “palace” cannot be taken to constitute an *extra-ordinary* category (i.e. exhibiting *exclusive* and/or *unprecedented* characteristics) and in some cases, it is even considered unlikely that it constitutes a category (i.e. a well-defined entity/unit) *at all* [*see* Section 7.1]. The second contradictory element in those accounts is related to the first; having elevated the “palace” in (analytical/epistemological *and* socio-political/ontological) importance, “evolutionary” approaches proceed by dividing the Minoan past into “palace”-related temporal horizons (i.e. “prepalatial”, “palatial” etc) [*see* Chapter One, Chapter Two, Chapter Three, Chapter Four]. If, however, as current scholarship emphasizes, the “palace” is not a category to be sustained [*see* Section 5.2], then there is no point in adhering to the existence of a “prepalatial” phase, a phase in other words, during which the origins of the so-called “palatial phenomenon” could be traced. Put simply, if we cannot accept the existence of the “palace”, we cannot accept the notion of the “emergence” either [*see* Sections 5.5, 7.1].

In previous chapters, we discussed extensively the epistemological trajectory that current scholarship has chosen to follow after the repudiation of the “palace” concept [*see* Sections 6.1, 6.2, 7.1] and also pointed out the conceptual fallacies and risks associated with



this particular kind of epistemological shift [see Sections 6.3, 7.2]. However, leaving aside these critical comments/thoughts for a moment, one point that needs to be stressed here with regard to these trends is that they do indeed contribute to the formation of a new category for the discipline albeit in roundabout fashion. The effort invested in the deconstruction of the “palace” has left *in suspense* a series of empirical data which had for long been tightly held together as classificatory criteria of “civilization” (Renfrew 1972). In this respect, it is precisely through the conscious effort to castigate previously dominant constructs that the internal contradictions of the latter have been revealed. In Marquardt’s terms, the first step towards the construction of a new category for Minoan studies has therefore been made already (i.e. *suspension*) (Marquardt 1992: 108). Taking Marquardt’s proposed methodology a step further, we may now begin to explore how the aforementioned internal contradictions could permit the establishment of alternative, external connections; this will allow us in turn, to formulate a new direction of enquiry and in so doing, challenge (this time in *constructive* fashion) the long dominant “evolutionist” image of the Minoan past.

If we now take as our point of departure that the “palace” does not *represent* the workings of Minoan society either at a synchronic or a diachronic level, then as analysts, we are faced with two broad chronological horizons in *identity crisis* hence *in need of radical redefinition*; these two horizons are the “palatial” and the “prepalatial” period(s). Essentially this observation takes us back to the question current trends in Minoan archaeology sought to answer in the first place, i.e. if the “palace” is no longer taken to be as central in socio-political importance as previously anticipated during the Middle/Late Minoan periods (i.e. “palatial”) and if on the other hand, it can no longer be deterministically associated with the socio-historical processes that took place on the island of Crete before that time (i.e. “prepalatial”), then how exactly should we approach, write and speak about this part of the Minoan past from now on? Surely, a new terminology, a new vocabulary, a new category ought to be introduced and by having now established that “postmodern” attempts to do so have failed, the obvious next step in our enquiry would have to be to return (once again) to these periods and focus our attention upon two main issues: (i) what other possibilities of categorization are provided by the available sets of empirical information from the two periods and, (ii) whether this new categorization justifies the maintenance of the distinction of the two periods or encourages their integration into an even broader classificatory schema (i.e. a new question). Marquardt defines the first of the two methodological steps as *transcendence* and the latter as *preservation at a higher level* (Marquardt 1992: 108) [Fig. 8.1]:

<i>Suspension as classificatory deconstruction</i>	Rejection of the “palace” category
<i>Suspension as historical deconstruction</i>	[a] “Palatial” period(s) in identity crisis [b] “Prepalatial” period(s) in identity crisis
<i>Transcendence</i>	From the identification of internal contradictions (i.e. suspension) to the identification of external connections (i.e. transcendence)
<i>Higher-level preservation</i>	From the identification of external connections (i.e. transcendence) to the establishment of new, broadly relevant categories (i.e. preservation at a higher level)

Fig. 8.1 Current state of affairs in Minoan archaeology and the way ahead

The process of reconfiguring our object of study will begin from the period “after civilization” (i.e. “palatial”) and in particular the “New Palace” period, since it has been repeatedly stressed in the foregoing chapters [see Sections 2.2, 3.2, 5.2], that all “evolutionary” attempts to reconstruct the “image” of the “palace” (or rather *to pinpoint the criteria defining the “palace” category*) (Klynne 1998: 207) have been based (almost exclusively) upon empirical information from this later phase (Adams 2004: 194; Schoep 2004a: 244-245). The investigation of the available empirical information from the “Old Palace” will then follow. The next step will be to move to the period “before the emergence” (i.e. “prepalatial”) [see Chapter Nine], starting our re-examination from those sites traditionally conceived as “palaces-to-be” (particularly the three known earliest examples of Knossos, Malia and Phaistos), since it is largely on the basis of these cases that our view/image of “how a Minoan palace emerges” has been formulated [see Sections 2.3, 3.3, 5.4]. It needs to be stressed once again at this point, however, that the choice to return to the traditional divisions that “evolutionary” models have established (i.e. “palatial”, “prepalatial”) is not made with the intention of producing one more critical assessment of their fallacies; instead, we are revisiting these domains/constructs because it is *in those* that

we will find empirical evidence awaiting redefinition (regrouping); put simply, if we decide to commit ourselves to the formulation of a new category, then a return to the “Palatial” and the “Prepalatial” horizons is the only means to guarantee such a formulation [see Section 7.4].

## [8.2] *Transcendence*, Part I: The period of the “New Palaces”

“It seems quite impossible to find appropriate and generally accepted names for the various building “complexes” known in Crete between the simple houses and the palaces... There is no hope of changing that ambiguity in the future, after a hundred years of misuse. We have to put up with it”  
(van Effenterre & van Effenterre 1997: 9)

Recent developments in the field have seriously challenged our ways of thinking about the “New Palaces” and therefore by extension, our understanding of the “palace” category in general [see Sections 5.2, 7.1]. First came the realization that several functions previously taken to be exclusive to the “palace” could now be seen to have been at work also in other, “non-palatial” contexts. Along with the problems related to function, there was empirical information that the “palace” could no longer be perceived as a morphologically unique entity; the diffusion of “palatial” features in “Neopalatial” architecture has led to an intense problematization over how to define the boundaries between the “palatial” and “non-palatial” domains. In view of our discussion so far, it could be argued that this problematization over the validity of all (functional and/or morphological) criteria traditionally employed to define the “palace”, has been triggered to a large extent, by the “villa” phenomenon and the steady proliferation of “grey zones” in the archaeological record of the Cretan Bronze Age (i.e. structures that fall “somewhere in between” a “palace” and a “villa” as for example Aghia Triadha, Petras, Makrygialos or even the “Little Palace” at Knossos) (Adams 2004; Driessen *et al.* 2002; Hatzaki 1996). Another factor which has encouraged the expression of concerns against the “palace” entity has been undoubtedly the change of attitude towards the concept of *power* at a *paradigmatic level* [see Sections 6.1, 6.2]. It is precisely by virtue of these paradigmatic developments, that new trends in Minoan archaeology have lately begun to see more analytical potential in *power diffusion* as opposed to *power centralization* [see Section 5.2]. This is a point to which we will return later [see Chapter Twelve]. For the time being, it suffices to say that the development of this new agenda (i.e. power diffusion) has led to the obvious tendency to downgrade the analytical weight previously attributed to the “palaces” and at the same time, to elevate in importance what were long considered to constitute “second-order” structures/buildings (Hägg 1997).

A closer look upon the extant body of empirical information from the “Neopalatial” period however, indicates that what we commonly perceive as (morphological and/or functional) “power insignia” (i.e. architectural elaboration, monumental size, special-purpose rooms and/or features, feasting, record keeping systems) are not limited to “palaces”, “palace-type” structures and “villas” but (more often than not) are attested also *in the “domestic/residential” sector*. This point may be partly exemplified by McEnroe’s famous typological classification of “Neopalatial” edifices/houses (McEnroe 1979, 1982). With the exception of “Type 1” houses (a type which is taken to involve “villas” and “palatial-type” buildings), McEnroe identifies two further types, i.e. “Type 2” and “Type 3”. Although all examples included in Types 2 and 3 are taken to belong to the “domestic/residential” sector, their distinction from the “palace-type” edifices (i.e. “Type 1”) is not so straightforward. In Type 2 for instance, we see a distinction being made between Type 2a and 2b with the former essentially being more closely associated with the houses belonging to Type 1. Even in Type 2b however, we find features/rooms and/or construction techniques (i.e. pier-and-door partition, pillar crypt, coursed ashlar, megalithic rubble, columns/pillars, stylobate, “peristyle” etc) typically associated with Type 1 and 2a (McEnroe 1979: 102, 1982: 18-19, Tables 1-2). With respect to Type 3, it is noteworthy that McEnroe bases his definition largely on size and in particular upon the observation that Type 3 houses have smaller dimensions than Type 2 buildings (McEnroe 1982: 10). It appears that McEnroe had to resort to size, since in this case as well, we have several examples of “palatial” features (McEnroe 1979: 102, 1982: 18-19, Tables 1-2). However, the “size” criterion does not seem to work very effectively either: as McEnroe admits himself, several houses thought to belong to Type 1 seem to be highly compatible, at least as far as size is concerned, with houses belonging not only to Type 2b but also Type 3 (Thaler 2002: 112) [Fig. 8.2]:

House	Type	Size
South House	1	225m <sup>2</sup>
Zakros G	2b	225 m <sup>2</sup>
Malia Da	1	170 m <sup>2</sup>
Malia Db	3	175 m <sup>2</sup>
Zakros KD	3	140 m <sup>2</sup>

Fig. 8.2 Size variation amongst McEnroe’s three house types: Some examples (*adapted from* McEnroe 1982)

The blurring of boundaries between the “palatial/palatial-type” and “domestic/residential” edifices finds further support in the presently available empirical

evidence/information on feasting/large-scale food and drink consumption and recording systems/administration. We already mentioned in previous sections that on the basis of the extant evidence from the “Neopalatial” period, feasting events do not appear to have taken place exclusively in “palaces” and “palatial-type” buildings (*contra* Hamilakis 1995, 1996, 1999), but also in what we would normally term more “ordinary” houses [*see* Section 5.2]. With regard to record keeping systems on the other hand, Schoep has observed that during the period in question, written administrative documents are not restricted to the “palatial centres” but occur also “in settlements of *varying* sizes, in central buildings *as well as* in other contexts” (Schoep 2001: 95, *my emphasis*).

Recently, some scholars have advocated that such broad/absolute comparative assessments make relatively little sense (and perhaps constitute observations of minor analytical value) since the distinction between “palatial type” and “non-palatial” buildings/structures is more likely to have been drawn and experienced first and foremost at a regional, if not intra-site level (rather than island-wide level) (Adams 2004; Barshinger 1988; Cunningham 2001). Interestingly however, even if we move from absolute (i.e. inter-site and/or island-wide) to relative (i.e. intra-site) comparisons, the conclusions drawn from the former seem to be highly compatible with those drawn from the latter. In the examples presented below, the boundary separating “palatial-type” and “non-palatial” buildings *within a single settlement and/or territory* thus remains highly equivocal.

For instance at Knossos<sup>1</sup>, a secure distinction between “palatial-type” and “residential” buildings cannot be easily established and this is well exemplified in Adams’ recent study of the “Neopalatial” town (Adams 2004). Following McEnroe’s classificatory criteria (i.e. size, degree of architectural elaboration, frescoes, “special-purpose” architectural features and/or activities, recording systems etc) (McEnroe 1979, 1982), Adams distinguishes three types of buildings but reaches the interesting conclusion that “villas” (i.e. “grand mansions”) are those belonging to Type 2, i.e. the medium-sized structures of the settlement (*ca.* 200-245 m<sup>2</sup>); by way of contrast, Type 1 buildings (*ca.* 300-450 m<sup>2</sup>) such as the Northeast House and the Northwest Treasury are taken to constitute “residential” as opposed to “palatial-type” structures (Adams 2004: 207-8, Fig. 11). Indicative of the confusion surrounding the “size” criterion is that Whitelaw has advanced an entirely different form of classification claiming that some of the buildings Adams does not consider to be “mansions” (i.e. the Northwest Treasure House, the Royal Villa, the House of the

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<sup>1</sup> Our knowledge of the town at Knossos remains partial (Driessen 2001: 61) and relies upon the study of individual buildings (Evans 1928; Hatzaki 1996; Mountjoy 2003) and extensive survey (Hood & Smyth 1981; Whitelaw 2001, 2004b).

Chancel Screen, the House of the High Priest) should indeed be viewed as such (Whitelaw 2001: 24).

If we leave aside the “size” criterion, it is noteworthy that along with the occurrence of “palatial” features in several “villas” around the “palace” (Adams 2004: 201-202, Figs. 3-6; Rehak & Younger 1998: 100-110), there exists a group of buildings (i.e. Caravanserai, Temple Tomb<sup>2</sup>, High Priest’s House etc) whose form and identified functions suggests to some scholars that they are of “special” nature and character and yet have not been taken to constitute “grand mansions” (Adams 2004: 207, 213-214; Whitelaw 2001: 24). An equally interesting case is the Royal Road North building which falls into the “residential” category (i.e. being of average size and with no apparent indications of architectural elaboration); within the confines of this building has been discovered the only bull fresco at Knossos other than those found the actual “palace” (Adams 2004: 208, 214; Cameron 1974); what renders this observation even more intriguing is that along with the bull fresco the Royal Road North building has also yielded seals, horns of consecration, large numbers of figurines, rhyta and libation tables (Adams 2004: 214). Much evidence for ivory and stone working is also reported from this particular house (Adams 2004: 210; Rehak & Younger 1998: 118). It is interesting that frescoes have been attested in two more buildings which are set in opposition to each other both morphologically and functionally. In the House of the Frescoes (an edifice recognized by several scholars as a “villa”) (Adams 2004; Rehak & Younger 1998) nature scenes involving blue monkeys and other animals have been identified (Cameron 1968; Rehak & Younger 1998: 120). Frescoes are also reported from Hogarth’s House A, which Adams characteristically describes as a generally “poor” building (Adams 2004: 208). However, let us remind ourselves of the fact this is the building in which a concentration of two hundred conical cups has been found [see Section 5.2]. Finally, even though we still know very little as far as the *wider* residential area of Knossos is concerned (Driessen 2001; Whitelaw 2001, 2004b), there are other sets of evidence which also seem to reinforce the suspicion that “palatial” features were “diffused” to a far greater degree than previously anticipated. Particularly indicative is for example the fact that the Knossian “palace” and an “ordinary” house, Hogarth’s House B, possess the same number of Pillar Crypts (i.e. three in each case) (Adams 2004: 201, Fig.3).

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<sup>2</sup> The Temple Tomb south of Knossos on the road to Archanes was used for burials in the Final Palatial Period but its original Neopalatial use is unknown, and it may not have been planned originally as a tomb (Popham 1970: 74; Rehak & Younger 1998: 110).

At Malia<sup>3</sup> as well, little correlation can be discerned among size, architectural elaboration and other “power indicia”. Maison Epsilon, which is the largest building in the town after the “palace”<sup>4</sup> (Adams 2004: 211; Bradfer-Burdet 2005: 40), has yielded evidence for painted stucco but does not seem to have employed ashlar masonry (Adams 2004: 211); interestingly, ashlar masonry has been used in Maison Za which is not only significantly smaller than Epsilon (420 m<sup>2</sup>) but also the only building at Malia which possesses four halls (two of them being of the “Minoan Hall” type) (Adams 2004: 212). Also of interest is the fact that so far only one Pillar Crypt has been identified in the town houses, and this is found in the Maison de la Cave au Pilier, a “simple” house (i.e. “Type 3”) measuring only 130 m<sup>2</sup> (Adams 2004: 212). Finally, apart from area XVIII in the “palace”, three main ritual deposits have been found in the town: two in Maison Epsilon and one in the Maison de la Façade à Redans, the former constituting one of the largest houses in the settlement, as we mentioned earlier, while the latter falls into the category of “small” houses (130 m<sup>2</sup>) (i.e. “Type 3”) (Adams 2004: 212; Gesell 1985: 108). It is also significant that there are several lustral basins in the houses around the “palace” at Malia, though there is only one in the “palace” itself (Barshinger 1988: 129).

At the settlement of Palaikastro, of the 36 buildings clearly discernible, 21 fall between 130m<sup>2</sup> and 180m<sup>2</sup>; six are between 200 m<sup>2</sup> and 300 m<sup>2</sup> and only four are less than 100m<sup>2</sup> (Cunningham 2001: 82; Driessen & MacGillivray 1989: XXVII). In effect, we have very few large and very few small houses with most houses appearing to be compatible at least as far as size is concerned. Moreover, the buildings that have received most architectural elaboration (i.e. “impressive ashlar facades” in Building 1, Block X, Building 2, “floors of maroon schist, green schist, creamy limestone, blue limestone column bases, piers of mottled green serpentine” in Building 6 etc) are not the largest in the settlement (Cunningham 2001: 83; Rehak & Younger 1998: 108). It is noteworthy on the other hand, that Block X, which is a quite elaborate house, does not contain a tripartite hall system (Barshinger 1988: 145). Furthermore, it is important to mention the example of certain houses (Blocks Y, S, K and L) which are of smaller size, and yet produced bronze items and in the case of Block S, two ivory figurines (Cunningham 2001: 83).

In the area of Siteia, where a “palace” (i.e. Petras) (Tsipopoulou 1989, 1997, 1999, 2002) and several “palatial-type” buildings/“villas” (i.e. Klimataria, Zou, Achladia, Aghios

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<sup>3</sup> Our knowledge of the town at Malia is based on the excavation reports and/or final publications of individual houses (Driessen & Macdonald 1997) but also a survey of the wider region (Müller 1991, 1992, 1996, 1998).

<sup>4</sup> Adams mentions that the size of Maison Epsilon is 1370m<sup>2</sup> whereas Bradfer-Burdet speaks of 3000 m<sup>2</sup> (Adams 2004: 211; Bradfer-Burdet 2005: 40).

Georgios-Tourtouloi) (Platon 1952a, 1952b, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1959, 1960b) have been identified, the relation between the “palatial” and the “non-palatial” sectors is equally ambiguous (Tsipopoulou & Papacostopoulou 1997). It has been observed first of all, that architectural features which require special elaboration (i.e. cut-slab pavements, ashlar blocks, pier and door partitions, cut-jamb bases and columns) occur generally in the same frequency in all categories of buildings including “ordinary” residences (Tsipopoulou & Papacostopoulou 1997: 206). Frescoes are reported from Houses I and II which are situated close to the “palace” at Petras<sup>5</sup> but also from the “villa” at Aghios Georgios Tourtouloi (Platon 1960: 296). Regarding the size of the “villas” and the “houses” of Petras, both seem to fall between 200m<sup>2</sup> and 300m<sup>2</sup> (Tsipopoulou & Papacostopoulou 1997: 206). What complicates further the drawing of a boundary between “palatial” and “non-palatial” structures of this area is the “palace” of Petras itself. Although a central building, it is still relatively “small for a palace” (Cunningham 2001: 72), with a central court measuring either 6 x 13m (Driessen & Macdonald 1997: 227) or 6.6 x 18m (Tsipopoulou 1997: 269). Moreover and by way of contrast to other “palaces”, Petras also appears to lack the full repertoire of “palatial” elements/features even though some signs of architectural elaboration are present (schist dadoes, mason’s marks, cut-door jambs, columns ) (Tsipopoulou & Papacostopoulou 1997: 211):

“In comparison with the other known palaces (Knossos, Phaistos, Malia, Zakros and Galatas) and even with some of the non-palatial...central buildings, such as Aghia Triadha, Kommos building J/T, Monastiraki, Khania and Archanes-Tourkogeitonia, the Petras palace is small and lacks both certain palatial architectural features (such as Lustral Basin, Minoan Hall, Light Well or Pillar Crypt) and elements of ostentation (such as excessive use of gypsum or monumental orthostates)” (Cunningham 2001: 76).

There are also some other examples of “Neopalatial” towns, where the extant evidence seems to indicate that no particular emphasis was laid upon creating (morphological and/or functional) distinctions *by exclusion* (Cunningham 2001; Whitelaw 2001). For instance, the buildings that have been brought to light at the sites of Pseira and Gournia reflect more uniform residential units (both in terms of size and “wealth”) (Whitelaw 2001: 21-22, Fig. 2.2, 2.6) and fall in fact, in McEnroe’s Type 3 houses (McEnroe 1979) although in certain cases he sees them as being “reasonably comparable” also to Type 2 (McEnroe 1982: 10). Interestingly, the compatibility shown between the residential sectors of Pseira and Gournia is at odds with the fact that in the former case, no “palace” or

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<sup>5</sup> The town of Petras is concentrated on a series of four hills, particularly the main hill where the “palace” is located. The two houses so far excavated and published (i.e. Houses I and II) (Tsipopoulou & Papacostopoulou 1997) appear to have been terraced and to be fitted into the hillside (Cunningham 2001: 76).



“palatial-type” building has been discovered whereas in the latter, a “palace” has indeed been found (Soles 1991, 2002). On the other hand, at the site of Mochlos (Soles 2004; Soles & Davaras 1992, 1993, 1994, 1996), where approximately fifteen houses have been so far unearthed along with a “villa/ceremonial centre” (Building B2) (Soles 2004), we are faced with an entirely different kind of “uniformity”: here the size of *all* buildings increases substantially and there are grounds to suggest that the use of “special” architectural features and/or construction techniques was also fairly widespread. The recent fascinating discoveries from the excavation of Late Minoan Ib floor levels belonging to different houses also point in this direction. Amongst the most important of those discoveries are the large concentrations of metal objects, tools and vessels in the “Southwest Wing” of Building B2 which is taken to form part of the “villa” complex (Soles 2004: Figs. 1-3) and yet at least five hoards of metal objects have been also identified also in an “residential” structure, i.e. House C3 (Soles 2004: 3-4, Figs. 4-5).

Our discussion so far leads to the conclusion that the phenomenon of “diffusion” of “palatial” characteristics during the “Neopalatial” period is not confined to what we could broadly term “villas”/“palatial-type” structures but seems to penetrate also the so-called “domestic/non-palatial” sector. What is equally noteworthy is that in most of the cases we have examined, no house/building seems to possess the full-repertoire of “palatial indicia” (i.e. a “big” house is not necessarily a “wealthy” house and *vice versa*) and in some cases, this applies also to the “palace” category (i.e. Petras).

But if this is indeed the case, then what does the term “diffusion” stand for? The latter would make sense if a core/periphery relation was at work, if, in other words, “palatial” elements were found to be *exclusive to* or *concentrated within* certain buildings and in turn, to be absent or appear less frequently in others. If none of the foregoing alternatives can be confirmed empirically however, how exactly are we to deal with the issue of “diffusion”? *How exactly does this alleged pattern of “diffusion” operate?* Can we point with any precision, in other words, to buildings that constitute “cores/prototypes” and to where exactly the “periphery” begins?

### **[8.3] *Transcendence*, Part II: The period of the “Old Palaces”**

If for a moment we assume that during the “Neopalatial” period a clear-cut boundary cannot be easily drawn between the “palatial” and the “non-palatial” sectors (at least *not* on the basis of the criteria we have so far identified as “exclusive” of or “concentrated” within

“palatial-type” buildings), then the only argument that could perhaps sustain a distinction between the two would have to rely upon evidence deriving from the “Old Palace” period; to be more specific, if the “early palaces” were found to exhibit certain morphological and/or functional characteristics *prior to and/or to the exclusion* of all other “Protopalatial” contexts, then perhaps it could be assumed that these characteristics originated from the “palaces” and were “diffused” to the “non-palatial” sector only at a later stage (i.e. the “Neopalatial”). As we mentioned in previous sections, however, this possibility has already been ruled out by more recent studies on the nature and character of early “palaces” (i.e. the repudiation of the idea of “palatial surplus control”, occurrence of feasting paraphernalia beyond the “palace” sector, decentralization of (luxurious) craft production, administrative decentralization etc) [see Section 5.2].

In fact, even at a purely morphological level, several scholars now tend to believe that during their early stages of development, the “palaces” did not exhibit any clear signs of monumentality and/or architectural elaboration. At Knossos for instance, it has been suggested repeatedly that the extant West Façade of the “palace” post-dates the Middle Minoan I-II period and probably belongs to the very end of the Middle Minoan III phase (Catling 1974; Momigliano 1992; Schoep 2004a). The need to project back later architectural elements is also exemplified in the case of the Throne Room whose origins are commonly placed in the Middle Minoan I-II phase(s) (Mirié 1979; Niemeier 1987; Dickinson 1994: 149-150). Mirié ascribes the Lustral Basin in the later Throne Room, but sees the Inner Sanctuary, the rooms to the north and the Magazines to the south as belonging to the first phase (Mirié 1979: 39-44). According to Macdonald however, the main period of construction represented by the extant remains belongs to the Middle Minoan IIIb period (Macdonald 2002: 42). Finally, Macdonald also challenged the suggestion that the Domestic Quarter dates back to the Middle Minoan II period and proposed instead, that none of the extant architecture need be earlier than Middle Minoan IIIb (Macdonald 2002: 47-49).

At Malia, the present West Façade in ashlar sandstone blocks post-dates the Middle Bronze Age (Pelon 1980: 51, 62, 238). Parts of the earlier façade wall are indeed preserved in several locations (especially in the north-west sector) (Pelon 1980: 63). It seems nevertheless, that there was a preference for limestone over sandstone and that only unworked stones were used (Pelon 1980: 236). According to Schoep, on the other hand, there is strong evidence that the Minoan Hall did not form part of the early building (Schoep 2004a). The installation of a Minoan Hall in Room III7 can be attributed with certainty to the Late Minoan Ia period (Pelon 1983b), and as Schoep claims, its construction was made on

top of a series of earlier rooms which had a markedly different plan (Schoep 2004a: 247, Fig. 5).

Finally at Phaistos, LaRosa reports that recent stratigraphical investigations have made clear that certain areas originally included in the plan of the Middle Minoan I-II buildings are in fact later in date (LaRosa 2002). LaRosa also argues that inside the “early palace” there is no evidence for any of the so-called “palatial” features: the lustral basin in room XLIV-38 (below room 70) and the *polythyron* in room XLV, which Pernier has dated to the “protopalatial” period (Pernier 1935), can be now seen to belong to Middle Minoan IIIa (LaRosa 2002: 77-78).

Until further empirical information comes to light, one would perhaps consider it more sensible to maintain some reservations against the aforementioned image of the “early palaces” since it is still quite difficult to assess whether the “absence of evidence” in this particular case, can indeed be viewed as “evidence of absence” (i.e. do the “Old Palaces” lack “palatial” features or is it just the case that we have not found them yet?). That there is indeed such a possibility can be inferred from certain sets of empirical information we already have at our disposal: for instance at Phaistos, few would deny that the West Façade of the “early palace” exhibited clear signs of monumentality from the Middle Minoan IIa period (Schoep 2004a: 250; Shaw 1971: 83; Watrous 1987: 69). Macdonald on the other hand, has lately argued, that although much of Evans’ “Old Palace” structure at Knossos has been re-assigned to the “New Palace” period by a number of archaeologists over the last twenty years (himself included), he is now becoming all the more convinced that several architectural features should be returned to their “rightful place” in the 20<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> centuries BC<sup>6</sup> (Macdonald 2005: 41-55).

Even if we *do* accept that the “early palaces” exhibited “palatial” features however, what appear as more important with regard to the question we set out to answer in the first place, is whether these features are *exclusive to* or *concentrated within* the “palaces” during the period in question. Following this line of thinking, Schoep has recently conducted a

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<sup>6</sup> In his recent book on Knossos Macdonald places the following features to the “Protopalatial” phase(s): the West Façade gypsum orthostats, the Old West Façade of the Central Court including the rounded corner by the antechamber of the Room of the Throne, the gypsum piers of the West Magazines, the “Protopalatial magazines” and the east wall of the Long Corridor, the north wall of the South Corridor, the “Great Cutting” from the Domestic Quarter, the drainage system and perhaps the south terrace wall of the south lightwell of the Queen’s Megaron, parts of the north wall on the south side of the north-western Lustral Area, some of the terrace walls on the east slope and the massive foundations leading east from the North Pillar Hall, which he claims, may well have been the foundations of a north-east stepped approach to complement the Stepped Portico on the south-west (Macdonald 2005: 41-56).

comparative assessment of Middle Minoan I/II “palatial” and “non-palatial” architecture and has come to the very interesting conclusion that within the “non-palace” sector of the period in question, the emergence of a new architectural vocabulary may be witnessed which displays the characteristics of a “palace” (Schoep 2004a). This architectural vocabulary makes use of “new techniques (i.e. ashlar masonry, column bases), new architectural modules (i.e. the Minoan Hall, the lustral basin and blocks of magazines equipped with drains) and of new materials/construction techniques (i.e. sandstone for walls and slabs and white limestone and conglomerate for column-bases)” (Schoep 2004a: 256). It is noteworthy that as in the case of the “New Palace” period, these architectural features are aimed at elaborating the outside as well as the inside of buildings (Driessen & Schoep 1995; Schoep 2004a). Although the construction date of these buildings cannot be specified with precision, it appears to fall between the Middle Minoan Ib and the Middle Minoan II periods (Poursat 1987, 1988; Schoep 2002: 110, 2004a).

Using the settlement at Malia as her main case study, Schoep stresses that much of this new architectural vocabulary is confined *in buildings other than the “early palaces”*. Evidence for the use of ashlar masonry is found at Building A (Quartier Mu) (Poursat 1992; Schoep 2002: 111, 2004: 256), the Crypte Hypostyle (Schoep 2004a: 256) [Plate 8.1a], Quartier Nu (Schoep & Knappett 2003), a building complex discovered during the Malia survey (Müller 1991: 743), a partially excavated structure to the south of the “palace” and to the east of the Magasins Dessenne (Schoep 2002b: 111) and finally, the funerary structure at Chryssolakkos (Schoep 2004a: 256; Shaw 1971: 164, 1973). In addition to ashlar masonry, orthostats are reported from Chrysolakkos (north and west walls) (Shaw 1973) and in the north façade of Building A (Quartier Mu) (Poursat 1992: 42; Schoep 2004a: 257). Besides a façade in ashlar, Quartier Mu features “the oldest known example of a Minoan Hall” (Schoep 2004a: 257), consisting of a light-well, a vestibule and a hall separated from one another by multiple bays (*polythyron*) (Pelon 1992) [Plate 8.1b]. To the west of the Minoan Hall a sunken room, “considered to be the proto-type of the Late Bronze Age lustral basin” was also identified (Macdonald 2005: 29; Schoep 2004a: 257). The association between a Minoan Hall and a sunken room is particularly significant because it heralds their spatial proximity also in later phases (Schoep 2004a: 257). Apart from Quartier Mu, a *polythyron* has also been reported from the Crypte Hypostyle (Allegrette & Schmid 1997; Schoep 2004a), whereas another example has been identified in the area to the west of the Agora (van Effenterre & van Effenterre 1969). In the case of the Crypte Hypostyle, the association of a *polythyron* and a set of sunken rooms hints to “an association similar to that found in Building A of Quartier Mu” (Schoep 2004a: 257).

Other architectural innovations at Middle Minoan I/II Malia involve the introduction of blocks of magazines (Pelon 1992: 35; Schoep 2004a: 258; van Effenterre 1980: 179-180) and the stone column base and wooden sculpted column (Schoep 2004a: 258-259). The magazines, usually accessible from a long corridor, contain drains and low platforms along the walls, indicating that they were likely to be used for the storage of liquids (Poursat 1992: 34-35; Schoep 2002: 111, 2004: 258-259). Blocks of magazines are attested in Quartier Mu, the Magasins Dessenne (Poursat 1992, Schoep 2002: 111) and the Crypte Hypostyle (Schoep 2002: 111, 2004: 259). On the other hand and although very common in the Late Bronze Age, column bases are relatively rare in the Middle Bronze Age. Nevertheless, in Middle Minoan II (or at the earliest the end of Middle Minoan Ib) they are attested in Quartier Mu, the Crypte Hypostyle and in the building recovered during the Malia survey which remains unexcavated (Müller 1991: 743).

Elsewhere on the island, there is (as yet) little architectural evidence from the Middle Minoan II “non-palatial” sector since excavations so far have focused (almost exclusively) upon the “palaces” and their immediate environs. Even this limited body of evidence, however, seems to leave open the possibility that the situation at Malia constitutes an example of an indeed much broader (architectural) phenomenon/trend. For instance at Knossos, excavations beneath the South-West House have revealed a Middle Minoan IIA rectangular building of uncut, medium-sized stone walls with white plastered floors (Schoep 2004a: 160); this building also yielded evidence for “administration in a workshop context” (Schoep 2004a: 261). At Phaistos, two structures stand out: CV-CVII for its unusual plan and high quality architecture and LXVII-LXIX, LXVI immediately south-west of the “early palace” for its “handsome north façade in cut blocks” (Schoep 2004a: 261). Ashlar blocks with mason’s marks and four column bases have been reported from Aghia Triadha (Cucuzza 1992: 59), whereas at Monastiraki, the main building on the west side of the Charakas hill also has a column base (Kanta & Tzigounaki 2000: 208).

Other possible candidates of the “elaborate/monumental” architecture category are the large Middle Minoan II building which has been found at the summit of the hill at Vronda (Day & Snyder 2004: 64; Day *et al.* 1986; Gesell *et al.* 2000: 85; Gesell 2004: 887 missing); the large building at the site Tou Vrachnou o Lakkos, close to the modern village of Kousses (Marinatos 1924-5: 53-85); the massive buildings that have been recently discovered at Ambeles, Kato Zakros (Chryssoulaki 2004: 883), at Pera Galini, Rethymnon (Tsilivaki & Banou 1992-4) and at Chondrovoulakes, Mirabello (Haggis 2004: 229); from the Vrokastro area, Hayden reports several structures with massive foundations in limestone or conglomerate limestone, often hammer-dressed into fairly regular large blocks bedded

horizontally (Hayden *et al.* 2004: 103; Watrous 1994: 736); at the settlement of Myrtos-Pyrgos, Cadogan has discovered major buildings on the summit of the hill which belong to Pyrgos III phase (i.e. Middle Minoan II) (Cadogan 1997, 2000: 172); at the area of Kalamaki, to the north of Kommos, excavations have revealed parts of a large building with unusually thick walls and areas used for storage (Karetsou 1978: 357; Vallianou 1979: 383-384, 1987: 546); House H from the settlement at Kalathiana (north part of the Mesara plain) is also important since its external walls consisted of a façade with the characteristic rectangular embayments reminiscent of the palatial facades, built of dressed stones (Xanthoudides 1924: 84-85); at Korakies, also in the Mesara, a building on the high summit of the site is a careful construction with paved floors and massive walls (Xanthoudides 1924); at Apesokari a large Middle Minoan I building with two different wings and very wide walls consisting mainly of storage areas has also been unearthed (Schörgendorfer 1951: 23-26); finally, several Middle Minoan II large buildings are reported in the Praisos area (Whitley *et al.* 1999: 228-234). In view of the above evidence and although, to some extent, the settlement at Malia might seem at present exceptional, it is very likely that future exploration of other Cretan sites (i.e. Monastiraki, Apodhoulou, Aghia Triadha, Zakros, Poros, Archanes, Tylissos, Nerokourou, Chamalevri, Kastelli etc.) may change drastically the current picture (Schoep 2004a: 261).

On the basis of the extant body of information from the “Protopalatial” residential sector, it is virtually impossible to draw any (more solid) conclusions pertinent to issues other than morphology and/or size (i.e. distribution of finds, secure identification of functions/activity areas etc); however, the sporadic occurrence of evidence indicating recording systems (i.e. Monastiraki), substantial storage facilities (i.e. Monastiraki, Apodoulou), accumulation of feasting paraphernalia (i.e. Zakros, Apodhoulou, Kastelli Pediadas, Chalara-Phaistos, Aghia Photeini-Phaistos) in structures/buildings which do not otherwise exhibit signs of architectural elaboration/monumentality, leaves open the possibility that as in the “Neopalatial” period, “insignia of power” are likely to have been “diffused” well into the “non-palatial” sector also during this earlier period.

#### **[8.4] Conclusions**

From the above observations, several quite illuminating conclusions can be drawn: It appears first of all that the “diffusion” of “palatial” elements (i.e. morphological *and* functional) which is perceived as a diagnostic feature of the “Neopalatial” era, may now be seen to take place also during the period(s) of the “Old Palaces”. At a time where a surplus

of analytical effort is laid upon accentuating the differences between the two phases [see Section 5.2], the suggestion that the latter may in fact be seen as *highly compatible* (at least at a gross level) is very significant. Particularly significant is also the fact that these “palatial” features are witnessed in the “non-palace” sector from *a very early phase* (i.e. the Middle Minoan Ib/II period), essentially the period to which we tend to place the emergence of the “palaces” *themselves*. Rather than dwelling upon specifying a boundary between the “palatial” and the “non-palatial” sector, it could therefore be considered more fruitful to view all such buildings/structures as belonging to a *broader continuum*; put simply, we should entertain the possibility that a broadly shared set of ostentatious resources was employed and combined in various ways and by various groups of people at the time. Instead of referring to a “palatial vocabulary”, we may thus begin to think in terms of a widely decipherable and extensively used “vocabulary”, which is essentially what the term *dwelling tradition* stands for (Heidegger 1971: 145-61; Ingold 2000: 153-56):

Even under such circumstances, some would perhaps insist on specifying where this “vocabulary” actually originated from and we could suspect that this quest for “origins” would be driven by the need to prioritize the “palatial” over the “non-palatial” sector, to portray the former as the main agent of innovations and the latter as a “passive recipient”, a “peripheral territory” to which these elements are only later “diffused”. Such a tendency would only occur because of our prejudiced adherence to the idea that these two domains *have to be* distinct and in effect, analytically *distinguishable*, with the “palatial” being (epistemologically and ontologically) prioritized over the “non-palatial/domestic”; however, it is precisely the maintenance of this polarized and heavily biased distinction which seems to prevent us from appreciating that in fact, the *lack of success in specifying how the boundary between the two sectors is drawn may constitute an observation of immense analytical/interpretive potential*.

To be more specific: if (morphological and functional) complexity, fuzziness and ambiguity constitute a perennial motif of the “Old” as well as the “New Palace” period, if “palaces” and “houses” present such a high degree of compatibility already from the early stages of the second millennium BC, then why argue that “the palatial” affects the way(s) whereby “the domestic” manifests itself and not the exact opposite, i.e. that *“the domestic” affects the ways whereby the “palatial” manifests itself*? Why do we speak in other words, of an “emergence” and subsequent “diffusion” of “palatial” characteristics and not the “emergence” of a wider trend, aiming at *monumentalizing “domestic” characteristics*? If we tried to think in those terms for a moment, could we not argue that the varying degrees of architectural elaboration attested both in the interior as well as exterior of most houses, do

not necessarily testify to a need to be “in vogue” (i.e. “fashion victims” of “palatial” style) (Driessen 1982) but could reflect instead, a broader concern over rendering (aesthetically, symbolically and socially) visible the “domestic” entity *itself*? Is it a coincidence in that respect that the widespread use of what we have so far described as “palatial” resources (be those materials, construction techniques and/or specific practices) does not seem to have a homogenizing effect on the morphology of the “domestic” sector but rather results in a series of highly idiosyncratic (almost house-specific) expressions/manifestations (Rehak & Younger 1998: 107, 110)? Furthermore, is it not significant that even in houses of very small size, particular emphasis is being laid upon the elaboration of the *entrance*, i.e. a feature manifesting in explicit fashion the transition (but also regulation/control of access) from the “outside” to the “inside” (and *vice versa*) (McEnroe 1979)? Finally, let us try to connect the foregoing observations with another highly popular practice of both “palatial” periods, i.e. collective consumption/feasting. Could it not be the case that hospitality (i.e. the offering of food/drink) and the very idea of “*inviting-in*” justify even more concretely the increasing importance (hence visibility) of the “House” at the time?

In a way, the foregoing thoughts could be paving the way for a (literally) “bottom-up” approach to what we have so far perceived and portrayed as the “palatial phenomenon”. It is an alternative scenario which calls for a radical redefinition of the “palace” *itself*, since the latter could now be seen (at least at the most basic level) as a *monumentalized version of a house* as opposed to a distinct (morphological and functional) entity. Along with its grandiose size and obvious signs of architectural refinement, let us not forget that the “palace” accommodates (if not foregrounds) large-scale eating and drinking and in so doing, monumentalizes the very practice of food/drink giving, the very notion of *hospitality* and even more crucially the very idea of being a *generous host*. These observations could be of crucial importance for a very simple reason: ultimately, they seem to imply that the monumentalization process taking place on the island of Crete from the second millennium BC onwards, is a process which *builds upon and aims at accentuating similarity* as opposed to difference; put simply, rather than establishing a straightforward distinction between itself and the “non-palatial” sector, the “palace” could be taken to echo the “familiar”, it could represent a more elaborate version of the everyday, it could constitute an attempt to *render “extra-ordinary” what could be broadly perceived as the “ordinary”* (Bell 1992: 90-93).

The above queries will be explored in further detail in the following chapters. For the time being, it suffices to keep one basic question in mind: could a potential shift from the study of “Palatial society” to the study of “House society” (Lévi-Strauss 1982) be precisely what is required for us to be able to fulfil the aims/intentions discussed in length in the



previous chapter, i.e. the formulation of a new, broad category/question and by extension, a new direction of historical enquiry for Minoan archaeology [see Chapter Seven]? In order to answer this question and by extension, complete the process leading to *higher level preservation* (Marquardt 1992), it is important to return to the evidence from the so-called “prepalatial” period. If we assume for a moment that the term “House society” can indeed replace the term “Palatial society”, then how should “Prepalatial society” be perceived and defined from now on? The main aim of Chapter Nine is to provide an answer to this fundamental question.

## **From *suspension to transcendence*, Part II: Before “civilization”**

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### **[9.1] Internal contradictions**

As in the case of the “palatial” periods, our perception of the period before the “palaces” has lately gone through significant transformation [see Sections 5.2, 5.3]. The suggestion made by the proponents of the “endogenous/production-oriented” approach that the shift of habitation to the marginal environments of Southern Greece (including Crete) at the end of the Neolithic/beginning of the Early Bronze Age has had a profound impact upon land management and use [see Chapter Two] is no longer seen as an empirically (and/or conceptually) sustainable hypothesis. Equally problematic is considered the suggestion that from a very early stage in their history, “palace-to-be” sites (such as Knossos, Malia and Phaistos) provide us with evidence for “agricultural surplus” accumulation. The steadily growing body of information from the Neolithic period (in Crete and the Aegean) on the other hand, makes it highly unlikely that long-distance exchange networks developed for the first time in the area during the Early Bronze Age period. For those adhering to the principles of the “exogenous/consumption-oriented” approach [see Chapter Three], another serious obstacle in their interpretations has been that “prepalatial” evidence from sites, which later developed into “palaces”, does not conform to the idea that the latter exercised (direct and/or exclusive) control over “prepalatial” long-distance maritime expeditions.

“Surplus accumulation” and “authority centralization” constituted criteria of fundamental importance for all “evolutionary” approaches to the “palatial phenomenon”; as indicated above, they were used extensively not only in “palatial” but also in “prepalatial”

studies and this stemmed from the need to portray the “palace” as a concrete entity/ category already from its formative stages. Current trends in Minoan archaeology, which have been shown to be very much against any such forms of classification, not only raise concerns against the notions of “surplus” and “centralized authority” and the idea/category of “palace-to-be” sites as a whole, but also invite us to shift attention towards the idiosyncratic elements in the biographies of these sites [see Section 5.2]. For instance (and in fact quite rightly), they remind us that Knossos, Malia and Phaistos (i.e. the three known “palace-to-be sites<sup>1</sup>) were *loci* with a very long history of occupation, with two out of the three cases (i.e. Knossos and Phaistos) exhibiting clear signs of use already from the Neolithic period<sup>2</sup> (Evans, A.J. 1901-2; Evans, J.D. 1971, 1994; Relaki 2003; Vagnetti & Belli 1978; Tomkins 2000). In particular, Knossos provides evidence for inhabitation already from the late-8<sup>th</sup> millennium BC, almost four millennia before Phaistos. Equally striking seems to be the chronological gap separating the initial occupational phases of Malia with that of Knossos and Phaistos. Although the possibility of Neolithic occupation at Malia cannot be ruled out entirely<sup>3</sup> (van Effenterre 1980: 84; *contra* Betancourt 1985: 4), so far, secure evidence for settlement (?) begins over a millennium after the establishment of Final Neolithic Phaistos, i.e. from the Early Minoan II period onwards (Poursat 1988: 64-65, 68). During this admittedly quite broad temporal/chronological span (i.e. late 8<sup>th</sup>/mid-3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC), it is also the diachronic development of the three sites (i.e. morphology and nature/character of occupation) which does not allow us to view them as morphologically and/or functionally compatible (Schoep 2004a).

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<sup>1</sup> To the list we may also add Petras, which is nevertheless constructed at a relatively late date, i.e. Middle Minoan IIa (Tsipopoulou 1999, 2002). Moreover at Zakros, a substantial building complex has been uncovered under the north-east part of the Late Minoan I “palace” but with a different orientation. Platon dates these architectural traces under the later west wing, together with an earlier “central court” to the “protopalatial” period (Platon 1974: 222-26, Figs. 125-6, 140). Whether this date refers to the early (Middle Minoan I/II) or the later stages of the “Old Palace” period, remains at present unclear.

<sup>2</sup> The history of Knossos begins in Neolithic times (i.e. end of 8<sup>th</sup>/beginning of 7<sup>th</sup> millennium BC (Evans, J.D. 1994: 1), and the occupation layers at the site (which span over several thousand years) are so deep “that they gradually formed the only true *tell* in the Southern Aegean” (Macdonald 2005: 1). This immensely long period is divided into six sub-phases<sup>2</sup>: Aceramic Neolithic (*ca.* 7000-6500 BC), Early Neolithic I (*ca.* 6500-4900 BC), Early Neolithic II (*ca.* 4900-4500 BC), Middle Neolithic (*ca.* 4500-4200 BC), Late Neolithic (*ca.* 4200-3600 BC) and Final Neolithic (*ca.* 3600-3300 BC) (Macdonald 2005). After Knossos, the Neolithic assemblage of Phaistos represents one of the most substantial assemblages of the period in Crete but is limited chronologically to the Final Neolithic (Vagnetti 1972-3).

<sup>3</sup> Van Effenterre mentions a “pre-Minoan” *installation de fondateurs*, from an area to the west of the Middle Minoan “Agora” (van Effenterre 1980: 84).

## [9.2] External connections: Some further thoughts on “palace-to-be” sites

Despite the aforementioned objections/revisions of the long dominant “evolutionary” image of the period before the “palaces” and the simultaneous increase of emphasis upon disassociating the developmental trajectories of the three “palace-to-be” sites, it is particularly interesting that *from the late third millennium onwards, some very significant points of convergence may still be identified* amongst Knossos, Malia and Phaistos. First of all, in all three sites we have ample evidence suggesting the operation of large-scale building programmes in and around the area(s) where the “palaces” were *only subsequently* constructed. At Knossos and Malia, this process began towards the end of the Early Minoan IIa period (Driessen 2004; Macdonald 2005; Pelon 1993; Schoep 2004a; Schoep & Knappett 2004; Whitelaw 2004a; Wilson 1984, 1994); at Phaistos on the other hand, the evidence was long assumed to point towards a later *terminus post quem* (i.e. Middle Minoan Ib) (Levi 1976; Levi & Carinci 1988) however recent investigations at the site now leave open the possibility for an earlier date (i.e. Early Minoan III, if not Early Minoan IIb) (Carinci & La Rosa 2002; La Rosa 2002b, 2005) [*see below*].

Most information on the aforementioned early building programmes derives from the site of Knossos. According to Wilson the sequence of pure Early Minoan IIa fills stratified above Late Neolithic levels were found in numerous widespread tests around the site (Wilson 1994: 36-37) and seem to be pointing towards *large-scale terracing* (Wilson 1984: 36-41, 1994: 36-37). During this phase, the West Court House, the only Early Minoan IIa building so far identified on the Knossian tell (Whitelaw 2004a: 243, Fig. 13.9; Wilson 1984: 38), was terraced directly into the Late Neolithic levels with no intervening Early Minoan I evidence being reported, and appears to have consisted of rooms designated for storage (Wilson 1984: 4, 1985: 282). The stratigraphy and pottery point to a short-lived use of the West Court House (i.e. Early Minoan IIa, first phase) (Wilson 1984: 14). Shortly after its construction, the building was itself levelled as part of a yet another major re-organization of the area of the tell (i.e. second phase of terracing) (Wilson 1984: 4) [Plate 9.1]. A terrace wall (Trench 2 and Trench GG) was built to its west to support the fill and create an open area (Wilson 1984: 17-21, 1985: 282-284, 290-291, Fig. 1, 1994: 36). The alignment of the wall was similar to that of the West Court House (Wilson 1984: 17). The depth of building debris and fill was almost one meter and brought the area up to just beneath the level of the West Court paving (Wilson 1984: 4, 1985: 282). The area over the fill appears to have remained *open* from this time onwards (Wilson 1994: 36).

In the 1987 tests made to explore the limits of a later terrace wall, a stone paved ramp was found to the south-west of the North Lustral Basin (Catling 1987/88: 69, Fig. 94) which has been taken to belong chronologically to the Early Minoan IIb period, although the possibility of an earlier date (i.e. Early Minoan IIa) has not been entirely ruled out (Wilson 1994: 37). It was suggested that this ramp (or roadway) led up to the top of the Knossian hill and in that respect, it could perhaps have been associated with the re-building programme of the Early Minoan IIa period, or a slightly late addition (i.e. Early Minoan IIb) (Wilson 1994: 37-38). It is perhaps worth pointing out here that no architectural remains belonging to the Early Minoan IIb are reported from the area of the tell with the exception of one building, traces of which were uncovered beneath a Middle Minoan house just west of the South-West House and *outside* the edge of the West Court (Wilson 1994: Fig. 2; Wilson & Day 1999: 5).

Remains of what appears to be another extensive terrace wall with an associated stone fill behind it have been reported beneath the West Façade of the “palace” (Catling 1987/88: 69, Fig. 96; Evans, A.J. 1900-1: 56-57, pl.2, 1921: Fig. 109; Hood & Taylor 1981: no 22; Macdonald 205: 26; MacGillivray 1994: 49; Momigliano 1992: 167, 171, p. 8a); the terrace wall (known also as the North-West Platform) (Branigan 1992: 153; MacGillivray 1994: 49), runs from a point “just south of Magazine XI, whence it runs north to the north-west angle of the palace” and then “east to a point just south-west of the North Lustral Basin” (Wilson 1994: 38, Fig. 3). The North-West Platform has been dated to the Early Minoan III period although MacGillivray leaves open the possibility of a slightly later date (i.e. Middle Minoan Ia) (MacGillivray 1994: 51). Outside the “palace” (to the north-west) at the south side of the Royal Road (and at right angles to it) (Wilson 1994: 38), Warren reports a paved road which is also thought to be Early Minoan III in date (Warren 1972: 627-629).

Relatively few architectural remains of this period are known from the site [See Section 5.2]. From the limited number of buildings/structures that we have at our disposal (see plan in Hood 1994: Fig. 1), some appear to have been domestic in character, such as the South Front House which is assigned to the Early Minoan III period (Hood 1994: 102; Momigliano 1991: 198-204; Momigliano & Hood 1994; Momigliano & Wilson 1996) and the Early Houses (Houses A, B and C) below the area of the West Court *kouloures* (Momigliano 1991: 185-194, 206-236). It is indicative that the boundary dividing these domestic examples and the area of the later-to-be “palace” is clearly demarcated: a wall (Wall 14), which is likely to have served as a foundation for the plinth-blocks of the later South Façade, is built against the northern part (wall 1) of the South Front House (Momigliano & Wilson 1996: 52-5, Fig. 31). In the case of the *kouloures* houses, the Early Minoan IIa terrace wall (built to the west of the West Court House to create an open space)

seems to have acted as the boundary separating Houses A, B, C from the “palace” area, from the Early Minoan III/Middle Minoan Ia period onwards (Wilson 1984: Fig. 1; 1994: 36). On the other hand, at the south boundary of the later “palace”, some additional examples of structures which seem to be “non-domestic” and/or special nature are reported (Schoep 2004b: 282): the Early Hypogaeum, the subterranean structure situated below the South Porch, which is taken to belong to the Early Minoan III/Middle Minoan Ia phase(s) (Hood 1994: 102; Momigliano 1991: 195-198), and the Monolithic Pillar Basement, situated to the south-east of the Residential Quarter; which seems to have been in use at least as early as the Middle Minoan Ia phase<sup>4</sup> (MacGillivray 1994: 49-50; Momigliano 1991: 163-167). In a sense, it therefore appears that as we get closer to the area where most building activity is concentrated (i.e. the later-to-be “palace” area), a boundary is drawn between the latter and the “domestic” space either through the construction of (terrace) walls or “non-domestic/special” structures.

At Malia, along with the wealth of contexts preserved from the “Protopalatial” period (van Effenterre 1980a; 1980b; Poursat 1983, 1988), what we currently have at our disposal is also a far more substantial body of empirical information from the “prepalatial” levels (van Effenterre 1980a; Pelon 1980, 1987, 1989, 1993). As mentioned earlier, it now seems that the first major architectural/spatial modifications in and around the area of the “palace” took place during the Early Minoan IIb period (if not towards the end of Early Minoan IIa) (Driessen 2004: 78). Directly under the later “palace” a carefully laid out Early Minoan IIb structure (consisting of a series of small-sized rooms) has been partially revealed (Pelon 1993). Although several scholars consider this structure to be a fore-runner of the subsequently built “palace”, it appears that the former is a far more modest building both in terms of size as well as morphology. What is equally noteworthy is Driessen’s recent observation that from the Early Minoan IIb period onwards (and in analogous fashion to Knossos), building programmes taking place at the area of the “palace” and its immediate environs emphasized greatly *the provision and elaboration of open spaces* (Driessen 2004). To further substantiate this point, Driessen goes on to argue that during the late stages of the “prepalatial” period, a time when there is an obvious increase of building activity at Malia (Baurain & Darque 1993; van Effenterre 1980a: 83-94; Pelon 1989, 1991, 1993; Poursat and Darque 1990; Whitelaw 2004a: Fig. 13.3), the area of the Central Court appears to have been void of constructions (Driessen 2004: 78) and the same applies also to the area of the West Court (Chapouthier *et al.* 1962: 39; Driessen 2004: 78; Pelon 1987: 200).

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<sup>4</sup> Initially, an early date of construction (Early Minoan III or Middle Minoan Ia) had been proposed also for the Early Keep, an enigmatic structure to the North-West of the later “palace”. As Branigan’s re-evaluation of the evidence had convincingly demonstrated however, the date of construction of the Keep ought to be placed to the Middle Minoan Ib period (Branigan 1992; MacGillivray 1994: 49).

Finally at Phaistos, the 1994 and 2000-2002 stratigraphic investigations at the area of the “palace” have revealed that large-scale building operations occurred at the site as early as the Early Minoan IIb period (La Rosa 2002b: 712-5, 2005: 43-4, 50). Amongst the most significant results drawn from recent soundings in the West Court, has been that the initial date of construction of the paved ramp in the West Court, leading from the area of Piazzale LXX to Piazzale I, is now considered to be the Early Minoan III period (“lastricato inferiore c”) (Carinci & La Rosa 2002: 874-5; La Rosa 2005: 44, 50), as opposed to the Middle Minoan Ib phase (“fase Ia”), initially proposed by Doro Levi (Levi 1976: 333) [Plate 9.2]. It is worth mentioning at this point that along with the evidence for an early paving in the West Court, the information we have at our disposal from the Central Court indicates that the latter has not yielded any late “prepalatial” architectural remains (Branigan 1993: 116, Fig. 6.9). Equally significant is perhaps the discovery by Pernier of paved surfaces predating the “Old Palace”, under the floors of the “Protopalatial” rooms of the North-West Wing (Pernier 1935: 151-155). That there is a general emphasis on “openness” at Phaistos is a point further confirmed by the Middle Minoan Ib record. According to Fiandra the supposed “first building phase” of the “palace” (i.e. Middle Minoan Ib) involved solely the construction of the South-West Wing (Fiandra 1961-2: 114-115). This structure consisted of a series of small rooms (designated for storage) (Branigan 1987) and was situated at the south part of the hill at Phaistos, at a lower level than the (later) North-West Wing. Apart from the South-West Wing, no other Middle Minoan Ib architectural remains have been reported from the north, west and east areas of the “palace” (Carinci 1989; Damiani-Indelicato 1988: 67; Fiandra 1961-2: 114-115; La Rosa 2002a; Levi 1976: 405-408; Pernier 1935: 335-341; Pernier & Banti 1951: 220-222, 237). To the south, remains of “prepalatial” houses have been discovered (Levi 1976: 334-335, 349-358; Vagnetti 1972-3: 37-39) thus rendering highly unlikely the expansion of the “palace” towards this direction. The possibility should be entertained therefore that that during the Middle Minoan Ib phase, the South-West Wing was situated in between three open spaces (lying to its east, north and west sides respectively) and perhaps a fourth one towards the south.

In all the aforementioned sites, “palaces” in the form of a large architectural complex with a court at the centre (i.e. Central Court) and a second open area to the west (i.e. West Court) (Cherry 1986; Palyvou 2002, 2004) are constructed at a slightly later date (Schoep 2004a). It is now clear that the First Palace at Malia was constructed during the Early Minoan III-Middle Minoan Ia phase (Hue & Pelon 1992: 31-33, Figs. 33-34, Niemeier 1997: 17; Pelon 1983a, 1986: 3-19, 1992: 13, 1993; Poursat 1988; Schoep 1999: 270-272, Fig. 3, 2004). At Knossos, the first monumental edifice dates to the Middle Minoan Ib phase (MacGillivray 1994, 1998) whereas at Phaistos, the first signs of monumentality are

witnessed in the Middle Minoan IIa period, when the North Wing with the smooth rectangular exterior face was built (Fiandra 1961-2: 117, Fig. 7.7; Shaw 1971: 84) [*see also* Chapter Eleven]. From our discussion so far, it becomes obvious however, that the *terminus post quem* of large-scale building operations in the aforementioned “palace-to-be” sites does not coincide with the beginning of the “Protopalatial” period but seems to have involved a long phase of earlier development, spanning roughly from the end of the Early Minoan IIa to the end of the Middle Minoan Ib phase (Schoep & Knappett 2004: 27). With regard to the earlier phase, the possibility is currently left open that large-scale terracing and corresponding building operations aimed mainly *at the provision, elaboration and even monumentalisation of open spaces* in the areas where the “Old Palaces” later stood (Macdonald 2005; Relaki 2003). The significance attributed to “openness” may also be inferred from the information we currently have at our disposal on the morphology and layout of the early “palaces” (Driessen 2004; Schoep 2004a). Not only do courts constitute a cardinal feature of the monumental structures at Knossos, Phaistos and Malia (Schoep 2004a), but as Driessen has rightly pointed out, there is an obvious connection (if not direct association) between these courts and the open spaces reported from the “palace-to-be” loci in the preceding phases, at least in terms of *location* and *orientation* (Driessen 2004).

Along with the above observations, which exemplify why Knossos, Malia and Phaistos converge, as far as their developmental trajectory is concerned, from the late “prepalatial” period onwards, other sets of empirical information seem to further reinforce this image of parallel histories. These points have already been touched upon in previous sections but it is important to review them briefly in what follows:

[a] First of all, it has been stressed repeatedly by the proponents of both the “endogenous/production-oriented” as well as the “exogenous/consumption-oriented” approach that from the late “prepalatial” period onwards, the size of the settlements at Knossos, Malia and Phaistos increases (in some cases, even dramatically) (Branigan 2001; Driessen 2001: 59, 2004: 77; Watrous 1994; Whitelaw 2001: 140, 2004). What is also noteworthy is that from the extant evidence, it appears that the settlement in each of the three sites developed around the *loci* where the “palaces” were later erected (Branigan 2001: 44; Driessen 2001: 64, Whitelaw 2004a). If it is indeed the case that the earliest building programmes at these *loci* have resulted in the construction of monumental open spaces, then it is equally plausible to suggest that the latter constituted *centrally placed, public areas of the corresponding settlement* (Damiani-Indelicato 1988). It is significant in that respect that in those cases where remains of houses are discovered in the near vicinity of “palace-to-be”



*loci*, the former seem to develop in accordance to the orientation of the latter<sup>5</sup> (Driessen 2004: 78).

[b] As we have mentioned, another theme that has been recently gaining ground in the Minoan literature is that of ceremonial and/or large-scale food and drink consumption. The steadily increasing body of empirical information related to large-scale feasting events from the “palaces” has confirmed that the latter hosted such practices essentially from the earliest stage of their history (Day & Wilson 1998, 2002; Relaki 2004; Schoep 2002a, 2002b, 2004) [Plate 3.2]. It appears, however, that from the late “prepalatial” period onwards, feasting becomes a more systematized practice in all three “palace-to-be” sites (Knappett 2001: 91-94, 2005a; La Rosa 2002b; Momigliano 1991; Momigliano & Wilson 1996; MacGillivray 1998; Schoep 2002b: 112-113, 115, Fig. 9; Wilson & Day 1999); taken together with the empirical evidence and interpretative possibilities we discussed earlier (i.e. emphasis on and elaboration of “open spaces”, settlement expansion and nucleation, “open spaces” being central *loci* of the settlements), the evidence for large-scale acts of commensality at Knossos, Malia and Phaistos indicates that there were *loci* compatible not only morphologically but also functionally. If this is indeed the case, it would be interesting to investigate further whether the relatively limited evidence for storage facilities at these *loci* [see Section 5.2] ought to be associated (exclusively?) with those feasting events and be thus viewed as short-term storage depositions designated for “immediate” use/consumption.

On the basis of the above, it could be argued that the three “palace-to-be” sites of Knossos, Malia and Phaistos exhibit several clear signs of convergence centuries before the actual construction of the so-called “palaces”. Essentially, from the late “prepalatial” period onwards, all three of them constitute integral parts of *settlements of substantial size*; that those settlements are *nucleated* is best exemplified by the fact that that they develop *around a monumentalised open/public space* (or set of open/public spaces). From the initial stages of construction/establishment of these public domains (if not earlier in some cases), evidence for *collective eating and drinking events* are reported from all three sites. The morphology of open spaces and the practices/events they seem to accommodate, makes it highly likely that they initially constituted the *nucleus* of the corresponding settlements and only in a subsequent stage, did they transform into the *locus* in which the “palace” structures were constructed (Barshinger 1988: 60).

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<sup>5</sup> A similar case could perhaps be made with regard to the enigmatic structures at the site of Knossos, namely the Early Hypogaeum, the Early Keep and the Monolithic Pillar Basement, however, so far, the date of these construction (albeit early) has not been defined with precision (MacGillivray 1994; Macdonald 2005).

### [9.3] External connections: Social transformations beyond the “palace-to-be” sites

Although the (morphological and functional) common ground that we established with regard to Knossos, Malia and Phaistos could, in theory, allow us to view/treat those as a potentially distinct classificatory entity during the period in question, a closer look upon the extant record from the late “prepalatial” phase(s) clearly demonstrates that the elements/features shared by the three sites are not exclusive to them but rather “diffused” in the wider Cretan landscape.

First of all, from the late “prepalatial” period onwards, the information deriving from the corresponding funerary and settlement record indicates that in these contexts as well, special emphasis was laid upon the provision for and elaboration of *open space* (Barshinger 1988: 79; Branigan 1970: 132, 1993: 127-129; 1998: 19; Driessen 2004: 78; Hamilakis 1998: 120; Murphy 1998: 36; Soles 1992: 223). Interestingly, in many examples, the emphasis on “openness” is coupled with a concern over delineating the boundaries of a settlement and/or cemetery [Plate 9.3]. For example, Xanthoudides mentions boundary walls and areas of paving at both Platanos (outside tholos B) (Xanthoudides 1924: 90) and Koumasa (outside tholos E) (Xanthoudides 1924: 6); enclosures have been identified by more extensive excavations beyond the tholos chambers at Kamilari (Branigan 1976), Aghia Kyriaki (Blackman and Branigan 1977; 1982) and more recently Moni Odigitria (Vasilakis 1990). Paved courtyards outside tombs delineated by walls or pavements have also been found at Tombs III and IV/V/VI at Mochlos, Chrysolakkos (phase I), the tomb at Myrtos-Pyrgos as well as Building 6 and Tholos B at Archanes (Soles 1992: 223), Apesokari II and Aghios Kyrillos (Georgoulaki 1996: 85). From the settlement sector on the other hand, public/open areas (at times with a specially laid pavement or surfacing) are reported from the Early Minoan IIb settlements at Vassiliki (Seager 1907; Zois 1976, 1980) [Plate 9.4] and Myrtos-Phournou Koryfi (Warren 1972) [Plate 9.5], the Early Minoan III/Middle Minoan Ia building complex at Kouphota, Aghia Photia (Tsipopoulou 1988, 1992). At Myrtos-Pyrgos, a paved road (over 20m long) was laid along the western side of the settlement, overlying the Early Minoan II remains while at the south end, the road opened into a paved courtyard (Georgoulaki 1996: 85). Also, the paved 40 x 15m large public court at Gournia has been suggested to belong to the end of the “prepalatial” period (i.e. Middle Minoan I), serving, according to Damiani-Indelicato and Driessen as the original hub of the urban street system<sup>6</sup> (Damiani-Indelicato 1984: 53; Driessen 2004: 79). Enclosure/fortification walls are reported

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<sup>6</sup> Limited tests below the Central Court of the “palace” at Zakros have also yielded an earlier “court surface” but in this case the dimensions and dates remain uncertain (Barshinger 1988: 76-7, 79; Cunningham 2001: 77; Platon 1999: 680).

from all four settlements (Myrtos-Phournou Koryfi, Vassiliki, Kouphota-Aghia Photia, Gournia) (Watrous 1994: 183) as well as the Early Minoan III/Middle Minoan Ia sites at Kastri (Palaikastro) (Alexiou 1979: 12; Sackett & Popham 1965), Kastello (Tzermiado) (Pendlebury & Moneycounts 1937-8: 6-8, Fig. 1), Boubouli (Viannos) (Platon 1960a), Volakas (Koumasa) (Platon 1951: 145-147; Xanthoudides 1924: 49, 70) and Vigla (Apesokari) (Schörgendorfer 1951). Finally, at a number of sites in the Ayiopharango valley, remains of “enclosure walls” have been also reported running round the periphery of the hill on which “late prepalatial” settlements were located (Blackman & Branigan 1977: 39-47; Relaki 2004: 181). It is noteworthy that even in the initial phases of the so-called “protopalatial” period, enclosure walls and large open areas continue to occur also in cases like the Middle Minoan I-II settlements at Monastiraki<sup>7</sup> (Watrous 1994: 742-744) and Apodoulou (Godart & Tzedakis 1995; Tzigounaki 1995, 1999).

The aforementioned features/elements develop shortly after another set of significant transformations had begun to crystallize in the funerary arenas throughout the island. During the Neolithic and the early stages of the Early Bronze Age, the use of caves for funerary purposes had been particularly common in North, West and East Crete and to a lesser extent the South, where only one example has been so far reported<sup>8</sup> (Faure 1969: 200; Georgoulaki 1996). From the Early Minoan II period onwards however, the evidence for burial caves decreases significantly (Branigan 1970; Tyree 1975) and interestingly, this decline is followed by the appearance of a new type of communal tomb on the island (particularly its eastern part): the “house tomb” (Boyd-Hawes *et al.* 1908; Soles 1992). What is equally significant on the other hand is that *tholos* tombs, a surviving funerary type of the Final Neolithic/early “prepalatial” period<sup>9</sup> commonly associated with the Mesara region (Branigan 1970, 1988, 1993), not only increase significantly in number from the middle stages of the third millennium BC onwards (i.e. Early Minoan II), but are also found to occupy for the first time locations in the Mesara plain along with the mountainous range of Asterousia, where most of the earliest examples appear to have been concentrated (Relaki 2004: 177-180).

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<sup>7</sup> “The Monastiraki “court” resembles that at Gournia in shape and topographical sitting” (Watrous 1994: 744).

<sup>8</sup> The only cave in the Mesara region yet found to contain EM material and to have been used for burials is located near the village of Plora (Faure 1969: 200).

<sup>9</sup> For some of the tholoi (Megaloi Skinoi C, Aghia Kyriaki, Lebena Yerokampos II, Kaloi Limenes II, Trypeti), a Final Neolithic foundation date has been suggested (Blackman & Branigan 1975: 20-21, 1977: 67, 1982: 43-4; Relaki 2004: 179; Vasilakis 1989-90a: 23, 33, 38-9, 70-1; Vagnetti & Belli 1978: 135).

Apart from the foregoing developments, another important change that needs to be mentioned at this point, is that from the middle stages of the third millennium onwards a *direct spatial association* between tombs/cemeteries and settlements appears to be sought in various parts of the island (Georgoulaki 1996; Relaki 2004). During the early “prepalatial” period, several scholars have underscored that no pronounced connection of particular settlements with specific funerary *loci* (i.e. *tholoi* or burial caves) was established (Blackman & Branigan 1977; Relaki 2004; Whitelaw 2001); as we move to the middle stages of the Early Bronze Age however, the evidence indicating a concern over establishing such an association increases dramatically. In the Mesara, there are numerous examples of settlements which appear to belong to a much later date than the tombs with which they are found associated (Xanthoudides 1924). Surveys conducted in Ayiofarango, the area of Moni Odigitrias and the South Coast of the Asterousia range (between Kalo Limenes and Lebena) provide further empirical support to this pattern (Alexiou 1992: 164; Blackman & Branigan 1975: 35-36, 1977: 41; Vasilakis 1989-90: 72, 1995: 71). The effects of the close association established between settlements and cemeteries at the time may be appreciated more fully in the case of rectangular funerary structures, i.e. the “house tombs”. As the very term indicates, “house tombs” have close parallels in domestic architecture and were constructed along the lines of real houses (Soles 1992: 202). In these cases (seen in examples like Mochlos, Gournia, Palaikastro, Myrtos-Pyrgos etc), the connection between “cemetery” and “settlement” is established not only through spatial proximity but also through symbolisms at the level of morphology and architectural expression thus making impossible the drawing of a boundary between the two domains merely on the grounds of external appearance. It is noteworthy in that respect that even in areas not commonly associated with the “house tomb” tradition (as the Mesara for instance), the extensive use of *rectangular funerary buildings* (Xanthoudides 1924) may be pointing to a more broadly shared concern over blurring the boundaries between settlements and cemeteries.

The direct association (spatial and morphological) between settlement and cemetery, coupled with other dwelling/building trends of the late “prepalatial” period(s) (i.e. provision for/elaboration of public open spaces, wall enclosures around settlements and/or cemeteries) suggests that this is a time in the history of the island where *settlements* are transformed into *places*, they develop in other words, into *loci* of physical as well as symbolic prominence (Relaki 2004). Interestingly, this phenomenon takes place around the time when Knossos, Malia and Phaistos are also exhibiting the first signs of *nucleation*, i.e. density and centripetal development of habitation, with the term “centripetal” essentially referring to the arrangement of houses around a symbolic “nucleus” (i.e. public open spaces) (Cowgill 2004: 537-538) [see Section 9.2]. At the most basic level, therefore, what we are witnessing in

those larger settlements are similar concerns over accentuating the notion of *settlement as place*. And as in the case of more “ordinary” sites, here as well we may see an effort being made upon establishing a connection between the community of the living and the ancestral past. Along with the obvious example of the settlement at Malia which is situated very closely to the “prepalatial” *necropolis* (Chapouthier & Charbonneaux 1928; Chapouthier & Demargne 1942; Chapouthier *et al.* 1962; Chapouthier & Joly 1936; Demargne 1945; Deshayes & Dessenne 1959; van Effenterre 1980; van Effenterre & van Effenterre 1976), we could perhaps argue that in the case of Knossos (and very possibly also Phaistos), the choice to transform into an open public space the part of the site where remains of earlier human presence and activity were concentrated (i.e. the tell in the case of Knossos and the summit of the hill in the case of Phaistos) may also signify a conscious attempt to lay claim upon that past (Day & Wilson 2002). In a way, spatial association between settlement and cemetery in those two cases is made possible by the literal transformation of the “cemetery” (i.e. a *locus* wealthy of evidence from earlier times, people and practices) into a *living space* (i.e. the central *locus* of the settlement community).

Along with the aforementioned points that render settlements of varying scales throughout the island highly compatible, another practice associated with the “palace-to-be sites” that brings them (once again) closer to other late “prepalatial” Cretan communities, is food and drink consumption. As we mentioned in earlier chapters [see Section 3.4], the increasing analytical emphasis laid upon this practice in the recent years, led some scholars to the conclusion that large-scale feasting events (involving eating but mainly drinking) were accommodated exclusively within “palaces” and “palatial-type” buildings of later periods<sup>10</sup>. Other scholars however, raised concerns over this premise, arguing instead that the empirical evidence points to a far wider social phenomenon whose roots may be traced in Early Minoan times (Cultraro 2001; Day & Wilson 2002, 2004; La Rosa 2005; Relaki 2003, 2004; Todaro 2001; Wilson & Day 1999, 2000), if not the Neolithic period as well (Relaki 2004, Tomkins 2004) [see Sections 3.4, 5.2]. One such example is the obvious association of food/drink consumption and funerary rituals during the Early Minoan (particularly the late “prepalatial”) period(s) (Branigan 1970, 1993; Hamilakis 1998). Although the *direct* evidence for consumption (i.e. food and drink residues), remains quite limited, due to a series of preservational and recovery obstacles<sup>11</sup>, some more conclusive observations may

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<sup>10</sup> See Hamilakis 1995, 1996, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2002a, 2002c.

<sup>11</sup> As Hamilakis notes, animal remains could have been easily mixed with human skeletal remains and systematic recovery of plant remains would have required specific field techniques, rarely practiced, especially in the excavation of mortuary contexts. Another possibility that may be added here is that food remains could have been destroyed or swept away during the regular “clearance” of the tombs (Hamilakis 1998: 119). Nevertheless, some animal remains have been reported in certain sites such as

nevertheless be made on the basis of *indirect evidence*, i.e. pottery and other material implements associated with the practice of eating and drinking. From the mid-third millennium BC onwards, large concentrations of ceramic shapes such as drinking vessels (mainly conical cups), jugs, plates and/or bowls have been found in several cemeteries/tombs (Branigan 1993; Georgoulaki 1996; Walberg 1987). As far as cups are concerned, dozens, sometimes even hundreds are reported from the outer chambers of several tholoi, such as Tomb A at Aghia Triada (Rooms I and L) (Banti 1930-31; Branigan 1970: 98; Georgoulaki 1996: 267, 270; Murphy 1998: 36; Stefani 1933), Tomb A at Kamilari (room B at its initial strata) (Georgoulaki 1996: 271; Levi 1962; Murphy 1998: 36), Tomb A at Vorou (D1 and D2) (Branigan 1970: 98; Marinatos 1931; Murphy 1998: 36), Tholoi A (Rooms D and G) and B at Apesokari (Branigan 1970: 98; Georgoulaki 1996: 270; Zois 1998(5): 168), Tomb II at Yerokampos/Lebena (Room AN) (Alexiou 1960: 845; Alexiou & Warren 2004: 56-84; Georgoulaki 1996: 270), Aghia Kyriaki (Blackman and Branigan 1982: 52) and Aghios Kyrillos (Sakellarakis 1968) [Plate 9.6]. Considerable concentrations are also reported from the burial buildings at Gourmes (A & B) (Georgoulaki 1996: 268; Hatzidakis 1918; Soles 1979: 157-60), Tomb IV at Malia IV (van Effenterre & van Effenterre 1963: 98-9, Pl. XXXIII, Plan III; Georgoulaki 1996: 268), Tomb III at Palaikastro (Bosanquet & Dawkins 1923: 7-9, 116, Fig. 5; Dawkins 1904-05: 269-272, Fig.4 no 3, Fig. 5a-5c; Georgoulaki 1996: 268; Soles 1979: 125, 394) and *Maisons des Morts* at Malia (van Effenterre & van Effenterre 1963: 96, Pl. XXXVIII; Georgoulaki 1996: 268). Another interesting case that may be added here, is Tomb A at Platanos where 300 stone bowls were found<sup>12</sup> (Xanthoudides 1924: 135).

Along with the evidence for food and drink consumption within the tombs, we also have evidence for similar practices outside the tombs. The discovery of drinking and eating vessels in most of these cases (and the often direct association of such finds with the “altar-like” structures as in the case of Kamilari) (Branigan 1991: 187), has been linked with ritual ceremonies, most likely to involve communal food and drink consumption, as well as the performance of other forms of embodied practice such as dancing (Branigan 1991; 1993). It is not possible to specify whether these sets of practices were part of the funerary ritual or of commemorative ceremonies (Tarlow 1999), taking place at times other than the actual funeral. Whatever the case however, we could suggest that the labour invested in building projects outside the tombs at the time implies a concern for creating a *place*, a spatially fixed locus for the activities taking place *outdoors*. What is even more important in that respect, is

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tomb I at Papoura (Lebena) and tomb II at Yerokampos (Lebena) (Alexiou 1960: 226), the tholos tomb at Kراسi (Marinatos 1929: 124), tomb A at Aghia Triada (Banti 1933: 216), tholos Gamma at Archanes (Sakellarakis 1973: 121) and (Middle Minoan I) building 19 at Archanes (Maggidis 1998).

<sup>12</sup> According to Marinatos (1931: 148-9) similar deposits were found around Vorou A.

that these activities (i.e. eating and drinking, dancing) are *communal* in character and have the potential at least, of involving large numbers of people (as opposed to the practices which were taking place within the tombs) [*see also* Chapter Eleven]. The evidence seems to suggest that, along with the evidence for reinforcement of the idea of a common ancestral body, the notion of solidarity is also accentuated in life for those members of the community remaining behind (Connerton 1989).

In recent years, evidence indicating an emphasis on food and drink consumption has gradually begun to be detected also in settlements of varying scale. Tenwolde was amongst the first to stress the unusually large concentrations of vessels associated with eating and drinking found both in interior and exterior spaces of the Early Minoan IIb settlement at Myrtos-Phournou Koryfi (Tenwolde 1992); subsequently this observation has been confirmed also by other scholars (Catapoti 2001; Day & Wilson 2004: 57; Relaki 2003) [*see also* Chapter Eleven]. At Vassiliki, the extant body of empirical information from the Early Minoan IIb to the Middle Minoan I periods seems to confirm the pattern attested at Phournou Koryfi (Zois 1976: 49, 52, 59, 61-64). “Substantial” and/or “considerable” quantities of such vessels are mentioned in the preliminary reports of other Early Minoan IIb/Middle Minoan Ia sites such as the Early Minoan III/Middle Minoan Ia settlement at Trypeti (Vasilakis 1988, 1989, 1989/90, 1995), the Early Minoan III houses at Knossos (Wilson 1994), the Middle Minoan I building at Patrikies (Bonacasa 1967/8; La Rosa 2005) and the “prepalatial” houses at Malia (vanEffenterre 1980: 30-41, 266-7; Fotou 1984: 67-72; Knappett 2005b; McEnroe 1979: 11-43; Müller 1992).

On the basis of the above information, it could be argued that from the mid-third millennium onwards, collective food and drink consumption becomes a highly popular practice throughout the island of Crete (Catapoti 2001; Cultraro 2001; Day & Wilson 1998, 2002; Murphy 1996; Relaki 2003, 2004; Wilson & Day 1999, 2000; *contra* Hamilakis 1995, 1996). The obvious tendency of associating eating and drinking with several practical tasks and symbolic obligations (i.e. ranging from the everyday to exceptional circumstances such as the death of a person), illustrates perfectly how an (essentially individual) biological need (i.e. hunger, thirst) can be transformed into *a social (and thus inter-individual) practice*<sup>13</sup> (Giddens 1984: 129; Grignon 2001). In fact, this is precisely what we may perceive as being the main difference between “hunger/thirst” on the one hand, and “appetite” on the other (Elias 1978; Mennell 1991); “appetite” requires considerable self-control since it is

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<sup>13</sup> “[Eating and drinking] usually occur in definite settings at definite times, and are usually also “public” in the restricted sense of involving *gatherings* of family members, friends... and so on” (Giddens 1984: 129, *my emphasis*).

essentially about prioritizing the need to eat/drink *with others* over the immediate satisfaction of individual biological needs (Giddens 1984: 129). Under this scheme, the need to function biologically and the need to function socially present themselves as almost interchangeable (Sherratt 1997: 388).

That eating and drinking in late “prepalatial” Crete is not strictly necessary for physical but also for social well-being finds further empirical support in the changes attested in the ceramic repertoire of the period(s) in question. Although vessels associated with eating (i.e. shallow bowls/plates) are produced and used in large numbers by that time (Day & Wilson 2004: 48, 57), the most prominent feature of ceramic assemblages from the Early Minoan II onwards are *drinking sets* (i.e. cups and and spouted/(liquid) serving vessels) with the most representative shapes being the individual footed goblet and the long-spouted jar (i.e. “teapot”) (Betancourt 1984, 1985; Betancourt *et al.* 1979; Day & Wilson 2002; Momigliano 1991; Momigliano & Wilson 1996; Relaki 2003; Wilson 1994, 1995; Wilson & Day 1999, 2000, 2004; Wilson *et al.* 2004) [Plate 9.7]. Not only are we witnessing an “explosion” in the quantity of these sets but also a great variety of *types* of drinking sets (i.e. red/black slipped ware, dark-on-light ware, dark grey burnished ware) (Day & Wilson 2004: 47); interestingly, this marks a trend which continues also in the polychrome sets of the First Palace” period (MacGillivray 1987: 274). Equally indicative of the importance attributed to drinking is perhaps the reproduction of drinking and (liquid) serving vessels in various materials such as stone [Plate 9.8] as well as the decoration of pouring vessels, with fertility symbols and/or naturalistic motifs (Branigan 1993: 131-136) [Plates 9.9, 9.10]. Finally, the impact of metal prototypes to late “prepalatial” ceramic morphology and decorative syntax is also important (Day & Wilson 2004: 53; Sherratt 1997: 431-456). In particular, from the middle/late stages of the third millennium onwards, the ceramic drinking and serving sets are often characterized by features like fine, in-turned rims and the joining of individually crafted parts of the vessels. Perhaps the best documented case of effective imitation of metal exists in Vassiliki ware pottery (Branigan 1970: 129-130; Betancourt *et al.* 1979: 24-25).

But what exactly was the nature of the consumed liquid substance? Over a decade ago and by way of contrast to the “Mediterranean polyculture” hypothesis (Renfrew 1972), Hamilakis argued against the possibility of systematized vine cultivation)<sup>14</sup> prior to the Middle/Late Bronze Age(s) (Hamilakis 1995, 1996, 1999). In seeking to substantiate his point, he underscored first of all, the immense analytical difficulty in distinguishing between wild and domesticated varieties of vine (*Vitis sylvestris* and *Vitis vinifera* respectively) when

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<sup>14</sup> Serious concerns against the “Mediterranean polyculture” hypothesis have been raised also by other scholars (Halstead 1988; Hansen 1988; Sarpaki 1995).



there is only a very limited body of archaeobotanical data available (Hamilakis 1995: 100-103, 1996: 4). Moreover, Hamilakis stressed that the nature/character of wine processing tools and installation during the “prepalatial” period(s) ought to be seen as equally inconclusive (Hamilakis 1995: 104-105, 1996: 5). On the basis of these two observations, he thus professed that a more effective explanatory scenario would be to treat the available evidence from the Early Minoan period(s) as indications of occasional and certainly limited use of both wild and domesticated forms (Hamilakis 1995: 117-119, 1996: 23, 1999: 45). After all, Hamilakis stresses, the fruits of wild vine are edible (Hamilakis 1995: 117-119) and the wine “is of a quality comparable to that made from present cultivars” (Olmo 1976: 295).

Although the distinction between domesticated and wild species is a point whose importance and possible socio-economic implications should not be underestimated, the argument put forward by Hamilakis with regard to the “prepalatial” period(s) is in many respects problematic. What needs to be acknowledged first of all is that the contrast he sought to establish between the “prepalatial” and “palatial” period(s) relied upon evidence currently biased towards funerary sites in the case of the Early Bronze Age as opposed to the large and mainly settlement sites of the Middle and Late Bronze Age. This implies that the contrast between the two phases has been based upon the comparison of two essentially *incompatible* contexts. What comes as further support to this point is the fact that even in “prepalatial” settlements of very small size such as Myrtos-Phournou Koryfi [*see* Section 10.1], *there is* evidence to suggest wine processing (Warren 1972: 262, 330-331). After all, Hamilakis himself confirms the occurrence of seeds and stalks from “secure” contexts at the site (i.e. a room floor and the interior of a pithos) as well as vine leaf impressions (Hamilakis 1996: 3, 10, Table 2). On the other hand, what needs to be taken into account as far as settlement contexts are concerned is that vine processing is possible even through the use of more rudimentary or even multi-purpose equipment, not easily detectable in the archaeological record (Foxhall 1993: 183; Mattingly 1993). The fact that very few processing equipment have been discovered in late “prepalatial” contexts so far, could be justified for yet another reason; although some processing might have indeed been carried out within settlements, it is also likely that much of the processing would have been conducted in the countryside where vine is actually growing (Foxhall 1993: 184; Palmer 1996).

In view of the above, one might argue that the extant body of empirical information from the late “prepalatial” period does not dismiss the possibility of vine cultivation (and by extension wine production); in fact, what may counterbalance the absence of adequate

archaeobotanical data and material evidence that could be securely related to wine processing are two observations made later, namely the recurrent association of several social events/occasions with collective acts of food and particularly drink consumption and the “simultaneous” increase in the quantity, elaboration and/or formalization of vessels associated with *drinking*. Essentially what these observations suggest is that the importance of (wine) drinking in late “prepalatial” Crete is very likely to have been both “social” and “economic”: “social” in the sense that it structured and characterized major occasions of interaction and “economic” in that constant supplies needed to be assured for these occasions to operate effectively (Sherratt 1997: 374). The combination of these two points is what brings us closer to the idea of a more systematized exploitation of the species already from the third millennium (Renfrew 1972).

The possibility of systematic vine exploitation/wine production during the period in question has the potential of reinforcing even further the general argument put forward in this section (i.e. the -practical and symbolic- rendering of settlements into *places*) for the simple reason that systematic arboriculture and *particularly viticulture* is a practice which requires that people develop a greater degree of *attachment* to land as well as *considerable* and *permanent* investment in labour, time and even knowledge (Childe 1951: 90; Gilman 1981: 5; Hamilakis 1995: 132-178). This point is precisely what Childe and (subsequently) Gilman describe as the “caging effects” brought by vine cultivation [*see* Section 2.3]. In order to exemplify this point further, it is necessary to describe in more detail some factors related to vine cultivation.

The vine is a perennial woody plant which usually climbs in other trees (Hamilakis 1995: 137) and it is precisely because of its physiological habit of climbing that the cultivated plant needs severe yearly pruning to retain a manageable form and to regulate fruitfulness (Olmo 1976: 294). What is also important according to Hamilakis is that vines can give a crop, however small, within three to four years of planting, with significant production however starting much later (approximately ten years). Usually, after a period of about fifty years, vine production begins to decline and this necessitates the uprooting of old plants and the planting of new ones (Hamilakis 1995: 137). Equally significant is the fact that *both* the quantity and quality of grape production (and so of wine production) are seriously affected by environmental conditions. Temperature is recognized as the most important factor in viticulture since cool weather during the ripening period may result in a highly acidic and sour tasting product, while hot weather produces low acidity and a sweet crop (Hamilakis 1995: 138; Winkler 1949: 51). On the other hand, at the level of year-round labour requirements, although it is usually assumed that one hoeing is sufficient for the entire

year (due to take place some time between late February and late March), it appears that this may be true only in some cases whereas in others (mainly the dry areas of Crete), vines need hoeing at least twice (or even more often) (Hamilakis 1995: 153). Finally, activities of equal importance are the building and maintenance of terraces for vines. It has been pointed out by several scholars that such terraces are better constructed (and therefore more labour-intensive) than terraces for cereals (Hamilakis 1995: 153; Rackham & Moody 1996; Whitelaw 1991: 406). As Hamilakis notes, this may be due “to the fact that tree-crops have a more extensive root system and so need deeper soil” but may also be related “to the farmer’s need to protect a considerable permanent investment.” (Hamilakis 1995: 154). It is probable therefore that terrace maintenance further increases the labour input for vine cultivation.

As we mentioned earlier, because of its year-round labour requirements, viticulture limits the ability to move into other areas, permanently or temporarily, in cases of subsistence problems (Childe 1951: 90; Gilman 1981: 5; Hamilakis 1995: 132-178); what renders this observation particularly significant is the fact that at the time when a strong sense of *place* is manifested throughout the Cretan landscape (i.e. increasing “visibility” of settlements through various practical and symbolic means), there is evidence to suggest that there were also reasons related to land management which essentially necessitated such *permanence* (i.e. the demanding nature of systematic viticulture).

Equally significant for the argument put forward in this section is how labour ought to be *organized* to meet up the requirements of systematic viticulture. The need to overcome the time stress of certain stages of the process such as harvest for instance, often results in the formation of larger cooperative units. For instance, during peak seasons, several people not regularly working in the fields (i.e. children, older people) may be employed in auxiliary tasks, allowing the full employment of regular workers in the prime agricultural tasks (Hamilakis 1995: 156). Cooperation between different families (or even extended kin, neighbours and/or friends) in the busy seasons is well recorded in the anthropological and ethnographic literature (Hamilakis 1995: 155; Koukidis 1948; Long 1984; Petropoulos 1949; Sanders 1956). As Hamilakis notes on the other hand, a well known practice in Crete even until today, is the so called *δανεικοί* (“borrowed”): members of one group offer their labour to another group and *vice versa*, usually for the period of harvest (Hamilakis 1995: 155). In archaeological terms, the (recurrent) need for cooperation at the level of certain activities related to vine exploitation may be further pointing to the importance attributed to the *settlement* during the late “prepalatial” period, particularly in cases like the small-sized community at Myrtos-Phournou Koryfi (Warren 1972).

#### [9.4] Conclusions

Several interesting observations have been made in this section. We focused our attention initially upon the three sites which have long been considered to be exceptional in character/nature during the “prepalatial” period(s), namely the “palace-to-be” sites at Knossos, Malia and Phaistos. We concluded that despite their obvious differences (particularly in their initial stages of development), they all seem to present clear signs of convergence from the late “prepalatial” period onwards. The most important point of convergence is that in all three cases, we witness the beginning of large-scale terracing operations several centuries earlier than the actual construction of the so-called “palaces” with the aim of providing an architecturally elaborate public space/nucleus for the corresponding (and at the time, increasing in size) settlement.

We then proceeded by arguing that the emphasis laid upon public/open space was not a phenomenon strictly related to the “palace-to-be sites”; throughout the island from the late “prepalatial” onwards, similar phenomena may be attested. Interestingly, this happens at a time when the notion of *settlement* seems to be emphasized also through other means as for example spatial demarcation (for example, wall enclosures) or through the far more explicit association of settlements with specific cemeteries. The increasing popularity of collective eating and particularly drinking during the same period is highly significant in that respect, since, at the time, both wine *production* and *consumption* seem to enhance with equal intensity the idea of “settlement as *axis mundi*” hence as the cardinal form of social existence (Cowgill 2004: 537-538).

A more general conclusion may also be drawn in view of our discussion so far. Through our investigation of the “palatial” [see Chapter Eight] and “prepalatial” periods [see Chapter Nine] we ended up arguing that in both cases, “palaces” and “palace-to-be” sites do not seem to constitute exceptional categories, i.e. categories that can be defined on the basis of exclusive criteria; instead, in both periods these structures seem to have exhibited features and/or involved functions that can be witnessed also in other contexts and/or parts of the Cretan landscape.

What are the wider implications of this suggestion? First of all, we draw a distinction between two periods not by making reference to the presence (or absence) of a building type (i.e. the “palace”) but rather through the identification of differences *at the level of dwelling*. We argued in particular that during the late “prepalatial” period(s), a *dwelling* tradition appears to be at work, which seeks to elevate the notion of *settlement* in importance. In the

periods traditionally associated with the emergence and subsequent development of the “palatial phenomenon” however, significant changes in this dwelling pattern seem to be taking place. If these changes indeed point to a tendency to foreground the notion of the “house” [see Chapter Eight], then the contrast between “settlement” and “house” could form the basis for the construction of a new historical question, a question that could take us beyond the long dominant “prepalatial”/“palatial” contrast and by extension, the way the “emergence of the palatial phenomenon” has been approached so far.

Previous approach	“Prepalatial” → “Palatial”
New approach	“Settlement” → “House”

Fig. 9.1 Old and new question(s)

If the “Settlement”/“House” contrast achieves *higher level preservation* (i.e. the establishment of *a new question*) (Marquardt 1992), then how should we direct our enquiries towards the answering of this question? What needs to be defined first of all is the spatio-temporal horizon of this investigation. On the basis of our discussion so far, it could be argued that the distinction between the (late) “prepalatial” and “palatial” phases may be maintained and that the transition from one period to the next may be assessed with reference to socio-political processes pertinent to the island *as a whole*. Instead of seeking to provide an understanding of these processes through the investigation of “regional” or other “localised” “readings”, we may therefore focus our attention upon different *contexts of practice* as those become defined and materialised in different parts of Crete, with the most dominant obviously being *cemeteries* and *settlements*. Both arenas provide us with relatively adequate contextual information to assess their diachronic development (starting from the Early Minoan II period onwards); in making this assessment, what we will be able to further illuminate is how the practical execution of routine and/or short-term tasks leads to the reworking of more general and long-standing principles of dwelling (Foxhall 2000). In the chapter that follows [Chapter Ten], transformations occurring in the late “prepalatial” funerary domain are first examined, followed by the investigation of the corresponding empirical information from settlements [Chapter Eleven].

## Death and memory in transformation

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### [10.1] An “unusual” tholos tomb at Kaminospelio

“Every reproduction of culture is an alteration, insofar as in action,  
the categories by which a present world is orchestrated  
pick up some novel empirical content”  
(Sahlins 1987: 144).

While continuing their survey of the area inland from Kaloi Limenes in 1972, Blackman and Branigan were shown “an unusual tholos tomb” (Blackman & Branigan 1973). The tomb lies almost due south of the area of Pigadakia and on the east side of a small terrace, at a site called Kaminospelio. Gullies on the east and south-west sides of the terrace join to the south of it and form a narrow valley running southward to the sea, which is visible from the tomb (Blackman & Branigan 1973: 199). The tomb was built up against an outcrop of bedrock on its north-west side whereas for the rest of its circuit it was free-standing or possibly slightly sunk.

The principal point of interest of this particular tomb was not so much concerning its architectural form and/or small finds as the large stone feature identified within the tomb<sup>1</sup> [Plate 10.1]. This is an interior cross-wall -of similar construction and of roughly similar thickness<sup>2</sup> to the outer wall- which abuts the latter on a line diverging from the diameter but does not reach the south-east side of the tomb. This peculiar architectural element has also

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<sup>1</sup> Two stone features were found but here emphasis is laid on the largest of the two.

<sup>2</sup> The thickness of the circuit wall ranges from 1.30m to 1.40m whereas that of the interior wall from 1.00m to 1.20m (Blackman & Branigan 1973: 199).

been seen in two other cases in South Crete, one at the site of Plakoura and one at the site of Merthies. At Plakoura, there were also traces of straight walls outside of the tomb and these may have also belonged to the tomb complex (Blackman & Branigan 1973: 203; Pendlebury 1934: 87). Both sites were discovered by Pendlebury in the early 1930s (Pendlebury 1934: 87).

The position of the entrance and its relation to the interior wall is not clear in any of the aforementioned cases. For Kaminospelio however, the entrance seems more likely to be on the south-east side, where the tomb wall appears to stop and where there are traces of an antechamber wall (Blackman & Branigan 1973: 200). For Blackman and Branigan, the way in which the tomb is divided into two is of central significance, "since it may also provide a clue for the division" (Blackman & Branigan 1973: 203):

"Several writers have come to the conclusion that the Mesara tholoi are the tombs of individual clans or *gene*. Many settlements have two or three tombs, each presumably serving a clan within the larger village community. It is possible that in small communities a tholos might be built and used by members of two clans, whose burials would be effectively separated by the internal dividing wall. A wall dividing the tomb back from front would not be suitable for this purpose, since one clan would have to tread over the burials of the other to make their own interments, but a wall dividing the tomb side by side would present no such problem. Again we have no proof to offer in support of this hypothesis, although it is worth pointing out that each of the three sites with a divided tholos have to date produced only *one* tomb" (Blackman & Branigan 1973: 204-205).

Our understanding of Kaminospelio, depends upon our ability to create an image of the social practices in which to situate this funerary edifice. These practices are written into existence by the archaeologist who must assume that this funerary monument facilitated a certain order in the distribution of human relations. If we perceive a burial as the medium in which an objective category of death is confirmed and the obligations of the mourners realized, then the position of the burial in relation to other burials can enable these categories to be situated historically. For instance in our case, the burials are made in a communal tomb; this means that by inserting every new burial into the tomb a sequential relationship is established and the significance of the tomb as *place* becomes reaffirmed [see Chapter Nine]. At the same time however, the reuse of a tomb implies that choices would be demanded between placing one burial next to another, disturbing previous burials or establishing a new and isolated sitting for the new burial (Barrett 1994a: 125). The requirement was always present, demanding each succeeding funeral to make some reference to those burials which had gone before. The consequence in this case is that the explicitly formulated category of the funeral (i.e. how the ritual should be conducted) is constantly brought into play against

different grounded conditions of reality (i.e. how the ritual is conducted every time). This would constitute what Sahlins once described as *the moment of empirical risk* and consists in the possible revisions of a given category by acting subjects in their personal projects (Sahlins 1987: 149-150):

“The gamble is that referential action, by placing *a priori* concepts in correspondence with external objects, will imply some *unforeseen* effects which cannot be ignored. Besides, as action involves a thinking subject (or subjects), related to the sign in the capacity of the agent, the cultural scheme is put in double jeopardy, subjectively as well as objectively: subjectively, by the people’s interested use of signs in their own projects; objectively, as meaning is risked in a cosmos fully capable of contradicting the symbolic systems that are preserved to describe it. The objective gamble thus lies in the disproportions between words and things. *Every implementation of cultural concepts in an actual world submits the concepts to some determination by the situation*” (Sahlins 1987: 149, *my emphasis*).

Accordingly in the case of Kaminospelio, the continuous use of the tomb would have involved acts of rediscovery and remembrance by which traditions of knowledge and of a more general moral order would have been sustained or even eventually recalled. The time of the construction of the interior wall in Kaminospelio is a physical indication of such changing practices; the division of a communal tomb into two parts seems to indicate that a previously shared language of description and interpretation ceased to exist; and while broader frames of reference continued to operate (i.e. the communal tomb is still in use), some particular traditions of remembrance begun to fall away (i.e. the tomb is divided into two parts).

## [10.2] A process of *diasporic* belonging

“The Greeks swear by their dead. The Trojans by their home”  
(Christopher Logue, *War Music: An account of Books 16 to 19 of Homer’s Iliad*)

It has been stressed repeatedly by many scholars in the past that during the early stages of the third millennium BC, communal tombs (i.e. tholoi, burial caves, rock shelters) marked places of ancestral veneration, communal gatherings and burial and have been among the main points of reference by which the landscape and a person’s place in that landscape could be defined (Branigan 1970, 1993; Cultraro 2001; Hamilakis 1998; Murphy 1998; Relaki 2003, 2004; Vavouranakis 2002; Watrous 1994). By being used (and by bearing signs of this use) over many generations, the tombs would therefore have constituted a *shared place*; a locus where common histories and experiences could be realized and negotiated (Relaki 2004: 179). During the late stages of the third millennium BC, these



funerary monuments remained a prominent feature, but they did so in a funerary landscape which began to undergo significant transformations.

Amongst the most important of these transformations is undoubtedly the introduction of burial containers, i.e. rectangular clay coffins (*larnakes*) and large jars (*pithoi*) in an array of funerary sites, such as large open-air cemeteries, house tombs, caves, rock shelters and tholos tombs (Branigan 1970, 1993; Petit 1987, 1990; Schoep & Knappett 2004: 29-30). It is noteworthy that most of these places acted as funerary *loci* already from the early stages of the Early Minoan period (i.e. Early Minoan I/II), but it is only around this time that the placing of burial containers within them becomes a common practice (Branigan 1970, 1993). Although a sporadic occurrence of *larnakes* and *pithoi* may be attested already from the Early Minoan II period<sup>3</sup> the extensive use of burial containers is generally considered to be a phenomenon of later times (i.e. Early Minoan III/Middle Minoan II period) (Schoep & Knappett 2004: 29-30) [Plate 10.2].

In the past, the appearance of *larnax* and *pithos* burials in Early Minoan tombs had been taken to signify a developing trend for individual inhumations, even though initially, they were still made in a communal funerary context (Branigan 1970: 127; 1993: 66). On the other hand, the fact that late Middle and Late Minoan *pithos* burials were found outside some of the Early Minoan communal tombs, was a point allegedly confirming that the concept of individual burial had “at last broken free from the demands of communal burial” (Branigan 1993: 66). For many scholars, this pattern suggested the operation of two different kinds of social strategy, with one strategy hiding and the other making explicit the existence of rank and status among the living (Branigan 1993: 141). The appearance of burial containers was therefore seen to reflect the rise of an ideology which sought to legitimize *social differentiation* “by representing it as natural and immutable through the use of material culture...in the form of ritual symbols which constantly reiterated the message” (Shennan 1982: 156). It is also important to state here that this contrast was also evoked with reference to the way time enters into the process of social evolution [see Section 2.4, 3.4]. On the one hand the ideology of the community *preceded* that of the individual, whilst on the other the ideology of the individual was *constantly reiterated* (Barrett 1994a: 40-41).

In more recent years however, the above premise has been seriously challenged. There is now a substantial body of empirical evidence to suggest that *larnakes* and *pithoi* served as burial facilities for many successive burials but also as ossuaries (Marinatos 1931:

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<sup>3</sup> Examples here include Nopigeia (Karantzali 1996: 67), Archanes, Tholos E (Panagiotopoulos 1996; Sakellarakis 1975) and Pyrgos Cave (Xanthoudides 1918).

151; Papadatos 1999; Rupert 1976: 732). It could thus be said that rather than individual burials, they acted as a smaller collective unit inside the larger tombs where they were found placed. In effect and despite the fact that the burial “process” (i.e. primary burial, secondary relocation of the skeleton, special treatment of the skull, the tomb as burial place and as ossuary of earlier remains) remained more or less unaltered throughout the third/beginning of second millennium BC, a significant change occurred in that all these practices were previously dispersed within the wider area of the communal tomb whereas now they are confined to the interior of burial containers [Plate 10.3].

The fact that these smaller units acted as the central symbolic medium for the transmission of the burial ritual, a role previously served by the totality of the tomb, is an interesting point to examine in conjunction with another important feature of the late Early Minoan II/ early Middle Minoan II period(s), i.e. the increasing number of available rooms/spaces for secondary treatment of the corpse both within and outside the tombs. The removal of the bodies from their original burial context and their accumulation into piles (described sometimes as “clearance”) was a common practice already from the early stages of the third millennium (Hamilakis 1998: 122); in most of those early cases however, remains from and accumulated piles of previous burials remained *within* the tomb. It is not until the late stages of the EM period that secondary treatment is conducted in other *loci* as well<sup>4</sup>; in fact, what is even more important than the increasing number of such *loci*, is the concern to render them *architecturally distinct* (if not *architecturally conspicuous*).

In the case of house tombs, *loci* for secondary treatment are provided by adding rooms to the original unit (Soles 1992a: 204) [Plate 10.4]. Amongst the earliest tombs of this type are the large tombs on the West Terrace at Mochlos (Tomb complex I/II/III and tomb complex IV/V/VI), where original two-room units have been expanded by the addition of one or more rooms (Soles 1992a: 43-62); Tomb III at Gournia, where the tomb is simply a series of walls added one alongside the other (Soles 1992a: 28-34); Tomb 6 at Archanes, where the original unit is lost among later additions (at least four additional rooms) (Sakellarakis 1966: 411-412, 1973a: 111-113, 1973b: 167-171); finally, Tomb 7 also at Archanes (Sakellarakis 1967: 153-157, 1971: 239-243). Among the later examples are Tomb A at Gourmes (Hatzidakis 1915: 59-63, 1918: 45-58), Tomb 5 at Archanes (Sakellarakis 1967), the South Building at Aghia Triadha (Banti 1930-31: 162, 217-232; Soles 1992a: 116-119; Stefani & Banti 1939-31: 152-154) and probably the tomb at Vassiliki (Hall 1912: 71-73; Seager 1907: 115, 1910: 20; Soles 1992a: 194). In certain cases (Tomb 6 at Archanes

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<sup>4</sup> Of course we cannot dismiss the possibility that the interior of the monument continues to be used for that purpose.

and Tomb I at Mochlos), these additions seem to have been made long after the construction of the original unit. Even in those remaining cases where both original and additional units belong in the same ceramic phase, the additions appear to be of later date (Soles 1992a: 204-205).

Another type of rectangular funerary structure that makes its appearance during the late stages of the third millennium may also be of relevance here. These are large structures with a regular external appearance that are subdivided in a number of small rooms by crosswalls usually running parallel to the outer walls and intersecting at right angles (Soles 1992a: 205). Often the interior rooms do not connect and appear to be isolated cells entered from the roof (Soles 1992a: 205) [Plate 10.5]. In this category of compartmentalised funerary buildings belong Tomb V (Dawkins 1904-05: 272) and Tomb VII (Bosanquet 1901-02: 290-297; Bosanquet & Dawkins 1902-03: 350-355) at Palaikastro, the House of the Dead at Malia (van Effenterre 1980: 236-237; van Effenterre & van Effenterre 1963: 85-102), Tomb 3 (Sakellarakis 1967) and Tomb 18 (Sakellarakis 1976: 344-351, 1987: 124-127) at Archanes. As several scholars have stressed, this particular funerary type bears close similarities to Middle Minoan Ib/II monumental enclosure of Chrysolakkos (Demargne 1945: 25-69; Schoep & Knappett 2004: 30; Soles 1992a: 205; van Effenterre 1980: 241-247).

Similar developments are also attested in the case of tholos tombs (Branigan 1970, 1993; Petit 1987). In addition to the small antechambers commonly found before the doorways of the tholoi, a series of other chambers are now being built against the antechamber and the east side of the tomb [Plate 10.6]. According to Branigan, the earlier examples of outer chambers present some notable similarities but they do not seem to have a uniform and preconceived plan (Branigan 1993: 61). Examples here include Lebena-Yerokampos 2 (Alexiou 1958, 1960, 1961-62; Alexiou & Warren 2004), Aghia Kyriaki (Blackman & Branigan 1977, 1982), Aghia Triadha A (Banti 1930-31; Stefani & Banti 1930-31), Moni Odigitrias (Vasilakis 1989-90), Platanos A (Xanthoudides 1924) and possibly Megaloi Skinoi (Alexiou 1967). Irregular suites of chambers are found at some of the later tombs too, as in the case of Vorou A (Marinatos 1931) and Kamilari A (Levi 1961-62). The reason behind this “irregularity” is likely to be that these suites represent an on-going project, with episodes of construction occurring at different periods and over a long time span (Branigan 1993: 62)<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>5</sup> “These outer chambers were not designed, built and used as an integral suite at all but represent responses to *developing needs*” (Branigan 1993: 62, *my emphasis*).

According to some scholars however (Branigan 1970: 95-96, 1993: 63; Petit 1987: 35-37) there exists also a group of tombs which seems to have had a standardised suite of outer chambers, comprising a small antechamber, a larger outer chamber and a narrow corridor-like room running along the side of both rooms [Plate 10.7]. This more standardised arrangement is found at Apesokari A and B (Matz 1951), Aghios Kyrillos (Sakellarakis 1968), Kamilari C (Branigan 1976) and Sopata Kouse (Hatzi-Valianou 1979). In some of those cases (Aghios Kyrillos and Apesokari), a fourth, medium-sized room is later added to the east of the largest room (Branigan 1970: 95-96). All these tombs are late Early Minoan III/Middle Minoan I in date and it is tempting to see them as a late *regularisation* of an earlier architectural layout. (Branigan 1993: 63). However, there are some other cases which belong to this type, such as Siva (Paribeni 1913), Platanos B and Γ (Xanthoudides 1924) that have been dated to the early third millennium. According to Branigan, even these cases are most likely to have had suites of outer chambers added to the initial plan at a later stage, possibly during the Early Minoan II period (Branigan 1970: 95). What may also be used in favour of a later date for the outer chambers concerns the differences between antechambers and outer chambers. Unlike the antechambers, the outer rooms do not seem to have been “sunk” (Xanthoudides 1924), so that they may not have been considered to have so close an association with the tomb chamber itself as did the antechambers. On the other hand, there may be some significance in the fact that many tombs in this group were fronted by pavements/paved areas [see Chapter Eight], usually of undetermined extent, implying a relationship between the suites of outer chambers and open-air activities of some kind (Branigan 1970: 97). As we mentioned in the previous chapter, these paved areas are also a later addition to the initial plan of the tombs [see Chapter Eight].

Another important characteristic of the (late) Early Minoan II/ (early) Middle Minoan II period(s) is the occurrence of funerary activities outside the main buildings. At Archanes for instance, the Area of the Rocks (Περιοχή των Βράχων), a large oblong area at the south-west of the cemetery (close to Tholos Gamma and funerary buildings 6, 23 and 5 as well as 22, 18 and 19) has been used for inhumations as well as secondary burials<sup>6</sup> (Sakellarakis & Sakellaraki 1991: 135). A similar phenomenon is also attested at several Mesaran tholoi such as Porti (Xanthoudides 1924: 56) and Platanos (Xanthoudides 1924: 90). At Archanes, we also witness the contemporaneous use of multiple, separate burial

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<sup>6</sup> The area is used already from the Early Minoan IIa period, yet most evidence seems to derive from the later stages of the third millennium BC (Sakellarakis & Sakellaraki 1991: 135). Whitlaw however rightly raises yet another possibility: that the evidence for clearing out many tombs may represent not part of the funerary ritual, but rather cleaning out for re-use by a new group, after a period of abandonment (Whitlaw 2000: 151). If this is indeed the case, then a possible increase of clearance operations at this particular point in time reinforces further the notion of *fragmentation*.

grounds on the periphery of the hill of Phourni. These include Karnari, Katsoprinas, Anephoros, Kaballopetra, Ontades and Mesambela (Maggidis 1998: 96). In this climate of increasing fragmentation, we may add some evidence deriving from the Early Minoan IIb settlement at Phournou Koryfi [see also Chapter Nine]. At the centre of room 89, in the south part of the settlement, fragments of a human skull were discovered. Burnt by the final destruction episode at the site (Warren 1972b: 81), the pieces from the skull were identifiable as those of a young adult male. Several other points can be made with regard to this room, which seem to stress even further the significance of the find. Against the east wall of the room, a tripartite structure was found consisting of two little, low benches or tables with a hearth between them (Warren 1972b: 81) and the skull was found situated near this tripartite structure. The earth is formed by the south face of the north bench, north face of the south bench and, on the west, by a line of upright slabs. The whole tripartite structure measures 2.18m (N-S) and projects 0.60m from the wall. The benches were clearly for use as stands for pots or food or even as seats in connection with the hearth between them. But the tripartite arrangement is unique at Myrtos and strikes one as highly elaborate if the room served merely for daily functions (Warren 1972b: 81). That the skull was found situated near the tripartite structure makes it highly possible that this room had a special character. No other bones, human or animal, were found in the room and there were no signs to suggest that a burial had taken place in the area. It seems more likely that the skull was deliberately removed from its original burial context and placed within this room.

So far, our discussion points to a fragmentation of the larger social unit previously accommodated by the communal tombs and also, to a concern for the creation of smaller units both within and outside the tombs. Earlier the boundaries of this larger social unit coincided with the spatial boundaries of the funerary monument by the late third millennium/beginning of second millennium however, this no longer seems to be the case; instead, funerary loci are now presenting themselves as sites of *diasporic* belonging (Bell 1999: 3). Burial containers on the one hand, serve to *isolate* certain inhumations and burial remains from the rest of the tomb while the increase of spaces for secondary treatment implies that the *removal* of burial remains from their initial context of deposition and their *dispersal* in various parts of the cemetery had begun to constitute dominant funerary strategies. It is important to stress once again at this point that all these acts do by no means enhance individual distinction. What the record provides evidence for is not individual burials but rather smaller collective units. Therefore, what we seem to be witnessing is a shift in the ways whereby people's sense of *community* and *belonging* in times of and with reference to death was created, imagined and sustained (Bell 1999: 5). This is in other words,

what Fortier would have described as a process of *re-membering* and redefinition of the existing terrains of belonging (Fortier 1999: 41-2).

With regard to ossuaries/*loci* of secondary treatment in particular, it can be argued that the emphasis laid upon the conspicuous spatial manifestation (and in some cases compartmentalisation) of these structures may stem from a need to disassociate a group of dead persons from the common ancestral body; a need to secure that they are detectable even after death (and not enmeshed within a homogenous totality); a need in other words, to recognize more easily where (the remains of) these dead persons are placed. To be in a position to appreciate the importance of this structural transformation, one only needs to be reminded that in earlier periods, the loss experienced once a person died was not only literal but also *symbolic*, since the final deposition of the corpse was made in a place which accommodated a substantial number of earlier burials and human remains; communal tombs were after all used for years (and even centuries) and the possibility that they served not a single but rather several communities has not been excluded. By spatially demarcated units in the cemetery for secondary treatment, the boundaries of the communal tomb and the integrity of the ancestral body are challenged. The new corpse is placed in the tomb but only temporarily; it is then removed (in some form, at a certain time) and placed closer to a smaller assemblage of remains, possibly to an assemblage which is felt to be more *intimate*. The impression of intimacy that we gain from the way smaller funerary units are now formulated, is prolonged through the structural modifications of the cemeteries that we described above. In fact, it is precisely this intimacy which is now acquiring a spatial/architectural dimension. In a way, through these transformations, the funerary space becomes a forest of *names* and *close associations* as opposed to a homogenous ancestral surplus.

### **[10.3] The dead and the living: a relationship in transformation**

The changing conditions of the late third millennium/early second millennium BC have been examined in an attempt to understand how certain funerary practices could have guided particular forms of discourse with the past and would thus have lead to the construction of particular forms of community and terrains of belonging. Such discourse and forms of understanding would have occupied a region of time-space (Barrett 1994a: 19; Giddens 1985: 244), they would have been in other words, *occasion-specific*. To know when and how to act in these occasions, would require an understanding of the immediate situation, an awareness in other words, of position, movement, posture and timing (Barrett

1994a; Giddens 1987; Goffman 1971). To a large extent, this practical knowledge would also have been constructed and negotiated through active engagement with existing material conditions. Orientated by all those pre-understandings, people would enter these occasions and it is precisely this prior knowledge which would have enabled them to recognize and to monitor their conditions and their roles as participants (Barrett 1994a: 19). Bearing all the above in mind, it is now important to return to the funerary evidence of the period in question; the main task this time will be to investigate whether the changing patterns of distribution of funerary activities that we described earlier [see Section 10.2] had an effect upon the ways social roles were performed by the people who were participating in these occasions.

Earlier we argued that during the early stages of the third millennium, all stages of the funerary process were confined within the communal tomb [see Section 10.2] and one has to be reminded once again at this point that this was a practice which took place for centuries. To the eyes of the archaeologist, this repetition results at a purely analytical level, in what we would define as a highly “disturbed context”. Some funerary activities would have been conducted at the time when a new corpse was introduced to the tomb, others would have required a return to the tomb at times other than the actual funeral. In effect, what now seems as a “disturbed” context should be viewed instead as an image of *inhabited* architecture and as the residual remains of a widely diverse range of practices which were organized in and through different temporalities (Barrett 1994a).

If we accept this point however, then we would also have to allow that this obvious surplus of past temporalities is not only what the archaeologist encounters in the present but also *what past people would have experienced every time they entered the tomb*. Circulation within a funerary structure would have been difficult since a substantial part of its interior was already filled with remnants of past activities (i.e. human remains and offerings). This probably implies that only a limited number of people would have been able to enter the tomb every time the funerary ritual had to be conducted. Even with a limited number of people however, another factor that would have made the actual execution of the ritual difficult would be the poor lighting inside the tomb, resulting from the lack of openings and the “sunken” floors of the tomb’s compartments (Branigan 1993; Xanthoudides 1924). Although some kind of artificial light might have been used, *a prior experience and knowledge of “where is what” and “where to do what”* would have been the only way to guarantee that the funerary ritual was carried out effectively and with precision (Thomas 1996). So the issue we are dealing with here does not merely have to do with the number of people entering the tomb; this group would also (and more importantly) have to have prior

knowledge and experience of what to do and where to do it; under the circumstance we described so far, it is very likely that the knowledge and experience required to conduct the ritual, could have been possible only if the *same* group of people was in charge of this ritual every time. The markedly small size of tombs' entrances during this period (not exceeding 50 cm in height) (Branigan 1993), might have served as a literal as well as symbolic boundary between those who can and those who cannot enter the tomb [Plate 10.8].

During the later part of the third millennium however, the aforementioned conditions were about to change and as we mentioned in the earlier section [see Section 10.2] what we are now witnessing is an obvious dismantling of the funerary process and a dispersal of (at least certain of these) activities in various parts of the cemetery (within and outside the tombs, in newly built funerary constructions within the cemetery or even beyond the cemetery area). One could perhaps argue that this dispersal stems from a concern for the provision of additional space for primary and secondary burials; this measure would have been necessary because of the dearth of space in the already existing tombs. Such a suggestion however seems highly unlikely, in the light of the following observations. First of all, one needs to acknowledge that similar problems would also have occurred in earlier period(s) but there is at present no evidence to suggest that such problems would have resulted in (or for that matter necessitated) any spatial re-arrangements within or outside the cemeteries. On the other hand, the apparent variations in the size, complexity and construction of funerary buildings during the (late) Early Minoan II-(early) Middle Minoan II <sup>7</sup> (Maggidis 1998; Soles 1992b; Schoep & Knappett 2004: 29-30; Whitelaw 2004a) seems to constitute a deliberate and conscious attempt to delineate *difference*, rather than a response to a mere lack of space.

If this dispersal of funerary activities has been the result of abandonment of certain areas of a given cemetery for the use of others (which would imply that all these structures we identify as (late) Early Minoan II-(early) Middle Minoan II are *not* in fact used contemporaneously), then it becomes evident that elaboration and primacy are no longer given to the communal tomb itself; instead what we are witnessing is a greater degree of energy investment in new building projects (hardly a phenomenon of earlier periods) and therefore a continuous redefinition of community (the physical manifestation of the latter now being *spatially flexible* if not *spatially contested*) (Whitelaw 2000: 151). If however we assume that all these funerary buildings were (at a certain point at least) used concurrently, then we are obviously dealing with a situation where the conduct of funerary activities in

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<sup>7</sup> Here we may also add the apparent variation in the shape/size of burial containers (Petit 1990).



various parts of the cemetery would have been seen as appropriate. If we accept this case as plausible, then it is worth examining in further detail the possibility that these activities were now undertaken by a greater number of people. In what follows, we wish to suggest that the latter hypothesis seems more likely for a number of reasons.

The *larnax* and *pithos* burial tradition which emerges at this particular point in time throughout the island suggests that a corpse is still placed in the communal tomb albeit within a burial container. At a later stage new bodies are added to the containers whereas in other cases old burial remains are isolated in other parts of the tomb or areas outside the tomb. The communal tomb no longer constitutes a highly “disturbed” context but rather becomes “tidier”, presenting those who are in charge of the funerary ritual with *imprints* pointing out where each corpse was once buried or now placed. It is possible that these imprints show the way, they offer a sense of direction and orientation *to the dead bodies that matter* and in so doing, they change radically the conditions of the funerary process: under these newly established conditions, a greater numbers of people could have the potential at least to actively take part in the execution of the funerary ritual; given that *larnakes* and *pithoi* accommodate small funerary units, it is highly likely that the degree of association to the dead person would have specified who would be responsible for the execution of the funerary ritual every time.

It is significant that during this period our evidence from tholos tombs reinforces the aforementioned point. The involvement of more people/groups in the funerary ritual might be implied by the fact that the height and width of the tombs’ entrances increases during the late stages of the third millennium BC (Branigan 1970: 34-36, 1993: 60). Amongst these latest tombs we find doors between 1.5 and 2m high and a metre or more wide with examples from Gypsades (Hood 1958), Aghios Kyrillos (Sakellarakis 1968) and Drakones Z (Xanthoudides 1924: 76-80). According to Branigan, these larger entrances might be implying that access to the tomb was now becoming easier or even less restricted, henceforth inviting larger groups or numbers of people (Branigan 1970: 34-36, 1993: 60, 149) [Plates 10.9, 10.10].

Similar observations can be also be made with respect to house tombs. We mentioned earlier that many tombs of this type are not built as single units but rather have compound plans (Soles 1992b: 204). They usually consist of three or more rooms, some of which are additions to the initial plan. What is very interesting is that access to these additional rooms is facilitated by a separate entrance [Plate 10.11]. For example, the tomb complex I/II/III at Mochlos consists of three compartments lying adjacent to each other, each

entered from the west by its own doorway (Soles 1992b: 43). Similarly tomb complex IV/V/VI consists of three separate compartments. The main entrance to the tomb opens into Compartment IV (Soles 1992b: 53). Compartment VI on the other hand may be entered only by the north-east doorway of Compartment IV and is, as a result, isolated at the east end of the tomb (Soles 1992b: 54). Compartment V, which is a later addition has a separate entrance from the rest of the unit, extending the entire distance between its east and west walls (*ca.* 1.31 m) (Soles 1992b: 55). Separate entrances leading to different parts/areas of the funerary compounds are also attested in the case of Tomb III at Gournia, Tomb A at Gournes and possibly Buildings 6 and 7 at Archanes, the Tomb at Vassiliki and the South Building at Aghia Triada (Soles 1992b: 204). The existence of different entrances might indicate that a different form of *regionalisation* was now realized by the plan of the monument; if additional rooms served as ossuaries, then the removal of human remains from their original burial context (the latter being a “back space” of potential secrecy separated from observers) and their deposition into these added compartments, would have necessitated the *coming out* from the tomb. As such, this particular stage of the funerary process would have now acted as a “front region”, enhancing *visibility* and *demystification*. If on the other hand, the different compartments of a tomb served as *loci* for primary burials, then it is obvious that the introduction of a new corpse to the tomb would no longer entail circulation within the entire compound but only in specific parts of it. In neither of these cases does the funerary process appear to be spatially fixed; in that respect, we may assume that the layout of the tomb provided *the potential* of being visited simultaneously or at different times by different groups of people.

Important observations may also be made with regard to rectangular funerary structures with multiple rooms (Soles 1992b: 205). We mentioned earlier [*see* Section 10.2] that the interior rooms do not often connect and therefore appear to constitute isolated cells, possibly entered through hatches on the roof (if indeed covered with a roof) or through the employment of ramps (if not covered with a roof). The use of cells indicates a concern for compartmentalisation, the division of the tomb into small units; the arrangement of cells on the other hand implies that every time a corpse was introduced in any of them, only a small area of the tomb needed to be used. The division of cells therefore seems to orientate movement and action towards specific parts of the funerary edifice. The fact that entrance to the cells would have been facilitated from above (through hatches or ramps) might also indicate that different cells were used simultaneously and/or at different times; here again we may therefore have to consider the possibility that access to the ritual was allowed to greater numbers of people.

## [10.4] Conclusions

In seeking to demonstrate how the reworking of specific practices contributes to broader transformations at the level of dwelling (i.e. long standing perceptions and technologies of “being in the world”) (Ingold 2000: 190), we have examined in this chapter, how changes in mortuary contexts around the island of Crete during the late third/early second millennium BC may relate to our broader historical question, i.e. what we have broadly labelled as the “emergence” of “House Society”.

We began by suggesting that over the period under study, a “genealogy” of mortuary practice reveals several changes first and foremost, in the ways whereby the corpse was organized in death. In particular we argued that the changes attested in the funerary domain were concerned with the ways in which the dead were perceived, represented –or more properly, materialised. The aim of these practices seems to have been to *re-position the dead in relation to the community of the living*. In particular, emphasis appears to have been laid upon prolonging the memory of a dead person not only in the moment of burial but also after burial. The increase of architectural structures associated with secondary treatment seems to indicate that from the late stages of the third millennium BC onwards, the deceased ceased to be viewed as simply “one of the dead” and instead became a *named* person, more easily detectable in the funerary landscape. This however was not a transformation aiming at personal distinction; instead, what the available evidence suggests is that *naming of a dead person became easier because of the corpse’s physical association with a smaller (more intimate) funerary unit*.

Changes are also attested in the way the funerary ritual was constructed and by extension performed. We have demonstrated in particular that the establishment of various imprints/elements of orientation both within and outside the tombs renders likely the possibility that more people were involved in the actual execution of the funerary process. The increasing number does not refer to a situation where more people were entering the tomb every time a funerary ritual was performed but rather that *different groups of people (still limited in number)* were entering the tomb every time such rituals had to take place. In conjunction with the changing image of the dead that we described above, the more direct involvement of various groups in those rituals seems to imply that this is a period during which the living placed more emphasis on *descent from named ancestors* as opposed to an abstract ancestral body (Barrett 1994b: 94).

Different “readings” of this general principle may be attested in the wider Cretan landscape, and the tholos at Kaminospelio forms one such “reading”. Even if we acknowledge the existence and operation of diverse expressions/manifestations however, this does not undermine the validity of the observation that funerary transformations around the island appear to converge *at the level of principle* (i.e. basic rules of performance, rights and obligations during performance). If it is indeed the case that this broad principle is the product of a shift from “centripetal” to “centrifugal” (i.e. “diasporic”) perceptions of death and memory, then could we also suggest that it is a principle which relates to (if not confirms) our historical question, i.e. the fragmentation of the “Settlement” and the (symbolic and practical) prioritization of the “House”? In order to be able to associate more securely funerary changes with transformations in ways of dwelling, it is important to examine in more detail, the available evidence from late third millennium/early second millennium BC settlements contexts. The following chapter embarks on the investigation of this issue, starting with an important case study, the Early Minoan II site at Myrtos-Phournou Koryfi.

## From performance to concretization

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### [11.1] Rise to the occasion

The Early Minoan II settlement at Phournou Koryfi [Plate 11.1] lies on the summit of a hill, 3.5 km east of the modern village of Myrtos on the south coast of Crete. The hill (only 66m high) rises above the Libyan sea with a narrow beach at its base (Warren 1972, Pl.IA). The site was excavated under the direction of Peter Warren from 1967 to 1968 and published in exemplary detail only a few years later, in 1972. Since then, Myrtos-Phournou Koryfi has remained a focal point for the analysis of Early Bronze Age Crete not only due to the thoroughness of its excavation/publication (Tenwolde 1992: 1; Whitelaw 1979:2) but also because thirty years later, *all other contemporary settlement contexts are still in the process of final publication*<sup>1</sup>.

Along with those factors, several other reasons have rendered Phournou Koryfi an ideal case study of Early Bronze Age settlement life. First of all, the site can be considered completely excavated (Warren 1972: 6), giving us the opportunity to assess the community as a whole (Whitelaw 1979: 1, 1983: 324, *contra* Fotou 1984: 34). Secondly, it was essentially a single period site (with very little signs of re-use) and thus has not been complicated or largely disrupted by later construction, a serious analytical obstacle in other major Early Bronze Age sites (i.e. Knossos, Malia, Phaistos, Mochlos, Palaikastro etc) (Whitelaw 1979: 1-2). Finally, the sudden and complete destruction of the settlement by fire

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<sup>1</sup> For a detailed review of (published and/or semi-published) Early Minoan II settlements and corresponding architectural/artefactual evidence *see* Watrous 1994, 2001; Zois 1998a-f.

and its subsequent abandonment allow us to investigate a context which is *sealed*, thus providing a clear contemporary horizon as well as extensive contextual information (Cultraro 2001: 97-102; Fotou 1984: 31-34; Sanders 1990: 52; Tenwolde 1992: 1; Warren 1972: 10; Whitelaw 1979: 2, 1983: 324).

The complex of structures revealed by excavation spread over the summit of Phournou Koryfi and consisted of nearly a hundred individual rooms and/or areas (Warren 1972: 11). These were confined to the top part of the hill, covering the summit and parts of the west and south slopes; to the north, the hill falls away very steeply and on the east it is almost a cliff; hence the north and east limits of the settlement appear to have been naturally determined (Warren 1972: 11). The excavator divided this architectural mass into two periods, distinct both architecturally and chronologically: Period I constructions are considered Early Minoan IIa in date and are associated with “fine grey wares and a wide variety of dark-on-light painted wares” (Whitelaw 1979: 4). The following rooms/areas belong to Period I: area below rooms 27-28, areas 30-31, rooms 37-43, rooms 47-51, South-East Rubbish Pits 61-62 and the “North Rubbish Area 2-3” (Warren 1972: 11-22). All aforementioned areas/rooms and deposits are confined to the centre of the settlement but in addition to those, Period I finds have been reported also from other parts of it (mainly surface levels) (Warren 1972: 21-2). Period II structures are taken to belong to the Early Minoan IIb period; they are characterized by “a total lack of fine grey wares, a very restricted range of dark-on-light wares and are primarily associated with red and brown painted wares (burnished and unburnished) as well as Vassiliki ware, not present in Period I deposits” (Whitelaw 1979: 4). With the exception of an Early Minoan III (?) arc-shaped building which is positioned over rooms 17-20 (Warren 1972: 92), all remaining rooms and areas at the site belong to this phase (i.e. Early Minoan IIb).

[a] *Community-level organization: Warren's interpretation*

In the final publication of Myrtos-Phournou Koryfi, the excavator emphasized the conjoining, cellular nature of the architecture and the lack of evidence for a developed hierarchical system in putting forward a theory of *communal living* (Warren 1972: 260-1):

“[Such a community] in the form of a single large complex without separately defined houses suggests a social organization based on a single large unit, a clan or tribe living communally and perhaps not differentiated into individual families, and quite without any apparent chief or ruler” (Warren 1972: 267).

Although the intention behind this *problematique* was to associate several features of the settlement with the subsequent emergence of the “palaces”<sup>2</sup>, the image of the settlement that Warren constructed was by no means trivial or misplaced. It is perhaps significant in that respect that with the exception of Todd Whitelaw [*see below*], all subsequent interpretations regarding the nature and character of the site have largely drawn upon the excavator’s initial observations (Sanders 1990; Tenwolde 1992).

First of all, Warren was right in suggesting that the site gives the impression of a large, homogeneous whole (Warren 1972: 260) since at a “macroscopic” level, the distinction of smaller architectural units (i.e. “houses”) appears almost impossible (Fotou 1984: 32; McEnroe 1979: 13). That the boundaries between “private” and “public” space are very blurred is an observation which finds further support in Sander’s comment that the size and form of all rooms at the site are “within the limits of the vision, and hearing zones” (Sanders 1990: 62); put simply many of the activities taking place within these enclosed spaces could be easily seen and heard; it could be suggested therefore that both at the level of architectural planning and sensory experience, no particular emphasis appears to have been laid by the inhabitants of the settlement upon spatial segregation and/or privacy.

With regard to the exterior spaces of the settlement, it is also important to repeat here an observation made already in the previous chapter [*see Section 9.3*], namely that certain open spaces of the settlement were carefully constructed and architecturally elaborated (Warren 1972: 57, 78-9, 87; Zois 1998c: 198). The evidence for architectural elaboration of the public sector derives mainly from three areas, area 63 (“Southeast Yard”) (Warren 1972: 57), area 93 (“South Paved Way”) (Warren 1972: 87) and area 85 (“Open Area”) (Warren 1972: 78-9); their immediate spatial proximity renders it very likely that they constituted a single, large open space which allowed access to the south part of the settlement via the north-south passageway (i.e. areas 64-65). Area 63 (west of Room 62 and south of the main entrance and Room 78) consisted of “hard-packed whitish earth laid on the sandy rock” and had “rough paving slabs set on it here and there” (Warren 1972: 57). The white level ran up to the west face of 62 while to the north, “a line of slabs set in the white packing provided a footway westwards along the south side of the settlement” (Warren 1972:

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<sup>2</sup> Warren writes: “[Myrtos-Phournou Koryfi] exhibits several features which are reminiscent of, or rather find their full development in the Minoan palaces... The single, large architectural complex with several distinct areas organized for specific purposes, does suggest that the origins of the palaces are to be sought here in settlements such as Myrtos and Vassiliki, architecturally in part and economically in full” (Warren 1972: 260-1). It needs to be mentioned at this point that an association between Phournou Koryfi and the “palace” (this time at the level of socio-political organization) has been proposed by Branigan. The functional specialisation of different areas/room at Phournou Koryfi and the belief that the site was constructed as an integrated whole, served as the basis for interpreting the latter as the mansion of a locally important individual, “big man” or “chief”. (Branigan 1970: 47-8).

57). Although the area was overlain by tumbled stones from the surrounding walls, excavation works made clear that this was a path which extended certainly as far as the south-west corner of Room 79. Area 85 (outside the south-west corner of Room 89 and south of Room 88) was paved with large slabs which descent in two rough steps, to an open yard on the south (Warren 1972: 78-9). Area 93 (i.e. southern limit of settlement, from area 64 on the east to the area 85) is of particular interest since a definite attempt has been made here to provide a raised walk (Warren 1972: 87). This consisted of a row of flat slabs, set “in white clayey material and resting on the natural bedrock” (Warren 1972: 87). These slabs were best preserved outside room 79 (Warren 1972: 10, Fig. 12). A few were also preserved eastwards towards area 64. To the west, outside room 80 another open area has been identified.

Some further observations towards this direction may also be made with regard to the central part of the settlement, where the striking majority of Period I remains has been identified. Although admittedly this part of the settlement is heavily eroded, some interesting remarks are made in Warren’s publication (Warren 1972: 11-22) and have been subsequently confirmed by other scholars (Sanders 1990; Whitelaw 1979, 1983). These scholars agree that it is unlikely that Period I settlement covered a greater extent than currently represented by its architecture (Warren 1972: 10; Whitelaw 1979: 5). A spread of ash from room 35 out into 30 and 37 (Warren 1972: 16-7; Zois 1998c: 186-7) and above the fill in 38, 39 and 40 (Warren 1972: 13-7; Zois 1998c: 186-7) suggests that in this area, Period I structures were covered over and the area served as an open court (Warren 1972: 41; Whitelaw 1979: 6). Also, there is no evidence that 36 and 47-51 (Warren 1972: 17-20) were used in Period II (Whitelaw 1979: 6). The excavation plan and description indicates that a Period II wall overlapped the Period I east wall of area 32 (Warren 1972: 41-2), implying that the original structures were no longer standing, though how the area was used is unclear (Whitelaw 1979: 6). The mixed fill in 41-43 (Warren 1972: 46) may suggest that this area was open as well (Whitelaw 1979: 6). On this basis, it could be suggested that these areas were not built in Period II and that the original structures were either in ruins or covered over to be used as yard areas (Whitelaw 1979: 6).

Although we have already mentioned the major open areas in the settlement, it is noteworthy that to these, some further ones (albeit of smaller size) might be added. Here we mainly refer to areas 2-3 (to the north) (Warren 1972: 23), and according to Whitelaw,



possibly areas 7, 24/26 and 56 (Whitelaw 1979: 43-4)<sup>3</sup>. This apparent provision for and elaboration of open space in conjunction with the blurred boundaries between the “public” and “private” sectors (both at the level of architectural planning/development but also in terms of everyday sensory experience as mentioned earlier) point to a *practical* as well as *symbolic* manifestation of communal integration at Myrtos-Phournou Koryfi (Tenwolde 1992; Warren 1972). The observation made by Warren on the other hand, that the settlement’s outer walls acted as a form of enclosure/fortification, reinforced in parts by bastions (“Room” 62) and towers (“rooms” 86, 87 and possibly 1) (Warren 1972: 11, 42-3, 57, 79-80, 261, 268), supports even further the architectural/structural integration of the site.

Along with the architectural evidence, there is also substantial empirical information to suggest that several *communal activities* were taking place at Phournou Koryfi. For instance, although distribution of stone tools and querns was fairly uniform, there is the notable exception of a concentration of each in the north-south corridor/passageway (i.e. areas 64-65) (Warren 1972: 58-60), “perhaps indicating that a “stock” of these items was available for common use” (Tenwolde 1992: 21). Equally indicative has been the observation that in the interior of this particular passageway two concentrations of ceramic vessels are reported, both discovered within areas constructed specifically as storage niches (i.e. areas 33 and 65) (Tenwolde 1992: 20; Warren 1972: 43, Fig. 19; Zois 1998c: 196). That the north-south corridor is spatially associated with two of the open/public areas of the settlement (i.e. area 45<sup>4</sup> and area 63/93/85) (Warren 1972: 46, 57, 78-9, 87) may be pointing to the possibility that this is a *locus* associated with *outdoor* communal activities (involving storage of edibles/liquids as well as food processing/preparation) (Tenwolde 1992: 20-1). Moreover, information concerning activities (of possibly *communal* character) derives from the South Slope Trials which investigated an area beyond the southern edge of the settlement, lying 15m south of the main South Entrance (Warren 1972: 87-9, Fig. 29). Rough traces of walling for about 2m east-west were found behind a boulder of conglomerate and built up against the natural rock (Warren 1972: 88). To the south of this “wall” and the boulder, were the remains of three vessels *in situ* on a flat ledge of rock (to the west, a base of a pithos; at the centre, an almost fully preserved *lekane*; to the east, the base of a large tub or *lekane*). According to Warren, these large vessels were intended for “some outside operation, such as

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<sup>3</sup> Whitelaw terms areas 2/3 a “trash dump” because they are characterized by very large amounts of sherd material, as well as occasional lenses of ash and other debris. Although other areas within (and possibly beyond) the settlement were used for occasional dumping (public areas, passage ways), the “major dump” are areas 2/3 and to a lesser extent area 34 (Whitelaw 1979: 45). If this is indeed the case, it is significant that there is some kind of *regulation* as to where this activity would take place.

<sup>4</sup> Area 45 is highly eroded but because it stands at the junction of three passages (44, 65 and 67), Warren has very reasonably suggested that it is an open court (Warren 1972: 46; Whitelaw 1979: 8).

washing or food preparation" (Warren 1972: 88). The possibility that these operations were conducted by various groups from the settlement cannot be excluded.

To the above, we may add the evidence deriving for *indoor* fixed installations which, on the basis of their uniqueness, close association and/or spatial proximity to the open spaces of the settlement, are likely to have been designated to serve (several groups and/or members of) the community. One such feature is the raised oven that has been discovered in Room 20<sup>5</sup> (Warren 1972: 34-5, Fig. 20) [Plate 11.2]. This stone structure was built against the north wall of the room (height: 0.60m, width: 0.80m, projected 0.80m from the north wall) (Warren 1972: 34-5) and although very badly preserved, about six courses of large flat stones were discernible, on top of which was about half the rim and neck of a large pithos. The pieces looked "as though half of the upper part of the vessel might have been used to form a curving back on top of the stand" (Warren 1972: 35). Above them, was a heavy flat slab, perhaps a cover/lid for the pithos whereas in the interior of the latter was found "a mass of heavily burnt earth and ash" (Warren 1972: 35). In the same room with the oven were discovered various large and small ceramic vessels on stands as well as a quern on the floor thus rendering plausible the hypothesis that this was an area designated for cooking. Entrance to room 20 was made possible through Room 21 which is an open area or passage accessed via the larger open space 30, to the south (Warren 1972: 36, 41).

Another interesting feature has been reported in area 8 (Warren 1972: 25-7, Figs. 15-6, Pl. 8B). Beside the north wall of Room 16 a *lekane* or large spouted tub was revealed, supported on a stand of which an earth packing and two large flat stones provided the top surface. Just west of the tub, a hole (0.30m deep, approx. 0.50-0.60m in diameter) was discovered cut in the natural rock [Plate 11.3]. The base of the tub was approx. 0.70m above the top of the hole. From the latter, a channel had been cut in the rock running down south and then west against the north wall of Room 16. The channel discharged either into the north-east corner of Room 9 (under the wall) or the south-east corner of Room 10. Next the tub was "a burnt area, which may have resulted from heating (water, food or other) as well as an area of flat slabs "acting as a working surface behind the tub (0.20m lower than its base) and overlying the foundations of the east wall" (Warren 1972: 26, Fig. 15). The function of

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<sup>5</sup> Other features associated with cooking are the "cooking holes" in Room 57 (Warren 1972: 51-2) and Room 88 (Warren 1972: 80-1) which have been identified as such because of their "ashy deposits" (Whitelaw 1979: 41-2, 1983: 327, Fig.64), as well as the "built hearth" in Room 89 (Warren 1972: 81-3, Fig. 28). Although Whitelaw accepts that the latter is indeed a hearth (Whitelaw 1979, 1983), Warren has expressed doubts and has associated with other forms of activity (probably "ritual") (Warren 1972: 81, 83). At any case, all these examples are different from the oven in Room 20, which can be securely identified as an oven not only on the grounds of its form but also its contextual associations.

the tub has not been specified but the possibilities that Warren mentions are “wine press; olive oil separator; wash tub for food and cloth” (Warren 1972: 27). Whatever its function/purpose, the conclusions drawn with regard to this room -that it is (i) a unique installation of special character (Whitelaw 1979: 42), (ii) possibly unroofed (Whitelaw 1979: 44) and (iii) situated in an open area/yard, entered directly from the north-east passage of the settlement (Warren 1972: 25)-, make it very likely that this was an area exhibiting a high degree of accessibility.

Finally in Room 58, a large number of loom weights has been discovered (Warren 1972: 52-3), a phenomenon not attested elsewhere in the settlement. The small dimensions of the room make it unlikely for a loom to have stood there but Warren leaves open the possibility that it was placed either on the roof of 58 or on the platform formulated on top of Room 57 to the north (Warren 1972: 53). The stone tools in the room could have been used in the preparation of the wool and for this reason, the large tub found *in situ* immediately to the west in Room 59 is very suggestive (Warren 1972: 53-55, Fig. 21). The uniqueness of the installation and the possibility that it was used not indoors but rather outdoors, may constitute yet another empirical factor pointing once again, to (some form of) communal use<sup>6</sup>.

[b] *Household-level organization: Whitelaw's re-assessment*

In 1983<sup>7</sup>, Whitelaw put forward an alternative interpretation regarding the nature and character of settlement at Myrtos-Phournou Koryfi, which confirmed the total lack of empirical support for a developed hierarchy at the site (Whitelaw 1979: 71-3, 75, Fig. 12) but raised serious concerns against Warren's image of community-level organization (Whitelaw 1983). Whitelaw pursued a detailed study of the architectural construction pattern of the settlement which led him to suggest that the latter represented an aggregate of *separate* building projects (Whitelaw 1979: 4-18, 1983: 324). In particular, through a detailed investigation of wall-joins and abutments as well as differences in construction styles (Whitelaw 1979: Fig. 5), he identified a series of distinct phases of development in the construction of the site [Plate 11.4]. He then moved on to suggest that “these distinct constructional episodes or units of growth” not only allowed the “reconstruction of the probable growth of the settlement during its 200-year occupation” (Whitelaw 1979: Fig. 4,

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<sup>6</sup> For modern village sharing of looms, see Koster 1976.

<sup>7</sup> The well-known article by Whitelaw, entitled “The settlement at Phournou Koryfi, Myrtos and aspects of Early Minoan social organization” in the “Minoan Society” volume (Whitelaw 1983) provides a summary of the results/conclusions from his Master's dissertation, “Community Structure and Social Organization at Myrtos-Phournou Koryfi” (Whitelaw 1979).

1983: 324) but could also be taken to represent *spatially-distinct clusters of interconnected rooms* (Whitelaw 1979: 18, 1983: Fig. 62).

Analysis proceeded with the investigation of find distributions and the identification of a series of functionally-specific activity areas (Whitelaw 1979: 19-74), often within multi-functional rooms, such as kitchens (Whitelaw 1979: 45-6, Figs. 25, 38, 47-8, Whitelaw 1983: 327, Fig. 64), workrooms with lekane, weaving areas (Whitelaw 1979: 46-49, Figs 13-14, 46, Whitelaw 1983: 327-8, Fig. 65), areas for the storage of agricultural produce and pottery (Whitelaw 1979: 49-50, Figs. 26-28, Whitelaw 1983: 328-31, Figs. 66-7), and more general domestic areas (i.e. food preparation, consumption, sleeping etc) (Whitelaw 1979: 50-4, Fig. 29, 1983: 331, Fig. 68) [Plate 11.5]. These identifications/distributions suggested that within each (architecturally distinct) room cluster, a recurrent and complementary set of functions could be documented; the compatibility of results drawn by the architectural and find distribution investigations led Whitelaw to the conclusion that the architectural mass at Phournou Koryfi could be divided into distinct domestic units (i.e. "households") (Whitelaw 1979: 74-5, Figs. 30-1, Whitelaw 1983: Fig. 69). The units that Whitelaw identified were termed "North-West Cluster", "North-Central Cluster", "East-Central Cluster", "South-East Cluster", "South-Central Cluster" and "South-West Cluster" (Whitelaw 1983: Fig. 69) [Plate 11.6].

Finally on the basis of floor area and storage capacity within each "household", Whitelaw suggested that each was occupied by a single nuclear family (Whitelaw 1979: 66-71, 75, 1983: 332-3). Consideration of the nature and condition of the artefacts found in each household suggested that two were no longer in use at the time of the destruction ("Summit Cluster" and "Central Cluster") (Whitelaw 1979: Fig. 6, Whitelaw 1983: 332, Fig. 69); in effect, the community at Phournou Koryfi at the time of the destruction was taken to consist of up to six households (a total of perhaps 20-30 individuals) (Whitelaw 1979: 75, 1983: 332-40, Fig. 70).

[c] *Units "in themselves", units "for themselves"*

With his study, Whitelaw sought to emphasize that although the extant evidence from the site indeed suggests that "there was at least some interaction between the individual families within the community", this does not automatically imply community-level organization (Whitelaw 1979: 72, 1983: 333-4). He stressed that the distinction of "households" is something that can be substantiated empirically and also made sure to point

out that such a distinction (between “community” and “household”) should not be mistaken for a polarized, “either/or” dilemma. After all, it almost goes without saying that no “unit” operates in total isolation: while some activities would have taken place at the level of the “household”, some others are bound to have taken place at the level of “community”. What Whitelaw’s suggestions *do* imply however, and this is precisely what we should be focusing our attention upon, is that *when referring to social organization, the “household” unit ought to be prioritized over the “(settlement) community”*; put simply, what Whitelaw aimed at demonstrating through his analytical investigation of Phournou Koryfi was that the “household” may not have been the only social unit/mechanism at work within the site, but it was certainly *the most significant* (Whitelaw 1983: 333-4). It is indicative in that respect that he chooses to speak of the settlement as being *organized at a household-level*.

How Whitelaw reaches this conclusion is somehow unclear; in fact, it appears that *the degree of significance* he attributes to “community” and “household” respectively, is not inferential but rather *axiomatic*. It is important in that respect that in one of his articles, he recognizes that the existence of “special-purpose” rooms/areas within the site and “the maintenance of a solid exterior settlement wall”, *do* point to supra-household integration (Whitelaw 1983: 333). By confirming these two observations initially made by Warren in the final publication of Phournou Koryfi (Warren 1972), Whitelaw undermines the validity of his own argument (i.e. “household” is more important than “(settlement) community”) for two main reasons. On the one hand, he accepts that at a practical level and for a *variety* of purposes, “household units” blur (consciously and/or unconsciously) their boundaries, a point we already made earlier on. Although we may have to accept that such kinds of interaction fit relatively well into his interpretation/model (i.e. “a household is never totally isolated”), the evidence for a wall enclosure surrounding the settlement *does not*. Regardless of the purpose(s) that it serves (i.e. defensive, practical, symbolic or other), a wall enclosure is a *conscious manifestation* of “togetherness” and this is a point pertinent to yet another observation that we made earlier, i.e. the emphasis laid during the Early Minoan IIb period on the elaboration of public space at Myrtos. These constructions/building projects render the community *visible* not only to its members but also (and perhaps, even more importantly) to the “outsiders”; they do so, by creating a *shared place* for the former and a *bounded, undifferentiated whole* for the latter. That the structural integration/wholeness of the settlement at Phournou Koryfi would have been experienced as such by the “outsiders” in the past, is precisely the reason why Warren’s image of the settlement (essentially, yet another “outsider’s” view of the site) cannot be considered misplaced but rather quite justifiable (Warren 1972).

The above points suggest that the settlement at Myrtos-Phournou Koryfi constitutes not merely an entity *in* itself but also an entity *for* itself. Here it is obvious that we have paraphrased Marx's well-known distinction between "a class *in* itself" and "class *for* itself" (Marx 1975: 159-60). In discussing the emergence of the working class, Marx once argued that the latter is constituted *in itself* by virtue of the fact that workers operate and undergo the consequences of a common situation, i.e. the alienation from the means of production which the capitalist system encourages. By virtue of their situation (i.e. of the conditions under which they operate), workers could therefore indeed be taken to constitute parts of a sum, parts of a "unit". Marx proceeds by suggesting however that this "unit" is merely a "unit *in itself*" (i.e. a "*class in itself*"), since a class *for itself* requires far more than mere interaction and/or co-presence (i.e. the sharing of certain conditions/characteristics of living, thinking or acting); essentially, the key element for understanding how the shift from a "class in itself" to a "class for itself" takes place is the concept of "class consciousness", the *conscious* perception and demarcation in other words, of the *boundaries of class* (Cohen 1985: 13). For Marx, before the working class could act *as* a class, working people had to recognize that it *was* –or they were– a class. It is only in this recognition that the working class could be constituted as a politically effective group and by extension, a collective historical agent (Jenkins 1996: 88).

Whether or not we agree with Marx's argument historically, his suggestions are significant because they bring us closer to issues and themes broader than that of "class"; this is so, because essentially Marx's definition and understanding of the term does not differ markedly from the definition we employ to describe the concept of "identity" and the process of "identity making" *in general*. The verb "to identify" is a necessary accompaniment of identity and as Jenkins rightly points out, "there is something *active* about this word that cannot be ignored" (Jenkins 1996: 4, *my emphasis*); this "something" has to do with the fact that identity is not "just there": identity must be established, it strives for external recognition, it seeks to mark its "beginning and end", and this notion is pertinent both to individuals as well as collectivities (Cohen 1985; Jenkins 1996). To return to Marx's example, the categorical constitution of the working class as a class *for itself* could not be possible unless workers came to the point of realizing that the things they shared actually *differentiate them* from a certain "Other", in this case those who viewed them as a "dangerous class" (i.e. capitalists and the state) (Jenkins 1996: 88). The process of group identification in this case, both encouraged and was encouraged by class struggle (Jenkins 1996: 88) and therefore, in a sense, workers became aware of their class only when they finally stood *at its boundaries* (Cohen 1982: 2-3).

The above seem to illuminate significantly some of the points made earlier with reference to the settlement at Myrtos: to suggest that in the course of everyday activities, small-scale units at Phournou Koryfi would have been integrated within the larger-scale entity which is the settlement, does not necessarily imply a *conscious* adherence to the notion of a wider community; as in the case of the working class, this wider whole is formulated because of the simple *fact* that the inhabitants of Myrtos *lived closely to one another*. Because of the conditions under which these people operated, a community *in itself* was certainly at work. By making this community *definable* however, through the investment in public works (such as the open areas and the wall enclosure), Phournou Koryfi manifests itself also as an entity *for* itself. In so doing, its inhabitants' sense of "togetherness" is not "internal" but also "external", not only accrued but also sought after.

"[A local identity is formulated] through its member's daily routines... This sense of community, often unconscious, can become more concrete through practices that explicitly represent certain similarities among community members as being somehow essential to the group, thus differentiating members of one community from those of another... In this way, practices that represent certain commonalities and affinities among [people] in a community draw boundaries across the physical and social landscape and establish the community as an *explicit identity with a definite membership*" (Yaeger 2000: 125, *my emphasis*).

By putting forward the argument that the settlement at Phournou Koryfi constituted both an entity *in* itself and *for* itself we do not seek to undermine the validity of the suggestion that this larger unit may have indeed consisted of smaller formations; rather, concerns were raised against *the obvious prioritization* of "household" over "community" advanced by Whitelaw in his analytical investigation of the site (Whitelaw 1979, 1983). If, as we indicated earlier, a surplus of emphasis was laid by the inhabitants of Myrtos upon elevating (both practically *and* symbolically) the "settlement-entity", on what grounds would we suggest that the "household" acted as a "front region" (Giddens 1984: 124), as a "more important" entity in other words, than the wider "community"? In view of our discussion so far, such an hypothesis seems unlikely: in fact, the settlement at Phournou Koryfi appears to be highly compatible (at least in that respect) with the more general pattern operating on the island of Crete during the middle stages of the Early Bronze Age, with "settlements" being the most heavily invested form of identity [see Chapter Nine]. Before putting an end to the "community/household" debate however, another empirical observation concerning the material assemblage from Myrtos requires closer inspection. How it relates to the issue under investigation is discussed in what follows.

[d] “Houses” in performance

The blurring of boundaries between the “private” and the “public”, “indoors” and “outdoors”, “community” and “house” has been empirically substantiated by the highly ambiguous settlement plan of Phournou Koryfi; the frequent use of *outdoor* space(s) for the execution/performance of various tasks (collectively and/or in rotation); finally, by the porosity of “private” space *itself*, which is best exemplified by the occurrence of fixed features/work installations (likely to have been designed for collective use) *in enclosed and yet highly accessible spaces/rooms*. Such observations seem to run counter to Whitelaw’s attempts (i) to define/identify “households” by “storing” a surplus of activities/tasks within spatially segregated *loci* (i.e. “architectural units”) and (ii) to portray them as “autonomous entities”. At the end of the day, if “private” space is found to be “penetrated” and/or “surpassed” in the course of several occasions/activities, can we still speak of a “boundary” that defines the “house” as *separate* from the “public”, the “communal”, the “collective”?

The possibility that we may be looking for a “boundary” where no “boundary” is to be found, seems to be best exemplified by the evidence from Phournou Koryfi related to food and drink consumption<sup>8</sup>, a context of practice to which Whitelaw paid relatively little attention at the expense of other tasks/activities that he considered more directly relevant to how “households” in this particular settlement would have defined themselves (Whitelaw 1979, 1983). At the time of course (late 1970s-early 1980s), most studies on “social organization” were prioritizing the “raw” over the “cooked” both in terms of analytical as well as sociopolitical significance. The very act of “storing”, of “keeping-in” was seen as the defining element of a “household” both to the eyes of its members as well as to the eyes of the analyst. In view of recent developments in the study of eating and drinking however which have underscored the immense analytical potential that the detailed investigation of such practices entails (Halstead & Barrett 2004) [see Section 9.3], a return to the corresponding evidence from Myrtos seems to be a worthwhile pursuit.

In Early Minoan ceramic assemblages, vessels associated with eating, drinking and serving are prominent features [see Section 9.3] and of this general trend, the ceramic

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<sup>8</sup> An investigation of eating and drinking benefits immensely from the destruction horizon of the site which provides a unique opportunity as already stated above, to study a large and precisely synchronous assemblage of ceramics and in this case ceramics associated with food and drink. Not only would those vessels have been in use shortly before the settlement was destroyed, but given the relatively short use-life of most ceramic vessels, nearly all the preserved assemblage (with the possible exception of the larger storage vessels) is likely to have been manufactured within a few years of the moment of destruction (Whitelaw *et al.* 1997: 266). This suggestion finds further support in the low level of use wear found on most vessels (Whitelaw *et al.* 1997: 266).



assemblage from Phournou Koryfi forms no exception. Some useful results which seem to reinforce further the aforementioned point have been drawn from the petrographic analysis of the settlement's Early Minoan IIb assemblage (Whitelaw *et al.* 1997); this project allowed the identification of a variety of fabrics within the ceramic assemblage, which were then taken to have derived from two main source areas. Comparison of these petrographic groups with the observations made on fabrics macroscopically, indicated that 47% of the vessels in use at the time of the destruction "constituted products of the south coast area broadly within the Myrtos region", while 49% "consisted of vessels from two distinct production traditions originating from the Isthmus of Ierapetra (on the southern edge of the Gulf of Mirabello, some 20-25km from Phournou Koryfi) (Whitelaw *et al.* 1997: 267) [Plate 11.7]. Amongst these (surprisingly high) proportions of imported ceramic wares, are reported significant numbers of fine Vassiliki ware<sup>9</sup> (Warren 1972: 94-7); as mentioned earlier, the latter constitutes the typical ware of the Early Minoan IIb period throughout the island of Crete (Betancourt 1985) but also an integral material component of practices associated with (wine) drinking at the time [see Section 9.3]. To these vessels, can be added an equally substantial number of examples from the "South Coast" and the "Mirabello" traditions, some of which are functionally compatible to Vassiliki ware ceramic types (i.e. cups, goblets, plates, shallow and deep bowls, jugs etc ) (Whitelaw *et al.* 1997: Pl. CIII) [Plate 11.8]. On the basis of the above it could be argued that if taken as a whole, the relative frequency of vessels associated with eating and drinking at the settlement of Myrtos is particularly high.

An equally significant observation concerning eating and drinking vessels from Phournou Koryfi was initially made by Tenwolde: in particular, what Tenwolde argues is that food and drink vessels not only constitute a dominant feature of the surviving ceramic assemblage from the site but also give the impression of some sort of *surplus*, since large concentrations of these vessels are reported from several houses of the settlement (Tenwolde 1992: 18-9). We are inclined to use the term "surplus" here because essentially no other material, artefactual category and/or association from the site seems to be pointing towards intentional accumulation, if not literal "abundance". Such ceramic "hoards" have been discovered in several rooms/areas (i.e. Room 68, 57, 60, 72, 79, 92) with the most representative being those found in rooms 80 and 82 (Warren 1972: 72-7) both of which belong to Whitelaw's "South-central cluster" as well as Room 91 (Warren 1972: 84-5) which is associated with the so-called "South-West" cluster [Plate 11.9]. It needs to be stressed at

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<sup>9</sup> "The fabric which is used for the majority of the Vassiliki Ware found at Phournou Koryfi is very fine and is derived from Neogene clay deposits. It is the same fabric as found in Vassiliki Ware at a number of other sites and even though the fine nature of the fabric means that it is hard to place in provenance terms, the small inclusions are compatible with comparative geological samples and fine wares known to derive from the Isthmus of Ierapetra" (Whitelaw *et al.* 1997: 268).

this point, that the north part of the settlement has provided us with no such evidence of “hoarding” but this is largely due to the differential preservation across the site; not surprisingly, this had a significant effect both on the density of finds recovered in most of the areas/rooms of the north sector but also on the degree of preservation of individual vessels (Whitelaw 1979). However, if one takes into consideration that the concentrations to which we refer are reported from all three houses of the southern sector (rather than constituting the exclusive privilege of a single house), then it seems fairly plausible to argue that the situation we encounter in the southern clusters may be also inferred for the ones in the north, regardless of the fact that in the latter case preservation is poor and the evidence less ideal.

Another interesting pattern with respect to these ceramic concentrations is the fact that the latter comprise mainly of *-serving vessels* [Plate 11.10]. The observation that *jugs* in particular, constitute the most well-represented vessel form at Phournou Koryfi has been pointed out in the past (Whitelaw *et al.* 1997: 271) [Plate 11.11]. If we combine this observation with the foregoing suggestion for “hoarding”, then it appears that the place of serving vessels within those “hoards” requires further consideration<sup>10</sup>. Even if we accept Whitelaw’s suggestion that “households” at Myrtos (consisting of four to six individuals) are “self-sufficient” units, how are we to understand such unusual concentrations of ceramic vessels? Even more to the point, how are we to account for this *particular kind of surplus*, which is predominantly a “surplus” of serving vessels?

If the evidence available pointed to an accumulation of vessels designed mainly for eating (i.e. plates, bowls) or drinking (i.e. cups) this would have been a pattern easier to explain/justify: the need to sustain a “normal” surplus of such items could have constituted some sort of risk buffering strategy for those would have been vessels used on a regular basis, thus subjecting themselves to a higher risk of breakage; a “normal surplus” could also be related to issues of hygiene since the need to replace frequently used items (on regular intervals?) cannot be ruled out. Could a similar case be made with regard to serving vessels however?

By way of contrast to eating and drinking vessels, serving vessels at Myrtos should not be viewed as items of regular/routine use. Although some jugs would have been certainly employed more regularly (as water containers for instance), the striking majority involves medium to small-size, high quality vessels (as for instance, Vassiliki ware). This makes more

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<sup>10</sup> Tenwolde points out that in two of the most well-preserved clusters of the southern sector, i.e. the “South-Central” and the “South-West” cluster(s), twenty to thirty (*fully preserved*) serving vessels have been discovered (Tenwolde 1992: 18-19).

likely the association of these items with liquids other than water, possibly wine [see Section 9.3]. Wine however, seems to have been an alcoholic beverage that was consumed only under exceptional circumstances rather than on a regular basis (Sherratt 1997: 388-9). This implies first of all, that in the case of serving vessels we cannot speak of a need for a “normal surplus” (as we did for eating and drinking vessels). Secondly, even if we allow for the possibility that wine was consumed more regularly, it is very difficult to explain why such large quantities of serving vessels would have been necessary to meet the requirements of a single “household”: for the purposes of a daily meal involving four to six individuals, a jug (or two?) on the table would have been all that was required. Thirdly, we should even entertain the possibility that for daily/informal purposes, the use of serving vessels was not even (socially and/or practically) necessary: even nowadays, in the course of such meals drinking vessels may be brought to the table *already full*, in other words, *after* they have been filled with water, wine and/or other kinds of beverage.

If we assume that only a limited number of serving vessels would have been used on a regular basis at Myrtos, then the large numbers found in each “house” may have been designated for special/exceptional occasions. The high quality of those vessels seems to further reinforce such a scenario; that they are (more often than not) found *concentrated* in certain locations of the “house” on the other hand (Warren 1972: 72-7, 84-5) may be suggesting that they were in fact used *simultaneously*. If this is indeed the case however, then what the above points also encourage us to do is view those “hoards” as yet another index of “house porosity”; this suggestion may be made on the grounds that the former were most likely to have been used in occasions involving members as well as non-members of the “house”, occasions in other words, requiring the “breaking down” of the “house” boundary.

In support of the idea of “porosity” comes yet another observation made by Sanders. What Sanders has suggested through his study of the “South-Central Cluster”, i.e. the only fully preserved “unit” at Phournou Koryfi, is that circulation in most of its rooms is restricted by the amount of space that large storage vessels such as amphorae, pithoi and jars occupy (Sanders 1990: 54-7). Large vessels were used throughout the “house”, but cluster especially in rooms 80 and 82 (Sanders 1990: 57). Room 80 in particular is the central but also the largest room of the “unit”. At its centre lies a  $\Pi$ -shaped stone structure which may have been used for roof support (Sanders 1990: 54). Although in terms of size, room 80 could have acted as the focal point/area of the “house” (and perhaps a *locus* of reception of non-“household” members), this possibility is eliminated by the aforementioned  $\Pi$ -shaped structure (which divides the room into four small parts of roughly equal size) but also by the placement of several storage vessels at the south and west sides of the room (Sanders 1990:

54, Fig. 5.3) [Plate 11.12]. In sum, despite the fact that this is by far the largest area of the “house”, its features and general arrangement do not seem to allow/encourage large-scale gatherings (i.e. involving more people than the actual residents of the “house” and perhaps a very limited number of “guests”).

Π-shaped stone structures such as the one identified in room 80 are also reported from rooms/areas belonging to other “clusters” of the settlement at Myrtos: room 60 (i.e. “South-East Cluster”), room 69 (i.e. “Central Cluster”) and possibly room 92 (i.e. “South-West Cluster”). With the exception of room 69 and the “Central Cluster” in general (which had been already out of use at the time of the final destruction of the settlement) (Whitelaw 1979: Fig. 6, Whitelaw 1983: 332, Fig. 69), in both remaining cases, the room where the aforementioned type of stone structure has been found appears to be the largest of the corresponding “house”. On the basis of the extant evidence however, what seems to be equally noteworthy is that as in the case of room 80 of the “South-Central Cluster”, so in the case of rooms 60 and 92, some of the largest concentrations of storage and other types of ceramic vessels have been identified (Warren 1972: 54, Fig. 21, Warren 1972: 82, Fig. 28). The general impression gained from the above observations is that although there are some rooms/areas of fairly large size in each “house” at Phournou Koryfi, none seems to be able to “invite-in”, i.e. to accommodate large numbers of people.

If it is indeed the case that serving vessels were used for the purposes of “supra-household” events, then the foregoing suggestion that “houses” could not have constituted the *locus* of such events seems to be pointing that the latter were most likely to have taken place *outdoors*. Although meals (i.e. food consumption) could have taken place within the confines of “houses” (involving the members of the “household” and perhaps from time to time, a limited number of “guests”/“outsiders”), what the quantities of serving vessels seem to imply is that drink (wine) consumption was about *sharing beyond the level of the “household”* [see Section 9.3]. Such an hypothesis finds further empirical support in the following:

[a] First of all, wine sharing at a “community-level” echoes earlier traditions/social strategies (i.e. early third millennium BC) with the latter being best exemplified by the dominant drinking shape of the period in question, i.e. the chalice (Haggis 1997; Wilson & Day 2000). As Day and Wilson have recently argued:

“Standing to a height of over 20cm, the chalice... is clearly not intended for the use of an individual; rather it invites to think of the sharing of drink between a number of people. The context of the Early Minoan I Well at Knossos, where

large numbers of such vessels were recovered from what seems to represent a single occasion, or a succession of similar events in the same location, might indicate just how important such an act of sharing might be, with the vessel passed from hand to hand” (Day & Wilson 2004: 55).

Chalices are a popular shape of early third millennium BC funerary contexts (i.e. contexts of communal/collective character themselves) [see Section 10.2] as well as contexts of special nature (such as the Early Minoan I Well at Knossos, obviously an *outdoor* feature) [see Section 3.4, Section 9.3].

[b] Secondly, “community-level” wine sharing at Phournou Koryfi exhibits a considerable degree of compatibility with the evidence deriving from late third millennium BC tombs and cemeteries; as we have already reported in earlier sections [see Section 9.3], the conduct of commemorative ceremonies involving acts of commensality (i.e. community-level consumption of food and particularly drink) has been confirmed empirically by the large number of cups recovered from several funerary contexts (i.e. “house-tombs” and *tholoi*) around the island.

Both aforementioned examples do indeed confirm the existence/operation of a far broader tradition of (wine) sharing, spanning both *in space* (i.e. settlements as well as cemeteries) as well as *in time* (i.e. from early to late third millennium BC); of this wider tradition, Phournou Koryfi also partakes as the extant body of empirical information from the site indicates. What needs to be stressed here however is that the situation we encounter at Myrtos is also very different from the foregoing examples for one very important reason: the act of sharing in all other cases is exemplified (both at a practical *as well as* symbolic level) by factors related to *the drinking vessel itself*; the chalice on the one hand, invites (if not necessitates) communal use/consumption (i.e. “different people drink from the same vessel”) whereas the *concentrations* of drinking cups reported from funerary contexts also point to collective drinking (i.e. “individual cups are used but the fact that they are highly standardized in form and found in large quantities/concentrations implies that many people share/drink together”)<sup>11</sup>. As we have demonstrated however, at Phournou Koryfi the “concentrations” identified concern predominantly *serving* vessels. If we argue in favour of a tradition of *sharing* as far as this particular settlement is concerned, then how does the “surplus” of serving vessels (*if not the very act of serving itself*) relate to this scheme?

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<sup>11</sup> What is also noteworthy with regard to the drinking cups found in late third millennium tombs/cemeteries is that they exhibit clear signs of standardization in both shape and size (Hamilakis 1998).

So far, we have put forward the argument that (the “surplus” of )serving vessels found in each house at Myrtos is likely to have been designated for use in special occasions/drinking parties that took place *outdoors*; if such an explanatory scenario is accepted, then what this also implies is that those events resulted in (if not necessitated) the spatial separation of the “consumption” *locus* of wine from the “storage” *locus* of wine (since the latter was being stored *inside* the house and consumed *outside* of it)<sup>12</sup>. This spatial separation is a point of crucial importance if considered in conjunction with serving vessels. To begin with, the very use of such a vessel (i.e. a medium for *carrying* a substance from one *locus* to the other) marks an intermediate stage in this “functional shift” which seeks to emphasize the *distance* separating the *loci* of “storage” and “consumption” but also their very *bridging*. Instead of filling a cup (with wine) directly from a jar or pithos (essentially an act that would *blur* the (spatial and functional) boundary between “storage” and “consumption”), the serving vessel imbues the transition from the “raw” to the “cooked” with *spatio-temporal depth*: it contributes to the “bracketing off” of the two functions/*loci* (i.e. *form-alisation*) but also their “coming together” in “disciplined” fashion (i.e. *formalization*) [Fig. 11.1]:

[Storage] ← *Serving* → [Consumption]

[Storage → *Serving* → Consumption]

Fig. 11.1 “Serving” as a mechanism for “bracketing off” and “bringing together” “storage” and “consumption”

Interestingly, this final point is highly reminiscent of Turner’s famous definition of a “ritual act” (Turner 1967); according to Turner, a “ritual field” is created in practices which describe a *movement and/or transformation* (i.e. serving) between “relatively fixed or stable conditions” (i.e. storage and consumption) (Turner 1967: 93). In this field, the boundary between seemingly autonomous states or conditions is *transgressed*, with “transgression” being expressed materially (i.e. through the use of objects) and physically (i.e. through bodily movement and gestures) (*see also* van Gennep 1960).

The foregoing observations/suggestions are of particular importance as far as Phournou Koryfi is concerned, for what has been so far described as a community in which

<sup>12</sup> Storage vessels have been identified in exterior spaces of the site at Phournou Koyfi but those do not seem to be in close proximity to the areas likely to have been designated for community gatherings (i.e. the paved area to the south of the settlement as well as the open space at the centre of the site) [*see* Section 11.1]

the boundary between the “private” and the “public” is highly ambiguous, appears to present an entirely different image in the course of large-scale events such as the ones described above. Essentially during those occasions, a clear distinction between *inside* (i.e. “house”) and *outside* (i.e. “community”) seems to be manifested, but this is not achieved through the establishment of a fixed boundary but literally *through the very performance of the shift from “(private) storage” to “(public) consumption”*. The serving vessel acted as the medium whereby wine was being *brought out* of the “house” for consumption, and by extension this implies that every time more wine was poured to a cup by the serving subject, *where wine was coming from* was being reiterated.

As we mentioned earlier, to speak of serving is literally about *preventing the blurring of the boundary between “storage” and “consumption”* and what this suggests at the most basic level, is that the people participating in the collective event of wine consumption would not have had immediate access to the area where the substance was stored (i.e. wine was brought/served to them, they did not “help themselves”). Therefore, even though drinking parties were really about wine *being shared*, there appears to have existed an equally significant concern to *regulate* the conditions under which wine was transformed from a “stored” substance (i.e. inside) into a “consumed” substance (i.e. *outside*). Since both wine and serving vessels were stored within different “houses”, it seems fairly plausible to thus argue that the regulator in the aforementioned process must have been the “house entity”. That a “regulatory” role could be attributed to the “house” may also be supported by the fact that those in charge of serving were ultimately the very same people who made the substance available for consumption (i.e. the people who could *initiate* the event of consumption in other words).

How those events would have been organized, we are not in a position to specify with precision: perhaps organization rested upon the principle of *rotation* (i.e. with different “houses” organizing the event at different times) or some form of *cooperation* (i.e. with more than one “house” joining efforts to carry out the enterprise). Whichever of the two scenarios we accept (and in fact, even if we leave room for both in our interpretation), what remains a point of convergence amongst them is that “houses” involved in the organization of those events, used a “surplus” of serving vessels in order to bring the wine *out* for consumption. This observation in itself suggests that the intention was not merely to “ritualize” the transformation of a “stored” substance into an item of “consumption” (and thus to elevate the importance of the serving subject as a mediator/regulator) but also (and perhaps more importantly) to *provide wine in abundant quantities*. In a way therefore, the “surplus” of serving vessels constituted an *indicium* as well as the very *medium* of *excessive*

*generosity*. Equally noteworthy in this respect is the fact that at Phournou Koryfi, the overall quantity of drinking cups reported from different houses is generally very small. If we accept this pattern as “real” and not a “bias” resulting from the conditions under which the settlement was abandoned during destruction, then we could also argue that the obvious asymmetry attested between the total number of drinking vessels (i.e. total number of (wine) consumers) and that of serving vessels (i.e. the amount of wine being served) appears to support even further the idea of *excess*. Finally, a morphological/stylistic attribute of serving vessels dating to this period may be reinforcing even further the foregoing premise: the apparent “disproportion” attested between the overall size of those vessels (i.e. jugs but most emphatically “teapots”) and their *very pronounced spouts*, seems to accentuate (even on purely morphological/stylistic grounds) the very act of *pouring/serving*: in a way, it appears that rather than the actual content of the vessel (i.e. wine), it was the very act of offering that substance (and for that matter offering it in abundant quantities) that gave events of communal (wine) consumption at Phournou Koryfi their very meaning (Catapoti 2001).

In view of our discussion so far, it could be argued that while the “settlement” appears to constitute a “front region” as far as life in the settlement at Myrtos is concerned (Giddens 1984: 124), the “house” seems to emerge as an “entity” *through performance* (Jenkins 1996: 4), and more to the point, its performance in the course of a highly popular “communal” event, i.e. “large-scale” (i.e. *supra-household*) occasions involving drink (wine) consumption. This is achieved through the act of serving which draws a (spatio-temporal) “boundary” between “storage” and “consumption”, emphasizes the transition from one “function” to other and in so doing, awards a special role to the “mediator/regulator” of this “transition” (i.e. the “house”). That this shift entails the use of a “surplus” of serving vessels on the other hand, implies that a crucial aspect of the “house entity” in the course of such occasions is “generosity” and more specifically, the performance of *excessive generosity*. In sum, it could be argued that in all aforementioned events, the “house” does not establish an identity by “closing off” but literally *by “coming out”*; in other words, it is precisely under conditions of “porosity” that the “house” at Phournou Koryfi becomes an “entity *for itself*” (Cohen 1985: 13; Jenkins 1996: 88).

Although the current state of evidence deriving from settlements contemporary to Myrtos does not permit fine-grained investigation, it appears nevertheless that similar patterns to the ones described above are likely to have operated also in those cases (i.e. Knossos, Vassiliki) (Cultraro 2001: Fig. 10; Day & Wilson 2004; Zois 1976). As we mentioned in earlier sections [*see* Section 9.3], evidence for large concentrations of ceramic vessels associated with food and drink consumption (essentially including serving vessels)



have been reported from many sites and at least in the case of Knossos, there are grounds to suggest that occasions involving food (and particularly drink) consumption were taking place *outdoors*. On the other hand, despite the fact that we lack contextual information concerning (the quality, quantity and general nature of) *domestic paraphernalia* for eating and drinking, it appears that serving vessels do constitute a prominent feature of those sites, as evidenced by the ceramic assemblage from the “West House” and the “Red House” at Vassiliki (Seager 1904: 207-9, 1906: 116; Zois 1976: 20, 52). If it is indeed the case that the situation we described in Phournou Koryfi is really about a more general pattern, then it would seem that this was a period in time when “houses” were not so much a “fixed” identity as an identity arising in and through *performance*. In the period that follows a similar pattern appears to be at work, only this time it seems to manifest itself in more “explicit” fashion.

### [11.2] From “becoming” to “being”

Settlement evidence from the Early Minoan III/Middle Minoan Ia period(s) is quite limited (Watrous 1994, 2001; Zois 1998a-f). Along with problems of chronology and the controversy surrounding current ceramic and stratigraphic sequences (Andreou 1978: 9-11; Betancourt 1985; Cadogan 1983: 517; Fotou 1984: 46-48; Momigliano 1991: 219; Walberg 1983: 90-137; Warren & Hankey 1989: 169; Watrous 1994: 181-2; Zois 1968), all investigations of settlements and the domestic sector have so far relied upon preliminary excavation reports and partial information on Early Minoan III/Middle Minoan Ia deposits/structures mentioned in publications of later periods. Despite these apparent difficulties, the suggestions/observations that follow seem to be pointing towards some interesting patterns. It needs however to be stressed here that a more thorough assessment of the explanatory potential of these patterns will be rendered possible only if/when a substantial amount of empirical data becomes available and/or published.

Because of the foregoing analytical limitations, the choice has been made to focus our attention on sites with architectural evidence. This choice is by no means trivial: as Barrett once commented, the immediate point of reference for a person’s understanding of the world on which they act is his/her own body (Barrett 1994: 13-14). The movement and orientation of the self in relation to others is “the means of understanding one’s place within a discourse and of gauging one’s ability to act and to speak” (Barrett 1994: 14). This is a point of crucial significance because, essentially, all references made to position and to orientation are enhanced by one’s immediate topography, particularly architecture; buildings enclose and channel the direction of movement, they distribute social relations, they create

the very discourse of social practice. To study architecture therefore, is essentially a means for grasping how certain actions and utterances were made possible.

Early Minoan III/Middle Minoan Ia period *architectural remains* are reported from the following settlements/sites: Knossos (Andreou 1978: 12-55; Evans 1935; Cadogan *et al.* 1993; Fotou 1984: 55-57; McDonald 2005; McEnroe 1979: 23; Pendlebury & Pendlebury 1928-30), Malia (vanEffenterre 1980: 30-41, 266-7; Fotou 1984: 67-72; McEnroe 1979: 11-43; Müller 1992), Vasiliki (Seager 1907; Zois 1976, 1980), Myrtos-Pyrgos (Cadogan 1977/8), Mochlos (Seager 1908: 278; Soles & Davaras 1993), Chamaizi (Davaras 1972, 1973; McEnroe 1979: 29-31; Platon 1951; Xanthoudides 1906), Aghia Photia (Tsipopoulou 1988, 1990, 1992)<sup>13</sup>, Trypeti (Vasilakis 1988, 1989, 1989/90a, 1989/90b 1995), Patrikies (Bonacasa 1967/8), Kastri (Palaikastro) (Alexiou 1979: 12; Sackett & Popham 1965), Kastello (Tzermiado) (Pendlebury & Moneycoutts 1937-8: 6-8, fig. 1), Boubouli (Viannos) (Platon 1960a), Volakas (Koumasa) (Platon 1951: 145-7; Xanthoudides 1924: 49, 70) and Vigla (Apesokari) (Schörgendorfer 1951).

Based on the extant evidence, we have argued in earlier sections that during this period, settlements throughout the island exhibit signs of practical and symbolic concretization in similar fashion to the preceding phase [see Sections 9.3, 11.1]; the time and effort invested in the construction of wall enclosures (i.e. Kouphota-Aghia Photia, Kastri, Kastello, Boubouli etc) and the elaboration of public space(s) (i.e. Kouphota-Aghia Photia, Myrtos-Pyrgos, Trypeti etc), the tendency to associate funerary and domestic space (both spatially *and* morphologically) (i.e. Myrtos-Pyrgos, Mochlos etc) the increasing emphasis laid upon food and (particularly) drink consumption (i.e. Patrikies, Mochlos, Vassiliki, Trypeti etc) and possibly a change of attitude towards land and the agricultural cycle [see Section 9.3] are amongst the most obvious manifestations of settlements as *marked and delimited spaces* (Parker Pearson & Richards 1994: 4). It is noteworthy in that respect, that some of the problems pertinent to the issue of chronology (i.e. the existence or not of an Early Minoan III phase, the criteria upon which to distinguish ceramic phases within the Middle Minoan I chronological horizon in East Crete) derive from the complex longevity of domestic contexts from this period onwards, indicated by the undisturbed habitation of the same houses/structures and/or the continuous renewal of their floors (Andreou 1978)

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<sup>13</sup> There has been a debate over the date of this site in recent years, with certain scholars arguing in favour of a later date (i.e. Middle Minoan Ib, if not later), whereas others maintain the date originally proposed by the excavator. Since there have been no conclusive suggestions so far, here we accept the date initially proposed by Tsipopoulou.

[a] *Earlier traditions, new additions*

Along with the aforementioned trends witnessed in settlements of varying scale around the island, some significant changes appear to be taking place both at the level of architectural “style” as well as formal arrangement of “private”/“residential” space (McEnroe 1979: 12). In order to be able to appreciate how these changes manifest themselves, we need to focus attention first of all, upon certain Early Minoan III/Middle Minoan Ia examples of domestic architecture which, at first glance, bring to mind the building/architectural traditions attested in the Early Minoan II settlements of Myrtos-Phournou Koryfi as well as Vasiliki [see Section 9.3, Section 11.1]. These are the Maisons Sud (Maisons A, B and C) (Chapouthier & Demargne 1962; VanEffenterre 1980) and Quartier Gamma (Chapouthier & Demargne 1962; Demargne & Gallet de Santerre 1953) at Malia as well as the houses of the settlement at Trypeti, South-Central Crete (Vasilakis 1988, 1989, 1989/90, 1995). Here, as in the Early Minoan II domestic examples, the corresponding ground-plans make obvious that it is difficult to distinguish with certainty whether we are dealing with separate multi-roomed houses or an aggregation of rooms forming a single whole (van Effenterre 1980: 157; McEnroe 1979: 18).

The excavators of the Maisons Sud seem to be inclined to the view that we are dealing with individual houses and divide the rooms into A, B and C (Chapouthier & Demargne 1962: 13-17; van Effenterre: 156-62, Figs. 223) [Plate 11.13]. The plan of the area shows that there is in fact, a major division between the west rooms (Maison A) and the central rooms (Maison B) since the north-south walls between them are particularly thick and separated by a narrow channel (Chapouthier & Demargne 1962: 14; van Effenterre 1980: 157). However, what needs to be pointed out is that the distinction between the central rooms and the east rooms (Maison C) is not so straightforward (van Effenterre 1980: 157). Thick walls between the west and central rooms do not necessarily indicate a division between individual houses, since similar double walls occur at various places within the complex; essentially this implies that not all of the rooms were built at the same time, but rather accumulated gradually (McEnroe 1979: 20):

“These constructions [les Maisons Sud] seem architecturally to comprise three distinct units of houses, but in their small rooms and passages and in the close-knit structure of the whole complex clearly both continue the cellular form of Myrtos...” (Warren 1987: 49).

Similar observations can be made with regard to the houses at the settlement of Trypeti. Although Vasilakis argues that double walls form one of the main criteria on the

basis of which he distinguishes houses within the settlement, there are examples particularly in the area south of the north-south main road which present a far more complicated picture (Vasilakis 1995: 72). In those cases, as in the earlier examples, it appears that we are dealing with architectural structures not built according to a preconceived design; although they are certainly more canonical than Phournou Koryfi, they can still be considered to fall into the category of “aggregate complexes” (McEnroe 1979).

At Malia there are other examples of this type of complex, but one needs to be very careful, as the possibility exists that they may be of a slightly later date (Middle Minoan Ib or Middle Minoan II) (Poursat 1987; Schoep 2002b: 107). Even so however, it is significant that some of the points discussed above apply also to these cases. In Quartier Gamma (Chapouthier & Demargne 1962: 14; Demargne & Gallet de Santerre 1953: 23-29, Pl. LXII), as in the case of the rooms south of the palace, we are dealing once again with an architectural mass resulting from several building phases. Rooms 1, 2 and 3 at the east end of the area may represent a residential unit similar to those in the complex south of the palace (Demargne & Gallet de Santerre 1953: 28-9, Pl. XII2). Rooms 12-15 at the west end of the area may represent a similar unit, with rooms 10 and 11 being later additions (McEnroe 1979: 22). The arrangement of this complex is also similar to that of the Maisons Sud. While groups of two or three rooms might have been laid as a unit, with their walls either parallel or at right angles, other rooms were clearly added to the complex one-by-one so that the resultant organization of the area is that of the aggregate complex. Quartier Theta (van Effenterre & van Effenterre 1976)<sup>14</sup> may also be taken to belong to this category (McEnroe 1979: 24), but it is particularly difficult to deal with it in detail, since excavations have not revealed any complete house plan and the structures so far uncovered represent several periods. The overall irregularity of the complex along with the fact that the latter resulted from the gradual accumulation of rooms suggest a comparison (at least at a morphological level), with the Maisons Sud and Quartier Gamma (McEnroe 1979: 24).

In a subsequent study by McEnroe the possibility of distinguishing different houses is considered once again, albeit from a different angle (McEnroe 1979: 19-20). McEnroe claims that despite the lack of detailed evidence from those architectural complexes, an important feature that differentiates them from Early Minoan II sites is that many of the rooms have *hearths* sunk into their floors: in particular, fixed hearths have been reported from rooms 1, 3, 4 and 5 in Maison A (Maisons Sud), rooms 1 and 5 in Maison B (Maisons Sud), Room 1 in Maison C (Maison Sud) (Chapouthier & Demargne 1962: 14; McEnroe

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<sup>14</sup> Poursat has suggested a later date for construction for this complex as well (beginning of Middle Minoan Ib) (Poursat 1987).

1979: 21; van Effenterre 1980: 162) as well as Room 1 in Quartier Gamma (Demargne & Gallet de Santerre 1953: 28-9, Pl. XII2).

It is noteworthy that a further example has been found in the area of the funerary structure at Chrysolakkos (Demargne 1945: 30-1, Pls. 38.1, 39.1; Metaxa-Muhly 1984: 114). The hearth was found in Area f which is most likely to have belonged to earlier levels below the funerary building (Metaxa-Muhly 1984: 114). The walls defining the north and east sides have the deepest foundations of all those located in the area of the funerary enclosure and form part of a complex of regularly arranged compartments (Demargne 1945: 40-42, Pls. 38.2, 54-56, Pls. 57.3, 58.2). Two more circular hearths have been found in compartments f and h in the earlier levels exposed to the east of the enclosure wall (Metaxa-Muhly 1984: 114). As Metaxa-Muhly has pointed out, it is particularly interesting that not only the hearths, but also other features of these structures find parallels in domestic architecture<sup>15</sup> (Metaxa-Muhly 1984: 114). In view of the above, the possibility may be undertaken that the type of hearth identified in the Maisons Sud, Quartier Gamma and Chrysolakkos would have been a defining element, a characteristic of residential complexes which otherwise followed earlier traditions (McEnroe 1979: 23). Equally noteworthy in that respect is that the very same type of hearth has been found in House A at Knossos, directly below the Middle Minoan Ib koulouras, at the West Court of the "palace" (Evans 1921: 320-2, Fig. 234, van Effenterre 1980: 162; Metaxa-Muhly 1984: 109; Pendlebury & Pendlebury 1929-30: 55-6, Fig. 2, Pl. 11.1). Also at Trypeti, Vasilakis has repeatedly reported that houses often possess a large rectangular room with a shallow hearth on the floor (Vasilakis 1988, 1989, 1989/90, 1995).

It is important to mention here that fixed hearths were common throughout the Aegean at the time (Demargne 1932: 60-88; Metaxa-Muhly 1984: 107). In Crete, they were fixtures constructed of clay or stucco in disk-shape with a cavity in the centre (Metaxa-Muhly 1984: 109) while occasionally a slightly raised border defined their perimeter more clearly (Demargne & Gallet de Santerre 1953: 29). It is noteworthy that most of the rooms with hearths were connected with two other rooms, one parallel to the room with the hearth and the other serving as some sort of vestibule. Almost all of the other rooms in those structures lacked openings; they could have been entered from the roof or a second storey and were probably used for storage (McEnroe 1979: 21).

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<sup>15</sup> Such features include the sectional wall in a, the benches lining several compartments, the plastered bin in area h (Metaxa-Muhly 1984: 114). The excavators themselves noted the orderly plan and careful execution of these walls which correspond to the characteristics of rooms in the interior of the enclosure wall just mentioned (Metaxa-Muhly 1984: 114-5). It is therefore probable that all these remains belong to one complex of houses which extended below and beyond the enclosure (Metaxa-Muhly 1984: 115).

A fixed hearth represents the permanent allocation of a certain amount of space for a fire (Metaxa-Muhly 1984: 107). This feature may be considered to be “rich with time” (Urry 2000) in the sense that it may be used for a variety of purposes (i.e. heating, cooking, artificial lighting in night hours) (Demargne 1932; Giddens 1984: 119; van Effenterre 1980: 162). It appears therefore that “hearths” could have acted as focal points within the “house” and in so doing, they would also have managed to render the houses themselves into focal points, into “functionally” hence “temporally” enriched *loci* in other words. That they tend to be associated with the larger room(s) of a house is also very important in that respect. Moreover, highly indicative of the role that the “hearth” plays in the way the “house” is conceived and experienced is the fact that in Latin, the word “focus” and “hearth” are directly related. Finally, the very concern over elaborating a fixed point/feature in the house also hints to a concern over “return”, “repetition”, essentially a concern over regularizing the tasks/activities associated with that feature (Rapoport 1990). That an emphasis may be laid upon “return” (or rather the very act of coming *back in*) may be also linked to the etymology of the word “hearth” in Greek: *εστία* stands for both “hearth” and “home” whereas the term *ἀνέστιος* is literally about being “without a hearth and home, homeless, savage” (Galanidou 1997: 137).

In view of the above evidence it could be suggested that those sites which seem to continue the architectural/building traditions of the preceding phase(s), exhibit nevertheless some clear signs of transformation: the most obvious of those is that more emphasis is now being laid upon “interior space” and this seems to be best exemplified by the construction of a fixed, “functionally/temporally rich” element, i.e. the hearth, in the central and/or some of the larger areas of the house. It needs to be mentioned at this point that although the Early Minoan II settlement record is admittedly quite limited, it appears nevertheless that hearths did not constitute a common and/or prominent feature of interior spaces during that period (Metaxa-Muhly 1984). For instance, at Phournou Koryfi one “hearth” (Room 89) and two “cooking holes” (i.e. rooms 57, 88) are identified by Whitelaw (Whitelaw 1983: Fig. 64), but all are found in rooms of relatively small size; moreover in all three cases, access seems to have been possible only from the roof (Warren 1972: 51, 80-1). The only remaining example from the site is the “oven” in Room 20 (Warren 1972: 34-5, Fig. 20); this is indeed a fixed feature, but in contrast to the two “cooking holes” mentioned above, it can be considered a “communal/public” installation [see Section 11.1]. Importantly, by way of contrast to the Early Minoan III/Middle Minoan Ia examples, the large rooms of the settlement at Myrtos (as well as other settlements, i.e. Vassiliki, Aghia Triadha) no hearths have been identified and/or reported. Instead in most Early Minoan II examples the main room is mainly occupied by storage facilities (as is obviously the case at Phournou Koryfi). On the basis of the above,

we may claim that hearths, as fixed points in the large rooms of houses, constitute a phenomenon associated with the Early Minoan III/Middle Minoan Ia phase (Demargne 1932: 76-88; Demargne & Gallet de Santerre 1953: 29; van Effenterre 1980: 162; McEnroe 1979: 23; Metaxa-Muhly 1984). By way of contrast to earlier phases, the “house” now appears to lay more emphasis upon structurally defining itself and interestingly, it begins to do so through the *reconfiguration of its interior as opposed to exterior space*.

[b] *Integrated or divided wholes?*

Another equally intriguing category of the period in question are the oval building at Chamaizi (Davaras 1972; McEnroe 1979: 29-31; Platon 1951; Xanthoudides 1906) and the rectangular compact structure at Aghia Photia (Tsipopoulou 1988). To this category may also belong some of the Early Minoan III/Middle Minoan Ia fortified sites (Alexiou 1979) but the current state of the evidence does not allow a detailed examination of these contexts. Chamaizi and Aghia Photia are also known to us through preliminary reports and articles and yet the full preservation of the ground plan permits a more detailed investigation.

The structure at Chamaizi is an isolated, free-standing building whose exterior wall is roughly oval-shaped. It bears evidence for earlier occupation as well as some evidence indicating that the building was preceded by an earlier structure of roughly similar shape<sup>16</sup> (Davaras 1972: 284-5, figs 4, 5, 7, 8) [Plate 11.14]. In fact, it seems that the plan of the building has been largely determined by that of its immediate predecessor (Davaras 1972: 284-5)<sup>17</sup>. The layout of the rooms within the building is clearer than those of most of the architectural complexes described above. All of the rooms can be entered from the ground floor (areas 7 and 11) (Davaras 1972: Fig. 6), so there is no need to assume the existence of a second storey (McEnroe 1979: 28). At the centre of the house, Room 12 bears clear signs of paving (Davaras 1972: 285, Fig. 8) and appears to have been unroofed (Davaras 1985: 287; McEnroe 1979: 28; Xanthoudides 1906: 122). This area is situated at a slightly lower level than the remaining rooms of the structure as the small flights of steps surrounding its east, west and south side indicate (Davaras 19872: Fig. 8). At the north-east corner of area 12, a

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<sup>16</sup> “Underneath the oval Middle Minoan Ia structure and beyond it have been discovered several older constructions, forming several complete rooms and parts of others. These Early Minoan structures belong to at least three different periods superseding each other. It is worth noticing that some of their walls are clearly curvilinear” (Davaras 1972: 284-5).

<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, other curvilinear walls below the north-east and south-central part of the Middle Minoan Ia building suggest that the oval house had been preceded by more than one curvilinear building. Several of those walls, it should be noticed do not follow the contours of the hill (McEnroe 1979: 30).

cistern (i.e. 12a) has also been discovered which is believed to have been used to collect rain water; a drain to emit the overflow leads out of the house through area 7 (Davaras 1972: 287, Fig. 9, 1973, Pl. 13; Xanthoudides 1906: 122).

In rooms 8, 9, 13 and 14 the largest concentrations of ceramic and stone vessels within the building have been reported and Xanthoudides rightly suggests that those must have been storage areas (Xanthoudides 1906: 123-4) [Plate 11.14a]. Interestingly rooms 8 and 9 are adjacent to each other and can be accessed via the same corridor (Room 16) (Xanthoudides 1906: 122). In the case of rooms 13 and 14, it appears that access to both areas is also facilitated through a single corridor (i.e. corridor 14a). This pattern of “twin storage rooms” seems to apply in the case of rooms 5 and 6 as well. Although no evidence for storage has been reported from those areas, in terms of morphology, spatial arrangement and conditions of access (i.e. via corridor 16) they seem compatible to 8-9 and 13-14.

If we accept that there are three sets of storage areas within the structure (i.e. areas 5/6, 8/9 and 13/14), then what is equally noteworthy is that each of these sets is spatially associated with a large room [Plate 11.14b]: areas 5 and 6 are associated with room 4 and access to all three of them is made possible via corridor 16. From this room cluster (i.e. rooms 4, 5, 6, and 16) access to the remaining part of the building is viable only from the south edge of corridor 16 and through the central paved area (i.e. area 12). Rooms 13 and 14, on the other hand, are in association with room 11 and the three of them make up another spatially segregated cluster, accessible only via corridor 14a. This cluster is the only one which possesses its own (separate) entrance (i.e. outer wall of room 11) (Davaras 1972: 284, Figs. 2, 8). Finally, areas 8 and 9 are spatially associated with room 10/10a/15<sup>18</sup> and are separated by the other two clusters (i.e. room clusters 11/13/14 and 4/5/6) by the main entrance to the east (i.e. area 7), the south limit of corridor 14a to the north-west as well as the paved area to the north. In fact, the paved area seems to constitute the main boundary separating the three clusters, but also the one which facilitates/manifests the transition from one to the other.

Rooms 4, 11 and 15/10/10a are the largest within the building and yet no significant quantities of finds have been discovered in them (Xanthoudides 1906: 123, 125); in this respect, they differ markedly from the rooms that have been identified above as storage areas. A hearth is reported by Davaras in Room 15 but unfortunately, no further contextual

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<sup>18</sup> Area 10 resembles the Π structures discovered at the southern houses at Phournou Koryfi (i.e. rooms 60, 80 and possibly 92) (Warren 1972), the East and West Houses at Aghia Triadha (Watrous 1994: 169).



information is provided (Davaras 1972: Fig. 8). Davaras claims to have found “small hearths, ash and coal in several places” within the building but provides no further details as to their location (Davaras 1972: 288). Also in Xanthoudides’ report ash and a hearth are said to have been identified in area 4a of room 4 (Xanthoudides 1906: 123). In view of the above, it appears that the two examples of hearths that have been discovered within the building (so far) are situated within the larger rooms (i.e. 4 and 15). If we associate this final point with the observation that in those large areas we are generally lacking the high proportions of vessels found in 5/6, 8/9 and 13/14, then we may assert that rooms 4 and 15/10/10a constitute the residential areas of the complex. Although in Room 11 (i.e. the third large room within the complex) hearths and/or ashy deposits have not been brought to light, we may nevertheless attribute a residential function/character to it as well, based on the fact that it shares many other characteristics with rooms 4 and 15/10/10a. If room 11 is indeed the residential area of cluster 11/13/14 then the observation made by Xanthoudides that the lower course of its walls are covered by a primitive type of orthostat is undoubtedly very significant (Xanthoudides 1906: 124).

On the summit of Kouphota hill (ca. 25m high), only 150m west of the Aghia Photia Early Minoan I/II cemetery and 5km east of the modern town of Sitia, was discovered a large rectangular fortified building (18 x 27.5m, ca. 500m<sup>2</sup>), which is ascribed to the early stages of the Middle Minoan period (Tsipopoulou 1988: 33, Figs, 6.1-6.3, 1992: 66, 68; Watrous 1994: 184-5, Fig. 11) [Plate 11.15]. According to the excavator, the structure, which was only one storey high, consists of thirty seven rooms/spaces<sup>19</sup>, built directly upon bedrock (Tsipopoulou 1988: 33, Pl. 3a-c, 1992: 68, Pls. 6.1-6.4). In earlier sections, we discussed several of the features of the structure in seeking to exemplify its relation to the dwelling/building traditions of the preceding phase (i.e. an impressive fortification with apsidal buttresses, interior central court/corridor and exterior west courtyard, both bearing traces of paving, *kouloures*) (Tsipopoulou 1988: 33, Fig.1, Pl. 1, 1992: Fig. 6.3) [see Section 9.3]. Here emphasis will be laid upon the building’s interior arrangement and organization of space.

As in the case of Chamaizi, the observations we are making rely exclusively on preliminary reports which provide little information on finds and their contextual associations. According to the excavator, Metaxia Tsipopoulou, the material record from the

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<sup>19</sup> Watrous mentions 20 rooms in total (Watrous 1994: 184), but this has probably to do with the way each scholar has decided to deal with the partition walls identified in most rooms of the structure. It appears that Tsipopoulou has worked on the basis of the idea that these walls divide a large room into smaller ones; Watrous on the other hand, seems to have treated these walls as features of a given room, and thus he never divides the latter into sub-units.

site (with the exception of an impressive collection of ground stone tools) is generally very poor (Tsipopoulou 1988: 33, 43, 45-6, Fig. 9). In the main report from the site, Tsipopoulou refers to evidence for food processing, obsidian knapping, ashy deposits and remains of cooking vessels but gives no further indications on find spots (Tsipopoulou 1988: 45-6). In the same report, we find some examples of the shapes attested in the ceramic assemblage of the site (i.e. mainly eating and drinking vessels such as cups, deep and shallow bowls, plates, amphoras) (Tsipopoulou 1988: Figs. 2-8, 10). It is noteworthy that excavations at the site have not brought to light any remains of storage vessels<sup>20</sup> (Tsipopoulou 1988: 45-6).

Tsipopoulou mentions in her report that the building at Kouphota may be divided into smaller, highly symmetrical units (henceforth “units” 1-7), and this is something that can be inferred through a closer look upon the ground plan of the site (Tsipopoulou 1988: Fig. 1, 1992: 66) [Plate 11.16]. In particular, these seven units can be distinguished on the basis of the three main criteria:

[a] First, all seven cases consist of a standard number of rooms (three to four in total), secondly, the set of rooms that is here taken to make up a “unit” is repeated in all seven cases; in particular, this set consists of an oblong vestibule, a large rectangular room (main room?) and one or two (less standardized) rooms of small size (which exhibit no signs of door/entrance from the ground floor) (i.e. units 1, 3, 7); finally, access to and circulation within these units also seem to be highly formalized: with the exception of units 1 and 5 which are the two closest to the main entrance of the structure to the west, all other units (i.e. units 2-7) can be accessed via the interior court/corridor<sup>21</sup>.

[b] Another element of consistency is the direct spatial association of the entrance and the vestibule, with the clearest examples here being units 2, 3 and 4. The main room of each unit may only be reached via the vestibule, and this is particularly clear in cases where the units are fully preserved.

[c] Significant also is the fact that the small-sized (and less standardized) rooms (or sets of rooms) constitute the most spatially segregated part of the unit (and as mentioned earlier, seem to have been non-accessible from the ground floor but possibly only from the roof).

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<sup>20</sup> If the circular structures situated to the north and south of the building are indeed *kouloures* (grain repositories), then it might be worthwhile examining further the possibility that storage at Kouphota is yet another activity organized at a community-level. Until further information comes to light, this is a point we can explore no further.

<sup>21</sup> It needs to be mentioned here nevertheless that the entrance of unit 7 and possibly that of unit 6, are facing a small corridor off the main court/corridor of the structure.

Despite the fact that we are lacking adequate contextual information, all aforementioned observations seem to be pointing to the possibility that the distinction of units at Kouphota is a plausible hypothesis.

It appears from the above that the structures at Chamaizi and Aghia Photia were likely to have been constructed on the basis of a *preconceived plan*: that this is indeed the case may be exemplified first of all by the character/design of the exterior wall of both complexes (which brings to mind earlier traditions/architectural strategies of spatial/“community” integration); at the same time however, what differentiates these structures from preceding examples is that they reflect a considerable degree of concern over and investment in emphasizing *interior distinction/division*; as we demonstrated earlier, this is essentially achieved through the reproduction of a standard layout and/or form of spatial arrangement. Equally significant with respect to the latter point, is the fact that in both Chamaizi and Aghia Photia, the largest room in each sub-unit is “*inviting-in*”, in the sense that it either occupies a central position within the unit (i.e. Aghia Photia) or is devoid of storage vessels (i.e. Chamaizi) thus rendering more possible the accommodation of *supra-household* gatherings.

From the evidence we have at our disposal, collective eating and drinking continue to be popular practices (with the only possible exception being the site at Aghia Photia) and so in this respect we may speak of a pattern continuing the tradition of the Early Minoan IIb period. If this is indeed the case, then the concentrations of eating, drinking and serving vessels in interior spaces could now be related not only to outdoor events and acts of excessive generosity, but also to *occasions taking place indoors*, occasions in other words that could be now manifesting (*excessive*) *hospitality*.

### [11.3] Conclusions

During the late third/early second millennium BC, the “settlement” may indeed have been perceived and presented as the “front region” throughout the island of Crete [see Chapter Nine], but the “house” also began to crystallize as an entity *for itself* first at the level of *performance* (i.e. in occasions such as collective drink (wine) consumption) and later through spatio-temporal concretization (i.e. hearths, standardized layout/spatial arrangement). In this respect, it could be argued that the transformations attested in the settlement record are to a large extent compatible to those reported from the funerary domain (i.e. a shift of emphasis from “larger” to “smaller units”). Whether the “units” identified in those two cases

(i.e. settlements and cemeteries) are of similar character and/or composition cannot specified; it appears nevertheless that both draw largely upon morphological as well as functional attributes of the “House” (i.e. in some cases metaphorically whereas in others, more literally). Having now argued that by the end of Early Minoan III/Middle Minoan Ia there are indeed grounds to suggest that the “house” makes itself more *visible/explicit* in various contexts of practice throughout the island of Crete, we may once again return to the Middle Minoan Ib/II, the periods in other words, traditionally associated with the “emergence of the palace”. On the basis of what we discussed so far, the richness and variety in domestic architecture (i.e. distinctive masonry styles, polychromy, elaborate entrances and living rooms, architectural embellishment) already from the “Old Palace” and certainly during the “Neopalatial” period, may now be seen to convey meanings which are no longer so “elusive” (Rehak & Younger 1998: 111) while a similar case can be made with regard to the abundance of feasting paraphernalia found in many (if not most) houses belonging to that date. In the course of these island-wide developments, a new phase of building operations began at Knossos, Malia and Phaistos leading to the transformation of an open area to an enclosed structure, a *building*. While it remains impossible to specify why this enterprise had to take place in those particular sites and not others, the reasons why these structures take the form that they do (i.e. monumentalized versions of *houses*) could now be justified more easily. Why this is so will be discussed in further detail in what follows.

## From “Power” to “Paradigm”

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### [12.1] On *Power*

Largely drawing upon current trends in intellectual thought [*see* Chapter Six], several Minoan scholars have lately begun to put forward the idea that the obvious bias of “evolutionary” models towards rigidly defined hierarchical structures (i.e. the “palace”) has prevented us from appreciating the inherent complexity of *power* as a concept. In seeking to substantiate this point further, they have sought to demonstrate how the problems associated with “evolutionary” definitions of the “palace” category (i.e. a monumental structure of unprecedented form and kind, a *locus* of centralized authority) [*see also* Section 8.2], could be overcome if we decided to recast “power” as more *diffused* and *heterogeneous*, taking the form of coalitions, federations, conflicts or the even broader form of “status negotiation” [*see* Sections 6.1, 6.2]. It is noteworthy that the ultimate aim behind this process of reorientation is professed to be the construction of a thesis on “power” which is *conceptually more pragmatic* and *empirically more sensitive* than the long dominant image of “power centralization” (Hamilakis 2002c: 199; Schoep 2002a: 18; *see also* Driessen 2002).

In seeking to achieve this aim, Schoep recently introduced the concept of “heterarchy” to Minoan studies (Schoep 2002a, 2002b; *see also* Schoep & Knappett 2004). The term was originally launched in archaeological discourse by Carole Crumley and has been defined, at the most basic level, as a socio-political system in which “each element is either unranked relative to other elements, or possesses the potential for being ranked in a number of ways” (Crumley 1987: 158, 1995: 3). In an attempt to substantiate empirically

why “heterarchy” captures more effectively the nature of social organization in Middle/Late Bronze Age Crete, Schoep stresses first of all that the extant body of empirical information from the period in question runs against the pyramidal and highly centralized view of “hierarchical” organization advocated by “evolutionists” [see Section 5.2]. She asserts, in particular, that the evidence deriving from the “non-palatial” sector implies that “the spatial distribution of ritual, craftsmanship, administration and élite architecture” was very widespread at the time [see Chapter Eight], thus rendering likely that “ideological, economic and political power” on the island were “not concentrated in one source”, as the conventional palatial model would propose; instead, “power relations” appear to have been “more subtle and complex” (Schoep 2002a: 21) with the interactive elements of the socio-political system at work *not being permanently ranked to one another* (Crumley 2001: 25):

“What is certain... is that the political, economic and religious power was not centralized... but that different groups had access to resources and in some way to power” (Schoep 2002a: 32).

“Interpretive models that take into account ...the various power sources employed may provide a better framework within which to situate the [Minoan] data” (Schoep 2002a: 18).

In arguing in favour of a “heterarchical” form of organization, Schoep inevitably had to confront the question of the “palace” and in particular, how these monumental structures would have functioned in her proposed scheme. To tackle this issue, Schoep put forward the argument that if one strips away the “palaces” from biased connotations and returns “to the basics”, then the most distinctive features of these buildings would be the presence of large courts, allowing the gathering of large groups of people (Schoep 2002a: 21). She also made the case that the activities taking place within the “palatial” compounds (i.e. storage, limited craftsmanship and ritual) are not inconsistent with an interpretation of the structure as communal buildings; the frequently expressed argument that impressive public works and extensive storage require a “centralized political authority”, Schoep maintains, seems to ignore the fact that societies lacking this kind of centralized political structure are often seen to be involved in building projects of monumental nature (*see also* Blanton 1998; Blanton *et al.* 1993; Blanton *et al.* 1996).

A different interpretation concerning the nature of sociopolitical organization in Minoan Crete was proposed by Hamilakis (1997/98, 2002a, 2002b, 2002c). His model also adheres to the idea of “power diffusion” but it is suggested nevertheless that the latter may be best conceptualized as the product of *factional competition*. The concept of “faction” has been adopted by several anthropologists and historians (Brumfiel 1987, 1989; Brumfiel &

Fox 1984; Bujra 1973: 133; Lewellen 1983: 109; Spencer 1993) to describe competing social groups, which are “structurally similar” and “leader-focused” (Brumfiel 1989: 126).

“Factions” are “structurally similar” because they hold similar cosmological and ideological principles but also because they compete for (and thus attribute value to) similar material and symbolic resources (Brumfiel 1989; Bujra 1973). That they are “leader-focused” implies that we are not dealing with homogeneous entities, such as “classes” and/or “interest groups”, but rather with heterogeneous entities, whose internal divisions are *vertical* (i.e. often patron-client relationships, with high-rank members having more access to resources and low-rank members having less access to resources) (Brumfiel 1989; Spencer 1993). Despite these internal divisions, however, people have tended to lay more emphasis on the differences *between* “factions” rather than the differences *within* a single “faction”; for this reason, it is suggested that comparison and competition for retinue operate at an “inter-factional” (i.e. between the leaders) rather than an “intra-factional” level (Lewellen 1983).

According to Hamilakis, new discoveries in the field offer empirical support to all aforementioned ideas. He talks of “too many chiefs” and “competing factions”, “engaged in frequent events of vast conspicuous display and consumption” (such as those attested to in the “palatial compounds”) and “in a continuous attempt to out-compete other factions with which they share ideological and cosmological beliefs” (Hamilakis 2002b: 186)<sup>1</sup>. His work so far has demonstrated that these interactions were taking place mainly in the arena of consumption and involved “the active deployment and manipulation of bodily pleasures including eating, drinking and intoxication” (Hamilakis 2002b: 186). The lack of clearly defined territories and the shifting spheres of political influence on the island are seen as clear tokens of an extremely unstable social situation with frequent events of political crisis and social unrest. Under these conditions, “factions” themselves were constantly changing size and shifting boundaries. For Hamilakis, the “palaces” were only one aspect of this wider process; “rather than being ends by themselves”, these monumental constructions are portrayed as “the historical accidents of a continuous struggle”, in a society where “power and prestige” were constantly shifting hands (Hamilakis 1997/98, 2002b).

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<sup>1</sup> “Factions in the same broader social group are united by cosmologies and ideologies, and competition takes the form of material culture “wars”, including the conspicuous consumption and ritual “sacrifice” of food, drink and artefacts. These artefacts are bound to maintain a stylistic similarity, since all factions within the same broader group share the same symbolic vocabulary” (Hamilakis 2002b: 186).

## [12.2] Critique

Any new theory must be embedded into the practices of our discipline and must withstand evaluation of its adequacy in dealing with particular problems and interpreting particular socio-historical circumstances. Often, new theoretical formulations tend to be relatively abstract and if one pays closer attention to new approaches on the concept of “power” and the wider issue of sociopolitical organization in Middle/Late Bronze Age Crete, this broader pattern appears to be confirmed. Abstraction is by no means reprehensible; after all, it constitutes an integral part of the theory building process. What is crucial to bear in mind, however, is that we should not allow ourselves to be mesmerized by the elegance of abstractions, but to be prepared instead to critically evaluate the possibilities of their actual application. On the basis of this suggestion, we are going to assess in this section the contribution of concepts such as “heterarchy” and “factionalism” to our understanding of the “palatial phenomenon” and “palatial authority” in particular. The ultimate aim of this enterprise will be to demonstrate that both concepts direct archaeological thinking along some very specific lines of enquiry that can be considered highly problematic in a number of detailed respects; undoubtedly, the most vital problem is that they lead towards an epistemological framework which does not free us from “evolutionary” thinking despite claims to the opposite.

As mentioned earlier, Schoep argues that the operation of a “heterarchical” system of organization in Crete may be inferred empirically by the widespread distribution of several resources (i.e. economic, ritual, architectural) beyond the “palatial” sector. She defines these resources as “valuable”, but no explanation is given as to *from where this “value” originates*. Put simply, what is it exactly that makes these features/activities “valuable”? Why are storage magazines, pillar crypts, lustral basins, feasting etc. an indication of “value” and “status”? Could it be the case that the only reason we accord a surplus of significance to the above is precisely because they have long been associated with the “palace”? But if it is indeed so, then is it not also the case that the special significance we attribute to these features is not so much a product of dynamic negotiation in the past but rather of a static and highly determinist definition of “value” in the present? More worrisome, if those resources are seen as “valuable” and a potential source of status because of *our* decision to portray them as such, does it not also follow that this decision has been (once again!) very much informed by the very bias we seek to challenge (i.e. “palace”)? Interestingly, the tendency to project a predetermined set of “values” onto the past is precisely what the “endogenous/production-oriented” and the “exogenous/consumption-oriented” models also sought to do (i.e. emphasis on “land” and “exotica” respectively) [*see*



Chapter Two, Chapter Three]. In far more consistent fashion, however, they both clarified that these “values” were transformed into a “status” source only under conditions of *scarcity* (i.e. limited quantity of and/or restricted access to resources). In the case of the “heterarchical” model, however, what is it precisely that renders a *widely distributed* set of resources into a “source of power”? This takes us back to the question we posed earlier: could it be that the tendency to perceive the wide distribution of such resources as a “status” indicium and/or vehicle stems from their longstanding association with the so-called “palatial economy”?

Moving now to the model proposed by Hamilakis, it appears that in this case as well, close affinities with the “evolutionary” tradition may be detected. As mentioned earlier, Hamilakis claims that the widespread distribution of “ostentatious resources” around the Cretan landscape, the lack of “territorial boundaries”, and the multiple destruction episodes attested to in various “Neopalatial” buildings are empirical observations confirming the operation of “factional” competition (Hamilakis 2002c). A closer look at his model, however, indicates that the latter does not differ markedly from its “evolutionary” predecessors either at the level of methodology or interpretation. On the one hand, Hamilakis does not seem to escape the principle of “archaeology as representation”, for almost every single aspect of the “Neopalatial” record is translated into an expression of/medium for “factional competition”; on the other hand, he fails to demonstrate why “factionalism” captures the workings of “Neopalatial” society more effectively than the notion of “power decentralization” (Marinatos 1987)<sup>2</sup>. More to the point: if “factional competition” can be related to concepts such as power *negotiation* and/or *diffusion*, then at the most basic level, the same can be claimed for the “decentralization” of “palatial authority”.

These observations are crucial for two main reasons: first, they indicate that, at a conceptual level, the foregoing models do not break free from “evolutionary” principles and/or ideas (i.e. predetermined “values”, predetermined social formations, archaeology of representation). Although as an epistemological tactic, reference to and/or partial modification of previous models and terminologies is quite common, one would expect that at least in this particular case, a more radical redefinition of the “evolutionary” package would have been attempted. Let us not forget after all, that the foregoing trends in Minoan archaeology present themselves as “post-evolutionary” (if not “anti-evolutionary”) in perspective. Furthermore, and this is a point of crucial significance, what these new

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<sup>2</sup> In the 1987 edited volume *“The Function of the Minoan Palaces”* (Hägg & Marinatos 1987), Marinatos put forward an alternative interpretive scenario for understanding the nature and character of “power” in “Neopalatial” Crete; the basic idea was that of “power decentralization” (i.e. “the functions of the palace are spread out and appropriated by officials” (Marinatos 1987: 333).

developments contribute to our understanding of “palatial” society is not necessarily opposed to the “evolutionary” image of that society. Although they quite rightly remind us of the fact that “power” relations and the broader issue of social organization are inherently complex phenomena, there is no reason to suggest that the “hierarchical authority” hypothesis cannot accommodate that “complexity”. In fact, this point is also inferred from the very writings of Schoep and Hamilakis; on the one hand, Schoep has argued in one of her recent papers that the concept of “heterarchy” does not necessarily run counter to the idea of a “polity” (Schoep 2002b: 20-22); Hamilakis, on the other hand, has asserted that some “factional” groups of the “Neopalatial” period would have been more “successful” than others and those may have been the ones that resided in the so-called “palaces” (Hamilakis 2002b: 185-6).

It could be argued at this point that the most thought-provoking form of understanding of the “palatial phenomenon” in Crete has been advanced by Carl Knappett. His approach was based upon the premise that a socio-political institution (in this case, the “state”) should not be taken as a given and that emphasis should be laid instead on the exploration of “the manifest organizational possibilities” that this institution encompasses (Knappett 1999: 639). Knappett rejects the tendency to suppress variability “through the rigid classification into societal types” (i.e. “the creation of rigid and polarized social types is unhelpful”) and professes instead that we can achieve greater subtlety and resolution in our interpretations, if we examine political institutions in terms of “axes of variation” (Knappett 1999: 635). He claims that “centralization” and “decentralization/diffusion” are not absolute terms, but rather two idealized extremes of an *organizational continuum*; to further substantiate this point, Knappett moves on to suggest that in early societies (i.e. which “lacked the necessary infrastructure to achieve direct and continuous administrative penetration of society”), “decentralized” forms of “(state) power” would have been probably the only means to achieve a high degree of “control over wide areas” (Knappett 1999: 619).

This point is of crucial significance and what makes it even more promising analytically is yet another suggestion that Knappett makes: in order to overcome the indirect and irregular nature of the power it wielded, a “state” (i.e. a large-scale integration mechanism) would be more likely to have sought access to *the “imaginary means of production”* (which Knappett equates with “ideology” and “ritual”) rather than direct control of the “material means of production” (which he equates with “economy”) (Knappett 1999: 619). Despite the immense analytical potential of this premise, however, Knappett fails to specify what these “material symbols of ideology” actually stand for (for reasons that will become more apparent in what follows). What precisely does the term “ideology” imply? How does it relate to “ritual”? Why do those terms hold “special” value? Where does this “value” derive from and under

what circumstances does it emerge and develop? Last but not least, what sort of link do these concepts establish with the issue of “power”?

### [12.3] From “Power” to “Paradigm”: Further thoughts on the “House” alternative

Drawing upon the idea of an “organizational continuum” as opposed to “static” forms of “social organization” (Knappett 1999), we could suggest, first of all, that it is impossible to define with precision whether the so-called “palaces” accommodated and/or served the strategic intentions of a “ruler”, a group of exclusive membership (i.e. *élite*) or a number of “competing” societal formations; to assert that these monumental edifices could be linked with one (as opposed to more) of the aforementioned “alternatives” would be a highly deterministic assumption. Such determinism cannot be allowed for at an empirical level, as the evidence currently at our disposal seems to accommodate perfectly both “hierarchy” and “heterarchy” (i.e. the two terms are *not* mutually exclusive). At a conceptual level, on the other hand, what we also have to acknowledge is that the actions and practices taking place in the “palaces” would have been informed (in most cases) by the strategic intentions and goals of *several generations of people* (groups and/or individuals); by equating a structure with a particular form of authority (be that a king, an *élite* or several “factions”), we simply fail to capture this dynamism. But if this is indeed the case, could it also be that the question we have long tried to answer is the wrong question to start with? And if the issue of “who was/were in power?” is really a “non-issue” (or at least, not the central concern of our enquiry), then what should we put forward as an alternative?

Even if we acknowledge the inherently dynamic (hence analytically elusive) nature of “power”, one thing that remains particularly intriguing is that during the so-called “palatial” period(s), the manifestation and practical negotiation of socio-political relations/strategies made *continuous* reference to a *very specific* morphological and functional “vocabulary”. The referential process at work during the period(s) in question was shown to link conditions and actions not only in the so-called “palaces” but also *at an island-wide level*; it was argued therefore, that the “palaces” formed an expression/aspect of a wider continuum and acquired the form that they did by precisely because they made reference to that continuum. This observation cannot help us provide an answer to the question “who was/were in power?” but what it *can* do nevertheless is direct our attention to a (far more?) crucial issue: *empowerment*. But how exactly should the term “empowerment” be understood?

As mentioned earlier, our investigation of the “palace” and its “emergence” did not treat the latter as an isolated, “special” and “unprecedented” act but rather as a phenomenon whose significance could be assessed only with reference to the broader socio-historical conditions that made it possible in the first place. These conditions did not lead to the establishment of a *power-full* socio-political institution but rather to the construction of an architectural complex, which *ritualized* and *monumentalized* a (morphological/functional) vocabulary broadly recognized as *valuable*. First and foremost, the “palace” was a *ritual* site, in the sense that it formalized (*ritualized*) practices that were otherwise ordinary (Bell 1992), with the most important undoubtedly being *storage* and *consumption*. Storage and consumption were integral elements of a “house” at the time, and the “palace” (as a “house”) was no exception to this rule. What differentiated “palatial storage” and “consumption”, however, was the means whereby an association between the two was established. Through the elaborate procession roads of the West Court (interestingly, one of the earliest features of the “palace”), some sort of surplus (literal or metaphorical) was placed within the “palatial” complex. This highly ritualistic element of “hoarding” was combined with the ritualization of “sharing” (i.e. large-scale consumption events). What came *in* “raw”, therefore, came *out* “cooked”; what was “contributed”, was subsequently “redistributed”. The transformative element of this ritual was further accentuated by the “coming in and out” of the “House” itself (i.e. “Central Court”/inside and “West Court”/outside). If anything, the “House” seems to have been inextricably bound up with the notion of “hospitality”, and thus encapsulated what at the time appears to have been a far wider socio-political concern and/or strategy [see Chapter Eight, Chapter Eleven]. At the end of the day, this is precisely why the so-called “palace” could also be taken to constitute a *monument*; in a way, its morphological and functional character served as a memory device, a mechanism of reiteration of this broadly shared value.

In view of the above suggestions we could therefore claim that if the “palace” is a “representation” of some kind, then this representation would have to be one of *widely relevant values* and not of *exclusive power*. After all, the “palace” appears to be a dominant and highly prominent version of a particular (historically specific) and broadly decipherable way of seeing and being in the world. Whoever used or made claim to this structure (be that a king, an élite or several “factions”) would have thus adhered to the rules of a very specific social code (i.e. the “House”), a code which also served as a means for empowerment on/in various other occasions/situations around the Cretan landscape at the time (i.e. the funerary and settlement arena).

Interestingly, such an approach to the “palace” brings us closer (once again!) to what may be broadly defined as the paradigmatic realm. To explain why this is so, it is important to recapitulate at this point what have been the general conclusions drawn in this thesis. In previous chapters, particular emphasis was laid upon redefining the period of the “palaces” [see Chapter Eight], as well as the period *before* their “emergence” [see Chapter Nine]. Our analysis demonstrated that if we approached the so-called “palatial” and “prepalatial” data sets, without the term “palace” and its terminological paraphernalia in mind (i.e. “palatial”, “palatial-type”, “villas” etc) [see Chapter Five], then we would be faced with two broad (i.e. island-wide) dwelling traditions elevating in (practical and symbolic) significance the “Settlement” and the “House” respectively. What precisely does the term “practical and symbolic significance” imply and on what grounds could we consider it to be associated with the concept of a “paradigm”? As Kuhn claims, human beings are always situated in structural (i.e. paradigmatic) conditions which facilitate their actions because, essentially, human beings require a medium allowing them to situate themselves *ontologically* in the world (Kuhn 1970). Giddens explains that these conditions ought to be viewed as an amalgam of materialities, symbolic resources and, even more so, traditions of execution and expression (Giddens 1984); the material aspect of these conditions is precisely what allows us to link the “paradigm” concept not only with the present but also with the (Cretan) past. By extension, “Settlement” and “House” can also be seen as *paradigmatic frameworks*.

In our analysis of the Cretan record, only a few aspects of these paradigms were highlighted through an investigation of the funerary and settlement evidence [see Chapter Ten, Chapter Eleven]. What we demonstrated, in particular, is that in practice (i.e. performance), reference to paradigmatic principles can constrain but also enable action(s) in various ways; a paradigm provides the *general* rules of the game, it directs but at the same time empowers people because it facilitates *effective* action, it provides the basis upon which actions become socially decipherable (and to various degrees legitimate or contested). Even more importantly, however, a paradigm can be linked *directly* with strategies of *objectification* (i.e. concrete definition, monumentalization, ritualization): in the case of the “palatial” project for instance, which we have decided to define as a “ritualized/monumental house”, what we are witnessing is an obvious tendency to vitalise something *that matters*, carrying it forward and reworking it through time and over space.

In acknowledging the above, however, we bring the “emergence of the palatial phenomenon” in Crete into a *higher level preservation* (Marquardt 1992). What operates as a mechanism of integration in Crete during the period(s) in question (i.e. “Settlement” and “House” respectively) is what allows us analysts to establish a sense of unity for our object

of study and thus construct a coherent research question. “Settlement” and “House” are dominant ways of definition (i.e. front regions) and as we also showed in the particular example of Myrtos-Phournou Koryfi, they become *visible* archaeologically because they are relevant not only to the people of the past but also to us, the external observers; put simply, they are what we may broadly define as categories *in themselves* (for the insiders) but also *for themselves* (for the outsiders).

Our archaeological programme now looks very different from that to which we have grown accustomed. But could it be the case, however, that as a “postmodernist” would perhaps claim, the proposed programme is (yet another) overly deductive exercise? Although the suggestion to elevate archaeological analysis to paradigmatic level seems to run counter to the ideas put forward by the “postmodernist” school, at least as far as the past is concerned, there are some further indications revealing that the approach we are proposing may in fact be the most effective. Why this is so is explained in more detail in what follows.

#### [12.4] Epilogue

At the broadest of levels, it could be argued that any attempt to investigate the history of Minoan archaeology (or any other discipline) involves a journey back in time, or as Kuhn once described, an “exposure” to “*out-of-date* scientific theory and practice” (Kuhn 1970: vii). Essentially therefore, a study of the history of archaeology is a study of a certain past: although there is no doubt that this (not so distant) past is different from Minoan prehistory, the fact remains that it is “out-of-date”; *it has already happened* leaving behind nothing more than material traces/remains (articles, books, excavations etc.). In our quests to understand this past – and this is a point of crucial significance – we have shown no reluctance to expressing *concrete* and *straightforward* opinions. Amidst several developments in the field, we pointed out that the “palace” appeared to rise in prominence (in the case of “evolutionists”) or to decline in importance (in the case of “postmodernists”). At the level of interpretation, we consciously moved beyond the diverse readings and understandings of the “palace” but also turned our heads away from the details of those writings which often exhibit clear signs of intellectual dilemma, agonising, inconclusiveness and uncertainty. For instance, we have decided to use the general term “evolution” when,

through its four centuries of development, this intellectual movement has exhibited clear signs of transformation, dynamism, and even radical reorientation<sup>3</sup> (Trigger 1989a, 1998). Despite these “centrifugal” tendencies, we have decided to lump all those readings into a larger paradigmatic whole and (more often than not) to refer to this “wholeness” as being one and the same thing.

The practice of categorising at the level of paradigm has been particularly popular within the confines of the “postmodernist” school, and much of our earlier discussion on “evolution” has relied upon “postmodern” writings [see Chapter Four]. But even though “postmodernists” seem to develop such a critical (and at times polemic) attitude towards the past of the discipline (i.e. historiography), they seem unwilling to do the same in their attempts to understand the more distant past. While in the former case they consciously commit themselves to category-making and thus opinion-making (i.e. they speak of “evolution”), the only thing that they allow room for in the past is “diversity”, “detail” and “subjectivity”. But why is it then that in the case of the past, they simply do not make the choice to bring their interpretations to a higher level (Marquardt 1992)? Why do they have to stop their interpretive quest at the level of “diverse readings”? Why are they unwilling to tame the complexity of “evolutionary” thought (i.e. the recent past) and not the complexity of the archaeological evidence (i.e. the distant past)? The identification of this highly oxymoronic element in “postmodernist” thought *itself* may be seen as an indirect (and yet highly plausible) argument in favour of broad category-making. If category-making cannot be avoided even by those advocating against it, then the time for the emergence of a new question in Minoan archaeology but, even more importantly, of a new moral code in archaeological practice as a whole may be closer than we think.

It is for this reason that the present thesis set out to demonstrate that a “post-evolutionary” future can (and should indeed) be guaranteed for Minoan archaeology without necessarily having us resort to uncompromising relativism, cognitive anarchy and/or an “anything goes” epistemological *mentalité* (Fotiadis 1994: 546-7). Largely drawing upon Marquardt’s concept of archaeological *dialectics* (Marquardt 1992) and Wylie’s “options beyond objectivism and relativism” (Wylie 1991a), we argued that this aim could be achieved only if archaeologists decided to revise drastically the *ethical* basis/principles on

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<sup>3</sup> For instance, Watson mentions that there were many “sceptics” amongst the community of “evolutionary” thinkers who never made the claim “that we can ever reach complete, perfect, certain knowledge of the empirical world, or, that even if we did, this would constitute knowledge of ultimate being or reality” (Watson 1992: 260). Clark on the other hand, has recently reminded us that by way of contrast to Herbert Spencer’s progressive and teleological notions of evolution, Darwinian evolution did not presuppose that evolutionary processes are progressive (Clark 2000: 94).

which current epistemological practice operates. Although there is no doubt that (past and present) conditions of humanity are characterised by complexity, diversity, messiness, *heteroglossia* and several other (potentially) centrifugal forces (Bakhtin 1981: 270), a commitment to a *social* present as well as a *social* past necessitates that we also commit ourselves to the maintenance of an image of *wholeness* and *unity*; such a commitment is of critical importance for, if it is indeed the case that “the natural state” of humanity “is mess” (Bakhtin 1981: 270), then both at an ontological as well as an epistemological level “wholeness” and “unity” ought to be viewed as *projects* or, in other words, as “a matter of work” (Morson & Emerson 1990: 30). The establishment and justification of *order as opposed to disorder* (Fotiadis 1994: 552; Joyce 2002: 79) imply that our reference point in our experience (i.e. ontology) of, as well as in our attempts to understand, human life (i.e. epistemology) should be dialogue, responsibility, communication; principles, in other words, founded upon the idea of *interconnectedness*. It is in view of the above *problematique* that we ended up asserting that particularly at the level of epistemological practice, such a shift of perspective could be realised only if we decided to view *deconstruction* as the point of departure and not as the termination point of our analytical enquiry. Although the identification of “fallacies” and “internal contradictions” does indeed lead to the repudiation of previously dominant categories and questions (i.e. the “palace” question), what it also allows nevertheless is the *rearrangement* of pending evidence and, thus, the possibility of constructing new, broadly-relevant categories<sup>4</sup>. In seeking to apply these methodological (and for that matter also *ethical*) principles to Minoan archaeology, we advocated a more rigorous approach, which would seek to replace the current plethora of objections against the “emergence of civilization” with *concrete opinion-making*. What should become of central concern for Minoan archaeologists at this critical stage of the discipline is the development of alternative (and yet equally *inclusive*) means of talking and writing about this particular segment of the Cretan past. The “emergence of House Society” may be seen as a broadly “intelligible” programme, a programme “realisable” in practice, a programme that can drive us towards a reworking of the intellectual and physical means necessary to build new, concrete forms of understanding Cretan prehistory. One of the main reasons why it has the potential to do so is that it emphasizes the issue of *broadly shared (past and present) social values*.

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<sup>4</sup> The term “suspension” (Marquardt 1992) encapsulates perfectly this duality (i.e. “deconstruction” as a means for “reconstruction”).



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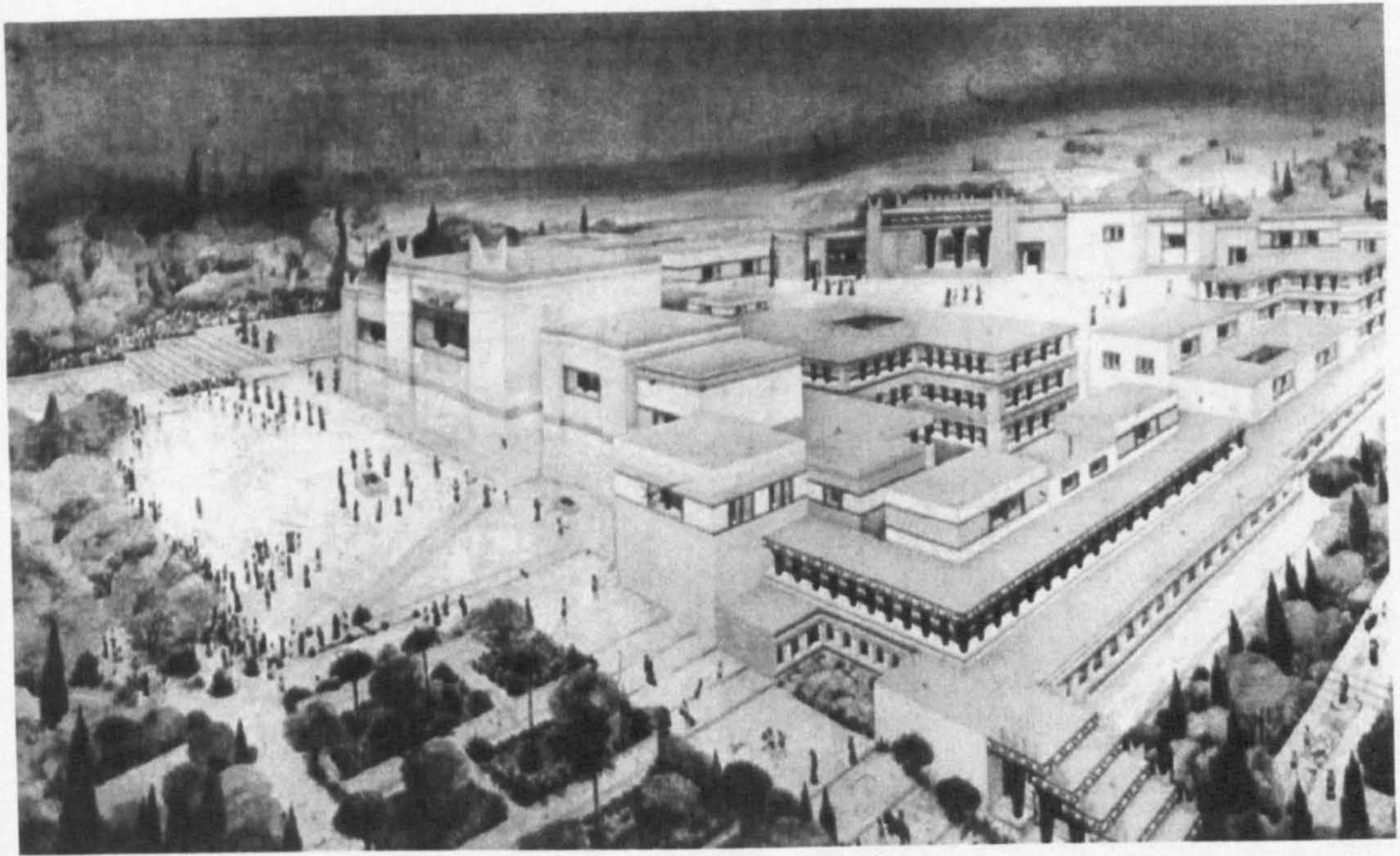
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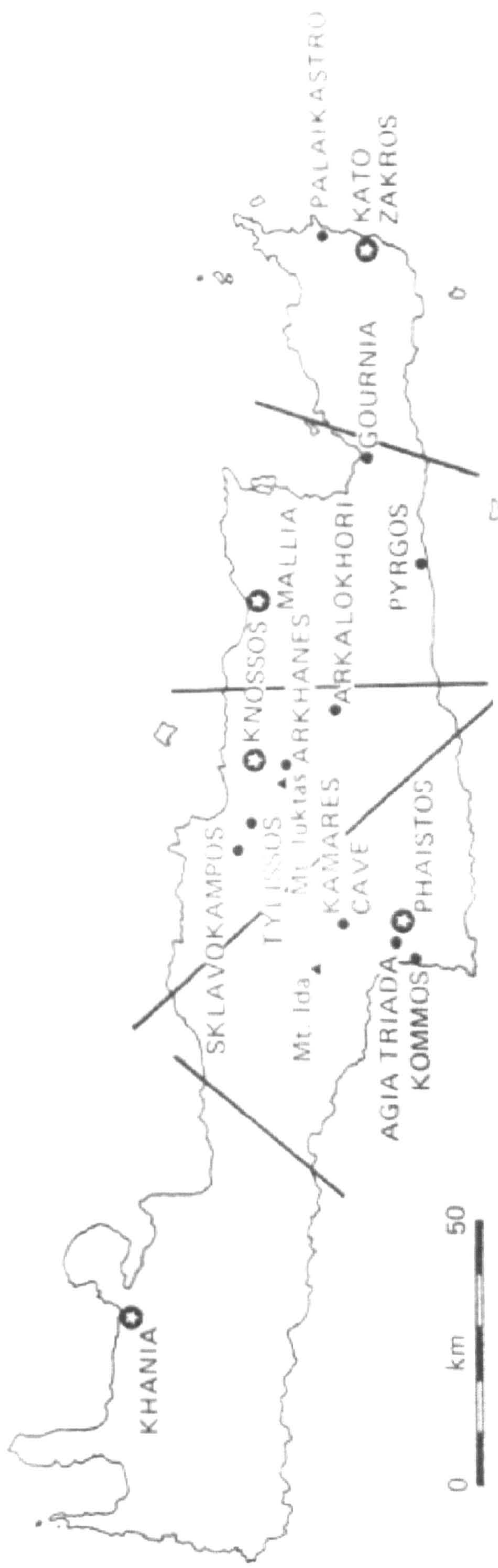


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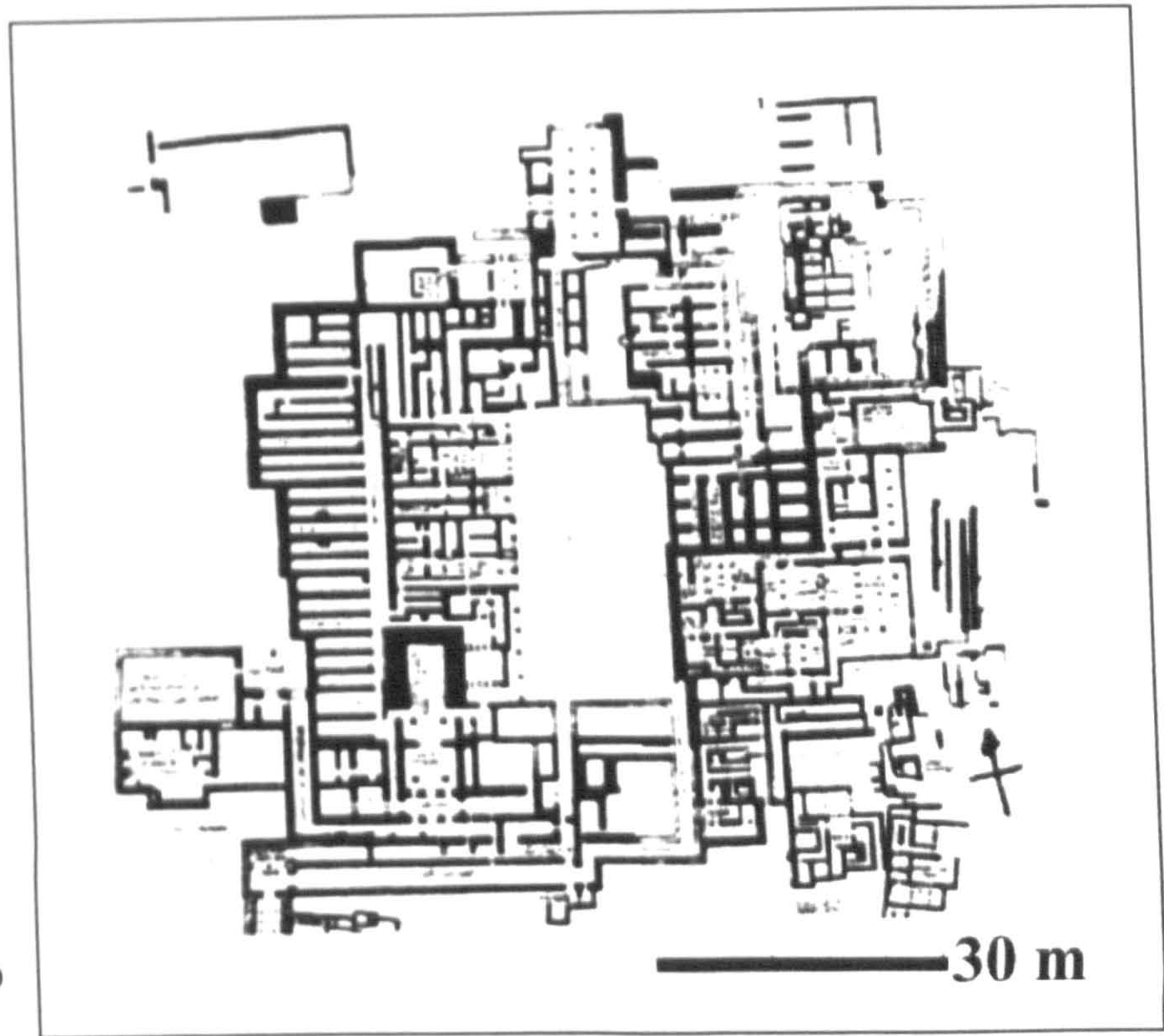
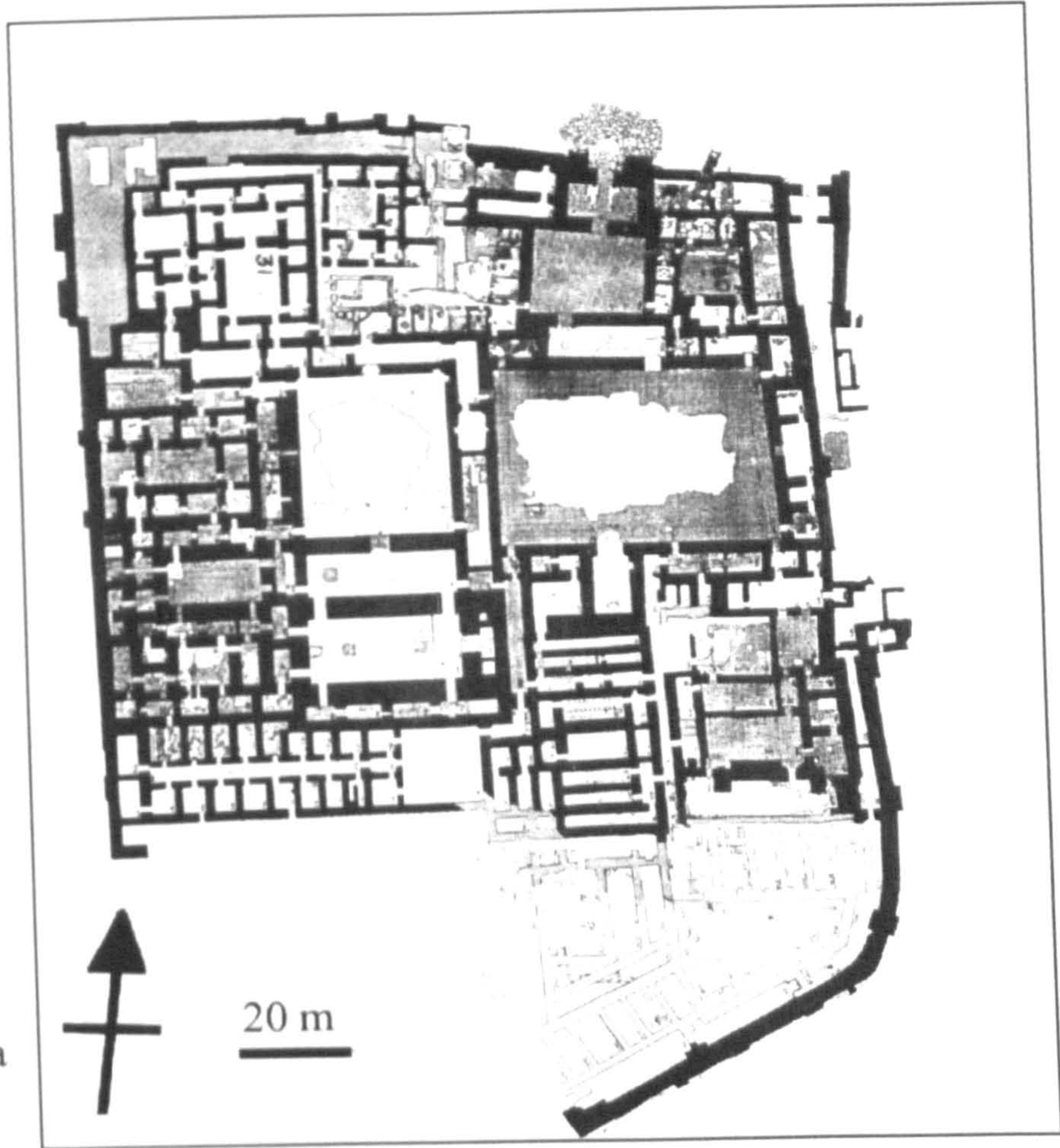


b

**Pl. 1.1:** Images of a *palace*: Architectural reconstructions of Knossos (a) by G. Lappas & J. Sardelli (Mathiolakis poster 1984), (b) by N. Gouvoussis ( Mathiolakis poster 1981) (after Klynne 1998: Figures 7, 9).

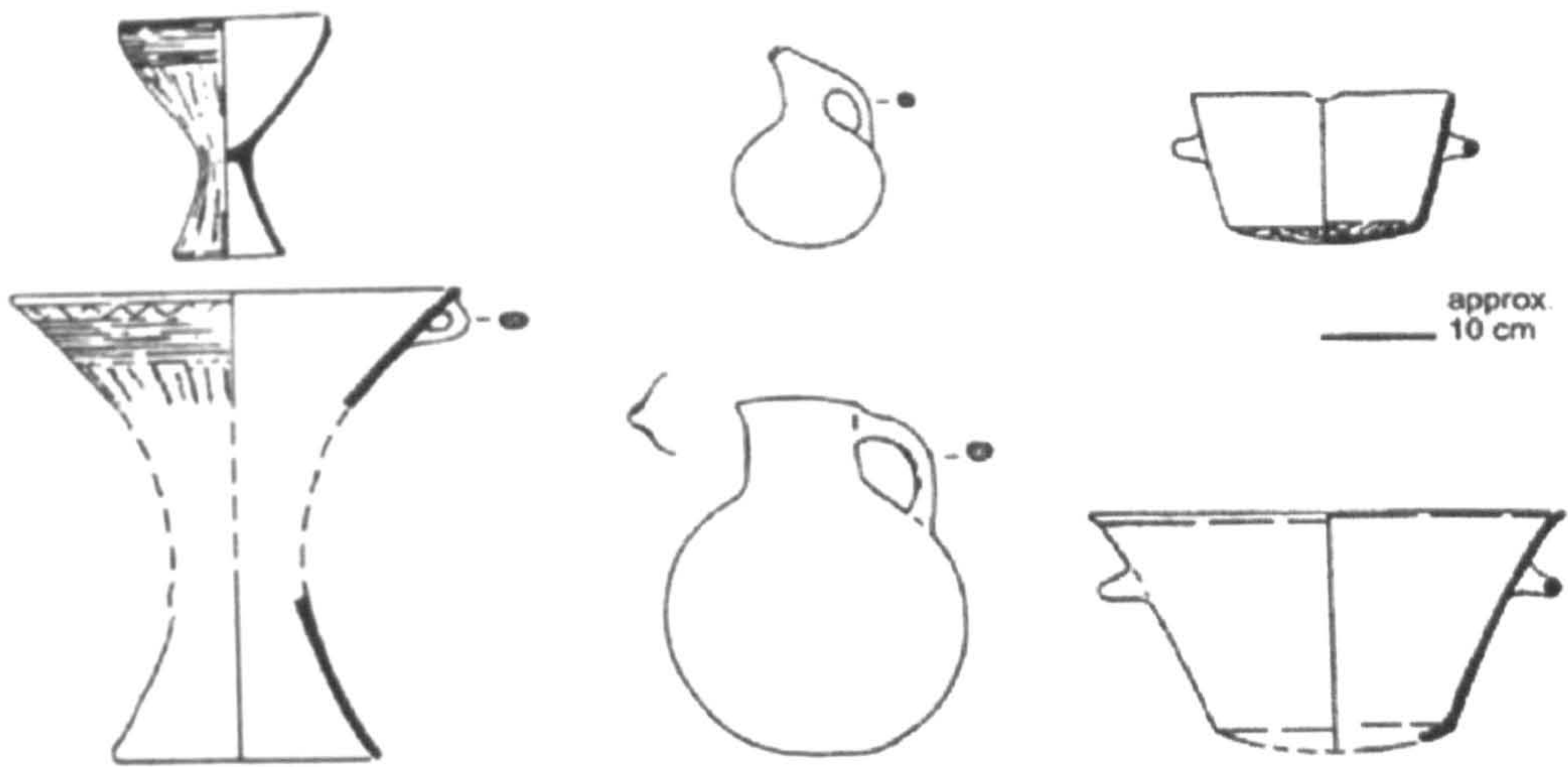


Pl. 2.1: 'Palatial' territories (after Cherry 1986: Figure 2.2).



Pl. 3.1: *Ex Oriente lux*: (a) Mari (b) Knossos  
(after Graham 1962: Plates 2,148).

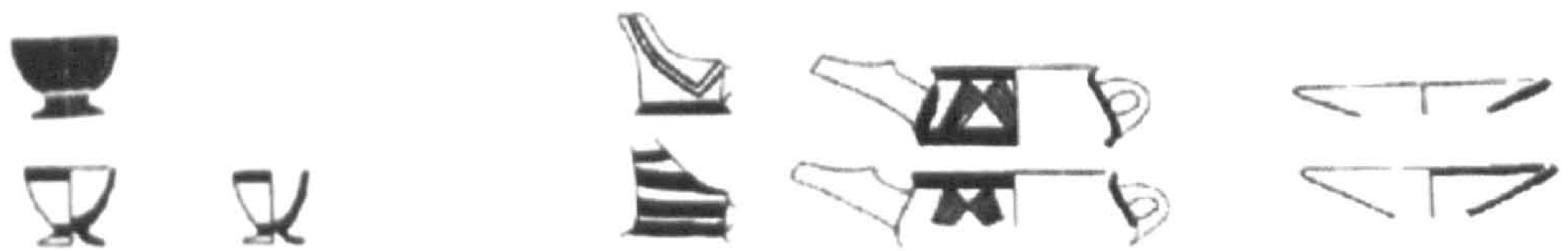
**Early Minoan I (EM I Well)**



**Early Minoan II A (West Court House)**



**Early Minoan II A (E.II.7 / K.I tests)**



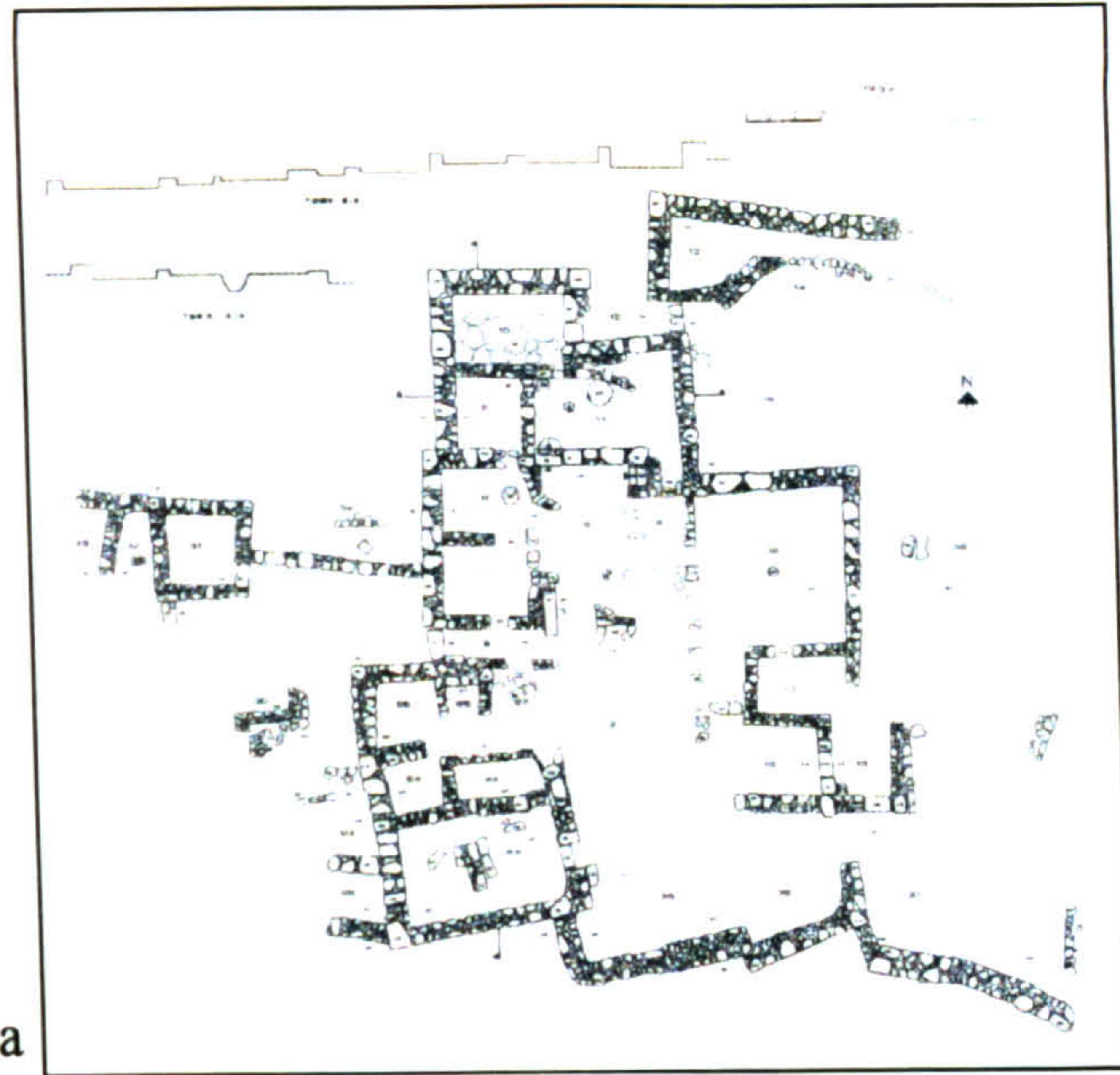
**Early Minoan II B (South Front)**



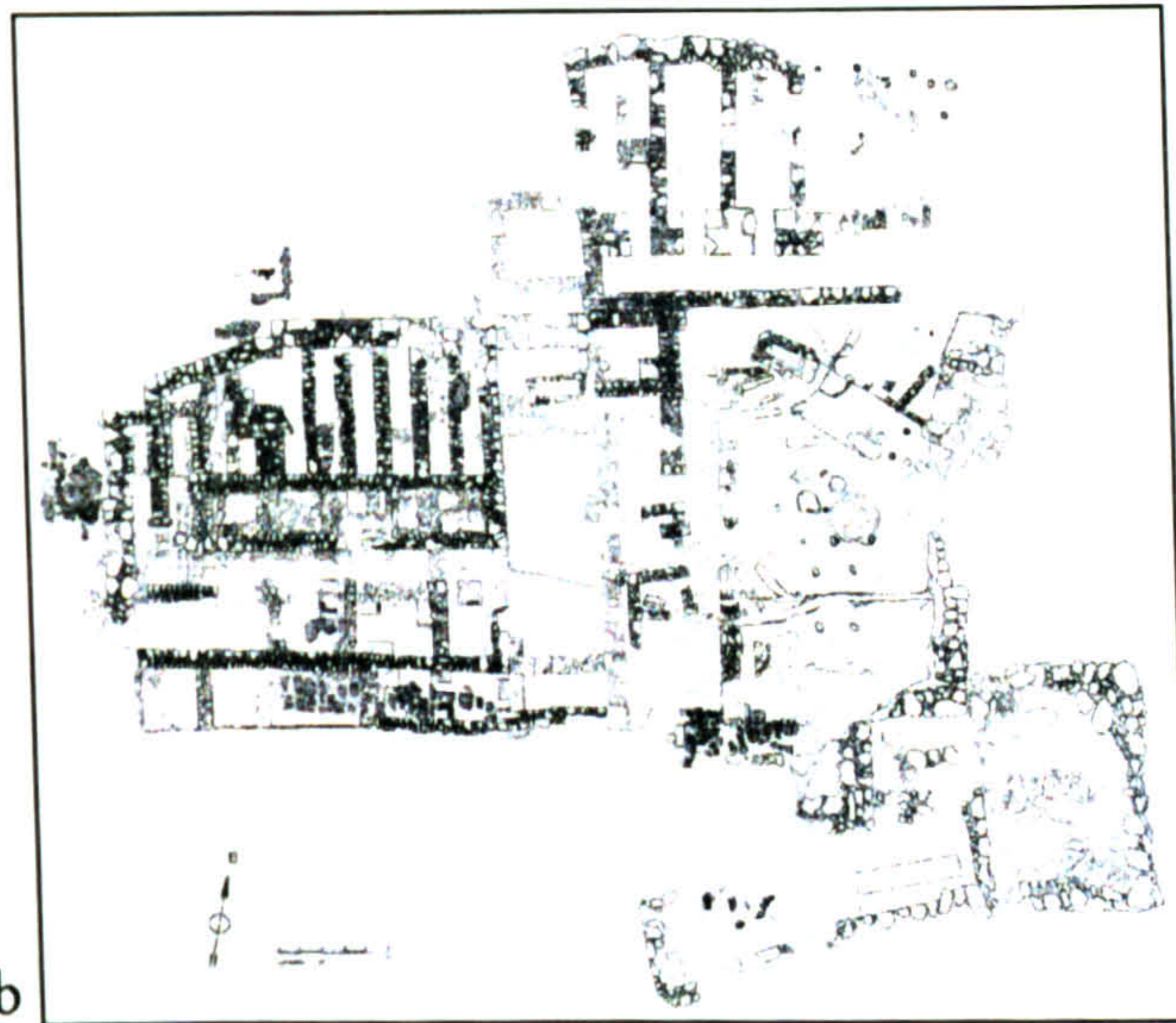
**Early Minoan III (Upper East Well)**



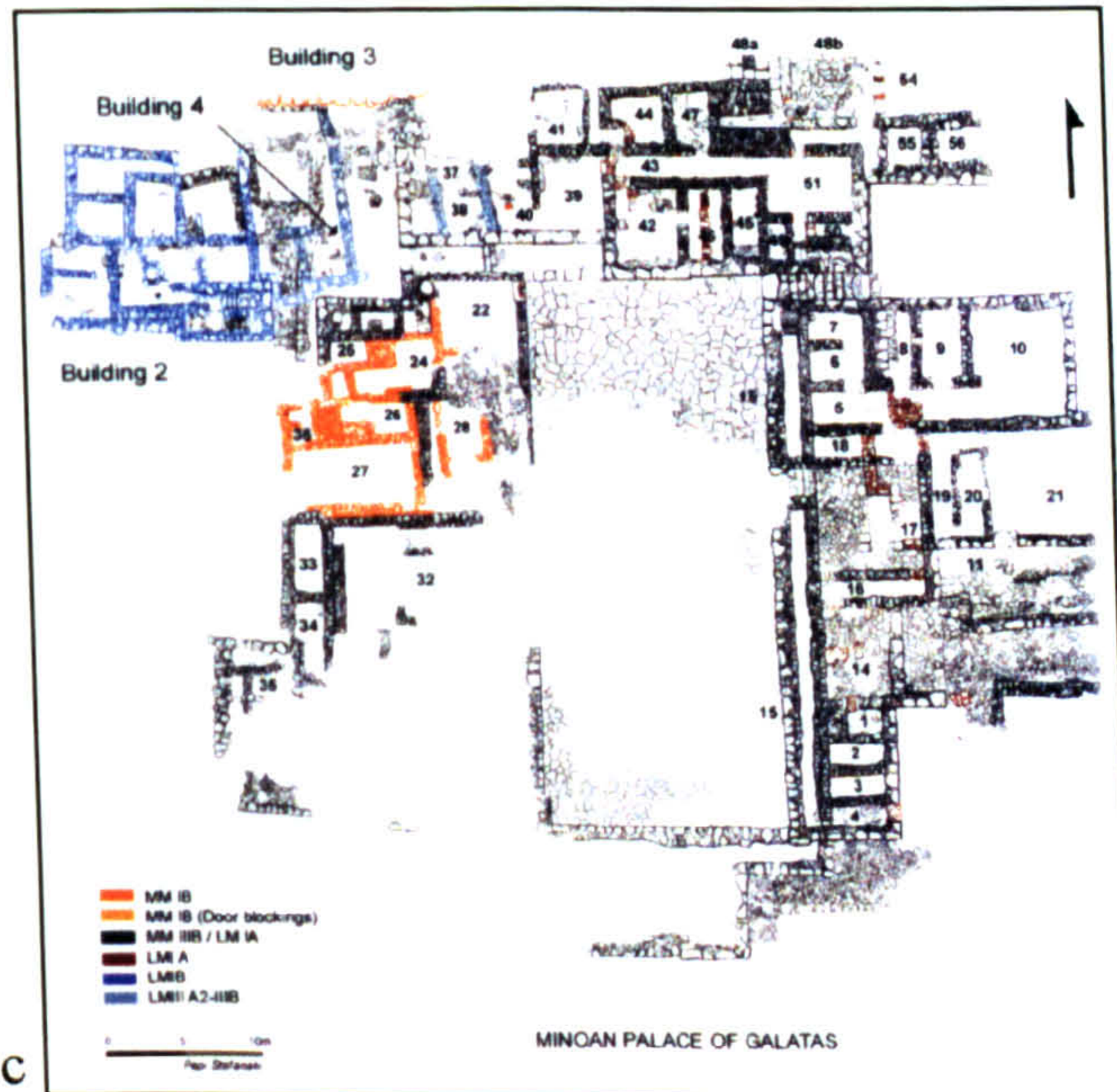
**Pl. 3.2:** Pottery shape charts for drinking, pouring and serving vessels from the following areas/deposits: (a) Palace Well (Early Minoan I), (b) West Court House (Early Minoan IIa), (c) E.II.7/K.I tests (Early Minoan IIa), (d) South Front (Early Minoan IIb) and (e) Upper East Well (Early Minoan III) (after Day and Wilson 2002: Fig. 8.4).



a



b



c

**Pl. 5.1:** Too many *palaces*? Ground plans of new *palaces* and/or *palace-type* buildings from (a) Makrygialos (after Davaras 1997: Plan 2), (b) Petras (after Tsipopoulou 2002: Plate XXXVIII) (c) Galatas (after Rethemiotakis 2002: Plate XII).



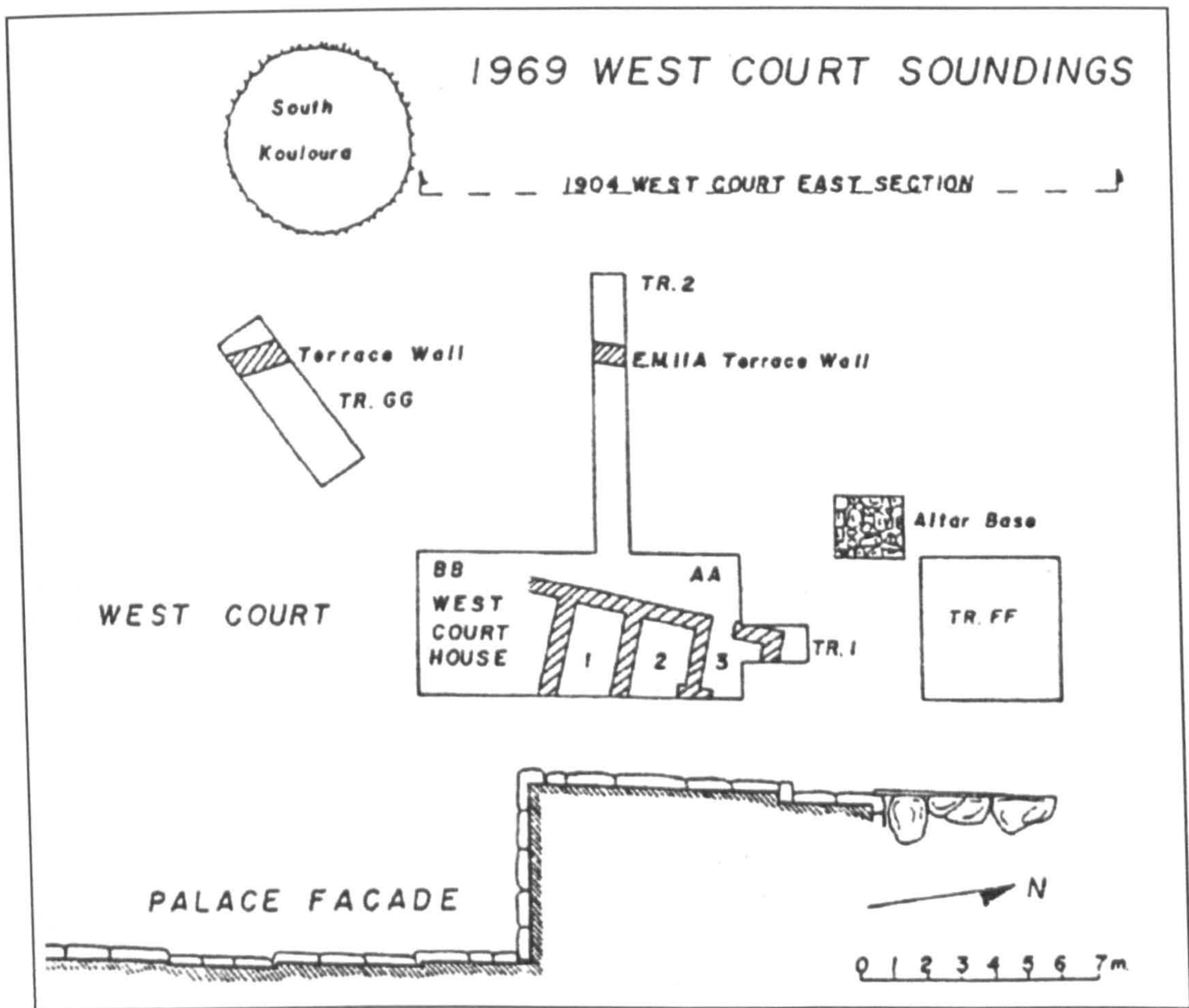


a

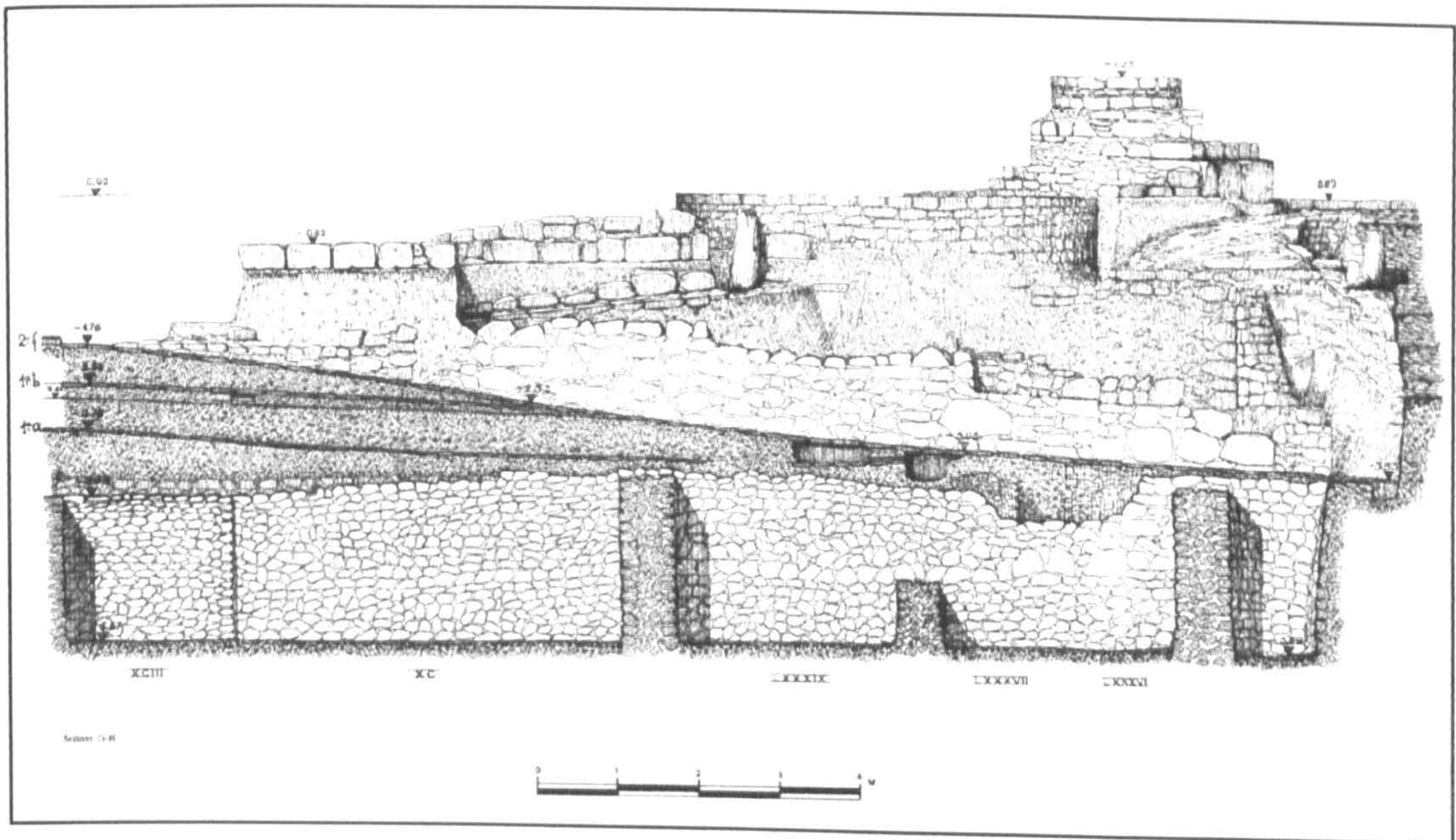


b

**Pl. 8.1:** Protopalatial Malia: (a) Ashlar masonry, Crypte Hypostyle, (b) Minoan Hall, Building A, Quartier Mu (after Schoep 2004a: figs. 6, 7).



**Pl. 9.1:** Knossos: Plan of 1969 West Court soundings (after Wilson 1984: Fig.1).

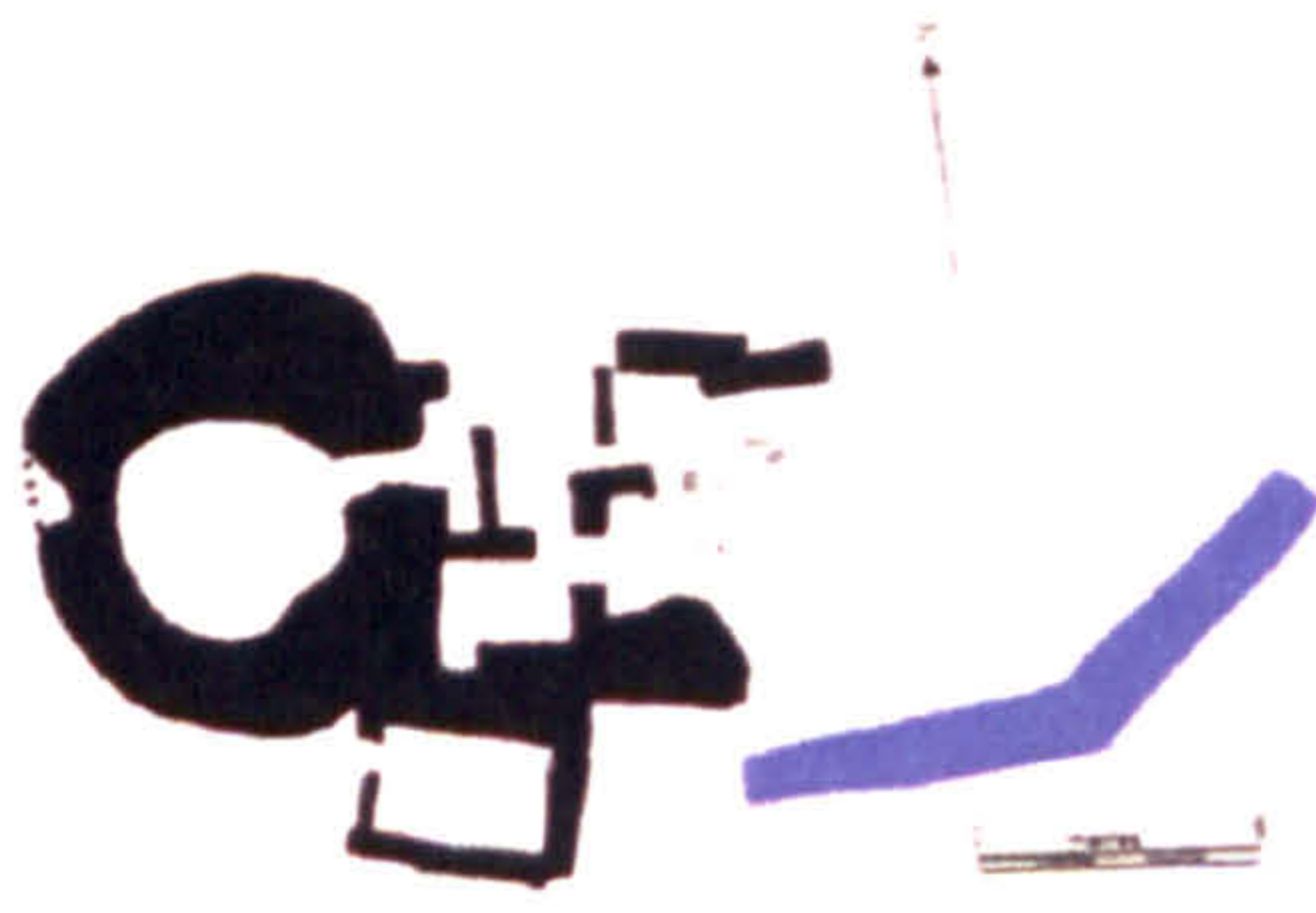


a

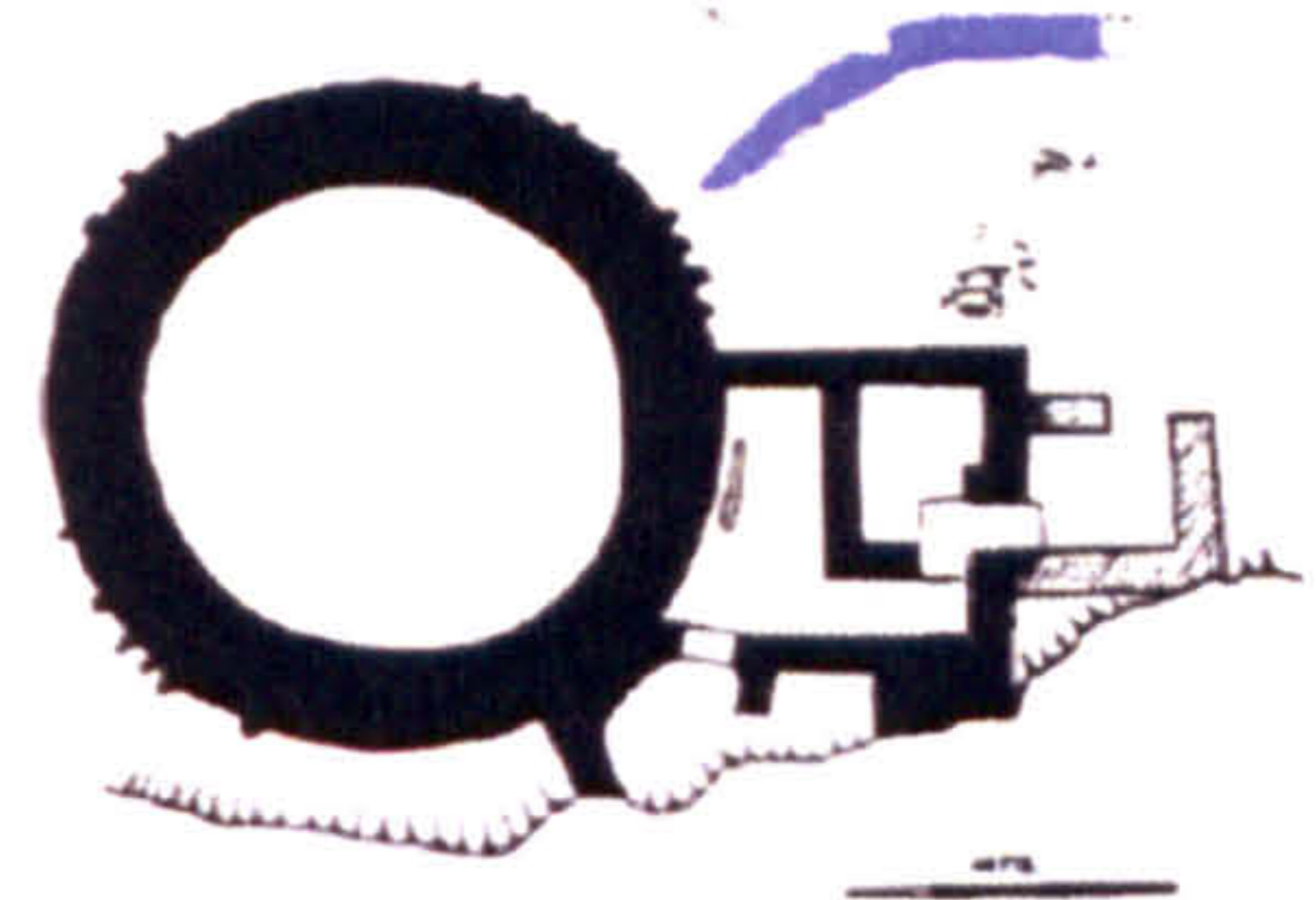


b

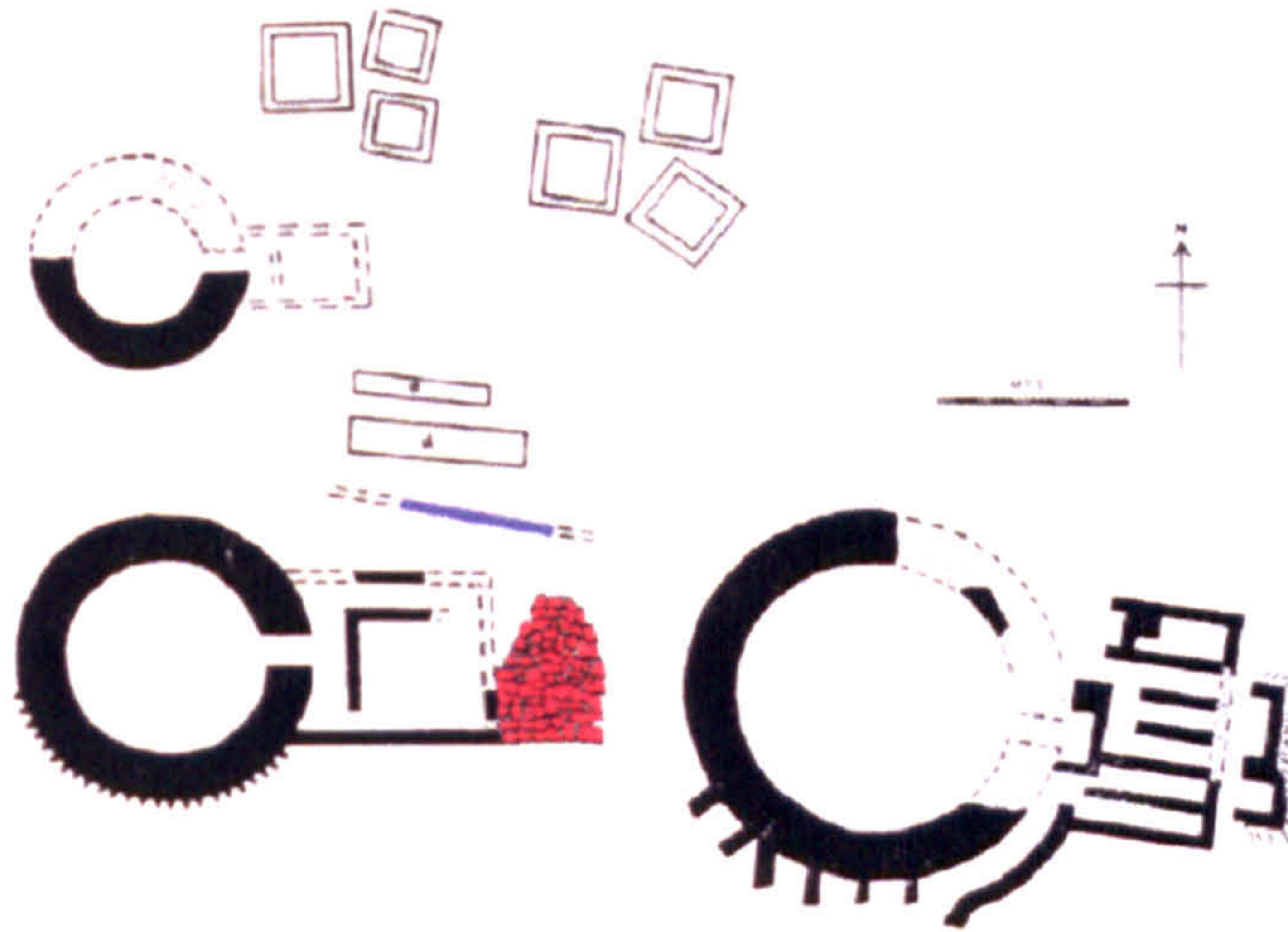
**Pl. 9.2:** Phaistos, excavation in the area of the ramps: (a) section G-H, (b) the three superimposed ramps ascending towards Piazzale I at the end of excavation and before restoration (after Carinci & La Rosa 2002: Figs. 2, 1).



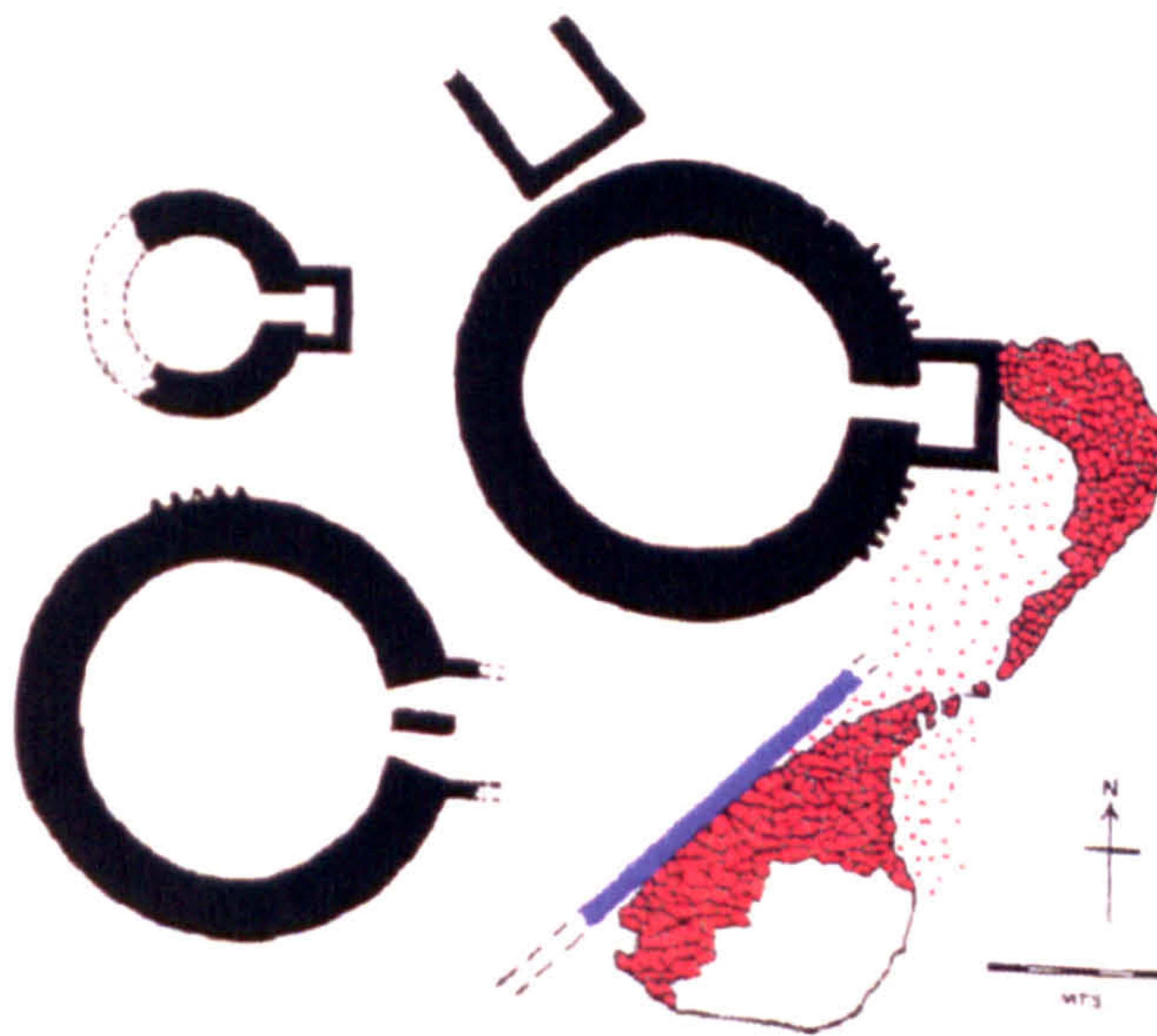
(a) Aghia Kyriaki



(b) Kamilari A

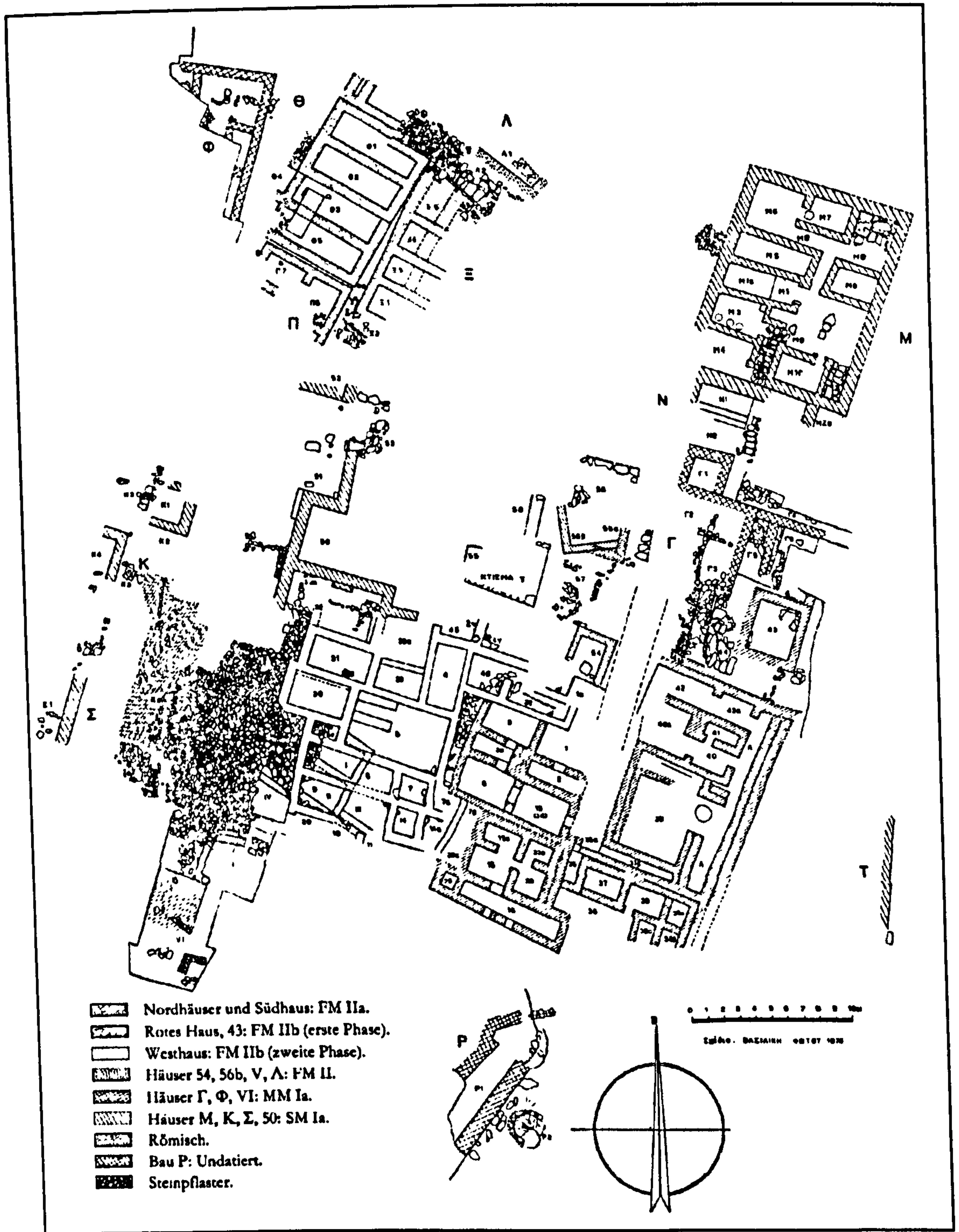


(c) Platanos



(d) Koumasa

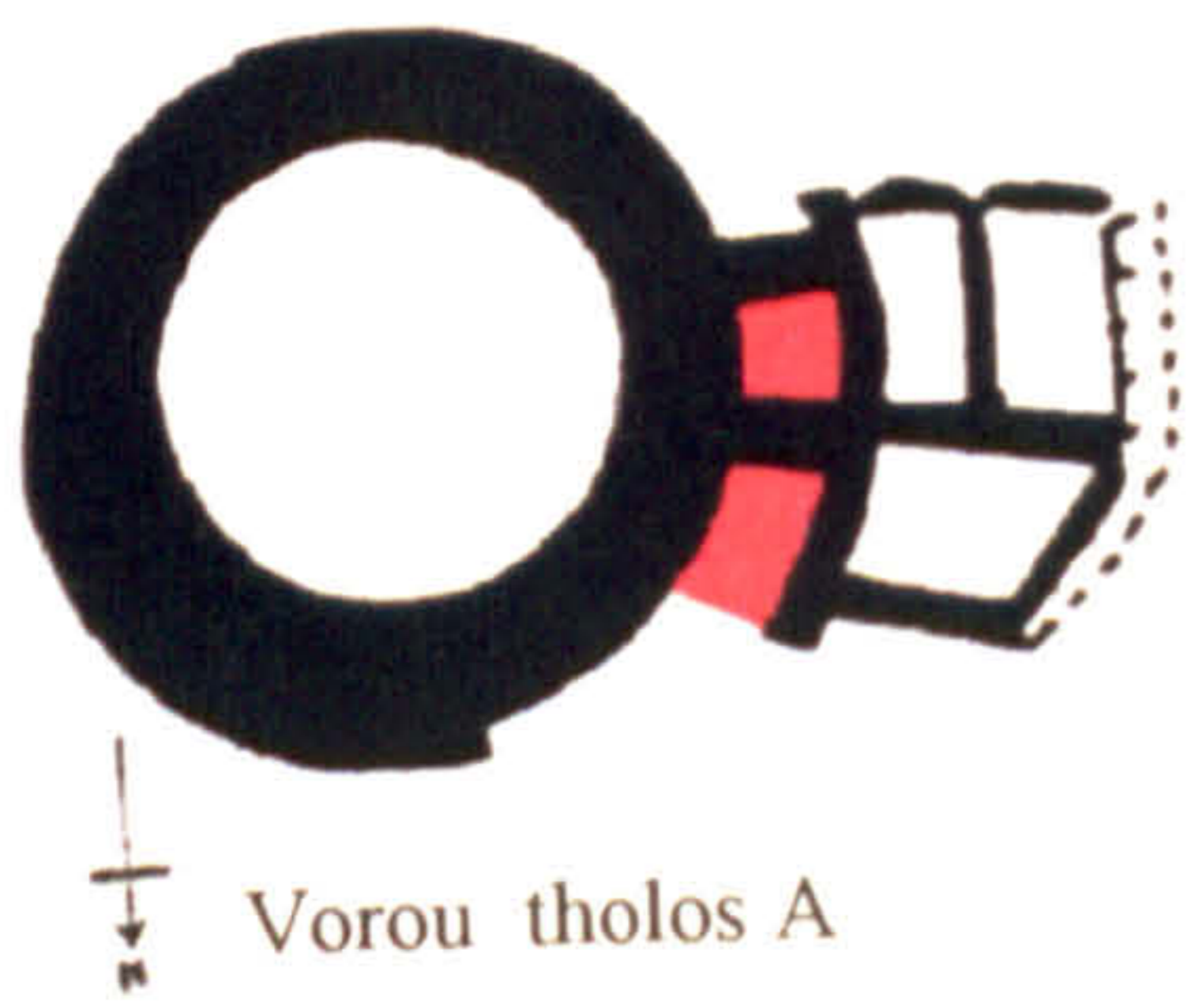
**Pl. 9.3:** *Tholoi* associated with enclosure walls (blue) and/or paved areas (red) (adapted from Branigan 1993).



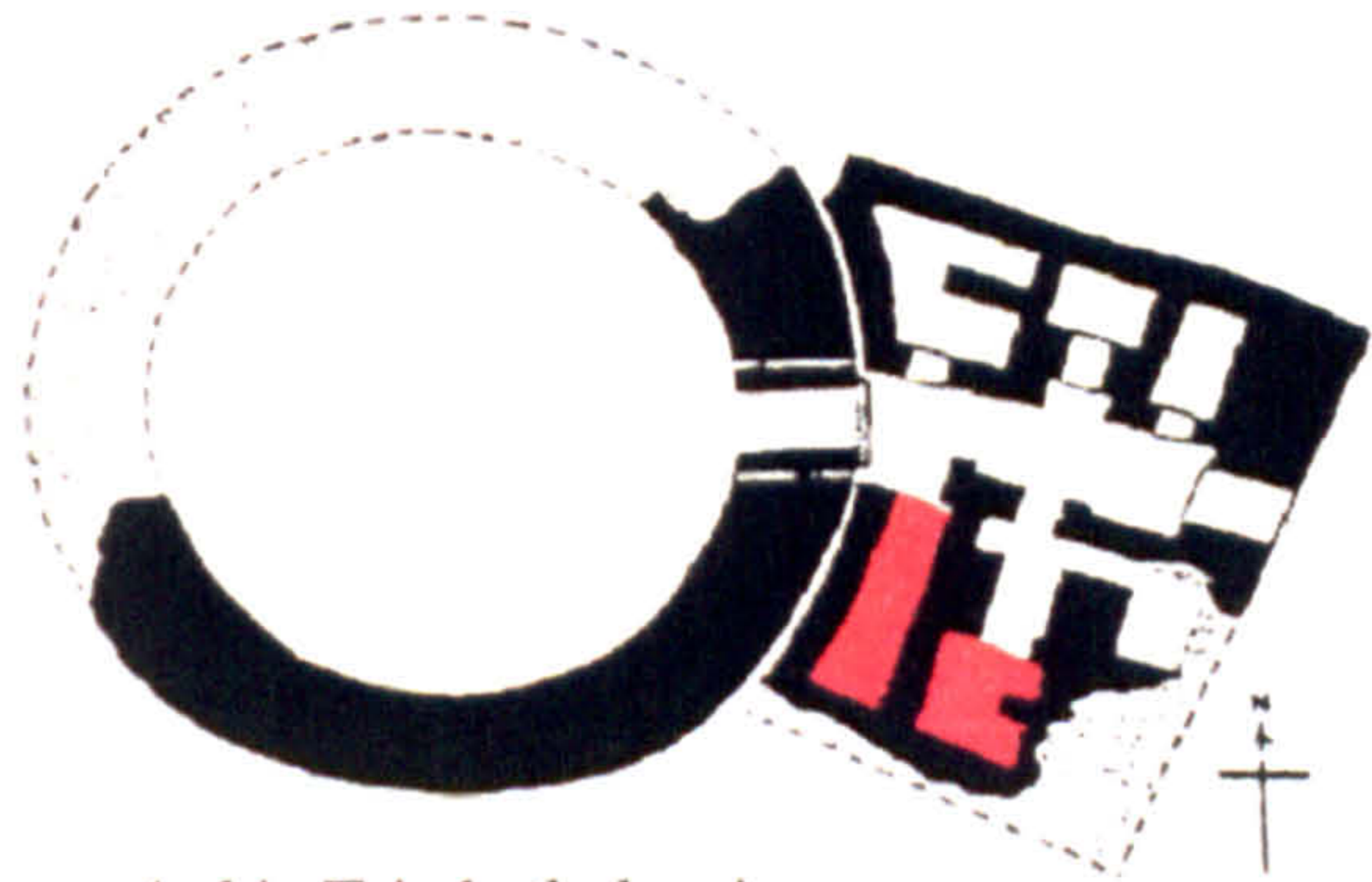
Pl. 9.4: Paved open area at Vasiliki (west side of the excavated part of the settlement)  
 (after Zois 1982: Fig. 2).



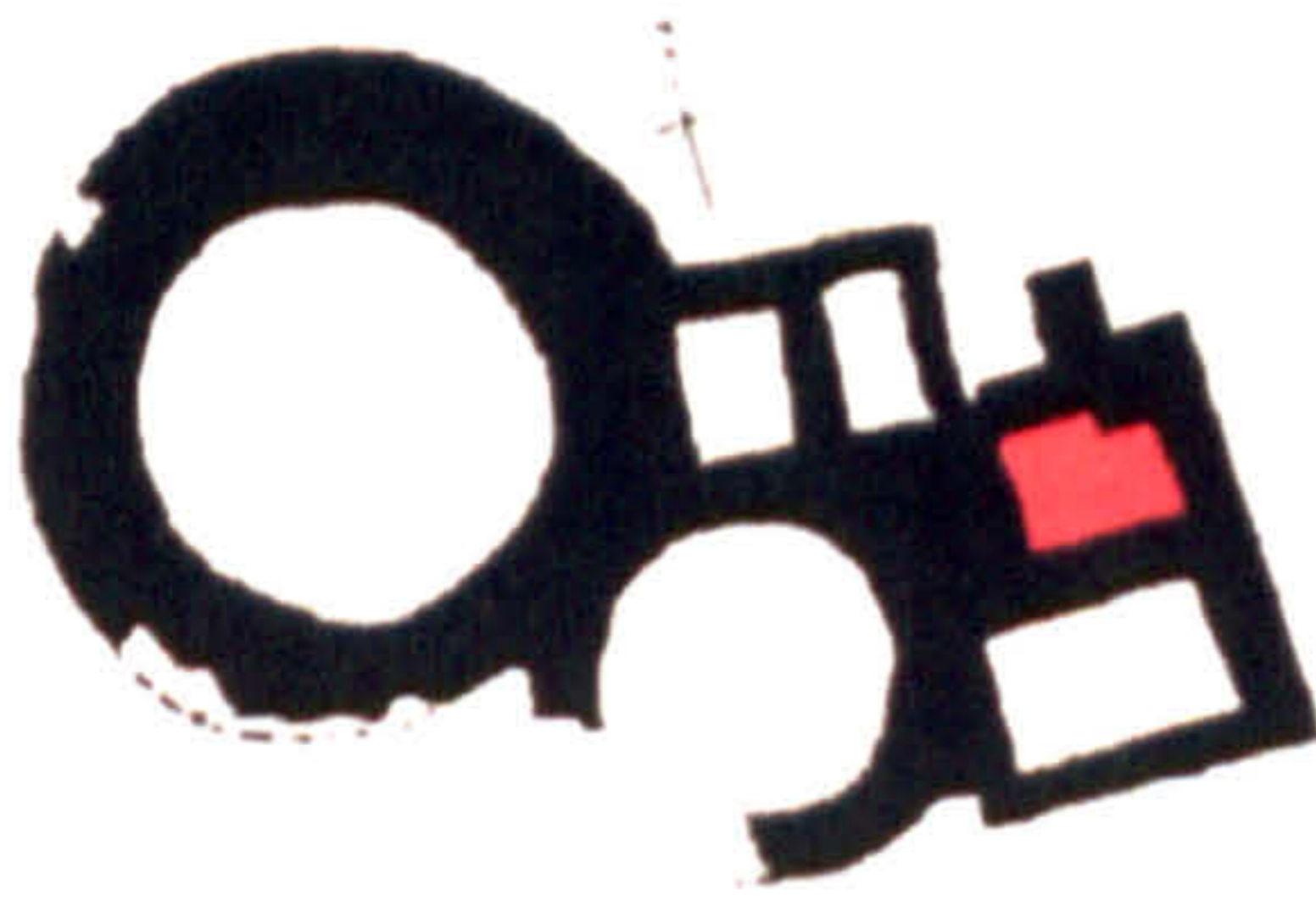
Pl. 9.5: Paved open area at Myrtos-Phournou Koryfi (south border of the settlement)  
(ground plan *adapted from* Warren 1972; detail *adapted from*  
[ccwf.cc.utexas.edu/~bruceh/cc307/minoan/images/2b.jpg](http://ccwf.cc.utexas.edu/~bruceh/cc307/minoan/images/2b.jpg)).



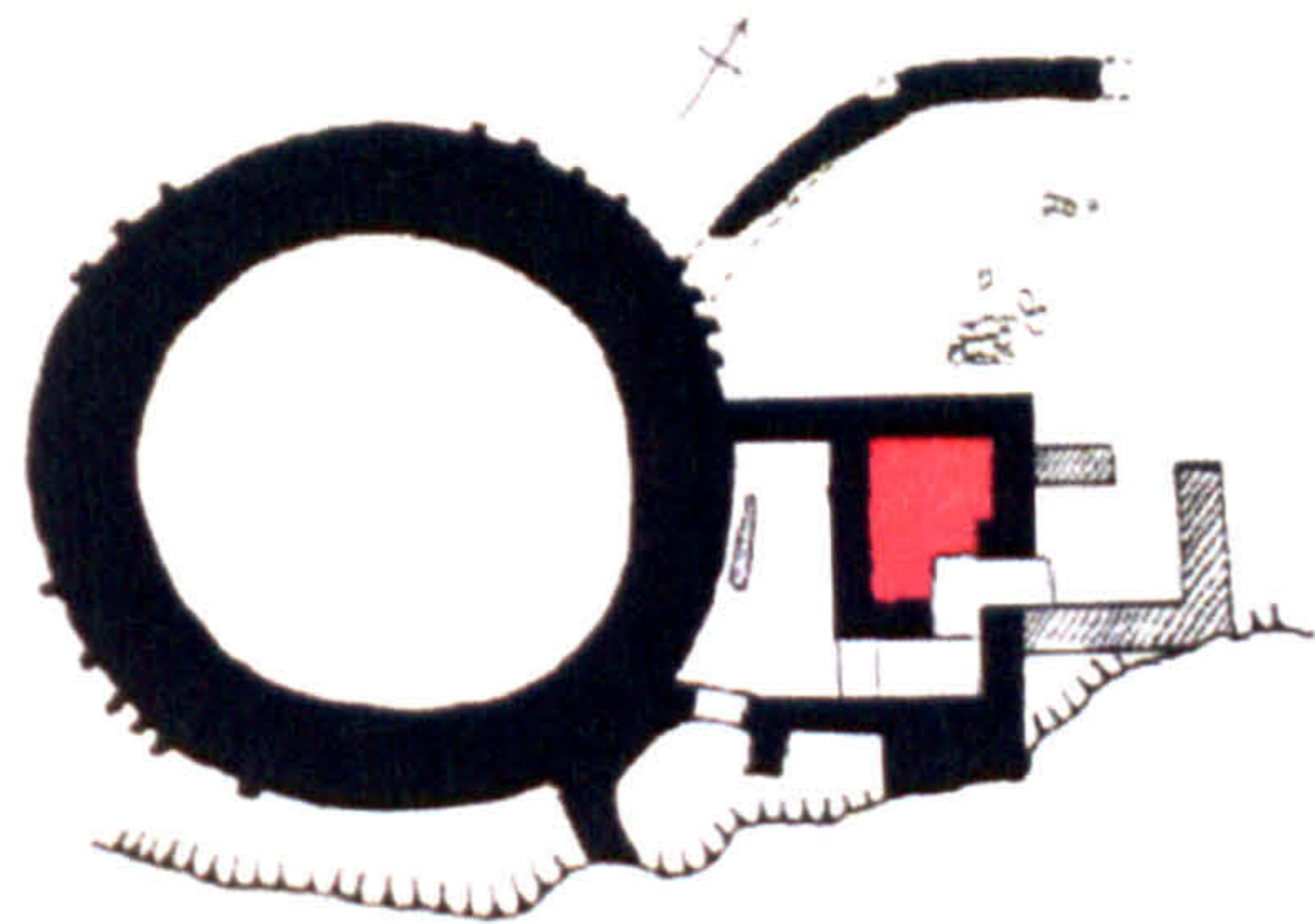
Vorou tholos A



Aghia Triada tholos A

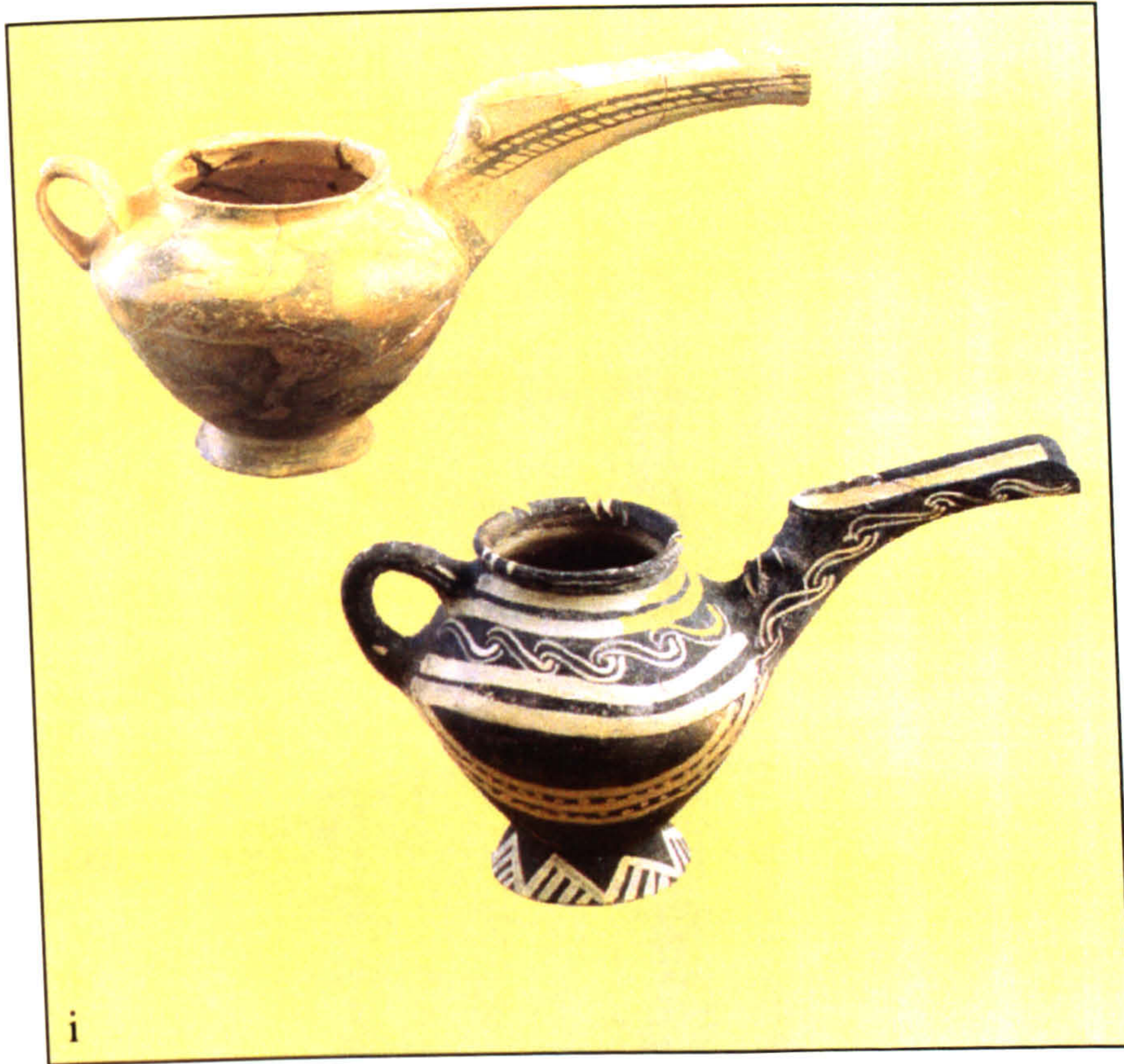


Lebena tholos Y2



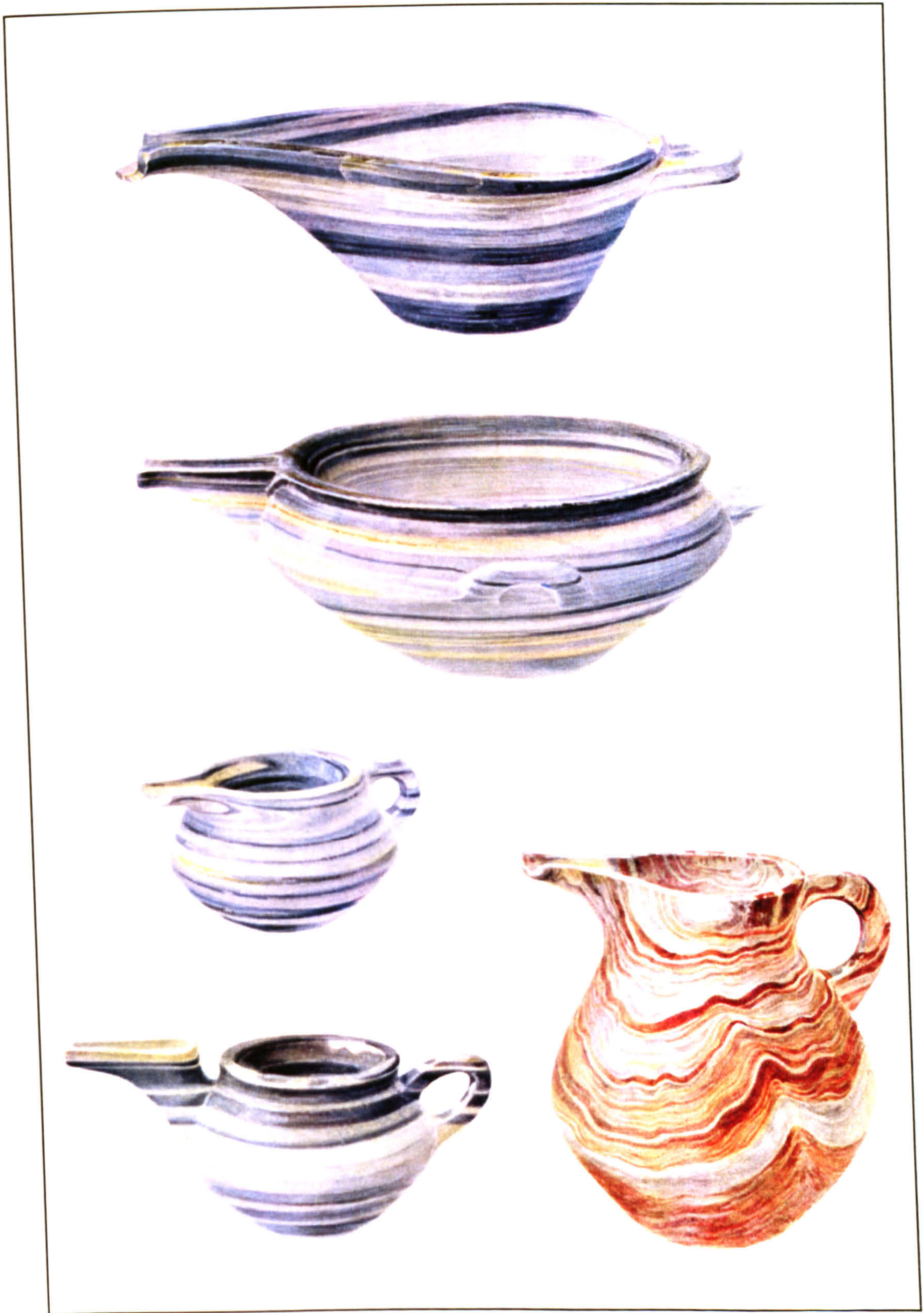
Kamilari tholos A

Pl. 9.6: *Tholoi* anterooms with concentrations of drinking cups (adapted from Branigan 1993).

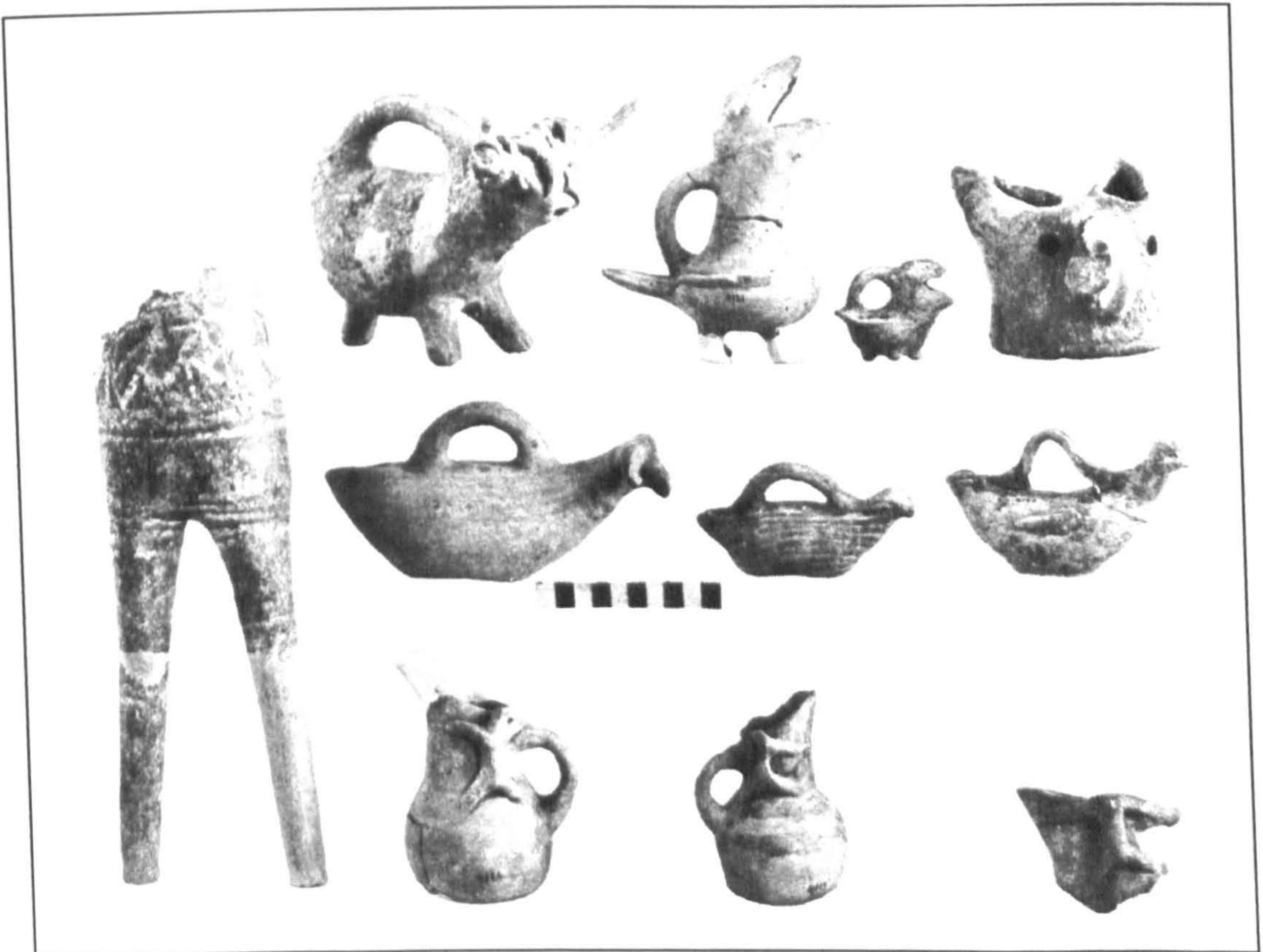
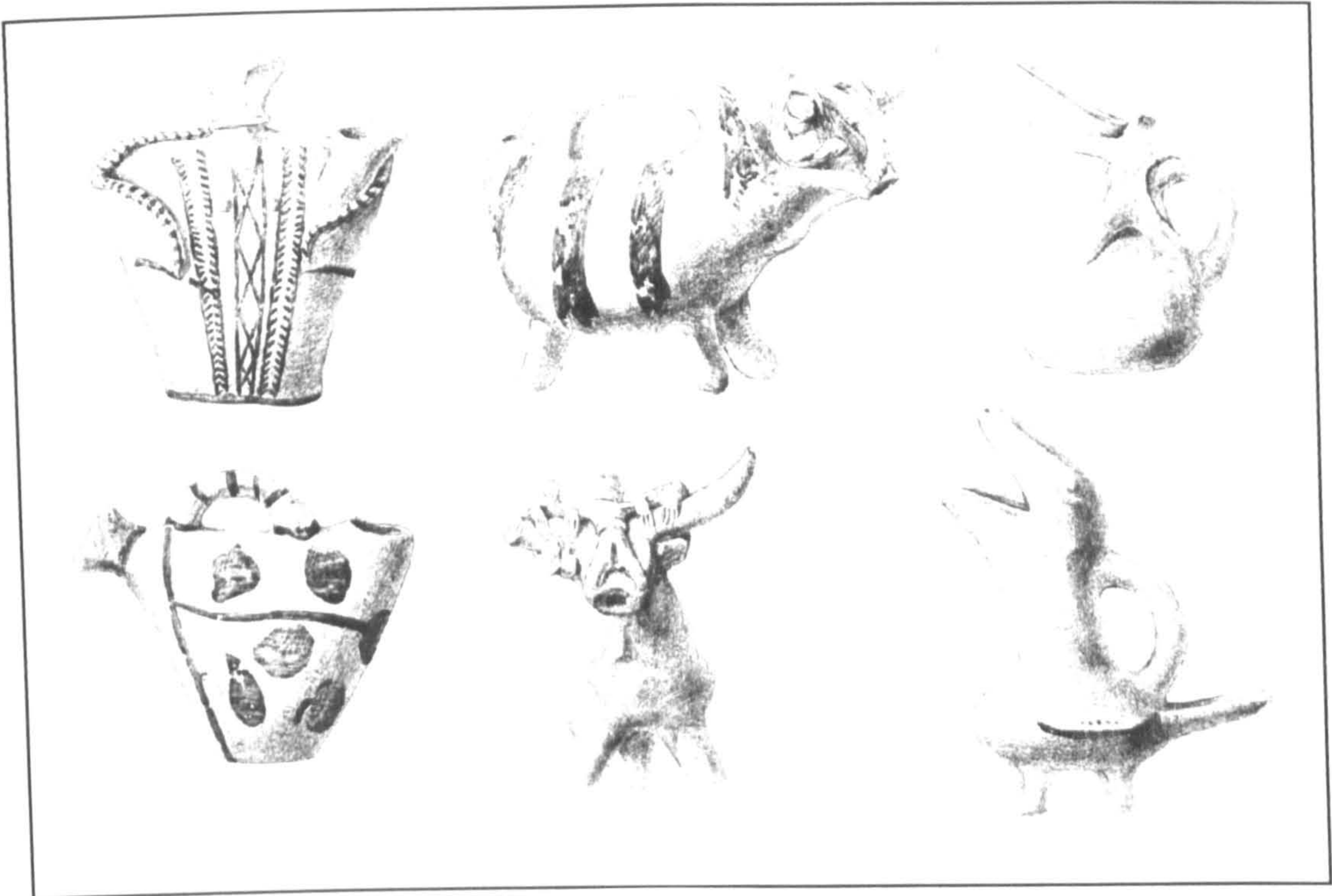


Pl. 9.7: The Minoan *Teapot*. (i) Herakleion Museum, (ii) Myrtos-Phournou Koryfi (after Warren 1972).

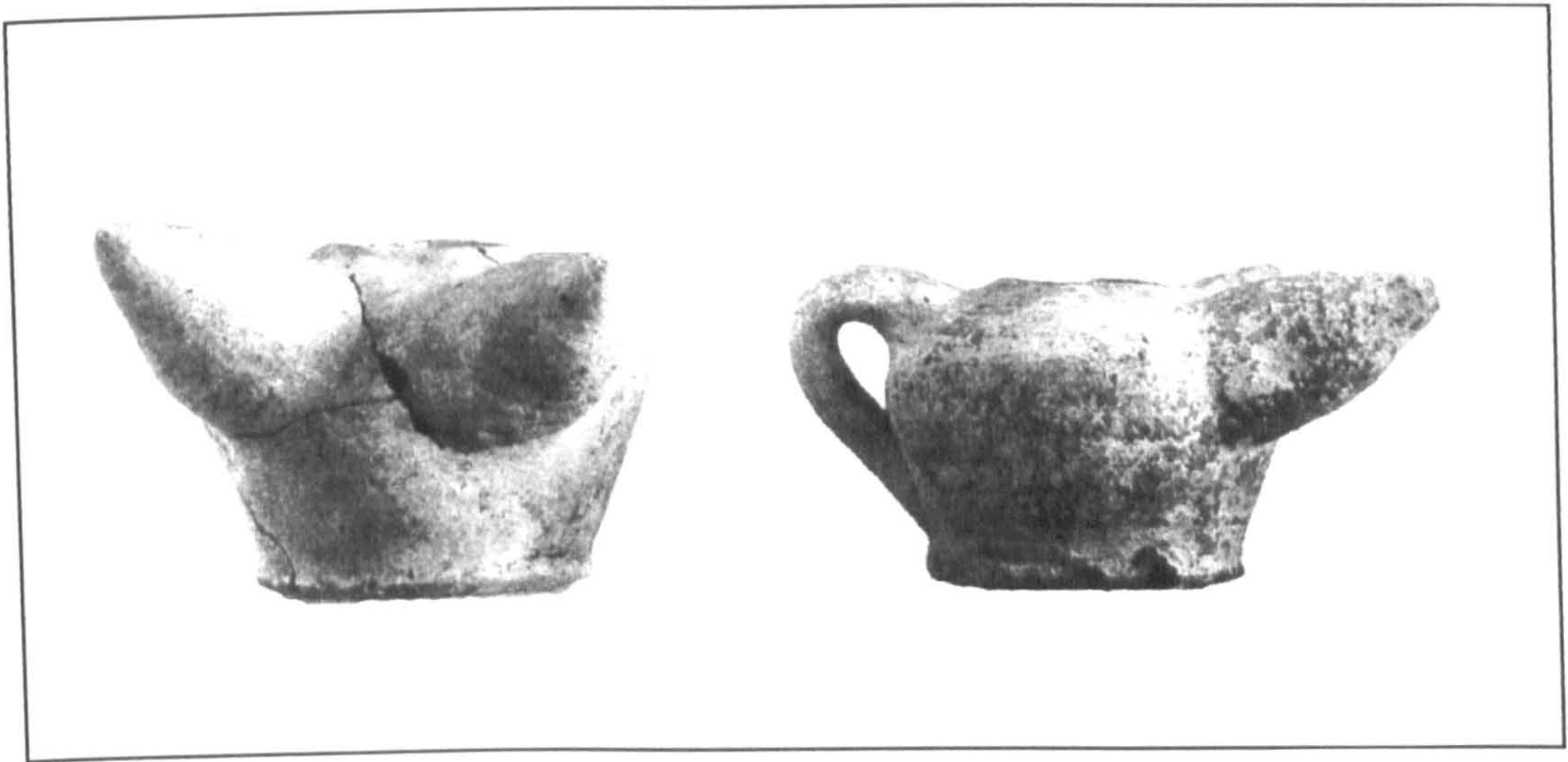




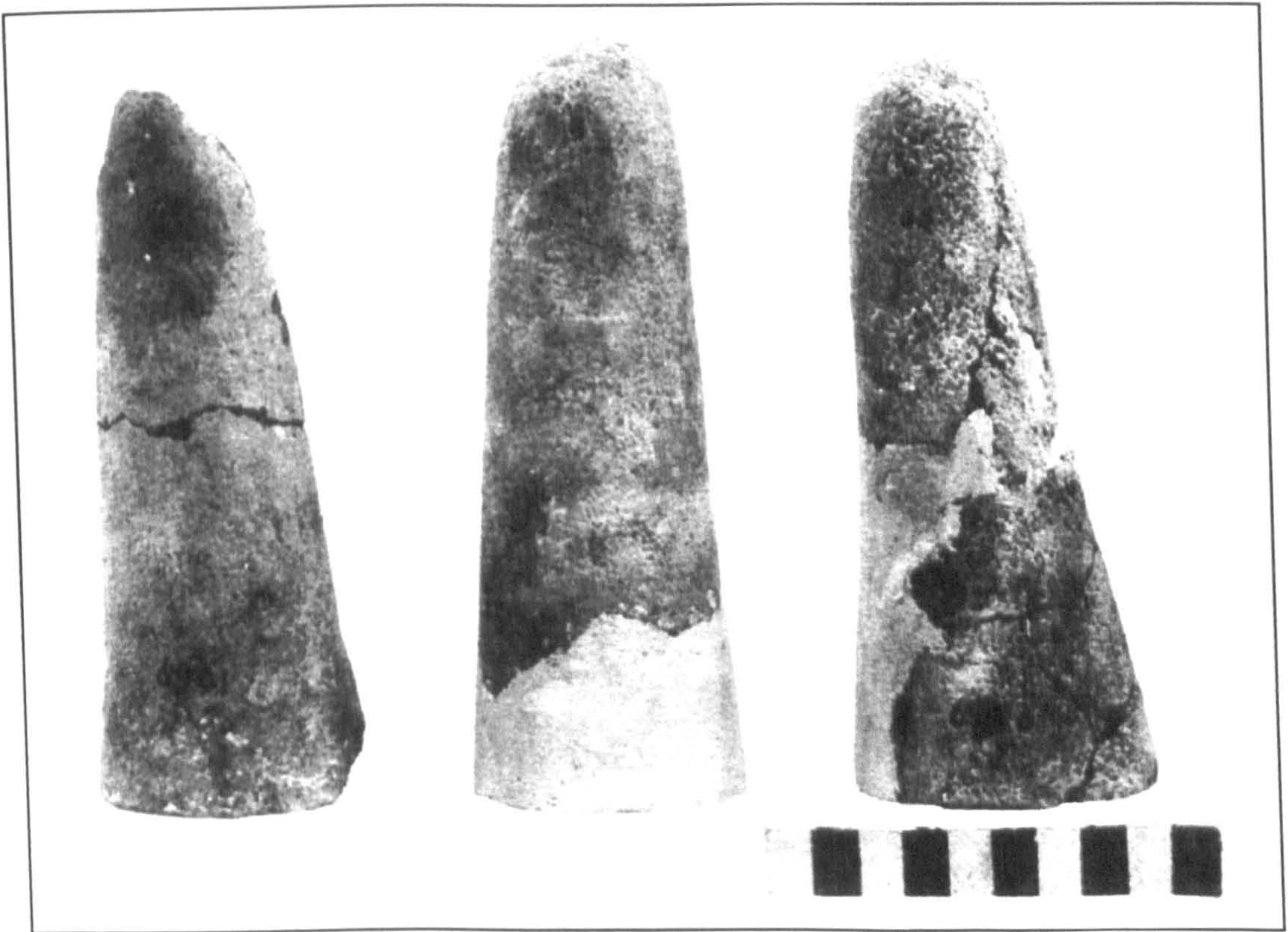
**Pl. 9.8:** Spouted stone vessels from the prepalatial cemetery at Mochlos  
(after Seager 1912: Pls. 1, 5, 6).



**Pl. 9.9:** Zoomorphic and anthropomorphic spouted vessels from Koumasa  
(after Xanthoudides 1924: Pls. 2, 28).

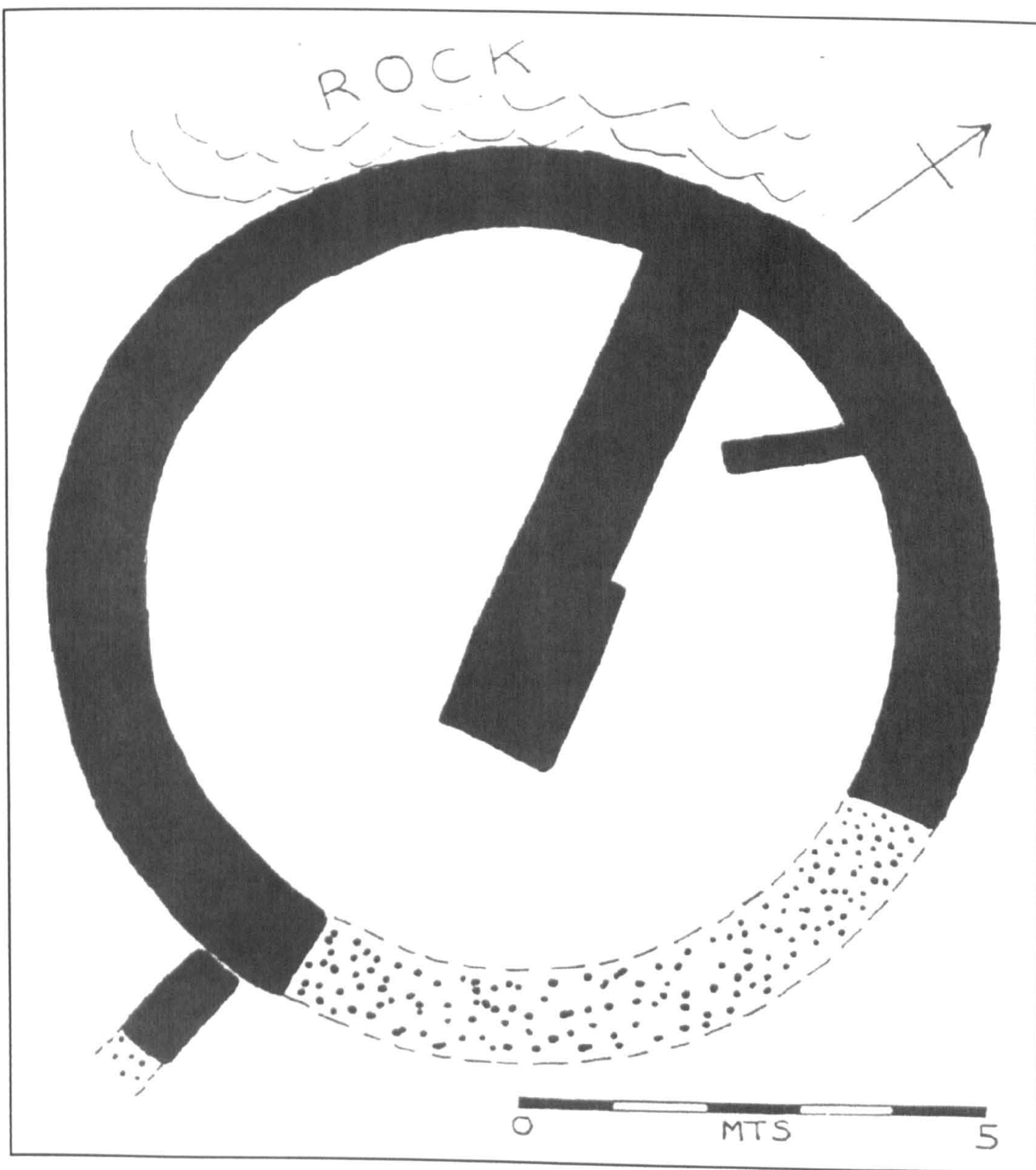


a



b

**Pl. 9.10:** Fertility symbols? (i) breasted jugs from Kalathiana, (ii) clay phalloi from Platanos (after Xanthoudides 1924: Pls. 45, 51).



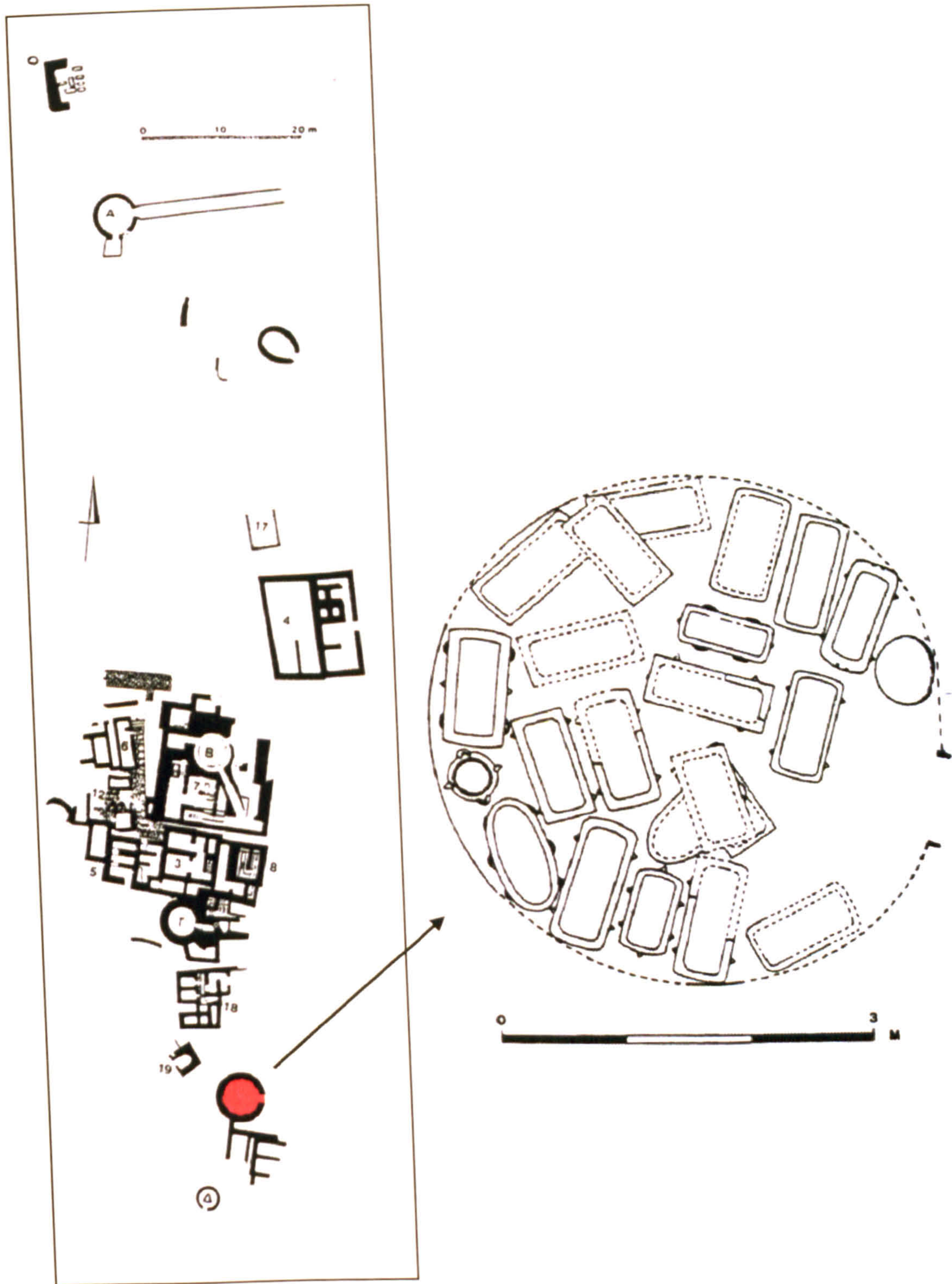
Pl.10.1: The tholos tomb at Kaminospelio (after Blackman & Branigan 1973: Pl. Γ').

<b>Tholos Tomb</b>	<b>Date</b>
Phourni Γ	EM III
Phourni E	MM Ia - II
Vorou A	EM III - MM II
Vorou B	MM I - II
Myrsini	EM III - MM I
Viannos	EM III - MM I
Gypsades	MM II - III
Krasi A	EM I - III
Drakones D	EM III - MM I
Aghia Kyriaki A	MM Ia/MM Ib
Aghia Triada A	EM I - MM II
Aghia Tridha B	EM I - MM
Apesokari B	MM I
Siva S	EM I - MM I
Porti II	EM III - MM II
<b>House Tomb</b>	
Phourni 5	EM III - MM Ia
Phourni 6	EM III - MM Ib
Phourni 7	MM Ia
Phourni 9	MM Ia - Ib
Phourni 12	EM III - MM
Phourni 16	MM Ia
Phourni 18	EM III - MM II
Phourni 19	EM III - MM II
Bairia Gazi	MM Ia
Mallia (House of the Dead)	MM I
Vasiliki	MM I
Zakros A	MM I(a?)
Zakros B	MM I(a?)
Gournia I	MM Ia - II
Gournia VII	post - EM II?
Gournia VIII	post - EMII?
Mochlos Γ	MM I

**Pl.10.2a:** Prepalatial Larnax and Pithos burials: Tholoi and House Tombs  
(after Papadatos 1999).

<b>Burial Cave</b>	
Pyrgos	EM I – II
Arkalies Viannos	Unknown
Galana Charakia Viannos	EM III - MM I
Siteia	MM I
Mavro Avlaki, Zakros	EM III - MM I
<b>Open air</b>	
Mallia	MM Ia
Sphoungaras	MM I
Pachya Ammos	EM III - MM – LM
Galana Charakia	EM III - MM I
Aghios Myron	EM III - MM Ia
Nopigeia Kissamou	EM IIa

**Pl.10.2b:** Prepalatial Larnax and Pithos burials: Burial caves and open-air sites  
(after Papadatos 1999).

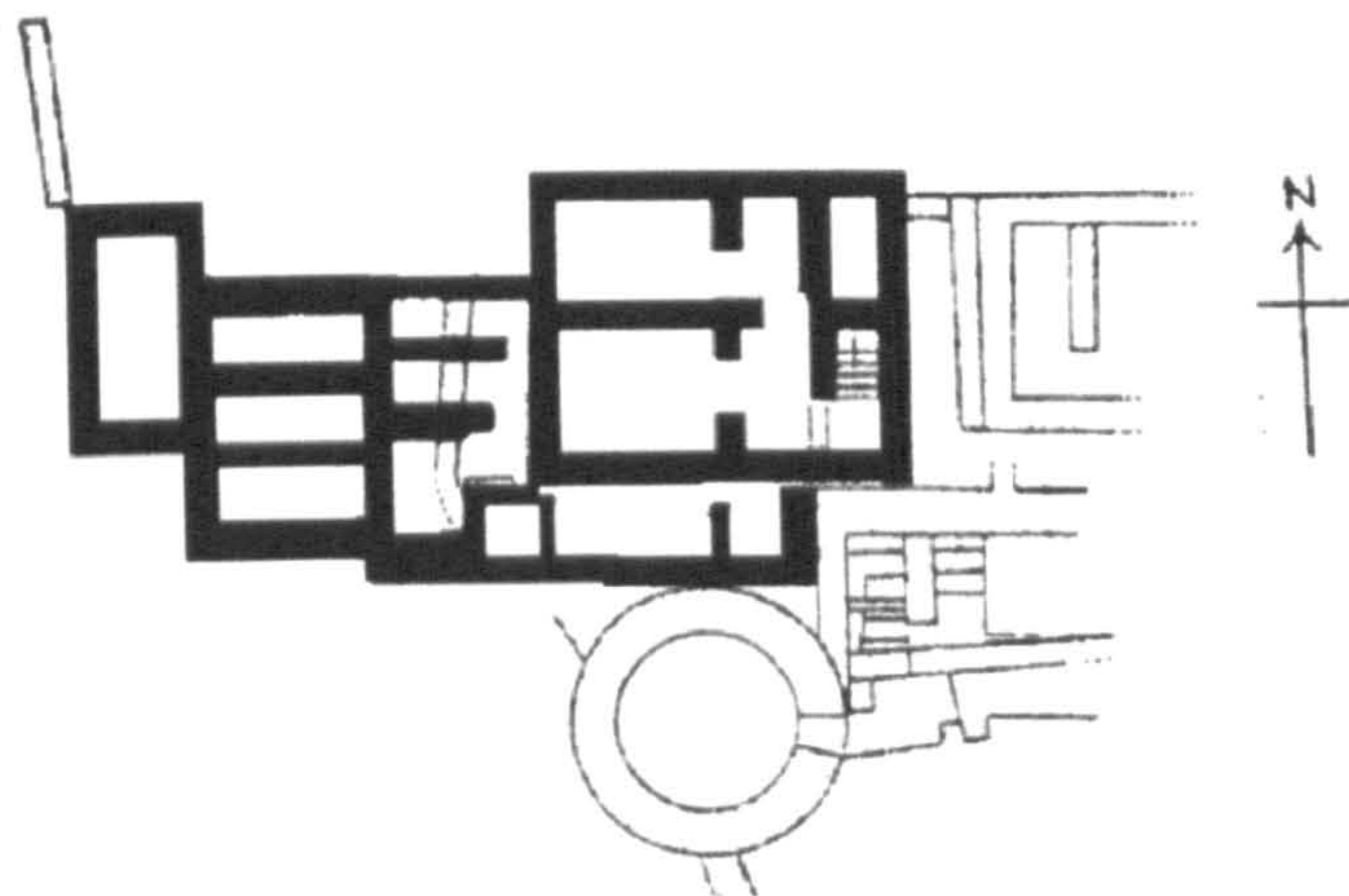


Pl. 10.3: Pithos and Larnax burials, Tholos E at Archanes (Plan of Archanes *after* Soles 1992: Fig. 59, Plan of Tholos E *after* Branigan 1993: Fig. 4.7).

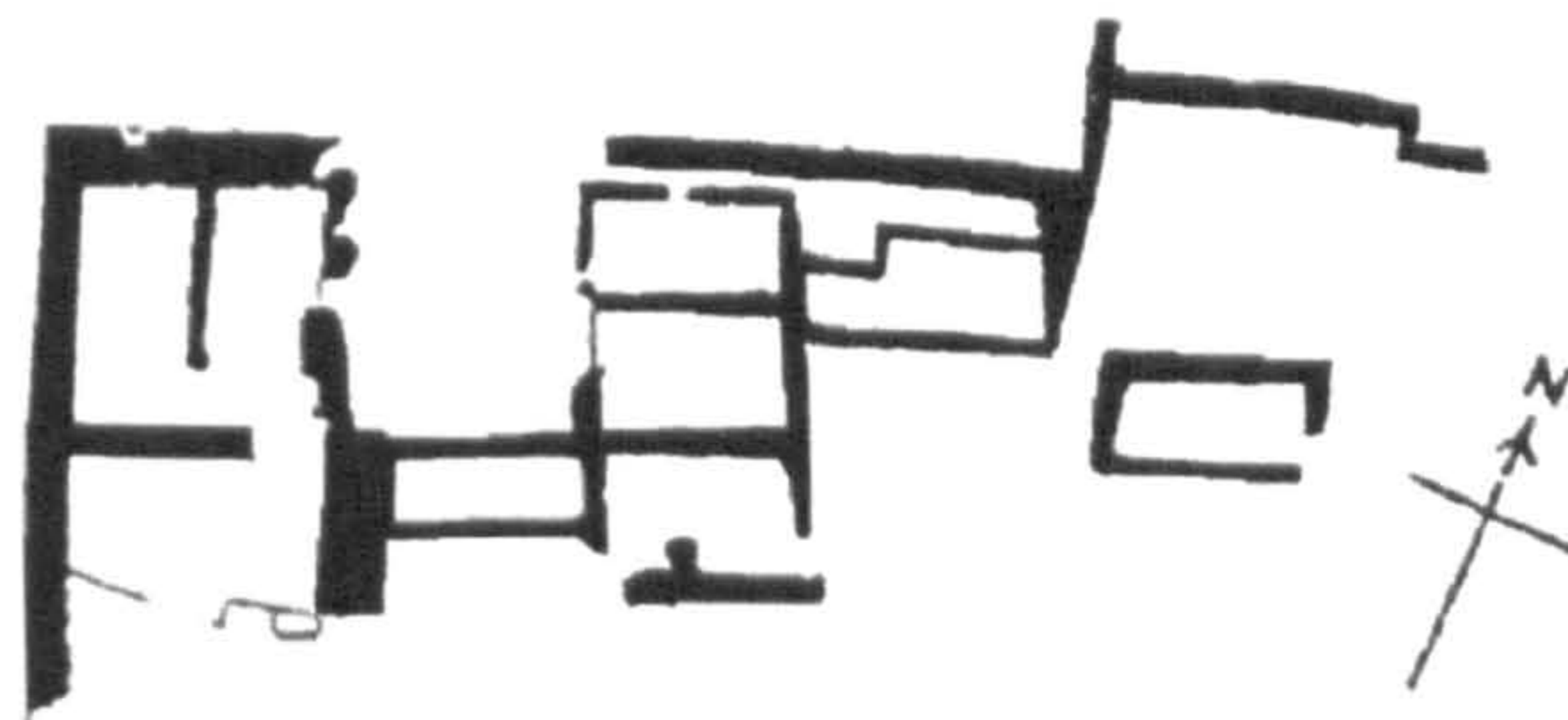


**Pl. 10.4:** *Adding rooms to the original unit. House tombs (adapted from Soles 1992: Figs. 16, 20, 11, 62).*

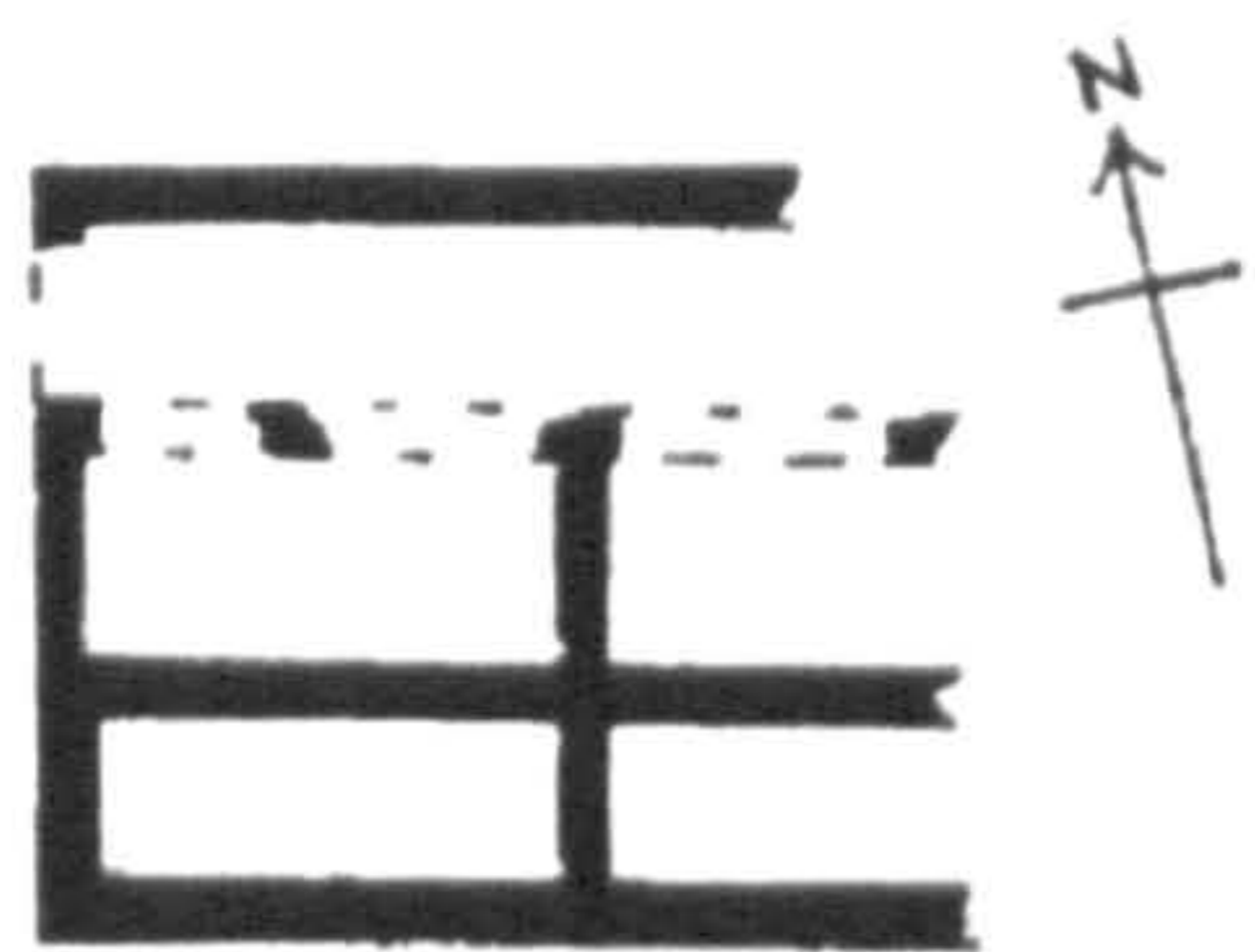




(a) Archanes Tomb 3

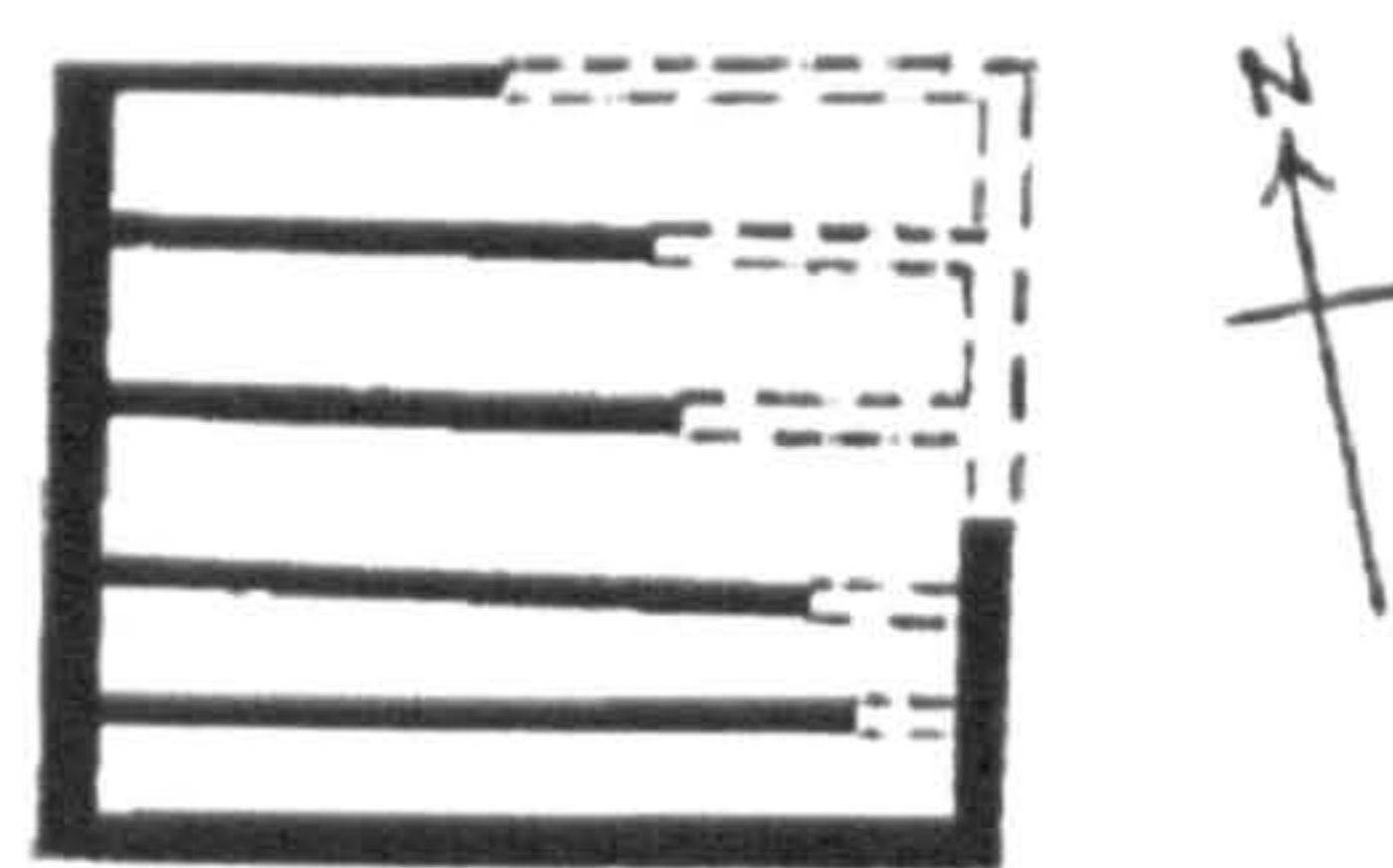


(b) Mallia House of the Dead



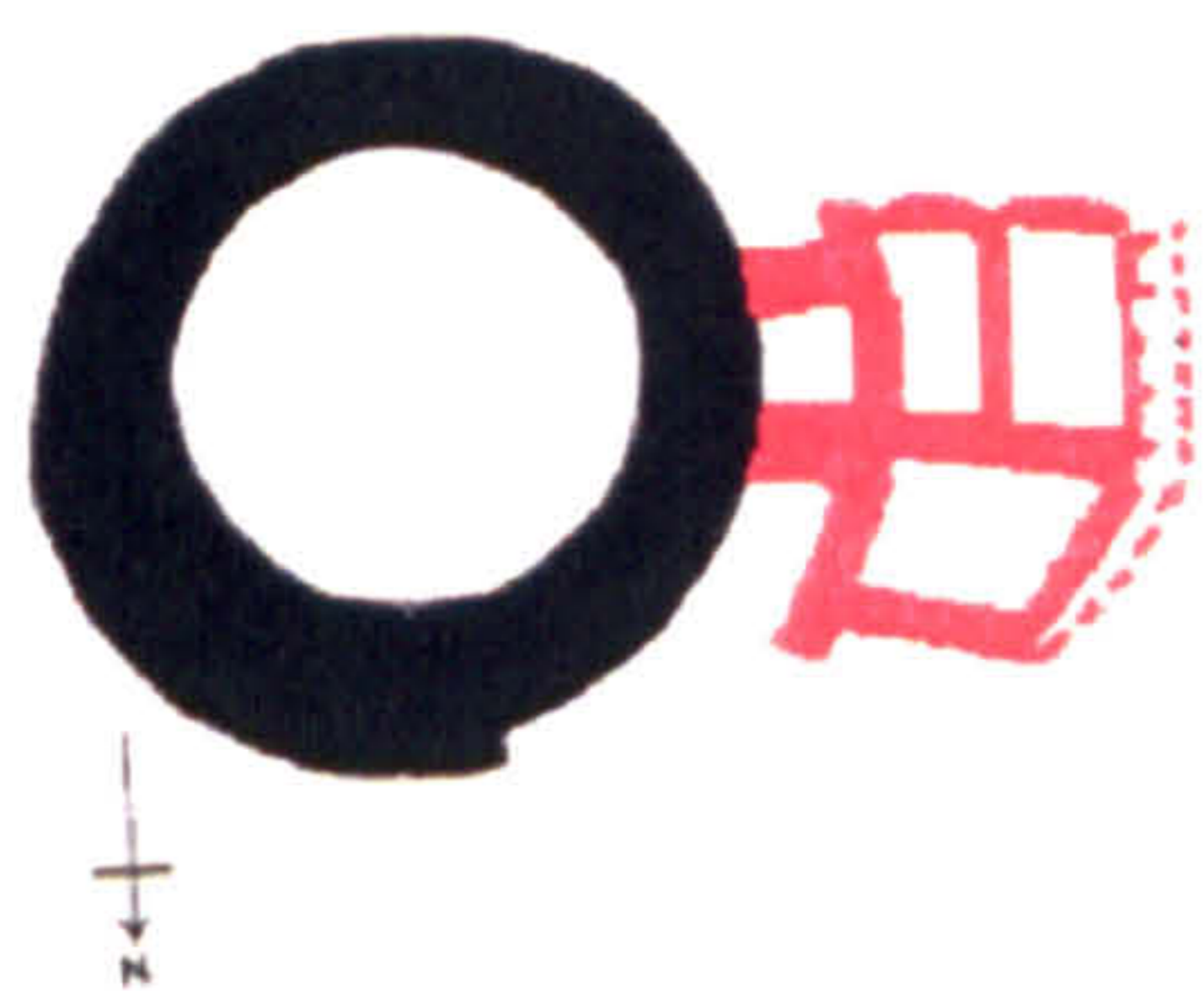
(c) Palaikastro Tomb V

0 5 m

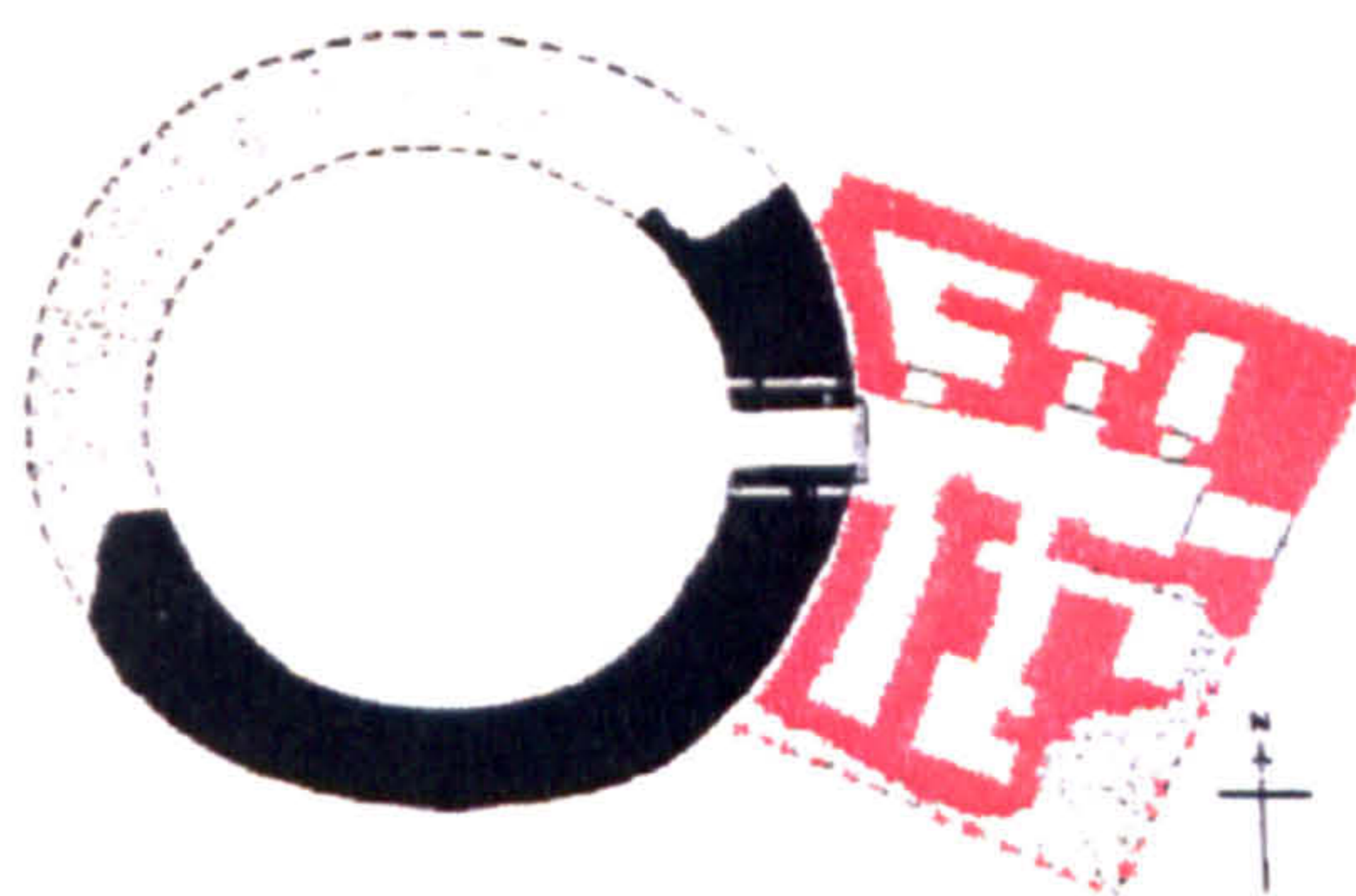


(d) Palaikastro Tomb VII

Pl. 10.5: House tombs with subdivided interiors (after Soles 1992: Figs, 60, 70a, 74b, 76).



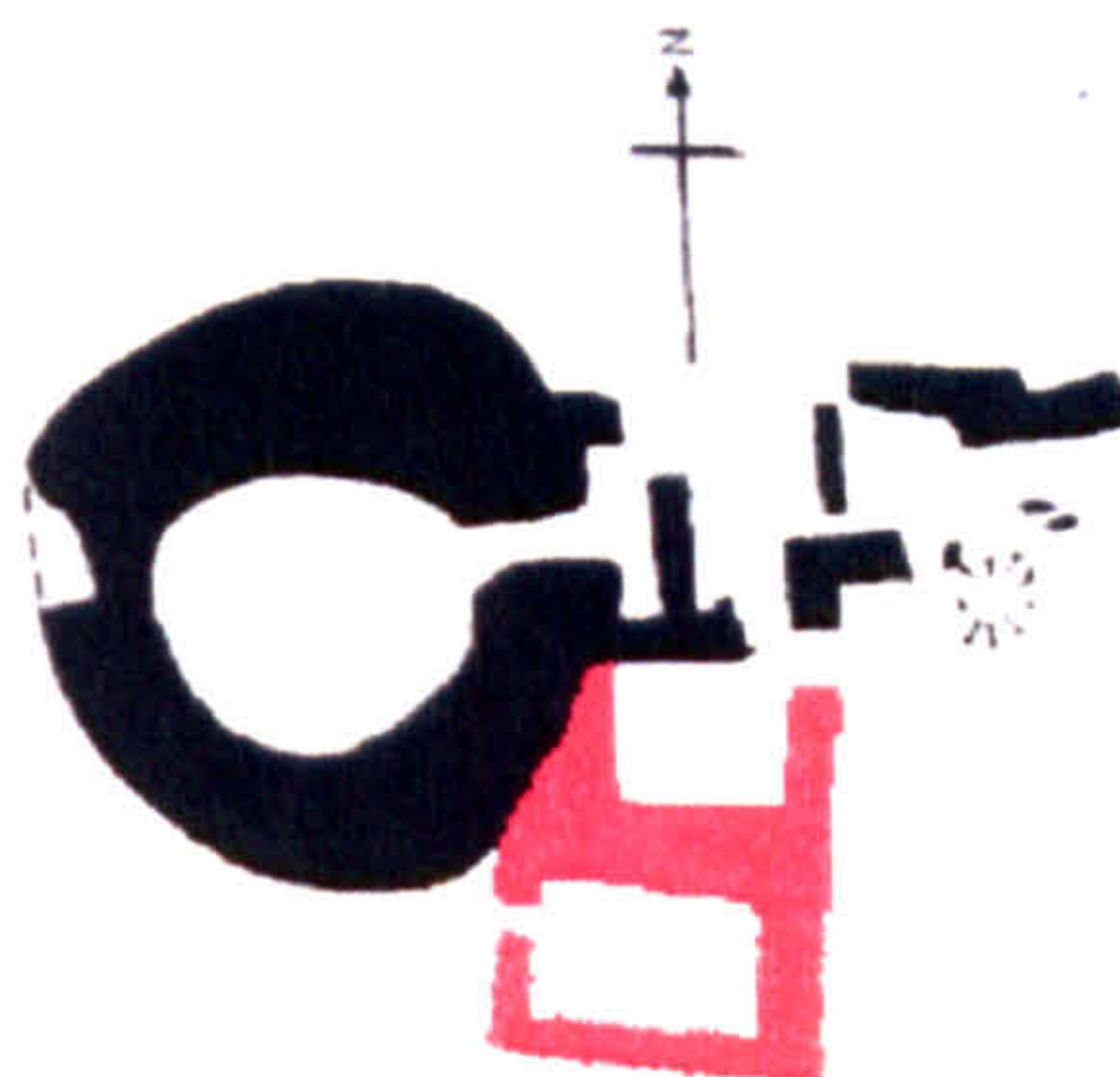
(a) Vorou, Tholos A



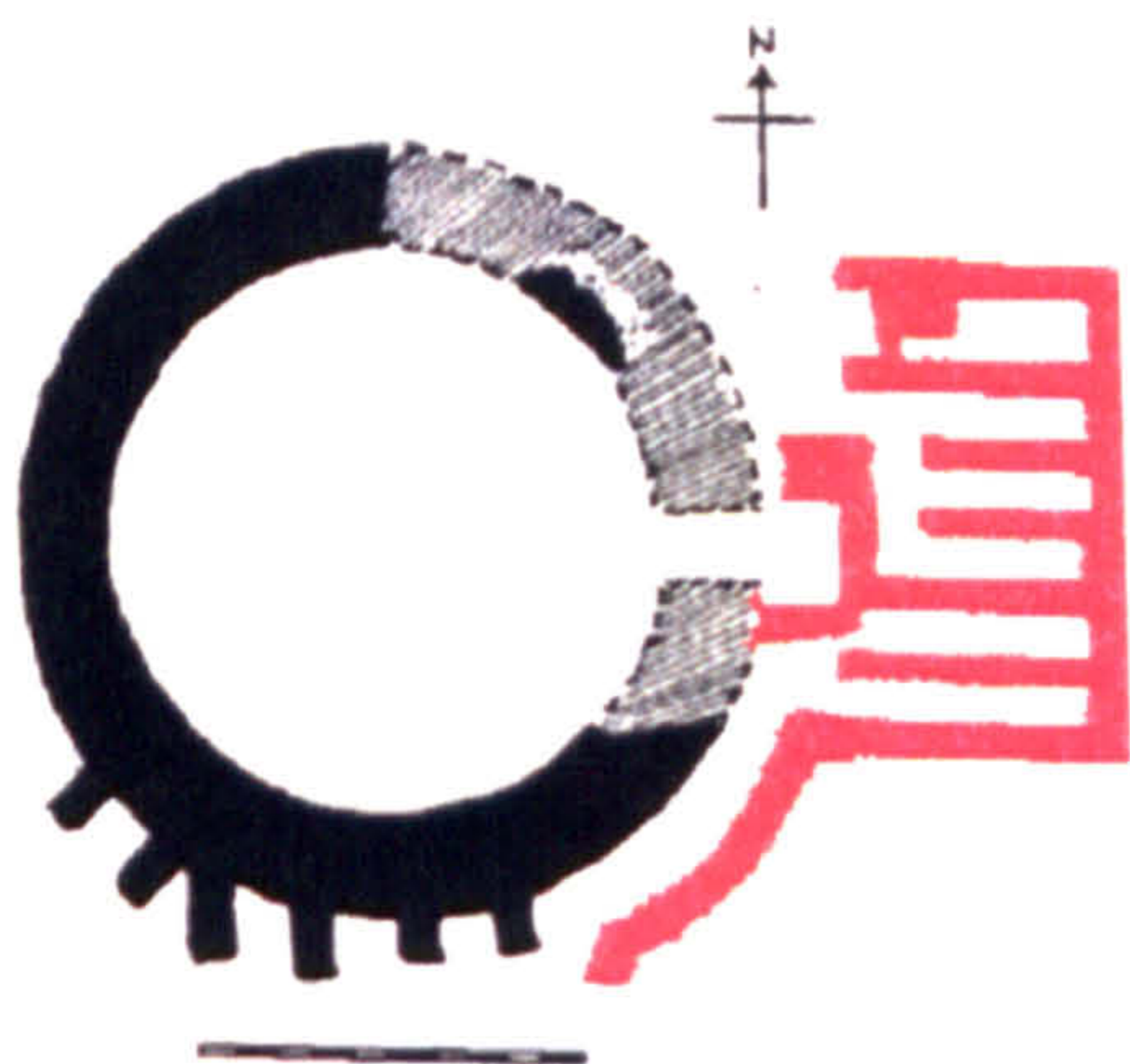
(b) Aghia Triadha, Tholos A



(c) Lebena, Tholos Y2

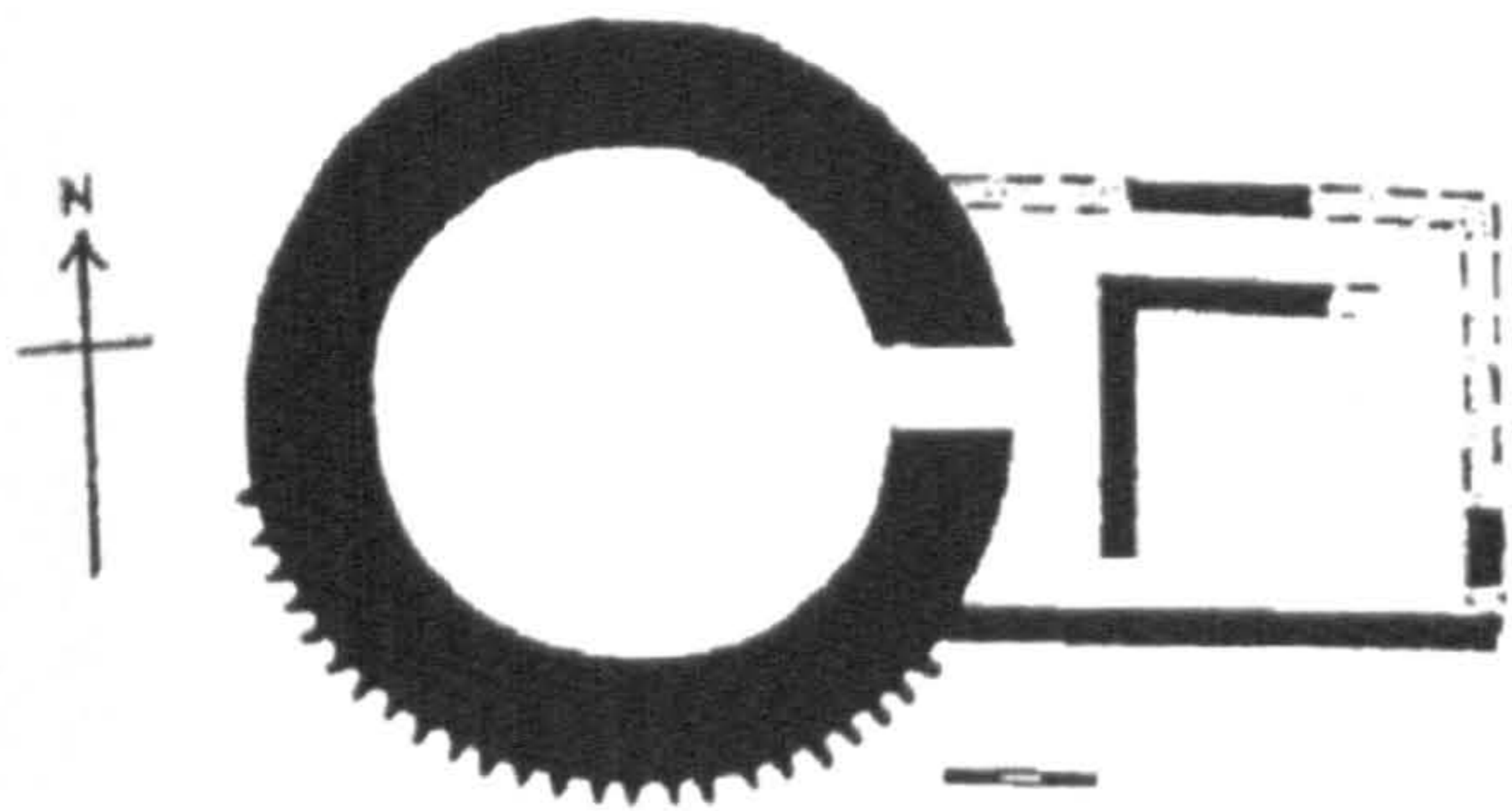


(d) Aghia Kyriaki

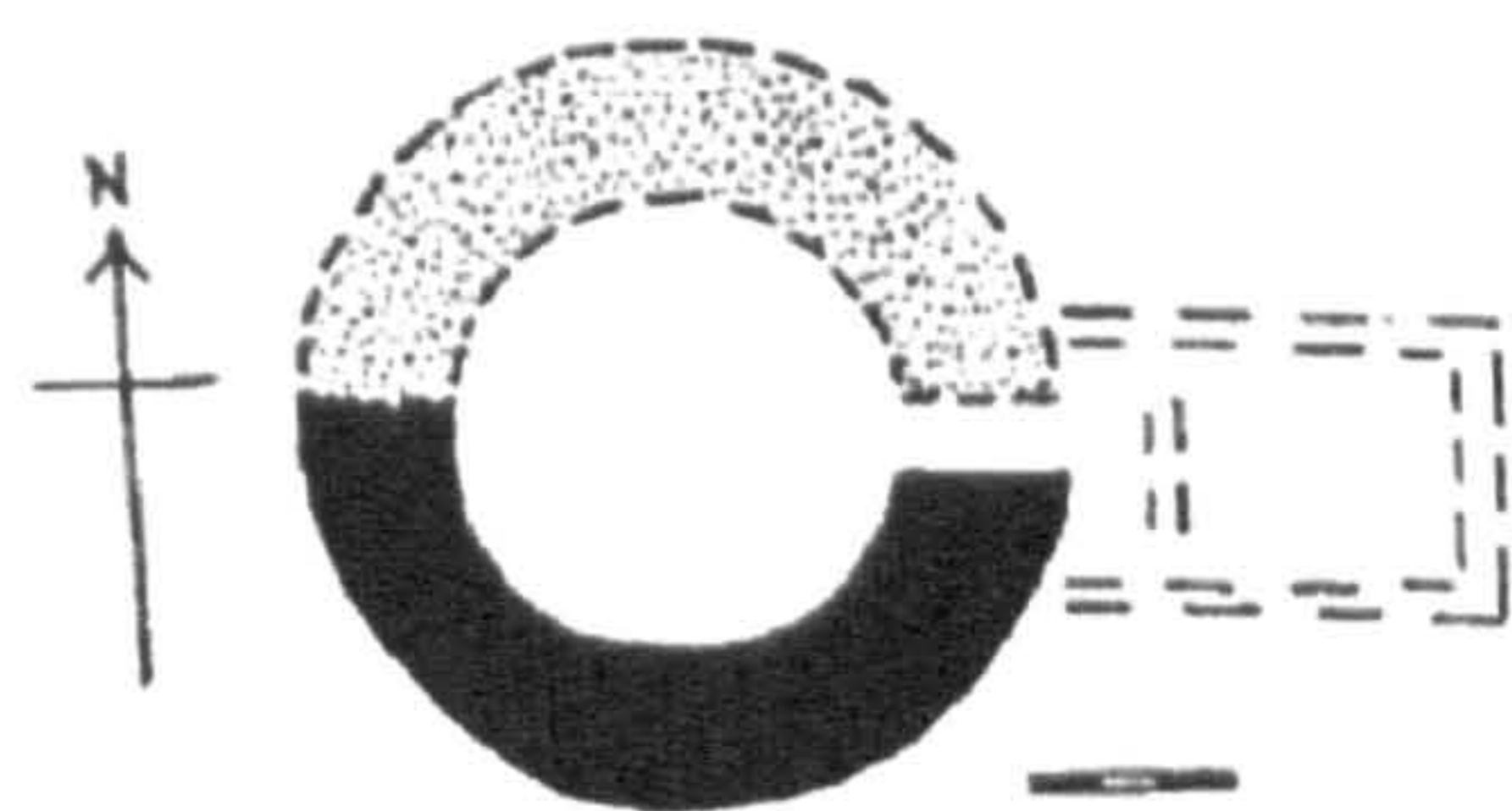


(e) Platanos, Tholos A

**Pl.10.6:** *Adding rooms to the original unit: Tholos tombs*  
*(adapted from Branigan 1993: Figs. 5.1, 1.3, 4.4, 2.5, 5.2).*



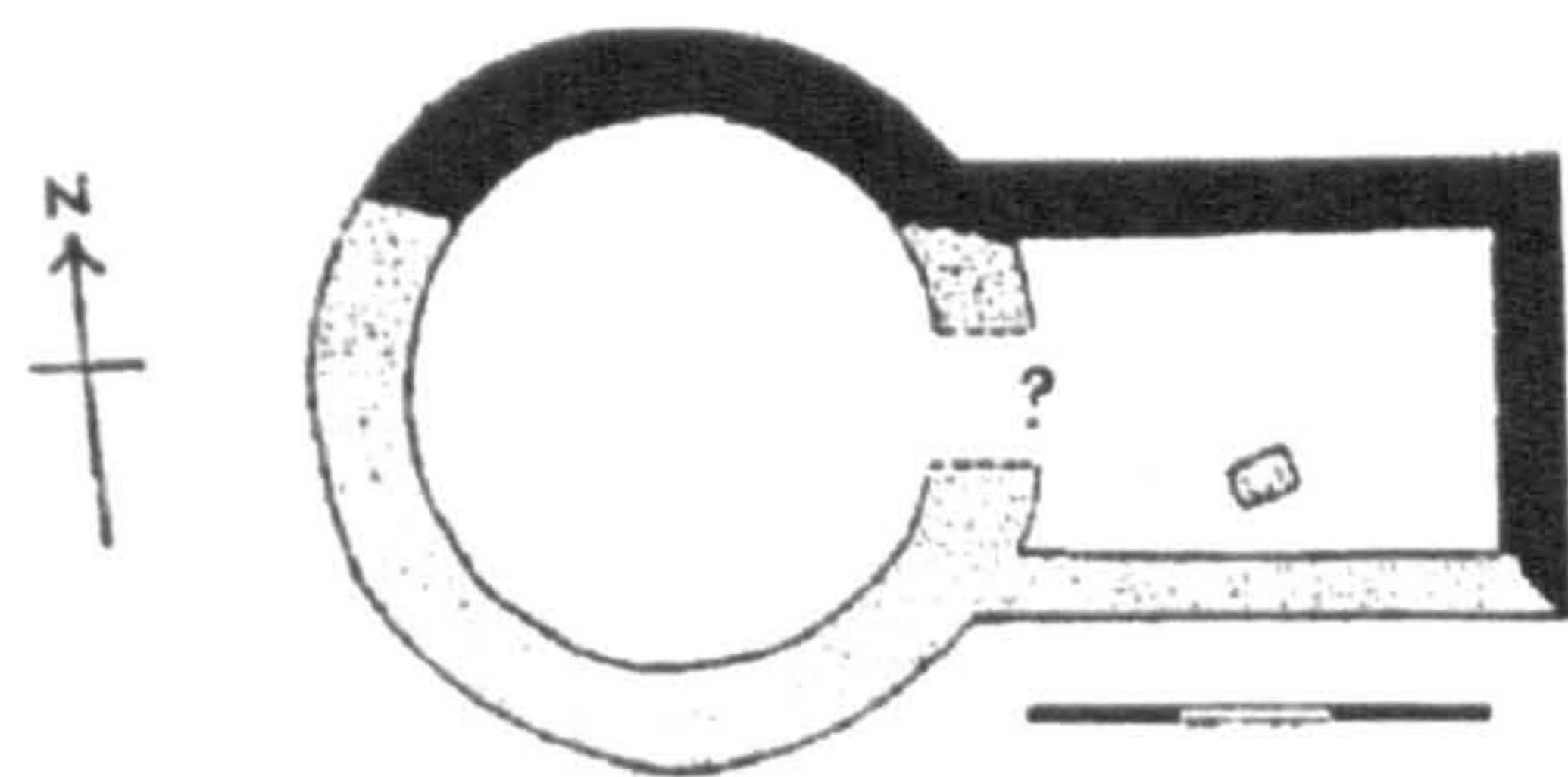
(a) Platanos, Tholos B



(b) Platanos, Tholos Γ

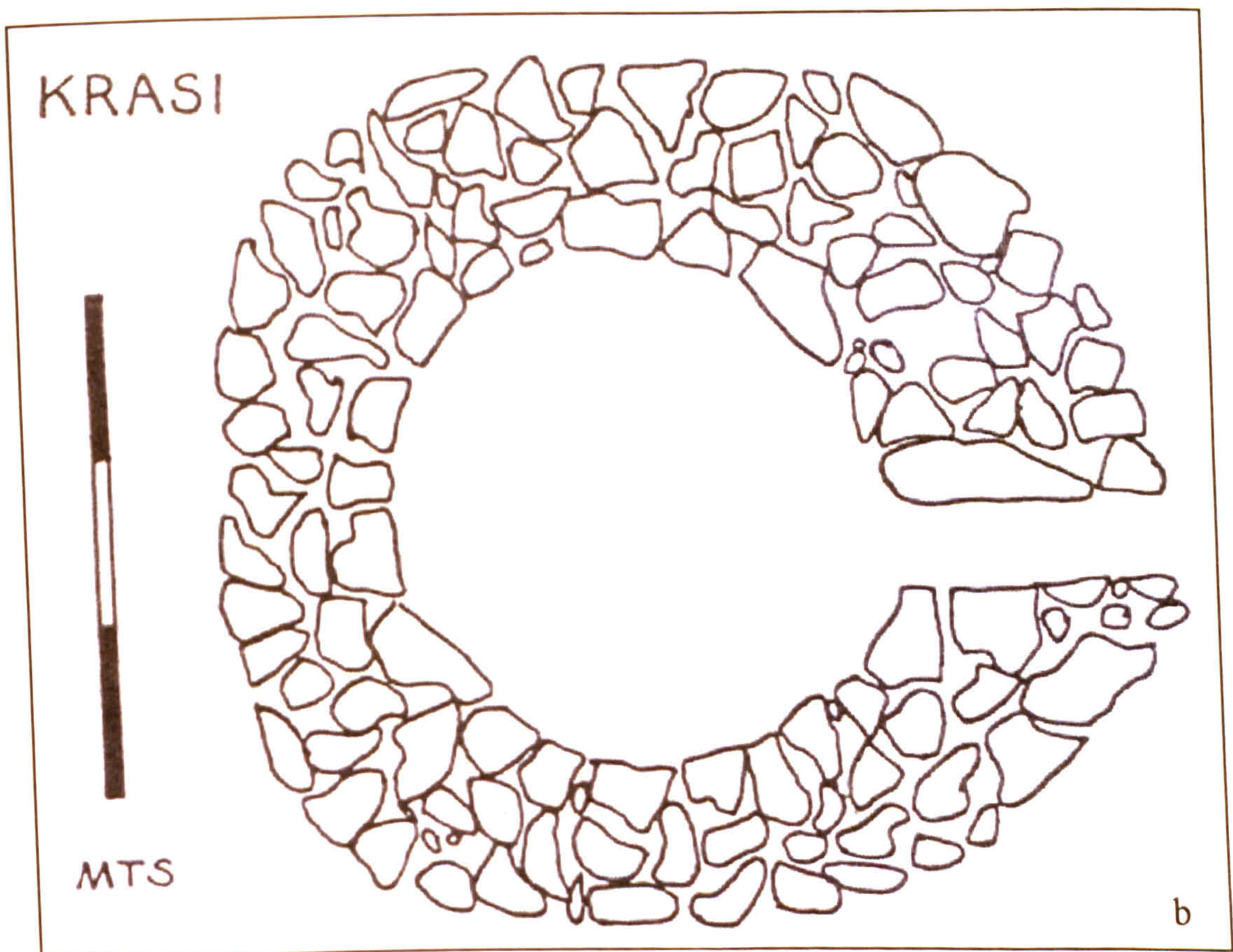


(c) Apesokari, Tholos A



(d) Kamilari, Tholos C

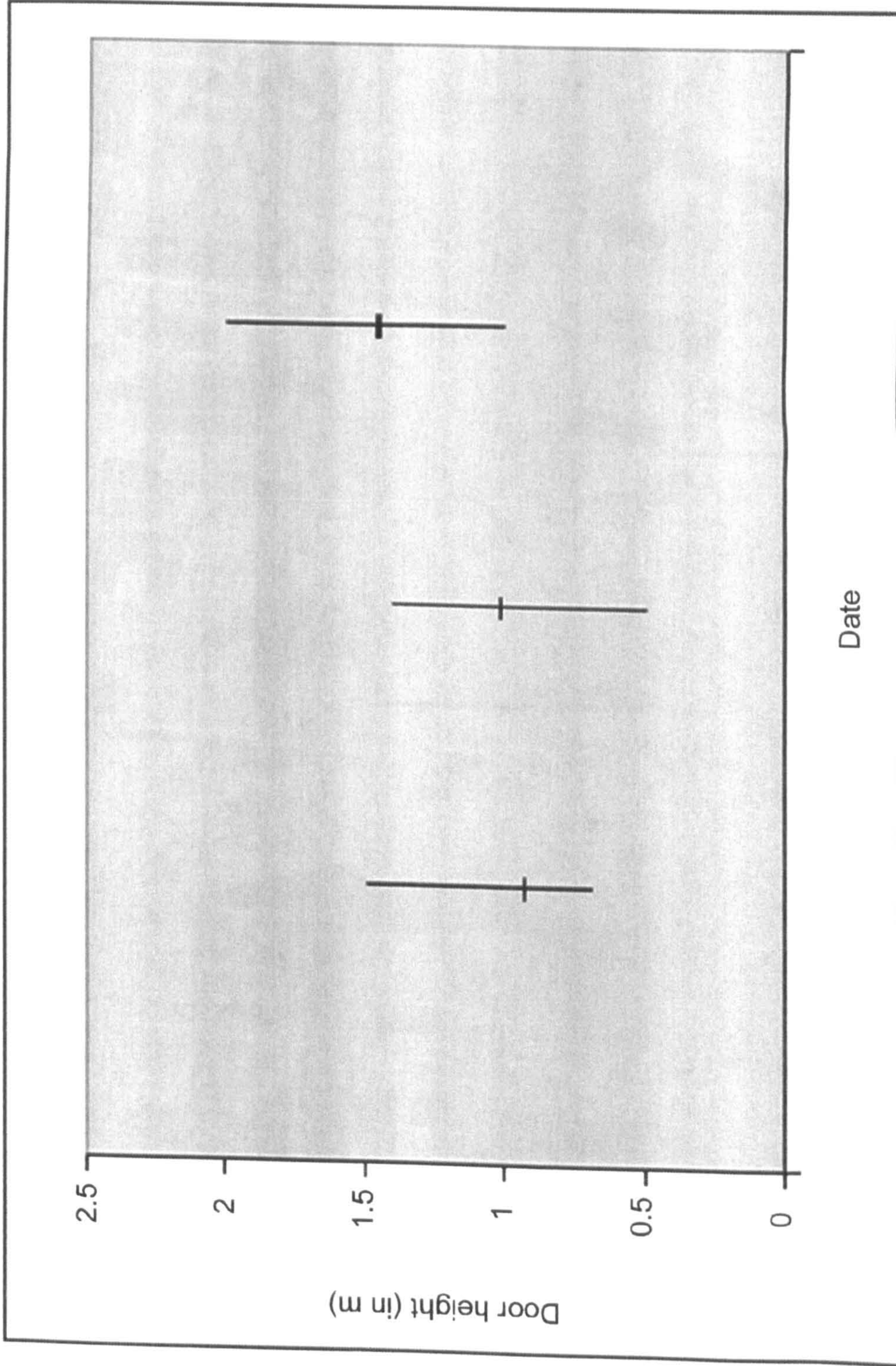
**Pl. 10.7:** *Tholoi* with a standardized set of outer chambers  
(after Branigan 1993: Figs. 5.2, 5.2, 4.5, 4.17).



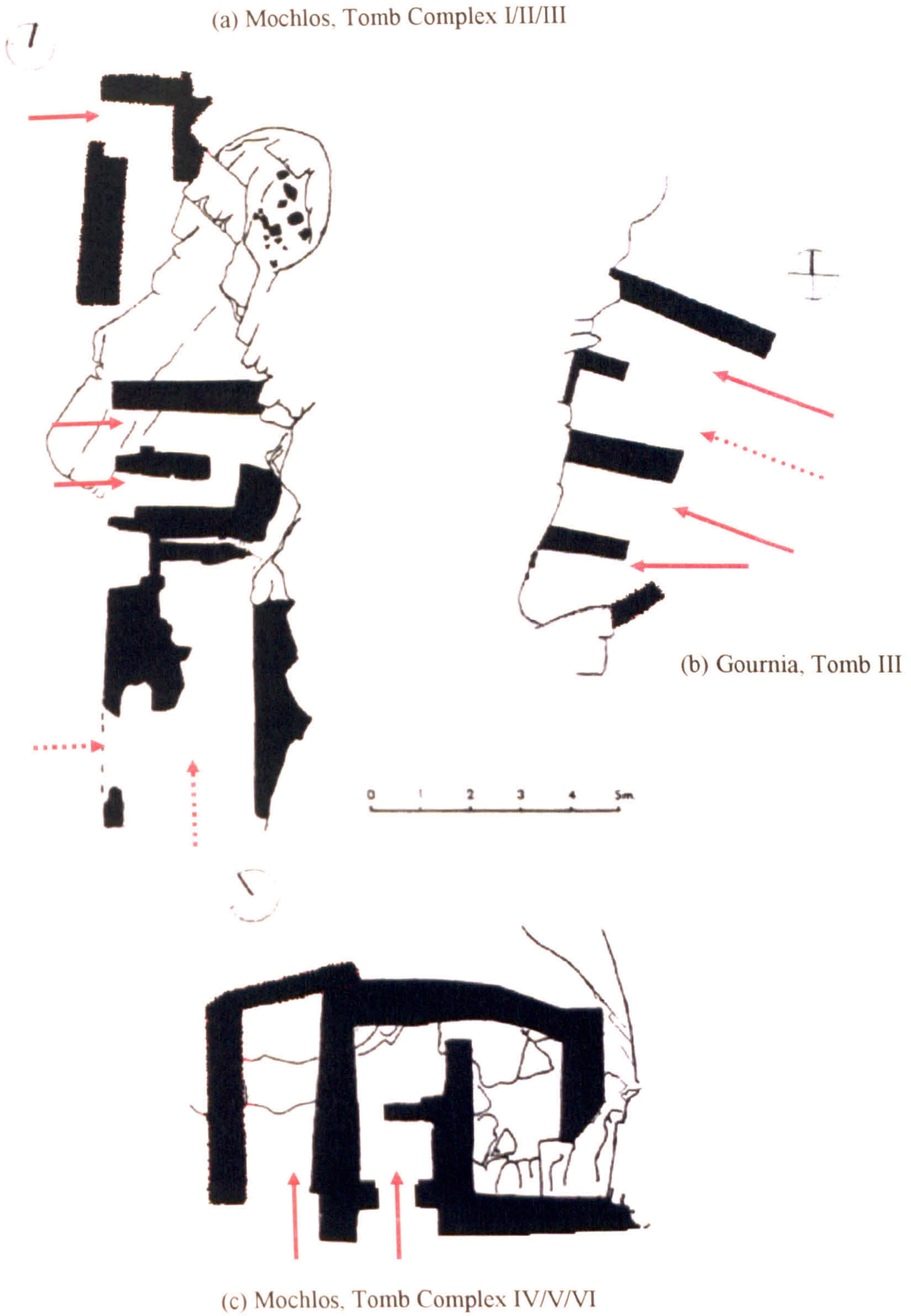
**Pl.10.8: Small entrances:**  
(i) Tholos E, Archanes (after [http://devlab.dartmouth.edu/history/bronze\\_age/full/6-10.jpg](http://devlab.dartmouth.edu/history/bronze_age/full/6-10.jpg)), (ii) Tholos at Krasi Pediadas (after Branigan 1993: Fig. 3.2).

<b>Tomb</b>	<b>Date (after Branigan 1993)</b>	<b>Door height (m)</b>
Koutsokera	EM I	1.0
Trypiti A	EM I	1.2
Koumasa E	EM I	0.7
Lasaia B	EM I	0.7
Kaloi Limenes A	EM I	0.8
Lebena Yerokambos 2	EM I	0.7
Koumasa B	EM I	0.9
Aghia Eirene e	EM I	1.0
Aghia Kyriaki A	EM I	1.5
Chrysostomos A	EM I	>0.4
Kephali A	EM I	0.8
Aghia Triada A	EM I	1.0
Koumasa A	?EM I	0.9
Aghios Andonis	EM I/II	0.6
Aghia Kyriaki C	EM I/II?	0.8
Aghia Kyriaki B	EM I/II?	1.0
Lebena Zervou 3	EM II	0.5
Lebena Papoura 1	EM II	1.1
Lebena Papoura 1b	EM II	1.4
Drakones Z	EM II	2.0
Christos X	EM II	1.0
Aghios Kyrillos	MM I	1.8
Kamilari A	MM I	1.0

**Table 10.9:** Door height of tholos tombs. The date of construction of each tholos is also given. (data after Branigan 1993).



Pl. 10.10: Diagram indicating that in the later stages of the prepalatial period the height of the entrance doors of *tholoi* increases (see data in Table 10.9).

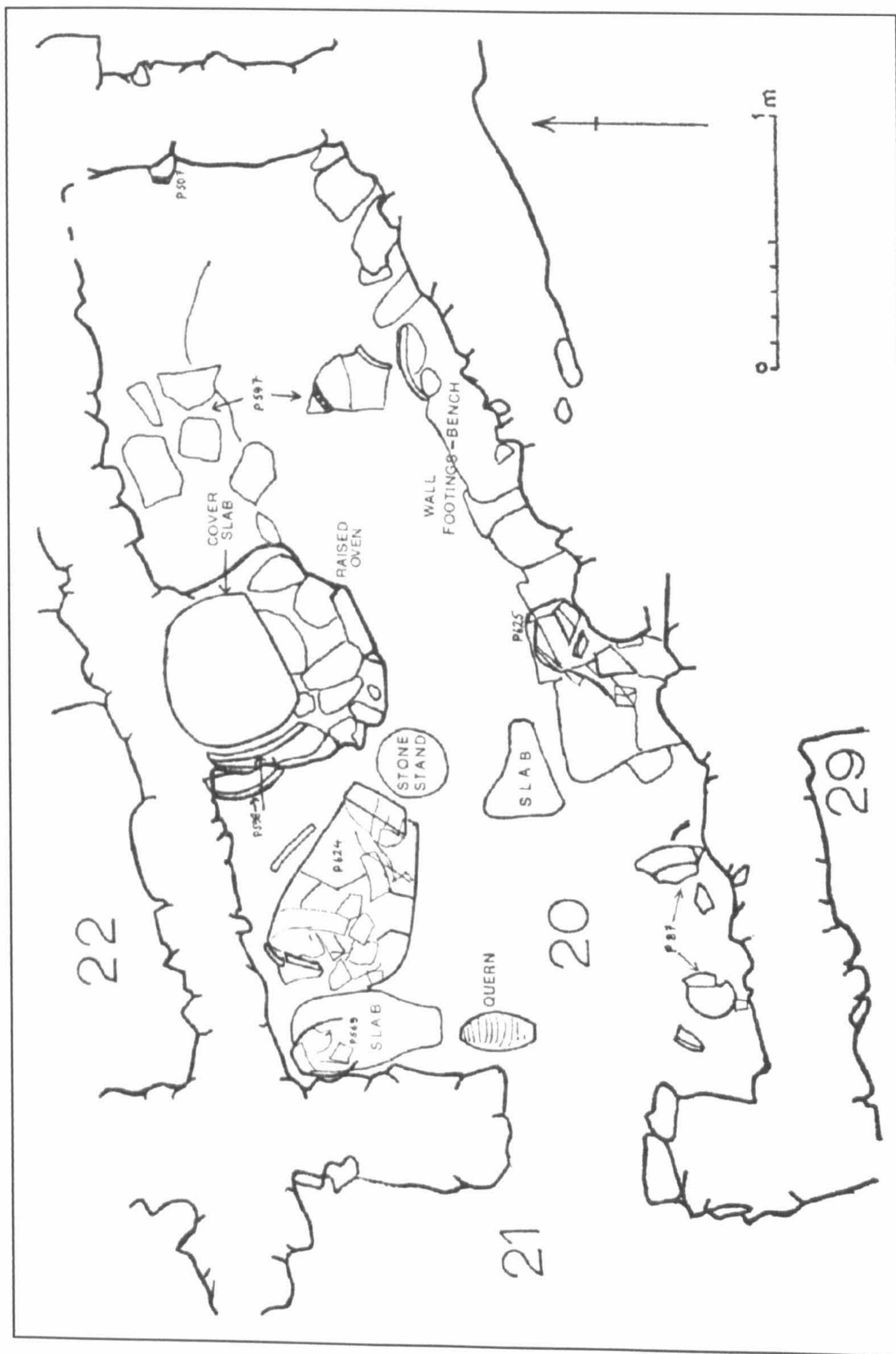


**Pl. 10.11:** Access to the different compartments of late prepalatial house tombs  
*(adapted from Soles 1992: Figs. 16, 11, 20).*

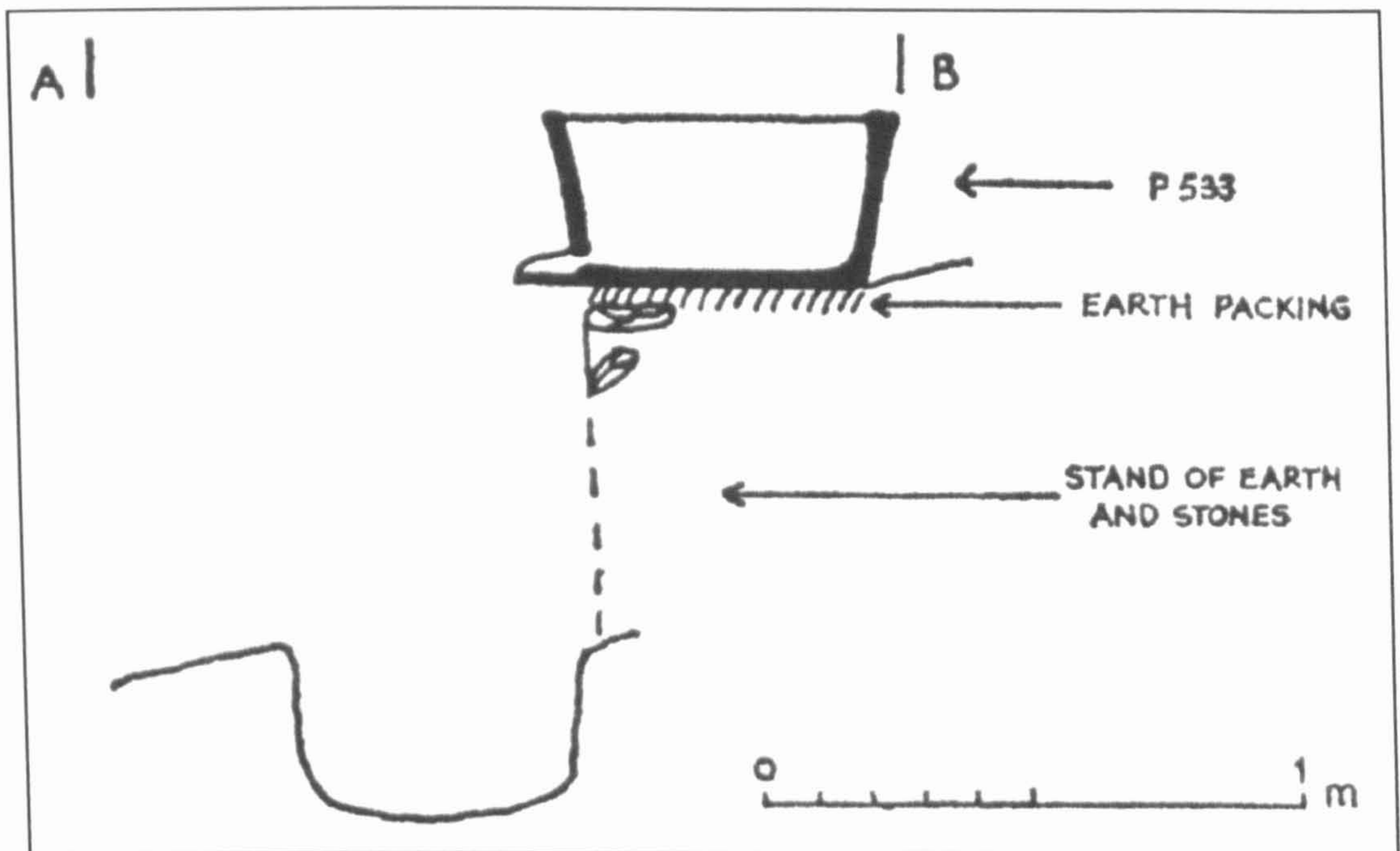
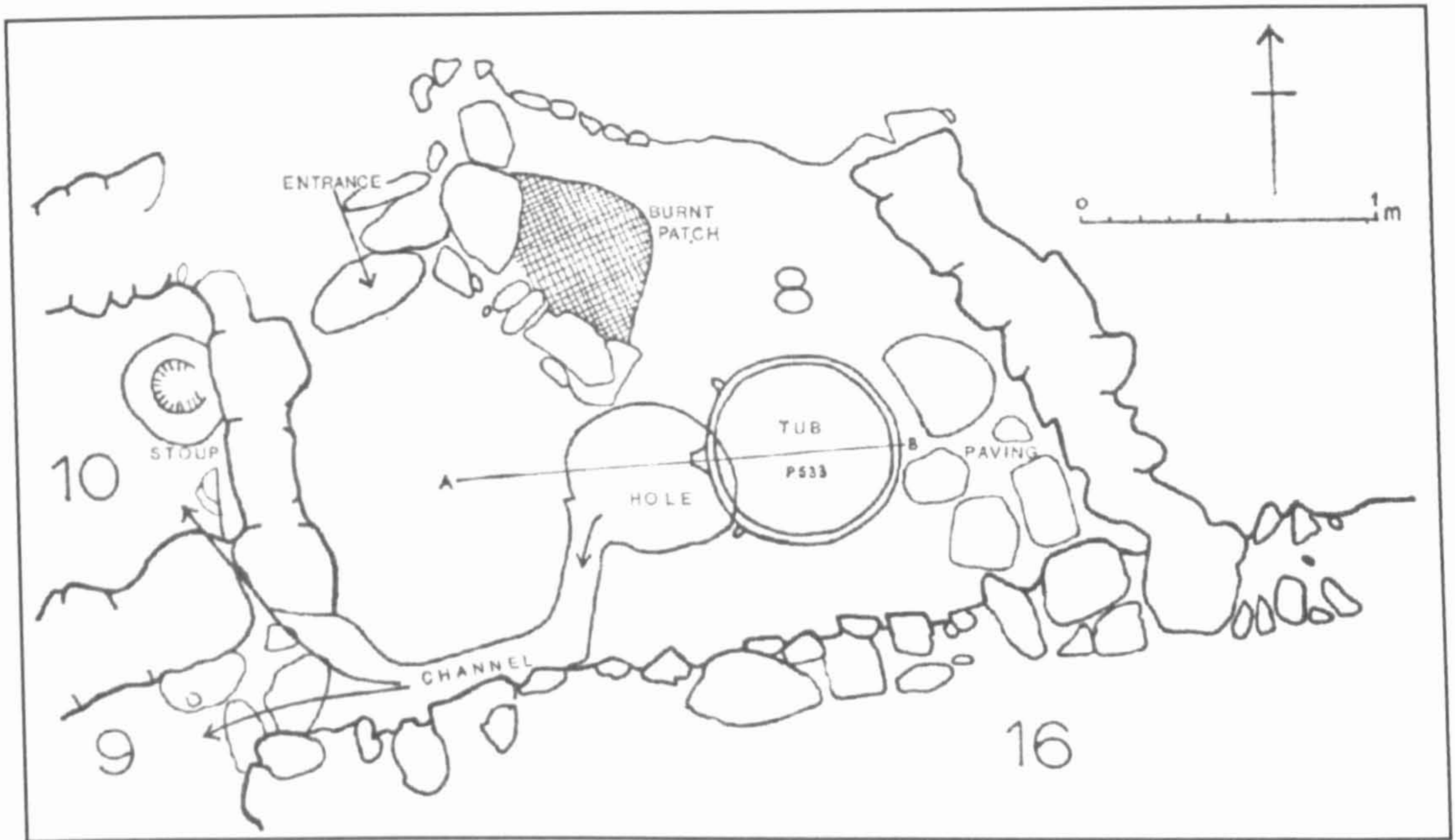


Pl. 11.1: Plan of Myrtos- Phourmou Koryfi (after Warren 1972: foldout plan).

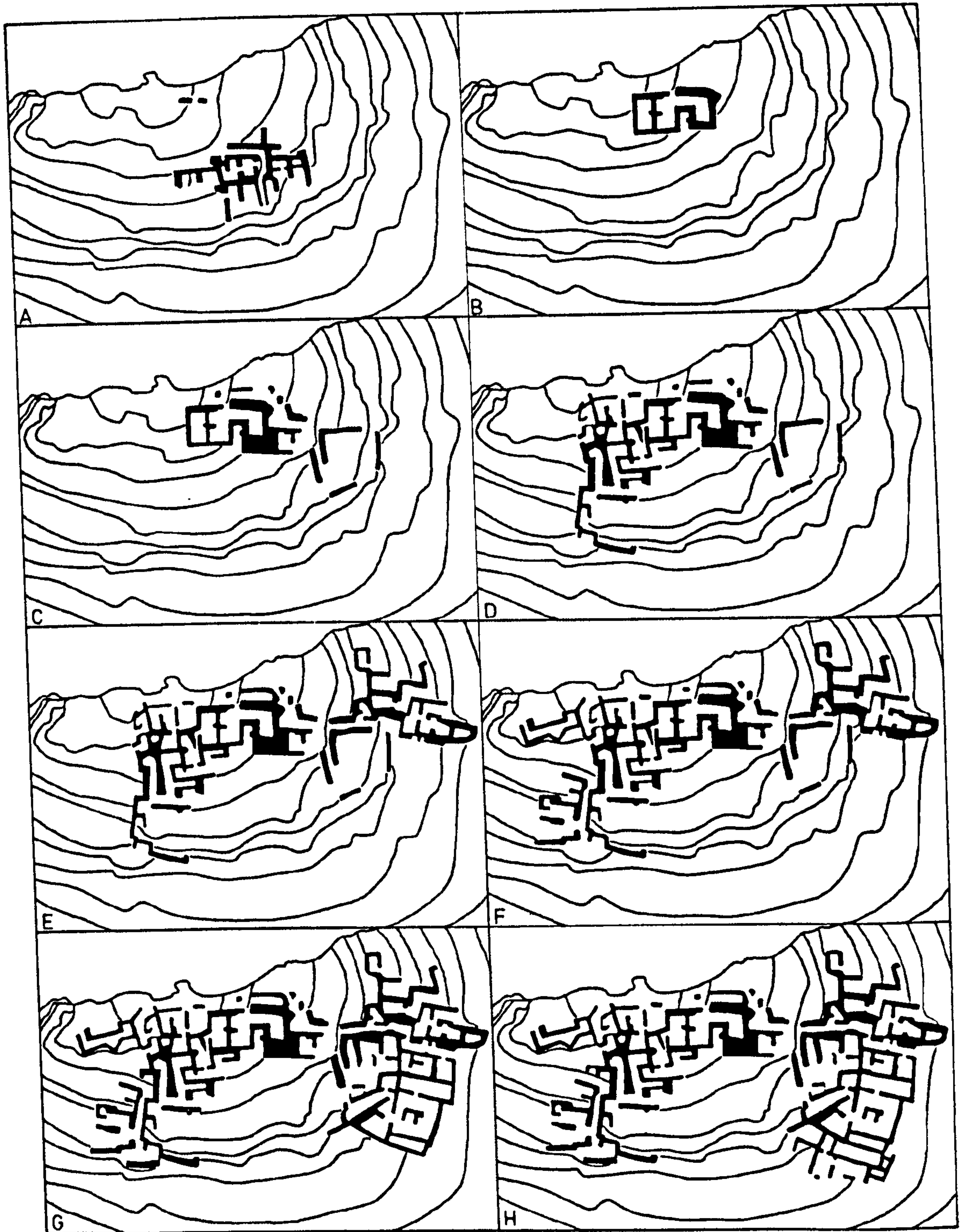




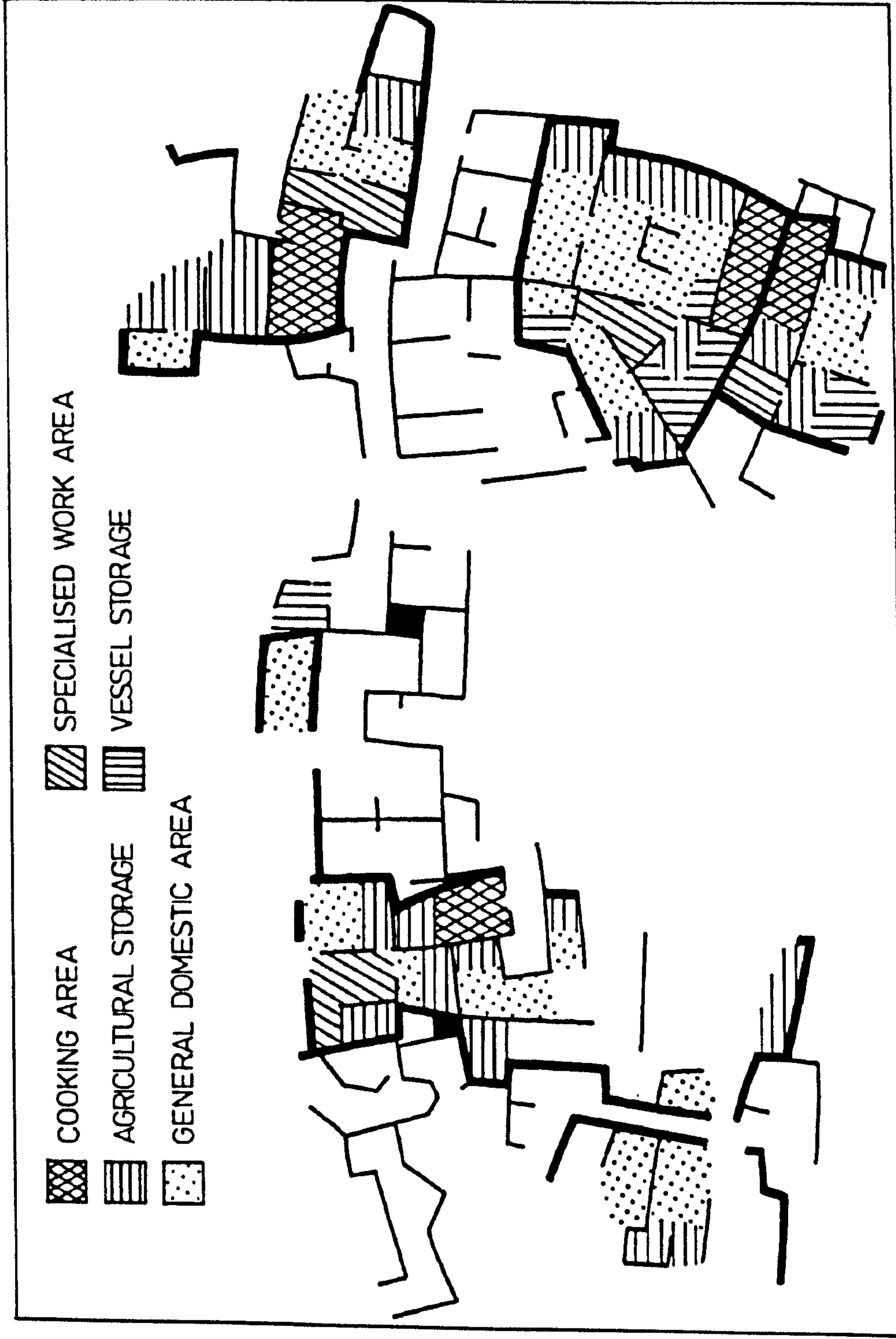
**Pl. 11.2:** Myrtos-Phournou Koryfi: Room with oven (Room 20) (after Warren 1972: Fig. 18).



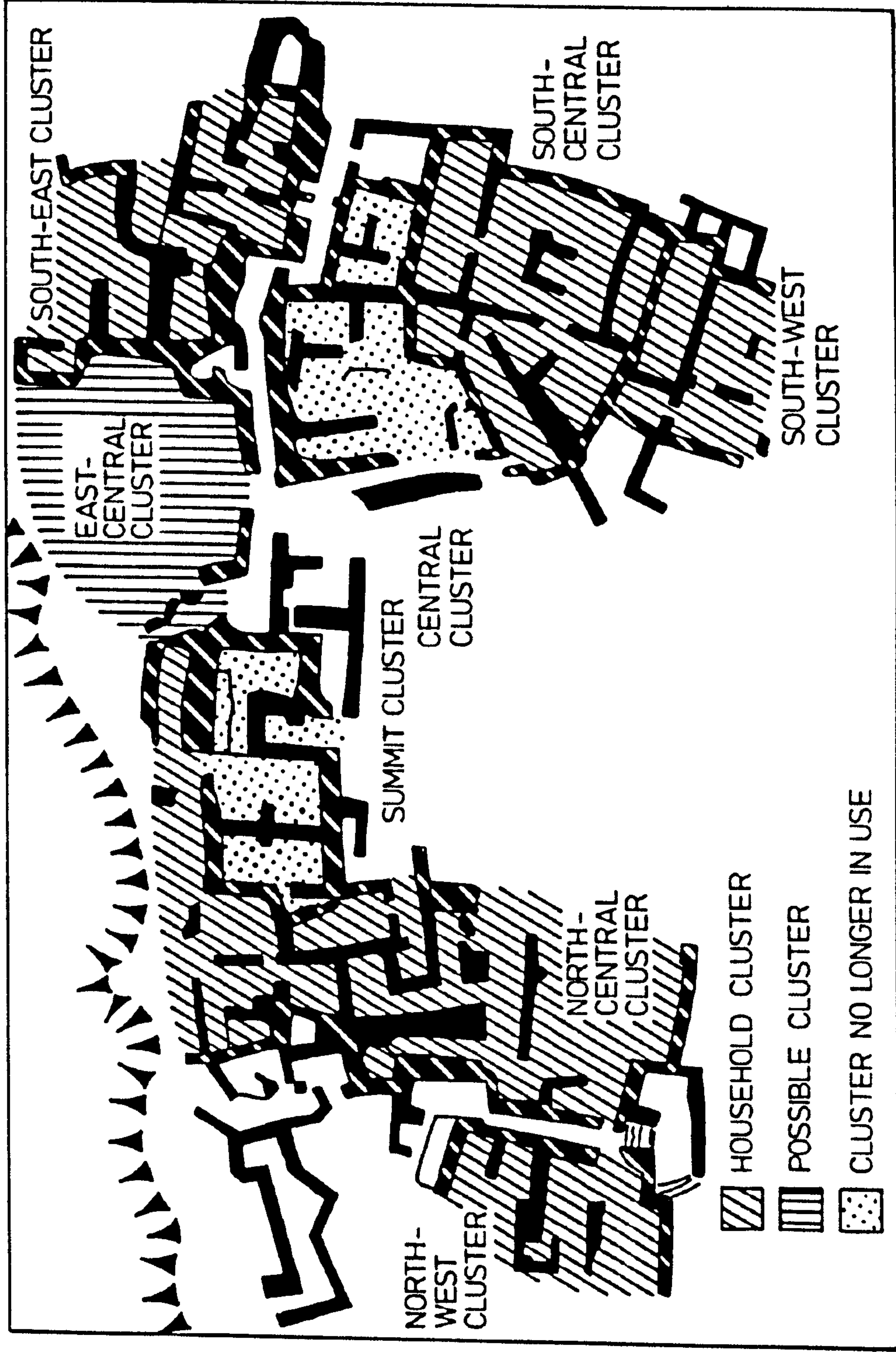
**Pl. 11.3:** Myrtos-Phournou Koryfi: (i) Area/Room of the tub, hole and channel (Area/Room 8), (ii) Section with tub in position over hole (after Warren 1972b: Figs. 15, 16.).



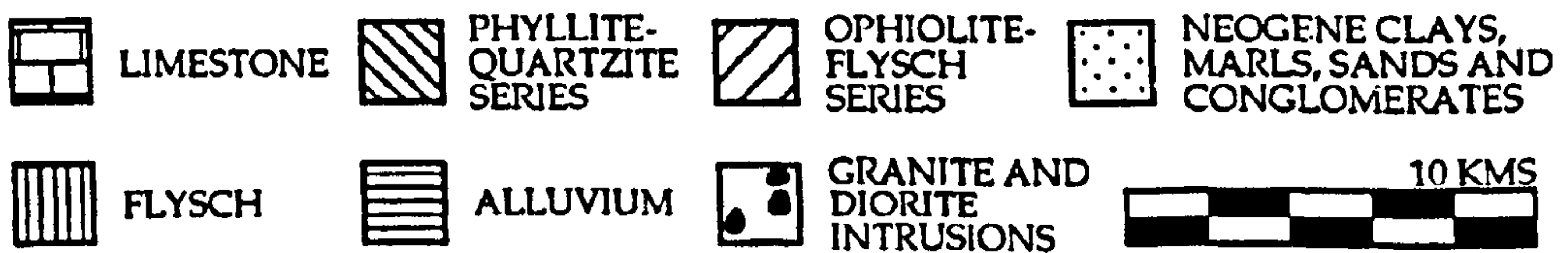
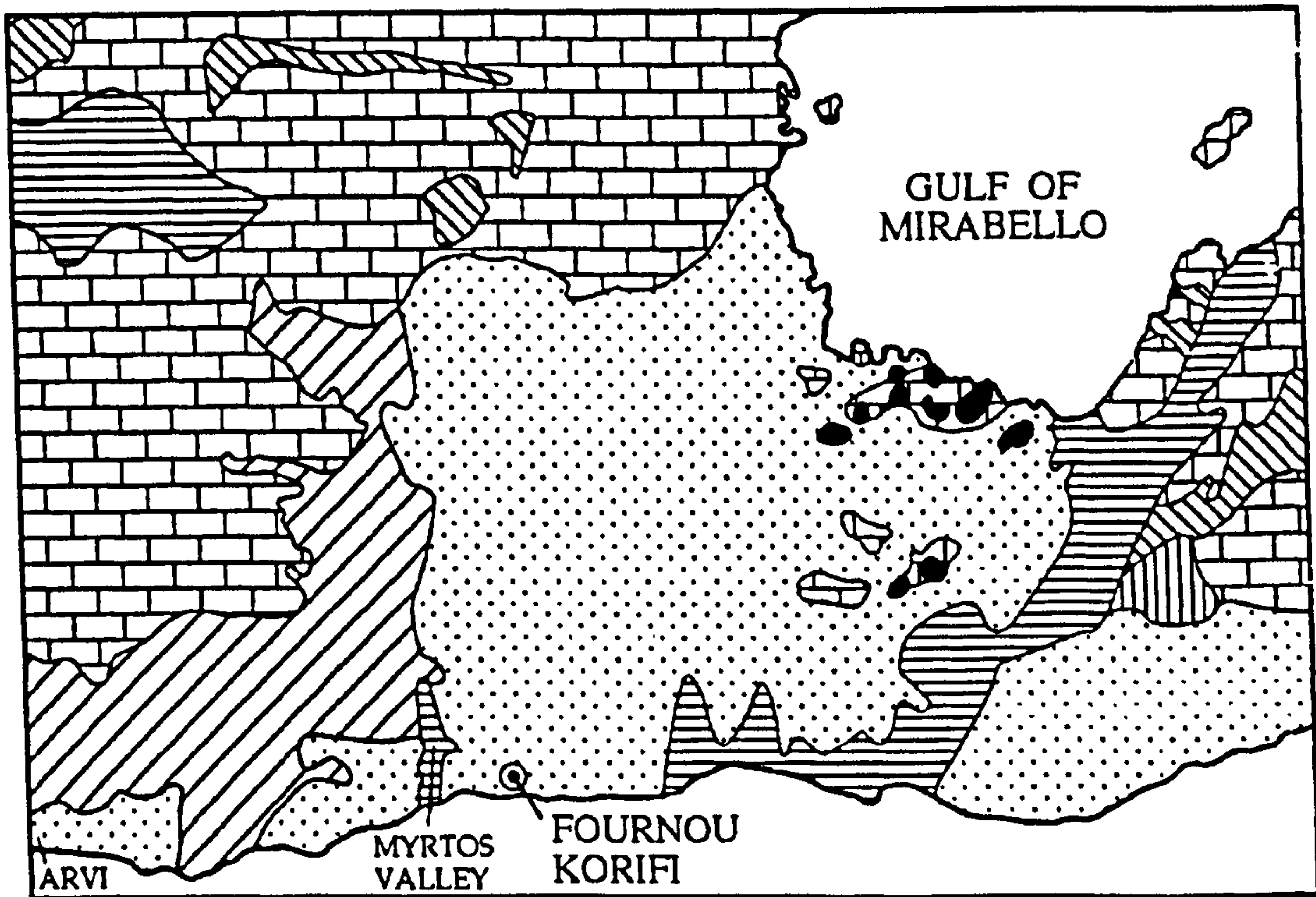
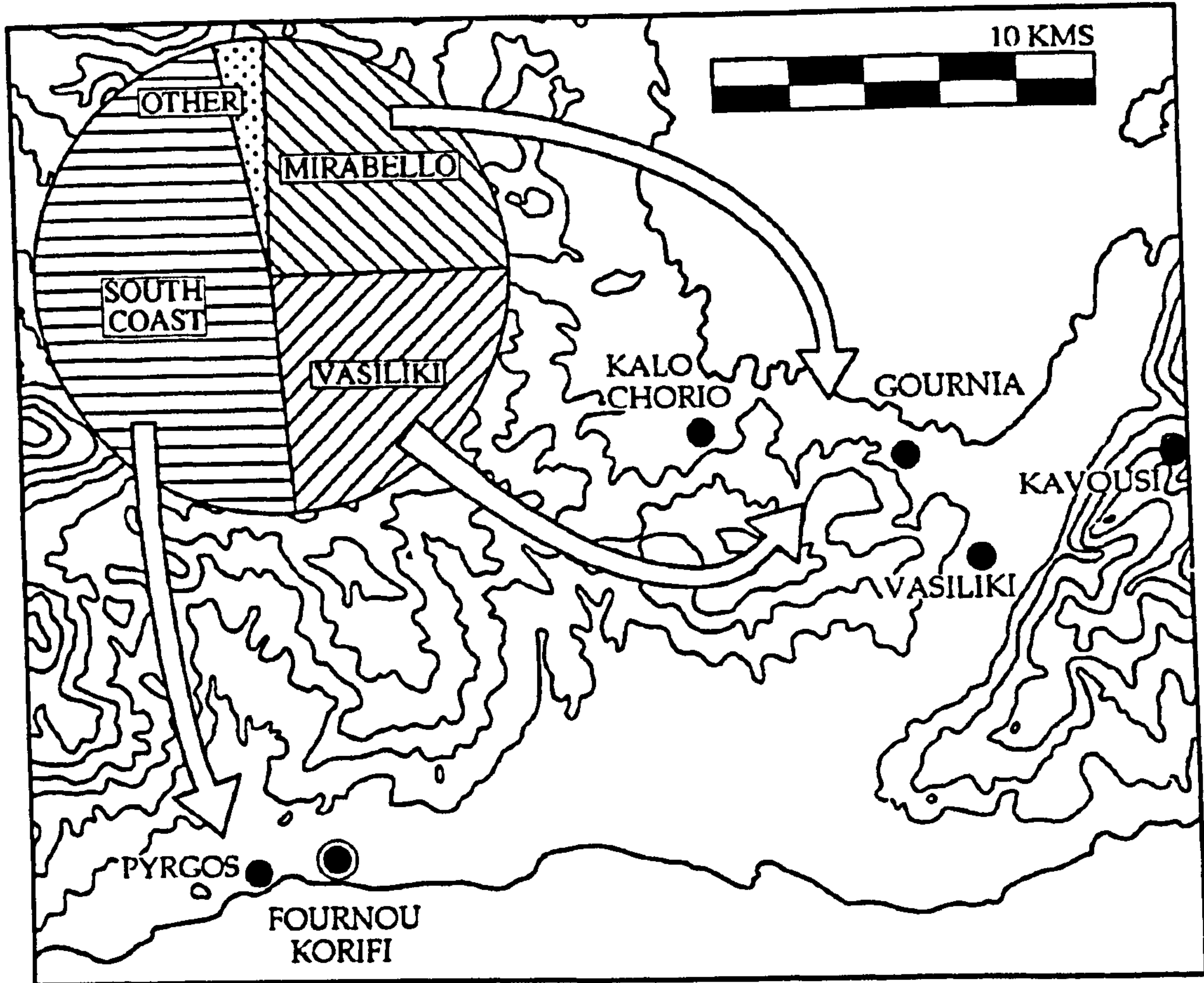
Pl. 11.4: Myrtos Phournou Koryfi: Settlement growth sequence suggested by Whitelaw (after Whitelaw 1983: Fig. 62).



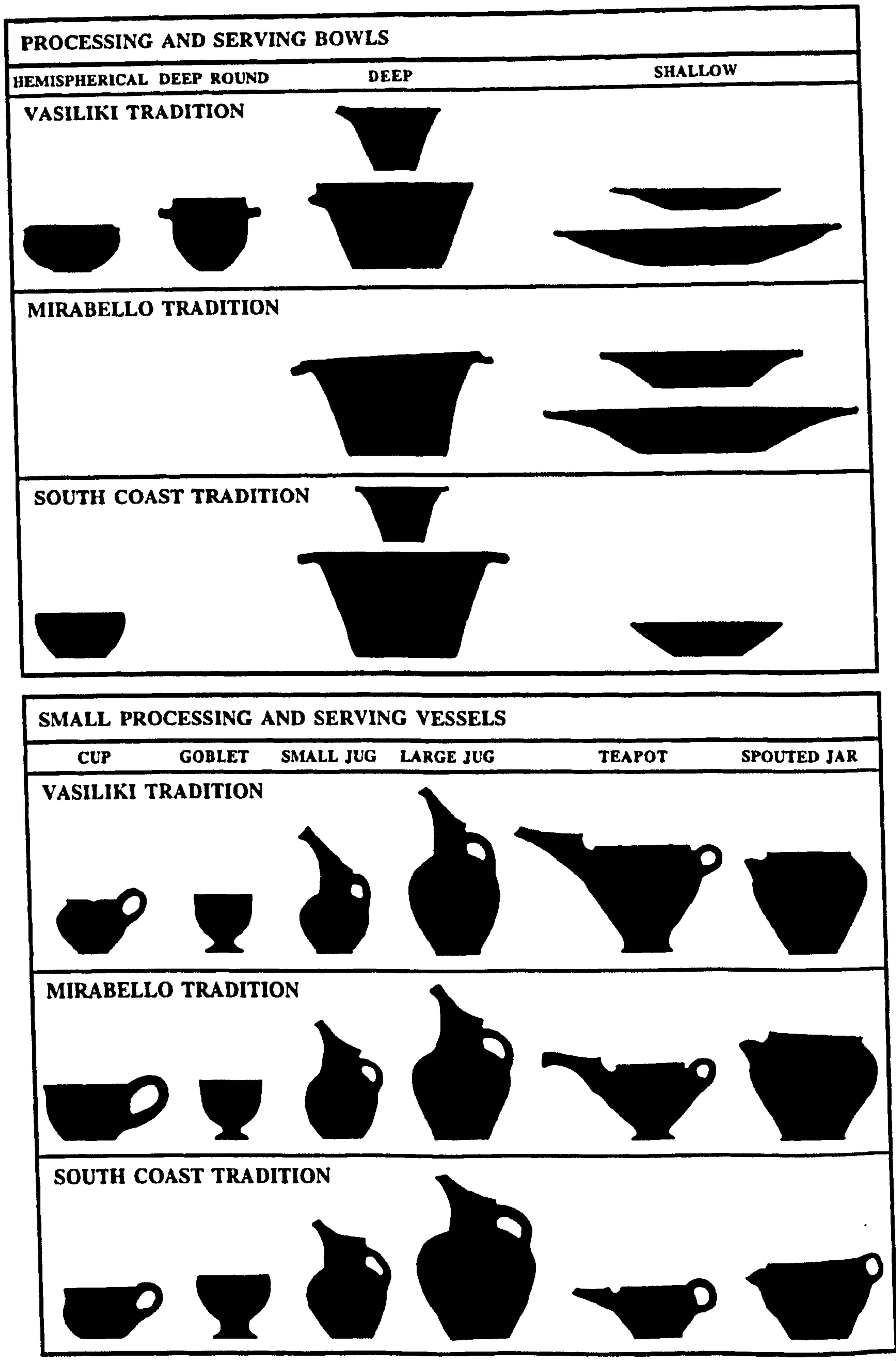
Pl. 11.5: Myrtois Pourmou Koryfi: Identification of activity areas within the site (after Whitelaw 1983: Fig. 68).



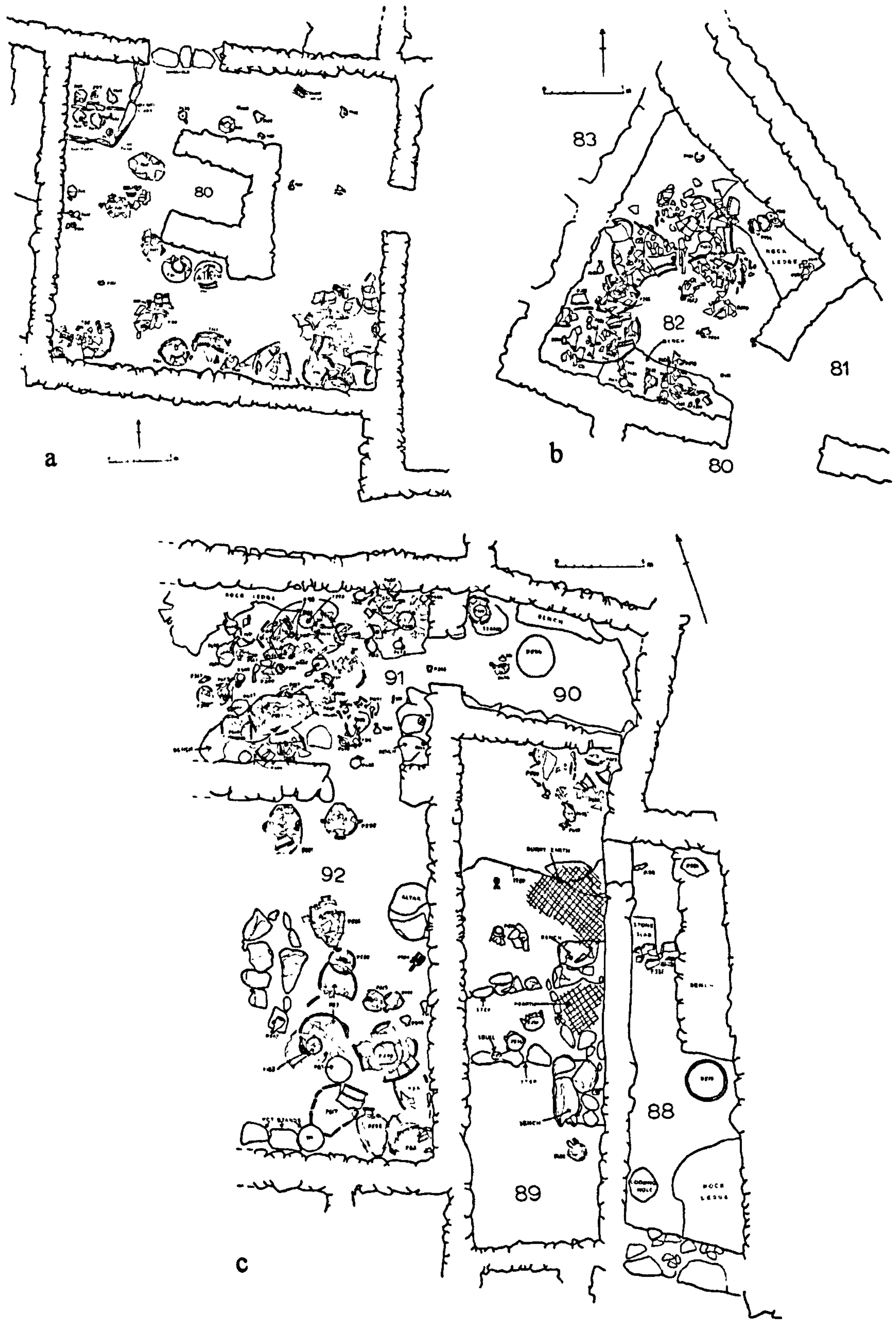
Pl.11.6: Myrtos-Phourmou Koryfi: Identification of household units (after Whitelaw 1983: Fig. 69).



Pl. 11.7: (a) Provenance and production tradition of 370 vessels in use at Myrtos-Phournou Koryfi at the time of the EM IIB destruction; (b) principal geological formations of the Isthmus of Ierapetra, Crete (after Whitelaw et al. 1997: Pl. CII).



**Pl. 11.8:** Myrtos-Phournou Koryfi: (a) principal varieties of bowl in each tradition represented in the EM IIB assemblage; (b) variants of small processing and serving vessels in the three traditions (after Whitelaw et al. 1997: Pl. CIII).

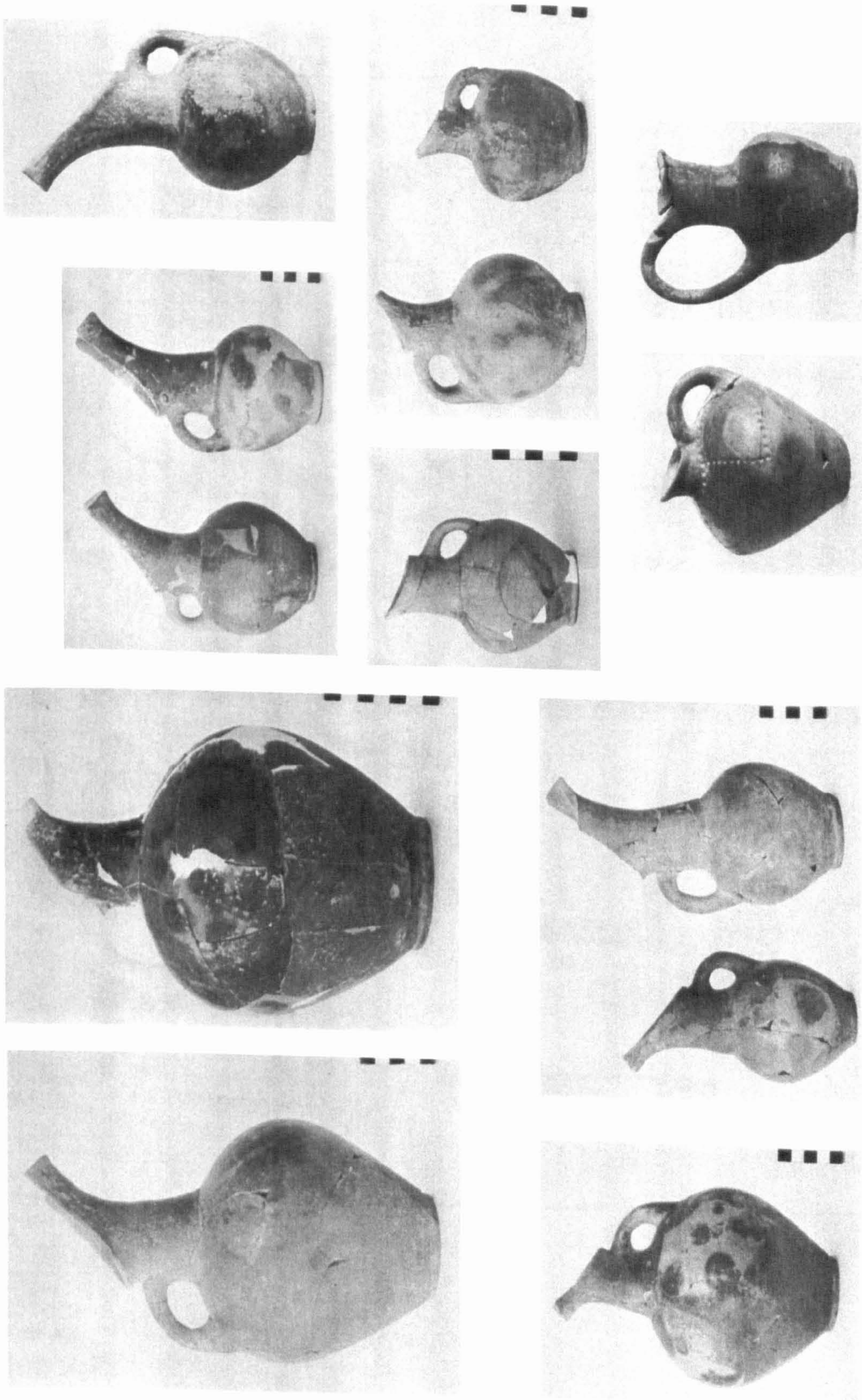


**Pl.11.9:** Myrtos-Phournou Koryfi: Floor deposits in: (a) room 80, (b) room 82, (c) rooms 88-92 (after Warren 1972b: Figs. 26-28).

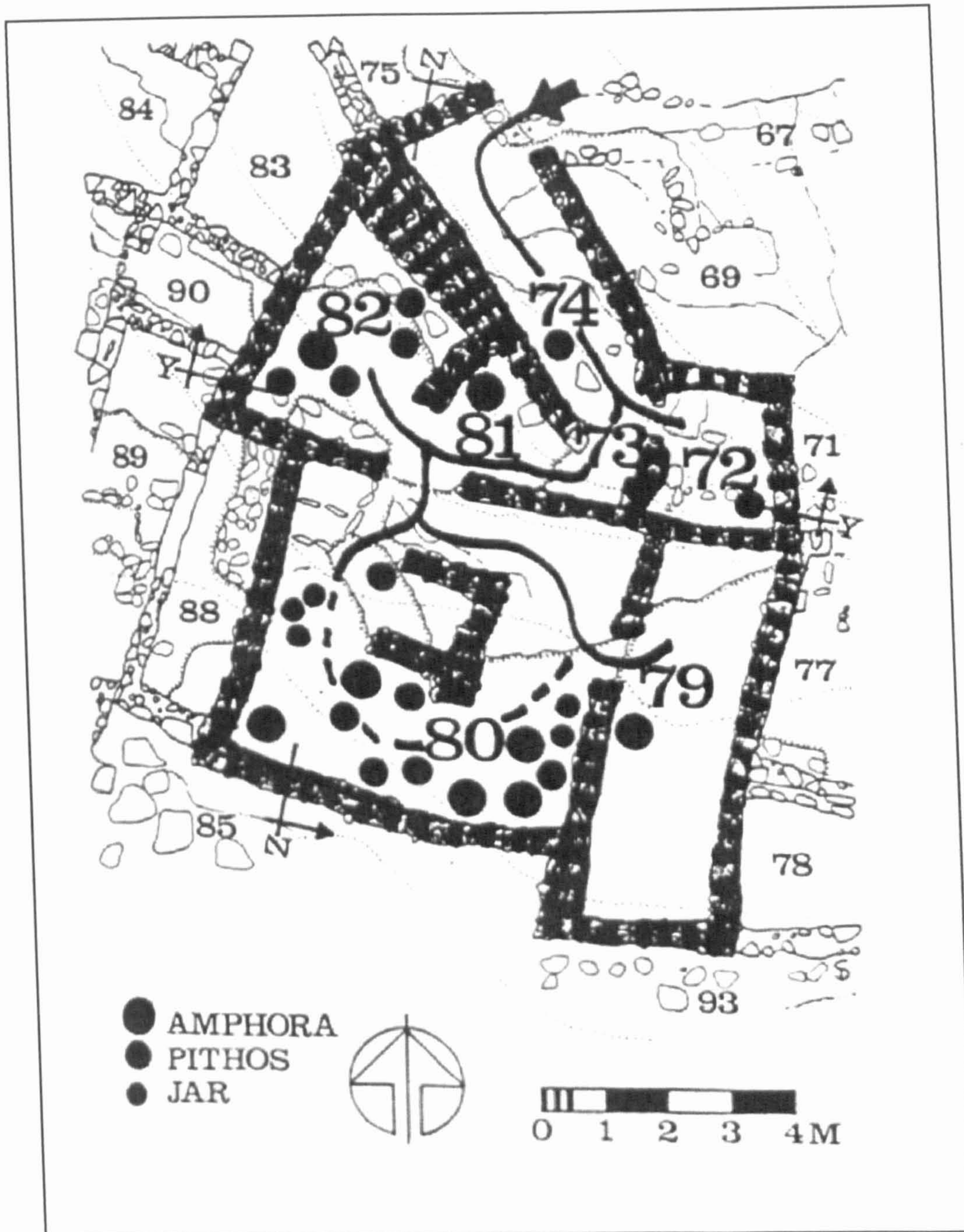




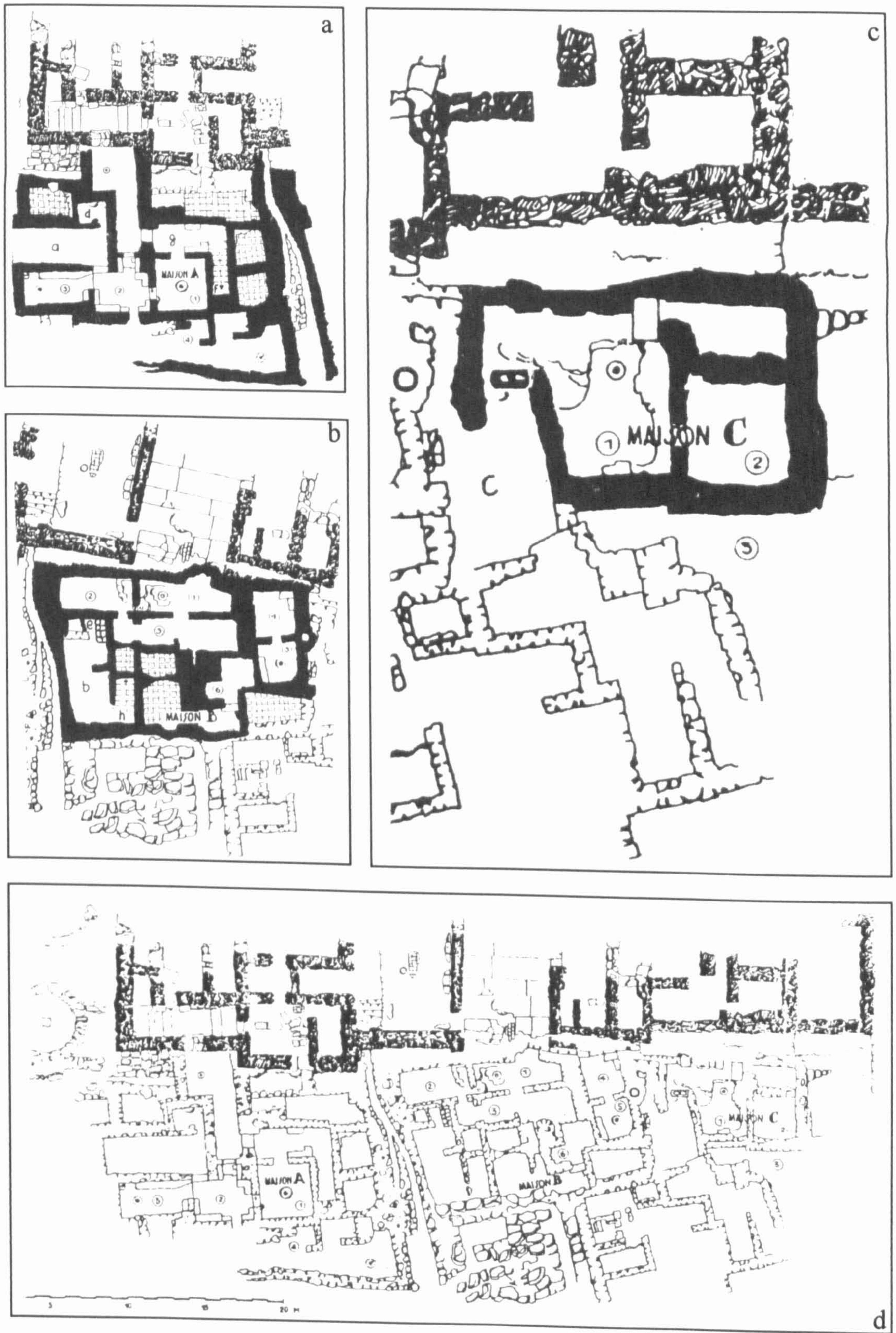
Pl. 1110: Distribution of pouring/serving vessels at Myrtos-Phournou Koryfi (adapted from Warren 1972: foldout plan).



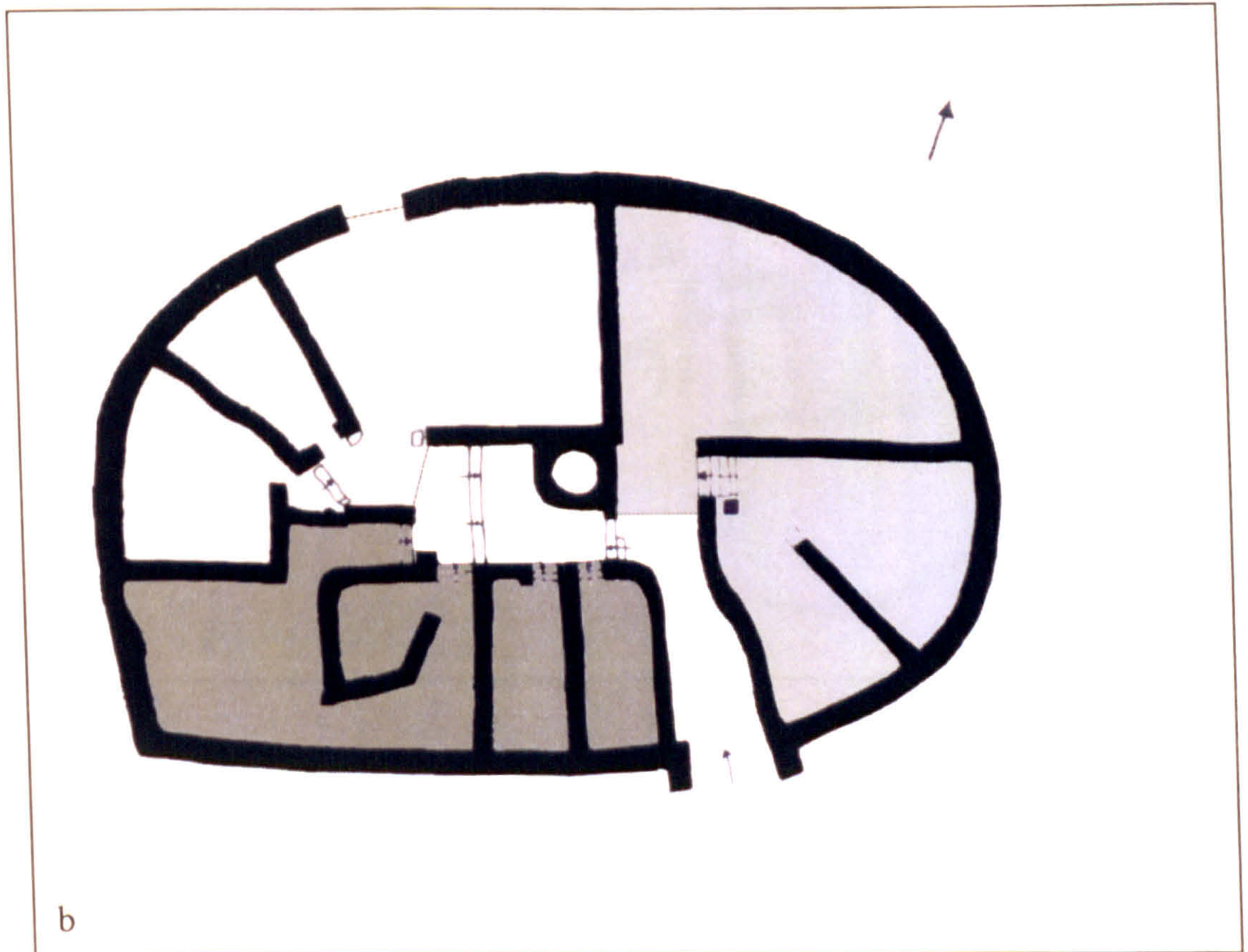
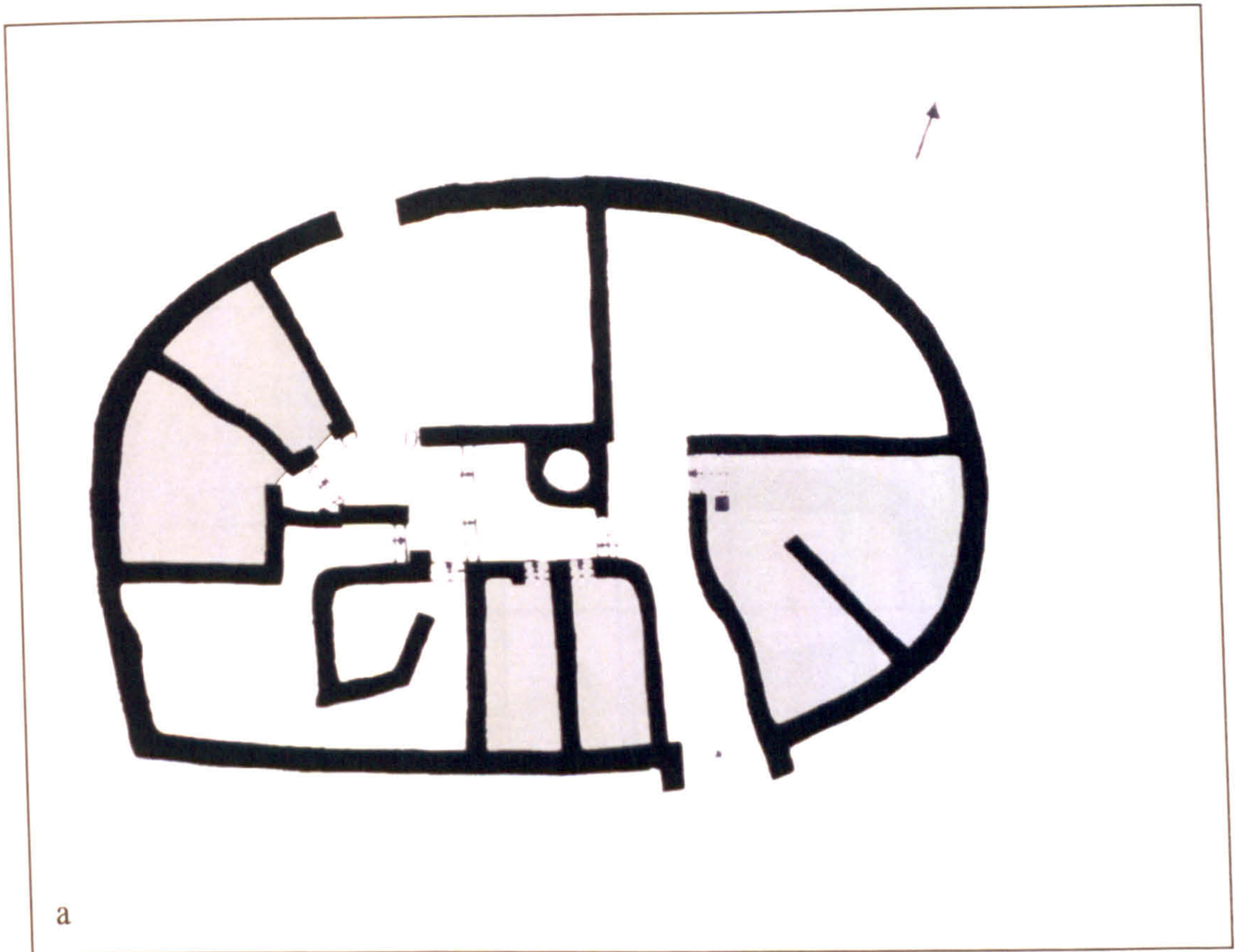
Pl. 11.11: Clay jugs from Myrtos- Phournou Koryfi (after Warren 1972: Pls. 50, 51).



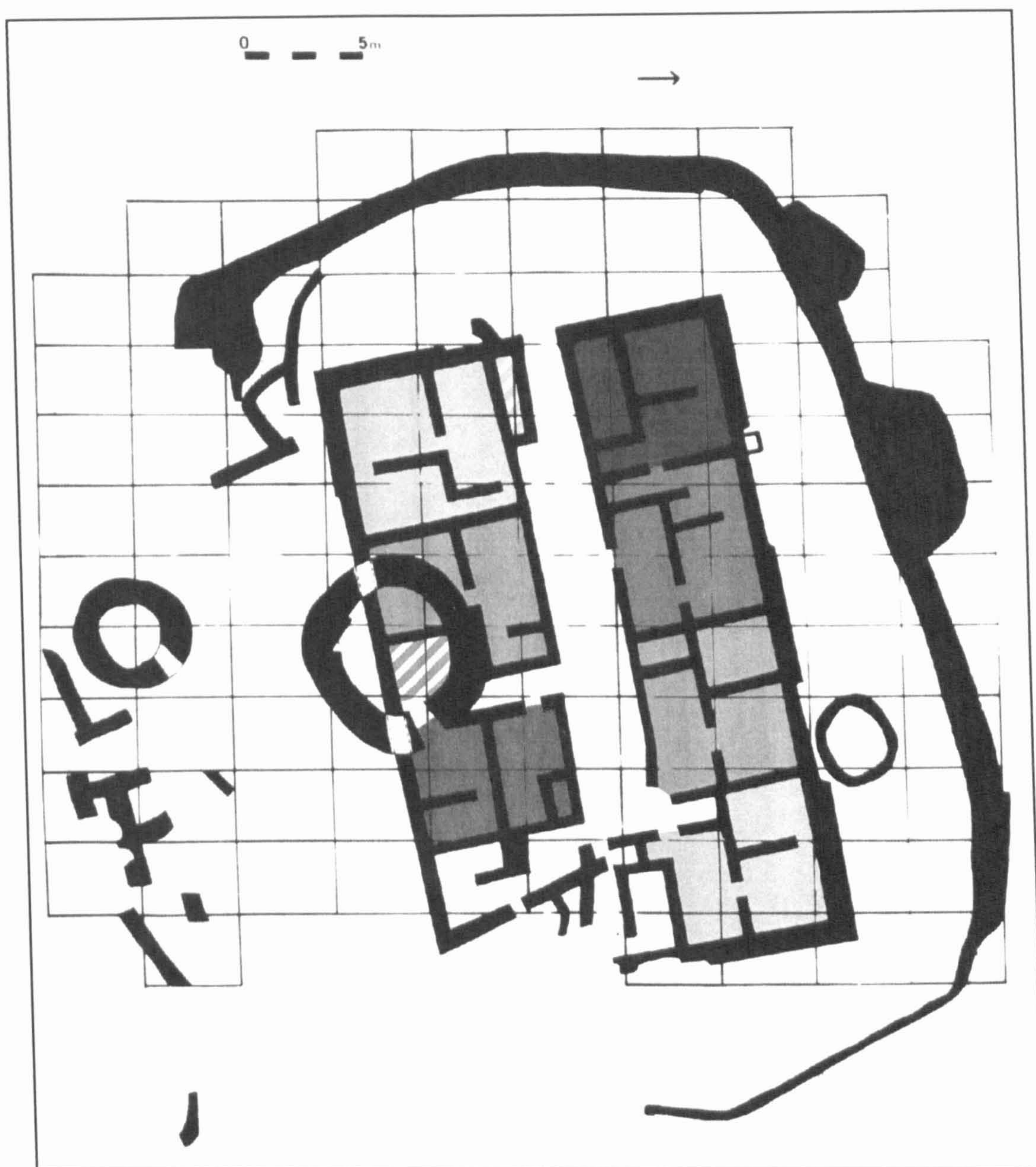
Pl.11.12: Myrtos-Phournou Koryfi: Circulation paths in the South-Central Cluster (after Sanders 1990: Fig.5.3).



**Pl. 11.13:** Mallia, Maisons Sud: (a) Maison A, (b) Maison B, (c) Maison C, (d) general plan of the area (after van Effenterre 1980: Figs. 235-237, 223).



Pl. 11.14: Chamaizi: (a) storage areas, (b) division of the structure into morphological/functionable sub-units (adapted from Davaras 1972: Fig. 8 ).



**Pl. 11.15:** Kouphota, Aghia Photia: Division of the structure into morphological sub-units  
(cross-hatching indicates rooms that cannot be ascribed to a unit with certainty)  
(adapted from Tsiopoulou 1988: Fig. 1).