

on the **OUTDΘΩRS** of
AEGEAN PREHISTORY

Colloquium

Athens, 17 – 18 May 2018

Organized by

Eleni Hatzaki and Paschalis Zafeiriadis

Supported by

The Norwegian Institute at Athens

PROGRAM

THURSDAY 17.05.2018

15:00 – 16:00 OFFICIAL ADDRESSES - WELCOME

Registration

Greetings Dr. Jorunn Økland, Director of the Norwegian Institute at Athens

Welcome and Introduction by the Organizing Committee

SESSION I. Building the Unbuilt: Towards an Understanding of Constructing the Outdoors

Chair: Platon, Lefteris

16:00 Kanta, Athanasia

Open Space - Private Space - Sacred space. Recent Evidence from Monastiraki Amariou in Crete.

16:40 Fotou, Vasso

Non-Built Spaces in Urban Contexts of Neopalatial Crete: Characterisation and Use.

17:20 Mathioudaki, Iro, Charlotte Langohr and Théo Terrana

Discarded Material in Complex Outdoor Settings: the Case of Space 10.6 in the West Wing of the Court-Centred Building at Sissi (Zone 17).

18:00 – 18:30 Break

18:30 Hatzaki, Eleni and Paschalis Zafeiriadis

Little Palace North: at the Outdoors of the Elite in Final Palatial – Postpalatial Knossos, Crete.

19:10 Rethemiotakis, Giorgos and Kostis Christakis

Clearing out a Palace: Planned Rubbish Disposal at Galatas, Pediada.

FRIDAY 18.05.2018

Session II. Judging from the Outside: Indoors Domestic Activity from the Outdoors

Chair: Karetsov, Alexandra

10:00 Tsipopoulou, Metaxia

In and Out: Private and Communal Areas in a Neopalatial Large House at Petras, Siteia.

10:40 Apostolaki, Emmanouela

Perception of Privacy through the Outdoors in East Crete.

11:20 Cultraro, Massimo

Constructing a Biography of Households and Social Structures at Poliochni, Lemnos: Outdoor Spaces and Built Environment in the Early Bronze Age.

12:00 Van Damme, Trevor

Finding Common Ground: Social, Economic, and Ideological Aspects of Mycenaean Post-Palatial Domestic Courtyards.

12:40 – 15:20 Break

SESSION III. Outside-In and Inside-Out: a Spatial Perspective on Socio-Economic Interpretation

Chair: Tsipopoulou, Metaxia

15:20 Karetsov, Alexandra, Luca Girella and Dimitra Mylona

Did the Minoans Feast or Dine? The Case of the Juktas Peak Sanctuary and Alonaki.

16:00 Kalogiropoulou, Evita

'Let's Eat Out': Kitchen Spaces, People and Daily Life in the Greek Neolithic.

16:40 Platon, Lefteris and Alexandra Salichou

From Built to Open: the Transformation of Architectural Space as Indicative for Socio-Political Change in the Minoan Settlement of Zakros.

17:20 – 17:50 Break

17:50 Kyrillidou, Stella

On the Outdoors of Aegean Prehistory: the Micromorphology of Open Spaces in Neolithic and Bronze Age Communities of the Northern Aegean.

18:30 Papadatos, Yiannis and Tina Kalantzopoulou

Outdoor Spaces and the Organization of Production on the Cretan Uplands: a Mountain Perspective of Neopalatial Administration.

CONCLUDING SESSION

19:10 Concluding comments by Professor Konstantinos Kotsakis (Emeritus, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki).

General Discussion

ABSTRACTS

SESSION I. Building the Unbuilt: towards an Understanding of Constructing the Outdoors

Kanta, Athanasia (Director Emerita, 23rd Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities)

Open Space - Private Space - Sacred space. Recent Evidence from Monastiraki Amariou in Crete

In recent years, the central area of the Palatial Center at Monastiraki in the Amari valley has been investigated. The center dates from the Protopalatial period. The architectural arrangement shows clear town planning and execution by a strong central authority. A central court and other open areas have come to light. In addition, open air areas have been arranged around a sacred rock in the middle of the central area. The evidence and historical repercussions of these finds are presented in the workshop.

Fotou, Vasso (ArScAn, Protohistoire égéenne, Paris)

Non-Built Spaces in Urban Contexts of Neopalatial Crete: Characterisation and Use

In Neopalatial towns, as in all towns, the non-built spaces par excellence are those that form the skeleton of the urban fabric: the network of streets (main, secondary and cul-de-sacs) which often widen to create small plazas as well as proper squares. Depending upon their surroundings, these spaces can be more or less well defined. But whatever their form, these are all public spaces of which, nevertheless, the adjacent buildings make good use.

There is, however, another category of non-built space in Neopalatial towns, one less conspicuous and often overlooked. They are present in some blocks for example at Malia, Gournia, Palaikastro and Kato Zakros. They represent residual spaces of various forms and sizes, depending on the possibilities offered by the internal structure of the blocks and on how the plots were built over. Their relation with the adjacent buildings is hard to define mainly because of the difficulty in ascertaining the borders of a plot on which a building stands. Only in the case of the Maison Ζα and probably also in that of the Maison Δα at Malia, is it possible to argue that these free spaces were part of the building-plot and that therefore they were private open spaces, courts or gardens. In general, it appears that they were, mainly or exclusively –depending on whether or not they were connected somehow to the street network or if that connection was controlled–, reserved for the inhabitants of the buildings forming their limits. They represent therefore semi-public or communal spaces. In some cases, there is evidence that domestic or artisanal activities, presumably involving the inhabitants of the surrounding buildings, took place in

these spaces. And it is tempting to think that these activities included the keeping of domestic animals.

Residual spaces can also result when buildings are set into cuttings made into a slope, in particular when the cutting extended beyond the footprint of the building. This type of residual space is rather rare: the best examples are provided by two Knossian buildings: the South House and the South-East House. Their study suggests that the space left between the cutting and the building did not exclusively belong to the building, but rather were semi-public in character.

Mathioudaki, Iro (Postdoctoral researcher of the F.R.S.-FNRS, AEGIS, UCLouvain)

Charlotte, Langohr (Chercheure qualifiée du FNRS, AEGIS, UCLouvain, CEMA-INCAL)

Terrana, Théo (Archaeologist, UCLouvain)

Discarded Material in Complex Outdoor Settings: the Case of Space 10.6 in the West Wing of the Court-Centred Building at Sissi (Zone 17)

The excavation of 2016-2017 in the West Wing of the Neopalatial Court-Centred Building at Sissi (North-Eastern Crete) brought to light a structure possibly related to water collecting activities which, at a later stage, seems to have been used for dumping pottery. This is the area where Santorini tephra lapilli were found in the 2015 excavation campaign, when excavation started in this area. When the layer with tephra was removed, dense layers of fragmentary pottery and plaster came to light. When excavation progressed, the deposit was seen to be a fill within a shallow more or less circular basin, cut into the limestone bedrock. The basin was originally plastered and had an outlet into a sunken rectangular space, which was found filled with ashlar blocks. Mineralisation on the bedrock of the circular basin suggests that water settled in it. At a later stage the basin ceased to be used as a collecting or filtering device and was used for the structured deposition of large quantities of ceramics. Excavation revealed at least four episodes of filling consisting of a mixture of sherds, including many complete conical cups and tableware of MM IIIB and LM IA date (ca. 27000 sherds), with nerochoma or silt, small stones and a lot of plaster, apparently used for successive layers of flooring. Specific decorative patterns of the pottery, like tortoise-shell ripple, spirals and floral motifs, indicate different episodes of discard dated to the MM IIIB to the early LM IA period. This massive ceramic deposit is hence particularly important for the internal Neopalatial sequence of Sissi, and its earliest levels in particular may date the construction of the Court-Centred Building, in MM IIIA. The detailed study of the material confirms the gradual character of the accumulation.

The formal planning of the Court-Centred Building clearly reflect concepts of Neopalatial palatial architecture, including the stress on water-related activities as e.g. in the palace at Zakros. The fact that a structure made for water accumulation and storage, located in close proximity to the central court of the complex, was later used as an articulated outdoor space for the discard of pottery points to a series of meaningful and even symbolic operations in relation to space transformation, which can be compared with what happened at Myrtos-Pyrgos and perhaps even the

kouloures at Knossos. The concentration of a large mass of ceramics with a wide range of drinking and pouring vessels, the morphological changes in pottery, which suggest a constantly increasing type standardization, and finally the presence of 'drinking and eating' sets in contexts which support the consolidation of new ideologies, form our analytical and interpretative axes.

Hatzaki, Eleni (Associate Professor, Univ. of Cincinnati)

Zafeiriadis, Paschalis (PhD candidate, Univ. of Cincinnati)

Little Palace North: at the Outdoors of the Elite in Final Palatial - Postpalatial Knossos, Crete

Between LM IIIA1 and LM IIIB early the area immediately north of the Little Palace at Knossos, became the repository of a massive amount of debris. Only a portion of this deposit was excavated amounting to 42.55 cubic metres of material that contained ca. 650 kilos of pottery (ca. 36,000 sherds). In this paper we discuss the methodology adopted for the study of this massive deposit of discarded and broken up ceramic material. An analysis of the site formation processes was possible through a combined study of differences in soil descriptions as observed during excavation and recorded in archaeological sections, pottery dates and cross-joins. The deposit provides new information on the long use and disuse of the Little Palace during the Final Palatial and Postpalatial periods. The biography of outdoor spaces is discussed in conjunction to the adjacent Minoan Unexplored Mason. This analysis challenges our notions of what urban exterior areas (in this case next to an elite building) may have looked like and how they were used in the Late Bronze Age.

Rethemiotakis, Giorgos (Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports, Heraklion Archaeological Museum)

Christakis, Kostis (The British School at Athens, Knossos Research Centre)

Clearing out a Palace: Planned Rubbish Disposal at Galatas, Pediada

At the end of the MM IIIB period, the central complex at Galatas ceases to exist as a centre of political authority and the ground-floor spaces are emptied of their contents, a part of which is discarded in the area between the north and west wing of the complex. The dump may be one of the most impressive assemblages of its kind to have come to light so far.

This paper presents and discusses the archaeological testimonies arising from the excavation of parts of the rubbish dump. Conclusions are drawn concerning some of the activities that took place inside the complex, while hypotheses are suggested regarding the symbolic dimension of this deposit at this specific area of the palatial complex and its significance for the political changes in the Pediada during the Late Neopalatial period.

Session II. Judging from the Outside: Indoors Domestic Activity from the Outdoors

Tsipopoulou, Metaxia (Director Emerita, Hellenic Ministry of Culture, National Archive of Monuments)

In and out: Private and Communal Areas in a Neopalatial Large House at Petras, Siteia

The large, urban, two story LM IA House I.1 at Petras has around it a series of open, but well defined, spaces (courtyards) of various shapes and dimensions, with clear access and precise functions, such as weaving, wine production and manufacture of stone vessels, along with the ordinary functions of a household, each of them requiring a different degree of privacy.

There is strong evidence that House I.1 served for gathering and food consumption of a number of people, superior of the number of its permanent residents, i.e. a social unit within the Petras community that was not a simple nuclear family. This is suggested by the large living and dining areas of the upper floor, a spacious kitchen, two staircases, areas for storage of serving vessels as well as two large pits full with many hundreds of broken cups and bowls. It is also significant that the storage capacity of the house is not in proportion to its apparent importance.

The settlement of Petras has not been extensively excavated and hence it is not easy to define whether this house is unique or belongs to an urban arrangement different from what is usually encountered in other settlements of the island in the same period. The above mentioned particularities, and the role of the open areas in defining what is private, as opposed to communal, are presented in the paper and possible relations with the palace are investigated.

Apostolaki, Emmanouela (Herakleion Ephorate of Antiquities, Crete)

Perception of Privacy through the Outdoors in East Crete

The choice to seclude or not domestic life from the surrounding society is a universal feature of architectural design falling within a set of values that comprise its cultural background. That is principles, which are deeply rooted in collective consciousness and tend to be reproduced by the many impacting upon the way houses appear and how space is designed, organized and used.

Seeking to approach beliefs about privacy in prehistoric Crete as a means to understand the codes regulating social life, this paper reviews the relevant evidence from the domestic sector of Bronze Age society. Though issues of orientation, circulation and seclusion through physical and symbolic boundaries have been explored with reference to the elite environment, the respective have been largely overlooked in the case of ordinary houses. The paper focuses on the latter and approaches the culturally embedded notion of privacy not from the inner of the house (spatial analysis of features of construction) but from the outdoors: from the angle of the exterior view of houses into streets, of the roads passing by in front and of the

people crossing and using squares, neighbourhoods and other public spaces in towns of the period.

By interpreting privacy through the outdoors the paper demonstrates in practice a long-held supposition in household studies, that there is no such thing as a clear division between the private and public spheres of society.

Cultraro, Massimo (Senior Researcher, CNR, Catania)

Constructing a Biography of Households and Social Structures at Poliochni, Lemnos: Outdoor Spaces and Built Environment in the Early Bronze Age

Poliochni on Lemnos represents an excellent case study in exploring and defining the organization of a Bronze Age settlement in Northern Greece. The large-scale explored area, including domestic houses and communal spaces, shows a variety of features in monumental buildings, settlement planning and domestic spatial patterning too.

Through a combination of archaeological data (artefact collection and archaeometrical investigations), analysis of architectural aspects and stratigraphy, we try to extract as much information as possible about the function(s) of outdoors spaces. Engaging with current theoretical debates, this paper draws on the cross-disciplinary interest in perception and social construction of place to reconsider the Bronze Age domestic evidence in Northern Greece. A special focus will be on the transformations of outdoors spaces during the long history of the Bronze Age settlement, when changes in urban planning are responsible of variations in function and destinations of built units and their related open spaces. The result of a functional analysis shows that non-domestic space at Poliochni had overlapping functions, i.e. there was a variable use of private and communal space. In some built units during the Green and Red Period, corresponding to the EBA 2, we can discern a preventive and multifunctional use of outdoor spaces within a broad planning organization, where the fortified walls represented the architectural and symbolic urban limit. In the next phase, or Yellow Period, non-domestic areas were totally transformed, some of them spatially reduced to benefit of a broader organization of communal space. Deep changes are also archaeologically visible in a reorganization of functions, i.e. Unit IX, in the middle part of settlement, where metallurgical activity were carried out in the court and other open space of the main Megaron building. Finally, a further attempt is made to investigate some pottery deposits of comparable quantity found in some outdoors settings, which can be related to production and/or discard activities. The long-term duration of Poliochni in the early and middle Bronze Age significantly contributes to reconstruct, through a micro-analysis of building units, the formation and transformation process at indoor spaces as evidence of broader political and social changes of the local community.

Van Damme, Trevor (UCLA/ASCSA)

Finding Common Ground: Social, Economic, and Ideological Aspects of Mycenaean Post-Palatial Domestic Courtyards

The collapse of the Mycenaean palatial system brought about a breakdown of established political hierarchies, increased social and geographic mobility, and shifts in networks of exchange. Furthermore, within post-palatial communities tensions between various stakeholders (e.g., former elites, palatially dependent workgroups, and immigrant populations) required mediation in order for communities to maintain cohesion during the immediate aftermath. In this paper, I argue that one of the primary venues for these interactions was the domestic courtyard.

This paper focuses on the outdoor courtyard spaces of post-palatial Greece integrating new data from the site of Eleon in Boeotia with published findings from Lefkandi, Tiryns, Aigeira, and Korakou. Courtyards are shown to be a common feature of post-palatial households, often linked to the physical space of the household through the erection of a boundary wall that restricted access to such outdoor spaces. I argue that courtyards served as common ground, and that they blurred the lines of private and public space, allowing for inter-household activities while simultaneously creating separation between the private activities localized inside the household. In this manner, courtyards contributed to the construction of a new social hierarchy, serving as the stage on which social actors performed new public roles within post-palatial communities.

In situ finds at Tiryns, Lefkandi, and Eleon, including storage installations, hearths, and dining equipment, provide good evidence for the use of these outdoor spaces and clear divisions in the use of outdoor courtyards and interior spaces can be documented. For instance, during the post-palatial period, there is little evidence for the use of courtyards for weaving, which instead appears to have been localized indoors. Storage, normally localized indoors, represents an unexpected phenomenon in outdoor courtyards, since commodities would have been more exposed to the elements. I argue that such risks were outweighed by the desire to emphasize the agrarian wealth of the household to visitors, who may have partaken in staples from the same containers during acts of commensality. Direct evidence for feasting activities is most vividly captured by abandoned feasting equipment at Tiryns, but it is also demonstrated by the finds from the courtyard of the Northwest Complex at ancient Eleon, and those stored in House P at Korakou. Taken together, this evidence argues that outdoor spaces played an important social and ideological role in mainland communities of the 12th century BC.

SESSION III. Outside-In and Inside-Out: a Spatial Perspective on Socio-Economic Interpretation

Karetsou, Alexandra (Honorary Ephor of Antiquities)

Girella, Luca (Faculty of Cultural Heritage, UniNettuno University, Rome)

Mylona, Dimitra (INSTAP, Study Center for East Crete)

Did the Minoans Feast or Dine? The Case of the Juktas Peak Sanctuary and Alonaki

What do we really know about communal dining in palatial Crete? We have generally accepted that “feasting is a dynamic social practice, an important instrument in the forging of cultural identity”, and indeed it is. However, does the term “feasting”, borrowed from ethnology, correspond to the excavation data at our disposal? Both on the open-air terraces, Protopalatial and Neopalatial, of Juktas, and at the MM III complex of Alonaki, collective and repeated acts (conscious and unconscious) of dining are confirmed. The evidence of the pottery and the animal bones shows that a multitude of people participate in communal meals. The fragmentary and broken pottery, from both the peak sanctuary and Alonaki, is a very important testimony but does not shine. The pottery categories we have, but also the pottery categories that are lacking, indicate acts of varied character, some typical of feasting and some not. The animal remains represent food leftovers, and they reflect choices on species, age, sex and general condition of consumed animals and on the processes of carcass handling, cooking and eating.

The spatial distribution of finds and their relation to architectural features suggest that at the sites mentioned above, it is outdoor rather than indoor spaces that played the dominant role in this process of communal dining. The terraces of the peak sanctuary and the court, the paved area and drainage system at Alonaki form a smooth transition from open-air to enclosed space. They highlight the absence of a dividing line: the contour of the landscape becomes the contour of the structure. At Alonaki in particular, the natural world is incorporated in the architectural design of the building. This last is compatible with Minoan architecture, which is characterised by open-air spaces with a rich range of uses, common to both small private house and the palatial complex. This presentation will elaborate on the relation between the acts that produced the pottery and animal remains and the architectural spaces that hosted them, with particular emphasis on the use of the notions of the inside and the outside in the context of communal dining.

Kalogiropoulou, Evita (Lecturer, School of History, Archaeology and Social Anthropology, University of Thessaly)

'Let's Eat Out': Kitchen Spaces, People and Daily Life in the Greek Neolithic

Spatial studies in Aegean prehistory has traditionally focused to the analysis of indoor areas, communal buildings and houses, whereas in settlement contexts outdoor spaces has been significantly overlooked. It has been only after the identification of flat-extended sites that a gradual redirection in spatial approaches occur in Greek Neolithic research. Flat-extended sites have confronted us with difficult choices of interpretation and triggered alternative approaches of settlement space and community organisation in prehistoric societies. In the light of recent archaeological evidence open-air spaces were considered as areas for grazing and arable cultivation (gardens) and were also synonymous of weak connections with ancestral past, understating their significance to the development of social cohesion.

In the context of routine performances that contributed to the formation of diverse social structures in prehistory, daily meals constituted vital components of everyday practice that formed domestic space and contributed to the development of social ties with bringing people together in a quotidian activity. In the Greek Neolithic evidence of kitchen spaces outside building structures at open-air spaces has recently transformed our taken-for-granted perception of household spaces. This presentation explores the boundaries of household and domestic space through an analysis of kitchen features at open-air spaces in settlement milieus. Key element of this analysis is the spatial distribution of cooking facilities (hearths and ovens) in diverse settlement contexts during the Neolithic period in Northern Greece. In this study selected sites unfold the variable dynamics of domestic spaces through a contextual analysis of cooking practices and reveal the growth of various micro-histories of Neolithic lifeways in local and regional scale. I argue that, along with arable gardens and possibly grazing areas, the spaces among buildings constituted arenas of daily domestic activities of food preparation and consumption that formed distinct social identities.

Platon, Lefteris (Assistant Professor, Dept. of History and Archaeology, National and Kapodistrian University, Athens)

Salichou Alexandra (Directorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Ministry of Culture and Sports)

From Built to Open: the Transformation of Architectural Space as Indicative for Socio-Political Change in the Minoan Settlement of Zakros

The Minoan settlement of Zakros has often been considered as a typical, densely built urban settlement, with outdoor open spaces almost exclusively restricted to those defined by the street system. Such planning combines traditional features –such as the proximity of the buildings aiming mainly to leave free space for exploitation on the periphery of the settlement– with an innovative settlement planning, in which the street network is used as a means of organizing buildings and access to them through the definition of large building blocks.

It should be kept in mind that, regarding long-lived settlements, small-scale changes in urban planning are likely to occur. Such transformations are often associated with changes in the composition of the resident groups or their emerging needs. The main feature of this kind of alterations appears to be minor interventions in the coverage area of the buildings.

However, in traditional architecture –in which densely-built Minoan settlements should be included– building shells normally do not undergo dramatic changes. Large-scale transformations in urban planning, including demolition or construction of new buildings, are more likely to occur under the pressure of some significant factor, either natural or anthropogenous. Although dramatic natural disasters might provide an excellent opportunity for such changes, the real cause for them should be sought in choices made by the community as a whole or imposed by some central authority.

It has been already noted that, after a complete destruction of the site at the end of the “Zakros IV” phase, some of the buildings of the Zakros settlement were filled, afterwards becoming non-built open spaces. This choice has been associated with the establishment of the local palace and the desire of the administrators to use these new open-air spaces now located at the periphery of the complex as courts or gardens. This bespeaks of a large project, designed by the central authority, with clear political goals. This shift becomes even more significant, if associated –as it has been elsewhere argued– with the presence of a new authority, possibly of Knossian origin. The recent study of ceramic assemblages from the settlement in Zakros showed that some more buildings, in whole or in part, were not used at all as built spaces during the last palatial phase (LMIB). This paper examines whether the transformation of these spaces/ areas from built to non-built could be linked to a different social reality, imposed by the new regime.

Kyrillidou, Stella (School of Archaeology, Geography and Environmental Science, Univ. of Reading; Dept. of Archaeology, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki; Greek Archaeological Service, Ephorate of Antiquities at Kastoria, Kozani, Pella, and Thessaloniki)

On the Outdoors of Aegean Prehistory: the Micromorphology of Open Spaces in Neolithic and Bronze Age Communities of the Northern Aegean

Within the area of micro-contextual household archaeology, distinctions between indoors and outdoors areas are highly problematic. As continuity and change in spheres of domestic space are examined at finer temporal resolution scales, to document more fully life-cycles and settlement histories, it becomes increasingly evident that the change from indoors to outdoors, and vice versa as life is cyclical, may exist at the scale of less than a few centimeters, and that some concepts of the nature of space may be more clearly discernible at microscopic rather than macroscopic scales.

This paper presents the results of a pioneering micromorphological and microstratigraphic study in Neolithic and Bronze Age settlements of the Northern Aegean. It focuses on a wide range of spaces that were examined next to houses and

throughout settlement by high-resolution, high-precision microscopic techniques, in order to explore the nature of communities, by study of the nature, repetition, frequency of appearance, scale and significance of experiences and events, and the micro-contextual associations of plant, animal and mineral residues, in select settlements, which date from the Neolithic to the end of the Bronze Age and have been the focus of intense micromorphological sampling and study since 2005. The contexts that follow and which will be presented in large micromorphological slides, c. 14 x 7cm are largely drawn from new Neolithic sites, Avyi Kastorias and Kleitos Kozanis, and key Bronze Age sites, Archontiko Pellas and Thessaloniki Toumba, which cover the period from the 6th to the late 2nd mil and their study is advanced.

The results suggest that in the settlements studied the areas that were examined outside the houses are multi-faceted. Some of the most important contexts that have been identified to date comprise fire installations and platforms, which were rather periodically used at the end-life of buildings, Avyi I and Kleitos I, highly trafficked routes, Archontiko B and Toumba 3, and possible latrines, Toumba 4-3. The activities that have been identified to date in micromorphological thin-sections in unenclosed unroofed, semi-enclosed unroofed and unenclosed roofed areas comprise gardening and cereal processing, food preparation and consumption, animal penning, water and plant storage, notable craft activities, daub and mudbrick manufacture. Of particular significance are the nonappearance of qualitative differences between micro-contexts of a similar nature at individual sites, and the massive dumps, enhanced recycling, terraces, and truncations. These qualities seem to suggest that there was a great degree of resilience in the collective ideology of the communities studied, and a great admiration for, or veneration for the elements with minimal scope for exploitation of the land, animals, plants, metals and minerals.

Papadatos, Yiannis (Assistant Professor, Dept. of History and Archaeology, National and Kapodistrian University, Athens)

Tina Kalantzopoulou (PhD candidate, Dept. of History and Archaeology, National and Kapodistrian University, Athens)

Outdoor Spaces and the Organization of Production on the Cretan Uplands: a Mountain Perspective of Neopalatial Administration

Over the last six years the archaeological investigations of the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens on the mountains of Ierapetra has produced ample evidence concerning the importance of the upland areas for economy and life in Neopalatial Crete. The excavation of the large Neopalatial building at Gaidourofas has shown a conscious effort of a centralized system to organize the exploitation of the mountain resources and control the small mountain communities that were responsible for the productive activities. Furthermore, the comparative study of the building at Gaidourofas, with the rural sites in the surrounding upland area shows major differences not only in specific architectural features, but, most important in the existence of outdoor spaces, their organization and function. In this paper we present these differences and try to interpret them within the broader context of the Neopalatial administrative system. Moreover, our discussion goes beyond the

function and the economic character of these dissimilarities, and deals with social and possibly ideological factors related to the use of outdoor spaces in such specialized mountain sites. As will be shown, it is such differences in the organization of outdoor spaces, rather than in pottery or other movable finds, that reflect in a more representative way the character of these sites and the varying needs of their occupants.