# Early Iron Age Cemeteries at Knossos: The Appreciation of Oriental Imports and their Imitations by Knossian Society

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*To some very special people*

# ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

For the majority of PhD candidates, a thesis is an opportunity for discovering or bringing something new to the academic community. From my point of view the most important thing that a thesis can give to its author is the opportunity to learn and understand not only certain things about the past but also the work and effort of all the previous investigators.

When my supervisor, Professor Aubet suggested me an investigation of the Knossian cemeteries from the point of the oriental imports, she gave me the opportunity to proceed to a contextual study liberated from the traditional questions of migration, invasion and cultural dominance that even today are still present among the investigators of the Eastern Mediterranean world. I truly thank her for that and for all her suggestions and advices throughout the writing of the thesis. I would like also to thank for his important contribution Dr. Kotsonas who was always very kind to listen and answer to my many questions and to show me some of his hitherto unpublished articles. There are many friends who helped with various tasks such as architectural computer programs, statistics: Lefteris and Takis and above all with the painstaking editing of the thesis: Haris. I really thank you guys. For or all the remaining mistakes I am the only responsible.

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## ABSTRACT

The contextual study of the oriental imports and their local imitations discovered in the Early Iron Age cemeteries at Knossos is of great importance, as it reveals the attitude of the Knossian society towards imports coming from the Near East during a period that lasted more than four centuries. Another important part of this study is a coherent analysis of the distribution of the fully published tombs and cemeteries. The main argument of this thesis is that there were different elite groups at Knossos which were in competition with each other and, for this reason, used different clusters of tombs and/or cemeteries. It is argued that the oriental imports and their close copies were used by those different elite groups in order to mark political and ideologies differences.



## RESUMEN

El estudio contextual de las importaciones orientales y sus imitaciones producidas en Creta, descubiertas en los cementerios de la Edad del Hierro temprana de Cnosós, es de gran importancia porque nos revela cómo la sociedad de Cnosós reaccionó a las importaciones procedentes de Oriente Próximo durante un período que duró más de cuatro siglos. Otra parte importante de este estudio es un análisis coherente de la distribución de las tumbas y los cementerios cuyos datos han sido publicados en su totalidad y su asociación con las importaciones. El argumento principal de esta tesis es que hubo distintos grupos de élite que competían unos con otros y por eso utilizaron tumbas y cementerios distintos. Estos grupos también utilizaron las importaciones orientales y sus imitaciones con el fin de marcar sus diferencias, políticas e ideológicas.

# PREFACE

The main scope of this thesis is a contextual study of the oriental imports that reached Crete during the Early Iron Age (and perhaps a bit earlier) and were deposited in the cemeteries located around the Bronze Age palace of Knossos, which had been destroyed by that time. The context of this study is the fully published tombs and cemeteries. The close imitations of the imports, which in their vast majority are pots, will also be used in this study, since they can give us a good idea of the preferences of at least a specific part of society. Their importance lies in their extensive use in burial rituals and their very close association with their prototypes found inside the tombs.

Another aspect of this study is a synthesis of the Early Iron Age tombs, clusters of tombs and cemeteries. The reason for this synthesis is that, following more than a hundred years of excavations in the area, one revolution, two World Wars and many constructions, there have been many changes in the archaeological record. Descriptive analysis, quantification of pots and other objects, statistics and ethnographic examples will be used to obtain a better understanding of the evidence coming from the 166 tombs, which in most of cases were used by more than one generation.

Cyprus, Phoenicia, North Syria and Egypt are the places of origin of all the imports that reached Knossos and ended up in the cemeteries of the various elite groups. It is very interesting to explore the reasons that made Knossians use those imports as well as investigate whether specific political groups could control not only the access to those objects but also the production of their imitations.

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# ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| BSA | Annual of the British School at Athens |
| Bich. | Bichrome |
| BoR | Black-on-Red |
| CG | Cypro-Geometric |
| CA | Cypro-Archaic |
| DA | Dark Age |
| EIA | Early Iron Age |
| H. | Height |
| KMF | Knossos Medical Faculty |
| KNC | Knossos North Cemetery |
| BA | Bronze Age |
| L | Late |
| RS | Red Slip |
| WP | White Painted |
| WoB | White on Black |
| M | Minoan |
| LM | Late Minoan |
| SM | Sub-Minoan |
| PG | Proto-Geometric |
| EPG | Early Proto-Geometric |
| MPG | Middle Proto-Geometric |
| LPG | Late Proto-Geometric |
| PGB | Proto-Geometric B |
| EG | Early Geometric |
| MG | Middle Geometric |
| LG | Late Geometric |
| EO | Early Orientalising |
| LO | Late Orientalising |

# INTRODUCTION

## i. Contextual Studies vs. Museum Collections

The need for a contextual analysis of Early Iron Age oriental imports and their imitations discovered at the cemeteries of Knossos resulted more from an initial attempt I made to study and understand the distribution primarily of Phoenician and secondly Cypriot imports in Greece. This period is still called by many authors "the Greek Dark Age", mainly because of the supposed isolation from the world outside the Aegean[1].

In this first attempt, the primary problem I faced was that the evidence in such a study would come from very old excavations[2], unpublished rescue excavations[3] or expensive book-catalogues with unprovenanced finds and museum collections from all over the world. In other words, most of these items were very interesting for the art market but rather useless for modern archaeology.

The second and much more serious issue was that during this first attempt I noted that many relevant books and articles were actually more concerned with the very traditional and historical issue of the possible early presence of Phoenicians in Greece and not of the imports (Negbi 1992, 39-40). At the same time, some archaeologists proposed the opposite view and argued for a Greek presence in the Near East since the Mycenaean Period (Boardman 1980, 75; Popham 1994, 11-34).

Long before Bernal and his theories on the Afro-Asiatic roots of Ancient Greece and the Western Civilisation in general (1988; 1991; 2001), the debate concerning ethnicity and

[1] For the debate on this characterisation see Papadopoulos (1994, 438) and Dickinson (2006, 6). For earlier approaches and definitions see Desborough (1972) and Snodgrass (1971; 1987; 2000 xxiv), both cited in Dickinson, *ibid*.

[2] Clara Rhodos (1938) *studi e materiali pubblicati a cura dell'Istituto storico-archeologico di Rodi.* Rodi.

[3] For example numerous excavations of chamber tombs made by the Greek archaeological service inside Heraklion which have been published only as summaries in journals such as *Kretika Nea*.

issues of ‘cultural transmission’ were very heated not only among historians, but also among archaeologists (Kossina 1911; Childe 1929; Jones 1997, 15-26)[4].

Certainly, the adoption of the Phoenician alphabet in the Greek world and where this process took place in not an unimportant issue. However, reading the articles of the archaeologists defending the importance of the presence of the Phoenicians and other Near Eastern people in Greece and *vice versa*, one could claim that they seem to be defending an extremely important cause, which, however, lacks any real social value (for example: Negbi 1992; Sherrat and Sherrat 1993; Popham 1994).

For many authors, the question of who transported those imports in Greece held more importance than understanding their function in the local Aegean societies. A typical example of this approach, concerning not Greece itself but the Near East, is the site of Al-Mina, which has suffered so long in the hands of archaeologists, and the ongoing debate among some of them on whether it was an early Greek emporium or not (Wooley, 1948; 1953; Boardman 1980; 1990; Coldstream 1982; Waldbaum 1997; Kearsley 1999; Luke 2003; Lehman 2005, 61-92). The importance and function of this port from the point of view of the local kingdoms is still largely ignored, especially by the archaeologists who supported the theory of an early Greek presence.

Over the last at least fifty years it has become evident that archaeology belongs to the body of social sciences/disciplines. For this reason, I decided to avoid any implication in the aforementioned traditional/historical debates and questions which lay outside the interests of social analysis and in many aspects remain meaningless.

What it is not meaningless is understanding why local people adopt, use and copy foreign objects and incorporate them into their society. The mechanisms of commercial activities and how an import travels to its destination are certainly important issues but the function of this import in the ‘foreign’ land and the way that local societies perceive it, deserves also attention.

[4] For further analysis see Jones 1997, 15-26

Additionally, after having examined the distribution of the chamber tombs located in many areas of the Knossos' region in Crete, I decided to study an Early Iron Age society where oriental imports have been found and registered properly in a series of numerous excavations at different periods over the last 110 years. I believe that this is the best way to understand the function of oriental imports and, above all, why and how Knossians used them.

Therefore, I propose a contextual analysis of the tombs and subsequently an attempt to understand the function of oriental imports discovered in the Knossian cemeteries. A decisive step prior to analysing the imports would be the detailed study and synthesis of the Early Iron Age Cemeteries at Knossos.

It must be admitted that the present study is not the first concerning contextual analysis of Knossos' archaeological evidence. Long before this thesis, archaeologists and authors have pointed out the need for such an analysis as well as the possible difficulties, since the tombs contained burials which in many cases were disturbed by other burials or plundering (Whitley 1986; 1994; 1998, 613 and Kotsonas 2006, 150). On the other hand, since the scope of this thesis is limited only to one main objective (i.e. highlighting the relationship between oriental imports and burial groups), I believe that the nature of the cemeteries will not be an obstacle.

There are also quite a few relatively recent books and articles written on the imports of Crete, such as those of Hoffman (1997), Jones (2000), and Kotsonas (2006, 2010). The first two books were very detailed, up-to-date catalogues of imports discovered in all kinds of contexts in Iron Age Crete with traditional or positivist explanations and interpretations. Hoffman's book, in particular, focused not only on oriental imports but also on the possible presence of oriental people in Crete. Jones, on the other hand, studied all the Early Iron Age imports discovered in Crete regardless of their provenance.

Despite the fact that these two books were published after the publication of "Knossos North Cemetery" (Coldstream and Catling, 1996), they did not include all the amount of information from this essential publication but made use of earlier reports written by the

same authors. Kotsonas' article on the other hand (2006) focused mostly on contextual analysis and a specific archaeological argument of Boardman (1967, 57-75) about the nationality of the deceased of Teke Tholos tomb on Knossos and also contained a catalogue of luxury imports. Hoffman also participated in the debate about this tomb (1997, 191-245). In his second article (2010) Kotsonas is focused on a quantitative approach of the cinerary urns found at Knossos. This approach will have an important value also in the present thesis.

It must be noted though that in the aforementioned books by Jones and Hoffman artefacts were categorised primarily by type and then by context, in case that there was a known context (Hoffman 1997, 23). They were analysed more as separate valuable objects and not as part of a funeral group, even if the catalogue number and context of the tombs were mentioned. In the present thesis, I wish to give priority firstly to context.

## ii. Aim, Method and Structure of the Thesis

The scope of this thesis is to investigate the social structure and behaviour of the Early Iron Age Knossian society based on the evidence provided by the study of the tombs and cemeteries of the area. The main tool which will be employed for this study will be a thorough analysis of the oriental imports and their imitations which were discovered in the contemporary tombs of the region.

A contextual small- and large-scale comparison between the various tombs, cemeteries, their locations and the quantities of oriental imports and their imitations appears to be an appropriate method for trying to understand the relations within the various ranks of society. Special attention will be given to the relation between the various elite groups as suggested by the mortuary evidence.

As context I define the tombs containing archaeological material dated to the Early Iron Age. The groups of tombs and the location of the various cemeteries of the area constitute

part of a wider context, which will be also used in this project. The impact of oriental imports in society will also be thoroughly studied in relation to their local copies.

The context is one of its most important parameters. Without a doubt it is the "*contextual approach that places social and archaeological context in the forefront of any analysis*" (Whitley 1994, 52; Hodder 1991). In general, I have followed Whitley's paradigm as regards the way that a contextual analysis should be carried out[5]. Quantification is another important parameter.

For this reason, descriptive statistics, measurements and cluster analysis will be very important instruments for this study. Ethnographic examples are also important in this thesis especially regarding theoretical issues. At this point and bearing in mind that the cemeteries at Knossos are a special case (most of the chamber tombs were used for more than two generations and in some cases more than 50 or 60 inurned burials can be found in a chaotic state inside the same tomb), one wonders if the contextual approach can be the sole theoretical agenda of the present thesis.

Certainly, one cannot expect to follow only one theoretical approach in order to understand the social relations between the various groups that form a society. For this reason, in order to understand the burial practices and the various groupings of the tombs, one need also to combine archaeological evidence provided from other aspects of society as well.

This is namely the evidence regarding the settlement and the cult activity of the Knossian people as well as some aspects of their economy. The combination of evidence follows the theoretical agenda set by Keswani (2004, 6-21) who proposed an interpretive reapprochment for combining and balancing multiple lines of evidence (ibid, 31-4). The

[5] *"A contextual approach tries to relate archaeological context to social context, not directly, but by viewing archaeological deposits as records of particular types of social behaviour. Interpreting deposits demands two things a quantitative analysis of and statistical types of deposits., and ethnographically or historically derived social model to explain types of depositional behaviour'* (Whitley 1994, 52)

only differentiation from Keswani's approach is again that in Knossos for a series of reasons the mortuary evidence is vast in comparison to all the other kinds of evidence[6].

As it has already been mentioned, in order to proceed to the aforementioned analysis, it is essential to conduct first a study and then a synthesis of the tombs discovered around Knossos. This course of action is required because after more than one century of excavations in the region, the location of many tombs is either ignored or forever lost, along with the fact that many toponyms have changed[7].

In fact, I consider that the study of the tombs and their distribution must be of equal importance to the study of the imports. At the same time additional attention will be given to the Bronze Age past of the area, since there is number of Minoan characteristics, which might have been passed on to the Iron Age Knossian society.

The present thesis will be divided in five chapters and two distinct parts. In the first chapter, I will discuss the theoretical issues of contextual archaeology and the use of mortuary evidence for a better understanding of the nature and function of a society. The concept of imports and imitations will also be mentioned. The problem of terminology and chronology of the Early Iron Age in Crete will also be discussed.

It must be confessed, though, that archaeological theory is a very complex matter and cannot be restrained to one single chapter as a section separate from the rest of the thesis. At the same time, there are issues concerning society, rites, rituals, grave goods and other objects found in the tombs that need to be discussed and in some cases tested against specific archaeological evidence. Therefore, additional theoretical approaches there will be presented throughout the thesis.

The second chapter is concerned with the archaeological evidence, distribution of the Knossian tombs and cemeteries. There will be a historiography of the excavations of the Iron Age tombs and cemeteries at Knossos and their relation to the settlement. Apart from

[6] See chapter 2 of the present thesis for the discussion settlement and cult activity.
[7] For example the suburb of Heraklion with the name Teke or Tekke is now called Ampelokipi.

the two main publications written about the cemeteries (Brock 1957 and Coldstream & Catling 1996), all the other final publications of tombs discovered in the region will also be included. All tombs will be grouped according to their location and structure.

This chapter also deals with issues concerning the Knossian society and its relation to the cemeteries. In this chapter, I will also present evidence from the Knossos area regarding the nature of the society besides the mortuary evidence. An important part in this study is reserved to an analysis of the debates concerning the nature of the Early Iron Age settlement (or settlements). Finally, another very significant aspect that will be examined is the cult activity of the Knossians and its possible connection to the Minoan past.

Chapters three and four, is naturally about the appreciation of the oriental imports and their imitations by Knossian society. In the fourth chapter, I will present and analyse all the oriental imports and combine them to their context, which is without any doubt the tombs. Other categories which will also be presented are the objects of uncertain provenance (which are either oriental or local imitations) and finally the imitations of the oriental finds (mostly pots), the prototypes of which have also been found in Knossos. The presentation of the above categories will be made in a detailed catalogue in the same chapter in order to detect possible patterns among their location, the settlement, the cult activity and the social status of the deceased.

At this point it must be pointed out that imports are not always found in fully published tombs, but in some cases they can also be found in unpublished ones. Unfortunately, sometimes archaeologists deal with the publication of a sole fascinating object discovered in a tomb, but not with the complete publication of the tomb.

No matter how brilliant or important a find is, when it is not published with the rest of the finds, it distorts our understanding of the rest of the discovery. For this reason and since this study takes under serious consideration the entire context of the tomb, imports from not fully-published tombs will not be included in the present thesis. This is a major difference of this thesis to the prior publications of Hoffman (1997) and Jones (2000) who made a wide use of imports of unknown provenance.

In the fourth chapter I will attempt to make the analysis of all the different evidence and categories which will have been presented at chapter four. There is a series of questions which I will try to answer. For example, are there different patterns of contexts where oriental imports are found? Did – and this is one of the most important questions concerning the imports and their imitations – the people who used them in the funeral rituals wish to make any manifestation regarding their social class in relation to other groups or even other elites?

Finally, in the conclusion, there will be a summary of the evidence and an attempt to describe the different periods of the Early Iron Age from the point of view of the various changes on the mortuary evidence, always in relation to the oriental imports and their imitations.

Appendices and some of the figures and images will be placed at the end of the book. On the other hand, maps, plans and statistical analysis deemed crucial for the development of the analysis, the synthesis of the evidence and the explanation of the various arguments will be placed within the body of the text, since they constitute a very important part of the explanation of the project.

As far as the written sources are concerned, it must be stressed that Early Iron Age is not a historical period. It is true that there is some textual information coming from the Near East and Egypt, which might be relevant to this project and certainly Homer is always somehow present even in the most 'scientific' analysis of the Early Iron Age. However, the deeds of the pharaohs and the verses of the Iliad and Odyssey cannot be treated as historical evidence. For this reason, following Whitley's (1994) and Jones's examples (2000), it must be made clear that this analysis will treat this period mainly as prehistoric[8].

[8] See also Whitley (1994, 51) for a further discussion on why Attica and I would add the entirely Early Iron Age Greek world in general, should be studied as a prehistoric period.

## iii. General Remarks on Knossos

As a part of the introduction I have included some varied but very important general remarks on Knossos. The first set of remarks provides some basic information about the region and the second is a synopsis of the Bronze Age past of the area.

### a. The Region

The name Ko-no-so was discovered in the Linear B clay tablets and is the safest indication that this region has kept the same name for at least the past 3,400 years. The region of Knossos, with its most prominent and discussed archaeological feature, the heavily imaginary reconstruction on the Minoan Palace, is located at the central part of Crete, about 5km from the north coast, near the modern capital of Heraklion.

Knossos is an area of lowland composed by small river valleys, where the most prominent river is Kairatos, which runs just to the east of Minos Palace (Hood and Smyth 1981, 1). The natural borders of the area are low hills in the north and even lower in the south. Due to the presence of the river and various springs and despite the non-alluvial conditions, it can be said that Knossos is a well watered area (Plates I, II, III).

In the archaeological records it appears that all the main settlements of Knossos from the Neolithic down to the Roman period were discovered below and above the Bronze Age building complex, which became known as the Palace of Minos. A link between the mythical Cretan King, the Bronze Age Knossos, the labyrinth and King Theseus was established probably in the Classical Period (Kern 2000, 53-54). The location of Knossos in Crete and its proximity to the East can be seen in the following map.


**Figure 1: Map 1: Eastern Mediterranean and Knossos**

The first serious archaeological approach to this site was made in 1878, when local antiquarian Minos Kalokairinos identified, after a series of soundings, the Bronze Age Palace of Knossos (Kopoka 1995). Crete was under Ottoman rule and Cretans feared that, if Kalokairinos conducted more excavations, the finds would be transferred by the Turks to the Imperial Museum of Istanbul[9] (Castleden 1990, 22). For this reason, in 1879, they asked Kalokarinos to stop his investigations (ibid).

The independence for the Cretans came in 1896. Four years later, Arthur Evans and the director of the British School at Athens, David George Hogarth, began a series of excavations and surveys in the area, which had been bought by that time by Evans

[9] This exactly was the case for the famous marble sarcophagus from Sidon depicting Alexander the Great in 1887.

(Panagiotaki 2004; Coldstream and Catling 1996, 1; Evans 1921, v). After a series of restorations, initially for protecting the freshly excavated ruins, Evans created what would be called later as "*the most eccentric archaeological reconstruction ever to achieve scholarly acceptance*" (Gere 2009, 5).

In 1924, Arthur Evans handed over all his properties of Knossos to the British School at Athens and by the end of the World WarII, due to the great economic difficulties the British faced, it was decided to transfer all the properties of the School in Knossos (apart from the Stratigraphic museum) to the Hellenic State (Coldstream and Catling 1996, 1). An agreement was made between the British School and Greek authorities that the School should always be able to conduct rescue excavations and make publications of the whole archaeological area of Knossos, subject to prior authorisation by the Greek antiquities service (*Ephoria*). Coldstream simply says that *"the British School of Archaeology in Athens donated this property to the Greek authorities and the exchange was the priority of the BSA in the excavations of Knossos"* (1996, 1).

At this point, it must be said that there is a problem concerning excavations and primary archaeological reports written on excavations conducted before the World War II: after the battle of Crete in 1941, the island was occupied by the Germans for four years. From the first moment of the war there was a huge effort by the Greek local archaeological service to safeguard and hide from the foreign army the most important archaeological objects in sealed vaults (Brock 1957, xii). *"The material outside the vaults had to be transferred in many occasions during the war at the demand of the German military service"* (ibid).

At the same time, most of the British archaeologists had to leave the island, while others like Pendlebury chose to stay and fight[10] (Fermor 2001; 2003). Many of their archaeological notes were lost. After the end of the war, the majority of the aforementioned archaeological material was found and rescued. However, it was difficult in some cases to rematch the objects and the pieces with the inventory catalogues, or to sort out pottery without the archaelogists' preliminary notes. This was also the case with small finds.

[10] Pendlebury joined the British army and became liaison officer between British troops and Cretan military. He was executed by the Germans in 1941 (Fermor 2001; 2003).

Additionally, the fact that some archaeologists died shortly after they begun their excavations or before publishing them (Payne, Blakeway both died in 1936) cannot be omitted as a further difficulty on understanding the archaeological evidence.

As one can see in the following map, the archaeological area of Knossos is extended beyond Evans' original property. The following map shows the hills around Knossos and the locations of the surrounding sites. The squared area represents the survey made by Hood and Smyth (1981) and roughly the former property of Evans. Light-grey areas show altitude at 100m and Dark-grey at 200m.

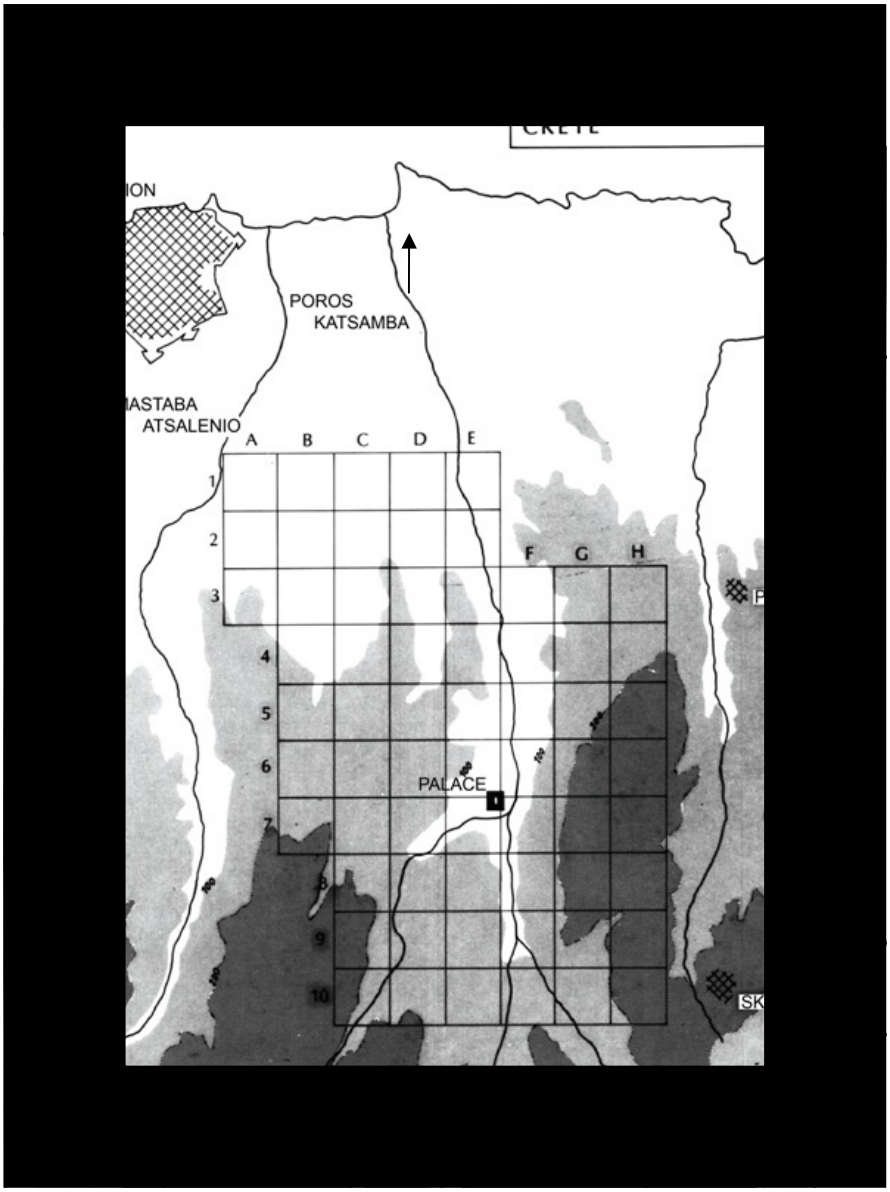



**Figure 2: Map 2: Knossos Region. (after Hood and Smyth 1981, 3)**

So, after the World War II, there were two areas in Knossos region. The main archaeological area around the palace (Archaeological zone A), which was protected by modern constructions building and remained intact for further archaeological investigation

and a second much more extended area, where building activity was permitted to a certain degree, but only after a thorough archaeological investigation (Archaeological zone B). However, the boarders of the two zones were not precisely defined or better saying 'stable'. For this reason the most important benefit from the initial agreement between Greek authorities and BSA was that the inner area remained relatively intact from constructions and permitted to archaeologists to conduct investigations without the pressure of the constructors.

Unfortunately, after 1950 the situation changed and the constructions of the Venizeleion Hospital (sanatorium) and later of a medical faculty have resulted to a much more limited archaeological zone than before, not to mention the constant pressure of the locals for extension of the urban zone inside of the archaeological areas.

In 2010 the Hellenic Ministry of Culture excluded from the archaeological zone A (near Fortetsa) 3000 m² of land and allowed urban development in it (Kontrarou-Rassia 2010). This building activity will result to a further degradation of the landscape which according to professor Stampolidis constitutes part of the archaeological monuments of the area (ibid).

## b. The Bronze Age Past: Archaeology and Burial Activity

The Bronze or Minoan Age of Crete and certainly of Knossos is without a doubt the most famous period of the island's history and a very important chapter of the history of world archaeology. This is not the place for a detailed analysis, or even a mere summary of the finds, the aspects, the implications and the chronological issues of what (and why) has been named Minoan civilisation and its influence on the Aegean prehistory.

It is however necessary to proceed to a simple outline of the topography and archaeology of the Bronze Age in Knossos for one main reason: the shadow of the Bronze Age Knossos has unconsciously affected the archaeologists who studied the Early Iron Age. In particular, for anything that has been found within the Palace area and other contemporary buildings

(from the Neopalatial Period), all the coordinates and directions used by the archaeologists are related to the names that Evans had given to the structures and locations. Most of the Iron Age settlements and cult spots bear the name of the Bronze Age structures.

A notable exception is the locations where most of the Early Greek cemeteries have been discovered. This is because they lay outside the Palace area and most of the times took the modern name of the nearby vicinity, village or building. Another possible explanation can be that almost all of them were not dug by Evans.

Certainly the most prominent artificial mark of the Bronze Age landscape of the Knossos valley must have been the complex structure which was named palace and is located on the slopes of the low hill Kephala. The so-called First Palace (or Old Palace) was probably built *c*. 2.000 BC upon the Neolithic strata of the city and marked the prosperity of the period (Hood and Smyth, 1981, 8; Treuil *et al* 1996, 223).

It was destroyed *c.* 1700 BC, probably by an earthquake or fire and it was immediately rebuilt in a bigger scale (Peatfield 1996, 374; Younger and Rehak 2008, 140). Due to this major destruction, the builders had to level off the Palace's terrace by removing earlier levels and thus built it directly on Neolithic remains (Peatfield 1996, 374). This practice of levelling off the previous levels of buildings was used in Knossos also in the succeeding periods.

Between *c.* 1700 BC and *c.* 1450 BC the Knossos palace is becoming probably the political centre of the island and this might be reflected on the complexity and size of the building. The legend of the labyrinth probably derives from this New Palace. The Palace was also the focus of the economic, religious and social activities of Knossos. For the administration of the wealth which was redistributed in the Palace, Minoans had invented a writing system, the Linear A (ibid).

The influence of the Knossian style and architecture can also be detected in the other major Cretan centres and other Aegean islands and colonies, such as Kythira. Cretan influence in general can be seen in the coasts of Greece and Anatolia (Betancourt 2008, 216). Trade

with Cyprus and Levant was important and Egyptian and Hittite goods may have reached Crete through this route (ibid).

A number of houses were built around the Palace in that period, such as the House of the Sacrificed Oxen[11], the House of the Fallen Blocks, the House of the Chancel Screen and the South-East House. On the East side of the Palace is located the House of the Monolithic Pillars, which is probably contemporary to the Old Palace (Cadogan 1976, 85). The South House is located to the South-West corner of the Palace, next to the House of Frescoes and the North-East House.

Outside the Palace and in the South are located Caravanserai, the Spring Chamber, the House of the High Priest and the Temple Tomb (ibid, 86-87). Finally, the Royal Villa and the Unexplored Mansion or Little Palace are houses located outside the Palace but bearing some similar features to it, in a much smaller scale of course. Poros, in the seafront east of the modern capital at 5 km distance from the Palace, was the port of Knossos.

As far as the burial evidence is concerned, there is a variety of practices in Crete. The same occurs in Knossos and its surrounded area. There have been discovered: tholos tombs, burials in built structures (house tombs), clay tab coffins (larnax), cave tombs and pit-tombs (Younger and Rehak 2008, 171-172). The collection of skulls after the decomposition of the body inside the same tomb has also been noted (ibid, 171). Chamber tombs were also discovered in Gypsades hill (Hood and Smyth 1981, 11). In the port of Poros, many cave tombs have been interpreted by their context as warrior graves (ibid, 172). The main cemeteries must have been the Mavro Spilio and Ailias cemeteries (Hood and Smyth 1981, 11). The Temple Tomb south of Knossos and the Royal Isopata Tomb[12] have hitherto been interpreted if not as royal tombs, then definitely as *elite* tombs (Younger and Rehak 2008, 173).

Around 1500 BC (at the end of LMIb) occurred the eruption of Thera's volcano that apparently did not cause serious problems to Crete (Shelmeridine 2008, 4-6; Davis 2008,

[11] All these names are given by Evans (1928)

[12] Evans (1906), based on the architectural evidence, dated it in MM III Period while Hood and Smyth in LMIIIC. However, the last two authors could not study the tomb itself since it was destroyed in WWII.

205; Treuil et al 1996, 390-1). Again, in 1450 BC in Knossos and other centres of Crete there are signs of fire destructions, which have hitherto been interpreted as warfare provoked by the Mycenaeans. However, despite the partial destruction, the Palace continues to function as a political centre, as the archaeological evidence indicates (Preston 2008, 311; Hood and Smyth 1981, 11).

Treuil and her co-writers do not see the Mycenaean dominance established in Knossos before 1370 BC (1996, 568). Furthermore, Preston claims that the term Mycenaean cannot be applied so easily to Knossos at any period and that there is more evidence for collaboration between the Minoan and Mycenaean *elite*s than occupation and aggression (2008, 320). The other extreme of this statement is Hallager's book *The Mycenaean Palace at Knossos* (1977) and, as one can understand from the title of the book, the author's position is very clear.

There is also evidence for continuity of the Minoan culture, at least as regards religion, (Treuil *et al* 1996). In any case, Knossos still appears to control the island as the bureaucratic system of Linear B tablets and the identical seals found in the other centres (Zakros, Gournia) suggest (Myers *et al* 1992, 36; Treuil *et al* 1996, 326).

In 1375-50 BC[13] there is another disaster caused by fire in the Knossos palace, which has been viewed as the final destruction of the Palace and its function (Hood 1971, 60; Alexiou 1969, Dickinson 1994, 21; Peatfield 1996, 374; Treuil *et al* 1996, 344). It remains a controversy whether the Linear B tablets (of Greek language) discovered by Evans are dated before or after 1370 BC, or in both periods, and whether they are related to the Mycenaean presence. In any case, Linear A inscriptions do not appear after 1450 BC (Treuil *et al* 1996, 344).

However, the picture given from the mortuary evidence of the Late Minoan Period, is somehow different. Burials, tombs and cemeteries assignable to the period after 1450 BC, are spread over a much wider area than those of the earlier periods (Hood and Smith 1981,

[13] Higher and lower dates have also been suggested for the final destruction of the Palace for discussion see Dickinson 1994, 21.

12). There is a shift from the older practice of communal tombs containing a very large amount of burials to single graves or family tombs containg a small number of burials (ibid).

Graves which have been interpreted as warrior graves and chamber tombs with narrow dromoi and rectangular chambers similar to the contemporary of mainland Mycenaean Greece also appear in Knossos area at the beginning of this period (Myers *et al* 1992, 36). However, the "warrior" tombs can also be interpreted as signs of increased warfare, which does not necessarily imply dominance by a new *elite,* not to mention other approaches which depart from the direct interpretation and make use of the symbolic aspects of such burials and funerals. The most important cemetery of this period is the Zaphyr Papoura, located West of Kairatos River and North of the Palace. At least a hundred tombs and graves were excavated there by Evans (Hood and Smyth 1981, 12). Mavro Spelio and Ghypsades were also very important cemeteries. All cemeteries were located in a considerable distance from the main settlement (i.e. more than five hundred meters).

The chamber tomb is the most common burial structure (at least for the archaeological record). There are also examples of vaulted and tholos tombs and pit-caves. Inside all these type of tombs, the larnax burial was the normal form (Snodgrass 2000, 164) but probably wooden coffins were also used for richer members of the elite (Hood et al 1958, 205). Pithos burials also exist, along with a few examples of pits or shaft graves (ibid).

As far as the transition between the Bronze and the Iron Age is concerned, it is extremely hard to locate burials belonging to this period. They appear to be only few burials at the very end of the LMIII, which are probably the last burials of this period. The most prominent might be those inside of tombs VI and VII at the Gypsades cemetery (ibid).

As far as the Sub-Minoan Period is concerned, it is rather difficult for one to decide whether Sub-Minoan burials belong to the transition period or whether they simply mark a new beginning for the people of Knossos. As it was explained in the introduction, I have included the Sub-Minoan period in my investigation of the Early Iron Age. For this reason, the discussion concerning the Sub-Minoan burials will be made in great detail in the

following chapters, after locating all the different types of burials during the transition period.

At this point, it can be argued that the sub-Minoan period is extremely important because of the variety in rites, quality of grave goods and burial location. As will be shown in the next chapter, two are the main differences between the sub-Minoan burials. The first is that there are Sub-Minoan burials which have been found in Late Minoan tombs and other contemporary burials found in newly build tombs. The second main difference is the rite: both cremation and inhumation are in use at the same time.

After the final destruction of the Palace, life certainly did not disappear in Knossos and one gets evidence for activity around the Palace but much scantier, as the archaeological record indicates (Hood and Smyth 1981, 28). The Knossian influence ceases to exist even in Crete and Khania becomes the most prominent region (Dickinson 1994, 22).

In her recent books (2010) Wallace uses the term 'successful collapse' in order to describe the period after 1200 BC, because of the fast recovery of the island. Other authors though have found this term outdated and tend to use 'resilience' in order to describe the response of a society to crisis (Kotsonas 2011c).

It must be admitted that the most striking feature that provides a very strong argument for not regarding the period after 1100 BC as a backwater is the amount of cemeteries and their context. Judging from the recovered archaeological material after 1200 BC, it is hard to imagine the Late Bronze Age Knossians as "*people camped in ghostly remains*" (Cadogan 1976, 48).

# CHAPTER 1: THEORETICAL APPROACHES ON ARCHAEOLOGICAL ISSUES

## i. Interpreting Mortuary Evidence

There are some fundamental matters that need to be addressed first, in order to set the theoretical framework of this thesis. The first is the belief, or axiom that the analysis and subsequent interpretation of mortuary evidence (either human remains or grave goods and other objects along with tomb structure and architecture) can provide archaeologists with some explanation about the behaviour of a given society. In other words, the way that the world of the dead is structured can provide some evidence for the world of the living.

Even though the aforementioned statement seems very obvious, it requires further explanation from the point of view of archaeological theory as it has been established at least since the 'New Archaeology' movement in the 1960s. This analysis is required in order to understand that, apart from the common view that death and society are related, there is great differentiation in the way archaeologists interpret this relation.

Actually, it was not the archaeological theory that first approached the relation between death and society. As a social phenomenon, it is related much more to the work of social anthropologists[14]. For example, according to the functional approach, after the death of an individual society is disturbed by the shock and must gradually regain its balance after a series of ceremonies during the period of mourning (Danforth 1982, 26; Hertz 1960, 82 and 86). In other words, there is always the need for equilibrium after such a devastating event. For functionalism, religion plays a great role during the burial since:

*"…it counteracts the centrifugal forces of fear, dismay, demoralisation, and provides the most powerful means of reintegration of the group's shaken solidarity and of the re-establishment of it morale."* (Malinowski 1954:53; Danforth 1982, 26).

[14] The differentiation between archaeology and social anthropology in the USA is not as sharp as in Europe.

In other words, Gennep and Hertz have provided archaeologists with an analysis concerning the concept of the three-stage ritual[15] and what has become known as the "rite of passage", i.e. the funeral (Hertz 1960 and Van Gennep 1960 cited in Morris 1987, 31).

Functionalism however, was criticised widely for its preference to religion as a system that cannot practically explain social and cultural change, especially on the basis of an analysis of the death rituals (Danforth 1982, 26, Geertz 1973, 142-143). I may add that, in archaeology of death, functionalism cannot provide us with explanations related to real archaeological evidence, since as Morris says "*archaeologists excavate burials and not funerals*" (1987, 36). The latter also gives great emphasis on the four rules of Renfrew for cult behaviour which can be summarised as follows:

1. Verbal testimony
2. Direct Observation of funerary practices
3. Study of non-verbal records
4. Study of the material remains of the funerary activities themselves (ibid; Renfrew 1985, 12).

Among these four categories the most important as far as the Early Iron Age of Knossos is concerned is the fourth one, without disregarding entirely the first and third categories. However, there is no doubt that the most important part of the fourth rule is related, subconsciously or consciously, to the direct interpretation approach in archaeology. Saxe (1970) and Binford (1972) were based on the direct interpretation in order to link social status and mortuary treatment (Keswani 2004, 7).

This link between social status and mortuary treatment is very important and, as Keswani additionally describes for the first approach of the processual archaeology, "*the overall complexity or variability of the mortuary ritual within a given society would be a direct*

[15] The three stages are: the rite of separation, the rite of *rite de marge* or of transition and finally the rite of aggregation or reincorporation.

*reflection of social complexity in terms of both vertical or hierarchical and horizontal or no-hierarchical groupings*" (ibid; Binford 1972, 232-5).

However, for many archaeologists the way that direct interpretation links the worlds of the dead and the living is not very satisfactory. Some of the processualists have stressed the fact that there are high status burials with no visible remains (Keswani 2004, 7; Braun 1981; Brown 1981) and others that post-depositional processes can change the context of the archaeological record (Keswani 2004, 7; O'Shea 1984).

One of the most astonishing examples of a rich burial which cannot be traced archaeologically (especially from the point of view of the ritual) is the Viking burial of a chieftain at the banks of Volga, as described by Ibn Fadlan and commented by Parker Pearson (1999, 1-3). Another example of an "invisible" ritual and performance can be that of Achilles as organiser (gathering of graves goods, killing of Trojan hostages, post burial games etc.) of Patroclus' funeral. Even if it is not certain that Achilles role was institutional in the organisation of the funeral, all his acts and tasks are, archaeologically speaking, absolutely untraceable.

Post-processualism was, of course, the movement which argued very strongly against the processual approach to the direct interpretation. For most of post-processualists, the mortuary variation is not an exact representation of social roles and social hierarchy within the living society (Keswani 2004, 8; Pader 1982; Parker Pearson 1982; 1984; 1993; Shanks and Tilley 1982; Morris 1987, 1992).

Post-processualists believe that the aspect of symbolism as manifested through the various visible and invisible rites and rituals is far more important than direct interpretation. Morris, for example, claims that mortuary rituals are a ritualized expression of social structure in which empirical relationships can be denied, reflected or exaggerated (Morris 1987, 39; Keswani 2004, 10).

One might add that even processes of burial practice that are easier for archaeologists to trace, such as the gradual shift from inhumation to cremation after the end of the Bronze

Age in the societies of the Aegean, are only partly reflected in visible material remains. Again, as Morris has pointed out, the ritual or symbolic part of the activity, which is the burial, is largely ignored (1992, 13-14).

However, many archaeologists still use the direct interpretation in order to understand a context (ibid, 24-26; Hodder 1982, 141-146). A very characteristic example of the direct interpretation approach is that of the Late Bronze Age "warrior" graves, where a large amount of weapons has been found and interpreted as such, even if it is not always absolutely certain whether the cremated person was a male, child or adult. The symbolic aspect is again ignored (Whitley 2001, 169). In the same line of thought, others have interpreted theses graves as a practice that "*reflects an adaptation from the military ideology of the Mycenaean kingship*" (Morgan 2009; Davies and Bennet 1999). In his own investigation on the differences between Bronze Age and Iron Age "warrior" burials, Whitley puts great emphasis on the subject of identity and claims that "*to bury a man as a warrior (whether or not he actually was one) is therefore to make ideological claims about status, hierarchy, authority, and gender*" (2002, 227).

At this point, I wish to mention two ethnographic examples from modern Greece related to the relativity of direct interpretation. In contemporary rural Greece -, when a young girl dies, her funerary clothes is a wedding dress, even though the girl is not even married. The same applies for young boys, who are buried dressed in wedding attire (Danforth 1982, 80). A few decades ago, in rural areas of Greece, most of the unmarried persons (regardless of their age) were buried dressed as if they were to get married (ibid). On the contrary, when a married woman or man died, they did not dress them as bride or groom. In this example, there is a very strong symbolism with death functioning as metaphor of marriage (ibid, 81). This ritual occurs during the ceremony of the funeral which is held by a priest but in reality has nothing to do with Christian religion (Alexiou 1974, 24-35).

The second example is related to grave goods. Despite the fact that in the Greek orthodox religion, grave goods are not officially accepted, in Greece people sometimes place inside the coffin objects of minor value for the trip to the afterlife. The strange thing is that these

objects are not always for the person who is inside the coffin. During a funeral in the town of Nea Makri in Attica a few years ago, where I was present, the cousin of the diseased placed inside the coffin a packet of cigarettes in order for the deceased to give it to the long gone father of his cousin. No one takes this act literally, but the symbolic act that a son still remembers his dead father and his habits is very strong, especially when it takes place in front of relatives during the funeral of another person.

In both of these cases, if a future archaeologists found either a woman in a coffin dressed as bride or a packet of cigarettes inside a coffin of a man, the direct interpretation would not help him understand the symbolic and social implication of these finds. Additionally, it does not seem to be any social difference between rich and poor dead people in these rituals.

Dickinson also follows a post-processual line of thought in his interpretation of grave goods, which is also related to the above examples: he regards them more as manifestation of the living than a characterisation of the dead (2006, 177-178). At the same time though, Dickinson admits and warns that *"it would be to reductionist to imagine that grave goods are simply expressions of the status of the burying group"* (ibid, 178).

This last statement is very important, as it reveals in a way the situation that an archaeologist finds himself in during the excavation of a tomb and especially in a rescue excavation. For example, in a typical marble sarcophagus in 5$^{th}$ Century BC Athens it is not unusual to find a *stleggis* (body scraper) as a grave good next to a male skeleton. That does not necessarily mean that this person was an athlete but at the same time leaves this possibility wide open.

At this point, one must stress the importance of quantification and measurements. If, for example, all male skeletons were accompanied by the same grave good, that might be more likely to be a symbolic act.

The aforementioned examples have shown that direct interpretation in the way it was used in the past (and still used) has serious weaknesses. However, it cannot be entirely

disregarded as a wrong method. There are many cases where it is used because simply there are no other ways and methods to understand a funerary context. There is always a possibility that a Mycenaean chamber tomb of a male skeleton accompanied by weapons is a tomb of a warrior. Direct interpretation remains a valuable tool but at the same time one should be conscious of the importance of unofficial rituals which lay outside the typical religious ceremonies and could have been powerful and unrelated to the social status of the deceased.

As far as grave goods are concerned, Dickinson is conscious that not all the objects found in a tomb should be considered grave goods (Dickinson, 2006, 177-178; Whitley 1991, Morris 1987). For example, what does not seem to be considered as grave good is the pottery, since its function is more related to funeral ceremonies. This thought is on the right direction regarding the importance of grave goods in a tomb and the existence of other objects.

In this thesis I have consciously avoided to make broad use of the term grave goods, since in the quantification approach I use all the objects found in each tomb are placed in a single category of objects. For this reason, such a distinction would have been pointless.

One must not disregard the role of pots found in a grave. In the case of Knossos cemeteries, most of the oriental imports are pots and almost all of them were found inside extremely rich chamber tombs. The role of these imports will be thoroughly analysed in Chapters 3 and 4.

Another theory, which is based more on the post-processual line of thought, is the one that pays attention not only to archaeological information but also to the subjective agent of an investigation, which is undoubtedly the archaeologist. However, the idea that each one of us interprets the evidence with his or her understanding and views, constitutes a factor that makes the post-processual approach valuable. For example, all archaeologists seem to agree on to what a grave is, or that a dromos (entrance passage) is part of chamber tomb. The analysis, however, of a dromos as an architectural/structural or symbolic feature depends on the archaeologist conducting the investigation.

On the other hand, the essential need to study a past society not with the aim of making it part of a historical explanation but for simply trying to understand it is one of the major contributions of processual archaeology and one of the pillar of this thesis.

Another very important factor introduced with New Archaeology is the use of statistics and a broad range of statistical techniques (such as cluster analysis) and models, which in many cases has managed to put some order in the chaos of pottery evidence and styles, but also to date and analyse various types of artefacts and materials and propose different answers.

Returning to post-processual theory, there is the very important issue of the concept of society. In order to study the Knossians, I take for granted that society exists and past societies have also existed. At the same time, I am conscious of the post-processual critique that processual archaeologists should not take the concept of society so seriously as to exclude the individual from their study (Shanks and Tilley 1987, 29-57; Hodder 1982).

The critique of post-processualism and subsequently post-modernism is very important in order to approach the concept of society without relying on functionalism. Individuals are very important and their uniqueness must be studied wherever it is detectable in the archaeological record.

On the other hand, it is true that tombs contain individuals but in the case of Knossos Iron Age each tomb usually contains more than one individual . In this wider group of individuals, archaeologists may trace and assign common artefacts and behaviours (or patterns) to the same or distinctive groups of people and might make common observations and probably interpretations. In other words, the process of understanding a group through observation does not always have to be related to the historical context, as Shanks and Tilley suggest (1987, 59).

Of course, an archaeologist will never be free from his or her prejudices and this can sometimes influence possible interpretations, a fact that has happened more than once in the

past[16]. By accepting this, I argue that a combination of contextual analysis of the evidence, refined by the critique of post-processualism on absolute functionalism and subjectivity, can be a very useful guide to understanding many aspects of the past.

## ii. Funeral Rites: Cremation or Inhumation?

Before proceeding to an analysis of the tombs and graves found at Knossos, it must be stated that one of the most important changes regarding mortuary evidence and funeral rites between the Bronze and the Iron Age is the shift from inhumation to cremation and to put it more precisely the fact that cremations outnumbers inhumations in many cemeteries after the begging of the Early Iron Age. This shift does not mean that cremation in Crete and in the Aegean in general was a previously unknown practice, but that it became progressively the dominant rite, especially from the 10th century onwards (Snodgrass 1971, 164-170; Coldstream 1977, 48; Cavangh 1996, 652; Dickinson 2006, 185-189).

Without a doubt, this change was not sudden, neither did it happen everywhere at the same time. Cremation was also in use in Late Bronze Age Greece and Crete, but mostly as an isolated and minority rite[17] (Snodgrass 1971, 165; Cavanagh 1996, 675). On the other hand, judging from the archaeological evidence, in places such as Ancient Corinth cremation never became the dominant rite (Blegen et al 1964).

Archaeologically speaking, cremation as a rite probably appeared in the Greek peninsula at least in the Early Neolithic Period (about 5500 BC) as the burned human remains from the settlement of Souphli Magoula in Thessaly demonstrate (Gallis 1982, 32 and 48). Cremations from all the phases of the Neolithic Period were discovered in a cave at Lavrion

[16] For example the influence of Modernism on Evans (Gere 2009).

[17] Certainly, there are older theories connecting this rite with population, such as the invasion of Indo-European Achaeans or Dorians from the North and the way Homeric heroes were buried (Ridgway 1931, 507). Such theories though cannot be supported archaeologically and were rejected sixty years ago (Mylonas 1948, 79). Addtioanlly, in the area of Ancient Corith, cremation was a very rare phenomenon even during the EIA.

Attica (Melas 1984; 25; Varitsas 1968, 235-6). Between the Early Neolithic and the Mycenean Times there are only a few examples of cremation from the Middle Bronze Age, one on the island of Leukas (Melas 1984, 25; Dorpfled 1927; 210-237; Benton 1931-32; 229-30) and another in MHIII Argos (ibid).

Melas does not share Galis' view on the continuity of cremation from the Early Neolithic to the Early Iron Age. Melas maintains that despite the few examples of cremation in Greece, this burial custom entered from Anatolia in the middle of the fourteen century, probably due to the cultural and commercial relations of the Mycenaean colonies in the eastern Aegean and south western Anatolia with the Hittites and the Troyans (Ibid, 26-33; Mylonas 1948, 80; Lorimer 1950, 107; Mc Fadden 1954, 134; Iakovidis 1970, footnote 53; Snodgrass 1971, 157-8). Dickinson also underlines the popularity of cremation in Anatolia and claims that it occurs more as a dominant rite in sites with overseas connections (2006, 188-189). He suggests a broader context, arguing that at the same period cremation was becoming popular in the Levantine coast (ibid; Aubet 2001, 65).

After 1100 BC, in many cemeteries and cases, cremation coexisted with inhumation and it seems that the adoption of this rite does not necessarily mean a shift in the wider context of burial rituals and beliefs (Melas 1984, 33; Dickinson 2006, 180). Inhumation, on the other hand, never really disappeared from the archaeological record and in the case of Knossos there were some inurned inhumations even at the end of the Early Iron Age.

The reason why cremation became a popular rite in Early Iron Age, especially after the Protogeometric period, is not clear. The most probable cause though is that cremation became associated with luxurious funeral ritual displays, since the consumption of wood in places like the deforested (even in ancient times) Aegean islands, is an expensive operation (Dickinson 2006, 189; Cavanagh 1998, 97).

Following this line of thought one should mention the analysis of Tarlas (1994) on the reasons that made the Athenian elite of the Early Iron Age adopt cremation as the main funeral rite. The author saw a series of different socio-economic reasons such as the superior productive capacity of the elite which eventually led to an unequal society (1994,

327). In order to increase this inequality, the elite manipulated and elaborated ideological means such as selective formal burial and eventually cremation (ibid). The author also maintains that selective formal burial and cremation are symbolically linked at least for the Athenian aristocrats (ibid).

At the same time there are more complicated issues concerning cremation and its impact to the society that practises it. In his PhD dissertation, Cavanagh investigates cremation from the point of view of religion and beliefs regarding, for example, what happens to the soul after death (1977, 20, Helbig 1900; Poulsen 1905). He claims that "*the graves at Dypilon (Kerameikos, Athens) suggested a belief in wilful and demanding spirits surviving death and cremation, a belief which continued from Mycenaean times and survived in Attica into later times*"(ibid).

Gallis also supports that the mortuary evidence from Neolithic, Bronze and Iron Age Greece concerning cremation (grave goods prepared especially for the dead) are related to the belief of the ancient Greeks that soul survives death (Gallis 1982, 178).

Melas (2001, 15-29), in a detailed study on the same issue, approaches cremation not from the point of view of the economy (expensive rite), neither from traditional historical approach (the heroic burials in Homer). He also rejects as oversimplified the post-processual approach that cremation is imposed as manifestation of the ideology of the elite. He relies more on philosophy and metaphysics and what he calls "archaeology of fear" (ibid, 27).

According to Melas, there are some universal feelings, e,g. fear, insecurity, love etc. which are not always conscious (ibid, 28). In this way cremation can be interpreted as a manifestation of an ancient fear towards the return of the dead person. Fire, according to Melas, apart from purifying the dead, also ensures the dead will not return (ibid, 23).

"*After the fire, the burned remains are sealed in urns or metal boxes in order to ensure that the spirit of the dead shall not return*" (ibid). Melas combines in his analysis anthropological examples, such as the burning of the witches in the European Medieval

period and the archaeological evidence from the Palaeolithic period, when people were apparently more primitive and perhaps more pure in their feelings (ibid).

What, however, is not very clear in Melas' approach is why there is coexistence of funeral rites (cremation and inhumation), or why periodically there is a shift from the one to the other practise, although these two are the only rites which can be traced archaeologically.

Finally, there is a theory that may seem simplistic but has some very interesting points. In his article on the differences between the Homeric and the Mycenaean mortuary rites and customs Mylonas claims that cremation can simply be the quickest way for the separation of the body from the soul (1948, 80). It is perhaps for this reason that it was preferred at the beginning by warriors who died overseas and who had adopted this rite from the local people (ibid).

Again, Troy and Anatolia are the obvious regions for being place of origin for the cremation rite (ibid), even if this also implies the existence of the Trojan War. A very intriguing observation that Mylonas makes is that the change of the rite does not bring any change to the rest of the rituals and the grave goods (ibid). This can be a further proof that cremation does not have to be related to a change in the religious beliefs by the society which adopts it.

## iii. Imports, Imitations and Numbers: A Theoretical Approach

Imports and imitations of imports are concepts (and certainly objects) which have concerned archaeologists since almost the beginning of the archaeological discipline, if not earlier (Hansen 2008, 1). German archaeologists in 1960s studied the impact of Roman imports in the Northern Germanic regions. Additionally, imports and imitations found in Neolithic Germany were used for cross-dating and for the discovering of new "cultures" (ibid).

However, since in this thesis imports and imitations are studied primarily as objects and not as concepts or techniques, the theoretical framework is related to the studies of the 'anthropology of things' and the implication of economy, politics and display. Undoubtedly, one of the most important contributions in this field is a collection of essays edited by Appadurai (1986), where concepts such as the cultural biography of objects (Kopytoff 1986, 64-91) and the commodity and value in ranked societies (Renfrew 1986, 141-168) were thoroughly discussed.

In an intriguing article, Koppytoff parallels commodity to slavery, in order to argue that objects also have biographies (cultural though) and that the status or cultural context of commodity can be modified during its "lifetime" (ibid. 65). Of course, commodity is strictly related to exchange and in this respect an import is the best example of a product with an extensive and extremely rich biography.

One of the best examples of such an object is a Phoenician silver crater, which was used as a price by Achilles in the games that followed the burial of Patroclus (Aubet 2001, 130-1; *Iliad* 23 740-45). In Iliad, one can read that this crater was made in Sidon and was offered by Phoenician merchants to the King of Lemnos. After a series of exchanges at the highest levels of the Aegean elites, it ended up as a ransom gift to Achilles.

Aubet explains that such a "cultural biography" naturally cannot be detected by the archaeologist who discovers similar artefacts in excavations (ibid). It is an indication though that prestigious objects such as silver plates, bronze tripods etc.[18] might have a longer lives than other objects such as ceramic vessels. Especially, in the case of the Early Iron Age Knossian cemeteries, there were many cases where bronze objects of a much older dating were discovered in the chamber tombs and all of them were imports.[19]

In this respect, one must stress once more the need for contextual studies in archaeology, where the differences between objects found in the same context can be better appreciated. Over the last years, there have been studies concerning the theoretical issues of imports and

[18] Aubet (2002, 130-1), *ibid* uses the Greek word *Kemilia* (in singular *Kemilio*) in order to describe all these objects. This word can be translated as heirloom
[19] See Catalogue at pages 110-120

imitations. Biel and Rassamakin (2008, 1) explain that there is a need for an advance in the theoretical approach of the concepts of import and imitation, in order first to provide new archaeological data from the Eastern Europe and then to:

"*open up a debate and theorise the concepts of import and imitation in archaeology, both with scrutinising their implications in modern archaeology as well as a better understand the epistemological-the comparative analysis of these concepts in western and eastern European research traditions- and methodological issues involved –ranging from the so called import chronology which has been especially influential in culture historical approaches. To agency-based approaches in post-processual archaeology… for this debate we acknowledge that material culture is meaningfully constituted and that it plays an active role in the social reproduction of all human behaviour and relations* (ibid).

It seems, however, that the authors are indeed more concerned with presenting new archaeological data from the Eastern Europe and some very interesting case studies rather than creating a theoretical framework on import and imitation. An interesting exception is an article by Wijngaarden, who explores the concept of authenticity concerning Mycenaean imports and their imitations in LBA Cyprus, Levant and Italy (Wijngaarden 2008, 126-145). The author is concerned with *"whether the origin of Mycenaean vessels…"* (which, apart from the Greek mainland, were produced or imitated in Cyprus) "…*was of importance for the way they were used and appreciated in antiquity" (*ibid, 129).

In the case of Levant and in sites such as Vile Basse at Ugarit, House H at Ashdod, Tell Abu Hawan, Tell Dan, Sareptra, Tell Nami and Beth Shean in Megiddo, archaeologists found LH IIIA and LH IIIB Mycenaean pots alongside Cypriot imitation thereof (ibid, 13; Leonard et al 1993; Killebrew 1998, Balensi 1980, Khalifeh 1988). The context of the pots varies from urban to ritual and mortuary sites.

Wijngaarden believes that LBA Levant Mycenaean pots and their imitations were regarded as international goods that were not important for their use and appreciation in the Levant cities, because they related to all the aspects of life. He even suggests that they were suitable for the material expression of the urban middle classes (ibid, 132).

In Cyprus, on the other hand, the author sees that Mycenaean pots were incorporated into the local culture to such an extent that it did not matter whether they were local or not, while in Italy "*we distinguish a process where the imported nature of Mycenaean pots diminishes in importance in favour of their function*" (ibid, 135).

It must be noted that the method used by Wijngaarden to establish his association is undoubtedly the context, the spatial distribution and the function of the pot. The quantity of the pots in the context is certainly also important. The aforementioned analysis is important to the present thesis, since it can be compared to the case study of the oriental pottery and their appreciation by the Knossians.

The value of quantified studies must be highlighted: the importance of the quantification of ceramic finds in the Early Iron Age Cretan tombs has recently been stressed by Kotsonas (2011b, 129). In his theoretical analysis, he argues for three types of inferences from pots of any assemblage, including burials as they were defined by Orton (ibid, 130; Orton 1993, 178-180; Orton et al 1993, 166-167, Orton and Tyers 1990, 88).

a) inferences on the amount of vessels in an assemblage, either as a total or by type;
b) inferences on the composition of different assemblages and the proportions of different types;
c) comparisons over the composition of different assemblages.

Kotsonas argues that mainly type b and at lesser degree type c can be used in the burials. From the three proposed references only the second and the third are used by Kotsonas in his case study on the collective tombs at Knossos and Eleutherna and he considers that Cretan urns are a set that favours quantification.

Although Kotsonas uses quantification in order to explain a different archaeological question, it is interesting to see in the present thesis how these inferences can be applied to the imports and imitations discovered in Early Iron Age Knossian tombs. As one may see

in the section “presentation of the evidence” in chapter 4 of the present thesis, there are assemblages of import and imitations of these imports discovered in the same tombs.

At the same time, there are other tombs that have only imports or only imitations. Type B definitely fits better to the analysis of the imports, since the function of the imported pots (unguent vessels in their vast majority) suggest that they were probably used only once in the mortuary context.

Certainly, pots have the advantage of quantity in the archaeological record, but not all the finds have the luck of the ceramics. For various reasons, such as the cost of production, the exclusiveness of use etc., objects like for example bronze tripods appear in rare cases in the mortuary record of Knossos. In this case, apart from the quantified approach, there are other methods which should be used for analysing this material.

Such a method can be the combination of different evidence from the same context, e.g. a descriptive analysis between tombs containing metal objects and tombs which do not contain such objects. Snodgrass (1996) has done such a study at Knossos but only for the site of North Cemetery, in an attempt to compare it with the cemetery of Fortetsa (Brock 1957). Other ways can be a cluster analysis combining more than one variable to distinct groups.

Apart from the theoretical issues concerning import and imitation in general, there other matters concerning imports and imitations at Knossos itself in relation to Knossian society. First, it cannot be argued that all the imports that reached Knossos during the Early Iron Age were end-products nor were all of them imitated by the locals.

At the same time, not all the imports ended up in cemeteries and not all the imports were indeed imports. There is a variety of products very different from one another. There is also a range of other products for which archaeologists cannot decide whether they were imports or a result of advanced local production (i.e. exact copies). Certainly, a series of different questions arises concerning the creation and use of these products. The most relevant questions conserving the use of imports and imitations in this thesis are:

- Were Knossians aware that the Oriental imports were indeed imports and not imitations and *vice versa*? And if yes did they care?

- As an extension to the previous question: Did an exact local copy of an import have the same function as the imported object? Was it considered of the same social value and status?

- Was there any restriction to the access to those of imports and their imitations?

Al these different questions are closely related to the main purpose of the thesis, which is an effort to understand the Early Iron Age Knossian society through the study of cemeteries and of Oriental imports discovered in them.

Certainly, an answer to the first question must again be quantity. For a series of different reasons, quantity is very important for the archaeological record. Additionally, in the case objects produced outside the community but used (or consumed) by community members, the importance of quantity is even greater. For this reason, the relation between the amount of the local grave goods and Oriental imports and imitations is thoroughly studied below.

In the next two questions, apart from quantity, equally important is also the context where imports were found in relation to local objects and certainly in relation to imitations. First of all, it must be made clear that as import I mean only end-products and not raw materials, such as metal commodities or ivory. In this regard, I follow Hoffmann's view on the nature of the imports (1997, 19).

Another important matter is the distinction between imports and exact local copies. As can be seen in the catalogue (page 122), there is a series of metal objects such as bronze tripods, bowls and stands on which there is a still a debate on their provenance. There are scholars who support that these objects are coming from Cyprus and others who support that they were locally produced by Cretans or foreign craftsmen in Crete (Boardman 1967; Catling 1996; Hoffman 1997), since this category of objects has hitherto been seen by the vast majority of scholars as prestige or high status goods.

The main purpose of this thesis is to understand the Knossian society that made use of this objects and therefore it is essential to establish a new category in this analysis, besides the categories of imports and imitations and of equal importance.

This new category will be the objects of the uncertain provenance (i.e. oriental or local). By the term "local objects" I mostly mean objects that probably were made at Knossos. This, however, does not exclude products produced elsewhere in Crete. Nonetheless, sometimes it is impossible to know where an object was produced, even within Crete. This category was created not in order to avoid further investigation on the provenance of those objects but on the contrary I believe that it will allow us to examine under new light various issues concerning this kind of products.

The safest category of products whose provenance is most secure is without a doubt the pottery. As in most cases petrographic analysis can provide with some evidence on the provenance of the objects.

However, there is an issue that needs to be explored further and this is the way that pots are perceived by the archaeologist. A Black on Red pot is at the same time a Cyprus-Phoenician pot, according to the scholar who conducts the investigation. In the case of Crete, is a BoR pottery made at Knossos an imitation of BoR pot or simply a Cretan BoR? This question might look naive but there is a great deal of analysis and interpretation in the study of the Knossian society. Do Knossians simply imitate pots for any use and out of their original contexts, or are they aware of their primary use in Cyprus and the Phoenicia coast?

This last question is linked to question 3 above; the main difference, though, is that the agent responsible for answering is the archaeologist and not the pot or the ancient society. As it can be seen in the next section, there is a series of different issues concerning chronologies, objects and pottery, where the power of the names and the subjectivity of the archaeologists have become extremely important.

## iv. The problem of names and its implications on chronology and terminology

> *"Names have sense and each name has a unique sense attached to it"*
> (Luntley 1984, 265).

It has been observed that in some primitive societies the name approaches the status of an institution (Miller 1927, 585). The power that a name may hold can also have an effect to other societies apart from the Kayan tribe in Borneo that Miller studied. An example of such a "society" can be that of archaeologists and historians who gave names to the period investigated in this thesis (1100-600 BC) - a period full of names and characterisations regarding the chronological sequence, that sometimes contradict or even overlap each other. By giving a name to a certain period, there is always the potential problem (or effect) of transmitting the properties of the name to the period as well.

There follows a brief description of the names that have been employed since the initial discoveries of Evans and Hogarth to describe this period in Crete in general, and at Knossos in particular, and certainly there are more than one. The first name that was used in order to describe the Early Iron Age finds from Knossos was "Greek Age" (Evans 1921, 404) or simply "Geometric" (Whitley 1996, 611; Hogarth 1900). The term "Greek" was used by Evans probably in order to separate his 'unique' Bronze Age Non-Hellenic civilisation from the later historical periods of Crete.

It is not very clear why, but this name has become extremely popular among most of the excavators and surveyors of the Knossos region (Brock, Coldsteam, Hood and Smyth) and even in core books of Iron Age archaeology at Knossos[20]. Coldstream had even felt the need to explain explicitly his personal preference for the use of term "Early Greek Knossos" instead of "Early Iron Age Knossos" (2006, 581)[21]. Another reason might have been a possible line of archaeological tradition after Evans and Hogarth that all British archaeologists respected. Coldstream has also used a lot the term "Dorian" Knossos (1984). It is hard to understand why this occurred, unless one combines it with the alleged invasion/migration of the Dorians at the end of the Bronze Age and how this is reflected (or not) in the archaeological record. Brock, on the other hand, in his study on the Iron Age tombs at Knossos has firmly said: "*there is nothing in the Protogeometric culture at Knossos which can be pointed out as specifically Dorian*" (1954, 217).

However, the only considerable importance of 'Greek' as chorological term might be its use for combining the Sub-Minoan and the succeeding Proto-Geometric Period and thus separating them from the previous periods. This gains more importance if it can be proven (as maintained by Coldstream 1996, 700) that Iron Age cemeteries began their function in Sub-Minoan Period and are not related to the previous Bronze Age cemeteries[22].

Thus, Sub-Minoan is another name that was used (in the same fashion as the Sub-Mycenaean term in the mainland) for the first part of the Early Iron Age (1050-970 BC) in Crete and is applied more in pottery style analysis. It is rather difficult to separate it archaeologically from Minoan and then, as the prefix "sub" implies, scholars have understood it either as less important than the glorious Minoan/Bronze Age past, or simply as a transitional period before the arrival of the Proto-Geometric style and pots from Athens.

[20] Namely: *Fortetsa: Early Greek Tombs near Knossos* (Brock 1959) and *Knossos North Cemetery: Early Greek Tombs* (Coldstream & Catling, 1996).
[21] A notable exception is Pendlebury (1965), who avoids the use of the term.
[22] In a similar manner Alexiou used the term Early Hellenic instead of Geometric for the pottery (1950, 294 footnote 1).

Myers considers Sub-Minoan period as part of the Bronze-Age and more specifically as part of the Post-Palatial period (Myers *et al* 1992, 33). Snodgrass, on the other hand, has pointed out that Sub-Minoan (just like Sub-Mycenaean) should belong to the Iron Age, since iron is in wider use (2000, xxiv), but in general the Sub-Minoan period does not seem to be very different from the previous LMIIIc period at Knossos.

Probably the least successful name employed for the EIA at Knossos is the "Dark Age", which has been given in the same way that it was given to the Greek mainland after the collapse of the palaces in Peloponnese (1200-1150 BC) and central Greece. Naming a period as a Dark Age suggests a period of decadence from a previous "Golden" age, a period of isolation from the rest of the world, poverty and even absolute illiteracy.

This term has been used a lot in the past in order to describe this period, since Crete was treated as part of the Mycenaean world (Desborough, 1964, 1952, 1972; Snodgrass 1971, 2; Coldstream 1968; Morris 1987, 10-14; Whitley 1991, 6-9). It must be admitted, though, that already in 1964 Desborough observed that the island of Crete "*with a civilisation more ancient than that of the Mycenaean, presents circumstances and problems different from those found elsewhere in the Aegean area*" (1964, 166).

There has been a critique on the issue of the Dark Age in Greece in general, lead mostly by archaeologists who have not studied in Cambridge. The objection is that such a period with such features never existed in any region of the Aegean and the mainland. Papadopoulos (1993 194-7; 1996, 253-255) is the main supporter of this view. Other scholars insist more on the diversity of the regions, for example the defenceless Knossos and the mountainous Kavousi in Crete, but do not reject to the term Dark Age entirely (Dickinson 1996 and 2006, 8). In any case, all scholars seem to agree that Knossos is a special case. Apart from the destruction of the palace which happened much earlier than that of the palaces of the mainland, there is nothing suggesting that Knossos entered any kind of Dark Age.

In this way, it is difficult to give this characterisation to Knossos and the rest of central Crete, as there is no evidence of absolute destruction. In contrast, multiple burial continues (though cremation rite is gradually becoming dominant), the tombs continue to receive

offerings, the relations with the rest of Eastern Mediterranean exists and pottery of Minoan/Mycenaean style is still in use.

In the case of Crete in general and Knossos in particular, in each period the chronology is based on what seems to be either the most dominant culture or more often the most abundant pottery. Minoans dominate until 1450 BC (Minoan Pottery). Then, there is a strong Mycenaean influence (Mycenaean Pottery or Mycenaean Age as some archaeologists call it) until 1000 BC. Then Athenians dominate (Geometric Pottery) until 700 BC and then Corinthians (Orientalising period).

Whitley has pointed out that the names which were applied to the Iron Age pottery sequences in Crete and were identical to the mainland names were probably not the most appropriate (1998, 611). He maintains that they were selected in order to build a strong connection of 'Greekness' with the mainland while downplaying Knossos' links with the Levant (ibid).

All these terms and their combination can definitely frustrate any student (and not only) of archaeology, not to mention the problems when one attempts to combine the chronology of Crete with that of the Greek mainland, Cyprus and Phoenicia. The main reason for this confusing approach is that chronology has been built over the last two hundred years not only on pottery style and local pottery sequence analysis but also on historical names and Egyptian lists.

At this point I feel that I should explain the extensive use of the term "oriental" throughout this thesis. This term might seem a bit traditional and there are other terms such as "Near Eastern" that could be used instead. However, I believe that for the present thesis the use of the term "oriental" is much more useful.

As Orient I mean mostly the Phoenician coast, Cyprus and partly Egypt, on the ground that sometimes it is impossible to distinguish, for example, whether a statuette of an Egyptian goddess originated from Egypt or was a Phoenician imitation. I exclude Asia Minor on account of the very strong connections of the coastal cities with the Aegean Islands and the

Greek mainland. I place the Greek mainland pots and finds into the same category with the Cretan, in order to have a bigger sample for comparison within the same tomb.

One could argue that Cyprus had also strong connections with the Aegean because of the presence of Greek pottery on the island and possible migration of Greek speaking people after 1200 BC. This might not be entirely wrong, but the role of the local people and their relations with the Syrian and Phoenician coasts has been underestimated a lot by Greek archaeologists. Additionally, the Cypriot pottery reaching Crete during EIA has much more in common with the Phoenician world than with the Aegean.

Moreover, as Hoffman puts it, Cyprus was a 'transhipment' point of material moving from Near East to Crete (1997, 21). Furthermore in Cyprus one may trace evidence of different traditions, which are also reflected on the imports coming to Crete. At the same time many authors use the term 'Near East' as a source of the imports but none of them uses the term "oriental". Therefore, the use of the term 'oriental' can be used as a loose general geographical term for describing Egypt, Cyprus and the Near East.

Finally, it is worth having a look into the complexity entailed for an investigation when many names are employed at the same time in order to describe the same period in one specific place. It must be stressed that, as regards the chronological sequence, I followed Coldstream's suggestions (1968; 1996), which are only slightly different from Brock's proposed chronology (1957), since they are based mostly on more recent evidence derived from excavations at Knossos, along with Snodgrass's proposal concerning central Crete (1971, 135). What I did not use, though, is the separation of the Orientalising period in three instead of two phases mainly because the three-phases separation is related more to the to the local pots. All the dates concerning the Geometric and Orientalising periods are according to the Cretan and the Attic dating.

<table>
<tr><th>Pottery Sequence of Central Crete</th><th>Absolute Chronologies</th><th colspan="4">Historical Dating</th></tr>
<tr><td>Late Minoan IIIC</td><td>c.1190-1100</td><td colspan="4">Late Bronze/Minoan Age (Post-Palatial)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Sub-Minoan</td><td>c.1100-970</td><td rowspan="8">Dark Age</td><td rowspan="8">Early Greek Age</td><td rowspan="8">Early Iron Age</td><td>Late Bronze Age /PostPalatial (Myers et al, 1992)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Early Proto-Geometric</td><td>c.970-920</td><td rowspan="7">Early Iron Age</td></tr>
<tr><td>Middle Proto-Geometric</td><td>c.920-870</td></tr>
<tr><td>Late Proto-Geometric</td><td>c.870-840</td></tr>
<tr><td>Proto-Geometric B</td><td>c.840-810</td></tr>
<tr><td>Early Geometric</td><td>c. 810-790</td></tr>
<tr><td>Middle Geometric</td><td>c.790-745</td></tr>
<tr><td>Late Geometric</td><td>c.745-700</td></tr>
<tr><td>Early Orientalising</td><td>c.700-670</td><td rowspan="2">Late Orientalising</td><td rowspan="2">c.670-630</td></tr>
</table>

**Table 1: A basic chronological sequence of Knossos based on Coldstream (1996) and on different views of historical dating.**

## v. Archaeological Theory and Greek Archaeology

The final section of this chapter is related to the previous one and is an attempt to understand how people involved to the studies of the Greek Archaeology in general have perceived the reflections of the archaeological theory. As stated above, most of the theoretical movements in the history of archaeological theory or, as it has been called, archaeological thought, have begun with the arrival of New Archaeology[23]. The case-studies in all these models and theoretical analyses were either *pueblos* of the American Continent (Central America especially) or the prehistoric Northern Europe and the British Isles.

The area of Eastern Mediterranean was definitely not the centre where all these ideas evolved since 1950. More specifically, the reason that Aegean archaeology remained cut off from this intellectual procedure of the other archaeologies, lies in the very birth of classical archaeology. Since the beginning of the 18th Century, archaeology appeared hand in hand with antiquarianism; Greek Archaeology was a child of Neoclassicism, but Romanticism and Nationalism had also a special effect on it (Trigger 1996, 263-279). It is strange though that Greek Archaeology did not serve only the nationalism of the young Hellenic state but also the British and German nationalisms (ibid).

In the 19th Century, the young discipline of archaeology was already bound to Greek mythology and the textual or rather poetic historical information of Homer and Hesiod. In a similar way that in Egypt and the Near East archaeologists and diggers in general were after the pharaohs and the Bible, in the Aegean the same north European archaeologists and entrepreneurs were after the Homeric figures of the Hellenic legends.

Troy, Mycenae and Knossos were definitely the most famous discoveries of lost ancient sites around the Aegean at the beginning of the 20th century. This was a period where archaeology was equivalent to treasure-hunting and the competition between lords, earls

[23] Binford (1962) and Clark (1973) for America and Britain respectively.

and entrepreneurs on who would make the biggest and most famous discovery was at its heyday (Athanassopoulos 2002).

History was always more important and archaeology was nothing but a tool in order to give satisfied answers to historians. A change to this practice began in 1970s with Renfrew and his study on prehistoric Aegean (1972), but this was not followed by the classists. There were also a few Greek archaeologists like Hourmouziadis (1979), Melas (1985, 2001, 2003) who had used archaeological theory in a broad context, but again mainly in the study of prehistoric Greece and Greek nationalism in relation to archaeological issues (Kotsakis 1998; Hamilakis 2002). A post-processual approach can be seen even today in the University of Crete and its archaeological department of Rethimnon, where professor Stambolidis has applied theoretical approaches in his excavations and publications of Eleutherna (1996). Classical archaeologists, one the other hand, did not really bother to understand archaeological theory, since they relied on information provided by the ancient Greek and Roman historical sources.

This was partly odd, since the amount of archaeological evidence from the Classical period was vast in comparison to the prehistoric material and to apply measurements and quantification analyses would have been much easier. The abundance of material, on other hand, might have been the real problem, since early archaeologists might have felt that they had nothing else to investigate apart from the visible material. Moreover, Classical archaeologists never felt the need to analyse the symbolic aspects of a funeral. For example, the rites of the Athenian funerals of the Peloponnesian war are known, simply because Thucydides could provide the archaeologists with all the answers in Pericles' funeral oration (2.34-2.46). A notable exception were the works of Vickers (1985) and Gill (1994) which offered a new interesting sight on the way we understand red-figured pottery.

The Early Iron Age was an even odder case, because before 1970 it was considered as a Dark Age, where palaces were destroyed by northern tribes[24], civilisation had vanished and

[24] Preferably Dorians.

isolation and illiteracy reigned. Despite all these 'incidents', this period was not considered truly prehistoric, but at the same time classists also hesitated to study it.

This changed when archaeologists like Snodgrass (1971, 2002) and Coldstream (1977) decided to continue the work of Desborough (1964, 1972) on the evidence of Early Iron Age Greece, not only in pottery style and analysis, but also in many other aspects of the research, such as burial context, metalwork etc. However, as one may see in the aforementioned section the need for a historical explanation was still very strong especially to scholars such as Catling and Boardman. The invisible to the archaeologists, but yet 'powerful' for the historians, Dorians were still part of the traditional explanation.

An even more decisive step was made by the students of Anthony Snodgrass in late 80s and early 90s. The *"escola di Snodgrass*[25]*"* and the original theses and later books and articles of Morris (1987), Whitley (1991, 1994) and, along the same line of investigation Antonaccio (1995) have certainly defined the theoretical framework of contextual burial studies and the archaeology of death in general in Early Iron Age Greece. They have also analysed some specific aspects of Knossian society and have stressed the need for further studies in order to understand better the characteristics of the external relations of Knossos during the Dark Age (Whitley 1986; 1998, 613). The only shortcoming one could possibly identify in these works is probably that, although they took into account the role of Near East contacts up to a certain degree (ibid), they never analysed it thoroughly in its own right.

The effort of these students with the broad use of statistical analysis and theoretical models inspired by New archaeology, sociology and psychology managed to change the way we see the archaeological evidence in Greek archaeology. One of the most important contributions of this group was probably the use of contextual evidence coming from the study of burials and the persistence on studying fully published archaeological material (Whitley 1994)

[25] Whitley has used this definition during his lectures on History of Archaeological thought at Cardiff niversity.

Morris' study on the exclusiveness to the right of official burial in Early Iron Age Athens was a major breakthrough in the way we understand mortuary evidence (1984). Whitley's most innovative analysis regarding contextual studies was probably his approach on the Proto-Attic style (700-600 BC) of pottery and thus to the contemporary Athenian society (1994). After a study on the burials and the associated pottery style of that period, Whitley claimed that there was a struggle between the conservative and progressive members of the society regarding the adoption or not of the iconography of the Near Eastern art. There are two very important phrases that we need to keep in mind from this article. The first is what Whitley calls "social rationing" which according to the author is the pattern of behavior where an elite group maintains its identity through exclusive access to certain items of material culture (1994, 59). The second is "regimes of value" (Appadurai 1986 cited in Whitley 1994, 61) and represents the conflict between the elite which has the exclusive access to a certain material culture and other groups which also want a share to this material culture (ibid).

The idea that different groups of people compete to each other in order to have access (or to forbid the access to others) to a certain category of objects will be of great importance to the present thesis and of course will be tested against specific archaeological evidence.

Both authors used many cemeteries from the EIA in their study, but without doubt the most important site they analysed was the cemetery of Kerameikos (Morris 1984, Whitley 1986). It probably fitted best for the kind of questions they wanted to ask and eventually answer[26]. This option was criticised later on the grounds that Athens was not the most representative city (Dickinson 1996, 190; Papadopoulos 1993).

Despite the critiques, in these books one can find how archaeologists 'filter' various social theories in order to construct a stable framework for the archaeological theory of death and how its use can help understand mortuary evidence in various ways.

[26] In the same study, Whitley made an investigation on Knossos but discovered that style was not important for the burial.

# CHAPTER 2: TOMBS, BURIALS, CEMETERIES AND SOCIETY IN EARLY IRON AGE KNOSSOS

## i. Tomb's Typology

"*Our concern is how people lived in the Bronze Age and not how they were buried"* (Cavanagh 2008, 327)

The British scholar begins his reflection with a rather philosophical contradiction in order to justify the reasons for the study of burials in Mycenaean Greek Mainland and one may add in archaeology in general. He claims quantity as the main justification since "*the number of settlements can be counted in tens while the numbers of burials in tens of thousands*" (ibid).

He concludes his arguments by saying "*although funeral rituals are everyday occurrences to tell us how people lived their everyday lives, archaeologists hope that the remains of the graves can inform us about important themes such social structure; status and wealth; the sense of community; the representation of people identities...the relation of individuals to their forebears"* (ibid).

The aforementioned reflection and arguments can also be applied even more rigorously to the Early Iron Age, where the former palaces are now reduced to ruins with only a vague cultic function and there are not many great things to be observed in most of the settlements. Thus, in many cases the tomb becomes the primary if not the only source of information. In the case of Knossos and despite the initial neglect by Evans, the Iron Age tombs were too big and too many to be totally ignored**.**

Before the detailed synthesis of the Knossian cemeteries, it is essential to have a look at the different types of tombs, which in many cases co-existed within the same cemeteries. The most common type of tomb for the Early Iron Age Knossos is the chamber tomb, as was

also the case in the Late Bronze Age. This type of chamber is approached by a dromos (i.e. entrance passage, Plate IV). The chamber is entered through a stomion (Plate V), a low rectangular opening, much smaller than the chamber and the dromos (Brock 1957, 2). "*There is usually a step down from the dromos to the chamber. The descent usually begins some way back from the entrance, as it were in a cutting in the dromos, the edges of the cutting being in line with the sides of the door. The entrance was sealed by a wall of stones or by a large stone slabs, or by a combination of both*" (ibid). An example of a rather typical Early Iron Age tomb, but with a narrower than the usual *stomion*, can be seen below:

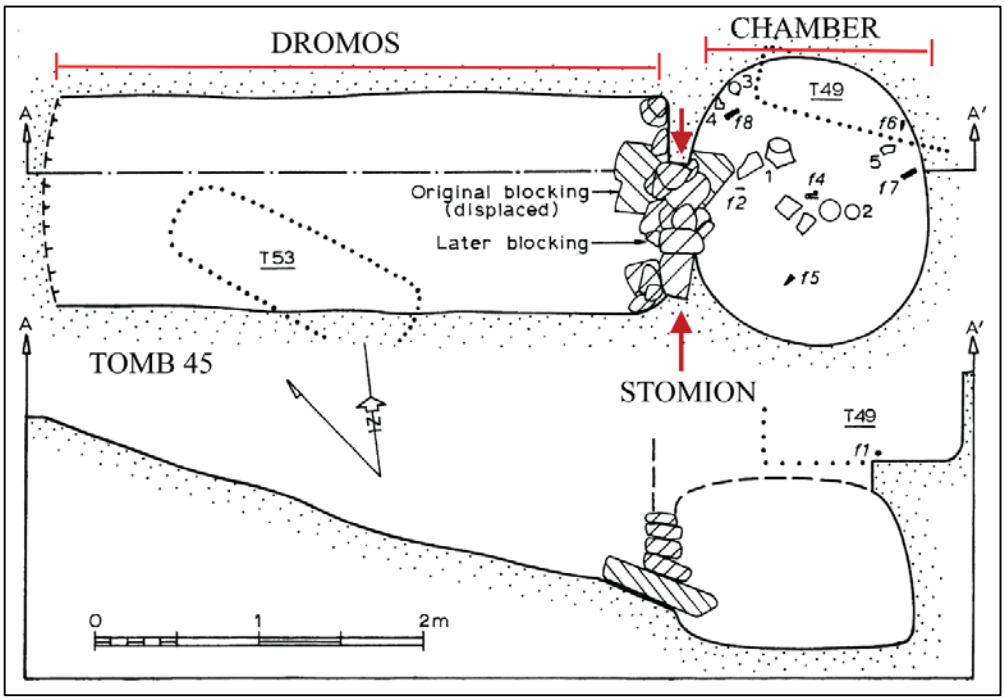



**Figure 3: Terminology of the chamber tomb (Tomb 45, Med. Faculty, after Coldstream and Catling 1996, figure 24)**

In addition, a few shaft-graves (see Tomb 153 in figure 4) and some pit-cave tombs or pit tombs (see Tomb 186, in figure 4) were found. The first type was used exclusively for

inhumation, while the second one was used for both inhumation and cremation. Both types were more a Sub-Minoan phenomenon (Cavanagh 1996, 651). In the Sub-Minoan period pit-cave tombs (Plate IX) resembling chamber tombs also appear or (re-appear) while in the Orientalising period there also some amorphous pits which some of them are associated with earlier tombs (ibid, 653)

It must be noted that for the purpose of the contextual study, pit-cave tombs which cannot be clearly distinguished from the chamber tombs will be placed into the same group of analysis.

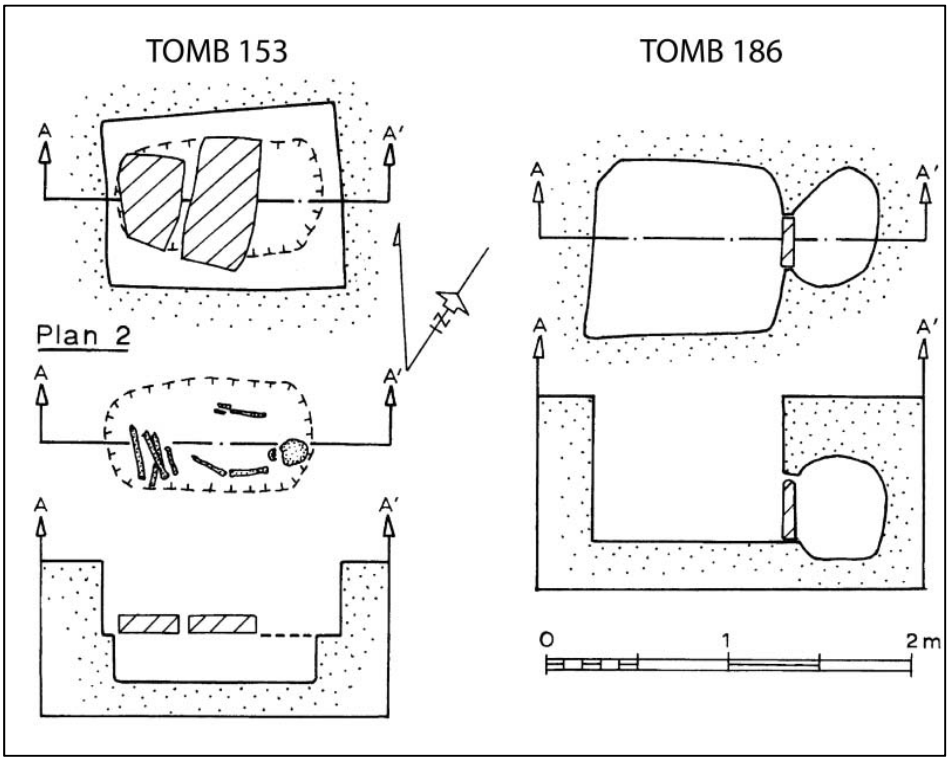



**Figure 4: a shaft grave and a pit-cave tomb, (Tombs 153 and 186 respectively, after Coldstream and Catling 1996, figure 43)**

## ii. History of Discoveries and Distribution of Tombs and Cemeteries

Since the beginning of Evans excavations and despite the worldwide impact of his discovery, the Bronze Age Crete and its Minoans were not the sole focus of the investigations in Knossos. At that time, the director of the BSA, David Hoggarth, conducted an investigation into burial structures. This was in as early as 1900, the very same period when Evans was revealing the first fragmented frescoes from the Bronze Age Palace.

Hoggarth's primary aim was to discover the tombs associated with the Minoan hierarchy (Coldstream 2002, 202). In other words, he was after the tombs of the Minoan Kings (if one can use this term) and Princesses. What he discovered was an extension of the Minoan settlement further south and in the north, on the Kephala ridge, with a series of chamber tombs, dated to the 'Mycenaean' and the 'Geometric' Periods (Coldstream 2002, 202; Hoggarth, 1899-1900, 82-85). This was a group of six tombs of which he wrote a preliminary archaeological report (ibid).

Coldstream, based on Hoggarths's short report and some notes made by Welch concerning pottery, (Welch 1899-1900, 85-92), attempted to match these notes with the surviving pottery, now located in the archaeological museum of Heraklion, in order to write a more detailed analysis. He suspected however, as Evans had also done, that the construction of the tombs was of the Minoan period (Coldstream 2002, 216). With the available evidence that he managed to gather from the pottery, he dated these tombs, based on their context, from the Sub-Minoan period to the transition between the Late Geometric and the Early Orientalising period (ibid).

Apart from Hogarth, Evans himself had also excavated a group of two Iron Age tombs on the Kephala ridge in 1907 and twenty years later two more were excavated by Payne at the same area (Hood and Smyth 1981). None of them has been fully published and what is

known is only that they are dated from the Protogeometric to the Orientalising period (ibid). As in the case of the tombs excavated by Hoggarth, it must be stressed once more that the dating of the chamber tombs is based on the discovered context of the chambers, since it is not certain in some cases if the burial structure dated back to the Sub-Minoan period or even earlier.

A discovery which supports the theory of the reuse of the toms at the same area of the Kephala Ridge took place in 1958. Another chamber tomb was excavated and found to be a tomb of a single burial dated to the Middle Proto-Geometric Period by Coldstream (1963, 38). The construction of the tomb, its long dromos with walls leaning inwards and the square chamber were dated to Late Minoan III period (ibid).

Another argument for the secondary use of most of the aforementioned tombs in the Early Iron Age is that all of them are located alongside to what probably used to be a Minoan 'Via Appia' leading from the Palace to the Royal tombs of Isopata and the Bronze Age Harbour (Coldstream 2002, 214). Furthermore, between those tombs, Hoggarth and Payne excavated two Late Minoan chamber tombs (Hood and Smyth 1981, 37).

One and a half kilometre west of those tombs and north-west of the Bronze Age Palace there is a suburb of Heraklion, known as Ayios Ioannis. There, a cemetery was discovered, in different periods and circumstances, with at least fourteen chamber tombs containing burials from the Sub-Minoan to the Late Proto-Geometric (Boardman 1960, 143) periods. Six of them were excavated by Hutchinson, four by Dunbabin and one by Petros (Hood and Smyth 1981, 34). Two more were destroyed and another was disturbed during the World War II (ibid).

Boardman managed to study and publish eight of them after a secondary excavation in this area in 1953 (1960, 128). Only these eight tombs will be included in the present contextual study, since the rest of them have not been fully published and the material recovered from them was either lost or misplaced during the war.

Right to the north of the cemetery of Ayios Ioannes, outside the region 'supervised' by the British School, there is Atsalenio, another suburb of Heraklion. There, a considerable number of Early Iron Age tombs have been discovered by the Greek archaeological authorities, but only two were fully published by Davaras (1968, 133-146). One more is reported by Platon in 1958 and four (three of them badly damaged) by the local archaeological service, in 1979, (Kourou and Karetsou 1998).

Davaras considers that these tombs along with some others (unpublished), belonged to a cemetery that must have been the northernmost of the Knossos cemeteries (ibid, 142). Coldstream & Catling, on the other hand, maintain that those tombs, including the ones from Ayios Ioannis, were not the burial grounds for the people that lived in the central settlement of Knossos (1996, 714).

The problem with the suburbs of Atsalenio, Mastaba and Katsaba is that they are now parts of the city of Heraklion, where virtually nothing is known about its Iron Age past, apart from a few chamber tombs. Boardman also addresses this problem and suggests that, if all those tombs were constructed during the Bronze Age, then during the Early Iron Age they might have attracted people from the main settlement of Knossos to reuse them (Boardman 1960, 143).

A discovery which might confirm Bordmans's hypothesis is a chamber tomb discovered between the cemetery of Ayios Ioannis and the tombs discovered by Hoggarth. Although, this chamber was excavated by Hawkes in 1959, it is of the Late Minoan II period (dated from pottery and bronze finds). It also contained at least two Sub-Minoan burials of a man and a woman (Hood and Coldstream 1968, 209). The construction of the tomb (square chamber, long dromos) was dated to the Late Minoan II period (ibid).

Further to the south, in a previously rural area, which is known with the names of Teke and Ambelokipi, is where most of the Early Iron Age tombs of Knossos were found. The distance of this area from the Bronze Age Palace and the Early Iron Age settlement varies from 500 to about 1500 meters. In the excavations which have taken place in the past 100

years, excavators have discovered at least 150 tombs. All these tombs are grouped in small clusters but most probably they constitute part of the same cemetery.

The northernmost group of this extended cemetery is at the Khaniale Teke district, which was excavated by Hutchinson in 1940 (Hutchinson and Boardman 1954; Boardman 1967), who found one tholos tomb constructed probably in Late Bronze Age (Kotsonas 2006, 150; Hutchinson and Boardman 1954, 222) and two chamber tombs with rectangular chambers. According to the pottery evidence, the contexts of the tombs were dated from the Protogeometric B to the Early Orientalising period (Hutchinson and Boardman 1954, 220; Boardman 1967, 59).

Boardman (1967, 57-67) suggested that the gold jewellery from the tholos tomb could have belonged to a Near Eastern craftsman and his family. This hypothesis has been criticised by Hoffman (1997, 191-234) and Kotsonas (2006, 149-172) on the grounds of the social hierarchy. Both of them have stressed more the connection between the circulation of metals and their control by the elite of the region.

At about 100 meters from the Khaniale Teke tombs lies a group of at least thirteen tombs, known as the Teke Tombs. The first of them were discovered during the war: In 1943, soldiers of the *Wehrmacht,* in their attempt to construct an anti-aircraft shelter, accidently discovered the dromoi of two chamber tombs (Coldstream & Catling 1996, 9).

N. Platon, as the director of the local archaeological service, after negotiations with the German officers about the finds of the excavation, managed to excavate the two tombs and, on the basis the finds, dated them from the Proto-Geometric to the Orientalising times (Hood and Smyth 1981, 36). The rest of the tombs were excavated by Sackett, Popham and Howell in 1975-76, during a series of building activities (Coldstream & Catling 1996, 1-3). Once more, the dating of the tombs was the same as for those excavated by Platon.

Opposite this site towards the East is the site where in 1978 planning began for the immediate construction of the new Medical Faculty of the University of Crete, north of the Venizeleion Hospital. This was obviously the reason for a major rescue excavation (ibid).

The agreement between the Greek and the British School was still active and at least twenty British scholars (which were not typical rescue archaeologists) conducted, in about seven months, one of the biggest rescue excavations ever made in Greece (Whitley 1998, 101), at least until the major construction works for the preparation of the Olympic Games in 2004 in Athens.

This site became known as the Knossos Medical Faculty (KMF). There, at least 310 tombs from the Early Iron Age, the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine periods were discovered and excavated. At least 70 chamber tombs and 20 tombs of other types (pit, shaft graves) were dated from the sub-Minoan period to the Late Orientalising (Coldstream & Catling, 1996). There were many different groups of tombs and types within this cemetery and both rites of cremation and inhumation had been practised with the former being the dominant (Cavanagh 1996, 652-675).

One hundred meters to the south, there is a group of tombs with the name Fortetsa, which was examined again by British archaeologists in September 1967 (Coldstream & Catling 1996, 284). Traces of ten chamber tombs were discovered and all of them *"were thoroughly looted"* (ibid). At the same site, at least three other tombs were discovered by Payne and Blakway in 1933. Hood discovered in 1953 three more chamber tombs, all of them looted. One contained a Geometric pot, the other inhumations with bronze pins and the last one was empty (Hood and Smyth 1981, 38).

The tombs discovered in 1967 were named 'Fortetsa 1967' and those found by Payne were also named Fortetsa, because they are located between Teke and the village of Fortetsa (much closer to Teke though). Payne's discoveries were included in the Fortetsa publication of Brock (1954). In the present thesis these two Fortetsa groups will be called Fortetsa NE[27] (North-East of Fortetsa) so as not to be confused with another cemetery South-East of the Fortetsa village.

[27] Whitley in his PhD Thesis named this area "Fork" because of the roads which are passing from this spot (1986, 280)

Coldstream and Catling maintain that the Fortetsa NE tombs were the southernmost limit of an extended cemetery which contained the Teke tombs cemetery, the Medical Faculty cemetery and the Fortetsa NE cemetery (Coldstream & Catling 1996, 285). Probably for this reason, they included all these sites in the publication with the name 'Knossos North Cemetery' (KNC), because these sites are located north of the BA Palace and essentially north of the main (if not unique) Early Iron Age settlement.

Coldstream excavated another chamber tomb in the Teke area, in a garden of a modern house in 1959. At least two chamber tombs were probably located nearby and might have been excavated by Payne in 1927 (Hood and Smyth 1981, 37). They are not published. These tombs, together with the Khaniale Teke tombs, are not included in the Knossos North Cemetery publication but judging from their position they were definitely part of it. Coldstream and Catling also admit, based on unpublished reports that the northern limit of the cemetery might have extended even beyond the Khaniale Teke group (1996, 714).

To the south-east of the Fortetsa village lies another cemetery, which was published by Brock in 1957 and excavated by Greek and British archaeologists from 1933 to 1935. The Fortetsa SE, as it will be called from now on in this thesis, is located on the lower western slopes of the Monasteriaki Kephala hill (or the so-called acropolis of Knossos), which rises above the villa Ariadne west of the Palace (Brock 1957, 1). Its distance from the Palace and the EIA settlement is less than one kilometre.

In this area, N. Platon, first as an assistant and then as a director of the local Greek archaeological service conducted the first rescue excavation in 1933 and discovered two chamber tombs. His investigation, following an agreement between the Greek authorities and the British School of Archaeology, was continued by Payne, Blakeway and Brock in two successive archaeological campaigns from 1933 to 1935. A total of 17 tombs were finally excavated.

Brock separated the cemetery in three different groups of tombs according to their location. Due to the sudden death of Payne and Blakeway, Brock carried out the study and published the material alone. After a meticulous study of thousands of pots, he managed to establish a

dating to the Iron Age Knossos and central Crete, which has hitherto been very slightly modified (Whitley 1998, 612). This site in the present thesis will be called Fortetsa SE. In the same publication (1957), Brock included the three tombs which Payne and Blackway excavated in 1933 in Fortetsa NE site.

To the south-west of Fortetsa NE, no other tombs have been located. To the south-east, on the other hand, there is a chamber tomb on the North slopes of the Gypsades hill excavated in 1975 and published by Coldstream (Coldstream *et al* 1981, 142-165). In the nearby area, on the southern slopes of the hill, there are probably some other chamber tombs excavated or plundered during the World War II by the Germans or local inhabitants (Hood and Smyth 1981, 59; Coldstream *et al* 1981, 142-165). This suggest the possible existence of a cemetery in this area in the Early Iron Age. Coldstream believed that this was probably the southernmost cemetery of the Early Greek Knossos (Coldstream & Catling 1996, 714; Coldstream 2006, 586).

It must be stressed though that a Late Minoan chamber cemetery was also discovered a bit further, on the upper Ghypsades (Hood *et al* 1958-59, 194-262). Perhaps there was a reuse of some of these tombs after the Bronze Age. In chamber tomb VII, which is probably the latest tomb of the cemetery, one iron knife was found in a (LMIIIb 2?) larnax along with a group of Sub-Minoan vases. Also, in tomb VIa one more stirrup jar was discovered. Three skeletons were found in these tombs.

Catling places (1996, 17) tombs VI a and VII in the Sub-Minoan period, however the excavators do not say that these are indeed Sub-Minoan burials and since all the burials in the tombs and cemetery are inhumations it is hard to be more precise (Hood *et al*, 1953-4, 208-10, 226). Coldstream does not place these two tombs in the "*wholly post-Minoan Tombs*". At the same time though, he considers these secondary burials Sub-Minoan (2000, 295 footnote 75).

There is a possibility that these burials belong to the transitional period and the presence of a few sub-Minoan vases is not convincing evidence for a much later use. The circulation of iron knives is not conclusive evidence for sub-Minoan use either, because these bimetallic

knives were in circulation in the Eastern Mediterranean since the 12th Century BC (Dickinson 2006, 146; Karageorghis 1982, 299). These two tombs will be used in the thesis but with a bit of hesitation.

Another Minoan cemetery that was reused by the Knossians of the later period was the Mavro Spilio (i.e. a big artificial cave which contained chamber tombs). It is located to the east of the Palace at a distance less than 500 meters. All the chamber tombs excavated by Evans and Fordsyke in 1926-27 were either of Middle or Late Minoan times. In three of them, Forsdyke discovered many "*geometric*" pots right above the Minoan grave deposits and some of the infant "*bones*" contained therein (Coldstream 2000a, 291-294; Hood and Smyth 1981, 53; Forsdyke 1926-27, 243-296).

Coldstream studied the remaining pots that he found in the Heraklion museum (ibid). He dated the pottery to the Early Oriental period and interpreted these burials as some of the last made in Knossos before 630 BC, when evidence for burial activity stops to exist until the Hellenistic period (ibid, 295). He suggested that the decision for the reuse of Minoan tombs in Ghypsades and in Mavro Spelio was prompted "*by the pressure on space in the densely stuffed chambers…in the older plots, especially in the North Cemetery*" (ibid).

Finally, there is some information about some graves or tombs of the Early Iron Age Period, which were supposedly discovered within the area of the former Palace and probably inside the Iron Age settlement. The first case was an Orientalising cremation urn (polychrome pithos) discovered by Evans during a sounding in the modern village (northern limit of the EIA settlement), but no tomb was found.

A rather similar case was that of a LPG bell-crater containing eleven miniature pots suitable for child burial. This crater was discovered by a workman again in the modern village at a distance no greater than 200 meters to the north-west. In the same area, Evans had discovered the cremation urn. Coldstream conducted an excavation but found nothing similar to a burial ground. The latter had also found child burials in the North Cemetery, which were outside the collective chamber tombs (ibid, 295 ff. 77).

The third case is located outside the northern entrance to the Palace where Evans found LG potsherds and an oval shaped construction resembling a tomb. Mackenzie, on the other hand, interpreted the construction as an oven (Coldstream 2000a, 295). Coldstream did not find Geometric pottery in the museum from this spot and some more recent excavations also brought to light an oven in the same location, confirming Mackenzie's theory (ibid). So far nothing conclusive has been found suggesting intramural burials.

If the theory that Knossians did not bury their dead within their city but on its outskirts is correct (there are no conclusive arguments against it), then the limits of the cemeteries which are peripheral to the main settlement may define the border of the city.

The latest evidence from the last survey at Knossos seems to confirm that the "acropolis" hill was also included in the settlement (Whitelaw et al 2008). If this is correct, then the Fortetsa SE cemetery is also located at the borders of the main settlement, contrary to previous theories. In any case, it would have been very strange if the 'small-settlement' theory proposed by Coldstream was able to maintain the North Cemetery whose extension was much bigger than the settlement itself. This argument also supports the theory of a larger or at least more extended settlement.

Thus, the burials grounds I shall include in the contextual study of this thesis belong to the following locations:

1. The burial sites north of Knossos BA Palace, including the **Khaniale Teke**, the **Teke**, the **Medical Faculty** and the **Fortetsa NE** tombs. Isolated tombs found within this area will also be included. Most of the tombs located in the Ambeolokipi suburb will also be incorporated. Together, all these sites probably compose the **Knossos North Cemetery (Map 3: 1),** which was the main cemetery of the city, with the Medical Faculty being the densest. Khaniale Teke might be an exception due to the use of a BA tholos tomb.

**2.** The tombs at **Ayios Ioannis**, since they probably belong to the main settlement despite the considerable distance from it and from the central cemetery. Moreover, they probably form a cemetery on their own **(Map 3: 2)**

**3.** The **Atsalenio** tombs, which might have been the northernmost cemetery of the city. However, due to the absence of more published archaeological data, this is only a working hypothesis[28] **(Map 3: 3)**.

**4.** The **Fortetsa SE** tombs, because, as the surveys have shown, they are attached to the central settlement and any other one . However, it is clear that it is a different cemetery from the North Cemetery **(Map 3: 4)**.

**5.** The tombs at **Kephala Ridge**, because they form a group of tombs which contains burials (Sub-Minoan) as early as the earliest of the North Cemetery. It remains to be seen whether these tombs belong to the same cemetery as well (the area between the North Cemetery and the Kephala Ridge tombs has not been excavated nor thoroughly surveyed due to intensive agriculture) **(Map 3: 5)**.

**6.** The two reused LMIII tombs at Upper Gypsades, which apparently contain sub-Minoan burials . **(Map 3: 6)**

**7.** The **Lower Ghypsades hill** tomb, because it is the only published tomb south of Knossos in an area very close to the IA settlement **(Map 3: 7)**.

**8.** The three tombs from the LM cemetery at **Mavro Spilio,** which were reused in the Late Geometric Period **(Map 3: 8)**.

[28] The full excavated material from the Kourou and Karetsou publication (2000) has not been published yet and despite the discovery of a Phoenician cippus of apparently secondary use (1997), these tombs will not be included. Similar funerary cippi have also been discovered at the cemetery of Eleytherna (Stampolidis 1990; Stampolidis and Kotsonas 2006).

The location of these eighth groups can be seen in the following map. In general the term cemetery will not be used except for the various groups of tombs around Teke **(1)** and for the Fortetsa SE **(4)**:

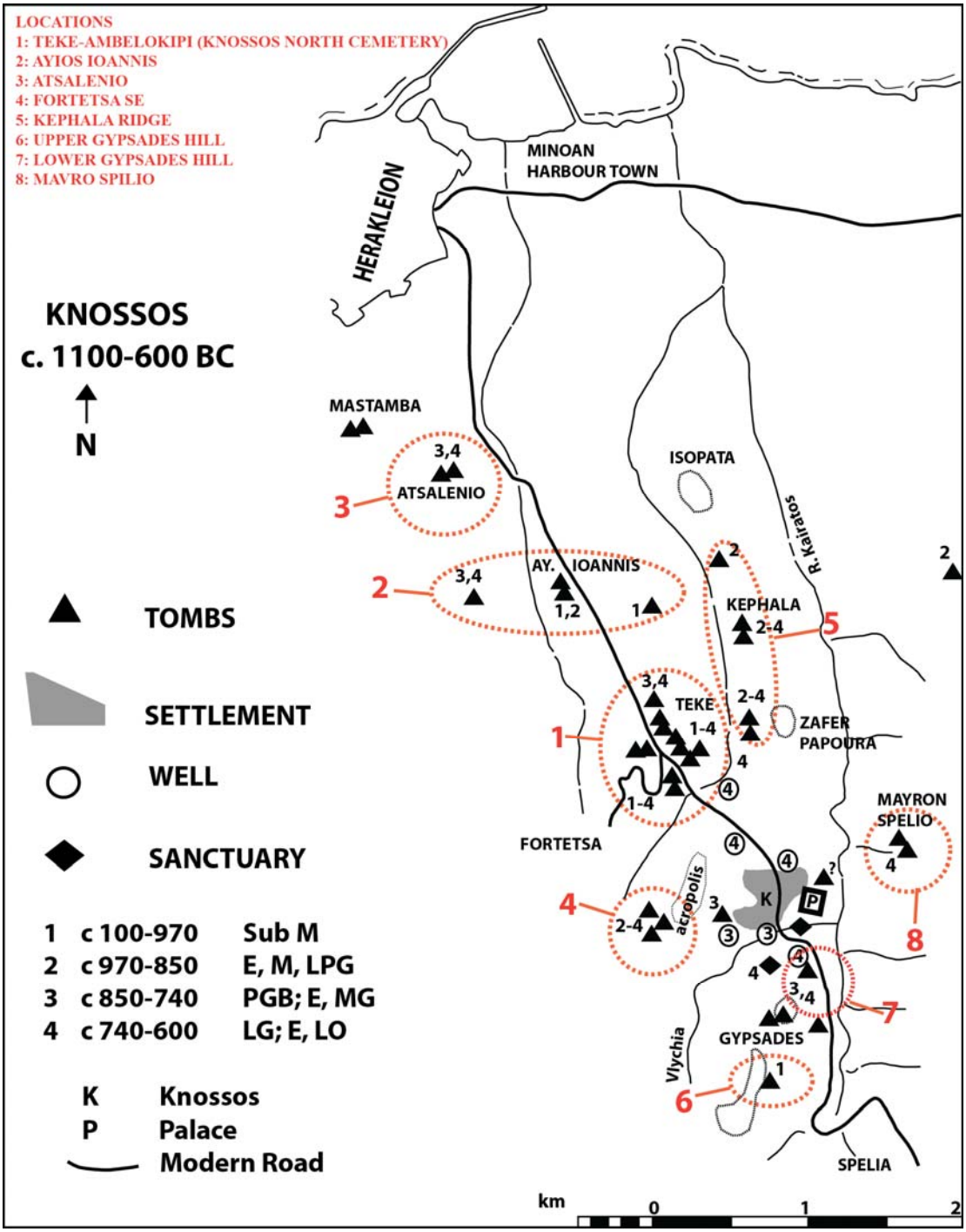



**Figure 5: Map 3 (redrawn digitally after Coldstream and Catling 1996, 713)**

The next map provides a detailed representation of the burial groups belonging to the **Knossos North Cemetery** group **(Location 1** in the aforementioned map) and mostly located at the Ambelokipi or Teke suburb.

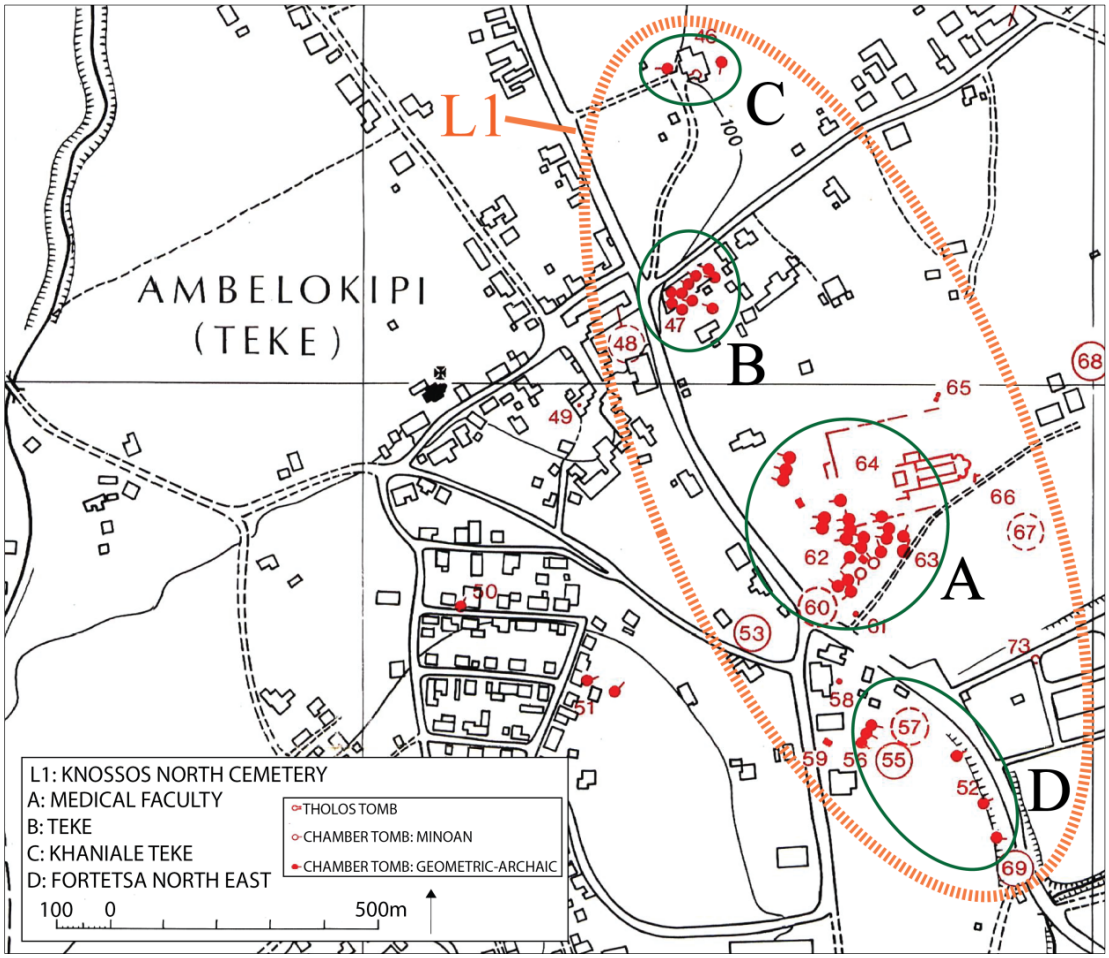



**Figure 6: Map 4 : Teke suburb and KNC (redrawn after Hood and Smyth 1981, survey map)**

All the tombs that will be used are fully published, so that the contextual study can have some value. An exception might be those of Hogarth's from the Kephala Ridge and Evans from Mavro Spilio. The reason for using those tombs was the secondary detailed studies of Coldstream (2000, 2002) which one might consider them as final publications. Those which are not selected are the ones north of Atsalenio for two main reasons: firstly, it is not

certain whether they belonged to Knossos or to a coastal site that would serve Knossos as its port. It must be admitted that the existence of a port on the north coast of Knossos is very probable. In the Minoan times it was Poros (Modern Heraklion) and during the Early Iron Age the volume of imports from the mainland and the East suggests the existence of a port with suitable facilities for receiving large quantities of goods.

Secondly, most of these tombs are excavated but not published. A third reason could also be that most of the tombs located in Heraklion are very scattered and in fact it is very difficult to find more than two tombs in the same group that might have belonged to a bigger cemetery. It must also be pointed out that the number of non-published tombs is insignificant in comparison to those which will be studied in this thesis.

All the tombs dated to the EIA and fully published can be seen in the following table:

| Tomb | Type | Location | Dating | Publication |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **1** | ch. tomb | Teke Khaniale | O? | Hutchinson 1954 |
| **2** | tholos tomb | Teke Khaniale | PGB-EO | Hutchinson 1954 |
| **3** | ch. tomb | Teke Khaniale | PGB-EO | Boardman 1967 |
| **A** | ch. tomb | Teke | PGB-LG | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **B** | niche? | Teke | ? | Coldstream & Catling 1997 |
| **D** | ch. tomb | Teke | LPG-PGB | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **E** | ch. tomb | Teke | LPG | Sacket 1976 |
| **F** | ch. tomb | Teke | LPG-EO | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **G** | ch. tomb | Teke | MPG-EG | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **H** | ch. tomb | Teke | MG-EO | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **J** | ch. tomb | Teke | EPG-PGB | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **K** | ch. tomb | Teke | EPG-LPG | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **L** | ch. tomb | Teke | MPG-PGB | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **M** | ch. tomb | Teke | EG-LG | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **N** | ch. tomb | Teke | LPG-EG | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **O** | ch. tomb | Teke | PG-LG | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **Q** | ch. tomb | Teke | MPG-O | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **-** | ch. tomb | Teke | EPG | Coldstream 1963 |
| **1** | ch. tomb | Med. Faculty | MG-EO? | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **2** | pit-cave | Med. Faculty | SM | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **8** | ch. tomb | Med. Faculty | LG | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **9** | pit-cave? | Med. Faculty | ? | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **13** | ch. tomb | Med. Faculty | PGB-EG | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **14** | ch. tomb | Med. Faculty | G-LO | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **16** | ch. tomb | Med. Faculty | SM-MG? | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **18** | ch. tomb | Med. Faculty | SM-MG* | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **19** | ch. tomb | Med. Faculty | LG-EO | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **24** | ch. tomb | Med. Faculty | SM-EPG | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **25** | ch. tomb | Med. Faculty | SM-EO | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **26** | pit-cave? | Med. Faculty | SM-LO* | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **28** | ch. tomb | Med. Faculty | LPG-EO | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **30** | ch. tomb | Med. Faculty | EPG-O | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **31** | larnax burial? | Med. Faculty | MG-LG | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **34** | ch. tomb | Med. Faculty | LO | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **40** | ch. tomb | Med. Faculty | SM-LO* | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **44** | ch. tomb | Med. Faculty | ? | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **45** | ch. tomb | Med. Faculty | EPG-LO* | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **48** | ch. tomb | Med. Faculty | SM-LO* | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **55** | ch. tomb | Med. Faculty | EPG | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **56** | ch. tomb | Med. Faculty | SM-LO* | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **57** | ch. tomb | Med. Faculty | LO | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **59** | pit | Med. Faculty | O | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **60** | ch. tomb | Med. Faculty | ? | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **61** | ch. tomb | Med. Faculty | SM-LO* | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **63** | Cremat. pit? | Med. Faculty | PGB-MG | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **69** | part of t. 28? | Med. Faculty | EO-LO | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **75** | ch. Tomb | Med. Faculty | EG-LO | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **76** | ch. tomb? | Med. Faculty | LG-EO | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **78** | pithos burial | Med. Faculty | LG-EO | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **79** | pit | Med. Faculty | LG-EO | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **80** | Grave? | Med. Faculty | EPG | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **82** | ch. tomb | Med. Faculty | LO | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **85** | pit-tomb | Med. Faculty | LG ? | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **86** | pit-burial? | Med. Faculty | ? | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **98** | pit-cave? | Med. Faculty | SM-EO* | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **100** | ch. tomb | Med. Faculty | EPG-EG | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **103** | larnax grave? | Med. Faculty | M-LG | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **104** | part of t.134 | Med. Faculty | PGB-LG | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **105** | ch. Tomb | Med. Faculty | G | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **106** | ch. tomb | Med. Faculty | EG-LO | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **107** | ch. tomb | Med. Faculty | PGB-LO | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **111** | pithos burial | Med. Faculty | EO | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **112** | ch. tomb | Med. Faculty | SM | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **113** | larnax grave? | Med. Faculty | LG | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **121** | pit-cave | Med. Faculty | SM | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **123** | ch. tomb? | Med. Faculty | G-LO | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **125** | ch. tomb | Med. Faculty | MG | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **126** | undefined | Med. Faculty | O | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **129** | ch. tomb | Med. Faculty | EG-LO | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **132** | ch. tomb | Med. Faculty | MG-LO | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **134** | pit-caves? | Med. Faculty | LPG-EO | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **135** | pit? | Med. Faculty | MG | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **138** | ch. tomb | Med. Faculty | LG-O | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **146** | ch. tomb | Med. Faculty | LO | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **147** | ch. tomb? | Med. Faculty | PGB-O? | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **149** | shaft | Med. Faculty | SM? | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **152** | ch. tomb | Med. Faculty | G | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **153** | shaft | Med. Faculty | SM | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **159** | Burial? | Med. Faculty | EO | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **160** | shaft | Med. Faculty | SM | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **163** | pit | Med. Faculty | LG | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **168** | ch. tomb | Med. Faculty | LG-EO | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **175** | ch. tomb | Med. Faculty | EPG-O | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **176** | Cremate. pit? | Med. Faculty | ? | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **182** | pit | Med. Faculty | LPG-PGB | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **186** | pit-cave | Med. Faculty | SM | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **200** | pit-cave | Med. Faculty | SM | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **201** | pit-cave | Med. Faculty | SM | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **202** | pit-cave | Med. Faculty | SM | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **207** | ch. tomb | Med. Faculty | SM-LPG | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **208** | pit-cave | Med. Faculty | SM | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **218** | ch. tomb | Med. Faculty | LPG-O | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **219** | ch. tomb | Med. Faculty | LPG-LO | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **221** | ch. Tomb | Med. Faculty | O? | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **222** | ch. tomb? | Med. Faculty | ? | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **229** | ch. tomb | Med. Faculty | MG-EO | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **242** | ch. tomb? | Med. Faculty | MPG-PGB | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **247** | ch. tomb? | Med. Faculty | ? | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **280** | pithos burial | Med. Faculty | EG | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **282** | shaft grave | Med. Faculty | SM | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **283** | ch. tomb | Med. Faculty | PGB-LO | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **285** | ch. tomb | Med. Faculty | LPG-LO | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **286** | ch. tomb | Med. Faculty | EG | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **287** | ch. tomb | Med. Faculty | LPG-LO | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **292** | ch. tomb | Med. Faculty | PGB-LO | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **294** | ch. tomb | Med. Faculty | MG-LO | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **306** | ch. tomb | Med. Faculty | LG-EO | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **-** | ch. tomb | L. Gypsades | PGB-LO | Coldstream, 1981 |
| **III** | ch. tomb | Kephala Ridge | MPG | Coldstream 1963 |
| **V** | ch. tomb | Kephala Ridge | PG-O | Coldstream 1963 |
| **1** | ch. tomb | Kephala Ridge | SM-PG | Coldstream 2002 |
| **2** | ch. tomb | Kephala Ridge | ? | Coldstream 2002 |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **3** | ch. tomb | Kephala Ridge | PGB-EO | Coldstream 2002 |
| **4** | ch. tomb | Kephala Ridge | SM-PG? | Coldstream 2002 |
| **5** | ch. Tomb | Kephala Ridge | SM | Coldstream 2002 |
| **6** | tholos tomb | Kephala Ridge | PG | Coldstream 2002 |
| **II** | ch. tomb | Fortetsa SE | LPG-LO | Brock 1957 |
| **III** | ch. tomb | Fortetsa SE | PG | Brock 1957 |
| **IV** | ch. tomb | Fortetsa SE | PG | Brock 1957 |
| **V** | ch. tomb | Fortetsa SE | PG | Brock 1957 |
| **VI** | ch. tomb | Fortetsa SE | PG | Brock 1957 |
| **VII** | ch. tomb | Fortetsa SE | MPG-O | Brock 1957 |
| **VIII** | ch. tomb | Fortetsa SE | EPG-G* | Brock 1957 |
| **IX** | ch. tomb | Fortetsa SE | PG | Brock 1957 |
| **X** | ch. tomb | Fortetsa SE | PGB-LG | Brock 1957 |
| **XI** | ch. tomb | Fortetsa SE | LPG? | Brock 1957 |
| **BLT** | ch. tomb | Fortetsa SE | PG? | Brock 1957 |
| **F** | ch. tomb | Fortetsa SE | PGB-EO | Brock 1957 |
| **LST** | ch. tomb | Fortetsa SE | PG-LG | Brock 1957 |
| **OD** | ch. tomb | Fortetsa SE | PGB | Brock 1957 |
| **P*** | ch. tomb | Fortetsa SE | LPG-LO | Brock 1957 |
| **P2** | ch. tomb | Fortetsa SE | LG-EO | Brock 1957 |
| **Θ** | ch. tomb | Fortetsa SE | PG | Brock 1957 |
| □ | ch. tomb | Fortetsa SE | PG-G | Brock 1957 |
| **L** | ch. tomb | Fortetsa NE | PG-PGB | Brock 1957 |
| **TFT** | ch. tomb | Fortetsa NE | PGB-EO | Brock 1957 |
| **II** | ch. tomb | Fortetsa NE | SM-O* | Brock 1957 |
| **F/67:1** | ch. tomb | Fortetsa NE | PG-O | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **F/67:3** | ch. tomb | Fortetsa NE | PG-LG | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **F/67:4** | ch. tomb | Fortetsa NE | MG-EO | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **F/67:5** | ch. tomb | Fortetsa NE | SM-EO* | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **F/67:8** | ch. tomb | Fortetsa NE | PG-G | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **F/67:9** | ch. tomb | Fortetsa NE | LG-EO | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **F/67:10** | ch. tomb | Fortetsa NE | PG-G | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **F/67:11** | ch. tomb | Fortetsa NE | PG-LG | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **F/67:14** | ch. tomb | Fortetsa NE | SM-G* | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **F/67:15** | ch. tomb | Fortetsa NE | ? | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **A** | ch. tomb | Fortetsa NE | LPG-EO | Hood & Boardman 1961 |
| **B** | ch. tomb | Fortetsa NE | PG? | Hood & Boardman 1961 |
| **C** | ch. tomb | Fortetsa NE | PG? | Hood & Boardman 1961 |
| **-** | ch. tomb | Ayios Ioannis | SM | Hood & Coldstream 1968 |
| **I** | ch. tomb | Ayios Ioannis | SM-LPG | Boardman 1960 |
| **II** | pit-tomb? | Ayios Ioannis | EPG? | Boardman 1960 |
| **III** | pit tomb? | Ayios Ioannis | SM-EPG? | Boardman 1960 |
| **IV** | pit tomb? | Ayios Ioannis | SM-EPG? | Boardman 1960 |
| **V** | ch. tomb | Ayios Ioannis | EPG-MPG | Boardman 1960 |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **VI** | ch. tomb | Ayios Ioannis | SM-EPG | Boardman 1960 |
| **VII** | ch. tomb | Ayios Ioannis | SM-EPG | Boardman 1960 |
| **VIII** | side ch. | Ayios Ioannis | EPG-MPG | Boardman 1960 |
| **A** | ch. tomb | Atsalenio | LPG-LO | Davaras 1968 |
| **B** | ch. tomb | Atsalenio | LPG-LO | Davaras 1968 |
| **VIa** | ch.tomb | Up. Gypsades | SM | Hood *et al* 1958-59 |
| **VII** | Ch.tomb | Up. Gypsades | SM | Hood *et al* 1958-59 |
| **4** | ch. tomb | Mavro Spelio | LG-LO | Coldstream 2000 |
| **7** | ch. tomb | Mavro Spelio | LG-LO | Coldstream 2000 |
| **17** | ch. tomb | Mavro Spelio | LG-LO | Coldstream 2000 |

**Table 2: Tombs at Knossos**

***An interruption in the use of the tomb**
****Tomb P at Fortetsa SE includes the finds of tomb I, since the latter is part of tomb P**

The first column contains the inventory name of the tomb as used by the excavator. An exception are: the tomb at the Lower Gypsades hill (Coldstream, 1981), the tomb at Teke (Coldstream, 1963) and one tomb at Ayios Ioannis (Hood and Colstream, 1968), which did not have an inventory name probably because they were isolated discoveries. The second column contains the type of the tomb or grave and the third one the archaeological site where the tomb was discovered. In the fourth column, there is information only about the main publication of the tomb and not the primary archaeological reports, which were no more than summaries. In the re-used LM tombs and larnax graves I have noted only the EIA use.

## iii. Who used the cemeteries?

As seen in the aforementioned list of tombs, there are 166 collective tombs and single graves located around Knossos which were in use the Early Iron Age. At least 111 of them

have been disturbed and in some cases completely looted, eroded, or destroyed. The rest of them have been found either intact or having suffered minor disturbances due to extensive use (i.e. secondary burials), partial looting, roof collapse, or bulldozing activities before the rescue excavations[29]. In any case, the vast majority of the context and finds of the rest 49 tombs has been preserved.

The following graph illustrates all the types of tombs and graves which were in use at Knossos during the Early Iron Age:

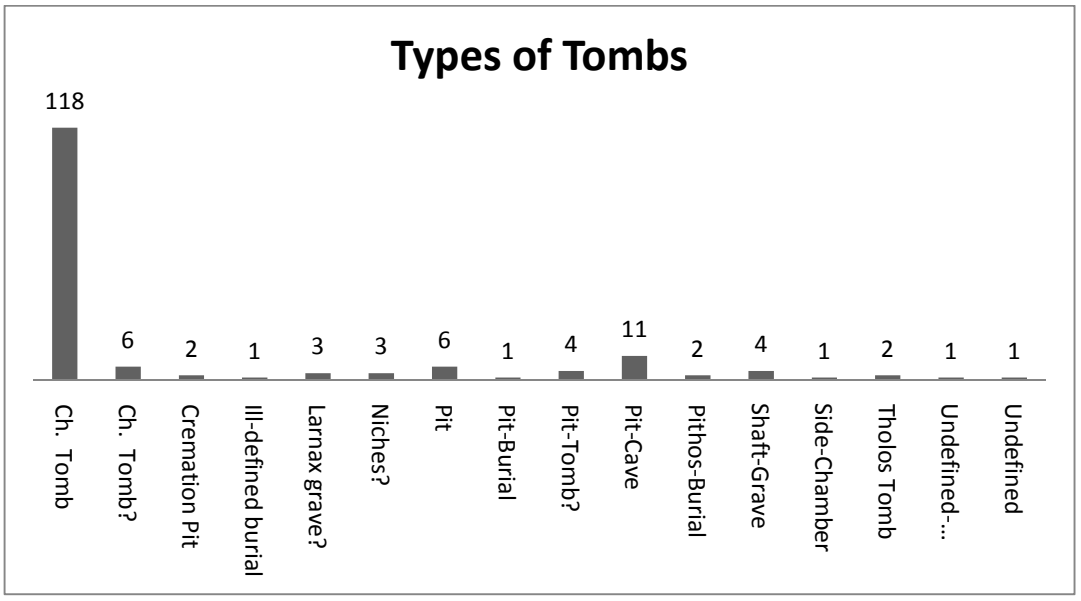



**Table 3: Graph 1: Numbers of tombs per type**

At least 118 out of the 166 tombs at Knossos are chamber tombs. This represents a percentage of about 71 % and reveals that this type of tomb was the most common for the Knossians buried in these cemeteries, since most of the burials were found inside chamber tombs and not in single pits or graves.

In chamber tombs, burials (cremations in the vast majority) were placed in the chamber. *"When the floor space was filled up, a second tier was placed on top of the first"* (Brock 1957, 3; Plates VI, VII of the present thesis). Not infrequently, burials have also been

[29]For the state of preservation of each tomb separately at the moment of discovery see Appendix 2.

discovered in the dromos. Additionally, burials could be found in niches and side chambers attached - probably after the initial construction - to the main chamber and/or dromos. Most of the burials found in these deposits have been characterised as secondary burials and naturally are of a later date than those of the main chamber.

In other cases, however, secondary burials have also been discovered inside the main chamber, while the primary burials have carefully been relocated inside or outside the chamber. Such an example is Tomb 218 at the Medical Facultysite, where one LPG jug was found on top of a PG urn (Coldstream and Catling 1996, 201). There are other examples though, where all burials have been found together in a very chaotic context caused by looting in antiquity, such as Tomb 283 at the Medical Faculty site (Coldstream and Catling 1996, 230-1).

It seems that niches were opened only when the main chamber could not host more funereal urns and grave goods (Brock 1957, 3). This happens mostly in the Late Geometric and Orientalising periods (Cavanagh 1996, 653).

Even if the niches and side-chambers do not constitute part of the initial construction, they still have to be considered as parts of the burial monument, both architecturally and symbolically, since this was the intention of the people who created and used them for more than one generation.

Otherwise, the use of chamber tombs, even as point of reference to the past, would have been abandoned as it probably happened towards the end of the Early Iron Age in favour of the simple collective pits (Cavanagh 1996, 675). It should be noted, however, that niches cut in chamber tombs were considered an old practice even in Early Iron Age. A similar practice of opening chambers and niches is also observed in Late Minoan period (ibid, 658).

The following graph shows Tomb 287 at the Medical Faculty site, which constitutes an example of tomb with niches and side chamber.

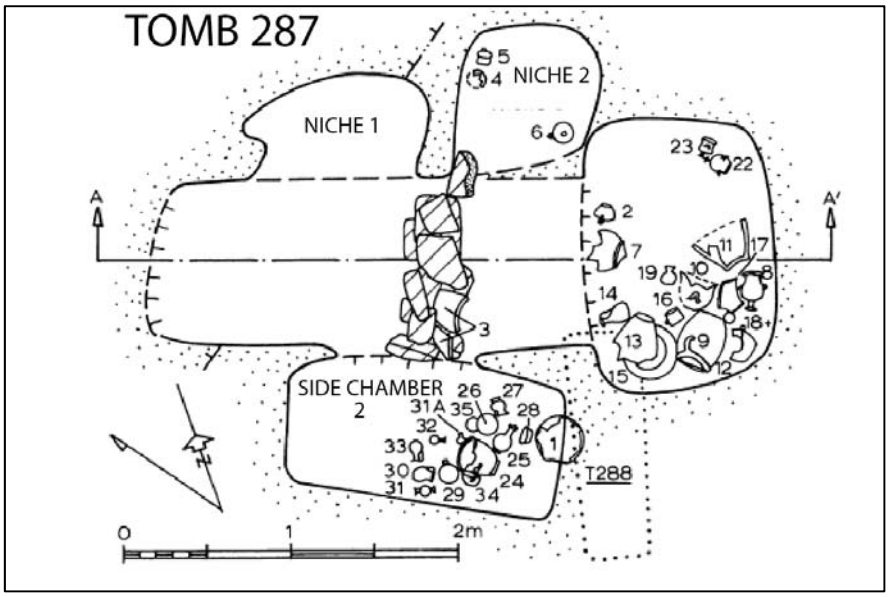



**Figure 7: Tomb 287 and its niches (Coldstream and Catling 1996, figure 51)**

As far as the various rites and rituals are concerned, Coldstream has characterised the burial practices in Knossos as a "*curious mixture of old and new elements"* (2003, 48). The latter describes the cremation rite in Crete, where the cremated remains were placed in a necked pithos (or amphora, or bell crater), with (or without) painted decoration (ibid). The bones were wrapped in cloth (Cavanagh 1996, 666). The pithoi were placed on the floor of the chamber and, when the floor space was full, a second tier was placed on top of the first (Brock 1957, 3).

It is worth mentioning that in the Early Iron Age cemeteries at Knossos, cremation did not become the dominant rite until after the end of the Sub-Minoan period (Cavanagh 1996, 652). However, inhumation did not disappear and there are examples of pithos infant burials even in the Orientalising period (ibid).

There are also cases where both inhumations and cremations were discovered at the same tomb. Most of these tombs are of Sub-Minoan dating (Tombs 45, 98, 112 at Medical Faculty and F67:5 at Fortetsa NE), but there are also examples from the entire

Protogeometric period (Tombs L and at Fortetsa NE and Tomb VIII at Ayios Ioannis). Among these cases, there is only one inhumation to be found and it is considered the earliest burial. The later cremation burials seem to treat the inhumations with respect and so it seems very hard to believe, at least in the case of Knossos, that there was an ideological or religious dispute between the people who practised these two rites. As Catling has noted the only site that has revealed cremations during the Sub-Minoan period is the Medical Faculty and the Fortetsa NE, both of which belong to the main cemetery (1996c, 643). Outside the North Cemetery all the Sub-Minoan Tombs held only inhumations.

Coldstream also indicates the presence of small pots inside the urn and drinking vessels in the tombs (2003, 48). While in Early Iron Age Athens the drinking vessels were smashed in the pyre, at Knossos the drinking cups were placed by the urn probably intact (ibid). A variety of other vases, such as perfumed oil flasks, were also placed in many tombs (Cavanagh 1996, 670). Other offerings were also found, such as jewellery, weapons, domestic equipment, obeloi, tripods, firedogs, copper, faience and stone vessels, tools, cosmetic items, horse-bits, figurines and a game piece, (ibid, 672).

At this point, it is worth having a look at the main aspects that differentiate Knossos cemeteries from the ones on the mainland. The major difference is undoubtedly that the vast majority of the tombs in the Knossos area were used for multiple burials while in post Mycenaean Greece the main practice was the single burial. Brock sees similarities between Knossos and contemporary cemeteries in Cyprus, like the ones at Lapithos and Kourion (1954, 217). The practice of multiple burials was favoured in Crete, but not in the Late-Minoan period. It was a general phenomenon in Early and Middle Minoan times (Snodgrass 2000, 164).

To sum up the evidence: a chamber tomb in the Middle Minoan period was used for multiple (at least more than two) inhumations, in the Late Minoan period for one or maximum two inhumations, while in the Early Iron Age again for multiple burials (but now cremations).

Exactly the opposite can be observed on the Greek mainland. In Mycenaean Greece collective burials were the norm for the chamber tombs and single burial for the lavish Tholos and the "poorer" shaft graves. The contrary occurred in sub-Mycenaean period. In Athens, for example, the Sub-Mycenaean Pompeion cemetery in the Kerameikos area is a single-burial cist-tomb cemetery. The same happened in Lefkandi and Argos (Dickinson 1996, 184). Finally, in one of the most important Sub-Mycenean cemeteries of Attica, at Perati, which begun its function in LHIII (Iakovides 1969, 29-31), most of the tombs held single burials, while others which had been reused held a maximum of three. The vast majority of the 159 tombs held inhumations, while only in ten tombs they have been discovered cremations. All the cremations were found in chamber tombs together with inhumations (ibid). Additionally, there is also evidence for urns containing double cremations (Lemos 2002, 186; Paidousis & Sbarounis 1975, 129-159).

The reason that EIA Knossians continued to use chamber tombs can be tradition, connection to the 'glorious' past or/and conservatism. Another explanation can be that multiple burials normally require more space than a single burial and the construction of a chamber tomb, featuring a chamber, a dromos and in some cases niches (in both dromos and chamber), can by all means provide considerable space for more than one burial (Canavagh 1996, 675).

However, the main difference, as far as the form is concerned, is that the Iron Age chambers tend to be smaller than the ones of the Bronze Age. Cavanagh (ibid) mentions that a reason for this reduction can be the change of the rite, from inhumations to cremations, with the latter requiring less space. On the other hand, as he also admits, the presence of inhumations inside the EIA tombs indicates that the reduction of the size might imply something else (ibid).

It is also worth mentioning that, according to Brock, no distinctive visible markers were found above the chamber tombs to indicate their position (1957, 4). If this is true, two absolutely distinct approaches can be implied as far as the secondary burials are concerned.

The first is that those BA tombs were re-discovered by accident during EIA by the later generations which simply reused them since in this way they could have avoided digging a new tomb. Making a chamber tomb is not an easy task even on the typical soil of Knossos, which is a soft local limestone, or *kouskouras*, as Cretans call it (Plate II).

The second approach is that no tomb marker was needed because the successive generations knew very well who was buried and where, so they chose to bury deliberately their dead next to the old burials. The only thing they had to do was either to re-open the tomb or build a new one next to it.

I believe that the second approach looks more persuasive even if it cannot be applied in all cases, especially when there is a considerable interval between the primary and the secondary burials. In this case, one should probably choose the first approach, but other explanations could also exist.

Wallace sees a relation between two different types of groups or, as she puts it, two different levels of kin represented in the burial patterns, one inside the multiple tomb and the other beyond or around the tomb in the cluster (2010, 297).

From the distribution of the chamber tombs in the cemeteries, it is evident that they are separated into different smaller groups (or clusters). This is very obvious in the case of Fortetsa SE, where Brock split the tombs into three different groups. A less obvious in some cases but much more detailed distinction with the aid of statistical analysis is made by Cavanagh in the Medical Faculty and Teke sites. There, Cavanagh observed that the tombs are grouped in rows of four to six and sometimes satellite tombs are added outside the main alignments (Cavanagh 1996, 657). The concentration and possible relations between different tombs will be explored further in chapter five since it is essential for the study and analysis of the distribution of the oriental imports and their imitations.

It important to say though, that no less than 139 tombs and seven out of nine cemeteries are located north of the Knossos EIA settlement. This close concentration of different

cemeteries verifies once more the area where Knossians had chosen to have their main burial grounds, away from the world of the living.

According to Wallace, the "*overall impression of complex, nested systems of identity and class relations by LG is supported by the use of burials spaces located in the wider landscape, beyond either the main cemetery or outline tomb clusters*" (2010, 297). It is not certain, however, whether the area from the Bronze Age Palace up to Atsalenio was reserved only for burials or whether there were also smaller settlements.

As far as the number of burials in the Knossos North Cemetery is concerned, it has been calculated that inside the tombs there were between 422 to 671 inurned burials (Cavanagh 1996, 660). If one adds the inhumations and the single graves (pits, shafts, etc), then the number ranges from 445 to 694; a safe assumption, according to the author, would be to set the number somewhere in the middle, which would be about 570 burials (ibid, 660). Finally, the 21 inhumations and 330 cremation burials from the rest of the tombs around Knossos, as figured in table 2, could be added to this figure. The total amount would be around 921 burials for the entire Early Iron Age in Knossos[30].

The number does not look particularly high for such a long period and probably does not represent the amount of population at any given phase. Additionally, there is a similar situation in other sites on the Greek mainland (Athens, Argos), where a limited number of burials seems to be more an indication that a specific part of society had exclusive access to the tombs, as many authors have observed (Morris 1987; Whitley 1991, Cavanagh 1996, Dickinson 2006).

In other words, as Cavanagh claims, regarding the amount of burials discovered in the 67 tombs at the Teke (NC), Medical Faculty and Fortetsa sites (i.e. the North Cemetery publication), there must have been some kind of restriction and not everyone had the right to be buried in these sites (1996, 664). He also supports that *"the links thereby symbolised in death must have been important to life"* (ibid, 675). Importantly, he probably refers to the social links concerning hierarchy and the right to burial in a specific place. In a general

[30] A detailed attempt to calculate the number of burials of all cemeteries is sited in Appendix 3.

comment on the burials Pearson points that "*most ancient funerary rites seem to be archaeologically invisible, living no material trace*" (1999, 5).

Another important observation made by Cavanagh is that, as Morris had argued for Athens during the eighth century, in Attica and Knossos there is a rise in the number of burials (Cavanagh 1996, 664; Morris 1987). According to these two authors, this increase was much related more to a change of customs that opened the access to the cemeteries than a rise in the population[31]. Thus, it becomes very visible that there was probably a social divide between the people who could be buried in the cemeteries and those who could not. Certainly, the same divide may have also been present before the 8th century.

Furthermore, Morris believes that at the beginning of the EIA only the group of *agathoi*[32] had the right to formal burial not only in Athens but also in the rest of Greece (1987, Athenian and Knossian societies (1991, 198).

Instead of *agathoi* the term "*elite*" may also be used but always with caution, since different *elite*s and ruling classes, such as aristocrats, *agathoi* and/or "*big men*", may exist at the same time, as Whitley implies in the case of Athens and its cemeteries (ibid, 197). The diversity of the EIA societies must never be underestimated (ibid).

Dickinson, who is rather sceptical about Morris' model of restriction of burial rights in Athens, is much keener on accepting Morris' interpretation in the case of Knossos (2006, 175). The reason is the limited number of burials in relation to the elaborate rites and burial constructions (ibid) and the fact, one might add, that the extension of Knossos cemeteries is much more documented than those of Athens thanks to the absence of subsequent building activity.

For the sake of the argument, one can take for granted that these tombs were for the wealthiest, or politically strongest, part of the society. This view, however, cannot not

[31] Back in 1980, Snodgrass had made a similar but not identical observation.
[32]The *agathoi* (singular *agathos,* which in Greek means "the good one") were, according to Morris, a considerable part of the population which in Athens ranged from25 to 50% of the total population. Importantly, Morris believes that the *agathoi* were the *elite* and that this group was subdivided in a small ruling class and the non governing *elite* (1987, 94-5).

necessarily give a satisfactory answer as regards the identity of the people buried there, or rather, the order in which the dead were grouped into the same tomb. It is not certain either whether all the *elite* members had the same burials rights or even whether there were further privileges for some of them.

For many excavators and authors, the explanation is very straightforward and 'natural', as Coldstream implies (1981, 143): the chamber tombs were the resting place of families and in many cases were used for more than one generation. Additionally, in his investigation into Fortetsa, Brock talks about families that used the tombs for successive generations (1954, 41). Catling also maintains the same view, although he prefers the term 'group' as a more neutral alternative to the term 'family' (1996c, 641).

An argument in favour of the use of tombs by families is that the mortuary evidence has shown that in the Sub-Minoan period all ages, both sexes and also children are represented (Musgrave 1996, 691). After the Sub-Minoan times, the same occurs with the cremation rite, and the dead were even committed together (ibid, 690-692). There is only one notable exception: the remains of infants and very young children are absent (ibid).

However, the 'natural' assumption that a family possesses a tomb and uses it for many generations cannot explain the limited number of burials in most of the tombs. On the contrary, it rather reveals that not all in all the cases could the members of one family, or clan, be buried in the same tomb. Cavanagh, who also supports the theory of the 'family' tombs, suggests that a tomb might have been inherited from a father only to a single heir and thus eventually after a few generations the lineage would cease to exist (1996, 666).

On the other hand, an argument against the 'family' character of the tombs is that even in Sub-Minoan times there were Knossians buried outside the North Cemetery in locations such as the Lower Ghypsades hill and Fortetsa SE, Atsalenio and probably the Kephala ridge. In all these cemeteries the finds are almost identical to those of the North Cemetery. Was the creation of remote cemeteries associated with some family bonds or not?

Archaeologists have interpreted the existence of other cemeteries not so much in relation to the possible existence of other settlements, but to different ethnic or political groups, tribes or families who did not want to associate themselves to the main cemetery and to what this could symbolise (Coldstream & Catling 1996, 715 and Snodgrass 1996, 596). This suggestion is based on the old theory of division between post-Minoan, post-Mycenaean and Dorian groups, who hypothetically coexisted (or fought against each other) in EIA at Knossos (Catiling 1996, 643).

Even if this view looks rather extreme nowadays, politically speaking, the EIA must have been a very unstable period as the contemporary defensive settlement at Karphi and Kavousi might imply. For this reason, perhaps different social and political status and family relations and customs could be reflected in the tombs and burial rites.

However, there is a contradiction that should be mentioned at this point. If the above argument is to be accepted, then it seems that Coldstream and Catling might contradict themselves, since the existence of different political or social groups buried in other cemeteries might signify that a possible diversity in Knossos was stronger than family bonds and lineages. As an extremely remote ethnological example, one could mention the civil wars of the 20$^{th}$ century in Spain (1936-39) and Greece (1946-49), where literarily brothers killed brothers and whole families were eliminated mainly due to political reasons. Therefore, the Knossian cemeteries might not have been the resting places of families but of different *elite* groups who were establishing or displaying their status according to the cemetery where were buried.

Moreover, Whitley was initially rather sceptical of the 'family' tomb idea and what he calls "family groups" in collective tombs (1998, 613). He felt that the evidence, especially from the North Cemetery, has not been studied in relation to other interpretations apart from the obvious 'family' idea. For example, he pointed out that all sexes and ages are represented in the cemetery but he also noticed that *"it is far from certain that there was an even representation within an individual tomb"* (ibid).

Additionally, on account of the large amount of arms found in some tombs, he suggested, following Levant's view, that these tombs were not for families but for particular age or sex grades (1986; 1991; ibid). However, even Whitley seems finally to accept the view of the family tombs: "*The natural inference is that they are families, and there is indeed some (slight) support in the human osteology for this hypothesis*" (2009, 283; Musgrave 1996).

Kotsonas on the other hand maintains that the chamber tombs at Knossos were not the resting place for families (2011b, 129-138). He questions the correlation between pots (rising number or urns in the 9$^{th}$ century) and demography (equal to increase of population). He believes that the rise in the number of urns cannot be matched with the increasing number of nuclear or even extended families (ibid, 133). He argues that classes, ages and sexes must have been more important than close kin relationships and in this regard presents Tomb AK at Eleutherna, where mostly males are represented.

A combination of two or more different hypotheses might also be a further explanation. For example, different *elite* groups could have been buried in different cemeteries and their relatives or followers could have also been buried in the same or neighbouring tombs. The existence of different groups of tombs according to sex or age would require much more detailed analysis of the anthropological evidence but remains plausible especially for the tombs which contain a large number of burials.

The hypothesis that different clusters of tombs in the Knossian cemeteries may represent different political groups (or elites) which competed to each other might be supported from another archaeological study: a similar case can be seeing in the Greek mainland back in the Mycenaean period. Mee and Cavanagh in their attempt to investigate the spatial distribution of the Mycenaean tombs within the same cemeteries have argued that *"the clustering of groups in tombs results not simply from a random operation of choice*" (1990, 242).

They initially accept a kind of a pattern based on kingship relations but they claim that the main reason for the different clustering are small-scale political alliances. One of the basic arguments is that the limited amount of the tombs cannot represent the population of each

settlement, not even its elite. Another interesting point that they make after a cluster analysis in the cemeteries of Mycenae and Prosymna is that in the case of the different groups of tombs, the richest tombs are not cluster together (ibid, 234). As they maintain even in the peripheral groups rich and poor tombs are closely associated. This simply means that the cemeteries were not arranged according to wealth with the richer tombs cluster together but probably according to other political relations (ibid 232-234). Their results from the cemeteries at the city of Mycenae can be seeing in the next distribution map. The association between rich and poor tombs is very clear.

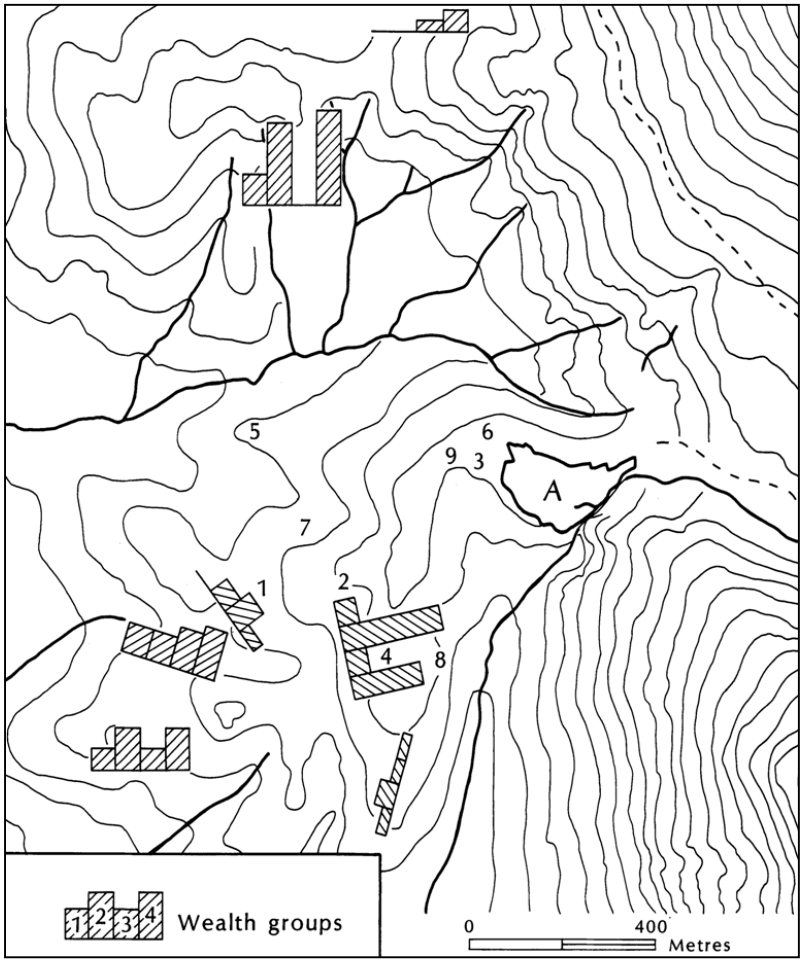



**Figure 8: Distribution of BA tombs at Mycenae (after Mee and Cavanagh, 1990)**

Another very interesting observation is that even if most of the tombs are located in the area of the North Cemetery, the rest of the tombs and especially those found in the Fortetsa SE cemetery have proportionately produced much more burials: the 18 chamber tombs of Fortetsa SE have produced 192 burials, while the 79 tombs of Knossos North cemetery about 570. Despite the fact that this is a very rough calculation and some tombs contain much more burials than others, if we divided the number of burials with the number of the tombs in each of these two cemeteries, the average for all periods of inurned burials per tomb is 10.66 for Fortetsa SE and 7.21 for North Cemetery respectively.

This probably occurs because many (but not all) of the North Cemetery tombs were very damaged and looted. However, there is also the possibility that the tombs outside the North Cemetery were successively used for a longer period or without interruption. The people who used the Fortetsa SE cemetery might have also sought to preserve the connection with the old chamber tombs rather than to create new ones, as the Knossians of the North Cemetery might have done. This might reveal a difference in the ideology and political behaviour of each group.

This ideology can be for example a need for continuity and connection to the past for emotional or political reasons. This need can probably be seen in Tomb P at Fortetsa SE, where approximately 71 inurned burials have been discovered, and in the chamber tomb at Lower Gypsades, where 35 burials have been calculated[33]. The period of use ranges from Late Proto-Geometric to Late Orientalising for Tomb P and from Protogeometric B to Late Orientalising for the tomb at Lower Gypsades. Both tombs were relatively undisturbed.

At the same time, one should not underestimate the Bronze Age past of Knossos and the possibility that many of the Minoan customs and traditions could have been inherited to the Iron Age Knossians. Cavanagh mentions that the choice for creating a cemetery can be influenced by the location of the Minoan cemeteries (1996, 657). The way cemeteries were formed and grouped in the LM period was not very different from the way they were formed in the EIA and chamber tombs were also grouped in clusters.

[33] As will be explained later, the calculation of cremations is made by counting the pithoi (which are the typical cremation urns of the area), even if they were found empty.

A similar phenomenon, namely a limited total number of burials, is also observed in BA Knossos. There is almost no burial evidence from the Middle Minoan period, apart from a few *elite* members (Younger and Rehak 2008, 170). This is very significant, since one should not forget that Knossos was probably the most populated city of the Bronze Age Aegean with an estimated number of 15000-20000 inhabitants (Hood and Smyth 1981, 10).

It is, however, known that communal tombs and ossuaries were in use (Musgrave 1996, 690) and some archaeologists have even come to the conclusion that that a part of the Minoan population might have been buried at sea (Younger and Rehak 2008, 170). It is not certain whether this explanation can be applied to a part of the EIA population as well, but it could not totally be ruled out.

On the Bronze Age Greek mainland, there was a similar social distinction in the Mycenaean society. As Dickinson claims, "*all the indications are that the group entitled to burial in chamber tombs and related types in the Third Palace Period represents a considerable proportion of the population"* (Dickinson 2006, 39; Dickinson 1983, 63; Mee and Cavanagh 1984, 56; Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 78). It is clear that he does not consider that all the population had the right to burial, or at least to be buried at the same place with the *elite*.

A rather general comment that one needs to make regarding burials in archaeology is that the tombs available for study are those tombs which have been discovered and, if other ways of disposing the dead had been used, these cannot be traced by archaeologists (Dickinson 2006, 175).

Another custom that could explain the absence of a large number of tombs and burials is what happens nowadays not only in Crete but all over Greece. In modern Greece, where inhumation is the dominant if not the sole burial rite[34], after the decomposition of the body

[34] The Greek Orthodox Church strongly opposes the idea of cremation for religious reasons and anyone wishing to be buried in this way has to be cremated abroad, normally in Bulgaria. The urn with the cremated bones may finally enter the family tomb but without a proper religious service. There is an ongoing debate on this matter in Greek society.

inside the coffin, the bones are collected in a wooden box and kept in an *osteophylakion* (i.e. ossuary). Finally, if the empty tomb belongs to the family, it will be used by its members; otherwise other people would be buried there. A similar practice also occurred in Minoan Crete (Sackett and Musgrave 1976, 128).

There is one case at the North Cemetery where a similar but not identical process was detected. In Tomb E at the Teke Cemetery dated in LPG, one of the funerary urns contained non-cremated human bones. The excavator of the tomb believes that the body (or bodies) had been left to decompose first and then the bones were placed in the urn (Sackett and Musgrave 1976, 128).

There can be other reasons why archaeologists have not discovered more burials. One might think of the "sky burials" in the way that is still practised today in some areas in Tibet among the Lhasa people: the body is cut in pieces and offered to the vultures (Stoddard 2010, 11). However, there is no evidence to support a similar disposal of body in the Early Iron Age Crete. Nevertheless, it is also useful to think that a simple pit containing the cremated remains of a person cremated elsewhere is not a very recognisable archaeological feature and this could be another explanation.

Finally, with the following case-study I wish to demonstrate that for the expansion of the Knossian cemeteries they were responsible mechanisms not necessarily related to the rise or fall of the population. One would expect that a rise in the number the burials would signify a rise in the construction of tombs. I shall test this hypothesis in the Knossos North Cemetery as studied by Cavanagh (i.e. the Medical Faculty, Teke and Fortetsa/67 sites). In the following graphs one can see an estimation of the rise of burials per period, as studied by Cavanagh (1996, 661-2):

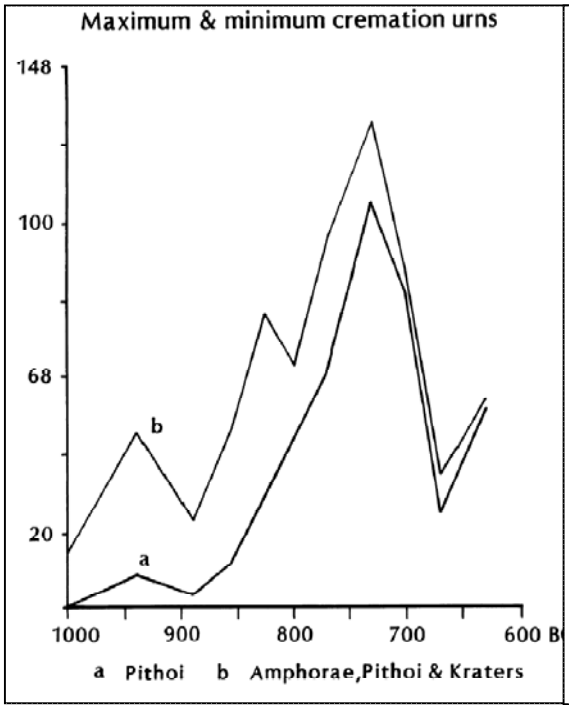



**Table 4: Graph 2: Maximum and minimum of cremation urns (after Cavanagh 1996, 661)**

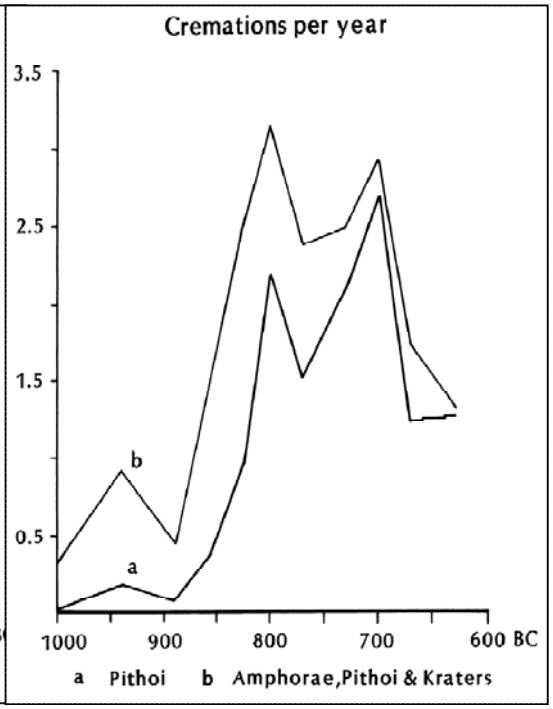



**Table 5: Graph 3: Cremations per year (after Cavanagh 1996, 662)**

The British scholar calculated that there was a sharp rise in the number of burials in the eighth century (Early Geometric) by simply counting the number of urns per period. In another calculation based on the number of cremations divided by the estimated duration of the period, Cavanagh calculated that the maximum rise on the burials per year was at the end of 9$^{th}$ century (PGB-EG).

At the same time, if one calculates the number of new tombs (all kinds) per period for the same time, one will get the following results:

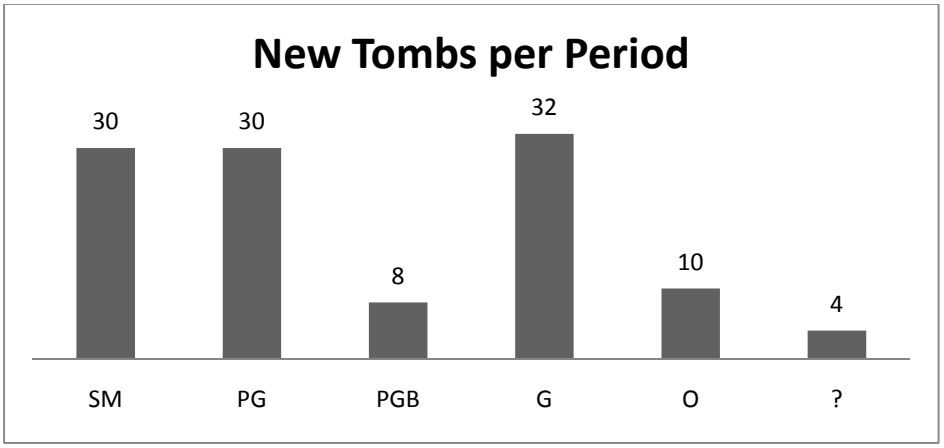



**Table 6: Graph 4: Construction of new Tombs per period**

At a first glance, one can see that the fluctuations of the numbers of burials as described by Cavanagh do not exactly match with the construction of new tombs per period. There is a rise in the construction of tombs in the Proto-Geometric period and then another one in the Geometric period. In fact, in the PGB, when the number of cremations rose sharply, only eight tombs were constructed. The fluctuations in the appearance of new tombs within these two periods can be seen in the next two graphs:

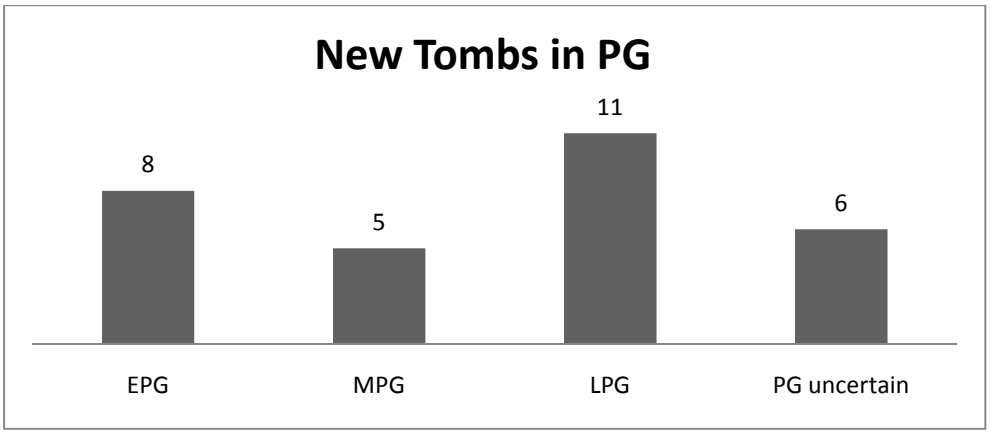



**Table 7: Graph 5: Construction of new Tombs during the Proto-Geometric period**

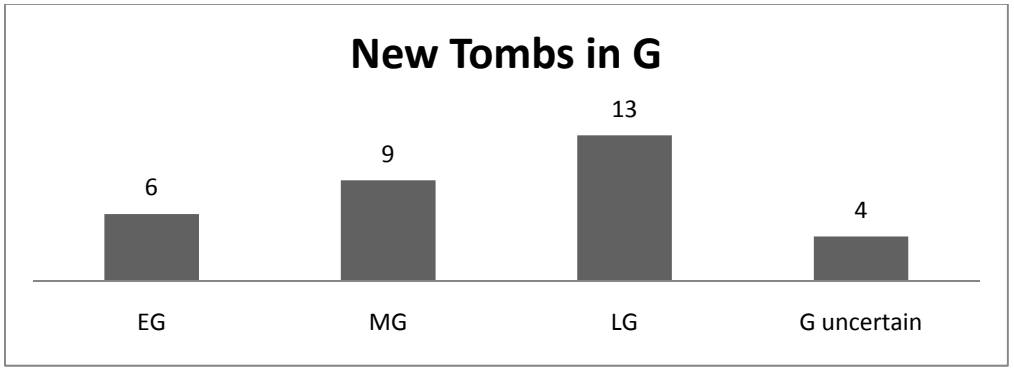



**Table 8: Graph 6: Construction of new Tombs during the Geometric period**

From this more detailed graphs, it becomes quite obvious that the rise in the number of burials did not occur at the sometimes with rise in the construction of tombs. I believe that this is a clear sign that the creation of new tombs and possibly new plots of tombs within the same cemetery might reflect some tension between the people who already had the right to be buried in the cemetery, or that people outside the main elite group sought more privileges. The construction of new tombs might mean new elite members.

Finally, a rather naïve but not entirely wrong approach may be that the rise in the number of burials is due to political strife, wars or infections affecting the Knossian society. The problem with this approach is that it ignores the frequency of the phenomenon (i.e. the relation between the rise and of the burials and the construction of tombs as demonstrated above), which occurs at least twice, first time in the PGB-EG and second in the LG.

## iv. Early Iron Age cemeteries and Bronze Age Tradition

The Knossian Early Iron Age lasted more than four centuries and in such a long period one would expect to see various shifts in the way the dead were buried. It is equally important though to investigate whether there is a traceable *caesura* between the Bronze Age cemeteries and rites or whether the transition from the one archaeological period to the next one took place much more smoothly than has hitherto been suspected.

To start with, it has already been said that the EIA cemeteries are located almost in their entirety near BA tombs and/or cemeteries. In fact, in some cases there are attested secondary EIA burials inside BA tombs, immediately above Late Minoan burials. The unnamed tomb at Ayios Ioannis is the most obvious example where two Sub-Minoan Age skeletons were discovered immediately above LM burials (Hood and Coldstream 1968).

The sites that do not appear to be in use before the Sub-Minoan times are: Fortetsa SE (Brock 1957), the Medical Faculty (NC), Teke (NC) and the Fortetsa NE tombs. The three last sites are described by Coldstream and Catling as the North Cemetery (1996) . All the authors who participated in that publication seem to support (at least initially) this view (ibid, 715).

The most prominent analysis is provided by Cavanagh. The author is using a series of cluster analyses and comparisons between BA chamber tombs and the chamber tombs at the North Cemetery. The result of this analysis is that there is a great possibility that all the chamber tombs in this publication were constructed after the end of the Bronze Age and mainly reflected the Iron Age rites and costumes (1996, 657). His main argument is that the size of the North Cemetery chamber tombs is much smaller than that of the BA ones, especially as far as the size of the chamber is concerned.

At the same time, there is a particular small cluster of tombs in his analysis, which could be of an earlier construction. For example from the Medical Faculty site, Tomb 283 and five more tombs (75, 207, 82, 219, 106) might actually be reused Bronze Age tombs, as suggested by the size of the chamber and their narrow *stomia*.

However, Cavanagh rejects this possibility and assigns them a later date, arguing that Early Iron Age Knossians simply imitated older constructions in order to embrace a 'glorious' past (ibid, 655).

On the other hand, there are actually some more facts pointing to the possibility that the Medical Faculty site was used before the Early Iron Age. The main one is the existence of fragments of larnakes inside the chamber tombs and sometimes the use of such larnakes as coffins for EIA inhumations.

All the 16 larnakes found in the North Cemetery are dated to the LM III A-B period[35] (Coldstream 1996, 58). One could argue that EIA Knossians discovered these clay coffins in their attempt to dig their new tombs and simply reused them for their own burials, thus making a symbolic connection to the their Minoan past. It is also reasonable to assume that those larnakes were found on the same sites where the chamber tombs were constructed.

None of the KNC authors, though, wishes to admit the above argument and all of them suggest that those larnakes were brought from elsewhere (failing to specify where from) and used in the PGB by EIA Knossians as a manifestation of continuity with the past (Catling 1996c, 639; Cavanagh 1996, 656). Without any doubt, the context where the larnakes were found and the stratigraphy certainly suggests a secondary Early Iron Age use.

On the other hand, concerning the larnax graves and the shafts found empty in the Medical Faculty cemetery, it is not very clear that they belong to the EIA[36]. Even if their dimensions are smaller than the average size of the tombs belonging to the Bronze Age, a late Minoan date cannot be rejected very easily. At the same time, chamber-tombs are not the only kind of tomb that existed in the Bronze and Iron Ages at Knossos. One must not rule out the possibility that some other forms of burial pre-existed on the same burial sites before the Early Iron Age.

It is worth mentioning a specific example from the point of view of stratigraphy: Tomb 294 at the Medical Faculty site (North Cemetery), as excavated by Carrigton-Smith, may give

[35] Only one might be an EIA imitation (Coldstream 1998, 58)
[36] See table 2.

some further evidence. One of the interpretations of the evidence that the excavator uses for the development of the tomb is the following: first, there was a LM tomb with two larnakes, which was discovered by the constructors of the chamber tomb and whose context was reused inside the new tomb for EIA burials (Coldstream & Catling 1996, 276).

This is the only tomb where the excavators seem to admit that the larnakes were probably found *in situ* in the EIA. If the interpretation of the evidence is correct, then this is proof that there was Minoan burial activity in the North Cemetery, as well.

Another important aspect is that the KNC publication does not include all the tombs discovered in this area. There are at least three tombs (and a few more not published) such as Tombs L, TFT, Π), which are located within the KNC tombs, and it is not certain whether they were constructed before or after the end of the BA. Cavanagh includes Tomb TFT in the BA tombs in his cluster analysis, but then he rejects the idea due to the asymmetric *stomion* of the tomb (1996, 656).

Furthermore, one must not forget the Khaniale Teke group. Tomb 2 at Khaniale Teke, excavated by Hutchinson (1954), is a tholos tomb constructed in LM times and reused in the Protogeometric period, which also belongs to the extended area of the North Cemetery.

Catling and Coldstream, in their attempt to prove that all tombs are of an EIA date, do not disregard the possibility that Tomb 2 at Khaniale Teke might be an EIA imitation of a BA tomb. However, due to the solid construction of this tomb, this argument does not sound very convincing (1996, 719). The other two tombs from the same group, which have a rectangular chamber, also 'betray' a Late Minoan aate of construction. Despite the EIA context, larnax fragments are again present (Hutchinson 1954, 215; Boardman 1967, 70).

It seems though that Coldstream had understood that the amount of evidence pointing to a Late Minoan use of the cemetery was strong. This is why, shortly after the Knossos North Cemetery publication, he changed his view and argued for the re-use of Bronze Age tombs in this area (1996b 236-62, 1998, 58-61).

He even says that this new approach must be understood as supplementary to the main publication of the Knossos North Cemetery (1998, 58 footnote 1). He uses the aforementioned Cavanagh's cluster analysis, in order to argue for a series of "bigger than the usual size chamber tombs"[37] (ibid). He also supports that "*apart from the Tomb 106, then, there is no reason to doubt that tombs that look Minoan really are Minoan, and that they were the sources from the larnakes reused for child inhumations from the mid-ninth century and onwards*" (1998, 59).

At the same time, though he still supports that the Sub-Minoan cemetery of the Medical faculty is a new cemetery on the basis that "*no individual tomb has shown any continuity of use from LM IIIc into SM thought Knossos*" (1998, 58).

In order to combine a new Sub-Minoan phase with the existence of Bronze Tombs at the same site, Coldstream formulated the following hypothesis: the North Cemetery (in this case the Medical Faculty and the Teke sites) were also cemeteries in the Bronze Age Period probably until Late Minoan IIIa-b, as the evidence from the larnakes and the few large tombs suggest. Then, there is a gap for about ninety years (i.e. the whole LM IIIc period). After this "caesura", the Sub-Minoan phase begins in the cemetery with a series of pit-cave and chamber tombs (ibid).

Then, according to Coldstream, another "caesura", though less sharp, occurred in the mid-ninth century, even though there is burial activity in this period (ibid). At the same time, in the PGB period all those 'bigger than usual' chamber tombs came into use together with the use of Late Minoan larnakes for the burial of children, in a period when cremation was the main funeral rite.

For Coldstream, this amount of evidence signifies a revival of the interest for the Minoan world. In his view, ninth Century Knossians do that because their society was simply "truly conservative" (ibid, 60). One wonders however why Knossians became suddenly conservative in the ninth century and not before? It seems that Coldstream did not want to admit that KNC was in use at the end of the BA and continued to be used the Early Iron

[37] This the cluster of tombs (286, 75, 207, 82, 219, 106) of Cavanagh's (1996) cluster analysis.

Age. For him, Sub-Minoans, or perhaps Dorians marked a new beginning in the cemetery, even though they were there tombs from older periods. It seems very hard for him not to interpret the Sub-Minoan period as the arrival of new people at Knossos.

In my opinion, the only tombs which are strong candidates for being Bronze Age tombs, with a re-use in the PGB period, are the Khaniale Teke Tholos Tomb and the Tholos Tomb at the Kephala Ridge. Both of them lay outside the Medical Faculty site. The reason for my suggestion is their structure and a series of finds, such as the "horns of consecration"[38], which have a clear Minoan provenance.

In all the other cases, there might be evidence for or against a prior Bronze Age burial activity at (or next to) the Iron Age cemeteries. It seems very hard, however, to rule out completely the continuity from the Bronze to the Iron Age Knossos. It is also important to underline that Sub-Minoan Knossians did not destroy the older cemeteries. This also might be another interesting bond with the past.

## v. Additional Archaeological Evidence

As stated in the Methodology section, I consider the addition of further archaeological evidence very important for the present investigation, in order to obtain better knowledge of Knossian society and the way the world of the dead (if I may use this expression), interacted with the world of the living. For this reason, one can see below two different studies concerning the archaeological evidence: one for the settlement and the other for the cult activity.

### a. From the BA Palace to the EIA Settlement

[38] after Evans 1901, 117

The evidence for an Early Greek Age settlement at Knossos is what Coldstream very pointedly describes as a "*meagre filling in a massive sandwich between the Late Minoan town (towards whom the excavations were aimed ) and the Roman colony above, whose massive foundations have disturbed the Greek strata almost to the point of obliteration*" (2006, 586). This is the view of one of the main excavators of the Knossos Early Greek settlement and clearly reveals the limited knowledge available not only on the extension of the settlement but also on whether there was one main settlement or whether the inhabitants of Knossos lived in small groups in the greater Knossos area.

Minos' Palace was deserted before the end of the Bronze Age and probably became a sanctuary area (Hood and Smith 1981, 16), despite the fact that some traces of occupation within the palace area have been discovered (Coldstream and Macdonald 1992, 244). The main centre of occupation became the west and north of the Palace site (Hood and Smith 1981, 16).

What must be stressed, though, is one major difference that has been observed in the Knossos archaeological record, and is in sharp contrast to the other sites in Crete: Knossians continued to live in a place that was very hard to defend. Knossos is located in a valley and its non-defensive position did not change after the end of the Bronze Age, while other contemporary sites in the island were located in places that are much easier to defend (Myers *et al* 1992, 38). Moreover, no defensive walls have been found in any period in Knossos.

There is a possibility that the hill above the palace might have been used as a defensive acropolis during this period. However, apart from the apparently natural defensive position of the hill, only few geometric potsherds and a fragment of an early Doric capital were found at this site (Hood and Smith 1981, 16). This might suggest that a shrine may have existed there, as was the case in later periods (ibid). It must be stressed, nevertheless, that no evidence for any kind of fortification has been found in the hill neither.

Early Iron Age pottery was also discovered further to the north of the palace inside wells and it is likely that there was an extension of the settlement at the LG period towards the

north. The result of the stratigraphical soundings and excavations (i.e. concentration of potsherds), when grouped to a plan of central Knossos, enclose an extensive area of 1,200 m² within which many other sites have produced Early Greek pottery (Coldstream 2000a, 260). This can give an idea about the possible extension of the settlement. This, however, is rather an assumption based on pots discovered in this area and, in many cases, not found in stratified levels or in closed deposits, as Coldstream admits (ibid, 263).-Further proof is needed as far as the pottery is concerned. The stratified pottery should be examined in relation to the architectural remains. One example of such remains is the foundations of what probably were two apsidal houses dated to LMIII c, discovered by Warren in an excavation behind the Stratigraphical Museum (Coldstream 2006, 581; Warren 1983, 69-71).

The excavator viewed that structure as distinct to the local Minoan architecture and interpreted it as a sign of the arrival of foreigners from the Mycenaean mainland (ibid). Warren continued his discoveries "of perhaps equal interest" and found four Sub-Minoan building phases (walls) with no apparent disruption from the previous LMIIIc period (1983, 76-87).

Apart from the walls, a considerable amount of pottery was discovered in stratified pit deposits on the same site and it is possible to demonstrate an uninterrupted sequence of pottery from LMIIIc to the Sub-Minoan period (ibid). More specifically, domestic Sub-Minoan pottery was found over an area of c. 800 m² extending from the Stratigraphical museum to the west border of Minos' Palace (Coldstream 2000a, 297). Except for the Sub-Minoan house foundations and pottery, there is also a considerable amount of recovered material ranging from the Protogeometric to the Orientalising period without any apparent interruption from other locations within the central area.

More specifically, on the level above the Unexplored Mansion a considerable amount of domestic pottery was found (storage vessels and cooking pots) ranging from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Proto-Geometric phase (Popham 1992, 65). In the soundings, north and south of the royal road, remains of two walls belonging probably to a post-

Minoan house have been discovered (Coldstream 1972, 64). In addition, stratified pottery extending from the Sub-Minoan to the Geometric Period was found within the levels of the house. Geometric pottery was recovered from at least fifteen well deposits at the hospital area (ibid).

In the south west border of the Palace, Early Greek levels were discovered (stratified Sub-Minoan and Early Proto-Geometric pottery and, after a gap, Early Orientalising pottery) within a Late Minoan II-III house. Interestingly, part of it was used again for housing in the succeeding periods (Coldstream and Macdonald 1997, 243).

From the Early Orientalising period, more evidence for houses and terraces was discovered along with a path and a pottery kiln (ibid, 244-45). This discovery next to the Palace lead the excavators to the conclusion that, apart from the Palace itself, the surrounding area was not necessarily a *tabu* for the later Greeks who probably lived within it (ibid).

Under the Roman Villa of Dionysos, there was probably a settlement nucleus, as two different succeeding levels from the Proto Geometric period have been located along with traces of walls from the second level (Coldstream and Hatzaki 2003, 286). In earlier test trenches (1935-6) in the Roman Villa, Hutchinson had discovered Geometric walls and pottery. The walls had the same orientation as the abovementioned Proto-Geometric walls (ibid).

The discovery of a Proto-Geometric house at a relative distance (c. 300 meters to the north) from the contemporary settlement was a surprise for the excavators, since until then they had believed that that the main settlement had not expanded to the north before the eight century BC (ibid, 299). Despite the initial surprise, they regarded the existence and the location of the house as an isolated phenomenon (ibid).

Coldstream interprets the recovered Sub-Minoan material as the nucleus of the Early Greek town of Knossos (2006, 297). In addition, based on the evidence from the almost circular distribution of the tombs outside the settlement and on the succeeding pottery sequence and walls in a wider area, he interprets the expansion of the later city as a reverse process of the

Aristotelian model regarding the birth of the Greek cities of the mainland (for example Athens, Argos etc.), where small hamlets united to form the city (ibid).

However, other archaeologists who have worked at the greater Knossos region and outside the main area, which falls outside the responsibility of the British School, have maintained the position that there were hamlets or farmsteads outside Knossos during the Early Greek Age (Alexiou 1950, 296). This view is supported by a relatively small amount of Geometric potsherds discovered on the hills of Kallithea and Ayios Ioannis as well as on the acropolis hill that overlooks the Bronze Age Palace from the west (Hood and Smith 1981, 18).

Another argument supporting the idea of the existence of small hamlets is that near the aforementioned hills tombs[39] were discovered that might have formed small groups or cemeteries at quite a distance from the main settlement. However, no traces of walls or other signs of habitation have been discovered apart from wells. The latter were detected only in the Venizeleion[40] area, north of the main settlement, and plain pottery was discovered at a distance much closer than the hills.

As far as the well deposits from Venizeleion are concerned, Sjögren supports that the domestic pottery found in an area with no traces of building structures probably served the people attending the funeral rites and might have been associated with habitation (31, 2003). Her basic argument is based on the fact that most of the pots recovered from the wells are hydriai and globular jugs, while pots associated with the preparation of food are lacking (ibid; Coldstream 1972, 81-84). One cannot exclude though that, even if pots for the preparation of the food had been found, those could have had been used for feasting as part of the funeral process.

Probably the main concept behind the theory of small hamlets uniting to form a city is that a group of tombs or a bigger cemetery must have been within a short walking distance from the settlement, as it happened by that time on the Greek mainland (Coldstream 2006, 582).

[39] For a detailed analysis see next section.
[40] This the sanatorium which was built in immediately north of the Palace area in 1953

However, this is just a theory which cannot be supported without the presence of domestic evidence in areas that have been thoroughly investigated and no other traces of domestic activity have been found. For example. in the area between the main settlement and the village of Fortetsa (where the cemetery Fortetsa SE was discovered) nothing that points to domestic activity has come to light according to Coldstream and Catlling (1996, 714).

At the same time, the supporters of the two different views (one settlement or many hamlets) do not explain the motivation for placing a cemetery at a shorter or longer distance from the settlement. Coldstream simply mentions the possibility that the remote tombs were not related to a settlement but to ancestral land owned by families living in the nuclear town (2000, 260 and 1981, 144).

The Knossians of the main settlement might have wished to be buried there and not at the main cemetery (ibid). It is not clear though, if there was any attempt by the Knossians of symbolic control of the land and the way that property was inherited as it has been interpreted in the relation between urn cemeteries and settlements in the almost contemporary (1400-1000 BC) Southern England (Bradley 1981, 102; Goody 1962).

On the other hand, in much northerner areas, near the sea front, where the modern capital of Crete is now located, it is practically impossible, precisely due to the expansion of the modern city, to know if the tombs discovered there were related to hamlets or even to a site which served Knossos as a port. Coldstream believes that probably must have been hamlets there (Coldstream and Catlling 1996, 714). Importantly, domestic pottery was discovered in Heraklion in rescue excavations conducted by the local archaeological service (ibid).

Another notable difference of Knossos to other settlements in eastern Crete at the beginning of the Early Iron Age is its location. There are a few settlements on the picks of the mountains, such as Kastro, Karphi and Kavousi, that have all the characteristics of defensive, or refuge settlements. This is also the reason that the settlement has not been studied in detail by Nowicki who simply argues for the continuity of life in the settlement since the Bronze Age (Christophilopoulou 2004, 40; Nowicki 2000, 25).

This might imply that the Knossians of this period did not have a need for such a protection due to the fact that they controlled the entire valley up to the shore. Following this line of thought one could suggest that the inhabitants of Knossos posed a threat to the other inhabitants of the island who were forced to seek refuge on the mountains. However, despite the possible historical interpretations, the Knossos Early Iron Age settlement is an exception to the rule (together with Lefkandi in Euboea), not only in Crete but also in Greece.

Finally, one should also mention that the Knossos Urban Landscape Project has been under way since 2005 (Whitelaw *et al* 2008) with the purpose of understanding the nature of the settlement of Knossos. This is a joint project of the British School and the 23rd Ephorate of Classical and Prehistoric Antiquities. There is no final publication yet, but from the preliminary articles published so far and the conferences, it can be said that the view on the Knossos EIA settlement might change drastically in the nearby future.

On the basis of preliminary results. the members of the project claim that the EIA settlement was much larger than Coldstream has claimed and that the Acropolis hill was incorporated in the settlement (Bennet *et al* 2006, 107). They also believe that the cemeteries[41] on its western slope were the limits of the settlement (*ibid).* If the result of the survey proves correct and the city stretched as far as its peripheral cemeteries, then it is likely that that the way that cemeteries around Knossos were placed might reflect different elites living inside within the main settlement but in different areas. In other words each elite could have its separated cemetery. I use the word 'elite' because it does not seem to be at first glance any a sharp social difference between the various cemeteries. This could also explain the location of the Fortetsa SE cemetery.

[41] They probably refer to the cemetery at Fortetsa published by Brock (1957).

## b. Cult activity

Importantly, it has been even more difficult to find archaeological proof for cult activity in Knossos than archaeological evidence associated with the settlement. For the excavators of Knossos since Evans, two are the most important aspects after the end of the Bronze Age.

According to the scholars, the first is the preservation of the Palace from later building activity that indicates an open-air worship (Evans 1928, 7). The second is that the Early Greek presence in Knossos, which in general is connected to a vegetation goddess, is related to Demeter and her daughter and thus to the arrival of new people, namely the Dorians (Coldstream 2006, 582). One could observe that the first is based on archaeological evidence (either on its presence on its absence) and the second on the traditional historical explanation of invasion and migration.

It looks like in Knossos the archaeologists attempted at the same time to highlight the continuity of the site since the Late Bronze Age and explain the changes in the archaeological contexts in association with the Mycenaeans and Dorians, who invaded at different periods.[42]

As far as the first aspect is concerned, nothing was built upon the Palace and most of its area until the fifth century BC, when a temple was erected (Hood and Smith 1981, 16; Coldstream 2006, 582; 2000, 286). The later temple indicates as well, the prior sacredness of the place and space (Goldstream 2006, 582).

Pendlebury interpreted this absence of building activity after the Late Bronze Age as a *tabu* of the later Greeks (1939, 305) with (it may be added) apparent religious significance. The only exception so far (as stated in the above section) to this *tabu* is the South-West Houses bordering with the Palace, where housing activity was observed during the Proto-Geometric and Early-Orientalising periods (Coldsrteam and Macdonald 1997, 244).

So, in an area without later building activity, there are some traces of open-air worship in Early Greek times, such as the votive pottery in the South-West corner of the Central Court

[42] For an example of this approach see Coldstream, 2006, 581-96.

(D'Agata 2001, 406). Additionally, Diodorus Siculus (v.66) mentions the sacred grove of Rhea, the mother of the Gods (Coldsrteam 2006, 582; Evans 1927, 5-7). Evans believed that the Palace area had been transformed to the sacred grove where Rhea was venerated (ibid).

Cult activity has also been observed upon the ruins of the destroyed palaces. (Coldstream 2000a, 296; Foley 1988, 145-147; Klein 1997, 247-322). Open-air worship seems to have been a common practice at the end of the Bronze Age in all Crete (D'Agatha 2001, 351-3).

The second aspect is related to the discovery, made by Evans, of a small shrine structure in the Spring Chamber dated to Sub-Minoan period (Evans 1928, 123-139). What was first discovered was an earlier deposit of conical cups containing carbonised olive stones, which imply a vegetation cult dating to the LMI (Coldstream 1973, 181; Alexiou 1958, 206; Evans 1928, 134).

After the first deposit, the second one was composed by Sub-Minoan vessels and a hut-urn or house-model with a figure inside which was interpreted by Evans as a Minoan goddess (ibid, 128-129). The figure had the hands raised in the same way as the images of the Late Minoan IIIb period (ibid). However, its context and the overall style of the vessel are of a much later date. A Sub-Minoan date seems to be the most appropriate, according to Alexiou (1958, 206) and Coldsrteam (1973, 181). Evans gave a date of LMIIIb (1928, 134).

Moreover, Coldstream maintains that after spring was blocked up by particles of gypsum around 1000 BC, the cult was transported or revived about fifty meters away up in the Gypsades hill (2006, 584; D'Agata 2006,406) "*where at least by the eighth century the cult had been dedicated to Demeter – or Damater, the chief vegetation goddess of the Dorian polis"* (Coldstream 1973, 180–1). In this hill, a fifth century classical temple of Demeter was discovered (Coldstream 1973).

There are votive terracotta figurines of humans and animals, the earliest pottery deposit and the construction of a terrace wall, which are dated to the eighth century, while some Proto-Geometric potsherds come from an even older period. According to this view, it is not

impossible to consider a cult/religious continuity from the Sub-Minoan period onwards (Coldstream 1973, 181; D' Agata 2006, 407).

As one can see, according to Coldstream and Desborough, the Sub-Minoan cult in the spring chamber and certainly the cult of Demeter suggest the existence of a strong Dorian society which had adopted some forms of the Minoan iconography and perhaps the religious practice (Coldstream 1973, 180-181; Desborough 1964, 180). This can be also seen on a PG Pithos found in chamber tomb 107, depicting two sitting figures on a wheeled platform with trees and birds (D'Agata 2006, 407; Coldstream and Catlling 1996, 316). The explanation based on the Dorian presence has been criticised (Whitley 1998, 613), but not absolutely refuted yet.

Concluding this chapter and at the same time the first part of the thesis, one may express some further thoughts and also proceed to a summary of the evidence discussed so far:

During the Sub-Minoan times, inhumation was the dominant burial rite. From Proto-Geometric period onwards, cremation became the dominant rite, normally in urns but sometimes also without urns,. Although they appear to be new cemeteries, a strong connection with the Minoan past can be seen in the re-use of Minoan symbols and objects.

Without absolutely dismissing the prior existence of BA tombs in these cemeteries, the strongest link with the past is the continuity and new construction of chamber tombs. A difference is that, in EIA, chambers are smaller in size. However, BA tombs were also used for secondary EIA burials in more than one case, especially in most of the peripheral cemeteries.

The alignment of the tombs in the cemeteries is also similar to the Bronze Age past. It is also obvious that the past (call it Minoan or Bronze Age) was very important to them and the most obvious argument in favour of that is the respect shown to the ruined BA palace and the way that BA dead discovered by EIA Knossians were treated.

Chamber tombs, which are the commonest type of burial construction, are normally placed in groups of up to six within the same cemetery (Cavanagh 1996), revealing an interconnection related either to kin relations or to class, age or sex groups.

In any case, these cemeteries probably represent the tombs of the *elite,* given the luxury grave goods contained and the fact that the absolute number of burials is too limited to represent the whole of EIA Knossian society. The right to burial in these cemeteries must have been restricted, a practice not unknown in other contemporary sites of the Aegean. Overall, one can see a strong sense of community among the Early Iron Age Knossians and the cemeteries are the manifestation thereof.

All the peripheral cemeteries were probably at the boarders of an expanded Early Iron Age settlement. As the evidence from cult activity suggest there must have been a strong connection with the Bronze Age past but also there were some religious affinities with the mainland.

# CHAPTER 3: THE FINDS AND THEIR CONTEXTS

## i. Revisiting the Evidence

As already mentioned in the introduction, an important part of the analysis will be a descriptive examination of the context of the imported material. I will include and present all the tombs containing the three following categories of objects:

- imports
- imports or imitations
- local imitations

The first category will include all the oriental imports of any kind (pottery included). The reason for undertaking this investigation and presentation is that I will first make a general comparison of all the products that reached Knossos from the Near East in a period of almost 500 years, as it is important to see their total number and context.

The second category of evidence will include all the objects which is not certain whether they are imports or local imitations. It is very interesting to examine the distribution of such objects in relation to certain oriental imports.

In the third category, I will include all the finds which are imitations of Oriental objects and whose imported prototypes were also found in Knossos, in most of the cases. At the same time, a definition is needed of what exactly I mean with the term "imitation" and which of these imitations will be included in the catalogue: since the vast majority of the imitations are pots, I will include only those pots which imitate both oriental shapes and motives and even in their "freer" versions or more evolved adaptations do not include many local Cretan features. The reason for including only the above category of pots is that my intention to keep a narrower amount of data directly linked to imports rather than to the local repertoire.

Another reason for not including all the pots that simply bear a distant similarity to oriental features is the fact that the influence of Oriental pots in general and Cypriot pots in

particular to the local repertoire of pots is immense and from the beginning of the PGB too many local pottery shapes can be seen, such as, for example, eyes painted in oinochoe lips, figurative scenes in belly craters and the "comb" motive (Coldstream 1979, 259).

It is Whitley who suggested the term "Early Cretan Orientalising" instead of PGB, which occurred at least two centuries earlier than in the rest of Greece and owned a lot to Oriental and Orientalising metalwork, as it did to Proto-Geometric and Geometric styles (1998, 611). Kotsonas, while accepting the influence of Cypriot motives on the local pots, maintains that this influence *"is inspired from metal and ivory, but not clay artefacts"* and that this style emerged in Knossos and spread to north-central Crete (Kotsonas 2011a, 238). Due to the fact that the context has been defined as the major factor in this thesis, the categorisation of the finds will be primarily made according to the tomb in which they have been discovered and not according to their material or function.

In the following pages, one can see all the available information regarding the imports, their imitations and the context in which they have been found. Naturally, as stated above, only the pots bearing a direct relation to the imported material and imitations will be presented. This effort is made in order to search for and establish a possible social pattern between the EIA Knossians who were willing to accept and use imports, especially in funeral rituals and rites, and those who were against this practice (or simply could not afford it).Therefore, the catalogue will be divided on the basis of the cemeteries. After the presentation of the evidence of each tomb, there will also be a few comments concerning the tomb and/or the artefacts, where appropriate. Then, a general analysis will follow. The cases of isolated tombs, e.g. Lower Gypsades (Coldstream 1981), will be also assessed.

As far as the dating is concerned, I have attempted to combine the dates of each object to the context of the tomb, even if sometimes this is impossible. All context dates are according to the Cretan and not to the Attic chronology. The dates based on the style of the object are either in absolute chronologies or, in the case of pottery, on the style of the pot (BoR I, II etc.)

## a. Presentation of the Evidence: The Catalogue

### FIRST CEMETERY: NORTH CEMETERY (MAP 3:1)

### FIRST SITE: MEDICAL FACULTY (MAIN SITE OF THE EXTENDED NORTH CEMETERY MAP 4: A)

**Tomb 1: (Ch. Tomb) Undisturbed, MG-EO? Coldstream & Catling 1996, 56**

**Local imitations**

- Lekythos/ Juglet (1.1) Creto-Cypriot class E (iii)a, **EO**

**References and notes** Coldstream 1996, 354; Brock 1957, 158

**Tomb 13: (Ch. Tomb) Undisturbed, PGB-EG. Coldstream & Catling 1996, 60**

**Imports**

- Faience handle of bowl, Egypt or Near East, **EO**

**References and notes:** Webb 1996, 606

**Local imitations**

- Oinochoe/Trefoil lipped Jug(13.26) class E, "pseudo-Bucchero" imitation of Cypriot Black slip I-II, **LPG-EG**

**References and notes:** Coldstream 1979, 257-8; 1996, 354 and 346-7; 2000b, 468; Brock 1957, 158)

**Tomb 14: (Ch. Tomb) Disturbed, G-LO. Coldstream & Catling 1996, 63**

**Imports**

- Glass bead (14.f8): Assyria? **LG-E**
- Glass bead (14.10): Assyria? **LG-EO**

**References and notes:** Webb 1996, 602.

**Local imitations**

- Lekythos/ Juglet (14.18) enlarged version of Cypriot, class E (ii)b, **LG-EO**
- Lekythos/ Juglet (14.30) of Creto-Cypriot class E (iii)a, **EO**

**References and notes:** Coldstream 1996, 354. For the typology of the Creto Cypriot class lekythoi see Brock 1957, 158-9 and page of the present thesis.

**Tomb 19: (Ch. Tomb) Undisturbed, LG-EO. Coldstream & Catling 1996, 70**

**Local imitations**

- Lekythos/ Juglet (19.20) of Creto-Cypriot class E (iii) **LG-EO**
- Lekythos/ Juglet of Creto-Cypriot class E (iii) (19.21)a **LG**

**References and notes:** Coldstream 1984, 135; Coldstream 1996, 71-72; He places them in class E (iii), but I believe that due to the presence of chevrons in the 19.21, it can also be categorised as E (iii)a according to Brock's typology (1957, 158).

**Tomb 24: (Ch. Tomb) Disturbed, SM-EPG. Coldstream & Catling 1996, 72**

**Imports or local imitations**

- Obelos[43], **EPG-MG**

**References and notes:** Snodgrass 1996, 590

**Tomb 26: (Ch. Tomb) Disturbed, SM-LO* Coldstream & Catling 1996, 75**

**Imports**

- Faience rim bowl, Egypt or Near East, **EO**

**References and notes:** Webb 1996, 607

[43] The only obelos fr. not included is from tomb 247, because it is the sole find of an absolutely destroyed tomb and it was not even certain if it was coming from elsewhere.

**Tomb: 48 (Ch. Tomb) Disturbed, SM-LO* Coldstream & Catling 1996, 91**

**Imports**

- Egyptian blue scarab (48.4), **EO**

**References and notes:** Webb 1996, 604.

**Tomb: 56 (Ch. tomb) Undisturbed, SM-LO* Coldstream & Catling 1996, 94**

**Imports**

- Lekythos/ Juglet Red Slip II (56.10): Phoenicia, **after 700 B.C.**

**References and notes:** Coldstream 1996, 408-9; Schreiber 2003, 298.

**Tomb: 60 (Ch. Tomb) Disturbed, ? Coldstream & Catling 1996, 100**

**Local imitations**

- Oinochoe/ Trefoil lipped jug**,** close imitation of Cypriot BoR II (60.22) **LG**

**References and notes::** Coldstream 1984, 128; Coldstream 1996, 35

**Tomb: 61 (Ch. Tomb) Disturbed, SM-LO/Coldstream & Catling 1996, 104**

**Local imitations**

- Lekythos/ Juglet**,** exact copy of Cypriot BoR (61.1) **LG**
- Suck Shaped Trefoil-lipped juglet/alabastron class G(i) (61.2) **LG-EO**

**Context:** Coldstream 1984, 132; Coldstream & Catling 1996, 104 and 353

**Tomb: 63 (Ch. Tomb) Disturbed, PGB-MG. Coldstream & Catling 1996, 104**

**Local imitations**

- Oinochoe/Trefoil lipped Jug(63.2) class E "pseudo-Bucchero" imitation of Cypriot Black slip I-II, **PGB-MG**

**Context:** Coldstream 1979, 132; 1996, 346-7, 2000b, 468

**Tomb: 75 (Ch. Tomb) Undisturbed, EG-LO. Coldstream & Catling 1996, 107**

**Imports**

- Glass bead (75.109): Near East? **LG-EO**

**References and notes:** Webb 1996, 601.

**Imports or local imitations**

- Obeloi (at least two 75.f20+): Cyprus or local imitation, **LG**
- Obelos (one? 75.f47+): Cyprus or local imitation, **Uncertain. date**
- Obeloi (two?75.f85+): Cyprus or local imitation, **Uncert. Date**

**References and notes:** Snodgrass 1996, 590-1; Boardman 1971, 5-8; Karageorghis 1977, 168-72; Hoffman 1997, 141-6.

**Local imitations**

- Lekythos/ Juglet freer imitation of Cypriot BoR juglet (75.43) **MG**

**References and notes:** Coldstream 1984, 133.

**Tomb:78 (pithos burial) Undisturbed, LG-EO. Coldstream & Catling 1996, 123**

**Imports**

- Egyptian Blue Scarab (78.3): Egypt? Levant? **LG-EO**
- Egyptian Blue Scarab (78.4): Egypt? Levant? **LG-EO**
- Egyptian Blue Scarab (78.9): Egypt? Levant? **LG-EO**
- Egyptian Blue Scarab (78.10): Egypt? Levant? **LG-EO**
- Faience figurine-Nefertum (78.8): Levant? Rhodes? Cyprus? **LG-EO**

- Faience figurine-Ptah Embryon (78.20): Levant? Egypt? **LG-EO**
- Faience figurine-Nefertum (78.24): Levant? Rhodes? Cyprus? **LG-EO**
- Faience bead (78.28): Near East, **LG-EO**

**References and notes:** Webb 1996, 604-6; Hoffman 1997, 48; Jones 2000, 229[44].

**Tomb: 100 (Ch. Tomb) Disturbed. EPG-EG. Coldstream & Catling 1996, 132**

**Imports**

- Faience bead (100.16): Phoenicia, **PGB**
- Faience bead (100.27): Phoenicia, **PGB**
- Faience disc-beads and dentalium shell (100.28): Near East **PGB**
- Faience base of couchant lion vase (100.41): Levant, c. **750**
- Bronze Lotus-handled jug (100.31): Egypt? Phoenicia? **PGB-EG**

**References and notes:** *For Faience:* Webb 1996, 600, 606. *For bronze jug:* Catling 1984, 87, Matthaus 1988, 90; Catling 1996, 563, 568-9, Hoffman 1997, 97; Jones 2000, 223.

**Imports or local imitations**

- Obeloi (at least two: 100.f2a+): Cyprus or local imitations, **LPG**
- Bronze rod tripod (100.f4+): Cyprus or local imitation, **10th C.**

**References and notes:** *For obeloi*: Snodgrass 1996, 590-1; Boardman 1971, 5-8; Karageorghis 1977, 168-72; Hoffman 1997, 141-6. *For tripod:* Catling 1984, 87, Matthaus 1988, 90; Catling 1996, 563, 568-9, Hoffman 1997, 97; Jones 2000, 223.

**Tomb: 104 (Ch. Tomb) Disturbed PGB-LG. Coldstream & Catling 1996, 139**

**Imports**

[44] Both Hoffman and Jones have catalogued these objects as belonging to tomb 112, because this pithos was found into the dromos of tomb 112. Moreover, Catling in the AR publication (1978-9, 50) had registered them as objects of the chamber tomb.

- Two-handled Lekythos/ Juglet **BoR I** (104.8): Cyprus, **850-750**
- Lekythos/ Juglet **BoR II** (104.123): Cyprus, **Late 8th C**

**Local imitations**

- Oinochoe/Trefoil lipped Jug (104.35) class E "pseudo-Bucchero" imitation of Cypriot Black slip I-II **PGB-EO**

**Context:** Coldstream 1977, 257-8; 1984, 128; 1996, 407; 200b 468; Hoffman 1997, 84; Jones 2000, 226-7; Schreiber 2003, 295

**Tomb: 106 (Ch. Tomb) Disturbed, EG-LO. Coldstream & Catling 1996, 145**

**Imports**

- Lekythos/ Juglet, **Bichrome III** (106.39): Cyprus, **850-750 B.C**

**References and notes** Coldstream 1984, 127; Hoffman 1997, 84; Jones 2000, 228; Schreiber 2003, 294.

**Local imitations**

- Lekythos/ Juglet, Creto-Cypriot class E (iii)a (106.5), **EO**
- Oinochoe/ Trefoil-lipped Jug, Creto-Cypriot class (106.16), **LG-EO**
- Lekythos/ Juglet, Creto-Cypriot type E (iii)b (106.21), **EO**

**References and notes:**; Coldstream & Catling 1996, 146-8

**Tomb: 107 (Ch. Tomb) Disturbed, PGB-LO. Coldstream & Catling 1996, 148**

**Imports**

- Lekythos/ Round mouthed jug, **Bichrome** (107.80): Phoenicia, **late 9th c**
- Oinochoe/ Trefoil -lipped jug **BoR II** (107.199): Cyprus
- Lekythos / Juglet **BoR II** (107.201): Cyprus
- Glass bead (107.14): Assyria? **LG-EO**

- Glass beads various (107.47): Levant **EO**

**References and notes:** *for the pots:* Coldstream 1984, 123,128, 131; Coldstream 1996, 407-8; Hoffman 1997, 67,79, 81; Jones 2000, 225-7; Schreiber 2003, 294-8. *For glass beads:* Webb 1996, 603

**Imports or Local imitations**

- Obelos (one 107.f22+): Cyprus or local imitation, **O**

**References and notes:** Snodgrass 1996, 590-1; Boardman 1971, 5-8; Karageorghis 1977, 168-72; Hoffman 1997, 141-6.

**Local imitations**

- Lekythos Creto-Cypriot class (107.33) E (iii)b, **LG-EO**
- Lekythos/ Juglet Creto-Cypriot (107.34) E (iii)b, **LG-EO**
- Lekythos/ Juglet Creto-Cypriot (107.43) E (iii)b, **EO**
- Lekythos/ Juglet Creto-Cypriot (107.53) E (iii)b, **EO**
- Lekythos/ Juglet Creto-Cypriot (107.75) E (iii)b, **EO**
- Lekythos/ Juglet Creto-Cypriot (107.87) E (iii)b, **EO**
- Lekythos/ Juglet Creto-Cypriot (107.190) E (iii)b, **EO**
- Lekythos/ Juglet Creto-Cypriot (107.204) E (iii), **EO**
- Alabastron/ trefoil-mouthed Juglet (107.37), **EO**

**References and notes:** Coldstream 1984, 127; 1996, 354; Moignard 1996, 442; Schreiber 2003, 299-7.

**Tomb 125: (Ch. Tomb) Disturbed, MG. Coldstream & Catling 1996, 139**

**Imports**

- Lekythos/ Juglet **BoR I** (125.16): Cyprus**, 850-750 BC.**
- Glass Bead (125.1): Assyria? **MG**

**References and notes:** Coldstream 1984, 132; Coldstream 1996, 407. *For the glass bead:* Webb 1996, 602.

**Tomb: 134 (Pit-Cave?) Disturbed, LPG-EO. Coldstream & Catling 1996, 174**

**Imports**

- Lekythos/ Juglet **BoR I** (134.33): Cyprus**, 850-750 BC.**

**References and notes** Coldstream 1984, 129; 1996, 407); (Hoffman 1997, 73); (Jones 2000, 226); Schreiber 2003, 295.

**Local imitations**

- Lekythos/ Juglet, Freer adaptation of Cypriot BoR (134.3), **MG**
- Lekythos/ Juglet, Freer adaptation of Cypriot BoR (134.28), **MG**

**Context:** Coldstream 1996, 354.

**Tomb: 175 (Ch. Tomb) Disturbed, EPG-O. Coldstream & Catling 1996, 184**

**Imports**

- Oinochoe/ Trefoil-lipped Jug BoR II (175.52): Cyprus

**References and notes:** Coldstream 1984, 128; 1996, 406); Hoffman 1997, 81; Jones 2000, 227; Schreiber 2003, 295

**Local imitations**

- Lekythos/ Juglet, (175.60) Exact copy of Cypriot BoR, **MG-LG**
- Alabastron/ trefoil-mouthed Juglet (175.14) **EO**

**Context:** Coldstream 1984, 132; 1996, 353; Moignard 1996, 442

**Tomb: 200 (Pit-cave) Undisturbed, SM. Coldstream & Catling 1996, 191**

**Imports**

- Gold necklace of 81 beads (200.8): Cyprus, **SM**
- Ivory comb (200.4): North Syria or Levant, **SM**

**Context:** Catling 1978-9, 46; 1996, 530-2; Jones 2000, 223.

**Tomb: 201 (Pit-cave) Undisturbed, SM. Coldstream & Catling 1996, 193**

**Imports**

- Bronze arrowhead (201.2): Levant or Cyprus, **SM**
- Bronze arrowhead (201.3): Levant or Cyprus, **SM**
- Bronze arrowhead (201.4): Levant or Cyprus, **SM**
- Bronze arrowhead (201.5): Levant or Cyprus, **SM**
- Bronze arrowhead (201.6): Levant or Cyprus, **SM**
- Bone inlays (201.14-15 frag.): Cyprus? , **SM**
- Four-sided bronze stand (201.1): Cyprus or local, **SM**

**References and notes:** *for bronze and bone objects:* Catling 1978-9, 46; 1996, 519-21 and 533-34; Jones 2000, 223. The bronze stand is most probably an import and one of the earliest examples found in EIA Aegean burial context. *For iron: ibid* 529-30. Waldbaum (1978, 325-49) and Hoffman (1997, 139-41) view this type of knifes more as local product than an import[45].

**Imports or local imitations**

- Iron knife (201.9): Cyprus or local, **SM**

**References and notes:** *For iron: ibid* 529-30. Waldbaum 1978, 325-49 and Hoffman 1997, 139-41 view this type of knifes more as local product than import.

**Tomb: 218 (Ch. Tomb) Undisturbed, LPG-O. Coldstream & Catling 1996, 203**

**Imports**

- Iron Arrowhead (218.f19a): Cyprus, **LG**
- Iron Arrowhead (218.f21): Cyprus, , **SM**

[45] Coldstream (1996, 346) assigns in tomb 202 one Oinochoe class E "pseudo-Bucchero" imitation of Cypriot Blak slip I-II with the inventory number 202.102. Tomb 202 had no finds at and its SM date does much to the PGB-EG Oinochoe. It must be a mistake.

**References and notes:** Snodgrass 1964, 154; 1996, 585.

**Imports or local imitations**

- Obelos (at least one 218.f22+): Cyprus or local imitation, **G?**

**References and notes:** Snodgrass 1996, 590-1; Boardman 1971, 5-8; Karageorhis 1977, 168-72 and Hoffman 1997, 141-6. The latter conceders it a local product (ibid)

**Local imitations**

- Lekythos/ Juglet class II E (ii) (218.2) close imitation of Cypriot BOR, **EO**
- Lekythos/ Juglet close imitation of Cypriot BoR II (218.41), **MG**
- Lekythos/ Juglet class E (ii) (218.84) imitation of Cypriot, **EO**
- Lekythos/ Juglet (218.6) imitation of Cypriot, **EO**
- Lekythos/ Juglet (218.118) imitation of Cypriot BoR, **EO**
- Lekythos/ Juglet (218.19) close imitation of Cypriot, **EO**
- Lekythos/ Juglet (218.120) freer Cretan imitation, **EO**
- Lekythos/ Juglet (218.88) freer Cretan imitation, **EO**
- Lekythos/ Juglet (218.16) freer Cretan imitation, **EO**
- Lekythos/ Juglet (218.4) imitation of Cypriot, **MG-LG**
- Lekythos/ Juglet (218.15) Creto-Cypriot class, **EO**
- Lekythos/ Juglet (218.11) Creto-Cypriot class E (iii) b, **EO**

**References and notes** Coldstream 1984, 131-3; 1996, 353-4; Schreiber 2003, 296-7.

**Tomb: 219 (Ch. Tomb) Disturbed, LPG-LO. Coldstream & Catling 1996, 210-25**

**Imports**

- Oinochoe/ Trefoil-lipped Jug **Red Bichrome** (219.43): Cyprus or Kos
- Oinochoe/ Trefoil-lipped Jug **Red Bichrome** (219.97): Cyprus or Kos
- Amphoriskos **BoR II** (219.22): Cyprus
- Lekythos/ Juglet **BoR I** (219.40): Cyprus, late 9$^{th}$ Century

- Lekythos/ Juglet **BoR II** (219.98): Cyprus
- Faience vase of couchant lion (219.62): Levant, **c. 750**
- Ivory handle: Frag. figurine of two headed goddess (219.27): Syria, **9th -8th**
- Ivory handle/Sleeve (219.35): Phoenicia**, MG-LG**
- Bronze Bowl with loop Handles and Lotus flowers (219.f85): Cyprus, **LG**
- Egyptian Blue bowl (219.83): Near East, **LG**
- Ivory inlay roundel (219.f16): Phoenicia, **MG-LG**
- Faience disc bead (219.6): Phoenicia, **LPG**
- Glass bead (219.38): Near East, **LG-EO**
- Glass beads (219.49): Near East, **LG-EO**
- Faience disc bead (219.39): Phoenicia, **LPG-PGB**
- Faience, four disc beads (219.82): Phoenicia, **LPG-PGB**
- Faience, ten disc beads (219.95): Phoenicia, **LPG-PGB**
- Glass beads (219.f18): Near East, **LG-EO**
- Glass Beads, three (219.24): Near East, **LG-EO**

**References and notes:** *for pots*: Coldstream 1984, 129-131; 1996, 406-8; Hoffman 1997, 71-86; Jones 2000, 226; Schreiber 2003, 294-5 *for bronze* Catling 1996, 562 *for ivory:* Evely 1996, 630 *for Faience, glass and Egyptian blue:* Webb 1996, 600-6.

**Imports or local imitations**

- Fire-dogs (219.f56i): Cyprus or local, **LG**
- Fire-dogs (219.f56ii): Cyprus or local, **LG**
- Fire-dogs (219.f128): Cyprus or local, **LG**
- Fire-dogs (219.f128a): Cyprus or local, **LG**
- Fire-dogs (219.f128b): Cyprus or local, **LG**
- Fire-dogs (219.f130): Cyprus or local, **LG**
- Fire-dogs (219.f138): Cyprus or local, **uncertain date**
- Fire-dogs (219.f139): Cyprus or local, **uncertain date**
- Obeloi (at least two 219.f14+): Cyprus or local imitation, **LG**

- Obeloi (at least six 219.f36+): Cyprus or local imitation, **LG**
- Obeloi (at least two 219.f125+): Cyprus or local imitation, **Uncertain date**

**References and notes:** Snodgrass 1996, 590-1; Boardman 1971, 5-8; Karageorhis 1977, 168-72; Hoffman 1997, 141-6

**Local imitations**

- Lekythos/ Juglet, imitation of Cypriot BoR (219.56), **MG**
- Lekythos/ Juglet, Creto-Cypriot class E (iii)a (219.64), **EO**

**Context:** Coldstream 1984, 131; 1996, 354 and 365; Schreiber 2003, 296.

**Tomb: 229 (Ch. Tomb) Undisturbed, MG-EO. Coldstream & Catling 1996, 225**

**Imports**

- Oinochoe/ Trefoil-lipped jug, **White Painted** (229.11): Cyprus
- Faience scarab in pot 6 (229.3): Near East, **LG-EO**
- Faience scarab in pot 6 (229.4): Near East, **LG-EO**
- Glass Bead (229.5): Near East? **EO**

**References and notes:** *for pot:* Coldstream 1996, 406. *for scarabs and bead :*Webb 1996, 600-4

**Local imitations**

- Lekythos/ Juglet, (229.22) freer imitation of BoR Juglet, **MG-LG**
- Oinochoe/ Trefoil lipped jug, Creto-Cypriot class (229.15), **LG**
- Lekythos/ Juglet, (229.16) Creto-Cypriot class E(iii)b, **EO**

**Context:** Coldstream 1984, 133; 1996, 354; Schreiber 2003, 295-6

**Tomb: 283 (Ch. Tomb) Disturbed, PGB-LO. Coldstream & Catling 1996, 230**

**Imports**

- Lekythos/ Juglet, **Red slip** (283.50): Phoenicia, 850-750 BC.

**References and notes:** Coldstream 1984, 132; 1996, 409; Hoffman 1997, 68; (Jones 2000, 226; Schreiber 2003, 297.

**Imports or local imitations**

- Fire-dogs (283.f39): Cyprus or local imitation, **Uncertain date**
- Fire-dogs (283.f45+): Cyprus or local imitation, **Uncertain date**
- Obelos (at least one 283.f19+): Cyprus or local imitation, **MG**
- Obeloi (at least ten 283.f11+): Cyprus or local imitation, **Uncertain date**

**References and notes:** Snodgrass 1996, 590-1; Boardman 1971, 5-8; Karageorghis 1977, 168-72; Hoffman 1997, 141-6

**Local imitations:**

- Lekythos/ Juglet (283.24), close imitation of Cypriot Bichrome, **MG-LG**
- Lekythos/ Juglet (283.83), imitation of Cypriot BoR, **LG**
- Lekythos/ Juglet (283.88), imitation of Cypriot BoR, **LG**
- Lekythos/ Juglet (283.84), imitation of Cypriot BoR, **MG-LG**
- Lekythos/ Juglet (283.15), Creto-Cypriot class E (iii)a, **LG-EO**
- Oinochoe/Trefoil lipped Jug(283.40) class E "pseudo-Bucchero" imitation of Cypriot Black slip I-II, **PGB-EO**

**Context:** Coldstream 1979, 257-8; 1984, 127-132; 1996, 352-4 and 368; 2000b 468 (for the stand); Schreiber 2003, 296-7

**Tomb 285 (Ch. Tomb) Undisturbed, LPG-LO. Coldstream & Catling 1996, 239**

**Imports**

- Lekythos/ Juglet Cypriot **BoR II** (285.45), **Early 8$^{th}$ Century**
- Lekythos/ Juglet Cypriot **BoR II** (285.49), **Early 8$^{th}$ Century**
- Lekythos/ Juglet Cypriot **BoR II** (285.52), **Early 8$^{th}$ Century**
- Lekythos/ Juglet Cypriot **BoR II** (285.80), **Early 8$^{th}$ Century**

- Lekythos/ Juglet Cypriot **BoR II** (285.85), **Early 8th Century**
- Lekythos/ Juglet Cypriot **BoR I** (285.88), **850-750 BC.**
- Lekythos/ Juglet Cypriot **BoR II** (285.151), **Early 8th Century**
- Glass beads (285.16): Near East? **EO**
- Glass bead, four (285.19): Near East? **MG**
- Glass beads (285.24): Near East? **LPG**
- Faience disc bead, nine (285.55): Near East, **LPG**
- Faience disc bead (285.70): Near East, **LPG**
- Faience disc bead (285.71): Near East, **LPG**
- Faience disc beads, sixteen (285.73): Near East, **LPG**

**Context:** *for pots:* Coldstream 1984, 129; 1996, 407; Hoffman 1997, 74-75; Jones 2000, 227; Schreiber 2003, 294-5 *f or glass and faience:* Webb 1996, 599-604

**Imports or local imitations**

- Fire-dog (f57): Cyprus or local, **PGB**
- Fire-dog (f30): Cyprus or local, **EO**
- Fire-dog (f31/32): Cyprus or local, **EO**
- Fire-dog (f46/47): Cyprus or local, **EO**
- Fire-dog (f79): Cyprus or local, **EO**
- Obeloi (at least four 285.f27+): Cyprus or local imitation, **EO**
- Obeloi (at least ten 285.f43+): Cyprus or local imitation, **EO**
- Obeloi (at least eight 285.f48+): Cyprus or local imitation, **750-700**

**References and notes:** Snodgrass 1996, 590-1; Boardman 1971, 5-8; Karageorghis 1977, 168-72; Hoffman 1997, 141-6.

**Local Imitations**

- Oinochoe/Trefoil lipped Jug(285.132) class E "pseudo-Bucchero" imitation of Cypriot Black slip I-II, **EPB-EG**

- Oinochoe/Trefoil lipped Jug(285.145) class E "pseudo-Bucchero" imitation of Cypriot Black slip I-II, **EPB-EG**

**References and notes:** Coldstream 1996, 346-7; 2000b, 468

**Tomb: 292 (Ch. Tomb) Disturbed PGB-LO. Coldstream & Catling 1996, 257**

**Imports**

- Sack-shaped juglet (292.211): Phoenicia after 800 B.C.
- Oinochoe/ Trefoil lipped jug **Red Slip** (292.80): Phoenicia/ (800-770)
- Sack-shaped juglet, Cypriot **BoR II** (292.96): Cyprus
- Oinochoe Cypriot **BoR II** (292.94): Cyprus
- Two handled lekythos Cypriot **BoR II** (292.244):Cyprus
- Two handled lekythos Cypriot **BoR II** (292.245)
- Lekythos/ Juglet Cypriot **BoR II** (292.97): Cyprus
- Lekythos/ Juglet Cypriot **BoR II** (292.48): Cyprus
- Lekythos/ Juglet Cypriot **BoR II** (292.132): Cyprus
- Lekythos/ Juglet Cypriot **BoR II** (292.51): Cyprus
- Lekythos/ Juglet Cypriot **BoR I** (292.62): Cyprus, 850-750 B.C.
- Bronze Phiale (292.36&46&78): Levant? **750-700**
- Glass Bead (292.12a): Assyria? **LG-EO**
- Glass Bead (292.15): Assyria? **LG-EO**
- Glass Bead (292.17): Near East, **Uncertain date**
- Glass Beads (292.19): Assyria? **LG-EO**
- Glass Bead (292.21): Near East
- Glass, five ring shaped beads (292.27): Assyria? **LG-EO**
- Glass Bead (292.33): Near East, **LG-EO**
- Glass Bead (292.34): Assyria? **LG-EO**
- Glass Bead (292.52): Assyria? **LG-EO**
- Glass Bead (292.53): Near East, **LG-EO**

- Glass vessel? (292.56): Mesopotamia? Levant? **8th C**.
- Ivory hilt? (292.f49): Phoenicia or North Syria, **EG-MG or MG-LG**
- Bone handle/sleeve with lotus bud (292.f61): Phoenicia or North Syria or local, **EG-MG or MG-LG**
- Bone handle/sleeve with chevron decoration (292.f79): Phoenicia or North Syria or local, **EG-MG or MG-LG**

**References and notes:** *for pots:* Coldstream 1984, 123; 1996, 406-8; Hoffman 1997, 67, 75-77; Jones 2000, 227; Schreiber 2003, 294-7*for bronze* Catling 1996a, 564 *for glass* Webb 1996, 600-3. *For ivory*: Evely 1996, 693-1. *For bone sleeves* Evely 1996, 630-1; Barnett 1975, 104-8

**Local imitations**

- Lekythos/ Juglet close imitation Cypriot Bichrome III (292.202), **MG-LG**
- Trefoil-lipped juglet (292.76): freer imitation/hybrid of Cypriot BoR, **PGB-EG**
- Trefoil-lipped juglet (292.111):freer imitation/hybrid of Cypriot BoR, **PGB-EG**
- Trefoil-lipped juglet (292.104):freer imitation/hybrid Cypriot BoR, **PGB-EG**
- Trefoil-lipped juglet (292.92): freer imitation/hybrid of Cypriot BoR, **PGB-EG**
- Trefoil-lipped juglet (292.109):freer imitation/hybrid of Cypriot BoR, **PGB-EG**
- Trefoil-lipped juglet (292.134):freer imitation/hybrid of Cypriot BoR, **PGB-EG**
- Trefoil-lipped juglet (292.209):freer imitation/hybrid of Cypriot BoR, **PGB-EG**
- Alabastron/ trefoil-mouthed Juglet (292.35), **EO**
- Oinochoe/Trefoil lipped Jug (292.86) class E "pseudo-Bucchero" imitation of Cypriot Black slip I-II, **PGB-LO**

**References and notes:** Coldstream 1979, 57-8; 1984, 133-4; 1996, 353 and 346-7; 2000b, 468; Moingard 1996, 442; Schreiber 2003, 296.

**Tomb: 294 (Ch. Tomb) Disturbed MG-LO. Coldstream & Catling 1996, 274**

**Local imitation**

- Lekythos/ Juglet (294.44) imitation of Cypriot BoR, **MG**
- Lekythos/ Juglet (294.45) Creto-Cypriot type E (iii)b, **EO**

**References and notes:** Coldstream 1984, 133; 1996, 278.

**Tomb: 306 (Ch. Tomb) Disturbed LG-EO. Coldstream & Catling 1996, 279**

**Local imitations**

- Lekythos/ Juglet (306.19) imitation of Cypriot BoR, **LG**
- Lekythos/ Juglet (306.2) Creto-Cypriot class E (iii)b White on Dark, **EO**

**References and notes:** Coldstream 1984, 132; 1996, 353; Moingard 1996, 441; Schreiber 2003, 296.

## SECOND SITE: TEKE (PART OF THE EXTENDED NORTH CEMETERY MAP 4:B)

**Tomb: A (Ch. Tomb) Disturbed, PGB-LG? Coldstream & Catling 1996, 3**

**Imports**

- Juglet, **Bichrome III** (A.7): Cyprus? Near East? **PGB-LG (context)**

**References and notes:** Coldstream 1984, 127; 1996, 407; Hoffman 1997, 84; Jones 2000, 228; Schreiber 2003, 294-5.

**Tomb: G (Ch. Tomb) Disturbed, MPG-EG. Coldstream & Catling 1996, 9**

**Imports**

- Bronze Phiale mesomphalos (G.f1): Phoenicia, **PGB-EG (context)**
- Bronze Lotus handled jug (G.f5): Phoenicia, **PGB-EG**
- 5 Oinochoe/Trefoil lipped Jugs (G27 to G32) class I E "pseudo-Bucchero" imitations of Cypriot Black slip I-II, **PGB-EG**

**References and notes:** Catling 1996a, 564-565, Coldstream 1979, 257-8; 1996, 346; 200b, 468

**Tomb H: (Ch. Tomb) Disturbed, MG-EO. Coldstream & Catling 1996, 23**

**Imports**

- Two-handled Lekythos/ Juglet **BoR I** (H.15): Cyprus or Phoenicia
- Glass bead (H.f2): Assyria? **LG-EO**

**References and notes: H.15**: Coldstream 1984, 128; 407; Hoffman 1997, 72; Jones 2000, 226; Schreiber 2003, 295. **Hf2**: Webb 1996, 603.

**Tomb J: (Ch. Tomb) Undisturbed, EPG-PGB. Coldstream & Catling 1996, 25**

**Imports**

- Bronze semispherical bowl with Phoenician inscription (J.1): Phoenicia, **before 900**

**References and notes:** Catling 1976-77, 12-13; 1996a, 563-4; Hoffman 1997, 28; Jones 2000, 223.

**Tomb O: (Ch. Tomb) Undisturbed, PG-LG. Coldstream &Catling 1996, 4**

**Imports**

- Glass bead (O.f18): Assyria? **LG-EO?**

**References and notes:** Coldstream & Catling 1996, 52; Webb 1996, 602.

**Tomb Q: (Ch. Tomb) Undisturbed, MPG-O. Coldstream &Catling 1996, 44**

**Imports**

- Glass bead (Q.f18): Assyria? **LG-EO?**

**Local imitations**

- Oinochoe/Trefoil lipped Jug (Q.21) class I E "pseudo-Bucchero" imitation of Cypriot Black slip I-II, **EPG-EO**

**References and notes:** Coldstream & Catling 1996, 52; Webb 1996, 602. Although the latter also mentions the Glass bead (Q.f2), this bead does not appear in the inventory catalogue of tomb Q and therefore it will not be included. *For the pots:* Coldstream 1979, 257-8, 1996, 346-7; 2002b, 468

## THIRD SITE: KHANIALE TEKE (PART OF THE EXTENDED NORTH CEMETERY? MAP 4: C)

**Tomb II: (Tholos Tomb) Disturbed PGB-EO. Hutchinson & Boardman 1954, 57**

**Imports**

- Lekythos/ Juglet **BoR I** (59): Cyprus, **7th C context**
- Lekythos/ Juglet **BoR I** (60): Cyprus, **7th C**
- Ivory crescent (6): Near East, **c. 800 (cont.)**
- Steatite Scarab (22): Near East or Egypt, c. **800 (cont.)**
- Steatite Scarab (23): Near East or Egypt, c. **800 (cont.)**
- Silver dump, possibly from a silver Shekel (28): Phoenicia, c. **800 (cont.)**
- Gold dumps (11): Egypt, c. **800 (cont.)**
- Gold dumps (12): Egypt, c. **800 (cont.)**
- Gold dumps (27): Egypt, c. **800 (cont.)**
- Ivory frag. of a handle palm-leaf finial (70): Phoenicia, **8th -7th C. (cont.)**
- Frag. of ostrich egg (80): Egypt or Phoenicia, **8th -7th C. (cont.)**
- Frag. of green faience bottle (79): Egypt or Phoenicia, **8th -7th C. (cont.)**
- Miniature faience segment beads (78): Egypt or Phoenicia, **7th C. (cont.)**
- Ivory disc head of bronze pin and eyes (71-73): Phoenicia or North Syria, **7th**
- Biconical crystal beads (no number available): Mesopotamia? **LO**
- Fragments of faience: Egypt, **LO (cont.)**

**References and notes:** *for the pots:* Boardman 1954, 225; Coldstream 1979, 261 n.31; Jones 2000, 242. Hoffman after examining these pots believes that *"they are close imitation of Cypriot vessels"* (1997, 69 n. 64). However, she does not say explicitly whether or not she made a chemical study. The style of the pots in any case is BoR I. The objects 28, 11, 12, 27, 22, 23, 10, 25 were found in vase 104 (pyxis) together with jewellery of at least oriental inspiration. Find 6 and also parts of 11, 12, 27 10, 25 were also found in Oinochoe 57 (ibid). *For the above objects and for the debate on the nationality of those buried in this tomb* (Bordman 1967, 57-75; Hoffman 1997, 191-245; Jones, 235-243;

Kotsonas 2006, 151-2). Additionally, Hoffman believes that the eye inlays and the ivory pins were probably made in Crete by imported raw material (ibid, 193). The rest of the jewellery found in this tomb might constitute neither an import from the Near East, neither a direct copy. However, it must be underlined that the inlay technique employed for the manufacture and also some of the motives, place it to the Eastern tradition (Evely 1996, 632)

**Imports or local Imitations**

- Frag. of bronze pomegranate pendant and stand (56-58+): Cyprus?, **7th C.**

**References and notes** The Bronze pomegranate pendant and stand (56-58+) is either a Cypriot import (Catling 1996, 568-9), or according to Hoffman (116-20) and Mauthaus (1988, 287-88) a local product.

**Local Imitations**

- Lekythos/ Juglet Creto-Cypriot class E iii b variant (58), **EO**
- Lekythos/ Juglet Creto-Cypriot class E iii b variant (61), **EO**
- Lekythos/ Juglet Creto-Cypriot class E iii b variant (62), **EO**
- Lekythos/ Juglet Creto-Cypriot class E iii b variant (63), **EO**
- Lekythos/ Juglet Creto-Cypriot class E iii b variant (64), **EO**
- Lekythos/ Juglet Creto-Cypriot class E iii b variant (65), **EO**

**References and notes:** The dating of the pots is a recommendation of the present author and is certainly based on Brock's typology (1957, 159). *For the clay stand:* Hutcinson and Boardman 1954, 226; Boardman 1967, 64; Coldstream 1996, 368.

## FOURTH SITE: FORTETSA NORTH-EAST (PART OF THE EXTENDED NORTH CEMETERY MAP 4: D)

**Tomb A: (Ch. Tomb) Disturbed, LPG-EO. Hood & Boardman 1961, 68**

**Imports**

- BoR I jug (15): Cyprus**, 850-750 BC.**

**References and notes:** Hood & Boardman 1961, 74; Coldstream 1979, 261 footnote 31; Hoffman 1997, 72; Jones 2000, 223 (he has included this item twice).

**Tomb TFT: (Ch. Tomb) Undisturbed, PGB-EO. Brock 1957, 60**

**Imports**

- Aryballos/ Juglet (669): Cyprus**, 850-750 BC.**
- Aryballos/ Juglet (694): Cyprus**, 850-750 BC.**
- Necklace, faience beads (726): Near East or Egypt, **MG**

**References and notes:** *for the pots:* Brock 1957, 63-64 and 190; Coldsteam 1984, 131 footnote 51; Hoffman 1997, 71-2; Jones 2000, 219, Schreiber 2003, 294.

**Local imitations**

- Aryballos/ Juglet (646) class E (i) close imitation of Cypriot type, **MG**
- Aryballos/ Juglet (701) Creto-Cypriot class E (iii)a, **LG**
- Aryballos/ Juglet (702) Creto-Cypriot class E (iii)a, **LG**
- Aryballos/ Juglet (687) Creto-Cypriot class E (iii)b, **EO**
- Aryballos/ Juglet (688) Creto-Cypriot class E (iii)b, **EO**
- Aryballos/ Juglet (717) Creto-Cypriot class E (iii)b, **EO**

**References and notes:** Brock 1957, 64-5.

**Tomb L: (Ch. Tomb) Undisturbed PG-PGB. Brock 1957, 31**

**Imports**

- Gold diadem (336): Cyprus, **mid 9th C.**

**References and notes:** Brock 1957, 34; Coldstream 1977, 49 footnote 61; 1982, 267; Hoffman 1997, 52; Jones 2000, 217.

**Tomb F67/4: (Ch. Tomb). Disturbed, LG-EO. Coldstream & Catling 1996, 286**

**Local imitations**

- Lekythos/ Juglet (F67/4.12): Imitation of Cypriot BoR, **MG-LG**
- Lekythos/ Juglet (F67/4.13): Creto-Cypriot type, E (iii)a, **LG-EO**
- Lekythos/ Juglet (F67/4.14): Creto-Cypriot type, E (iii)a, **LG**

**References and notes:** Coldstream 1984, 132; 1996, 286; Brock 1957, 158

## SECOND CEMETERY: FORTETSA SOUTH-EAST (MAP 3: 4)

### Tomb II: (Ch. Tomb) Undisturbed, LPG-LO. Brock 1957, 84

**Imports**

- Faience bead of pin head (1113): Near East, **LPG**
- Cylindrical glass bead (1117): Near East, **LPG**
- Lyre player seal (1074): N. Syria? Phoenicia? **730-700**
- Scarab, white glaze (1076): Phoenicia, **LO**
- Scarab, white glaze (1077): Phoenicia, **LO**
- Scarab, glaze (1078): Phoenicia, **LO**

**References and notes:** Brock 1957, 97 and 208; Hoffman 1997, 89-90 and 92; Jones 2000, 217 and 221.

**Local imitations**

- Lekythos/ Juglet Creto-Cypriot class E iii a (1048), **EO**
- Lekythos/ Juglet Creto-Cypriot class E iii b (1049), **EO**
- Lekythos/ Juglet Creto-Cypriot class E iii a (1052), **EO**
- Alabastron-aryballos/ Sack-shaped Trefoil-lipped Juglet class G (ii) (984), **EO**
- Alabastron-aryballos/ Sack-shaped Trefoil-lipped Juglet class G (ii) (985), **EO**
- Alabastron-aryballos/ Sack-shaped Trefoil-lipped Juglet class G (ii) (986), **EO**
- Alabastron-aryballos/ Sack-shaped Trefoil-lipped Juglet class G (i) (1000), **EO**
- Alabastron-aryballos/Sack-shaped Trefoil-lipped Juglet class G (ii) (1064), **EO**
- Oinochoe/ Trefoil-lipped jug class III.(iii) (974), **LO**
- Oinochoe/ Trefoil-lipped jug class E "pseudo-Bucchero" imitation of Cypriot Black slip I-II (1046), **PGB**

**References and notes:** Brock 1957, 156-9

**Tomb VI: (Ch. Tomb) Undisturbed, PG. Brock 1957, 11**

**Imports**

- Faience bead (107): Near East/ Cyprus/ Egypt**, EPG**
- Faience ring (106): Phoenicia? **EPG**
- Large collection of paste beads (102) Near East/ Cyprus/ Egypt**, EPG**
- Faience ring (208): Egypt**, EPG**

**References and notes:** Brock 1957, 15 and 208; Hoffman 1997, 39; Jones 2000, 216.

**Imports or local imitations**

- Obelos/pike (108): Cyprus or local imitation**, EPG**
- Obelos/spit (114): Cyprus or local imitation**, EPG**

**References and notes:** Brock 1957, 202; Snodgrass 1996, 590-1; Boardman 1971, 5-8; Karageorghis 1977, 168-72 and Hoffman 1997, 141-6 who considers it local product

**Local Imitations**

- Oinochoe/ Trefoil-lipped jug class E "pseudo-Bucchero" imitation of Cypriot Black slip I-II (92), **EPG**

**References and notes:** Brock 1957, 153, 157; Coldstream 1978, 258; Gjestyard,

**Tomb VII: (Ch. Tomb) Undisturbed. MPG-O/Brock 1957, 72**

**Imports**

- Aryballos/ Juglet (842): Cyprus**, 850-750 BC.**

**References and notes:** Brock 1957, ;Coldstream 1984, 127; 1996, 4, 407; Hoffman 1997, 84; Jones 2000, 228; Schreiber 2003, 294-5.

**Local imitations**

- Lekythos/ Juglet (829), Creto-Cypriot class E (iii) a, **LG**

- Lekythos/ Juglet (833), Creto-Cypriot class E (iii) a, **LG**
- Lekythos/ Juglet (834), Creto-Cypriot class E (iii) a, **LG**
- Lekythos/ Juglet (816), Creto-Cypriot class E (iii) b, **EO**

**References and notes:** Brock 1957, 74-75 and 158-9

**Tomb IX: (Ch. Tomb) Disturbed PG. Brock 1957, 29**

**Imports**

- Figurine of Sekhment (264): Egypt/ Phoenicia, **PG?**

**References and notes:** Brock 1957, 30 and 208; Hoffman 1997, 39; Jones 2000,217.

**Tomb X: (Ch. Tomb) Undisturbed, PGB-LG. Brock 1957, 41**

**Imports**

- Aryballos / Juglet (489): Cyprus**, 850-750 BC.**
- Trefoil mouth jug (425): Cyprus**, 850-750 BC.**

**References and notes:** Brock 1957, 46-49 and 190; Coldstream 1984, 127; 1996, 4, 407; Hoffman 1997, 73 and 83; Jones 2000, 219.

**Local imitations**

- Oinochoe/ Trefoil lipped jug, close imitation of Cypriot type III (i) (500), **PGB**
- Lekythos/ Juglet close imitation of Cypriot BoR E (i) (453), **MG**
- Lekythos/ Juglet close imitation of Cypriot BoR E (i) (527), **MG**
- Lekythos/ Juglet larger imitation of Cypriot BoR E (ii) (410), **G**
- Oinochoe/ Trefoil-lipped jug class E "pseudo-Bucchero" imitation of Cypriot Black slip I-II (509), **PGB**
- Oinochoe/ Trefoil-lipped jug class E "pseudo-Bucchero" imitation of Cypriot Black slip I-II (473), **PGB**

**References and notes:** Brock 1957, 44-50 and 157-158; Coldstream 1979, 258

**Tomb XI: (Ch. Tomb) Undisturbed, LPG? Brock 1957, 18**

**Imports**

- Lead lion with heart-shaped ears (201): Syria**, EPG**
- Five spherical carnelian beads (194): Egypt? **, EPG**
- Ivory pendant in form of bull's head (199): Near East **, EPG**
- Fragments of ivory pin head (204) Near East**, EPG**
- Necklace, flat blue paste beads (194): Near east/ Cyprus/ Egypt**, EPG**
- Bronze tripod stand (188): Cyprus? Local imitation? **, 10th C.**

**References and notes:** Brock 1957, 22 and 208-9; Hoffman 1997, 66; Jones 2000, 216. The bronze tripod stand is either a Cypriot import (Catling 1996, 568-9), or according to Hoffman (116-20) and Mauthaus (1988, 287-88) a local product.

**Imports or local imitations**

- Obelos/pike (192): Cyprus or local imitation**, EPG**
- Obelos/pike (203): Cyprus or local imitation**, EPG**

**References and notes:** Brock 1957, 202; Snodgrass 1996, 590-1; Boardman 1971, 5-8; Karageorghis 1977, 168-72 and Hoffman 1997, 141-6 who considers it local product

**Tomb F: (Ch. Tomb) Disturbed, PGB-EO. Brock 1957, 67**

**Imports**

- Alabastron-aryballos/ Sack-shaped Trefoil-lipped Juglet **BoR** (754): Cyprus

**References and notes:** Brock 1957, 69 and 190; Coldstream 1979, 261; Hoffman 1997, 82; Jones 2000, 220.

**Local imitations**

- Oinochoe/ Trefoil-lipped jug III (ii) (745), **LG-EO**
- Lekythos/ Juglet (765), Creto-Cypriot class E (iii) a, **LGReferences and notes:** Brock 1957, 68-9 and 158 and Coldstream 1979, 1984 for further discussion.

**Tomb P[46]: (Ch. Tomb) Disturbed, LPG-LO. Brock 1957, 101**

**Imports**

- Tall-necked aryballos, **WoR** (1251): Phoenicia? **LO**
- Miniature neck amphora (1403): Phoenicia? **EO**
- Aryballos/ juglet **BoR II** (1448): Cyprus
- Aryballos/ juglet **BoR I** (1262): Cyprus, **LO**
- Two-handled aryballos **BoR II** (1411): Cyprus, **LG**
- Alabastron-aryballos/Sack-shaped Trefoil-lipped Juglet **BoR** (1458): Cyprus **LG**
- Pyxis **BoR II** (1451): Cyprus, **LG**
- Bronze bowl (1559): Phoenicia, **800-750**
- Molded glass bowl (1567): Syria? **750**
- Necklace of flat faience beads (1166): Near East or East Greece, **EPG**
- Blue faience figurine flute player (1149): Egypt **EO**
- Bronze bowl with lotus-bud handles (1571): Egypt, **800**
- Bronze bowl with lotus-bud handles (1572): Egypt, **800**
- Bronze bowl (1559): Phoenicia, **800-750**
- Bronze pendant of naked female figure (1570): Luristan, **PGB-LG**
- Bronze relive bowl (2316): Phoenicia, **800**
- Faience aryballos (1557): North Syria, Rhodes, **LO**
- Faience aryballos (1558): North Syria, Rhodes, **LO**

**References and notes:** *for pottery:* Brock 1957, 122-7 and 190; Coldstream 1984, 129-31; Hoffman 1997, 70, 76-7 and 82-5; Jones 2000, 220; Schreiber 2003, 294-5 *for bronze and faience objects* Brock 1957 Hoffman 1997 Jones 2000, 218 and 220-1. *For the aryballoi:* Brock 1957, 208. Hoffman believes that the faience aryballoi might be the first attempt in Crete for such a production (ibid, 42).

[46] Tomb P includes the finds from tomb I, since the latter was a burial found in the dromos of P

**Imports or local imitations**

- Obelos/spit (1613): Cyprus or local imitation, **PGB**
- Obelos/spit (1621-2): Cyprus or local imitation, **PGB**
- Obelos/spit (1630): Cyprus or local imitation, **PGB**

**References and notes:** for the spits**:** Brock 1957, 202; Snodgrass 1996, 590-1; Boardman 1971, 5-8; Karageorghis 1977, 168-72 and Hoffman 1997, 141-6 who considers it local product.

**Local imitations:**

- Alabastron-aryballos/ Sack-shaped Trefoil-lipped Juglet class G (i) (1388), **EO**
- Alabastron-aryballos/ Sack-shaped Trefoil-lipped Juglet class G (i) (1389), **EO**
- Oinochoe/ Trefoil-lipped jug 1349, class III (i), **LG-EO**
- Oinochoe/ Trefoil-lipped jug 1126, class III (ii), **LG-EO**
- Oinochoe/ Trefoil-lipped jug 1300, class III (iii), **LO**
- Oinochoe/ Trefoil-lipped jug 1265, class III (iii), **LO**
- Oinochoe/ Trefoil-lipped jug 1310, class III (iii), **LO**
- Oinochoe/ Trefoil-lipped jug 1195, class III (iii), **LO**
- Oinochoe/ Trefoil-lipped jug 1191, class III (iii), **LO**
- Lekythos/ Juglet 1399, close imitation of Cypriot BoR E (i), **MG**
- Lekythos/ Juglet 1432, larger imitation of Cypriot BoR E (ii), **G**
- Lekythos/ Juglet 1407 larger imitation of Cypriot BoR E (ii), **G**
- Lekythos/ Juglet (1535), larger imitation of Cypriot BoR E (ii), **G**
- Lekythos/ Juglet (1315), Creto-Cypriot class E (iii) a variants, **EO**
- Lekythos/ Juglet (1395), Creto-Cypriot class E (iii) b, **EO**
- Lekythos/ Juglet (1455), Creto-Cypriot class E (iii) b, **EO**
- Lekythos/ Juglet (1456), Creto-Cypriot class E (iii) b, **EO**
- Lekythos/ Juglet (1498), Creto-Cypriot class E (iii) b, **EO**
- Lekythos/ Juglet (1504), Creto-Cypriot class E (iii) b, **EO**
- Lekythos/ Juglet (1509), Creto-Cypriot class E (iii) b, **EO**

- Lekythos/ Juglet (1510), Creto-Cypriot class E (iii) b, **EO**
- Lekythos/ Juglet (1339), Creto-Cypriot class E (iii) b variants, **EO**
- Lekythos/ Juglet (1324), Creto-Cypriot class E (iii) b variants, **EO**
- Lekythos/ Juglet (1357), Creto-Cypriot class E (iii) b WoB, **EO**
- Lekythos/ Juglet (1384), Creto-Cypriot class E (iii) b WoB, **O**

**References and notes:** Brock 1957, 102-133 and 153-159. I included pot 1126 which was found in tomb I, since the latter is not a tomb but the dromos of tomb II. For further discussion see Coldstream 1979; 1984.

**Tomb P2: (Ch. Tomb) Disturbed LG-EO. Brock 1957, 77**

**Imports**

- Trefoil-lipped jug BoR I? (876): Cyprus, **LG-EO**
- Upper part of a blue faience figurine (924): Phoenicia, **EO**
- Blue faience alabastron (923): Phoenicia, **EO**

**References and notes:** *for the pot:* Brock 1957, 79 and 190 Coldstream 1968, 320; Hoffman 1997, 81; Schreiber 2003, 295**.** *For the faience objects:* Both objects were found in pithos (923) apparently accompanying a cremation. Hoffman 1997, 41; Jones 2000, 228; both authors mention the possibility that the allabastron might be a Rodhian products, but Hoffman admits that is not a strong possibility (ibid; 42).

**Local imitations**

- Alabastron-aryballos/ Sack-shaped Trefoil-lipped Juglet class G (i) (865), **EO**
- Oinochoe/ Trefoil lipped jug, class III (ii) (904), **EO**
- Lekythos/ Juglet Creto-Cypriot class E (iii) a (897) variants, **EO**
- Lekythos/ Juglet Creto-Cypriot class E (iii) b (896) variants, **EO**
- Lekythos/ Juglet Creto-Cypriot class E (iii) b (893) WoB, **EO**
- Lekythos/ Juglet Creto-Cypriot class E (iii) b (894) WoB, **EO**

- Lekythos/ Juglet Creto-Cypriot class E (iv) (861), **O**
- Lekythos/ Juglet Creto-Cypriot class E (iv) (862), **O**
- Lekythos/ Juglet Creto-Cypriot class E (iv) (879), **O**

**References and notes:** Brock 1957, 102-133 and 156-159.

## THIRD CEMETERY: KEPHALA RIDGE[47] (MAP 3:5)

### Tomb 3: (Ch. Tomb) Disturbed PGB-EO. Coldstream 2002, 206

**Imports or local Imitations**

- Bronze rod tripod: Cyprus, **c.800**

**References and notes:** Hogarth 1899-1900, 83; Brock 1957, 22 ; Catling 1964, 198 and apparently Coldstream 2002, 209. These authors have viewed this object as import that it was couple of centuries old when it was placed in the tomb. On the other hand, Riis 1939, 6; Gjestards 1948, 403; Matthaus 1985, 305 and Hoffman 1997, 98 believe that it is a local imitation. Jones 2000, 234;

### Tomb 6: (Tholos tomb) Disturbed, PG. Coldstream 2002, 45

**Imports**

- Disc, blue past beads: Egypt, **LPG-PGB**
- Gold *tainia* (diadem)?: Cyrpus? **LPG**

**References and notes:** Coldstream (2002, 212 and 215) mentions a gold plain taenia from Hoggarths diary as if it was identical with gold diadem (336) from tomb L fortetsa NE.

### Tomb V: (Ch. Tomb) Disturbed, PG-O. Coldstream 1963, 42

**Imports**

- Scarab, blue paste (4): Phoenicia, **EO**

**References and notes:** Coldstream considers it a *"Levantine imitation rather than Egyptian"* (1963, 43). See also James 1961, 472; Skon-Jedele 1994, 1867; Jones 2000, 233

[47] Except for the general plan of Hood (map X) no other plans are available for the tombs 3 and 6 excavated by Hogarth, 1901-2;

## FOURTH CEMETERY: AYIOS IOANNIS (MAP 3: 2)

**Tomb: V (Ch. Tomb) Disturbed, EPG-MPG. Boardman 1960, 128**

**Imports**

- Faience beads (Egypt**), EPG**

**References and notes:** Boardman 1960, 134.

**(Ch. Tomb) / Undisturbed after SM period, LMII-SM. Hood 1968, 205**

**Imports:**

- pin with conical ivory head: Cyprus, **SM**

**References and notes:** Hood and Coldstream 1968, 212-3 and 214-8; Hood 1973, 45; Jones 2000, 232. There is apparently a break between the two periods in which the tomb had been plundered or cleaned (Hood and Coldstream 1968, 207). This tomb apparently does not belong to the cemetery excavated by Boardman.

## FIFTH CEMETERY: ATSALENIO (MAP 3: 3)

### Tomb A: (Ch. Tomb) Disturbed, LPG-LO. Davaras 1968, 134

**Imports**

- **Oinochoe/ Trefoil lipped jug** (A.45) Cypriot **BoR II, LG**
- **Two handled aryballos/ Juglet** (A.56) Cypriot **BoR II, EO**

**References and notes:** Davaras 138-9, 143 and 141; Coldstream 1979, 261 footnote 31; 1984, 128, footnote 40; Hoffman 1997, 78 and 80; Jones 2000, 240, 242

**Local imitations**

- **Aryballos/ Juglet** Creto-Cypriot class E (iii)b (A.70), **EO**

**References and notes:** Davaras 1968, 140; Brock 1957, 159

### Tomb B: (Ch. Tomb) Disturbed, LPG-LO. Davaras 1968, 141-2

**Local imitations**

- **Oinochoe/ Juglet** Creto-Cypriot class E (iii)b variants (B.3), **EO**
- **Aryballos/ Juglet** Creto-Cypriot class E (iii)b (B.23), **EO**

**References and notes:** Davaras 1968, 140; Brock 1957, 159. The dating of the B.3 is of the present author, based on Brock's analysis (ibid). Davaras (ibid, 141) says "orientalising".

## SIXTH SITE: UPPER GYPSADES (MAP 3: 6)

**Tomb: VII (Ch. Tomb) Disturbed, LMIII (SM Use) Hood *et al* 1981, 205**

**Imports**

- Iron Knife with 2 bronze rivets: Cyprus or Levant, 11th C

**References and notes:** Hood *et al* 1958-59, 205; Sheratt 1994, 59-106; Hoffman 1997; 139-41. The early date and context of this knife makes it almost beyond doubt an import.

## SEVENTH SITE: LOWER GYPSADES HILL (MAP 3: 7)

**Tomb -: (Ch. Tomb) Disturbed, PGB-LO. Coldstream *et al* 1981, 141**

**Imports**

- Lekythos/ Juglet (54): Red Slip **II** Cyprus, **LG**
- Oinochoe/ Trefoil lipped jug (77): **BoR II** Cyprus
- Blue paste scarab (122): Levant, **MG**

**References and notes:** Coldstream 1979, 261, footnote 31; 1981, 150-1 and 153-4; Hoffman 1997, 81 and 84; Jones 2000, 239. *For the scarab* Hoffman, ibid, 88 Jones ibid, 237

**Local imitations**

- Lekythos/ Juglet Creto-Cypriot class E(iii)b (22), **EO**
- Lekythos/ Juglet Creto-Cypriot class E(iii)b (24), **MG**
- Lekythos/ Juglet Creto-Cypriot (25), class E(iii) **LO**
- Lekythos/ Juglet Creto-Cypriot (106), class E(iii)b **PGB**
- Lekythos/ Juglet Creto-Cypriot (107), class E(iii)b **LG or EO**
- Lekythos/ Juglet Creto-Cypriot (108), class E(iii)a variants **EO**
- Lekythos/ Juglet Creto-Cypriot (109), class E(iii)b **EO**
- Trefoil-lipped allabastron/ juglet Cypriot shape, class G (i) (27): MG
- Oinochoe/ Trefoil lipped jug (111) Cypriot class III (iii), **LO**
- Oinochoe/ Trefoil lipped jug (112) Cypriot class III (iii), **LO**

**References and notes:** Coldstream 1981, 146 and 156; Brock 1957, 158-9. Coldstream says that Juglet (25) derives from E(iii) and that is "more sophisticated" (ibid).

## EIGHTH SITE: MAVRO SPELIO (EIA USE) (MAP 3: 8)

Total number of Tombs of EIA use: **3**
Tombs containing imports and imitations: **1**

### Tomb 7: (Ch. Tomb) Disturbed, Minoa Reused LG-LO Goldstream 2002[48]

**Local imitations**

- Lekythos Juglet of Creto-Cypriot class E (iii) (N19), **EO**

**References and notes:** Fordsyke 1926-7, 260; Coldstream 2002, 294; According to the latter this is probably the latest cemetery that Knossians used before the end of the EIA and to what has been named "the Archaic gap".

[48] Fordsyke (1926-7) for the initial publication

# Chapter 4: Analysis of the Evidence

The analysis of the evidence is separated into two distinct levels. On the first level, there is a series of discussions concerning the objects included in the catalogue in Chapter 3. These discussions will help us understand better the function of these objects.

The second level of the analysis will focus on the spatial distribution of the imports and their imitations in relation to the social hierarchy of the Knossian tombs. In other words, there will be an attempt to understand the direct impact of the imports to Knossian society.

## i. First-level Analysis: The Finds

The different debates and propositions concerning the material, the shapes and the possible origins of the objects have already been briefly mentioned, in the aforementioned 'presentation of the evidence' in relation to the tombs in which these objects were discovered. For this reason, in this first level of the analysis, I would like to proceed directly to a series of short discussions on the three following issues:

a) The provenance of the imports in relation to their various places of origins.

b) The nature of the objects which is not certain whether they are imports or imitations

c) The significance of the imitations in relation to the oriental imports.

Although what is important for the present thesis is not who brought the oriental imports to Crete but whether those imports were appreciated by the Knossians, it would be useful to investigate which were possible places of origins of the imports. I believe that there some

misunderstandings in the way that places of origins of the oriental imports are presented by the scholars. At the same time, by determining the provenance is necessary for understanding (with the aid of quantification) why Knossians used specific categories imported objects. Thus, we might understand whether Knossians were willing to accept any object that could reach the island of Crete from the East or whether they had had a specific taste only for a certain kind of objects from specific provenances.

At the same time, all these different discussions will be of great relevance to the second stage of the analysis, where the location of each tomb and cemetery will be associated in time and space with the context of the oriental imports and imitations.

## a. Provenance and nature of the objects catalogued as imports

The following graph was produced according to the names of the origins given by the authors who made the investigations into each object individually and in accordance to the aforementioned catalogue.

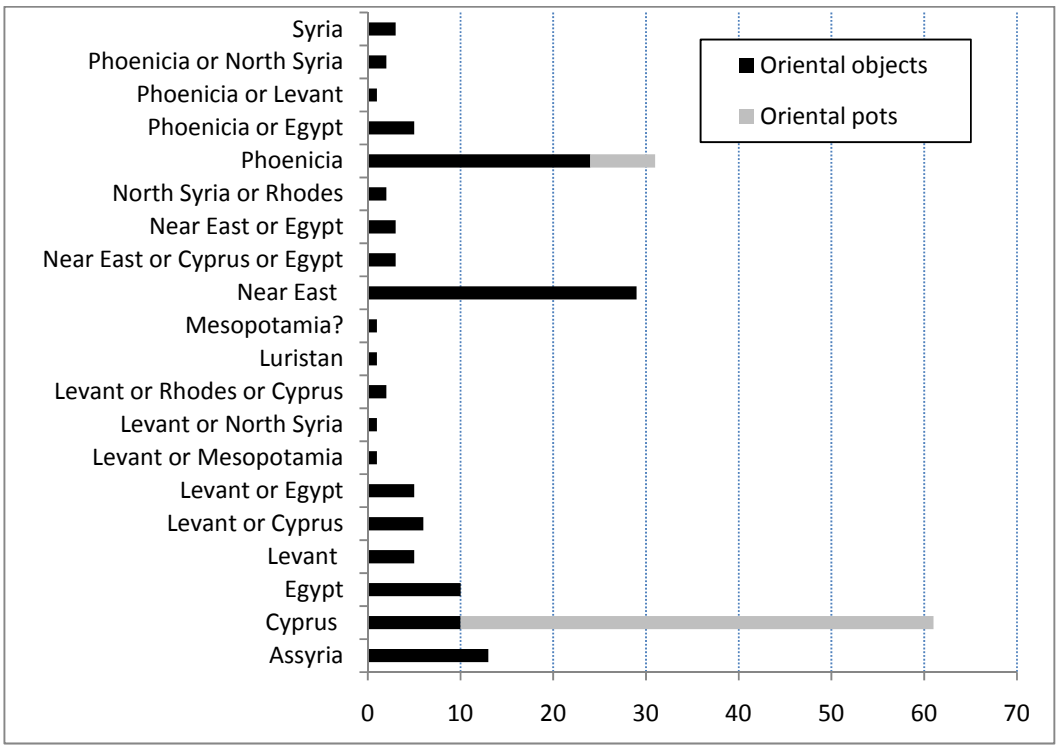



**Table 9: Graph 7: Provenance of imports**

Cyprus appears to be the place where most of the oriental imports came from. This is not unexpected, since the vast majority of the pottery is of Cypriot origin and pottery also happens to be the most imported category during the EIA, even if it is not the most valuable. Clearly there are more luxury goods and prestige items than pots in the Knossian tombs and all of them are made with precious metals and materials.

The Near East and Phoenicia are the places where most of the non-pottery imports originated from (as shown in the graph), although these two places are not really different. The graph illustrates quite clearly the first difficulty concerning the origin and character of the imports. In other words, as one may observe, one of the most problematic issues regarding oriental imports is to define their exact provenance within the same cultural framework/repertoire.

In the cases of Phoenicia, there is also the term Levant in order to describe the same place. Catling uses both terms in the Knossos North Cemetery publication for the "*bronzes"* he analyses, such as a bronze hemispherical bowl (Tomb J, catalogue no f1) and a *mesomphalos* phiale (Tomb G, catalogue no f1), both found at the Teke site (1996a, 564-5). Others even use both terms for the same object as possible alternatives in their effort to assign an origin to it. Hoffman, for example, proposes as the place of origin for a faience bowl either *"Phoenicia or Levant"* (1997, 43).

In Greece, archaeologists, apparently in order to avoid further complications by proposing a place of origin, use more often the term Syro-Palestine for the very same strip of land[49]. There are also others, such as Karageorghis, who uses the term Levantines for the Bronze Age people and Phoenicians for the Iron Age (Karageorgis 117)[50]. Hoffman even cites Boardaman's words[51] in order to justify why she does not believe that Phoenicia was the source of most of the Near Eastern imports in the Aegean in general (1997,112).

[49] There is a very interesting conversation on North Syrian/Phoenician distinction in Kourou (1997, 253), between the latter and Grieeland

[50]Sometimes he still uses the term Levant for the origin of the objects of the IA period.

[51]"*I use the word 'Levantine' deliberately because 'Phoenician' is over-precise and too loosely employed by scholars today*" (Boardman 1990, 10-11).

Of course, I am not going to argue that Phoenicia and Levant are exactly the same place politically, historically and geographically speaking, nor that the past investigations were not adequate. On the contrary, they were very precise on describing as well as possible the various origins of the objects. At the same time, though, one wonders how different Phoenicia and Levant can really be especially in Early Iron Age terms.

In order to approach the cultural traits on imported objects and understand why such typology exists, one may adopt first a general approach and then proceed to a more detailed analysis. For this reason, one may assume that people may have adopted the term Levant when they are not certain about an object but can see the influence of Phoenician workshops, for example the imitation of an Egyptian figurine such as the Ptah-Seker (Tomb 78.f20, Medical Faculty). On the other hand, they use the term Phoenician when they can compare directly an artefact with an object discovered in the Phoenicia cities.

As seen in the above graph, there are finds coming from Levant, others from Phoenicia and others from North Syria. Many other imports come from the whole region of the Near East but not necessarily from Cyprus, since some scholars do not consider the island part of the Near East, although many others do.

If, in the aforementioned graph, the bars referring to 'Phoenicia', 'Phoenicia or Levant', 'Levant' and 'Levant or Cyprus' merged into a single category/bar, then it becomes more than clear that the area of Levant (i.e. where the ancient Phoenician cities still stand today) is one of the places with the greatest amount of imports to Crete.

Besides, if one bear in mind that many of the objects coming from the Near East are also related to the Phoenician manufacturing 'industry', then it becomes obvious that most of the imports are related to the Phoenician sphere of influence. In this sphere, one might or might not add the North-Syrian agent, which, according to some scholars, is responsible for the figurative art on metallic objects (Matthäus 1998).

Furthermore, even the definition of a place as the place of origin of an import can be veryintriguing. Hoffman, for example, in her investigation on oriental imports (1997, 22)

uses the term "*Proposed Cultural Sources*", while Jones (2000) used the much simpler word "*From*" in his catalogue apparently for the same reason.

Certainly, this is applies not so much to the pottery, which can be viewed as a completely separate category, but mainly to the rest of the finds. The problem is not simply defining the exact place from where an object travelled to Crete in order to end up in a tomb, but also to define the place itself. However, as discussed above, even when the place of origin is defined, it is still hard to agree to a common name.

In some special cases, though, even in pottery things are not always so clear. For example, nowadays, most of the archaeologists consider Cyprus as the home of the BoR pottery and this certainly seems to be the case, according inter alia to recent studies (Schreiber 2003).

On the other hand, culturally speaking, the BoR pottery is also related to the Phoenician (or Levantine, or Syro-Palestinian) opposite coast. One must not forget that the other name of the BoR pottery is 'Cypro-Phoenician'. Certainly, it is hard to fit this cultural dimension to a single specific origin (Schreiber 2003). The author also claims that the remote origin of the BoR pots in general must be in the Levant even before the beginning of the Early Iron Age (ibid, 2-3) and for this reason probably prefers the term Cypro-Phoenician pottery.

It is also very important to add that all the imported pots from Cyprus belong to what one would call Cypro-Phoenician manufacture. Not a single Cypriotpot that has been discovered in EIA Knossos tombs is outside the Cypro-Phoenician tradition of manufacture. Not a single import of Iron Age figure-decorated Cypriot pot has been discovered and not a single Cypriot Black slip has been found in the Knossian cemeteries, even though their influences can be seen in many local pots. Not even one open-type vessel from Cyprus was discovered neither[52].

[52] In fact, only one LG pithos from the Lower Gypsades Tomb (Coldstream 1981, 145 no 2 pot), was thought to be an import from Cyprus and Jones has even included it in his catalogue. However, Coldstream, while accepting the Cypriot origin as a distant probability, agrees that the birds drawn on the pithos are more a common rediscovery in both islands of the LBA Aegean birds (1979, 262 and 1981 145).

Therefore, exclusively on the basis of the proposed origin of the imports, one could think that in Knossos people used Cypriot pottery of Cypro-Phoenician or Phoenician tradition but almost nothing belonging to the rest of the Cypriot styles. In other words, the Knossians had a tendency towards more 'exotic' styles. Another explanation could certainly be that the people of Knossos did not need to use Cypro-Geometric pottery with geometric motives, simply because the inventor of this style (i.e. Athens and the region of Attica in general) was much closer and the quality of the Attic geometric pots was just unmatched. Imported Attic Geometric pottery is not part of this investigation, but it must be said that *"is the most prolific source of imported pottery in the cemeteries Knossos"* (Coldstream 1996, 393)[53].

Apart from the pottery the other imports have a very strong oriental character as well such as the bronze bowl with the Phoenician inscription (J.f1, Tomb J, Teke), the bronze handle jugs (G.f1, Tomb G. Teke), the ivory hilts (the most elaborate 292.f49, Tomb 292, Medical Faculty) and a series of faience statutes made most probably in North Syria, Phoenicia and Egypt like the figurine of Sekhemnt (Tomb IX catalogue no. 264, Fortetsa SE).

Furthermore, in some cases, some objects might have a function identical to the rituals of the Phoenician homeland. The scarabs of Egyptian and Phoenician origin discovered in an MG cremation pithos (Lower Gypsades hill tomb, catalogue no 122) and in a LG-EO cremation pithos (Tomb 229, pithos catalogue no 229.6, Medical Faculty) and a pithos burial (Tomb 78, Medical faculty) probably share functions similar to the scarabs discovered inside sealed cremation amphoras in the cemetery of Al-Bass in Tyre during about the same period (Aubet 2004, 59; Gamer-Wallert 2004, 407-408). Both at Knossos and Tyre, the scarabs were unburned and thus unaffected from the funeral pyre (Plates VI, XVII).The use of scarabs inside cremation vessels might be totally accidental, since cremation pithoi and inhumations amphoras in Knossos contained also faience figurines of Egyptian and Phoenician deities. However, the overall character of the use of such amulets might reveal that some religious and/or ritual processes were common (or at least not

[53] Coldstream is refereeing to the Knossos North Cemetery publication and sites. However the dominance of the attic pots, among the imported pottery, can also be seen in Fortetsa SE (Brock 1957, 191).

unknown) between Crete, Phoenicia and perhaps Egypt. This can be a further evidence that the Early Iron Age Knossians did not have religious affinities only with the Greek mainland.

Finally, there seems to be a separate category of imports from Cyprus. These imports are very few (fewer than 5% of the total amount of imports). These objects are the two Golden Diadems (Tomb L at Fortetsa SE and Tomb 6 at Kephala), the bronze arrowheads of type C and at least one bronze stand (Tomb 200-201-202 Medical Faculty). Objects of this kind seem to be (the bronze objects) among the first to have reached the island at the end of the BA, or at the beginning of the EIA. The overall character of these objects is of prestigious items probably related to gift exchange and aristocratic warfare. It might be easier to associate these objects directly to Cyprus.

As far as the chronology is concerned, in the next graph, which is mostly based on the chronologies given by the context of the imports than by purely dating their artistic style, some differences can be seen between the pots and the rest of the objects.

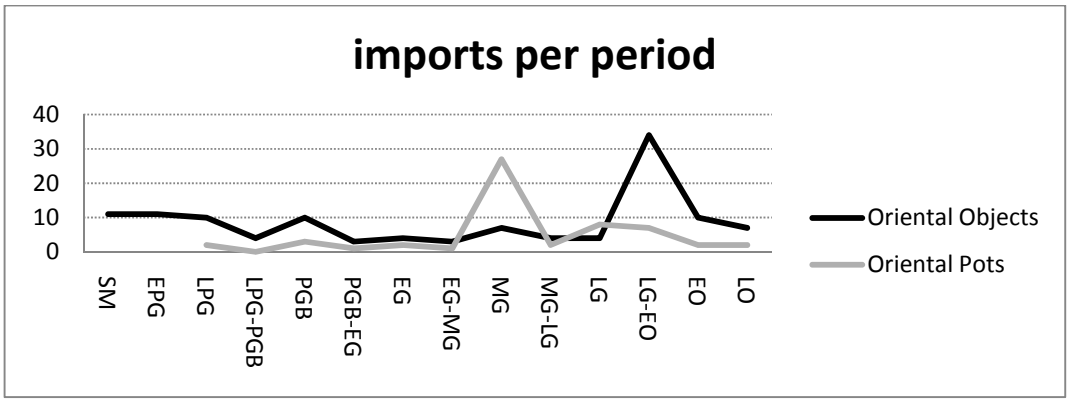



**Table 10: Graph 8: Oriental objects and pots per period**

It seems that pots appear during the Late Proto-Geometric Period, while imported objects much earlier. Objects such as the bronze stand in Tomb 200-201-202 reached Knossos in the Sub-Minoan period if not earlier. While imported pottery seems to have reached its peak in MG period, the rest of the objects have a more even presence during all the periods of the EIA beginning from the SM period. The sharp rise in number of objects during the

LG-EO is due to the numerous objects composed of faience and crystal beads such as necklaces, but beads can also be found individually in the tombs during this late period.

As far as the material of the imports is concerned, the quantities of the objects in relation to the material from which they were manufactured are shown in the next chart.

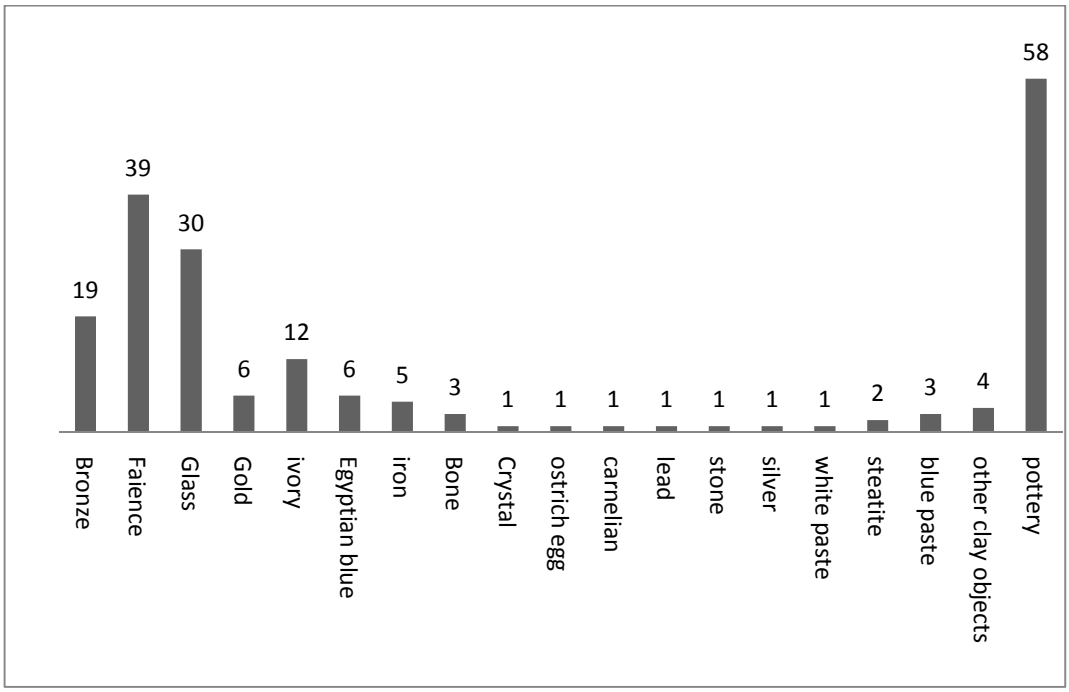



**Table 11: Graph 9: Material of imports**

Objects made of clay (pots mostly) represent the category found in the largest quantities, given that faience beads were counted as parts of a group (e.g. necklaces) and not as individual pieces.

Out of the 58 pots discovered in Knossos Cemeteries seven come from Phoenicia and the rest from Cyprus (see catalogue). The Phoenician pots reached Knossos at an earlier stage while the pots from Cyprus begin to arrive after the middle of the eighth century.

The Phoenician pots, such as bichrome large lekythos (Tomb 107.80, Medical Faculty) and the red slip oinochoe (Tomb 292.80), probably came from various inland sites in the region of Tyre (Coldstream 1996, 408, Medical Faculty). Coldstream considers Khirbet Selim as a

possible place of origin and Tyre must be the place of origin for the rest of the Phoenician pots as well (ibid; Chapman 1972; Bikai 1987). There is uncertainty though regarding the two pots from Tomb P at Fortetsa SE. As Falsone suggests, at least the tall-necked aryballos (1251) must have come from somewhere in Levant (Hoffman 1997, 85; Falsone 1987, 191-2), while the provenance of the miniature neck amphora (1403) is less certain.

The majority of the Cypriot pots are BoR I and II juglets. They were all probably made in Cyprus and, according to the chemical study carried out by Liddy it is likely that Kouklia was at least one of the main production centres of those pots (Liddy 1996, 488). However, according to the same study, at least one of the BoR juglets found at Knossos might have been produced in Al-Mina (ibid, 488-9).

If this is true, then it seems that both pots and objects could have arrived at Knossos from various places apart from Cyprus. This possibility might reveal different commercial routes and merchants working under the same commercial network or independently and all of them finally coming to Crete to trade their products. The distribution of the oriental pots in the Knossian tombs will be further discussed in relation to local imitations in the following chapter.

For the rest of the imports, one may observe that all the materials related to jewellery and amulets (faience, Egyptian Blue, white and blue paste and crystal beads) were found in large numbers in a much wider distribution of tombs than the rest of the materials and objects. This probably related to the small size of these objects. Hoffman claims that their small size made their transportation easier and the fact they were found in cemeteries and sanctuaries (in the case of the Idaean Cave) suggests that they were used as prestige items (1997, 248). However, one must not overrule entirely the possibility of pure religious connections, as suggested above in the case of the scarabs.

Imported bronze objects have also found, despite the fact that during the EIA most of the bronze bowls were probably manufactured in Crete. This is at least the case for most of the bronze objects discovered in the cemeteries of Knossos (Brock 1957, 197-201; Catling 1996a, 543-74).

Certainly, the most famous of them is the bronze semispherical bowl from Tomb J (J.f1) at the Teke site, thanks to the Phoenician inscription it bears, its early date (before 900 BC) and the fact that it comes from "*an excellent closed Protogeometric context*" (Catling 1996a, 564). Sznycer (1979, 92-93) dated the inscription to c.900 BC, though it might have been much earlier: Cross (1974) and Lipínski (1983, 129-33) think it was produced before 1000 BC (all of them cited in Hoffman 1997, 121). Again, this bowl must be seen as a prestige item and most probably as an heirloom, since a probable translation of the inscription is "The cup of Shena, son of…" (ibid, 122-3).

What seems rather limited is the presence of imported iron objects from the Near East, even though large amounts of iron weapons and tools were discovered in the tombs (mostly at the sites of the Medical Faculty and Fortetsa SE).

One reason for this lack in oriental tools and weapon must have been the possible presence of an independent iron manufacturing industry in Crete, which by that time (After 1050 BC) had gained its own mastery of iron production (Dickinson 2006, 146-150). A second reason might have been the fact that it is not certain whether a series of products made of bronze and iron are imports or local imitations.

Therefore, this group of products will be treated and discussed as a separate category in the following section.

## b. Provenance and nature of the objects catalogued as <u>imports or local imitations</u>

In the previous section I argued that the majority of the imports came to Knossos from what could be called, culturally speaking, the Phoenician sphere of influence, together with a mix of Egyptian elements filtered by the Phoenician or North-Syrian repertoire. The following category of objects though seems to be of a very different character from the imports.

First of all, there is the problem that all the finds discussed are characterised either as Cypriot or as close imitations produced in Crete. Furthermore, there are scholars who consider these products not only as locally produced but even of Cretan inspiration with a much looser connection to the island of Cyprus (Hoffman 1997, 116-120 and 141-6).

These objects are namely iron obeloi, firedogs and bronze rod tripods and stands[54]. The debate about these objects continues even today. What it is certain though is that these products are either of Cypriot or of Cretan manufacture. Bronze stands, iron obeloi and firedogs are normally found in a burial context not only in Knossos and other Cretan cemeteries but also on the Greek mainland (Argos) and certainly in Cyprus (ibid, 143-44).

All the 60 obeloi found in the Medical Faculty site and the few others discovered in Fortetsa SE seem to be associated with obeloi found in Cyprus, in sites such as Kourion, Lapithos, Kition etc. with the earliest of them being made of bronze around 1000 BC (Karageorghis 1974, 169-170) and perhaps earlier around 1050 BC, as some evidence from Paleopahos-Skales suggests (Hoffman 1997, footnote 106; E. Masson and O. Masson 1980, 411-13). According to Stampolidis, the earliest obeloi in general have been found in Cyprus, while in the case Crete the earliest obeloi have been found at Fortetsa SE (Stampolidis et al 1998, 127).

According to Matthäus obeloi "*represent objects of an aristocratic style used for banqueting*" (1998, 141). As can be observed in the following graph, the most numerous objects are the obeloi and this seems to be reasonable because they were probably placed in groups of six in each tomb and probably not always in relation to firedogs (Snodgrass 1996, 590-2).

[54] An object which I did not include this investigation is the bimetallic knife (made of iron with bronze rivets). Two of them were discovered in Medical Faculty in Sub-Minoan ontext (Tombs 186 and 200). It is most probable is an object made in Crete and it has a long tradition that goes back at least to the 13th century BC. Its origin is probably Cypriot but there are also authors who support a local origin. For this reason even if it is an imitation it is not very relevant to this study.

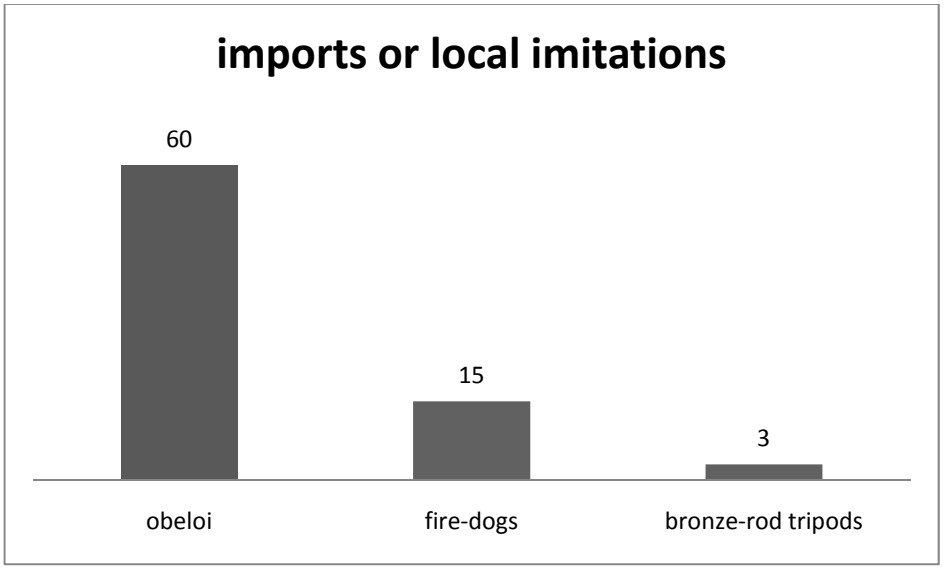



**Table 12: Graph 10: Numbers of imports or local imitations**

The same picture can also be seen in other more distant cemeteries. At a distance of a few kilometres south of the Knossos area, there is the EIA cemetery of Eltyna with chamber tombs dating from the Proto-Geometric to the Geometric periods. According to the excavator, this cemetery has many things in common with the Knossian cemeteries and the area of Eltyna was probably controlled during this period by the Knossians (Rethemniotakis 2010).

While this cemetery is not as big, or rich, as the Knossian ones, more than one hundred obeloi were found in the tombs, revealing that the use of these iron objects was neither exclusive to the Knossian aristocrats nor so rare. The opposite view, though, could be that the cemetery of Eltyna simply belongs to a provincial local elite which wanted to adopt the burial customs of the Knossian elite.

One the other hand, one could even argue that the use of the obeloi was more general outside Knossos and that they might also have held monetary status. However this suggestion is hard to be accepted for such an early pre-monetary period (Snodgrass 1996; Coldstream 1977, 146-8).

What must be confessed though is that, for the present investigation. the old claim of Karageorghis (1974) that the "pikes and pits" that had been registered as such in Fortetsa SE were in reality obeloi is valid and for this reason it has been adopted for this thesis and catalogue.

Firedogs might also fall into the same group, since they are very closely associated with the obeloi. In fact, obeloi were often placed on two fire dogs inside the tombs and might have also served for cooking purposes. Again, the shape of the firedogs is almost identical to those discovered at Kouklia by Karagerorghis as one can see in the following comparison. Those from Cyprus are older and have slightly more elaborate edges.

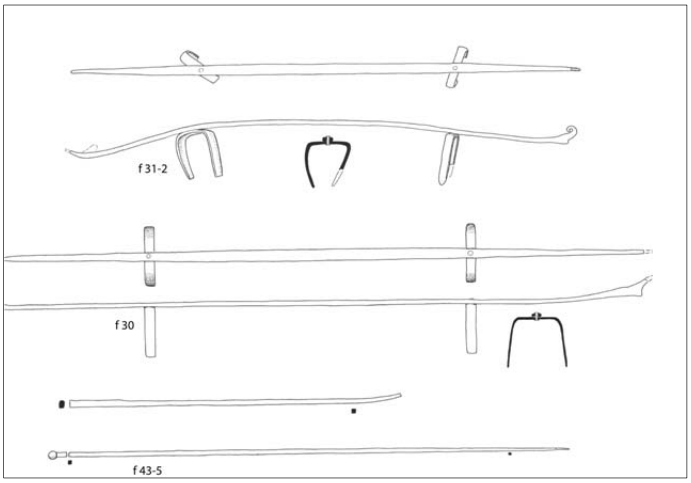



**Figure 9: Obeloi and firedogs from Tomb 285 (after Coldsteam and Catling 1996, figure 179)**

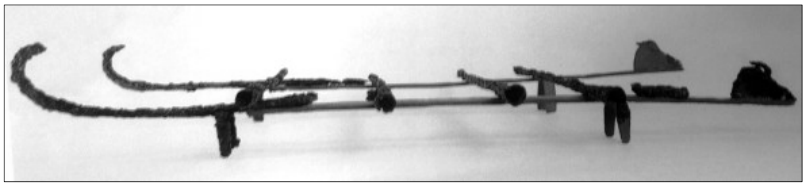


**Figure 10: Firedogs and obeloi CA I, from Patriki Famagusta, Cyprus (after Stampolidis 1998, 127)**

Another category of objects, the rod tripods can be found at many places in EIA Crete and Greece and are always associated with cultic and funerary contexts. Hoffman is right in his remark that "*while it may never be possible to separate true imports from excellent local copies, it is still necessary to make the attempt*" (1997, 120). However in her analysis, she maintains that probably all the rod-tripods and open work stands found at Crete (even the earliest from the Sub-Minoan period) are imitations made by the locals and not imports (ibid, 117-9).

Catling has exactly the opposite view supporting that all the stands and rod tripods found in Early Iron Age Knossos were *kemilia* from the Late Bronze Age and reached Crete during the Sub-Minoan period through a process named *'The Heroes return'*. In other words, Cretan warriors returned home after their wanderings in the East carrying prestige items and were buried with them after they had been cremated (Catling 1984, 70-91; 1995, 123-8; 1996c, 647-9).

Whitley, who is very sceptical on the subject of the 'return of the heroes' and the direct interpretation of the 'warrior graves' (1998, 612-3) agrees with Catling that those stands and tripods must be related with the circulation of prestige items in the post-Bronze Age world in the Eastern Mediterranean and, given their homogeneity in style, must be considered as Cypriot imports (Whitley 2002, 223-4).

Matthäus (1988) and Cross (1974), on the other hand, have argued strongly for an Early Iron Age Cretan production of these stands. Matthäus, one of the first authors to have spoken on the subject of imitation of rod tripods and stands, claims that most of the bronze rod tripods found in Early Iron Age contexts are Cretan productions (1998, 129; 1989; 1988). However, he makes a clear distinction by admitting that the earliest stands, such the one discovered at Tomb 200-201-202, is of Cypriot manufacture and might had been indeed a *kemilio (ibid, 130).*

He also agrees with Catling and Whitley maintaining that in the Sub-Minoan period the relations between Cyprus and Crete were much stronger than the archaeological evidence

reveals (1998, 140-1) and that it is likely that iron technology as a whole was promoted by Cypriot cultural inference (ibid).

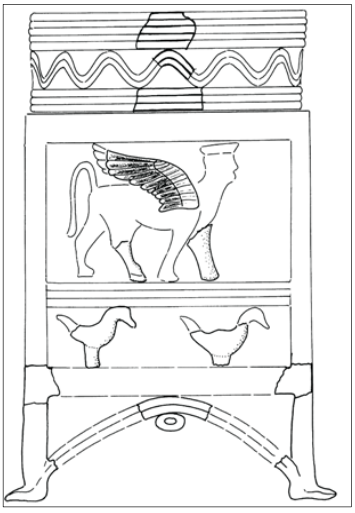


**Figure 11: Bronze stand. Tomb 201 (Med. Faculty) (Coldstream and Catling 1996, figure 166)**

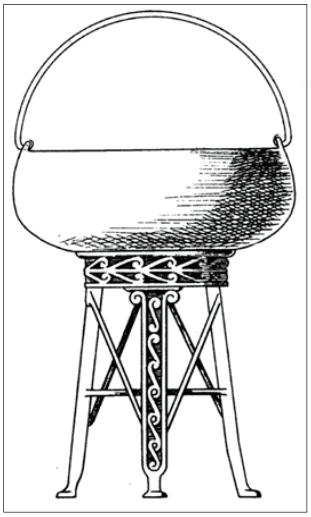


**Figure 12: Bronze rod tripod. Tomb XI (Brock 1957, Plate 138)**

Hoffman claims that the main question regarding the objects belonging to this category is when metalwork reached Crete and when Cretan workshops were established (1997, 116). As already mentioned, Dickinson, in his analysis of the transition between the Bronze and the Iron Age, supports that iron technology was introduced to the Aegean from Cyprus and that around 1050 BC iron was being worked in the leading regions of the Aegean (2006, 148). Without a doubt Knossos was one of those leading regions.

Matthäus is not entirely negative towards this approach but also talks of the possibility that Anatolia might also have been related to this process (1998, 141). Last but not least is the Waldbaum's theory for an independent development of iron working in the Aegean (1982, 336-8). Dickinson rejects this theory based on the lack of evidence of a metallurgical background comparable to that of Cyprus and the Near East (2006, 147).

One may also add that not only the absolute dating of the objects but also their context has shown that relations between Crete, Cyprus and *Phoinike* were never severed , but were

probably rather limited in periods of turbulence, such as immediately after 1200 BC (Hoffman 1997; 139-141; Waldbaum 1982, 345-49; Sheratt 1994, 59-106).

A final rather general thought concerning this category of objects is that, perhaps the earliest tripods and obeloi could have been imports from Cyprus (from Sub-Minoan to the Proto-Geometric Period) and that during the Proto-Geometric Period the Cretan bronze ateliers begun copying the Cypriot originals (Matthäus 1998, 141). If the earlier objects are indeed imports, then one might observe that, at least from the point of view of archaeologists, there are two different kinds of imports entering Crete during the EIA.

The first group (this is the first category of the catalogue which I have named imports) consists of imports of Oriental character related to the Phoenician, North Syrian and Egyptian styles, even if these imports come from Cyprus, and the second group includes objects of an Aegean character probably associated with the Late Bronze Age Aegean world and its Greek-speaking inhabitants. A further argument that might support this view is that the bronze obeloi found in Paleopaphos-Skales in Tomb 49, which bears Greek inscriptions (Hoffman 1997, 106 footnote 106; E. Masson and O. Masson 1980, 411-13). Additionally, the objects of the second category are of a different function and size from the pedigree small sized Phoenician imports.

Moreover, Karageorghis suggests two different streams of imports from the East, one Phoenician and one Cypriot (Matthäus 1998, 159). The first occurred mostly in the 10$^{th}$ century BC, and the latter mainly from the 8$^{th}$ century BC and onwards. Matthäus also agrees with the idea of two distinct streams of exports to Crete from this region and also talks about the possibility of a third North-Syrian stream (ibid).

However, a possible objection to all these suggestions could be that, even if there were two different streams -or even three, if one includes the North Syrians, there is no reason for separating them chronologically. If anybody could travel from any place of the Near East (Cyprus included) to Crete, then how one can determine a specific commercial route?

Maybe this confusing situation makes perfect sense when one approaches it as a series of gift exchanges between the various elites of the Eastern Mediterranean (Matthäus 1998, 140). This is an important factor, at least for the precious imports after the end of the Bronze Age and before the middle of the ninth century, when numerous imports (especially) pottery begin to arrive at Knossos. On the other hand, one may suggest that Knossians were simply far more interested in the imports of the Phoenician repertoire, since they were more "exotic" or attractive to them than the imports of Aegean character, or simply different.

## c. The significance of the imitations in relation to the original oriental imports: The Pottery Factor

As far as the recognised imitations are concerned, it is pointless to seek provenance in the East, since it is known that they were produced locally in Crete. All of them are clay objects and therefore it has been much easier to establish a relation with the aid of chemical and microscopic analysis. The total number of the clay objects which are imitations of oriental shapes (almost all of them derive from original imports found in Knossos) is 160 and all of them are pots[55]

In order to obtain a better understanding of the imitations, one must study these copies in parallel with the original imports in order to establish chronological and typological relations.

[55] A curious exception to the absolute dominance of pottery in this category might have been the four clay objects with the name fenestrated stands. The first was discovered in Tomb 283 (Medical Faculty, cat. no 98) and the other three were found together at the Knanialle Teke Tomb (cat. no 105, 106, 107). According to Coldstream (1996, 368) and Boardman (1967, 64) these objects might be distant imitations of Cypriot bronze stands. However as Boardman admits they are probably a mixture of Minoan, Cypriot and Phoenician elements (ibid) and are definitely not direct imitations of bronze stands.

At this point, one could ask why pottery (both as prototype and imitation) must be separated from the main corpus of the evidence. A possible answer is, as always, "quantity". As Hoffman calculated, pottery comprises roughly one third of all published imports in Crete (1997, 148). For Knossos' cemeteries, the figure dramatically increases. Almost half of all the oriental imports from fully published tombs consist of oriental pots (45.66%). Imported pottery constitutes a very homogeneous category with Cyprus being the place from where most of the pots originated.

Additionally, pottery is almost always examined as a separate category from all the other finds. Especially in the excavations at Knossos one can very often find a distinction between 'pottery' and 'small finds' in all the related publications. Everything else apart from pottery (and bones) is placed in the category of small finds.

Finally, the reason for this distinction is perfectly understandable especially for a period that is still called Dark Age by some scholars. Pottery is probably the easiest material on which provenance can be safely established and in many cases it is a safe framework of chronology to work with.

To return to the main analysis, first of all one should make a distinction between the original pots whose copies were found at Knossos and the oriental pots which were not imitated. The reason for performing this task is to reveal, if possible, a personal taste of the Knossians for particular types of pottery. The different categories and distinctions can be seen in the next graph:

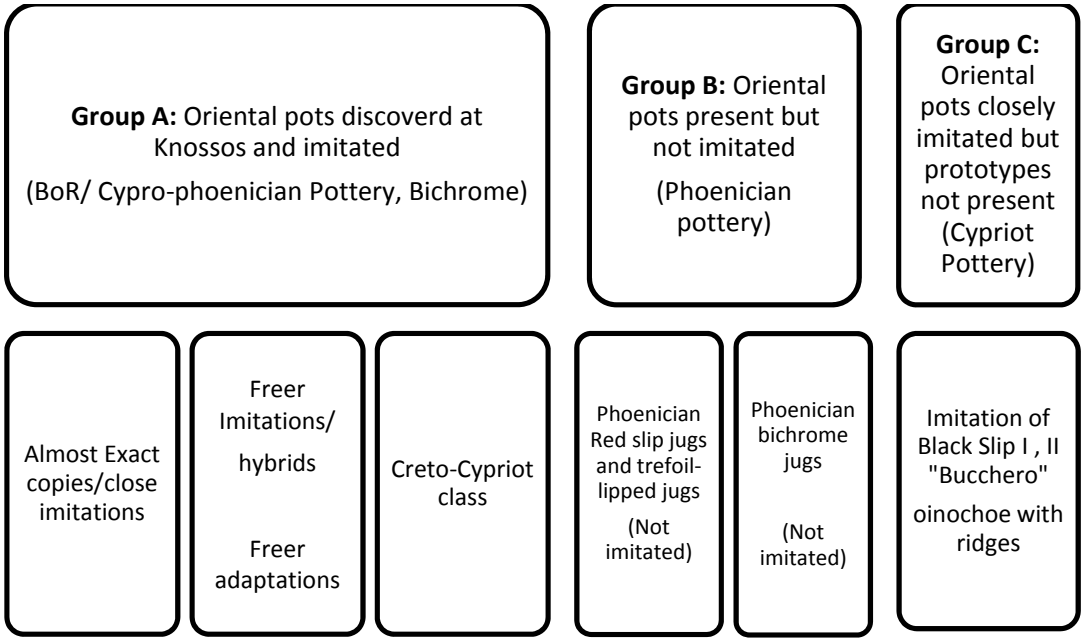



**Table 13: Chart 1: imported and imitated pottery**

As shown to the graph above, as far as the oriental pots are concerned, three different lines of pottery tradition were found at Knossos, which are not necessarily absolutely separate from each other.

Group A includes pots copied or deriving mostly from BoR pottery which originated in Cyprus but also belonged to the Cypro-Phoenician tradition. The vast majority of the imitations (almost 95%) belong to this group. However, there is also a minor representation of copies of bichrome pots.

The term "almost exact copies" means imitations that are completely faithful to their prototypes apart from some minor details. Two typical examples are the BoR juglets 218.41 (Tomb 218) and 219.56 (Tomb 219) that imitate even the slip of the originals. As Coldstream points outs the practice of polishing the surface is not at all typically Cretan Geometric (1984, 132) and for this reason these imitations are a special case.

Additionally, there are other close copies with slightly different fabric and final polishing. The freer imitations/hybrids such as the pot 292.64 from Medical Faculty are called this way only, because no close prototypes have been discovered yet. Basically, they differ in the way that the original motifs are combined (more lines or circles). Coldstream interprets these freer imitations as an experiment made by local potters (1984, 134-5).

On the other hand, the freer imitations are actually the prototypes to what would become one of the most successful shapes: the Creto-Cypriot Lekythos (named after Brock 1957). This is the largest group. They imitate the shape of the original BoR pots even though sometimes they are more biconical. The other two shapes largely imitated at Knossos were the jugs/oinochoe (Trefoil and round mouth) and the suck-shaped trefoil –lipped juglet/alabastron.

In group B of the graph are placed the Phoenician pots and shapes discovered in few quantities at Knossos but also in other nearby cemeteries such asin Eltyna. There are no local imitations of these shapes in Knossos. This is very important from the point of view that close local imitations of Phoenician Red Slip juglets were not discovered in Rhodes and Kos either, despite the fact that original pieces have been revealed (Schreiber 2002, 285-306) [56].

The group C is a pedigree of Cypriot shape and function unrelated to the oriental repertoire. These are trefoil lipped jugs which imitate the Bronze Age Bucchero ware (Schreiber 2003, 302; Stampolidis 2003, footnote 57; Coldstream 1998, 256; 1996, 346-7; 2002b, 463-470).

[56] There are at least two other categories of pottery of oriental character which have not been included in the catalogue. The first is a group of pots of Cypriot inspiration which probably reached Knossos either at the end of the BA or during the 10th and 9th centuries. These are the Zoomorphic vessels such the bird-askoi and a bird-kernos. They have an apparently exotic shape. However, original Cypriot pots of this type have not been discovered yet in the Knossian cemeteries and even if their shapes derive from Cyprus, their decoration has many local features.

The same can also be said for a group of lentoid or pilgrim flasks which, as Coldsrteam suspects (1996, 365-6; 2002, 208), own their shape to the Phoenician pilgrim flasks and not to the Cypriot vessels. However, due to the fact that these flasks have bird shape neck cannot be included the close imitated shapes.

If the assumption that these pots were liquid opium carriers is correct, then their context must have been of a very important value either as narcotic for religious purposes or as painkillers for severe wounds, as it probably happened also in Minoan Crete (Tzedakis 2002, 268). This type of pots seems very independent from the other imitations and perhaps the reason that no prototypes were found is that this shape was probably imitated first in Eastern Crete and from there it was introduced at the Knossos area (Schreiber 2003, 302).

Finally, apart from the exact copies and freer imitations and adaptations of the graph, there is also another type of juglet. This is the Praisos Lekythos which is an amalgam of Attic (Geometric), local and oriental features. This type will be not considered further in this study, because as I have already explain its shape and decoration departs from the focus of the thesis (oriental shapes and decorations).

As stated in the introduction of this thesis and as seen in the catalogues of the previous pages, oriental pottery is pottery coming from Phoenicia and Cyprus. The quantity of Phoenician pottery is rather limited and has been discovered only at the site of the Medical Faculty and at Fortetsa SE (5 and 2 pots respectively). On the other hand, the Cypriot BoR pottery has been found at the six following sites: Fortsetsa SE, Fortsetsa NE, Medical Faculty, Atsalenio, Khaniale Tekeand Lower Gypsades hill. Coldstream supports that the Phoenician pots came to Knossos at an earlier period before the arrival of the Cypriot BoR (1984, 136).

At this point, we need to return back to group A of the aforementioned graph, in order to have a better look at the typology of all these pots in order to understand how they were imitated at Knossos. The three main types of pots were the juglet or lekythos, mostly BoR and normally with one handle, the trefoil-lipped jug or Oinochoe and the suck-shaped trefoil-lipped juglet or alabastron.

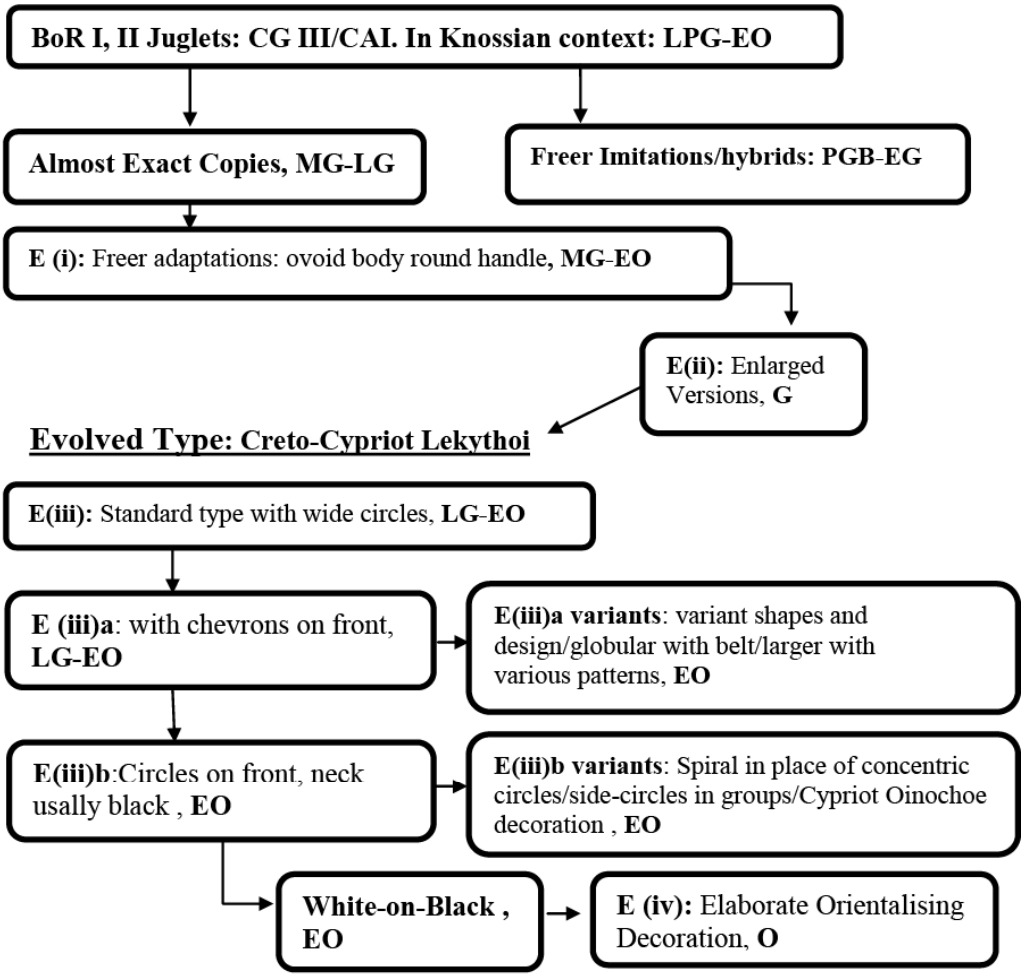
The first and perhaps most fundamental study of the way oriental pots were imitated at Knossos was made by Brock (1957). The most important part of this research on local imitations was the analysis of what he named as Creto-Cypriot Lekythos and Oinochoe. In addition, Coldstream made some important changes to Brocks's typology in a series of

articles and books (1979, 1984, 1996). Lidddy also contributed with her study of the Orientalising period at Knossos North Cemetery (1996). Kotsonas has recently made an important point as far as the distinctions of the imitations are concerned (2011a).

The following table presents the original Cypro-Phoenician pots alongside their imitations, in an attempt to trace the evolution of the various oriental types in Knossos. All the pots shown below can also be seen within their proper context in the catalogue of Chapter 3 with their references. All the examples and images used are either from the Medical Faculty site (Coldstream and Catling 1996) or from Fortetsa SE (Brock 1957).

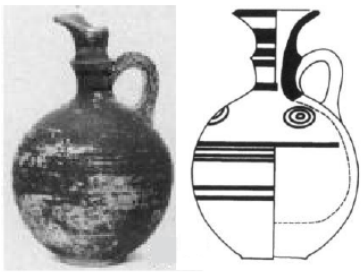
Apart from the obvious well documented studies which were conducted on those two sites, a further reason for doing this presentation is to highlight the possible typological differences within these two sites and the studies of Brock and Coldstream.

In the group of juglets I have included both lekythoi and aryballoi which are the ancient Greek names of small unguent vases performing a similar if not identical function as containers of oils and perfumes. Certainly, an attic Lekythos is very different from a Corinthian aryballos but this is not the case for the oriental juglets. All these juglets belong to the Cypro-Phoenician tradition of the BoR pots, but this is not the only pottery repertoire which has been copied in Crete. Coldstream has explained this difference in the terminology more than once (1979, 1984, 122).




**Examples from Medical Faculty (*MF*) and Fortetsa SE (*F*)**
Height (H) is given in cm. All these examples with their references are also cited in the catalogue

**BoR I**



**285.88**/H: 11.9 cm
(Tomb 285, *MF*)

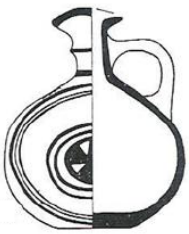
**BoR II**


**285.45**/H: 11.9 **285.49**/H:11.8
(Tomb 285, *MF*)

**Almost Exact Copies** **Freer/hybrid Imitations**

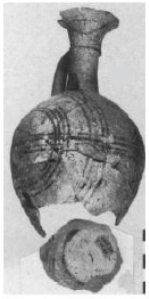


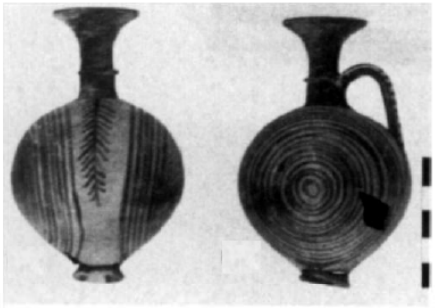




**219.56** /H: 9.7 (Tomb 219, *MF*) **218.41**/H:11.2 (Tomb 218, *MF*) **292.64**/H: 9.5 (Tomb 292, *MF*)

**E (i)** **E(ii)** **E(iii)a**



**453 (F)** H:15 (Tomb X, *F*) **75.43 (MF)** H:16 (Tomb 75, *MF*) **1432 (F)** H:18 (Tomb P, *F*) **219.64**/H:10.2 (Tomb 219, *MF*)

**E (iii) a variants** **E (iii)b** **E (iii) b variants** **White on Black**



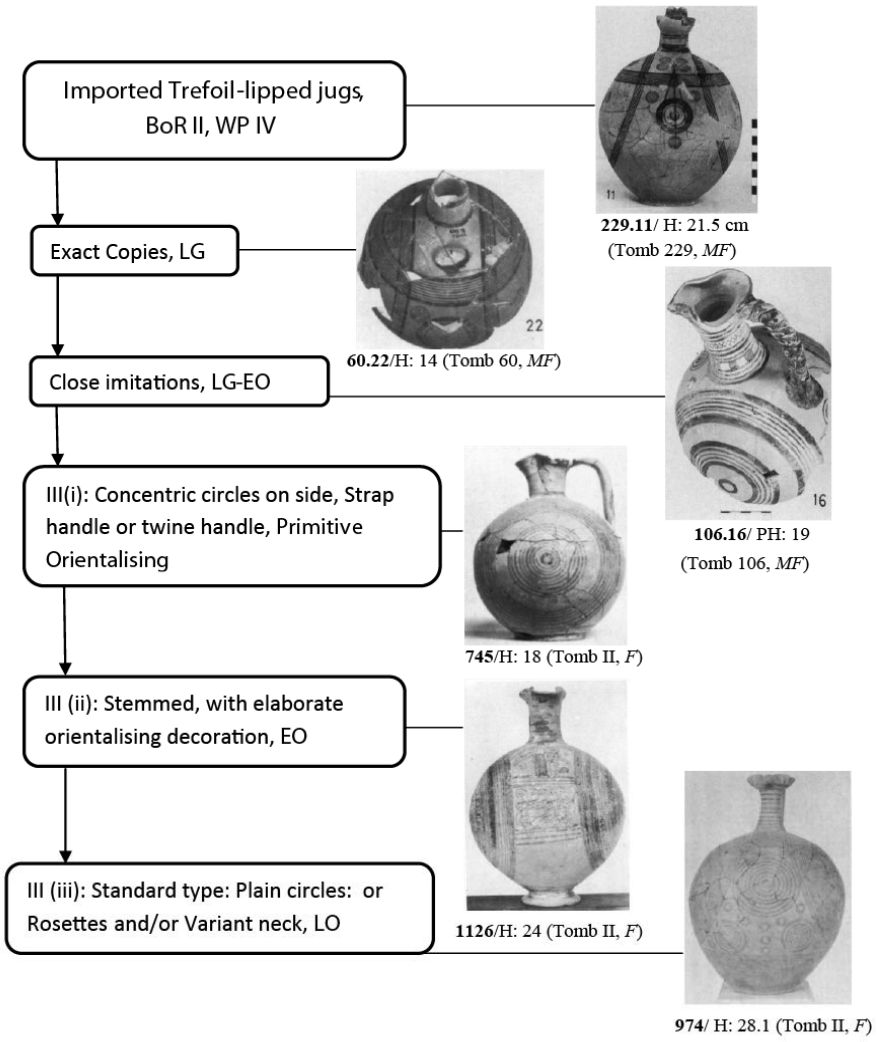

**1052**/H: 6 (Tomb II, *F*) **107.33**/H:9.8 (Tomb 107, *MF*) **1339**/H:10 (Tomb P, *F*) **218.26**/ H: 10.2 (Tomb 218, *MF*)

**E (iv)**


**861**/H: 9.2 **862**/H: 9.2 (Tomb P2, *F*)

**Tombs cited from Medical Faculty:**
**75, 218, 219, 285, 292**

**Tombs cited from Fortetsa SE:**
**X, P2, II, P**




**3. Suck-Shaped Trefoil-lipped Juglet (Aryballos-Alabastron)**

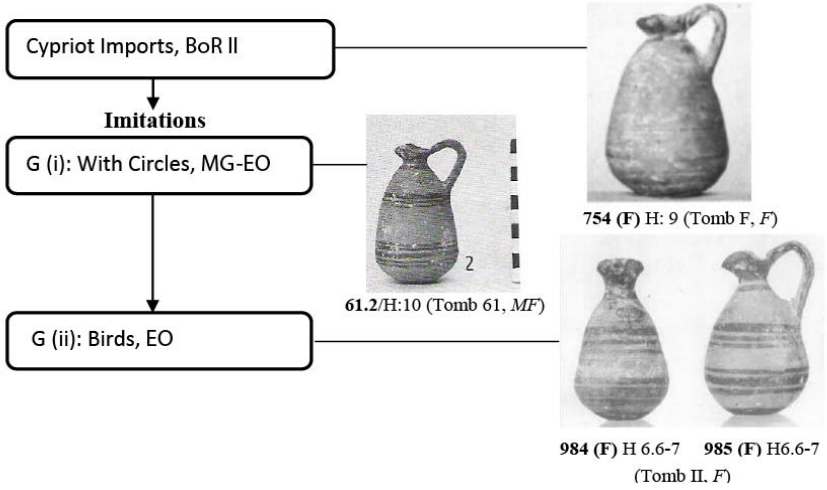



**Table 14: Chart 2 with images: Evolution of local shapes deriving from oriental pots**

In the table above, I have combined both Brock's and Coldstream's typologies: in the Juglets/ Lekythoi I have used Coldtsream's typology for the period (LPG-EG) and for the rest mostly Brock's. The only modification to Brock's typology is the substitution of the work 'original' with the word 'freer adaptation' that Coldstream uses.

The main reason for this modification is that the pots discovered at the Medical Faculty site were much closer to the original BoR and White Painted juglets than those of Fortetsa SE, which were the pots in which Brock based his typology. The major difference is the polished orange-colour clay that the close imitations of the Medical Faculty have and which is almost identical to the original BoR pots (Kotsonas 2011a; Coldstream 1984, 1996). In the rest of the imitations the colour is a bit lighter.

On the other hand, the typology of Brock on Creto-Cypriot lekythoi has largely remained intact. The same can be said for trefoil-lipped jugs. The close imitations were again based on Brock, while no major changes were applied to his Creto-Cypriot series. Finally, the alabastron and its typology have remained the same since no closer imitation was discovered after Brock.

Despite the fact that Type III (iv) on lekythoi departs from the originals especially in terms of design, it can be argued that overall most of the types remain within the Cypro-Phoenician tradition.

Apart from the typology though, quantity becomes again important as far as the shapes and style is concerned. As can be seen in the next two charts, where the quantities of the pots in relation to their shape are presented, it is clear that BoR juglets/ lekythoi are the most numerous group and at the same time their imitations are also the most numerous group with identical percentages[57].

[57] In the graph of the imports 6 out of 38 juglets have two handles. No imitations of double-handle juglets have been found.

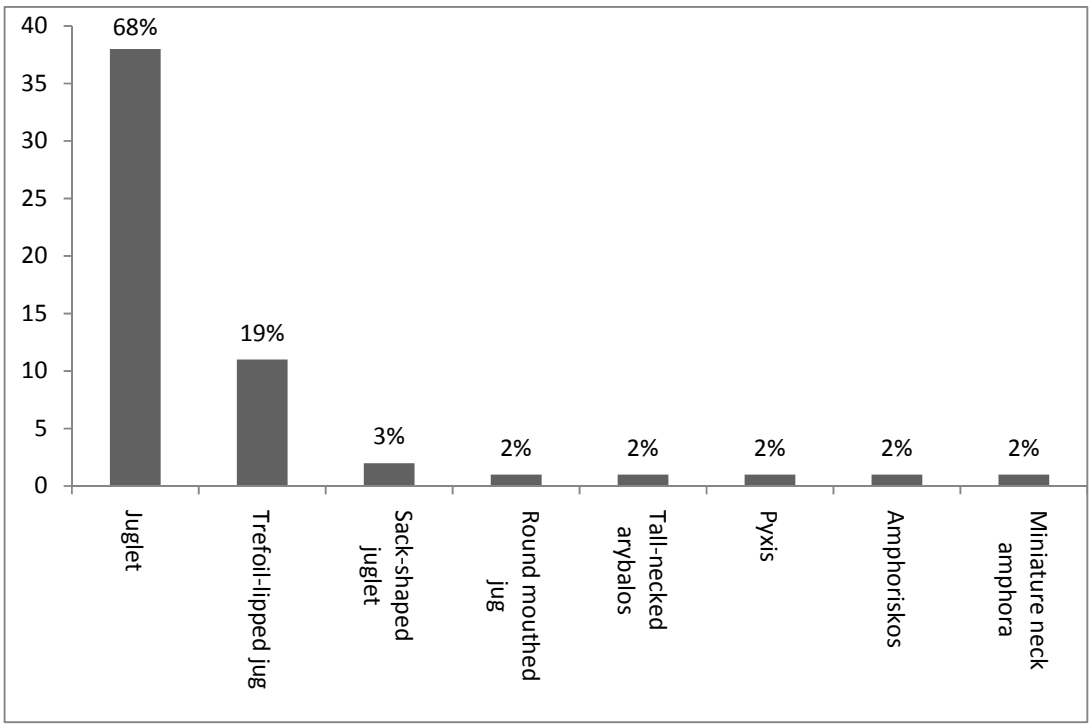



**Table 15: Graph 11: Shapes and quantities of Oriental Pottery found at Knossos Cemeteries**

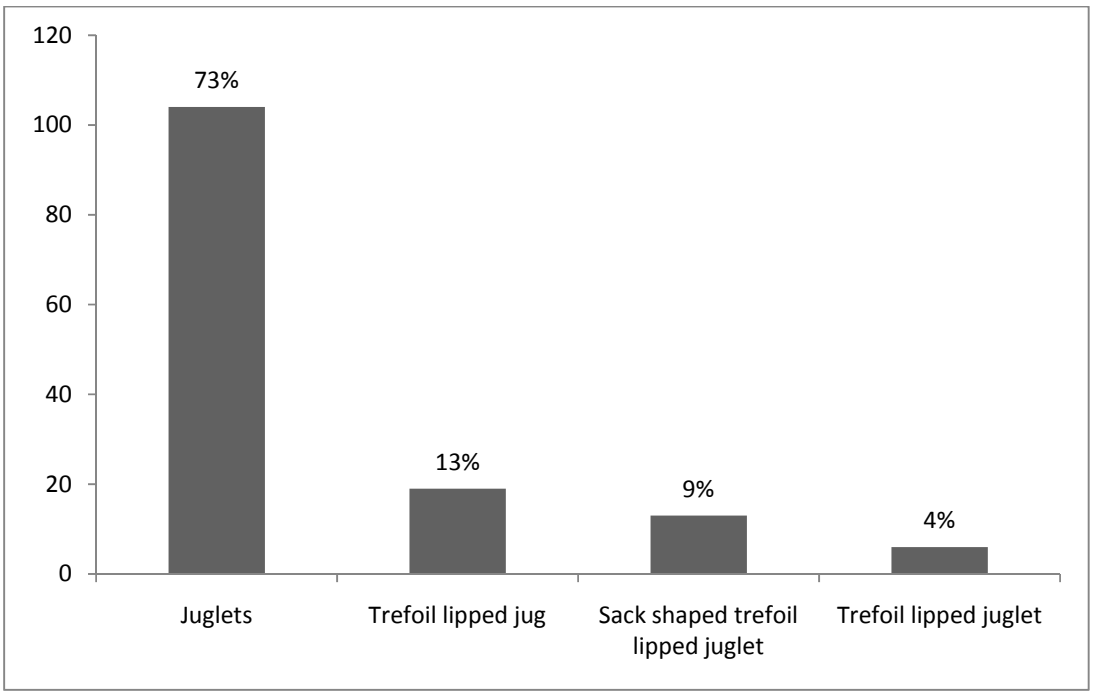



**Table 16: Graph 12: Shapes of Local Imitations of Oriental Pottery and quantities Found at Knossos Cemeteries**

It might be pure coincidence that in both cases juglets are the most numerous categories, but it is very curious that there is an analogy in the numbers between imports and imitations. The local juglets are about three times more numerous than the imports and almost the same can be said about the trefoil-lipped jugs and the suck-shaped juglets. It is not clear what this analogy implies and one should bear in mind that the chronological span of the imitations covers a bigger period. It is tempting to think, however, that Knossians' need to use those shapes was similar to that of the people who created the imports back in Cyprus.

Additionally in the following graph one can see the amount of pots discovered at Knossos at any given period.

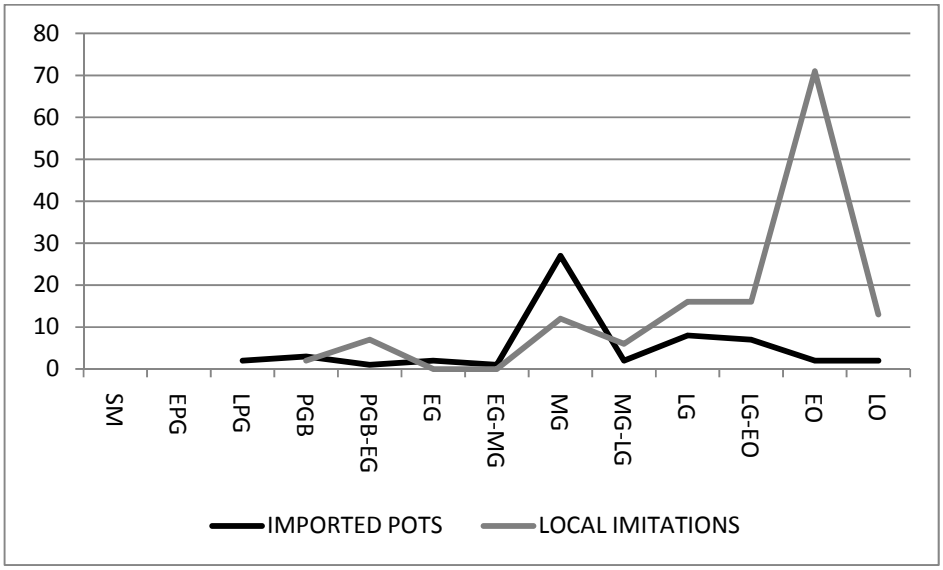



**Table 17: Graph 13: Chronological sequence and quantity of imported pots and of their imitations**

As can also be seen, the exact copies and close imitations of the juglets date to the same period, with most of the original oriental pots from the PGB and onwards, even if they are more numerous. This fact implies once more that the production of copies was made shortly after or even simultaneously with the arrival of the imports.

Despite the coincidence though, it is beyond doubt that the most important thing about all these juglets (both imported and local) is their association with the cemeteries and apparently the burial rites. What is remarkable though is the progressive rise of the imitations at the end of the LG. This is the time when the Creto-Cypriot Lekythos attains a standardised form and is assimilated to the local tradition without however dismissing entirely the Cypriot forms (Coldstream 1996, 345).

With the notable exception of only one unpublished Cypriot BoR II juglet discovered in the area where the EIA settlement was supposed to be, these juglets have not been found outside the cemeteries (Hoffman 1997, 79; Coldstream 1984, 261). Their association with funerary rituals is more than clear. Moreover, as Coldstream says (referring to slow-pouring vessels, including the local and attic types, which were not found at the cemeteries): *"even those few pots would also have had a special function in anointing the dead before the burial"* (2001, 40). The exclusiveness in Knossos for funerary purposes is very interesting. The same also occurs at the sites of the Dodecanese (Kos and Rhodes). The situation is similar in Cyprus (Schreiber 2003, 54-5). In Levant, on the contrary, BoR juglets have also been found associated with domestic activities (ibid), but again one should consider Coldstream's aforementioned statement.

The use of trefoil lipped jugs in various types (BoR, Red slip, Red micassius), also known in the Hellenic world as oinochoe, is related to rituals during the burial, with the exception of the Micassious Red oinochoe, which as a carrier of liquid opium apparently had a wider use. The aryballos-alabastron also falls into the category of closed slow-pouring vessels used in burial rituals. All the pots of this category are close imitations of BoR I and II styles also present at Knossos.

Regarding chronology, one would expect that Cypriot and Phoenician pots would help not only determine absolute chronologies of the rest of the imports but also date the whole context of the tombs where these oriental pots were found.

Unfortunately, this does not work smoothly with Knossos cemeteries. First of all, the dating of the pots based on style analysis is not very helpful. Most of the pots are Cypro-

Phoenician/BoR slow pouring vessels (juglets) whose chronology is quite broad. In the next graph, one can see the quantities of the oriental pottery in relation to their style.

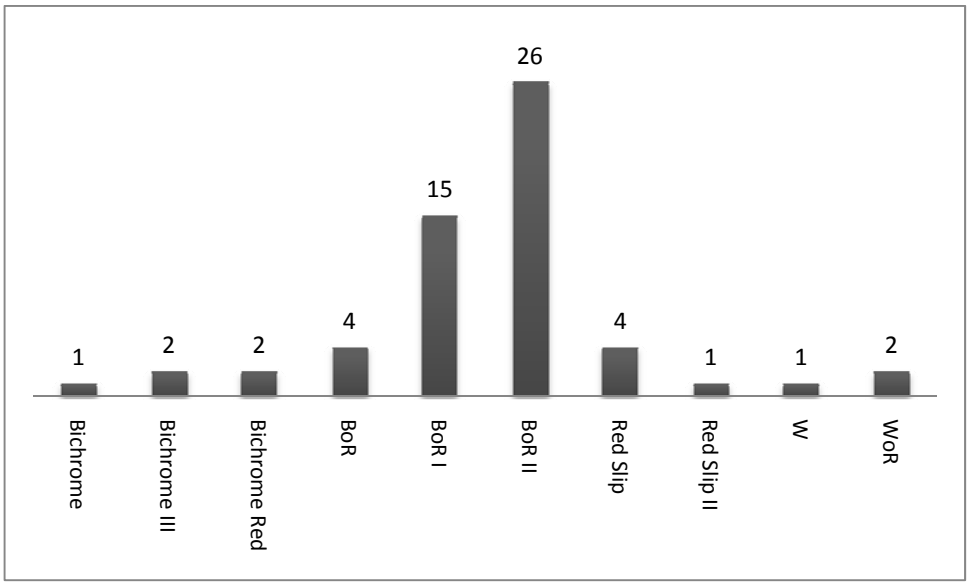



**Table 18: Graph 14: Pot style in relation to the quantities found at the Knossian Cemeteries**

As can be observed, the vast majority of the pots are juglets and the style of these juglets is either BoR I or II, with the latter being the most numerous. 71% of the pots is of BoR I and II style (26% and 45% respectively). The proposed absolute dating for BoR I ranges from 850 to 750 BC (Cypro-Geometric III), while for BoR II it ranges from 750 BC to 600 BC[58].

In terms of Cretan chronology, BoR I covers chronologically the period from the LPG to the MG/LG periods, while BoR II covers the period from the MG times and onwards. It is very clear that in the case of the BoR I juglets there are no safe conclusions to be drawn in terms of chronology.

[58] I use the modification of Gjerstad's chronology proposed by Dimitriou (1978; footnote 12) and Coldstream (1979; 1984b, 136). Certainly, there are many other chronological frameworks with Schreiber's (2002) being one of the latest which gives much higher dates.

For this reason and whenever possible, a combination between the chronology of the context and the chronology of the style is suggested. This procedure can be applied to all the pots.

Certainly, in the MG/MG-LG periods the number of BoR II is much higher than any other imported object, while in the LG-EO, the presence of all kinds of faience objects and beads changes the picture.

It is again beyond doubt that BoR imitations were made shortly after the arrival of the original pots at Knossos and do not imitate a distant shape, as in the case of Phoenician and Cypriot pilgrim flasks, with which local imitations share only a distant resemblance. The BoR style of pottery in general is not only the most successful import at Knossos but also the most successfully copied material.

## ii. Second-level analysis: Imports, Imitations and Society

Out of the 166 tombs registered in this thesis, 48 have at least one oriental import in their inventory; out of these, 40 are chamber tombs, and two are tholos tombs, five pit caves and one pithos burial. The dominance of the chamber tombs structure is not a surprise, since it is the most widespread type of tomb at Knossos' cemeteries. It is important, though, that other tombs and burial types are represented. Nothing was found in shaft graves and most of them had been emptied anyway long before their discovery.

The fact that only 48 tombs have imports clearly indicates that not all the tombs contain oriental material. Furthermore, even in cases where a few imported objects were discovered in a tomb, it does not necessarily mean that all the burials in this tomb were accompanied by oriental objects. As has already been stated, is not always easy to associate a specific context to an import even if the tomb is undisturbed, due to the chaotic state of the tombs as a result of multiple burials (Kotsonas 2006, 150; Whitley 1986, 278-9)

In some cases, numbers can be even less encouraging: oriental pots represent only 1.11% of the total number of pots and the rest of the oriental objects represent only about 7% of the total number of objects in all the cemeteries of Knossos. Furthermore, in many cases, oriental objects are restricted only to a few faience beads per tomb. This amount of evidence might seem too limited to serve as an exclusive basis for an analysis of Knossian society. However, this very same data can become extremely valuable if one takes into consideration two very important factors: the first is the tombs where oriental imports have been discovered and the second is the amount of local products produced as copies of oriental imports and the location where these copies were found as well[59].

The reason for the presence or absence of oriental imports can be totally or partially a matter of coincidence, since the burial context in most of the chamber tombs had been disturbed by later burials. Additionally, many imports were made of valuable metals and

[59] As explained in the previous section.

since ancient times looters were always attracted to them. The argument that the data is too limited could be absolutely valid if the number of tombs were also limited. However, a total number of 48 out of 166 tombs cannot be called a limited amount of evidence.

Furthermore, one should bear in mind that even the Attic pots, which constitute the biggest imported amount of foreign pottery in Knossos represent no more than the 3.5% of all imports (Coldstream 1996, 2002). That makes Cypriot (i.e. oriental) pots the second most imported category of objects coming to Knossos from abroad.

For this reason, one must seek further evidence and relations regarding the presence of imports in the tombs. This can be achieved by associating different kind of data. One could start from the fact that there are tombs that do not contain imports at all and others that do. Thus, one can attempt an initial comparison between the tombs with and without imports.

It must also be stressed that, since the presence and the quality of imports has been hitherto linked to the richest and most powerful members of the society or even in some rare cases to rich foreigners (Boardman 1967), one would expect that the biggest and most intensively stuffed tombs would also have been the tombs containing most of the oriental imports. This hypothesis can be primary tested in a rather straightforward manner in the following table, where one can see a purely quantitative comparison between all the tombs from all the cemeteries.

For this comparison, I will use the three categories of objects as analysed in the previous chapter and three different quantified groups of objects: group A, with tombs where their total number of all pots and objects irrespective of their kind (i.e. local and oriental) is less than ten (for the sake of the argument these will be considered the poorest tombs); group B, which includes the tombs where the total number of pots and objects is less than 50; and group C, which contains the richest and most furnished tombs, with a total number of pots and objects ranging from 50 to 524 (the latter figure represents the tomb with the largest amount of finds, which is Tomb P at Fortetsa SE, Brock 1957).

The first category includes the tombs with oriental imports which belong to each group (A, B or C). In the same way, the second one includes the tombs with imports or imitations of tombs. Finally, in the third category I have placed tombs containing imitations. In other words, I am using the three categories of objects from the catalogue in relation to the total amount of objects that each tomb has.

| Total number of pots and objects per tomb | **1st category** Tombs with oriental imports in each group | **2nd category** Tombs with imports or imitations | **3rd category** Tombs with Imitations | Total number of tombs in each group |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Group A** (0-9 objects) | 1 tomb | 0 tombs | 4 tombs | 65 tombs |
| **Group B** (10-49 objects) | 15 tombs | 4 tombs | 7 tombs | 59 tombs |
| **Group C** (50-524 objects) | 29 tombs | 12 tombs | 26 tombs | 41 tombs |

**Table 19: classification of tombs according to imports**

It is clear that the majority of the tombs belong to Group A, while the minority to Group C. This is a clear indication that only the 41 tombs of Group C are the richest. However one can easily observe that the majority of the tombs containing oriental imports, imports or imitations and imitations also belong to Group C. This antithesis suggests that the majority of the evidence in this study is confined to the richest tombs and that those oriental imports and their imitations were a privilege of the richest or more prominent members of the elite.

In a further analysis of the evidence we may see that as far as the oriental imports are concerned, 29 tombs of the third group are tombs containing the largest amount of oriental pots and objects in comparison to the other two groups. This distribution though is by no means even. Some tombs contain much more imports than others even in group C. The distribution of the finds of uncertain provenance (category two in the catalogue and fourth column on the aforementioned table) is much more limited.

The objects falling in this category (bronze tripods, obeloi and fire-dogs) are found only in sixteen tombs. Despite the fact that this is the most limited of the three catalogue categories, again 75% of the tombs containing these objects falls also into group C, which includes the most furnished and richest tombs. Nothing associated with this category was found in group A.

Finally, what initially seems to be a surprise is that almost the 65% of the tombs containing imitations are also found in group C. This is rather unexpected, because in archaeology it is commonly thought [60] that an imitation is produced in order to satisfy the need of people (normally poorer) who cannot acquire the original object/product that other people (normally richer) can. However, at least in this general analysis, it is again clear that imitations, which are pots in their vast majority, are mainly found in the richest tombs.

Concerning the oriental imports, Tombs P from Fortetsa SE, Tomb 2 from Khaniale Teke and Tombs 292, 285, 219 from the Medical Faculty, apart from being five of the tombs with the largest amount of pots and objects (together they contain 22.5% of all finds), are also those with the highest number of oriental imports. These five tombs contain almost 49% of the imports in all the cemeteries.

The same tombs contain about 63% of the objects of uncertain provenance but only about 30% of the imitations. The amount of imported material and local finds and pots makes these five tombs exceptionally rich.

[60] The most celebrated example is Vickers and the theory on Black and Red figure Attic pottery (Vickers and Gill 1994).

These five tombs were used, not always uninterruptedly, during most of the Early Iron Age, from the LPG to the the LO for Tombs P, 285 and 219, from the PGB to the EO for Tholos Tomb 2[61] at Khaniale Teke and from the PGB to the LO for Tomb 292. These tombs served Knossian society for almost four hundred years. Especially, the use of Tombs 285 (Medical Faculty) and Tomb P (Fortetsa SE) was never interrupted.

At the same time though, there are burials of a totally different type which also contain quite a few imports as well. For example, the isolated pithos burial (Tomb 78, Medical Faculty) is the next richer in imports following the five ones mentioned above and contains faience amulets, such scarabs and faience figurines of Egyptian deities (see catalogue and Plates XIV, XV). Furthermore, this tomb might or might not be related to the other tombs, since it was found in the dromos of Tomb 112 at the Medical Faculty, which is a tomb with no imports at all and of a much earlier date of use (Sub-Minoan).

The main difference and importance of this tomb though is its late date (LG/EO) and probably its function. According to Webb this tomb must have belonged to a child of foreign (perhaps Near Eastern?) origin (Webb 1996, 606). In any case this is not a typical dead of the most representative EIA Knossian cemetery[62].

To return to the subject of the richness of the tombs, it is also true that all the chamber tombs at Knossos are more or less associated with the elite, as shown in chapter 2, even if this elite is according to Snodgrass absolutely hierarchical in a pyramid shape (1996, 596). In the following chart, one can see the ten richest tombs across all Knossian cemeteries in relation to the oriental and non oriental objects and pots they contain.

[61] I am only referring to the reuse of the tomb after the initial LBA use.
[62] In the Medical Faculty site, in general, no infants and very young children have been found (Musgrave 1969, 680). On the other hand a series evidence for foreigners buried in general at Knossos comes only from Atsalenio area where a reused Phoenician cippus was found in the dromos of a chamber tomb (Kourou and Karetsou 1998, 243-251).

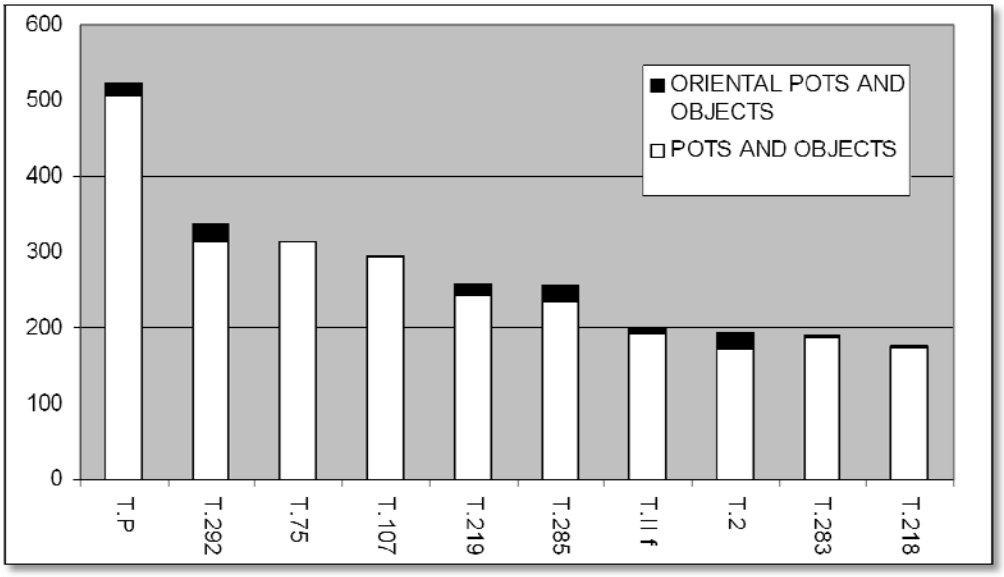



**Table 20: Graph 15: The ten richest tombs across all cemeteries**

The five tombs which contain 49% of all the oriental imports are also present on this graph. Tombs P and 292 are the richest while the rest are in positions 5(Tomb 219), 6 (Tomb 285) and 8 (Khaniale Tholos tomb).

The rest of the richest tombs also contain some imported material but in considerable smaller quantities. On the basis of this chart one can assume that the increased presence of Oriental imports is a sign of extreme wealth, but on the other hand the limited presence or even absence of oriental imports does not necessarily mean the opposite. This means that not all the elite members of Knossos shared the same taste for imported material.

In this case and in order to approach the issue of the presence of imports in more depth, one should examine the distribution of the tombs individually within each cemetery, since most of the tombs are placed or, to put it better, organised in smaller groups (clusters). The formation of tombs in clusters apparently indicates a kind of connection between tombs belonging to the same group.

Undoubtedly, the site that deserves more discussion regarding tomb clusters is the Medical Faculty where the most of them are located. In this site which is one of the oldest burial

sites of the EIA, at least seven clusters have been noted[63]. At the same time, it is the most "populated" not only by Iron Age tombs, but also by Hellenistic and early Christian graves as well as a church. It is the site where Knossians probably had their main cemetery until the Arab conquest and the final decline of the city.

If Catling and Coldstream are right and this site was established (or re-established) as a cemetery after the end of the LM period, then the first clusters created there are beyond doubt the group of tombs around the complex of Sub-Minoan pit-caves 200-201-202 and pit-cave 186.

The complex of 200-201-201 forms one burial structure which must have been of great importance for SM Knossians (1996, 715). Catling describes the mortuary evidence with the following words: "*Tomb 200 contained the remains of a single individual (probably a woman). Tomb 201 had the remains of two adults (perhaps man and woman) and, less certainly, a child. Tomb 202 was empty except for tiny scraps of bone. It is possible that these three - perhaps four - persons were cremated on the same occasion, and their ashes were interred simultaneously"* (Coldstream and Catling 1996, 192).

Tomb 186 had only one chamber and according to the excavators: "*These were the remains of a not very old person' who must, from the grave offerings, have been a man*" (ibid, 191). Certainly, the grave offerings were weapons, such as an iron knife, a dirk, whetstones etc and this is a direct interpretation of the evidence.

[63] At least seven clusters were noted by Cavanagh (1996, 657). He also includes in these clusters one more from the Teke Cemetery. In this study however this cluster will be treated separately.

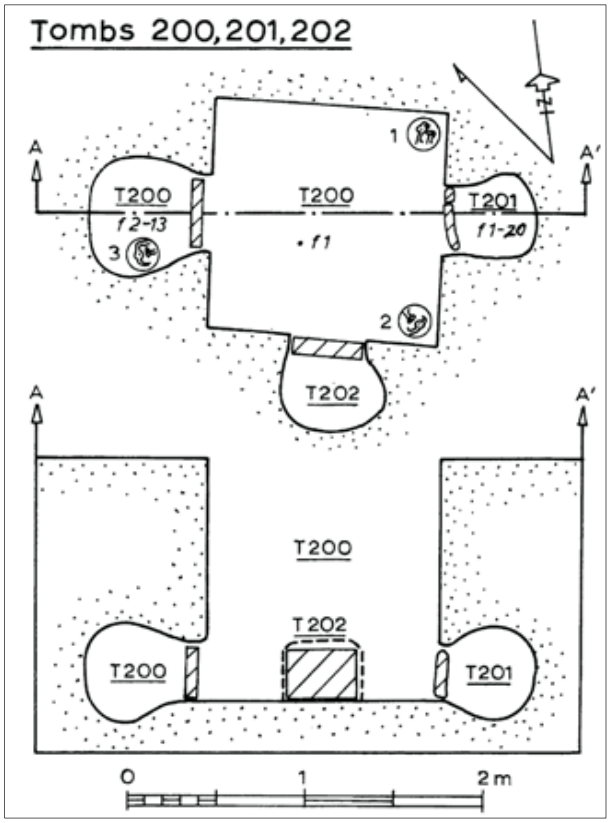



**Figure 13: Plan of burial complex 200-201-202 (Coldstream and Catling 1996, figure 43)**

The bronze stand from Cyprus found in this tomb (201.1) is also an ancient import, even probably by Sub-Minoan standards. Catling calls it an heirloom and dates it to the 12th century BC (Coldstream and Catling 1996, 193). Even if this stand is not an heirloom (Hoffman, 1997), the fragments of a boar-tusk helmet (201.14) definitely is (Plates X, XI). This is a clear example of how the Late Bronze Age "warlike" past was appreciated.

Despite the fact that imports do appear in this cluster in such an early period, most of the SM tombs do not contain imports. In fact, they are the poorest tombs in terms of oriental material. Moreover, all the imports in the burial complex 200-201-202 are associated with Cyprus and not so much with the Levantine mainland. At this point I only need to refer to the "heroes' return" concept which was discussed before (catling 1996c, 647-9).

It must be pointed out, though, that this tomb does not belong to any cluster[64]. Rather, the clusters of the chamber tombs were probably formed having this particular tomb as point of reference[65] at the same time or only few years after its construction since they are also dated to the SM times. To the South of this burial complex, there is nothing but afew scattered tombs with no obvious association to each other. On the contrary, all the development of the later cemetery was towards the North. In other words, from a geographical and spatial point of view, the burial monument 200-201-202 and Tomb 186 are the starting point from which all the clusters of the chamber tombs began. In the following map, one can see the distribution of the imports according to the distribution of the tombs and clusters.

Most of the tombs have only one import (blue colour). The rest with more than one import are highlighted in red. In the exceptional case where a tomb has more than 10 imports, is highlighted with green colour. The reason I have chosen the amount of 10 imports per tomb as an indication is that not many tombs with such high number of imports can be found at Knossos.

[64] Clusters I and II in the following map.
[65] A similar phenomenon of satellite burials has been observed at Lefkandi. However, The monumental Euboean burial structure is an isolated phenomenon.

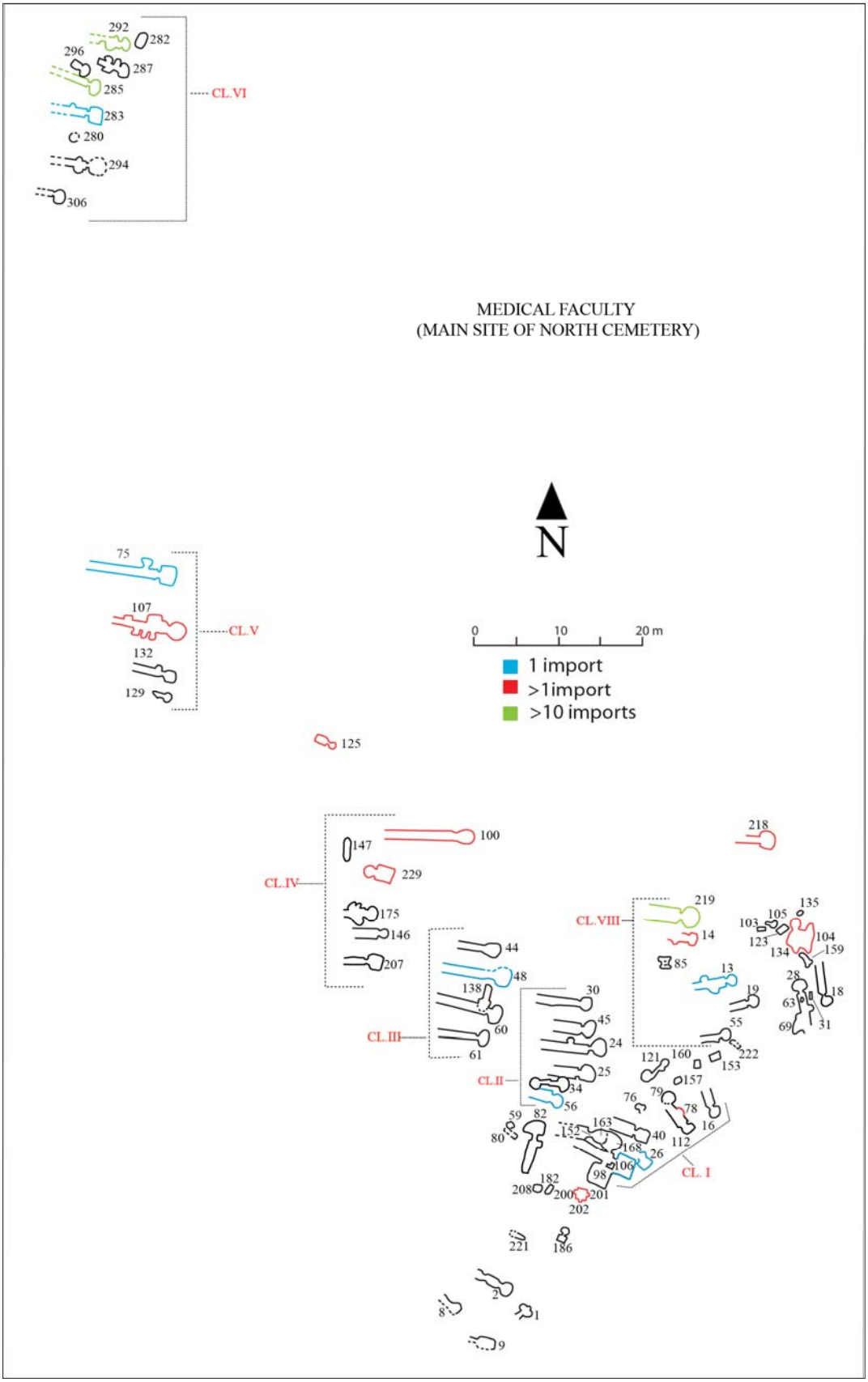



**Figure 14: Distribution of imports at Med. Faculty (Map redrawn after Coldstream and Catling 1996, figures 1-6)**

Cluster I (Tombs 16, 40, 106, 112) and II (24, 25, 30, 45, 56), which they were constructed net to 200-201-202, apart from a few faience beads and one Phoenician juglet (56.10) contain almost no other oriental imports. Overall, most of the tombs of cluster VIII[66] are much later than the tombs of Clusters I and II, which are dated to the SM period. This cluster is different than I and II, only because Tomb 219 is part of it. This is one of the five tombs already mentioned with the largest number of oriental imports and one of the richest in general.

It must be said though that Tomb 219 differs in many aspects from the other tombs of this cluster. It is bigger and has a slightly different orientation. It is also positioned at the north edge of the cluster. It is of a much earlier date in contrast to the rest of the tombs. Even Cavanagh (1996, 657), who made the initial separation of the clusters, is not absolutely for the coherency of the cluster that Tomb 219 belongs to.

This tomb was also found next to a fence of a church and perhaps was associated with other (destroyed) tombs. I believe that Tomb 219 has to be seen individually and not in association with any cluster. This is also the tomb that contains ivory handles, which might also be another direct reference to the highest level of the Knossian society (Plate XIII). This opinion applies to another extremely rich tomb (218), which is rather isolated from the others.

In the clusters at a longer distance from the tombs 200-201202, there is a slightly higher number of oriental imports, but again not very high. Clusters III and IV contain a few pots and beads.

However, the cluster with the biggest amount of imports in the Medical Faculty site is Cluster VI which is located on the other extreme of the site (about 200m away from cluster I). Cluster VI is has the largest amount of imported material as Tombs 285 and 292 are part of it. In the same cluster there are other tombs, such as 283, which also contains one import. At the same time, it must be pointed out that Tombs 283 and 285 contain almost all the

[66] I use VIII instead of VII because Cavanagh used number VII for the cluster at Teke tombs.

obeloi and firedogs found in the Knossian cemeteries. Tomb 219 is has the next higher quantity of obeloi.

Cluster VI must have probably been one of the latest clusters in the cemetery. In fact, most of the tombs were probably constructed in the PGB period. The fact that this group is at such a significant distance from the SM centre of the cemetery might signify the existence of a different class of people or families. It may also imply the existence of another elite which emerged as a competitive class after the establishment of the initial elite of the cemetery whose members were lying at the core (200-201-202) of the old cemetery.

Clusters I and II continue to receive burials until the end of the EIA. This probably means that within the same cemetery different Elites (probably associated with family ties as well) manifested their competition through lavish funerals. Clusters I and II being so near to the most aristocratic tombs reveal that the people who constructed them were much more interested in maintaining close bonds to this monument. The need for Knossians to be buried near the area of the first Sub-Minoan tombs can be easily seen in the following plan which depicts only a small part of Cluster I.

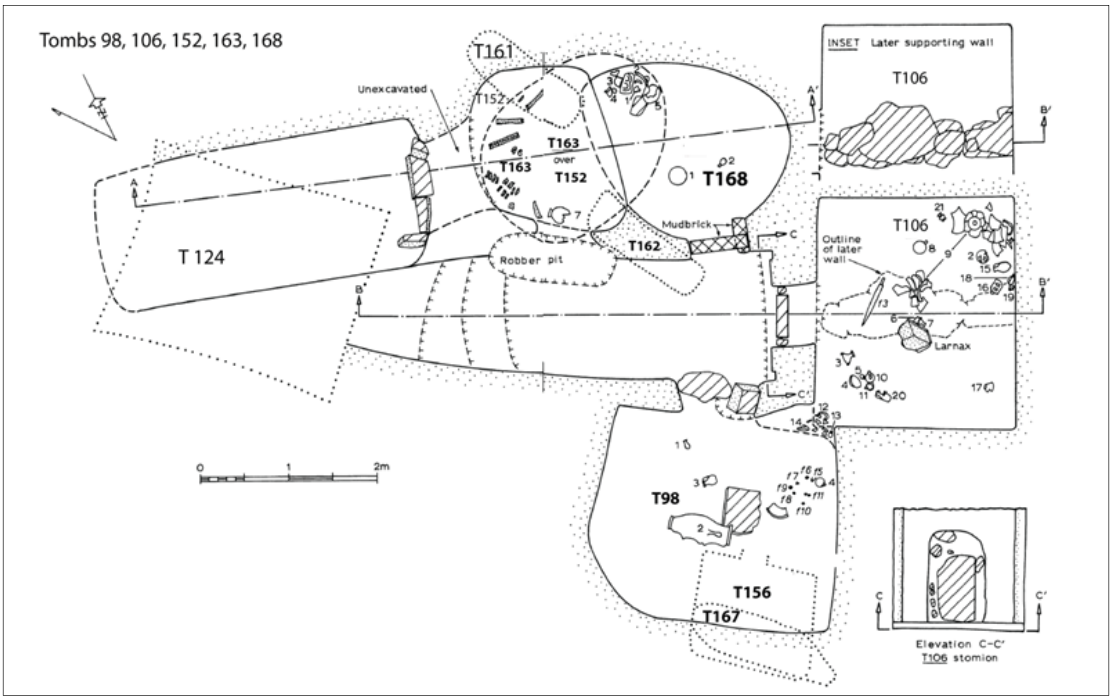



**Figure 15: Tomb 106 and Part of Cluster I (Coldstream and Catling 1996)**

On the other hand, Cluster VI is at the margin of the Medical Faculty (northernmost limit) and for this reason the people who constructed these tombs might have wanted to manifest their own status as a social class or elite. From this short survey it becomes evident that tombs containing more than ten oriental imports are found only in a specific part of the site. Furthermore, the amount of the imports that this cluster contains represents 39% of all the oriental imports of the cemetery. In other words, I believe that the distance between Clusters I and VI reveals a political diversity in the highest rank of the Knossian society at the Late-Protogeometric and at the beginning of the PGB period.

Exactly the same situation occurs with the other two categories of the catalogue. As far as the category of imports or imitations is concerned, Tomb 285 has at least 25 pieces, while as regards imitations , Tomb 292 contains ten pots. It appears that Cluster VI and Tomb 219 share a sort of exclusiveness in oriental imports, from the middle of the 9$^{th}$ century onwards.

However, despite the possible statement of independence with the use and funeral display of luxurious items and expensive oils and fragrances (i.e. BoR juglets), Cluster VI and Tomb 219 are still part of the people who used the North Cemetery.

Therefore, this emerging elite, despite the possible political and /or aesthetical differences with clusters I, II and III, still wanted to maintain a position (though remote) in the central cemetery. A different approach could be that this new elite wanted simply to manifest that the social and political balances within the most important burial site had changed. One should bear in mind that despite their differences, the people buried in all these tombs and clusters probably shared the same settlement.

As far as the period of use is concerned, it can be said that very few tombs out of the 44 ones are known to have been used only for a short period. Two of them (and probably the most celebrated) are the burial structure 200-201-202 and Tomb 186, which are dated to SM times. After the initial burials entered the tomb, no other activity occurred. In all the

other cases, all tombs were reopened and used for more than one generation. This, however, does not differentiate the tombs with imports from the ones without imports, because the vast majority of the tombs do contain multiple burials for more than one generation.

It seems also that in the Medical Faculty one can also observe a clash between different traditions and pasts, where each group could choose a heritage. However, before making any final conclusion, it is worth having a look at the rest of sites and cemeteries.

In the Teke cemetery, most of the tombs were not found very disturbed but not many imports were discovered among the finds. In this site, six out of the thirteen tombs contained at least one import. Most of the tombs in this cluster were in use during the same period (PGB). The dating of the finds though can be quite different. An example already mentioned before is the bronze bowl with the Phoenician inscription with a date ranging from 1100 to 900 BC (Plate XII)[67].

This bowl together with the other two bronze bowls (a mesomplalos phiale and a lotus handle jug) found in tomb G can be interpreted either as luxury gifts or as personal belongings of the diseased, or both. The two oriental pots (a bichrome III and BoR I juglets from tombs A and H), on the other hand, fit better the general dating of the tombs in which they were discovered. No local imitations of oriental pottery were found.

[67] see catalogue, chapter 4

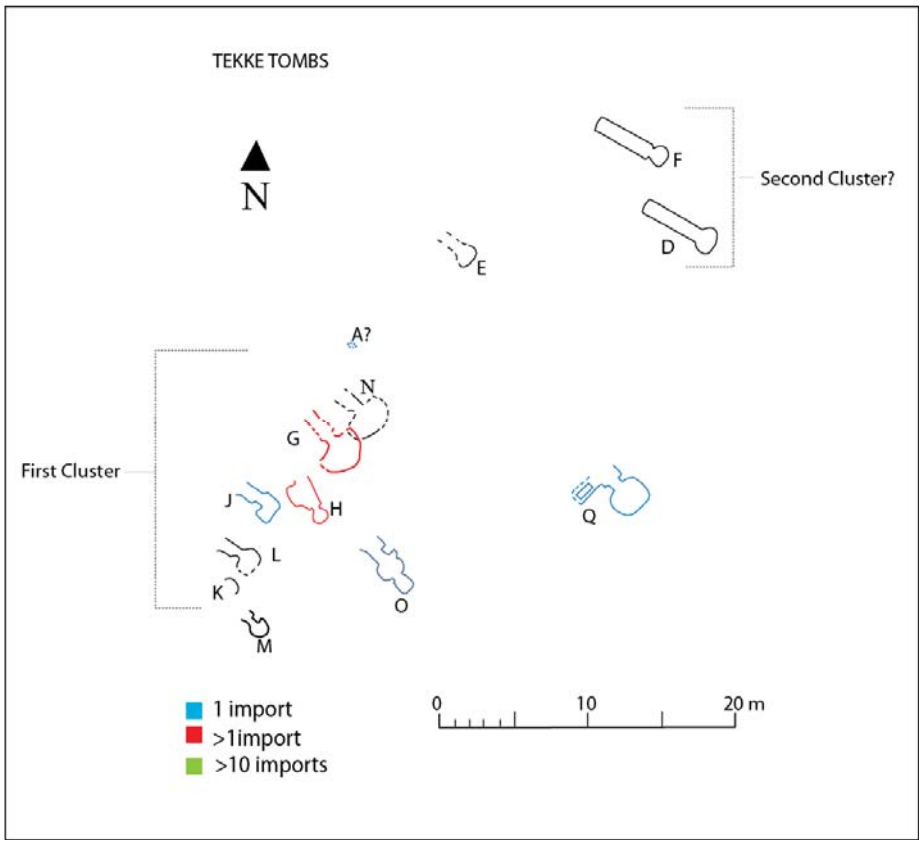



**Figure 16: Distribution of imports at Teke (Map redrawn after Coldstream and Catling 1996, figures 1-6)**

As far as the grouping of the tombs is concerned, one can notice that the few oriental imports are located only in the first cluster[68]. This group of tombs is at a considerable distance from the Medical Faculty and one can again observe a degree of independence from the main funeral site. The amount of imports might not be very large but the quality and significance of the bronze bowls might reveal a special relation of gift exchanges with foreign people.

A site which was found in a very poor state of preservation is the Fortetsa NE, which constitutes another part of the North Cemetery.

[68]Cavanagh prefers to call it "Cluster VII" because he considers it as part of the Medical Faculty group. I do not think that this group of tombs belongs to the Medical Faculty Cemetery due to its distance from the core of the Sub-Minoan tombs of the latter.

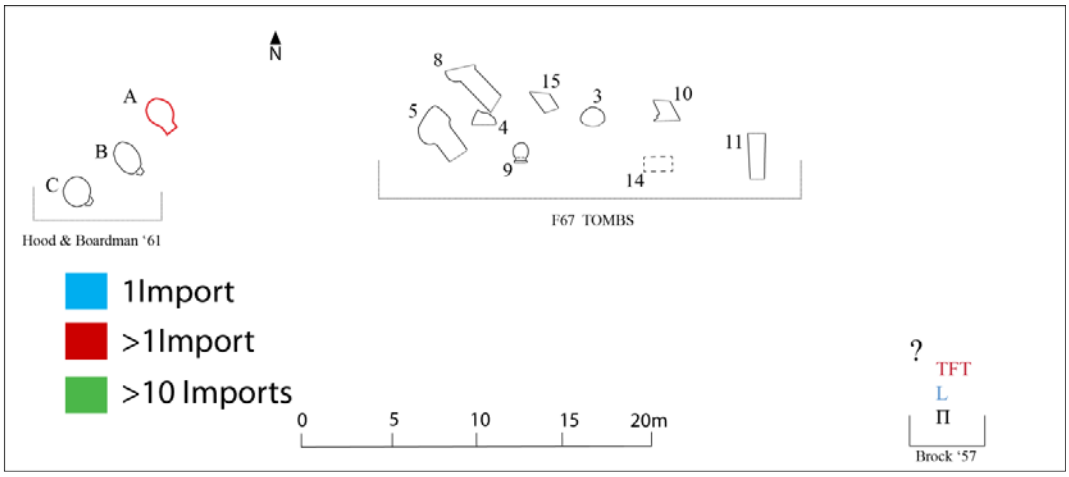



**Figure 17: Distribution of imports at Fortetsa NE (Map redrawn after Coldstream and Catling 1996, figures 1-6 and Hood and Bordman 1961, 68). The location of the tombs from different excavation was calculated by the present author.**

The location of the most important tombs at this site was lost after their excavation before World War II (TFT, L and Π). However, the gold diadem from Cyprus (tomb L) and finds from TFT tomb suggest that this possible cluster must have been the most important at this site. The distance from the main core of the cemetery is again considerable.

A great need for oriental objects can also be seen in the Khaniale Teke tombs, even if two of these tombs were found almost destroyed. Except for the well documented debate about the golden jewellery of Tomb 2 and whether it belonged to an elite member or to an oriental craftsman (Boardman 1954, Hoffman 1997, Kotsonas, 2006), it is evident that a large amount of imported material has been discovered in this tomb.Apart from two pots from Cyprus, all the other imported finds are related to ornaments and metalwork. This fact reveals how misleading the partial study of pottery can be. If one combines the fact that most of the products originated from the Phoenician coast or were Phoenician imitations of Egyptian products, then one can see that the people buried in the tomb had a very obvious taste for all these oriental products - a taste or a need that could not be satisfied only with local products or other Greek objects imported from the mainland and the islands. On the basis of the evidence one could say that the Knossians who used this Tomb did not seem to share the same taste for oriental pottery, as they did for metal objects. The vast majority

pots are either local or come from Athens or the Aegean. This view, however, changes slightly if one takes into consideration the presence of six Creto-Cypriot lekythoi.

The fact that a Late Minoan tomb is reused reveals a clear connection with the Minoan past. A broken symbol of "horns of consecration" was discovered in the tomb. Despite the fact the Teke Tholos Tomb has been found in a looted state, it reveals that those who used this tomb in the PGB period were very fond not only of Minoan times but also of imports coming for the East (Plate VIII).

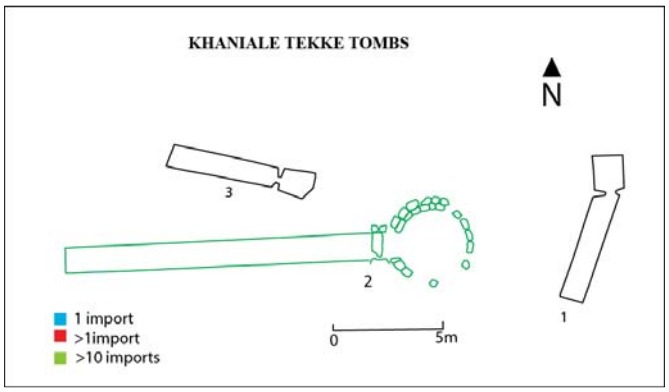



**Figure 18a: Distribution of imports at Khaniale Teke (Hutcinson 1954, 215)**

This feature suggests once more that these tombs must have belonged to an PGB *elite*, which was either sentimentally attached to a LM tomb and to its past, or that the people buried there did not want to associate themselves to people buried at the Medical Faculty site.

The next site is Fortetsa SE and all the archaeologists who have written about EIA Knossos agree that this is a separate cemetery. Evidence from surveys suggests that there were not EIA tombs between the site of Fortetsa SE and the North Cemetery (Coldstream and Catling 1996). Despite the fact that this site is smaller than the Medical Faculty and much more restricted in comparison to the extended North Cemetery (including all its sub-groups), it also had a different character.

First of all, it is the exemplary publication of Brock which sets the standards for all the following publications (Coldstream and Catling 1996). Then, the fact that ten out of the 18

tombs were found almost intact and probably not pillaged is of great importance.From the point of view of the oriental imports, the significance of this cemetery is probably of equal importance to that of the North Cemetery. The following map illustrates the distribution of the imports.

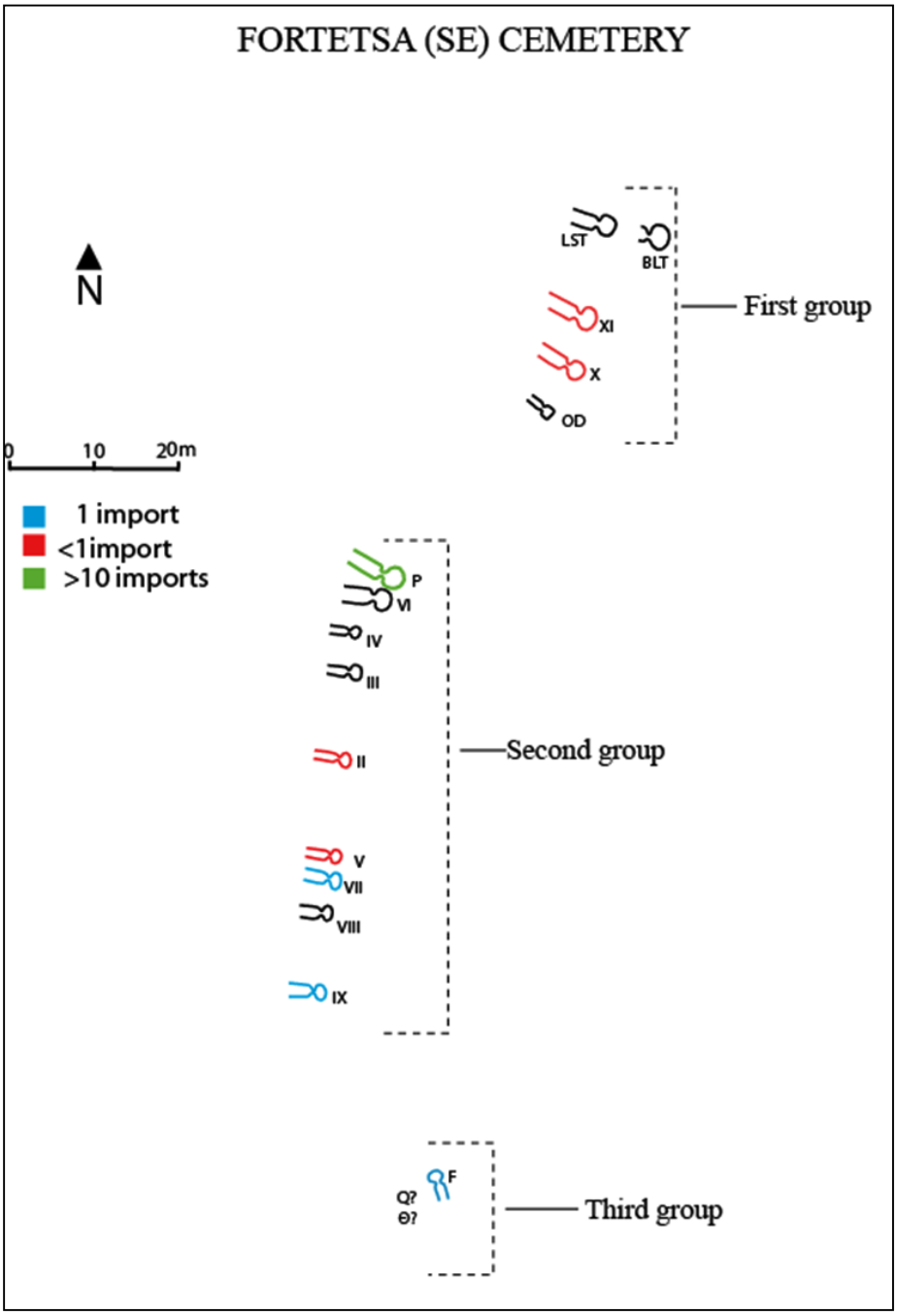



**Figure 18: Distribution of imports at Fortetsa NE (Map redrawn after Brock 1957, figure 2)**

At Fortetsa SE more than half of the tombs have at least one oriental import or more. Tomb P, which contains more pots and objects than any other tomb across all the cemeteries, is apparently positioned between two different groups of tombs (first and second group).

In his study of the iron objects from the North Cemetery (1996, 596), Snodgrass makes a comparison between the two cemeteries (North Cemetery and Fortetsa SE) and states that both groups that used the cemeteries had similar customs and "*an individual in one group, of whatever status, would have his close counterpart in the neighbouring group*[69]" (ibid). In terms of the iron objects, Snodgrass must be right, but this might not be the case for oriental imports.

First of all, it must be mentioned that the Fortetsa SE cemetery "began" its function after the end of the Sub-Minoan period[70]. The distribution of the tombs in linear array is much clearer in contrast to the the Medical Faculty cemetery, where there is a persistence of burying the dead near the 200-201-202 complex area.

At Fortetsa SE, people do not construct new tombs after MG but continue to use the same ones instead of constructing pit caves or other types, which seem easier to be constructed than a chamber tomb. Overall, there seems to be a strict hierarchic order and calm at the Fortetsa SE that cannot be found in the chaotic Knossos North Cemetery.

The fact that the richest tomb (at least in quantities) and the biggest in burials (around 70) of all tombs at Knossos is located at the Fortetsa SE cemetery (Tomb P) reveals that the tombs surrounding were not meant as a statement of competition against or independence from this tomb. Tomb P simply dominates the cemetery and also contains a few obeloi but not as many as the tombs of the Medical Faculty site (285, 283).

At the Kephala Ridge cemetery, the amount of evidence is very limited. Not many things can be said on the location of the tombs, except that all of them seem to have been constructed before EIA and, thus, the cluster that these tombs constitute is more associated

[69] He separates the tombs in groups according to the kind of iron objects they contain (arms, tools etc.)
[70] Catling is the only author who believes that Tomb at Forttsa SE belongs to Sub-Minoan Period. Coldstream on the other hand strongly supports that Fortetsa SE cemetery is of PGB date.

with those of the BA cemeteries. However, it is interesting to highlight that a part of the SM society did not choose to bury its people at the North cemetery. Importantly, three out of seven tombs contain at least one import. No imported pottery or imitations were found. The bronze tripod is considered either as an import or as a faithful imitation.

At Ayios Ioannis, despite the fact that at least two tombs were discovered with rich content in terms of furniture, such as Tomb I and Tomb VIII, the only oriental import found there was a few fragments of faience beads. It must be pointed out that this tomb contained 59 pots and four objects respectively, while Tomb VIII contained 15 pots and five small fins, but none of them was oriental.

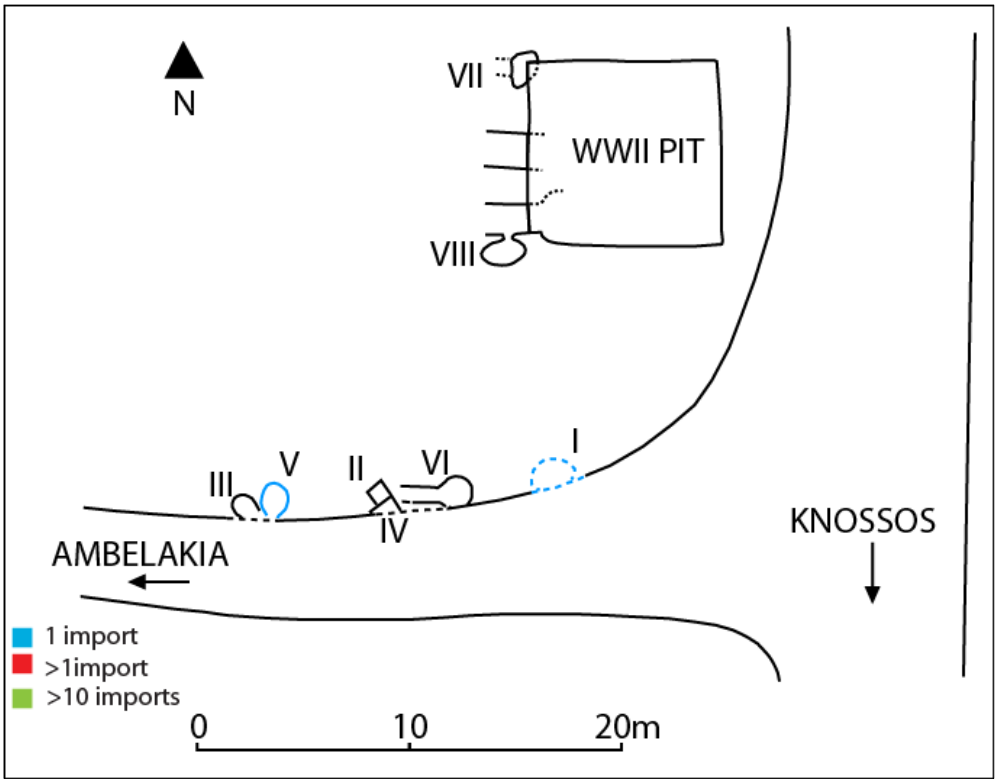



**Figure 19: Distribution of imports at Ayios Ioannis (Map redrawn after Boardman 1960, 128 )**

The absence of oriental finds and close imitations of oriental products is either due to the destruction and looting of the tombs or because the people buried there did not have a taste

for such goods. Tomb I, for example, even though it contained at least 59 pots and was in use during the same period as tomb V, has no imports in its context.

In Atsalenio, although the rest of the Geometric tombs have not been fully published, it is more than clear that this burial site is distinct from the North Cemetery. It is also clear that the use of oriental pottery must have been important to the people buried there and this is why exact copies and freer imitations were also used in this cemetery, such as in Tomb A. The date of Tomb A and its context though is more similar to the Fortetsa SE than to the North Cemetery. Perhaps the smaller satellite cemeteries had more in common with each other than with the central one. Tombs A and B at Atsalenio, which are of identical construction and dating, contain a small but interesting portion of oriental pottery and local imitations. Tomb A has one Cypriot and one local Oinochoe imitation and maybe this reveals the need to copy something that at that time was not abundant.

The isolated tomb at the Lower Gypsades hill contains only a few imports but its importance lies more in its isolation and in the fact that a considerable number of pots (at least ten) are adaptations of BoR juglets.

Finally in the re-used Minoan cemeteries of Upper Gypsades and Mavro Spilio no imports were found with the exception of an Iron knife in tomb VII at Upper Gypsades. The main difference between the two cemeteries is that Upper Gypsades was re-used only at the end of the Bronze Age, while Mavro Spilio almost at the end of the Iron Age. It is a surprise, though, that in the re-used tombs at Mavro Spilio not even one Creto-Cypriot lekythos was found in a period that this pot was very popular among the Knossian society (LG-LO).

So far, we have seen that the tombs which contained imports belonged to the highest rank of the Knossian elite. The use of imports is probably related not only to the manifestation of a rich dead person and a lavish ritual during the funeral, but also to a part of the Knossian society whose eclecticism served as means of differentiating itself from the rather more conservative people buried at the old centre of the Medical Faculty Cemetery. Finally, religious affinities with the Near-East in the form of rituals for the preparation of the dead and amulets inside the urns should not be entirely ruled out.

The way that the tombs in the Knossian cemeteries are associated reminds us the study of Mee and Cavanagh for the clustering of rich and poor tombs at the Mycenaean cemeteries. Especially in the case of the Medical Faculty site is more than clear that tombs are not clustered according to their wealth and I may add not according to their size neither. In our case is again clear that another way to mark the difference between the various elite groups is the use of oriental imports.

Regarding imitations and spatial distribution, it must be noted that from the 160 pots which are either imitations or adaptations of oriental imports, 20 are juglets deriving from prototypes which were not found in Knossos (Red mikassius clay Bucchero type), even if they imitate the decoration and shape of the prototype models faithfully.

From the rest 140 pots, about 40 are close copies of BoR I or II. The vast majority of these juglets are located in Tombs 283, 219, 293 and P. The status of these tombs as a mark of a possible difference or new Elite which emerged at the end of 9$^{th}$ century has already been demonstrated. The amount of Phoenician and Cypriot pottery found in these tombs was also sown in the catalogue in chapter four.

Inside the tombs, in a rather chaotic context where urns had been pushed away to make room for other burials, it seems that oriental pots and their imitations were found in close association, probably accompanying the same burial. A possible interpretation of this is that the people who used original pots needed more space (most probably for the material they carried) and therefore used copies.

This need was initially covered by creating close imitations of oriental imports, but, a few years later, several free imitations and adaptations stepped in to satisfy the demand. The Creto-Cypriot Lekythos/juglet is the most famous example: although it partly departed from the original pot, it still maintained the basic oriental features of the prototype, without any influence from local or Attic traditions, and only in Late Orientalising Period did it acquire some local decoration (Coldstream 2002b, 42).

What is striking, though, is that Tombs P and 219 are again the ones containing the highest number of Creto-Cypriot Lekythoi, even though these pots are more evenly distributed than other shapes. It also seems that the oldest Creto-Cypriot Lekythoi were used first in the MG period in Tomb 292 together with bichrome III juglets.

If one also takes into account that in each tomb no more than three (maximum seven) burials were produced per generation, then there is again the possibility that both original pots and imitations were used in the same burial. It appears totally plausible that BoR juglets and their imitations were considered of equal importance. Wealthy Knossians probably did not even know that the faithful local imitations were indeed imitations. However, the opposite view can also be that there were the rich Knossians who created a demand for Knossian imitations, because of a probable shortage in the importation of the originals or because they wanted to control the production of this product if we bear in mind Whitley's "social rationing" (1994). For the Knossians, the shape and decoration of the jug must have been the trademark indicating the oils and scents that those jugs were carrying.

Scholars have talked about the establishment of a Phoenician or Cypriot unguent factory near Knossos, providing local society with Levantine fragrances and oil (Coldstream 1979, 261-2; 1986, 324; Jones 1993, 293-303, Hoffman 1997, Schreiber 2002, Kotsonas 2011a). Certainly, the vessel par excellence for transporting and using these oils was the BoR juglet. Hoffman (1997, 176-185) and Schreiber (2002, 299-306) discard the possibility of a Phoenician factory. Hoffman maintains that a pot can be copied for "itself and not as unguent" (ibid, 181). However, since the quality of the clay of the BoR juglets was not that great, it is hard to believe that these pots went to the richest tomb just for their (not so fancy, to my eyes) appearance.

Is it possible then that the shape of a pot, even its colour, was mostly dictated by the liquid it contained? One should mention that the Greek name for vases, such as Oinochoe (for wine) and hydria (for water) etc., had a direct reference to the function of the pot. The

decoration was perhaps important but it was the use of a pot that made it suitable for a task or not. I wish to explore this position further with the following ethnographic example.

In one of my trips to Crete (March, 2010) I visited various pottery workshops in order to have a look at the local modern small slow-pouring vessels and understand their function. Certainly, I also had the rather romantic hope to find some connections between ancient and modern pottery shapes. The workshops I visited are located on the road between Heraklion and Knossos and at the old city of Rethimnon. In general, the modern juglets in Crete are separated into two categories, the ones used for *raki* or *tsikoudia*, which is the local popular spirit, and the others for pouring olive oil in small quantities in meals. Based on the vessels I saw, I noted that those used for *raki* have a round mouth, with a small round lip. Importantly, some share a distant resemblance to the Attic Lekythoi (they had no handle either).The other category consists of trefoil lipped-juglets of the same size (about 10cm) which are used for pouring olive oil and share a similarity with the Phoenician juglets, having only a different mouth. In the following picture one can see those pots before the second firing, which will give them a glazed appearance.


**Figure 20: pots from a modern Knossian workshop (photograph author)**

The potters were very concerned with the final colour and glaze of the pot, besides its shape. A potter at Rethimnon told me that the red and orange colours (which are similar to the ancient frit) were very nice and attractive but, because of their chemical composition, could not hold spirits, such as *raki,* since they can pass through the clay. As a result, a layer

of moisture appears at the bottom of the pot after a few hours. With olive oil, however, there is no such problem, because it is thicker than *raki* due to its molecular composition. For this reason, they tend to use the blue quartz as glaze for *raki*, while for oil they prefer the red/orange glaze.

In my enquiry about the shape of the pots I was told that they do not follow any ancient tradition (as I was hoping to hear), but are more like experiments in order to find the most attractive shapes for the function of the pot. The shape is also dictated by practical reasons: for example, the oil has to be poured in small quantities and not all of it with one movement of the hand. The handle must also allow the hand to pour the oil with a short movement so as to not require much effort. In the next photo there is a pot that demands (according to its maker) more effort from the wrist in order to pour the oil, so it cannot be called a successful shape.

**Figure 21: Pot from a workshop at Rethimnon (photograph author)**

The target group for all these pots is not only tourists, but also locals. With this example, I wish to show that there is always the possibility of reusing the same shapes in order to get the desired results and that the shape serves not so much the artistic need (all these vessels have a domestic use, in houses or taverns) but is rather dictated by the liquid contained. One can see then that modern Cretan pottery makers are very concerned with the function of the pot and not that much with its appearance. Perhaps, ancient Cretans were also concerned how they could carry and use oil fragrances and for this reason they selected oriental shapes and colours and eventually imitated completely the BoR pots.

## Cluster analysis

Finally, another way to approach this large amount of evidence is the combination of a series of variables using average linkage, in order to get a further understanding, by combining not only the distribution of the imports, but also the size of each tomb and the number of burials found in each one of them.. As shown so far, there is a series of tombs such as Tomb P at Fortetsa SE, Tombs 292, 285, 219 at the Medical Faculty and Tomb 2 at Khaniale Teke), which have been associated with all the possible different categories related to oriental pots and their imitations. The dating of these tombs in relation to their location has also revealed that they belonged to a part of the elite which did not wish any longer to be a part (after LPG/PGB) of the elite which was buried around Tombs 200-201-202 and 186 Tombs at the Medical Faculty site. The use of oriental imports was an instrument of differentiation.

In order to test this hypothesis one should run a cluster analysis with a wide utilization of variables, which will allow accessing the evidence from a totally different point of view. The variables to be used will be related not only to oriental objects, but also to how rich or not a tomb can be and certainly how many burials it might contain. Namely the variables are:

1. number of pots per tomb
2. number of oriental pots per tomb
3. number of finds per tomb
4. number of oriental finds per tomb
5. number of imports or imitations per tomb
6. number of imitations per tomb
7. number of burials per tomb
8. chamber's surface

The combination of eight variables seems to me as a safe tool to analyse all the different kinds of evidence from the study of the catalogues of the cemeteries. Most of the data can

be found in the various publications. Cremation burials were calculated by counting cremation urns even if they were empty, as explained in chapter 2. All the data can be seen in Appendices I and II at the end of the thesis. With inhumations it was relatively easier. The biggest difficulty was calculating the chambers' surface, because this is not provided in the various catalogues. In order to find out the surface I had to redraw the plans of the chambers using the AutoCAD program in a specific scale. The results of the cluster analysis are shown on the following dendrogram:

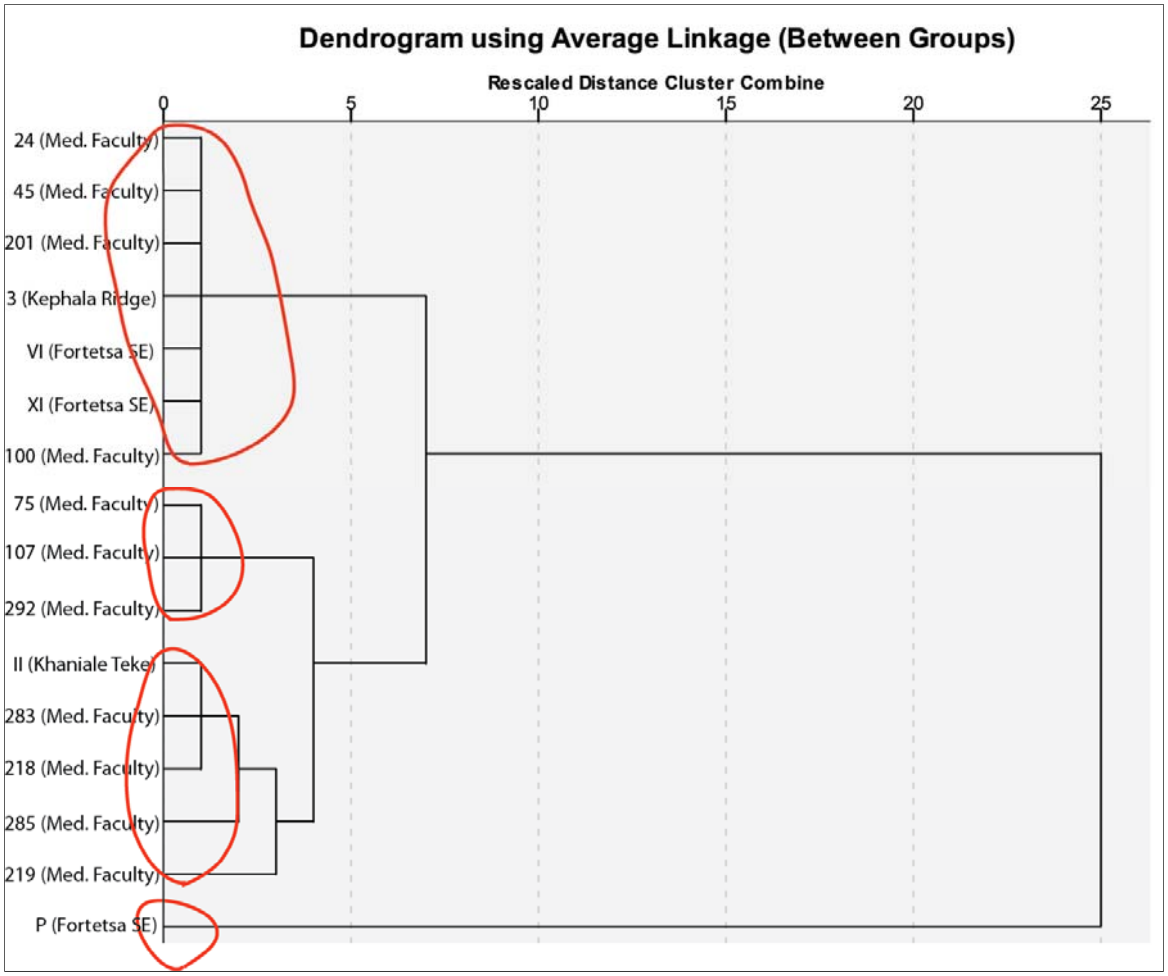



**Table 20: Dendrogram of tomb clusters**

Four groups were indicated as representing a breakdown of the data, the rest of the tombs were finally dismissed by the cluster analysis program as insignificant for these variables.

The groups are:

**Group 1**: one tomb (P Fortetsa SE)

**Group 2**: five tombs (219, 285, 218, 283 Medical Faculty and II Khaniale Teke)

**Group 3**: three tombs (292, 107, 75 Medical Faculty)

**Group 4**: seven tombs (100 Medical Faculty, XI, VI Fortetsa SE, 3 Kephala Ridge, 201, 45, 24 Medical Faculty)

An initial surprise could be that Tomb P does not belong to any group but, on the contrary, forms a group on its own. This, however, could have been expected, since this tomb has an outstanding presence of all the categories but one (number of imports or imitations: bronze tripods were not found and the recovered obeloi were few). In the categories of the total number of pots, finds and imitations are the most numerous by far, while as far as oriental finds and pots are concerned it is also among the first. Unfortunately, it is one of the few tombs with unknown dimensions, but we do know that it was not a Tholos tomb and that it was probably constructed in LPG. Therefore, its dimensions must have been at least big (more than 4m² for the chamber)[71]. For this dendrogram Tomb P is the outlier.

The next group includes all the tombs which in the second-level analysis were considered as exceptionally rich and part of the new elite which made extensive use of oriental objects. The starting point for all of them is EPG. Only 283 have a slightly later date (PGB).

[71] For Brock (1954) a chamber with 4m² surface is considered a big chamber.

The only tomb which does not belong to this group is the tomb 292, since it belongs to the next one (Group 3). This group is as rich as the previous ones and even richer. The fact that might make the difference is that the dimensions of these tombs are practically equal (about 3.5m²). Moreover, all of them are also located at a considerable distance from the old burial centre.

One would expect that tombs 292 and 285 would have been in the same group since both of them belong to the same cluster (cluster VI) at the Medical Faculty site. Perhaps Tomb 285 is more important than tomb 292 and the reason might well be that the former has the biggest amount of obeloi out of all the tombs and cemeteries. Perhaps the use of obeloi is finally much more important than expected.

The most intriguing group is the last one (Group four) where the most important tombs of the old aristocratic "regime" can be seen. First of all, it is the pit-cave 201 which was constructed and used exclusively in the Sub-Minoan period. Of the same period are tombs 24 and 45, which are at a few meters' distance at the Medical Faculty site. Tomb 3 from Kephala Ridge was also used in the SM period, although it was of an earlier (Late Minoan?) construction.

The other three tombs are of a later date (from EPG-LPG) and contain few imports, but not even one imported pot. As far as the imitations are concerned, only one bucchero type Oinochoe (Tomb VI, catalogue no 92, Brock 1957, 14) was discovered, which represents another kind of function unrelated to the vast majority of the oriental juglets.

I would risk saying that this group is one of the most revealing, because it shows that oriental pottery and its imitations were finally a very important way for manifesting the difference between the elites and perhaps the tombs which had no oriental pots (nor imitations) at all might belong to the category of the older and more aristocratic elite.

Once again what becomes very obvious is a separation between the different groups of tombs at Knossos. It is not certain whether this separation also marks a deep political

division among the Knossians, but at least marks their different ideological means they use to manifest their social position.

# Conclusion

As explained in the first chapter, the method employed in this thesis does not strictly follow only one theoretical approach. On the contrary, it combines wherever possible, the different methods of processual, post post-processual and interpretive reapprochment therories, in order to understand the Early Iron Age social structure.

Furthermore, from the beginning of this project it has been stated that it was not written as an explanation of the Homeric verses, nor to give new historical explanations to the relation of the Knossians with the Near East. It was not planned neither as a synthesis of the whole island, not even of the North-Central Crete. Knossos is a particular case and definitely not the most representative of the beginning of the EIA. There are other sites such as Karphi and Kavousi that maybe reflect better what went on after the end of the BA (Wallace 2010, 159; Nowinci 2000). The diversity of the island has been noted by all the specialists of this period.

However, at this final stage I believe it is appropriate to include a linear description of Knossian society after the Bronze Age, based on the mortuary evidence and in relation to the use of the oriental imports as presented and analysed in this thesis.

The Sub-Minoan period covers the 11$^{th}$ century and from the published tombs studied in this thesis, there are 36[72] tombs from all the sites containing evidence of this period. Six of them are of an earlier date, but contain Sub-Minoan burials and the rest of them were probably constructed in SM times. From the latter category, 12 of them were only used in the Sub-Minoan period, while the rest were also used in later periods without necessarily continuous usage.

During the SM period, immediately after the LM IIIc, there were people that still used Minoan tombs for burials (at Kephala Ridge, Ayios Ioannis and Upper Gypsades), while others established a new funeral site at the Medical Faculty, where no Minoan tombs were

[72] I have counted the burial complex 200-201-202 as three individual tombs in the way that is excavated. It could certainly be counted as one multiple tomb, as well.

found at least in its core. In this site one can see "warrior" burials of traditional Mycenaean fashion. Around this core, the first clusters of chamber tombs of Sub-Minoan dating were formed (Coldsrteam and Catling 1996).

The differentiation in the use of older and newer tombs can be explained only up to a certain point. As Wallace rightfully notes, the fact that not anybody was able to re-use older tombs suggests that the appropriation of the visible past was an elite activity not only in the SM period but also even in later periods (2003, 270 footnote 79). There is also a big deference in the rites between the intrusive burials and the burials placed in newly constructed tombs. The Sub-Minoan intrusive or secondary burials at Kephala Ridge, Ayios Ioannis and Upper Gypsades are all inhumations and thus follow the pre-existing rite of the Minoan tomb; on the contrary, the burials in the new tombs at Medical Faculty are cremations. Coldstream and Catling prefer to link the difference to the funeral rites with political disputes between those who are buried during SM times in the Medical Faculty site and those not (1996, 715).

This is also the period that imports from the Near East begin to travel to Crete again, if there ever was a real interruption between those two regions. The fact, however, that these imports are often dated to the Late Minoan period does not help explain whether the imports reached Crete earlier and were used as heirlooms, or whether they were valuable gifts that reached Crete as part of gift-exchange process between the Elites of Crete and Near East. There is also the third case mentioned by Catling that they were personal property of Heroes who returned to Crete after their wanderings in the East and perhaps to the involving in the 'legendary' events of 1200 BC (1996c, 649). However this explanation still fits in the gift-exchange process.

In any case, it must be said that there is only a limited amount of such imports, which can only be seen in Tombs 200-201-202, which have been characterised as warrior graves (direct interpretation) or at least as graves with a strong symbolism of arms and warrior activity (processual interpretation) or simply as graves to which society imposed the role of the warrior (post-processual interpretation). In order to add a historical approach on this

subject it can be said that this social framework, where only the most prominent members of the society seem to receive a proper and elaborate burial, is probably where the gift exchanges of the Homeric society fit best.

What is even more very intriguing about Knossos though is the structure of a society which had knowledge of a glorious past, either Minoan and/or Minoan-Mycenaean and perhaps was able to choose and use any of them[73]. Regardless of what most scholars tend to think, amnesia is a not one of the symptoms of the "Dark Age" people (sic).

The 10th century is mostly represented by the end of the Sub-Minoan period, the whole of the EPG period (970-920) and the beginning of the MPG (920-870) period. There is a considerable increase in the construction of the tombs. At least 60 tombs were constructed in the 10th century after the end of the Sub-Minoan period.

Without a doubt, the most important incident in this period is the establishment of the Fortetsa SE cemetery. This is also the period that Cluster VI at the Medical Faculty site is created. As regards imports, from the beginning of PG, the tombs around P in Fortetsa and those from Cluster VI at the Medical Faculty start to accept a significant amount of oriental imports unparallel to any other burial site with the exception of the Teke tholos tomb (a reused LM tomb), which is also at a considerable distance from the core of the Medical Faculty.

My interpretation is that in this period a part of the Knossians did not want to be associated anymore with the Sub-Minoan past and its class, which was represented by the people buried around Tomb 200-201-202. For this reason, they decide to create a new group of tombs inside the site of the Medical Faculty and as well as a new cemetery at Fortetsa SE. However, according to the evidence provided by the settlement and the cult activity, they did not leave the central settlement.

The 9th century is also very important from a different point of view. The first is the numbers of oriental imports that reaches Knossos and ends up in tombs is much higher than

[73] See Whitley 2002 for a an analysis on subject of choosing a past concerning the Eteo-Cretans.

before and clearly belong to the Cypro-Phoenician repertoire. The second is the interest of the Knossians for their remote Minoan (and not Sub-Minoan) past or, as Coldstream puts it, "*Minus Redivivus"* (1998, 59; Coldstream and Catling 1996, 715), which he attributes to the nostalgia of some EIA Knossians.

Two are the objections to Coldstream's view. First, he calls this past "*Heroic"* probably in a Homeric sense. I believe that Minoans had nothing to do with the heroic past. This past must belong to the Sub-Minoan period with the "warrior" graves and their prestige grave-goods buried together with their female partners, as represented in Tomb 200-201-202, or in Tomb 40 at Kourion, Kaloriziki, or slightly later in Toumba at Lefkandi in Euboea (Matthäus 1998, 140). Second, this nostalgia could in fact be a way to disguise the political agenda of some Knossians.

A part of the Late Ninth Century Knossians was not interested in this past but cared only for their earlier Minoan one. For this reason, they re-used the tholos tomb at Teke and possibly some Minoan chamber tombs at Medical Faculty site. Similarly, they also used LMIII A and B larnakes as coffins for their children. At the same time, Tombs that made a broad use of the past are partly the tombs that made a broad use of oriental imports always at a considerable distance from the Sub-Minoan centre of the Medical Faculty site. Namely these tombs are (cluster VI and Fortetsa SE around Tomb P).

Perhaps there is an association between the exotic material from the East and the exotic scenes of the Minoan past that made this people differentiate themselves as an elite alternative to the old one. Other traits of oriental art can also be found in pottery art and metalwork, which means that people were particularly attracted to this art from PGB onwards.

However, the acquisition of original imports and close imitations must have belonged only to a specific part of the society. Perhaps, on the other hand, this is related to the fact that these are the richest tombs that can afford all this high-cost deliberate destruction of wealth during a burial. They continue to receive imports during the MG period, especially BoR II

juglets. Oriental imports begin to have a wider distribution but still not very wide. Not all the newly established tombs did contain oriental imports.

The appreciation of imports led to the production of almost identical copies as well as other kinds of adaptations, all belonging to the Cyprus-Phoenician tradition. All these different adaptations might be related to perfume production, which was used in the preparation of the dead. After LG juglets almost cease to appear, but local imitations continue to be produced until the LO period.

Since most of the imports and the imitations are confined in the same cluster of tombs, one can talk at least for a kind of personal taste by a specific group of Knossians, which had the economic status of acquiring them. It is not known whether these wealthy tombs were the most aristocratic, but they were probably the wealthiest.

Despite the fact that there is a vast production of Creto-Cypriot Lekythoi during the EO period, most of the imports are now limited to faience amulets and beads, which can virtually have been produced everywhere, even on the Aegean islands. On the other hand, this seems to imply what happened at the end of the LO period at Knossos in 630 BC, when the use of the cemetery was probably abandoned and not many things can be said after this period.

Finally, as far as oriental imports are concerned, I believe that this thesis has made very clear that a contextual study of the imports in close comparison with their imitations can change the way we understand and evaluate the importance of imports and their imitations in an ancient society.

The importance of such a study is not related to whether there was production of BoR unguent pots by foreigners or by Knossians and other Cretans. It is extremely important that there was a need for oriental imports, such as pots by the Knossian elite, which consider them suitable to accompany the most important persons of the region to the tomb. This elite was so satisfied with these pots that it also used (and perhaps ordered and controlled) local imitations thereof. For this reason, one wonders whether the BoR or

Cypro-Phoenician pot, which was closely copied in Crete, is just another imitation, or whether one can name it Cretan BoR and associate it with a wider cultural Near Eastern context.

In fact, another question can be that, if all these prestige items made of precious metals were really exotic for the Knossians. I think that the answer is no. With the exception of the pendant from Luristan at Tholos P (Fortetsa SE) oriental imports did not come to Knossos from very distant places but just from its eastern "neighbourhood". Knossians, since the Late Minoan Period, were very familiar with the Phoenicians, Cypriots and North Syrians who crafted those prestige items. Maybe this long-established commercial relation could explain the appreciation of imports by the Knossians.

Snodgrass has argued that that Knossian society was conservative and cosmopolitan at the same time. This seems to be absolutely true, but perhaps it reflects two or even three different parts of the Knossian elite, which competed to each other by different means. One part used the glorious Sub-Minoan heroic past (clusters around 201 and 186 tombs), another part the relation to the East and Cyprus and a third one, which was not so spatially distinguishable from the second, turned to the Minoan era.

Moreover, Whitley has made very clear how different the Early Iron Age Athens and Knossos were. The scholar has interpreted the 9th century Athenian aristocracy as a class "*that went to great lengths to preserve other groups from usurping its symbolic privileges"* (1994, 60). This is the behaviour that he named 'social reasoning'. It seems that the class that ruled Knossos from the Sub-Minoan period to at least the beginning of the Late-Protogeometric period was not able to exercise the same discipline. On the contrary, from the end of the 10th century onwards, it is difficult to find more than a couple of oriental imports in the traditional burial ground at the centre of the Medical Faculty site.

The irony is that, after the end of the Bronze Age, the first dead who made use of the connection with Cyprus, was the one buried in tomb 201 with his bronze stand. However, few decades after his funeral, the emerging opposite elite groups which buried its members

mainly at cluster VI of the Medical Faculty and at Fortetsa SE took control of this connection.

Early Iron Age Knossos has become very important after the excavation of the North Cemetery. Around the archaeological area of the Bronze Age Palace there is still farmland which still remains unexcavated. Future investigations will bring more evidence for the settlement of that period in order to gain greater insight into the structure of this society.

However, before new and costly excavations begin in the distant future, one really hopes for the full publication of all those tombs at the north of Knossos near and inside Heraklion that will help us understand better the distribution of the cemeteries which lay outside the main Early Iron Age settlement but apparently were still associated with it.

# PLATES

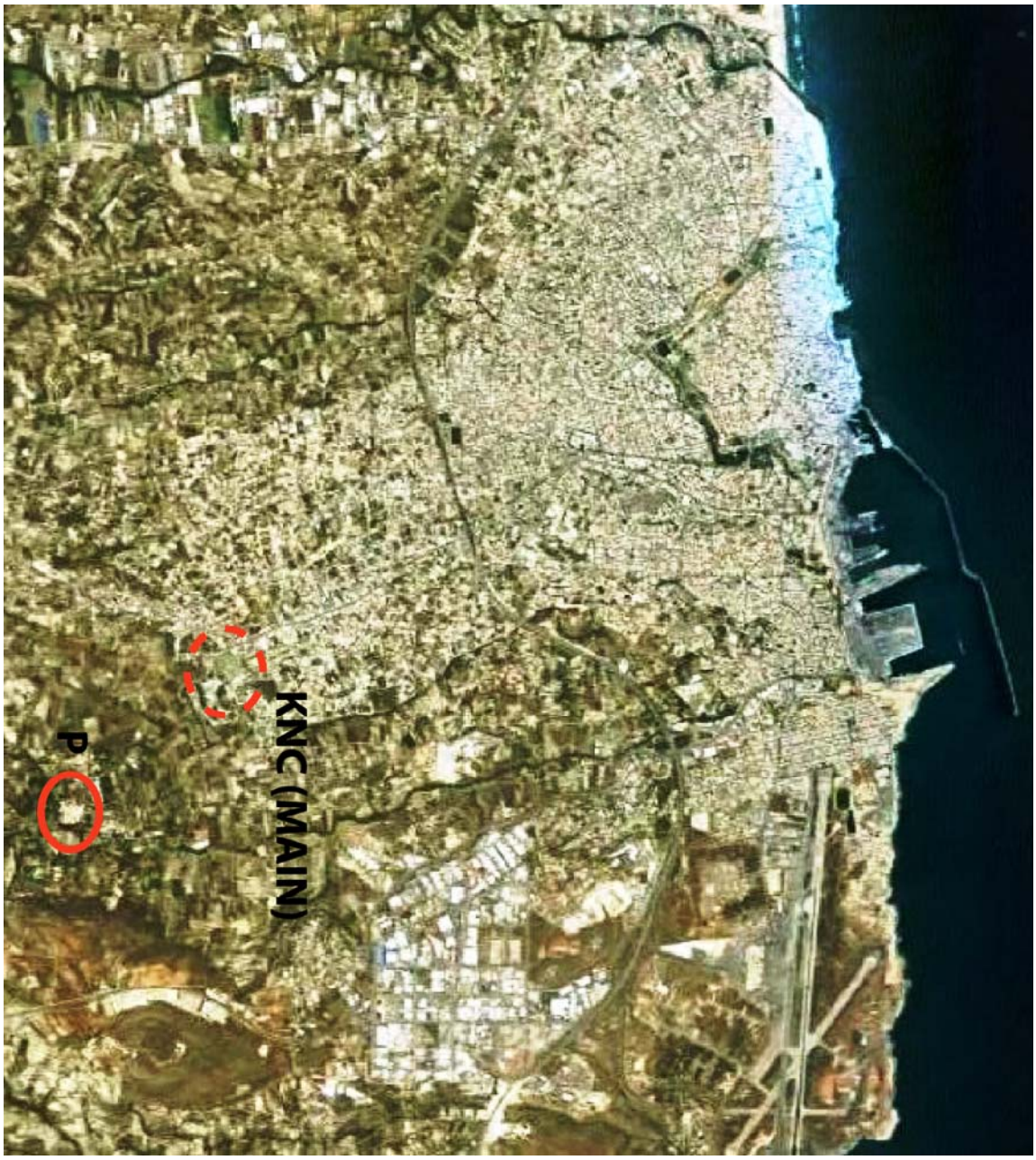



**Plate I: Aerial view of Knossos and Heraklion. The Capital of the island has expanded significantly towards the archaeological sites. In fact the core of Knossos North Cemetery (Teke and Medical Faculty sites) are lay below the Medical Faculty of the University of Crete (Google earth, October 2011).**

**Plate II**: **In this photo from Heraklion Hospital at Knossos, it is depicted the soft yellow limestone, which was ideal for the construction of the chamber-tomb (Photograph author).**

**Plate III: View of the valley of Knossos from the Acropolis Hill, west of the Palace (photograph author)**

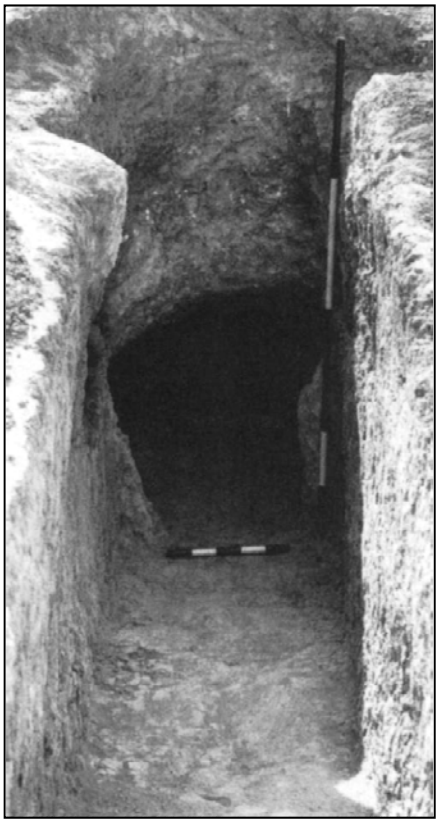


**Plate IV*: Dromos* and *stomion* of a chamber tomb. Tomb 125, Medical Faculty (after Coldstream and Catling 1996, Plate 30c)**

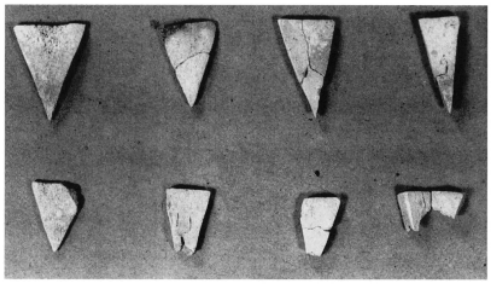
**Plate V: Cinerary urns after the *stomion.* Tomb 285, Medical Faculty (after Coldstream and Catling 1996)**

**Plate VI: The upper level of cremations in a chamber. Tomb A at Atsalenio, (after Davaras 1968)**

**Plate VII: The lower level of cremations in a chamber. Tomb A at Atsalenio, (after Davaras 1968)**

**Plate VIII A re-used Bronze Age Tholos tomb at Khaniale Teke, (after Hutchinson and Boardman 1954, Plate 19a)**

**Plate IX. A pit-cave at Medical Faculty. Tomb 186, Medical Faculty (after Coldstream and Catling 1996, Plate 33c)**



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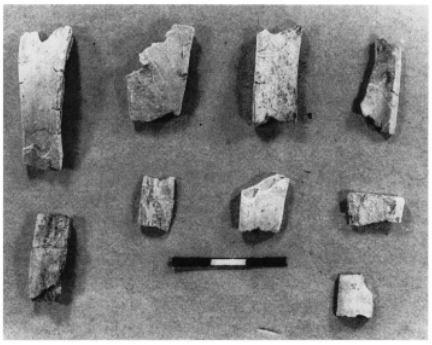

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**Plate X: Ivory, bone and boar's tusk. Fragments of a boar's tusk helmet. Tomb 201 from burial complex 200-201-202, Medical faculty (after Coldstream and Catling, 1996, Plate 278)**

**Plate XI**: **A boar's tusk helmet from a LM tomb from Knossos at the Museum of Heraklion.**

**(Photograph author)**

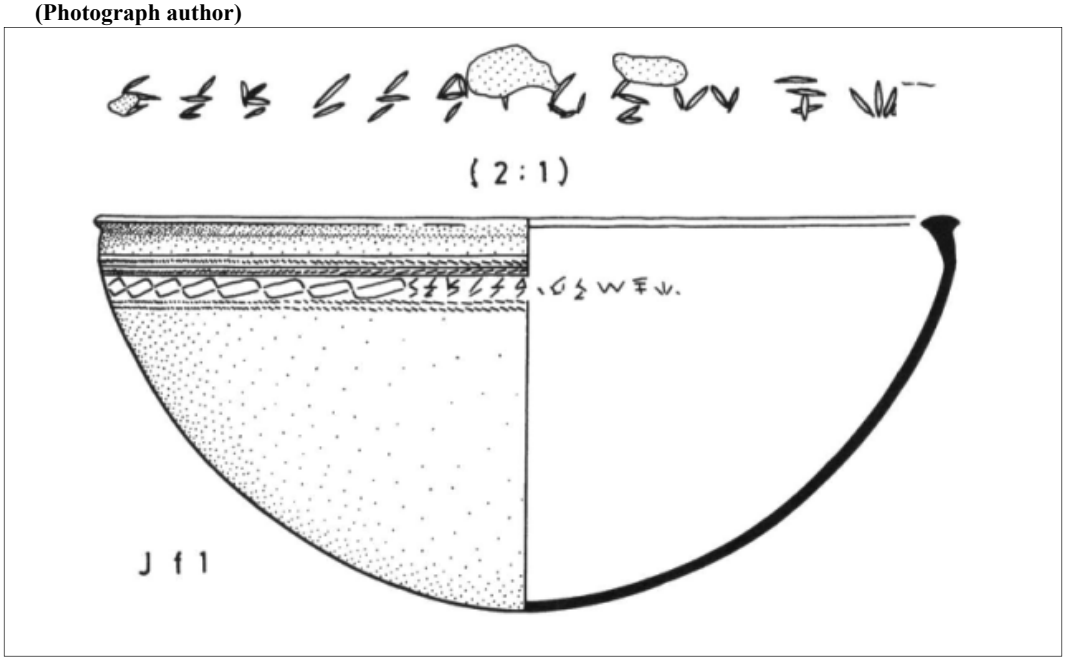


**Plate XII: Bronze bowl with Phoenician inscription. Tomb J, Teke, after Coldstream and Catling 1996, figure 157)**

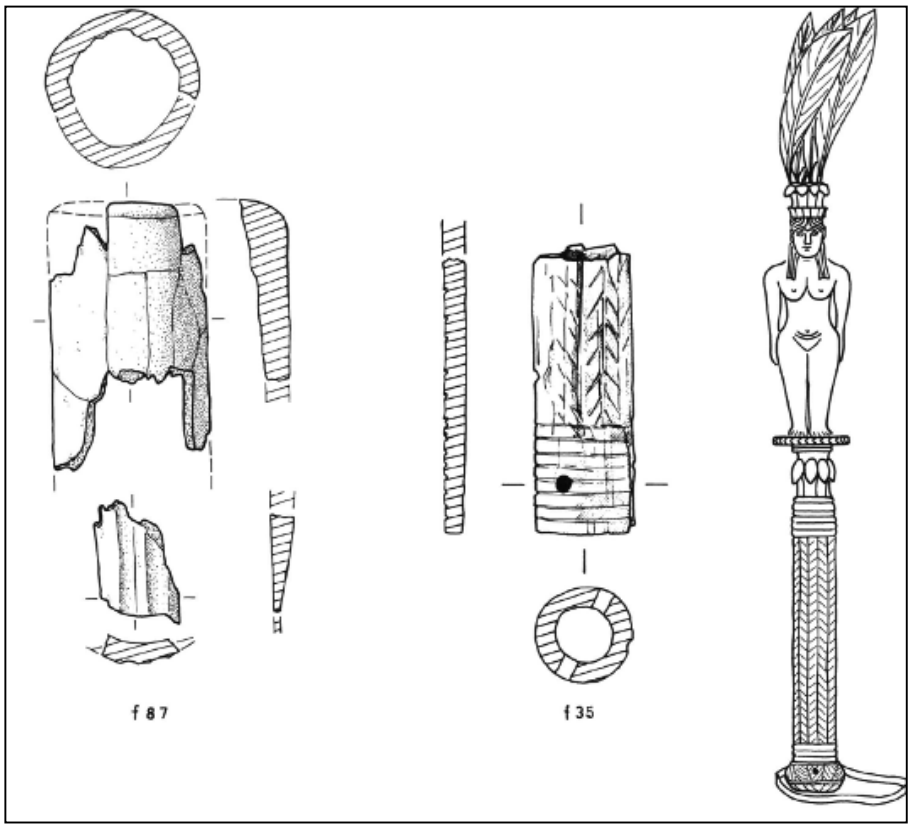


**Plate XIII Ivory handle from tomb 219 (Medical Faculty) e and *comparandum* from Nimrud. Tomb 292. Coldstream and Catling 1996, figure 189)**


**Plate XIV Faience figurine-Nefertum. Tomb 78 (Coldstream and Catling, 1996, Plate 297)**


**Plate XVI Faience figurine Ptah Embryon. Tomb 78 (Coldstream and Catling, 1996, Plate 297)**


**Plate XVI**: **Photograph and drawing of Scarab from Khaniale Teke after (Hutchinson and Boardman 1954, figure 3 and Plate 29)**

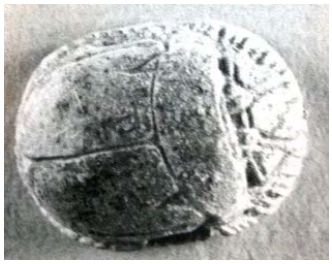

**Plate XVII: Photographs and drawing of scarab found in a cremation urn at the EIA cemetery of Al-Bass at Tyre (after Gamer-Wallert 2004, 407-408). There is a similarity in the shape of the scarabs and in the sitting figures, even if the Khaniale Teke scarab probably represents Maat and it is more simplified, while the second Horus (ibid). Both of the scarabs are made of light brown steatite. Both of them are likely to be dated in the first millennium BC.**

# APPENDIX I: The Tombs and the Burials

| Tomb | Type | Location | Dating | Disturbed | Inhumations | Cremations | Chamber's surface | Publication |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | ch. tomb | Khaniale Teke | O? | YES | | | 2.06m² | Hutchinson 1954 |
| 2 | tholos tomb | Khaniale Teke | PGB-EO | YES | | 21 | | Hutchinson 1954 |
| 3 | ch. tomb | Khaniale Teke | PGB-EO | YES | | 17 | 1.54m² | Boardman 1967 |
| A | ch. Tomb | Teke | PGB-LG | YES | | 3 | | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| B | Niche? | Teke | ? | YES | | 1 | | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| D | ch. tomb | Teke | LPG-PGB | YES | | 1 | 1.88m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| E | ch. tomb | Teke | LPG | YES | 2 | | 1.50m² | Sacket 1976 |
| F | ch. tomb | Teke | LPG-EO | YES | | 6 | 1.66m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| G | ch. tomb | Teke | MPG-EG | YES | | 11 | 5.63m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| H | ch. tomb | Teke | MG-EO | YES | | 7 | 0.71m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| J | ch. tomb | Teke | EPG-PGB | **NO** | | 2 | 2.13m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| K | ch. tomb | Teke | EPG-LPG | YES | | | | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| L | ch. tomb | Teke | MPG-PGB | YES | | 3 | 2.25m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| M | ch. tomb | Teke | EG-LG | YES | | 5 | 1.00m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| N | ch. tomb | Teke | LPG-EG | YES | | 5 | 5.26m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |

| Tomb | Type | Location | Dating | Disturbed | Inhumations | Cremations | Chamber's surface | Publication |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| O | ch. tomb | Teke | PG-LG | YES? | | 18 | 1.34m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| Q | ch. tomb | Teke | MPG-O | YES | | 19 | 4.67m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| - | ch. tomb | Teke | EPG | YES | 2 | | | Coldstream 1963 |
| 1 | ch. tomb | Medical Faculty | MG-EO? | YES | | 7 | 1.57m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 2 | pit-cave | Medical Faculty | SM | YES | 1 | 1 | 1.64m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 8 | ch. tomb | Medical Faculty | LG | YES | | 2 | 1.70m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 9 | pit-cave? | Medical Faculty | ? | YES | | | | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 13 | ch. tomb | Medical Faculty | PGB-EG | YES | | 10 | 1.09m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 14 | ch. tomb | Medical Faculty | G-LO | YES | | 7 | 1.25m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 16 | ch. tomb | Medical Faculty | SM-MG? | **NO** | 1 | | 1.37m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 18 | ch. tomb | Medical Faculty | SM-MG* | **NO** | | 2 | 1.88m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 19 | ch. tomb | Medical Faculty | LG-EO | **NO** | | 4 | 1.83m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 24 | ch. tomb | Medical Faculty | SM-EPG | YES | | 3 | 2.80m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 25 | ch. tomb | Medical Faculty | SM-EO | YES | | 1 | 2.59m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 26 | pit-cave? | Medical Faculty | SM-LO* | YES | | 4 | 2.62m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 28 | ch. tomb | Medical Faculty | LPG-EO | **NO** | | 2 | 2.27m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 30 | ch. tomb | Medical Faculty | EPG-O | YES | | | 1.91m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |

| Tomb | Type | Location | Dating | Disturbed | Inhumations | Cremations | Chamber's surface | Publication |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 31 | larnax burial? | Medical Faculty | MG-LG | YES | | | | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 34 | ch. tomb | Medical Faculty | LO | YES | Faculty | 4 | 2.20m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 40 | ch. tomb | Medical Faculty | SM-LO* | YES | | 8 | 2.75m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 44 | ch. tomb | Medical Faculty | ? | YES | | | 2.90m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 45 | ch. tomb | Medical Faculty | SM-LO | YES | 1 | 1 | 2.07m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 48 | ch. tomb | Medical Faculty | SM-LO* | YES | | 4 | 4.28m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 55 | ch. tomb | Medical Faculty | EPG | YES | | | 1.45m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 56 | ch. tomb | Medical Faculty | SM-LO* | YES | | 3 | 1.78m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 57 | ch. tomb | Medical Faculty | LO | YES | | 2 | 1.53m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 59 | pit | Medical Faculty | O | YES | | 2 | | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 60 | ch. tomb | Medical Faculty | ? | YES? | | 7 | 2.4m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 61 | ch. tomb | Medical Faculty | SM-LO* | YES | | | 1.86m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 63 | cremation pit? | Medical Faculty | PGB-MG | YES? | | 1 | | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 69 | part of t. 28? | Medical Faculty | EO-LO | YES | | 1 | | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 75 | ch. Tomb | Medical Faculty | EG-LO | **NO** | | 44 | 3.49m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |

| Tomb | Type | Location | Dating | Disturbed | Inhumations | Cremations | Chamber's surface | Publication |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 76 | ch. tomb? | Medical Faculty | LG-EO | YES | | 2 | | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 78 | pithos burial | Medical Faculty | LG-EO | **NO?** | | | | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 79 | pit | Medical Faculty | LG-EO | YES | | 2 | | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 80 | undifined grave | Medical Faculty | EPG | YES | | | | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 82 | ch. tomb | Medical Faculty | LO | YES | | 3 | 3.91m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 85 | pit-tombs? | Medical Faculty | LG ? | YES | | 1 | | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 86 | pit-burial? | Medical Faculty | ? | YES | | | | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 98 | pit-cave? | Medical Faculty | SM-EO* | YES? | 1 | 3 | | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 100 | ch. tomb | Medical Faculty | EPG-EG | YES | | 4 | 3.18m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 103 | larnax grave? | Medical Faculty | M-LG | YES | | | | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 104 | part of t.134 | Medical Faculty | PGB-LG | YES | | 6 | | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 105 | ch. Tomb | Medical Faculty | G | YES | | | | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 106 | ch. tomb | Medical Faculty | EG-LO | YES | | 4 | 5.84m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 107 | ch. tomb | Medical Faculty | PGB-LO | YES | | 31 | 3.32m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 111 | pithos interment | Medical Faculty | EO | **NO?** | 1 | | | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 112 | ch. tomb | Medical Faculty | SM | YES | 1 | 1 | 1.53m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |

| Tomb | Type | Location | Dating | Disturbed | Inhumations | Cremations | Chamber's surface | Publication |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 113 | larnax grave? | Medical Faculty | LG | YES | | | | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 121 | pit-cave | Medical Faculty | SM | **NO?** | 3 | | 1.44m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 123 | ch. tomb? | Medical Faculty | G-LO | YES | | 1 | | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 125 | ch. tomb | Medical Faculty | MG | YES | | 3 | 0.48m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 126 | undefined | Medical Faculty | O | YES | | | | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 129 | ch. tomb | Medical Faculty | EG-LO | YES | | 2 | 0.70m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 132 | ch. tomb | Medical Faculty | MG-LO | YES | | 14 | 1.74m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 134 | pit-caves? | Medical Faculty | LPG-EO | YES? | | 1 | | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 135 | pit? | Medical Faculty | MG | YES | | | | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 138 | ch. tomb | Medical Faculty | LG-O | YES | | 1 | 2.14m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 146 | ch. tomb | Medical Faculty | LO | YES | | | 0.77m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 147 | ch. tomb? | Medical Faculty | PGB-O? | YES | | 4 | | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 149 | shaft | Medical Faculty | SM? | YES | 1 | | | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 152 | ch. tomb | Medical Faculty | G | YES | | | 2.64m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 153 | shaft | Medical Faculty | SM | **NO** | 1 | | | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |

| Tomb | Type | Location | Dating | Disturbed | Inhumations | Cremations | Chamber's surface | Publication |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 159 | Burial? | Medical Faculty | EO | YES | | 2 | | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 160 | shaft | Medical Faculty | SM | YES | 1 | | | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 163 | pit | Medical Faculty | LG | YES? | | 2 | | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 168 | ch. tomb | Medical Faculty | LG-EO | YES | | | 3.51m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 175 | ch. tomb | Medical Faculty | EPG-O | YES | | 11 | 1.96m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 176 | cremation pit? | Medical Faculty | ? | YES? | | | | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 182 | pit | Medical Faculty | LPG-PGB | YES? | | | | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 186 | pit-cave | Medical Faculty | SM | **NO** | | 1 | | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 200 | pit-cave | Medical Faculty | SM | **NO?** | | 1 | | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 201 | pit-cave | Medical Faculty | SM | **NO?** | | 1 | | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 202 | pit-cave | Medical Faculty | SM | **NO?** | | | | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 207 | ch. tomb | Medical Faculty | SM-LPG | YES | 2 | | 3.57m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 208 | pit-cave | Medical Faculty | SM | YES | | | | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 218 | ch. tomb | Medical Faculty | LPG-O | **NO?** | | 18 | 4.31m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 219 | ch. tomb | Medical Faculty | LPG-LO | YES | | 3 | 4.57m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |

| Tomb | Type | Location | Dating | Disturbed | Inhumations | Cremations | Chamber's surface | Publication |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 221 | ch. Tomb | Medical Faculty | O? | YES | | | | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 222 | ch. tomb? | Medical Faculty | ? | YES | | | 1.52m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 229 | ch. tomb | Medical Faculty | MG-EO | **NO?** | | 8 | 1.50m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 242 | ch. tomb? | Medical Faculty | MPG-PGB | YES | | | | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 247 | ch. tomb? | Medical Faculty | ? | YES | | | | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 280 | pithos burial | Medical Faculty | EG | **NO?** | | 1 | | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 282 | shaft grave | Medical Faculty | SM | YES | | | | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 283 | ch. tomb | Medical Faculty | PGB-LO | YES | | 17 | 2.93m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 285 | ch. tomb | Medical Faculty | LPG-LO | **NO** | | 20 | 2.50m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 286 | ch. tomb | Medical Faculty | EG | YES | | 3 | 0.96m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 287 | ch. tomb | Medical Faculty | LPG-LO | YES | | 5 | 1.75m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 292 | ch. tomb | Medical Faculty | PGB-LO | YES | | 32 | 3.48m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 294 | ch. tomb | Medical Faculty | MG-LO | YES | | 14 | 2.84m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| 306 | ch. tomb | Medical Faculty | LG-EO | YES | | 10 | 2.48m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| ‘ | ch. tomb | Lower Gypsades | PGB-LO | **No?** | | 35 | | Coldstream, 1981 |
| III | ch. tomb | Kephala Ridge (N) | MPG | YES | 1 | | | Coldstream 1963 |

| Tomb | Type | Location | Dating | Disturbed | Inhumations | Cremations | Chamber's surface | Publication |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| V | ch. tomb | Kephala Ridge | PG-O | YES | | 1 | | Coldstream 1963 |
| 1 | ch. tomb | Kephala Ridge | SM-PG | YES | | | | Coldstream 2002 |
| 2 | ch. tomb | Kephala Ridge | ? | YES | | | | Coldstream 2002 |
| 3 | ch. tomb | Kephala Ridge | PGB-EO | YES | | 1 | | Coldstream 2002 |
| 4 | ch. tomb | Kephala Ridge | SM-PG? | YES | | | | Coldstream 2002 |
| 5 | ch. Tomb | Kephala Ridge | SM | **NO** | 2 | | | Coldstream 2002 |
| 6 | tholos tomb | Kephala Ridge | PG | YES | | | | Coldstream 2002 |
| II | ch. tomb | Fortetsa SE | LPG-LO | **NO** | | 28 | 2.58m² | Brock 1957 |
| III | ch. tomb | Fortetsa SE | PG | **NO** | | 3 | 1.30m² | Brock 1957 |
| IV | ch. tomb | Fortetsa SE | PG | **NO** | | 2 | 1.89m² | Brock 1957 |
| V | ch. tomb | Fortetsa SE | PG | YES? | | 1 | 1.05m² | Brock 1957 |
| VI | ch. tomb | Fortetsa SE | PG | **NO?** | | 4 | 3.48m² | Brock 1957 |
| VII | ch. tomb | Fortetsa SE | MPG-O | **NO** | | 14 | 1.16m² | Brock 1957 |
| VIII | ch. tomb | Fortetsa SE | EPG-G* | YES | | 6 | 2.08m² | Brock 1957 |
| IX | ch. tomb | Fortetsa SE | PG | YES | | | 1.96m² | Brock 1957 |
| X | ch. tomb | Fortetsa SE | PGB-LG | **NO** | | 21 | 2.92m² | Brock 1957 |

| Tomb | Type | Location | Dating | Disturbed | Inhumations | Cremations | Chamber's surface | Publication |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **XI** | ch. tomb | Fortetsa SE | LPG? | **NO** | | 4 | 4.06m² | Brock 1957 |
| **BLT** | ch. tomb | Fortetsa SE | PG? | YES | | | 1.69m² | Brock 1957 |
| **F** | ch. tomb | Fortetsa SE | PGB-EO | YES | | 14 | 0.57m² | Brock 1957 |
| **LST** | ch. tomb | Fortetsa SE | PG-LG | YES | | | | Brock 1957 |
| **OD** | ch. tomb | Fortetsa SE | PGB | **NO** | | 4 | | Brock 1957 |
| **P** | ch. tomb | Fortetsa SE | LPG-LO | **NO** | | 71 | | Brock 1957 |
| **P2** | ch. tomb | Fortetsa SE | LG-EO | **NO** | | 18 | | Brock 1957 |
| **Θ** | ch. tomb | Fortetsa SE | PG | YES | | 2 | 2.36m² | Brock 1957 |
| □ | ch. tomb | Fortetsa SE | PG-G | YES | | | | Brock 1957 |
| **Lf** | ch. tomb | Fortetsa NE | PG-PGB | **NO?** | 1 | 2 | | Brock 1957 |
| **TFT** | ch. tomb | Fortetsa NE | PGB-EO | **NO?** | | 15 | 1.16m² | Brock 1957 |
| **II** | ch. tomb | Fortetsa NE | SM-O* | YES | | | 4.79m² | Brock 1957 |
| **F/67:1** | ch. tomb | Fortetsa NE | PG-O | YES | | 2 | | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **F/67:3** | ch. tomb | Fortetsa NE | PG-LG | YES | | | 1.25m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **F/67:4** | ch. tomb | Fortetsa NE | MG-EO | YES | | 6 | | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| **F/67:5** | ch. tomb | Fortetsa NE | SM-EO* | YES | 1 | 4 | 2.91m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |

| Tomb | Type | Location | Dating | Disturbed | Inhumations | Cremations | Chamber's surface | Publication |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| F/67:8 | ch. tomb | Fortetsa NE | PG-G | YES | | | 2.04m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| F/67:9 | ch. tomb | Fortetsa NE | LG-EO | YES | | 1 | 0.66m² | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| F/67:10 | ch. tomb | Fortetsa NE | PG-G | YES | | | | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| F/67:11 | ch. tomb | Fortetsa NE | PG-LG | YES | | | | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| F/67:14 | ch. tomb | Fortetsa NE | SM-G* | YES | | | | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| F/67:15 | ch. tomb | Fortetsa NE | ? | YES | | | | Coldstream & Catling 1996 |
| A | ch. tomb | Fortetsa NE | LPG-EO | YES | 1 | 7 | | Hood & Boardman 1961 |
| B | ch. tomb | Fortetsa NE | PG? | YES | 2 | | | Hood & Boardman 1961 |
| C | ch. tomb | Fortetsa NE | PG? | YES | 1 | | | Hood & Boardman 1961 |
| ‘ | ch. tomb | Ayios Ioannis | SM | YES | 2 | | | Hood & Coldstream1968 |
| I | ch. tomb | Ayios Ioannis | SM-LPG | **NO** | 1 | 8 | | Boardman 1960 |
| II | pit-tomb? | Ayios Ioannis | EPG? | **NO?** | 1 | | | Boardman 1960 |
| III | pit tomb? | Ayios Ioannis | SM-EPG? | **NO** | | 1 | | Boardman 1960 |
| IV | pit tomb? | Ayios Ioannis | SM-EPG? | YES | 1 | 1 | | Boardman 1960 |
| V | ch. tomb | Ayios Ioannis | EPG-MPG | YES? | | 2 | | Boardman 1960 |
| VI | ch. tomb | Ayios Ioannis | SM-EPG | **NO** | 4 | | | Boardman 1960 |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **VII** | ch. tomb | Ayios Ioannis | SM-EPG | YES? | 1 | | | Boardman 1960 |
| **VIII** | side ch. | Ayios Ioannis | EPG-MPG | **NO** | 1 | 3 | | Boardman 1960 |
| **A** | ch. tomb | Atsalenio | LPG-LO | YES | | 17 | | Davaras 1968 |
| **B** | ch. tomb | Atsalenio | LPG-LO | YES | | 7 | | Davaras 1968 |
| **VIa** | ch. tomb | Up. Cypsades | SM | YES? | ? | | | Hood et al 1958-1959 |
| **VII** | ch. tomb | Up. Cypsades | SM | YES? | 3? | | | Hood et al 1959-1959 |
| **4** | ch. Tomb | Mavro Spelio | LG-LO | YES | | 3 | | Coldstream 2000 |
| **7** | ch. tomb | Mavro Spelio | LG-LO | YES | | 1 | | Coldstream 2000 |
| **17** | ch. tomb | Mavro Spelio | LG-L0 | YES | | | | Coldstream 2000 |

**Note**: I have preferred to leave blank the cells which show no information instead of simply potting "0", because this is a calculation based on indirect evidence such as the number of pithos urns for cremations or that an empty shaft grave once probably held an inhumnation. I have also only calculated the surface of the chamber tombs of which their plan is published and do not constitute part of Minoan. In the re-used LM tombs and larnx graves I have noted only the EIA use.

*An interruption in the use of the tomb

**Tomb P at Fortetsa SE includes the finds of tomb I, since the latter is part of tomb P

# APPENDIX II: Imports and Imitations

| Tomb | Location | Pots | Finds | Or. Pots | Or. Finds | Import or imitation | Imitations |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Teke Khaniale | 8 | 4 | | | | |
| 2 | Teke Khaniale | 112 | 80 | 2 | 14 | 1 | 9 |
| 3 | Teke Khaniale | 61 | 13 | | | | |
| A | Teke | 7 | 0 | 1 | | | |
| B | Teke | 3 | 0 | | | | |
| D | Teke | 43 | 10 | | | | |
| E | Teke | 10 | 1 | | | | |
| F | Teke | 14 | 0 | | | | |
| G | Teke | 141 | 13 | | 2 | | 5 |
| H | Teke | 39 | 6 | 1 | 1 | | |
| J | Teke | 65 | 14 | | 1 | | |
| K | Teke | 5 | 0 | | | | |
| L | Teke | 18 | 3 | | | | |
| M | Teke | 22 | 2 | | | | |
| N | Teke | 41 | 24 | | | | |
| O | Teke | 48 | 5 | | 1 | | |
| Q | Teke | 116 | 26 | | 1 | | 1 |
| - | Teke | 18 | 2 | | | | |
| 1 | Medical Faculty | 18 | 3 | | | | 1 |
| 2 | Medical Faculty | 3 | 14 | | | | |
| 8 | Medical Faculty | 2 | 0 | | | | |
| 9 | Medical Faculty | 1 | 2 | | | | |
| 13 | Medical Faculty | 51 | 4 | | 1 | | 1 |
| 14 | Medical Faculty | 52 | 11 | | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| 16 | Medical Faculty | 3 | 2 | | | 0 | |
| 18 | Medical Faculty | 16 | 9 | | | 0 | |
| 19 | Medical Faculty | 29 | 5 | | | 0 | 2 |

| Tomb | Location | Pots | Finds | Or. Pots | Or. Finds | Import or imitation | Imitations |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 24 | Medical Faculty | 10 | 9 | | | 1 | |
| 25 | Medical Faculty | 6 | 13 | | | | |
| 26 | Medical Faculty | 20 | 13 | | 1 | | |
| 28 | Medical Faculty | 20 | 10 | | | | |
| 30 | Medical Faculty | 9 | 10 | | | | |
| 31 | Medical Faculty | 19 | 1 | | | | |
| 34 | Medical Faculty | 40 | 40 | | | | |
| 40 | Medical Faculty | 46 | 18 | | | | |
| 44 | Medical Faculty | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| 45 | Medical Faculty | 8 | 10 | | | 1 | |
| 48 | Medical Faculty | 16 | 22 | | 1 | | |
| 55 | Medical Faculty | 4 | 2 | | | | |
| 56 | Medical Faculty | 40 | 74 | 1 | | | |
| 57 | Medical Faculty | 11 | 9 | | | | |
| 59 | Medical Faculty | 6 | 6 | | | | |
| 60 | Medical Faculty | 35 | 12 | | | | 1 |
| 61 | Medical Faculty | 3 | 0 | | | | 1 |
| 63 | Medical Faculty | 9 | 0 | | | | |
| 69 | Medical Faculty | 3 | 0 | | | | |
| 75 | Medical Faculty | 226 | 89 | | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| 76 | Medical Faculty | 5 | 0 | | | | |
| 78 | Medical Faculty | 12 | 30 | | 8 | | |
| 79 | Medical Faculty | 9 | 0 | | | | |
| 80 | Medical Faculty | 2 | 0 | | | | |
| 82 | Medical Faculty | 15 | 11 | | | | |
| 85 | Medical Faculty | 2 | 0 | | | | |
| 86 | Medical Faculty | 5 | 0 | | | | |
| 98 | Medical Faculty | 21 | 9 | | | | |

| Tomb | Location | Pots | Finds | Or. Pots | Or. Finds | Import or imitation | Imitations |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 100 | Medical Faculty | 79 | 42 | | 5 | 3 | |
| 103 | Medical Faculty | 2 | 0 | | | | |
| 104 | Medical Faculty | 129 | 14 | 2 | | | 1 |
| 105 | Medical Faculty | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| 106 | Medical Faculty | 42 | 5 | 1 | | | 3 |
| 107 | Medical Faculty | 218 | 78 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 9 |
| 111 | Medical Faculty | 2 | 0 | | | | |
| 112 | Medical Faculty | 3 | 0 | | | | |
| 113 | Medical Faculty | 2 | 0 | | | | |
| 121 | Medical Faculty | 7 | 3 | | | | |
| 123 | Medical Faculty | 9 | 14 | | | | |
| 125 | Medical Faculty | 16 | 2 | 1 | 1 | | |
| 126 | Medical Faculty | 13 | 9 | | | | |
| 129 | Medical Faculty | 7 | 3 | | | | |
| 132 | Medical Faculty | 42 | 5 | | | | |
| 134 | Medical Faculty | 77 | 10 | 1 | | | 2 |
| 135 | Medical Faculty | 1 | 2 | | | | |
| 138 | Medical Faculty | 3 | 3 | | | | |
| 146 | Medical Faculty | 2 | 3 | | | | |
| 147 | Medical Faculty | 6 | 0 | | | | |
| 149 | Medical Faculty | 0 | 1 | | | | |
| 152 | Medical Faculty | 1 | 3 | | | | |
| 153 | Medical Faculty | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| 159 | Medical Faculty | 4 | 3 | | | | |
| 160 | Medical Faculty | 1 | | | | | |
| 163 | Medical Faculty | 9 | 1 | | | | |
| 168 | Medical Faculty | 1 | 1 | | | | |
| 175 | Medical Faculty | 75 | 34 | 1 | | | 2 |

| Tomb | Location | Pots | Finds | Or. Pots | Or. Finds | Import or imitation | Imitations |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 176 | Medical Faculty | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| 182 | Medical Faculty | 2 | 2 | | | | |
| 186 | Medical Faculty | 6 | 0 | | | | |
| 200 | Medical Faculty | 4 | 13 | | 2 | | |
| 201 | Medical Faculty | 0 | 19 | | 7 | 1 | |
| 202 | Medical Faculty | 0 | 0 | | | | 1 |
| 207 | Medical Faculty | 77 | 6 | | | | |
| 208 | Medical Faculty | 1 | 9 | | | | |
| 218 | Medical Faculty | 140 | 37 | | 2 | 1 | 12 |
| 219 | Medical Faculty | 100 | 166 | 5 | 14 | 18 | 2 |
| 221 | Medical Faculty | 1 | 2 | | | | |
| 222 | Medical Faculty | 1 | 0 | | | | |
| 229 | Medical Faculty | 35 | 8 | 1 | 3 | | 3 |
| 242 | Medical Faculty | 2 | 1 | | | | |
| 247 | Medical Faculty | 0 | 1 | | | | |
| 280 | Medical Faculty | 10 | 1 | | | | |
| 282 | Medical Faculty | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| 283 | Medical Faculty | 108 | 91 | 1 | | 13 | 7 |
| 285 | Medical Faculty | 163 | 109 | 7 | 7 | 27 | 2 |
| 286 | Medical Faculty | 8 | 0 | | | | |
| 287 | Medical Faculty | 43 | 6 | | | | |
| 292 | Medical Faculty | 246 | 91 | 11 | 13 | 2 | 10 |
| 294 | Medical Faculty | 64 | 19 | | | | 2 |
| 306 | Medical Faculty | 39 | 22 | | | | 2 |
| - | Lower Gypsades | 117 | 15 | 2 | 1 | | 10 |
| III | Kephala Ridge | 2 | 2 | | | | |
| V | Kephala Ridge | 10 | 4 | | 1 | | |
| 1 | Kephala Ridge | 3 | | | | | |

| Tomb | Location | Pots | Finds | Or. Pots | Or. Finds | Import or imitation | Imitations |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2 | Kephala Ridge | | | | | | |
| 3 | Kephala Ridge | 24 | 1 | | | 1 | |
| 4 | Kephala Ridge | 6 | | | | | |
| 5 | Kephala Ridge | 2 | | | | | |
| 6 | Kephala Ridge | 19 | 1 | | 2 | | 1 |
| II | Fortetsa SE | 140 | 53 | | 6 | | 10 |
| III | Fortetsa SE | 8 | 3 | | | | |
| IV | Fortetsa SE | 13 | 0 | | | | |
| V | Fortetsa SE | 22 | 0 | | | | |
| VI | Fortetsa SE | 66 | 15 | | 4 | 2 | 1 |
| VII | Fortetsa SE | 47 | 7 | 1 | | | 4 |
| VIII | Fortetsa SE | 50 | 11 | | | | |
| IX | Fortetsa SE | 17 | 0 | | 1 | | |
| X | Fortetsa SE | 149 | 24 | 2 | | | 6 |
| XI | Fortetsa SE | 51 | 14 | | 6 | 2 | |
| BLT | Fortetsa SE | 1 | 0 | | | | |
| F | Fortetsa SE | 58 | 12 | 1 | | | 2 |
| LST | Fortetsa SE | 25 | 4 | | | | |
| OD | Fortetsa SE | 38 | 2 | | | | |
| P** | Fortetsa SE | 408 | 116 | 7 | 11 | 4 | 27 |
| P2 | Fortetsa SE | 67 | 3 | 1 | 2 | | 9 |
| Θ | Fortetsa SE | 19 | 4 | | | | |
| □ | Fortetsa SE | 1 | 1 | | | | |
| Lf | Fortetsa NE | 65 | 5 | | 1 | | |
| TFT | Fortetsa NE | 82 | 8 | 2 | 1 | | 6 |
| II | Fortetsa NE | 33 | 2 | | | | |
| F/67 1 | Fortetsa NE | 12 | 2 | | | | |
| F/67 3 | Fortetsa NE | 0 | 0 | | | | |

| Tomb | Location | Pots | Finds | Or. Pots | Or. Finds | Import or imitation | Imitations |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| F/67 4 | Fortetsa NE | 14 | 4 | | | | 2 |
| F/67 5 | Fortetsa NE | 9 | 0 | | | | |
| F/67 8 | Fortetsa NE | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| F/67 9 | Fortetsa NE | 5 | 1 | | | | |
| F/67 10 | Fortetsa NE | | | | | | |
| F/67 11 | Fortetsa NE | | | | | | |
| F/67 14 | Fortetsa NE | | | | | | |
| F/67 15 | Fortetsa NE | | | | | | |
| A | Fortetsa NE | 30 | 9 | 1 | | | |
| B | Fortetsa NE | | 4 | | | | |
| C | Fortetsa NE | | 1 | | | | |
| - | Ayios Ioannis | 3 | 3 | | 1 | | |
| I | Ayios Ioannis | 59 | 4 | | | | |
| II | Ayios Ioannis | 3 | 3 | | | | |
| III | Ayios Ioannis | 5 | 1 | | | | |
| IV | Ayios Ioannis | 6 | 4 | | | | |
| V | Ayios Ioannis | 26 | 11 | | 1 | | |
| VI | Ayios Ioannis | 4 | 1 | | | | |
| VII | Ayios Ioannis | 1 | | | | | |
| VIII | Ayios Ioannis | 15 | 5 | | | | |
| A | Atsalenio | 74 | 4 | 2 | | | 1 |
| B | Atsalenio | 24 | | | | | 2 |
| 4 | Mavro Spelio | 17 | | | | | |
| 7 | Mavro Spelio | 2 | | | | | 1 |
| 17 | Mavro Spelio | 2 | | | | | |
| VIa | Upper Gypsades | 4? | | | | | |
| VII | Upper Gypsades | 6? | 1 | | 1 | | |

**Tomb P at Fortetsa SE includes the finds of tomb I, since the latter is part of tomb P
Or: Oriental

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