



Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group

Making Mountains Out of Molehills in the Bronze Age Aegean: Visibility, Ritual Kits, and the Idea of a Peak Sanctuary

Author(s): Camilla Briault

Source: *World Archaeology*, Vol. 39, No. 1, Viewing Space (Mar., 2007), pp. 122-141

Published by: Taylor & Francis, Ltd.

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40026486>

Accessed: 25-10-2017 14:44 UTC

REFERENCES

Linked references are available on JSTOR for this article:

http://www.jstor.org/stable/40026486?seq=1&cid=pdf-reference#references_tab_contents

You may need to log in to JSTOR to access the linked references.

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <http://about.jstor.org/terms>



JSTOR

Taylor & Francis, Ltd. is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *World Archaeology*

Making mountains out of molehills in the Bronze Age Aegean: visibility, ritual kits, and the idea of a peak sanctuary

Camilla Briault

Abstract

Cretan peak sanctuaries have long attracted interest for their topographical characteristics, and several studies have emphasized the inter-visibility of groups of peak sanctuaries, and their location within sight of settlements and upland pastures. By contrast, it is argued here that, while the prominence of peak sanctuaries within the landscape clearly contributed to their wide and rapid spread as a type of ritual space, the location on a mountain peak may have been secondary to the cult objects and equipment used in structuring and transmitting the ritual practices that took place there. Using polythetic classification to determine the basic range of artefacts that constitutes a peak sanctuary-like assemblage, several non-mountain locations are identified at which 'peak sanctuary' rituals appear to have taken place, indicating that the idea of a peak sanctuary was locally adaptable and that visibility and landscape location were perhaps less important to peak sanctuary cult than traditionally supposed.

Keywords

Ritual; peak sanctuary; artefact assemblages; transmission; Crete; polythetic classification.

Introduction

Cretan ritual practice during the First and Second Palace periods (*c.* 2000–1450 BC) employed several distinct types of spatial setting, both inside and outside settlements. Of these, the peak sanctuaries are perhaps the best known, largely due to their high visibility in the landscape. Paradoxically, however, peak sanctuaries are also among the least understood of Cretan ritual spaces. This is due in part to their poor publication record and in part to a series of preconceptions about what constitutes a peak sanctuary that continue to influence interpretations of their role in Cretan ritual and in the construction of religious and political landscapes. In particular, studies of the inter-visibility between

groups of peak sanctuaries and between peak sanctuaries and the settlements they served (e.g. Cherry 1986; Nowicki 1994; Peatfield 1983, 1987, 1990; Soetens et al. 2001, 2002) have been employed to suggest that sightlines and view-sheds were crucial factors both in peak sanctuary location and in fostering networks of ritual activity across Crete. The environmental determinism (and, indeed, Romanticism) inherent in this approach is evident in the exclusion of some sites from lists of peak sanctuaries on the grounds that they are 'too low' in altitude or 'too close' to settlements (Peatfield 1983: 276, n.17; Kyriakidis 2005: 17), despite the correlations between their artefact assemblages and those of less ambiguous sites.

The aim of this article is to move away from the traditional concern with topography, by suggesting instead that the equipment used in peak sanctuary rituals was more significant for their performance and transmission than the physical characteristics of the landscape in which they took place. Bodily practice is a powerful mechanism through which the structure and sequence of rituals can be transmitted (Connerton 1989: 4–5; Whitehouse 1996: 109–14). While natural topography and architectural features may frame or cue behaviour (Goffman 1974: 10, 131; Giddens 1984: 118–19), mobile objects can evoke bodily and semantic memories associated with past events and people (Rowlands 1993: 141–4). Objects can also be used as spatial framing devices, establishing the status of a context and structuring the activities that take place there (Miller 1985: 127–35). Although the prominence of peak sanctuaries within the landscape may well have contributed to their proliferation as a type of ritual space, topographical characteristics are less likely to account for the successful reproduction of their associated rituals than the materials employed in their performance.

Understanding the mechanisms by which peak sanctuary rituals were transmitted is important for two reasons. First, the peak sanctuaries as a group were in use as cult spaces for over 500 years (although many had shorter lifespans within that period). While the palimpsest, rarely stratified nature of peak sanctuary deposits resists easy chronological breakdown, it is relatively clear that similar sets of objects were used and dedicated in them throughout the whole period of their use. Indeed, although it has been argued that the Second Palace period witnessed widespread changes in Cretan ritual practice, with palatial centres beginning to monopolize previously 'popular' cult places (Moody 1987: 238; Peatfield 1987: 92), at the peak sanctuaries this concern is manifested by an increasing elaboration of traditional peak sanctuary artefacts, rather than through the introduction of new types of cult paraphernalia or offerings. This long-term stability in peak sanctuary materials, despite possible changes in the function of the rituals, suggests that the ritual practices themselves remained relatively constant over long periods of time (cf. Bloch 1987: 271–97).

Second, in terms of spatial transmission, the peak sanctuary is the only type of Cretan cult space that is both found throughout Crete and, in addition, is imitated on the mainland and Aegean islands. Although the topographical characteristics of peak sanctuaries outside Crete correspond fairly closely to those of Cretan sites, there is a very strong correlation in terms of artefact assemblages. Thus, while it seems that the idea of a sanctuary on a mountain peak held some allure outside Crete's immediate cultural orbit, the similarities in materials additionally suggest that landscape location alone was not sufficient for the performance of Cretan peak sanctuary rituals.

Polythetic classification

Arguments for the homogeneity of ritual practices across Crete have traditionally been based on a perceived homogeneity in peak sanctuary assemblages (e.g. Cherry 1978, 1983, 1986; Wright 1994). While a cursory look at these assemblages does indeed give a general picture of uniformity across much of Crete, closer investigation reveals that there is considerable variation between sites. The extent of this variation has been commented on before (Dickinson 1994: 269; Watrous 1996: 92–6; Jones 1999: 34–8), but the general picture of ‘similarities exceeding differences’ has remained unquestioned, and there has been little discussion of what the diversity might mean in terms of ritual practice. Branigan (1970: 108) has explained the general pattern of variations on a theme as the inevitable consequence of a phenomenon that spread so widely and so rapidly. This somewhat oblique reference to transmission deserves closer investigation. The question posed here is therefore: how successfully was the idea of a ‘peak sanctuary’ in fact being communicated both within Crete and throughout the Aegean?

An effective means of investigating the transmission of ritual practices is to examine the appearance and use of kits of ritual objects. These kits can be used to create taxonomies of ritual contexts – site types – and then to rank or order each context according to how much of the kit it possesses. This leaves a significant core of ‘sharedness’ against which differences can be assessed (Needham 1983: 36–55). This method – polythetic classification – was pioneered in archaeology by David Clarke (1968: 35–8) as a way of overcoming rigid taxonomic definitions, and has since been used most effectively by art historians to define and describe styles (e.g. Davis 1989: 19–22). Polythetic classification is particularly relevant to peak sanctuary assemblages because it can be used to investigate degrees of homogeneity in spatially distant, and therefore not inter-visible, sites, thus revealing the fidelity with which ritual practices were transmitted.

What makes a peak sanctuary? A question of definition

The number of peak sanctuaries identified in Crete has over the last century fluctuated between two (Evans 1921: 153–9), four (Nilsson 1950: 68–76), eleven (Platon 1951), fifty-two (Faure 1967, 1969), thirty-seven (Rutkowski 1986: 96–8), twenty-three (Peatfield 1987: 90) and twenty-five (Peatfield 1990: 119). This disparity in numbers is largely a problem of the variable criteria employed to identify sites as peak sanctuaries. However, the most recent attempts to formulate a set of topographical and archaeological correlates (Peatfield 1987: 90, 1990: 120; Morris and Peatfield 2002: 107) have generally found wide acceptance, and it is now commonly agreed that approximately twenty-five peak sanctuaries were in use in the First Palace period, eight or nine in the Second Palace period and only two by the end of LMI, both of which may have continued in use into the Postpalatial period (Peatfield 1990: 127).

In order for a site to be classed as a peak sanctuary, Peatfield (1987: 90, 1990: 120) argues that it must be located on the highest local peak in relation to a settlement or series of settlements not more than three hours’ walk away, and must be inter-visible both with these settlements and with upland pastures. A peak sanctuary assemblage must include

three core elements: human and animal terracotta figurines and terracotta votive limbs. According to Peatfield, 'these two sets [of criteria] must go together before a peak sanctuary can be reliably identified' (1990: 119).

Even with this minimal prerequisite, however, there are problems. Terracotta limbs have been identified at only half the sites on his list (Peatfield 1987: 91). Moreover, the 'phalli' from Atsipadhes, counted there in their hundreds and originally classed as votive limbs (Peatfield 1992: 74, fig. 23), have recently been reinterpreted as the braceleted arms of female figurines (Morris and Peatfield 2002: 109). This takes the total number of actual limbs from Atsipadhes – the only peak sanctuary for which detailed recording and analysis of figurines has taken place – down to three, a staggeringly low number considering that the total number of figurines and figurine fragments amounts to over 5,000 (*ibid.*: 110), and the likelihood seems high that re-study of the 'limbs' from other sites would reveal similar results.

Human and animal figurines therefore constitute the 'significant core of sharedness' in peak sanctuary assemblages, and a fully polythetic group would include all contexts which have produced examples of these two materials. However, there are many contexts throughout the Aegean, often in urban settings, that have produced these two artefact types. Clearly, it would be absurd to class these sites as peak sanctuaries. Yet, it seems absurd only because the sites are not situated on mountain peaks. The twelve sites that have not produced limbs from Peatfield's (1987: 91) list of twenty-five peak sanctuaries are nevertheless accepted as such not simply because of their location, but because they have produced sufficient examples from a range of additional material commonly found on peak-top locations to give a general impression of a homogeneous 'kit' of peak sanctuary material.

Cretan peak sanctuaries

In order to assess what constitutes a peak sanctuary assemblage, in addition to figurines, it is necessary to investigate this additional material further. Table 1 lists seven sites on Crete that are undisputed as peak sanctuaries (chosen because they are better published than many others), and notes the presence or absence at each of fourteen categories of material commonly associated with this type of site. There is no attempt made either at chronological disaggregation of the assemblages or at recording amounts within each artefact category. Rather, the set of material chosen here is diagnostic of the range of artefact types that could be expected from a site conforming to the topographical characteristics of a peak sanctuary (Peatfield 1983: 274, 1990: 120).

The seven sites form a representative sample of peak sanctuaries and are widely dispersed across Crete (Fig. 1). Juktas, Petsophas and Traostalos are all associated with major centres and are in use in both the First and Second Palace periods. Vrysinas and Kophinas are also in use throughout these periods, and both have produced material similar to that found on peak sanctuaries with 'palatial' connections, but neither can be linked with any specific elite settlement. Finally, Atsipadhes and Plagia are in use only in the First Palace period and are 'rural' shrines (*cf.* Peatfield 1992), probably serving small local communities.

Table 1 The peak sanctuary 'kit': seven Cretan peak sanctuaries

<i>Context</i>	<i>Human</i>			<i>Clay/</i>		<i>Horns of</i>		<i>Miniature</i>		<i>Animal</i>		<i>Stone</i>		<i>Shells</i>		<i>Pebbles</i>		<i>Bones</i>		<i>Ash/fire</i>	
	<i>figurine</i>	<i>Animal</i>	<i>Votive</i>	<i>limb</i>	<i>stone</i>	<i>table</i>	<i>Consecration</i>	<i>Weapon</i>	<i>vessel</i>	<i>rhyton</i>	<i>ladle</i>	<i>ladle</i>	<i>ladle</i>	<i>Shells</i>	<i>Shells</i>	<i>Pebbles</i>	<i>Pebbles</i>	<i>Bones</i>	<i>Bones</i>	<i>Ash/fire</i>	<i>Ash/fire</i>
Juktas	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Petsophas	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Kophinas	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Vrysinas	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Atsipadhes	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Traostalos	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Plagia	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X



Figure 1 Map of the Aegean showing sites mentioned in the text. Key: filled triangles: peak sanctuary; open triangles: non-peak sanctuary peak sanctuary.

The sites are ranked in Table 1 according to the number of artefact categories represented, or how much of the ‘kit’ each possesses. Juktas, as might be expected from the site with the longest lifespan (Karetsou 1978, 1981), is the clear ‘winner’, producing material from thirteen of the fourteen categories. Interestingly, it is not simply the case that ‘palatial’ peak sanctuaries have produced a greater range of artefacts than the more ‘rural’ sites. Indeed, Atsipadhes, the poorest site so far excavated in terms of the quality (rather than the diversity) of materials produced, is conspicuous in yielding material from more categories than Traostalos, which probably served the palace at Zakros (Peatfield 1987: 127).

Inevitably, all seven sites have produced both human and animal figurines. However, only six have produced votive limbs. Miniature terracotta vessels, long regarded as diagnostic of peak sanctuary assemblages (Rutkowski and Nowicki 1996: 46), have been reported from only three of the sites in this sample. Real or votive weapons, often seen as more closely associated with caves than with peak sanctuaries (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993: 13), have been recorded at four of these seven sites. The doubleaxe (a double-bladed metal axe, sometimes used as a motif on pottery) and the horns of consecration (another Cretan cult symbol found in a variety of media) are often claimed as typical peak sanctuary artefacts (e.g. Cherry 1986: 30), but appear only at three and two of the sites, respectively. Animal rhyta (pouring or libation vessels in the shape of animal heads) and stone ladles (shallow dishes probably intended to be cupped in the hands) are rather rarer, and shells, either real sea shells or terracotta imitations, appear at three of the peak sanctuaries listed here.

The question posed above concerned the extent to which the *idea* of a peak sanctuary was being successfully transmitted across Crete. Certainly, if the idea of a peak sanctuary

involved depositing human and animal figurines on top of a mountain, then the sites in this sample serve as a good illustration that the idea of a peak sanctuary was widely known and followed at dispersed locations throughout Crete. However, the idea of a peak sanctuary was clearly more than this, and the assemblages suggest that there were a range of rituals performed on peak sanctuaries in addition to the deposition of figurines. Clay or stone offering tables have been reported from six of these seven peak sanctuaries, which indicates a correspondence in ritual activity at these sites related to this particular artefact type. Should we therefore assume that at Plagia, the only site in this sample not to have produced offering tables, the ritual or set of rituals associated with them was not performed?

The situation at Plagia may be the result of differential preservation, but the spatial patterning of other peak sanctuary traits is more difficult to explain. For example, there is evidence for fires at only four of these seven peak sanctuaries. Fire is crucial if the rituals involved cooking and eating meals, as indicated by the large quantities of coarseware cooking and serving vessels found at several peak sanctuaries (Jones 1999). If a site was not used for rituals involving the preparation of food, perhaps this illustrates that the idea of a peak sanctuary was interpreted differently in different regions of Crete. This does not seem to have been the case, however. Petsophas, Traostalos and Plagia are all in roughly the same region (Fig. 1). Petsophas and Plagia have both produced evidence for fires, but these sites are not inter-visible, which might have explained similarities in cult practice. At Traostalos, however, which is inter-visible with Petsophas (Nowicki 1994: 46), no ash is recorded. Juktas and Kophinas are widely separated, but they have both produced ash deposits and cooking vessels. This is not regional variation, therefore, but selective adoption of particular practices.

Non-Cretan peak sanctuaries

Table 2 repeats the data in Table 1, with three sites added: Agios Georgios on Kythera, Apollon Maleatas in the Argolid on the mainland and Troullos on Kea (Fig. 1), all of which have been claimed as 'Cretan-style' peak sanctuaries. Again, the sites are ranked according to how much of the kit they each possess. What is immediately apparent is that Agios Georgios scores higher than any of the Cretan peak sanctuaries, with the exception of Juktas. Should it be argued, therefore, that Agios Georgios is *more of a peak sanctuary* than Petsophas or Kophinas? Conversely, could Atsipadhes and Plagia each be considered *less of a peak sanctuary* than Apollon Maleatas or Agios Georgios? Troullos has produced artefacts from only three categories and in addition has yielded no animal figurines: is it a peak sanctuary at all?

Agios Georgios on Kythera is certainly a peak sanctuary in the Cretan sense, and not simply because of its location overlooking the nearby settlement at Kastri: much of the material conforms to that seen on Cretan peak sanctuaries. Crucially, this includes evidence for fires, meals and offering tables, which indicates that the practices themselves may have been similar to those on Crete. Although only one small layer of undisturbed Second Palace material has been excavated, 85 per cent of this comprises coarseware shapes similar to those found on Cretan peak sanctuaries (Tournavitou 2000: 299). Agios

Table 2 The peak sanctuary 'kit': seven Cretan peak sanctuaries, plus three 'peak sanctuaries' outside Crete

Context	Human		Clay/		Horns of		Miniature	Animal	Stone	Shells	Pebbles	Bones	Ash/
	figurine	Animal	Votive	stone	Doubleaxe	Consecration	vessel	rhyton	ladle				
Juktas	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X
Agios	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X		X	X
Georgios													
(Kythera)													
Petsophas	X	X	X	X		X	X						X
Kophinas	X	X	X	X	X	X		X					X
Apollon	X	X		X	X	X		X				X	X
Maleatas													
(Mainland)													
Vrysinas	X	X		X	X	X	X						
Atsipadhes	X	X	X	X						X	X		
Traostalos	X	X	X	X						X			
Plagia	X	X	X										X
Troullos (Kea)	X			X					X				

Georgios has also produced both doubleaxes and horns of consecration (Sakellarakis 1996, pl. 19b–d), Cretan cult symbols rarely found outside Crete during this period. A black steatite ladle with an inscription in Linear A (*ibid.*: pl.10b) further suggests close similarities with Cretan ritual. This is an object with an extremely restricted spatial and temporal distribution. Indeed, its appearances on Crete are limited to one peak sanctuary only, Juktas (Evans 1921: 159), and a small number of elite centres, with the largest concentration at Knossos (Warren 1969: 49). The appearance of this ladle at Agios Georgios might therefore suggest a deliberate attempt to identify with specifically Knossian practices (Bevan *in press*: ch. 6).

Despite this, there is much at Agios Georgios that is unusual. The eighty-three bronze figurines (Sakellarakis 1996: 85) would not be at home on a Cretan peak sanctuary, where figurines are almost exclusively made from clay. The vast redundancy seen here is graphically illustrated by Verlinden's (1984) study of metal figurines, which counted ninety-five bronze examples from the whole of Second Palace Crete. Agios Georgios has also produced lumps of unworked lapis lacedaimonius and rosso antico, both of which came from Laconia on the mainland (Sakellarakis 1996: 90). Although the dedication of raw materials is not unique in the Aegean (Boardman 1961: 67), it is very rare. It seems likely that the dedications of stone and metal were intended to commemorate Kastri's role as a significant trading node between Crete and the Peloponnese. Indeed, much of the material from Agios Georgios is suggestive of a deliberate reworking of Cretan ritual practices, perhaps in order to advertise the island's uniqueness while at the same time making clear (to Cretans?) that Cretan cult practice was both welcome and well understood.

The sanctuary of Apollon Maleatas on the mainland at first appears very unlike Cretan peak sanctuaries. The principal difference is that this site was associated with a settlement located on the same hill (Lambrinoudakis 1981: 63). The site's main feature is a long 'altar-terrace', on top of which was a deep layer of fatty ashes (*ibid.*: 59), and the main activity here appears to have been animal sacrifice and/or the consumption of meals. While similar evidence on Cretan sites would suggest that this was also an important part of peak sanctuary rituals there, it would be unusual on Crete for the vast majority of peak sanctuary material to be associated with cooking and consuming.

Nevertheless, Apollon Maleatas has produced material from more artefact categories than have several undisputed peak sanctuaries on Crete (Table 2), and the many bronze doubleaxes (Lambrinoudakis 1981: 62) attest to a knowledge of Cretan practices which could arguably have arisen only through contact with elite Cretan centres. Apollon Maleatas has also produced a small number of male terracotta figurines, an extremely rare artefact on the mainland throughout the second millennium BC (French 1985: 223), but found on every Cretan peak sanctuary. Unlike on Kythera, there is no obvious attempt here to depart from Cretan practices by modifying them to suit local concerns. Indeed, the general impression is that the groups using Apollon Maleatas were not only deliberately imitating Cretan practices, but were actively exaggerating them. There are more metal doubleaxes from Apollon Maleatas than from any peak sanctuary on Crete except Juktas, and the 'altar-terrace' is longer and deeper than any Cretan ash and bone deposits. This could be a result of the site's long history of use (Lambrinoudakis 1981: 59), but this mainland interpretation of a Cretan peak sanctuary may well have been used by aspiring

elite groups to assert their status by copying the practices of contemporary powerful groups on Crete.

According to Peatfield (Hägg and Marinatos 1984: 164, n. 23), the site of Troullos on Kea is 'too close' to the settlement at Agia Irini to be classed as a peak sanctuary. Even without this qualification, Troullos has produced very few typical peak sanctuary artefacts (Table 2). The excavator initially considered it a lookout post protecting Agia Irini's harbour (Caskey 1971: 392–4), but, although this seems reasonable, the material from the site suggests otherwise. It is difficult to reconstruct what rituals there may have been here. The primary characteristic of Cretan peak sanctuaries is the large concentrations of human and animal figurines, suggestive in all cases of communal deposition events or multiple visits by individuals or groups. The one potential visit to this peak signified by the single bronze figurine is surely not sufficient to class this site as a 'peak sanctuary' in the Cretan sense. Nevertheless, the stone tables and a ladle similar to those from Juktas and Agios Georgios conform to what would be expected on a 'palatial' Cretan peak sanctuary. Even with the general lack of peak sanctuary material, Troullos still fulfils enough criteria to warrant a ritual interpretation, and it should perhaps be regarded as an experiment – clearly a short-lived one – in Cretan ritual practices in a setting where Cretan ritual behaviours had not been learned or copied.

Non-peak sanctuary peak sanctuaries

With the more stringent qualification that what makes a peak sanctuary is more than terracotta figurines, it is worth investigating how important is the setting on a peak, and thus concepts of visibility and inter-visibility, to the reproduction of 'peak sanctuary rituals'. In addition to the sites already discussed, Table 3 includes the sanctuary at Kato Syme, the MMIA Oval House at Chamaizi, a MMII shrine at Mallia, and the MMII Upper and Lower West Court Sanctuary Complexes at Phaistos (Fig. 1). Crucially, they all display evidence that their associated ritual practices may have been similar to those performed on mountain peaks.

With the exception of Chamaizi, originally classed by its excavator as a peak sanctuary (Platon 1951: 122–4), none of these sites would now be interpreted as such. Indeed, the shrines at Mallia and Phaistos are independent cult buildings, at palace centres, far from mountain peaks. Chamaizi is on a steep hill, but is clearly a house (Davaras 1972: 278), yet has produced human and animal figurines and several other peak sanctuary artefacts. Kato Syme is high on the side of a mountain, but was associated with a spring (Lebessi and Muhly 1990: 315–36), something not attested at any peak sanctuary. Nevertheless, it has produced more peak sanctuary material than any site listed here except Juktas and Agios Georgios.

The Upper and Lower West Court Sanctuary Complexes at Phaistos also rank higher than several peak sanctuaries (Table 3). Architecturally, the two complexes are very similar. The Upper complex (Pernier and Banti 1951: 572–81), a multi-roomed structure comprising storerooms, 'preparation rooms', an anteroom and the main 'sanctuary', was accessible both from inside the palace and from the west court, in which was an open-air hearth containing burnt material. The Lower complex (Pernier 1935: 43–58), consisting of

Table 3 What makes a peak sanctuary?

<i>Context</i>	<i>Human figurine</i>	<i>Animal figurine</i>	<i>Votive limb</i>	<i>Clay/stone table</i>	<i>Doubleaxe</i>	<i>Horns of Consecration</i>	<i>Weapon</i>	<i>Miniature vessel</i>	<i>Animal rhyton</i>	<i>Stone ladle</i>	<i>Shells</i>	<i>Pebbles</i>	<i>Bones</i>	<i>Ash/ fire</i>
Juktas	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X
Agios Georgios (Kythera)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			X	X		X	X
Kato Syme	X	X		X	X	X	X	X			X		X	X
Petsofhas	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X						X
Kophinas	X	X	X	X	X		X		X				X	X
Apollon Maleatas (Mainland)	X	X		X	X		X		X				X	X
Phaistos Upper West Court Sanctuary		X		X	X	X	X		X		X	X		X
Phaistos Lower West Court Sanctuary		X	X	X	X	X		X	X		X			
Vrysinas	X	X		X	X		X	X						
Atsipadhes	X	X	X	X							X	X		
Traostalos	X	X	X	X							X			
Plagia	X	X	X	X										X
Chamaizi MMIA	X	X		X	X						X			
Oval House														
Mallia MMII		X		X	X	X					X			
Shrine Complex														
Troullos (Kea)	X			X						X				

at least ten rooms, mostly used for storage and preparation, was also connected both to the palace and to the west court, indicating again that access was architecturally unrestricted.

The sanctuary at Mallia is one of two MMII shrines at the palace, both contemporary with Quartier Mu, which itself contained a lustral basin and a room with a fixed offering table which may have been a shrine (Poursat 1971: 797). The Sanctuary of the Horns produced only a single animal figurine (van Effenterre 1980: 441), but the second complex, a three-roomed structure, produced terracotta offering tables and triton shells, a tripod vase with relief doubleaxe decoration, the rim of a pot with moulded horns of consecration, similar to examples from Agios Georgios (Sakellarakis 1996: pl.19b–c), and one terracotta animal figurine (Poursat 1966: 520).

There are no peak sanctuaries in the areas surrounding either Phaistos or Mallia. Schoep (1994: 23) has suggested that this, combined with material that so closely parallels that found on peak sanctuaries, indicates that at these two palaces, ‘a type of public shrine was used, more or less with a similar social function as the peak sanctuary, but, of course, with a different ritual’. The lack of nearby peak sanctuaries is not disputed here, neither is the idea that the rituals at these two palaces fulfilled a ‘similar social function’ to peak sanctuaries. What is disputed, however, is that the rituals were fundamentally different.

The pit with burnt debris from the Upper complex at Phaistos is reminiscent of burnt layers at many peak sanctuaries, and the practice of throwing stone vessels and other objects into the fire, as seen here (Gesell 1985: 120), is attested at Juktas (Karetso 1978: 238), Apollon Maleatas (Lambrinoudakis 1981: 62), Kato Syme (Lebessi and Muhly 1987: 102–13) and possibly Petsophas (Davaras 1981: 2–3). All three complexes yielded offering tables and cooking vessels, indicating that the practices associated with these vessels on peak sanctuaries may also have been performed at Phaistos and Mallia. At the Upper complex at Phaistos and at Mallia, cupule stones, probably used as receptacles for offerings, were built into the floor. This is again reminiscent of Juktas, where a large stone offering table was built into the altar (Karetso 1981: 145). Finally, the fact that all three complexes open onto a paved court indicates that much of the activity took place in the open air, as at peak sanctuaries.

Mallia and Phaistos are the only major First Palace settlements without nearby peak sanctuaries. More importantly, with the exception of Anemospilia, these three shrines are the only independent cult buildings in Crete predating the Postpalatial period (contra Hood 1977: 158–72). Arguably, then, these shrines were, in effect, ‘peak sanctuaries’, in terms of their associated ritual practices. What they lack, aside from the mountain location, is large numbers of terracotta figurines. However, it is worth noting that the spaces dedicated to ritual at Cretan settlements were apparently never used as offering places: their marked emptiness and the storage contexts of much ritual paraphernalia on Crete indicate that the palaces and towns had the permanent storage of materials used both in open courts and at peak sanctuaries (Gesell 1985: 2; Peatfield 1990: 127), and only the truly ‘natural’ cult places were the focus for depositions.

These three shrines therefore fulfil as many or more of the material conditions for identification as peak sanctuaries as do many of the sites on mountain peaks. Moreover, they demonstrate that several of the rituals associated with peak sanctuaries – cooking, eating and drinking; dedications on offering tables; the burning of ritual objects – were

reproduced without replicating the spatial setting. The same is true of Kato Syme and Chamaizi. Questions of accessibility may still have been significant: it is interesting that the shrines at Mallia and Phaistos conform to Peatfield's (1990: 120) interpretation of peak sanctuaries as 'community shrines, not remote places of arduous pilgrimage', situated as they are in the public west courts, a communal meeting place at the interface between town and palace (Preziosi 1983: 87). The palatial west court is in fact exactly the location that might be predicted for an urban shrine used for peak sanctuary rituals. That movement from settlement to shrine was an important part of these events is perhaps suggested by a stone vessel fragment found near Knossos, which depicts a procession of men carrying objects in a mountainous setting (Evans 1922: 752, fig. 486). Crossed by raised causeways that might have acted as processional routes (Immerwahr 1983: 145; Hägg 1987: 129–34), the west courts at Mallia and Phaistos seem ideal locations for reproducing, at least in part, the physical experience of peak sanctuary rituals.

Perhaps, then, the experience of a peak sanctuary landscape was more significant than the view of or from it (cf. Bender 1993: 1). Landscape can be experienced through objects – the landscape of the Crucifixion, for example, can be evoked by a cross – and elements of the peak sanctuary kit may have acted metonymically to embody aspects of the Cretan landscape (cf. Küchler 1993: 104; Jones 1998: 319), recalling not just events and people, but also places. Perhaps pieces of peak sanctuary equipment, or the kit when used as a whole, evoked high places or signified the physical and spiritual journey of a ritual event. This would allow the participants at sites such as Mallia and Phaistos to perform 'peak sanctuary rituals' in settings whose physical characteristics would appear to preclude such activities. This raises interesting questions about the lack of 'non-peak sanctuary peak sanctuaries' outside Crete. Perhaps the close correspondence between Cretan and non-Cretan peak sanctuary assemblages should be interpreted in terms of imitation rather than emulation: reproduction through the copying of formal characteristics, rather than through the perspective-taking and collaborative instruction of social learning (Tomasello et al. 1993: 503–4).

Transmission and (inter-)visibility

There are several characteristics of the peak sanctuary that make it, as a type of cult space, particularly susceptible to transmission. Perhaps most importantly, with no standardized architecture, peak sanctuaries are the easiest type of Aegean cult space to imitate, which may explain why they, rather than lustral basins or pillar crypts, were also successful outside Crete. The corollary to this lack of explicit spatial c(l)ues is that the objects have to work harder to ensure the accurate reproduction of ritual practice. Very standardized architectural spaces will afford a much more limited range of actions (Norman 1988: 82), and any objects used will be less important than the spaces themselves in determining and framing behaviour. By contrast, in places with no overt physical choreography, no architecturally specified cues for action (cf. Rapoport 1990: 9–10), it is the objects that condition behaviour (Thompson 1990: 235–8). This can be seen very clearly at the peak sanctuary of Atsipadhes, where there is little physical framing in space, but where differential activity areas have been identified through the structured deposition of

particular artefact types (Peatfield and Morris 1997–8: 122–3). Indeed, in spaces such as these, the recurrent deposition of objects in specific parts of the site will over time *become* the physical choreography of that space, and the deposition areas will themselves begin to direct behaviour. Not only does this promote fidelity in cult practice over long periods of time, but it also discourages variation in the types of objects used, resulting in conservatism of material forms (Rowlands 1993: 141).

The inter-visibility of Cretan peak sanctuaries (Fig. 2) has often been claimed as a central factor in the construction and maintenance of religious and political landscapes (e.g. Cherry 1986; Peatfield 1987; Nowicki 1994; Soetens et al. 2001, 2002), but there is little agreement over the real significance of these sightlines. Thus, while Soetens et al. (2002: 485) have suggested that political territories can be correlated with viewsheds from peak sanctuaries, Peatfield has argued that the inter-visibility of peak sanctuaries ‘provides an opportunity for the expression of ritual unity that may have transcended political boundaries’ (1994: 25). An interesting local adaptation of a peak sanctuary landscape has been revealed by the Agiofarango survey, which found concentrations of material on top of five hills, each apparently associated with a nearby farmstead and tholos tomb (Blackman and Branigan 1977: 68). These hills are usually considered to be of insufficient altitude to be classed as peak sanctuaries, and they are not inter-visible (Peatfield 1983: 276, n.17). But should this preclude their interpretation as settings for communal ritual? The idea of a peak sanctuary for these small groups meant going to the highest point within sight of home, tomb and pasture, which is clearly what it also meant (on a far grander scale) at Knossos, where the central court of the palace is directly aligned with the peak sanctuary on the top of Juktas (Cherry 1986: 28).

A concern for visibility has also been invoked as the explanation for the ash layers found at some peak sanctuaries. These have been interpreted as beacons, used for guiding ritual participants or even ships at sea (Soetens et al. 2002: 485). Peatfield has further suggested that ‘a network of sacred beacons... would have united various regions on a single festival night’ (1983: 277). The lack of ash deposits at three of the seven Cretan sites examined here (Table 1), and indeed the varying presence and absence of ash at inter-visible sites, is not only an indication of the differences in cult practice across superficially similar contexts, but it also suggests that peak sanctuaries did not operate in networks of inter-visibility of the kind envisaged by several scholars.

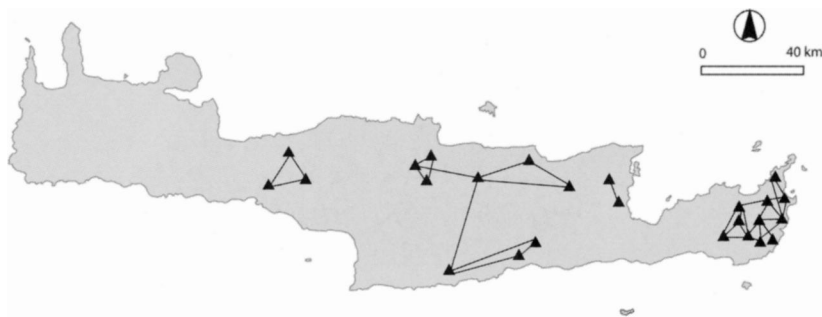


Figure 2 The inter-visibility of Cretan peak sanctuaries (after Peatfield 1994: 24, fig. 2.1).

It has further been suggested that east Crete, where the largest concentration of peak sanctuaries has been recorded, is 'particularly suited to the spread of mountain shrines', due to its numerous small valleys and dominating peaks (Peatfield 1983: 274). This landscape is in fact typical of much of Crete, and while this in itself may well have encouraged the proliferation of mountain shrines across the island, it still remains unclear to what extent the inter-visibility of peak sanctuaries was deliberate or rather an accident of their prominent location. Indeed, sightlines and viewsheds from peak sanctuaries are arguably significant only if the rituals were conducted during daylight hours, something that seems contradicted by the arguments for sacred beacons lit at night (e.g. Soetens et al. 2002: 485). Certainly, the large quantities of coarseware cooking and serving vessels found at most peak sanctuaries are more suggestive of fires used for cooking than lit as smoke signals. Finally, in terms of visibility at the peak sanctuary itself, it is also worth remembering that deposition practices at these sites often involved the wedging of ritual objects deep into crevices and fissures in the bedrock (e.g. Karetsou 1981: 146, fig. 14; Rutkowski 1991: 79), leaving little to see on the surface (Plate 1) but piles of figurines.



Plate 1 The chasm at Juktas in which ritual objects were deposited.

Here again, the experience, rather than the view, of a peak sanctuary landscape seems to be the key feature; an experience perhaps evoked in the urban shrine at Phaistos through the deposition of ritual objects in an open-air pit.

Conclusion

It is clear that there were sites on mountain peaks in the Bronze Age Aegean that were the focus of ritual activity. However, it is also clear that spatial settings only partly configure a ritual event: the variety of spaces in which peak sanctuary rituals could apparently be performed indicates that their accurate reproduction relied less on topography than on a specific set of mobile objects. This has important implications for the archaeological study of landscapes. While spaces may be defined in terms of natural topography, *places* are defined by the activities conducted within them (Jones 1998: 318). Archaeologically, this means that a site is defined not by its position within the landscape, but by the material found on it.

Moreover, a focus on the purely visual aspects of landscape not only assumes a Romantic balance between nature and culture in prehistory, but it also ignores the possibility that the experience of landscape may be transmitted through mobile objects and embodied memory rather than through imprinting marks on natural topography. A focus on the transmission of ritual practices allows empirical testing both of the identification and of the interpretation of data patterning; and artefact assemblages, still the basic data of archaeology, offer perhaps a firmer basis for such an approach than the environmental determinism often encountered in visibility studies.

Acknowledgements

I am very grateful to Carl Knappett and David Wengrow, whose comments on an earlier draft of this paper helped to take it in some unexpected directions, and to the two anonymous reviewers, who offered useful feedback in terms of the clarity of the argument. I would also like to thank Cyprian Broodbank and Jeremy Tanner for their encouragement and advice during earlier stages of this research, which was carried out with financial assistance from the AHRB and the Institute of Archaeology, UCL.

McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, University of Cambridge

References

- Bender, B. 1993. Introduction: landscape – meaning and action. In *Landscape. Politics and Perspectives* (ed. B. Bender). Oxford: Berg, pp. 1–17.
- Bevan, A. in press. *Stone Logics: Vessels and Values in the Bronze Age Eastern Mediterranean*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Blackman, D. and Branigan, K. 1977. An archaeological survey of the lower catchment of the Ayiofarango valley. *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 72: 13–84.

- Bloch, M. 1987. The ritual of the royal bath in Madagascar: the dissolution of death, birth and fertility into authority. In *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies* (eds D. Cannadine and S. Price). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 271–97.
- Boardman, J. 1961. *The Cretan Collection in Oxford: The Diktaean Cave and Iron Age Crete*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Branigan, K. 1970. *The Foundations of Palatial Crete: A Survey of Crete in the Early Bronze Age*. London: Routledge.
- Caskey, J. L. 1971. Investigations in Keos. *Hesperia*, 40: 359–96.
- Cherry, J. F. 1978. Generalisation and the archaeology of the state. In *Social Organisation and Settlement* (eds D. Green, C. Haselgrove and M. Spriggs). Oxford: British Archaeological Reports 47, pp. 411–37.
- Cherry, J. F. 1983. Evolution, revolution, and the origins of complex society in Minoan Crete. In *Minoan Society* (eds O. H. Krzyszkowska and L. Nixon). Bristol: Bristol Classical Press, pp. 33–45.
- Cherry, J. F. 1986. Politics and palaces: some problems in Minoan state formation. In *Peer-Polity Interaction and Socio-Political Change* (eds C. Renfrew and J. F. Cherry). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 19–45.
- Clarke, D. 1968. *Analytical Archaeology*. London: Methuen.
- Connerton, P. 1989. *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Davaras, C. 1972. The Oval House at Chamaizi reconsidered. *Athens Annals of Archaeology*, 5: 283–8.
- Davaras, C. 1981. Three new Linear A libation vessel fragments from Petsophas. *Kadmos*, 20: 1–6.
- Davis, W. 1989. Style and history in art history. In *The Uses of Style in Archaeology* (eds M. Conkey and C. Hastorf). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 18–31.
- Dickinson, O. T. P. K. 1994. *The Aegean Bronze Age*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Evans, A. J. 1921. *The Palace of Minos at Knossos I*. London: Macmillan.
- Evans, A. J. 1922. *The Palace of Minos at Knossos II.i*. London: Macmillan.
- Faure, P. 1967. Sur trois sortes de sanctuaires crétoises. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 91: 114–50.
- Faure, P. 1969. Nouvelles recherches sur trois sortes de sanctuaires crétoises. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 93: 174–213.
- French, E. B. 1985. The figures and figurines. In *The Archaeology of Cult: The Sanctuary at Phylakopi* (ed. C. Renfrew). London: Thames & Hudson, pp. 209–80.
- Gesell, G. C. 1985. *Town, Palace and House Cult in Minoan Crete*. Goteborg: Paul Åströms Förlag.
- Giddens, A. 1984. *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Goffman, E. 1974. *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organisation of Experience*. London: Penguin.
- Hägg, R. 1987. On the reconstruction of the west facade at Knossos. In *The Function of the Minoan Palace* (eds R. Hägg and N. Marinatos). Stockholm: Swedish Institute in Athens, pp. 129–34.
- Hägg, R. and Marinatos, N. (eds) 1984. *The Minoan Thalassocracy, Myth and Reality*. Stockholm: Swedish Institute in Athens.
- Hood, M. S. F. 1977. Minoan town-shrines? In *Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean in Ancient History and Prehistory: Studies Presented to Fritz Schachermeyr on the Occasion of his Eightieth Birthday* (ed. K. H. Kinzl). Berlin: de Gruyter, pp. 158–72.
- Immerwahr, S. 1983. The people in the frescoes. In *Minoan Society* (eds O. H. Krzyszkowska and L. Nixon). Bristol: Bristol Classical Press, pp. 143–53.

- Jones, A. 1998. Where eagles dare: landscape, animals and the Neolithic of Orkney. *Journal of Material Culture*, 3(3): 301–34.
- Jones, D. W. 1999. *Peak Sanctuaries and Sacred Caves in Minoan Crete*. Jonsered: Paul Åströms Förlag.
- Karetsou, A. 1978. To iero korifis tou Yiouchta. *Praktika tis en Athenais Archaeologikis Etaireias*, 232–58.
- Karetsou, A. 1981. The peak sanctuary of Mt Juktas. In *Sanctuaries and Cults in the Aegean Bronze Age* (eds R. Hägg and N. Marinatos). Stockholm: Swedish Institute in Athens, pp. 137–53.
- Kilian-Dirlmeier, I. 1993. *Die Schwerter in Greichenland (ausserhalb der Peloponnes), Bulgarien und Albanien*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.
- Küchler, S. 1993. Landscape as memory: the mapping of process and its representation in a Melanesian society. In *Landscape: Politics and Perspectives* (ed. B. Bender). Oxford: Berg, pp. 245–79.
- Kyriakidis, E. 2005. *Ritual in the Bronze Age Aegean: The Minoan Peak Sanctuaries*. London: Duckworth.
- Lambrinoudakis, V. 1981. Remains of the Mycenaean period in the sanctuary of Apollon Maleatas. In *Sanctuaries and Cults in the Aegean Bronze Age* (eds R. Hägg and N. Marinatos). Stockholm: Swedish Institute in Athens, pp. 59–64.
- Lebessi, A. and Muhly, P. 1987. The sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite at Syme, Crete. *National Geographic Research*, 3: 102–13.
- Lebessi, A. and Muhly, P. 1990. Aspects of Minoan cult: sacred enclosures: the evidence from the Syme enclosure (Crete). *Archaeologischer Anzeiger*, 315–36.
- Miller, D. 1985. *Artefacts as Categories: A Study of Ceramic Variability in Central India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Moody, J. 1987. The Minoan palace as a prestige artefact. In *The Function of the Minoan Palace* (eds R. Hägg and N. Marinatos). Stockholm: Swedish Institute in Athens, pp. 235–41.
- Morris, C. and Peatfield, A. A. D. 2002. Feeling through the body: gesture in Cretan Bronze Age religion. In *Thinking through the Body: Archaeologies of Corporeality* (eds Y. Hamilakis, M. Pluciennik and S. Tarlow). New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum, pp. 105–20.
- Needham, R. 1983. *Against the Tranquility of Axioms*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Nilsson, M. P. 1950. *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion*, 2nd edn. Lund: Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet.
- Norman, D. A. 1988. *The Design of Everyday Things*. New York: Doubleday.
- Nowicki, K. 1994. Some remarks on Pre- and Proto-palatial peak sanctuaries. *Aegean Archaeology*, 1: 31–48.
- Peatfield, A. A. D. 1983. The topography of Minoan peak sanctuaries. *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 78: 273–9.
- Peatfield, A. A. D. 1987. Palace and peak: the political and religious relationship between palaces and peak sanctuaries. In *The Function of the Minoan Palace* (eds R. Hägg and N. Marinatos). Stockholm: Swedish Institute in Athens, pp. 89–93.
- Peatfield, A. A. D. 1990. Minoan peak sanctuaries: history and society. *Opuscula Atheniensia*, 18(8): 117–31.
- Peatfield, A. A. D. 1992. Rural ritual in Bronze Age Crete: the peak sanctuary at Atsipadhes. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, 2(1): 59–87.
- Peatfield, A. A. D. 1994. After the ‘Big Bang’ – what? Or, Minoan symbols and shrines beyond palatial collapse. In *Placing the Gods: Sanctuaries and Sacred Space in Ancient Greece* (eds S. E. Alcock and R. Osborne). Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp. 19–36.

- Peatfield, A. A. D. and Morris, C. 1997–8. Atsipadhes Korakias. *Archaeological Reports for 1997–1998* (ed. D. Blackman). Athens: Managing Committee, British School at Athens, pp. 122–3.
- Pernier, L. 1935. *Il palazzo minoico di Festos I*. Rome: Istituto d'archeologia e storia dell'arte.
- Pernier, L. and Banti, L. 1951. *Il palazzo minoico di Festos II*. Rome: Istituto d'archeologia e storia dell'arte.
- Platon, N. 1951. To ieron Maza kai ta Minoika iera korifis. *Cretika Chronika*, 5: 122–4.
- Poursat, J.-C. 1966. Un sanctuaire du Minoen Moyen II à Mallia. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 90: 514–51.
- Poursat, J.-C. 1971. Rapports sur les travaux de l'école Française en 1970: Mallia. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 7: 96–9.
- Preziosi, D. 1983. *Minoan Architectural Design: Formation and Signification*. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Rapoport, A. 1990. Systems of activities and systems of settings. In *Domestic Architecture and the Use of Space: An Interdisciplinary Cross-Cultural Perspective* (ed. S. Kent). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 9–20.
- Rowlands, M. 1993. The role of memory in the transmission of culture. *World Archaeology*, 25(2): 141–51.
- Rutkowski, B. 1986. *Cult Places of the Aegean*, 2nd edn. New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press.
- Rutkowski, B. 1991. *Petsophas: A Cretan Peak Sanctuary*. Warsaw: Press Perl.
- Rutkowski, B. and Nowicki, K. 1996. *The Psychro Cave and Other Sacred Grottoes in Crete*. Warsaw: Press Perl.
- Sakellarakis, Y. 1996. Minoan religious influence in the Aegean: the case of Kythera. *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 91: 81–100.
- Schoep, I. 1994. Ritual, politics and script on Minoan Crete. *Aegean Archaeology*, 1: 7–25.
- Soetens, S., Sarris, A. and Topouzi, S. 2001. Peak sanctuaries in the Minoan cultural landscape. *Pepragmena tou Th'Diethnous Kritologikou Synedriou*, pp. 76–82.
- Soetens, S., Sarris, A., Vansteenhuyse, K. and Topouzi, S. 2002. GIS variations on a Cretan theme: Minoan peak sanctuaries. In *Metron: Measuring the Aegean Bronze Age* (eds K. P. Foster and R. Laffineur). Austin, TX, and Liège: Université de Liège and University of Texas at Austin, pp. 483–7.
- Thompson, J. B. 1990. *Ideology and Modern Culture: Critical Social Theory in the Era of Mass Communication*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Tomasello, M., Kruger, A. C. and Ratner, H. H. 1993. Cultural learning. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, 16: 495–552.
- Tournavitou, I. 2000. Minoiko iero korifis sta Kithira: i keramiki. *Pepragmena tou H'Diethnous Kritologikou Synedriou*, pp. 297–316.
- van Effenterre, H. 1980. *Le palais de Mallia et la cité Minoenne: étude de synthèse*. Rome: Edizioni dell' Ateneo.
- Verlinden, C. 1984. *Les Statuettes Anthropomorphes Crétoises en Bronze et en Plomb, du III Millénaire au VII Siècle av. J.-C.* Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut Supérieur d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art, Collège Érasme.
- Warren, P. M. 1969. *Minoan Stone Vases*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Watrous, L. V. 1996. *The Cave Sanctuary of Zeus at Psychro: A Study of Extra-Urban Sanctuaries in Minoan and Early Iron Age Crete*. Austin, TX, and Liège: Université de Liège and University of Texas at Austin.

Whitehouse, H. 1996. Jungles and computers: neuronal group selection and the epidemiology of representations. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 2: 99–116.

Wright, J. C. 1994. The spatial configuration of belief: the archaeology of Mycenaean religion. In *Placing the Gods: Sanctuaries and Sacred Space in Ancient Greece* (eds S. E. Alcock and R. Osborne). Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp. 37–78.

Camilla Briault received her PhD, on ritual transmission in the Bronze Age Aegean, from the Institute of Archaeology, University College London, in 2005. She is currently Junior Research Fellow in Cognitive Archaeology at the McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, University of Cambridge, where she is investigating the transmission of ritual practices in Early Iron Age Greece.