

See discussions, stats, and author profiles for this publication at: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/329991164>

Aegean Late Bronze and Early Iron Age Burials in the Ruins of Rulers' Dwellings: A Legitimation of Power?

Chapter · January 2016

CITATION

1

READS

892

1 author:



Angélique Labrude

Université de Montpellier

5 PUBLICATIONS 1 CITATION

SEE PROFILE

Angélique Labrude

Aegean Late Bronze and Early Iron Age Burials in the Ruins of Rulers' Dwellings: A Legitimisation of Power?

Introduction

The importance of the landscape context of burial sites has been at the heart of numerous studies in recent years (e.g. Branigan 1998; Dickinson 2006: 174–95; Vavouranakis 2007). It is now generally admitted that topographical features alone cannot always explain the strategies used in situating cemeteries in landscapes of cultural and historical significance. The combination of space, landscape, and architecture created a specific deathscape where social memory and local identity interacted. This chapter thus aims to investigate the links between Aegean Late Bronze and Early Iron Age burial sites and the former non-funerary buildings housing them. Building remains formed part of the landscape, being conspicuous landmarks like other prominent natural features. Unlike the latter category, however, ruined dwellings were clearly linked to particular episodes of human history, which were known or imagined by the new generations contemplating them. Ruins have been defined as 'liminal and timeless places that existed in both the past and the present' (Williams 1997: 25). Indeed, ruins played a specific role as the interface between the world of the living and the world of the dead: the dead inhabitants 'haunting' their former houses, but also the dead deliberately placed within them to materialise the finality of their initial domestic function.

The main issue raised in this chapter is linked to the role of burials within new settlement patterns established in connection with ruined rulers' complexes. By creating new funerary landscapes among these conspicuous decayed structures, did Late Bronze and Early Iron Age communities wish to proclaim their ancestral rights and legitimise a new power? Or rather, did they intend to declare the death of the Bronze Age world, as suggested by I. Morris (2000: 206)?

In this chapter, I would like to determine the specific role attributed to these conspicuous ruins as well as the burial strategies used within new settlement patterns in Crete and on the Mainland without losing sight of the variable contexts that these remains may have signified for the inhabitants. My analysis begins by exploring the links between the dead, ruined ordinary settlements, and memory in the Aegean before turning to several case studies of rulers' complexes reused as burial sites. I will focus on burials in connection with Minoan palatial sites and Mycenaean citadels and then examine the deliberate destruction of Iron Age elite dwellings and their transformation into highly visible funerary places as a symbol of an elite status. Drawing from

the results of this investigation, several conjectures are made to identify different patterns in the attitude shown towards abandoned structures and explain their different usages in the context of sociopolitical changes.

This topic, at the crossroads of several issues—the afterlife as a location, the elaboration of memoryscapes, and the use of the past as a source of power and identity—deserves further consideration in the framework of the ‘archaeology of place’.

From domestic to funerary places: defining ‘intramural’ burials

The reuse of ruined settlements has been little investigated to date, with research focusing on Early Iron Age ritual activities conducted on top of important Bronze Age remains (see Prent 2003; 2005; Wallace 2003). However, the deliberate reuse of domestic, artisanal, and residential buildings as burial places was not uncommon (for Bronze Age examples, see Nordquist 1987: 95; Dietz 1991: 275–6; Maran 1995; Cavanagh & Mee 1998: 24–5; Boyd 2002: 33–6; Milka 2010) as confirmed by several Late Bronze and Early Iron Age cases on the Greek mainland and Crete as well as the Aegean islands and Asia Minor (Labrude forthcoming). I would like to stress here that it would be inappropriate to speak of ‘intramural burials’, a term reserved for burials between inhabited walls. In my opinion, reference should rather be made to ‘intermural burials’, that is to say, burials between uninhabited walls. Due to the datedness of many of the excavations and rescue operations, and the consequent ambiguous stratigraphical sequences, the reuse of previously inhabited areas in the prehistoric Aegean may not have been sufficiently addressed. Another difficulty directly linked to the nature of this issue is the great variability in the significations attributed to such practices, which depend on several criteria: the spatiotemporal frame and sociopolitical context; the lapse of time between the initial abandonment and burial reuse; the location of contemporaneous settlements and their possible placement among the ruins; the purpose of the reuse as an individual, familial, or community initiative; the nature of the ruins (domestic, artisanal, residential, or administrative); the degree of preservation at the time of reuse. Of course, there are other criteria that we do not fully understand because they are archaeologically invisible and/or linked to popular or personal beliefs.

I have deliberately chosen to retain one of the criteria mentioned above in order to examine its validity and importance within the strategies of location: to what extent did the initial function of the buildings influence the strategies used to localise the burial places later situated in proximity to their ruins? In addressing this topic, I will firstly concentrate on ordinary settlements reused as burial places in order to identify the different intentions motivating such a practice and their role in the reinforcement of the collective memory and local identity.

The dead, ruins, and memory

The concept of 'collective memory' (*mémoire collective*) in reference to the collective knowledge shared by members of the same community was elaborated by the sociologist M. Halbwachs and has since been widely adopted by scholars interested in the archaeology of memory, that is, the material culture attesting to the recognition and interest of social groups in their own past or in the past in general (Alcock 2002; Van Dyke & Alcock 2003; Yoffee 2007; Gallou & Georgiadis 2009). Artefacts, iconography, and architectural remains play a role in the transmission of collective memory, with these elements being used, reused, and reinterpreted by succeeding generations. Architectural stone remains have this trait in particular, since, even after their abandonment, they are still openly and publicly inscribed in the landscape for generations to come. They may gradually disappear due to a general indifference or natural taphonomic processes, or they may be invested with new functions, thus delaying their disappearance. The remains may also have been rediscovered after being partially or totally buried. Like natural landmarks, often assumed to have played a role in the location of sanctuaries or cemeteries, ruins linked to a more or less remote past may have shaped the choices of settlement and cemetery establishment. The appropriation of the local past was certainly a means to reinforce collective memory, and ancient architectural remains may have played a role similar to that of artefacts in the performance of commemorative ceremonies.

Monument reuse for funerary purposes, rarely mentioned in Aegean studies, was analysed in other chronological and cultural contexts, such as the Anglo-Saxon world (Williams 1997). R. Bradley (1998) was the first to draw attention to burials intentionally situated on abandoned prehistoric monuments. According to him, rulers used the practice to reinforce their power by creating a link to the mythical past. H. Williams (1998) broadened the spatiotemporal scope of his study, demonstrating that monument reuse was rarely due to practical reasons alone, such as incorporating the pre-existing walls into the graves' construction. A detailed investigation of several sites with decaying structures characterised by the intrusion of burials leads us to question the reasons of this peculiar practice in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age Aegean context. Even if the transformation of ruins into cemeteries is manifested throughout the Aegean basin [Fig. 1], the signification of this practice may have varied depending on regional, community, or individual criteria and the specific chronological frame.

In Crete, an abandoned Neopalatial artisans' quarter deliberately reused as a burial site was identified in Mochlos as early as the Late Minoan IIIA-B period (Soles & Davaras 2003); in contrast, contemporaneous cases have not been detected on the Mainland. From the Late Helladic IIIC phase onwards, however, following the collapse of the Mycenaean palatial period around 1200 BCE, there was a noticeable increase in the number of abandoned settlements reused as burial sites in the Aegean.

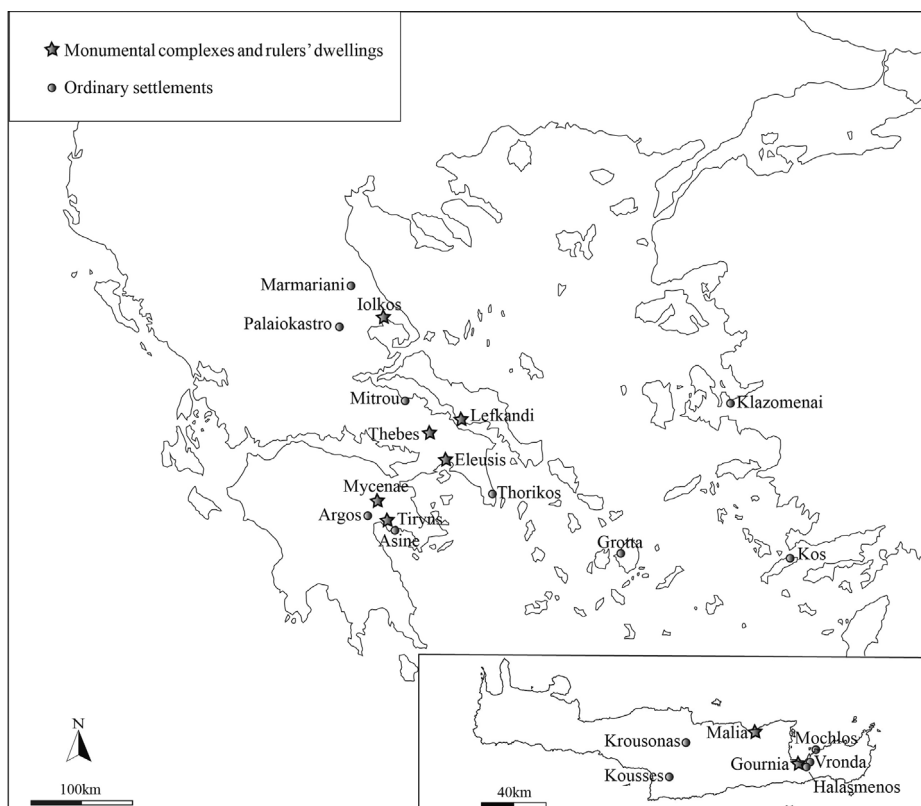


Fig. 1: Late Bronze and Early Iron Age abandoned dwellings reused as burial sites in the Aegean.

Isolated tombs overlapping or in proximity to Bronze Age houses or settlements were located in Thessaly at Palaioakastro (Snodgrass 1971: 154, 316), east Lokris at Mitrou (Van de Moortel 2007: 250; 2009: 364–5), Euboea at Lefkandi-Xeropolis (Lemos 2006: 519), Argolid at Argos, and Asine (Lemos 2002: 157–8; Courbin 1974: 103–5; Touchais & Divari-Valakou 1998: 17–18; Frödin & Persson 1938: 129–39), Asia Minor at Klazomenai (Aytaçlar 2004: 27), and Crete at Halasmenos (Tsipopoulou 2005: 320; Eaby 2007: 49) and Krousonas (Eaby 2007: 103). At the majority of these sites, the initiative for burying people among the ruins appears to have been taken by families or individuals, and does not involve the community at large. Child burials are especially numerous, though sometimes accompanied by one or two adults. The tradition of burying children under the family house is well attested from the Bronze Age, continuing throughout the Early Iron Age (Mazarakis Ainian 2010; McGeorge 2011). Nevertheless, these cases cannot be defined, strictly speaking, as intramural burials, because of the incorporation of child tombs after the abandonment of the houses. It may be inferred that ancestor ruins in the Early Iron Age Aegean world, as in other chronological and cultural contexts, may have possessed an apotropaic character

(Williams 1997: 3; Liston 2007: 65, with references). Isolated individuals or children may thus have been placed under the protection of the past inhabitants in what still resembled domestic buildings.

Familial burial plots or community cemeteries, with a more equilibrated repartition of adults and children, seem more clearly linked to territorial claims at a number of sites: Marmariani-Magoula in Thessaly (Heurtley & Skeat 1930–1931); the eponymous city on the island of Kos (Morricone 1975; 1982); Grotta on the northern coast of Naxos (Lambrinoudakis 1988; Vlachopoulos 2003); Thorikos in Attica (Mussche 1974; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 146–7), and Vronda in eastern Crete (Day 1995; 2011). These burial sites housing a large number of graves were established after the settlements relocated, sometimes quite some distance away. In the case of Vronda, for example, after an interlude of approximately four centuries, the ruined settlement was transformed into a burial place during the Late Geometric/Early Orientalising period. At the time, the rivalry between the closest settlements, Kastro and Azoria, probably intensified, and faced with the emerging polis of Azoria, the community of Kastro may have felt the need to reassert its ancient rights to the territory in a visible way. One may also argue that the growing community of Azoria endeavoured to reinforce its collective identity by taking control of the area to mark the extent its new territory (Day 2011: 750). Burial markers and funerary activities involving the burning of mortuary pyres were probably sufficient to assert the reoccupation of the ruined area in spite of its previous desertion.

In all likelihood, the reuse of small-scale dwellings was linked to human history, especially to direct ancestral ties. This in no way excludes the worship of previous generations and their possible elevation to a status of immortals or deities. For example, at Grotta, Asine, and possibly Thorikos, an ancestor cult developed in proximity to the graves situated among Mycenaean ruins (Hägg 1983; Lambrinoudakis 1988; Mazarakis Ainian 1997: 147). The assimilation of decayed houses or even workshops into settlement and cemetery patterns occurred according to different modalities: after short or long intervals, and in connection with isolated individuals, single families, or larger kinship or social groups. This process was favoured by the reorganisation of territories following the '1200 destruction' and during the phases of formation of the polis.

Bronze Age monumental complexes reused as burial sites: absorbing the past, establishing a new order

Minoan monumental complexes

In the attempt to understand the practice of placing burials among the ruins of rulers' dwellings or in their vicinity, our investigation begins with Minoan monumental

complexes, where such cases were reported during the Late Minoan IIIA-Late Minoan IIIB periods (ca. 1400–1200 BCE), when Mycenaeans are thought to have arrived on the island¹.

In Crete, at numerous sites discovered at the beginning of the 20th c., the absence of a clear stratigraphical sequence or the erosion of the architectonic remains led to different interpretations of the same structure. The so-called Tomba degli Ori in the Ayia Triada complex was initially interpreted as an imposing Neopalatial ruined house with five rooms reused as an ossuary during the Late Minoan IIIA (La Rosa 1992–1993: 125). However, D. Puglisi (2003: 185–8) recently affirmed the original funerary character of the structure due to the presence of ceremonial and ritual objects placed in or close to the tomb, especially in the large ancillary complex of the Mazza di Breccia. In this latter area, signs of artisanal production and storage areas in addition to public rooms situated in front of the Tomba degli Ori would consequently attest to cultic and funerary activities occurring in connection with the tomb. Monumental residential complexes, destroyed during the Late Minoan IB phase and partially reconverted into burial places during the Late Minoan III period, are nevertheless attested elsewhere in Crete, even if poorly documented.

The Late Minoan town of Gournia, located on the north coast of the Isthmus of Ierapetra, is particularly rich in Neopalatial remains, including a small palace. There is evidence of a reoccupation of the site during the Late Minoan IIIA2-B period (Boyd et al. 1908). At this time, several houses, a shrine to the Goddess with Upraised Arms (probably part of a larger structure), and a tomb were established within the Neopalatial complex in the vicinity of the palace. House He, often called a *megaron*, is regarded as one of the most important ‘Mycenaeanising Corridor Houses’, and may have belonged to an important Mycenaean family. The pit tomb dug into a Neopalatial house, located to the northwest of the palace in room E58, contained a fragmentary larnax with an octopus decoration and several vases, including a Late Minoan IIIB double vase and a rhyton in the shape of a pregnant woman (Boyd et al. 1908: 46). According to Gesell (1985: 50) this rhyton may belong to a tomb cult. Our vision of the Late Minoan III reoccupation at Gournia is unfortunately only partial, thus impeding any attempt at a conclusion, although the insertion of a tomb among the Neopalatial wreckage is clearly part of a larger reoccupation.

To the northwest of Gournia, the vast Proto- and Neopalatial monumental complex of Malia, located on the northern coast of Crete, east of Knossos, also featured contemporaneous reoccupation. In the north of the ruined complex that includes a palace, several burial plots were found close to the sea, while different habitation areas were discovered within or around the ruins of the Neopalatial town. A small Late Minoan IIIA cemetery was identified in the so-called House of the Dead (*Maison*

1 See Langohr 2009: 35–6 for a summary of the debate on the arrival of Mycenaeans in Crete; punctual and regular arrivals now seem more likely than a massive invasion.

des morts) in the Pierres meulières area, situated in a complex of at least nine rooms whose initial funerary character has been queried. Further investigations revealed the original domestic function of what was, in all likelihood, a Protopalatial house reused as a cemetery during the Late Minoan III (Van Effenterre & Van Effenterre 1963: 85–102; Farnoux 1989: 148–54). The stratigraphical sequence of the site is rather ambiguous, but no doubt remains as to the insertion of 10 cist graves containing Mycenaean objects above and in direct proximity to the nine-room complex. More than ten skeletons were discovered in the cist tombs, at least half being children and with some of the remains being placed in Protopalatial vases. Moreover, numerous funerary pithoi, sheltering mostly child bones, were identified on the strata immediately below the cists; some were aligned with the interior walls, while others were placed in doorframes as with pit inhumations. Initially dated to the Middle Minoan I period on account of the funerary containers, it is possible that the pithoi were reused during the Late Minoan III period (Farnoux 1989: 153–4). While a handful of Middle Minoan I objects discovered close to the pithoi were probably abandoned at the same time as the building, one Mycenaean pyxis was found in one of the overturned funerary vases. Modest enclosures also appear to have been built around these Mycenaean tombs (Van Effenterre & Van Effenterre: 88, plan III). Without complementary stratigraphical data, it is problematic to establish the chronological link between the pithoi—seemingly placed at the same time as the inhumations on the plastered ground when the walls were still visible—and the cists on the upper level. The fact that some of the Mycenaean cists overlapped the walls seems to indicate that part of the building structure was buried when the tombs were dug. These tombs appear rather modest, which concurs with the discovery of other tombs excavated in the area of Malia.

The question beckons as to why one part of the population chose to bury their dead among Minoan ruins, while others preferred a natural setting. One may be tempted to argue that certain families native to Crete sought to foster nostalgia for the past, despite embracing the material culture of the new Mycenaean community. On the other hand, the cist tombs, being rather uncommon in Crete during this period, may have been brought by newcomers. At Mochlos, on the eastern part of Mirabello bay, where a Mycenaean settlement was established directly above or close to the Neopalatial houses, J. Soles excludes the possibility of a Minoan return after the population abandoned the region approximately 40 years prior. He gives convincing arguments in favour of a community of new settlers from the Mainland (Soles & Davaras 2008: 198–205). While the main cemetery of the community was located on an overhanging hill (Soles & Davaras 2003: 135–45), a modest familial burial ground, contemporaneous to the latter, was discovered among the ruins of a Neopalatial artisans' quarter. Amongst the debris of two buildings, the seven shallow pit graves containing six or seven sub-adults and two adults placed in burial containers probably served a single generation (Late Minoan IIIA2-B1). This small burial ground with an amphoroid krater used as a grave marker was most certainly destined for the same family. Consequently, at Malia as at Mochlos, the scarcity of burial plots located above

the ruins in the environs of the main cemeteries would suggest that their location was rather chosen due to its proximity to undiscovered isolated houses. In the absence of anthropological studies, it is difficult to know whether the children at Malia were really too many or whether several generations, including a few adults and their children, were buried here.

In summary, in the former palatial sites of Gournia and Malia as in Mochlos, visible Minoan ruins were incorporated into new settlement patterns, most probably by Mycenaean communities, after a chronological lapse. Some of the former houses were re-inhabited, while others were transformed into burial places, thus excluding their reuse by the living. The new strategies used to localise the domestic and burial sites were to a certain extent motivated by the monumental character of the ruins that testified to the former power in Malia or Gournia. On the other hand, with regard to the contemporaneous reoccupation of the town of Mochlos, the choice likewise seems to have been motivated by the proximity of the coast and the presence of natural resources. In the framework of a new territorial organisation, the modest burial plots found in Minoan remains and located at some distance from the main settlements may have contributed to visually demarcating the boundaries of the new terrains.

Only from the Early Iron Age onwards did seven former seats of power, including palatial complexes, enter into the heart of 'ruin cults'. Indeed, at Knossos, Phaistos, Ayia Triada, Tylisos, Amnisos, Kommos and Palaikastro, sanctuaries were built amidst ruins (Prent 2005: 508–54; 2003). Notably, these cultic activities were not always located above the former sanctuaries, which attest to an overall respect for the ruins themselves, or rather, for what they conveyed: the power and authority of the ancient. The chosen votive groups and deities confirm this emphasis on elitist functions, considered to be typically Cretan from the Protogeometric period onwards (Prent 2005: 552). The possible reuse of Minoan theatral areas in palatial and elite complexes in the Archaic period was recently queried, as was their replication in new architectural complexes (Cucuzza 2013). Although Early Iron Age Cretan rulers legitimised their power through a close association with Bronze Age monumental remains used for cultic activities alone, with contemporaneous settlements being found only in Knossos and Phaistos, what was the situation on the Mainland where the Citadels were inhabited in continuity? How were funerary areas integrated into these new settlement patterns?

Mycenaean citadels

Due to the availability of information regarding the Mycenaean citadels on the Mainland, this discussion will concentrate on the Argolid, though other sites will be mentioned. The citadels of Mycenae and Tiryns on the Argive plain, built on topographically exposed locations and surrounded by so-called cyclopean walls, were constructed to impress and leave a durable trace on the landscape. In these 'performative

places' (Maran 2006b), theatricality was reinforced by imposing architectural symbols that helped to dramatise the processions at the heart of Mycenaean rituals.

At Tiryns, a large Late Minoan IIIC settlement was established in the Lower Citadel immediately after the '1200 Destruction' (Late Helladic IIIB2), probably as an initiative of the new upper class. Ritual activities continued in the cult area of the Lower and Upper Citadels with the erection of building T above the Great Megaron, which acted as a witness to the old social order. This material association symbolised a connection with the period prior to the destruction of the citadel, while several other structures were cleared and repaired in order to be reused in other contexts (Maran 2001; 2006a). In the new sociopolitical context, the new ruling authority, though altered, drew from former symbols of power to legitimise its own rule and order. As Maran has stated (2001: 121), "this may mark the beginning of the glorification of the palatial era and in this way anticipate phenomena, which would become conspicuous during the Iron Age, the main difference consisting in the fact, that the people in the 12th c. BCE did not appeal to a mythical past, but rather to a past they still knew very well".

This sociopolitical change led to a reorganisation of the whole territory, which did not undergo important alterations during the Submycenaean and Protogeometric periods. Occupations continued in the Lower Citadel and the adjacent regions as proved by scattered burial grounds. Inhumations in pits and cists were detected outside the citadel close to a contemporaneous collection of houses (Papadimitriou 1998). Furthermore, three cemeteries located to the south and south-west of the Mycenaean citadel were in use from the Submycenaean to the Geometric period. In one of them, the Philaki burial ground, six tombs were discovered in the ruins of Mycenaean houses (Lemos 2002: 159–60). Of particular interest is tomb XXVIII with a double burial, dated to the transitional phase from Submycenaean to Protogeometric. One of the individuals, a warrior, was buried with his armour and an array of weapons, including the earliest iron dagger found in the Argolid (Lemos 2002: 13, 159–60). The Greek Archaeological Service also discovered a child buried with copious offerings in the vicinity. The tombs found in the Philaki burial spot indicate a social hierarchical organisation in Early Iron Age Tiryns with a valorisation of social competition as expressed through warrior values. Some upper-class individuals, like the warrior of tomb XXVIII, may have claimed descent from Mycenaean potentates and sought to materialise this connection through a physical and direct association with the Mycenaean remains. In the Tiryns upper citadel, devoted to communal and ritual activities from the Late Helladic IIIC period onwards, the building inside the Mycenaean megaron continued to be at the heart of rituals during the Geometric period as attested by a votive deposit found nearby. This evidence attests to an enduring reference to the glorious Mycenaean past and its testimonia during the Iron Age.

In Mycenae, immediately after the '1200 Destruction', the vast majority of structures were rendered unusable, giving the entire area an air of desolation. However, according to E. French (2009b), the rapid resumption of a building programme on what was probably public land, culminating in the finalisation of the well-constructed

Granary and the controlled regulation of ceramic production, testifies to the continued presence of a central power.

At the time, part of the new Late Helladic IIIC settlement was sheltered within the citadel walls in the Citadel House Area and to its south. Late Helladic IIIC burials were discovered in proximity, in the Lion Gate Strata as well as in the North Baulk and Cyclopean Terrace Building (French 2009a, with references). This organisation of tomb clusters probably testifies to the new sociopolitical context based on strong and competing families as suggested in Tiryns (Maran 2006a: 125–6). Establishing cemeteries among the ruins surrounding the houses may have been a means to demarcate new land-ownerships and prevent their reuse among the population. As no evidence points to the arrival of newcomers, the burials may have been located in what was claimed to be ancestral properties.

From the 11th c. BCE onwards, after the apparent desertion of the Citadel House Area, only cist graves were placed within the walls of the citadel (French 2011: 1). Eleven Submycenaean or Early Protogeometric graves, mostly belonging to children, were dug in the Northwest Quarter and Citadel House Area, some being endowed with rich offerings (French 2009a: 152–3; Desborough 1973: 98–101; Lemos 2002: 160). Outside the walls, six Protogeometric and Geometric graves were discovered in the ruins of the so-called House of the Sphinxes and House of the Shields, whose former use was linked to palatial administration (Desborough 1954; 1955; 1956). In the latter dwelling, three Late Protogeometric and Early Geometric tombs containing a pair of mature adults, young adults, and children, may have originated from the same family.

At the time, the impressive remains of the Citadel were apparently vested with a unique funerary function. One may naturally ask why people residing outside the Citadel felt a need to bury their dead within its walls. The more plausible hypothesis is that the Citadel was still occupied during the concerned period, but data connected with poorly constructed, contemporaneous houses were lost due to subsequent occupations. The situation would therefore be comparable to the previous chronological phase. On the other hand, access to the citadel burial plots may also have been reserved for families claiming ancestral rights. Other burial plots located outside the walls confirm a territorial organisation based on a series of settlement nuclei. In any case, the citadel ruins may have contributed to the dramatisation of funerary ceremonies performed within its walls given the discovery of traces of mortuary pyres.

As stated by J. Maran with regard to the Argive plain, the memory of the Mycenaean palatial period was more potent in visible and fortified sites, which became the focus of cultural memory as early as the 12th c. BCE. In times of social and cultural change, without a strong central power, individuals, kinship, or social groups may have sought protection from ancestral leaders whose perceived authority intervened to legitimise territorial claims. The exceptional architectural context of the ruined citadels provided a particular stage for ritual performances, helping to dramatise the specific moment of funerals as well as the commemorative ceremonies performed above the graves. Mycenae and Tiryns' Early Iron Age communities continuously

expressed their interest for the Bronze Age past as a source of identity by different means, including tomb cults (Antonaccio 1995: 29–53) and cultic activities conducted above architectural symbols of past authority. The association between tombs and Bronze Age architectural remains might be seen as a way to promote the status of the upper class through a direct association with past potentates and prevent any reuse of what was probably claimed to be ancestral properties.

The state of documentation in other regions does not permit a similar analysis. At Thebes in Boeotia, the Mycenaean acropolis of Kadmeia from the Early Iron Age presents a more confusing situation. Most likely, the main settlement lay outside the citadel walls, but the archaeological record is sparse. Several isolated tombs were identified. In the Elektrai Gate burial plot, 11 Submycenaean to Protogeometric cist tombs overlaid Mycenaean houses (Symeonoglou 1985: 62, 89; Lemos 2002: 170). Other burials exist closer to the centre of the citadel, as well as to the northeast and northwest (Dakouri-Hild 2011). However, their uncertain relationship to the contemporaneous houses prevents us from drawing any conclusions. In and around the acropolis of Athens, where a Mycenaean palace is attested, burials did not reuse the former habitations, while the relationship between some Submycenaean child burials and former architectural remains is uncertain (Lemos 2006: 511). In the surroundings of the palace of Iolkos, Protogeometric child burials have been noticed as well (Snodgrass 1971: 154, 316).

At the present time, only the Argive plain citadels offer a relatively clear picture of the reuse of monumental Bronze Age ruins with a funerary purpose, which formed part of a larger framework of territorial reorganisation. However, in Attica and Euboea, Early Iron Age rulers' dwellings may have been deliberately destroyed on occasion so as to be transformed in monumental tombs.

The ritual 'killing' of rulers' residences

To complete our understanding of the diverse relationships linking monumental architecture, memory, and death, let us now examine two different cases of elite dwellings that were probably deliberately destroyed only to be transformed into monumental tombs.

'Ritual killing' may refer to the intentional breakage or burning of an artefact, with the act intended to attribute a new symbolic function to the object by rendering it the exclusive possession of the deceased. This practice was common in Bronze and Early Iron Age funerary contexts in the Aegean as well as in other chronological and cultural contexts (Soles 1999, with references; the author stresses the difference between the breakage, its different meanings, and the 'ritual killing'). Regarding the two well-known structures reflecting this practice, the first is the so-called Middle Protogeometric heroon on the Toumba hill in Lefkandi (Euboea), a monumental apsidal structure measuring approximately 50 metres in length (Popham et al. 1993).

Although it is generally admitted that this important building never served as heroön, it is still debated as to whether the structure was erected before or after the insertion of the rich double burial of a warrior and his consort. Several scholars present strong arguments in favour of an initial domestic use based on stratigraphical data and architectural evidence (Crielaard & Driessen 1994). Mazarakis Ainian (1997: 48–58) restored a convincing sequence of events corresponding to the first half of the 10th c. BCE. In his view, the building presents architectural features suggesting its initial residential function as the dwelling of a local chieftain and his family. After a brief period of domestic use lasting less than a generation, the burial shafts of the owners were sunk into the central room, as attested by the disruption to the clay floor structure above the burial pits. Following the funerals, this imposing residence was intentionally demolished and covered by a tumulus to symbolise its new funerary function and visibly mark the high status of the deceased and their burial place. This event occurred at a time of sociopolitical change, corresponding to the emergence of new rulers, most probably descendants of the deceased couple. Shortly afterwards, an entire cemetery was established in proximity to the tumulus, thus materialising the connection with the past potentates.

In our second case, Mazarakis Ainian (1997: 150–3) restores a similar sequence of events for the Sacred House at Eleusis. During the last quarter of the 8th c. BCE, a period corresponding to important changes involving the inauguration of the cult of Demeter, a grave was dug in front of the geometric megaron and covered by a mound prior to the construction of the Sacred House. The megaron, the likely dwelling of the man's family, was destroyed shortly after the funeral, most probably with intent. The Sacred House was then erected in possible connection with an ancestral cult, with sacrifices being performed over the tumulus throughout the 7th c. BCE.

The examples of Lefkandi and Eleusis thus attest to the deliberate destruction of elite dwellings, reduced to the state of ruins. The ruins were no longer visible, but were concealed by a tumulus to mark the location visually and symbolise the new funerary function of the area. This incorporation of the past into a conspicuous funerary structure may be interpreted as a way to legitimise the new authority in times of sociopolitical changes.

Conclusion: rulers' dwellings as *lieux de mémoire*?

This chapter aimed to shed light on an occasional practice, namely the reuse of abandoned dwellings for funerary purposes, a sporadic custom found throughout the Aegean basin since the Bronze Age. The inclusion of ruins among settlement patterns was invested with diverse meanings depending on socioeconomic and political factors. Rather than allowing the ruins to fall into decay, their incorporation into new settlement patterns aimed to reinforce links with the past during transitional or unstable periods subject to sociopolitical disruption. This phenomenon was thus

observed during the transitional phase preceding the rise of the Mycenaean civilisation (Maran 1995; Milka 2010; Philippa-Touchais 2011, on recurrent cyclical periods marked by the collapse of a complex social system and return to simpler forms). Given the diverse reuse of ordinary houses, artisanal and domestic quarters, and elite complexes as burial sites in the Late Bronze and Iron Age transition, I was curious to investigate the extent to which the original function of these structures influenced new settlement strategies on a local scale.

Focusing on Bronze Age places of power, it appears that their transformation into burial places could not be adequately understood without first examining the strategies used by communities to locate settlements throughout their territories. The ruined Minoan and Mycenaean monumental places, though violently destroyed, were reoccupied immediately after their collapse (Tiryns, Mycenae) or after a chronological lapse (Malia, Gournia). In both scenarios, the ruins were incorporated into both settlement and burial areas, giving an overall impression of continuity despite the disputed arrival of newcomers. This general reuse of ruins mirrors different intentions and social concerns, and may point to a desire to legitimise new territorial rights either by locals or newcomers who sought to visibly mark the extent of their new landownerships in a context of new opportunities. This real or imagined continuity of occupation, being visible through the reuse of ruins, does not always seem to have been at the initiative of rulers.

Monumental Bronze Age remains, including palatial complexes and citadels, did however have a special importance in the Early Iron Age Greece and were especially integrated in the Cretan or Argolid cultic landscape. In Tiryns, burial plots associated with Bronze Age remains as early as the Submycenaean period may be considered to be just one of multiple references to the Bronze Age past initiated as early as the 12th c. BCE, as a reflection of the 'weakness of rulership' (Maran 2001: 121) and a search for social legitimacy.

The manipulation of monumental architectural remains by new rulers searching to legitimise their power is clearer at Lefkandi and Eleusis, where the deliberate conversion of conspicuous Iron Age elite buildings into monumental funerary mounds after their 'ritual killing' testifies to their continuous use as status symbols in the local landscape. With the habitual usage of the building being thus forbidden, the new funerary mound invested a new symbolic dimension and became a *lieu de mémoire* to strengthen the identity of the local elite. According to the French historian P. Nora, who pioneered the concept of *lieux de mémoire* (Nora 1984; 1986; 1992), the sudden valorisation of the past, whether distant or near, is generally connected with a fear of uprooting and uncertainty about the future. Thus, space and architecture, when reinvested with collective values, do not fall into oblivion, but are rather endowed with new meanings to reflect the new sociopolitical context.

Acknowledgements: This chapter was born out of an observation made in the framework of my PhD thesis on mortuary practices in Eastern Crete dating from the Late

Bronze Age to Classical Times. This thesis was defended on 29 November 2014 under the supervision of Anne Jacquemin (Université de Strasbourg, France) and Nicola Cucuzza (Università degli Studi di Genova, Italy). I am very grateful to Anastasia Dakouri-Hild and Michael Boyd for giving me the opportunity to write this chapter. I would also like to thank my PhD supervisors, Anne Jacquemin and Nicola Cucuzza, and co-supervisor, Daniela Lefèvre-Novaro, for their pertinent suggestions. Many thanks are due to Laetitia Phialon and Céline Dubois for their useful comments and to Victoria Grace for helping to correct the English text. This research was supported by the Franco-Italian University and the European Doctoral College of Strasbourg.

References

- Alcock, S. E., 2002. *Archaeologies of the Greek Past: Landscape, Monuments and Memories*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Antonaccio, C. M., 1995. *An Archaeology of Ancestors: Tomb Cult and Hero Cult in Early Greece*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Aytaçlar, N., 2004. The Early Iron Age at Klazomenai. In *Klazomenai, Teos and Abdera: Metropoleis and Colony. Proceedings of the International Symposium held at the Archeological Museum of Abdera, Abdera, 20–21 October 2001*, eds. Moustaka, A., E. Skarlatidou, M.-C. Tzannes & Y. Ersoy. Thessaloniki: University Studio Press, 17–41.
- Boyd, H. H., B. E. Williams, R. B. Seager & E. H. Hall, 1908. *Gournia, Vasiliki and Other Prehistoric Sites on the Isthmus of Hierapetra, Crete*. Philadelphia: The American Exploration Society.
- Boyd, M. J., 2002. *Middle Helladic and Early Mycenaean Mortuary Practices in the Southern and Western Peloponnese*. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Branigan, K., 1998. The nearness of you: proximity and distance in Early Minoan funerary landscapes. In *Cemetery and Society in the Aegean Bronze Age*, ed. Branigan, K. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 13–26.
- Bradley, R., 1998. Ruined buildings, ruined stones: Enclosures, tombs and natural places in the Neolithic of south-west England. *World Archaeology* 30, 13–22.
- Cavanagh, W. & C. Mee, 1998. *A Private Place: Death in Prehistoric Greece*. Jonsered: Paul Åströms Förlag.
- Courbin, P., 1974. *Études Péloponnésienes VII. Tombes Géométriques d'Argos, I (1952–1958)*. Paris: J. Vrin.
- Crielaard, J.-P. & J. Driessen, 1994. The hero's home: some reflections on the building at Toumba, Lefkandi. *Topoi* 4 (1), 251–70.
- Cucuzza, N., 2013. Minoan ruins in Archaic Crete. In *Kreta in der geometrischen und archaischen Zeit. Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums am Deutschen Archäologischen Institut, Abteilung Athen 27.-29. Januar 2006*, eds. Niemeier, W.-D., O. Pilz & I. Kaiser. München: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Athen, 31–42.
- Dakouri-Hild, A., 2011. Thebes. In *The Homer Encyclopedia*, ed. Finkelberg, M. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 859–61.
- Day, L. P., 1995. The geometric cemetery at Vronda, Kavousi. In *Πεπραγμένα του Ζ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου A2*, ed. Papadogiannakis, N. E. Rethymno: Ιστορική και Λαογραφική Εταιρεία Ρεθύμνης, 789–96.
- Day, L. P., 2011. Appropriating the past: Early Iron Age mortuary practices at Kavousi, Crete. In *The "Dark Ages" Revisited: Acts of an International Symposium in Memory of William D. E. Coulson*,

- University of Thessaly, Volos, 14–17 June 2007, ed. Mazarakis Ainian, A. Volos: University of Thessaly Press, 745–57.
- Desborough, V. R. d'A., 1954. Mycenae 1939–1953: part V. Four tombs. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 49, 258–66.
- Desborough, V. R. d'A., 1955. Mycenae 1939–1954: part VI. Three geometric tombs. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 50, 239–47.
- Desborough, V. R. d'A., 1956. Mycenae 1939–1955: part III. Two tombs. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 51, 128–30.
- Desborough, V. R. d'A., 1973. Late burials from Mycenae. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 68, 87–101.
- Dickinson, O., 2006. *The Aegean from Bronze Age to Iron Age: Continuity and Change Between the Twelfth and Eighth Centuries BC*. London: Routledge.
- Dietz, S., 1991. *The Argolid at the Transition to the Mycenaean Age: Studies in the Chronology and Cultural Development in the Shaft Grave Period*. Copenhagen: National Museum of Denmark.
- Eaby, M., 2007. *Mortuary Variability in Early Iron Age Cretan Burials*. Unpublished PhD. Dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
- Farnoux, A., 1989. *Malia, une ville de Crète à la fin du Bronze récent. Architecture et céramique*. Unpublished PhD. Dissertation, Université de Paris IV.
- French, E., 2009a. Mycenae: LH IIIC Late: What little there is. In *LH III C Chronology and Synchronisms III. Proceedings of the International Workshop Held at the Austrian Academy of Sciences at Vienna, February 23rd and 24th, 2007*, eds. Deger-Jalkotzy, S. & A. E. Bächle. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 151–61.
- French, E., 2009b. The significance of changes in spatial usage at Mycenae. In *Forces of Transformation: The End of the Bronze Age in the Mediterranean*, eds. Bachhuber, C. & R. G. Roberts. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 108–10.
- French, E., 2011. *Well-Built Mycenae: The Helleno-British Excavations within the Citadel at Mycenae, 1959–1969. The Post-Palatial Levels*. Oxford & Oakville: Oxbow Books.
- Frödin, O. & A. W. Persson. 1938. *Asine: Results of the Swedish Excavations 1922–1930*. Stockholm: Generalstabens litografiska anstalts förlag i distribution.
- Gallou, C. & M. Georgiadis (eds.), 2009. *The Past in the Past: The Significance of Memory and Tradition in the Transmission of Culture*. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Gesell, G. C., 1985. *Town, Palace and House Cult in Minoan Crete*. Göteborg: Paul Åströms Förlag.
- Hägg, R., 1983. Funerary meals in the Geometric necropolis at Asine?. In *The Greek Renaissance of the Eight Century B.C.: Tradition and Innovation. Proceedings of the Second International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 1–5 June, 1981*, ed. Hägg, R. Stockholm: Paul Åströms Förlag, 189–94.
- Heurtley, W. A. & T. C. Skeat, 1930–1931. The tholos tombs at Marmariene. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 31, 1–55.
- Labrude, A., forthcoming. Abandoned settlements reused as burial sites in Crete and the Aegean from the Late Bronze to Early Iron Age. In *Between Life and Death: Interactions between Burial and Society in the Ancient Mediterranean and the Near East*, eds. Bulmer, P. & J. Gaynor. Oxford: Oxbow.
- Lambrinoudakis, V. K., 1988. Veneration of ancestors in Geometric Naxos. In *Early Greek Cult Practice: Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 26–29 June, 1986*, ed. Hägg, R., N. Marinatos & G. Nordquist. Stockholm: Paul Åströms Förlag, 235–46.
- Langohr, C., 2009. ΠΕΡΙΦΕΡΕΙΑ. Étude régionale de la Crète aux Minoen Récent II-IIIB (1450–1200 av. J.-C.). I, *La Crète centrale et occidentale*, AEGIS 3. Louvain-la-Neuve: Presses universitaires de Louvain.

- La Rosa, V., 1992–1993. La c.d. tomba degli ori e il nuovo settore nord-est dell' insediamento di Haghia Triada. *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle missioni italiane in Oriente* LXX-LXXI, 121–74.
- Lemos, I. S., 2002. *The Protogeometric Aegean: The Archaeology of the Late Eleventh and Tenth Centuries BC*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lemos, I. S., 2006. Athens and Lefkandi: a tale of two sites. In *Ancient Greece: From the Mycenaean Palaces to the Age of Homer*, eds. Deger-Jalkotzy, S. & I. S. Lemos. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 505–30.
- Liston, M. A., 2007. Secondary cremation burials at Kavousi Vronda, Crete: symbolic representation in mortuary practice. *Hesperia* 76, 57–71.
- Maran, J., 1995. Structural changes in the pattern of settlement during the shaft grave period on the Greek Mainland. In *Politeia: Society and State in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the 5th International Aegean Conference, University of Heidelberg, Archäologisches Institut, 10–13 April 1994*, eds. Laffineur, R. & W.-D. Niemeier. Liège & Austin: Université de Liège, 67–72.
- Maran, J., 2001. Political and religious aspects of architectural change on the upper citadel of Tiryns: the case of Building T. In *Potnia: Deities and Religion in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the 8th International Aegean Conference, Göteborg, Göteborg University, 12–15 April 2000*, eds. Laffineur, R. & R. Hägg, *Aegaeum* 22. Liège: Université de Liège, 113–22.
- Maran, J., 2006a. Coming to terms with the past: ideology and power in Late Helladic IIIC. In *Ancient Greece: from the Mycenaean Palaces to the Age of Homer*, eds. Deger-Jalkotzy, S. & I. S. Lemos. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 123–50.
- Maran, J., 2006b. Mycenaean citadels as performative space. In *Constructing Power. Architecture, Ideology and Social Practice*, eds. Maran, J., C. Juwig, H. Schwengel & U. Thaler. Hamburg: LIT Verlag, 75–88.
- Mazarakis Ainian, A., 1997. *From Rulers' Dwellings to Temples: Architecture, Religion, and Society in Early Iron Age Greece (1100–700 BC)*. Jonsered: Paul Åströms Förlag.
- Mazarakis Ainian, A., 2010. Tombes d'enfants à l'intérieur d'habitats au début de l'Âge du Fer dans le Monde Grec. In *L'Enfant et la mort dans l'Antiquité I. Nouvelles recherches dans les nécropoles grecques. Actes de la table ronde internationale organisée à Athènes, École française d'Athènes, 29–30 mai 2008*, eds. Guimier-Sorbets, A.-M. & Y. Morizot. Paris: De Boccard, 67–95.
- McGeorge, P. J. P., 2011. Intramural infant burials in the Aegean Bronze Age. Reflections on symbolism and eschatology with particular reference to Crete. In *Le mort dans la ville. Pratiques, contextes et impacts des inhumations intra-muros en Anatolie, du début de l'Âge du Bronze à la période romaine, Istanbul 14–15 Novembre 2011*, ed. Henry, O. Istanbul: Institut français d'Études Anatoliennes Georges Dumézil, 1–19.
- Milka, E., 2010. Burials upon the ruins of abandoned houses in the Middle Helladic Argolid. In *Mesohelladika. La Grèce continentale au Bronze Moyen. Actes du colloque international organisé par l'École française d'Athènes, en collaboration avec l'American School of Classical Studies at Athens et le Netherlands Institute in Athens, Athènes, 8–12 mars 2006*, eds. Philippa-Touchais, A., G. Touchais, S. Voutsaki & J. Wright, *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique supplément* 52. Athènes: École française d'Athènes, 347–55.
- Morris, I., 2000. *Archaeology as Cultural History*. Malden: Blackwell Publishers.
- Morricone, L., 1975. Coi. Scavi e scoperte nel "Serraglio" e in località minori (1935–1943). *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle missioni italiane in Oriente* L-LI, 139–396.
- Morricone, L., 1982. Sepulture della prima età del Ferro a Coi. *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle missioni italiane in Oriente* LVI, 9–427.
- Mussche, H. F., 1974. *Thorikos: A Guide to the Excavations*. Bruxelles: Comité des fouilles belges en Grèce.

- Nora, P., 1984. *Les lieux de mémoire*. I. *La République*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Nora, P., 1986. *Les lieux de mémoire*. II. *La Nation*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Nora, P., 1992. *Les lieux de mémoire*. III. *Les France*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Nordquist, G., 1987. *A Middle Helladic Village: Asine in the Argolid*. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell.
- Papadimitriou, A., 1998. Η οικιστική εξέλιξη της Τίρυνθας μετά τη μυκηναϊκή εποχή. Τα αρχαιολογικά ευρήματα και η ιστορική ερμηνεία τους. In *Argos et l'Argolide. Topographie et urbanisme. Actes de la Table Ronde internationale, Athènes-Argos, 28/4–1/5/1990*, eds. Pariente, A. & G. Touchais. École française d'Athènes: De Boccard, 117–30.
- Philippa-Touchais, A., 2011. “Cycles of collapse in Greek prehistory”: reassessing social change at the beginning of the Middle Helladic and the Early Iron Age. In *The “Dark Ages” Revisited. Acts of an International Symposium in Memory of William D. E. Coulson, University of Thessaly, Volos, 14–17 June 2007*, ed. Mazarakis Ainian, A. Volos: University of Thessaly Press, 31–44.
- Popham, M. R., P. G. Calligas & L. H. Sackett (eds.), 1993. *Lefkandi II: The Protogeometric Building at Toumba. Part 2, The Excavation, Architecture and Finds*. Oxford: the British School of Archaeology at Athens.
- Prent, M., 2003. Glories of the past in the past: ritual activities at palatial ruins in Early Iron Age Crete. In *Archaeologies of Memory*, eds. Van Dyke, R. M & S. E. Alcock. Malden: Blackwell, 81–103.
- Prent, M., 2005. *Cretan Sanctuaries and Cults: Continuity and Change from Late Minoan IIIC to the Archaic Period*. Leiden: Brill.
- Puglisi, D., 2003. Haghia Triada nel period Tardo Minoico I. *Creta Antica* 4, 185–98.
- Snodgrass, A. M., 1971. *The Dark Age of Greece: An Archaeological Survey of the Eleventh to the Eighth Centuries BC*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Soles, J. S., 1999. The ritual ‘killing’ of pottery and the discovery of a Mycenaean *Telestas* at Mochlos. In *Meletemata. Studies in Aegean Archaeology Presented to Malcolm H. Wiener as He Enters his 65th Year*, eds. Betancourt, P., V. Karageorghis, R. Laffineur & W.-D. Niemeier, Aegaeum 20. Liège & Austin: Université de Liège, 787–93.
- Soles, J. S. & C. Davaras (eds.), 2003. *Mochlos IA. Period III. Neopalatial Settlement on the Coast: the Artisans’ Quarter, and the Farmhouse at Chalinomouri. The Sites*. Philadelphia: INSTAP Academic Press.
- Soles, J. S. & C. Davaras (eds.), 2008. *Mochlos IIA. Period IV. The Mycenaean Settlement and Cemetery: The Sites*. Philadelphia: INSTAP Academic Press.
- Symeonoglou, S., 1985. *The Topography of Thebes: From the Bronze Age to Modern Times*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Touchais, G. & N. Divari-Valakou, 1998. Argos du Néolithique à l’époque Géométrique: Synthèse des données archéologiques. In *Argos et l'Argolide. Topographie et Urbanisme. Actes de la Table Ronde internationale, Athènes-Argos, 28/4–1/5/1990*, eds. Pariente, A. & G. Touchais. Paris: De Boccard, 9–18.
- Tsipopoulou, M., 2005. ‘Mycenoans’ at the Isthmus of Ierapetra: some (preliminary) thoughts on the foundation of the (Eteo)cretan cultural identity. In *Ariadne’s Threads. Connections between Crete and the Greek Mainland in Late Minoan III (LM IIIA2 to LM IIIC). Proceedings of the International Workshop Held at Athens, Scuola Archeologica Italiana, 5–6 April 2003*, eds. D’Agata, A. L. & J. Moody. Atene: Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene, 303–33.
- Van De Moortel, A., 2007. The site of Mitrou and East Lokris in ‘Homeric times’. In *EPOS. Reconsidering Greek Epic and Aegean Bronze Age Archaeology. Proceedings of the 11th International Aegean Conference, Los Angeles, UCLA- The J. Paul Getty Villa, 20–23 April 2006*, eds. Morris, S. P. & R. Laffineur, Aegaeum 28. Liège & Austin: Université de Liège, 243–54.
- Van De Moortel, A., 2009. The Late Helladic III C-Protogeometric transition at Mitrou, East Lokris, in *LH III C Chronology and Synchronisms III. Proceedings of the International Workshop Held at the*

- Austrian Academy of Sciences at Vienna, February 23rd and 24th, 2007*, eds. Deger-Jalkotzy, S. & A. E. Bächle. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 359–72.
- Van Dyke, R. M. & S. E. Alcock (eds.), 2003. *Archaeologies of Memory*. Malden: Blackwell.
- Van Effenterre, H. & M. Van Effenterre, 1963. *Fouilles exécutées à Mallia. Étude du site et exploration des nécropoles. Études Crétoises XIII*. Paris: Librairie orientaliste Paul Geuthner.
- Vavouranakis, G., 2007. *Funerary Landscapes: East of Lasithi, Crete, in the Bronze Age*. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Vlachopoulos, A., 2003. The Late Helladic IIIC 'Grotta phase' of Naxos: its synchronisms in the Aegean and its non-synchronisms in the Cyclades. In *LHIIIC Chronology and Synchronisms. Proceedings of the international workshop held at the Austrian Academy of Sciences at Vienna, May 7th and 8th, 2001*, eds. Deger-Jalkotzy, S. & M. Zavadil. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 217–34.
- Wallace, S., 2003. The perpetuated past: re-use or continuity in material culture and structuring of identity in Early Iron Age Crete. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 98, 251–77.
- Williams, H., 1997. Ancient landscapes and the dead: the reuse of prehistoric and Roman monuments as Early Anglo-Saxon burial sites. *Journal of the Society for Medieval Archaeology* 41, 1–32.
- Williams, H., 1998. Monuments and the past in Early Anglo-Saxon England. *World Archaeology* 30, 90–108.
- Yoffee, N. (ed.), 2007. *Negotiating the Past in the Past: Identity, Memory, and Landscape in Archaeological Research*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.