

Footnotes

Footnote on use of Bronze Age Cretans or Cretans instead of Minoans: I am following Hamilakes (2002:193) in his use of the term Bronze Age Cretans or Cretans in lieu of the Greek mythological term "Minoan". Bronze Age Crete was not a Greek civilization, but the appellation "Minoan" derives from Greek mythology. Hamilakes may have been the first to recognize that Bronze Age Cretan society was organized vertically rather than stratified horizontally.

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Footnote on cross-cousin marriage: Cross-cousin marriage is the preferred marriage arrangement in most or all matrilineal societies. It is the marriage of the sister's son to her brother's daughter (the sister's son marries his mother's brother's daughter)

Footnote: Horizontal integration of the tribe or village:

The Zuni, like the other southwestern Pueblo Indians, extend kinship terms to many people in their respective tribes: mother's family, father's family, mother's clan, father's clan, ceremonial father and his female relatives, medicine man/priest. The extension of kinship terminology correlates with the extension of kindred social behavior to non-consanguineal persons. This behavior serves the purpose of integrating the society laterally across families and lineages

Footnote (second) on cross cousin marriage: A woman's children naturally belong to her matrilineage. The woman's brother is of her same matrilineage, but his children will belong to his wife's matrilineage not his. Most, if not all, matrilineal societies prefer that a mother's son marry his maternal uncle's daughter. She is of a different matrilineage and thus this marriage obeys the rules of exogamy. The girl's father is the maternal uncle to the boy and has legal jurisdiction over his nephew. In many cases the maternal uncle may be a segment head for his sister(s) and therefore his nephew's matrilineage. Cross cousin marriages forges very strong social and economic ties.

Footnote on ceramic bowl from Paleokastro: MMI-MMII ceramic bowls from Palaeokastro depict many scenes from daily life, including a group meeting of elders (MacGillivray and Sackett, 2010:577)

Footnote on founding ancestresses: These founding ancestresses are related to specific territories and are the reason that lineages lay claim to their territory (Richards, 1950)

Footnote on founding matrilineages: Not only is the first arriving lineage afforded more rights and access to land and resources, but each following lineage is ranked according to their arrival into that territory. The prevalence of rank based on arrival into a new territory points to the mechanism of lineage segmentation and splitting off of the lower segments from their core area to travel in search of new land.

Footnote on central African Bantu, ancestress and claim to land: Even in the most avuncular societies of the central African Bantu where brothers remain on corporate land which they manage and have life and death control over their nephews and nieces, ancestress veneration is both strong and prevalent as the rationale for claim to land.

Footnote on patrilineage: This is not the case in most traditional patrilineal societies where property, rank, duties, etc. is passed through the male line only, and where patriarchy is generally present (authority is only in the male line and in the senior male). In plow agriculture or single crop societies where male work in the field is dominant, patrilineage tends to develop. In these settled societies patrilineality develops into a horizontal class structure where groups of men form on the basis of functional affinity rather than kinship. Females born into a patrilineage are “expendable”. Traditionally they had no political or legal authority or right to property within their lineage. Their main use to their fathers and brothers was to forge alliances through marriage with other patrilineages. “

Footnote on faction: Hamilakis, (2002, pp.186-189) described Cretan groups as factions. A faction is a vertically organized social system around a leader or group of leaders; factions include social actors of lower rank as well; factions are functionally and structurally similar...focused organizations...compete for materials and social resources within a larger social unit such as a kin, village or ethnic group. Factions are informal, extremely fragile and competitive with each other primarily at the local and regional level. They compete for followers; there is movement of people between factions or shifting boundaries of factions. Despite the competition, the structural similarities ensure that the different factions within the same broader social group will hold similar cosmological and ideological principles. I disagree with the concept of faction because it cannot explain the conservative nature of structures in Bronze Age Crete including homes and tombs which were used and reused for generations.

Footnote on the minimum requirement for matrilineality: adapted from K. Cough, (1961) The minimum requirement for matrilineality is a group of male and female siblings (brothers and sisters) to form a descent group. Each man through his sisters has several sets of nieces and nephews as potential heirs for the matrilineage). The interdependence of female and male members in matrilineal descent groups...is a phenomenon of the descent group...(D.M. Schneider, 1961, p. 12), in other words the interdependence of female and male siblings is structurally inherent in matrilineage. Furthermore, he states, “Matrilineality requires cooperation of males in the matrilineage; a spatial separation of brothers from the matrilineage will not make it work. Both sexes are required to fulfill a range of obligations to the group. In patrilineality each man and his wife is a potential descent line. If the father/husband is monogamous, only his sons are his heirs. Females in a traditional patrilineality do not own authority, rank, or corporate property on their own. (Adapted from K. Cough, 1961) Patrilineality does not “need” the females of the patrilineage, just its males (D.M.S., 1961, p. 27). Patrilineality, however, frequently marry off their daughters and sisters to form alliances.

Footnote on matrilineal societies, ancestral spirits and reincarnation: S. Somersan (1984: 155-156) in her review of 60 societies from the Human Relations Area files (HRAF) microfiles concluded that matrilineal societies are more likely to have beliefs in ancestral spirits and reincarnation than patrilineal or bilateral societies. Every matrilineal society in the sample for which information was available had ancestral spirits and reincarnation beliefs. In patrilineal and bilateral societies ...ancestral spirits may or may not be present...

Footnote on ancestor worship and status of women: S. Somersan (1984: 158-159) believes that ancestor worship reinforces the status of women in matrilineal societies because of their regenerative powers. Women are identified with the themes of continuity and cyclicity of life. A.B. Weiner(1976:231) states that matrilineality is not just a system of descent, but expresses the value a society places on the regenerative processes of human life. Hopi and Cherokee Indians today espouse values of the important regenerative powers of woman. This most likely was the case in Paleolithic and Neolithic Europe and the Near East. This belief may have continued in Bronze Age Crete as Minoans seem to have retained strong elements of Neolithic European belief systems.

Footnote on Koto-Piliang intra-lineage stratification: In Koto-Piliang matrilineages, intra-lineage status (stratification) according to age (oldest brother, oldest sister's oldest son, etc.) seems to have yielded economic classes with differential access to land and resources in the village. "The Minor landholding segments of the heads of village sections and lineage segments appear to have formed an aristocracy who owned more land than the commoner branches (formed by the younger brother, younger sister's son, etc.) (DeJong, 1951)

Footnote on residence patterns in matrilineal societies: According to Gough (1961:) residence in matrilineal societies occurs in one of three ways: (1)with the wife (uxorilocal or matrilocal), (2)husband and wife remain in their natal residences (duolocal), or (3) a group of brothers remain with their matrilineage with their wives, while their sisters move to their husband's matrilineage (avunculocal). What is unlikely to occur in matrilineal societies with settled subsistence cultivation are the following: (1) residence with the husband (virilocal), (2) free choice of residence with kin of either spouse, (multilocal), or(3) neolocal (new place of residence).

Footnote on northern Ashanti: The northern Ashanti practice an avuncular residence pattern where matrilineal males remain with the household. Gough (1961) considers duolocal residence as the original residence pattern among the Ashanti. However chronic warfare with powerful southern neighbors and the British led to changes to residence and society (Basehart, 1961). Avuncular residence developed in both ecological zones, but especially in the north, and at the time of Fortes' study in the 1940's patrilineality and patrilocal residence was observed.

Footnote on testing skeletal remains for affinity: Certainly bones can be tested for DNA, as well as chemically and metrically for biological relationships between the Neolithic ossuaries in north central Crete with those of the western Mesara and eastern Crete.

Footnote on Minangkabau long distance trading: This male activity was mentioned for the traditional Minangkabau whose men were renowned for traveling long distances for the trading of gold, fine crafts (wood carving, metal-working) and produce (pepper, rice)(Kato (1978:7)

Footnote on women's production: Waltrous and Hadzi-Vallianou (2005:226) point out that woman's material culture and production was notably high status.

Footnote on woman master potter, 800 BC, Crete: Researchers at Eleutherna, a fortified city-state in Crete, that reached its apogee around 800 BC, have concluded that a woman whose remains were discovered at the site in 2009 spent her life crafting ceramics. Using a range of technology, including medical imaging and anatomical models, the team led by anthropologist Anagnostis Agelarkis of Adelphi University found patterns of skeletal wear consistent with years spent seated and working clay on a kick-wheel-operated turntable, making the woman the only known female master ceramicist in the ancient Greek world. Significantly, Eleutherna marked the association of women in positions of importance and power. Four women related to one another and thought to have been priestesses were discovered in ornately furnished burials nearby. Reported by Marley Brown in *Archaeology*, Sep/Oct 2018

Footnote on fresco painting: In the Byzantine traditions of the Slavic churches, fresco paintings dominate the interior church walls. They “tell” significant events in Christ’s life and the lives of saints. The icon painters are not considered artists; they are religious people “painting’ stories of divinity. In Bronze Age Crete especially by MMII-LMIA in the “frescoed palace” the paintings served a propaganda function for the elite.

Footnote on economic decentralization in the western Mesara during EMII-MMI: Watrous and Hadzi-Vallianou (2005:233-352) effectively describe the decentralization of horticulture, variety of craft production and trade in the western Mesara during EMII. This process intensifies and continues through MMI.

Footnote on Identical Seal impressions....Schoep 2002 points out that identical seal impressions were found at Aghia Triada, Knossos, Zakro and Sklavo-Kambos indicating an island wide trade network. I suggest that the identical seal impressions were made by, and belonged to, one Maximal lineage from one location which traded extensively across the island.

Footnote on Raised Platform/Cretan dais: A constant feature of Cretan shrines is that they typically contain a single stone ledge, low platform or altar at the upper end of a hall (Evans 1921:447), which I argue is a carryover from Neolithic practice. This platform often holds a sacred object(s).

Footnote on the cross and circle: The cross did not represent directions for the old Europeans, but rather represented the continuum of life; the passing of life through four seasons: birth, growth, senescence, death and regeneration (Gimbutas, 1982: 91)

Footnote on Gulmelnitsa shrine with horns of consecration: In the mid fifth millennium BCE (about 4,500 BCE) in the Gulmelnitsa culture of Romania, clay models of shrines were found representing individual temples each crowned with horns on the gable and above the four corners (Gimbutas, 1996: p68)

Footnote on the Indo-European concept of Earth as the Great Mother: is different from the Old European (Neolithic) notion. The Earth mother produced life, but only with the assistance of the male sky god. She did not generate life from herself; she could not produce rain (that was the

role of the male thunder god). Her fertility was the main concern of Indo-European society, specifically the production of male lineage heirs.

Footnote on the Old European goddess: Neolithic Europeans created maternal divine images out of water creatures (snake and water bird) and air creatures (bird). The snake and bird goddesses nurtured the world with moisture, rain and divine food (mother's milk). The Old European goddesses (water bird and snake) were responsible for life on earth, and rain, water that sustains life. The Old European Goddess of Periodic Regeneration was responsible for the cycle of living things on earth (birth, growth, death, and regeneration). She was capable of regenerating life by herself from herself. The male phallus was an energizer or an awakener of the regenerated egg inside her (Gimbutas, 1996:142). The concept of the female producing the fetus inside her from the ancestral spirit is a common belief among historic matrilineal societies. The male or father has the energizing relationship only.

Footnote on sarcophagus from Agia Triada: The famous sarcophagus from Agia Triada was actually a larnax burial within a Mycenaean tomb dated to LMIIIA1 (Watrous and Hadzi-Vallianou, 2005). The larnax itself and the ritual depiction was clearly Cretan, not Mycenaean. Has there been a study of the skeleton contained within? I would hypothesize that it was a woman and perhaps the last of the line of Cretan priestesses.

Footnote on hybrid symbolism: Prehistoric figurines quite commonly consist of hybrid symbols or hybrid creatures reflecting the power of double beings in one image (Gimbutas, 1982)

Footnote on Geertz (1973:88-125): *Ethos* is the tone, character and quality of a people's life, its moral and esthetic style and mood; it is the underlying attitude toward themselves and their world that life reflects. *World view* is the people's picture of the way things are in sheer actuality and their most comprehensive ideas of order.

10 Italics and the word (*deceased*) is mine.

Footnote on Hopi egalitarian matrilineages..... The Hopi do not have complex, segmented lineages with male segment heads. In their culture the deceased become generalized ancestors, sometimes thought of as minor divinities, "kachinas" (Fortes, 1950).

Footnote on DNA affinity: There should be DNA affinity of the bones within a primary burial place particularly in the mitochondrial DNA. Also chemical analysis of the bones could reflect diet an affinity.

Footnote on one collective tomb per matrilineage: A collective tomb probably corresponds to a single matrilineage. The number of collective tombs seems to correspond to the number of wards within a large site, for example, at Malia. This suggests the correspondence of one primary burial place with one matrilineage.

Footnote on sex and age of selected skull: It is very important to know whether these skulls were male or female and approximately their chronological age. Was the selected skull male

(brother) or female (sister) or were both sexes selected because both sexes were eligible for leadership? We need careful bioarcheological studies of skeletal remains.

Footnote on Hopi Kiva: Eggan (1967: 90) Kivas (Hopi) are underground rectangular chambers that symbolize the underworld from which the Hopi emerged. Major ceremonies are carried out here. A clan who is in charge of a particular ceremony has the responsibility to maintain and repair the kiva.

Footnote on Pueblo: Spanish for village, people, community

Footnote on Eggan's (1967: 65-66) use of the terms "lineage" and "clan" among the Hopi. He states that Hopi lineages (about 21) are local and they occur within the village. The lineage in his report generally refers to the living family of a household. The clan is comprised of the same lineage(s) that are found in four villages over three mesas or plateaus. Eggan continually refers to the Maximal lineage within a village as a clan. He uses the two terms interchangeably. This is probably based on Hopi usage. There is little cooperation among clan relatives from other mesas or plateaus in ceremonies and almost any other social domain. He points out that the "clan" concept to the Hopi refers to vertical kinship with the lineage going back to include dead ancestors. A "clan" within a village controls a ceremony. That ceremony often includes deceased ancestors, especially the Katsina Cult and Tribal Initiation.

Footnote on Eggan's use of the term "tribal": The indigenous peoples of the American southwest live in independent villages. These villages are not regionally politically organized or integrated. There is no indigenous tribal organization that extends politically across villages for the Hopi, Zuni or Acoma...except that imposed on them by the Interior Department of the U.S. Eggan (1967) uses the word "tribal" when the purpose of the ceremony or ritual is cross-clan, and acts as an integrating mechanism for the village as a whole.

15 The katsinas have a range of representations among the southwestern pueblo Indians. They are spirits, usually benevolent, that are associated with providing rain and representing dead ancestors, culture heroes, or lost or dead children. They are prayed to and impersonated in ceremonial dance with masks in order to bring safety and blessings to the community. Among the Zuni, katsinas represent children lost long ago who are transformed into beautiful, happy beings.

16 The Zuni have many priests (males) who are in charge of ceremonies. The priests come from important lineages and the senior women of these households hold the fetishes and masks with great care.

Footnote on terracotta figurines: Studies of all the youthful terracotta figurines, quantitative and qualitative with dating if possible, would shed some light on how many age grade sets were initiated on a peak sanctuary, over what time period initiation took place at the location and possibly clues as to who made the figurines.

Footnote, Psychro Cave: At a cave near Palaikastro a similar black steatite libation table was found inscribed with linear A. It had a single rimmed cup holder and a stepped base, presumably to hold a double axe. Eighteen Linear A signs were inscribed into the steatite.

Footnote, Evans 1921:447 on the double axe: Throughout Crete the special anilonic form of the supreme Minoan divinity was the double axe. The palace sanctuary (Knossos) itself was the “House of the Double Axe” and it formed the center of domestic cult in countless smaller dwellings.

Footnote on the Butterfly: The butterfly also symbolized the goddess of periodic regeneration. While the butterfly is wild, it seeks flowers of cultivated crops and wild plants. Most likely it was noticed going from flower to flower and became associated with the process (ritual) of the renewal of vegetation.

Footnote on Fetishes: Fetishes are believed to hold supernatural power. The Ashanti have ancestral stools, each one of which contain the spirit of an ancestor, a male lineage or segment head. Each Hopi matrilineage has a fetish which holds the spirit of the matrilineal ancestress. The sole Acoma priest holds a fetish of their goddess.

Footnote on Knossian Houses: These Houses were architecturally extensive and rich in cultic rooms. For example the South House (LMIA) had two levels with a staircase and nine rooms. There was a sunken room (lustral basin), store rooms, hoards of bronze tools and silver vessels, and a pillar crypt with double axe stands. Evans (1928:379) interprets the House as a private residence built along with other residences surrounding the palace at Knossos. A common feature of all these elite houses are rooms devoted to cult such as pillar crypts, lustral basins and ritual objects with the double axe (honey bee or butterfly), bull's head rhyton, frescoed walls, ritual tables painted deep red and white with rosettes, pyramidal bases of gypsum to hold a double axe (butterfly/honeybee), and ivory or faience sacral knot worn by priestesses (shown in frescoes) and/or placed on sacred pillars. The House of the Sacrificed Oxen (MMIIIA) contain the bones of burnt bull. The floor of the pillar crypt of the Little Palace (Royal Villa) held the bones of animal sacrifice (Evans, 1938:324). I believe the architecture tells that these were the homes of priestesses and brother priests of Knossian matrilineages who performed animal sacrifices and other rituals to bring forth the goddess of periodic regeneration.

Footnote on House courts becoming halls: In the Late Neopalatial (LMIA) an architectural innovation transformed a court within the House or court centered building into a hall, usually a pillared hall, for the reception of trading partners, foreign dignitaries, and receptions, for example, the Minoan Hall and Hall of the Double Axes at Knossos, spatial halls and storage facilities for social gatherings at Eleni-Hatzaki and other urban villas (Hamilakes, 2002:192)

Footnote on Minoan Hall: often found in court centered buildings and large Cretan villas/ a large room with pier and door partitions that could subdivide the room if needed; the smaller portion was in turn divided by a light well and/or a portico. Minoan Halls are an architectural innovation of LMIA (Hamilakes, 2002:192, minoancrete.org/tylissos) . I believe were used for matrilineal council meetings within the Established House or meetings among heads of matrilineages, trading partners, or foreign dignitaries.

Foot note on Malia: Malia was a vibrant settlement in EMII through and MMII. Schoep (2002a) called it the “lasithi state”. However, after the earthquake at the end of MMIB, Malia did not seem to recover fully and became more so the vassal of the Knossian matrilineages.

Footnote on Phaistos: Phaistos as a court center was used up to MMIII. After the MMIB earthquake, cult and administrative functions of the court centered building were both curtailed and administrative functions moved to Agia Triada. Agia Triada Houses, especially the Villa Reale, expanded with noted Knossian architectural features suggesting Knossos had considerable influence in the western Mesara in the early Neopalatial.

Footnote on south east Insula of Knossos: Evans (1921:560) believed that the northern part of the southeast Insula of Knossos had a domestic appearance in MMIII. This area contained a shrine with a ledge or bench, a triton shell, a store room with lily vases, Egyptian clay “candlesticks”, and a bathroom with a bathtub. He believed the southeast Insula was the residence of a priestess. He dated this part to MMIII.

Footnote on small dining quarters for the elite at Neopalatial Knossos: At LMIA Knossos there seemed to be small dining quarters for no more than two – three dozen individuals, possibly a gathering place for religious authorities. These small dining quarters were associated with cult objects and cult storage rooms in the West Wing (Watrous and Hadzi-Vallianou, 2005:288-289). The small group gathering in dining rooms could have been planning sessions for in-site ceremonies, performances at Mt. Jukta and coordination of travel throughout Crete and the colonies.

Footnote on griffin: The griffin is a heraldic emblem of European/mainland, Egyptian or Near Eastern origin. In the ancient Near East the griffin symbolized kingship. In Cretan terms the griffin was a symbol of divine power and was perceived as the guardian of divinity or of ruling power ordained by divinity. The Knossian griffin in the throne room has a mixture of heraldic and Cretan symbolism. It has an eagle head, lion body, and a snake tail. The eagle wears a garland of papyrus flowers around its neck below which is a spiral with a rosette in the center, all Cretan cosmic symbols. The Cretan goddess of periodic regeneration is the goddess of all vegetation and living things, hence the flowers. The spiral represents the cosmic snake of creation/vitality and the rosette represents animal or human bringing forth new life. The colorful beads on top the spine of the griffin resembles the beads or dots on the backs of insect headed priestesses and goddess found on Cretan seals, crystals, rings, etc. These may reflect aspects of the honey bee or butterfly which were the paramount symbols of the goddess.

Footnote on Solar Goddess: Nanno Marinatos (2016) refers to the LMIA seated authority as the solar goddess. The solar goddess has multiple manifestations, not unlike the goddess of periodic regeneration. The solar goddess is suffering (bleeding) but also triumphantly enthroned. She symbolizes the power of all regenerative and fertile force of the sun. She is the goddess of all plants, animals and humankind. Her devotees are elite persons, young men and women and matrons. Her symbols are the crocus, saffron, lily, rosette and spiral.

Footnote on Linear B: Linear B was a written script for the early Greek language used by Mycenaean. It was derived from the Cretan syllabary script of Linear A. Linear A script was not

a good fit for the early Greek language as the Cretan language was apparently a syllabary while the Greek language was not (Ventris and Chadwick,) Linear B shows, however, that Mycenaean lords must have “engaged” Cretan “scribes” who were most likely the elders of the Established Houses or Maximal Lineages, to create an alphabet for Mycenaean Greek. Linear A was used for sacred script on libation tables and other sacred objects as well as used administratively at the level of the Established House to tally and mark their commodities. There is no evidence that Linear B was used as a sacred language. However, it was used by the Mycenaean “wanak” or lord for administrative tallying of Cretan produce.