

ABSTRACTS

Natalie D. ABELL & Evi GOROGIANNI

The Past in Practice: Craft Producers and Material Culture Change at Ayia Irini, Kea

Archaeological studies of culture contact often ascribe changes in an assemblage to vague processes of influence, and they typically downplay the potential of non-elite, non-state agents to affect change in local values and traditions. This paper offers an alternative approach. We highlight the importance of craftspeople as agents of change over the long-term. Craftspeople are in a nodal position being bearers of technical traditions learned from past and contemporary practitioners, and instructors for succeeding generations. At the same time, their products, locally manufactured objects, play an important role in re-shaping perceptions about “local” and “non-local” material culture over time, especially as new iterations are created in subsequent generations.

Our focus is the Cycladic site of Ayia Irini on Kea during the Middle and Late Bronze Age (ca. 1900-1400 BC). Over this period, non-local tools and technologies—notably Cretan ones like the pottery wheel and the warp-weighted loom—were adopted into local production strategies. These technologies were probably first introduced via horizontal mechanisms of transfer between Keian and Cretan craftspeople. Yet, over the course of their use—which spans many generations—the associated skills must have been learned via vertical mechanisms of apprenticeship between older craftspeople and younger apprentices. In essence, subsequent generations gained what had once been ‘non-local’ skills in what had turned into entirely local contexts of learning and apprenticeship. Thus, in this paper we explore perceptions of ‘local’ and ‘non-local’, and argue that such clear-cut and binary perceptions—which seem obvious to modern archaeologists—may not have been applicable for Keian craftspeople or the consumers of their products, especially by the Late Bronze Age. Moreover, we reconsider how the connections to those past generations of local craftspeople and the technological practices and objects associated with them may have served to dramatically re-shape how residents of Ayia Irini viewed and understood their own culture over time.

Konstantina AKTYPI, Olivia A. JONES & Michalis GAZIS

Use and Reuse of the Past: Case Studies from Mycenaean Achaea

Burial customs are by definition associated with memory and remembrance. Modern and ancient peoples inter the dead in often elaborate and memorable ways. Rituals carried out during burials including disposal of the corpse (i.e. inhumation or cremation), and interment within tombs and cemeteries can construct, manipulate, and maintain personal and social memories. In this presentation, we explore how the use and reuse of Mycenaean tombs were tools of memory manipulation to bridge the gap between the living community and the dead ancestors. In the Mycenaean period, many tombs have evidence of secondary mortuary rituals, in which the living return to the dead in order to carry out additional burial or tomb cleaning actions. These actions maintain memory of the recently deceased, the location of the tomb, and the communities' mortuary practices. In other cases, tomb reuse occurs after a hiatus in the burial record and can may reflect connections with a past unrelated to the specific community. In addition, tombs were reused by succeeding societies as a way to integrate their presence into the local culture. Therefore, Mycenaean tombs offer an ideal location for maintaining existing memories between the living and the dead.

Four cases from Mycenaean Achaea will be briefly presented in this paper, each one reflecting different aspects of tomb reuse and their associated potential for building and sustaining memory. The burial of an infant in tholos B at Rhodia, post- Mycenaean activities in the cemeteries of Voudeni and Agios Vasileios in Chalandritsa, and the multiple burial levels within the Petroto tholos tomb are all interesting examples of tomb reuse.

Each site offers a unique perspective into memory creation and maintenance via the practice of tomb reuse. At Voudeni and Agios Vasileios, Chalandritsa, the use of chamber tomb dromoi for burials suggests a desire by the succeeding peoples to continue the Mycenaean burial traditions, thus inserting themselves into the Mycenaean past. This practice both created a new recent memory of the dead and maintained the past memory of the Mycenaean buried in the tombs. In contrast, at Petroto we can see the evolution of burial memory through the entire Mycenaean period. The tomb possesses multiple burial levels ranging from typical disarticulated and commingled multiple burials to the atypical singular crouched burial. The continuous use of the tholos is itself a testament to the lasting memory of the tomb as a burial space but the changing burial practices found within, also indicated adaptations to the maintenance of such memories. Lastly, the single infant burial at Rhodia is a unique example of a final burial in a tholos. The carefully laid infant within the tomb may be an example of a final act of memory maintenance or the beginning of a new era of tomb reuse. These will be discussed as examples in which mortuary practices invoke or promote memory: the dead oblige the needs of the living.

Maria Emanuela ALBERTI

Survival or recycling? EH balance weights in Mycenaean contexts

EH balance weights were polished spools of semi-precious stones, following Levantine weight standards. They have been found throughout mainland Greece and in some islands. The evidence for MH balance weights is scanty, but by the Early Mycenaean times the situations seems to have considerably changed, with the adoption of the Minoan weight system and the Minoan type of weights, i.e. lead or stone discs. During the palatial Mycenaean period, the intermingling with Near Eastern weights and units comes into the play. However, in some cases also stone polished spools of EH type are present in the Mycenaean contexts, e.g. at Mycenae (Area 36 of the Cult Centre, Passage TZ of the SW Quarter, Room Pi of the 'Ergastirio') and Tiryns (Building I and LH IIIB1 Building from the Lower Citadel). The question is obviously whether they were still used as measuring devices along with the Mycenaean weights. If it the case, how were they inserted within the Mycenaean weighing system? Were they perceived as 'antiques' or should we envisage a continuity of metrological habits? On the other hand, they could also have been just recycled as pestles or the like, what could instead indicate a break in the Helladic metrological tradition. The present work will address these issues through the investigation of the various occurrences case by case.

Sofia ANTONELLO

The Minoan double vessel: the memory of the ritual use

The double vessel is attested on Crete between AM II and TM IIIB and its canonical shape is formed by a small jug, in most cases equipped with a perforated upper strainer, and a closed chamber to protect the contents from contact with the air. The two elements are joined together by means of a vertical loop and a horizontal channel set between the bodies of the vessel that connects the containers and allows the substances within to mix. From the Neopalatial period onwards, some double vases are characterized by the presence of one or more *appliqués* of doves in flight on the rim and filter of the vessel. Among the many Minoan vase forms, this is the only one characterized by this specific decorative detail, which is tied to the iconography of the divine epiphany. On Crete, double vases were found mainly in funerary contexts and, in few cases, in areas clearly linked to worship. It is also significant that three double vases were discovered at Akrotiri and are dated to the phase when some Minoan religious elements were established on the island of Thera. The use of this object likely had a relevant function in Minoan cultural practice, probably linked to the rituals associated with the invocation of a divinity during funerary practices, perhaps in association with scented substances. Decorative elements that refer to vegetation support the ritual association of the vase, considering that flowers were a central part of some ritual offerings to deities, particularly feminine deities, although not exclusively. Additionally, vases with such realistic floral decorations were, for the most part, dedicated to the ritual sphere. The double vessel, created in the Prepalatial period, seems to disappear with the rise of the First Palaces, but the revival of the form in the following period denotes a memory of the object and its importance within a practice whose revival was envisioned. In fact, it is at this time that the vessel underwent a specialization by the addition of the filter, and is classified as a ritual object. Although the morphology of the vessel has changed over the centuries, the preservation of the type indicates the intention to transmit the ritual associated with it. The present study has therefore allowed us to recognize the value of memory in the use of this ritual object as well as the different patterns of its use in the periods in which it appears. It is not unreasonable to interpret the system of Minoan beliefs as highly conservative if such objects, which have not been used and for which only fifty specimens have been found so far, have been preserved for approximately a millennium and a half.

Vasileios ARAVANTINOS

Memories of the Mycenaean ‘Palatial System’ in Post-palatial Boeotia

The final Bronze Age phase, i.e. the Mycenaean post-palatial period was until now neglected and almost unknown in Thebes and the rest of Boeotia, in contrary to the palatial period. Lately, however, in the wake of systematic research projects and major discoveries made at Thebes and Eleon (modern Arma), at neighbouring Lefkandi, at the early sanctuary of Abai and in East Locris, Boeotia's picture in this most significant period of transition has progressively improved.

The form and extent of survival of administrative bodies, institutions and various cultural conquests of palatial times in post-palatial Boeotia and other areas is under research. One wonders what was actually preserved in the end. Was there continuity in the production of vases for general use and of some special vases destined for ritual events in the community's life? On the other hand, other fine arts decayed and were gradually abandoned and forgotten due to the lack of raw materials and of the appropriate clientele. Linear B script was apparently also forgotten for various reasons related especially to the now limited administrative needs and bureaucratic processes.

It seems, however, that in post-palatial Boeotian communities, the past was revived through special bonding rituals on the occasion of sacrifices in honour of gods and heroes-ancestors or at events of collective memory and unity, such as the burial of prestigious members of the community. This explains the discovery of similarly themed pictorial vases at settlement sites, such as the coastal settlements of East Locris, or at cult sites, such as the sanctuary of Abai at Kalapodi in Phthiotis. Similar finds come from other landmarks of collective memory or new power seats, such as the debris overlying the palace of Thebes, in the centre of Kadmeia.

The analysis of events, finds and pictorial scenes from Thebes and the rest of Boeotia points to the survival of language, of gods' and heroes' cult, leaders' customs and war expeditions in the collective memory of those who suffered the dramatic palatial demise. These phenomena, visible in the 12th century BC, are further traceable in epic works as well as in political and social developments.

Giorgia BALDACCI

Toasting on protopalatial ruins: a special LM I deposit in the MM IIB building of the Acropoli Mediana at Phaistos

The recent study I carried out on the protopalatial building (Rooms CV-CVII) located at the southern slopes of the so-called Acropoli Mediana at Phaistos led to the identification of a group of 17 conical cups, that for their shape and manufacture should be dated to LM I.

At the time of the recovery of the building (late 1960s) the pots were registered, in the inventory files, as coming from the last floor levels of the structure, whose material is dated to the end of the Protopalatial period (MM IIB). Even recognizing the peculiar features of these conical cups, in comparison to the types attested in MM II, Doro Levi, in the volume devoted to the protopalatial pottery of the site, considered the five specimens he published as contemporary to the rest of the floor assemblage, i.e. MM II in date. The chronology of the conical cups has subsequently been questioned by Van de Moortel, who found some comparisons in MM III Kommos, and then by myself. A general re-assessment of the Acropoli Mediana building assemblages and a direct study of the material kept in the Phaistos storerooms allowed me to find that the conical cups group was actually composed by 17 specimens and to argue that they belong to LM I.

On the basis of the fact that (a) the MM IIB floor assemblage does not show any other later intrusions and that (b) the LM I pottery group, including only whole vessels, is substantial and entirely composed by pots of the same shape, it has been possible to put forward the hypothesis that the 17 LM I conical cups are part of a voluntary deposition. In this scenario, during LM I, a period in which the area of the Acropoli Mediana should have been occupied and some of the older structures could still be seen, the conical cups, after being used for drinking practices, were buried between the ruins of the protopalatial building.

This special deposit may thus be connected to a form of memorialisation of the past, and may reflect a practice which was not unknown in the Western Mesara area, as some comparable small groups of entire drinking pots of later (Neopalatial) date can be found in MM II contexts both at Phaistos and Kommos.

Philip P. BETANCOURT, Sydney SARASIN & Leanna KOLONAUSKI

Minoan Memories in the Cave of Eileithyia at Inatos, Crete

The Cave of Eileithyia at the modern village of Inatos in southern Crete was first visited in the Early Bronze Age, but its use as a shrine can only be attested beginning in MM IA. Many Minoan offerings were made to the Goddess of Childbirth and Motherhood, with the largest number consisting of pottery vessels, especially miniatures, many of which were pierced for suspension in the shrine. Among the other dedications are figurines of both bronze and clay. The shrine was used until the Roman period, and an inscription to Eileithyia establishes the identity of the shrine. The identification is confirmed by the nature of the figurines, which include female figures, a baby in a crib, embracing couples, and preparations for childbirth. The cave was excavated in 1962 by Nicolas Platon and Costis Davaras, and the finds are being prepared for publication by the authors and various colleagues. One interesting aspect of the shrine is that an arched niche containing three Minoan bronze female figurines was still in place in the Roman period. This prominent display of Minoan art included two LM I figurines and a LM III image of the 'Goddess with Upraised Arms'. It preserved a visual memory of the great antiquity of the shrine.

Marco BETTELLI & Sara T. LEVI

Technology, Style and Memory: the Italo-Mycenaean Legacy

In the Central Mediterranean around the mid of the 2nd mill BCE a deep relationship with the Aegean is testified by the flourishing local production of the Italo-Mycenaean ware. This wide phenomenon, discovered with the help of numerous compositional analyses, has been interpreted as the result of circulation of Aegean potters and of a technological transfer in the field of pottery production.

The Italo-Mycenaean ware was produced in several sites in the whole Italian peninsula and in the major islands (14th - 11th cent. BCE). This hybridization is evident also in other Italian mixed products such as the gray ware, the “dolia” and the South Italian Protogeometric.

In the frame of this general phenomenon there are many geographical differences, for the Italo-Mycenaean in terms of technology, style and consistency with the Aegean models, for the other wares in terms of geographical distribution and chronology.

We discuss the different and complex reactions over time of the local communities facing the new fashion.

Fritz BLAKOLMER

The glory that was Knossos! Heirlooms, reception and the significance of development in the arts of the Aegean Late Bronze Age

A large variety of expressions of ‘memory’, i.e. references to the past, is delivered by archaeological records of the Aegean Bronze Age. Several of these phenomena can also be detected in the field of Aegean iconography, especially during the Late Bronze Age. Mainly the following three categories can be distinguished: heirlooms, reception and continuity.

1. Although, in archaeology, we are used to looking essentially for synchronisations, the opposite phenomenon, that of so-called ‘heirlooms’ or ‘time-travellers’ (in one and the same or in different regions), can possess an equally high informative value. A remarkable amount of artistic objects was found in contexts which are later than their date of production, as can be judged by iconography and style.

2. Many examples exist which indicate, directly or indirectly, an artistic reception of ‘antiques’ which were repaired, imitated or used as artistic stimuli and inspiration.

3. A third explanation of supposed ‘time-travellers’, though, is the fact that astonishing similarities can be observed in Aegean works of art belonging to different periods of the Late Bronze Age which point to a remarkable continuity in iconography and style.

There are many indications which point to the assumption that, in all three phenomena, Neopalatial Knossos might have played a central role, not only in the creation of iconographical concepts which dominate the entire Aegean during the 17th and 16th centuries but also as the catalyst, a normative landmark and a firm point of reference for the artists and patrons even during the subsequent Minoan and Mycenaean periods. As a consequence, we should not prematurely postulate that people of the Aegean Bronze Age were thinking and acting along our abstract chronological categorizations which were created once for utilitarian purposes among scholars, modernist notions of development, according to our Darwinist periodical system of advancement and progress.

Elisabetta BORGNA, Gaspare DE ANGELI, Agata LICCIARDELLO, Assunta MERCOGLIANO & Andreas G. VORDOS

Natural and human components shaping a landscape of memory during the long-term occupation of the Trapeza, Aigion, Achaea

The archaeological landscape of the Trapeza hill, most probably the seat of the ancient polis of Rhyes, located inland, several kilometers south of Aigion, Eastern Achaea, has been the object of systematic fieldwork since 2007, including – since 2010 - the investigation of the evidence of prehistoric occupation. By using a multi-dimensional approach, taking into account different but deeply related aspects, including topographical, geomorphological, chrono-stratigraphic and cultural issues, the research aims at understanding the long-term human occupation of the area in prehistoric times, starting in the Final Neolithic period and continuing well into the Early Iron Age (ca. late 4th millennium- 10th cent. BC).

The study of the geomorphological, stratigraphic and cultural aspects has permitted the archaeologists to analyze a pattern of interaction between the natural and the human components of landscape evolution, on one hand considering how environmental features could have been landmarks that influenced the perception of the landscape, and on the other hand explaining how natural agents considerably affected the modes and dynamics of the human approach to their past, including retrieval, oblivion and abandonment. Following the very same pattern, cultural components could have enhanced the symbolic role of selected places; more intriguingly, a few hybrid components, deriving from the transformation of the human landscape by the pressure of natural constraints, could have played a role as strong mnemonic devices.

One of the focuses of our research is the Mycenaean cemetery filled with chamber tombs at the Southwestern foot of the Trapeza plateau, which was used from LH IIIA1 till late in the Postpalatial period or Submycenaean, while the area was still occupied in the EIA.

The cemetery may had a small knoll visible from afar and featuring the morphology of the area as its main focal point; at the same time, conditions of inter-visibility with a Middle Helladic settlement located in front of the funerary site and still occupied during the early Mycenaean period, seems to have played a role in the locational choice. By constituting a direct link to a recent past, the village represented a major ideological resource, prompting the perception of an ancestral landscape and the beginning of memorializing practices.

Evidence for such practices has been explored in the archaeological record related to the funerary rites and ritual gestures in the tombs, where some ambiguous and controversial evidence has been collected. The complex diachronic pattern of use of the tombs, from LH IIIA 1 up to the very end of the Bronze Age or LBA/EIA transition (15th-11th cent.), indeed offers evidence of an ideological confrontation with the past including both practices of legitimization through ritual celebration of the ancestors and gestures of rupture and discontinuity through the spoiling and the destroying old semata which signaled single tombs. Meanwhile, geoarchaeological investigation opened up a new perspective on the organization of the cemetery as a landscape of memory, founded not only on the use of semata, but also on the manipulation of the natural environment. Notwithstanding the usual closure of the dromoi

with fill layers after main burial cycles, the location of every single tomb seems to have been intentionally enhanced by only partially filling the dromos. Post-depositional natural phenomena consisting of slope colluvium were later responsible for the oblivion and removal of the tomb from the cultural landscape of remembrance.

Natural processes, however, were also responsible for the progressive formation of a “landscape of ruins”, which played a main role in the activation of selective relationships with the past in the long term: specifically, collapsed funerary chambers, well-perceivable in the morphological profile of the slope, could become long-lasting objectives of offering and ritual action throughout historical times and up until the Late Classical/Hellenistic period, when access to the residential quarters as well as to the monumental temple on the Trapeza plateau was still negotiated with the ancestors.

Hariclia BRECOULAKI, Sharon STOCKER & Jack DAVIS

‘Old fashioned’ themes revisited: The iconography of Hall 64 at the Palace of Nestor in Pylos

Recent study of the wall-paintings from Hall 64 at the Palace of Nestor in Pylos has shed new light on the iconography of the palace’s decoration and the style of the workshops involved in their production. New fragments have been added to the well-known ‘Battle Scene’, badly worn fragments previously identified as battle scenes are now being reconstructed as unarmed training scenes, and a ‘Naval Scene’, with three ships at sea has been restored from hundreds of other fragments. Despite the fact that the iconographic themes chosen to decorate the walls of this prominent part of the palatial complex seem to refer to a common repertoire of Mycenaean imagery (namely military scenes or ships associated with the activities of warriors), the Pylian wall paintings display a number of characteristics that seem ‘anachronistic’ or ‘syncretic’ considering their date and context. In the ‘Battle Scene’, for example, although an entire battlefield is depicted and daggers are used instead of swords, conforming to an ideological restriction of warrior identity by LH IIIB, the composition is structured with groups of two figures engaged in single combat; these scenes of death recall a much older type of ‘heroic competition’ among elites, one familiar from seal and ring iconographies.

Regarding the Pylian ‘Naval Scene’, the crescent-shaped hulls of the ships recall the traditional Minoan type of sailing ship, although by LH IIIB the Mycenaean had invented a new type of ship, the oared galley; they evince closer affinities with the vessels in the Thera Flotilla than with the galleys depicted on contemporary pottery. However, contrary to the apparent ‘conservative’ character of the iconographic themes in Hall 64, their style and technique betray the activity of ‘non-traditional’ workshops, which were reviving traditional pictorial approaches to representation by introducing new materials and innovative color schemes that are unique in both Minoan and Mycenaean palatial wall decoration.

Thomas BROGAN

Rejecting the Past? LM II-III B settlements in the Mirabello

The violent destruction of LM IB habitations across Crete and the subsequent response in the LM II-III A period offer an exceptional sample for the study of the cultural discontinuity in the Aegean Bronze Age. For Crete this transition marks arguably the most significant break in the island's long history.

Much attention has rightly been given to Knossos where various markers suggest profound changes in the Final Palatial period (new forms of iconography, new tomb types, new social practices, new political offices, and new administrative practices.) Interpretations of these phenomena have frequently stressed either continuity with the previous palatial system or discontinuities associated with the appearance of new, foreign groups from the Mycenaean mainland. While we wait for the results aDNA studies to provide definitive answers to presence and potential role of foreigners in these events, it may be useful to consider LM II-III A1 Knossos as a kind of laboratory for the creation of a new form of palatial culture. The goal of the new administration was not to mimic or to rebuild the Neopalatial past, but to create a new administrative system and new ideology. Meanwhile, the town of Knossos, while smaller than its Neopalatial predecessor, remained the largest urban center in the Aegean.

The evidence from other Cretan settlements suggests a very different process was at work following the LM IB destructions, and this response has received far less attention. After displaying long records of continuity from EM-MM-LM I, life at many Minoan towns was suddenly ruptured in an unexpected wave of violence that left countless multi-story houses in ruins. The absence of LM II material at some sites has even been used to suggest that the towns were completely abandoned for short periods of time. When habitation did resume, it was radically different. In the shells of abandoned houses and streets, small two and three-room dwellings arose, and new cemeteries were built. There appears to have been no effort to rebuild the Neopalatial past. Moreover, the presence of so much metal in the LM IB destructions suggests that little effort was even made to salvage the valuables that lay inside destroyed houses. Was there any memory of the past at these sites?

My paper considers this phenomenon in more detail. Was this simply a small-scale survival strategy by a diminished population or instead a more conscious rejection of the past? The paper looks at four contexts in the eastern Mirabello - Pseira, Gournia, Mochlos, and Papadiokampos, to assess this intriguing pattern of discontinuity and its meaning for understanding views of the past in Minoan Crete.

Bryan BURNS & Brendan BURKE

Memorializing the First Mycenaeans at Eleon

A unique burial complex lies at the center of the Greek-Canadian excavations at the Mycenaean site of Eleon (Boeotia). Stone walls enclose a select group of burials, separating them from a larger cemetery that likely began in the Middle Helladic period. This rectangular structure measures 10 by 17 meters, is distinguished from other constructions by the pieces of polished blue limestone capping the walls and inspiring the name the Blue Stone Structure (BSS). The numerous cist graves within the enclosure were marked during the period of their use by cobbled surfaces preserved at several elevations and a rough stele stands above one of the largest tombs. This tomb also provides the most ample evidence for the date and relative wealth of the burials: among the commingled skeletal remains were six ceramic cups and an askos all dating to the Late Helladic I period, two pieces of ivory, spindle whorls, and several bronze artifacts.

The creation of a tumulus over the Blue Stone Structure further monumentalized the memory of those buried within the complex, and survived for centuries as the locus of renewed commemoration for the earliest Mycenaeans at Eleon. Excavations have revealed numerous aspects of the mound's construction, including its fabrication from slabs of unbaked clay and multiple surfaces that all date within the Shaft Grave era. In the subsequent phases of activity at Eleon, the tumulus survived as a visible memorial. The LH III settlement extended into areas adjacent to the mound, but the boundary walls built along the edge of the tumulus suggest respect for the earlier burial site. Votive deposits of the 6th and 5th centuries BCE are similarly kept distinct by walls that create an entrance to the elevated site, alongside the tumulus. The concentration of cult activity in this area suggests reverence for this space and perhaps a new conception of the burial mound with the site's mythological heritage. The deposition of hundreds of terracotta figurines of seated and standing female figures accord well with Plutarch's description of a cult at Eleon dedicated to the maiden daughters of the local river god.

Ilaria CALOI

Visible and commemorative structured deposits. Keeping the memory of communal social practices at Minoan palaces

Moving from recent studies at the First Palace of Phaistos, Southern Crete, this paper wants to focus on structured deposits embodying the commemoration of communal events that are connected to the foundation of Minoan palatial buildings or to the renovation/construction of parts of them.

The First Palace of Phaistos has provided some unusual deposits, which I called “filled-in bench and platform deposits”, that have attracted the attention of the first excavators of the site (i.e. Luigi Pernier and Doro Levi) and of other scholars because they are similar to foundation deposits, but actually they are not buried under the floors or walls of buildings. They are instead closed into benches or platforms that remain visible and fully integrated into the life of the building in which they are found. They contain mainly ceramic vases, and occasionally other kinds of material such as lithic and bones, which are the results of communal feasting events or special actions connected to the construction or renovation of Phaistian palatial buildings in different phases of the Protopalatial period.

Filled-in benches and platforms are so far not attested outside Phaistos in the Protopalatial period. It seems that this practice of making-up new and visible structures with material resulting from special events originated at Phaistos in the Protopalatial period; it arose in MM IB with the foundation of the First Palace and stopped in MM IIB, with the palace's collapse. This practice of creating visible and commemorative deposits has been recently recognised also in other Neopalatial court-centred buildings. The best example is provided by the filled-in bench deposit found in the Neopalatial court-centred building of Sissi, where it appears to be connected with its MM IIIB construction. Another interesting case is represented by the LM IB feasting and commemorative deposit found within the Southwestern wing of the court-centred building at Gournia. It will be argued that these kinds of visible structured deposits were born at Protopalatial Phaistos and then widespread in other long-lasting Minoan palaces during the successive Neopalatial period, with the aim of embodying the mnemonic record of communal events connected to important changes in the palaces' biography.

Claire CAMBERLEIN

Did you say "antique"?

Methodological approach, practices and challenges of the preservation of antiquities in the Aegean societies during Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age.

In the last fifteen years, the “archeology of memory” has become increasingly important in the studies of ancient Mediterranean societies. Social practices related to the reuse of the past are highlighted and hold an important place in the reconsideration of notions such as continuity, break and transmission. Despite this, in the study of Minoan and Mycenaean cultures, antiquities get very little of all the attention drawn on material production. Regarding the early Iron Age, whereas various memorial phenomena, such as settlement permanence, religious “continuity”, heroes or ancestors worships or the reuse of ruins for cultic or funerary purpose, enjoyed quite the attention, very little has been paid to the long conservation of ancient artefacts. This lack of interest comes from the fact that few of those artefacts are recognized as such, and that hardly ever a parallel is drawn between them and other relevant circumstances. The aim of this contribution is to introduce a method of defining and analyzing these antiquities, using archaeological definitions, by using the tool social sciences provide us with, as well as ethnographic parallels.

We will see how the analysis of a corpus of antiquities allow us to understand, from a different point of view, the political, cultural and social phenomena in the Aegean world during LBA and EIA. This requires to take into account the various contexts of social interaction, such as the ritual aspect, the funerary one, but also the domestic and the community-based one. The island of Euboea will be addressed as a regional study, through the sites of Lefkandi and Eretria where several antiquities, bronze-aged as well as iron-aged, have been found. The contextualization of these different antiquities, in conjunction with other forms of remembrance, shows how the memory of the Ancients Greeks could be embodied in objects of the everyday life, as well as in luxurious productions, sometimes exotics. In the same way, the role they might have played in the legitimating and promoting new social-political forms will also be taken into consideration.

Filippo Maria CARINCI

Phaistos and Ayia Triada from Final Neolithic to Early Iron Age: two places of memories

Taking advantage of recent studies that examine the different theoretical approaches to the topic of the past in the past memory, the aim of this paper is to make a preliminary collection of physical elements linked to social memory from two important archaeological sites in Southern Crete, Phaistos and Ayia Triada, which have been both excavated and studied by Italian scholars. A number of significant case studies from these sites will be taken into consideration, distributed over an extended period of time going from the Final Neolithic to the Early Iron Age, in an attempt to define the nature of physical testimonies and to verify their possible relationship with collective memory.

A relationship with the past is undoubtedly verifiable at Phaistos. The Final Neolithic of Phaistos is marked by the conspicuous remains of communal meals, perhaps intentionally left on the ground, in an area characterized by the deposition of a human skull, likely to symbolize the presence of previous generations. It does not appear, however, a casual fact that the same place, significant from the point of view of landscape, was then elected to the foundation of the Phaistos palatial complex in the Middle Bronze Age. Still, in the intricate context of remains of the Palace at Phaistos, can be isolated many elements capable of revealing forms of conservation of "physical" items (*e.g.* benches, intentional deposits of a special nature, foundation deposits etc.), to be understood as evidence of an action of which a group wanted to leave a memory, a "physical trace". Other cases of functional continuity, often with manifest ceremonial purposes, refer to complexes rebuilt several times in the same area like the so-called Western Bastion, located in the Middle West Court of the Phaistos Palace.

Relevant to the memory of ancestors in funerary areas are the festivals celebrated over several generations and with significant transformations at the Tholos A of Ayia Triada. Here the relationship with the memory of ancestors also acts in the determination of ritual behaviours, which can be transformed in relation to subsequent changes. Also in later times we observe some forms of veneration of ancient monuments considered as evidence of a past which has not to be forgotten: noteworthy are the Protogeometric vessels placed as offers by the long wall built near the ruins of Tholos A at Ayia Triada. A similar attention, always in the sphere of cults, is still addressed in the post-palatial phases to the now ruined area of the Palace, which is, in other respects, an area devoid of structures of immediately successive periods. The archaic Temple is not built on the top of the hill, but on its southern slopes, even with a higher cost in terms of building works.

This review is a first attempt to define a series of extremely different contexts, in which it seems possible to trace elements linked to the memory of the past in the Bronze Age Minoan societies in these two important sites of Southern Crete. This paper does not neglect other aspects, which, on the contrary, would betray the intention to erase the memory of people and events. Significant is the tomb of the painted sarcophagus at Ayia Triada, in the suggestive interpretation, proposed by La Rosa, of a *damnatio memoriae* of the deceased originally laid in the tomb.

Alberto CAZZELLA & Giulia RECCHIA

Memories and legacies of cultural encounters and contacts with the Aegean in central Mediterranean (2500-1700 BC)

During the 6th - 4th millennia BC contacts between the Aegean and southern Italy already took place, yet, being mostly testified by broad similarities in the material culture, these still remain difficult to define.

Starting from the mid-3rd millennium BC analogies between various types of artefacts occurring in both areas became closer, making it possible to hypothesise movements of small groups of individuals and to recognise both the areas where they came from and landing-places. In particular, movements of small groups from the Peloponnese and the Ionian Islands towards southern Apulia and chiefly to Sicily, the Aeolian and the Maltese Islands are likely to have happened. This phenomenon was firstly hypothesised by L. Bernabò Brea and M. Cavalier several years ago, but our knowledge of it has deeply increased over the last decades. We have already discussed this subject in the Hesperos Conference and other occasions, yet in this Conference we would like to stress the phenomenon of the retention of Aegean elements in the furthest areas these arrived to, that is the Aeolian and Maltese archipelagos, long after they had disappeared in the areas they originated from. The phenomenon of retaining identity through reproducing traditional elements is well known in Ethno-anthropology, for instance among the migrants.

Vasiliki CHRYSOVITSANO

From repulsion to fascination to “Cycladomania”: Changes in the archeological analysis of Cycladic figurines and their relation to history of art and public imagery

Since their first appearance in the literature at the end of the 18th, beginning of the 19th century, Cycladic figurines were met with mostly negative reactions. Perceived as ugly and repulsive they were considered to be no match for the classical masterpieces. In a space of less than a century, however, repulsion gave its place to fascination. The reevaluation of the Cycladic figurines took place in three stages. At first, modern sculptors in the first half of the 20th century were fascinated by their ‘pure’ forms. Historians of art, part of the avant-garde movement, took an interest in them and defended their aesthetic virtues. From the 1960s archeologists followed suit in the positive evaluation of the figurines and started analyzing them as separate objects, creating typologies and applying the tools and methodology of classical archeology. The newly found interest of archeologists led to the culmination of ‘cycladicism’. The stylized forms become ‘ultramodern’, acquire exceptional value and invade the antiquities markets. The ‘shapeless idols’, produced by the ‘most barbaric of the Pre-Hellenes’, have become works of art, created by “artistic geniuses” who invented genuine canons of proportions. Unfortunately, the reevaluation of Cycladic art in the 1960s was followed by an enormous increase of the prices of the figurines in the market for antiquities which, in turn, encouraged clandestine excavations and forgeries. From the 1980s onwards, the impact of the Cycladic figurine on the public sphere was so great that it became one of the emblematic images of antiquity that were widely distributed throughout the world. Cycladic figurines stand now as equals to the Mask of Agamemnon, the Venus de Milo, and the Winged Victory of Samothrace, considered as masterpieces of the Greek civilization, in textbooks of History of Art, tourist guides, travel magazines, advertisements and posters. Debates about the true nature of the figurines, controversies surrounding their interpretation continue to keep the minds of the experts engaged in symposia and publications, but leave the public completely indifferent. The public adopted the image of the Cycladic figurine and used it at will. The figurine has acquired another quality, that of popularity. Its use was multiple and varied. At the same time, official and popular ideology made the figurines as one of the facets of ‘Greekness’. In the opening ceremony of the Athens Olympic Games, on Greek passports, in Greek Ministries and Embassies, in doctors’ waiting rooms, in hotel lobbies, even in their restrooms, the image of the Cycladic figurine has become ubiquitous. In gift shops of “Greek art” copies of the original figurines or artefacts of dubious aesthetics, or even plain kitsch, “inspired” by them, are now standard items for sale. The small figurine-fetish of archaeologists is now part of the imagery of a glorious past that nourishes the Hellenic identity.

Paola CONTURSI

Heroes, ancestors or scattered bones? (Ab)Uses of the Mycenaean past in the historical period.

In the plethora of studies about memory and memorialization, those on the use of the past as a means for re-shaping the present and the materiality of remembering stand out for the increasing interest received from the archaeological research. Many scholars, especially those dealing with Greek religion and the rising of the polis, have tried to look backward at Mycenaean period to collect evidence for ritual continuity or cultic connections. Classical archaeologists have argued that the *élites* of the historical period drew their socio-political power from their Bronze Age heroized ancestors, celebrating rituals at their tomb to emphasize (or construct) their genealogic ties. This assumption led scholars to read a trace of ritual practices, namely tomb cult, in every single sherd found inside or in proximity of a *tholos* or chamber tomb. However, we still lack a definite evidence of the cultic nature of later activities at Mycenaean tombs, and often the very intentionality of the deposition is questionable. Moreover, clear-cut cases of Mycenaean tombs reused to serve practical necessities, or even used as refuse pits should have compelled archaeologists to ask whether ancient Greeks have ever been really interested in the celebration of their proto-historical past. Despite the ambiguity and complexity of this scenario, scholars' listing of later activities at Bronze Age tombs is further developing and dedicated publications continue to refer to the phenomenon as a whole.

The aim of this contribution is to highlight some methodological insights long forgotten in the scholar debate. The thoroughly analysis of the archaeological data shows that tomb cult represents a modern creation rather than a true ancient phenomenon. The available interpretations usually disregard the formative processes of the archaeological complex, and later disturbances, or natural depositions of colluvial material in collapsed tombs, are recognized as remnants of worship, contributing to the creation of a complex but artificial picture. In addition, traces of deliberate activities at Mycenaean tombs that could hide behaviours or strategies of self-representations and identity construction as well as straightforward evidences of hero cult are described as 'mere' ancestor worship.

A contextual and multivariate analysis of the archaeological data suggests that the so-called 'ancestral landscape', imbued with visible remnants from the past, did not always evoke feelings of owe and reverence: its perception was strictly connected with complex processes of remembering and forgetting. As a result, the decription of the different behaviours toward a Mycenaean tomb could reveal cultural and historical specificities connected to a region or a city, and could shed light on particular choices in the funerary patterns or in the settlement occupations, especially at the transition from the Late Bronze Age to Early Iron Age.

Alice CROWE

Old Things, New Contexts: Bronze Age Objects in Early Iron Age Burials at Knossos

Societies have long manipulated the material remains of the past in order to serve agendas in the present. As a result, analyzing uses of the past in the past²⁷ provides insight into societal developments within the ‘present in the past’. Knossos is an ideal site for a case study on uses of ‘the past in the past’, because it is one of the few Aegean Bronze Age (BA) palatial centers at which occupation continued uninterrupted into the Early Iron Age (EIA); thus, the site, and especially its burial record, provides a unique setting for a study of the use of the Minoan past in general, and of BA objects in particular, in EIA society. Thirty Knossian EIA tombs have produced BA objects, which would have been between 100 and 1,200 years old at the time of their re-deposition. By studying the morphologies and EIA contexts of these reused BA objects, this paper examines how and for what purposes the BA past was employed during the EIA. The study also explores from where the BA objects were acquired, in what phases of the EIA they were redeposited, and in what types of tombs and with what kinds of objects they were placed.

This analysis suggests that BA objects are unlikely to have been ‘heirlooms’ – objects passed down within a kin group – but rather functioned as ‘antiques’. Additionally, the analysis reveals a stark difference in the morphologies and functions of BA objects redeposited during periods in which the BA was the ‘recent past’ and in periods during which it was the ‘deep past’. In the Subminoan period (11th century) – only circa 100 years removed from the end of the BA – the materials and shapes of the antique BA objects were no longer produced in the EIA, and the restricted distribution of these objects indicates that one elite group monopolized this seemingly exotic past. By the Protogeometric period (10th-mid-9th centuries), few BA objects were reused, despite the increasing construction of tombs and the copious importation of foreign goods at Knossos. The dearth of BA objects in Protogeometric burials is therefore not the result of a hiatus in activity but rather indicates that, instead of relying upon connections to the BA past, Knossian elites of this period invested in a variety of imported and local EIA products. In the Protogeometric B to Orientalizing periods (mid-ninth to seventh centuries) – circa 400 years removed from the end of the BA – there was a significant increase in the deposition of BA objects in burials, and, in contrast to the Subminoan period, in this era, the objects were dispersed within several tombs of moderate wealth, which suggests that the use of antique objects was more inclusive and emerged as one of several competing means of expressing status. These diachronic differences in the uses of antiques are indicative of the changing social significance of BA objects in EIA burials and, more broadly, of the BA past in the EIA present.

Nicola CUCUZZA & Orazio PALIO

Between memory and reuse in Late Minoan III Mesara: a glimpse on the stone vessels at Kannia

In the Late Minoan IIIA-B Western Mesara the area of the monumental buildings destroyed in Late Minoan IB is reoccupied, especially in the three main centres of the area (Phaistos, Kommos and Haghia Triada). At Haghia Triada and Phaistos this reuse had very probably a religious character, linked to some ritual performances. The three monumental structures built in the southern area of Haghia Triada (the Megaron ABCD, the Stoa FG and the Shrine H) were used indeed for ceremonial activities: although they show a new architectural style, the arrangement of the overall area was very similar to that of the previous period, suggesting that it was intentionally reminiscent of the Neopalatial phase.

The Neopalatial Villa at Kannia, near Mitropolis (15 km ca. East of Phaistos), was reused in Late Minoan IIIB too: some rooms of the building were rearranged for religious practices, as testified by the presence of some terracotta figurines belonging to the type of the *Goddesses with Upraised Arms*. The rearrangement of the building took place many decades after its destruction in Late Minoan IB, raising the possibility that the Late Minoan IIIB reuse had the aim to claim some territory possession, through the memory of the earlier building.

The reuse was not limited to the architectural items: as it is well known, a recurring phenomenon in Crete is the finding of some objects produced during the Middle Minoan and the Late Minoan I in architectural contexts dating to Late Minoan III, mostly ceremonial in character. At Kannia, in particular, some stone vessels found in the Late Minoan IIIB cult rooms are very interesting. They are two libation tables and a bird's nest bowl; one libation table was a Late Minoan I type, but produced perhaps during the Late Minoan IIIA-B period: some engraved signs were probably reminiscent of the linear A inscriptions engraved on similar Late Minoan I stone vases. The second libation table, belonging to a Middle Minoan type, was found together with the bird's nest bowl, as in some protopalatial complexes at Phaistos. It is also important to stress the ceremonial function that the rooms, in which the stone vases were found, had during the Late Minoan III period.

Therefore, during the Late Minoan IIIB at Kannia, besides the revival of older architectural structures, the use of stone vessels belonging to earliest ages from stylistic and typological points of view emphasized the memory perpetuation as a strong and significant element of identity.

Massimo CULTRARO

Sale of Antiques or Heirloom? Amber Spacer-Plates of Western Europe origin in the early Mycenaean Age

Several studies have been recently focused on the origin and distribution of amber artifacts in the Aegean Bronze Age. Since the first chemical analyses carried out by H. Schliemann, amber with typically “Baltic” spectra is largely common in Mycenaean contexts, according to the most recent and advanced laboratory investigations on DRIFT technique (Diffuse-Reflectance Infrared Fourier Transform Spectroscopy), which have confirmed the same geological source.

In a typological perspective, amber artifacts in Mycenaean Greece are scarcely diagnostic because the great majority of objects includes beads of simple shapes, mostly flattened spherical shaped. The only diagnostic form is the so-called spacer-plates, whose primary function was to separate the strands of a multiple-thread necklace. These objects have been widely studied, being an excellent example of the long distance connections between early Mycenaean societies and Central and Western Europe.

Scholars have focused on the affinities of the Mycenaean objects, specially the amber spacer beads found at Tholos A at Kakovatos, Peristeria and Pylos Grave Circle, and those coming from different contexts of Central Europe. The question of the spacer-plates was well defined about 50 years ago by R. Hachmann (1957), who focused on some significant differences, in terms of typology and mostly of chronology, between amber samples in the Aegean Bronze Age and those from Central Europe claimed as possible sources. The German scholar has pointed out the deep chronological gap between the Central Europe objects and those found in LH I-II Mycenaean contexts. The main conclusion, which has been curiously neglected in the next researches, has been that it need to date the European examples much more earlier than amber objects found in Mycenaean Greece.

The aim of this paper is to reassess the main chronological questions of the amber spacer-plates in the early Mycenaean, focusing on the new data coming from different parts of Central Mediterranean. The first goal is dealing with to clarify the chronological gap, as Hachmann has proposed. Of relevant importance is the new chronological framework related to the Middle Bronze Age or Tumulus Period (*Hügelgräberbronzezeit*) in Southern Germany, where amber spacer-plates recognize the high bulk of production. On the other hand, important elements for the discussion come from the recent explorations of some funerary deposits in Southern France (Rhodanian Basin) dated to the transitional stage between Early and Middle Bronze Age (Camp de Laure, Montou etc..). Finally, further parallels for the distribution of the amber spacer-beads and plates come from the Northern Italy (*Terremare culture*) and from Sicily, where in the Middle Bronze Age cemetery at Plemmyrion (Syracuse) an amber spacer-plate, very close to those from Kakovatos, has been found in the same burial with LH III imported pottery.

According to the new chronological picture related to the Central Europe and Northern Italy, the study will concentrate on the phenomenon of chronological, cultural and symbolic discontinuity between amber objects claimed as “antiques” in the place of origin, and their use

or re-use by Mycenaean élites as prestige items. Why objects out of use come back to be popular? Matter of Past or Memory, sale of antiques or items really perceived as heirloom? There is another line of argument which produces very different results.

Janusz CZEBRESZUK

Amber – raw material of Mycenaean?

Numerous amber products have been known in the Mycenaean culture since the beginning of its existence (decline of MH). Spectroscopic analyzes have shown that, in the overwhelming majority, it is succinite, commonly referred to as Baltic amber.

Amber is the exception among imported raw materials in Mycenaean culture, as it is the only one originating from the north. Archaeologists have been questioning for over 100 years: what was the reason for its influx. Moreover, we do not know where the "north" was geographically located.

Questions can be multiplied. What was the process of obtaining this raw material by the Mycenaean? How was it used? The key question, however, is the following: What was the cultural value of amber? There is no doubt that in the Mycenaean world of value the raw material occupied a unique place and had to be very highly valorized.

The weight of these questions is increased by the fact that amber entered from the beginning into a package of material culture objects that define the specificity of Mycenaean culture in relation to other cultural phenomena of the Eastern Mediterranean. It was deposited in graves during the entire period of Mycenaean culture.

Despite long-term and intensive excavations in many settlements of the Mycenaean culture, no trace of amber processing (amber workshop) was found.

It is often assumed that amber reached the Mycenaean world in the form of ready-made products. This is also indicated by the typology of amber artifacts, most often referring to the types known from the regions of Central and Western Europe. Another hypothesis assumes that all amber known from the Mycenaean world got into one (several?) exchange act at the very beginning of this culture. It was used for many generations and gradually deposited in graves until the end of the Mycenaean culture. There are also data in the archaeological sources that at the beginning of the Iron Age some of the artifacts from amber were still used and deposited in graves. In light of the above hypothesis, specific amber artifacts may have been circulating in culture for hundreds of years, passed down from generation to generation.

Even if we consider the above hypothesis to be exaggerated, it is undoubtedly true that specific amber artifacts have been used by many generations. This can be seen, for example, after the use of single beads. At first (the early phases of Mycenaean culture) they were often found in large numbers in exclusively amber necklaces. Over time, these necklaces were probably divided into smaller parts. At that time, necklaces made up of beads of various raw materials were created with several amber beads in the collection. We also know many cases of necklaces, which consisted of single amber beads.

The proposed paper intends to show the multiplicity of complications associated with the importance and use of amber in the Mycenaean world. Despite the many gaps in our knowledge of this topic, it is undoubtedly that amber was a carrier of values relevant to the identity of the Mycenaean at all stages of their culture. The questions that are going to be put forward in the paper will therefore require responses during future research. Nevertheless their proper diagnosis and systematization is important at the current stage of research.

Mary K. DABNEY

Heirlooms for the Living, Heirlooms for the Dead

Objects stylistically older than the use contexts in which they were found could have been heirlooms. This paper compares the types of objects that may have been heirlooms in Mycenaean mortuary contexts, particularly Mycenaean chamber tombs, with those in non-mortuary contexts. The difficulties of determining object reuse in multi-generational use contexts are discussed. Among the case studies of objects stylistically older than the use contexts in which they were found are specific types of bronze and ceramic vessels and bronze weapons found in mortuary and non-mortuary contexts. The evidence is presented for the preference of specific types of objects for possible use as heirlooms in specific contexts, such as ceramic drinking vessels that imitate metal vessels in Mycenaean chamber tombs. Taking ethnographic examples into consideration, differences in the potential social significance of heirlooms in these contexts are explored.

Brent DAVIS, Emilia BANOU, Louise A. HITCHCOCK & Anne P. CHAPIN

Curation in the Bronze Age Aegean: Objects as Material Memories

The Minoans appear to have placed a special and even ritual premium on curated objects that stimulated memory, such as heirlooms and antiques. Some imported Old and Middle Kingdom Egyptian objects, for example, were curated by the Minoans for centuries before deposition, often in tombs. Minoan stone bull's-head and relief rhyta – never found intact, and with pieces always missing – appear to have been intentionally smashed, with pieces given to witnesses as mementos of the occasion; some of these pieces were curated for generations before being deposited in ritual contexts. In the same way, antique Minoan objects were sometimes curated into the Mycenaean period, as exemplified by Neopalatial vessels found in LM III contexts, or by the fragments of Minoan stone bull's-head rhyta found in LH III contexts on the mainland.

This practice of curation, however, is not specific to the Aegean; it is in fact common to a large number of cultures, both ancient and modern. Two LH IIIA2/B alabaster found at Ugarit, for example, had been curated there for nearly a century before the city's destruction. Fragments of animal-headed cups were curated in Philistia, only to be deposited later in ritual contexts. The tomb of Tutankhamun contained a number of curated objects, including a lock of hair from his grandmother Tiye, and travertine vessels from the reign of his great-great-great grandfather Tuthmosis III. Among the Samburu of Kenya, antique Venetian trade beads—prized for their exoticness and distance-value—have been passed down through generations of women at their weddings as symbols of fertility and abundance. The Haya of Tanzania curate the clothing of a deceased head of household; the clothing is subsequently worn by his successor as a means of transferring power to the new generation. After libations at a shrine, the Aymara of Bolivia curate and display the empty libation vessels next to the effigy of the deity, where they serve as reminders (both to the deity and to future visitors at the shrine) of the piety of those who poured the libations – a practice that may very well echo the curation of countless offering vessels at Minoan extramural sanctuaries.

In this paper, we explore a wide array of such cross-cultural and ethnographic evidence for curation.

Our aim is to illuminate the range of potential meanings that this practice had in the Bronze Age Aegean, and the spectrum of potential ways in which this practice was intended to stimulate Minoan and Mycenaean memory.

Chiara DE GREGORIO

The Deposito delle Camerette at Ayia Triada

South of *tholos* A at Ayia Triada, Southern Crete, a group of ten small chambers, the so-called *Camerette*, has been rediscovered and dug in 1997-1999 by the Italian Archaeological School. Close to the first ones, three other small rooms have been found and named A to C. South-West of it, a pottery dump, the so-called *Deposito delle Camerette*, was discovered in an ellipsoidal pit and behind a wall with baetyls. It comprised 217 vessels and thousands of pottery sherds dated from EM III to MM IB, but mainly to MM IA: bowls, baking plates, buckets, miniature vats, plates, jugs, tankards, sauceboats, cups, conical cups, teapots, cooking pots, *pi̥tharakia*. These vessels were probably the equipment of the *Camerette*, removed during the MM IB period to make room for the new ones that were found at the beginning of the 20th century during the first excavations. The pottery study of the *Deposito delle Camerette* can give an insight into the function of the *Camerette*, built close to but separated from *tholos* A, and inserted in an area enclosed by baetyls. Probably, these rooms were used to collect the equipment used in religious ceremonies performed in the nearby open area. The focus of these rituals was the *tholos* A, that was conceived as an ancestors tomb and was employed as a point of reference for the cultic activity of the community, dispersed in many different residential areas in MM IA Ayia Triada. The presence of some signs of distinction on the pottery shows the expression of the local *élites*, which probably formed the base of the future palatial system. This presentation will offer preliminary results of the typological and contextual studies on the *Deposito delle Camerette*. The evidence may be particularly useful to understand the significance of Ayia Triada and its cemetery area towards the end of the Prepalatial period. It will also show the importance of the role played by the *tholos* A in the preservation of the community, as the point of promotion of memories and recollection of ancestors, a process that could be used by the local *élites* for their legitimating.

Maud DEVOLDER

The ‘Dungeon’: In Search of Lost Time in the Palace at Malia

The Minoan Palace at Malia reflects two main architectural phases, Proto- and Neopalatial. A first, Protopalatial building is erected at the onset of the second millennium BC (ca. 1900-1700 BC), and after a conflagration perhaps triggered by an earthquake around 1700 BC, the Neopalatial complex is built (ca. 1700-1450 BC). The ruin now visible is an intricate weave of both periods. This is for a large part because the Neopalatial builders saved both time and energy by reusing previous architectural materials or *spolia*. But the incorporation of Protopalatial remains into the new complex also reflects the desire to promote continuity within the long-standing monument. The limestone façade wall facing the North-West Court of the Palace is especially significant in this regard. Constructed with large boulders of grey blue limestone, it contrasts sharply with the yellowish background of cut sandstone walls erected during the Neopalatial period. This striking difference in masonry did not escape the excavators of the Palace: the sturdy look of the wall in comparison with the elaborate ashlar masonry prompted the name of ‘Dungeon’ for the rooms it bordered, and it was suggested that it belonged to the first, Protopalatial complex. A new architectural study of the Palace is now able to show that, even though the excavators were not entirely wrong, the story of the ‘Dungeon’ is significantly more complex and challenging than initially surmised. In this paper, I argue that the façade of the ‘Dungeon’ was erected during the Neopalatial period by reusing materials from the West façade of the Protopalatial Palace. I also argue that the new wall was constructed in masonry of grey blue boulders which specifically imitated the Protopalatial West façade in order to serve as a mnemonic device. The sharp contrast created by the ‘Dungeon’ with its built environment is seen as a deliberate attempt to single out its architectural legacy within the Neopalatial complex and to boost the visual impact it made on the users of the Palace crossing the North-West Court in order to reach the elaborate *Quartier d’apparat*. New architectural data in the Palace at Malia thus underline the fact that, despite the thorough reconstruction of the building after the 1700 BC destruction, special care was taken in promoting its continuity through the erection within the Neopalatial complex of walls that mirrored its Protopalatial grandeur.

Jan DRIESSEN

Claiming the bones, naming the stones!¹ Appropriating a Minoan Past (Conclusions)

For Laurent Olivier, archaeology is the study of memory, with the archaeological past being the accumulated debris of all previous periods, up to and including the present. Memory is everywhere and nowhere. Its presence is not physiological but hidden somewhere in the individual or collective mind. Memory-provoking things, however, are omnipresent and can take the form of very mundane objects and practices. Food and smell, for example, have been shown to be strong memory evokers but their ephemerality demands regular reactivation so that the emotion can be reiterated. Memory is history making but it is also a dynamic process in which past events are replayed, reformed, reinvented and re-forged. Mnemonic devices are used in all traditional societies to trigger emotions, retell foundation myths and past events, to stir memory. This paper explores what we know about mnemonic devices in a Minoan context. It takes an earlier hypothesis, that of the possible existence of matrilinear and matrilocal house-related groups, as a point of departure to examine how century-old practices, events and relations were kept active throughout the various moments of the Bronze Age and how they were occasionally manipulated to cope with important societal changes. Examples are taken from both funerary and settlement contexts to show how intergenerational links were created that formed a source of power.

¹ My title is inspired by ‘Claiming the Stones/Naming the Bones: Cultural Property and the Negotiation of National and Ethnic Identity’, edited by Elazar Barkan and Ronald Bush, Getty Publications, 2002.

Jason EARLE

A memorable feast at Late Bronze Age Phylakopi

Colin Renfrew's 1974–1977 excavations at Phylakopi on the Cycladic island of Melos revealed a pit (PK Pit 1) beneath the south-central section of the City Wall. From PK Pit 1 came more than 700 fragments of ceramic vessels, including two from imported Mycenaean deep bowls stylistically dated to LH IIIB1. These two sherds provided an early 13th century BCE *terminus post quem* for the construction of this segment of the fortifications. While the chronological significance of this material was noted in the published excavation report, no further commentary on the deposit was made. My recent reexamination of the pit's stratigraphic location and excavated contents has led me to identify it as a foundation deposit for the south-central City Wall. Moreover, as the pit contained ash, bones, and many fragments of cooking vessels and tableware, I argue that its contents are the remains of a small feast, an interpretation in accord with many other foundation deposits known from the Bronze Age Aegean. That none of the vessels from PK Pit 1 can be completely restored raises the possibility that the missing sherds were dispersed, either to other, undiscovered foundation deposits, or to feast participants as mementos of the occasion. Feasting and the smashing and burial of the pottery used at the feast signal the existence of rituals associated with construction of the new section of fortifications. These foundation rituals, I argue from comparative evidence, were intended to secure divine favor and protection for the town and its residents, and if Egyptian and Near Eastern practices are any guide, then these actions may have referenced Melian beliefs in the origins and structure of the cosmos. Additional insights from the social sciences suggest that the foundation rituals attested in PK Pit 1 would have served to reconcile the old with the new, the past with the present and future, and to affirm and perpetuate local identities, ideologies, and cosmologies. In sum, this paper explores the nexus of ritual, religion, feasting, landscape, identity, objects, and memory at Bronze Age Phylakopi.

Rodney D. FITZSIMONS

Constructing a Legendary Past: Possible Archaizing Elements in the Funerary Landscape of Late Bronze Age Mycenae

By the 13th century B.C. (LH IIIB period), one of the most distinctive elements in the Mycenaean architectural vocabulary was the use of megalithic conglomerate masonry carved in ashlar fashion, with the most famous examples being employed in both funerary (e.g. the dromoi, stomia and thalamoi of the Treasury of Atreus and the Tomb of Klytemnestra) and non-funerary (e.g. the Lion Gate, the North Gate) contexts in and around the citadel. Though conglomerate ashlar masonry had been utilised in earlier periods, most notably in the early tholoi of the late 16th through early 14th centuries B.C. (LH IIA and IIIA:1 periods) to the west of the citadel, current scholarship argues that by the 14th and 13th centuries B.C. (LH IIIA:2-B period) this masonry style was being employed exclusively by the palatial elite at Mycenae as a visible, durable, and labour-intensive symbol of state power and authority. Conversely, while poros limestone ashlar masonry had been the hallmark of elite architecture at the site in earlier periods in both the funerary and non-funerary spheres, its employment in the later period was almost exclusively limited to the four tholos tombs closest to the citadel: the Lion Tomb, the Tomb of Aigisthos, the Tomb of Klytemnestra and the Treasury of Atreus. Drawing upon anthropological studies that explore the archaeology of memory and the practice of constructing fictive pasts as one method for promoting socio-political cohesion amongst various (perhaps rival) members of a community, this paper examines the contexts in which poros limestone ashlar masonry was employed in the 14th and 13th centuries B.C. (LH IIIA:2-B period), and argues that its use represents an intentional incorporation of earlier architectural styles on the part of the Mycenaean state as a means of evoking and appropriating the collective memory of its inhabitants and a tool for the construction of a shared “Mycenaean” identity through the creation of a fictional heroic past.

Karen Polinger FOSTER

Two New Aegean Memories and Metaphors: Athena as a Swallow, Herakles as a Lion

This paper proposes that there are two hitherto unremarked memories of the Aegean Bronze Age in a pair of literary/iconographic metaphors used in subsequent periods for Athena and Herakles.

The first is found in Book XXII of the *Odyssey*, as Odysseus slays the suitors in Ws palace hall at Ithaca. Athena assumes the form of a swallow, darting up to perch on a smoke-blackened roof beam. With this, Homer shapes for his own narrative and thematic ends a Bronze Age epiphanic device, whose fullest representation is a Theran wall painting program that fills thred sides of room Delta 2. There, setting the stage for divine apparition, we have a dramatic display of swallows shown in aerial combat over territory and nest-liner feathers. Parallel depictions occur in Minoan and Mycenaean glyptic, similarly associated with epiphanic moments. My paper explores how the presence of this Aegean memory sheds fresh light on one of the culminating episodes in the *Odyssey*.

Centuries later, the memory lives on in the title poem of the 2009 collection by Brent MacLaine, 'Athena Becomes a Swallow'. For this moderm poet, the metaphor evokes divine perfection, human agency, an³ the blood price of battle. In his Afterword, MacLaine explains that he sought to enter 'into a world of the past mediated through literature!'. Guided by his poetic sensibilitids, he succeeds in giving voice to the even more distant past of the Aegean Bronze Age.

The second part of my contribution to this Rencontre concerns Herakles, who, like Athena, has many Mycenaean connections. Here, I am interested in the way in which classical vase-painters and other artists ofteii show him wearing the Nemean lion's skin, with his head inserted in its gaping mouth and ite forepaws entwined about his shoulders. The complex kflot, in my view, is a memory of the several patterns, including knots, seen in Mesopotamian, Egyptian, and Aegean art to render the hair whorl on the shoulders of particularly virile lions. Having killed the creature in his first Labor, Herakles wraps himself in its power. This ties the hero securely and emblematically to the Bronze Age past, while at the same time it foreshadows his further exploits and eventual fate.

Centuries later, several Latin authors, such as Pliny the Younger, elucidate what they term the Hercules Knot, attributing to it properties of healing and fruitful love, both retaining their symbolic meanings down to the present, as seen in the caduceus and popular wedding-band designs.

Florence GAIGNEROT-DRIESSEN

From Peak Sanctuaries to Hilltop Settlements: Reshaping the Cultural Landscape in Late Minoan IIIC Crete

Various criteria have been proposed to identify what we call ‘peak sanctuaries’ on Crete. One of them is generally accepted: ‘the prominence of the mountain and/or actual peak sanctuary site’ (Peatfield 2009: 253). These peak sanctuaries spread over Crete in the Protopalatial period and part of them remained in use until the end of the Neopalatial period. Late Minoan IIIC material, however, was only recovered on very few of them and these are mainly located in central and western Crete. In contrast, many new settlements were founded during the Late Minoan IIIC period, in the aftermath of the dissolution of the palatial administration, and most of these newly established hamlets or villages were located inland on distinctive hilltops, particularly in eastern Crete. In some instances they were established immediately below a peak where a sanctuary had once existed. Yet no Late Minoan IIIC activity is clearly attested on the peak itself.

The obvious interest shown by Late Minoan IIIC communities for distinctive peaks and prominences, as well as the visible remains of ancient cultic activities on the surface (fragments of figurines, sherds, pebbles) suggests that Postpalatial communities could not have missed or ignored the existence and past religious nature of the peak sanctuaries. The aim of this paper is to explore why only a few of them were selected and continued to be visited for cultic activities, whereas the majority of them, especially East of Knossos, were abandoned, not to say deliberately avoided. It is here intended to show that the Late Minoan IIIC period represents a break in the history of Crete, when people turned their back to highly symbolic places of the palatial religious landscape in favour of new ones. It is further suggested that instead, by establishing hilltop settlements where communal religious activities were practiced in bench sanctuaries at a regional level, Late Minoan IIIC communities contributed to reshape, in some parts of the island at least, a cultural landscape which to a certain extent was freed of ancient palatial design. The discussion will focus on eastern Crete and present some preliminary results from recent investigations carried out on the Anavlochos massif in the Mirabello region.

Mercourios GEORGIADIS

The use of memory and the past during the Mycenaean and Post-Mycenaean periods in the South-Eastern Aegean

The use of memory and the past during the Mycenaean and Post-Mycenaean periods in the South-Eastern Aegean has a long tradition and a distinct character. The Mycenaean remains appear to have an impact on the local culture in two different phases, the LB III and later on during the Early Iron Age. Memory and the past have been employed by the locals on different social and cultural aspects which changed in form, according to the needs of each period. The appearance of the Mycenaean cultural characteristics in the LB IIB-III A1 phase reveal a break with the Minoanised past of this region in the funerary practices as well as continuity in the habitation areas. The burial tradition of the LB III period provide ample evidence in the ways the past was manipulated, according to the new socio-economic conditions, and how memory and the purposeful disruption of memory played a central role in the regional burial practices and beliefs. The funerary tradition promoted the creation of ancestors, which was linked with the local landscape, constructing collective identities. This burial process supported the dominant ideology that legitimised the claims of ownership over the land. This is further emphasised with the re-use of LB III A tombs during the LB III C phase in specific sites in the South-Eastern Aegean. During the Early Iron Age the introduction of the single burials, the new landscape setting of the cemeteries and the preference of cremations over inhumations marks a break with the past. However, certain LB III elements in the burial tradition reveal a conscious attempt to connect with the Mycenaean past. The same applies with the settlement finds, which in some cases they argue for a renewed association with the past after a hiatus and in more limited examples with continuity. The foundation of Geometric sanctuaries was also often related with locales, which were used during the Mycenaean period, suggesting that a sacred significance was attributed to the link with the past. The material culture of the Mycenaean phase appears to have an important impact on the LBA and the EIA. In the latter period these remains can be associated with the broader trend in the Aegean to correlate Mycenaean remains with the so-called heroic past. The Mycenaean and Post-Mycenaean periods have been the earliest phase in the South-Eastern Aegean in which memory and the past had played an important symbolic role in the material culture. The early appearance and the longevity of this tendency is a significant local cultural idiosyncrasy. These two elements also allow a diachronic analysis of this phenomenon in relation to the changing cultural, social and economic conditions in this area, which consists a good case study in the wider Aegean during this period.

Fragoula GEORMA & Ioannis BITIS

Architecture and wall paintings as agents of community memory in Akrotiri, Thera

The study of material remains of the LC I period uncovered in excellent state of preservation at the site of Akrotiri, Thera, combined with new evidence from recently excavated deposits of the EC and MC horizons in the 2000s, opens new research avenues for integrated approaches to social practices and community organisation in this significant prehistoric settlement.

The volcanic landscape, formed by seismic activity and concurrent destructive and occasionally lethal events, shaped the dramatic circumstances under which these episodes were recorded in the collective memory of the inhabitants. Nevertheless, destruction is followed by healing and materials are sorted and reused. Useless is separated from useful; artefacts and structures are repaired using the least possible human effort. In spite of violent events, reuse, in the sense of saving, infiltrates ancient societies and was the only option in material management. In this sense, examples of reuse, and therefore preservation of memory in the material world, are inherent in architecture, due to constantly used structures, but also in wall paintings, as they are the host bearers of iconography and often form palimpsests with underlying layers. This paper focuses on the synergy of architecture and wall paintings and their role as agents shaping community memory and ideology in Akrotiri.

Architecture underwent a radical development from the foundation of the settlement to its final destruction by the volcanic eruption. Buildings, squares and other open spaces, streets and alleys in prehistoric Akrotiri compare to living organisms, in the sense that they transformed and adapted to private and community needs. The identification and “reading” of those transformations in the buildings, along with earlier features present in new buildings, is the process through which we can approach elements transcending different periods; these features are consciously or unconsciously passed down through time by the inhabitants and contribute to the shaping of new trends in crafts and practices. Therefore, buildings such as Xeste 3 and Xeste 4, which are considered to have functioned as public venues as indicated by the wall paintings and other finds, must have played a significant role in sustaining community memory, as they incorporated a series of transformations and modifications in their areas and their functions. Moreover, community ideology and memory were apparently enhanced through rites taking place in such buildings, illustrated and highlighted by wall paintings offering relevant narrative, taken in by participants following a specified circulation pattern.

Although to a lesser degree, similar remarks apply to private buildings, such as Building Beta, the West House and the House of the Ladies, where specific areas, usually one or two, are interpreted as reception areas for small or larger groups participating in rites, as shown by finds and architectural features. The function of such areas is determined by the presence of wall paintings, a medium that contributes *par excellence* to the transfer of iconography and ideology and the formulation of community memory. Furthermore, wall paintings serve as a most eloquent mnemonic device for future generations, as is evident by the wealth of information the medium can afford to display and preserve. And this is in fact how their iconography was essentially formed, by the assimilation of narrative, symbols and practices,

some of which are to be found in crafts, models and systems of previous periods. The painters themselves operated as carriers of the community memory, in that they shaped new ideology and new forms of inclusion in the LC I period, marked by the boost of large scale painting drawing upon narrative iconography of MC bichrome ware.

Luca GIRELLA, Peter PAVÚK & Magda PIENIAZÈK

Past and Present: Defining Identities in the Eastern Aegean and Western Anatolian Interface

A social group's identity is constructed with narratives that are created to give its members a sense of a community. Though these narratives are usually rooted in local traditions and memories (in the 'Past'), they are also shaped by contemporary experiences, influences and choices (by the 'Present'). A social group may even be a small, cohesive unit (like a family) whose members are all known to each other. Regardless of the size and complexity of the social group, however, the group needs to construct and maintain an identity that unites its members. In this sense, one can use the term 'collective memory' to describe stories of artefacts, food and drink consumption, pottery production, funerary traditions that form the ties that bind members together. It was through such continuity and connection with traditional social practices that the local communities meant to preserve social unity and cohesion.

The area of the NE Aegean and West Anatolia is a special liminal zone that has experienced a surprisingly intensive mixing of cultures, which we start fully understanding only now. Being originally profoundly connected with the NW Anatolian *milieu*, this area underwent a progressive interaction with the southern Aegean 'world', principally the Cretan one, during the MBA and Early LBA, as well as with the Greek Mainland throughout the whole of the LBA. One of the main problems of defining the Upper Interface in terms of cultural identities derives therefore from decoding phenomena comprised of multiple processes embracing the adoption, incorporation or even rejection of non-local cultures.

Deriving from the analysis of material culture, this contribution will focus on long-terms dynamics of continuity and discontinuity that had an impact on various aspects of social practices. The definition of identities of the local communities involved multiple processes of accepting or rejecting 'foreign' cultures, whereby local histories and circumstances must have conditioned both the 'Minoan' or 'Mycenaean' efforts. The paper thus aims to show that modes of cultural transmission in the Upper Interface were mostly the result of local strategies according to traditional practices and/or innovative ones, as regards the adoption of pottery technology and consumption, jewellery and seals fashion, architectural choices and funerary practices. It will be demonstrated that the Minoan and Mycenaean cultures have not as deeply impacted the Upper Interface, as opposed to the SE Aegean, with social identities being constructed by rejecting or only minimally adopting new fashions and social practices. Considerable differences in mode, speed and intensity of adoption or reaction to the southern influences will also be addressed, both in synchronic perspective for the entire area of the Upper Interface and in diachronic perspective throughout the 2nd millennium BC.

Jacob E. HEYWOOD & Brent DAVIS

Funerary Iconography and the Stimulation of Memory

Unlike most funerary receptacles from earlier phases of Crete's prehistory, clay larnakes from the Late Minoan III period are often adorned with rich painted compositions. These compositions draw upon a wide range of floral, faunal, cultic, and geometric motifs, many of which were already well-established in Minoan iconographic traditions. So far, scholarly interest in LM III larnax decoration has overwhelmingly revolved around its symbolic and stylistic origins and the possibility that it may have communicated specifically eschatological meanings. While the presentation of afterlife themes is a probability in many cases, other potentially-important social aspects of larnax iconography – such as its functional or ideological role within the context of funerary activity itself – have, with few exceptions, received comparatively minimal treatment.

With this imbalance in mind, this paper will examine how iconographic representations on LM III larnakes may have stimulated important social memories in those who saw them, either during the course of funeral ceremonies or upon re-entering a tomb at a later date. Figurative scenes depicted on some larnakes could conceivably have recalled activities, concepts, and topographies (terrestrial, marine, symbolic) of broader significance to the deceased individuals' communities, or – in certain instances – may even have related to important biographical or ritually-charged events in the lives of the deceased individuals themselves. By virtue of the burial container's central place in the funerary rite, shared experiences of remembrance prompted by such iconographic messages could have offered a potent mechanism for maintaining community cohesion following the destabilising occurrence of a death, helping to affirm key forms of social, historical, ritual and personal knowledge around which group-based identities were constructed. The simultaneous enactment of other performative ritual actions within the tomb environment – such as communal drinking or the pouring of libations – likely worked to consolidate the process of remembrance and memorialization, highlighting the ceremonial and mnemonic importance of the messages contained within the larnax iconography.

The choice to employ a repertoire of motifs with a long history of prior use could have served to enhance what was a relatively new form of mortuary expression by grounding it in a familiar symbolic tradition, albeit one that was heavily reconfigured. The large-scale re-emergence of larnax burial during LM IIIA2 – which involved the appearance of novel chest and tub-shaped larnakes and followed a marked break in the use of clay coffins during LM I-II – also corresponded to an island-wide dissemination of new funerary practices and tomb styles, and a resurgence in regional mortuary display following the decline of Knossos. Thus this paper will also seek to emphasise that the habit of adorning LM III larnakes was not simply a re-inscription of established customs, but a strategic manipulation of old symbolism in a new funerary medium. The occasional representation of iconographic themes usually associated with connotations of power and prestige (hunting scenes, chariot-use, seafaring, ceremonial activities, cult symbols) points to the likelihood that larnax decoration in this period served to stimulate memory not only of the deceased individuals and their lives, but

also of their status within their kingroups and communities.

Louise HITCHCOCK, Aren MAEIR & Madaline HARRIS-SCHOBER

Tomorrow Never Dies: Post-Palatial Memories of the Aegean Late Bronze Age in the Mediterranean

The oldest words for future in Sumerian, Akkadian, Hebrew, Hittite, and ancient Greek can be translated as the back of the day or that, which is behind you. Thus, the future has always been conceived in terms of its relationship to the past. Although the act of remembering the past may lead to remorse and trauma, it can also create a sense of stability through nostalgia, identity maintenance, and belonging.

One of us (Hitchcock under submission) has proposed that the Late Bronze Age collapses not from any one catastrophe, but that its social and political structures could not withstand the multiplicity of the changes confronting it. Drought, famine, disease, earthquakes, piracy, and popular uprisings may have all been suggested as being among these changes. Thus, it became necessary for the Late Bronze Age to develop or transform into something else. This transformation was neither peaceful, stable, short-termed, or uniform in character. Yet communities that survived these collapses clung to certain symbols (e.g. horns of consecration), ritualized practices (e.g., feasting, fragmentation, and ruin cult), and ways of life (e.g. curation of architecture) – and in some cases invented behaviors seemingly relating to the past - to preserve some stability in a sea of change. The result is that the preserved remnants of the past provided continuity with the past while forming a gradual transition to the future.

Our paper considers how the social memory of what it meant to be Minoan, Mycenaean, and even ‘Mycenoan’ in the transition to the Late Bronze Age was hanging by a thread. Using examples from the Aegean, Cyprus and the ‘Sea Peoples’, we also examine the struggles to find meaning and purpose in the remnants of the Late Bronze Age as the concept of collective and self-identity gradually undergoes a transformation to the great civilizations of the Iron Age.

Artemis KARNAVA

Minoan Archives

The keeping of archives is one of the most systematic ways of preserving information through the collection of records. The keeping of records is in itself evidence of an intention to take down more than human memory can ever preserve. The Minoan world has produced a number of archival deposits, markers of ‘official’ information processing and preserving efforts. Besides the mnemonic device *par excellence*, writing, which was put to the service of record-keeping, sealings that were meant to testify and authenticate administrative practices were also collected and kept, even after they had probably served their primal function.

Minoan archival deposits date from the end of the MM II period and are last attested in the LM IB destruction layers all over Crete. Although their exact nature, i.e. whether they were intentionally or unintentionally preserved, is debatable, they nonetheless constitute our sole evidence of how administrative practices evolved with time, and how administrative innovations can be seen to build upon older traditions.

Katerina KOPAKA

Neighbours in perpetuity. A lone prehistoric pithos burial at Gavdos – A link with long living collective memory

An isolated, undisturbed pithos burial of the mid-2nd millennium BC on the island of Gavdos – the interment of its earliest known inhabitant, who was brought to light through systematic excavation – triggers a discussion on Archaeology as a science of what is lost forever but remains alive each time, as a confirmation of life through real and symbolic death. An ancient inhumation, single or multiple, named or anonymous, is without doubt the most immediate and tangible of archaeological discoveries, and the best intrinsic guide to the material and ideological contexts of its times. But it is also connected, by its very nature, to long lasting and resistant imprints in a community's collective memory, and thus it forms a major structural piece of social cohesion that transcends time. The dead person remains meaningful even after several millennia. Through her/his recovery she/he is 'transferred' to the present, to (re)gain an overdue identity in a new chain of life, as an important link between the living and their forebears – and with their own ineluctable mortal future and fear of consignment to oblivion. This paper follows the scholarly experience of unearthing the pithos burial, while focusing on the vivid academic and empirical recollections of the excavation team, and the commemorative and emotional participation of native Gavdiots, more than 4500 years later. Accordingly, I suggest that, within the theoretical framework of a contemporary 'archaeology of people' that we seek, and together with the interdisciplinary (bio)archaeological approach of mortuary evidence, we also need a social anthropological outlook in our effort to comprehend the ancient dead within both their distant and our modern geo-cultural settings. Since no excavation notebook, preliminary report or final publication can portray thoroughly the diachronic human component that the encounter with an age-old burial implies: the impact it has on its 'neighbours' alive today, or the memories, the feelings – of awe, sorrow, compassion, separation, loneliness... – and the physical and ethical responsibilities it can generate in them.

Antonis KOTSONAS

Monument and Memory: A Cultural History of the Cretan Labyrinth(s)

Labyrinths of different forms proliferate in world history, but it is especially the Cretan Labyrinth that has captivated the fascination of scholars and the wider public since antiquity. Traditionally, it has been regarded as an existing ancient monument, and it has been widely identified with the Minoan Palace of Knossos. I argue that this approach has underestimated the variety and complexity of prehistoric and classical, textual and iconographic testimonies over the Labyrinth, and has largely overlooked the evidence from the Medieval period and the early Renaissance, including the first visitor's report. A systematic examination of this evidence demonstrates the capacity of the Labyrinth for metamorphosis from abstract memory and imagined landmark to tangible monument, and for relocation from one Cretan site to the other. It also reveals the range of bodily and sensory experiences that the Cretan Labyrinth as an objectified monument stimulated to its visitors.

My approach to the Cretan Labyrinth draws from the pioneering work of Maurice Halbwachs on social memory and the legendary and shifting topography of the Holy Land, as well as from recent literature on memory and monuments, including the intersection of real and imagined space. I explore the poetics and politics, the memories and materialities that shaped different regimes of truth over the location and the form of the Cretan Labyrinth across several millennia. I also demonstrate that some of these regimes, and more generally the ebb and flow of Cretan and foreign interest in – and memory of – the Labyrinth can be closely related to the political history of Crete. It appears that Cretan interest in the Labyrinth is most notable at times of political autonomy, while international attention largely peaks after the annexation of the island by different overseas powers. This diachronic analysis reveals the shifting and competing, indeed labyrinthine narratives and memories of this monument, and produces a cultural history of it extending from the Bronze Age to the present.

Tobias KRAPP

Searching for Neo-Minoan architecture

The inspiration of Aegean art, and especially the Knossian reconstructions, on modern culture has become its own field of research and many examples have been collected over the years, latest in the volume *'Cretomania'* by N. Momigliano and N. Farnoux (2017). Although Minoan inspiration can be detected from fashion, cinema and literature to modern architecture, it is not as widespread, especially outside Crete, as many cretomaniacs would hope.

In a short paper, together with A. Boucher, in the catalogue of the exhibition *La Grèce des origines* (Paris 2014), examples of movies and comics have been collected. The present poster adds the architectural examples, from Greece and abroad, which have been gathered in parallel. Some of them attest to a very personal Cretan memory of their builders, others are more commercial in character. It is interesting to investigate the reasons for the choice of Neo-Minoan architectural features in private and public buildings, as they are less random than the appearance of Aegean objects in unrelated movies (like the Minoan frescoes in 'The Man who would be king' or the golden Vapheio cup in the 'Game of Thrones'). And still, many examples do not link to the Minoan past but much more to Crete in general for which the red columns have become a universal symbol. The manipulation of Minoan art and the values for which it stands today will equally be discussed. Finally, the Neo-Minoan architecture will be compared to other revival architectures.

Olga KRZYSZKOWSKA

Changing perceptions of the past: the role of antique seals in the Aegean Bronze Age

Made in a wide variety of durable materials, Aegean seals are virtually indestructible. Some remained in circulation for considerable periods of time, others may have been lost and then found by chance many years later. Still others demonstrably travelled significant distances, whether by fair means or foul, and eventually reached locations far removed — in space and time — from their original production centres. In terms of sheer numbers, seals that are older than their contexts constitute a substantial proportion of the ‘antiques’ known from the Aegean. Yet perhaps because they are so numerous and are attested in a wide variety of contexts over a period of nearly 1000 years, antique seals have never been the subject of systematic study. Preconceived ideas, biased terminology, inaccurate dating, and a piecemeal approach have all conspired to cloud *our* perceptions of the changing roles played by antique seals in the Aegean Bronze Age.

First and foremost we must accept there is a wide range of possible explanations as to *how and why* antique seals came to be in later contexts. Some may indeed have been passed down through families, and hence constitute genuine heirlooms, i.e. valuable objects that belonged to a family for several generations. But the widespread misuse of this term — applied willy-nilly to all seals older than their contexts — must now cease. Some seals older than their contexts may have been pressed into service once again, after being found by the wayside, when preparing the foundations for a new building, or even when clearing out a communal tomb. We must also recognize that irrespective of how an antique seal came to be in circulation its *function* may have changed markedly from its original purpose. Thus a seal once used administratively may have come to be valued purely as an attractive addition to a necklace or merely retained as an unusual curio. Here ‘quality’ and condition may offer insights: was the antique made of soft local stone, hard semi-precious stone (usually imported, sometimes rare) or precious metal; was it badly abraded, chipped, or broken? Last but not least we must accept that *attitudes* toward antiques might have well varied from one individual or community to another. To a new owner an antique seal might simply evoke dim ‘memories’ of yesteryear or means of honouring ‘ancestors’ (real or imagined). But the possession of an antique seal might also encourage more active attempts to reconnect symbolically to the past, e.g. by appropriating older iconography as a means of legitimizing or reinforcing status in the present. Nevertheless we are also justified in asking whether antique seals *invariably* summoned up a ‘remembrance of things past’. In other words, were antiques always recognized as such?

Patterns of use and deposition strongly suggest that perceptions of antique seals changed significantly throughout the second millennium. This paper will review and integrate evidence from a variety of contexts (sealing deposits, settlements, burials, and to a lesser extent sanctuaries), focusing chiefly on MM II–LM III Crete. Analysis reveals that relatively few antique seals are attested in MM II and LM I sealing deposits; supporting data from unpublished settlement and mortuary contexts will also be presented. By contrast roughly

40% of the seals used in the late palace at Knossos were antiques of LM I–II date or earlier. This high percentage is all the more striking given that seal engraving was certainly practised in Crete down to the end of LM IIIA2, if not later. And when we examine mortuary data of LM IIIA2–B2 date, we reach a veritable ‘horizon of antiques’, as will be demonstrated by unpublished material from selected west Cretan cemeteries. Special attention will be devoted to developing an appropriate methodology for evaluating with such finds, since the deliberate removal of seals from circulation may have a bearing on attitudes toward their value or meaning(s). Brief remarks, for comparative purposes, will also be offered on evidence from the mainland and islands, where the circulation and use of antiques of Neopalatial manufacture is especially striking.

Evangelos KYRIAKIDIS

Memory, Ritual and Space

Ritual is a powerful learning mechanism. As a result, rituals are memorable events. As such, the physical space where rituals take place are inscribed in memory as significant locations. This has important repercussions on how other memories become re-ascribed, re-aligned or re-configured. Ritual space becomes an active topos, even when rituals do not take place, even centuries later. This is the case with Minoan Peak sanctuaries which must have become important points of reference for a considerable length of time even much after their ritual use. Today, with the excavations, peak sanctuaries become, once more, a point of reference, collecting memories and re-arranging them. In this ancient sites, and modern ones become inscribed on our mnemonic map.

Angelique LABRUDE

Late Minoan III Cretan Larnakes as Part of the Rites of Passage? Funerary Times and the Construction of Memory

When death strikes a member of a community, the latter can only detached itself after completing a certain number of ritual ceremonies that mark the occasion to demonstrate the alliances between the different groups and bid farewell to the deceased. In the last few decades, funerary archaeology and archaeology of memory have made it possible to better understand “funerary times”, which encompass the totality of *post-mortem* practices and especially the commemorative ones. In this paper, I argue that the use and reuse of Late Minoan III Cretan larnakes in funerary contexts may have been part of community rites of passage to death and afterlife, which, as the last stage, led to the construction of collective memory through ancestor worship.

During the Late Minoan III, the corpses of individuals were deposited in larnakes, but not always in a definitive way. Cretan tombs were often used collectively, so the remains of the first deceased may have been removed from the sarcophagus to make room for newcomers. However, cases of several individuals being placed successively in the same larnax do exist. A careful analysis of funerary times reveals that the passage through the sarcophagus seems to have been a necessary stage in order to access the afterlife, but it was not an end in itself. At Gourmia-Pachyammos and Palaikastro in Eastern Crete, numerous skeletons were disarticulated after a probable deposition in a larnax, with only the long bones and skulls being conserved. The presence of empty larnakes testifies to their role in the ceremonial sequences; they were not, however, a necessary part of the last ritual stage. In the Palaikastro-Petsophas burial cave, up to twenty skulls were discovered around the larnakes. Unfortunately, due to the collective use of tombs and the datedness of many of the excavations, the archaeological and anthropological records cannot be fully relied on. However, in the necropolis of Mochlos-Limenaria excavated using modern techniques, the transfer of the first corpse from the larnax – or even the pithos – to the ground in the case of a new arrival was observed, even though it would have been easier to place the newcomer directly on the floor.

According to the French ethnographer, A. Van Gennep, the entire life cycle of an individual from childbirth to death was marked by rites of passage characterised by pre-liminal, liminal, and post-liminal rites. I suggest that the post-liminal ritual corresponded to the phase when the body was in the larnax, the latter acting as a gateway from the community of the living to the community of the deceased. After this stage, the bones were de-individualized, and their presence in the sarcophagus was no longer necessary. The deceased was thereafter considered to have fully incorporated the realm of the ancestors. Commemorative ceremonies based on drinking and ritual libations were then performed by the community, as attested by pottery discovered in the dromoi or close to the tomb markers.

Robert LAFFINEUR

Monumentalizing Memory at Mycenae

The original structure and appearance of the LH I Grave Circle A at Mycenae still remain a matter of conjecture, as far as the possible circular enclosure and filling system are concerned. The later remodelling of the area during the 13th century, in contrast, appears quite clear. It has always been considered a way of honouring the memory of important members of the elite that was ruling the city some centuries earlier, as is best illustrated by A.J.B. Wace's famous perspective drawing of 1921-1923 and by the amazing present day interpretation it has inspired for the logo of the MNEME Conference.

Such a monumental remodelling and such a conspicuous form of remembrance, however, have no real equivalent in Mycenaean funerary architecture. And a close examination of the remains excavated by Schliemann reveals in addition some unexpected features that do not tally with the standards of high quality classical Mycenaean architecture: the imperfect circular plan, the imperfect horizontal levelling and the construction itself, with its concentric double row of vertical slabs and mortised, horizontal beams supporting the covering slabs. The close proximity of the slightly later Granary, especially its eastern extension, that prevents easy access to the entrance after only several decades, and the damages caused by the construction of the Great Ramp are further indications that the so-called memory space was not greatly respected and that it was probably not long in use. A much surprising fate indeed when we consider the huge investment implied both in the preliminary works of levelling and in the construction itself, not to mention the final diverting of the fortification wall to include the monument inside the acropolis.

The paper will address these issues and discuss their possible historical implications.

Charlotte LANGOHR

In vino veritas? In search of the evidence for past Minoan wine rituals before the krater

The ritual of drinking wine as part of a communal ceremony probably reflecting the horizontal integration of the communities who participated in the large feasts sponsored by the Mycenaean palaces is a well-known practice, embodied in our archaeological record by the ubiquitous kylikes and kraters. The latter is most probably used to mix water and wine, while presenting at the same time a substantial canvas for generous painted decoration, often taking the form of a narrative composition. A recent study has shown that the particular shape of the Mycenaean amphoroid krater – which “was *not* produced for use within a local Mycenaean context” (Crouwel & Morris 2015: 172) – has its origin in early Late Bronze Age Crete, where it in turn closely refers to contemporary but also earlier Minoan large jars. The study of large storage vessels in Bronze Age Crete has shed important light on different issues, from palatial economy, subsistence strategies to burial practices. However, the particular category of large brightly decorated containers may have had little to do with the other plain or simply decorated pithoi and storage containers, most often considered within the framework of the Minoan palatial or household economies. In this context, the exclusive Palace Style Jars from the Monopalatial period at Knossos essentially, have been interpreted as having a very specific function in a very specific context: portable items in display, referencing and playing with the astonishing wall paintings which adorned the last palace at Knossos. But what about this large elaborately decorated Minoan shape before and after the installation of a Mycenaean administration at Knossos? Which function, use and type(s) of content can we attribute to it? During the Neopalatial period, richly pattern-painted storage jars take the form of piriform and conical or barrel-shaped jars, sometimes exported to Thera or the Mainland. Later, in Late Minoan III, these two types of containers seem to include a new tradition of large coarse vessels, still brightly decorated, which exhibit distinct manufacturing techniques in terms of paste, shaping processes and surface treatment as well as a similar set of decorative styles. This tradition comprises the piriform jars and barrel-shaped jars but also the new amphoroid kraters and the reactivated larnakes. Despite clear connections between and within regional groups of production and manifest evidence for the interregional movement of these items but also of potters and/or painters, the definition of their respective function and contexts of consumption remains unclear, while certainly multifaceted. In this paper it is argued that distinguishing between potential contexts of consumption of these brightly decorated containers taken as a whole and through a diachronic perspective from the Neopalatial period onwards, can provide a better understanding of the precise activities or rituals associated with these different containers. As such, it is argued that these contexts may particularly point to the special display of the consumption of liquids – especially wine, although maybe under different ‘forms’ –, which reproduced and reactivated in parts earlier, deeply-rooted, Minoan social practices.

Borja LEGARRA HERRERO

A time to remember and a time to forget. The role of the past in the deep history of Knossos through its mortuary record

Knossos is a unique site, a busy community for more than 6000 years that could be labelled as Minoan, Mycenaean, Greek and Roman in different parts of its history. A community that constantly changed while at the same time lived in an environment heavily marked by the past. The cemeteries along the edges of the city, many in prominent positions, were one of the main remainders of the long history of the site, but they were as well dynamic arenas where the community negotiated their relationships moving forward. The Bronze Age material found in the Early Iron Age Tombs of the North Cemetery it is just the best known case of such conflation of the past with the present and the future. This presentation aims to look at the long-term patterns in the use of the Knossian cemeteries from the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age to Roman times in order to understand better how the tombs linked the living community to their past while supporting the rapidly changing history of the community: from its first expansion into a urban centre through a series of expansions and contractions until its ultimate demise. This study will present an analysis of the changing location of the tombs, as well as the investigation of archaizing and innovative elements in the architecture and burial assemblages of the cemeteries. The aim is to identify the moments in which the community used the cemeteries to hold on to perceptions of the past and the points in which decided to break with it and create new funerary customs. The mortuary trajectory provides a long-term perspective of the site complementary to the recent urban survey data, and rich legacy excavation evidence at the site allowing to track processes of remembrance and forgetting in combination with a range of archaeological approaches to the dynamic history of the community. It is a rare opportunity in the Aegean to investigate the ways the identity of a community evolve over more than 3000 thousand years.

Anastasia LERIOU

Ritualising memory: a view from 11th century Cyprus

The proposed paper aims at exploring the role of the so-called “Myceneanising” chamber tombs with long dromoi as means of organised promoting and/ or legitimising common memory implemented in Cypriot communities during the early phase of the Early Iron Age, i.e. after the arrival of several groups of peoples from the Aegean, during the 12th and 11th centuries BC. This subject has been so far discussed with reference to the geographic distribution and specified location of these monuments, as well as their topographical and chronological association with different types of tombs, especially those associated with local Bronze Age traditions.

In contrast to these approaches, the present analysis will focus on ritual activity centred in and/ or around the tombs under examination, as ritual has been proven by both social anthropologists and archaeologists to constitute an ideal field for the development, consolidation and demonstration of identities, cultural and/ or other. Indeed, the last two decades have witnessed the development of various research projects associated with the identification and reconstruction of ceremonial actions (processions, libations, feasting etc.) within Late Bronze Age Aegean funerary contexts. Nevertheless, no analogous studies have appeared with regards to 11th century Cyprus, although the fact that its society is generally thought to have had included more than one distinctive cultural groups, renders plausibility to the hypothesis of increased ritual visibility as a result of social antagonising. Moreover, reconstructing the ritualistic activity that was taking place in burial grounds associated with the Aegean world, essentially the homeland, close or more distant, of some population groups in Cyprus is bound to cast some light on the character and extent of this homeland's role in the construction and maintenance of common memories and, consequently, cultural identities.

As the effective reconstruction of ritual can be achieved only through the contextual analysis of the archaeological material, our discussion will be based on the thorough reconsideration of the evidence from all published Cypriot burial sites containing chamber tombs with long dromoi, as no contextual analysis of this material has yet been undertaken. Special emphasis will be placed on the dromoi, as, according to recent research focussing on Aegean examples, it was there that most of the ceremonial deeds were taking place. Moreover, the long dromoi constitute the principal structural difference between the traditional Late Bronze Age Cypriot tombs and the novel type, which is thought to have been brought to the island by the Aegean newcomers.

J. Alexander MACGILLIVRAY

The Artifice of Archaeology and the Making of Minoan Memories

Current archaeology prevails largely within the standard view of the perceived material world formulated during centuries of observation and set into physical laws early in the Enlightenment. For example, in 1687 Sir Isaac Newton in his *Philosophiæ Naturalis Principia Mathematica*, which lays the foundations for modern classical mechanics, declares that ‘Absolute, true and mathematical time, of itself, and from its own nature flows equably without regard to anything external.’ For Newton, time is a constant, no matter how you view it, and flows within the great machine that is our world. This assumes that the machine chugs along on its own in a predictable manner as we observe it passively. But, just as Arthur Evans starts to write a new, Minoan, chapter into history in 1900, Max Planck discovers quanta and initiates a new branch of physical science that provides a very different explanation of the perceived material world, one which does away with the classical concepts of time, space and passive involvement. Instead, quantum mechanics finds that consciousness plays an active and key role in forming the perceived world, which cannot exist without it. Planck concludes that, ‘Mind is the matrix of all matter’.

The removal of time as a constant leads physicist John Wheeler to declare, ‘The past is theory’. Yet, most archaeologists happily continue to write history as though time and matter are absolutes, like Newton’s laws. I examine this notion in *Minotaur*, my critical biography of Evans, where I introduce the concept of relative archaeology, that is, the study of how the artefact is essentially entangled with its finder, the artefact being Knossos and Evans the finder. Here, I take that idea further by reviewing the evidence from nearly a century of controlled experiments to show that past, present and future are one moment, the sum of all events at once, and those of us who dig for clues to Crete’s past are actually forming those clues in a parallel and exactly contemporary present, one of the myriad parallel constructions physicist Hugh Everett postulates in his many-worlds interpretation (MWI). We are contributing to a theory of the Minoans, making memories in the moment. As archaeology is the science of nostalgia, we must ask ourselves what we want, or need from our perceived Minoans.

Christophilis MAGGIDIS

The Palace Throne at Mycenae: Constructing Collective Historical Memory and Power Ideology

The recent discovery of a large fragment belonging to the massive stone throne of the palace at Mycenae (the only Mycenaean throne found so far on mainland Greece) has triggered an intriguing process of identification and reconstruction based on several interrelated criteria. The throne fragment was located during a paleohydrological survey in the riverbed of the Chavos torrent, right below the palace. The last palace of Mycenae (LH IIIB) was built on an artificial terrace, which was partially retained by the cyclopean fortification wall. The southeastern part of the floor of the palace, including one of the four columns and the throne itself collapsed during a massive earthquake in ca. 1200 BC; the palace was never repaired or re-occupied again. The throne fragment was found in the very same area where the missing fourth column base of the megaron throne room was retrieved during the restorations of the palace (1950-1955).

The similarities of the Mycenae throne with the throne of Knossos and the throne base of Tiryns are undeniable. Its type, shape, particular morphological features, proportions, and construction details are identical to those of the slightly smaller Knossos throne, while its raised base was probably built of blocks of green serpentine decorated with a relief running spiral, much like the throne base from Tiryns. The same 'royal' combination of conglomerate (throne) and green marble/serpentine (base) was employed for the decoration of facades on contemporary royal *tholos* tombs at Mycenae.

The throne fragment from Mycenae is made of local gray, oligomitic, limestone-based conglomerate, which differs from the typical yellow conglomerate that was widely used at Mycenae and Tiryns (for walls, gates, tomb facades, thresholds). This is the only known object from the citadel to be carved from this type of local conglomerate. The use of conglomerate was a feature of Mycenaean palatial architecture, being preferred either for practical reasons, as conglomerate is softer and thickly bedded, and/or for symbolic reasons, as material image conveying power ideology. Unlike the throne of Knossos that was made of alabaster, an imported material alluding to Minoan ties with Egypt, the choice of local material for the Mycenae throne may have intended to convey political symbolisms of indigenous power and to construct collective memory upon a visual image of autochthony, stability, antiquity, and tradition, as the massive stone throne must have stood inside the palace like a solid outcrop of the natural bedrock of the hill of Mycenae (echoing Temple Gamma at Mycenae).

Furthermore, if the throne seat was cut from a loose boulder in the torrent bed rather than from undisturbed bedrock in a quarry, as suggested by geological analysis, then the choice of material for the royal throne may have also served as mnemonic visualization of a major catastrophic event of the past (rock slide or earthquake), thus being transcendently linked with the divine. Likewise, the three surviving serpentine blocks from the throne base, which were found scattered in various contexts at Mycenae, may have been salvaged, collected and retained as relics after the catastrophe of 1200 BC.

Joseph MARAN

Between Remembering and Forgetting: Ruins of the Past and the ‘Invention of Tradition’

Social memory can have integrative as well as divisive effects, which is why the recognition of collectively shared patterns of memory is insufficient, as long as it is not complemented by acknowledging memory’s potentially exclusionary repercussions and as long as it is not accompanied by the identification of those inner-societal conditions, forces and interests responsible for the emergence of such attitudes towards the past. Accordingly, any assessment of the relation between monuments and the formation of social memory has to avoid the fallacy of focusing solely on the integrative role of sites, architecture and landscapes for societies at large, while disregarding or downplaying the contested, antagonistic and often exclusionary ways of how such memory is constructed in inner-societal practices and discourses by groups distinguished by marked differences in resources, power and interests. The ambiguity of social memory as an arena where integrative and divisive inner-societal currents clash becomes especially apparent in the memorialization of past monuments, that encompasses the material engagement with ruins and abandoned sites as places of the active creation of social memory in the framework of preservation and tradition. Dependent on the inner-societal discourses in which the past is re-collected, features that were once regarded as important may recede into the background or even sink into seeming oblivion. By introducing the concept of ‘the invention of tradition’ E. Hobsbawm and T.O. Ranger have drawn attention to the phenomenon that many traditions which appear to be of ancient origin have often been only recently introduced. In focusing on selected monuments of the Bronze Age Aegean it will be argued that through narrative traditions and the physical recognition of monuments, seemingly forgotten features may suddenly be reinvigorated as important factors because, under new social and political circumstances, they are assigned significance by certain groups. The possibility of linking narratives to the physical presence of remnants of the past was a decisive factor for concealing the invented nature of allegedly venerable traditions and thus for convincing people of their authenticity.

Marisa MARTHARI

Memory and identity in LC I/LM IA Thera as reflected in settlement patterns and ceramic production

The settlement patterns and ceramic production in LC I/ LM IA Thera are two subjects about which new evidence has emerged during the past twenty years. As a result, we are now in a better position to approach the topic of memory and identity of Theran society in the final phase before the eruption of the volcano.

Recent surface surveys added more sites to the already known complex settlement pattern of LC I pre-eruption Thera including individual farms and rural settlements. Among the new sites is Raos, in the South Caldera, where a sophisticated building complex with frescoes was revealed. This brings Thera even closer to Crete than the rest of the Cyclades. On the other hand most of the LC I sites dispersed in the island's countryside were founded on earlier sites dating back to the Early Cycladic period, which shows a strong tradition and memory in the occupation processes.

The excavations at both Akrotiri and Raos in the 2000s and 2010s increased the ceramic material from the Volcanic Destruction Level by hundreds of complete vases and thousands of sherds. A look at the pottery of the Volcanic Destruction Level based on all the material that has been found to date, old and new, is able to shed plenty of light on the modes and dynamics of both penetration of Minoan elements into Thera and transmission of the Cycladic past

In addition to the imports from Crete a good many Minoan shapes, entirely unknown in the Cyclades, were produced locally, meeting the new requirements formed by the embracing of a Minoan way of life. The process of Minoan features penetrating Thera on the cultural and social level is considerably more complex than the penetration of Knossian features, for example, into other Minoan sites. From the moment a Minoan feature penetrated Theran pottery its course was independent of the course it followed in Crete where it originated. The autonomy of the Theran workshops is more noticeable with the creation by the Theran potters of a number of types drawn from the combination of some features of two different Minoan shapes. These improvisations show better than anything else that the Theran artists were not tied to a past that was not their own, such as the Minoan. They had no hesitation whatsoever in redesigning its products.

A great many local pottery shapes, however, the main examples being the beaked jugs and nipples ewers, are found in the framework of the tradition that developed in the Cyclades during the EC and MC periods. Both plastic form and painted decoration express the continuation of the sense of sparseness and the disarming simplicity of Cycladic art in great respect. It is also of special importance that the predominant ritual libation sets, judging by their greater numbers, are the local traditional libation sets, the nipple-jug and the cylindrical rhyton.

In conclusion the evidence shows cultural and social transformation in LC I pre-eruption Thera, which brings it closer than ever to Crete and Knossos without being very far away from its deeply rooted local traditions and memories in site occupation on the one hand and

art, religion and cult practices on the other that reflect the deepest foundations of every society.

John MCENROE & Matt BUELL

Architecture and Memory at Gournia (Crete)

At the beginning of the Neopalatial period, when a new generation of builders sought to replace/rebuild the ancient Protopalatial palace at Gournia, they cleared away most of the interior walls down to the native bedrock, creating a *tabula rasa* for the core of the new construction project. Yet at the same time, the builders went out of their way to preserve the entire lengths of north and east facades of the Protopalatial building that framed the emptied center. These were impressive walls that stretched for ca. 70m on the north, and ca. 60m on the east. They were built of huge (>.75m in one direction), hard, unworked, white crystalline limestone boulders, quarried from the natural bedrock spine that forms the ridge on which Gournia sits. Almost like a natural projection of the hill, these walls straddled the crest of the acropolis and remained clearly visible throughout the Neopalatial period, particularly from the north and east. Their primeval fortress-like appearance was further emphasized in the LM IB period when elegant Knossos-style ashlar facades were added to the west and south facades of the palace, vividly contrasting with the massive cragginess of the more ancient walls.

In this paper we hope to demonstrate that the decision to incorporate these earlier walls into the fabric of the new palace was not simply a matter of convenience, but a meaningful act that resulted in a building that was ‘monumental’ in the sense of its immense scale, its architectural elaboration(s), and in its commemorative intent.

Such mnemonic features had a long history at Gournia. For example, when the LM IB builders had completed the ashlar façade around Room 13 in the southwest corner of the palace, the palace and the community celebrated the event with a feast, having packed nearly 370 cups and bowls along with remnants of food into the small room. When we excavated below this deposit, we discovered that this same room had also been filled with nearly 300 cups and bowls from a construction feast some eight generations earlier in the MM IIIA period. Although the feasts had been ephemeral events, they were not forgotten, having become literally part of the fabric of the building.

Even the pioneering generation that had built the first palace, the first street system, and the first monumental houses in MM II maintained a connection with the elite families of the Early Bronze Ages not only by continuing to bury their dead in the House Tombs of the North Spur Cemetery, but also by expanding the cemetery to include a place of communal worship.

Over time the Gournia landscape became filled with meaningful markers. For generations they shaped the community’s activities, interactions, and relationships with the broader world. When the town was burnt to the ground at the end of LM IB, the buildings were destroyed and those memories were erased.

Pietro MILITELLO

Phaistos: a Memory for the Future. How to tell an archaeological site

A significant issue for archaeologists, today, within the wider frame of ‘Public Archaeology’ is the communication of archaeological sites. The task is so important, that it has been recognized as one of the actions of Horizon 2020. Attention, however, has mainly focused on the technical aspects of communication, especially as far as the huge potential of digital tools is concerned (3D reconstruction, augmented reality, immersive reality, serious game etc.), this has left aside however other aspects, such as the language, the content or the way of communicating.

These considerations holds true in the case of Minoan culture, has been the focus of different attempts of appropriation and even manipulation in the century from its discovery.

Phaistos is one of its more representative sites. Its long history encompasses three millennia and spans a large portion of the history of Greece and the Mediterranean region, and many crucial developments, from urbanization to the raise of the central powers and the formation of the Greek polis and Hellenistic koiné. Constructing a narrative through such an extensive period raises certain scientific and ethical issues concerning the extent of reconstruction, the narration to be adopted and, finally, the role of the local communities in the enhancement of an archaeological site. The project Digital Phaistos is currently tackling these challenges, and the first results will be illustrated here.

Christina MITSOPOULOU & Olga POLYCHRONOPOULOU

The archive and atelier of the Gilliéron artists. Three generations, a century (1870s-1980s)

The proposed paper aims to address the topic of re-use of the Aegean past in the 19th and 20th centuries, under the scope of the politics of preservation of the material cultural heritage.

The artists Émile Gilliéron - father and son- contributed fundamentally to the early phases of discovery, interpretation, restoration, replication and propagation of knowledge concerning the ancient civilizations unearthed in Greece between 1876 and 1939. The quantity and high quality of their work led the artists to process the major finds, museum objects and replicas of educational character. They can both be considered as pioneering Conservators of Antiquities in Greece. Renowned as collaborators of excavators like Schliemann, Evans or Pernier, the list of their missions is much longer, comprising numerous institutions, projects or archaeologists. Their most famous creations concern Bronze Age artifacts (Minoan or Mycenaean), but there is hardly any style of Art, from Neolithic to late Byzantine, which is not to be found amidst their repertoire. Their missions range from Greece to Egypt, Asia Minor and Italy, at least.

The Gilliéron artists have repeatedly attracted scholarly attention, mainly from Bronze Age specialists, an interest due to their *intime* relationship to the major excavation sites of Crete and the Peloponnese. This does not mean that their influence and contribution to later phases of Greek Archaeology is less significant. The Gilliérons have to be considered under a diachronic gaze, in order to be fully understood as a phenomenon. Concerning ancient Art (whether 'Aegean' or 'Greek'), their work has visually shaped the perception of their contemporaries, as of later generations. They are part of the History of the Archaeology of Greece.

Hardly known is another artist, of the third generation: Émile's son, Alfred (1920-2010). Having lost direct contact to the archaeological milieu, he continued the art of his ancestors on the free market, transferring the archaeological motives towards the growing industry of tourism. The use, reuse and adaptation of motives, shapes and themes launched by his elders in the late 19th and 20th centuries, turns Alfred Gilliéron into a vivid link between the age of pioneering discoveries and the age of "consumption" of the Aegeans. His creative span is contemporary to the establishment of mass tourism, from after WW II to the entrance of Greece into the European Union in the early 1980s.

Since 2015, the *French School at Athens* (EFA) is in possession of the Archives of three generations of Gilliéron artists, as of the material rests of their artistic atelier, preciously preserved by the descendant of the fourth generation, Émile Gilliéron (III). This ensemble comprises artistic equipment, molds, impressions, original replicas or later generations of copies, in several materials (galvanoplastic replicas, bronze, plaster, clay, wood etc.), of a multitude of periods, styles, themes, categories and sizes. In combination with the archive, it is a conserved heritage of unique originality as a source of knowledge, concerning the history of Archaeology in Greece. The present paper aims to present the *Fonds Gilliéron* of the EFA to the scientific community, and to point out the major axes of research that can/will be launched in the near future.

Nicoletta MOMIGLIANO

Models of memory and the reception of the Aegean Bronze Age

Instead of focusing on practices of memory (including memorializing and memory keeping) and on the role of social memory during the Aegean Bronze Age, this paper will focus on how modern responses to, and narratives about, the Aegean Bronze Age, and especially Minoan Crete, can be linked to various models of memory. These models range from Marcel Proust's involuntary memory (as in the famous 'madeleine moment'), to Sigmund Freud's controversial theory of inherited memory, and other models derived from cognitive sciences (e.g. sensory, iconic, haptic memory) and other disciplines, such as history (see e.g. Pierre Nora's *lieux de mémoire*). Besides Proust and Freud, the paper will look at other examples of Aegean Bronze Age/memory dynamics in the works of authors such as Henry Miller, Rose Macaulay, and Rhea Galanaki among others.

Lyvia MORGAN

Art, Culture and Memory

Memory is *interactive*, an active flow between persons, spaces, senses and actions. Memories are inscribed and mediated through monuments, images and texts that draw on the past to legitimize the present social order and validate future aspirations. Mural art, in particular, is shaped by time and space, images in dialogue with architectural and landscape settings and the movements of the viewer. Through the interaction of images, structure and performative action, art, like ritual, has the power to manipulate memory.

All mural and sculptural art of ancient cultures is referential. Some encompasses the viewer within the pictorial space (e.g. the Spring Fresco); some rely on thematic elements or narrative sequence, notably in the format of the frieze (Thera, Kea, Tel el Dab'a etc); and some work on the principle of culmination, whether in paintings (the goddess of Xesté 3), or in an interaction between murals and sculptural bodies (*ka* statues in Egyptian tombs). In this sense, memory is allied to the articulation of space, with images in context drawing on established memories while formulating new ones through relationships. Visual narratives draw together networks of ideas, building structures that are instrumental in embedding memories into the minds of viewers.

This paper explores the mnemonic qualities of wall paintings, in particular the format of the frieze, focusing on relationships between images in their context, the depiction of public festivals, ceremony and landscape, and the participation of the viewer. The Miniature Frieze from Ayia Irini, Kea, with its references to the social dynamics of feasting, processions, gift exchange, and particularized landscape, provides a potent example of the relationship between images and socio-cultural memory. Through an analysis of this frieze in particular, the paper demonstrates how memory plays a pivotal role in the construction of and response to images, both in terms of the fundamentals of spatial structure and in the complexity of socio-cultural allusion within the iconographic programme.

Joanne MURPHY

Power plays at Pylos: The past and memory in the tombs and at the palace

In this paper I explore how Pylian elites used memory to communicate and legitimate their ideologies first in the tombs near the palace and later at the palace itself.

By discussing evidence from the tombs including their location and the types of objects buried with the dead, I argue that in the early periods of the growth of the settlement of Pylos the tombs acted as mnemonic devices for a nascent ideology that focused on individual family lines. The manipulations of the landscape with the construction on monumental tombs in close proximity to the palace combined with the reuse of the tombs for generations created a shift in people's memory and their appreciation of time, their understanding of their past, and their projections to the future. I further argue that the objects buried with the dead, which were probably displayed in a procession from the settlement to the tomb, articulated the society's emphasis and reliance on imported exotica and a warrior ideology. Through these artifacts elites expressed their participation in the Mycenaean cultural koine, their connection to large networks of trade and power, and their military and personal strength to defend these relationships.

During LH IIIA as the palace grew in prominence, the economic and cultural importance of the tombs began to wane and the Pylians shifted not only their main economic strategies of power to the palace but also the less concrete, but equally effective, strategies based around the senses and memory. Through the wall paintings that hearkened back to the glories of fought battles where Pylians defeated its enemies, the Pylians continued their long term practice of manipulating memory by visually highlighting the importance of warfare, their dominance, and their strength. The identity of the people in the battles, in Room 64 for example, suggest that it is unlikely that the Pylians were illustrating their victory over their nearby enemies, but instead were referring either to mythical enemies, locals who did not participate in the Mycenaean koine, or non-Greeks. The audience for the communications, however, those whose memories were being impacted, were both the Pylians and other inhabitants of the regions who would have frequented the palace. I argue that these visually forceful and shocking images manipulated people's memories to remind them of the strength of the palatial elite and acted as a warning of what could happen if anyone rose up against them. Thus, we see that memory and its manipulation was a key strategy in Pylian power dynamics from the Early Mycenaean period through the collapse of the palatial culture.

Sarah MURRAY

Tradition and Memory at Postpalatial Perati in East Attica

The site of Perati, a chamber tomb cemetery in use during the 12th century BCE, was extensively excavated and thoroughly published by Spyridon Iakovidis in the 1960s and 1970s. Although forty years have elapsed since its publication, the material from Perati continues to represent the largest and most completely documented set of evidence available for the study of LH IIIC mortuary behavior. Despite the prominent place of Perati in the LH IIIC archaeological record, the finds have rarely been the subject of detailed consideration in the secondary scholarship. This is unfortunate, because evidence from the site represents a uniquely well-documented example of burial practices during a transitional period of Greek prehistory (at the end of the Late Bronze Age and beginning of the Early Iron Age) and as such has much to tell scholars about the complex negotiation between Mycenaean traditions and innovative breaks with the past experienced and effected by postpalatial communities.

The purpose of this paper is therefore to consider the evidence for interaction between new practices and Mycenaean traditions evident in the mortuary record at Perati. The paper proceeds in two parts. First, I review the evidence of the mortuary landscape at the site as laid out in Iakovidis' three-volume publication, *Περατή, το νεκροταφείον* (1969–1970), and distinguish among new and old characteristics of the burials along three axes, architecture (chamber tombs vs. cist graves), the treatment of the corpse (cremation vs. inhumation), and grave goods (noting especially the occurrence of Mycenaean heirlooms), with the aim of enlightening possible rationales for the abandonment of old mortuary rituals and the adoption of new ones. Then, I analyze the patterns evident in occurrence of new and traditional practices. I show that cremation burials, a novel feature of the mortuary record in the Greek mainland in the 12th century, co-occur with Mycenaean heirlooms, especially in the form of highly worn seal stones, within large chamber tombs that were repeatedly used over a long period of time. On the other hand, iron knives (a new category of artifact in the IIIC period) and utilitarian tools tend to occur in smaller tombs used by one or two individuals, and do not co-occur with Mycenaean heirlooms or cremation burials. In accounting for these patterns, I suggest that the co-occurrence of new architectural tomb types and novel artifacts suggests that the presence of local and non-native interests could account for some of the mortuary variability at the site. In addition, I argue that the use of heirlooms alongside the new ritual of cremation at Perati may comprise the material residua of new strategies in use by postpalatial groups aspiring to establish authority in the vacuum left by the palatial collapse. The defunct symbols of the former palatial ruling class were used to evoke enduring authority and recall the memory of the preceding complex civilization, while the novel ritual of cremation served to mark a break with the defunct authority and establish a fresh beginning.

Irini NIKOLAKOPOULOU

Objects of memory or objects of status? The case of Cycladic bichrome ware vases as heirlooms in Aegean contexts

Cycladic vases in bichrome ware are long considered in Aegean scholarship as the hallmark of the material culture of Cycladic communities in the Middle Bronze Age, most notably those of Phylakopi, Melos and Akrotiri, Thera. Recent studies of new discoveries and reappraisals of material of earlier excavations have brought centre stage issues of production and consumption of these particularly appealing vases. Their elaborate and in many aspects unique iconography has been extensively discussed in relevant studies, with emphasis on their contribution to the development of large scale wall painting and their role in shaping social identity in their respective communities.

Not least because of their perceived aesthetic appeal, radically different from that of contemporary Middle Minoan dark ground pottery, Cycladic bichrome vases were produced and consumed in large quantities at Phylakopi and Akrotiri, but were also exported and imitated in other Aegean communities. These representational but also utilitarian objects can be seen as carriers of both inscribed and embodied social memory of the communities that created and used them. What happens then when these objects are curated and finally deposited *post tempus* (in later contexts) and *ex situ* (in off-Cycladic sites)?

The manufacture of true bichrome ware with figurative decoration apparently came to an end with the advent of the Late Cycladic period and the Minoanising influence in pottery production. Nevertheless, bichrome vases, occasionally with outstanding pictorial decoration, have been identified in later contexts in the Cycladic islands and other sites in the Aegean, such as the griffin jar at Ayia Irini on Kea and the bird jugs from Knossos and Myrtos-Pyrgos. Although these are considered as ‘heirlooms’ in chronological terms, the interpretative range of their contexts (domestic, ceremonial, funerary) calls for a more refined approach to their biographies and their role as agents in shaping social memory and/or social identity of their immediate users and the wider community. Explicit cases to be discussed, besides evidence from the Cycladic settlements and the recently excavated cemetery on Antiparos, include the exceptional contexts from the Grave Circles at Mycenae and the Temple Repositories at Knossos. The presence of distinctive bichrome vases in these assemblages and the context of their acquisition exemplify the complex reciprocities of humans and artefacts as seen through the extended biographies of these objects. It is suggested that in the cases examined, these ‘heirlooms’ actively sustained a range of strategies related to social memory, from the consolidation of community identity to the enhancement and legitimisation of status and power, within the changing world of the Aegean at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age.

Maria NODARAKI

Modern Architecture in Crete and the Minoan civilization : Constructing the Past ; Looking to the Future

The paper deals with the relation between Modern Architecture in Crete and the Minoan civilization. The fact is that modern movement, meaning the pioneer activity in art and architecture of the interwar period, affected and formed the image of the Minoan civilization, as it was constructed by the famous archaeologist Arthur Evans and his associates during the 20th century. Furthermore, the Minoan example fed the modernity and contributed on the expression of alternative modernisms. The aim of the present paper is to present the mechanism of exchanges between the Minoan Archaeology and Modern Architecture through specific case studies and historical references.

On the one hand, the influence of modern movement to the construction of the Minoan vision is presented through the interpretation of the work of Sir Arthur Evans. Evans' Minoan vision acquired material substance through the inspired work of his gifted associates for the anastylosis of the most important palace of Minoan Crete, Knossos. Knossos, is fairly considered to be the first building made by reinforced concrete in Crete. On the other hand, the influence of the Minoan vision to the Modern Architecture in Europe and Greece is shown through specific case studies in art and architecture that use the Minoan as a pioneer element. The Minoan civilization was discovered in Crete and its attractive image, as modern antiquity was spread rapidly throughout Europe through the journal, the modernist art reviews, the pioneer magazines of art and architecture and the international exhibitions.

However, the relation between the Minoan Civilization and Modern movement is highlighted through the case of the Archaeological Museum of Heraklion. The museum was designed in 1934 by the modernist Greek architect Patroklos Karantinos in order to host the unique Minoan treasures. The demolition of the previous neoclassical building of the museum and the construction of the modern one met the reactions of the citizens but contributed on the establishment of modern architecture in the island of Crete. The discourse behind this choice of the responsible authorities is of utmost importance, as it contains significant remarks on the way by which modern movement was used to renew the old structures and bring the modernization to Cretan society. The building combines both modern elements (rectangular forms, horizontal and vertical lines, flat roofs, generous use of glass and natural light etc.) and Minoan elements (benches in stone, portico with columns, skylights, decoration of the main façade, colors etc.) Meanwhile, Karantinos' museological proposal constitutes another link to the Minoan element and expresses distinctively the modern approach to the antiquity.

Thomas G. PALAIMA

The Importance of Memory in Mycenaean and later Greek Culture: The Linear B and Epic Evidence

For topics like literacy, the ideology of power and the formation of individual or group socio-cultural identity in Mycenaean palatial society and early historical Greek polis society, memory is a key concept. Homer's *Odyssey* and Hesiod's *Theogony* open with addresses to the supernatural being(s), the Μοῦσα(ι), who embody memory. Although the etymology of Μοῦσα is morphologically problematical, Chantraine, Beekes and Watkins all reasonably trace it back to the basic Indo-European root *men-1 for 'think' and 'actively remember'. The forms in μνᾱ- that give us the title of this Aegaeum conference (μνήμη) and verbal forms a. μμνήσκω, reduplicated with iterative suffixation, 'keep on recalling'; and b. μνάομαι 'I make myself recall' are explained as root extensions of *men-1. The importance of the concept of memory is seen in historical Greek in semantic extensions of words with this root, e.g., μνάομαι comes to mean:

- 'remember' a potential wife (see famously and ambiguously Κλυταιμνήστρη [*μνάομαι] < Κλυταιμῆστρη [μῆδομαι]), i.e., to 'woo' by constant mindful attention, whence μνηστήρ 'suitor', for the vital social action of uniting clans through marriage;
- 'remember' the spirit of combat, the joy of battle: μνήσαντο χάρμης *Iliad* 4.222, 8.252; see also μένος *per se*.
- and, of course, noun forms μνῆμα and μνημεῖον of monuments to the dead, including funeral mounds, or memorials to gods.

These are key terms in key spheres for the well-being of any society (cf. the key roles of Mentor and Men-tes in the *Odyssey* in bringing Telemachus into kingly manhood and restoring the legitimate rulership of Odysseus in Ithaca).

In the Linear B texts, themselves serving as memory aids, we will discuss key terms: ma-na-sa; ma-na-si-we-ko; me-to-re; a-ka-me-ne; a-o-ri-me-ne; a-re-me-ne; e-u-me-ne; me-nu-wa, me-nu-a2.

We will trace the concept of 'memory' in compound personal names and possibly a divine entity, thus reinforcing the nascent significance of terms relating to memory in protohistory.

We will also compare 'memory' in historical Greek naming practices.

Heleni PALAIOLOGOU

Facing the Mycenaean past at Mycenae

The organization of a complex society and the accumulation of wealth in favour of the ruling class during the Early Mycenaean period and the following Palatial period was an achievement that marked the rise and peak of the Mycenaean culture. The self-confidence of the people of the next generations left traces of social memory not only because of their feelings as proud heirs of the glorious past, but also for their own purposes depending on historical circumstances. In this presentation the evidence of memory at Mycenae is examined at first through the approach to the prominent monuments at the acropolis and around it, buildings, grave circles, tholos tombs, and secondly to the around broader area, buildings, works of substructure and cemeteries. The chronological frame under examination comprises the closer Late Bronze Age and the far remoted and different Iron Age. The grave circles, the Aegisthus, Clytaemnestra and Atreus tholos are reexamined, constructions and finds, as case studies. New finds are presented as the deposition of LH III C late a stirrup jar over the entrance of a chamber tomb used in LH III A at the cemetery Asprochoma. On the other hand, in the archaic period, four skulls, three fragmented vases dated to LH III A2-B1 and a late geometric one were collected carefully in a small poros cist tomb inside an archaic cemetery.

A representative case is the site of Chania, where in LH III B1 the plain was transformed into an inhabited area, which in turn was destroyed by fire. After a short interruption at LH III C middle, a burial tumulus was constructed having insight of the ruins and was given up at LH III C late. Later, after almost three centuries the tumulus is discerned and an archaic sanctuary over the ruins is established. Mycenae as an early city-state tries to display its own identity, everywhere it is possible in its territory, as a natural consequence of its glorious past. Argos firstly as a competitor for the control of the Heraio sanctuary and later, after 468 B.C., as a conqueror appropriates the past not only in literature but also in the monuments as the legitimate political heir. Mycenaean heroes, Perseus and Agamemnon, continue to inspire initiation rites and cultic activities related to the religious beliefs of the habitants. At his visit to Mycenae, at the 2nd cent. A.D., Pausanias has the chance to observe many monuments closely and to transmit us a lot of information, accurate or confused by the oral tradition. At Mycenae a continuity of use of monuments and space is observable, although the function is different from time to time. The social memory preserves what is considered essential for its time.

Diamantis PANAGIOTOPOULOS

From ‘tradition’ to ‘cultural memory’. Towards a paradigm shift in Aegean Archaeology

Since the 1990’s, notions of ‘past’ and personal or collective ‘remembrance’ have dominated culture theory and generated many productive debates, creating a vast and still growing body of literature. These new theoretical tenets opened our eyes in many ways to the premises and modes of remembering and forgetting. Scholarly interest shifted from the static concept of the ‘past’, as a former reality with normative strength, to the dynamic concepts of ‘collective/social/cultural memory’ as a social construction shaped by human agency. Situated in an archaeological context, the study of mnemonic strategies has endeavoured to go beyond the established issues of ‘tradition’ and tomb or hero cult. Scholars have focused on the role of mortuary practices in the construction of the past, stressed the mnemonic qualities of monuments or highlighted the significance of the past in the ancient present. Given the pervasiveness of mnemonic strategies in current cultural studies and its manifold applications in archaeology, the question that inevitably arises in the case of the Bronze Age Aegean is whether this new explanatory paradigm can be sensibly applied for an innovative interpretation of old and new archaeological evidence. For answering this question, it is crucial to create first a common ground, by consenting in the precise meaning of some important theoretical terms, by setting new agendas for future research, and by identifying collective concerns. The MNEME conference provides an excellent opportunity for such a challenging endeavour. Therefore, the principal objective of the present paper is to contribute to this aim by outlining one possible conceptual matrix for exploring mnemonic strategies in Aegean Archaeology.

This approach will start with a discussion of the term ‘cultural memory’ and its implementation in the study of ancient cultures. A special emphasis will be given to the distinction between ‘tradition’ and ‘cultural memory’ by elaborating on the difference between repetitive practices and conscious acts of remembrance. The second part will explore the question whether commemorative actions can be traced in Aegean words, things, monuments and images. The last part will focus on some of the most prominent and – at the same time – most problematic cases of perception and manipulation of the past, highlighting not only acts of remembrance but also some stunning acts of forgetting in Minoan Crete and Mycenaean Greece.

Nikolas PAPANIMITRIOU

From *habitus* to visual culture.

Changing mnemonic processes in Early Mycenaean Greece.

Archaeological studies often adopt a descriptive approach to the concept of memory. Several scholars acknowledge the ability of monuments to inscribe “images of the past” in the landscape, or the capacity of specific objects to instigate the retrieval of memories, but are reluctant to explore the *kind of mnemonic processes* involved, the *mechanisms* of recall, and the wider *social implications* of collective remembering.

This is problematic. Psychologists identify various types of memory: *explicit* memory involves conscious recall, and includes *episodic* memory (personal experiences) and *semantic* memory (transmitted knowledge, not associated with personal experience); *implicit* or *procedural* memory involves unconscious recall, and includes tacit learning based on repetition (motor skills, habits etc.). Identifying the type of memory at work in each case is both essential and analytically possible.

Recall, on the other hand, depends on the *social contexts* in which remembering takes place. According to P. Connerton, the creation and transmission of collective memories is achieved either through *incorporating practices*, such as rituals (which affect procedural/habitual remembering), or through *inscribing methods*, such as writing and other visual forms of communication (which affect semantic memory).

Mycenaean tombs provide a fruitful arena for exploring these ideas. As argued elsewhere, the standardization of tomb design and the introduction of long dromoi at the end of LH I created a homogeneous kind of public performing space, which allowed participants to embody shared values and common perceptions of the past through the *habitus* of repetitive rituals (*i.e.* incorporating or embodied practices).

Changes in ritual practices, however, were accompanied with innovations in symbolic communication. Most crucial among them was the introduction of *representational imagery* (on grave stelae, metal vessels, ivories, sealstones, etc.). Given that Mainland societies had no previous tradition in figural art, the rise of such iconography probably marked the beginning of a long transition towards the creation of a Mycenaean *visual culture*, and the gradual adoption of what M. Donald has termed *external memory storage systems* (which favour inscribing methods of collective remembering).

My paper will explore the details of that process by analyzing the geographic and social distribution of early iconographic media in Mainland Greece, their thematic emphasis, and how the new symbolic codes affected processes of collective remembering from LH I to LH IIIA1 – when iconography became a common feature of Mycenaean culture.

Angelos PAPADOPOULOS

Mneme and propaganda in the early Late Bronze Age Aegean: the case of the ‘Siege Rhyton’

The so-called ‘Siege Rhyton’ from Shaft Grave IV, Grave Circle A at Mycenae is truly a unique object in terms of construction, choice of materials and function, in combination with its iconography. The pictorial program of this vessel is well-known, depicting armed male figures before a walled city set within an apparently coastal landscape. It is exactly this theme which has attracted the attention of scholars in the past and which, together with similar scenes across a variety of media, resulted in the hypothesis that these depictions belong to the thematic cycle of the ‘beleaguered city’ or the ‘city under siege’, which functioned to commemorate a historic Aegean victory salient in social memory and subsequently employed as a standardized way to represent battle. Others suggest that the specific iconographic cycle, that has perhaps begun with the ‘Siege Rhyton’ extended into Late Helladic IIIA-B period, based on the remains of a stone vessel discovered at Apollo Maleatas in Epidaurus.

Does this mean that we should consider the ‘Siege Rhyton’ as a vehicle of a living memory which echoed the glories of the past? If yes, of which past? And whose glory? Apart from the well-familiar issues of military prowess and the elite status of the owner, with whom this vessel was buried, discussion regarding the theme itself, the potential for locating the event to which it refers in space and time and the identity of the parties depicted, remains inconclusive. If the rhyton depicts a real-life event worthy of commemoration, can the same event be identified elsewhere in contemporary art? With this object, like several others from Grave Circle A, considered to be of Minoan craftsmanship, we might begin to explore the extent to which any such memory was shared by mainland, Cycladic and Cretan groups, or whether this theme emerges as one more anonymous and generic.

These issues will be addressed within a detailed analysis which includes a) the de-construction of pictorial elements, b) the use of contemporary pictorial comparanda (including the martial iconography on the steatite rhyta of Neopalatial Crete) and c) the burial context of the artefact and its narrative relationship to other objects with pictorial scenes from the same tomb. Bearing in mind the fact that the most recent reconstruction drawing of the rhyton dates to 1965, a new tentative drawing of the entire scene will be presented during this paper.

Thanasis PAPADOPOULOS

Honouring the ancestors and the particular role of social memory in Western Mycenaean Greece. The evidence of tombs and burial customs

In the last decades, excavations of Mycenaean cemeteries in the regions of Western Greece produced a lot of new material, a great amount of new information and several publications concerning the afterlife treatment of the dead. With few exceptions, these studies remain in the descriptive frame of study, traditional within the area of prehistoric archaeology. The purpose of this paper is to present and examine summarily the new data and in some cases to reconsider old views referring to the honouring and treatment of the western Mycenaean deads by using the evidence provided by the tombs and the burial customs . Furthermore, a special effort will be made to trace and recognize peculiarities, possible changes, evolution or discontinuity of burial habits through time and to focus the role played by the local communities in keeping or disregarding earlier social beliefs, *epitaphies* ceremonies (or *mnemosina*) , traditions and memories.

Lena PAPAZOGLU-MANIOUDAKI & Kostas PASCHALIDIS

Community and memory in the periphery of the Mycenaean world : Incidents in the life of the Mygdalia settlement near Patras.

The perception of memory solely as veneration to the deceased and as hero cult does not do justice to a widespread phenomenon. It is also inextricably linked to the life of a settlement, to real events that affect both the living and the dead. Their impact may be traced in the actual settlement pattern, its growth or recess and to the treatment of the dead.

The ongoing excavation at Mygdalia hill, near Patras, give us the opportunity of a comprehensive study of domestic and tomb material and provides a measure for understanding a full chronicle of the Mycenaean era in Western Achaea. Mygdalia, in Patras area, was founded in the transitional MH III/LH I period and it became a local center in the Early Mycenaean period. It became even more important in the final phase of the Mycenaean era, i.e. the *post palatial* times (LH III C- Submycenaean), when the site became one of the many seats of the *warrior aristocracy*. The settlement was built on three successive terraces, the lower terrace supported by a massive enclosure and retaining wall that seems to be part of initial planning. The top terrace had always been the field of the rulers' dwellings, while the rest of the *intra muros* space was occupied by houses, store-rooms, workshops and open spaces. Substantial architectural remains, floor deposits, pottery and metal finds, a tholos tomb of LH IIB-LH IIIA1 date and the nearby LH IIIA-C chamber tomb cemetery of Clauss bespeak of the rise and life of a local community away from the main centers, for almost half a millennium.

The long history of this community was shared between the struggle for everyday life and the memory and legends of the past, as it happens in any community that continues for centuries. At times the inhabitants embraced memory and at others they had to reject, maybe forcefully, the past.

The striking case of children's *intra muros* burials that were interred between houses or under the floors in the 16th c. BC and remained undisturbed for five hundred years, implies respect and long-lasting knowledge of some families' stories that had to remain sealed. The settlement flourished in the early Mycenaean period but transition to the Palatial period was troubled, as the abandonment of buildings and the plundering of the tholos tomb testify. The subsequent use of the tomb as an ossuary or for unburnished burials upholds, in a way, the connection with the past but the tomb is no more an elite burial ground.

In LH IIIC the several cases of reuse of some dwellings' foundations in order to build new houses, must have revealed some predecessors' shattered vases and various remains that could possibly explain the existence of heirlooms in the Clauss cemetery.

The construction of an early Greek temple on top of the latest Mycenaean megaron's ruins at the hill's summit, speaks for the surviving legends that followed the settlement's life, long after its abandonment. In brief, the excavation of the Mycenaean village at Mygdalia hill, near Patras is a tribute to memory in more than one ways. It comes as a deep dive into the past on one hand, and into the past of the past on the other, since the manipulation of time elapsed has been an immense assistance to humans in our struggle to overcome the limits of life.

Anna PHILIPPA-TOUCHAIS

Death in Middle Helladic period: variation in the construction of mnemonic landscapes

As it is already known, in early Middle Helladic period (MH I-II) there were no organized cemeteries, and the deceased were often buried within the boundaries of the settlements, isolated or in small clusters. These intramural burials were not associated with conspicuous funerary practices, namely elaborate tombs or rich offerings. At a symbolic level, these “off-stage” burials seem to emphasize the veneration of ancestors, the significance of the house as a mnemonic place, the roots of which ensure a sense of stability. At a social level, the intramural graves are usually related to the absence of significant social differentiation and institutionalized codes concerning death, possibly due to the social fragmentation at the end of the Early Helladic period.

However, at the same time, there are burials outside the limits of settlements, usually organized in tumuli (e.g. at Aphidna, Marathon, Argos, Asine, Kastroulia, etc). Tumuli are monumental structures that mark the landscape, while the tombs inside of them are generally elaborate and accompanied by more grave goods. The location of the tumuli at some distance from the settlement presupposes more “staging” and collective rituals that significantly aimed at shaping communal memory and identity. In social terms burials in tumuli have been linked to social differentiation and display of power.

It is therefore clear that, at an early stage of the MH period, burial practices express strong social and symbolic complexity to which it has not been given enough significance. Of particular interest is that these two differentiated ways of burial, of different discourse and meaning, can be encountered within the same settlements. Thus, at Argos, as at Asine, which are the only MH sites that have been excavated in their wider context, burials have been located within the habitation area and in tumuli outside of it. The question is what the co-existence of these apparently conflicting versions of funerary/ritual behaviours could mean. They appear to declare some social heterogeneity, but what kind of heterogeneity? Was it simply or mostly a hierarchical differentiation or a declaration of a different group identity implying diverse ways to perceive the past, present and future in a community, or indications of the different embodied relationships to territory in terms of perception, accessibility, and appropriation.

Territory is a ‘geosymbol’, that is a place, an itinerary, a space, which structures and is structured by people’s actions (e.g. movements, activities, festivities, in our case funerary rituals). These actions charge places with “narratives” and memories constructing mnemonic landscapes with cultural and symbolic dimensions in which people’s values are rooted and through which their identities are affirmed. We could, therefore, suggest that the differentiated funerary or mnemonic landscapes in early MH period may be associated with groups of people with different identities (e.g. occupational, religious, lineage or ethnic). Their coexistence within the same social territory may suggest dynamic and competing relationships.

Lefteris PLATON

The uncertainties of the pictorial memory and the ‘pulp’ of ideas and actions drawn from a glorious past: the case of the post-palatial Minoan religious iconography

Scholars studying the Minoan religious iconography often confront with various difficulties, especially each time they try to identify and interpret specific pictorial motifs, either ceremonial paraphernalia or symbols or even natural elements, drawn from the animal, vegetable or celestial sphere. The main difficulty in these trials -apart from the mainly symbolic character of the specific pictorial motifs of this category, resulting to their brief rendering- is their long-time use, which led to their gradual loading with new conceptual elements, probably originally absent. These new elements are obviously drawn from collateral iconographical circles from other districts, either inside or outside Crete, which the new artists had somehow come in contact with, either directly or indirectly.

This phenomenon was expanded during the post-palatial period, probably for two additional reasons. The first is the removal of the artists from the so-called neo-palatial naturalism, something that was probably due to the dissolution of the palatial workshops and the concomitant decadence of the most delicate and/or of the monumental arts. The second is the collapse of the palatial system itself, with the parallel abandonment of the large-scale well-organized ceremonies requiring the strict keeping of formal rites.

Nevertheless it is interesting that the artists creating the religious pictorial syntheses of that time drew upon the old palatial iconography in an obviously deliberate attempt to transfuse something of the magnitude of the past to the new ceremonial actions, as well as to the social groups participating in them. The use of eclectic morphological elements for rendering the new pictorial themes betrays the artists' uncertainty regarding the original conceptual meaning of their prototypes, which probably brought them in a position similar to that of the modern scholar of the post-palatial Minoan iconography.

Santo PRIVITERA

‘Words are Stones’. Of Tombs, Walls, and the Memory of the Mythical Kings on the Athenian Akropolis

The Athenian Akropolis represents an archaeological palimpsest going back to as early as the Late Neolithic, as more than one century of explorations have conclusively showed. During the Late Bronze Age, in particular, settlement evidence mostly refers to the 14th through mid-11th century BCE, which consists of terracing walls, pottery deposits, tombs and, perhaps most renowned, the fortification walls dubbed ‘Pelasgian wall’ since the Classical Age. Over the years, such an evidence allowed several scholars to identify the Akropolis as a citadel comprising a palace where a local *Wanax* dwelled and administered a Mycenaean state comparable to those of Mycenae and Tiryns. The scholarly debate, however, has been widely affected by the ancient literary sources, especially Homer, Herodotus, and Thucydides. These attest to the intermingling of different traditions, which seemingly evolved over the centuries and, rather than straightly ‘recording’ historical events, reflect the various representations the Athenians had of their ‘Sacred Rock’. Drawing on researches carried out in the last five years, this paper aims to contrast both the archaeological and literary documents available, in order to acknowledge how much the ancient local myths (the ‘words’) interacted with places (the ‘stones’), bringing about the creation of a complex assemblage of memories centered upon the figures of the Athenian kings.

Eleni SALAVOURA

Prehistoric Arkadia as a landscape of memory for the ancient Greeks

Arkadia is the more mountainous and landlocked region of the Peloponnese, especially its western part – due to the very limited corrosion – is considered to have retained much of its ancient character. In the Late Bronze Age, Arkadia seems to have remained out of the direct control of a particular ‘palace’, so it resembles to be a *periphery*, even if it lies at the centre of the Peloponnese. In historical times, organization in ‘*ethne*’ was the main model developed there, while the constitution of ‘*polis*’ was adopted much later than the rest of the Peloponnese, and not all over Arkadia. From the seven *ethne* of the Peloponnese only two, the Arkadians and Kynourians were considered autochthonous, and were settled in the same territory that they occupied earlier. It is therefore often supposed that Arkadia functioned as an ‘ark’ of the past. The conservatism of the Arkadocypriot dialect, a direct development of the Linear B script, led to the perception that the Arkadians of the historical period were the descendants of ‘Akhaian’ Mycenaean whose occupation of a relatively inaccessible and mountainous zone left them largely unaffected. This conservatism as well as the attachment in the past is also strongly confirmed in religious beliefs and the continuity of ritual practices during the geometric and archaic periods (e.g. use of open air and ‘frontier’ sanctuaries, burnt sacrifices, worship of theriomorphic deities, primitive cults as survivals of Creto-Mycenaean elements). In this paper, the position of Late Helladic Arkadia in the Mycenaean world will be discussed, based on recent data from excavations and surveys and then we will attempt to trace the importance and the manipulation of this prehistoric past in shaping a local (Arkadian) identity, investigating its contribution to the constitution of the later societies at the same region. Continuities and discontinuities will also be detected between the Late Bronze Age and the Early historical times.

Alessandro SANAVIA

Painted Parading Lions on a Middle Minoan IB ceremonial basin: A case of symbolic transference and memory of an emblem in early Protopalatial Phaistos

Amongst the specialized vessels discovered at Phaistos during Doro Levi's excavations a fragment of a basin rim (F66 5497) from the so-called "Strada dal Nord", on the western sector of the Palace hill, was rightly deemed worthy for the painted representation of an animal, interpreted as a lion. This remarkable fragment was reconsidered by the author: definitely dated to MM IB (ca. 1900-1850 B.C.) on stylistic and stratigraphical grounds, it was re-joined to another rim fragment from the same excavation area. Preserved parts suggest that the original vase was a large bridge-spouted basin in Polychrome Ware, probably employed for ritual actions involving water.

In this paper I would like to reassess the unusual painted decoration, both inside and out of the vase, and suggest a case of interchange between artistic media at the beginning of the Old Palace period Phaistos, involving the symbolic transference of the Parading Lions Prepalatial glyptic imagery (EM III-MM IA) onto a painted vase. The discussion raises the possibility that this iconographic subject, a clear *insignia* of power for a social group in the Mesara plain, was probably borrowed from an heirloom stamp seal and served as a highly visible identity emblem of within-group cohesion, while at the same time reinforcing hierarchies within emerging élites during early Protopalatial ceremonial displays.

Ann-Louise SCHALLIN

Constructing Links with the Past - Post-Bronze Age Burials in Late Bronze Age Tombs at Dendra

This paper presents evidence of post Bronze Age burials in Late Bronze Age tombs and suggests that the burials contain evidence of practices in which links with the past were constructed.

The tombs used for the analysis are located in the Dendra cemetery in the Argolid. Some of the tombs in the cemetery were used for post-Bronze Age interments and the dates for these burials vary. It has convincingly been argued that the Dendra cemetery was used for burials by the inhabitants of the nearby citadel at Midea, which was abandoned in Late Helladic IIIC. The Dendra cemetery was first used in early Mycenaean times (LH II) and to this early date and to LH IIIA1 belong the richest and most imposing burials, including the single tholos tomb in the cemetery. At this early date similar family tomb cemeteries were founded in the region. The appearance of new cemeteries coincided with new social standards in Mycenaean society where the family rather than the lineage came into focus. After this early outburst of self-representation evidenced in some rich burials, the interments become more modest, which is also paralleled in other cemeteries in the region. In LH IIIB and later on the dead were only accompanied by a few figurines and/or pots. Even though the burial activity seems to dwindle, it did not disappear. Also after the abandonment of Midea, the burial practice continued, but no new tombs were constructed and the old tombs were reused.

The practice of using the old tombs can be explained in various ways which are linked with the interpretation of the *a priori* function of the cemetery; if it was used by all members of the Midea community or only a fraction of the inhabitants. The cemetery may have been used by families or groups for specific practical, social or ideological reasons. In all respects the use may be the result of a shared conception, and a memory of or tradition of, the once mighty Mycenaean citadel site in its prime.

It is herewith proposed that the reason for using the old tombs in later times was either a subconscious drive for, or a deliberate wish to identify with a possible kinship group or a past society which either was clearly remembered or more vaguely associated with. Whether this urge was also of ideological or political reasons will also be dwelt considered.

Naya SGOURITSA

Politics of mortuary respect in Mycenaean Attica

Since the time that M. Nilsson and C. Blegen, among other scholars, wrote about the hero cult on the basis of the deposition of offerings in Mycenaean chamber and tholos tombs during historical era, new material supporting the veneration of the ancestors and the formation of memories came to light.

In Attica archaeological evidence regarding the performance of rituals honouring the dead in post - Mycenaean periods emanates from a number of sites, such as Menidi, Alyki (Voula), Eleusis, Marathon (Plasi), dates after the second half of the 8th c. BC and seems to be connected to the creation of the *polis* and the conflicts that arose from the political struggles, the social inequalities and the claims to continuity and property rights in land. Besides the archaeological finds, several myths concerning this issue point to the effort of the inhabitants of Attica to legitimate and propagate their heroic past.

However, one recent example of respect and honour to the deceased, dated to the LH IIIC late (or Submycenaean) period was discovered in a Mycenaean cemetery at Glyka Nera, a site located in the NW end of the Mesogaia plain, used from the LH II to the LH IIIB2 or, probably, to the IIIC early period. Offerings to the dead of the so-called “large tomb” of this cemetery, assigned to the LH IIIA1-LH IIIB1 period, were found in the fill at a considerable height above the floor of the chamber, indicating that this ritual practice began already before the end of the Mycenaean times, at least, in Attica.

Kim SHELTON & Lynne KVAPIL

Among the ancestors at Aidonia: accessing the past in Mycenaean mortuary contexts

This paper examines the myriad ways Mycenaean engaged with and created memories of their past through the use and reuse of chamber tombs. Current excavations by the TAPHOS project (Tombs of Aidonia Preservation, Heritage, and explORation Synergasia) at the Mycenaean cemetery of Aidonia indicate that there was significant variation in the treatment of primary and secondary burials that created a post-mortem identity for the deceased that encompassed varying degrees of personhood or even ancestorhood. The mortuary landscape at Aidonia, located in the Corinthia, consists of more than twenty-five rock-cut, multi-use chamber tombs in three distinct cemeteries (an Upper, Middle, and Lower cemetery), two of which are newly discovered. Systematic excavation of tombs in the Middle and Lower cemetery, some untouched and some that have been partially looted, have expanded our understanding of complex mortuary practices evident at the site.

Mycenaean chamber tombs, because they were reused over generations, presented multiple occasions for the living to engage with the past. Each opening of the dromos and removal of the stonion stones revealed a stratigraphy of mortuary memory, with the most recent interment encountered first, surrounded by remains of past burials heaped into corners or deposited in cists. Each new burial, in turn, offered an opportunity to shape future encounters through the manipulation of the burial environment. The cycle during which the tomb was prepared to receive a deceased family member and the individual was laid to rest with the accompanying burial rites represents a series of choices embedded in perceptions of the present time but which also framed each future encounter with the ancestors.

Our evidence strongly suggests that the primary and secondary burial processes were variable and multivalent, and the performance of these rituals molded identities for the deceased along a spectrum of personhood, beyond a simple designation of deceased kin or venerated ancestor. The remains of the performance of burial ritual, for both primary and secondary interments, relayed collectively understood and culturally meaningful metaphors associated with death, which mediated perceptions of the deceased in the eyes of the living. This is particularly apparent when we consider the material remains of the sensory environment that was created during the performance of burial rituals, including such things as the use of perfumed oils to mask the smell of death, fumigation of the chamber, and the intentional, organized placement of disarticulated bones. By delineating the burial processes with a focus on variations in rites, the manipulation of the burial environment, and factors that would affect the sensory experience, we can better understand the way the people of Aidonia engaged with their own past through their burial of the dead.

Malgorzata SIENNICKA & Agata ULANOWSKA

Transmission of practice, transmission of knowledge – dynamics of textile production in the Bronze Age Aegean

A notable progress of textile knowledge in the recent years, made it possible to recognise textile manufacturing in Bronze Age Greece as a social practice of high importance for socio-cultural life and economics. As a result, textile production has been acknowledged a key craft in the economy of Bronze Age Greece.

Making of yarn and fabrics can be perceived as fairly conservative and traditional craft where once invented and learned techniques and tools remain in use for generations. Nevertheless, the archaeological data from prehistoric cultures – in this case from the Bronze Age Aegean – supported by ethnographic observations from modern cultures demonstrate that textile production has been in fact a multifaceted and dynamic activity which was frequently effected by social, cultural and economic changes and innovations. Consequently, it resulted in dynamic responses of textile producers.

Although the transmission of textile knowledge and skills is not easy to grasp in the archaeological evidence, it may be traced through – presumably – progressive changes in textile technology and organisation of production. Throughout the Bronze Age, several important innovations in textile technology took place, e.g. introduction of new fibres, new textile tools for spinning and weaving, new techniques of dyeing. There were also important changes in organisation of manufacture and several new modes of production emerged, e.g. attached specialist production and workshop production for trade. Yet, at the same time, some technical elements seem to remained traditional and less responsive to the ongoing changes, and the household-based production continued.

In this paper, we aim to investigate dynamics of textile production by outlining important technical innovations. We will discuss traditions and changes in exploitation of raw materials (flax, wool and other fibres), spinning techniques (introduction of new types of spindle whorls, plying, low whorls, drop-spindle spinning), dyeing techniques (invention of purple dyeing), and weaving (new types of loom weights, new weaves, potentially new looms) in relation to organisation of textile production at the different stages of the Bronze Age. We also make an attempt of defining what sort of social processes and mechanisms may have enhanced the discussed changes and how the new textile knowledge and skills may have been transferred and spread.

Anna SIMANDIRAKI-GRIMSHAW & Felix SATTLER

The past becomes...the role of replicas in the making of Aegean Archaeology

The early history of Aegean Archaeology is usually approached through biographies of excavators, historiographies of excavations and archives of the circumstances of research. Added to this is the more infrequent (re)examination of finds which have come to dominate the bibliography about, as well as to shape our understanding of, the Aegean Bronze Age. Rarely has the significant impact of the creation and use of replicas on the early history of Aegean Archaeology been examined.

Our contribution draws upon the results of a substantial research project conducted at Humboldt University in Berlin, Germany. ‘Travelling Thrones / Replica Knowledge’ traced the existence, history and significance of replicas of Minoan and Mycenaean artefacts. It combined archival, museum and field research across a number of countries and major institutions, including many university and museum collections. It charted networks of archaeological, curatorial, replicatory, aesthetic and political networks that shaped the early history and practice of Aegean Archaeology. It also presented this research in the form of a symposium, an exhibition and several academic publications.

In this paper, we will explore how early replicas of Minoan and Mycenaean artefacts served to make Aegean Archaeology more widely known. For example, why were some original artefacts chosen for replication and not others? Who replicated and who consumed? Where were replicas made and disseminated? How did materiality (e.g. gypsum, wood, marble, metal) change between original and replica and why? How have their modern trajectories impacted on the practice and reception of Aegean Archaeology, e.g. in spreading and legitimating modern politics and theories? Finally, as in the case of a number of artefacts, are the boundaries between ‘original’ and ‘replica’ clear, if the replica was and is being used to not only understand but also reconstruct (or sometimes reinvent) the original?

We will argue that replicas, as physical artefacts with their own biographies and agency, were active components in networks of authority, aesthetics, materiality, diplomacy, politics, commerce; and that they ultimately affected the epistemology of our discipline and the composition of some of its artefacts in the present. For example, the replicas of the ‘Throne of Minos’ from the Palace of Knossos were used in a variety of instrumental ways: from a piece of experimental archaeology, to a political gift to the International Court of Justice by E.Venizelos towards the recognition of Crete as part of Greece, to a wedding gift by Arthur Evans to friends and colleagues, to a post-WW II artefact deliberately destroyed as “bourgeois” in East Germany, to a piece of symbolic furniture in popular culture and the public domain. Similarly, artefacts such as the ‘Ring of Minos’ relied on a ‘dialogue’ with replicas, some of which we will present here for the first time, in order to be studied and understood. By exploring replicas as mnemonic devices which enable the past to be reconfigured (in essence to *become*) in the present, we aim to highlight their hitherto underestimated roles and, in the process, re-evaluate our mnemonic epistemological practices for both the past and the present.

R. Angus K. SMITH & Sevasti TRIANTAPHYLLOU

Remembering the Dead: Memory and Mortuary Ritual at the Mycenaean Cemetery of Ayia Sotira, Nemea

From 2006 to 2008 The Canadian Institute in Greece sponsored the excavation of a Mycenaean chamber tomb cemetery at Ayia Sotira. The excavations of five chamber tombs from this cemetery focused on maximum recovery of material remains and stratigraphic information from the tombs, in order to reconstruct the mortuary rituals that accompanied burial of the dead in the small Mycenaean community in the Nemea Valley. In particular, the emphasis on bioarchaeological and stratigraphic recovery allowed a detailed analysis of the tombs' reuse over generations and of the secondary manipulation of skeletal remains.

This paper will examine the evidence from Ayia Sotira to better understand the important role of memory in Mycenaean mortuary ritual. Cemeteries, and chamber tombs that were used and reused over the course of multiple burials, are particularly fertile ground for the examination of memory in the Aegean Bronze Age. Beyond the simple necessity of disposing of a corpse, and as much as they may also be related to the social present, mortuary rituals are acts of memory. They are rituals focused around individuals whose lives are now present only through memory, and as such the material remains of mortuary rituals offer archaeologists a glimpse of how memory was enacted as well as manipulated by those who took part in such ceremonies.

In particular, the tombs of Ayia Sotira suggest that beyond the acts of memory involved in finding and re-excavating a previously used chamber tomb, mortuary rituals involved purposeful secondary manipulation of the skeletal remains, repair and reconstruction of the chambers and stonions, and the respectful 'closing' of tombs when they were no longer in use. In one case, the living went so far as to completely clean out a tomb – removing almost all skeletal and artifactual remains – before closing it permanently. These acts lend an importance to the memory of both the places of burial, as loci of past ritual actions, as well as to the dead who 'inhabit' them.

Jeffrey S. SOLES

The Creation of Social Memory in Minoan Mochlos

By retaining artifacts from the past and constructing distinctive architectural monuments, the Minoans who lived at Mochlos created a social memory for their community that served a number of purposes.

Three sets of antiques have been uncovered in three different contexts of the LM IB period in the current Greek-American excavation at Mochlos, Crete. Only one of these might be described as an heirloom in the sense that it was handed down from one generation to another, a MM I stone vase found in situ on a platform in a building in the Artisans' Quarter which was producing stone vases. The other two were chance finds that the Minoans made during the rebuilding of the site after the LM IA earthquake destruction. Both date to the EM II period, a marble palette imported from the Cyclades located in the 'Theatral Area' of the site's main ceremonial building, and a collection of intact Vasilike vases found in the House of the Lady with the Ivory Pyxis.

The different contexts suggest that each was retained for a different purpose. The MM I stone vase was a constant reminder of ancestral skills and the debt that its owners, also stone vase makers, owed to those who had gone before. It suggests that the knowledge of how to make stone vases was passed down from one generation to the next. The Early Cycladic palette which was stored in the 'Theatral Area' where the living are thought to have feasted with the dead served as a tangible link to the ancestors who settled Mochlos in the 3rd millennium BCE. The collection of Vasilike vases found on the floor of a living room in the House of the Lady with the Ivory Pyxis suggest that she collected antiquities and used them to legitimize her status and ritual authority in the community. The vases promoted elite propaganda that linked her to the community's ancestors and justified her social position. It is a widespread phenomenon observable in many different cultures at many different times and has a parallel in the EBA at Mochlos when the first building at Mochlos, built in the EM I period and home to the original settlers, served as the model for an elite house tomb, Tomb IV-VI, in the EM II period. The builder of the EM II tomb, perhaps a paramount chief, modeled his tomb after a structure that served as the original residence of the first settlers.

Dimitra SPILIOPOULOU

Lights' up in Akrotiri, life through artificial light from the 3rd to 2nd millennium BC in the Bronze Age settlement of Akrotiri, Thera

The Bronze Age Settlement of Akrotiri, Thera, located at the southern part of the island brought up to light evidence of capturing and preserving the light into artifacts made of local stone and clay. Such is the inscribed foot base of lamp, which came with some other finds from the two buildings, that the two French archaeologists H. Mamet und H. Gorgeix in 1870 in the valley of Akrotiri excavated and the French geologist F. Fouqué mentioned 1879 in his report. The lamp base is being now preserved in the pottery collection of the French School of Athens. After French archaeologists, German Archaeologists with Robert Zahn visited the valley of Akrotiri, in a place called Potamos about 300m east of it. Among the foreigners scholars the great Greek archaeologist Chrestos Tsountas, whose name is associated to the cycladic bronze age visited Akrotiri.

But the first systematic archaeological survey began 1967 under the Directory of Spyridon Marinatos. Within a decade of Marinatos' excavations at Akrotiri and until his death in 1974 come up types of lamps which have great parallels in Crete. Among them are lamps made of serpentine-stone, just like those we know from Mochlos, Gournia and their shape is similar to those from Pseira and Nirou Khani. From their context can be dated at LM IA. But also types of clay lamps, especially the clay hand lamp from Akrotiri has parallels in the MM II - MM III. Later the stone pedestal lamps are common for the LM I Period.

Among the one hundred and seventy-one lighting objects (lamps, braziers and fire-boxes) that have been found in Akrotiri until our days, we have local objects of white-yellow clay that have been made for the daily needs of the inhabitants. They have been placed for these daily needs together with other kitchen-ware, such as the conical cups on selves, as the excavated houses has shown. A specially type of large low lamp with a small ring base found during the excavations of the foundation shafts for the pillars of the new bioclimatic shelter in 1999 under the Directory of Chrestos Doumas, showed that those lamps been put as a lid vessel in pithoi. This form occurs in Crete on stone examples. Also other types made of stone, such as the lamp with the petaliform pattern, which are made aboard and been brought through the sea-routes, was found in the Late Cycladic settlement. The housework, that the residents of the house had to do, was able to take place with the help of the lighting-objects during the night as well. Also religious rites took place

Evangelia STEFANI & Nikos MEROUSIS

Space and Memory in Late Bronze Age Macedonia

The paper aims to investigate the connection between society and space in order to detect characteristics associated with a network of relations, and especially the conception of *mneme*, that developed in the societies of Late Bronze Age Macedonia. If we consider that the etymology of the word monumental - *μνημειακός* in Greek has common root with the word *μνήμη* (memory, *μνάομαι-μνώμαι*= to remember), we could say that the erection of monumental structures is the desire to remember, a way of narrating and incorporating the past, which is selected by each society depending on the available materials, the pre-existing tradition and the level of complexity reached. Monuments, the structures that bear and perpetuate memory, place societal narratives in space, so they are indeed products of local cultural practices with deep historicity. Monumental structures are cultural built spaces, constant characteristics of the landscape, which actively express ideology, formulate memory and at the same time participate in the sense of integration to a group, the acquirement of social and cultural identity. The concepts hidden behind these monumental structures and the memory they carry are hard to decipher. Nonetheless, it is possible to detect a “horizon of meanings”, often contradictory, that managed to travel through time.

When we talk about civilizations, such as the eastern ones, the Cypriot, the Minoan and the Mycenaean in the Aegean, the evidence is eloquent: palaces, temples, tombs, fortifications are irrefutable testimonies of monumental architecture and the important social and political changes expressed through it. What happens though in case of communities such as that of Late Bronze Age Macedonia, where large-scale architecture is absent, along with monumentalisation and whatever that may entail for that society? Or are we allowed to search for elements of monumentality in less obvious manifestations of space?

We attempt to approach the artificial hills (*tells/tombes*), the most characteristic type of LBA settlement in Macedonia, that were formatted with massive terraces around their perimeter, as landmarks in space and time. They embed relations and values of the landscape, the tradition, and the connection with the ancestors. In that way the settlements construct by themselves memory and promote ideas based on communal mnemonic experiences. Through this approach we propose that the settlements in Northern Greece interact with the Mycenaean world and at the same time they manipulate the local traditions and memories.

Fay STEVENS & Anna SIMANDIRAKI-GRIMSHAW

Memory in the making: archaeology, photography and the materialization of identity in Crete in the early 1900s

‘Remembrance of things past is not necessarily the remembrance of things as they were’
Marcel Proust, *In Search of Lost Time*.

In the Spring of 1900 Arthur Evans started excavating the site of Kephala Hill in Herakleion, Crete, which hosts the so-called Minoan Palace of Knossos. As Evans had bought and excavated this site after Crete became an Independent State (during 1898-1913), his work was situated within the intellectual and practical framework of its time: the fast, wholesale method of digging; the early modernist narratives about past civilizations; and the inevitable entanglement of archaeology with contemporary political agendas.

At the time, photography was a new technology and was actively used by Evans in his documentation of the excavation, architecture and people of Crete and in his reconstructions of artefacts and Cretan heritage. This paper primarily uses two particular photographic bodies derived from the site of Knossos:

1. A subset of photographs taken at the site (housed at the Arthur Evans Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford) that are not representative of standard codified archaeological visuals but rather depict ‘informal’ portraits of Cretan people working at the site; and
2. Photographs taken to support Evans’s reconstruction of artefacts such as the so-called Snake-Goddess figurines.

Although photographs form the foundations of this paper, our research combines and cross-references these with other archival and museum materials (e.g. original artefacts, replicas etc.). The narratives we identify are important in the history and shaping of Aegean Archaeology, because they offer another way of telling the story of the excavation and reconstruction of the site, and Bronze Age Crete more generally. We consider how Evans used photography as a dynamic visual medium that goes beyond the scientific notion of the photograph as depicting reality/fact/truth, towards a number of epistemic and aesthetic narratives. We systematically explore how photographs act as cultural transmitters in their visible and social function, as remembrances of experience and Evans’s expression of his archaeological vision. In the process, we show how visual imagery was utilised in the making of memory and identity (scientific, personal, popular, ethnic); indeed, how Evans drew upon photography as a mnemonic device through which memories were (re)created and reconfigured. Finally, we reflect upon how photographs, situated within intermaterial networks of archaeological practice, acted as a conduit through which notions of identity, although belonging to the social, cultural and political context of their time, continued to reverberate into the present day.

Thomas F. STRASSER, Sarah MURRAY & Christina KOLB

The Asphendou Petroglyphs: Reading and Recording an Eye-Witness to the Stone Age

A surface inscribed with complex figural petroglyphs in Asphendou Cave in southwestern Crete was discovered in the 1960s, and the initial publications appeared in the early 1970s. A debate centered on whether the petroglyphs date to the Bronze Age or to the Palaeolithic period. Due to the lack of compelling evidence to prove either case, the cave has received little attention since. Now we are in possession of more recent archaeological and paleontological discoveries, and newly developed technologies, for documentation and analysis unavailable to previous scholars.

Variation in the depth of carving suggests that different tools were used to make different engravings. In addition, some engravings overlap others, indicating a sequence of carving events analogous to a palimpsest. In this respect, the black-and-white illustrations and drawings of the engravings produced in the 1970s are misleading. They suggest that the carving of the petroglyphs occurred as a single event. This leaves the viewer confused by a jumbled array of images that is difficult to interpret. Earlier archaeologists studying the glyphs had made a *pars pro toto* mistake in dating the engravings: one element is used to date the whole, despite the fact that the engravings were not all made in unison. Our approach, by contrast, aimed at distinguishing different layers of the engravings and considering each independently.

In pursuit of that approach, our team produced high resolution 3-D models, composite orthophotos, high quality macro photographic documentation, and new sketches of the entire cave surface. Therefore, the goal was the generation of a modern scientific documentation of the carvings, which may serve to provide a permanent scientific record, to facilitate communication with collaborators and colleagues, and assist with more precise analysis of this lithic palimpsest. Using a 3D model generated from photos, we exported a high-resolution orthophoto which allows an analyst to examine the entire engraved surface of the cave at once, without the additional 'interpretation'. This kind of image had previously been impossible to create, because of the specific constraints of working in the Asphendou Cave. Because there is little space between the cave floor and ceiling, it is impossible to put a camera in position to take a single photograph that captures the entire cave surface. In addition, poor lighting and the very small scale of the pictographs have presented problems for previous scholars documenting the imagery. Using structure-from-motion allowed us to knit together many photographs and generate a composite image of the cave, at sub-millimeter accuracy. We processed the photomodels to visualize a topological map of the surface. This new and more sophisticated documentation resulted in the discovery of new elements in the iconography and the confirmation that the cave surface is a complex palimpsest, with some images carved in the Palaeolithic, and others later.

Annette TEFFETELLER

‘The melody lingers on’: metre as a *lieu de mémoire* in the cultural heritage of the Aegean Bronze Age

Simonides' ironic comment on Kleoboulos' epitaph for Midas, King of Phrygia, claiming everlasting memory guaranteed by bronze, as lasting as sun and moon and sea, contemptuously dismisses the claim; no man-made monument can vie with the invincible might of nature: 'All things are less than the gods. That stone even a man's hand could smash. This is the word of a fool.' By contrast, the song of praise is an invulnerable monument, and a victor's treasure house of hymns is an enduring treasure which cannot be buffeted by winter rain or wind, as Pindar affirms in the Sixth Pythian (5-14): the man will die but the glory of his deeds will not. Pindar's memorial song for Kallikles is 'a stele whiter than Parian marble' (N.4.81). For Megas of Aigina he sets up a λάβρος λίθος Μοισαῖος, an exuberant stone of the Muses (N.8.46-47), playing, like Simonides, on a literary conceit that sees true permanence not in ostensibly imperishable material like stone or bronze or gold, but, paradoxically, in the apparently ephemeral medium of word and thought, finding the true parallel and symbol for the permanence of memory embodied in song in the natural phenomena of water and light and the circling seasons. Remembered and glorified by the poet, great deeds are not, ultimately, ephemeral but timeless, immortal; they last and flourish in the song.

Pindar and Simonides attest to attitudes prevalent in mid-first millennium BCE Greek culture but similar views in the Bronze Age Aegean are confirmed in general by comparative and historical methodology and specifically by, among other things, the phrase κλέος ἄφθιτον (Il.9.413) and its Sanskrit cognate śrávas ákṣitam (RV 1.9.7), attesting to a Proto-Indo-European ancestor phrase *k̑lewos ndhgwhitom, 'imperishable fame', 'undying glory', both conveyed by and consisting of the song. Song is thus seen as rivaling or even outstripping physical monuments (tombs, grave markers, and so on) as lasting memorials of the past (cf. RV 8.40, a hymn composed 'in the manner of the ancestors'). The present study moves past the song and argues for the role of metre - the pure form itself - purged of the content, as an enduring *lieu de mémoire* in the Bronze Age Aegean (as indeed in earlier and later periods). The dactylic hexameter of Homeric epic has been shown to incorporate metrically-guaranteed forms of language preceding the Mycenaean period and this will be considered. But the main focus is on the metres of Lesbian lyric, shown nearly a century ago to continue syllablecounting and quantitative metrical forms inherited from earlier stages of the Indo-European family of languages and thus indisputably serving as inherited vessels of collective memory in the Bronze Age, moveable memorials very likely already in place on the island of Lesbos from the mid-second millennium onward.

Simona TODARO

Living with the past. Ritual practices and the construction of social memory in the Bronze Age Mesara

The Mesara, ever since the latest phases of the Neolithic period, was occupied by small groups who moved about in the landscape, as witnessed by numerous single-phase sites identified through surveys and/or excavations. This continuous shifting of the locus of habitation occurred not only at regional level but also at intra-site level, as clarified by the few excavated sites such as Ayia Triada, Phaistos, Kamilari. In these sites, structures attributable to the same ceramic phase more often than not turned out to have been constructed in different architectural phases. This situation of instability and mobility was counterbalanced by an extraordinary persistence of the locations used for ritual activity, within or outside the funerary sphere, to such an extent that these locations were considered to be social arenas, i.e. places deputed to the creation of social cohesion and ultimately to the production of community.

In such a fluid social landscape, phenomena of revival of the past through the re-use of tombs or through the reintroduction of ceramic shapes and decorative motifs long after their first appearance in the region, were expected and are interpretable as part of precise strategies through which these mobile groups tried to legitimate their presence in certain locations.

The construction of social memory, however, is a rather complex mechanism that can operate in retrospect, through acts of manipulation of the past, but also in prospect, through actions meant to preserve memory of specific events that were particularly meaningful for the social group who performed them. This paper intends to address this particular aspect by using the data offered by Ayia Triada, one of the few long-lived settlements of the region that was frequented and/or inhabited from EM I through the Hellenistic period. It will focus on a specific area of the site that in LM IIIC hosted an important open shrine used at a regional level, and it will argue that the ritual destination of this area, evident already in the LM I-III periods for the presence of buildings with a marked ritual function (various shrines and the Mycenaean megaron), was established in EM I, when the debris of a large scale consumption episode performed on the occasion of the foundation of the site was discarded in situ and was surrounded by a wall. It will more precisely argue that the treatment reserved to the debris of the foundation ceremony of the site was the result of a precise strategy that aimed at constructing a collective memory that transcended the biological life of the participants. This particular choice led to the formation of a tumulus that, remaining visible in the landscape, from time to time might have raised questions about its formation, becoming a 'monument' to the ceremony itself and providing to later users of the site a past that could be reinvented and manipulated according to their needs.

Iphigenia TOURNAVITOU

Ritual breakage in Minoan peak sanctuaries. The disposal and manipulation of collective memory. Reality and Myth

This paper investigates the theory propagating the deliberate ritual breakage of objects in Minoan peak sanctuaries, the symbolic parameters of the practice in a strictly religious context and the ideological significance of the repeated disposal of votive and other objects in the construction, the legitimation and manipulation of social and effectively religious memory.

The uncertainty concerning the deliberate, ritual or non-ritual, breakage of objects in the acknowledged peak sanctuaries is mostly related the fragmentary state of the vast majority of the material, and to the fact that, the majority of the finds was in most cases, discovered in fissures and hollows of the bedrock.

The theory propagating the ritual breakage of objects in Minoan peak sanctuaries was first introduced by Myres, with reference to the material from Petsofas and was, from the beginning, associated with the activities accompanying the ritual pyres. These activities were allegedly completed with the placement of the organic remains of the pyre, along with the fragmentary votive offerings, in hollows, fissures or crevices of the bedrock. Myre's view was adopted by Platon, in his synthetic study of the peak sanctuaries and more recently, by Rutkowski, and N. Marinatos, who suggests that the objects involved, be they new offerings or broken votive offerings from previous years, about to be withdrawn/removed from public display, were either thrown in the large ritual pyres or directly into the fissures/hollows of the bedrock. Current scholarship wavers between the breakage of objects/votives as an act of ritual disposal/ritual withdrawal, and deliberate placing of the material, votive offerings in chasms, fissures and niches.

The critical question of the deliberate or accidental breakage of objects found in peak sanctuaries, is extremely difficult to answer, based on the objects themselves, and none of those who support the theory of deliberate breakage has until now set out specific criteria that may answer the question in a systematic way, based on sound archaeological data.

This paper examines and re-evaluates the published evidence from the acknowledged peak sanctuaries, including the Minoan peak sanctuary of Hagios Georgios sto Vouno, on Kythera and attempts to differentiate between the different categories of objects involved, their association with ritual pyres and the significance of their archaeological context as regards ritual intent and/or ritual practice. Based on the extant evidence, this paper examines and evaluates the ideological significance of the ritual in the manipulation and propagation of collective religious conscience, through the systematic, reproduction of an orchestrated and deliberately theatrical ritual sequence.

Sevasti TRIANTAPHYLLOU, Sotiria KORPE & Metaxia TSIPOPOULOU

Manipulating bodies, constructing social memory: ways of negotiating, re-inventing and legitimizing the past at the Kephala Petras cemeteries, Siteia, Crete

The ongoing excavation and careful study of commingled human bone material from different burial assemblages from the Pre- and Protopalatial cemeteries at Kephala Petras in Siteia have drawn attention to attitudes toward death by enlightening the various modes the living community was engaged in its own past. The prominent position of the cemetery in the landscape, its immediate affinity to the Final Neolithic settlement and the prolonged use of the area throughout the Bronze age reveal the importance the social groups using the cemetery attributed to their common past.

The character of the human bone depositions is mainly secondary since primary burials have only been attested for certain rooms in a few House Tombs and, in their majority, were found inside burial containers. It is highly probable that some rooms were used for the primary and temporal deposition of bodies, while others acted as ‘ossuaries’ which were used for the secondary deposition of human remains. This pattern does not apply to all House Tombs since many of them together with the nearby Prepalatial rock shelter appear to have accommodated strictly secondary depositions. In spite of differences regarding the architectural plans and the use of the rooms of the House Tombs, the secondary manipulation of the depositions can always be detected even in relation to the primary burials. The secondary manipulation of the human remains in the latter case can be suggested by the presence of several cases of semi-articulated body parts that have been excavated in the cemetery. Post-burial manipulation is also attested at the case of primary burials inside larnakes which were intentionally rearranged but also at the relocation and possible circulation of dry human remains within the rooms of a tomb or the tombs of the cemetery. Evidence of firing on a small percentage of the human bones for both practical and symbolic reasons manifest further the constant interference with the decomposed or the still decomposing bodies.

The dialectical relationship between the living and the dead was not only shaped through continuous body contact but also through other bodily rituals such as feasting and toasting which were enacted at the votive areas of the cemetery. The repeated bodily practices of the Petras funerary ritual not only engaged the community with the landscape and prescribed a certain ritual behavior but they also resulted in the creation of a palimpsest of memories which promoted the construction of a common past.

The aim of the proposed paper will be to disentangle the funerary ritual and the various stages of manipulation of the dead body at the Kephala Petras cemeteries and identify them as mnemonic devices and means to link the present with the ancestors (lineage) and the communal past.

Sevasti TRIANTAPHYLLOU, Niki PAPAKOSTANTINOI & Maria STATHI

Acts of memorialization of the dead body in the Mycenaean cemetery at Kolikrepi-Spata, Attica

Funerary practices performed in relation to death and more importantly secondary activities taking place after death are one of many forms of performance in Mycenaean society. Death performance would involve a series of acts which functioned not only as arenas for the formation and negotiation of social relationships and assessment of individual and group identities but also as means of memorialization of the deceased. They were deeply grounded in a long-standing mnemonic process that revived and created social memories and asserted links with the past. Architectural remains, artifacts and human bones played a significant role in the performance of commemorative ceremonies and the transmission of collective memories, with these elements being used, reused, and reinterpreted by descendants. Mycenaean collective tombs, which typically include multiple episodes of use and secondary treatment, are challenging case studies for tracing and understanding the entire range of activities and rituals associated with the commemoration of the dead.

The act of memorialization and remembrance of the dead at Kolikrepi chamber tombs is strongly emphasized by the deposition of elements of material culture inside and outside the burial precinct: rhyta for libations, pouring and drinking vessels, some of them smashed in front of tomb entrances, animal bones and fire remains, were found both in the dromos and the chamber of the tombs. Acts of memorialization were also created through the performance of destructive funerary rituals: the disordering of artefacts and bones in the tomb, their relocation and redistribution in piles by the side of the tomb floor, in side niches in the dromos, or within pits dug in the floor. Moreover, evidence for preferential selection and manipulation of certain body parts in some cases, may have served as mnemonic practices, creating and maintaining memories. In addition, the absence of primary burials in many tombs suggests that revisiting of the tombs was not necessarily always motivated by the practical need to clear earlier burials and make space for new interments. Collective tombs through acts of memorialization of the dead body employed by the living community were transformed into mnemonic devices for the formation of memory, repositories of collective memories and loci where individual memories of past persons were fused into collective memory and links to the past were emphasized.

This paper will present preliminary results of the ongoing study of the human skeletal remains from the chamber tomb Mycenaean cemetery at Kolikrepi-Spata, in Attica viewed though in relation to associated artefacts within their burial context. The aim of the paper will be to illuminate significant aspects concerning mortuary practices as well as to offer insights into how the performance of funerary and post-funerary rituals would have contributed to the formation and perpetuation of social memories.

Metaxia TSIPOPOULOU & David RUPP

Thinking backwards and acting forwards: creating «ένα τοπίο μνήμης των προγόνων» in the area of the Protopalatial House Tomb 2 in the cemetery at Petras - Kephala (Siteia)

“People will not look forward to posterity, who never look backward to their ancestors.”
(Edmund Burke)

For over two thousand years, from the later 4th through the late 2nd millennia BC, the habitation around Petras vacillated between two hills, Petras and Petras – Kephala. The earliest settlement from FN through EM IA, with strong connections with the southeast Aegean, was on Petras – Kephala. The first organized occupation of Petras started in EM IIA and continued through LM III B. In LM IIIA2 Petras – Kephala was reoccupied and its use as well as settlement there continued to the end of LM IIIC.

Early in EM IIA the elite inhabitants of Petras began burying their dead on the northern plateau-like projection of Petras – Kephala. Over time a cemetery of house tomb style burial structures expanded to the north. In MM IIB this cemetery was abandoned.

One household, with strong connections to the Cyclades, seems to have initiated this cemetery by choosing a location at the southern end of the plateau close to the ruins of the FN/EM IA settlement and the main access route from Petras for a primary burial set in a crude burial structure. Not long after another primary burial, with a different orientation, was placed directly above, partially destroying the burial structure in the process. In MM IA a large pit was dug to the south, adjacent to these earlier burials for both primary and secondary interments. In earlier MM IB House Tomb 2 was constructed here with Space 9 directly over the first two burials and Room 3 over the pit. In both areas there were primary as well as secondary burials. To the east, Room 1 contained a primary burial as well as several secondary burials. Rooms 2 and 5 had very few scattered bones. In conjunction with this, a small votive deposit was laid on the bedrock where the access route from Petras reached the southwest edge of the plateau. In later MM IB House Tomb 2 was enlarged, low, exterior benches were placed along three sides and the large Ceremonial Area 1 was created to the east. This seems to have coincided with the emptying and/or the destruction of EM II House Tombs 6, 12, 13, 15, and 17, which were close by to the north, northwest and west. Thus, isolating House Tomb 2 from the rest of the cemetery.

Over time, possibly one long-lived elite social subgroup of the inhabitants of Petras repeatedly looked backwards to their presumed ancestors in this first settlement on Petras – Kephala and buried in the cemetery in order to establish and to maintain a «ένα τοπίο μνήμης των προγόνων» to reinforce their claims of descent and authority. In doing so, each intervention at this prominent location on the plateau, over almost 700 years, was a conscious act of looking forward to posterity seen through a long lineage of ancestors.

Caroline TULLY & Sam CROOKS

The Self Possessed: Framing Identity in Late Minoan Glyptic

A group of Late Minoan signet rings fashioned in precious metals and engraved with complex and evocative iconographic schemes appears to depict 'nature' or 'rural' cults enacted at extra-urban sanctuaries, and may have functioned as inalienable possessions implicated in the expression and maintenance of elite identities during the Aegean Bronze Age.

The images on the ring bezels depict human figures in association with epiphanic figures situated in settings characterised by the presence of trees and stones, columnar shrines, stepped altars, openwork platforms, tripartite shrines and sanctuary walls, perhaps involving occasional rites and the erection and dismantling of temporary cult structures which can themselves be viewed as architectonic replications of rural cult sites and natural forms.

Just as the fabric of these rings and the artistry and technical skill of their production were of restricted accessibility and controlled distribution, we may infer that so, too, the rites, places and activities recorded on these rings were socially restricted. Possession of these distinctive and desirable objects of economic, cultural and symbolic value may have signified access to, involvement in and mastery over such rituals, the special status of the owner delineated and broadcast through the circulating media of clay sealings, advertising their special relationship with forces and places within nature.

Over time the personal and cultural memory, knowledge and associations accumulated within these rings may form histories or biographies of the rings themselves, implicating the identities of their past and present owners, and of the wider community. In this way, they can be understood as inalienable possessions, objects invested with authority and authenticity that in turn authenticate the status of their owners. These enduring symbols draw the past into the present, instantiating cultural and cosmological ideals which classify and objectify social relations through referencing the past.

Thus these rings function as mnemonic devices, palimpsests of memory, association and affect which store and transmit information about spatially and temporally disbursed places, people and events, memorialising and broadcasting elite association with the (super)natural world and forming part of the material affordances of the world of things which recursively produce, reiterate and transform identities through ecologies of practice: the past mediated in the present through memory materialised in objects.

Aleydis VAN DE MOORTEL, Salvatore VITALE & Bartłomiej LIS

Remembering Past Heroes: Afterlife of a Prepalatial Elite Tomb at Mitrou

In the Late Helladic I phase, a ruling elite emerged at Mitrou that transformed the settlement. Two elite complexes (Buildings H and D) were constructed and an orthogonal network of long, paved roads was laid in the settlement. In addition, at least two elite tombs were created in prominent locations linked by one of the paved roads. The earlier grave was a monumental cist tomb, which presumably had been covered by a tumulus, and was located near the highest point of the islet overlooking the sea. The later grave was a well-constructed Built Chamber Tomb (No. 73), uniquely placed inside elite Building D. Tomb 73 was used for successive burials. Finds of boar's tusk helmet fragments, arrowheads, and nails from dagger or sword handles inside the tomb, as well

as a horse bridle piece in Building H, ostensibly modified for the pulling of a light chariot, indicate that Mitrou's Prepalatial elite was warlike, as was typical for contemporary elites throughout mainland Greece. At least two elite warriors and presumably an elite female were buried in Tomb 73 in the course of the LH I-III A period. Widespread fire destructions in the LH III A2 Early phase and the subsequent abandonment of the two elite complexes as well as Tomb 73 have been interpreted to signify that Mitrou's elite lost its independence at this time, and the settlement was conquered by an outside palatial power, most likely from nearby Orchomenos. Even though Tomb 73 was no longer used for burials, its dromos remained open and there is intriguing evidence for long-term enactment of rituals at the tomb. The road in front of the tomb was resurfaced numerous times, and many LH III A-B clay figurine fragments have been found in the vicinity of the tomb. These rituals continued until the end of the Palatial period or the early part of the Postpalatial period. Large building blocks fallen on the last surface of the road indicate that at some point the entrance to the tomb was monumentalized. The tomb chamber and its dromos finally were sealed by two surfaces covered with cobbles, pottery, and animal bones, ostensibly representing the remains of feasting. This activity took place prior to the construction of Building B – to all appearances a new elite structure – on top of the funerary enclosure of Tomb 73 in LH III C Middle.

The ca. 200-year long afterlife of Tomb 73 is indicative of the enduring memory and prestige of its deceased elite warriors. This paper will discuss in detail the evidence for the various activities that took place, and consider the identity and motivations of the people who memorialized these heroes of the past during the Palatial and Post-Palatial periods.

Salvatore VITALE & Calla MCNAMEE

Utilitarian, narrative, and ideological memory on Kos during the Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age: from case study to archaeological theory

This paper explores the interplay between material evidence and collective memory on Kos between the Late Bronze Age (LBA) and the Early Iron Age (EIA). We consider collective memory to encompass long-held knowledge and practice within a society and material evidence to include the landscape, built environment, artifacts, and qualified contexts constituting the archaeological record. The interplay between these elements is symbiotic and mutualistic. It arises from the contribution of collective memory to the production and use of the material world and the role of the material world in eliciting memory and associations, while also binding society to the past and cultural identity. Three specific manifestations of this relationship are defined and examined here: 'utilitarian', 'narrative', and 'ideological' memory. These manifestations reflect differences in the temporal and formal scales at which the material world and collective memory are integrated within society. These three scales, however, are not rigidly separated, but rather engaged in a continuous and osmotic process of transition.

Utilitarian memory involves the practical re-use of material evidence. Although demonstrating a link to the past, this type of memory is less ingrained in the present cultural practices of a social group. Examples of utilitarian memory on Kos include the re-appropriation during Late Helladic (LH) IIIC of previously abandoned chamber tombs, the re-use of the architectural remains of the LBA settlement of the 'Serraglio' for the construction of EIA tombs, and the incorporation of Bronze Age vessels into these newly constructed EIA tombs.

Narrative memory involves the memorialization of the past through the creation of material symbols and the incorporation of those symbols within repeated cultural practice. Narrative memory functions to both connect people to their cultural history and to establish cultural ties. On Kos, this type of memory is most strikingly evident in LH IIIC, when decorated amphoroid kraters portraying Sea Peoples were likely used in feasting contexts to provide the iconic representation of recent memorable events.

Of the three types of collective memory, ideological memory has the longest span and is the most culturally ingrained. By encompassing long held traditions and practices, it creates bonds linking people to the socio-political structure. Continuity in ideological memory is expressed on Kos in the re-use patterns of the chamber tombs at the cemetery of Eleona between LBA II and LBA IIIA1. This re-use demonstrates familial continuity and stability within Koan society during this time. Discontinuity in ideological memory is reflected in changes in the funerary landscape at the cemeteries of Eleona and Langada occurring contemporarily to the restructuring of the 'Serraglio' settlement between LBA IIIA1 and IIIA2. This discontinuity illustrates an inherent emic understanding of the political importance of ideological memory and we interpret these contemporaneous changes in city structure and funerary land use as an intentional action by the Koan ruling elites to establish new forms of social memory.

We suggest that the three forms of collective memory used in this paper are broadly applicable as approaches to extract deeper meaning from the archaeological record. The specific

examples presented illustrate how this type of perspective may provide greater insight into the connections of prehistoric populations to their own history and past.

Andreas VLACHOPOULOS

Mneme and Techne at Akrotiri, Thera. The case of the Xeste 3 building

Urban planning, architecture, function of spaces, wall-paintings and movable findings, all tend to indicate that Xeste 3 was used as a public building related to the paradigmatic instruction of youth and their initiation into adulthood.

The process of mental perception and behavioral scheme that the people of Akrotiri shared and conformed to during their involvement into the Xeste 3 enactments has come under thorough scrutiny by scholars, despite the homiletic spirit of the building's iconographic program. A web of mythology, theology and cosmology has been suggested as a theoretical template for the interpretation of wall-paintings, the dense symbolism of which engages in dialogue with the ritual codes of the Therans.

The emblematic Early Cycladic marble *phiale* that seems to have been a heirloom of nodal importance for the *dromena* enacted on the top floor of Xeste 3 stimulates a discussion on whether ancestral *mneme* lies behind such beliefs and rituals, necessitating a reappraisal of the systematic 'emergence' and 're-use' of Early Bronze Age heirlooms in the 2nd millennium BC settlements of the Cyclades.

Leonidas VOKOTOPOULOS

Remembering and honouring the past at Choiromandres, Zakros

The valley of Choiromandres was occupied continuously from the Protopalatial down to the Third Palace period. Nevertheless, between the successive periods clear differences are observed regarding the character of occupation - an outcome of wider upheavals and/or changes in settlement and land-use patterns. More often than not, the transition between the individual periods was accompanied by a horizontal shift in habitation, the ruins of the preexisting buildings remaining visible in the surroundings.

The investigation of the site yielded a number of foundation deposits - finds that are seen to be related to the occupants' perception of the(ir) future. In some cases, though, the evidence points to practices or acts resulting from a confrontation of the occupants with the past. For instance, the exact placement of the guard house - the most important building of the site - seems to have been determined by the Protopalatial open air sanctuary that had previously occupied the same ridge. Specifically, the guard house was placed so as not to trespass on the areas of ritual use. Thus, in spite of the radical change in the character of the site - religious to secular - the respect shown towards the sanctuary indicates some degree of continuity. Similarly, the arrangement of a terrace upon the south part of the sanctuary in the course of the Neopalatial period was apparently dictated by the remembrance of the sacred character of the area. In the Third Palace period, an open-air sanctuary was established on the now-ruined guard house. This served a small dwelling that was built in the vicinity. Besides, evidence for a sporadic use of a ritual character has been detected upon the ruins of the Neopalatial buildings on the knoll to the northwest of the guard house. The above may represent wider trends, namely a desire to connect to a glorious past, yet at the same time they are indicative of the gap separating the Neopalatial from the reoccupation period.

The evidence from Choiromandres does not concern a distant, mythical past. Instead, it refers to a recent past - in all probability, to people and events that would have been known to the living; as such, it is indicative of the perception of the past and the construction of memory at a local level.

Constance VON RÜDEN

The Fish in the Bathtub. Evocating Memory through Post-Palatial Burial Practices

‘...the dunes of the Baltic landscapes have appeared to me like a *fata morgana* here on the Chauseestraße, supported only by the yellow, sandy colours of the station building and the boundless horizon opening in my imagination behind its walls.’ (Walter Benjamin, *One-Way Street*, 300)

The way the station building on the Chauseestraße in Berlin has evoked Walter Benjamin’s memory of the Baltic landscape is a good example of how matters can recollect the past. Of course there is no question that the very individual experience of Walter Benjamin can be hardly traced in the archaeological record, but there is a rather good chance to grasp reflections of a communal memory in identity related performances. Hence burial practices as those related to the so-called bath-tubs of Eastern Crete might be worth an attempt.

So-called ‘bathtubs’ sarcophagi have been discovered in rock shelters as well as in chamber and tholos tombs of the Post-Palatial Period of Eastern Crete. In contrast to the chest sarcophagi of the same period they do not only carry single sea-related motifs in separated emblematic image fields on their outside, but whole seascapes on their inner walls and bottom.

In a personal communication with Nanno Marinatos Ellen Davis was the first who has related these burial vessels with one of the greatest mysteries of Cretan archaeology: the almost complete lack of neo-palatial burials. She proposed that the iconography of these ‘bathtubs’ reflects aspects of the earlier custom of burying the people in the sea. That this hypothesis has been hardly developed until now is surely related to the methodological problem of building up an argument on base of a non-existing evidence. But maybe it is possible to encircle this problem by a more holistic approach? Therefore this paper aims to throw light on this fascinating idea on three different levels: First of all it will of course embed the sarcophagi into the contemporary context, discuss the affordance of the burial vessels itself as well as their architectonic contexts. In a second step the paper will be expanded to earlier periods and explore the role of seascapes in different ritual practices to reach a better understanding of the iconography in neopalatial times. Both aspects will be finally brought together from a theoretical perspective involving considerations by Walter Benjamin as well Aleida Assman’s (1999) ‘process of remembering’, which conceptualizes memory always as a reconstructive act from the present which inevitably leads to displacements, deformations, distortions and reassessments at the time of its evocation.

Ioannis VOSKOS

Homeric Ithaca and Mycenaean Cephalonia: diachronic trends of identity/memory construction and modern perceptions of the past

During the past 200 years, a growing number of archaeological investigations and excavations in the southern Ionian Islands enriched, by and large, our knowledge concerning Late Helladic habitation of the area. On the other hand, prehistoric research in this periphery of the Mycenaean world is characterised and usually confined within the limits of the search of Homeric Ithaca and the discovery of the palace of mythical Odysseus (Ulysses). Indeed, famous archaeologists such as H. Schliemann, W. Dörpfeld and S. Marinatos have spent several years investigating Ithaca, Lefkada and Cephalonia, whereas nowadays all the aforementioned islands of the Ionian Sea claim to be the homeland of the Homeric hero. Ultimately, this phenomenon forms a direct proof of the powerful past and its ideological function within modern societies.

In this paper an attempt is being made to approach in a diachronic manner the issue of memory, the changing perceptions and symbolism of ancient monuments and the reasons leading to their manipulation by Prehistoric, Iron Age and modern communities of the area. The spatial context will be the southern Ionian Islands focusing mainly on Cephalonia which appears to be densely populated, especially during the Late Helladic III period. Based primarily on the rich mortuary data, I will attempt to define the routes and trends towards the construction, shaping and negotiation of social identities within the Late Helladic groups of the island. Furthermore, by exploring the sporadic evidence of Iron Age ceremonial activities within Mycenaean burial monuments, I intend to reveal the ideological background behind the rediscovery of the glorious past and the subsequent development of a hero cult. As it will be argued, this subject, which is not irrelevant with the spread and popularity of the Homeric epics, not only led to the enduring manipulation of a vanished heroic past from the Archaic period until our days but also boosted archaeological research in the area from the Age of Enlightenment onwards.

Ken & Diana WARDLE

The citadel of Mycenae: a landscape of myth and reality

There can be no doubt that the members of the dynasty buried in the Grave Circle A at Mycenae in the 17 and 16th cent. BC were exceptional in their own day and there can be no doubt that they were regarded as exceptional by their descendants. No other group of Mycenaean burials was honoured with such riches and no other Mycenaean burial ground was treated as an ancient monument so magnificently. Generation after generation, the site was embellished until in the 13th C it was incorporated within the Citadel Wall and provided with the double ring of slabs whose entrance faced the imposing new entrance to the Citadel – the Lion Gate.

So much is familiar. Less familiar is its relationship to the group of buildings which developed to the south – the Ramp House, House of the Warrior Vase and the South House, relationships which must have been integral, not accidental, to the rites and rituals performed to honour the noble dead. Despite Schliemann's excessively enthusiastic approach to excavation, it is still possible to reconstruct parts of these relationships on the basis of the levels on which each was constructed and the routes of access around and between them.

The first sign of diminishing respect, a respect which had previously been accorded to Grave Circle A and based securely on memory and tradition, can be seen in the construction of the so-called Granary at the beginning of LH IIIC. This building partially blocked the route from the Lion Gate to the Grave Circle entrance after the collapse of the palatial authority which had, we may suppose, retained uninterrupted control for nearly 400 years.

Even so, some memory of the significance of the Circle and of respect for those buried there survived at least another thousand years, since it was never built over and remained a feature obvious enough in the landscape of Mycenae to attract Schliemann to what are still the most remarkable discoveries of Mycenaean civilization.

Jörg WEILHARTNER

The use of heirlooms in Mycenaean sealing practices

Most of the sealings, which have been found in LH III B destruction levels of Mycenaean palatial sites on the Greek mainland, were impressed with seals and metal signet rings that were made (much) earlier in the Late Bronze Age. On the basis of motif and style a number of original seals are clearly identified as heirlooms. In addition, some of the impressions on clay show features, which point to a long use of particular seals and rings. Significantly, a remarkably high proportion of sealings were impressed with metal rings and hard stone seals, which were rarely, if ever, produced after the end of LH III A. Although the phenomenon of using heirlooms in Mycenaean palatial sealing practices is well known, their widespread circulation is difficult to explain: the precise role played by them and the implications of their use have been rarely considered in detail. Why did Mycenaean administrators prefer to use seals and signet rings of an earlier date for administrative purposes and how intensive was the sphragistic use of these objects? Is there any interrelationship between the quality of seals, complexity of seal motifs and use of additional written information? Were the original symbolic messages of single motifs and scenes of any importance for the final users of these objects? And what discrepancies may be observed between the motifs on sealings impressed by old heirlooms and by seals whose style suggests a rather late date of their manufacture? In trying to find some tentative answers to these and similar questions, I will focus on how the use of heirlooms can help to establish the precise status of seal-users and literate administrators on the basis of a combined evaluation of the archaeological, iconographical, textual and epigraphical data. As the use of heirlooms for sealing practices is by no means restricted to the Mycenaean palatial period, earlier examples of this phenomenon on Crete will be reviewed as well. Discussing heirloom seals in a diachronic perspective will help to bring previous suggestions on their users into perspective.

Helène WHITTAKER

Memory and Figured Worlds in the Aegean Bronze Age

In this paper I will explore the links between collective memory and figured worlds in the Aegean Bronze Age and the ways in which they are mediated through material culture. 'Figured world' is a term that has been used to refer to a collective understanding of how the world works. Figured worlds provide frames of meaning within which behaviour, actions, and events are experienced and understood. Collective memory is an important part of the fabric of all societies and narratives about a real or imagined past contribute to the appeal and efficacy of figured worlds. For example, references to the past are important to the figured world of the Homeric heroes in the *Iliad*. Figured worlds develop from social interaction but they can be manipulated or deliberately created by those in power in order to strengthen their position, promote social stability, or as a response to particular situations.

As a particular case study I will focus on the representation of warfare on Crete in the palatial period. At the beginning of the Neopalatial period there is an unprecedented interest in imagery related to warfare and male athleticism, indicating that the palatial elites were investing heavily in the figured world of the warrior, possibly as a response to political instability. Finds from the peak sanctuary on Iouktas and the Psychro Cave suggest that the celebration of warrior values was being associated with memories of rituals that had a long tradition back in time. The deposition of weapons at sanctuaries suggests that these in turn would have become material expressions of collective memories that served to reinforce and uphold the attraction of the figured world of the warrior.

Assaf YASUR-LANDAU

The Memory Machine: How 12th BCE century Iconography Created Memories of the Philistines

Political iconography is far from naïve in its depiction of reality. Often, as in the case of representations of watershed, violent historical events including from Ramses II battle of Qadesh to the Iconic Antoine-Jean Gros image of Napoleons Battle of the Pyramids and even Emanuel Gottlieb Leutze painting of Washington Crossing the Delaware, reality is stylized and reorganized to fit the format chosen to depiction, and of course refocused on the lead protagonist.

Studies in experimental psychology have stressed the potential of doctored political images to create false memories in massive crowds. In one such study, more than 5000 subjects were shown to images of fabricated political events. More than half argued that they remember when this even happened, and 27% have even argued that have seen the event in the news. Even more distressing is the fact that the memory of an event, even a traumatic one, can be altered in the mind of the people that actually took part in it. An extreme example of this phenomenon is evident by an experiment including hundreds of military personal who actively participated in a highly stressful event as part of their training, the memory of this event then manipulated by misinformation.

This paper will therefore not investigate what form of historical reality was recorded by depictions of the Philistines and other ‘Sea People’ in Egyptian and other iconography depicting "feather hat" people in the Aegean, Cyprus and the Levant. Rather, it will try to assess the impact these images, from the Medinet Habu battle scenes to the Enkomi seals and the Kynos kraters, had on the memory of people observing these images. This will be addressed by looking at various target groups in the eastern Mediterranean these images were aimed at, from Egyptian soldiers, scribes, priests and elite, to Aegean, Cananaite and Cypriot warriors, sailors, and merchants. Finally, the paper will try to assess in which way cult statues of the Iron Age of Philistia, now lost yet depicted in Assyrian art, influenced memories of the Philistine pantheon reflected in the Biblical and Classical sources.

John YOUNGER

Minoan Origins of Greek Myth

Classical Greek myth knows the genealogies of the heroes who fought in the Trojan War; they go back three-five generations before being engendered by a god. Of succeeding generations, myth tells us very little, usually only one generation. If the Trojan War dates to ca. 1250, then myth can recount the genealogies of heroes back to the mid to late 15th century (at 30 years per generation) and it loses interest in their families in the late 13th century.

Archeologically, this makes sense. We might say that classical Greek myth does not remember the families of the Greek heroes before the Mycenaean take-over of Crete (ca. 1450) and loses interest in the wake of the late 13th century destructions of the Mycenaean palaces.

Have artifacts survived that testify to myth before the Mycenaean take-over of Crete, i.e., to Minoan myth?

At the METAPHYSIS conference (2014) I hypothesized possible depictions of the Hyperborean maidens being brought to Delos (e.g., CMS V no. 173, II 6, no. 1); one of the recently discovered gold rings from the "Griffin Warrior" tomb at Pylos (LM I in manufacture) seems to confirm this identification: two girls with bound arms flank a tall woman before a shrine flanked by palms at a large body of water.

A group of five objects, dating from LM I to the Daidalic period, all show exactly the same scene: a man and a woman stand before a ship (in four scenes he grabs her by her wrist) - CMS VI no. 280 and I 17, gold rings that should date LM I-II; a Late Geometric bronze stand from Olympia and a *louterion* in the British Museum (1899.2-19.1); and an ivory *mitra* from the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta.

The scene may be specific: Paris abducting Helen, as the provenance of the *mitra* may suggest. Or it may be a generic scene that was later specified as Paris and Helen. Compare the abductions the begin Herodotos's Histories (I.1.1-4).

In any case, we have artifacts that date prior to LM I and these must refer to Minoan myths told long before the Trojan War.

Michaela ZAVADIL

Remembering old graves? Jar burials in the Mycenaean period

Burials in (more or less) large jars are apart from interments in cists and pits a common feature of Middle Bronze Age burial customs on the Greek mainland. They were used for children and adults as well as for primary and secondary burials. Jar burials were made *intra muros* (e. g. at Asine and Lerna in the Argolid; Malthi and Nisakouli in Messenia), but also in extramural cemeteries (e. g. in Asine), where they are found isolated as well as clustered in tumuli (e. g. Voïdokoilia, Papoulia, Myrsinochori/Routsi, Myron/Kokorakou in Messenia). Their use started to decrease in the Early Mycenaean period, and in the palatial period jar burials are a rare phenomenon. This development is paralleled on Crete, where jar burials were far more numerous than on the mainland. As it is the case on the mainland, they were most widespread from EM III/MM I until LM I. From LM II onwards larnakes were preferred over jars, a custom which is not often found in Mycenaean Greece.

This paper will consider the relationship between Middle and Late Helladic jar burials: Constitute Mycenaean jar burials a continuation of Middle Helladic burial customs? In which contexts are they found? What can be said about their social setting? What about possible Cretan influences (especially concerning burials in palatial style amphorae)? The observations will be placed in the wider context of Mycenaean burial customs.

