

Feasting and the consuming body in Bronze Age Crete and Early Iron Age Cyprus*

Yannis Hamilakis and Susan Sherratt

The question of consumption, it seems to us, ranges far beyond the comparatively narrow bounds of economic strategies as implied by the heading of the session for which this chapter was originally written. Rather, consumption is arguably an essential part of the human condition — indeed, probably one of the main activities which make us uniquely human, once we get beyond the ‘simple’ act of consuming calories — and ‘consumption in performance’ (or socially motivated consumption) an essential part of how people define themselves socially, in terms of their identity and image, both as individuals and as groups.¹ As such, it takes an infinite number of forms, from the clothes and personal ornaments people wear (or in some cases do not wear) to the stories they tell about themselves and about their histories.

Among the more conspicuous forms of obviously social consumption, one could list eating and drinking as social rituals, the ritualised sniffing or smoking of various substances, the anointing and censing of bodies or surroundings, the wearing of clothes, ornaments and hairstyles, the carrying of weapons and other insignia, furnishings, the architecture of buildings for both the living and the dead, forms of transport (the equivalent of the type of car one might wish to be seen driving), dedications to gods, administration and control, exchange and trading, and the histories, ideologies and propaganda of groups and individuals. Each of this potentially infinite number of categories of consumption, from the point of view of archaeology, has its own possible contexts, infrastructure and archaeological residues (TABLE 12.1). If we take, for example, ritualised communal eating and drinking (or feasting), we could argue that it may well take place in domestic, public, religious and funerary contexts, or in any one or combination of these. We could also predict that the infrastructure underlying this type of consumption might well include everything, from agricultural production and processing to the exchange of specialised kinds of food and drink, some of these in themselves involving aspects of social consumption. The potential archaeological traces by which we might detect and document a category of consumption such as feasting and its infrastructure are equally varied and wide-ranging.

It is impossible within the limits of this joint paper to look either in detail or systematically at any one of these types of social consumption as manifested on Crete or Cyprus, let alone the whole lot on both islands over the entire period from the beginning of the Bronze Age to the Romans. As a result, we intend to concentrate on some aspects of just one type of social consumption: ritualised social eating and drinking (‘feasting’, as anthropologists tend to term it). For various reasons to do with the desire to preserve a degree of chronological resolution which will allow some of the more subtle changes to emerge, the patchiness of the archaeological record and the fact that feasting in other periods on both islands has either been discussed elsewhere by others,² or (in the case of EIA Crete) has had a tendency to lead us into irresolvable controversies surrounding the historical continuity and archaeological identification of the Classical *andreion*,³

* We are grateful to: Kerry Harris and Dimitra Mylona for generously providing access to unpublished data, and for their comments and suggestions; Vassos Karageorghis for generous provision of bibliographical material; Diana Edelman for help with Biblical references; Thomas Kiely for help with obtaining FIG. 12.3, and Lesley Fitton and the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to reproduce it.

1 From the extensive anthropological literature on consumption see the key early essay by Douglas and Isherwood (1978) who have clearly demonstrated that, rather than viewing the cycle of production–distribution–consumption in a mechanical manner, we should appreciate the fundamental role of demand, and strive to understand why certain social groups at certain moments in time desire specific goods. On the consuming body in particular, see Falk 1994.

2 For example, in Bronze Age Cyprus by Steel 2004; see also Karageorghis 2007; Eriksson 2008; South 2008; Webb and Frankel 2008.

3 See Koehl 1997; see also the recent reports for a possible *andreion* at Azoria in eastern Crete, based on the thoughtful integration of architectural, artefactual and faunal evidence: Haggis *et al.* 2007. For other discussions of feasting in post-1200 and Early Iron Age Crete, see Borgna 1997a, 1997b, 2004a, 2004b; Prent 2003, 2005, 441–76; Whitley 2006. We have deliberately avoided here the use of feasting typologies, such as the ones made popular by the work of M. Dietler and B. Hayden; these attempt to categorise feasts using labels

TABLE 12.1: Consumption and performance.

<i>End results</i>	<i>Possible contexts</i>	<i>Infrastructure</i>	<i>Archaeological traces</i>
Feasting (including ritualised drinking)	domestic; public; religious; funerary	agricultural production and processing; stockrearing; viticulture and horticulture; fishing; fermentation (especially wine production); exchange of specialised processed food- and drink-stuffs	eating and drinking equipment (ceramic and more rarely metal, faience, glass or stone; rarest of all organic equipment); animal bones and archaeobotanical material; organic residues; processing equipment (grinders, pressing vats etc.); storage equipment and facilities; transport vessels; representational art (feasting and drinking scenes); written records and literary references
Sniffing and smoking	domestic; public; religious; funerary (cf. Feasting)	cultivation, collection and/or exchange of suitable materials; processing	archaeobotanical materials; suitable equipment; representational art; literary accounts
Censing and anointing	domestic/industrial (purificatory censing); public; religious; funerary	cultivation, processing and/or exchange of incense and processed oils	archaeobotanical materials; processing equipment (oil presses etc.); storage equipment; transport equipment (suitable containers); equipment for use (e.g. censers, incense stands); representational art; written records and literary references
Personal appearance (clothing, personal ornaments, hair, shaving etc.)	private; public/ceremonial; religious; funerary	fibre production (wool, linen, silk etc.) and processing (spinning, weaving, embroidering); dyes; leather production and processing; metal and stone extraction and processing; other raw materials (e.g. shell, feathers); exchange of raw materials and finished objects	archaeozoological and archaeobotanical materials; textile producing equipment (spindle whorls, loomweights, spinning bowls etc.); sewing equipment; metal objects (jewellery, knives, razors); stone objects (jewellery, obsidian blades); ornaments of other materials (glass, faience, shell etc.); representational art; written records and literary references
Carrying and using (status identifiers: weapons, armour, tools, other insignia)	public; private/occupational; religious; funerary	metal and stone extraction and processing; exchange of raw materials and finished objects	metal and stone weapons and tools and other items of personal equipment; representational art; written records and literary references
Furnishings (furniture items, textile hangings etc.)	private; public; religious; funerary	procurement of wood, stone, ivory etc.; textile production (as for Personal appearance); basket-weaving; exchange of raw materials and finished products	furniture (in suitable conditions); furniture fittings of non-organic materials; representational art; written records and literary references; textile patterns on other media; basketry impressions
Buildings (domestic, public, fortifications, tombs, roads, bridges, dams, harbour installations etc.)	private; public; religious; funerary	procurement of stone and wood; manufacture of mud brick and tiles; terracotta and faience decorations	building remains; masons' marks; representational art; written records
Transportation (chariots, transport animals, ships)	private; public; funerary	procurement of materials and manufacture; rearing and procurement of animals; specialised driving and crewing skills; navigational skills; route knowledge	wrecks; vehicle fittings; object distributions (route networks); animal bones; representational art; written records and literary references
Dedication	religious; private; public; funerary	procurement and manufacturing of all relevant materials and objects	likely objects in suitable context (preferably inscribed); written records and literary references; animal bones
Administration	public; private; religious	literacy	written records; seals and sealings; storage capacity; large-scale transport containers; standardisation (weights, capacities etc.); weights; sign systems
Exchange	private; public; religious	infinite	distributions of objects and raw materials; written records and literary references
Story telling (including history, ideology, propaganda)	private; public; religious; funerary (often in context of feasting)	human skills	remains of musical instruments; representational art; written records and literary references

the part of this paper which deals with Crete will be concerned mainly with the Bronze Age and that which addresses Cyprus with the Early Iron Age. Both parts will focus on detecting and interpreting changing practices of ritualised eating and drinking in terms particularly of their more immediate social functions and meanings, but will also touch on broader questions of how these relate to social and political dynamics, the negotiation of identities and the dialectics of power, and of the role of feasting and festal depositions in the creation and fostering of memory. Memory here is viewed as both the bodily memory which is generated through eating and drinking,⁴ and the material mnemonic record produced through the deposition and hoarding of feasting paraphernalia.

CRETE

In search of new paradigms

Bronze Age Crete may lack the significant body of robust and detailed bioarchaeological studies based on large samples that other regions in the Aegean (such as Neolithic mainland Greece, for example) enjoy, but recent work has started focusing on the potential of even moderate bioarchaeological samples in answering questions to do with the dynamics of communal, ritualised dining. Moreover, what Crete lacks in terms of bioarchaeological studies, it makes up in terms of other material culture of dining, an enormous body of evidence which, however, only in the last decade or so has been reframed as potential feasting evidence rather than, say, simply a chronological, typological or technological indicator. Pottery in particular has now become a primary form of evidence for ritualised dining, although there is still much to be done in that respect. Finally, the welcome addition of bio-molecular methods such as the analysis of organic residues in pottery is extremely promising, but in order to fulfil that promise it will have to be theoretically-informed, fully integrated with all other evidence, and cognisant of the still serious limitations of these new techniques.

So, how has current research dealt with the topic and what have we learnt in the past 10–15 years about ritualised, communal food and drink consumption in prehistoric Crete? To start with, it became progressively clear that the reductionist nutritionist and ‘subsistence’ paradigms were unable to explain the richness and diversity of the data at hand. New frames of understanding and new interpretative schemes were badly needed. In addition, it was realised that the entanglement of the discussion of communal eating and drinking within cultural evolutionist schemes of the ‘chiefdom’ and ‘state’ variety was producing homogeneous and static pasts, meaningless tired and tiresome narratives.⁵ The social practices of producing, storing and consuming food had thus lost their intrinsic meaning and importance and had instead become abstract ‘feeding’ strategies, or machinations that the

elites used to prop up their authority.⁶ The politics of food in prehistory must have been, of course, as fundamental as they are today, but these cultural evolutionist schemes were not really dealing with the politics of the embodied social experience of producing and consuming food; in their de-personalised rhetoric, the immediacy and corporeality of these practices were lost, and power had become a people-less and faceless chess game. They may have appeared to address issues of power and social change, but in fact, through their teleology, they explained nothing; they simply imposed dubious and rigid classificatory terminologies and typologies upon the material past. Furthermore, through their emphasis on the exclusively endogenous character of social change, they prevented us from studying certain eating and drinking phenomena as bodily manners that were often the markers of distinction for *cosmopolitan* elites in *broader* eastern Mediterranean worlds.

The study of eating and drinking in general in the last two decades had to deal with stereotypes, such as that of the Mediterranean polyculture, but also with still prominent and very popular perceptions of a supposedly homogeneous Mediterranean diet that dates from the earliest prehistory, and is the perfect remedy for a healthy and long life. These ideas may be quite expedient for the marketing strategies of today’s agro-businesses striving to increase their sales of olive oil and wine, but they obscure and obstruct our understanding of the diversity of the past. The notion of Mediterranean polyculture and that of traditional Mediterranean diet⁷ had constructed an ahistoric and static edifice, whereby cereals, wine and olive oil were innate and stable features of the Cretan landscape since the Bronze Age.

such as entrepreneurial, patron-client, diacritical, and so on. We have found such typologies problematic, as they tend to over-simplify a complex phenomenon which may incorporate several processes at once (the same feasting event can embody diacritical elements but it can also lead to reciprocal exchanges of labour or reaffirm and strengthen patron-client relationships). We have opted instead for a bottom-up exploration of the phenomenon, an approach which emphasises its fluid and unpredictable, even theatrical and carnivalesque character; for a further critique see Hamilakis 2008; Sherratt 2004.

- 4 On the links between food, feasting and memory, see Seremetakis 1994; Sutton 2001; Hamilakis 1998.
- 5 Cf. Hamilakis 2002a.
- 6 To be fair, Renfrew in his landmark *The Emergence of Civilisation* (1972) alludes to the social role of wine consumption (e.g. 1972, 290), but these brief references are drowned in the overall scheme of ‘subsystems’ and ‘redistribution’ (for which there is very little archaeological support — see Hamilakis 1996, 1999, forthcoming; Christakis 2011).
- 7 Cf. Riley 1999, but also statements in Tzedakis and Martlew 1999.

Whether (and to what extent) olive oil was consumed as food in Cretan prehistory, for example, is still an open question; and as for wine, we now know that the scale, the mode, and the social meanings of its consumption varied considerably in different contexts and though time, and that its fundamental role had to do, not with 'redistribution' but with its bodily effects and its socio-political role in feasting rituals.

While some of these stereotypes have met with increasing criticism in the past few years, both on theoretical and on empirical grounds, their residual weight is still with us. Moreover, new interpretative frameworks which can replace them are still needed. We hope that in this chapter we will make some gestures towards the formulation of some of these frameworks.

It is our contention that any discussion of communal ritualised eating and drinking should be part of the broader archaeology of eating and drinking and in general of consuming substances. Otherwise, there is a danger that eating and drinking outside the feasting sphere is seen as mundane and devoid of meaning, almost purely biological in nature. Yet all consumption activity produces humans biologically and socially, and carries contextually specific and diverse meaningful connotations and effects. As Appadurai and others, following earlier insights by Simmel, have noted,⁸ all eating produces time, and it does not simply mark and denote it. If all eating occasions produce time and temporality, feasting is about disrupting time, about producing time as distinctive from the ordinary, a process that is generated through various strategies: by consuming non-ordinary items, or ordinary items but prepared and served in a non-ordinary way or by eating with others outside the normal social circle, or by deploying distinctive, performative rituals and so on.⁹

Feasting in Bronze Age Crete: thinking through a shifting corporeal landscape

Any exploration of feasting thus should start by discussing eating and drinking in general, including the 'ordinary' consumption occasions in any given context. As in most prehistoric European and Mediterranean societies, the staple food for people in prehistoric Crete was cereals and legumes; we still lack the sound evidence to discuss the possible contribution to the diet of other items, such as secondary products derived from animals, i.e. milk and its by-products. As for meat, it is more likely to have been consumed mostly on the special occasions that we now often discuss under the term 'feasting'. The main domestic species, encountered in all contexts in the Bronze Age, sheep/goat, pigs and cattle are also the ones that predominate in feasting contexts, although the relative importance of each varies both chronologically and spatially. Large wild fauna, especially deer, become important in certain contexts (such as in LM III — see below), and that special animal for Bronze Age Cretans, the wild goat of Crete (*agrimi*) is zooarchaeologically attested in some feasting

contexts, but its detection and further study is marred by methodological problems of bone identification. Judging from the omnipresence of tripod cooking pots and from the study of animal bones, boiling rather than roasting was the main cooking method for meat, and often whole carcasses were consumed and deposited, and not only, as is often assumed, the meaty parts.¹⁰ In the LM IA feasting deposit of Nopigeia–Drapanias, where a deliberately dug ditch was filled with plain conical cups, other drinking vessels and animal bones (FIG. 12.1), not only were all parts of the carcass of sheep/goat, pigs and cattle boiled, consumed and deposited, but cattle metapodia were also broken up and a hole was drilled at their proximal end to extract marrow (FIG. 12.2), a practice we do not normally associate with feasting. At the bottom of the ditch the partial skull of an *agrimi* had been carefully placed as a basal deposition, and post-cranial bones of the same species were found in other parts of the ditch.¹¹

Wine is the subject of a different chapter in this volume but we will discuss its consumption here to the extent that it can operate as a barometer for broader patterns of consumption and of political and social developments, especially as part of feasting events. While we still lack much detail in terms of the specifics of wine consumption, a wave of recent studies in wine paraphernalia, from botanical data to installations, to pottery associated with wine serving and drinking, epigraphic evidence and possible organic residues has helped illuminate some broader trends.¹² The diversity in terms of scale and mode of its consumption, but also the radical changes through time are key features. While both feasting in general and drinking rituals in particular are attested from the EN in Crete,¹³ the appearance of pouring vessels and individual drinking vessels in the LN in sites such as Knossos and Phaistos¹⁴ constitutes a significant change which marks a novel mode of alcohol consumption and an emphasis on conspicuous hospitality and performativity, a trend that will become more prominent in the Bronze Age, with the establishment of what Andrew and Susan Sherratt have called the 'jug and cup complex'.¹⁵

8 Appadurai 1996, 66–85; Simmel 1994.

9 Hamilakis 2008.

10 Cf. Halstead 2007, 39 on this 'non-wasteful' manner of meat consumption in Greek prehistory; also Isaakidou 2007 in relation to Crete in particular.

11 Hamilakis and Harris forthcoming; Harris and Hamilakis 2008; Andreadaki-Vlazaki 1996.

12 Cf. Hamilakis 1995, 1996, 1998, 1999; Kopaka and Platon 1993; Palmer 1994; Sarpaki 1995; Tzedakis and Martlew 1999; Tzedakis *et al.* 2008.

13 Tomkins 2007a.

14 Tomkins 2004, 55; 2007b; Todaro and Di Tonto 2008.

15 Sherratt and Sherratt 2008, 297; Day and Wilson 2004, 47.

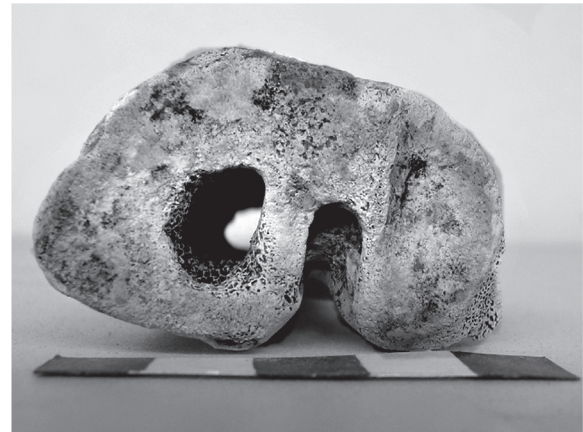


Fig. 12.1 (left). Crete: the feasting deposit at Nopigeia–Drapanias, during the 2004 excavation, with animal bones, conical cups and cooking vessels. Photograph by Hamilakis.

Fig. 12.2 (above). Crete: cattle metacarpal from the feasting deposit at Nopigeia–Drapanias, with a hole drilled at its proximal end to extract marrow. Photograph by Kerry Harris.

It is in the Bronze Age that alcohol acquired an immense power and role in social interaction. Within the Bronze Age, however, we observe a significant diversity. Consumption of alcohol, most probably wine, was a major factor in the rituals of commensality taking place primarily in the burial arenas of the EBA, both in the Mesara tholoi as well as in the cemeteries of eastern Crete,¹⁶ but also in settlement contexts, to judge from Myrtos–Fournou Korifi¹⁷ and Knossos, at least. Day and Wilson have argued¹⁸ from their work at Knossos that within the EBA we see a shift from an EM I mode of communal consumption, where people used to pass round drinking vessels such as the chalice, to forms of communal individualism, or to use a phrase that comes from Deleuze, a form of collective individuation, with the adoption of the smaller individual drinking vessels such as goblets and cups in EB II and III. This trend, however, was, as already mentioned, present in Crete from the FN. Moreover, these two modes of drinking may not necessarily be mutually exclusive. At the EB I–II cemetery of Ayia Fotia, for example,¹⁹ both chalices and cups were found in the same tomb, raising the possibility that different shapes were used for different drinking rituals or perhaps for drinking different substances within the same ceremonies.²⁰

The shape and the relative proportions of some of the drinking and serving vessels in the EBA indicate

that the act of serving and pouring alcohol, in other words the *demonstration and the performance* of hospitality, were of prime importance,²¹ a trend again first witnessed in the FN, as noted above. The relatively large quantities of jugs at Myrtos–Fournou Korifi, and the abundance of ‘teapots’, with their disproportionately elongated spouts, is a case in point.²² Thus these two parallel and associated trends, the gradual overshadowing (but not the complete replacement) of communal drinking vessels by the individual ones, and the conspicuous performance of serving and hospitality, both emerged in the LN and became increasingly important in the EBA.

¹⁶ Hamilakis 1998; Davaras and Betancourt 2004, 240; Vavouranakis 2007, 143–52.

¹⁷ Hamilakis 1995; Catapoti 2005.

¹⁸ Day and Wilson 2004.

¹⁹ Davaras and Betancourt 2004, 240.

²⁰ Haggis (2007, 761) makes a similar argument in relation to the large serving vessels such as ‘fruitstands’ from the ‘Protopalatial’ (MM IB) lakkos at Petras, which co-exist with individualised drinking shapes (on this assemblage, see below).

²¹ Catapoti 2005; Day and Wilson 2004.

²² Warren 1972.

To judge from the contexts where we have good quantitative data, such as the tombs at Ayia Kyriaki, it seems that at the end of the EBA more people were participating in eating and drinking ceremonies than before (based on the ratio of cups to jugs).²³ A similar pattern of intensification of drinking activity towards the end of the EBA is also observed in the funerary arenas of eastern Crete.²⁴ But the scale of these ceremonies of communal consumption of the EBA pales into insignificance in comparison to what was to follow in the subsequent centuries, and especially at the point which we consider to be the peak of public ceremonial consumption events, the 'Neopalatial' period. Indeed, one of our central points here is that eating and drinking ceremonies, at least in their more archaeologically visible feasting form, show an immense dynamism and fluctuate considerably, expressing perhaps the constant changes, upheavals, competitive dynamics and instabilities throughout the Bronze Age.

In the 'Protopalatial' period individual drinking vessels become more abundant, and Day and Wilson have argued that the extremely elaborate Kamares vessels were used in elite consumption ceremonies in the 'palaces'.²⁵ This is also the period that saw the introduction of the potter's wheel, and it is no coincidence that its introduction was linked to the production of drinking vessels, whereas other shapes such as jugs and jars were wheel-thrown much later.²⁶ This association carried multiple meanings: it not only signified the embodiment of a new elite style in drinking,²⁷ perhaps introduced from elsewhere,²⁸ but also, as demands for drinking vessels grew, following the intensification of large scale drinking ceremonies from 'Protopalatial' onwards, it enabled a significant increase in productivity. While it would be simplistic, as several scholars have argued, to attribute the introduction of the pottery wheel to a mere economic need for efficiency gains, it would be equally short-sighted to ignore its association with drinking vessels and, therefore, with drinking rituals and their social consequences, especially when feasting events seem to intensify.

Haggis has provided some compelling evidence for feasting episodes linked to competing corporate groups at 'Protopalatial' Petras²⁹ and Macdonald and Knappett have linked a 'Protopalatial' pottery deposit from Knossos to feasting; they also attempt to establish some sort of hierarchy of participants from the stylistic hierarchy of pottery.³⁰ This interesting deposit, however, does not come from a use and discard context; it represents instead a 'pottery store or pantry',³¹ and the hypothesis of hierarchical feasting rests on the assumption that all stylistically diverse vessels were used at once. Moreover, to establish a direct homology between stylistic diversity and social status (whereby more elaborate vessels 'represent' high status) is somehow mechanistic, ignoring the fact that, as Haggis has pointed out,³² stylistic diversity may be linked instead to the diversity of ritual practices, such as

different stages within a ceremony, or the consumption of different substances. This portrayal of 'Protopalatial' Knossos as strictly hierarchical also contradicts recent research such as that by Schoep³³ and Haggis³⁴ which has convincingly argued for a more complex social organisation involving corporate, horizontally organised groups (including factions), in 'Protopalatial' Malia and Petras respectively.³⁵

The 'Neopalatial' period provides the best evidence for an explosion in ritual commensality, evidence which takes various forms: the huge increase in the relative proportion of drinking vessels in pottery assemblages; the vast deposits of drinking cups, numbering in the many thousands, some deposited in a ritualised, structured way; the presence of many wine installations; the recording of large numbers of drinking cups in Linear A tablets;³⁶ and the arrangement of public space, with the existence of many open and formally structured and organised plazas and courts.³⁷ Perhaps it is no coincidence that this is also the period which, in the faunal record, saw a significant increase in the percentage of pig bones,³⁸ an animal particularly suited for feasting, being fast growing and having large litters, offering thus a cheaper alternative to cattle. In the feasting deposit at Nopigeia–Drapanias the percentage of pigs (32.4%) is the highest from all published assemblages from the island as whole.³⁹

One of us has suggested that there is good evidence that this explosion of drinking and feasting ceremonies

23 Hamilakis 1998, based on data from Blackman and Branigan 1982.

24 Vavouranakis 2007, 143–52.

25 Day and Wilson 2000.

26 Knappett 1999; 2005, 156–62.

27 For a similar argument regarding LBA Cyprus, see Crewe 2007.

28 Knappett 1999.

29 The Lakkos deposit (Haggis 2007).

30 Macdonald and Knappett 2007, esp. 161–5; Knappett 2005, 147–8.

31 Macdonald and Knappett 2007, 163.

32 Haggis 2007, 762.

33 Schoep 2002.

34 Haggis 2007, 768–70.

35 This of course, does not imply that there were no cases where participation in certain feasting rituals was restricted to specific social groups; e.g. Borgna has argued (2004a, 139) that in 'Protopalatial' Phaistos the 'elite' Kamares ware deposits came from the inner residential or ceremonial spaces of the 'Palace', whereas plain ware comes from the areas around the Central Court.

36 E.g., HT 31 from Ayia Triada lists 3700 conical cups.

37 Hamilakis 1995, 1996, 1998, 1999; Borgna 2004a; Rutter 2004; Girella 2007.

38 Harris in preparation; Isaakidou 2004.

39 The number of identifiable specimens is 995: Hamilakis and Harris in preparation; Harris and Hamilakis 2008.

was directly linked to the extreme fragmentation of the social and political landscape in this period, and the development of what has been termed ‘factional competition’.⁴⁰ Feasting and drinking ceremonies thus seem to have been closely associated with the dialectics of political power, reaching their most intense point at the period when conspicuous elaboration and display of material culture were at their highest. If diverse and heterogeneous factions were trapped in a spiral of intense competition, then the conspicuous generosity embodied in the commensal events organised by the various factions and their leaders would have acted as one of the best ways to constitute and consolidate the corporate identity of the faction. Drinking vessels came in various materials (including stone and metal) and, in some cases, alongside the plain conical cups other, more elaborate forms were in use. But the large number of deposits that contained almost exclusively plain drinking vessels, many coming from ‘palatial’ contexts, speaks of the performance of a seemingly homogenised corporate identity. Elaborate drinking vessels would undoubtedly have been used in other, status re-affirming, exclusive ceremonies, but the tone in the rituals of commensality for this period is set by this performance of social homogeneity, characteristic of factionalism.

It is becoming increasingly clear that one of the distinctive features of the feasting events is what one of us has called *the production of the mnemonic record*:⁴¹ the deliberate and often structured deposition of the remnants of eating and drinking. We should remember that the visibility and the prominence that these ceremonies have acquired in the archaeological discussion today are due not only to their scale but also to the deliberate, it seems, act of hoarding their remnants: drinking cups were often arranged in rows or placed inverted, or both, and in many cases they were deposited in deliberately dug pits or other features that would guarantee their preservation. Animal bones were also hoarded in the same way. In the case of the ‘Neopalatial’ deposit at Nopigeia,⁴² where the number of drinking cups seems to run in the many thousands, judging from the nature of deposition, the study of animal bones and of soil micro-morphology, people seemed to have been returning to the same spot, recalling and citing previous drinking and eating ceremonies. While this phenomenon of hoarding the feasting remnants seems to be as old as feasting itself, witnessed as early as EN Knossos,⁴³ it becomes archaeologically more visible in the later periods, perhaps reflecting the intensification of feasting events.⁴⁴ Deposition and hoarding, therefore, in other words the conscious attempt to objectify and memorialise the collectivity which was brought about by consumption, were as important as the act of consumption itself.

As is becoming increasingly clear, consumption patterns change again at the end of Bronze Age, during the so-called ‘Monopalatial’ and ‘Postpalatial’ phases of Crete. Large scale feasting now seems to have been

restricted to a few major centres reflecting the new political geography of the island (with relative centralisation — at least in LM II and LM IIIA — and decrease in intra-regional competition being the main trends) and it seems to have acquired new meanings and features. This period also sees the interplay between different modes of feasting, such as between the mainland patterns which often emphasised exclusion and restriction, and the more inclusive corporate mode inherited from the earlier Cretan tradition.⁴⁵ The iconic ‘Neopalatial’ drinking shape, the plain conical cup, while still present, is now overshadowed by shapes such as the kylix and the ‘champagne cup’ which, however, will never reach in feasting contexts the huge numbers witnessed of ‘Neopalatial’ conical cups. This is not simply a change in form; it is rather the embodiment of a drastic change in table manners, drinking etiquette and social organisation of commensality. Performativity in serving and drinking attains new potency, as kylikes and champagne cups are meant to be raised and shown, rather than hidden in the palm of the hand, as happened with the conical cup. Moreover, in comparison to the plain conical cup of the ‘Neopalatial’ phase, these shapes also reveal not only a decline of the illusion of social homogeneity and corporatism embodied by the conical cup, but also the changed economics of pottery demand and production: we now see fewer and more time-consuming to produce, but more elaborate, vessels.

This is also the period which sees an increase in the consumption of wild fauna, especially fallow deer, and mostly in western Crete.⁴⁶ For the new embodied self that emerged at the end of Bronze Age in Crete, hunting and consuming wild (or perceived wild) animals signified a distinctive engagement with wilderness, with other places and other times, possibly a rite of passage and a

40 Hamilakis 2002b.

41 Hamilakis 2008.

42 Andreadaki-Vlazaki 1996; Hamilakis and Harris forthcoming; Harris and Hamilakis 2008.

43 Tomkins 2007a, 189–90.

44 Most of the examples come from the early ‘Neopalatial’ period; e.g. the ‘villa’ at Vathypetro (Marinatos 1951, 260–1), where concentrations of inverted cups were found sealed in a small rectangular structure; a similar structure at Nirou Chani (Platon 1947, 1954); at Phaistos ‘Palace’ (Vano 50), where a pit full of inverted conical cups and animal bones was found (Levi 1976, 405); Hamilakis 1995, 234–310, for several other examples and discussion; Andreadaki-Vlazaki 2002, 161, for Chania; several cases have been studied under the rubric of ‘foundation deposits’ (e.g. Boulotis 1982).

45 Borgna 2004a, 2004b.

46 E.g. in LM III Chania (Odos Daskaloyanni), deer bones, clearly the remnants of eating, and being hoarded in pits, amount to c. 20% of the overall assemblage from these pits, based on analysis by Kerry Harris (Harris in preparation). Large quantities of deer are also reported from another site in Chania: Ayia Aikaterini (Hallager and Hallager 2000, 2003).

gender-affirming ritual, an arena where confrontations with otherness could be played out.⁴⁷ The prominence of this ideology of hunting, consuming and hoarding wild fauna is of course a feature that is encountered in the wider 'Mycenaean' world and one which was bound to continue in the following centuries.⁴⁸

Feasting as embodied history in Bronze Age Crete

Feasting is about coming together, sharing food and drink with others, in an occasion that disrupts the normal temporality of the everyday. It is also about the creation of a trans-corporeal landscape, a landscape that comes alive through the sharing of sensorial effects, of feelings and emotions. As such, feasting brings into a sharp focus some of the most fundamental paradoxes and tensions of human sociality: the dynamic and the tension between the individual and the collective, individual bodies and the collective corporeal landscape; and between hoarding and sharing, accumulation and dispersal.⁴⁹ Feasting is a theatre of the senses, an arena of high drama, be it the screams of animals to be killed/sacrificed, the streams of blood, the smells of cooking food, or the performative gestures of serving, toasting, eating and drinking, and of ritually disposing of the paraphernalia and remnants of the occasion. As such, feasting is about producing time, temporality and social memory, the embodied memory created through eating and drinking which was sedimented on the participants' bodies, as well as the memories objectified in the hoarding and deposition of the remnants. In other words, a way of producing embodied history; a history that can be narrated, recalled, revisited, recreated, and socially and politically deployed. In Bronze Age Crete, we see many of these phenomena in action. Various configurations of individuality, corporeality and sociality were played out and challenged, be it through the use of large vessels for collective eating and drinking or smaller individual ones, or the use of plain and homogeneous pottery that provided the illusion of collective corporate identity. If the gradual shift of emphasis from collective to individual drinking vessels from the LN and especially EBA onwards embodied a new, more fragmented form of sociality, the use and accumulation of plain individual cups in carefully structured deposits in the LBA was an attempt to reconfigure, objectify and reinstate collectivity, a fragile collectivity that was perhaps, at the end of the feast, already dissolving. Above everything else, the mnemonic temporality and historicity that was generated in the arenas of feasting, written as it was in the bodies of the participants and in inherently ambiguous configurations of materiality (be it drinking vessels or hoarding pits and ditches), may have been a key resource for the elites and aspiring elites of Bronze Age Crete but one that they could not necessarily easily harness and control: embodied histories are open to challenge in a more profound way than other forms of historicity.

CYPRUS

A problem with early Cyprus, in contrast with Crete, is that for a variety of reasons the known archaeological record, particularly in the Bronze and Early Iron Ages, is still dauntingly patchy. We know desperately little about EIA settlements, for instance, by comparison with the total count of excavated tombs; and until a few decades ago much the same was true of the Bronze Age. Crete, by contrast, has enjoyed over a hundred years of grand-scale and sustained excavation, concentrated particularly on 'palaces', 'villas' and other high-order or administrative centres, which at least gives us the illusion that we appreciate the complexity of a number of its social practices really quite well by now. In addition, these intensively excavated centres have produced a diachronically fairly consistent wealth of representational art, in the form above all of wall-paintings but also of glyptic, figurines of various materials and paintings on pots, which so far either elude us on Cyprus or simply did not exist to the same extent in certain periods (or at least in the same periods as they did on Crete). Crete, unlike Cyprus, has also produced LBA written documents, preserved on clay, which we can actually read. Above all, however (and perhaps thankfully), Cyprus has not enjoyed the attentions of an Arthur Evans, an Émile Gilliéron or a Piet de Jong, who between them have done more to make us believe we have an intimate familiarity with how people looked on Crete, and a consistent, thorough and detailed picture of what their various consumption practices were and the contexts in which they took place. This is something that we should probably regard as an advantage, since it means that on Cyprus we have far less inherited baggage, almost indelibly imprinted on our visual cortices, to unpack.

Early Iron Age warriors: hunting and barbecues

It may be interesting to look particularly at some aspects of Cypriot feasting at the very end of the Bronze Age

⁴⁷ Hamilakis 2003.

⁴⁸ While the Iron Age in Crete is beyond the scope of this chapter, it is perhaps worth noting that both the prominence of wild fauna noted above, but also the hoarding and ritualised deposition of feasting remnants continue into the EIA, as far as we can tell from sites such as LM IIIC Chamalevri, and LM IIIC-PG Thronos/Kephala, both featuring deposition in pits and significant quantities of deer bones. In Chamalevri, for example, large game (primarily red and fallow deer) is c. 12% (Mylona 1999, and Wallace 2000, 97); in Thronos fallow and red deer make up between c. 7% and 12% of the bones in LM IIIC-SM pits (Mylona forthcoming, and D'Agata 2000); also Letteson and Driessen 2008, who discuss cases from LM III Malia, as well as Chania and Palaikastro; on similar, Iron Age deposits (sometime called 'bothroi'), see Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 379–80.

⁴⁹ Cf. Gamble 2004.

and in the EIA, not only because others have already written about feasting in the Cypriot Bronze Age,⁵⁰ but also because the end of the conventional Bronze Age and the EIA (from around 1100 BC) is a period when we have a helpful burst of relevant representational art on pots, some of it published over 40 years ago by Pieridou and subsequently added to and discussed by Karageorghis, Des Gagniers, and Iacovou.⁵¹ It is also a period when, for whatever reason, we can probably see some convergence between Cyprus and Crete (and the Aegean in general), much of it probably (though, admittedly, controversially in some quarters) led from east to west. A fair proportion of the imagery on Proto-White Painted and CG I–III pots is what one might call ‘action man’ imagery: men deep-sea fishing giant fish from a small boat,⁵² daredevil horse riders⁵³ and, above all, warriors. Some of these are simply shown as warriors, with helmet and leather corselet or jerkin;⁵⁴ some are represented by what appear to be arms and armour (or trophies) hanging on a wall;⁵⁵ some are perhaps singing of their own glorious exploits to the accompaniment of a lyre;⁵⁶ some are probably hunting, with or without dogs, or possibly even fishing.⁵⁷ All, at any rate, are shown out in the open air, engaging in what might be thought of as typically tough male activities. Some warriors are also shown drinking, again out in the open air, for instance up in the mountains, possibly in association with hunting mouflon/wild goats or large birds such as the great bustard (*Otis tarda*), which still survives in the wild in southern Turkey, and almost certainly once included Cyprus within its native range.⁵⁸ Like mouflon and deer, great bustards, being rather bigger than turkeys, would make a substantial dinner for a largish group of people.

In addition to drinking, we also find signs of eating in the form of the outdoor barbecue, which is an excellent way of cooking the products of hunting. With a bit of imagination, FIG. 12.3⁵⁹ could be seen as one of the earliest representations of barbecue equipment on Cyprus, with six spits or skewers shown stacked up ready for use under a palm tree. In another possible representation of a barbecue,⁶⁰ one might suggest that five spits are shown resting against a rectangular frame, with the animal to be roasted tethered nearby.⁶¹ If so, these are particularly interesting as they coincide with the appearance of metal spits on the island. Bronze spits, including the famous one from Palaepaphos–Skales which belonged to Opheltas,⁶² closely followed by spits of iron, first appear in Cyprus in 11th century contexts,⁶³ and their iron versions spread to the Aegean, including Crete, in the 10th century.⁶⁴ It is something of a puzzle to know where this fashion originated. This is not meant to suggest that people could not have cooked pieces of meat on wooden spits in a great many parts of the world (including the Near East and the Aegean) probably from the Palaeolithic onwards (indeed, it is very likely that they did).⁶⁵ However, what we seem to see in the eastern half of the Mediterranean

- 50 Especially Steel (2004).
- 51 Pieridou 1967; Karageorghis and Des Gagniers 1974; Iacovou 1988; also Karageorghis 2006, 65, 68–9, 78–9, 87–8.
- 52 Iacovou 1988, 21–2, figs. 9–12: 5; Karageorghis 2006, 68–9, fig. 56.
- 53 Iacovou 1988, 25, fig. 50: 23; Karageorghis 2006, 87–8, fig. 74: 64.
- 54 Iacovou 1988, 25, fig. 56: 24.
- 55 Iacovou 1988, 15, figs. 16–18: 7.
- 56 Iacovou 1988, 26, fig. 70: 29; Karageorghis 2006, 78–9: 54; 102: 77; 104–5, figs. 64a–b, 89, 92b: 79.
- 57 Iacovou 1988, 17, figs. 44–5: 19; 19, fig. 33: 34; 25, figs. 55–6: 24; 27, figs. 77–8: 33; Karageorghis 2006, 65, fig. 51: 41; 96–9, figs. 83–6: 72–4. See also Iacovou 1988, 15–19, figs. 2, 6–7, 13–14, 23, 25–6, 29–32, 41–3, 46, 49, 58, 60–2, 72–6, 80–4, 90–2: 1–3, 6, 9–10, 13–14, 18, 20, 23, 25, 27–8, 30–2, for other representations of animals (including dogs, mouflon or wild goats and deer) and large birds that possibly also imply hunting; cf. Loulloupis 1989.
- 58 Iacovou 1988, 23, figs. 34–6: 15. Great bustard remains have been found in abundance among the faunal assemblages at Aetokremnos around 10,000 BC, indicating that it was extensively hunted by the first inhabitants of, or visitors to, Cyprus (Mourer-Chauviré, in Simmons 1999, 170–5). It appears to have bred on the island in this early period (Mourer-Chauviré, in Simmons 1999, 181), and may well have continued to do so in later times. There are still breeding groups in southern and central Turkey (Flint and Stewart 1983, 68). According to Sylvia Benton (1961, 48) great bustard winter visitors could still be seen on the island in 1961; and in 1974 a substantial flock of them was spotted at Rizokarpaso (Mourer-Chauviré, in Simmons 1999, 175).
- 59 British Museum C858–9 (Cypro-Geometric II): *CVA Great Britain 2*, 6, pl. 5: 1, 4; Benton 1961, pl. 4: 3; Iacovou 1988, 79, fig. 85.
- 60 Proto-White Painted: Karageorghis 1967, 5, 17–18, pl. 1: 7; 2006, 78–9; Iacovou 1988, fig. 68.
- 61 Karageorghis (1967, 5, 18, n. 2) identifies the rectangular object in question as a gate and the tethered animal as a goat; elsewhere (2006, 79), he interprets the scene as a goat standing on a sacrificial altar. It might be possible to suggest that the objects shown on Pieridou 1967, pl. 14: 5 (a CA krater in the Cyprus Museum) are also barbecues — not so much because of their form, which rather resembles what is usually interpreted as a comb, or perhaps loom, motif (see n. 129), but because they are accompanied by rows of jugs and dishes.
- 62 Karageorghis 1983, 59–76, fig. 88, pl. 63: 16; Masson and Masson 1983, fig. 2, pl. A: 2.
- 63 Karageorghis 2003, 342–3; 2007, 258–9.
- 64 Haarer 2000.
- 65 For the roasting of meat (Akkadian *šumû*) in the Near East, particularly in ritual contexts, see Bottéro 1982, 280, 283, 296; Güterbock and Hoffner 1997, 14; cf. Sevilock 2006, 40–3. Spits or some sort of gridirons may be indicated by the word *qalqallu* (Bottéro 1982, 283), although there is no archaeological evidence for these. In the Aegean, the burning of animals (or selective parts of animals) is also attested, whether purely for sacrifice or also for human consumption (Isaakidou *et al.* 2002; Stocker and Davis 2004; Hamilakis and Konsolaki 2004 [where (143), however, it appears that animal carcasses were stripped of their meat before being burned]); while in both the Aegean and Anatolia stone and



Fig. 12.3. CG II krater fragment (BM C 858). Courtesy of the British Museum.

from the 11th century onwards is a quite new social or ideological emphasis on metal spits and the spit-roasting of meat.⁶⁶ In both Cyprus and the Aegean metal spits frequently appear in tombs, sometimes associated with male (particularly warrior) burials,⁶⁷ while on Cyprus the implied association of warriors (and possibly also barbecues) with hunting, as on the EIA pot scenes, suggests that the ideological context is one of male bonding through outdoor pursuits such as hunting, probably also associated with a barbecue and drinking. This is a familiar concept the world over, from the Adirondacks to Bondi Beach; and it is perhaps worth remembering that Opheltas's bronze spit from Palaepaphos-Skales T. 49 seems to have been such an important part of his identity that he considered it necessary or desirable to signal to the world that it belonged to him.⁶⁸

While there is certainly no reason to suggest that this ideological fashion for the use of metal spits spread to Cyprus from the Aegean (apart from anything else, the chronology is quite against it), there might just be some reason for suggesting that it first reached the eastern Mediterranean from the central or western Mediterranean along with imported examples of bronze spits themselves, at much the same time as other items of novelty bronzework, such as Urnfield-type swords and fibulae. There is admittedly not much to go on, but the presence on the late 13th century Gelidonya wreck of what George Bass has identified as a bronze spit would place their first appearance in the eastern Mediterranean in an appropriate context (along with a European sword) to make this at least a possibility.⁶⁹

More generally, the more complicated articulated bronze spits of western Mediterranean or Atlantic type, one of which turns up in the 10th or 9th century at Amathous,⁷⁰ suggest a prior history of metal spit development in the far west, possibly of considerable duration. Thus, although no other bronze spits pre-dating the EIA have been recognised in the Central Mediterranean (apart from an articulated spit from

clay objects of various forms with grooved edges, which are often called spit-supports, may (in at least some cases) be evidence that roasting meat on wooden spits took place from the Neolithic onwards (Scheffer 1984; Hamilakis and Konsolaki 2004, 138, fig. 6; Thomas 2005, 523–5, fig. 32: 1–2). At any rate, in neither the Aegean nor the Near East is there any evidence, either archaeological or documentary, for the use of metal spits before the last few centuries of the 2nd millennium BC (see Karageorghis 2003, 342; Sherratt 2004, 192–3).

⁶⁶ For bronze spits of similar (11th century) date from Jatt and Yoqne'am in the Carmel region of the southern Levant, see Artzy 2006, 64–5.

⁶⁷ Karageorghis 2003, 343. Cf. e.g. Palaepaphos-Skales T. 49, which contained three bronze spits and a spearhead, as well as nine bronze bowls, two strainers and a tripod (Karageorghis 1983). However, in other cases the association between spits and weapons seems weak or non-existent; though it should be pointed out that weapons are relatively rare in Cypriot EIA tombs, and, when they occur, it is usually in restrained numbers (Coldstream 1989, 329; Rupp 1985, table 4).

⁶⁸ Sherratt 2003, 226.

⁶⁹ Bass 1967, 105–6, 109, figs. 116–17: B 187.

⁷⁰ Karageorghis and Lo Schiavo 1989.

Monte Sa Idda on Sardinia, of similar date to the Amathous example), this western background perhaps remains something to bear in mind.

In favour of the argument that an ideological emphasis on spit-roasting is new in the eastern half of the Mediterranean after the end of the 13th century at the earliest is the emphasis in both Near Eastern and Linear B texts on the stewing of meat for elite feasting. Both Mesopotamian and Hittite texts give recipes for stewed meat with various forms of fat added;⁷¹ and, if one can be certain of anything, it is that anything recorded in texts primarily reflects the most elite, and usually the most fashionable, preoccupations. More indirectly, in the Aegean, relatively deep tripod cauldrons are well represented on the Linear B tablets, occurring on tablets such as the Ta series from Pylos which also list other vessels and items of cooking equipment associated with palatial feasting.⁷² Tripod cauldrons also appear in what is almost certainly a feasting context in the hunting scenes which decorated the upper storey above Megaron 46 at Pylos,⁷³ and on what appears to be the preparation for a feast for homecoming seafarers at Ayia Irini on Kea.⁷⁴ Apart from questions of fashion, and its incorporation into elite ideologies, there are probably sound practical reasons for this method of cooking from the point of view of large feasts organised by palaces, whether in the Near East or the Aegean, since meat cooked in this way goes further than that roasted on spits. It also has the advantage of making tough meat less tough, and the rancid taste of old meat less noticeable.

As usual, we have far less to go on in LBA Cyprus. However, a number of curved two- or three-pronged forks, sometimes called fleshhooks, found for instance in MC tombs,⁷⁵ leads one to suspect that, as in Crete and elsewhere, boiling may also have been the preferred method of festal cooking of meat there before the EIA. Bronze forks with variable numbers of prongs, either curved or straight, are relatively common throughout the Near East (including Anatolia) in the Bronze Age and EIA, where they are usually found in graves or hoards.⁷⁶ They are also found in a few graves belonging to the Bronze Age in the Aegean, and are quite common in the LBA and EIA of western Europe.⁷⁷ These forks, or fleshhooks, which frequently occur in association with other feasting equipment, have often been interpreted as implements for spearing and extracting pieces of meat from a cauldron. If so, they should perhaps be seen as the equivalents of the metal spits: personal items which males (particularly perhaps warriors) would take with them to a feast. An unusually large example (87.5 cm long) with three long straight prongs was found in an early 12th century grave at Hala Sultan Tekke, which might well be interpreted as that of a male warrior, accompanied by a dagger, arrowheads and various objects of eastern origin and associated with a bronze drinking set of typical Near Eastern design.⁷⁸ Others of almost equally striking

length (ranging from over 60 to 80 cm) come from Kültepe and Boghazköy in 2nd millennium Anatolia, late 13th century Ugarit, and Lachish and the Jatt hoard in the 11th century Levant.⁷⁹ Looking at the exaggerated length of the prongs on these, one cannot help questioning conventional interpretations of their function, although issues of status and symbolism may have played a more important part in determining their size.⁸⁰ Both Schaeffer and Karageorghis have suggested that these were used for the roasting or grilling of meat in the same manner as spits.⁸¹ Although this would be perfectly feasible functionally, and might encourage us to see some of these examples as having the potential for more than one purpose, it cannot yet be demonstrated that they should be regarded primarily as prototype or alternative forms of metal spits.

Drinking: styles and substances

Mention of the Hala Sultan Tekke bronze drinking set brings us back to drinking, and in this respect the enormous size of an amphoroid krater depicted on a CG II pot from Kourion–Kaloriziki,⁸² which is almost as tall as the human figure shown holding a jug above it, appears to suggest the heroic scale of consumption of drink that is involved — again a familiar concept where male group bonding is concerned. In this connection, it is also perhaps worth noting some of the ceramic shapes that the scenes discussed above occur on. These include amphoroid kraters (both actual and portrayed) (FIG. 12.3),⁸³ two-handled shallow and deep bowls,⁸⁴ jugs and stands,⁸⁵ all of which might be

71 Bottéro 1982, 289, 291; Hoffner 1974, 97–8, 102.

72 Palaima 2000. See also above, for the evidence, in the form of tripod cooking pots and animal bones, for stewing meat in Bronze Age Crete.

73 Lang 1969, 68–71, 107–8, pls. 122, M; Wright 2004, 39, fig. 10.

74 Morgan 1998, fig. 6; Wright 2004, 38, fig. 9.

75 See Catling 1964, 65–6, fig. 4: 7–8, pl. 2h.

76 Makkay 1983; Niklasson 1983, 174; Artzy 2006, 64.

77 Schliemann 1880, 255: 372; Persson 1942, 126, and cf. 1931, pl. 34; Branigan 1974, 30, 173, pl. 15: 1181–4; Demakopoulou 1988, 249–51: 261; Needham and Bowman 2005.

78 Niklasson 1983, 171–80, 184–5, figs. 424–8, 436–47.

79 Makkay 1983, pls. 3: 1–2; 4: 1, 5; Artzy 2006, 43, 64, fig. 2.10: 1, pl. 17: 1.

80 Makkay 1983.

81 Schaeffer 1956, 178; Karageorghis quoted in Artzy 2006, 64.

82 Dikaïos 1937, 71, figs. 6–7; Iacovou 1988, fig. 82; Karageorghis 2006, 104, fig. 92a.

83 Iacovou 1988, figs. 27–30; Karageorghis 2006, figs. 84, 92a; cf. also Iacovou 1988, figs. 80, 83–5; Karageorghis 2006, figs. 81–2.

84 Iacovou 1988, figs. 49–50, 55–6, 58–62, 74, 77–8; Karageorghis 2006, fig. 74.

85 Iacovou 1988, fig. 33; Karageorghis 2006, figs. 86, 92a (representation only).

regarded as vessels associated with drinking or feasting, as well as other shapes, such as pyxides, kalathoi and amphorae, which may be, but are perhaps less obviously so. The only picture we have of a drinking vessel in use appears to be a kylix with distinctly knobby rim and handles, shown in the hand of a shield-bearing warrior on a Proto-White Painted pyxis of unknown provenance,⁸⁶ which should perhaps remind us that any self-respecting member of an East Mediterranean elite probably preferred to drink out of a metal (ideally a precious metal) cup, even if he did not always choose to have it buried in the ground with him.⁸⁷ Cyprus abounds in suitable drinking vessels in a very wide variety of shapes, of which the kylix or stemmed chalice, as seen, for example, as part of a probably metal drinking set painted on an imported Mycenaean krater from Enkomi,⁸⁸ is only one — and not a very common one at that. There are also bowls or cups of a wide assortment of shapes, both in metal and a variety of ceramic wares.⁸⁹

What was drunk out of these? Although it is very difficult to tell, it seems a reasonable guess that, at least from the middle of the 3rd millennium, along with those of the rest of the eastern half of the Mediterranean, the regular aspiration of Cypriot elites was the drinking of wine.⁹⁰ In LC IIC and IIIA, the presence of ceramic types such as strainer jugs has also raised the question of beer drinking,⁹¹ although it seems reasonable to suppose that, like the separate strainers often found with Levantine and other Near Eastern metal ‘wine sets’,⁹² these could equally well be used to strain wine or water.⁹³ The clearest Cypriot representation of drinking (in this case possibly beer) in Mesopotamian fashion through a straw is found on the late 8th century ‘Hubbard’ amphora,⁹⁴ although whether this reflects a Cypriot everyday actuality, or merely the cultural milieu in which the artistic medium which inspired this scene originated, is debatable. However, despite it being quite likely that Cypriots, at various times and in various social circumstances, were drinking both, it is probable that, as in the Levant and the Aegean, wine was the elite drink of ideological choice in most periods of the Bronze Age and EIA.

Finally, there are the questions raised by the subject of what are commonly called kraters in our Cypriot LBA and EIA ceramic terminology. There is, of course, a serious problem here, in that, just because we as archaeologists call something a krater, this does not mean that it *was* a krater, in its original etymological sense (in Greek) of a large vessel used for mixing wine with something else.⁹⁵ In the Greek world at least, this was normally water. In the case of the amphoroid krater shown on an actual CG amphoroid krater, it seems quite clear that these are used for decanting and serving some sort of drink (most probably wine), and it is at least a possibility that this was mixed in the krater with something else. In Cyprus we can trace large vessels of just this amphoroid krater shape in clay and more

rarely metal, and often found in association with jugs and other drinking vessels, back from the EIA through LC IIIA and IIC,⁹⁶ Aegean imports of the 13th and later 14th centuries,⁹⁷ and beyond that to the White Painted Wheelmade I–II and Plain Wheelmade I wares of LC I and II,⁹⁸ and possibly even earlier.⁹⁹ This means that they occur on Cyprus before the appearance of similar ceramic types in the Aegean.¹⁰⁰ In the Levant, on the other hand, vessels of similar shape and size go back to the MBA.¹⁰¹

One of us has suggested elsewhere that in LBA Greece the custom of regularly diluting wine with water may first have been initiated in LH IIIA (14th century BC), with the beginning of the mainland palaces, and persisted thereafter without a break in Greece right down into historical times, when to drink unwatered wine was the sign of an uncivilised man or a fool.¹⁰² Although amphoroid kraters are comparatively rare in Aegean contexts in the 14th–12th centuries,¹⁰³ it is likely that this is what they, along with other contemporary forms of what we call kraters (stemmed and deep bowl types), were used for.¹⁰⁴ The timing of

86 *CVA Cyprus* 2, 23, pl. 33: 3, 6; Iacovou 1988, 23, figs. 34, 36: 15.

87 See also the similar ‘knobly’ appearance of the amphoroid krater from Kourion–Kaloriziki (n. 82).

88 Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982, 21–2: III.21.

89 Matthäus 1985; Sjöqvist 1940; Gjerstad 1948.

90 Steel 2004, 168; Karageorghis 2006, 6–12; cf. Crewe 2007, 229.

91 Albright 1954, 115.

92 Moorey 1980; Gershuny 1985, 46–7, pls. 17–18.

93 McGovern 2003, 225–6; Anderson 1990, 40; Reade 1995, 36.

94 Dikaios 1937; Karageorghis 2006, 108–10, fig. 95a.

95 LSJ s.v.

96 Kling 1989, 128–31, with references; Catling 1964, 156–61, pls. 23–4; Karageorghis 1990, 62–3, fig. 7, pls. 24, 54.

97 Stubbings 1951, pls. 6: 10; 7, 11; Åström 1972, 306–18; Morris 1989.

98 Sjöqvist 1940, 56–8, figs. 14–15; Åström 1972, 241–2, figs. 62: 8, 10; 63: 2–6; 64: 1–3; Keswani 1991, 112, fig. 11.1: U–V; Crewe 2007, 218, 228–9.

99 See, for example, what looks remarkably like an amphoroid krater shape shown in the Red Polished ‘sanctuary’ model from an EC III/MC I tomb at Kotchati (Karageorghis 2006, fig. 32).

100 Furumark 1941, 593; Popham 1967, 345, pl. 84a.

101 Amiran 1969, 99, pl. 29: 5; Singer-Avitz 2004, fig. 16.11: 1; Yannai 2006, 98, fig. 3: 4; Crewe 2007, 228–9.

102 Sherratt 2004, 205–6.

103 Crouwel 1991, 53; though perhaps a little less rare in Cretan LM IIIA–IIIB contexts than on the Greek mainland (see Kanta 1980, 274; Crouwel and Morris 1995, 167).

104 It is noticeable that, with the exception of the amphoroid kraters, which represent a form already well integrated into eastern Mediterranean ceramic (and probably metal) repertoires by the beginning of the LBA (cf. Crewe 2007, 228–9) and produced in the 14th–13th century northeast Peloponnese

the beginning of this practice in Greece was probably not accidental, since it coincided with the start of the Mycenaean palatial practice of including as many people as possible in official palace-sponsored feasting (using disposable clay cups for less than elite participants), and had the advantage of enabling limited stocks of wine to go further. The less tight-fisted (or perhaps more genuinely egalitarian) Cretans, who of course had had palaces (and palace feasts) for a long time, also only began to use what we recognise as kraters (and probably also to adopt this practice) in LM III,¹⁰⁵ indicating, as argued above (in the Crete section), quite different contexts and traditions of drinking in 'Neopalatial' Crete from those of the prepalatial Greek mainland.

We do not have to assume that mixing wine with water was what these so-called kraters were used for in Cyprus and the Levant in the late 2nd millennium or early 1st millennium, as they possibly were in the Aegean from the 14th century onwards.¹⁰⁶ In the case of Cyprus, of course, we just cannot know. However, there is little evidence for diluting wine with water in Hittite, Egyptian or Levantine textual traditions.¹⁰⁷ What we do find, however, especially perhaps in contexts of religious or quasi-religious ritual, are indications of mixing grape wine with other substances, such as honey, spices and other plant products of various sorts and other fermented beverages such as beer and other types of wine.¹⁰⁸ For instance, in the Ugaritic tale of Aqhat, Pughat gives Yaṭupan a wine mixture that is variously described in translation as 'spiced', 'drugged' or 'intoxicating',¹⁰⁹ while various Old Testament references also refer to wine mixtures.¹¹⁰ Whether Cyprus shared the practices of her immediate neighbours in the later 2nd millennium is anyone's guess but, if Cypriots did adopt aspects of the *marzeah* from Ugarit, the addition of various additives, some also of a mood-enhancing nature, are at least possible.¹¹¹ Further to the west, we perhaps get some geographically (and by then also chronologically) distant echo of this in the late 8th century Homeric epics, in which drinking wine mixed with water is the civilised male heroic norm, but in which the rare appearance of wine mixed with other apparently psychotropic substances is associated almost exclusively with female witches, foreign (particularly eastern) women and women with strong eastern connections who had learned their arts abroad.¹¹²

The Cypriot Early Iron Age in context

What we see particularly in aspects of the iconography and, to some extent, other facets of the material record in Cyprus from the beginning of the 11th century BC is what appears to be a noticeable and consistent emphasis on the image of the warrior as individual 'action man' engaged in various pursuits (outdoors and possibly also indoors), several of which, the world over

as a special export type designed for an eastern market (Crouwel 1991, 53; Crouwel and Morris 1985, 97), other Aegean types of kraters in LB III tend to be scaled up versions of contemporary drinking vessels (Sherratt 2004, 205–6).

¹⁰⁵ Borgna 2004a, 145–6; Rutter 2004, 78.

¹⁰⁶ Indeed, at least in the southern Levant, it is not clear whether they were regularly or exclusively associated with drinking rituals at all, though when found in apparently cult contexts kraters are sometimes regarded as libation vessels (cf. e.g. Wengrow 1996, 320). Further north, at Ugarit, the partially preserved vessel shown supported on a stand in what has been hailed as a divine drinking scene on the well-known mug from the Maison du Prêtre might be thought of as vaguely approximating an amphoroid krater, into which or from which liquid may be poured or extracted by means of the jug held by the figure on its left (Schaeffer 1966, 3, fig. 1; Steel 2004, 174, n. 78; though in the reconstruction drawing in Yon 2006, 146, the vessel on the stand is restored as a one-handled pitcher); and, although their functional contexts and associations are not always very clear, the relatively large numbers of imported Mycenaean amphoroid kraters found at Ugarit, Minet-el-Beida and Alalakh and decorated with chariot scenes suggest that the inhabitants of some Syrian centres (like those of Cyprus) had a regular use for this shape in some sort of ritual context, perhaps that of an aristocratic feast such as the *marzeah*, associated with the *mariyannu* (Van Wijngaarden 2002, 330–40; Monchambert 2004, 127–30; Crouwel and Morris 1985, 97; cf. Steel 2004, 174; Karageorghis 2007, 257, 260; and see Carter 1997, 76–9). Further south, the presence of smaller numbers of imported amphoroid kraters at sites such as Qatna, Byblos, Dan, Tell Abu Hawam, Beth Shemesh, Lachish and Ajlul, sometimes found in association with temples (Stubbings 1951, 59–87, figs. 15b, 21; Hankey and Hankey 2004), might also suggest the possibility of a similar use for this general type in the southern Levant (see also Bietak 2003).

¹⁰⁷ For the mixing of wine (or wines) in 2nd millennium Mari, see Finet 1977, 126. Iced wine was probably consumed in Mari (Dalley 1984, 91–3), but it is not clear whether ice was actually put in the wine or merely used to cool the wine and its container. The prophet Isaiah's vision (i. 22) of the silver of Jerusalem turning to dross and its wine being mixed with water rather suggests that, at any rate, dilution of wine with water was neither a normal nor desirable practice in early 1st millennium Judah (see also Walsh 2000, 203–7).

¹⁰⁸ Pairman Brown 1969, 153–5; McGovern 2003, 132–3, 177, 186, 225.

¹⁰⁹ Wright 2000, 210, esp. n. 22; Fensham 1972, 298. For the relationship between the epic of Aqhat and the Ugaritic *marzeah*, one of the aims of which may have been to get as intoxicated as possible in order successfully to dine with the spirits of the heroic ancestors, see Carter 1997, 76–7; cf. Walsh 2000, 243–4.

¹¹⁰ Walsh 2000, 203–7. 'For in the hand of the Lord there is a cup, and the wine is red; it is full of mixture; and he poureth out the same' (Psalm lxxv. 8; cf. Proverbs ix. 1–6). Elsewhere (rather more puritanically and perhaps in reaction to the customs or religious practices of some of Israel's neighbours): 'Who hath woe? who hath sorrow? who hath contentions? who hath babbling? who hath wounds without cause? who hath redness of eyes? They that tarry long at the wine; they that go to seek mixed wine . . .' (Proverbs xxiii. 29–30) — a clear indication, in this case, that it cannot be water that the wine is mixed with.

and from time immemorial, have served to bond the *Männerbund* together. These include hunting (also useful for keeping the warrior fit and in practice for fighting), outdoor feasting (on the products of the hunt) and convivial drinking. None of these activities is new in Cyprus in the 11th century. Warriors are seen (if perhaps less frequently) on Cypriot representational art of earlier periods,¹¹³ and encountered in EC, MC and LC graves,¹¹⁴ while hunting is evidenced by the presence of deer imagery and/or bones in the archaeological record from the earliest prehistoric times right down to the end of the Bronze Age.¹¹⁵ What seem new are, on the one hand, the consistency with which images of these appear on ceramic forms in association with one another and, on the other hand, the evidence both for metal spits¹¹⁶ and for possible representations of their use (FIG. 12.3).

This package — and other features, including bronze vessels, strainers, stands and incense-stands, which appear already in 13th–12th century tombs and scrap hoards — can be, and has been, interpreted in a number of different ways. Some have emphasised probable links with Levantine equipment and practices and speculated that what we see is the adoption of Levantine institutions such as the *marzeah* (which may have had a particular focus on the heroic ancestors), and have been inclined to see the imagery of warriors, hunting and drinking in terms of the kinds of symbolism and mythologies related to such religious or quasi-religious feasts.¹¹⁷ Some, at the same time, have insisted on Aegean connections for both imagery and practices, particularly from the 11th century onwards, citing immigrant ‘warrior aristocrats’ of Aegean (particularly perhaps Cretan) origin, or ‘wandering heroes’ who established a foothold in both regions.¹¹⁸

While there might well be elements of truth in both of these, a focus on externally derived explanations of this sort seems to run the risk of losing sight of Cyprus and the Cypriot context, as well as the much wider Mediterranean context within which it operated. The 11th century saw a restructuring of settlements on the island.¹¹⁹ By the beginning of the 11th century Cyprus had lost all but a few of its 13th–12th century centres in an economic downturn probably engendered by the growth of rival maritime players in the eastern Mediterranean and the geopolitical jostling that this entailed. The silting up of harbours at Hala Sultan Tekke and Enkomi suggests that, for a time, fewer ships were visiting Cyprus — a state of affairs that seems to be reflected in the hostility which greeted the unintended arrival of Wen Amun and his Byblite crew, blown off course on his way from Byblos to Egypt.¹²⁰ During the course of the century, new coastal settlements were established (for example, Salamis, Amathous, Kourion, Lapithos, Alaas) while some existing settlements (Palaepaphos, Kition) continued in some form, presumably to take advantage of the increased maritime traffic which we can glimpse between the Levant

(particularly perhaps Tyre) and the West from the second half of the century onwards.¹²¹ At the same time, Cyprus set about doing what it had done periodically throughout prehistory: to signal its own sense of identity in the face of interaction with (and potential — or real — interference from) the outside world, by creating a distinctive and homogeneous culture unique to the island, regardless of what was certainly considerable linguistic diversity and probably no loss of internal politico-economic competition.¹²² In place of the organic mixture of chamber tombs and single graves, some intra-mural and some not, which characterised the burials of the 12th century, during the course of the 11th century cemeteries became resolutely separated from living spaces, and chamber tombs with single chambers containing relatively small numbers of burials and with more or less prominent dromoi became the island-wide norm. Over the period which followed there was, in addition, a move towards greater emphasis on extra-urban sanctuaries.¹²³ Ceramic wares and styles also became more standardised and uniform throughout the island.¹²⁴

Much of this built on and consolidated what had gone before. Cyprus retained its Bronze Age syllabic script right through to the CA period and beyond, indicating that there was no loss of literacy. The Iron Age chamber tombs, despite differences in design details (possibly to do with the display permitted by more elaborate — and visible — funerary ceremonies in the dromoi) remained in principle highly comparable to the multiple-

111 Perhaps particularly on Cyprus extracts of poppy spring to mind (Merrillees 1962; Merrillees and Evans 1989; Collard 2008); though whether these would have been drunk or absorbed through the skin in an oil medium is perhaps debatable.

112 Sherratt 2004, 207–10.

113 Karageorghis 2006, 56–9; Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982, 208: VI.59; see also Buchholz and Karageorghis 1973, 157, 454, colour pl. 3: 1671; 163, 480–2: 1747–9. They can also probably be glimpsed indirectly (if only in aspiration) in imported Aegean chariot kraters, specially designed to appeal to an East Mediterranean market, on which figures armed with swords or spears are occasionally associated with the chariots, the ultimate in 2nd millennium status symbols. For the most part, however, the figures associated with these chariots seem to be engaged in largely peaceful activities.

114 Philip 1989, 1995; Keswani 2004, tables 5.8–5.11.

115 Steel 2004, 166–8, 170, 172; Halstead 1977.

116 Karageorghis 2007, 258–9.

117 Karageorghis 2007, 257, 260; 1980, 134; 2006, 79; Steel 2004, 174; cf. Schaeffer 1949, 214–16; 1966.

118 Karageorghis 2003, 340–2; Catling 1995.

119 Iacovou 1994, 2008.

120 Pritchard 1958, 24.

121 Iacovou 2008.

122 Iacovou 1999, 150; 2008.

123 Swinton 1996.

124 Iacovou 2008.

use chamber tombs of the MBA and LBA. After the burst of elaborate sanctuaries designed as an integral part of the urban fabric, which characterised the boom coastal cities of the 13th–12th centuries, the island's old predilection for free-standing rural sanctuaries merely became more noticeable once again. In the ceramic field, too, the new standardised wares built on foundations laid in the mass-produced wheelmade wares produced in urban centres in the later 13th and 12th centuries, including forms which were clear continuations of ones introduced earlier, and even some which harked back to earlier handmade traditions.¹²⁵ The range of metal objects deposited in tombs¹²⁶ makes clear that the island's well established bronze and iron-working traditions continued unabated into the EIA.¹²⁷

Against this background, which marks the beginning of a continuous trajectory of growth towards the chief cities (or city kingdoms) of Archaic and Classical Cyprus, we probably have to imagine a certain amount of social and political fluidity and competition,¹²⁸ not only between centres of population but also between individuals and groups within these centres. It is in this context that the more flamboyant images, particularly of male activities, such as arms-bearing, horse-riding, hunting, outdoor feasting and drinking — the classic arenas for achieving individual distinction within the solidarity of the *Männerbund* — may well have had a significant part to play in the negotiation of social and political power both at local and regional levels. EIA Cyprus may have continued to be heavily engaged (with increasingly dominant Phoenician partners) in maritime trade both within and beyond the eastern Mediterranean, and to have continued to develop its skills in the bronze and iron working and undoubtedly also textile industries;¹²⁹ but that is not to say that, like other parts of the world familiar from more recent times, it did not also have warlords backed by warrior bands.

While both imagery and ideology may well have owed something to the forms and images of eastern practices and eastern mythologies, it would probably be a mistake to translate these in terms of wholesale adoption of eastern institutions such as the *marzeah* or even to see religious or cultic symbolism (deities, altars, sacrifices, mythological references) behind it all. As Louloupis has pointed out,¹³⁰ the repertory of Cypriot pot painting in the Geometric and Archaic periods seems strikingly rich in representations of everyday life. It would seem perverse to argue that what may plausibly be interpreted as scenes of hunting, fishing, riding horses, drinking and barbecuing did not reflect activities familiar to or actually engaged in by those who made or owned the pots, but inevitably carried special ritual references of a purely religious or mythological nature.

As for the wider context within the Mediterranean, several of the elements of this action-man ideology can be glimpsed over a wide area, from the Levant to Iberia, from the Alps to the southern Mediterranean at

roughly the same time within a broad timespan that extends from the end of the 13th century to the early centuries of the 1st millennium.¹³¹ It is characterised broadly by an increasing homogenisation of warrior equipment typical of a mobile, individualised style of warfare, which includes (among other things) light rail chariots (seen in the eastern Mediterranean and Aegean and probably also further west from around 1200 BC), weapons (such as cut-and-thrust European, Naue II, swords and throwing spears suitable for long range fighting) and armour (including small hand-held or trunk-protecting shields and helmets with a variety of projections) designed for defence against such weapons, often by metal feasting equipment (including, in some places, metal spits) which, together with activities such as hunting, seem to indicate mechanisms of group bonding. While it may be tempting to regard this sort of phenomenon as moving from east to west or *vice versa*, this would probably be to miss several points with regard both to the specificities of local contexts and to the complexities of a much wider canvas. While some of these elements undoubtedly have deep roots in much earlier periods almost everywhere, others may have spread at different times from a variety of directions, from west to east or east to west and back again, sometimes battenning on to cultural practices formerly expressed in some other guise. Although attempting to burden them with 'ethnicities' or 'ethnic' origins is probably a largely pointless quest, it is likely that, as a package, they owe something to the socio-economic conditions and general broadening of horizons which accompanied the end of the Bronze Age, and to the linking up of the Mediterranean by increasingly connected long-distance networks of small-scale entrepreneurial traders and opportunistic adventurers, the success of whose varied activities depended not only on versatility and mobility but also on maintaining the coherence of small groups.

125 See, for example, the Proto-White Painted version of a typical Base Ring jug found in a tomb near the Old People's Home in Larnaca, now on display in Larnaca Museum (Karageorghis 1976, 78–9, fig. 2, pl. 13:3; Flourentzos 1996, 42).

126 E.g. Karageorghis 1983; Rupp 1985, table 4.

127 Cf. Matthäus 1988.

128 Particularly perhaps in the 11th and early 10th centuries, when individual tombs seem to have experienced relatively short periods of use (Iacovou 1999, 149).

129 The textile-derived appearance of many of the scenes on CG (as well as CA) pottery seems unmistakable; and in some cases (e.g. Iacovou 1988, figs. 38, 76; Pieridou 1967, fig. 1: A, pl. 14: 4) looms might plausibly be portrayed (but see Pieridou 1967, 62–4 where these are interpreted as combs).

130 Louloupis 1989, 178.

131 Catling 1995; Karageorghis 2003; Muhly 2003; Crielaard 2006. For Iberia, see e.g. Harrison and Mederos Martín 2000; Mederos Martín 2008; for the northern Adriatic, see Borgna 1999.

CONCLUSIONS: CRETE, CYPRUS AND CONSUMPTION IN GENERAL

In comparing consumption on Crete and Cyprus — at least in the form of feasting — we are hampered to some extent by the comparative patchiness and lack of comprehensive contextuality of the archaeological record on Cyprus, and by the facts that on Cyprus, unlike Crete, we do not have written records we can read in the Bronze Age, and that there is a different (and rather more limited) repertoire of Bronze Age representational art. Nevertheless, on both islands it is possible to glimpse subtle changes in the patterns of feasting practices over time, and to see these taking place in different kinds of ideological contexts. Many of these patterns are broadly quite similar. In the relatively small communities of the Cretan EBA, for instance, communal consumption associated with burial rituals took place primarily around the round tholoi of the Mesara and in other burial contexts in north-central and eastern Crete. In the Cypriot EBA, as suggested by some of the Red Polished models,¹³² feasting and drinking, possibly also including whole communities, may likewise have taken place in or near round, perhaps open-air, structures in some sort of liminal context as implied by bucrania hung on the walls; though whether the contexts may have been funerary is harder to say. Later on, in the Cretan ‘Neopalatial’ and the later part of the Cypriot LBA, we witness an intensification of the deliberate deposition of feasting debris in both islands, creating ritualised memorials of memorable feasts: as in the ditch at LM IA Nopigeia (Crete) and the pit in Building X at Ayios Dhimitrios¹³³ and the Kouklia–Evreti wells of LC IIC–IIIA (Cyprus).¹³⁴ In the EIA, as both Cyprus and Crete experienced a period of relative social fluidity, it looks as though both islands may well have switched from relatively large scale feasting involving the boiling of meat in cooking pots or cauldrons to a more exclusive *Männerbund* type of barbecue feasting, probably associated with hunting, and perhaps sometimes commemorated in song by lyre playing warriors at subsequent feasts. Red deer (implying hunting) are a fairly constant feature of bone assemblages on Cyprus, probably from the Chalcolithic onwards; while fallow and red deer on Crete, though also present in earlier contexts (especially the ‘Neopalatial’), seem to become more prominent towards the end of the Bronze Age particularly at western sites, thus here too supporting the idea of engagement with the wilderness as an indicator of masculinity at this time. This notwithstanding, from the EBA onwards, the populations of both islands also regularly enjoyed feasting on the main domesticated animals.

Finally, we have to remember to consider Crete and Cyprus, both separately and together, in their wider contexts. From at least the later part of the 3rd millennium each was in contact with the other, if not directly then indirectly, through the medium of southern and southwestern Anatolia.¹³⁵ Elite fashions and the social

ideologies constructed around them, to which feasting is perhaps especially susceptible (think of the history of French cuisine!), travelled rapidly from the eastern Mediterranean to Aegean and, no doubt in certain circumstances, in the other direction and/or back again.

In the last resort, however, a parallel look at the two islands is of value, not so much for providing a checklist of similarities and differences or direct explanations of these in simple terms of contact or isolation, but for the insights it gives us into the social contexts and roles of universally important practices such as the communal consumption of food and drink. Consumption is all about the most distinguishing features of humanity, in particular its desires as a means of fulfilling its social aspirations (which distinguish humans as the ultimate in social creatures) as opposed to its purely animal needs. It is about the human body as a surrogate for how individuals or groups of individuals see themselves and how they stand in relation to others around them, as well as about the pure sensuousness of their multi-sensory interactions with the world in general. The substances and practices that we have talked about, or (for the most part) merely hinted at, involve internal or external bodily uses, and they were employed above all in contexts of social interaction and performance. There is nothing uniquely ‘ethnos’-based about any of these or other consumption practices. Each is the product of the socio-political or socio-economic circumstances in which it was adopted; and many of them can be seen as following the principles of Pierre Bourdieu’s *Distinction*:¹³⁶ as soon as a practice permeated throughout society, then it was time for those at the top (or who aspired to be at the top) to elaborate or modify an old one or adopt or invent a new one. Such consumption practices are to do with individual identities and the identities of social groups, and as such are often used for explicitly political ends. In this light, what we would advocate as the most appropriate basis for the future study of the all encompassing subject of consumption is that which might be termed (adapting a Foucaultian notion)¹³⁷ a ‘bio-political’ approach: an approach which treats consumption as an emotive and sensory social encounter with substances, in which complex micro-political and macro-political dynamics are played out. We have suggested here that feasting is closely linked to corporeal memory, that is, to the production of embodied histories. As such, it is a form of consumption which is fundamental to the reproduction of human societies.

132 For example, Karageorghis 2006, 37–41, figs. 30–2.

133 South 1988; Steel 2004, 170–1.

134 Halstead 1977; Steel 2004, 171–2.

135 Peltenburg 2007.

136 Bourdieu 1986.

137 Foucault 1976.

REFERENCES

- Cooking up the Past* = C. Mee and J. Renard (eds.), *Cooking up the Past: Food and Culinary Practices in the Neolithic and Bronze Age Aegean*. Oxford 2007.
- DAIS = L. A. Hitchcock, R. Laffineur and J. Crowley (eds.), *DAIS. The Aegean Feast*. Aegaeum 29. Liège and Austin 2008.
- Food, Cuisine and Society* = P. Halstead and J. C. Barrett (eds.), *Food, Cuisine and Society in Prehistoric Greece*. SSAA 5. Oxford 2004.
- Mycenaean Feast* = J. C. Wright (ed.), *The Mycenaean Feast*. Princeton 2004.
- Albright, W. F., 1954. *The Archaeology of Palestine* (rev. ed.). Harmondsworth.
- Amiran, R., 1969. *Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land: From its Beginnings in the Neolithic Period to the End of the Iron Age*. Jerusalem.
- Anderson, W. P., 1990. 'The beginnings of Phoenician pottery: vessel shape, style, and ceramic technology in the early phases of the Phoenician Iron Age', *BASOR* 279: 35–54.
- Andreadaki-Vlazi, M., 1996. 'Προϊστορικός οικισμός στα Νοπήγεια Κισσάμου — αποσπασματική ανασκαφική έρευνα', *Κρητική Εστία* 5 (1994–96): 11–45.
- , 2002. 'Are we approaching the Minoan palace at Khania?', in J. Driessen, I. Schoep and R. Laffineur (eds.), *Monuments of Minos: Rethinking the Minoan Palaces*. Aegaeum 23. Liège: 157–66.
- Appadurai, A., 1996. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Public Worlds 1. Minneapolis and London.
- Artzy, M., 2006. *The Jatt Metal Hoard in Northern Canaanite/Phoenician and Cypriote Context*. Cuadernos de Arqueología Mediterránea 14. Barcelona.
- Bass, G., 1967. *Cape Gelidonya. A Bronze Age Shipwreck*. TAPS 57.8. Philadelphia.
- Benton, S., 1961. 'Cattle egrets and bustards in Greek art', *JHS* 81: 44–55.
- Blackman, D., and K. Branigan, 1982. 'The excavation of an Early Minoan tholos tomb at Ayia Kyriaki, Ayiofarango, southern Crete', *BSA* 77: 1–57.
- Bietak, M., 2003. 'Temple or "Bêt Marzeah"?' in W. G. Dever and S. Gitin (eds.), *Symbiosis, Symbolism, and the Power of the Past*. Winona Lake: 155–68.
- Borgna, E., 1997a. 'Kitchen-ware from LM IIIC Phaistos: cooking traditions and ritual activities in LBA Cretan societies', *SMEA* 39: 189–217.
- , 1997b. 'Some observations on deep bowls and kraters from the "Acropoli mediana" at Phaistos', in E. Hallager and B. P. Hallager (eds.), *Late Minoan III Pottery: Chronology and Terminology*. Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 1. Athens: 273–98.
- , 1999. 'The North Adriatic regions between Europe and the Aegean world (12th–8th c.): social strategies and symbols of power in the long-distance exchange', in *Eliten in der Bronzezeit*. Monographien des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums 43. Mainz: 151–83.
- , 2004a. 'Aegean feasting: a Minoan perspective', *Mycenaean Feast*: 127–59.
- , 2004b. 'Social meanings of food and drink consumption at LMIII Phaistos', in *Food, Cuisine and Society*: 174–95.
- Bottéro, J., 1982. 'Küche', in D. O. Edzard (ed.), *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorder-asiatischen Archäologie* VI. Berlin and New York: 277–98.
- Boulotis, C., 1982. 'Ein Gründungsdepositem im minoischen Palast von Kato Zakros — minoisch-mykenische Bauopfer', *Archaeologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 12: 153–66.
- Bourdieu, P., 1986. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (trans. R. Nice). London.
- Branigan, K., 1974. *Aegean Metalwork of the Early and Middle Bronze Age*. Oxford.
- Buchholz, H.-G., and V. Karageorghis, 1973. *Prehistoric Greece and Cyprus: An Archaeological Handbook*. London.
- Carter, J. B., 1997. 'Thiasos and marzeah: ancestor cult in the age of Homer', in S. Langdon (ed.), *New Light on a Dark Age: Exploring the Culture of Geometric Greece*. Columbia: 72–112.
- Catling, H. W., 1964. *Cypriot Bronzework in the Mycenaean World*. Oxford.
- , 1995. 'Heroes returned? Subminoan burials from Crete', in J. B. Carter and S. P. Morris (eds.), *The Ages of Homer: A Tribute to Emily Townsend Vermeule*. Austin: 123–36.
- Catapoti, D., 2005. 'From power to paradigm: rethinking the emergence of the "palatial phenomenon" in Bronze Age Crete' (PhD thesis, University of Sheffield).
- Christakis, K. S., 2011. 'Redistribution and political economies in Bronze Age Crete', *AJA* 115: 197–205.
- Coldstream, J. N., 1989. 'Status symbols in Cyprus in the eleventh century BC', in E. Peltenburg (ed.), *Early Society in Cyprus*. Edinburgh: 325–35.
- Collard, D., 2008. 'Possible alternatives to alcohol: the contextual analysis of poppy-shaped jugs from Cyprus and the Aegean', in *DAIS*: 57–63.
- Crewe, L., 2007. 'Sophistication in simplicity: the first production of wheelmade pottery on Late Bronze Age Cyprus', *JMA* 20: 209–38.
- Crielaard, J. P., 2006. 'Basileis at sea: elites and external contacts in the Euboean Gulf region from the end of the Bronze Age to the beginning of the Iron Age', in S. Deger-Jalkotzy and I. S. Lemos (eds.), *Ancient Greece: From the Mycenaean Palaces to the Age of Homer*. Edinburgh Leventis Studies 3. Edinburgh: 271–97.
- Crouwel, J., 1991. 'Mycenaean pictorial pottery from Cyprus in Oxford', *OJA* 10: 45–55.
- Crouwel, J., and C. E. Morris, 1985. 'Mycenaean pictorial pottery from Tell Atchana (Alalakh)', *BSA* 80: 85–98.
- Crouwel, J., and C. E. Morris, 1995. 'Pictorial pottery of Late Minoan II–III A2 early from Knossos', *BSA* 90: 157–82.
- D'Agata, A. L., 2000. 'Ritual and rubbish in Dark Age Crete: the settlement of Thronos/Kephala (ancient Sybrita) and the pre-classical roots of a Greek city', *Aegean Archaeology* 4: 45–59.
- Dalley, S., 1984. *Mari and Karana: Two Old Babylonian Cities*. London and New York.
- Davaras, C., and P. P. Betancourt, 2004. *The Hagia Photia Cemetery I. The Tomb Groups and Architecture*. Prehistory Monographs 14. Philadelphia.
- Day, P. M., and D. E. Wilson, 1998. 'Consuming power: Kamares ware in Protopalatial Knossos', *Antiquity* 72: 350–8.

- Day, P. M., and D. E. Wilson, 2004. 'Ceramic change and the practice of eating and drinking in Early Bronze Age Crete', in *Food, Cuisine and Society*: 45–62.
- Demakopoulou, K. (ed.), 1988. *Ο μυκηναϊκός κόσμος. Πέντε αιώνες πρώιμου ελληνικού πολιτισμού 1600–1100 π.Χ.* Athens.
- Dikaïos, P., 1937. 'An Iron Age painted amphora in the Cyprus Museum', *BSA* 37 (1936–37): 56–72.
- Douglas, M., and B. Isherwood, 1978. *The World of Goods*. London.
- Driessen, J., A. Farnoux and C. Langohr, 2008. 'Favissae. Feasting pits in Late Minoan III', in *DAIS*: 197–205.
- Eriksson, K. G., 2008. 'Feasting as part of the multiculturalism of Late Bronze Age Cyprus', in *DAIS*: 297–307.
- Falk, P., 1994. *The Consuming Body*. London.
- Fensham, F. C., 1972. 'The first Ugaritic text in Ugaritica V and the Old Testament', *Vetus Testamentum* 22: 296–303.
- Finet, A., 1977. 'Le vin à Mari', *AfO* 25 (1974–77): 122–31.
- Flint, P., and P. Stewart, 1983. *The Birds of Cyprus: An Annotated Check-List*. British Ornithologists Union Check-List 6. London.
- Flourentzos, P., 1996. *A Guide to the Larnaka District Museum*. Nicosia.
- Foucault, M., 1976. *Histoire de la sexualité* 1. *La volonté de savoir*. Paris.
- Furumark, A., 1941. *The Mycenaean Pottery: Analysis and Classification*. Stockholm.
- Gamble, C., 2004. 'Materiality and symbolic force: a Palaeolithic view of sedentism', in E. Demarraï, C. Renfrew and C. Gosden (eds.), *Rethinking Materiality: The Engagement of Mind with the Material World*. Cambridge: 85–95.
- Gershuny, L., 1985. *Bronze Vessels from Israel and Jordan*. PBF 6.2. Munich.
- Girella, L., 2007. 'Forms of commensal politics in Neopalatial Crete', *Creta Antica* 8: 135–68.
- Güterbock, H. G., and H. Hoffner, 1997. *The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* vol. P. Chicago.
- Haarer, P., 2000. 'Obeloi and iron in Archaic Greece' (DPhil thesis, University of Oxford).
- Haggis, D. C., 2007. 'Stylistic diversity and diacritical feasting at protopalatial Petras: a preliminary analysis of the Lakkos deposit', *AJA* 111: 715–75.
- , M. S. Mook, C. M. Scarry, L. M. Snyder and R. D. Fitzsimons, 2007. 'Excavations at Azoria 2003–2004. Part I. The Archaic Civic Complex', *Hesperia* 76: 243–321.
- Hallager, E., and B. P. Hallager, 2000. *The Greek-Swedish Excavations at the Agia Aikaterini Square, Kastelli, Khania 1970–1987* II. *The Late Minoan IIIC Settlement*. Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen 4°47: 2. Stockholm.
- Hallager, E., and B. P. Hallager, 2003. *The Greek-Swedish Excavations at the Agia Aikaterini Square, Kastelli, Khania 1970–1987* III. *The Late Minoan IIIB:2 Settlement*. Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen 4°47: 3. Stockholm.
- Halstead, P., 1977. 'A preliminary report on the faunal remains from Late Bronze Age Kouklia, Paphos', *RDAC*: 261–75.
- , 2007. 'Carcasses and commensality: investigating the social context of meat consumption in Neolithic and Early Bronze Age Greece', in *Cooking up the Past*: Oxford: 25–48.
- Hamilakis, Y., 1995. 'Strategies for survival and strategies for domination: wine, oil, and 'social complexity' in Bronze Age Crete' (PhD thesis, University of Sheffield).
- , 1996. 'Wine, oil and the dialectics of power in Bronze Age Crete: a review of the evidence', *OJA* 15: 1–32.
- , 1998. 'Eating the dead: mortuary feasting and the politics of memory in the Aegean Bronze Age societies', in K. Branigan (ed.), *Cemetery and Society in the Aegean Bronze Age*. SSAA 1. Sheffield: 115–32.
- , 1999. 'Food technologies/technologies of the body: the social context of wine and olive oil production and consumption in Bronze Age Crete', *WA* 31: 38–54.
- , 2002a. 'What future for the "Minoan" past? Rethinking "Minoan" archaeology', in Y. Hamilakis (ed.), *Labyrinth Revisited: Rethinking "Minoan" Archaeology*. Oxford: 2–28.
- , 2002b. 'Too many chiefs? Factional competition in neopalatial Crete', in J. Driessen, I. Schoep and R. Laffineur (eds.), *Monuments of Minos: Rethinking the Minoan Palaces*. Aegaeum 23. Liège and Austin: 177–99.
- , 2003. 'The sacred geography of hunting: wild animals, social power and gender in early farming societies', in E. Kotjabopoulou, Y. Hamilakis, P. Halstead, C. Gamble and P. Elefanti (eds.), *Zooarchaeology in Greece: Recent Advances*. BSA Studies 9. London: 239–47.
- , 2008. 'Time, performance, and the production of a mnemonic record: from feasting to an archaeology of eating and drinking', in *DAIS*: 3–19.
- , forthcoming. 'Sensuous memory, materiality, and history: rethinking the "rise of the palaces" on Bronze Age Crete', in B. Knapp and P. van Domellen (eds.), *The Cambridge Handbook of the Bronze and Iron Age Mediterranean*. Cambridge.
- Hamilakis, Y., and K. Harris, forthcoming. 'The social zooarchaeology of feasting: the evidence from the "ritual" deposit at Nopigeia–Drapanias', in *Πεπραγμένα Ι' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου*. Chania.
- Hamilakis, Y., and E. Konsolaki, 2004. 'Pigs for the gods: burnt animal sacrifices as embodied rituals at a Mycenaean sanctuary', *OJA* 23: 135–51.
- Hankey, V., and H. Hankey, 2004. 'A Mycenaean pictorial krater from level VI', in D. Ussishkin, *The Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Lachish (1973–1994)* III. Tel Aviv: 1426–36.
- Harris, K., in preparation. 'The social role of hunting in Late Bronze Age Crete' (PhD thesis in preparation, University of Southampton).
- Harris, K., and Y. Hamilakis, 2008. 'A social zooarchaeology of feasting: the evidence from the ritual deposit at Nopigeia, Crete', in S. Baker, M. Allen, S. Middle and K. Poole (eds.), *Food and Drink in Archaeology* 1. Blackawton: 162–4.
- Harrison, R., and A. Mederos Martín, 2000. 'Patronage and clientship: a model for the Atlantic Final Bronze Age in the Iberian peninsula', in C. F. E. Pare (ed.), *Metals Make the World Go Round: The Supply and Circulation of Metals in Bronze Age Europe*. Oxford: 133–50.
- Hoffner, H., 1974. *Alimenta Hethaeorum. Food Production in Hittite Asia Minor*. New Haven.

- Iacovou, M., 1988. *The Pictorial Pottery of Eleventh Century B.C. Cyprus*. SIMA 78. Göteborg.
- , 1994. 'The topography of 11th century B.C. Cyprus', in V. Karageorghis (ed.), *Cyprus in the 11th Century B.C.* Nicosia: 149–65.
- , 1999. 'Excerpta Cypria Geometrica. Materials for a history of Geometric Cyprus', in M. Iacovou and D. Michaelides (eds.), *Cyprus: The Historicity of the Geometric Horizon*. Nicosia: 141–66.
- , 2008. 'Cultural and political configurations in Iron Age Cyprus: the sequel to a protohistoric episode', *AJA* 112: 625–58.
- Isaakidou, V., 2004. 'Bones from the labyrinth: faunal evidence for management and consumption of animals at Late Neolithic and Bronze Age Knossos, Crete' (PhD thesis, University College London).
- , 2007. 'Cooking in the labyrinth: exploring cuisine at Bronze Age Knossos', in *Cooking up the Past*: 5–24.
- Isaakidou, V., P. Halstead, J. Davis and S. Stocker, 2002. 'Burnt animal sacrifice in Late Bronze Age Greece: new evidence from the Mycenaean "Palace of Nestor", Pylos', *Antiquity* 76: 86–92.
- Kanta, A., 1980. *The Late Minoan III Period in Crete: A Survey of Sites, Pottery and their Distribution*. SIMA 58. Göteborg.
- Karageorghis, V., 1967. 'An early XIth century B.C. tomb from Palaepaphos', *RDAC*: 1–24.
- , 1976. 'Kypriaka III', *RDAC*: 75–83.
- , 1980. 'Kypriaka V', *RDAC*: 128–35.
- , 1983. *Palaepaphos-Skales. An Iron Age Cemetery in Cyprus*. Ausgrabungen in Alt-Paphos auf Cypern 3. Konstanz.
- , 1990. *Tombs at Palaepaphos. 1. Teratsoudhia. 2. Eliomylia*. Nicosia.
- , 2003. 'Heroic burials in Cyprus and other Mediterranean regions', in N. C. Stampolidis and V. Karageorghis (eds.), *Πλόες. Sea Routes...Interconnections in the Mediterranean 16th–6th c. BC*. Athens: 339–51.
- , 2006. *Aspects of Everyday Life in Ancient Cyprus*. Nicosia.
- , 2007. 'Eating and drinking in Cyprus, 13th–6th centuries B.C.', in E. Alram-Stern and G. Nightingale (eds.), *Keimelion: Elitenbildung und elitärer Konsum von des mykenischen Palastzeit bis zur homerischen Epoche*. Vienna: 257–62.
- Karageorghis, V., and J. des Gagniers, 1974. *La céramique chypriote de style figuré (Age du Fer, 1050–500 av. J.-C.)*. Rome.
- Karageorghis, V., and F. Lo Schiavo, 1989. 'A west Mediterranean obelos from Amathus', *Rivista di Studi Fenici* 17: 15–29.
- Keswani, P., 1991. 'A preliminary investigation of systems of ceramic production and distribution in Cyprus during the Late Bronze Age', in J. A. Barlow, D. L. Bolger and B. Kling (eds.), *Cypriot Ceramics: Reading the Prehistoric Record*. University Museum Monograph 74. Philadelphia: 97–118.
- , 2004. *Mortuary Ritual and Society in Bronze Age Cyprus*. Monographs in Mediterranean Archaeology 9. London and Oakville.
- Kling, B., 1989. *Mycenaean IIIC:1b and Related Pottery in Cyprus*. SIMA 87. Göteborg.
- Knappett, C., 1999. 'Tradition and innovation in pottery forming technology: wheel-throwing at Middle Minoan Knossos', *BSA* 94: 101–29.
- , 2005. *Thinking through Material Culture: An Interdisciplinary Perspective*. Philadelphia.
- Koehl, R. B., 1997. 'The villas at Ayia Triada and Nirou Chani and the origin of the Cretan *andreion*', in R. Hägg (ed.), *The Function of the "Minoan Villa"*. Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen 4^o 46. Stockholm: 137–49.
- Kopaka, K., and L. Platon, 1993. 'ΛΗΝΟΙ ΜΙΝΩΙΚΟΙ. Installations minoennes de traitement des produits liquides', *BCH* 117: 35–101.
- Lang, M. L., 1969. *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia II. The Frescoes*. Princeton.
- Levi, D., 1976. *Festòs e la Civiltà Minoica I*. Incunabula Graeca 60. Rome.
- Loulloupis, M. C., 1989. 'Hunting scenes on Cypriot vases of the Geometric period', in E. Peltenburg (ed.), *Early Society in Cyprus*. Edinburgh: 171–9.
- Macdonald, C., and C. Knappett, 2007. *Knossos. Protopalatial Deposits in Early Magazine A and the South-West Houses*. BSA Suppl. 41. London.
- Makkay, J., 1983. 'Metal forks as symbols of power and religion', *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 35: 313–44.
- Marinatos, S., 1951. 'Ανασκαφή μεγάρου Βαθυπέτρου (Κρήτης)', *PAE*: 258–72.
- Masson, E., and O. Masson, 1983. 'Les objets inscrits de Palaepaphos-Skales', in Karageorghis 1983: 411–15.
- Matthäus, H., 1985. *Metallgefässe und Gefässuntersätze der Bronzezeit, der geometrischen und archaischen Periode auf Cypern*. PBF 8.2. Munich.
- , 1988. 'Heirloom or tradition? Bronze stands of the second and first millennium B.C. in Cyprus, Greece and Italy', in E. B. French and K. A. Wardle (eds.), *Problems in Greek Prehistory*. Bristol: 285–300.
- Mazarakis Ainian, A. I., 1997. *From Ruler's Dwellings to Temples: Architecture, Religion and Society in Early Iron Age Greece (1000–700 BC)*. SIMA 121. Jonsöred.
- McGovern, P. E., 2003. *Ancient Wine: The Search for the Origins of Viticulture*. Princeton.
- Mederos Martín, A., 2008. 'Carros micénicos del Heládico Final III en las estelas decoradas del Bronce Final II–IIIA del suroeste de la península Ibérica', in S. Celestino, N. Rafel and X.-L. Armada (eds.), *Contacto cultural entre el Mediterráneo y el Atlántico (siglos XII–VIII a.n.e.)*. La precolonización a debate. Madrid: 437–63.
- Merrillees, R. S., 1962. 'Opium trade in the Bronze Age Levant', *Antiquity* 36: 287–92.
- Merrillees, R. S., and J. Evans, 1989. 'Highs and lows in the Holy Land: opium in Biblical times', *Eretz-Israel* 20: 148–54.
- Monchambert, J.-Y., 2004. 'La céramique mycénienne d'Ougarit. Nouvelles données', in J. Balensi, J.-Y. Monchambert and S. Müller Celka (eds.), *La Céramique mycénienne de l'Egée au Levant. Hommage à Vronwy Hankey*. TMO 41. Lyon: 125–40.
- Moorey, P. R. S., 1980. 'Metal wine-sets in the ancient Near East', *Iranica Antiqua* 15: 181–97.
- Morgan, L., 1998. 'The wall paintings of the North-East Bastion at Ayia Irini, Kea', in L. G. Mendoni and

- A. I. Mazarakis Ainian (eds.), *Kea–Kythnos: History and Archaeology*. Athens: 201–10.
- Morris, C. E., 1989. 'The Mycenaean chariot krater: a study in form, and function' (PhD thesis, University of London).
- Muhly, J. D., 2003. 'Greece and Anatolia in the Early Iron Age: the archaeological evidence and the literary tradition', in W. G. Dever and S. Gitin (eds.), *Symbiosis, Symbolism, and the Power of the Past*. Winona Lake: 23–35.
- Mylona, D., 1999. 'Chamalevri zooarchaeological material', in Y. Tzedakis and H. Martlew (eds.), *Minoans and Mycenaeans: Flavours of Their Time*. Athens: 62–7.
- , forthcoming, 'The animal bones from the pits', in L. Rocchetti, A. L. D'Agata and N. Prokopiou (eds.), *Greek-Italian Excavations at Thronos Kephala, Crete: The Pits*. Rome.
- Needham, S., and S. Bowman, 2005. 'Flesh-hooks, technological complexity and the Atlantic Bronze Age feasting complex', *European Journal of Archaeology*: 93–136.
- Niklasson, K., 1983. 'Tomb 23: a shaft-grave of the Late Cypriote III period', in P. Åström, E. Åström, A. Hatziantoniou, K. Niklasson and U. Öbrink, *Hala Sultan Tekke 8. Excavations 1971–79*. SIMA 45.8. Göteborg: 169–313.
- Pairman Brown, J., 1969. 'The Mediterranean vocabulary of the vine', *Vetus Testamentum* 19: 146–70.
- Palaima, T., 2000. 'The Pylos Ta series: from Michael Ventris to the new millennium', *BICS* 44: 236–7.
- Palmer, R., 1994. *Wine in the Mycenaean Palace Economy*. Aegaeum 10. Liège and Austin.
- Peltenburg, E., 2007. 'East Mediterranean interactions in the 3rd millennium BC', in S. Antoniadou and A. Pace (eds.), *Mediterranean Crossroads*. Athens: 141–61.
- Persson, A. W., 1931. *The Royal Tombs at Dendra near Midea*. Lund.
- , 1942. *New Tombs at Dendra near Midea*. Lund.
- Philip, G., 1989. 'Cypriot bronzework in the Levantine world: an attempt to situate the metal weapons of the Early and Middle Cypriot periods relative to the contemporary mainland material', in E. Peltenburg (ed.), *Early Society in Cyprus*. Edinburgh: 199.
- , 1995. 'Warrior burials in the ancient Near-Eastern Bronze Age: the evidence from Mesopotamia, Western Iran and Syria-Palestine', in S. Campbell and A. Green (eds.), *The Archaeology of Death in the Ancient Near East*. Oxford: 140–54.
- Pieridou, A., 1967. 'Ο ζωγραφικός ρυθμός της πρώιμου Κυπρογεωμετρικής περιόδου', *Κυπριακαί Σπουδαί* 31: 53–64.
- Platon, N., 1947. 'Η αρχαιολογική κίνησις εν Κρήτη κατά τα έτη 1941–47', *KrChron* 1: 631–40.
- , 1954. 'Τα μινωικά οικιακά ιερά', *KrChron* 8: 428–33.
- Popham, M. R., 1967. 'Late Minoan pottery, a summary', *BSA* 62: 337–51.
- Prent, M., 2003. 'Glories of the past in the past: ritual activities at palatial ruins in Early Iron Age Crete', in R. M. Van Dyke and S. E. Alcock (eds.), *Archaeologies of Memory*. Oxford: 81–103.
- , 2005. *Cretan Sanctuaries and Cults: Continuity and Change from Late Minoan IIIC to the Archaic Period*. Leiden and Boston.
- Pritchard, J. B. (ed.), 1958. *The Ancient Near East. An Anthology of Texts and Pictures*. Princeton.
- Reade, J. E., 1995. 'The symposion in ancient Mesopotamia: archaeological evidence', in O. Murray and M. Tecuşan (eds.), *In Vino Veritas*. London: 35–56.
- Renfrew, C., 1972. *The Emergence of Civilisation: The Cyclades and the Aegean in the Third Millennium B.C.* London.
- Riley, F. R., 1999. *The Role of the Traditional Mediterranean Diet in the Development of Minoan Crete*. BAR–IS 810. Oxford.
- Rupp, D. W., 1985. 'Prolegomena to a study of stratification and social organization in Iron Age Cyprus', in M. Thompson, M. T. Garcia and F. J. Kense (eds.), *Status, Structure and Stratification: Current Archaeological Reconstructions*. Calgary: 119–31.
- Rutter, J. B., 2004. 'Ceramic sets in context: one dimension of food preparation and consumption in a Minoan palatial setting', in *Food, Cuisine and Society*: 63–89.
- Sarpaki, A., 1995. 'Η αρχαιολογική ορατότητα της αμπέλου στην Κρήτη και στον ελλαδικό χώρο την προϊστορική εποχή', in *Πεπραγμένα του Ζ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου*. Rethymnon: A2, 841–61.
- Schaeffer, C. F.-A., 1949. *Ugaritica* II. Paris.
- , 1956. *Ugaritica* III. Paris.
- , 1966. 'Nouveaux témoignages du culte de El et de Baal à Ras Shamra-Ugarit et ailleurs en Syrie-Palestine', *Syria* 43: 1–19.
- Scheffer, C., 1984. 'Aegean Bronze-Age spit supports with scalloped tops', *OpAth* 15: 155–62.
- Schliemann, H., 1880. *Mycenae: A Narrative of Researches and Discoveries at Mycenae and Tiryns*. London.
- Schoep, I., 2002. 'Social and political organization on Crete in the Proto-palatial period: the case of Middle Minoan II Malia', *JMA* 15: 101–32.
- Seremetakis, N. (ed.), 1994. *The Senses Still: Perception and Memory as Material Culture in Modernity*. Boulder.
- Sevilock, J., 2006. 'The techniques of the sacrifice of animals in ancient Israel and ancient Mesopotamia: new insights through comparison 1', *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 44: 13–49.
- Sherratt, A., and S. Sherratt, 2008. 'The Neolithic of Crete as seen from outside', in V. Isaakidou and P. Tomkins (eds.), *Escaping the Labyrinth: The Cretan Neolithic in Context*. SSAA 8. Oxford: 291–302.
- Sherratt, S., 2003. 'Visible writing: questions of script and identity in Early Iron Age Greece and Cyprus', *OJA* 22: 225–42.
- , 2004. 'Feasting in Homeric epic', in *Mycenaean Feast*: 181–217.
- Simmel, G., 1994 [1910]. 'The sociology of the meal', *Food and Foodways* 5: 345–50.
- Sjöqvist, E., 1940. *Problems of the Late Cypriote Bronze Age*. Stockholm.
- Simmons, A. H., 1999. *Faunal Extinction in an Island Society: Pygmy Hippopotamus Hunters of Cyprus*. New York.
- Singer-Avitz, L., 2004. 'The Middle Bronze Age pottery from Areas D and P', in D. Ussishkin, *The Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Lachish (1973–1994)* III. Tel Aviv: 900–65.
- South, A. K., 1988. 'Kalavassos–Ayios Dhimitrios 1987: an important ceramic group from Building X', *RDAC*: 223–8.

- , 2008. 'Feasting in Cyprus: a view from Kalavassos', in *DAIS*: 309–15.
- Steel, L., 2004. 'A goodly feast . . . a cup of mellow wine: feasting in Bronze Age Cyprus', in *Mycenaean Feast*: 161–80.
- Stocker, S., and J. Davis, 2004. 'Animal sacrifice, archives, and feasting at the Palace of Nestor', in *Mycenaean Feast*: 59–75.
- Stubbings, F. H., 1951. *Mycenaean Pottery from the Levant*. Cambridge.
- Sutton, D., 2001. *Remembrance of Repasts: An Anthropology of Food and Memory*. Oxford.
- Swinton, A., 1996. 'Religion and ancient society: the development of public cult on Cyprus from LC I–CA I' (PhD thesis, University of Cambridge).
- Thomas, P. M., 2005. 'A deposit of Late Helladic IIIB1 pottery from Tsoungiza', *Hesperia* 74: 451–73.
- Todaro, S., and S. Di Tonto, 2008. 'The Neolithic settlement of Phaistos revisited: evidence for ceremonial activity on the eve of the Bronze Age', in V. Isaakidou and P. Tomkins (eds.), *Escaping the Labyrinth: The Cretan Neolithic in Context*. SSAA 8. Oxford: 177–90.
- Tomkins, P., 2004. 'Filling in the "Neolithic background": social life and social transformation in the Aegean before the Bronze Age', in J. C. Barrett and P. Halstead (eds.), *The Emergence of Civilisation Revisited*. SSAA 5. Oxford: 38–63.
- , 2007a. 'Communitarity and competition: the social life of food and containers at Aceramic and Early Neolithic Knossos, Crete', in *Cooking up the Past*: 174–99.
- , 2007b. 'Neolithic: strata IX–VIII, VII–VIB, VIA–V, IV, IIIB, IIIA, IIB, IIA and IC groups', in N. Momigliano (ed.), *Knossos Pottery Handbook: Neolithic and Bronze Age (Minoan)*. BSA Studies 14. London: 9–48.
- Tzedakis, Y., and H. Martlew (eds.), 1999. *Minoans and Mycenaeans: Flavours of Their Time*. Athens.
- Tzedakis, Y., H. Martlew and M. K. Jones (eds.), 2008. *Archaeology Meets Science: Biomolecular Investigations in Bronze Age Greece*. Oxford.
- Van Wijngaarden, G. J., 2002. *Use and Appreciation of Mycenaean Pottery in the Levant, Cyprus and Italy (ca. 1600–1200 BC)*. Amsterdam.
- Vavouranakis, G., 2007. *Funerary Landscapes East of Lasithi, Crete, in the Bronze Age*. BAR–IS 1606. Oxford.
- Vermeule, E., and V. Karageorghis, 1982. *Mycenaean Pictorial Vase Painting*. Cambridge, Mass.
- Wallace, S., 2000. 'Case studies of settlement change in Early Iron Age Crete (c. 1200–700 BC): economic models of cause and effect reassessed', *Aegean Archaeology* 4: 61–99.
- Walsh, C. E., 2000. *The Fruit of the Vine: Viticulture in Ancient Israel*. Harvard Semitic Monographs 60. Winona Lake.
- Warren, P., 1972. *Myrtos. An Early Bronze Age Settlement in Crete*. BSA Suppl. 7. London.
- Webb, J. M., and D. Frankel, 2008. 'Fine ware ceramics, consumption and commensality: mechanisms of horizontal and vertical integration in Early Bronze Age Cyprus', in *DAIS*: 287–95.
- Wengrow, D., 1996. 'Egyptian taskmasters and heavy burdens: highland exploitation and the collared-rim pithos of the Bronze–Iron Age Levant', *OJA* 15: 307–26.
- Whitley, J., 2006. 'Praisos: political evolution and ethnic identity in eastern Crete c. 1400–300 BC', in S. Deger-Jalkotzy and I. S. Lemos (eds.), *Ancient Greece: From the Mycenaean Palaces to the Age of Homer*. Edinburgh Leventis Studies 3. Edinburgh: 597–617.
- Wright, D. P., 2000. *Ritual in Narrative: The Dynamics of Feasting, Mourning and Retaliation Rites in the Ugaritic Tale of Aqhat*. Winona Lake.
- Wright, J. C., 2004. 'A survey of evidence for feasting in Mycenaean society', in *Mycenaean Feast*: 13–58.
- Yannai, E., 2006. 'The origin and distribution of the collared-rim pithos and krater: a case of conservative pottery production in the ancient Near East', in A. M. Maeir and P. de Miroschedji (eds.), *'I Will Speak the Riddle of Ancient Times': Archaeological and Historical Studies in Honor of Amihai Mazar*. Winona Lake: 89–112.
- Yon, M., 2006. *The City of Ugarit at Tell Ras Shamra*. Winona Lake.

