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**Continuity and Change:
Identity in
LM IIIC to Hellenistic East Crete**

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**Submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,
Department of Archaeology, University of Sheffield
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Abstract

Archaeology is in the privileged position of being able to examine identities through the long time periods often called upon by advocates of essentialist identities, such as those working in the modern political sphere, using theory, methodology and evidence developed by scholars. The influence of the contemporary context within which archaeology is practised is clear in the types of identities, particularly ethnic and cultural identities, which have dominated research on this topic, including on Crete where much attention has focused on identities such as the ‘Eteocretans’. I suggest that the archaeological and textual evidence from Crete offers considerable scope for exploring other types of group identity, both in themselves and in intersection with each other, and the ways in which these may have changed and/or continued to be salient through long periods of time. The theoretical and methodological basis of my study posits that one significant way in which group identities are negotiated and communicated is through social practices, and it is therefore possible to access at least some of the group identities that were salient in the past by examining the material and textual residues of past social practices. On this basis, evidence for social practices and the identities established and signified through these practices is examined for East Crete from Late Minoan IIIC to the Hellenistic period (c. 1200 – 67 BC). The results of my study highlight patterns of both continuity and change in group identities, including a move from relatively small community identities to large, formalised polis identities. Cutting across these were a number of other identities, including those associated with religious practices, and informal identities, many not easily visible in the available evidence, such as identities linked to social status, family, kin and lineage groups, gender, age, occupation and cultural/ethnic groupings such as the ‘Eteocretans’.

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My thanks also go to the 24th Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities for permission to visit, study and photograph sites in East Crete, and to use the photographs in this thesis. I am grateful to staff at the British School at Athens, particularly Tania Gerousi, for facilitating my applications for this permission. Donald Haggis, Saro Wallace and James Whitley kindly gave me permission to visit and photograph the sites they are currently excavating (Kavousi *Azoria*, Karfi and Praisos respectively). Following an enjoyable, though brief, period of fieldwork with Saro Wallace at Karfi in 2010, I was sorry that space constraints meant that I had to leave it, the only site I planned to discuss from the Lasithi area, out of this thesis. My research has been aided and improved by discussions with, and/or provision of clarification of published evidence by, Donald Haggis,

Saro Wallace and James Whitley, as well as Carl Knappett and Krzysztof Nowicki. Donald Haggis also provided me with unpublished work on Kavousi *Azoria*, which greatly aided my understanding of this site. The images in Figures 4.13, 5.6 and 6.6 are reproduced in this thesis courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens and with the kind permission of Donald Haggis (for Figures 4.13 and 6.6) and Barbara Hayden (for Figure 5.6).

My family has been a wonderful support to me in so many ways throughout my doctoral research, and I particularly enjoyed the company of my mother and sister whilst visiting a number of sites in Crete. Describing the evidence and explaining why I've interpreted in the way I have to my family has been a good challenge, and helped me to better express myself in this thesis. One thing I can't fully express is my appreciation of the support I've received over the last three years from my husband, Jeremy. He has visited sites with me, listened with patience to me talking about East Crete and identity on a weekly, if not daily, basis, challenged my thinking in countless ways and provided a non-archaeological counterpoint to my archaeological focus. I could not have got to this point without him, and dedicate this thesis to him with love.

God has been my constant help and strength throughout this research and my life. "The Lord is my strength and my shield; in him my heart trusts; so I am helped, and my heart exults, and with my song I give thanks to him." (Psalm 28: 7, *RSV*).

Table of Contents

List of Tables and Figures	<i>page</i>	ix
Abbreviations		xiii
Chapter 1	Setting the Scene	
1.1	Introduction	1
1.2	The Cultural Landscape of Crete	5
1.3	Separating Out East Crete	14
Chapter 2	The Scholarly Context: Identity in Archaeology	
2.1	Scope and Structure of this Chapter	21
2.2	Cultural and Ethnic Identities	22
2.3	Sex and Gender Identities	32
2.4	Life-Cycle Identities	36
2.5	Other Identities	38
2.6	Looking Forward	40
Chapter 3	Theory and Methodology	
3.1	A General Theory of Identity	42
3.2	Methodological Approach to Finding Identities in the Past	52
3.3	Theoretical Perspectives on Specific Identity Types	54
3.3.1	Ethnic and Cultural Identities	55
3.3.2	Sex and Gender Identities	56
3.3.3	Life-Course Identities	59
3.3.4	Identities of Place	60
3.3.5	(In)equality Identities	61
3.3.6	Other Types of Identities	62
3.4	Moving Beyond Ethnic Identities to Group Identities in Ancient East Crete	63

Chapter 4	Late Minoan IIIC	
4.1	Introduction	64
4.2	The Historical Background: LM II – LM IIIB	64
4.3	Evidence	69
4.3.1	The Palaikastro Region	70
4.3.2	The Praisos Region	76
4.3.3	The Pefki Region	80
4.3.4	The Oreino Area	83
4.3.5	The Kavousi Region	85
4.3.6	The Area near Monastiraki	96
4.3.7	Vasiliki <i>Kefala</i>	98
4.3.8	Vrokastro and Its Hinterland	99
4.3.9	Kritsa <i>Kastello</i> and Northern Lasithi	100
4.4	Discussion	102
4.4.1	Topography, Site Clusters and Burials	102
4.4.2	Religious Practices and Identities	106
4.4.3	Group Commensality and Status Identities	109
4.5	Summary	111
Chapter 5	The Early Iron Age	
5.1	Introduction and Background	113
5.2	Evidence	116
5.2.1	Itanos	118
5.2.2	Palaikastro	119
5.2.3	The Praisos Region	120
5.2.4	Sitia	123
5.2.5	The Kavousi Region	123
5.2.6	The Area near Monastiraki	131
5.2.7	The Vrokastro Region	131
5.2.8	Olous and Sta Lenika	136

	5.2.9	Lato and North-Eastern Lasithi	137
	5.2.10	Dreros	137
5.3		Discussion	139
	5.3.1	Territory and Community	140
	5.3.2	Religious Practices and Identities	143
	5.3.3	Burial Practices	145
5.4		Summary	147
Chapter 6	The Archaic and Classical Periods		
6.1		Introduction	149
6.2		Evidence	151
	6.2.1	Itanos	152
	6.2.2	Palaikastro	156
	6.2.3	Praisos	158
	6.2.4	The Kavousi Region	166
	6.2.5	The Isthmus of Ierapetra	172
	6.2.6	Olous and Sta Lenika	174
	6.2.7	Lato	175
	6.2.8	Dreros	177
6.3		Discussion	180
	6.3.1	Place, Buildings and Political Practices	180
	6.3.2	Religion and Religious Practices	184
	6.3.3	Group Commensality	188
	6.3.4	The Eteocretan Identity	189
6.4		Summary	190
Chapter 7	The Hellenistic Period		
7.1		Introduction	193
7.2		Evidence	194
	7.2.1	Itanos	197
	7.2.2	Palaikastro	202
	7.2.3	Praisos	204
	7.2.4	The Kavousi Region	209

7.2.5	The Isthmus of Ierapetra	210
7.2.6	Hierapytna	211
7.2.7	Olous	215
7.2.8	Sta Lenika	217
7.2.9	Lato	220
7.2.10	Dreros	227
7.3	Discussion	228
7.3.1	Place and Politics	228
7.3.2	Religious Practices and Identities	234
7.3.3	Commensality and Elite Identities	237
7.3.4	The Widening Context and its Influence Over Identities	239
7.4	Summary	241
Chapter 8	Discussion and Conclusion	
8.1	Introduction	243
8.2	Place, Space and Time: The Physical and the Temporal/Historical Context of Identity Construction	244
8.3	Community and Political Identities	249
8.4	Religious Identities	257
8.5	Shifting Contexts: The Multiple Formal and Informal Identities of Daily Life	260
8.6	East Crete in Context	267
8.7	Final Conclusions: Continuity and Change in Ancient East Cretan Identities	277
	Bibliography	283

List of Tables and Figures

Tables

Table 4.1	Relative Chronology of Settlements and Cemeteries in the Kavousi Region	<i>page</i>	86
Table 6.1	Details of Inscriptions Thought to be 'Undoubtedly' Eteocretan		164

Figures

Figure 1.1	Map of Crete Showing the Locations of Main Sites on the Island	<i>page</i>	7
Figure 1.2	Approximate Walking Times Between a Number of East Cretan Locations		9
Figure 1.3	Map the Possible Distribution of Linear B Place-Name Groupings and of The Locations of Six Identifiable Place Names (Source: Bennet 1987: 78, Fig. 1)		17
Figure 3.1	Hypothesised Relationship Between Individual Identity and Group Identities		44
Figure 4.1	Map of Primary LM IIIC Sites in East Crete Discussed in this Thesis		69
Figure 4.2	Map of the Palaikastro Area Showing the Relative Locations of Palaikastro <i>Kastri</i> and Palaikastro <i>Roussolakkos</i>		71
Figure 4.3	Palaikastro <i>Kastri</i> from the location of the Bronze Age Town at Roussolakkos		72
Figure 4.4	Map Showing the Locations of Settlement, Burial and Cult Sites in the Vicinity of Praisos		77
Figure 4.5	Map of Sites in the Pefki Region		81
Figure 4.6	Map Showing the Relative Positions of LM IIIC Sites in the Oreino Region		83
Figure 4.7	Map of the Kavousi Region		87
Figure 4.8	Kavousi <i>Kastro</i> from Kavousi <i>Vronda</i>		88

Figure 4.9	Sketch Plan of the Main Settlement at Kavousi Kastro (plan after: Coulson 1998: 41, Fig. 3.1). LM IIIC remains have been found in the shaded areas, and buildings and rooms discussed in this thesis are marked	89
Figure 4.10	Kavousi <i>Vronda</i> from the Summit of Kavousi <i>Kastro</i>	92
Figure 4.11	Sketch Plan of Kavousi <i>Vronda</i> (plan after Gesell et al. 1995: 69, Fig. 1)	92
Figure 4.12	Kavousi <i>Azoria</i> from Kavousi <i>Kastro</i> (A) and from Kavousi <i>Vronda</i> (B)	95
Figure 4.13	Map of Monastiraki <i>Chalasmeno</i> and Monastiraki <i>Katalimata</i> (Source: Haggis and Nowicki 1993: 307, Fig. 3)	97
Figure 4.14	LM IIIC East Cretan Sites with Evidence for Religious Practices Associated with Animal Figurines and with the ‘Goddess with Upraised Arms’	107
Figure 5.1	Absolute and Relative Chronology for Early Iron Age Crete	115
Figure 5.2	Locations of the EIA Sites in East Crete Discussed in this Thesis	117
Figure 5.3	Plan of Itanos (After: Greco et al. 1996: 942 Fig. 1). The shaded area is the residential quarter	118
Figure 5.4	Sketch Plan of Kavousi <i>Vronda</i> Showing Locations of Tholos Tombs and Cist Graves in Relation to LM IIIC Buildings (Plan after Gesell et al. 1995: 69 Fig. 1)	130
Figure 5.5	Elias to Nisi from Istron <i>Vrokastro</i>	132
Figure 5.6	Plan of the Upper Settlement at Istron <i>Vrokastro</i> (Source: Hayden 1983: 373 Fig. 4)	134
Figure 5.7	Selection of Images Showing the Submerged Ancient Walls of Ancient Olous Near the Poros Isthmus	136
Figure 5.8	Map of Dreros and Sketch Plan of Its Urban Centre	138
Figure 5.9	The Temple of Apollo Delphinios at Dreros	139
Figure 6.1	Locations of Archaic to Classical Sites in East Crete Discussed in this Thesis	151
Figure 6.2	Itanos from the Hill Between the Site and Vai	152

Figure 6.3	The First Acropolis of Praisos from the Third Acropolis	158
Figure 6.4	The Second Acropolis of Praisos from the First Acropolis	159
Figure 6.5	The Third Acropolis, or Altar Hill, at Praisos from Its First Acropolis	159
Figure 6.6	Plan of the South Acropolis at Azoria (Source: Haggis et al. 2007a: 244 Fig. 1)	167
Figure 6.7	View from Immediately Above the Monumental Civic Building at Azoria, Showing Its Orientation Towards the Outside World	170
Figure 6.8	The Two Possible Locations of Larisa in Relation to Hierapytna	172
Figure 6.9	The Promontory of Nisi Pandeimon, the location of Ancient Istron, from Istron <i>Vrokastro</i>	173
Figure 7.1	Locations of the Main Hellenistic Sites in East Crete Discussed in this Thesis	195
Figure 7.2	Map Showing Approximate Polis Boundaries at the Start of the Second Century BC	196
Figure 7.3	The Hellenistic Wall on the West Acropolis of Itanos	198
Figure 7.4	The First Acropolis of Praisos and the Almond Tree House from the Summit of the Second Acropolis	206
Figure 7.5A	The Almond Tree House at Praisos from the West	207
Figure 7.5B	The Monumental Ashlar Facade of the Almond Tree House	207
Figure 7.6	The Urban Core of Lato from the Slopes of the South Acropolis	220
Figure 7.7	Sketch Plan of the Urban Centre of Lato he Hetera	220
Figure 7.8	The <i>Prytaneion</i> of Lato from the South-East Corner of the East Room	222
Figure 7.9	The Agora of Lato from Its South-East Corner	222
Figure 7.10	The Altar and Temple on the Temple Terrace at Lato	223
Figure 7.11	Part of the ‘Theatre’ at Lato	223
Figure 7.12	Agios Nikolaos, on the site of ancient Lato pros Kamara, from the Agora at Lato he Hetera	224
Figure 8.1	Diagram Illustrating the Possible Overlaps and Contrasts	

Between a Number of Formal and Informal Identities in
Ancient East Crete

266

Abbreviations

EIA	Early Iron Age
EO	Early Orientalising
EPG	Early Protogeometric
G	Geometric
<i>IC I</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Creticae</i> (see Guarducci 1935 in Bibliography; specific numbers used follow those in this catalogue)
<i>IC III</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Creticae</i> (see Guarducci 1942 in Bibliography; specific numbers used follow those in this catalogue)
LM	Late Minoan
MG	Middle Geometric
MPG	Middle Protogeometric
LG	Late Geometric
LPG	Late Protogeometric
O	Orientalising
PG	Protogeometric
PGB	Protogeometric B
SM	Subminoan

1 **Setting the Scene**

1.1 **Introduction**

When I was sixteen, my mother and I went to get my ID card, a prerequisite to getting a driving license in Zimbabwe, where I grew up. We filled in the required sections of the form and then queued, eventually getting to the desk where the official started to complete his sections of the form. On the form he started to write ‘citizen’ before remembering he was supposed to ask me about what passports I held. I replied that my passport was British, and he crossed out the word ‘citizen’ and instead wrote ‘alien’, as dual citizenship is illegal in Zimbabwe. Despite this lack of official recognition, being Zimbabwean continued to be an important identity for me, although perhaps more as a place identity than the political identity one might usually expect to be associated with a national identity. At the same time, I continued to adhere to an identity associated with my British citizenship – one which became even more salient when I moved to Britain nearly a decade ago. Alongside these national identities, a multitude of other identities form part of who I consider myself to be, including identities linked to religion, race, gender and age. The salience of these identities has varied through time – for example, I was considerably more aware of my race identity, one ascribed on the basis of my skin colour, when I lived in Zimbabwe, where I was part of a minority group, than I am living in Britain, where I am part of a majority group. In addition to these identities, I have acquired other identities through participation in certain social practices and networks at different points in my life, some of which may be relatively temporary when considered in the context of my overall life course, such as an identity associated with being a postgraduate student.

This brief, personal description of my identities is intended to demonstrate some of the complexity of identity, whether considered in the present or the past. As this description shows, identities may be ascribed to individuals and groups for a variety of reasons, such as skin colour, or acquired, for example through participating in certain social practices or making specific life choices, such as

undertaking postgraduate study. Some identities may be conferred at birth and then either accepted, rejected or reconfigured in later life – my acquisition of British citizenship was initially decided by my parents and later accepted by me; my adherence to a Zimbabwean identity was rejected by the country's officials, leading me to reconfigure its particular meaning to me – a meaning that differed from its meaning to friends who only had Zimbabwean citizenship. Some identities may be associated with specific attributes, the presence or apparent absence of which may challenge perceptions of identity, both for individuals themselves and for onlookers – whilst working in Southern Sudan, my white, Zimbabwean-born husband found that many local people struggled to believe that he had been born in another African country as his skin colour challenged their perceptions of African identities. Although the most prominent identities in the modern world are often those that are highly contested and/or highly politicised, such as ethnic and cultural identities, it might be argued that identity is relevant to all, and provides labels and characteristics for a multitude of different categories and groups in the wider social world, thereby determining and influencing individual lived experiences of that social world, and the nature of relations within and between different groups of people. In the sense that it provides a structuring force in social relations, identity might be said to have a degree of agency that is independent of specific individuals and groups; yet identities are also composed, transformed and adjusted through the actions and relationships of specific individuals and groups in particular social, historical and temporal contexts.

It is the very social nature of identity that makes it such a useful tool to scholars of the past. As a phenomenon that both divides and unites individuals and groups in particular social worlds – those inside from those outside - the study of identity can provide insight into social worlds in the past, and the ways in which they may have remained stable or changed through time. The highly politicised identities of the modern world, particularly ethnic and cultural identities, are often presented by their promoters as essentialist - bounded and stable, with unproblematic continuity over long periods of time. This view contrasts to that presented by anthropologists, ethnographers and other social scientists who tend to focus on identity over relatively short periods of time, such as a few years or decades, and

emphasise that it is multiple and situational - constantly shifting, with variably permeable boundaries. Within this context, archaeology is in the privileged position of being able to examine identities through the long time periods often called upon by advocates of essentialist identities, such as those working in the modern political sphere, but using theory, methodology, and evidence developed by scholars. This study is intended to provide one example of such an enterprise, through the examination of group identities in East Crete between the beginning of Late Minoan III C and the end of the Hellenistic period (c. 1200 BC to the completion of the Roman conquest of Crete in 67 BC). As discussed in Chapter 2, one specific cultural identity, that of the Eteocretans, has dominated work on identity in East Crete during this time period. Although this identity may have been significant at times in ancient East Crete, this thesis aims to move beyond the current focus on this specific cultural identity to consider the multiple types of identity that may have been salient whilst also elucidating the degree of continuity and change in group identities in ancient East Crete through the thousand-year time period under consideration, and how these continuities and changes may relate to, or stem out of, the wider cultural and historical context. This chapter is intended to set the scene for this study. A brief overview of the layout of this thesis is given below, in the final part of this section. The following section (Section 1.2) provides a brief description of the general landscape of Crete, which highlights the intersections between the physical landscape and the cultural landscape. In the final section of this chapter (Section 1.3), the justification for viewing East Crete as an isolatable unit of study, both geographically and politically, is presented.

The review of literature on identity in archaeology in Chapter 2 is intended to situate this study in its scholarly context as well as to describe and position previous work on identity in Crete within this context. Although, as evident in Chapter 2, some interesting and valuable research on specific identities on Crete has been carried out, the rich archaeological and textual evidence from this island offers considerable scope for further discussion, including the detailed exploration of specific types of identities, as well as the interaction and interplay of multiple types of identities simultaneously, through many different time periods from the Neolithic and Bronze Age to the present. The theoretical and methodological

basis of this study is discussed in Chapter 3, which draws on work from a wide variety of disciplines, including archaeology, anthropology, sociology and social psychology, in an attempt to understand how different categories and groups in the wider social world are formed and function, and the relationship between these and identities. The theoretical understanding of identities in general, and of a specific set of particular types of group identities, including ethnic and cultural identities, sex and gender identities, life-course identities, identities of place, (in)equality identities and religious identities, presented in this chapter, provides the basis for understanding identities in ancient East Crete. This chapter also discusses the methodology used in this thesis to discern different types of group identity from the evidence available for the LM IIIC to Hellenistic periods. This methodology focuses on the premise that one significant way in which group identities are negotiated and communicated is through social practices, and it is therefore possible to access at least some of the group identities that were salient in the past by examining the material and textual residues of past social practices.

The actual evidence from ancient East Crete is presented and discussed in Chapters 4 to 7. The format of Chapters 4 to 7 is identical: the evidence is first presented in site-by-site descriptions, with occasional discussion of identities as they relate specifically to this evidence, before the different types of group identity that may be hypothesised on the basis of the evidence are discussed. The site-by-site descriptions in Chapter 4 to 7 are organised from east to west and north to south, and in cases where groups of inter-related sites were located in close proximity to each other, they are described together. As discussed in Chapter 3, the sites described in this study are not intended to provide a complete catalogue of all known sites in East Crete from LM IIIC to the Hellenistic period but rather represent those from which sufficient evidence is available for the examination of identity during this time period. The evidence presented and discussed in Chapters 4 to 7 has been divided chronologically, with each of these chapters covering a different, and not necessarily equal, time period: LM IIIC in Chapter 4 (from c. 1200 to the mid-eleventh century BC); the Early Iron Age in Chapter 5 (from around the mid-eleventh century BC to the middle of the seventh century BC); the Archaic and Classical periods in Chapter 6 (from the mid-seventh century BC to the mid-fourth century BC); and the Hellenistic period in

Chapter 7 (from the mid-fourth century BC to 67 BC). Dividing the long time period covered by this study into these four smaller time periods allows for detailed discussion of identities in ancient East Crete in individual blocks of time, which can then be compared with the patterns discerned for the blocks of time considered in the other data chapters to build an understanding of continuity and change in identities throughout the long period under consideration in this study. Although to some degree the temporal divisions chosen are arbitrary, each also represents a period of change in the wider cultural and historical context and/or divisions current in scholarly conventions. Although other divisions may have been chosen, those used here provide a convenient way of breaking up the long time period dealt with in this study into blocks that are of a suitable size for easy comparison with each other. Although comparisons with other time periods are made where appropriate in Chapters 4 to 7, the general format has been to comment only on comparisons with time periods preceding the one under consideration. It is hoped that this format will help to mitigate a teleological approach to the history of identities in ancient East Crete whilst also providing a sense of historical progression through time. A full comparative discussion and final conclusions are presented in Chapter 8.

1.2 The Cultural Landscape of Crete

Crete is situated at the southern end of the Aegean Sea, and is the second largest island in the East Mediterranean (for comparative sizes of the islands in the East Mediterranean, see Cherry 1981: 54-55 Table1). It is about 250 km long (from west to east), and its width (from north to south) ranges from 58 km at its widest point, the Psiloriti massif in the centre of the island, to 12.5 km at its narrowest point, the Isthmus of Ierapetra (Cadogan 1992a: 31). Crete is surrounded by a number of islets, such as Gavdos, Pseira, Souda, Dhia, Spinalonga, Mochlos, Chryssi and Kouphonisi, which will not be considered in what follows (but see Rackham and Moody 1996: 202-208 for an overview of these). Crete is located in a geologically active area, at the junction between two continental plates, the Eurasian and the African (Rackham and Moody 1996: 13). The pressures of the tectonic activity in this area have resulted in the formation of the Hellenic Island Arc, of which Crete is a part, as well as the line of volcanoes to the north of Crete

and the deep-sea Hellenic Trench to its south (Higgins and Higgins 1996; Rackham and Moody 1996: 13). In geological time, the tectonic activity in the area within which Crete is situated has played a significant role in forming its mountainous topography, whilst in human time, this tectonic activity has, and still does lead to the frequent occurrence of earthquakes and tremors on Crete (Higgins and Higgins 1996: 23, 196-199; Rackham and Moody 1996: 13). Rackham and Moody (1996: 13) suggest that tectonic activity occurred more frequently in certain historical periods than in others, and contrast the Bronze Age on Crete, which they suggest seems to have been “particularly lively with earthquakes”, with the last 1500 years, which they see as having been “relatively quiet”.

The Cretan topography and physical landscape varies widely, as noted by Rackham (1996: 18):

The fact is that even so small an area as Crete has its jungles and its deserts, its snow-mountains and its stifling gorges, its primrose woods and its palm-groves, its waterfalls and its sun-baked scree – a range of habitats not unlike the difference between Wales and Morocco.

The most dominant feature of the Cretan terrain is its mountains, which together occupy 4,281 km² or 52% of the island’s surface (see Figure 1.1). Chaniotis (1999a: 181). The mountain massifs of Crete comprise the White Mountains in the west, Psiloriti (ancient Mount Ida) in the central part of Crete, and the Dicte and Thryphiti mountain ranges in the east (Rackham and Moody 1996: 12). There are at least 20 peaks over 2,200 m in the White Mountains, whilst Mount Psiloriti in the centre of Crete is 2,456 m high (Rackham and Moody 1996: 12). Although without peaks that reach as high as those elsewhere on the island, the far East of Crete is dominated by variegated mountainous topography, whilst the western edge of the geographical area under consideration in this thesis is marked by the Dicte mountain range. Between these lies the only relatively large and flat, low-altitude region of East Crete - the isthmus of Hierapetra, which, as mentioned above, is also the narrowest point of Crete. Although East Crete does have narrow beaches along much of its modern coastline (which, as discussed in further detail below has changed with a relative rise in sea levels since ancient times), one does not need to travel far inland before hitting the slopes of the hills and mountains

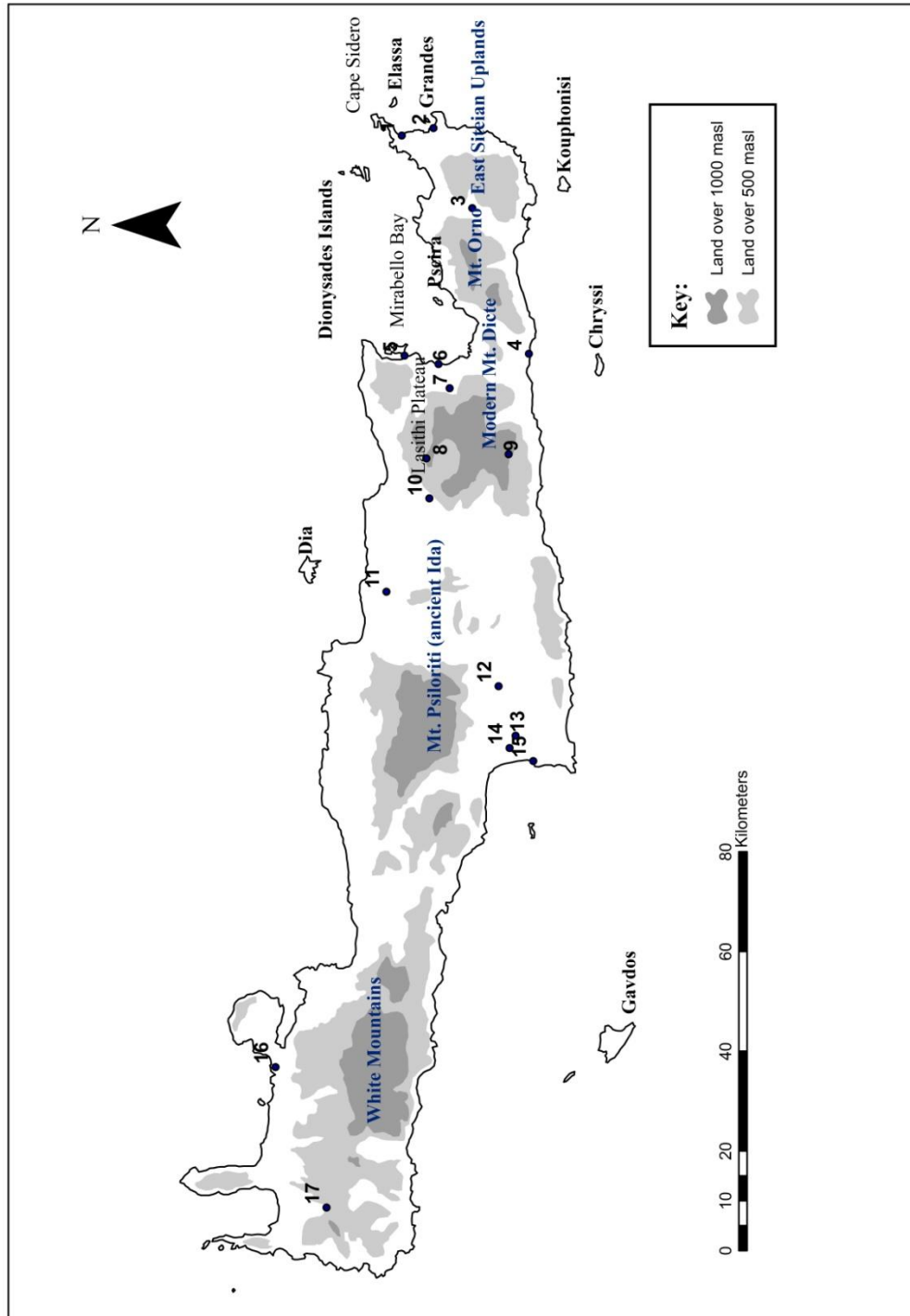


Figure 1.1 Map of Crete Showing the Locations of Main Sites on the Island (sites are as follows: 1 – Itanos; 2 – Palaikastro; 3 – Praisos; 4 – Hierapytna; 5 – Olous; 6 – Agios Nikolaos (ancient Lato pros Kamara); 7 – Lato he Hetera; 8 – Karphi; 9 – Kato Syme; 10 – Lyttos; 11 – Knossos; 12 – Gortyn; 13 – Phaistos; 14 – Ayia Triada; 15 – Kommos; 16 – Kydonia (modern Chania; 17 – Polyrrenia).

that dominate views of the island from the sea. The mountainous topography of East Crete dissects and divides its landscape, on both a large scale, such as the division created by the Dicte mountain range surrounding the Lasithi plateau which separates East Crete from the rest of the island, and on a small scale, such as in the topographic features that define and characterise local areas. The core of the Cretan mountain massifs is hard limestone; other rock types that constitute the mountain ranges include phyllites, quartzites, schists and shales (Rackham and Moody 1996: 12). The limestone of the high Cretan mountains erodes easily, resulting in deep gorges, such as the Cha and Zakros Gorges in East Crete and the well-known Samaria Gorge in West Crete, as well as the characteristic limestone landscape features formed through karstification, such as sinkholes and underground channels, into which surface water flows, and caves (Cadogan 1992a: 31; Gifford 1992: 23; Rackham and Moody 1996: 24-25). The mountain ranges on Crete divide the island into four regions, which roughly correspond to the four *nomoi* or prefectures that until recently formed the basis of the modern Greek administrative division of Crete (Cadogan 1992a: 31); these modern administrative units date back to at least the late Roman period (Bennet 1990).

There are a number of mountain plains suitable for farming on Crete, such as Lasithi, Omalos, Askiphou and Nida in central and western Crete, and Katharo, Ziros, Katelionas and Lamnioni in the eastern region of the island examined in this thesis (Chaniotis 1999a: 186; Pendlebury 1965: 5-6; Rackham and Moody 1996: 27-28, 147-150). However, use and settlement of these plains seems to have varied between different periods of the past (Chaniotis 1999a: 186-187). Variations in the use of mountain plains over time may be explained in terms of climatic fluctuations or the influence of political developments over agricultural activities (Chaniotis 1999a). In addition to mountain plains, Crete also has a number of fertile lowland and coastal plains, such as those around Malia, and the Mesara (Cadogan 1992a: 31). Given the challenges presented by Cretan topography to movement within and across its landscape, until the widespread use of cars in recent times, communication took place either by foot or pack animals, with distances measured in terms of time taken to travel between two points being more significant than direct straight-line measurements, as well as by sea along the Cretan coast (Bevan 2010: 30-31; Cadogan 1992a: 31-32; Pendlebury 1965:

7-16). The value of looking at a conventional map to understand the spatial relationships between settlements and other activity areas, such as sanctuaries, in ancient East Crete is therefore limited. Figure 1.2 illustrates the relative distance between many of the sites discussed in this thesis in terms of hours of walking at a relatively fast pace, based on the figures obtained by Pendlebury (1965) during his extensive field work on the island. The relative ease of sea-travel over travel by land in ancient times means that the islands of Kasos, Karpathos, and perhaps even Rhodes may, at times, have been more accessible for the inhabitants of East Cretan poleis such as Itanos and Praisos than other parts of Crete, such as Knossos, Gortyn and Kydonia in central and western Crete.

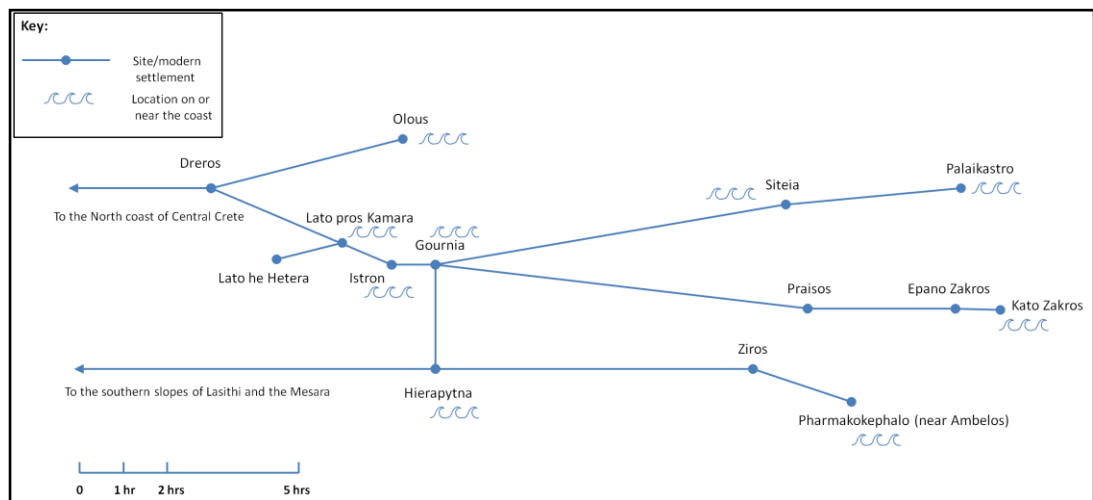


Figure 1.2 Approximate Walking Times Between a Number of East Cretan Locations (based on Pendlebury 1965: 9-10).

One significant change in the topography of present-day Crete when compared to the past is a change in relative sea level. Although a general rise in worldwide sea levels has played a part in this change, the most important factor on Crete has been the effect of tectonic activity, which has generally resulted in the uplifting of the western part of Crete, whilst the eastern part of the island has tilted downwards (Gifford 1992: 23; Higgins and Higgins 1996: 199; Leatham and Hood 1958/1959; Rackham and Moody 1996: 195). In West Crete, evidence for these changes in relative sea level include ‘wave-notches’ on limestone outcrops along the coast, which mark where the sea level was higher, in relation to the land, than it is today (Gifford 1992: 23; Rackham 1996: 25); in the east, evidence for these changes includes Roman fish tanks on Mochlos, which would once have

been at sea level and are now submerged, whilst Mochlos itself, once a peninsula, is now an island (Leatham and Hood 1958/1959: 273-275; Soles 1992). However, the change in relative sea levels on Crete has involved more than a simple tilting of the island on a north-south axis such that the West has risen and the East has sunk (Leatham and Hood 1958/1959: 265-266). In the different parts of East Crete the degree of change in relative sea levels varies significantly, perhaps due to localised tectonic activity: at Chersonisos (located slightly west of the geographic area covered by this study) the rise in sea level appears to have been greater than at Mochlos - the reverse situation to that which may be expected if the East had simply sunk on a north-south axis (Leatham and Hood 1958/1959: 264-275); in the modern town of Sitia, the relative sea level actually appears to be lower than in the past (Davaras 1974); on the south-east coast, the sea level may not have changed significantly at all (Higgins and Higgins 1996: 199).

There are two main ways in which the changes in sea level impact upon archaeological investigation of ancient East Crete. First, these changes mean that the modern landscape in the vicinity of coastal sites may differ significantly from that in the periods when they were inhabited. Not only have the immediate appearance of the coastline and the level of the sea relative to coastal settlements changed, but land and structures once used by their inhabitants may now be submerged and no longer visible to land-based archaeologists. These changes highlight the need not to assume that past landscapes and seascapes were identical to those which may be seen in the field today. Second, the changes in sea level and the attendant submersion of archaeological evidence in East Crete limit the evidence available for archaeological study: submerged sites cannot be included in the surface surveys that provide valuable information for settlement patterns in the past and detailed study of this underwater evidence would require specialised technology and skills that go beyond those required for land-based sites. Within the geographical area covered by this study the impact of a rise in sea level on the availability of archaeological evidence is most pronounced at Olous, where most of the ancient site is now underwater. In the far east of Crete, the rise in sea level combined with changes in the level of the water table has prevented exploration of the earliest levels of some parts of Itanos (Greco et al. 1996: 944).

Today Crete has a Mediterranean climate, characterised by hot, dry summers and moderate, moist winters (Flaccus 1992: 27; Rackham and Moody 1996: 33). However, there is significant variation in microclimates across its different regions. For example, the interactions of seasonal winds with Crete's mountains produce a variety of rain-shadows and excesses throughout the island (Rackham and Moody 1996: 34). Rainfall on Crete increases with altitude and from the coast inland, whilst the eastern part of Crete is considerably drier than the west (Flaccus 1992: 27; Rackham and Moody 1996: 34). Although there appears to have been a gradual change in overall climate over the long term, the greatest variation, both in climate and rainfall, occurs from year to year (Rackham and Moody 1996: 35, 38). Halstead (2002: 54-55) suggests that the two most distinctive features of the Mediterranean environment are climate and relief, which in turn influence traditional farming methods. Mild winters are advantageous for annual crops like wheat, which "take advantage of the mild winters to complete their growth cycle by early summer, whilst perennial crops such as the olive are adapted to surviving the summer drought" (Halstead 2002: 55).

Transhumant pastoralism takes advantage of the broken relief of environments such as Crete, as flocks of sheep and goat can over-winter in lowland areas whilst the mountains are covered in snow, and then be moved to pastures in upland areas in the mountains, escaping summer drought (Halstead 2002: 55). During the time period under consideration here, evidence for the movement of livestock (whether strictly "transhumance" or not) is most abundant for the Hellenistic period, when agreements between poleis such as Hierapytna and Praisos, and Hierapytna and Priansos, made provision for the movement of animals and goods across and between poleis, as well as for their upkeep and the sale of animals and animal products in foreign poleis (see discussion in Chaniotis 1999a). These economic activities might be seen to have an integrative role in bringing together different groups of people, such as those, in the Hellenistic period, associated with different poleis. Animal husbandry and economic strategies such as transhumant pastoralism provide a number of products, such as meat, wool, milk and cheese (Chaniotis 1999a: 188). In addition to being used for pastoralism, mountains and upland areas can be exploited in a number of different ways. Mountain plains on Crete could be cultivated, and where necessary terraces built, to enable grain,

olives and vines to be grown in these areas (Chaniotis 1999a: 187-188). Some terraces on Crete may date back to the Bronze Age (Rackham and Moody 1992: 128-129). Other economic activities that can be carried out on the Cretan mountains include the collection of herbs, and bee-keeping (Chaniotis 1999a: 209-210; Hayden et al. 1992: 313-314). For much of the chronological period covered in this study, such as the Early Iron Age and Classical to Hellenistic periods, Crete seems to have had an economy geared towards subsistence through agricultural and pastoral activities rather than the production of surplus and manufacture (Chaniotis 1999a; Wallace 2003a: 615-616). In Roman times there may have been a shift from a subsistence to a market economy (Chaniotis 1999a: 211-212).

Although there has been debate over the significance of fishing as a food source in antiquity (e.g. Bekker-Nielsen 2004; Gallant 1985), produce from the sea, such as fish and murex, for dye, may have provided an important set of resources for the inhabitants of Crete that added to the land-based ones discussed above. Evidence for fishing in late antiquity has been found at Itanos (Mylona 2003: 103). The fish tanks found in a variety of locations on Crete (and just off its coast), such as at Mochlos and Sitia, indicate that this was an economic resource exploited in the Roman period (Mylona 2003: 106-108). Fish bones have been recovered in excavations at sites in East Crete, such as Itanos and Palaikastro (Mylona 2003). Interestingly, the particular types of fish that appear to have been exploited in LMI Palaikastro differ significantly from those exploited at Itanos in late antiquity - the majority of fish bones from Itanos in late antiquity come from parrot-fish, which is hardly represented at all in LM I Palaikastro (Mylona 2003: 106).

The climatic and topographic variability of Mediterranean regions such as Crete mean that food production might fluctuate from year to year. This fluctuation leads to a tendency for production to be geared towards ensuring an adequate food supply during poor years, resulting in a “normal surplus” in years when yields are average or good (Allan 1965: 38; for discussions of this concept in relation to Greece see Halstead 1989; Halstead and Jones 1989). A number of strategies for coping with natural variability in agricultural production have been suggested

which broadly fall into the categories of mobility, diversification, physical storage and exchange (Halstead and O'Shea 1989). Specific examples of these strategies, particularly for coping with inter-annual variability, include diversity in the types of crops cultivated and in the range of environmental niches exploited, the physical storage of foodstuffs and exchange of produce for money (or other tokens of value), food, labour or essential and luxury items (Forbes 1989; Halstead and Jones 1989: 50-52). As is described in Chapters 4 and 5, three main settlements have been identified in the Kavousi region during Late Minoan III C and the Early Iron Age, Azoria, Kavousi *Kastro* and Kavousi *Vronda*, each of which is located at a slightly different altitude and with slightly different features in the topography of their immediate environs. If Haggis' suggestion (1993, 1995: 301-309, 323-324, 1996: 408-414, 2005: 81-83) that these sites formed a cluster of interdependent settlements which shared resources is a genuine reflection of their past economic and social links, one might posit that the specific locations of each of these sites in the wider landscape formed part of a subsistence strategy by their inhabitants which aimed at reducing risk through the exploitation of a variety of crops and animals in the different environmental niches offered in the immediate vicinity of each settlement and exchange and sharing of the resultant foodstuffs within the cluster. Azoria and Kavousi *Vronda* may have both been involved primarily in the exploitation of crops and animal husbandry suited to the plain below these sites and part-way up the mountainous slopes on which they are located, whilst Kavousi *Kastro*, which is higher than either of these, may have been involved in higher-altitude agriculture and pastoralism. The links between the socio-economic relationships of site clusters in LM III C East Crete and group identities is discussed in further detail in Chapter 4.

In addition to natural variability, subsistence strategies must take into account factors such as the availability of labour from year to year, the changing energy requirements of different households as they expand and contract and the dominant social, political and economic system within which individuals are operating, as well as the scale of this system and its geographical extent (Chaniotis 1999a; Forbes 1989; Garnsey and Morris 1989: 98; Halstead 1989: 72). For example, the fragmented political geography of the Archaic to Hellenistic poleis on Crete had a direct impact on the ease of movement of animals, goods

and/or people across the landscape, and the crossing of the boundaries of multiple poleis could lead to conflict which appears to have been dealt with through various treaties and legal prescriptions between different poleis, as mentioned above (Chaniotis 1999a: 191-192). Other strategies for dealing with pressure on resources in Classical and Hellenistic Crete included migration and territorial expansion through conquest and incorporation of neighbouring poleis (Chaniotis 1999a: 183).

Today, Crete has very few permanently-flowing rivers, none of which are located in its eastern region, a situation which contrasts significantly to that for Venetian Crete from which a list of twenty-eight good rivers, including six in the eastern part of Crete, survives (Rackham and Moody 1996: 40 Fig. 4.3, 41). Most rain that falls on Crete is absorbed into its karst limestone surface, for example through sinkholes, and emerges at a later point as one of the many springs on the island (Rackham and Moody 1996: 24-25, 42). Despite the importance of water, site locations were not always determined by the presence of a good water source, and, from a very early period, individuals on Crete adopted strategies to cope with variation and uncertainty in rainfall and water supply, as is evident, for example, in the two Bronze Age water cisterns found at Myrtos Pyrgos (Cadogan 2007). Cisterns were particularly important at Hellenistic Lato he Hetera, which lacked a natural water source (Demargne 1901; Ducrey and Picard 1996; Evans 1895/1896; Spratt 1865: 133). Some settlements, such as LM IIIC and EIA Kavousi *Vronda* and Kavousi *Kastro* were located near perennial springs (Haggis and Nowicki 1993: 335). In addition to springs and cisterns, wells have frequently been used as a water source on Crete (Rackham and Moody 1996: 43-44).

1.3 Separating Out East Crete

In the above section it was noted that the mountainous blocks of Crete divide the island into four regions, which roughly correspond to the four nomoi or prefectures that, until recently, formed the basis of the modern Greek administrative division of Crete and which can be dated back to at least the late Roman period (Bennet 1990; Cadogan 1992a: 31). It is the easternmost of these that is considered in this thesis. The borders of this region can be delineated

geographically and topographically, with the Dicte mountain range marking its western edge, as mentioned in Section 1.2, and the sea its other three edges. For the purposes of this study, the western edge of this area is taken as falling east of Lasithi. Although Lasithi is today included in the easternmost prefecture of Crete, the boundary between eastern and central Crete has often fallen east of this plain in the past, for example in the Bronze Age, Classical to Hellenistic periods and in the Venetian period (Bennet 1990: 209; Vavouranakis 2007: 17). In addition to the geographic and topographic features which can be used to distinguish it from the rest of the island, it could also be argued that East Crete has formed a separable unit in cultural and socio-political terms at times in the past.

Although some scholars support the view that by the Neopalatial period Knossos was supreme over the entire island of Crete (for example, Hood 1983: 130), it has been convincingly argued that during this time Crete was divided into a number of independent ‘peer’ polities (Cherry 1986), the boundaries of which approximately divide the East Cretan region examined in this thesis from the rest of Crete. The regionalism suggested by the peer polity model of Neopalatial Crete finds support in the evidence from Linear A. For example, Palaima (1987: 302) notes that the Linear A documents from a number of centres, including Palaikastro and Zakros in East Crete, indicate an interest in regional production, whilst Schoep (1999) detects regional variation in Linear A palaeography. She even suggests that “it is possible to speak of an East Cretan writing tradition, attested at Zakro and Petras” (Schoep 1999: 210). Tsipopoulou (1997a: 267) has expanded upon the peer-polity model and has suggested that Cherry’s easternmost polity may have been further subdivided into three polities, which she describes as:

- (1) The Bay of Sitia with Petras as the center,
- (2) the far eastern Zakros-Palaikastro area centered on Zakros,
- (3) the southern coast with the central place situated at Makrygialos or Diaskari.

The strongest case made by scholars thus far for a socio-political distinction between East Crete and the central and western parts of the island is dated to the Final Palatial period. Bennet (1987) has argued that during this period the administrative interest of Knossos focused on the central and western parts of Crete and did not extend further east than the Malia region, as is evident in the

geographical distribution of Linear B place-names shown in Figure 1.3. Thus, during this period, East Crete appears to have functioned as an administrative and socio-political unit, or units, separate from the central and western parts of Crete under Knossian control (Bennet 1987). Although some of the evidence cited by Bennet in support of his argument, such as the lack of LM II material in the eastern part of Crete, has been refined by subsequent discoveries, such as evidence for LM II occupation at Palaikastro (MacGillivray and Sackett in French 1991-1992: 67; MacGillivray and Sackett in Blackman 1996-1997: 115-116; Sackett and MacGillivray in Catling 1988-1989: 104; Tomlinson 1994-1995: 69) and Mochlos (French 1989-1990: 75; Soles in Tomlinson 1995-1996: 46-47), and a re-assessment of the dating of LM II in the East relative to the rest of the island (MacGillivray 1997), eastern Crete can still be differentiated from the rest of the island during this period. No Linear B toponyms appear to refer to sites in East Crete (Bennet 1985, 1987, 1990: 208-209), and settlement patterns in East Crete during the Postpalatial period appear to differ from those in the rest of the island (Bennet 1987: 86-87). During the LM IIIA2-B period, there are regional differences in pottery styles with more intense production at local centres, such as at Knossos, Chania, and Palaikastro (Bennet 1987: 86-86; D'Agata 2005: 116; Kanta 1980: 288-290).

No single settlement pattern across Crete can be distinguished in LM IIIC (D'Agata 2003: 22; Nowicki 2000). As is discussed in Section 4.2, during LM IIIB and the early part of LM IIIC, in East Crete many coastal plains and major coastal sites, such as Gournia and Palaikastro, were abandoned in favour of sites, which are often termed "refuge settlements", in new, often less easily accessible locations than settlements in the earlier LM I to IIIA periods (Bennet 1987: 86-87; D'Agata 2003: 22, 2006: 397-399; Nowicki 1999: 146, 2000; Wallace 2003a: 605, 2006, 2007: 252). By the later part of LM IIIC, many of the most inaccessible sites had been abandoned in favour of nucleation at sites located at lower altitudes and with better access to cropland (D'Agata 2003: 22; Nowicki 2000). As discussed in Chapters 4 and 8, this pattern of widespread settlement abandonment contrasts to that in central and western Crete during the same time period, where, although some settlements were abandoned and new ones founded in less accessible locations, occupation continued at a number of central places

such as Knossos, Chania and Phaistos (D’Agata 2003: 22, 2006: 400; Nowicki 1999: 146). D’Agata (2003: 25) has suggested that by the later part of LM IIC “the socio-political organisation detectable...is that of autonomous entities, offering no evidence of subordination to a central, regional authority”.

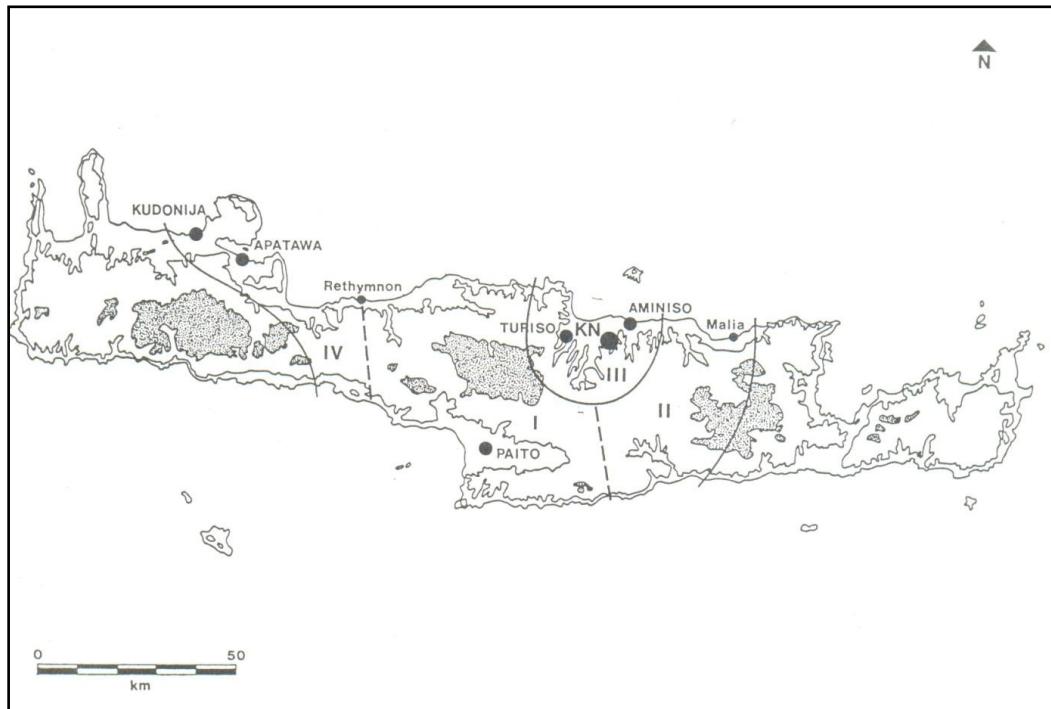


Figure 1.3 Map the Possible Distribution of Linear B Place-Name Groupings and of The Locations of Six Identifiable Place Names (Source: Bennet 1987: 78, Fig. 1).

As is evident in the sites discussed in Chapters 4 to 7, some “refuge settlements” were only occupied for a short time, whilst others were occupied from early LM IIC to the Classical and Hellenistic periods (Nowicki 1999: 146-147). Between the tenth and ninth centuries BC a process of settlement nucleation took place, particularly in the eastern and western parts of Crete, in which certain settlements grew in size at the expense of others, whilst more than half of the sites which had been new foundations at the start of the Iron Age were abandoned (D’Agata 2006: 403; Wallace 2003: 604, 2006: 641, 2007: 249). Tsipopoulou (2005a) has argued that there was a mixing of Minoan and Mycenaean cultural identities on Crete at the end of the Bronze Age, which resulted in a new ethnic identity, which she terms ‘Mycenoan’. Although Tsipopoulou (2005a: 303) suggests that this process

may have occurred throughout Crete, she suggests that only in East Crete did a later group, the Eteocretans, claim to be the “the descendants or the successors of these ‘Mycenoans’ of the final Bronze Age”. Minoan and Mycenaean identities and the problems associated with these are discussed in more detail in Chapter 5; the Eteocretan identity is discussed in Chapter 6. Although at first glance the Eteocretan identity may appear to mark a cultural distinction between East Crete and the rest of the island, the geographical extent of this identity, if it was salient for the inhabitants of East Crete at all, appears to have been limited primarily to Praisos and perhaps, if the text found there was written in ‘Eteocretan’, Dreros (Duhoux 1982). If this identity was salient in these settlements, it was not necessarily so for all their inhabitants.

Although interest in the Archaic to Hellenistic periods on Crete is growing, the relative dearth of work on these periods across the whole of Crete makes considering its different regions and comparing them to each other difficult (Alcock et al 2003: 368; Moody et al. 1998: 87; see Raab 2001: 22-44 for an overview of rural settlement during some of these periods and a discussion of the problems associated with the work already done). As evident in Chapters 6 and 7, during the Archaic to Hellenistic period, the socio-political structure over the whole island appears to have been one of independent, and often competing, poleis (Bennet 1990: 200-201; Perlman 1992; 2004a). The boundaries of the poleis of Crete can be hypothesised on the basis of a variety of evidence, including the specific locations of their urban centres, the presence of boundary temples such as at Palaikastro and Sta Lenika, inter-polis boundary treaties and the natural topographic divisions of the landscape, thereby allowing the geographic boundary of the region examined in this study, specifically on its western edge, to follow approximately past socio-political borders between the westernmost poleis of East Crete and the easternmost poleis of central Crete, thereby distinguishing my study region on a socio-political basis.

Despite the presence of certain cultural and socio-political elements which may distinguish East Crete from the rest of the island, as will be evident in Chapters 4 to 7, similarities between this region and the rest of Crete and between this region and the wider Greek world and beyond, can also be discerned. For example, many

inhabitants of East Crete worshipped deities revered elsewhere, such as Apollo Delphinios, Athena Polias, Ares and Aphrodite and Isis and Serapis, and the most common written evidence from Archaic East Crete, as elsewhere on Crete during this time, though in contrast to other parts of the Greek world, comprises legal inscriptions (Stoddart and Whitley 1988; Whitley 1997). However, as is evident in Chapters 6 and 7, even within these spheres certain parts of East Crete may be distinguished from elsewhere: Dictaeon Zeus appears to have been worshipped only in the far eastern poleis of Itanos, Praisos and Hierapytna (Bosanquet 1908/1909:350; Sporn 2002), and the written evidence from two East Cretan sites, Dreros and Praisos, includes the small number of inscriptions written in the Greek script but recording a non-Greek language (Duhoux 1982).

The above discussion reveals a pattern whereby at certain times, such as the Final Palatial period or in the administrative divisions of Crete from late Roman times until the present, East Crete might be relatively clearly differentiated from the rest of the island both in geographic and topographic terms and in cultural and socio-political terms. At other times, such as during the Neopalatial and Archaic to Hellenistic periods, a pattern of relatively small territorial and political units, or polities, spread across the whole island obscures the distinction that might be made between East Crete and the rest of the island on a large-scale geographic and topographic basis. However, as discussed above, even during these times the western borders of the small-scale units in East Crete broadly approximate the geographic western boundary of this region as a whole. Furthermore, despite these similarities, the wider networks within which the sites in different regions of Crete participated may have varied significantly, particularly when it is remembered that off-shore locations, such as the islands of Kasos and Karpathos, may, at times, have been more easily accessible to the inhabitants of East Cretan settlements, in particular Itanos and Praisos than other sites in central and western Crete (as discussed in Section 1.2).

As will be apparent in this thesis, the scale of the contexts within which identity negotiation and communication generally took place in East Crete between LM IIIC and the Hellenistic varied widely. At the beginning of this period, the scale was generally very small; by the second half of this period, the scale often

extended beyond both East Crete and the island as a whole. Thus, despite the use of East Crete as the geographical extent of this study, it is also important to consider contexts that extend beyond this region when seeking to understand continuity and change in group identities through the long time period under consideration here. I consider the issue of context and scale in more detail in the final chapter of this thesis. The widening scale of the context through time incorporated increasing numbers of people into a variety of group identities, which also covered greater geographical areas. As this thesis demonstrates, these group identities extend far beyond the ethnic and/or cultural ones that have dominated most work on identity in Crete to date, and include community and political identities, religious identities, identities relating to social status, gender, age and occupation, and family, kin and lineage identities.

2 The Scholarly Context: Identity in Archaeology

2.1 Scope and Structure of this Chapter

From culture-history in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to gender and nationalist archaeology in the present, identity has been a focus of much attention within archaeology since its origins, varying mainly in the theory and methodology underpinning such work and in the particular forms of influence exerted over such study by the contemporary political and social context. In the last few decades there has been an explosion of interest in the subject of identity within the social sciences in general, and the quantity of scholarship produced on identity within archaeology during this time is enormous. A comprehensive review of all the literature on identity in archaeology is beyond the confines of this thesis. However, in order to set this study in its scholarly context, the discussion below aims to provide a general overview of literature on group identities in archaeology. The focus on group identities in this chapter reflects the focus of this thesis as a whole. As I make clear in Chapter 3, a distinction may be made between group identities and personal identities. Personal identities are generally much more difficult to discern archaeologically, particularly in times and places which lack textual evidence. The limited work on personal identities that has been carried out has therefore been primarily in historical archaeology, as White and Beaudry's (2009) review of work on personal identity in relation to personal objects demonstrates, and in more ancient contexts with relatively abundant textual evidence, such as Egypt (Meskell 1999).

For some time there has been a growing recognition that archaeology is not, and cannot be, an entirely objective enterprise, free from both the concerns of its contemporary context and from ethical considerations (for example, Dietler 1994: 599; Fotiadis 1997: 108-110; Friedman 1992a, 1992b; Hamilakis and Yalouri 1999: 115-116; Kane 2003; Meskell 2002; Shanks and Tilley 1987; Trigger 1984). In some ways, in archaeology this has been most clearly demonstrated in the literature on identity. The two biggest themes within this literature, cultural and ethnic identities, including race and nationalist identities, and gender and sex

identities, can be seen as directly relating to, and to some degree stemming from, contemporary political and social concerns. First considered in Section 2.2, are the ways in which the contemporary context has influenced the study of cultural and ethnic identities in archaeology and vice versa, and the ways in which archaeology has been used in the negotiation of these identities in the modern world. Next, I examine how scholars have dealt with these identities when studying the past, through both the archaeological record and textual evidence. Section 2.3 looks at the rise of interest in gender and sex identities in archaeology and some of the ways in which these identities have been studied by archaeologists. Varying levels of interest in other types of identities can also be found in archaeological literature, with one of the most prominent relating to life-cycle identities, such as childhood and old age. Section 2.4 is devoted to literature on these identities. To some degree studies of life-cycle identities, particularly those relating to infancy and childhood, can be seen as illuminating marginalised groups. Literature on the identities of another marginalised group of people – slaves – is discussed in the penultimate section of this review (Section 2.5), which also briefly discusses a variety of other identities which, although potentially extremely significant in the past, have generally received less attention than cultural and ethnic identities, sex and gender identities, and life-cycle identities. These identities include occupational and religious identities, identities related to wealth, power and status and identities of place. The final part of this review (Section 2.6) summarises work relevant to East Crete and discusses future directions for research on identity in archaeology, highlighting the emerging trend to consider multiple identity types together, in intersection with each other.

2.2 Cultural and Ethnic Identities

The close relationship between the study of cultural and ethnic identities in archaeology and the contemporary context within which archaeology is practised is evident both when looking at the earliest “culture-history” approaches to these identities, as seen in the work of scholars such as Childe and Kossina, and when looking at approaches to these identities today. As has often been noted in archaeological literature, Kossina’s culture-history approach to ethnic identity was used in Nazi Germany as a form of justification for the terrible atrocities

carried out against Jews and others identified as non-Aryan (Anthony 1995; Arnold 1990; Demoule 1999: 193-194; Veit 1994). It has been suggested that these political and social consequences in the contemporary world of the study of ethnic identity in archaeology explain a decreased volume of literature on these identities for a significant period of time following the end of World War II (Meskell 2002: 282).

At least partially in response to the growing interest in cultural, ethnic and national identities in the modern world, literature on cultural and ethnic identity in archaeology has expanded enormously in the last twenty years (Alexandri 2002: 191; Burcu Erciyas 2005; Cojti Ren 2006; Demoule 1999: 190, 195-196; Díaz-Andreu and Champion 1996; Emberling 1997; Jones 1997; Kinnvall 2004; Kohl and Fawcett 1995; Meskell 2002; Shennan 1994; Smith 2004). Archaeology is often used as a resource in the negotiation of these identities in the present, both by minority and indigenous groups and by nation-states, and much scholarly attention has been paid to elucidating the use of archaeology in the negotiation of nationalist identities (for example, Athanassopoulou 2002; Atkinson et al. 1996; Díaz-Andreu and Champion 1996; Dietler 1994; Friedman 1992a; Fowler 1987; Gramsch 2000: 5; Graves-Brown et al. 1996; Kohl 1998; Kohl and Fawcett 1995; Mazariegos 1998; Meskell 2002: 287-289; Rowlands 1994; Silberman 1989). Specific examples of the use of archaeology in the negotiation of national identities include the references to “Celts” and “Gauls” in France (Dietler 1994, 1998), and links between archaeology and the negotiation of the Japanese national identity (Edwards 1991, 2003; Fawcett 1995; Hudson 2006). The effectiveness of the use of archaeology in the negotiation and communication of national identities is evident in what Harvey (2003: 473) calls the “‘picture-postcard’ world view of many a guide book today” where specific archaeological remains act as a sign of particular nation-states. The examples given by Harvey (2003: 473) are “Machu Picchu = Peru; Pyramids = Egypt; Parthenon = Greece; Angkor Wat = Cambodia”.

A great deal of literature has appeared that focuses on the use of archaeology and antiquities in the formation and negotiation of the national identity of modern Greece (for example, Alexandri 2002; Athanassopoulou 2002; Friedman 1992a,

1992b; Hamilakis 2007; Hamilakis and Yalouri 1996, 1999; Herzfeld 1982, 1987). This process is particularly interesting because the cultural heritage that it draws upon – classical antiquity – is perceived to have a “dual status”, forming part of both the heritage of Europe as a whole and specifically of modern Greece, and therefore potentially available to both of these as a resource in the creation and negotiation of identities (Alexandri 2002: 191; Athanassopoulou 2002: 279-280; Herzfeld 1987). The key role played by classical antiquity in the negotiation and communication of the modern Greek national identity is generally attributed to, and seen as originating in, a general interest in ancient Greece across Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, the period prior to and during which the modern Greek state came into being - prior to this time, identities in modern Greece do not seem to have been associated specifically with classical antiquity - and it has been convincingly argued that there was no direct temporal continuity of an ancient “Greek” identity from the classical past into the present (Friedman 1992b: 195; Hamilakis and Yalouri 1999). Thus despite its use of the classical past, the modern Greek identity can be seen as a relatively recent construct of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and one which, initially at least, was an ideological construction promoted largely by non-Greek Europeans and émigré Greeks resident in European countries during the centuries preceding and during the formation of the modern Greek state, and as part of a wider search for the origins of European “civilisation” (Athanassopoulou 2002; Friedman 1992a, 1992b; Hamilakis and Yalouri 1999: 123-127; Herzfeld 1987; Morris 1994). Much of the archaeological literature on the role of classical antiquity in the negotiation and formation of the Greek national identity focuses on the particular ways in which ancient monuments and cultural heritage, such as the Athenian Acropolis, have been used in this process (Athanassopoulou 2002; Hamilakis and Yalouri 1999). For example, it has been suggested that as part of the process of modern Greek identity formation the Acropolis was gradually “purified” through the removal of post-classical buildings to restore its “perceived ancient fifth century B.C. appearance” thereby conveying “a powerful ideological message linking the glorious classical past with the present” (Athanassopoulou 2002: 273-274; see also Hamilakis and Yalouri 1999). In contrast to remains from mainland Greece, however, historical period remains from Crete appear to have played very little part in this process.

There is a growing volume of literature on the use of archaeology in the negotiation and presentation of a pan-European identity intended, initially, to help establish the European Economic Community and, more recently, the European Union (for example, Dietler 1994: 584-585; Gramsch 2000; Graves-Brown et al. 1996; Lowenthal 2000: 319-320; Pluciennik 1998). To a considerable extent these studies can be seen as related to those that examine the use of archaeology in the negotiation of nationalist identities, but on a larger scale. Aspects of archaeology that are used in the construction of this identity include aspects of the Graeco-Roman world, particular interpretations of the Bronze Age which emphasize cultural unity, alongside diversity, across much of Europe and the concept of a prehistoric “Celtic” identity (Dietler 1994; Gramsch 2000: 11-13; Megaw and Megaw 1996: 175). Gramsch has highlighted a number of problems in the use of the past in this way:

First, there is an (over)emphasis on similarity at the cost of regional variety. Differences that may explain much of the dynamics responsible for historic changes during this long period are blurred. Second, other supra-regional cultural regions or communication areas in the Bronze Age could be stressed instead of the European continent, such as the Eastern Mediterranean or the Baltic. Communication and, thus, cultural similarities seem to be much more intensive within these areas than between them. Third, this view projects current conceptions of Europe backwards...into a largely non-literate past (Gramsch 2000: 13).

Literature on the use of archaeology in the negotiation and signification of the identities of present-day minorities, and marginalised and indigenous groups of people, is more limited to specific regions of the world than literature on the use of archaeology in the negotiation of nationalist identities. Perhaps the most well-known literature on this type of identity-negotiation focuses on the Native Americans in the United States and the Aborigines of Australia, where archaeology is directly connected to and implicated in modern political and legal processes, such as the NAGPRA legislation in the United States (Attwood and Arnold 1992; Bray 2001; Goldstein and Kintigh 1990; Hemming 2000; Lilley 2000; McGuire 1992; Meskell 2002: 290-292; Moser 1995; Swidler et al. 1997; Thomas 2000). However, other examples can be found, such as amongst indigenous Maya communities in Guatemala, who object to the appropriation of historic Maya cultural heritage by the nation-state, and its use in the formulation

of the Guatemalan identity, instead claiming that this heritage rightfully belongs to them and therefore should only be used in the construction of identities related to Maya communities (Cojti Ren 2006). Cojti Ren, an indigenous Maya scholar, states:

Archaeology can be used to write history, providing essential benefits or detrimental stereotypes of Maya communities. Archaeologists who practise in Guatemala have a call to be more ethical toward the descendant communities that they work in, especially in the field of interpretation and creation of theories about Maya history. Maya people are affected by the knowledge produced in archaeology, and they have an inherent right to forge their own identity through history (Cojti Ren 2006: 9).

Cojti Ren's argument that the creation and signification of the Guatemalan national identity has involved the appropriation of indigenous cultural heritage and the marginalisation of indigenous communities finds support in an article by Chinchilla Mazariegos (1998). In addition to the work on modern cultural, particularly national and indigenous, identities in Guatemala, work has also been carried out examining the role of archaeology in the negotiation of these identities in other parts of the Americas, particularly South America (for example, Higuera 1995; Mamani Condori 1996; Patterson 1995; Politis 1995; Silverman 2002). The work of indigenous scholars, such as Cojti Ren, is playing an increasingly important role in archaeology in regions of the world with significant populations of marginalised and indigenous groups, and the personal nature of archaeology when carried out by indigenous archaeologists, the unique perspectives such individuals bring to their work, and the political aspects of such work have been highlighted in a recently published collection of papers describing the personal stories of a number of indigenous archaeologists from all over the world (Nicholas 2010). In America, another set of archaeological scholarship on cultural and ethnic identities that is gaining prominence, and which is often closely integrated into the present-day social contexts of the descendant communities of those under study, is that which deals with race identities, particularly race identities and slavery (for example, Andrews and Fenton 2007; Leone 2005; Orser 1999, 2001).

Some of the suggestions put forward by Cojti Ren, such as her argument that the “reconstruction of our [Mayan] history by archaeology must benefit the interests and needs of living Maya” (Cojti Ren 2006: 14), are somewhat worrying given that, if taken to an extreme, action along the lines suggested would place archaeology in a position where its primary focus became providing a resource for contemporary political and social purposes by indigenous communities, rather than on attempting to elucidate the past. However, both her work and similar work by other indigenous scholars are valuable not only for the insight they provide into indigenous perspectives on the use of archaeology in modern identity-negotiation, but also for the vital warning they sound that archaeologists do not act in a political or social vacuum – the activities, studies and conclusions of archaeologists can and often do have “real-world” consequences whether intended or not (Cojti Ren 2006; Dietler 1994: 599; Fotiadis 1997: 108-109; Meskell 2002: 293). The relationship between archaeology and the formation and negotiation of modern identities, as well as the potentially negative consequences of this relationship, might be seen as underlying calls in archaeological literature for archaeologists to be more explicit in communicating their own motivations and potential biases in conducting particular studies (for example, Dietler 1994: 585, 599; Meskell 2002: 293-294). Although the discussion of identity in ancient East Crete may not have the same impact on a minority community as a similar discussion in other parts of the world, it is still important to recognise that this study may also be subject to personal biases and that the evidence presented in Chapters 4 to 7 may have been interpreted differently by others using different approaches. The format chosen for Chapters 4 to 7 is intended to separate the evidence from its interpretation, thereby making it easier for others to assess the evidence and to compare their own conclusions to mine.

Literature on cultural and ethnic identities in archaeology not only incorporates studies of the role of archaeology in the negotiation of such identities in the present; many such studies focus on these identities in the past. There is a growing body of theory aimed at facilitating and advancing the study of cultural and ethnic identities in the past in general and in specific places in the past (for example, Antonaccio 2001: 115-116; Emberling 1997; Hall 1997; Jones 1997, 2007). At present, however, there are varying opinions and relatively little

consensus between scholars of such theory beyond the acknowledgement that cultural and ethnic identities are today perceived to be fluid, socially constructed and negotiable (for example, Blake 1999: 35; Díaz-Andreu 1998; Emberling 1997; Hall 1997; Jones 1997; Konstan 2001: 29-30). Some scholars question whether the study of ethnicity in the past is possible, given that this is a modern term that may represent a uniquely modern type of identity and given that cultural and ethnic identities are complex and negotiated through widely varying, and apparently not universal social practices (Díaz-Andreu 1998: 205; Eriksen 1993: 80; Knapp in Frankel 2000: 168; Meskell 2002: 286-287; see also Hodder 1982; 1986; 1989). Opinion among scholars who do see the study of cultural and ethnic identities in the past as feasible seems to be divided between two main views: one which argues that because of the fluid and contextual nature of cultural and ethnic identities, real progress in studying these identities is only possible in contexts where contemporary textual sources provide a further set of evidence, whilst the other argues that despite these problems it is possible to examine cultural and ethnic identities on the basis of material remains in the archaeological record (Díaz-Andreu 1998; Emberling 1997; Frankel 2000: 168; Hall 1997; Meskell 2002: 286-287; Morgan 2001: 92-93). Blom et al. (1998: 244) suggest that in some cases ethnic and cultural identities can be examined through bioarchaeology and studies of genetic relationships between members of past societies - a view that is challenged by the prominent opinion amongst scholars that identity is situationally-constructed and therefore largely independent of genetics.

Despite this debate a number of studies aimed at investigating cultural and ethnic identities in the past have been carried out in recent years (for example, Blake 1999; Blom et al. 1998; Díaz-Andreu 1998; Torres-Rouff 2002). In the ancient Greek world, particular ethnic identities are thought to have been salient in a number of different contexts and at a number of different levels, some of which intersect with and influence each other, as Malkin (2005) shows in his discussion of Greek identities within the context of colonising activity. These include autochthonous-type identities at the local level of the polis (Konstan 2001: 31), the “Hellene” (or “Hellenic”) identity that may have operated on a broad panhellenic scale (Hall 2002; Konstan 2001: 31-33; Morgan 2003: 2-3), individual tribe-based identities such as “Dorian” and “Ionian” (Hall 1997;

McInerney 2001), and the cultural identities of both Greek and indigenous peoples in areas of Greek colonisation such as the western Mediterranean (Antonaccio 2001; Lomas 2004; Malkin 2005). It has been argued that the Hellenic identity only developed and became salient relatively late, following the Persian Wars (E. Hall 1989; J. Hall 2002). The Hellenic identity seems to have been constructed in terms of opposition to an “Other”, in this case the Persians and other groups living outside the Greek sphere of influence and termed *barbaroi*, on the basis of how they sounded to Greek speakers (Hall 1997, 2002; Mitchell 2007). In addition to negotiation along lines of difference, the development of the ancient Hellenic identity also appears to have involved certain social practices (some of which may have been in operation earlier than the Persian Wars), such as particular religious rituals, and shared festivals and games, at panhellenic sanctuaries like Delos, Delphi and Olympia and the use of a common language, as well as the creation of a mythical genealogy supporting the common group identity of Hellenes (Dickinson 2006: 254; Hall 2002; Mitchell 2007; Morgan 1993; Sherratt 2003; Sherratt and Sherratt 1993: 367).

Cultural and ethnic identities in the ancient Greek world were inter-connected with political identities, as is evident in Konstan’s (2001: 31) suggestion, noted above, that cultural identities were salient at the level of the polis. Morgan (2003) has examined political identities in mainland Greece in the Early Iron Age and Archaic period in detail, and suggests that they comprised a number of elements, incorporating the state, polis and ethne. In some cases the communication of these political identities directly involved the use of material culture in particular ways, for example through coinage (Papadopoulos 2002; Whitley 2001: 192-194). Most scholarship on cultural and ethnic identities in ancient Crete focuses on one of two topics: one dealing with “Minoan” and “Mycenaean” identities in the Bronze Age and Early Iron Age, both in themselves and in opposition to each other (e.g., Brogan et al. 2002; Legarra Herrero 2009; Nafplioti 2008), and the other dealing with cultural identities attested in ancient literary sources, particularly the “Eteocretan” identity in the Archaic to Hellenistic periods on Crete (e.g., Duhoux 1982; Sjögren 2006; Spyridakis 1977; Whitley 1998, 2006). To a certain extent, the latter topic can be linked to discussions of the “Dorians”, which occasionally appear in work on Crete as a whole (such as Spyridakis 1977; Willetts 1955,

1965, 1977). The problems with defining and determining the presence of Minoan and Mycenaean identities and with the Eteocretan identity are discussed in further detail in Chapters 5 and 6 respectively. Studies of other types of identity on Crete, in addition to these, include Hoffman's (1997: 153-190) discussion of the evidence for the presence of immigrants, or individuals who may have been perceived, either by themselves or others, to be of foreign origin and to have immigrated to Iron Age Crete.

In archaeology, the study of language and linguistic identities has been closely related to work on ethnic identities. Although early approaches, such as culture history, tended to view language as one of a number of universal features, which also included common territory, descent and other cultural traits, with which individual ethnic identities were associated, more recent approaches have tended to posit that there are no universally-applicable features of ethnic identity whilst also viewing language as often playing an important role in the formation and communication of ethnic identities (Hall 1997; Jones 1997; Lucy 2005a; Renfrew 1998: 2-3). There is little archaeological literature that concentrates solely on language and linguistic identities, probably because archaeological practice, methodologies and evidence in many parts of the world and for most time periods preclude the textual evidence and theoretical interest required for such analyses (for more on the problems of correlating linguistics and archaeology in general, see, for example, Blench 1997; Lucy 2005a: 92; Pejros 1997). Some of the most prominent discussions of language and linguistic identities in archaeology centre on the "Indo-Europeans" (for example, Mallory 1997; Nichols 1997; Renfrew 1989, 1998; Robb 1993). Current interest in this topic can be traced back to the eighteenth century work of Sir William Jones, who identified strong, systematic similarities between a number of languages, including Latin, Greek, Sanskrit, Celtic and Old Persian, and, on this basis, hypothesised that they had a common ancestry, termed "Indo-European" (Renfrew 1998: 9-19). Within archaeology, work on the Indo-Europeans tends to focus on identifying the original homeland of the first speakers of Indo-European, from where it is thought this language and those descended from it originated, and on determining at what point in time the Indo-European language spread through the two continents in which its descendant languages are now spoken (recent examples include Gimbutas 1973,

1977; Mallory 1989, 1997; Renfrew 1989, 1998). Despite the number of theories put forward addressing these concerns no consensus has yet been reached, primarily because the material evidence from all the possible time periods during which the original Indo-European language, if such a language ever existed, may have been spoken gives no indication of the actual language or languages spoken by its users. Although the possible nature of the Indo-European linguistic identity, and the implications and role of this identity within its broader context, is not made explicit in this work, it is often implicit, for example, in discussions of the nature of language change and transmission (for example, Renfrew 1998: 99-119; Robb 1993: 748).

The primary evidence from ancient Greece used in work on the Indo-Europeans is the Linear B texts, which, as they record the Greek language, form part of the Indo-European language family and provide a terminus ante quem for the entry of the Indo-European language and its speakers into Greece (Caskey 1969: 434; Mallory 2007: 176-177; Renfrew 1998: 62). However, much archaeological work on language and linguistic identities in ancient Greece and Crete focuses not on the Indo-European language but other areas, such as the links between the Greek language and the Hellenic identity (Cartledge 2007; Finkelberg 2005; Hall 2002), and on the dialects of ancient Greek and their possible associations with specific group identities, such as ethnicity, tribal and polis-based identities (Hall 1997: 143-181; Karali 2007). In addition, language has been used by scholars to shed light on other types of identity, such as personal identity (Thompson 2007) and identities associated with specific political and economic statuses, such as slaves (Kyrtatas 2007). Hall links textual evidence with identities in suggesting that two types of ethnolinguistic information can be gained from epigraphic evidence, such as inscriptions and dedications. These are linguistic evidence, or the “slight differences in speech and dialect [which] can be discerned through phonological, morphological and sometimes even lexical variations” (Hall 1997: 143), and stylistic evidence, or “variations in the *manner* of writing” (Hall 1997: 143; emphasis in original). Hall (1997: 143) proposes that the variation evident in the style of epigraphic inscriptions is usually determined through active choice which may “well indicate a conscious selection intended to stress local identities”. The link between epigraphic evidence and local identities in modern scholarship is

particularly clear in work on the Eteocretan identity, which combines epigraphic evidence for what may be a unique and specific linguistic identity with evidence in works by certain ancient Greek authors for a specific group identity (which may be ethnic and/or polis-based) in ancient East Crete. The specific problems in identifying this identity and its meaning to the past inhabitants of East Crete are discussed in Chapter 6. In the context of this chapter, it is pertinent to note that discussions of this identity, whose geographical span covered, at most, only two poleis on Crete (Praisos and Dreros), have dominated work on identity both in ancient East Crete and in Crete as a whole. Despite this focus, a wide variety of other identities may have been equally or more important than the ethnic and/or cultural identity termed “Eteocretan”, and it is these that this study aims to shed light on. Although the Eteocretan identity is considered in a number of places in this thesis, my principal aim is to shed light on the other group identities that may have been salient in LM IIIC to Hellenistic East Crete.

2.3 Sex and Gender Identities

Like cultural and ethnic identities, gender and sex identities, often considered under the term “gender archaeology”, can also be seen as directly relating to the wider social and political context, although in this case, the nature of this relationship is somewhat different. The rise in interest in these identities, and, more recently, those subsumed under the term “queer archaeology”, can be seen as originally stemming out of movements and concerns in the wider context, such as the field of sexology in the late nineteenth century and feminism in the twentieth century (Engelstad 2007: 217; Meskell 2002: 282-283; Tomášková 2006: 21; Voss 2008: 323). The beginnings of gender archaeology are usually attributed to an article by Conkey and Spector, published in 1984. The history of gender archaeology following the publication of this article will not be considered in detail here as it has already been discussed in detail by a number of scholars (such as Frantzen 1993; Gilchrist 1999; Meskell 2002; Sørensen 2000; Voss 2000). One of the primary aims of scholars practising gender archaeology, particularly in its earliest days, has been to challenge male and masculine-dominated views of the past by identifying women, their activities, and their impact on past societies (Conkey and Gero 1997; Engelstad 2007: 217-218;

Gilchrist 1991; Joyce 1993). One recent example of an attempt to “find” women in the archaeological record is Allison’s (2006) work on women and children inside the walls of military bases in the early Roman Empire. It has been argued, however, that merely “finding” women in archaeology is not enough (Tomášková 2006: 22). A newer, additional aim of gender archaeology, influenced by third-wave feminism is therefore to move beyond merely finding women in the past towards seeking to understand gender within a wider context that encompasses other identities such as age, ethnicity, sexuality, and modes of power (Ardren 2008: 2; Engelstad 2007: 217-218; Meskell 2002: 283; Tomášková 2006: 21, Westgate 2007). Part of this new aim of gender archaeology encompasses moves towards theorising masculinity and men in the archaeological record (Engelstad 2007: 217-218; Frantzen 1993: 451-2; Tomášková 2006: 21). Other studies have sought to understand how gender identities may have influenced particular aspects of peoples’ lived experiences in different times and places in the past, such as health and distribution of labour (e.g., Holliman 2000; Peterson 2000). Literature on gender and sex identities in the past covers a multitude of time periods and parts of the world, such as the prehispanic New World (Ardren 2008; Claassen and Joyce 1997; Gero 1995; Hollimon 2001), European prehistory (Schmidt 2004), and the Classical Greek and Roman world (Joshel and Murnaghan 1998a, Leader 1997; Leitao 1995). Within gender archaeology, and particularly in the archaeology of Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Spain, one of the most recent foci has been on linking women with “maintenance activities”, or domestic (though this word is often avoided) activities essential to the continuance of daily life, such as food processing and preparation and weaving (for example, Colomer I Solsona et al. 1998; González-Marcén et al. 2008; Lozano Rubio 2011; Montón Subías 2007). Although this work tends to be more theoretically informed and its methodology more clearly justified (whether or not one accepts the justification) than the attempts to simply find women in the past mentioned above, there is frequently a lack of evidence directly linking women to specific maintenance activities in the context actually under consideration and this limits the usefulness of this approach to the past despite its widespread applicability.

Despite the many published works of varying length on gender and sex identities in archaeology, (such as Allison 2006; Ardren 2008; Engelstad 2007; Franklin 2001; Gero and Conkey 1991; Gilchrist 1991; Hays-Gilpin and Whitley 1998; Meskell 2002; Nelson 1997, 2006; Spector 1993; Sørensen 2000; Wilkie and Howlett Hayes 2006; Wright 1996), a number of issues are still debated. Primary amongst these is the distinction between sex and gender identities and the extent of the influence of biology and/or culture in the construction of each of these (Ardren 2008: 1-2; Díaz-Andreu 2005: 14-18; Munson 2000: 128; Voss 2008: 319-320). One commonly accepted approach is to view sex as based primarily on biological traits and gender as primarily a cultural construct, whilst also acknowledging the possibility that multiple types of both sex and gender identities may be salient within a particular society (Ardren 2008: 4-5; Díaz-Andreu 2005: Munson 2000: 128). The biological and socio-cultural bases of sex and gender identities are discussed in further detail in Chapter 3. Even if this debate were resolved, a further, extremely important, debate concerns the challenge of identifying sex and gender identities in the archaeological record (Ardren 2008: 17). Although gender archaeology attempts to move beyond the traditional view in much of the modern Western world that there are two main gender identities, one associated with the heterosexual man and the other with the heterosexual woman, there seem to be relatively few occasions when scholars have been able to demonstrate conclusively the salience of more than two gender identities in past societies. One well-known, and often cited example of a third gender identity in archaeology is that of Native American *berdache* or “two-spirits” identity which was associated with a number of practices, including “transgendered dress and occupations, same-sex sexual practices, hermaphroditism, and specialized spiritual roles” (Voss 2008: 324; see also Díaz-Andreu 2005: 15-16; Hollimon 1997; Whelan 1991).

Although in principle it could be argued that where relevant textual evidence is available it should be easier to examine past gender and sex identities, this is not necessarily the case. For example, most of the textual evidence for these identities found in extant works by ancient Greek and Roman authors is likely to have been written and read by a very limited, and primarily male, portion of the population and may therefore have significant biases. Interestingly, a recent examination of

the remains of fifth- to first-century BC Cretan houses revealed that women seem to have been less restricted in these houses than in other parts of the ancient Greek world (Westgate 2007). This finding directly challenges the particular form of female identity thought, on the basis of textual evidence, to have existed in Greece during these centuries. Most studies of sex and gender identities in the historical Greek world tend to be based primarily upon textual evidence and/or the particular types of material culture that are usually studied by art historians, such as painted pottery (e.g., Cohen 2007; Dover 1978; Halperin et al. 1990; Joshel and Murnaghan 1998b; Koloski-Owstrow and Lyons 1997; Rabinowitz and Auanger 2002; Winkler 1990). Given Westgate's findings on the female identity on Crete on the basis of more "everyday" material evidence, the remains of houses, in the archaeological record, as well as the productive approaches to gender identity through architecture in the work of scholars such as Morris (1999) and Nevett (1994, 1995), one wonders what conclusions might be reached if the evidence upon which most studies of sex and gender identities in the historical Greek world are based was widened to include other types of material evidence. A similar challenge to broaden the evidence base for studies of gender and sex identities may be posed for the Neolithic and Bronze Age, particularly on Crete, in the Aegean, and on mainland Greece, where gender and sex identities have been approached primarily through figurative art, such as figurines, wall paintings and scenes on seals and sealings (e.g., Alberti 2005, 2007; Chapin 2007; German 2000; Hitchcock 2000; Lee 2000; Mina 2005, 2008; Muskett 2008a; Olsen 1998; Rabinowitz and Auanger 2002), rather than through other types of material culture which may have had a significant impact on the structuring of gender and sex identities and relationships, such as architecture, room use and small finds which may be associated with gendered activities (as attested in Linear B), such as spindle whorls and loomweights.

A relatively new focus of some literature on identity is "queer archaeology" (Dowson 2000; Schmidt 2002; Schmidt and Voss 2000; Voss 2000, 2008), which to an extent has grown out of the interest in gender and sex identities within gender archaeology. At present, the exact topics dealt with by, and the aims and theoretical underpinnings of, "queer archaeology" still seem to be under debate. Although queer theory often provides a way to approach particular gender and

sexual identities, such as homosexuality, scholars argue that queer theory also encompasses anything that can be perceived as deviating from established norms (Dowson 2000; Voss 2008: 323-330). For Dowson (2000: 163, emphasis in original) “queer theory is thus very definitely not restricted to homosexual men and women, but to anyone who feels their position (sexual, intellectual, or cultural) to be marginalized. The *queer* position then is no longer a marginal one considered deviant or pathological; but rather multiple positions within many more possible positions – all equally valid”. Literature on queer archaeology provides examples of studies that focus solely on homosexual identities (for example, Casella 2000; Reeder 2000) as well as studies that focus on aspects of the past that do not necessarily relate to sexual identities or practices (for example, Rixecker 2000).

Although, as discussed above, work on sex and gender identities in Crete and the ancient Greek world more generally during the Neolithic, Bronze Age, and later periods is relatively abundant, only Westgate’s (2007) study is directly relevant to East Crete during the period considered in this study. Although, as Westgate has demonstrated, it is possible to examine gender identity on the basis of material (as opposed to purely textual) evidence, to some degree the dearth of other studies that directly relate to East Crete between LM IIIC and the Hellenistic period is a consequence of the lack of detailed published data from sites on which to base such studies. With the recent and ongoing work at a number of sites from all the time periods considered in this thesis, such as in the Kavousi region, in the Vrokastro area, and at Praisos, Lato and Itanos, this situation is likely to change over the next couple of decades, making possible a more thorough understanding of sex and gender identities in LM IIIC to Hellenistic East Crete. Although the lack of detailed data precludes a comparative discussion of these identities throughout this time period in this study, they will be discussed briefly where appropriate.

2.4 Life-Cycle Identities

After the cultural and ethnic and sex and gender identities discussed above, perhaps the next biggest focus in literature on identity in archaeology concerns

the life-cycle identities, which focus on different stages in the life-cycle, such as old age, childhood and infancy (Baxter 2008; Cohen and Rutter 2007; Gilchrist 2000; Isaza Aizupurúa and McAnany 1999; Kamp 2002; Laurence 2000; Lucy 2005b; Meskell 2000; Scott 1999; Sofaer Derevenski 1997, 2000). Although still a relatively new field of interest, life-cycle identities have been examined in widely-varying geographic places and time periods, including the Neanderthals (Pettitt 2000), the Formative and Early Classical Maya site of K'axob (Isaza Aizupurúa and McAnany 1999), Deir el Medina in New Kingdom Egypt (Meskell 2000), and ancient Greece and Rome (Cohen and Rutter 2007; Langdon 2008: 56-125; Laurence 2000; Leitaó 1995).

Most studies of specific age groups in the archaeological record have focused on children and childhood or transitional stages between childhood and adulthood and/or the initiation ceremonies that mark this transition (e.g., Baxter 2008; Cohen and Rutter 2007; Kamp 2002; Leitaó 1995; Muskett 2008b; Sofaer Derevenski 1997, 2000). Other groups, particularly the elderly, remain understudied (and often unstudied) and under-theorised, perhaps because the material culture used by such groups, and recovered archaeologically, is unlikely to be distinguishable from the material culture of other adult age groups and their identification most likely to be based solely on mortuary evidence such as that discussed by Meskell (2000: 436-438) from the Eastern Necropolis at Deir el Medina in Egypt. One exception to the dearth of work on old age is Appleby's (2010) discussion of the need for an archaeology of old age and her presentation of a possible approach, based on skeletal changes. However, although Appleby has shown that insight into old age is possible within archaeology, her methodology is entirely dependent on the availability of suitable mortuary evidence, including both skeletal remains and grave goods. Discussions of the life-cycle in its entirety, from childhood to adulthood to old age have primarily focused on areas where textual evidence complements archaeological evidence, as in the study by Meskell (2000) mentioned above, and in Laurence's (2000) work on the life-cycle in the Roman world. Analogous evidence which might shed light on the multiple possible age groups of the past and their associated identities is not available for many of the regions and time periods that archaeologists study. In many studies, life-cycle identities are considered in conjunction with other

identities, particularly sex and gender (e.g., Chapin 2007; Cohen 2007; Sofaer Derevenski 1997).

As is apparent in the discussion of young male graduates of the *agela* in East Cretan poleis such as Hierapytna, Olous and Lato in Chapter 7, the evidence from LM IIIC to Hellenistic Crete has the potential to contribute to discussions of life-cycle identities in the ancient Greek world. However, this has yet to be done, and discussions that mention age groups and male initiation on Crete in general (as opposed to specifically East Crete) tend to focus on other aspects of the process, such as its relationship to gender identities (e.g., Leitao 1995).

2.5 Other Identities

As noted above, to some extent the growing interest in the life cycle identities of old age and childhood can be seen as illuminating marginalised groups, both in the past and present. Another marginalised group and its associated identities that have been the subject of archaeological scholarship in certain parts of the world are slaves (for example, Singleton 1995; Orser 1999). Perhaps the biggest focus of this scholarship is in North America, where the archaeology of slavery, like studies of race identities in archaeology, often engages with the living, descendent communities of the groups and individuals that archaeologists seek to examine in the past (Leone 2005; Meskell 2002: 284; Singleton 1995: 122). Slave identities have been studied in other places and time periods, such as the classical Greek and Roman world, although in the Graeco-Roman context, evidence utilised in the study of slave identities is primarily, if not solely, textual (for example, Joshel and Murnaghan 1998b; Morris 1998; Thalmann 1998).

In addition to the main foci of literature on identity discussed above, a number of other types of identities have been considered by scholars of different regions of the world and time periods, although none of these identity-types has been subject to the same degree of interest or scholarship as those above. One such example is religious identities. Although attention is rarely focused on religious identities in archaeology (Insoll 2004: 193-194, 2005: 602), a number of archaeological studies on religion and religious identities have been carried out, for example by

Insoll (1999, 2004, 2005) on Islam and Islamic identities, Chenoweth (2009) on Quakerism, and Edwards (2005) on religion and archaeology in general. Zakrzewski (2011) has considered multiple cultural and ethnic identities within the context of a single religious identity, in this case relating to Islam, in medieval Iberia.

Although some other areas of interest within archaeological literature might be seen as relating to group identities, such as wealth, power and status, these are rarely explicitly discussed and theorised as identities (Meskell 2002: 284). The few studies that do acknowledge and discuss wealth, power and status as types of identities include a study on slavery in the Bluegrass region of Kentucky in the nineteenth century by Andrews and Fenton (2007), Brumfiel's (2007) discussion of the connection between ideology, power relations and the creation of social inequality in the Aztec state, Schortman et al's (2001) work on identity formation in prehispanic southeastern Mesoamerica, and Babić's (2005) general discussion on status identities and archaeology. Other examples of identities that have been examined in archaeology include craft identities (Brysbaert and Veters 2010; Costin and Wright 1998), caste identities (Boivin 2005; Coningham and Young 2007), and identities which relate to specific places and spaces, in particular landscapes and architecture (Brück 2004; Bukach 2003; Casella 2004; Jones 2004; McEnroe 2010). In addition, group identities more generally have been considered without necessarily being associated with a named type of identity, such as in Wallace's (2003b) suggestion that regional identities provided a means of bringing people together in EIA Crete, and in Mac Sweeney's (2009) examination of group identities in Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Beycesultan in western Anatolia. As is discussed in this thesis (especially Chapter 8), it is not always easy to separate the different types of group identity from each other: political and religious identities often intersected and often overlapped each other in East Crete between LM IIIC and the Hellenistic period, whilst the type of group identity that dominates the political sphere in Archaic to Hellenistic Crete, based on individual poleis, also coincides with identities of place.

Despite the dearth of work on these other types of group identity in archaeological literature on identity, it is probable that, at times, they were equally or more

significant than the ethnic and cultural, sex and gender, and life-cycle identities discussed above in Sections 2.2 to 2.4). For example, the discussion of identity in this thesis suggests that community and political identities, and religious identities, were particularly important in ancient East Crete, and may have intersected and interacted with a myriad of other identities, including those related to life-cycle, gender, status and occupation.

2.6 Looking Forward

Thus far in this chapter, I have discussed scholarship on specific group identities by themselves, despite the fact that, in reality, multiple identities from amongst those discussed above, as well as others, may be salient for and negotiated by individuals or groups simultaneously and/or in conjunction with each other (see Chapter 3). To a great degree this division between different types of identities reflects the overall approach to identity in archaeological literature on this subject, which tends to deal with and theorise the different types of identities in isolation from each other. However, as the theoretical proposition that individuals and groups can and do hold multiple identities has gained acceptance, first in the social sciences in general and, more recently, in archaeology in particular, there have been calls for, and a movement towards, a greater degree of consideration of multiple identity types as they intersect with each other (for example, Ardren 2008: 17-18; Díaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005: 9; Meskell 2007). A number of studies which examine more than one identity have been carried out recently. Many of these focus on the intersections between two types of identity, such as between gender and status identities (Crown and Fish 1996), gender and age identities (Joyce 2000; Sofaer Derevenski 1997), and cultural and religious identities (Zakrzewski 2011). Other studies consider the intersections of multiple types of identity, such as ethnicity, race and other cultural identities, status, gender, life-cycle identities, kinship and a variety of other group affiliations and identities (e.g., Fowler 2004a; Marcus 1993; Voss 2005).

As can be seen in the literature review in this chapter, multiple identity types have been studied in archaeology. Although some types of identity, such as cultural and ethnic identities and gender and sex identities have been subject to

considerable examination and theorisation, there is considerable scope for exciting future work on other types of identities which have been under-examined and theorised relative to these identities, such as occupational, status, and religious identities. In addition, there is a growing recognition that different types of identity may be held simultaneously and, consequently, that multiple identity-types should be considered in conjunction with each other. The understanding of specific group identities gained through focused examination of these identities in themselves is a necessary precursor to understanding how multiple identities may work together. Therefore, both the continued study of individual identity-types and work on multiple identities in intersection with each other are desirable for future scholarship on identity in archaeology.

As the discussion in this chapter demonstrates, trends in research on identities in ancient East Crete share some similarities with trends in work on identity in archaeology as a whole, particularly in their predominant focus on ethnic and cultural identities, but they also diverge from wider scholarship, particularly in their relatively limited focus on sex and gender identities. In scholarship both on Crete and in archaeology more generally there is considerable scope for more work. In the case of LM IIIC to Hellenistic Crete, this work may take the form of theoretically-informed studies of group identities other than the “Eteocretan” cultural/ethnic identity, such as gender and sex identities, life-cycle identities, identities associated with wealth, power and status, occupational and religious identities, as well as identities associated with a myriad of other possible social groups in the past, or examinations of multiple identity-types in intersection with each other. This thesis combines both of these foci in its consideration of a number of group identities in LM IIIC to Hellenistic East Crete, including community and political identities, religious identities, kin and lineage, life-cycle, status, and gender identities, both in themselves and in intersection with each other.

3 Theory and Methodology

3.1 A General Theory of Identity

Research on identity in the humanities and social sciences has grown enormously over the last thirty years, growing with the increasing interest in identity in the modern world (Díaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005; Huddy 2001: 127; Insoll 2007: 1; Jones 1997; Meskell 2002; Robins 2005: 174-175). Research in diverse disciplines ranging from archaeology (see Chapter 2), to anthropology, ethnography, sociology, and social psychology (for example, Banks 1996; Barth 1969; Giddens 1991; Jenkins 1996; Tajfel 1982a; Tajfel and Forgas 2000; Tajfel and Turner 2004; Turner 1982, 1984; Turner and Killian 1972) has examined many aspects of this complex issue, resulting in a number of useful insights. As discussed in Chapter 2, the primary focus of discussions of identity in archaeology has been on cultural and ethnic identities, and sex and gender identities, although other aspects of identity have also been considered. While identity may be simply described as “the ways in which individuals and collectivities are distinguished in their social relations with other individuals and collectivities” (Meskell 2002: 279-280), it is a complex phenomenon, situated, at any moment in time, directly within its cultural and historical context, which both influences and is influenced by identity. This chapter draws together multiple insights into identity from the many disciplines in which it has been a topic of interest to present a general theory of, and methodological approach to, identity that is used as the basis for the exploration of identities in ancient East Crete in this thesis. This is intended to provide a springboard for the actual examination and discussion of the evidence and not a step-by-step method as the context-dependent nature of identity seems to preclude a “one size fits all” methodological approach that would fit all the different time periods considered here. The discussion of methodology is followed by a brief review of some of the types of group identities that are discussed in Chapter 2 and/or in the examination of identity in ancient East Crete in Chapters 4 to 8.

Meskill (2007: 24) has pointed out that identity operates on two levels: “the broader social level in which identities are defined by formal associations or mores” and “the individual or personal level where a person experiences many aspects of identity within a single subjectivity, fluid over the trajectories of life.” Given these two levels of operation, it is perhaps most useful to begin by theorising the relationship between individual identity and group identity. Individual identity might be defined as the unique attributes and characteristics of an individual combined with the group identities with which an individual is associated. In social psychology, the unique attributes and characteristics of an individual, such as “feelings of competence, bodily attributes, ways of relating to others, psychological characteristics, intellectual concerns, personal tastes and so on” (Turner 1982: 18) are together seen to comprise the ‘personal identity’; in archaeological theory, these unique attributes and characteristics have been referred to via the concept of ‘personality’ (see, for example, Díaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005: 1). In social psychology, the group and category identities with which an individual is associated, such as sex and gender, nationality, ethnicity, occupation and religion, comprise the ‘social identity’ (Hewstone and Jaspars 1984: 381; Tajfel 1982b: 2-3; Tajfel and Turner 2004: 59; Turner 1982: 17-18, 1984: 526-527). Turner (1984: 527) notes that despite the co-existence of an individual’s personal and social identity, at times individuals perceive themselves “primarily or solely in terms of [their] relevant group memberships rather than as differentiated, unique persons: social identity is sometimes able to function to the relative exclusion of personal identity.”

The relationships between individual identity, social and personal identity, and group identities are depicted in Figure 3.1. As depicted in Figure 3.1, and as discussed above, an individual identity comprises a social identity and a personal identity, each of which have the potential to interact with, and influence, each other as concurrent parts of a particular individual identity, associated with a unique person. The social identity is made up of a number of group identities, which are each based on groups and categories (discussed further below) in the wider social, cultural and/or historical context or society of the person or people under consideration. A group is not only a “psychological process” but also a “social reality” (Turner 1984: 536), which has an effect on society (Turner and

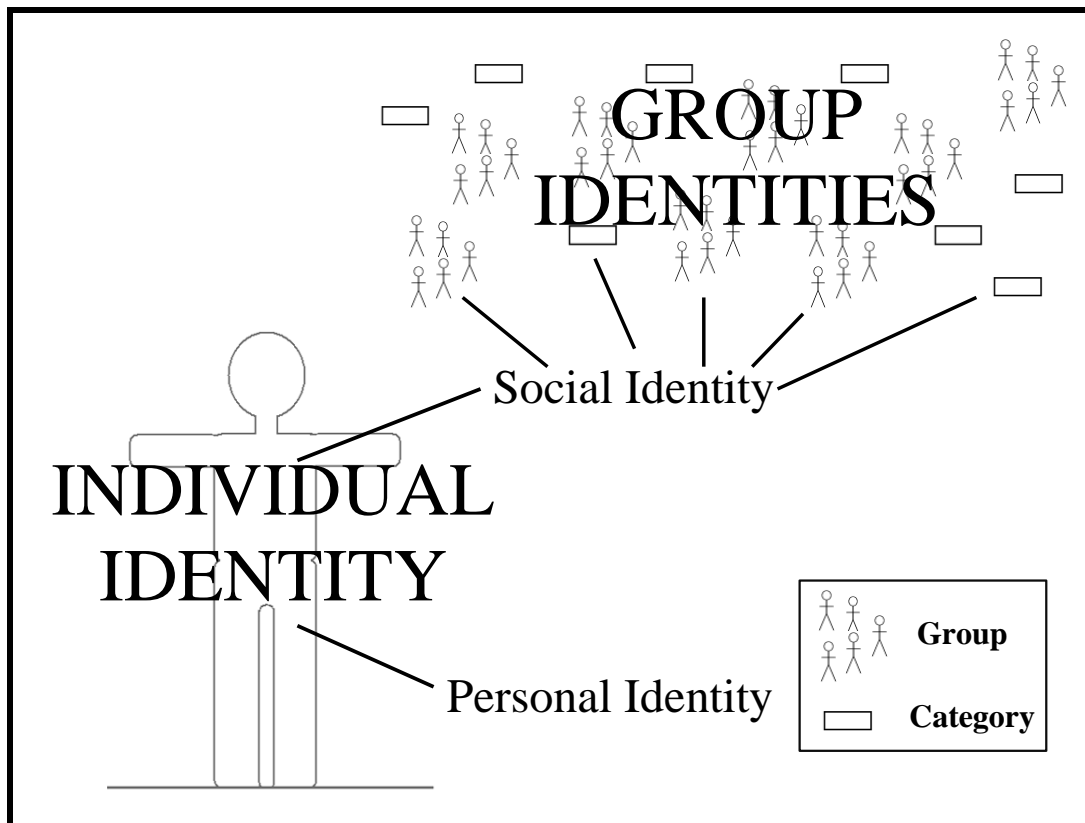


Figure 3.1 Hypothesised Relationship Between Individual Identity and Group Identities.

Killian (1972: 7), and each social group comprises the individuals who have internalised that group identity into their social identity (Turner 1982: 36, 1984: 530), or who have that group identity ascribed to them. Group identities and social identities each have the potential to influence each other – whilst social identities may depend on what group identities are present or possible in the wider context, the actions, attitudes and beliefs of multiple unique people also have the potential to alter current group identities or bring new ones into being. Many different types of group identities may be present within a particular cultural context, including ethnicity, nationality, gender, identities relating to age and different stages in the life-course and identities associated with particular professions, social status or gained through affiliation with particular groups within a society. It is probable that only some of the group identities in a particular society are salient aspects of the social identity of each person (for example, a masculine identity may be salient for some people, but not others). Some of the different types of group identities that may have been salient both in

the past generally, as well as specifically during the time period considered in this study, are discussed in further detail in Section 3.3.

The understanding of a particular group identity by those for whom it forms part of their social identity within a particular cultural context provides the emic viewpoint, whilst the etic viewpoint is the understanding of that identity by those for whom it is not part of their social identity. An etic view of a group identity may be held by contemporaries within a society, if they are outside the social group, and is also the perspective from which archaeologists, by necessity, approach the study of identity in the past. This suggests that some caution and care is required when examining past identities. Whether from an emic or etic perspective, group identities may be perceived and understood in varying ways by different individuals for whom the meaning of the identity may also vary (Huddy 2001: 142-143; Jenkins 1996: 24).

Apart from within exceptionally well-documented contexts, the nature of archaeological evidence precludes the detailed analysis of individuals that might produce insights into personal identities in the past, and this aspect of identity will therefore not be considered in further detail here (though for one theoretical, and archaeologically-focused perspective on identity and the different ways in which the person may have been conceptualised in the past, see Fowler 2004b). Although to some extent social identity can also be located at the level of the individual, and therefore might be considered difficult to examine archaeologically, it can be accessed through its relationship to group identities, which, as mentioned above, are located within the wider cultural and historical context, and some of which might be expected to leave a material or textual residue through which group identities, and by extension, social identity, can be studied in the past. Although the primary focus in my study will be on group identities, it should be remembered that they involve individuals whose actions, in negotiating and maintaining group identities, and psychological processes, in accepting and internalising group identities as part of their social identity, might be conceived as a prerequisite for the formation and perpetuation of any particular group identity. One might argue that it is the changing actions and perceptions of individuals through time, within a specific, wider historical context, that leads to

transformations in the nature and degree of salience of particular group identities in the long term. At times, these transformations may even be in direct response to changes in that wider context. Overall, therefore, an understanding of which particular group identities were important and/or salient in the past might be expected to yield a greater insight into past societies, such as those of ancient Crete from LM IIIC to the Hellenistic period, and groups and individuals within those societies, and the ways in which they functioned and changed over time.

Based on the above discussion, it is apparent that numerous group identities can exist within a cultural context and that whilst a particular social identity will consist of a number of group identities, it may also be constrained, to some extent, by the identities that are either available or possible within that context. As discussed in Chapter 2, group identities criss-cross and interact with each other, as well as with other social practices in the wider context, and it is therefore often particularly productive to consider combinations of, and/or the intersections between, a number of group identities (Díaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005: 9; Meskell and Preucel 2004: 123). This approach contrasts with that of most studies of identity in archaeology to date, which, as seen in Chapter 2, have tended to focus on single identities, such as ethnic or cultural identities, sex and gender identities, and life-course identities. The possible insights that may be gained through considering multiple identities in the past can be seen in Meskell's (1999) examination of cemetery evidence from Deir el Medina in Egypt. Meskell (1999: 136-175, 2007: 33) found that multiple identities divided the burials, and that these divisions changed over time. In the early to mid 18th Dynasty, age appears to have been particularly significant in the Eastern Necropolis, where position in the life cycle of the deceased determined the spatial layout of the burials. In the Western Necropolis, however, sex appears to have been more important, whilst age played a much less prominent role. Divisions between the two cemeteries are evident in wealth and status. In the 19th Dynasty, the Eastern Necropolis ceased to be used, except, perhaps, for foetuses and newborns. In the Western cemetery, sex became less important as an identity in structuring burial practices, and lineage appears to have become the most significant. Although studies such as that conducted at Deir el Medina by Meskell reveal a variety of group identities, it is not possible to determine all the group identities that may have existed within a

cultural context on the basis of archaeological evidence, and it is therefore important to remember that the identities distinguished in analyses of the past do not necessarily represent all the identities that may have been significant, and that the distinguishable identities may, in practice, have played out in specific ways in interaction with other identities that are not distinguishable archaeologically.

It has been suggested that one of the main psychological processes underlying the formation and ongoing continuation of groups and their associated identities is ‘categorization’, whereby the social environment is ordered through the subjective division of individuals, groups, objects and events into distinct categories that provide a basis for determining appropriate action, behaviour and attitudes in uncertain situations (Brown and Ross 1982: 156; Hewstone and Jaspars 1984: 381; Hewstone et al. 2002: 581; Hogg 1996: 67; Tajfel and Forgas 2000: 49-52, 56-57; Turner 1984: 522; van Knippenberg 1984: 561). Many scholars have emphasised the role of ‘difference’ in the construction of identity (Barth 1969; Díaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005: 1; Gefou-Madianou 1999: 414; Hall 1996: 4-51; Jenkins 1996: 3-4, 80-81; Jones 2007: 51; Meskell 2002: 280; Meskell and Preucel 2004: 121; Robins 2005: 173-174; Tajfel 1982b; Tajfel and Turner 2004: 60-61). According to this line of thought, identity is often, if not always, constructed through interplay with an ‘Other’ in which differences between the group to which an identity belongs and those outside the group (the ‘Other’) are highlighted and brought to the fore. Difference in itself will not necessarily result in the formation of groups or group identities – the difference needs to be recognised as significant within the wider context (Deschamps 1982: 87-88). Chenoweth’s (2009) study of changes in the material culture and social practices of Quakers over time provides one example of the importance of difference in relation to the wider context in the negotiation of identities – he demonstrates that certain practices, such as grave orientation, which were explicitly avoided early in Quaker history, were later adopted and other practices avoided, as they ceased to be effective markers of difference in the wider social context. As was mentioned in Section 2.1, in the ancient Greek world, difference between Greeks and the *barbaroi*, an “Other” in terms of language, may have contributed to the development of a ‘Hellenic’ identity in the fifth century BC (Hall 1997, 2002; Mitchell 2007). Deschamps (1982: 87) has argued that “the relations between

groups are not only those of co-existence or juxtaposition” but that groups “exist within a system of mutual dependence” and “acquire a reality which is defined in and through their interdependence.” This insight emphasises that whilst differentiation may play an important role in the negotiation of group identities, this process also takes place within a complex web of relationships in the wider cultural context, and further emphasises the need, noted above, to consider the intersections between multiple identities. Not every group within this web of relationships is necessarily equal – in both symbolic and practical terms groups are often asymmetrical, and “relations of interdependence” between groups may reflect differences in power (Deschamps 1982: 88).

Identity formation, negotiation and communication takes place within a dialogue of both difference and similarity: whilst differences between the group and the Other may be important, similarities between members of the group are also significant, and can contribute towards a sense of community, ‘us-ness’ and belonging which may help to solidify identities (Díaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005: 1-2; Jenkins 1996; Robins 2005: 172; Mac Sweeney 2009: 104-105; Turner 1984: 518). For example, whilst linguistic differences may have contributed to the development of a Hellenic identity, it was also mediated through shared social practices, such as a common language, and certain religious and other social practices, such as shared festivals and games, as discussed in Section 2.2. Dubisch’s (1993) discussion of boundaries and changing definitions of insiders and outsiders during her fieldwork in a Cycladic island village provides an example of how difference and similarity might play out in reality, whilst also highlighting that the definition of insider and outsider may change according to the context. For example, she notes that people from the village who had migrated elsewhere were variously considered *kséni* (outsiders) or *dhikí mas* (insiders) according to the context, whilst her own status as *kséni* changed to one of *dhikí mas* in the eyes of certain villagers in certain situations as her relationships with these people developed and as she got to know them better.

It has been suggested that the particular identity which is salient at any moment in time will depend on the immediate context, and for this reason, that identity is fluid and situation-dependent (Bernardini 2005: 35; Casella and Fowler 2004: 6-

7; Gefou-Madianou 1999: 413-414; Hall 1996: 3-4; Hogg 1996: 74; Robins 2005: 173; Smith 2004). When a group identity becomes salient, an individual may think of him or herself and others in terms of the attributes that are subjectively associated with that category, thereby stereotyping themselves and/or others (Brewer and Gardner 2004: 70-73; Hogg 1996: 66-67; Turner 1982). Bernardini (2005: 33-35) suggests that although the most meaningful scales of group identities (for an individual) are often relatively small, for example at the level of lineage or clan, identity is “always a nested phenomenon, and different socio-demographic conditions will activate different levels of identity.” Whilst ‘nested’ or hierarchical in one sense, identities across different levels might also be seen as segmentary: at one level two individuals or groups may hold different identities, whilst at another they may hold a common identity, formed through lines of similarity and/or lines of difference with an outside group. One example of the potentially segmentary nature of groups and their associated identities at certain levels is provided by Herzfeld’s (1985) ethnographic work in West Central Crete where he demonstrates that whilst at one level the inhabitants of his pseudonymous village of Glendi belonged to a number of different patrigrups within the village, at another they belonged to a common group that pitted the village itself against the outside world. In the case of the Hellenic identity, discussed above in this section and in Chapter 2, shared practices such as festivals and games may have signified a shared Hellenic identity at one level. However, on another level, these practices emphasised competition by pitting the inhabitants of different poleis against each other. Similar patterns of segmentary and hierarchical relationships between group identities are apparent in ancient East Crete. For example, as discussed in Chapters 6 and 7, at a fairly broad level, the worship of Dictaeon Zeus signified a religious identity held jointly by the inhabitants of Itanos, Praisos and Hierapytna, yet on a lower level, lines of difference between these poleis and their associated identities were emphasised. A good example of the nested, segmentary nature of identities in the ancient Greek world is provided by Malkin (2001: 3), who notes that multiple group identities existed in the ancient world, listing for example, genealogical identities, such as “descendants of Hellen”, polis and ethnos identities, colonial identities and intra-Hellenic identities, such as the “Dorians” or “Ionians”. He goes on to suggest that:

In no way were such collective identities exclusionary; nor can we point to a priori hierarchies among them. For example, the collective identity of a citizen of ancient Syracuse could be articulated as “Syracusan,” “Corinthian colonist,” “Siceliot” (=a Greek living in Sicily, of whatever origin), “Dorian,” and “Greek.” These identities would find expression according to the circumstances. In his political and civic relationship to other citizens of Syracuse he (women shared ethnicity but not full citizenship) was a Syracusan. In terms of international relations the Syracusan’s Corinthian affiliation and Dorian identity were meaningful. In terms of cult practices he or she shared Dorian *nomima* and dress. In relation to the native populations of Sicily and to the menacing Phoenicians, as well as to Greeks of the mainland, a Syracusan was primarily a Siceliot. In relation to Olympia (where the prominence of western Greek dedications has been noted) or to the Persian Wars (e.g., Gelon’s claim to supreme command), Syracusans were Greek (Malkin 2001: 3).

Although, as noted above, identity is often perceived as fluid and situation-dependent, many identities, such as ethnic or religious identities, are often also relatively stable or long-lasting through time (Huddy 2001: 147; Insoll 2007: 5; Jenkins 1996: 21). In particular, as Jenkins (1996: 21) notes, identities which are established in early childhood, such as “selfhood, humanness, gender, and, under some circumstances, kinship and ethnicity...are more robust and resilient to change in later life than other identities.” Groups and group identities, as well as the cognitive categories that may form the basis of categorisation and the social practices within which identities are communicated may be perpetuated through time as part of everyday practice through their internalisation into an individual’s *habitus* (Bourdieu 1977; see also Turner and Killian 1972: 58-59, who do not refer specifically to *habitus*, on the acquisition of social norms). Overall, it is perhaps most useful to acknowledge that particular group identities, such as ethnicity, gender or religious identity, might remain stable over relatively long periods of time, both within a cultural context and over an individual lifetime, perhaps in part through their internalisation into the *habitus* of individuals and groups, and in part through their ongoing salience.

Although often stable, identities are also fluid because the specifics of a particular situation will influence which identities are most salient at any one time, and the particular manifestation of one group identity may change in relation to other

identities, as exemplified in studies of the relationship between gender identities and life-course identities (for example, Joyce 2000). These aspects of the fluidity of identity are likely to occur primarily at the “individual or personal level” at which identity operates, noted above (see Meskell 2007: 24). Identities are also fluid in the sense that the group identities present or possible within a wider cultural and historical context will depend upon, and may change with, that context. This aspect of the fluidity of identity is likely to occur primarily at the “broader social level” at which identity operates, also noted above (see Meskell 2007: 24). A number of examples of changes in the identities of individuals and groups are available in ethnographic literature, such as Berntsen’s (1976) work on the “osmotic membrane” between cultural and occupation/subsistence groups (and identities) in the Kenyan and Tanzanian Rift Valley, and Flynn’s (1997) work on part of the Bénin-Nigeria border in which she demonstrates the development of new identities, such as national identities and a border identity, in conjunction with the establishment of the physical boundary between these two modern countries during the colonial era. One explanation of sociocultural change, such as in the types of group identities that are either present or possible within particular cultural contexts over time, may be that individuals use and respond to the pre-existing cultural knowledge that forms part of their habitus in multiple ways for particular purposes, changing culture as they do so, for example through having imperfect knowledge, or through the unintended consequences of their actions (Díaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005: 5; Turner and Killian 1972: 61). One could also argue that significant sociocultural change, particularly in the types of identities that may be salient within a cultural context, might be expected if dramatic change occurs within that cultural context, as was the case for the time period immediately preceding the temporal beginning of this study (see Section 4.2 for a description of this change).

Although some identities – acquired identities – are freely chosen by an individual, this choice may also be constrained, for example by skin colour (Díaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005: 2, 8; Huddy 2001: 140). There is no choice in the case of ascribed identities - these identities are attributed to individuals, who may then internalise and incorporate them into their social identity, and who are treated as having these identities by others (thereby increasing their salience for those to

whom they are ascribed). One example of ascribed identity is the caste system in India (Insoll 2007: 4). Whether acquired or ascribed, in order for a particular group identity to have salience and/or the potential to influence social interaction within a specific situation, it needs to be recognised and validated within the wider cultural context by those who communicate the identity and to those to whom it is communicated (Jenkins 1996: 21).

3.2 Methodological Approach to Finding Identities in the Past

It has been argued that identity is a process which is negotiated and communicated through social practices which use a variety of resources such as material culture, texts, memory and the past, language, the body, and a wide variety of behaviours such as those involved in social interaction or particular modes of production and consumption (Barrett 1988; Casella and Fowler 2004; Dietler and Herbich 1998; Fisher and Loren 2003; Gilchrist 2004: 150; Gosselain 2000; Hitchcock and Bartram 1998; Hodder 1982; Jenkins 1996: 4; Joyce 2000, 2005; Konstan 2001: 43; Mac Sweeney 2009: 105-106; Sofaer Derevenski 1997; Stark 1998; Stark et al. 1998; Thomas 1996). On this basis, it could be argued that one productive methodological approach to studying identity in the past is to identify patterns in the material and textual residues of general social practices, such as those associated with religion, commensality, or political structures and institutions, which may be indicative of group behaviour and the defining of the boundaries of group identities, as well as the signification of joint belonging. One example of such a study is provided by Mac Sweeney's (2009) diachronic study of Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Beycesultan, a settlement in Western Anatolia, in which she discerns shifting patterns of differentiation and similarity in social practices, through which certain group identities were particularly marked during some time periods and not others. This is the general methodological approach adopted in this study to distinguish group identities during each of the four time periods discussed in Chapters 4 to 7.

Although the subjective judgements required in associating material and textual evidence with particular social practices might be seen as problematic, it seems considerably less so than inferring the presence of particular types of identity

directly on the basis of objects and assemblages in isolation from their wider context (such as through a culture-history approach), and apart from the processes through which identities were actively negotiated and communicated in the past. Furthermore, by focusing primarily on general social practices, rather than particular types of material and textual evidence which may not be equally represented within the archaeological record, this approach allows identity to be examined and compared both in space and in time, thereby taking full advantage of the unique temporal view offered by archaeology (see Bernardini 2005; Díaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005: 9). In this approach, it should be recognised that, in some cases certain material culture may play a role in multiple social practices, whilst in other cases it may not be possible to identify the social practice or practices with which particular material culture is associated. Furthermore, one should expect that, as identity is fluid and situational yet can remain relatively stable through time, any one group identity may remain salient for a prolonged period whilst the social practices and resources through which it is negotiated and communicated change with the historical context. Similarly, the identities associated with particular social practices and resources may change as the position and relevance of these social practices and resources within the wider cultural context changes through time (Casella and Fowler 2004: 4). Overall therefore, both variability and stability might be expected when examining identities in both time and space in the past.

Whilst there has been much focus on boundaries in the construction of identities (for example, Barth 1969), the subjective meanings and bases of identities are also important and should be taken into account when examining identity (Huddy 2001: 130, 141-142). Therefore, in this study, the social practices and group identities distinguished through an examination of past social practices are not considered in isolation, but in relation to their wider historical context, in an attempt to elucidate why certain identities may have become salient at particular points in time and on their possible meanings, as well as the degree of continuity and change through time in group identities in ancient East Crete (discussed in detail in Chapter 8).

In order to examine identities in ancient East Crete effectively through the methodological approach outlined here, the overall evidence from each time period discussed in Chapters 4 to 7 (LM IIIC, the Early Iron Age, the Archaic to Classical periods and the Hellenistic periods respectively) was first considered without explicitly seeking to identify patterns, to try to gain an overall understanding of each period and its wider context. Following this, patterns in the archaeological record and textual evidence were sought, and then the possible identities signified through these patterns were determined. The evidence sections of Chapters 4 to 7 (specifically in Sections 4.3, 5.2, 6.2 and 7.2) are intended to provide the basis upon which patterns were identified, and this is what is intended by the statement in the introduction to this thesis (Section 1.1) that the sites described in this study represent only those from which sufficient evidence is available for the examination of identity between LM IIIC and the Hellenistic period. In addition, in both the evidence sections of these chapters and the sections immediately preceding these (Sections 4.1, 4.2, 5.1, 6.1 and 7.1), discussion is intended to shed light on the wider context of each time period and some of the most prominent features and/or problems associated with, each time period and its related evidence.

3.3 Theoretical Perspectives on Specific Identity Types

Following the discussion of a general theory of identity in Section 3.1, and of the methodological approach to examining identities utilised in this study in Section 3.2, I now turn to a brief discussion of theoretical perspectives on some of the different types of identities which are mentioned in the discussion in the literature review in Chapter 2 and/or in the examination of identity in ancient East Crete in Chapters 4 to 8. Before doing so, however, it is important to note that, when considering identities in the past, one should also be aware of one's own locatedness in the present with its own concerns about particular types of identity - identities that are particularly significant or clearly defined in the present may not have been so in the past (Meskell 2002). The following discussion is based primarily on work by other archaeologists, and is therefore not fully representative of all the possible group identities that may be distinguished in the past or in my study; it reflects the lack of theorisation of particular types of

identities, such as religious identities or identities associated with occupation and/or crafts and technical skills, in archaeology as a whole. Examples of the different types of identities discussed in this section can be found in the literature review in Chapter 2.

3.3.1 Ethnic and Cultural Identities

Ethnicity has been used to describe a variety of terms in the past (Banks 1996). Research suggests that ethnic identity (or ethnicity) is not a single, static entity, but is actively constructed, subjective, multi-layered and situation-dependent, as well as often being mobilised out of political and/or economic interest (Barth 1969; Hall 1997, 2007: 338; Hill 2001: 14; Jones 1996: 67, 1997, 2007; Jones and Graves-Brown 1996: 6-7; Kaufert 1977; Khan and Eriksen 1992; Nagel 1994). For this reason, it has not been possible to define ethnic identity in terms of universal objective criteria, such as biology, language, religious affiliation or shared customs, traits and homogeneous sets of material culture (Hall 1997: 19-25; Jones 2007: 48; Meskell 2007: 25), though Hall (1997: 25-26) suggests that ethnicity is often characterised by “connection with a specific territory” and a “common myth of descent”, with particular value being placed on common descent, whether this reflects a genealogical reality or not, and illustrates this in a discussion of ethnic identity in the ancient Greek world. Jones (1996: 72) suggests that archaeologically the fluid, contextual nature of ethnicity results in “a complex pattern of overlapping material culture distributions relating to the repeated realisation and transformation of ethnicity in different social contexts, rather than discrete monolithic cultural entities.”

When examining ethnic identity, it can be helpful to distinguish between the *criteria* and *indicia* of ethnicity. Following Hall (1997: 20-21), criteria of ethnic identity are “the definitional set of attributes by which membership in an ethnic group is ultimately determined. They are the result of a series of conscious and socially embedded choices, which attach significance to certain criteria from a universal set while ignoring others.” The common myth of shared descent held by an ethnic group provides one example of a criterion of ethnicity. On the other hand, again following Hall (1997: 21), *indicia* of ethnic identity are “the

operational set of distinguishing attributes which people tend to associate with particular ethnic groups once the criteria have been established.” These indicia may, but need not necessarily, be physical characteristics (such as physiological features, dress and body markings and modifications), language or religious affiliation (Hall 1997: 21-24). If an identity associated with the Eteocretans was held, emically, by those to whom it was attributed in extant ancient literature, their putative common descent as an autochthonous group living in a particular part of Crete might provide an example of a criterion of ethnicity, whilst part of the indicia of this identity might have been a non-Greek language (for a more detailed discussion of the Eteocretans, see Chapter 6).

Group social identities, such as ethnicity and cultural identity, function in association with power relations in their wider context (Gardner 2004: 41), and can be used as a resource to provide economic or political advantage (Hall 1997: 17; Jones and Graves-Brown 1996: 6; Smith 1991: 20). Ethnic groups may react in different ways to incorporation into a state, with a response often particularly visible in the elite (Emberling 1997: 15). Strategies in response to incorporation into a state may include direct resistance, or initial assimilation and later resistance (Emberling 1997: 15). Smith (1991: 35-36) suggests that selective appropriation from outside cultures may help to ensure the survival of ethnic identities in certain situations.

3.3.2 Sex and Gender Identities

As discussed in Chapter 2, sex and gender identities have been the subject of a great deal of debate, both in archaeology and in scholarship in general (for example, Conkey and Spector 1984; Díaz-Andreu 2005; Donald and Hurcombe 2000a, 2000b, 2000c; Gero and Conkey 1991; Gilchrist 1999; Munson 2000; Segal 1997; Sofaer Derevenski 1997; Sørensen 2000; Voss 2008; Wyke 1998), although relatively little research, apart from Westgate’s (2007) study, has considered sex and gender identities in LM IIIC to Hellenistic East Crete. Although not considered in detail, these identities are touched on briefly at various points in the discussion in Chapters 4 to 8. Debate on sex and gender identities touches upon a number of issues, such as the extent to which sex and

gender are either biological or socio-cultural constructs, and whether they are separate or related concepts (for example, Díaz-Andreu 2005: 14; Munson 2000: 128). Munson (2000: 128) appears to accept that sex is primarily rooted in physical characteristics and differences, whilst gender is primarily rooted in its social and cultural context. Yet he also recognises that the physical characteristics upon which sex is based are interpreted and understood in different ways by different cultures. Sofaer Derevenski (1997: 192) notes that under feminist influence “concepts of biological sex (concrete and categorical) were separated from gender (the social construction).” However, she also points out that other interpretations of sex see it either as a “socio-political construction” or a “function of discourse” (Sofaer Derevenski 1997: 192). Whilst Sofaer Derevenski (1997) does not seem to discount that genital identification may play a role in the development of gender identity, she particularly emphasises the role of interaction with gendered material culture.

Given the semantic uncertainty surrounding sex and gender identities, as described above, it is perhaps most useful to begin with a clearly defined perspective found outside the humanities and social sciences, in medicine. In this context, gender has been defined as referring to “a social construct regarding culture-bound conventions, roles, and behaviours for, as well as relations between and among, women and men and boys and girls” with the acknowledgement that gender roles “vary across a continuum” (Krieger 2003: 653, Table 1). Sex, on the other hand, has been defined as “a biological construct premised upon biological characteristics enabling sexual reproduction” which among people “is variously assigned in relation to secondary sex-characteristics, gonads, or sex chromosomes” (Krieger 2003: 653, Table 1). Multiple sexual categories can be recognised, including “male, female, intersexual (persons born with both male and female sexual characteristics), and transsexual (persons who undergo surgical and/or hormonal interventions to reassign their sex)” (Krieger 2003: 653, Table 1).

This perspective may be easily adapted for archaeological purposes by, first of all, acknowledging that whilst sex is a biological construct, the physical characteristics upon which it is based will be interpreted and understood in

specific ways according to the cultural context, as noted above (Munson 2000: 128). One should therefore not assume that the physical characteristics upon which sex identities are based today were necessarily understood in the same ways in the past. Furthermore, one might argue that the definition of transsexual sex identity could be extended, and the boundaries between physical and cultural characteristics blurred for archaeological purposes, to take account of individuals in the past who may not have undergone bodily changes to reassign their sex, nor necessarily had the medical resources to bring about such a change, but may still have adopted a ‘transsexual’ identity and communicated this in ways specific to their cultural context. Despite this relatively simple construction, in reality there is a complex relationship between sex and gender identities and the physical and cultural characteristics upon which they are based within any cultural context – as Krieger (2003: 653) notes, “we do not live as a ‘gendered’ person one day and a ‘sexed’ organism the next; we are both, simultaneously”. Thus, the simplified definitions of sex and gender identities given above are intended to be a base from which these complex and related identities may be examined in the past.

Munson (2000: 128) suggests that two sexes (male and female) and two genders (men and women) are recognised in the modern West. However, as discussed in Section 2.3, other genders exist in certain cultural contexts, examples of which include the *berdaches* of North America, Byzantine eunuchs and the *hirjas* of India (Díaz-Andreu 2005: 15-16; Munson 2000: 128; Nanda 1993, 1994). Furthermore, the stability of gender identities varies with cultural context – the ability to move between gender categories has been noted among the North American Blackfoot, where women, usually following a loss of fertility, may pass to a “gender with features closer to those defining the male category” (Díaz-Andreu 2005: 15, citing work by Whitehead). In the ancient Greek world, a further example may be provided by the custom that female parts were played by male actors in theatre (for discussions of gender and sexuality, and the portrayal of women, in the Greek theatre, see Case 1985; Easterling 1987; Shaw 1975; Zeitlin 2002).

3.3.3 Life-Course Identities

One of the most obvious and ubiquitous identities relating to the life-course is that of age – a type of identity one can expect to change over time (Lucy 2005b: 44). Although it might be supposed that age identities relate solely to biology, they are coming to be seen as social constructions rather than natural categories with universal significance and associated practices (Hanawalt 1993; Hockey and James 1993; Lucy 2005b; Shahar 1990, 1997). Approaching age-related identities from a life-course perspective involves seeing age-related identities as points along a continuum, rather than successive stages (Gilchrist 2004: 144). In some cases the transition from one age-related identity to another may be marked by rites of passage (Gilchrist 2004: 144-146; Van Gennep 1960).

As noted in Chapter 2, within archaeology, concerns with life-course have been dominated by studies on children and the experience of childhood in the past (for example, Joyce 2000; Park 1998; Sofaer Derevenski 1994, 2000), with relatively little work on adolescence, old age and adulthood (Gilchrist 2004: 152; Lucy 2005b: 43-44). Other possible life-course identities might include those associated with motherhood (Woodward 1997) or parenting in general. Life-course identities, and in particular age identities, need to be considered alongside other identities such as gender, religion and ethnicity (Lucy 2005b: 58-59), as the intersection between age and other identities within specific social and cultural contexts can influence the way in which they (as separate identities or in combination) are constructed. Furthermore, age has been closely linked to certain other identities such as gender, religion, and ethnicity, as the knowledge of the social and cultural practices and attitudes associated with these identities is often acquired in childhood (Lucy 2005b: 58-59). The little available evidence for life-course identities in ancient East Crete focuses around the system of the *agela* and initiation ceremonies for young male citizens in the Hellenistic period (see Chapter 7). The young, male citizen identity brought to the fore by such ceremonies demonstrates the close links between life-course identities and other identities, particularly, in this example, identities associated with gender and the identities of individual poleis.

3.3.4 Identities of Place

Pred (1990: 10) directly links the production of space and place with human agency and social relations, and suggests that:

The production of space and place by definition involves the construction of an unevenly developed built environment, the shaping of landscape and land-use patterns, the appropriation and transformation of nature, the organization and use of specialized locations for the conduct of economic, cultural and social practices, the generation of patterns of movement and interdependence between such localized activities, and the formation of symbolically laden-meaning-filled, ideology-projecting sites and areas” (Pred 1990: 10).

The materiality of place, and its relationship to activity within space, is also emphasised by Gieryn (2000: 466), who, in his discussion of place in sociology suggests that “place” has three defining features – “location, material form, and meaningfulness”. Group identities can be constructed through and rooted in attachment to a specific place or territory (see Gieryn 2000: 481-482 for a discussion of this), which might be seen as having these three features, and part of whose meaningfulness may come from the associations of identity. Brück (2005: 62-63) suggests that familiar, but meaningful landscapes can play a role in the construction of identity through routine daily activities. She suggests that:

landscapes of routine practice sediment themselves into our being through their very familiarity; our intimate engagement with their colours, textures and associations renders them part of ourselves...it is regular patterns of movement that are the focus of interest...the herding of cattle to water each day, journeys to the coast to collect flint or visits to kinsfolk in the next valley. It is these routine practices that create embedded links between people, place and identity (Brück 2005: 62).

In addition to landscape itself, and movement across and activities within that landscape, other important aspects of place-based identities may include architecture within the landscape (Jones 2004), and “distant places and conceptual regions like countries and homelands” (Casella and Fowler 2004: 3). Place-based identities include local and regional identities, village, town or city identities and identities associated with modern nation-states (for example, Gieryn 2000: 467-468). The strength of attachment to place means that loss of place, for example

through natural disasters, political exile or voluntary relocation, can have a significant impact upon individual and group identities, although the specific effects of loss of place depend on the reason for displacement (Gieryn 2000: 482).

Despite the above comments that routine activities within familiar landscapes can play a role in identity construction, place and place-based identities will not necessarily be significant in every cultural context, as Bernardini (2005) shows in his study of the Hopi in the American Southwest, where he found that time was more significant than space or place in identity construction. This contrasts to Forbes' (2007) ethnographic work on Methana peninsula in Greece, in which multiple, close links between place and identity are apparent. The specific form 'place making' can take may vary with whether the place in question is newly inhabited or has been continuously inhabited from some point in the past, as Amith (2005: 162) has pointed out for colonial Mexico where "the constructive practices of migrating groups of peasants, workers, and merchants" contributed to the making of new communities, whilst continual reproduction of old communities took place "through the regenerative village practices of indigenous peasants, who were in this manner linked to spaces pregnant with historical memory and communal identity." In ancient East Crete during the time period considered in this study, both forms of place making might be expected, with, for example, forms relating to the construction of new communities most apparent in LM IIIC, when "loss of place" is also likely to have been significant, and forms relating to reproducing old communities becoming increasingly important from the EIA until the Hellenistic period, suggesting that length of occupation may contribute to the salience of identities of place.

3.3.5 (In)equality Identities

It might be argued that inequality, or differential access to certain resources (Paynter 1989: 369-370), provides the basis for certain types of social identity, such as those associated with status or wealth. Although inequality is most often discussed in terms of power and political authority, as Babić (2005: 67) points out, "relative status is a major factor determining the behaviour of people towards one another, and success in this game seems to be the prime pursuit in our social

lives”. Thus although related to power and authority, “(in)equality identities” might also be a useful tool in understanding social relationships in the past within their broader social structure. Specific examples of (in)equality identities include the British class system and the Hindu caste system in India. As with many other identity-types, such as life-course identities and sex and gender, ideally (in)equality identities need to be considered in relation to other identities, which they may both affect and be affected by. Inequality identities may be both acquired, for example through individual achievement of rank, or acquired, such as through capture and forced entry into slavery. The importance of identities linked to social status in LM IIIC to Hellenistic East Crete is highlighted in Chapter 8, where it is posited that small-scale social differentiation in LM IIIC East Crete may have provided the basis for an elite identity during the Early Iron Age. As discussed in Chapter 8, in the Archaic to Hellenistic periods, this elite identity may have been signified through a range of activities, including participation in political offices and in *andreia*, and in funding public works such as temple rebuilding.

3.3.6 Other Types of Identities

A number of other types of group identities, which have received considerably less attention than those discussed above, are likely to have been salient at times in the past, some of which are discussed in Section 2.5, such as religious identities and craft identities. Although these identities are under-theorised, particularly in comparison to the identities discussed above in Sections 3.3.1 to 3.3.3, some general points can be made, partly based on the theoretical perspective on identity presented in Section 3.1. In general, different types of identities may be considered to be acquired and to become salient, from an emic perspective and/or an etic perspective through participation in certain social practices, ideological beliefs and/or social relationships which encourage a sense of belonging to a wider group and/or delineate lines of difference between individuals and groups. A number of these identities, such as religious identities, and occupation and craft identities, may be part of wider social networks that cross-cut a number of social fields, such as the economic, political, social and ritual domains both in their formation and in their influences on the activities of their adherents.

Religious identities, which are discussed extensively in Chapters 4 to 8, might be seen to stem out of participation in, and adherence to, practices and/or ideological beliefs about supernatural, super-human or divine beings. In the ancient Greek world, these beings included both deities and heroic individuals. The inseparability of religion and other social spheres has been highlighted in a variety of contexts, both in the past and the present, such as in the Islamic world (Insoll 1999) and in Papua New Guinea (Mawe 1989: 41).

3.4 Moving Beyond Ethnic Identities to Group Identities in Ancient East Crete

The dominance of ethnic and cultural identities in literature on identity in archaeology discussed in Chapter 2 has also been noted by Mac Sweeney (2009: 102), who suggests that there is currently a “trend in archaeology whereby group identities are too often assumed to be ethnic, even if there is no specific evidence to suggest this”, and cites western Anatolia as one example of this tendency. As discussed in Chapter 2, the focus on ethnic and cultural identities obscures the rich diversity of identity-types, such as those described in Section 3.3, that one might expect to exist within any cultural context, and which may be expected for LM IIIC to Hellenistic East Crete. As set out in the introduction to this thesis (Chapter 1), this study aims to examine multiple different types of identity that may have been salient during this time, and to consider the degree of continuity and change in these identities through time. The general theory of identity discussed in Section 3.1 and the theoretical perspectives on specific types of identity presented in Section 3.3 are intended to provide the theoretical framework for this study, by providing an understanding of how identities might work in practice. As discussed in Section 3.2, the methodological approach adopted in this study will be to determine salient group identities in ancient East Crete through a consideration of the social practices through which they may have been negotiated and communicated. In addition, these social practices are considered in relation to their wider context, allowing a comparative study of identity across space and time, thereby taking full advantage of the unique temporal perspective offered by archaeology.

4 Late Minoan IIIC

4.1 Introduction

Having discussed previous literature on the subject of identity in archaeology and presented the theoretical and methodological basis for this study in the Chapters 2 and 3, it is now time to turn to the evidence for identity in ancient East Crete. As noted in Chapter 1, this chapter focuses on the first chronological time period to be considered in this study – LM IIIC, dated from c. 1200 BC to the mid-eleventh century BC. Although arguments for a number of different start points during the Late Bronze Age could be put forward, LM IIIC has been chosen in this case because the changes evident in socio-political structures and settlement patterns in East Crete (as well as on the island as a whole) by and during this period appear to represent a considerable break with the complex societies of Bronze Age Crete, and the Aegean more generally. Despite the focus on a single time period in this chapter, chronological divisions such as “LM IIIC” are to a certain extent artificial, and do not indicate complete isolation from the time periods that precede and succeed them. This chapter will therefore begin with a brief description of the preceding period (LM II to LM IIIB, sometimes termed the “Postpalatial”, and sometimes divided into the “Final Palatial” and “Postpalatial” periods), which is intended to provide the immediate historical background to the first time period considered here. Following this, in Section 4.3, the evidence for identity in LM IIIC East Crete is presented. The discussion in Section 4.4 discusses social practices that are discernible in the evidence and the types of identities that may have been signified through these social practices, such as community identities and religious identities.

4.2 The Historical Background: LM II – LM IIIB

The first significant changes to the social and political landscape of Late Bronze Age Crete are manifest in the archaeological record as a series of destructions at sites across the island during LM IB. Not all these destructions were necessarily contemporary, and they appear to have focused on specific buildings and parts of

settlements, rather than on settlements as a whole (MacGillivray 1997: 276; Rehak and Younger 2001: 440-441). This pattern has led to the suggestion that the destructions may have been politically motivated and carried out either by external invaders – specifically from mainland Greece – or as a result of internal strife (for overviews of the destructions and possible reasons behind them, see Driessen and Macdonald 1997: 105-116; Rehak and Younger 2001: 440-441). LM II pottery is known from a small number of sites on Crete, the most prominent of which was Knossos (Kanta 1980: 318; Popham 1970; Rehak and Younger 2001: 442). In the east, LM IB appears to last longer than in central and western Crete and may coincide with the start of LM II at Knossos (MacGillivray 1997). In addition, LM II ceramic traditions in eastern Crete seem to have differed from those of central Crete, with a focus on local “Burnished Blot and Trickle Ware” (MacGillivray 1997). Varying degrees of mainland influence over material culture and social practices in Crete between LM II and LM IIIB have been hypothesised, particularly in burials and the use of Linear B for administrative purposes at Knossos and, slightly later, at Chania (papers in Driessen and Farnoux 1997; Driessen and Macdonald 1984: 65-66; Popham et al. 1974; Rehak and Younger 2001: 444-454). For some scholars, this evidence supports the theory that Knossos, and perhaps much of Crete, was ruled by Greek-speaking ‘Mycenaeans’ from the Greek mainland during this time (for example, Burke 2005; Demakopoulou 1997: 101-102; Doxey 1987; Driessen and Macdonald 1984: 49 n. 1; Popham 1970; Preziosi and Hitchcock 1999: 165; Watrous and Blitzer 1997: 516). However, as Preston (1999, 2004a, 2004b) has highlighted, it is not possible to equate simplistically material culture with an ethnic group, and the mainland influence evident on Crete may in fact suggest selective use of foreign or exotic practices and material culture in competition for status within the context of an unstable and changing socio-political environment. Even if the presence at Knossos of a large group from the Greek mainland could be proved, there are additional problems in the use of terminology such as ‘Mycenaean’ to describe them, as is discussed in more detail in Chapter 5. However, status competition such as that envisioned by Preston need not preclude the presence of a small number of individuals from mainland Greece during the Postpalatial period (Preston 2004a: 327).

Evidence, particularly from Linear B documents, suggests that much of Crete fell under Knossian control from LM II until LM IIIB early (Bennet 1985, 1987, 1990). In the centre and west of Crete, the settlement hierarchy during this period appears to have been based on that of the Neopalatial period, with sites that previously stood at the head of a polity becoming second-order settlements under the primary site of Knossos (Bennet 1985, 1990: 208-209). However, Knossian hegemony appears not to have extended east of Lasithi, into the region considered in this study (Bennet 1985: 243, 1987, 1990: 208-210). Within this region (as well as in other parts of Crete), a number of earlier settlements with evidence for LM IB destructions were reoccupied in LM II and LM IIIA, including Gournia, Mochlos and Palaikastro, of which Palaikastro appears to have been a particularly important centre (Banou and Rethemiotakis 1997: 52; Bennet 1987; MacGillivray 1997: 278; Rehak and Younger 2001: 441-444). Despite a destruction horizon at Knossos at the end of LM IIIA1, administrative activity linked to the palace continued from LM IIIA2 to early LM IIIB (Rehak and Younger 2001: 384). By LM IIIA2, the homogeneity previously evident in material culture, particularly in pottery, across Crete is replaced by greater regional diversity and the presence of pottery workshops in a number of locations on the island is hypothesised, including at Knossos, Chania, Palaikastro and near Episkopi (Kanta 1980: 288-290). This regional diversity may indicate the end of Knossian supremacy on the island and a time during which second-order centres previously under Knossos continued to function, but with a new independent status (Haskell 1997: 193; Preston 2004a: 323). Chania, where Linear B has been found in non-palatial contexts, may have been one of the most influential settlements on the island in LM IIIA2 – LM IIIB early (Haskell 1997: 193; Merousis 2002: 168-169; Preston 2004a: 323-324).

The changes in settlement patterns and socio-political structures chosen as the chronological start of this study begin in late LM IIIB, and are most pronounced in East Crete. Unlike in central and western Crete where large settlements such as Knossos and Chania were occupied into LM IIIC, many sites on coastal plains in the east, including large and important settlements such as Gournia and Palaikastro, were either destroyed or abandoned and new sites were founded in late LM IIIB and in LM IIIC, often in locations that had not been inhabited during

the Neopalatial period. These new settlements have been termed “refuge” or “defensible” sites (D’Agata 2006: 397-400; Nowicki 1999: 146; 2000; Wallace 2003a: 605, 2006, 2007: 252; Whitley 2001: 77-78, 2006: 611). The general perception of these sites is that they are often in locations with little or no easy access to arable land or good water supplies and that their primary concern is with defence (D’Agata 2006: 397-400; Nowicki 1999: 146, 2000; Stampolidis and Kotsonas 2006: 339; Wallace 2003a, 2006: 623, 2007: 252, Whitley 2006: 611). Whilst this characterisation may accurately describe particularly inaccessible sites like Monastiraki *Katalimata*, surveys of different regions in East Crete, such as the Kavousi-Thryphiti Survey and the Vrokastro Survey have revealed a more complicated pattern of settlements whose relative layout across the landscape can be linked to relationships with nearby settlements, exploitation of site hinterlands and other economic resources and the specific topography of each region (for the Kavousi-Thryphiti Survey see Haggis 1993, 1995, 1996, 2005; for the Vrokastro Survey see Hayden 2003, 2004a, 2005; Hayden et al. 1992). Most new sites were located inland, with the exception of a few such as Vrokastro, Palaikastro *Kastri*, Myrsini *Kastello* and Liopetro which are on or very near to the coast (Nowicki 1999: 146, 2000). Despite the new locations of these settlements, they are often in close proximity to recently-abandoned Late Bronze Age settlements and would have been situated in landscapes familiar to at least some of the inhabitants of LBA settlements. Given their preponderance in East Crete in LM IIIC, most of the evidence upon which my discussion of identity in this period is based comes from these new settlements.

The changes in settlement patterns and socio-political structures that took place throughout the Postpalatial period, particularly in late LM IIIB and early LM IIIC, suggest that this time was characterised by various degrees of disruption, discontinuity and perhaps uncertainty. The now-abandoned settlements, as meaningful places for their former inhabitants, may have provided both the physical locus of a number of identities and the material structure and context for a number of social practices through which Bronze Age identities were negotiated and communicated (see Section 3.3.4). Some insight into the impact that the loss of these places may have had on identities during this time is provided by Gieryn’s (2000; especially page 482) review of sociological work on place,

mentioned in Section 3.3.4, in which he points out the devastating implications of the loss of place on identity, memory and history. However, not all links with the past were necessarily fully severed. Despite the new locations of LM IIIC settlements in East Crete and a relative decline in social and political complexity, in many cases it is likely that the same economic hinterlands were exploited as previously and that certain technologies and family and other social identities continued, particularly when new settlements were formed by groups of individuals or families that previously co-inhabited the earlier Bronze Age settlements.

The times of dislocation and disruption that can be posited during the transitions from LM IB to LM IIIA1, from LM IIIA1 to LM IIIB and from LM IIIB to LM IIIC may have tested group boundaries and intra-group bonds, strengthening some groups and their associated identities, such as certain gender or occupational identities or identities associated with individual family or lineage groups, whilst also acting as a catalyst that hastened the dissolution of other groups and their associated identities. Within this context, identities particularly associated with Bronze Age political structures may have become completely irrelevant, particularly in East Crete where, as noted above, changes in settlement patterns (and concurrent socio-political changes) appear to have been most marked. For some individuals and groups, these changes and the loss of relevance of key identities to which they adhered may have resulted in a feeling of isolation and loss of purpose whilst for other individuals and groups (not necessarily excluding those who held important positions in Bronze Age political structures) these changes would have offered new opportunities for identity negotiation and signification. Certain identities, such as those emphasising local, communal groups, and providing a source of material and emotional strength and support, may have been increasingly important through this period. One manifestation of these identities is perhaps the new religious practices and community cult places, which focus on bench sanctuaries and so-called ‘goddesses with upraised arms’, evident at many sites across Crete in LM IIIB and LM IIIC. During these periods of transition, and changing over their duration, one might hypothesise marked differences between different social groups in the types of identities that were salient. For example, at the beginning of a transitional period, older groups or the

more conservative, who may remember (or purport to remember) a more stable past might actively have adopted this past as the ideological context for their identity negotiation and communication whilst younger groups or those who saw opportunity in the change might actively have chosen to situate their identity negotiation and communication in a perceived future. Ultimately, one might hypothesise that these two groups moved closer together over time until identity negotiation and communication took place with an awareness of the new socio-political and economic context of their present.

4.3 Evidence

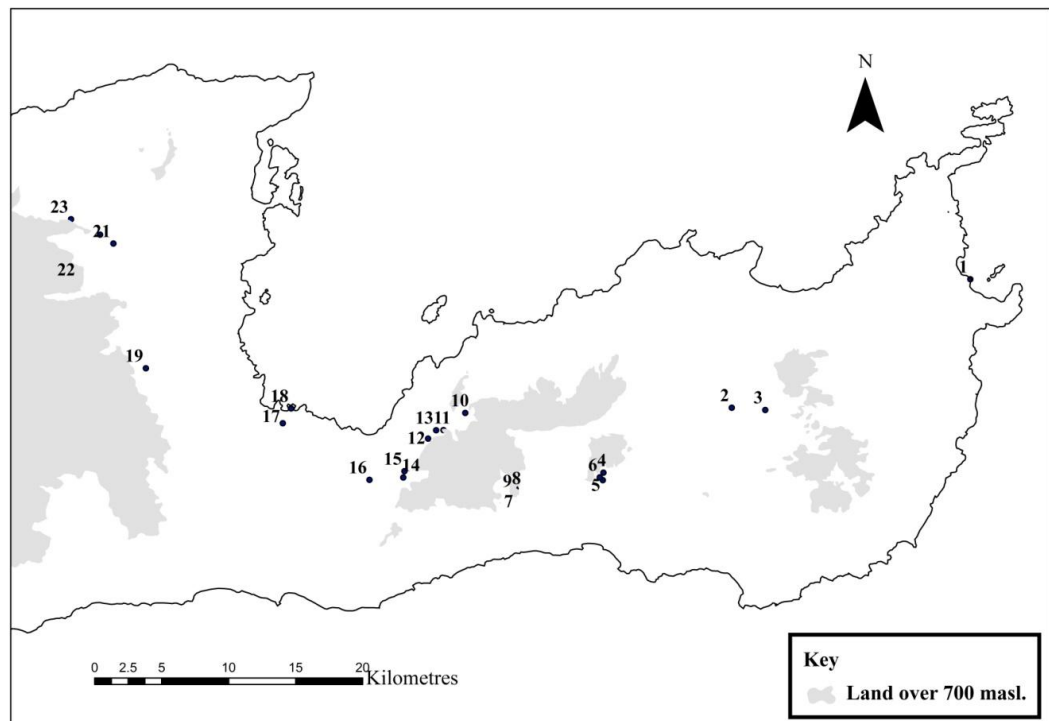


Figure 4.1 Map of Primary LM IIIC Sites in East Crete Discussed in this Thesis (sites are as follows: 1 - Palaikastro *Kastri*; 2 - Praisos; 3 - Kalamafki *Kypia*; 4 - Pefki *Kastellopoulo*; 5 - Pefki *Stavromenos*; 6 - Pefki *Mega Chalavro*; 7 - Oreino *Kastri*; 8 - Oreino *Epano Ellinika*; 9 - Oreino *Petrokopia*; 10 - Avgo *Trapeza and Melisses*; 11 - Kavousi *Kastro*; 12 - Kavousi *Vronda*; 13 - Kavousi *Azoria*; 14 - Monastiraki *Chalasmeno*; 15- Monastiraki *Katalimata*; 16 - Vasiliki *Kefala*; 17 - Istron *Vrokastro*; 18 – Elias to Nisi; 19 - Kritsa *Kastello*; 20 - Vryses *Drasi Xeli*; 21 - Vryses *Profitis Elias*; 22 - Zenia *Kastrokefala*; 23 - Neapoli *Kastri*).

The locations of the LM IIIC sites discussed in this chapter are given in Figure 4.1. During LM IIIC settlement size and populations appear to have been quite small. For example, the estimated extent of Kavousi *Vronda* and the two sites near Monastiraki range between 0.35 and 0.65 ha. (for Kavousi *Vronda*, c. 0.6 ha., see Haggis and Nowicki 1993: 310; for Monastiraki *Katalimata*, c. 0.35 ha., see Haggis and Nowicki 1993: 334; for Monastiraki *Chalasmeno*, c. 0.65 ha., see Haggis and Nowicki 1993: 334). At its height, the settlement at Kavousi *Vronda* contained 12 to 15 houses (Day and Snyder (2004: 64-65), whilst Monastiraki *Chalasmeno* may have had between 12 and 16 houses (Haggis and Nowicki 1993: 310, 334) and Monastiraki *Katalimata* at least 10 (Haggis and Nowicki 1993: 334; Nowicki 2000: 95, 2008: 10). A similar settlement size of between 0.3 and 0.65 ha. can be estimated for other LM IIIC settlements, such as Palaikastro *Kastri*, Pefki *Kastellopoulo*, and Oreino *Epano Ellinika* (for example, see figures for the sizes of these sites in Nowicki 2000 and, for Palaikastro *Kastri*, the plan in Sackett et al. 1965: 270). Given these small figures, the populations of these settlements were likely to number around a hundred people, and it seems plausible to argue that this was true for most LM IIIC settlements in East Crete, particularly when they were first founded.

4.3.1 The Palaikastro Region

Only two LM IIIC sites have been identified in the vicinity of Palaikastro, Palaikastro *Kastri* and Palaikastro *Plakalona Kalamafka*, despite the extensive archaeological fieldwork carried out there (Bosanquet 1901/1902a; Bosanquet et al. 1902/1903; Dawkins 1905/1906; Dawkins and Currelly 1903/1904; Dawkins et al. 1904/1905; MacGillivray et al. 1984, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1991, 1992, 1998; Sackett and Popham 1970; Sackett et al. 1965). Although Palaikastro *Plakalona Kalamafka* has been visited by archaeologists such as Nowicki and MacGillivray (Nowicki 2000: 52-54), it has not been thoroughly investigated, and the current evidence from this site is too limited to permit a discussion of identities at the settlement. The remains at Palaikastro *Kastri* were investigated twice in the 20th century, in the early 1900s and in the 1960s, but only the results of the fieldwork conducted in the 1960s have been published in detail (Sackett et al. 1965). The evidence upon which my discussion of identities at Palaikastro *Kastri* is based is

accordingly limited primarily to the remains discovered during, and published as a result of, the later work on this site. Only the evidence that comes from contexts that can be dated to LM III with relative certainty is discussed below.

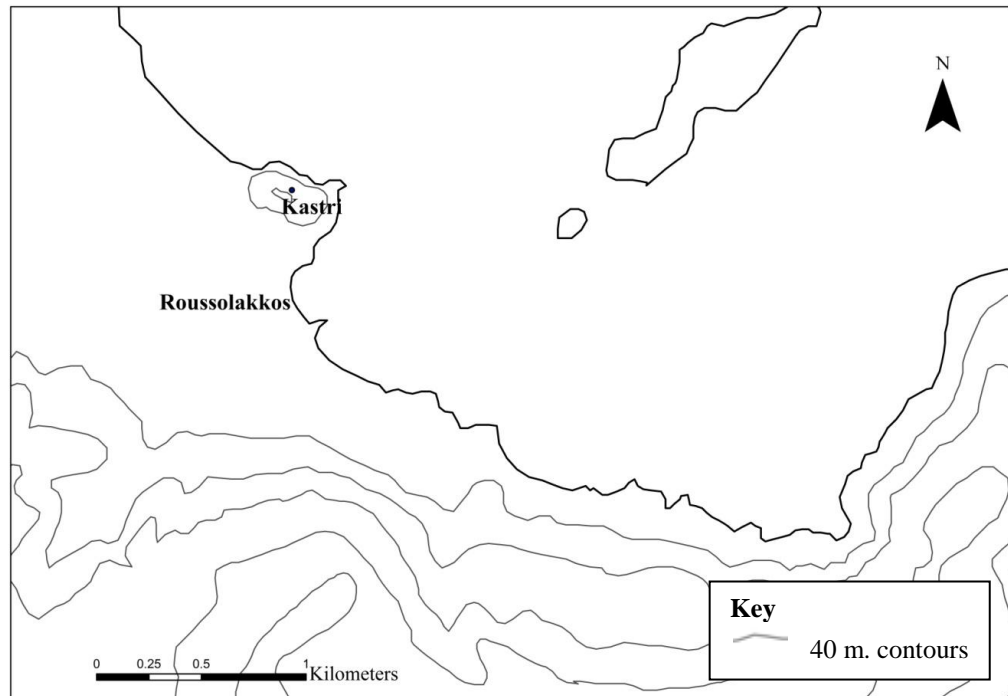


Figure 4.2 Map of the Palaikastro Area Showing the Relative Locations of Palaikastro *Kastri* and Palaikastro *Roussolakkos*.

Kastri is a prominent hill right on the coast of the Grandes Bay in the far east of Crete. To its south is Hiona beach and the site of the Minoan town at Roussolakkos (Figures 4.2 and 4.3). Although there is evidence for habitation on Kastri in the Early Minoan period, it appears that the main settlement during the Middle Minoan and Late Minoan I to IIIB periods was located at Roussolakkos, the plain below Kastri (Nowicki 2000: 50). Following the desertion of the town at Roussolakkos during LM IIIB, Kastri was again occupied, although for no longer than a century (MacGillivray et al. 1987: 154; Nowicki 2000; Sackett et al. 1965: 282). Evidence from the LM IIIC occupation includes architectural remains, which suggest that the houses were compact and comprised a number of small rooms, some ceramic remains, which shed light on the vessel types in use, and a few small finds (Sackett et al. 1965). Sackett et al. (1965: 278) suggest that the LM IIIC settlement on Kastri “resembled a hilltop village of the present day, with small mudbrick houses stepped up the slopes, small store-rooms for agricultural

products, and no doubt a severe water-carrying problem in the dry season.” Although detailed information about the layout of the LM IIIC settlement on Kastri is not known, due to the paucity of excavated evidence, it has been suggested that there was little room for “social differentiation or town planning” (Nowicki 2000: 50). During the excavations in the 1960s, investigations were carried out in five areas of the summit – two on the western side, termed Area K and KA, and three on the eastern side, termed Trials 1, 2 and 3.



Figure 4.3 Palaikastro *Kastri* from the location of the Bronze Age Town at Roussolakkos.

The focus of Trial 1 was on cleaning a small section of ancient walling one course high (Sackett et al. 1965: 269), and this produced no evidence of value to this study. A wall, also one course high and similar to that found in Trial 1, was found in Trial 2 along with a number of objects, including a spindle whorl, two obsidian blades, a stone pounder, a fragment of a stone bowl, and, just below the surface at a depth of 0.25 to 0.35 m., two pots (Sackett et al. 1965: 269). Whilst there was no significant stratigraphy, the two pots found near the surface have been associated with the wall which appears to be a continuation of an LM IIIC wall found in Trial 3 (Sackett et al. 1965: 269). In Trial 3, this wall comprised one to

two courses of roughly squared blocks of local limestone (Sackett et al. 1965: 269). To the south of this wall was an earth floor on which stone pounders or polishers, a terracotta pestle and a cooking-pot were found (Sackett et al. 1965: 269). The excavators suggest that this may have been a workroom, and date the building to LM IIIC (Sackett et al. 1965: 269).

In Trench K was found the remains of the walls of a building complex comprising six or seven rooms and abutting on to the rock on its south-west side (Sackett et al. 1965: 272). Although built primarily of local limestone, the walls, which were socles for a mudbrick superstructure, also included a number of large schist slabs brought to *Kastri* from elsewhere (Sackett et al. 1965: 272). This complex may have formed part of a terraced house, or houses, built up the slope in such a way that the front rooms may have been at a lower level than the back rooms (Sackett et al. 1965: 272). The complex was last occupied, and possibly also built, in LM IIIC (Sackett et al. 1965: 272). Finds in the fill of Trench K include fragments of obsidian, and of stone vases, a bronze blade, a clay pestle, two stone axes and a number of stone polishers or pounders (Sackett et al. 1965: 272). The four vessels from this area that could be wholly or partly restored comprised a two-handled bowl, a cooking-pot, an amphora and a fragment from a stirrup-jar (Sackett et al. 1965: 272). In addition, a terracotta drain fragment was found in a corner of one room, Room 4, which the excavators suggest indicates an arrangement for conserving water (Sackett et al. 1965: 272). Although most of the fill of Trench K was unstratified, and may contain material from the entire LM III occupation on *Kastri*, Sackett et al. (1965: 279) suggest that the restored pots listed above may have been among the contents of this building complex when it was abandoned.

The latest feature in Area KA was a wall, two courses high, and identical in appearance to the LM IIIC wall found in one of the trenches on the eastern side of the summit of Palaikastro *Kastri*, in Trench 3 (Sackett et al. 1965: 274). Only one preserved room was found in Area KA (Sackett et al. 1965: 274-275). The walls of this room were built of mudbrick on a stone socle, except in the south where a vertical section of rock formed part of the wall (Sackett et al. 1965: 274). The doorway, on the east side of the room, had jambs of limestone and schist slabs, and fragments of clay with reed marks from the room suggest that the roof was

similar to that of a LM IB house in the town at Roussolakkos, excavated in the same year as this room (Sackett et al. 1965: 274). The fill immediately above the earth floor of this room included stone rubble and mudbrick debris (Sackett et al. 1965: 274-276). A serpentine pommel was found near the floor, and two tripod cooking-pots on the floor itself (Sackett et al. 1965: 276). Over part of the rubble and mudbrick debris lay an ashy stratum of bones and sherds, which may be wash from higher up the hill or refuse which was dumped in the room after it was abandoned (Sackett et al. 1965: 276). Within this ashy stratum were found two stone pounders, a fragment of a sealstone, and fragments of a variety of ceramics, including a two-handled bowl, a short-footed kylix, a stirrup-vase, an amphoriskos and an amphora.

To the west of the room in Area KA was an earth floor which was thought to be contemporary with the room and its contents (Sackett et al. 1965: 276). On this floor was found a clay oven, at the bottom of which was an obsidian blade in an ashy deposit (Sackett et al. 1965: 276). Amongst the finds associated with this floor were fragments of a decorated jug, a plain jug, a shallow 'dish', a tripod cooking-pot, a ribbed jar tentatively identified as a torch-holder and bronze tweezers (Sackett et al. 1965: 276). The fill above this floor included a fragment of a terracotta figurine, a tripod cooking-pot, a saddle quern, and fragments of another tripod cooking-pot (Sackett et al. 1965: 276). A further floor was found about 0.20 m. below the one described above, in the north-western part of Area KA (Sackett et al. 1965: 276). The fill above this floor contained mudbrick debris, ash and ceramic remains, including a clay pestle, a conical cup, tripod cooking-pot, jug, stirrup-jar and a variety of bowls (Sackett et al. 1965: 276-277). In different places on the lower floor were found parts of a pithos and a jar, both of which contained the remains of horsebeans, and heaps of olives (Sackett et al. 1965: 277). Whilst the deposit associated with the lower floor is both stratigraphically, and in some cases stylistically, earlier than the other LM IIIC material from Kastri (Sackett et al. 1965: 279), the occupation events associated with the two floors in Area KA "probably closely succeeded one another within the L.M. IIIB to IIIC period" (Sackett et al. 1965: 277).

As can be seen from the above description, the primary evidence from the LM IIIC settlement on Kastri is pottery. Apart from some of the pottery in the lower deposit in Area KA, the ceramic remains from Kastri have been described as having little distinction and as “all very homogeneous in character, shape, and decoration” (Sackett et al. 1965: 279). Despite the close proximity of the settlements on Kastri and at Roussolakkos on the plain below Kastri, and their temporal contiguity, differences in the nature of the pottery found on Kastri and the published LM IIIB pottery from Roussolakkos have led to the suggestion that Kastri was settled by newcomers, most likely from another part of Crete, rather than by former inhabitants of the town on the plain below (Sackett et al. 1965: 252). On Kastri, kylikes and small bowls were very popular, whilst these forms are rare in the town at Roussolakkos (Sackett et al. 1965: 280). Some shapes that were common at Roussolakkos, such as the handleless bowl, an example of which was found in the lower deposit of Area KA, are less common on Kastri (Sackett et al. 1965: 283). Whether settled by newcomers, the inhabitants of the town at Roussolakkos, or a combination of both, the changing preference for kylikes and two-handled bowls on Kastri is accompanied by a change in decoration, and implies “a change of table habits” (Sackett et al. 1965: 280). This change in a particular set of social practices is indicative of the changes to group identities, and the ways in which they were negotiated and signified, that are suggested to have occurred at the start of LM IIIC in Section 4.2. In the room in Area KA, fragments of about one hundred of these bowls were found, along with around 15 stems from low-footed kylikes (Sackett et al. 1965: 280, 282).

Given the evidence for food preparation in both occupation levels in Area KA, such as the clay oven, the remains of food, such as horsebeans and olives, deposits of ash and bones, and coarseware, including a number of tripod cooking-pots, as well as the relatively large number of vessels from this area for the consumption of food, in the remains of about 100 bowls and 15 kylix stems mentioned above, one might suggest that some sort of group commensality took place in the western part of the settlement of Kastri, with the food prepared in Area KA and consumed nearby, perhaps higher up the hill, from where the refuse was later washed into the abandoned room in Trench 4 of Area KA. If the relative quantities of bowls and kylikes are truly representative of those in use in this part

of the LM IIIC settlement, one might suggest that a small elite may have negotiated their status and elite identity through the use of kylikes rather than bowls in this context, whilst the act of group commensality in the western part of Kastri may have cemented bonds between all the individuals in the community who participated in this activity, whilst also communicating the group identity of this settlement. If a small elite was present on Kastri, perhaps the serpentine pommel and sealstone found in the room in Trench 4 of Area KA were used by members of this elite, and also played a role in the negotiation and communication of elite identity for individual members of this select group.

The lower quantities of pottery associated with food preparation and consumption, combined with the evidence in the architectural remains, in Trench K might be seen as representing the activity of an individual household within the wider community. The evidence from Trials 2 and 3 may represent a further individual household, or another area of communal activity, although on current evidence it is not possible to hypothesise which. The presence of ceramic vessels, such as the two-handled bowl, in the household represented in Trench K, may indicate an attempt to emulate the communal dining and drinking habits which may be apparent in Area KA, and to partake in the new table habits discussed above. If this is the case, it may indicate internalisation of the wider group identity and an attempt to communicate this identity at the individual or household level.

4.3.2 The Praisos Region

The inland location of many of the new settlements founded in LM IIIC is particularly apparent in the uplands of Eastern Sitia (Nowicki 1990, 2000: 49-61). In the vicinity of the later polis of Praisos, locations of new “defensible” settlements include *Sfakia Kastri*, *Chandras Plakalona*, *Chandras Voila Kastri* and *Kalamafki Kypia* (Nowicki 2000: 56-61; Tsipopoulou 1997b: 239-241; Whitley 2006: 601; Whitley et al. 1999). Figure 4.4 shows the locations of Kalamafki Kypia and Praisos relative to each other and other sites in immediate vicinity of Praisos.

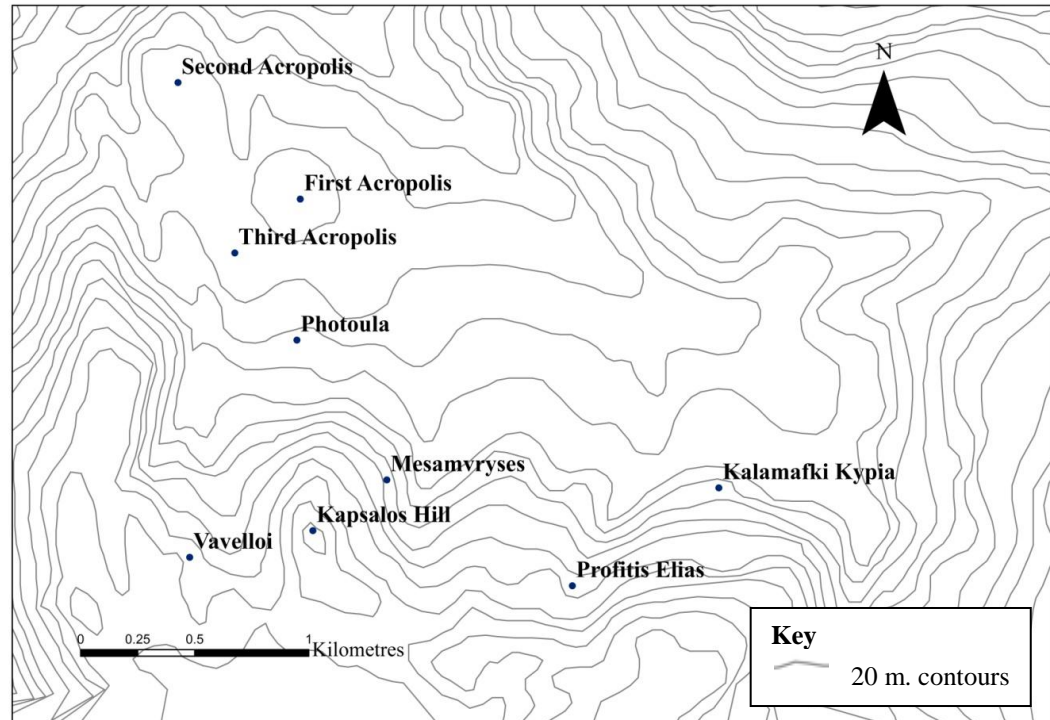


Figure 4.4 Map Showing the Locations of Settlement, Burial and Cult Sites in the Vicinity of Praisos.

Covering over four hectares, *Kalamafki Kypia* was one of the largest such settlements, and has been compared to Karfi in both size and importance (Whitley 2006: 601). The amount of work done on each of the areas of LM IIIC habitation in the Praisos area varies considerably; most work has focused on *Kalamafki Kypia* which was surveyed in the 1990s (Whitley et al. 1995, 1999). Apart from Praisos, none of the sites mentioned above has been excavated, limiting a discussion of the identities that may have been significant in the Praisos area.

The LM IIIC settlement at *Kalamafki Kypia* occupied three hills, each of which may have been used at slightly different times - the pottery on Hill 1 dates primarily to the beginning of LM IIIC, whilst the finewares on Hill 3 date primarily to late LM IIIC or early Protogeometric (Whitley 1998: 33, 2006: 601; Whitley et al. 1999: 238-242). Architectural remains were discovered during the survey on Hill 1, which appear to be contemporary with the early LM IIIC pottery found there (Whitley 2006: 601). The structure on Hill 1 had at least two rooms and its walls appear to have been constructed from masonry of a particularly high

quality (Whitley 1998: 33, 2006: 601; Whitley et al. 1999: 239-241). Amongst the fineware found on this hill, close to the structure just described, were a number of deep bowls and a possible krater (Whitley 2006: 601). It has been suggested that, despite the quality of its construction and its apparent importance, the structure on Hill 1 at Kalamafki *Kypia* was not the residence of a ruler, but rather may have been a “special place for communal dining and drinking” which may represent an early version of the *andreion* common in Archaic and Classical Crete (Whitley 2006: 604). The remains found by Nowicki on Hill 3 at Kalamafki *Kypia* suggest that group commensality may also have taken place on there in LM IIIC. To the east of the structure on Hill 1, small pieces of bone were found with the fragments of deep bowls (Whitley et al. 1999: 241). Whitley (2006: 601) notes that the decoration on this fineware most closely parallels the decoration of pottery found at Palaikastro *Kastri*.

Nowicki (2000: 57) has briefly described the surface evidence on Hill 3 (which he terms the “western spur”). This evidence includes pottery, and terraces and other remains which may indicate the position of buildings. On the northern edge of this hill, Nowicki (2000: 57) found “many small pieces of burnt bones”, which may be associated either with Dark Age occupation at the site or with an earlier Final Neolithic to Early Minoan occupation phase, as well as fragments of fine- and coarseware pottery dating to sometime between late LM IIIB and early LM IIIC and the Archaic periods. Although Nowicki (2000: 57) suggests that this evidence may indicate the location of an open-air shrine similar to the one he identifies at Pefki *Kastellopoulo* (described in Section 4.3.3), the lack of definite evidence for cult objects at present precludes confirmation of this function.

Although no detailed catalogue of the pottery from Kalamafki *Kypia* has yet been published, brief summaries of this material are presented by Whitley et al. (1999: 242), who note that it is comparable with the pottery from other LM IIIC refuge sites, and includes large, coarse storage jars, a pithos, tripod cooking pots and trays, dishes, lids and basins as well as fine drinking vessels such as the deep bowls mentioned above and, more rarely, kylikes. Fragments of a statue of the

Karfi-Gazi type, often termed the ‘goddess with upraised arms’¹ are said to have been found at Kalamafki *Kypia*, though the find spot is unknown (Kanta 1980: 183; Nowicki 2000: 56-57; Tsipopoulou 1997b: 239). Although smaller satellite settlements, such as the one at Manoulis’ Metochi, may have been located around Kalamafki *Kypia*, Whitley et al. (1999: 246-247) emphasise that the settlement pattern in the Praisos area does not appear to be one of the interdependent clusters of settlements identified by Haggis (1993) in the Kavousi area (discussed in Section 4.3.5). No large cemetery directly associated with the settlement on Kalamafki *Kypia* has yet been found (Whitley et al. 1999: 246, 260). It appears that Kalamafki *Kypia* was abandoned by 900 BC, after which Praisos becomes the largest settlement in the area (Whitley 1998: 33; Whitley et al. 1999: 247).

Parallels in pottery shapes and fabric between Kalamafki *Kypia* and Praisos may imply a link between the two settlements, although it is currently unclear whether occupation at Praisos begins as early as it does at Kalamafka *Kypia* (Whitley 1998: 33; Whitley et al. 1999: 245). An occupation phase dating to LM IIIB/LM IIIC has been identified at Praisos (Whitley 1998: 33; Whitley et al. 1999: 245). This limited occupation may be linked with the LM IIIB/LM IIIC tombs that have been found in the area around Praisos, including rock-cut chamber tombs, a number of tombs on the Kapsalos hill, the tholos tomb near Photoula, Tholos Tombs A and B, excavated by Bosanquet and located near Praisos itself, and various other tombs evidenced through architectural traces and fragments of larnakes and LM IIIC pottery such as stirrup jars (see Figure 4.4 for the relative locations of the Kapsalos hill, Photoula, Kalamafki *Kypia* and Praisos; Bosanquet 1901/1902b; Tsipopoulou 1997b: 239-241; Whitley 1998: 33; Whitley et al. 1999).

Although Whitley et al. (1999: 245) argue that the LM IIIC settlements in the Praisos area do not form an interdependent site cluster of the type identified elsewhere in East Crete (such as in the Kavousi region, in the Oreino valley and

¹ Although this term is not without problems, it provides a convenient and widely recognised short-hand for this particular type of figurine. It will therefore be used throughout this thesis, but in inverted commas to represent uncertainty about whether the figurines represent one or more deities. Although a definite article is used, this is for convenience and is in no way meant to imply acceptance of the proposition that the figurines represent a single, female deity.

near Pefki), some of the evidence from the area around Praisos in LM IIIC might be interpreted as suggesting that social practices in the area linked the sites. In addition to their close geographical proximity, these social practices may include parallels in ceramic production and consumption, as noted above, and burial practices. Although no LM IIIC cemetery directly associated with Kalamafki *Kypia* has been identified, as noted above, LM IIIC tombs occur in various locations through the Praisos area, such as on the Kapsalos hill and near Photoula, both located near Kalamafki *Kypia* and Praisos (see Figure 4.4). During LM IIIC, it therefore appears that burial took place at a slight distance from the settlements at Kalamafki *Kypia* and Praisos, in locations which can be plausibly linked to either or both settlements.

4.3.3 The Pefki Region

Three sites occupied in the LM IIIC period have been identified near the modern village of Pefki (Nowicki 1994, 2000). These are Pefki *Stavromenos*, Pefki *Kastellopoulo* and Pefki *Mega Chalavro*, all of which are located within one kilometre of each other on the south-western edge of the Romanati massif (see Figure 4.5). On the basis of surface material, it appears that Kastellopoulo was the most important at this time (Nowicki 1994: 268). It has been suggested (Haggis 1993: 162) that these sites formed a cluster of inter-related sites which shared water and land resources, much like the sites in the Kavousi region described in Section 4.3.5.

Pefki *Kastellopoulo*, the most northerly of the three LM IIIC settlements, is built around an isolated rock, Kastellopoulo (Nowicki 1994: 249). To the south and east of this rock are terraces and pottery sherds (Nowicki 1994: 249-253, 2000: 68). Most of the sherds from this lower part of the settlement were coarsewares, in contrast to the predominantly fineware potsherds from the top of Kastellopoulo (Nowicki 2000: 68). This pottery included a number of tripod legs and fragments of figurines, including the head of a human statue (Nowicki 1994: 254, 2000: 68). The published reports of these finds do not indicate whether this statue was of the ‘goddess with upraised arms’ type or not. Although no architectural remains were found on the ridge on top of Kastellopoulo, activity here in LM IIIC is indicated

by pottery fragments, mostly from finewares, a layer of ash, burnt animal bones, a cobblestone tool and the remains of a pithos (Nowicki 1994: 250-254, 2000: 68). The pottery fragments from the top of Kastellopoulo include kylikes, deep bowls, cups, conical cups and jars, as well as a tripod leg and a fragment possibly from the base of a tube stand (Nowicki 1994: 253-254). Nowicki (1994: 252, 2000: 68) interprets this evidence as indicting that an open-air shrine was located on the ridge, similar to those he posits for sites such as *Arvi Fortetsa*, *Gonies To Phlechtron* and *Oreino Kastri*. However, most of these remains, apart from the tube stand, could just as easily indicate group commensality without an explicit religious focus. A number of pottery fragments from the top of Kastellopoulo can be dated to LM IIIB, or the very beginning of LM IIIC, suggesting that activity on this area of the site might have preceded activity in the lower part of the site, and in the other LM IIIC sites near Pefki (Nowicki 1994: 254-255, 266-267).



Figure 4.5 Map of Sites in the Pefki Region.

Pefki *Stavromenos* is located on a mountain to the northwest of the modern village of Pefki, the summit of which is topped by a chapel. The mountain comprises a number of terraces, and the chapel is located on the highest of these (Nowicki 1994: 246, 2000: 64-66). Although no architectural remains are visible on the surface of the highest terraces, surface pottery may indicate activity in this area (Nowicki 2000: 66). Below these highest terraces, evidence, such as building remains, suggests that the main, lower, settlement was located on the east slope of Stavromenos (Nowicki 1994: 246-247, 2000: 66). Nowicki (1994: 248-249) notes that nearly all the surface pottery fragments found by him at Pefki *Stavromenos* were coarsewares, with no clearly distinguishable differences between the different areas of the site, such as between the upper and lower settlements.

As can be seen in Figure 4.5, Pefki *Mega Chalavro* is located to the west of Pefki *Stavromenos* on the eastern edge of a “curious labyrinth of a huge heap of rocks” (Nowicki 1994: 255). As with Pefki *Kastellopoulo* and Pefki *Stavromenos*, Nowicki (1994: 256, 2000: 69) distinguishes an upper settlement, or refuge area, and a lower settlement at Pefki *Mega Chalavro*. The location of the lower settlement is marked by potsherds and occasional remnants of ancient walls (Nowicki 1994: 256, 2000: 69). Access to the different parts of the upper refuge area was severely restricted (Nowicki 1994: 256, 2000: 69). In most parts of this upper area, the only visible remains are potsherds; however, in the area named ‘RA’ by Nowicki (1994: 256, 2000: 69) wall remains indicate the location of a stone-built house. In the same area, numerous pottery fragments were found, including a number that came from pithoi or large jars (Nowicki 1994: 256, 2000: 69). Although Nowicki (1994: 259-264) dates activity on this site to the Dark Age, no further chronological refinement can be determined on the basis of the surface remains.

A cemetery area for the Pefki sites appears to have been located in and around an area known as Glikis Prinos (Figure 4.5). Evidence for this cemetery includes scatters of Dark Age pottery amongst artificial terraces and the remains of three tholos tombs, two in a poor state of preservation and lacking associated material remains and the third found in association with a few bone fragments, a large number of potsherds, including both coarseware and a fineware fragment from a

deep bowl and a small piece of iron (Nowicki 1994: 264-265). Although Nowicki (1994: 264) links at least part of this cemetery specifically with the settlement of Pefki *Kastellopoulo*, he suggests that the “whole area of Glikis Prinós and around was a traditional burial ground used by the inhabitants of the whole district” (Nowicki 1994: 266). He furthermore hypothesizes that other burial areas may have been located closer to the individual settlements described here, and cites, as a possible example of this, two constructions in an area covered with sherds which may be associated with Pefki *Mega Chalavro* and located in a cemetery area specifically linked to this settlement (Nowicki 1994: 266).

4.3.4 The Oreino Area

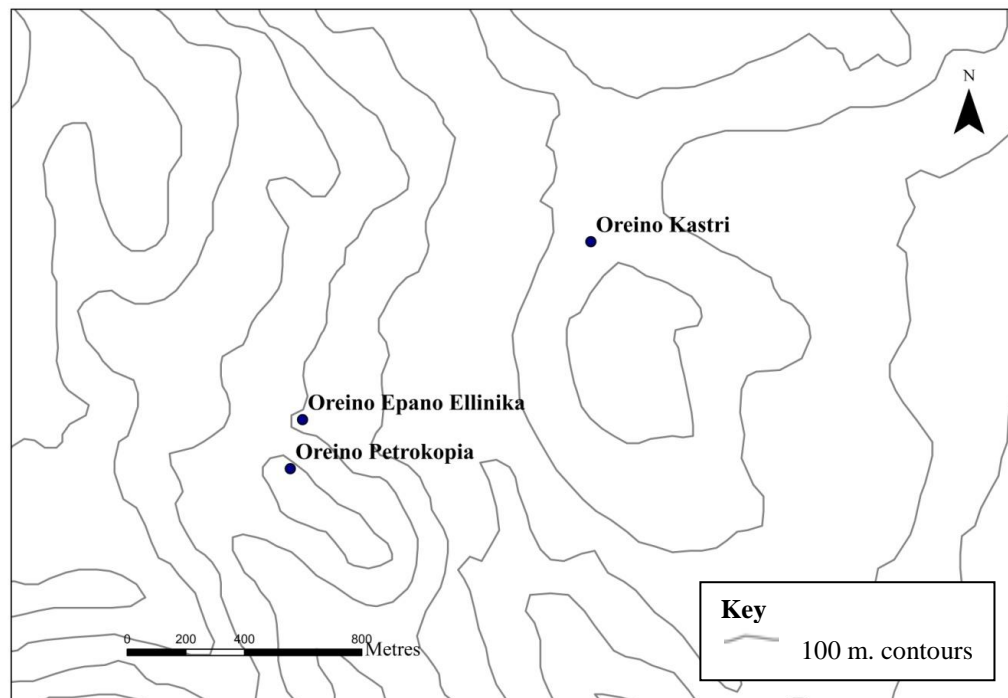


Figure 4.6 Map Showing the Relative Positions of LM III C Sites in the Oreino Region.

The fertile land, abundant water and good climate of the Oreino valley in the West Sitia mountains may have been factors that attracted individuals to the area in LM III C when a number of sites were founded there (Nowicki 1990: 170-174, 2000: 73-81). These sites were located at Oreino *Kastri*, Oreino *Epano Ellinika* and Oreino *Petrokopia* (Figure 4.6). Oreino *Kastri* comprised a Lower Settlement and an Upper Settlement or “Citadel” (Nowicki 1987, 1990: 170-172, 2000: 73-

77). Architectural remains, possibly representing between 10 and 15 houses, are visible only in parts of the Upper Settlement (Nowicki 2000: 74, 77). A large building was located on an isolated summit that is slightly higher than the rest of the Upper Settlement (Nowicki 1987: 227, 1990: 171, 2000: 75). Within and near this “Hilltop Building” were found a number of pieces of decorated pottery, pieces of mortar and burnt animal bones which possibly indicate a special function for this building (Nowicki 2000: 75). Nowicki (2000: 75) postulates that this building may have been a shrine. However, the lack of evidence for cult objects from this area may preclude this conclusion, as Nowicki (1987: 228) acknowledges, and it may just as plausibly be argued that this building was primarily domestic. If this building was significant, perhaps it belonged to an important individual or group who negotiated and maintained their social status through provision of group commensality, as may also have occurred in Building A/B at Kavousi *Vronda* (Section 4.3.5). Houses and clusters of houses were scattered irregularly through the rest of the Upper Settlement and the Lower Settlement at Oreino *Kastri* (Nowicki 2000: 76-77). As yet, burial areas associated with the site have not been identified (Nowicki 2000: 77).

Oreino *Epano Ellinika* is located south-west of the modern village of Oreino. Like Oreino *Kastri*, it comprises two parts with one part higher than the other (Nowicki 1990: 172, 2000: 78). The higher part has well-preserved architectural remains, including traces of a building on its summit, which may have dominated the site (Nowicki 1987: 227, 1990: 172, 2000: 78). Although scattered fragments of pottery were found in the lower part of the settlement at Oreino *Epano Ellinika*, no architectural remains have been found (Nowicki 2000: 78). Burials that may have been associated with the settlement at Oreino *Epano Ellinika* are located in a number of areas in its vicinity, including on its western side and 100-200 metres to the north where a tholos tomb may have been located (Nowicki 2000: 78-79).

Oreino *Petrokopia* is located south of Oreino *Epano Ellinika* on a peak above the Petrokopia massif. The surface pottery from this site suggests that it is contemporary with the LM IIC settlements at Oreino *Kastri* and Oreino *Epano Ellinika* (Nowicki 2000: 81). With their close proximity to each other, the three

sites in the Oreino area may have functioned as an interdependent cluster of sites which shared the resources of this area (Haggis 1993: 162).

4.3.5 The Kavousi Region

The most useful source of evidence for examining identities in LM IIIC East Crete is the region of Kavousi. Although a small amount of archaeological work took place in the region of the modern village of Kavousi at the beginning of the twentieth century (for example, Boyd 1901), it is only in the last thirty years, with the Kavousi-Thryphiti survey and excavations at Kavousi *Kastro*, Kavousi *Vronda* and Kavousi *Azoria*, that this area has been subject to more intensive, systematic exploration (Coulson 1997, 1998; Day et al. 1986; Gesell et al. 1983, 1985, 1988, 1991, 1995; Haggis 1995, 1996, 2005; Haggis et al. 1997, 2004, 2007a, 2007b). This work has revealed diachronic changes in the settlement pattern of this region and provided valuable detailed settlement evidence for the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age, particularly from the settlements at Kavousi *Kastro* and Kavousi *Vronda*. Diachronic changes in the settlement pattern of the Kavousi region have been discussed in detail by Haggis (1995, 1996, 2005). In LM IIIC, there is an increase in settlement size and numbers, following apparent depopulation of the region after LM I (Haggis 1995: 294-302, 1996: 408-415, 2005: 79-85).

Haggis (1993, 1995: 301-303, 323-324, 1996: 408-414) has suggested that in the Kavousi region in LM IIIC distinct clusters of nucleated settlements appear to have concentrated around perennial springs, and pastoral and arable land which was shared by all the settlements in the cluster (Haggis 1993; 1995: 301-303, 323-324, 1996: 408-414). One example of shared resources is provided by the faunal remains from Kavousi *Kastro* and Kavousi *Vronda*, which included cattle, sheep and goat. Klippel and Snyder (1999) suggest that sheep and goats, which appear to have been raised primarily for meat rather than wool, were kept by the inhabitants of these sites in large, combined flocks and herded at a distance from the sites. The settlements in the individual clusters posited by Haggis each appear to be situated relatively close to each other - for example those in the Kavousi cluster, discussed below, are all inter-visible from one another - presumably thereby reinforcing their mutual dependence. Haggis (1993, 1995: 303-309, 2005:

81-83) posits that although the settlements in each cluster were interdependent, the clusters themselves formed separate, autonomous units. Examples of these clusters include one near Kavousi, incorporating the settlements at Kastro, Vronda, Azoria and Panagia Skali, and one at Avgo, incorporating settlements near Trapeza and Melisses (Haggis 1995:301-317, 2005:81-83). Current evidence for the settlements in the Avgo cluster is not sufficient to permit the type of detailed analysis necessary to examine identity at a level lower than that of the cluster; the remainder of this discussion therefore focuses on the cluster of settlements at Kavousi, and specifically on the sites at Kastro, Vronda and Azoria for which suitable evidence for this analysis is available. Table 4.1 gives the relative chronology of settlements and cemeteries in the Kavousi region in LM IIIC and the EIA.

Period	Azoria		Kastro		Vronda
	Settlement	Cemeteries	Settlement	Cemeteries	
LM IIIC	Occupation begins		Occupation begins (very early LMIIIC)	Aloni Skala?; Plai tou Kastrou?	Occupation Begins Most of Settlement Abandoned
Subminoan/ Protogeometric	Occupation on South Acropolis		Settlement expansion and moves towards regularisation	Aloni Skala?; Skouriasmenos	Tholos tombs in use
Geometric/ Late Geometric		Chondrovoulakes	LG – Extensive terracing and ongoing tendency to axiality and regularisation	Aloni Skala?; Plai tou Kastrou; Skouriasmenos	LG graves in ruined settlement
Orientalising		Chondrovoulakes	Gradual Abandonment	Aloni Skala?; Plai tou Kastrou; Skouriasmenos	Graves in ruined settlement

Table 4.1 Relative Chronology of Settlements and Cemeteries in the Kavousi Region.

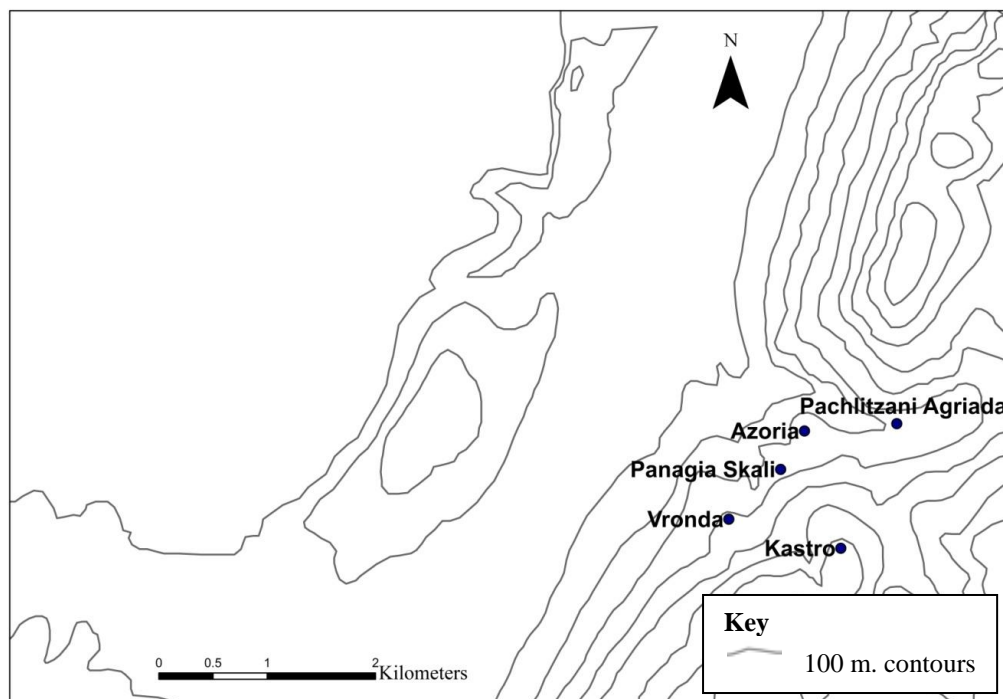


Figure 4.7 Map of the Kavousi Region.

Figure 4.7 shows the locations of important sites in the Kavousi cluster. The main perennial spring accessible to the LM IIIC settlements in the Kavousi cluster is located near Vronda and other, now dry, springs might have been located at the base of Mt. Papoura (Haggis 1995: 304). Haggis (1995: 304) hypothesises that the primary land used by the cluster was located at Xerambela, between Vronda and Kastro, and on the slopes between Azoria and the modern village of Kavousi. A number of communication routes, largely dictated by topography, may have existed between the settlements in the cluster and its hinterland, including two routes which lead to highland fields and pastures around Papoura and Thryphiti (Haggis 1995: 303-304). Although the clusters at Kavousi and Avgo are topographically separated (by a cliff on the east side of the Kastro), they are linked by a direct communication route that follows the Avgo drainage east from Azoria (Haggis 2005: 82-83). Although used for varying lengths of time, the settlements in the Kavousi cluster appear to have been newly founded in LM IIIC (Haggis 2005: 83-84). Evidence from the excavated settlements at Kastro and Vronda suggests that over time, from LM IIIC into the Early Iron Age, individual households grew into large agglomerative groups of buildings, sometimes termed ‘neighbourhoods’, separated by streets, courtyards and topography (Glowacki

2004; Haggis 2005: 83; Mook 1998). One example of this growth is Building D at Vronda, where the initial construction of Rooms 1 and 3 was followed by the building of Room 4 and then Room 5, and then the blocking off of the doorway between Rooms 3 and 4 to create two separate units (Day 1997: 392).



Figure 4.8 Kavousi *Kastro* from Kavousi *Vronda*.

Kavousi *Kastro* (Figures 4.8 and 4.9) is located to the southeast of the modern village of Kavousi, at an elevation of approximately 700 metres above sea level (Coulson 1997: 60; Gesell et al. 1985: 327). It was a long-lived settlement, with continuous habitation from the very beginning of LM IIIC until the Orientalising period (Haggis 1995: 188, 2005: 136; Gesell et al. 1995: 117). Although the most extensive building remains date to the Late Geometric, evidence for LM IIIC habitation has been uncovered in at least three parts of the site – the northeastern slope, the Northwest Building in the area of the false peak and the west slope (Coulson 1997: 60; Gesell et al. 1995; Haggis et al. 1997). In Figure 4.9, these

areas have been shaded in and the LM IIC houses in the Northwest Building marked in blue. During LM IIC, considerable use was made of bedrock, whose natural contours contributed to the irregularly shaped rooms that characterise the architecture of this period on the Kastro, and contrast with the more regular rooms of later periods, which were often built on large artificial terraces (Coulson 1997: 63).

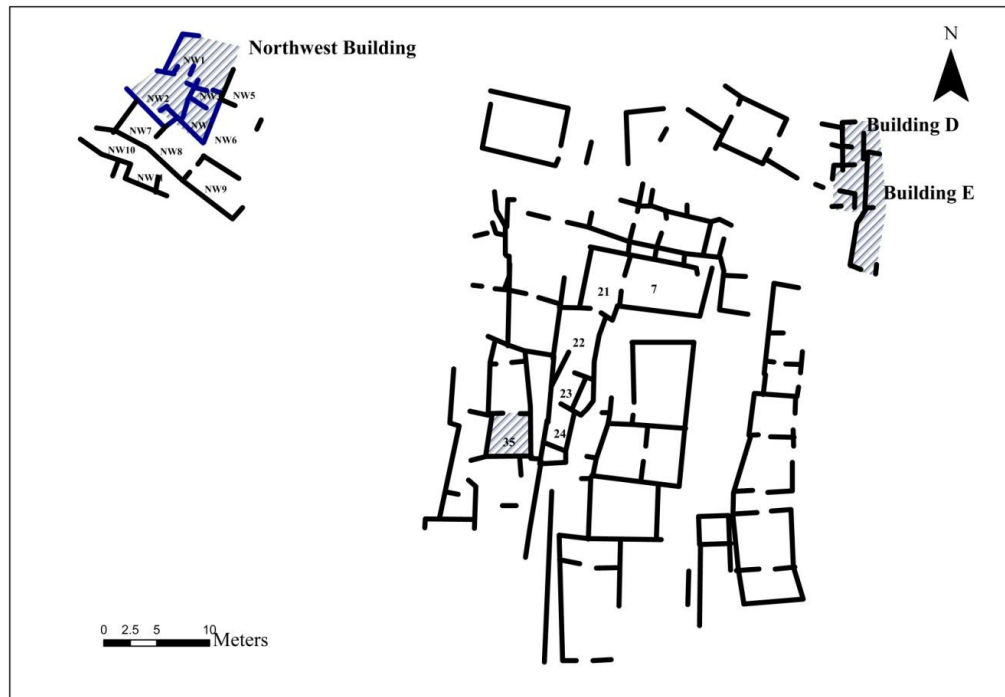


Figure 4.9 Sketch Plan of the Main Settlement at Kavousi Kastro (plan after: Coulson 1998: 41, Fig. 3.1). LM IIC remains have been found in the shaded areas, and buildings and rooms discussed in this thesis are marked.

LM IIC remains were found in Buildings D and E on the northeastern slope (Coulson 1997; Gesell et al. 1995). For example, the corner of an LM IIC structure built directly on the bedrock and pottery associated with this corner, including two krater fragments, was uncovered in part of Building E (Coulson 1997: 63-64; Gesell et al. 1995: 99). The two phases of LM IIC habitation in the Northwest Building made use of natural recesses in the bedrock to create two irregularly-shaped rooms, NW1 and NW2-4 with an entrance on the southeast corner of the main room below NW2-4 (Gesell et al. 1995: 114; Haggis et al. 1997: 353-364; Mook 1998: 45-46). Although it is not possible with current evidence to determine variation in room function between the two rooms of the

LM IIIC house in the Northwest Building, it has been suggested that the main function of Room NW1 was storage (Haggis et al. 1997: 264). Three phases of LM IIIC occupation were distinguished on the west slope of the Kastro (Coulson 1997: 64; Gesell et al. 1995: 101-106; Haggis et al. 1997; Mook 2004). For example, in Building G, beneath the Late Geometric floor of Room 35, also on the west slope, was found a layer of packing material above a layer of habitation debris and LM IIIC pottery, possibly representing the collapse of a house (Coulson 1997:71; Gesell et al. 1995: 109-113). Beneath this debris was an LM IIIC floor of clay with which a hearth, a bin and a bin or stand were associated (Coulson 1997: 71; Gesell et al. 1995: 113). An earlier LM IIIC floor was found below this floor (Coulson 1997: 71; Gesell et al. 1995: 113).

In the early twentieth century a shrine was excavated at Plai tou Kastrou, 200 metres below and south-southwest of Kastro (Boyd 1901: 149-150; Haggis 1995: 192-193, 2005: 135). Evidence for the shrine comprised traces of a number of walls, possibly from a rectangular structure, carbonised remains, pottery sherds and terracotta animals, including bulls, a stag and a dog (Boyd 1901: 149-150; Haggis 1995: 192-193, 2005: 135). Unfortunately, the exact location of the shrine is today unknown (Haggis 1995: 192, 2005: 135) and no date for the shrine, which may associate it with a specific phase, or phases of occupation in the settlement at Kastro, has been published. From the published evidence, it seems that the terracotta animals resemble those found in Room 1 of Building D at Vronda (Gesell 1995: 71-73) and it might therefore be suggested that religious practices associated with the objects occurred in the same chronological phase, i.e. LM IIIC.

Kavousi *Vronda* (Figures 4.10 and 4.11) is located 1 kilometre to the west of Kastro on the Xerambela ridge (Haggis 2005: 134). In contrast to the long-lived settlement at Kastro, most of the 12 to 15 houses at Vronda were occupied for only a relatively short period of time in LM IIIC, at the end of which the settlement was abandoned before being used again in the Geometric period as a cist-grave cemetery (Day 1997: 391; Day and Snyder 2004: 64-65; Gesell et al. 1995: 68, 116; Haggis 1995: 187-188, 2005: 134). As can be seen in Figure 4.11, a number of clusters of architectural units (or 'neighbourhoods') have been

identified at Vronda, each separated by streets and courtyards (Day 1997: 391). These units include: Building A/B; Building C-D; Building E; Building I-O-N and Building J-K (Klein 2004: 96). Although house plans vary, each appears to have comprised between two and five rooms with at least one relatively large room containing a hearth and one or more smaller rooms (Day 1997: 391-392; Gesell et al. 1995: 116; Glowacki 2004). Each architectural unit, or neighbourhood, appears to have undergone changes and expansion through time, possibly reflecting the changing constitution of different families in the settlement (Day 1997; Glowacki 2004; McEnroe 2010: 148-150). Examples of the large rooms include Room 4 of Building C, which contained a bench, a central hearth and an oven and Room 3 of Building I, which contained a bench, a hearth, an oven and a bin (Day 1997: 392; for Room 4 of Building C see Gesell et al. 1988: 285-286, 1991: 146-148, 1995: 70-71; for Room 3 of Building I see Gesell et al. 1991: 163-165). The importance of these large rooms in the domestic practices of the inhabitants of LM IIC Vronda might be illustrated in Building D. As described above, this building underwent a number of changes through time, from a single unit to two separate units, each of which had its own large room with a hearth – Rooms 1 and 4 (Day 1997: 392). Finds in the houses at Vronda include pottery and stone tools (Day 1997: 394). The locations of finds particularly pertinent to examining social practices and identities in this settlement are marked by these social practices in Figure 4.11.

Although in its construction, Building A/B differs little from other architectural units at Vronda, it can be differentiated from them in a number of ways, such as its size (Day 1997: 394; Day and Snyder 2004: 65), location on the summit of the hill (Day et al. 1986: 360) and the large capacity for storage in Building B, discussed below. It is the only building that had a second story (Gesell et al 1995: 116), and it is distinguished by the finds associated with the building, such as the kernos in the courtyard just outside Room B6 (Day et al. 1986: 365), the modified cattle skulls in Room B4 (Day and Snyder 2004: 69-71) and the large size of the pithoi in Building B (Day and Snyder 2004: 67). The building comprises two sections – Building A and Building B (Day and Snyder 2004: 65). Building A is composed of the largest single room in the settlement at Vronda, A1, which had a central hearth, and a smaller room, A2, to its north (Day and Snyder 2004: 65).



Figure 4.10 Kavousi *Vronda* from the Summit of Kavousi *Kastro*.

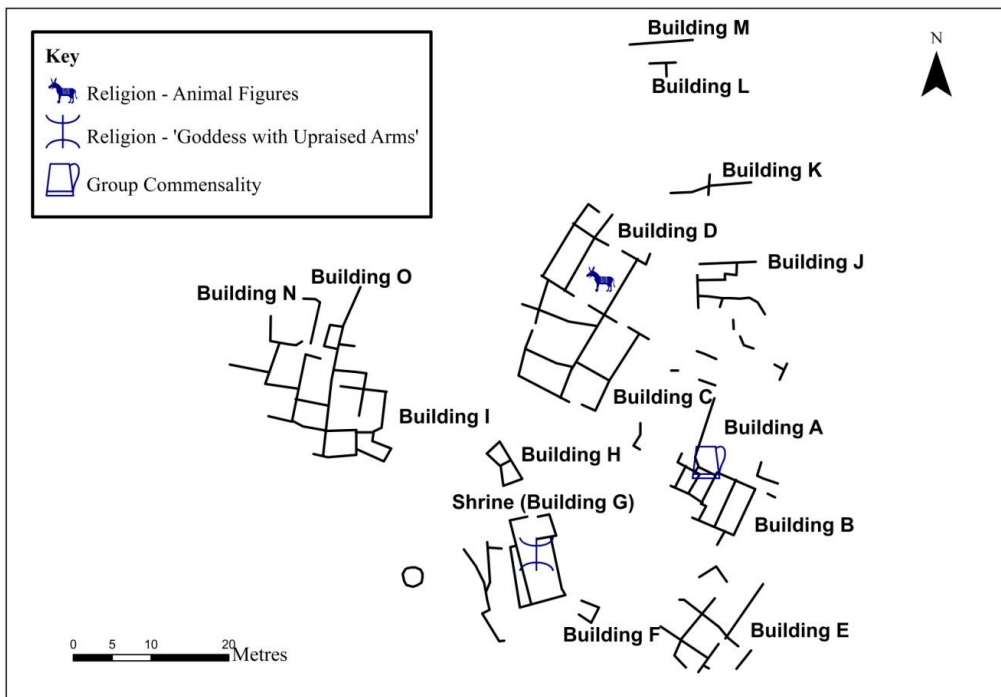


Figure 4.11 Sketch Plan of Kavousi *Vronda* (plan after Gesell et al. 1995: 69, Fig. 1).

The plan of Building B is unusual for the settlement at Vronda (Day and Snyder 2004: 65). It has been suggested, on the basis of finds in Building B, that Rooms B1/2, B3 and B7 were storerooms, whilst B4 may have been used for the preparation of food (Day and Snyder 2004: 65; Day et al. 1986: 366-375). Building B had two chronological phases, and not all its rooms were in use at the same time (Day and Snyder 2004: 67-69). Finds of pottery and animal bones associated with the earlier phase of use come from B4 and B7, and demonstrate activity relating to the production and consumption of food and drink (Day and Snyder 2004: 69). For Day and Snyder (2004: 69), the quantity of elaborately decorated pottery from this phase suggest that the “equipment for...eating and drinking was meant to impress.” The modified cattle skulls from B4 may have been intended for display, and may have held a particular meaning, possibly associated with the horns of consecration which they resemble (Day and Snyder 2004: 69-71). The presence of these skulls does not necessarily indicate that Building A/B was the primary focus of religious practices for the community at Vronda; that role appears to have been filled by the LM IIIC shrine in Building G, described below. The concern with consumption of food, and possibly also with the religious practices and the identity evident in the earlier phase of use of Building B is also evident in the pottery from its later phase, which includes fragments of a rhyton, six to eight kylikes and six kalathoi (Day and Snyder 2004: 71-73). The differences between Building A/B and the rest of the settlement have led to the suggestion that it may have belonged to an elite person or group in the settlement, and may have been used for controlled storage of goods (Day 1997: 394, 1999; Day et al. 1986: 366; Day and Snyder 2004). If this is the case, the appropriation and manipulation of symbols and practices associated with religion in the settlement may have played a key part in the defining of the identity of this individual or group.

Most of the pottery associated with the LM IIIC settlement at Vronda is coarseware, primarily pithoi and cooking pots (Day 1997: 394-395). The most common fineware shape was the deep bowl (Day 1997: 395). Decorated fenestrated stands were frequently found at Vronda (Day 1997: 398), for example in Building J (Gesell et al. 1991: 150-151). It has been suggested that this unusual shape may have been associated with household cult and functioned in a similar

way to the snake tubes in the shrine in Building G at Vronda (Day 1997: 398). Further evidence for household cult may be the animal figurines (a horse and a bovid) found in Room 1 of Building D (Gesell 1995: 71-73) and the kalathos with horns of consecration on the rim in Building L (Gesell 1995: 76).

Building G at Vronda has been identified as a shrine linked to worship of the so-called “goddess with upraised arms” (Day 1997: 401; Day et al. 2006: 140; Gesell et al. 1995: 79-80). This building comprises two rooms: Room 1, which was entered from an open area outside the building and had a bench on its east side, may have been a display room, whilst Room 2, which had side benches, a platform and a central hearth, may have been a preparation room (Gesell 2004: 138; Gesell et al. 1995: 79-80; Klein 2004: 94-96). Evidence for ritual at this shrine is provided by the remains of cult equipment found in and near the shrine, including snake tubes, female figurines of the so-called ‘goddess with upraised arms’, numerous kalathoi and decorated terracotta plaques, such as one decorated with horns of consecration (Day 1997: 401-402; Day et al. 2006: 140; Gesell et al. 1988: 289-290, 1991: 161-163, 1995: 79-80). A pottery kiln has been located close to the shrine (Gesell et al. 1988: 290-293).

The settlement at Azoria, which is directly north of Kastro (Figure 4.12), was founded in LM IIIC, and continued until at least the Archaic period (Haggis 1995: 182-185, 2005: 31-132; Haggis et al. 2004: 390, 2007a, 2007b). The small site at Panagia Skali southwest of Azoria may be associated with the Early Iron Age settlement at Azoria (Haggis 1995: 181-182). Unfortunately, much of the LM IIIC and EIA evidence from Azoria has been disturbed or destroyed by later activity on the site (Haggis et al. 2004, 2007b). Amongst the sparse LM IIIC remains from the site is evidence for a bench shrine, including fragments of figurines of ‘goddesses with upraised arms’ (Haggis et al. 2007b: 704; “Excavations at Azoria in 2006”, <http://www.unc.edu/~dchaggis/Azoria%202006.html>; last accessed 20.09.2011). In the Kavousi cluster, therefore, religious practices linked to the ‘goddess with upraised arms’ appear to have taken place in shrines in both Kavousi *Vronda* and Azoria. Given the evidence for a possible shrine at Kastro, described above, religious practices at each settlement in the cluster appear to have focused on the local shrine in each community, perhaps with a small degree

of repetition of practices at the household level, as may be indicated by cult equipment found in domestic contexts at Vronda, such as the fenestrated stand in Building J (Day 1997: 398) and the kalathos found in Building L (Gesell 1995: 76).



Figure 4.12 Kavousi Azoria from Kavousi Kastro (A) and from Kavousi Vronda (B).

Each settlement in the Kavousi cluster may have been associated with specific cemeteries or burial areas (Haggis 1995: 306). Tholos tombs associated with Kastro in a variety of periods from LM IIIC onwards (though dating is somewhat problematic) have been found on the Skala terrace and Aloni hillock (Gesell et al. 1983: 410-412; Haggis 1995: 189-192, 310, 2005: 134-135) and at Plai tou Kastrou, where the possible shrine was located (Boyd 1901: 149; Gesell et al. 1983: 412-413; Haggis 1995: 192-193, 2005: 135-136). A number of tholos tombs north of Vronda may have been associated with settlement there (Day 1997: 403-404; Gesell et al. 1983: 394-409; Haggis 1995: 306, 310, 2005: 82). Given the date of these tholos tombs, from the end of LM IIIC onwards, when Vronda was largely abandoned, it is possible that they were used by its former inhabitants and their immediate descendants, now perhaps living in one of the other sites in the Kavousi region. Although Geometric cemeteries associated with Azoria and Panagia Skali have been identified, the precise burial area, or areas, for these settlements in LM IIIC are not entirely clear (Haggis 1995: 306). Collective burial was common in LM IIIC tholoi in the Kavousi region, possibly indicating that the extended family or clan were important in the contemporary social structure (Haggis 1995: 310, 328-329). This suggestion accords well with the conclusion, based partially on the architectural layout of the settlements at Kastro and Vronda, that the basic social unit was the nuclear family (for example, Day and Snyder 2004: 78; Haggis 1995: 303; Mook 1998: 57), and indicates that family and/or lineage identities may have had a high salience in these LM IIIC settlements.

4.3.6 The Area near Monastiraki

Two LM IIIC sites have been identified at the mouth of the Cha Gorge, north-east of the village of Monastiraki (Figure 4.13). These settlements were located at Monastiraki *Chalasmeno* and Monastiraki *Katalimata*. Haggis (1993: 154-156, 1995: 313) has argued that together these sites comprise a cluster with a very different pattern to those identified at Kavousi and Avgo. Although the site at Katalimata was smaller than that at Chalasmeno, it had a similar number of house units (Haggis 1995: 316, 2005: 147). Together, these sites may have formed a “dual-settlement system” in which the settlement at Katalimata may have

functioned as a refuge site for the settlement at Chalasmeno (Haggis 1993: 154, 1995: 313-314; Haggis and Nowicki 1993: 334-336; for the hypothesised differences between the dual-settlement system seen at Monastiraki *Katalimata* and Monastiraki *Chalasmeno* and those found elsewhere on Crete see Haggis 1995: 315-317; Haggis and Nowicki 1993: 335-336).

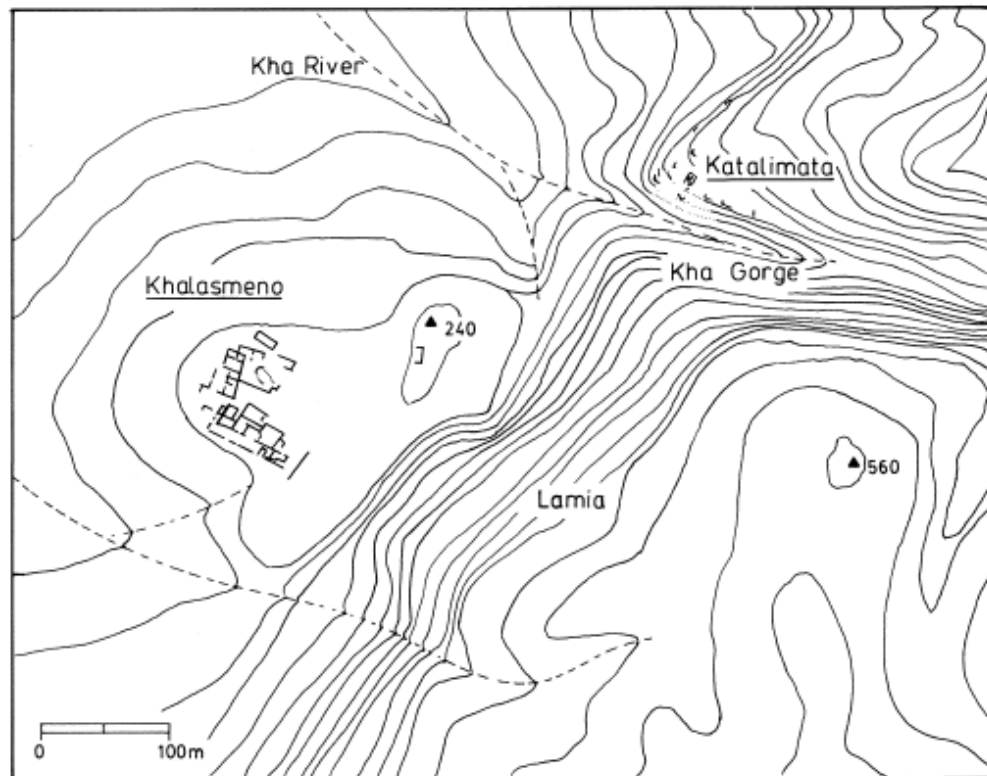


Figure 4.13 Map of Monastiraki *Chalasmeno* and Monastiraki *Katalimata*
 (Source: Haggis and Nowicki 1993: 307, Fig. 3).

Monastiraki *Chalasmeno* is located on a hill directly south of the mouth of the Kha Gorge (Coulson and Tsipopoulou 1994; Haggis 1995: 106; Haggis and Nowicki 1993: 305; Nowicki 2000: 90-91; Rupp 2007; Tsipopoulou 2001: 99, 2004). Contiguous house units, similar to those at Kavousi Vronda and Kavousi Kastro, have been identified (Coulson and Tsipopoulou 1994; Haggis 1995: 109-113; Haggis and Nowicki 1993: 308-311; Rupp 2007). In the settlement, there appears to have been a shrine associated with worship of the ‘goddess with upraised arms’ (Blackman 2000/2001: 133, Haggis 1995: 66, 2005: 145; Prent 2005: 150-151; Tsipopoulou 2001, 2009). A late LM IIIC tholos tomb containing five inhumations accompanied by ceramic grave goods and a few small pieces of

bronze sheathing was found 200 metres south of Chalasmeno, and other tholoi may have been located on its western and southern slopes (Coulson and Tsipopoulou 1994; Nowicki 2000: 91; Tsipopoulou 2001: 99). Monastiraki *Chalasmeno* was occupied for only a short period – perhaps two generations (Rupp 2007: 62).

Monastiraki *Katalimata* is in a particularly inaccessible location along the side of a cliff just inside the mouth of the Cha Gorge (Haggis 1995: 107; Haggis and Nowicki 1993: 305; Nowicki 2000: 92-94, 2008). The settlement occupies at least eight bedrock terraces at widely varying heights and can be divided into three areas termed the upper, middle and lower settlements (Haggis 1995: 113-124, 2005: 146-147; Haggis and Nowicki 1993: 318-328; Nowicki 2000: 92, 2008). At least ten architectural units representing houses or house clusters existed in the settlement (Nowicki 2000: 95, 2008: 10). The first building en route to the settlement itself, Building N, may have been a guard house (Haggis 1995: 114-115; Nowicki 2000: 93, 2008: 8-10). The first house one reaches when approaching the settlement is “Building M” (Nowicki 2000: 93). The upper settlement comprises a building, Building C, which, given its size and location on the widest terrace, may have been the most important building in the settlement, a possible watch-point and terrace which has been identified either as a quarry or an area where livestock may have been kept (Haggis 1995: 116-120; Nowicki 2000: 94-95, 2008: 8-10; Nowicki in Coulson and Tsipopoulou 1994: 94-97; on Building C specifically, see Haggis 1993: 156, 1995: 123-124; Nowicki 2008; Nowicki in Coulson and Tsipopoulou 1994: 94-97). Most houses were located on a number of terraces in the middle settlement (Haggis 1995: 120-122; Nowicki 2000: 95, 2008: 8-9). There are no architectural remains for houses or shelters in the lower settlement (Haggis 1995: 122-123; Nowicki 2000: 95, 2008: 10). No certain cult areas have been identified in the *Katalimata* settlement (Nowicki 2000: 95, 2008: 65).

4.3.7 Vasiliki Kefala

A large LM IIIC settlement has been identified at *Vasiliki Kefala* (Eliopoulos 1998; Nowicki 2000: 106). This settlement may be associated with the tholos

tomb excavated by Seager (discussed in Kanta 1980: 146). Although at present little is known about the settlement at Vasiliki *Kefala*, one excavated building, Epsilon, may have been a large shrine complex of eight rooms, each of which may have served different functions, associated with worship of the “goddess with upraised arms” (Eliopoulos 1998). Evidence for this religious activity includes the bench sanctuary architecture typical of these shrines, at least five figurines of goddesses with upraised arms, snake tubes, fenestrated stands and votive plaques (Eliopoulos 1998). McEnroe (2010: 152) has argued that this structure was gradually built between LM IIIC and the PG, and that only part of the structure, focusing on Room E4, was used for cult.

4.3.8 Vrokastro and Its Hinterland

A system of site clusters has been identified for the LM IIIC to Geometric periods in the north-western part of the Isthmus of Ierapetra (Hayden 2004a: 137-154; see also Hayden 2003, 2005; Hayden et al. 1992). One of the main LM IIIC settlements in this region was located on the Vrokastro hill (Hall 1914; Hayden 1983, 2003, 2004a, 2005). A coastal site contemporary with the LM IIIC and later settlement on the Vrokastro hill was found on the promontory of Elias to Nisi (Hayden 2001, 2004a: 138-139). This small, walled settlement may have been used seasonally for fishing, trade and piracy (Hayden 2004a: 139), and forms part of a cluster of sites that focuses on the settlement at Vrokastro (Hayden 2004a: 146). In contrast to the site clusters at Kavousi and Avgo, which appear to comprise sites of relatively equal size during LM IIIC, there is a greater difference in size between sites in the Vrokastro cluster with the site on the Vrokastro hill itself appearing to be the main settlement surrounded by ancillary sites (Hayden 2004a: 146-149). Furthermore, unlike most other LM IIIC settlements in East Crete, sites in the Vrokastro region are distinctive for their marked maritime focus. This maritime focus may explain the presence of evidence for iron-working, imported pottery and local copies of imported pottery at the settlement of Vrokastro, which attest to widespread, if intermittent, links with central Crete, the Cyclades, Cyprus, the Greek mainland and perhaps the Dodecanese (Hayden 2003, 2004a: 146-147). These overseas links indicate that the wider context of social and political relationships and interaction within which

identities in the Vrokastro region were negotiated and communicated may have differed significantly from that of many other sites in LM IIIC East Crete.

Unfortunately, the examination of identity in the Vrokastro settlement is significantly limited by the quality of evidence uncovered and recorded in the excavation of this site in the early 20th century (Hall 1914). Whilst some of the architectural remains and building plans from Vrokastro may represent the locations of LM IIIC habitation and activity, given the use of this site beyond this period and the problems noted in the published account of the site's stratigraphy (Hall 1914: 89; see also Hayden 1983, 2004a: 142), the architecture will not form part of the evidence considered here. The primary evidence for LM IIIC social practices within the settlement itself is provided by Hayden's (1991) examination of the cult objects from the early 20th century excavations at Vrokastro. This assemblage comprises two pairs of horns of consecration and a number of terracotta figures and figurines, with a high predominance of animal figures such as bovinds and birds (Hayden 1991). Although the objects in this assemblage are difficult to date, particularly given the lack of information on their original provenance, the horns of consecration and a number of the bovine figures and figurines, birds, small male figurines and a possible dog figurine may belong to the LM IIIC period (Hayden 1991; Prent 2005: 147). The features of the cult assemblage from Vrokastro, particularly the bovine figurines, link it to similar assemblages and associated practices found elsewhere on Crete and discussed in detail by Prent (2005: 184-187). The LM IIIC settlement at Vrokastro may have had two shrines – a bench sanctuary in its southwest corner and a shrine complex in rooms 16-17, the largest building complex on the site (Hayden 2004a: 142). The function of the latter building complex as a shrine in LM IIIC is open to question – it may alternatively have been the home of a prominent family and later, or simultaneously, been used for cult purposes (discussed in Hayden 2004a: 142, 159).

4.3.9 Kritsa *Kastello* and Northern Lasithi

Many sites on the north-eastern slopes of the Lasithi mountains are relevant to the diachronic aspects of this study, as are they were later incorporated into the

territories of the East Cretan poleis of the Archaic to Hellenistic periods. Despite the relative dearth of evidence from these sites, a few have provided evidence that is useful to this study and so will be briefly described here.

A settlement dating to LM IIIC occupied part of the summit of *Kastello*, a hill above and to the west of modern Kritsa (Nowicki 2000: 120). Architectural remains show that houses were built of big boulders and local grey limestone and were arranged in blocks which Nowicki (2000: 120) likens to those at Karfi. Two tholos tombs, with pottery dating to between LM IIIA2 and LM IIIC, were excavated by Platon along the road between Kritsa and Katharo (Cook 1952: 111-112; Kanta 1980: 134-139; Nowicki 2000: 121). Both these, and other tombs dating to LM IIIB-C in the Kritsa plain (excavated by Tsipopoulou and mentioned in Nowicki 2000: 121), may have been associated with the settlement at Kritsa *Kastello* and perhaps with an earlier, as yet unlocated, LM IIIA-B settlement nearby (Nowicki 2000: 121).

Two settlements were located near the modern village of Vryses: one at Drasi Xeli and the other on a hill south-east of the village of Vryses where there is a chapel to Profitis Elias (Nowicki 2000: 112-114). Nowicki (2000: 112-114) dates the occupation of these sites to LM IIIC to the Archaic and LM IIIC to the Geometric respectively. The chance find of a head of a goddess of the Gazi and Karfi type (i.e. the “goddess with upraised arms”) comes from the vicinity of Vryses (Davaras in Nowicki 2000: 113).

An LM IIIC settlement has been located at *Kastrokefala* near Zenia, where architectural remains are evident on and around the summit of this hill (Nowicki 2000: 114-116). A number of tholos tombs have been found or are attested in the vicinity of Zenia, which may be associated with the LM IIIC settlement on *Kastrokefala* (Nowicki 2000: 116). The westernmost site which will be described here is located on the summit of *Kastri* near the modern village of Neapoli, where limited visibility restricts the identification of building plans and the extent of the LM IIIC settlement on the basis of the surface remains (Nowicki 2000: 110-112). The main cemetery for this settlement may have been located to its south, where remains of tholos tombs have been found (Nowicki 2000: 112).

4.4 Discussion

Our ability to understand and interpret social practices and processes such as identity negotiation and communication in LM IIIC East Crete is limited by the widely varying levels of detail in the evidence currently available, particularly from sites that have not yet been excavated or surveyed intensively. However, as is discussed in this section, a variety of social practices can be discerned, including practices associated with the choice of location of settlements, burials, religion, and group commensality.

4.4.1 Topography, Site Clusters and Burials

As highlighted in the preceding section and in the introduction to this chapter, topography played an important role in processes and practices associated with the establishment and layout of both individual settlements and inter-related sites within specific regions. As described in Section 4.3.5, many sites in East Crete, such as in the Kavousi region, may have formed an inter-dependent cluster of settlements which shared water resources, subsistence strategies, such as joint herding practices, and agricultural and pastoral land (see Section 4.3.5; Haggis 1993, 2005). These economic practices, which emphasised joint participation by the inhabitants of the cluster as a whole, may have encouraged the development of a group identity associated with specific site clusters. A shared sense of community may have been reinforced in some areas, such as around Kavousi, by direct lines of sight in settlements, which incorporated the neighbouring settlements within the cluster (Figures 4.8, 4.10 and 4.12). A similar process of the development of a cluster level identity through shared subsistence practices and the layout of sites within their immediate landscape, including lines of sight which incorporated neighbouring settlements, can be posited for the site clusters near Pefki, in the Oreino valley and at Vrokastro. Within the Vrokastro cluster, practices associated with its access to the sea, such as fishing, trade and even piracy, may have further strengthened cluster-level identities.

In addition to the sharing of key resources, other social practices, for which there is no archaeological evidence, might be hypothesised to have been significant in the negotiation of group identities at the level of a cluster of sites, such as marriage practices which may have involved choosing a mate from any of the settlements in the cluster, thereby widening the pool of acceptable choices. If marriage was primarily endogamous to site clusters, such as those hypothesised for the regions of Kavousi, Pefki and Oreino, a shared sense of identity at the level of the cluster may have been promoted, not only through an attendant creation of social ties and relationships between individuals and families in each settlement, but also through the perception, at least at certain times, such as when mates were chosen, of the population of the cluster as a single group of individuals, each with relatively equal potential to be a mate or the family of a mate. Even when neighbouring sites may not have shared resources, the relatively small size of individual settlements during LM IIIC is likely to have meant that certain social practices, such as the choosing of marriage partners, regularly involved individuals and groups outside the home site, thereby perhaps encouraging a variety of group identities whilst also providing a path for beliefs and practices, such as the frequent use of tholos tombs for burial, attested at many of the sites described in this chapter, and the worship of the ‘goddess with upraised arms’, to spread throughout much of Crete, despite the primarily local focus of its settlements. Despite the widespread common practices in LM IIIC Crete, there appears not to have been any centralised political and/or economic organisation. In the Kavousi region, for example, the site cluster appears to have been the highest autonomous political unit and focus of community (Haggis 2005: 84). Wallace (2003a: 616) links the lack of centralised organisation to strong notions of local identity.

In addition to subsistence practices, cluster-level participation in burial practices can also be discerned in the evidence from LM IIIC East Crete, and like subsistence and marriage practices, these also appear to have signified participation in a cluster level identity. For example, although each settlement in the Pefki region may have had its own cemetery, shared burial practices appear to have taken place in the area of Glikis Prinos (Section 4.3.3; Nowicki 1994: 266). Similar, shared burial areas seem to have existed in the Oreino area and in the

vicinity of Praisos (Section 4.3.4). Yet, the presence of settlement-specific cemeteries and single tholoi, in locations such as the Pefki area and near sites such as Kritsa *Kastello*, Zenia *Kastrokefala* and Neapoli *Kastri*, Kavousi *Vronda*, Kavousi *Kastro* and Kavousi *Azoria* suggests that the inhabitants of each settlement in a site cluster participated in cluster-level group identities in different ways, perhaps depending on the context or on the degree to which specific individuals had internalised the cluster-level identity as part of their own social identity (see Section 3.1). Alongside the communication of cluster-level identities through burial in shared cemetery areas, burial practices in settlement-specific cemeteries may have communicated group identities associated with individual settlements in a site cluster and suggest the presence of both hierarchical and segmentary community identities in LM IIIC East Crete, where group identities associated with individual settlements may have been salient simultaneously with, and perhaps at a slightly lower level than, group identities associated with site clusters.

Although not examined as the primary focus of enquiry, identity at Kavousi has been touched upon by a number of scholars (for example, Day and Snyder 2004; Haggis 1993, 1995, 2005). Their studies have demonstrated the multiple, segmentary group identities that may have been salient at a number of levels in the Kavousi region, including the cluster itself, the village (or particular settlement within the cluster), the household, and the family (Haggis 2005:84). Similar identities at multiple levels might be hypothesised for a number of other settlements and site clusters in East Crete. Within site clusters, the slight differences in topographic location between clusters of settlements such as at Kavousi, in the Oreino Valley and near Pefki would have influenced the specific viewsheds experienced by the inhabitants of each settlement in their daily lives, thereby possibly reinforcing subtle differences in the group identities of each settlement. At the level of the village or settlement, group identities also may have been negotiated and communicated through a variety of social practices. For example, practices associated with the production and consumption of food and drink, evident, for example in Building A/B at Kavousi *Vronda*, on the summit of Pefki *Kastellopoulo* and perhaps at Palaikastro *Kastri* may have reinforced village-level group cohesion and signified village-level group identities. A further

example is provided by religious practices which focused on a shrine or shrines within the boundaries of a settlement. These have been found at a number of sites in East Crete including at Azoria, Vasiliki *Kefala*, Monastiraki *Chalasmeno*, Vrokastro, and in Building G at Kavousi *Vronda*. Most of the participants are likely to have been the inhabitants of the particular settlement, and these practices would therefore have served to demarcate similarity between members of each settlement group and its associated identity whilst communicating difference, through non-participation, with inhabitants of neighbouring settlements.

The best evidence for identity at the ‘neighbourhood’ and household level comes from the Kavousi cluster, particularly the settlements at Kastro and Vronda. The commonalities in food production and consumption and other domestic practices which might be posited at Kavousi *Vronda* (based on the general similarity in plan of each household) together with the practice of building agglomerated architectural units, may have communicated a sense of belonging with wider group identities associated with the settlement and neighbourhood, whilst also physically demarcating the boundaries of neighbourhood and household identities. Despite the suggestion that the neighbourhoods of Vronda may have developed as houses were modified to accommodate changing family structures (see Section 4.3.5), this need not imply that kin identities only extended as far as each architectural unit. These identities may have extended across the settlement, particularly in the final decades prior to Vronda’s abandonment, by which time intra-settlement links may have developed through practices such as marriage, discussed above. An ethnographic example of this comes from the island of Ios in the Cyclades, where kinship groups and identities were not necessarily synonymous with neighbourhood identities, but rather were dispersed across the main village on the island (Currier 1976).

Although the evidence is less clear for Kastro, differences between the ‘neighbourhood’ and household group in the Northwest Building, and their associated identities, may have been signified through the location of this structure at a distance from the LM IIIC buildings attested on the northeastern and west slopes of the Kastro, described in Section 4.3.5. Whilst architecture may have been used to communicate the boundaries of neighbourhood and group

identities, however, some of the practices associated with the architectural units at Vronda suggest an attempt to communicate adherence to wider group identities. Examples of this include the links between religious practices that may have taken place within households and religious practices in the wider settlement, which may be indicated by the fenestrated stand in Building J (Day 1997: 398), the animal figurines found in Room 1 of Building D (Gesell 1995: 71-73) and the kalathos found in Building L (Gesell 1995: 76). One particularly interesting example of the links between household religious practices and those in the wider settlement is provided by the cattle skulls, rhyton and kalathoi in Building A/B at Vronda. Given the social context within which these practices may be located – the house of an important individual or group – these particular practices might be seen as playing a dual role: whilst they may signify participation in wider religious practices and associated identities (see below), they also act to define and communicate the existence and boundaries of a different type of group identity, possibly associated with an elite, or important person or group.

As can be seen in the above discussion, many of the social practices discernible in the evidence for LM IIIC East Crete appear to have signified more than one identity. Burial practices, for example, may have communicated both cluster and settlement identities. Above it was suggested that religious practices associated with shrines in each site may have signified settlement identities. However, as is evident in Section 4.3, these practices appear to have been widespread, and it is therefore possible that they communicated both a settlement identity, and adherence to a religious identity with a geographical extent that covered much of Crete, the specific identity becoming salient dependent on context. Religious practices and identities are discussed in more detail in the next section, Section 4.4.2.

4.4.2 Religious Practices and Identities

Two main sets of religious practice, each associated with specific assemblages of cult objects, have been suggested for LM IIIC Crete (Prent 2005: 103-209). The first of these is primarily linked to figures of the ‘goddess with upraised arms’ and their associated cult objects and the second is primarily linked to figures of

terracotta animals and their associated cult objects. Objects in cult assemblages linked to worship of the ‘goddess with upraised arms’ include figurines of the ‘goddesses’, snake tubes, kalathoi and plaques, often decorated with images of snakes and horns of consecration, which may often have been placed on benches in the so-called “bench sanctuaries” (Day 1997: 402; Day et al. 2006: 140-142; Eliopoulos 2004; Gesell 1985, 1999, 2004; Klein 2004; Prent 2005: 181-184). Although the architectural details of these shrines vary, there is considerable similarity in their assemblages of cult equipment (Day et al. 2006: 142-143; Gesell 1999, 2004; Klein 2004).

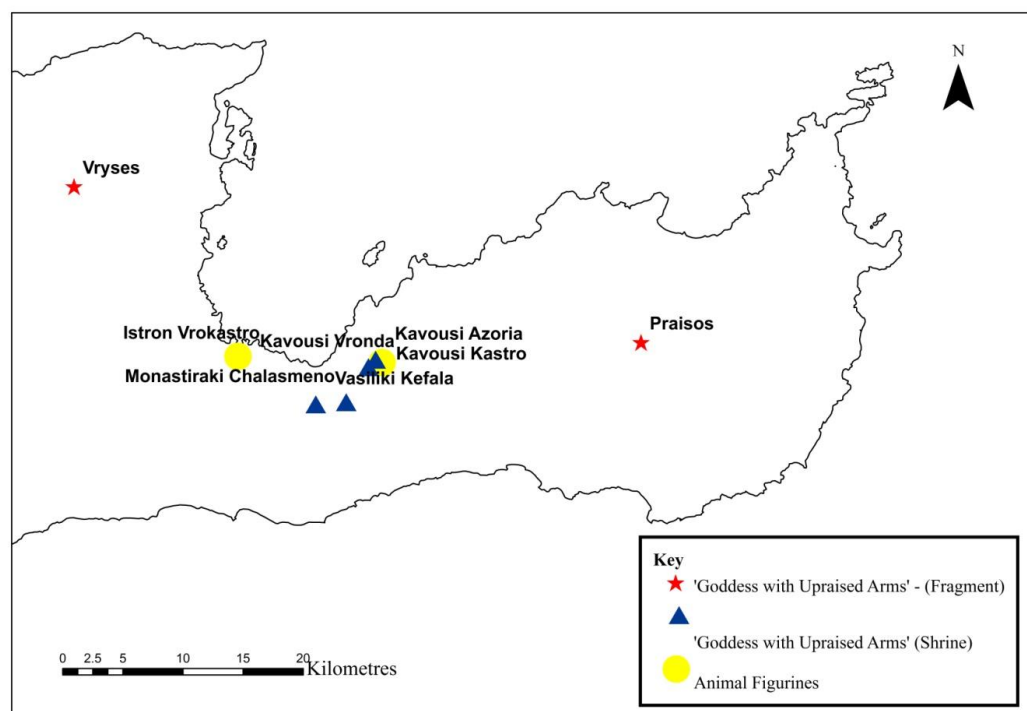


Figure 4.14 LM IIIC East Cretan Sites with Evidence for Religious Practices Associated with Animal Figurines and with the ‘Goddess with Upraised Arms’ (distinguished according to the type of evidence).

As apparent in Section 4.3 and displayed in Figure 4.14, shrines associated with worship of the goddess with upraised arms are found in a number of locations in East Crete, including at Kavousi *Vronda* and Azoria, Vasiliki *Kefala* and Monastiraki *Chalasmeno*, whilst other shrines and evidence for this set of religious practices, some dating to LM IIIB, are known from Karfi, Knossos, Kannia, Gazi, Prinias and Sakhtouria (Day 1997: 402; Day et al. 2006: 140-142;

Eliopoulos 2004; Gesell 1985, 1999, 2004; Klein 2004; Tzedakis 1967). In addition, as described in Section 4.3, fragments of objects which may be associated with this set of religious practices have been found or are attested at Praisos, in the vicinity of Vryses and at Pefki *Kastellopoulo*. Gesell (2004; see also Eliopoulos 2004) has argued that worship of the ‘goddess with upraised arms’ was a form of popular religion which may have descended from elite, palace-controlled religious practices earlier in the Bronze Age. This suggests that some social practices and group identities in LM IIIC may have had their roots in this earlier time period and highlights their continuing importance, perhaps because they provided a sense of stability, belonging, and emotional strength and support for the inhabitants of ancient East Crete during the transitional period described in Section 4.4.2.

Religious practices associated with animal figures have been studied in less detail than those associated with the goddess with upraised arms. Objects in cult assemblages associated with these practices include terracotta animal figures, particularly bovinds, as well as composite figurines which combine human and animal traits and large horns of consecration (Prent 2005: 184-186). On the basis of the evidence described in Section 4.3, these practices appear less widespread than those associated with the ‘goddess with upraised arms’ and are attested only at Vrokastro and Kavousi *Kastro*. The presence of this assemblage at Kavousi *Kastro*, contrasts to the apparent worship of the ‘goddess with upraised arms’ in the other two sites in the Kavousi cluster, Kavousi *Vronda* and Kavousi *Azoria*, suggesting a significant line of difference in this site cluster, which may have served to distinguish Kavousi *Kastro* and its associated identity from Kavousi *Vronda* and *Azoria*.

Isolated finds such as the figurines of a horse and bovid from Room 1 of Building D at Kavousi *Vronda* may indicate participation in religious practices associated with animal figurines and horns of consecration at the level of the individual or household, and an attempt to differentiate individual or household religious identity from the predominant religious identity (associated with the ‘goddess with upraised arms’) in the settlement at Kavousi *Vronda*. This find may indicate a relationship between the inhabitants of Building D at *Vronda* and those in

Building A/B, where the modified cattle skulls may suggest an attempt to participate in religious practices and identities associated with animal figurines without perhaps fully comprehending the form of its cult objects.

As noted in Section 4.4.1, religious practices associated with the ‘goddess with upraised arms’ may have served to define and demarcate relatively local group identities, such as those associated with specific settlements, whilst also indicating participation in a set of practices and possible religious identity at a higher level that covered much of Crete. The identities signified through religious practices highlight the segmentary, hierarchical nature of group identities and the ways in which they intersect with each other. For example, the religious practices at Kavousi *Vronda* may have signified participation in a group identity at the level of the settlement, as discussed in Section 4.4.1, whilst also indicating participation in a possibly pan-Cretan group identity and, finally, also perhaps uniting and fostering a common sense of group belonging between the settlements at Kavousi *Vronda* and *Azoria*, in opposition to the religious identity associated with animal figures that may have been most salient in the settlement at Kavousi *Kastro*.

4.4.3 Group Commensality and Status Identities

Evidence for group commensality, such as pottery shapes associated with drinking, burnt ash and animal bones, comes from a number of buildings in East Crete, such as Area KA at Palaikastro *Kastri*, Building A/B at Kavousi *Vronda*, the summit of Pefki *Kastellopoulo*, the Hilltop Building at Oreino *Kastri* and on Hills 1 and 3 at Kalamafki *Kypia*. In some cases, such as at Palaikastro *Kastri* and Hill 1 of Kalamafki *Kypia* near Praisos, both deep bowls and kylikes were used in practices associated with group commensality, though there is a preponderance of bowls. The practices evident at these diverse sites across East Crete may have provided a key means by which new group identities associated with the new settlements at these sites were negotiated and a sense of community established, through the creation and perpetuation of social bonds between the individuals involved and their awareness of carrying out these practices as a group. Following the establishment of the new settlements and the acceptance of settlement-based group identities by individuals within each settlement, ongoing use of these

consumption practices may have served to foster a sense of belonging and group cohesion and to signify the symbolic boundaries, and members, of settlement-based group identities.

In some locations with evidence for group commensality, such as Building A/B at Kavousi *Vronda* and the Hilltop Building at Oreino *Kastri*, and perhaps also Building C at Monastiraki *Katalimata* (which appears to be an important building but does not seem to provide good evidence for group commensality), architectural remains and other finds may indicate that practices associated with group consumption and possibly aimed at fostering settlement identities, may have been linked to social practices which were intended to communicate identities associated with an elite social status. In this light, the proportion of deep bowls to kylikes at some sites, such as Palaikastro *Kastri* and Kalamafki *Kypia*, with evidence for group commensality is particularly interesting, and may indicate that a small group within the larger community may have attempted to signify an elite social status through differentiated use of drinking vessels within wider, perhaps more egalitarian, consumption practices.

The possible existence of an important person or group at Kavousi *Vronda* has been noted by a number of scholars (such as Day 1997: 394, 1999; Day et al. 1986: 366). Practices through which an elite identity at this site may have been signified include specific uses of architecture (in room size and storage facilities), practices associated with material culture (such as the large size of the pithoi, the kernos near Room B6 and the cattle skulls) and practices associated with the production and consumption of food. Similar practices which communicated an elite identity may also have been carried out in the Hilltop Building at Oreino *Kastri*, although excavation would be necessary to explore this idea further. In Section 4.3.5, it was hypothesised that the modified cattle skulls found in Building A/B may indicate an attempt to participate in religious practices and identities associated with animal figurines without perhaps fully comprehending the form of its cult objects. However, the evidence in this building for practices that may be associated with elite identities might also indicate an attempt to appropriate and manipulate religious symbols, practices and identities in an

attempt to further the elite identity of the individuals to whom this building belonged.

D'Agata (2001) has suggested that cult places such as bench shrines associated with worship of the 'goddess with upraised arms' in LM IIIC settlements provide evidence for the presence of local central authorities at this time. These local central authorities may have been formed by the low-level elites who established and communicated their slightly privileged identity through the practices discussed here, which include group commensality and architectural practices, in addition to religious practices. Overall, however, the relative lack of strong elite identities in the evidence perhaps implies that there was only a low level of social competition (D'Agata 2001: 354).

4.5 Summary

As noted in Section 4.1, the historical background to LM IIIC is a time of discontinuity in East Crete, particularly in settlement patterns and probably also in general socio-political structures. Within this context, many identities, particularly those associated with Bronze Age political and administrative activity may have ceased to have any saliency, whilst other identities, such as identities associated with individual family or lineage groups (evidenced, for example, in the house plans at Kavousi *Vronda*) may have been strengthened and increased in importance as they provided a source of emotional and perhaps material support in the time of change. Changes in settlement patterns and socio-political structures during LM IIIC offered new opportunities and a new context for identity construction and negotiation. Topography may have been particularly important during this time, serving to demarcate both physical and symbolic boundaries between individual and groups of settlements, such as in the Kavousi region. Social practices, such as subsistence strategies, the specific types of economic and trade resources exploited (such as those linked to the sea in the Vrokastro cluster), mortuary and religious practices, group commensality and choices relating to pottery production and consumption may have signified and reinforced group identities relating to local settlements and settlement clusters, thereby uniting what may have been diverse individuals and groups who had

come together to form new settlements, and creating a sense of community. On the level of identities associated with settlement clusters, these identities may have been further reinforced through viewsheds that incorporated neighbouring settlements, visually positioning them within the immediate physical and socio-political landscape. At the same time, some social practices, particularly those connected to the mortuary and religious spheres, such as the use of tholos tombs and worship associated with bench sanctuaries and goddesses with upraised arms, would have communicated individual and local group participation in wider identities with a more pan-Cretan saliency, perhaps reducing the sense of uncertainty and disconnection with the wider world that the late LM IIIB/early LM IIIC changes may have created.

A number of other group identities may have cross-cut and intersected individual settlement and cluster identities, influencing the ways in which individuals and groups behaved in different situations and contexts. Amongst those that can be hypothesised on the basis of the available evidence, these identities included those linked to specific households or neighbourhoods within settlements and those linked to status and, perhaps, emerging elite groups, all of which would have cross-cut and intersected with other archaeologically-invisible identities, further influencing individual and group behaviour and decision-making in LM IIIC East Crete.

5 The Early Iron Age

5.1 Introduction and Background

Appropriate terminology for the time period between the Late Bronze Age and the start of the Archaic period in Crete (and in Greece more generally) has been subject to considerable discussion amongst scholars. Often general terms, such as “Dark Ages” and “Early Iron Age” have been used, the first because this time period has, until recently, been seen as a time of poverty and decline, and the second because this time has been associated with the widespread adoption of iron. However, the specific chronological range referred to in the use of these terms has varied widely (for different examples, see Desborough 1972; Nowicki 2000; Snodgrass 2000; Whitley 1991a). Despite the lack of consensus on the chronological range of each term, and the problems each poses in the implications of the terms in themselves, they both provide a useful shorthand to a general time period in discussions of ancient Greece, and as such are widely used and difficult to replace. Given the value of these terms as widely recognised shorthand for a general time period, this study will not attempt to move away from using them. However, the term “Early Iron Age” is preferred as it seems to have less inaccurate implications for the situation on Crete than the term “Dark Age”. In chronological terms, “Early Iron Age” is here taken to refer to the time from the end of LM IIIC, or the Subminoan/Protogeometric period, to the Orientalising period, or the mid- to late eleventh to mid-seventh centuries BC. Although LM IIIC is often included in the EIA, it is excluded here, and not implied where this term is used elsewhere in this thesis, as it is dealt with in Chapter 4.

In addition to the general terms “Dark Age” and “Early Iron Age”, chronological phases between the Late Bronze Age and the start of the Archaic period are often referred to in terms of ceramic terminology, each of which has been linked to approximate absolute dates. One particular problem concerns the existence of a Subminoan period in East Crete. As no clear Subminoan pottery phase has been distinguished in settlement contexts, for example at Kavousi *Kastro* and Istron *Vrokastro*, Subminoan pottery in East Crete may only have been used in

dedications and burials and may therefore be roughly contemporary with early PG in settlement contexts (Coulson in Mook and Coulson 1997: 367; Gesell et al. 1988: 282 n. 19; Hayden 2004a: 155-156, 160; Mook 2004: 169; Nowicki 2000: 108; Popham 1992: 59-60). Even at Knossos, the definition of the Subminoan is problematic, and the pottery at either end of the phase might be classed as LM IIIC or PG by certain specialists (Catling 1996; Popham 1992: 59-60). In this thesis, the term is used only when referring to material from burial contexts, where it is assumed to be contemporary with the end of LM IIIC and early Protogeometric (PG), despite the fact that the absolute dates assigned to these periods below are not fully synchronous with those given to the Subminoan. The PG appears to have lasted longer on Crete than elsewhere, with its final phase, Protogeometric B (PGB), showing early Orientalising influences (Coldstream 1977: 69-70, 1996; Morris 1997: 58; Snodgrass 2000: 82-83). Unfortunately, many excavation reports for sites in eastern Crete do not specify to which part of the PG different evidence dates, and it is therefore possible that when Late Protogeometric (LPG) is stated, the time period covered by the PGB may also be included.

Despite the problems surrounding the use of ceramic phases in the EIA, they are still generally assigned absolute dates that include a century or so for a Subminoan period between LM IIIC and the PG, thereby making it very difficult to establish an absolute chronology without a gap if one excludes a Subminoan period, or tries to correlate it with LM IIIC and/or PG on the assumption that it is solely found in burial contexts. Bearing in mind this caveat, approximate absolute dates for the ceramic phases of LM IIIC and the EIA will be taken to be as follows in this study: LM IIIC dates from c. 1200 BC to the first quarter of the eleventh century BC; Subminoan dates from the first quarter of the eleventh century to the mid-tenth century; locally produced PG pottery starts from the first quarter of the tenth century BC, and the Early Protogeometric (EPG) is frequently dated from c. 970 to the end of the tenth century BC (and is contemporary with Attic LPG); Middle Protogeometric (MPG) covers roughly the first quarter of the ninth century and LPG its middle decades; PGB dates from c. 840 to the end of the ninth century BC (although pottery described as LPG in excavation reports that do not mention PGB might be assumed to date to the mid- to late-ninth

century where occupation of sites was continuous from the PG into the G); Early Geometric (EG) covers the end of the ninth century and beginning of the eighth; Middle Geometric (MG) dates to the first half of the eighth century and Late Geometric (LG) to its second half; and the Orientalising (O) period dates from the early to mid-seventh century BC (see Figure 5.1; dates based on discussions in Cadogan 1992a; Catling 1996; Coldstream 1977, 1996; Snodgrass 2000: 128-130, 334; Wallace 2010: 22-29). In addition, Coldstream (1996: 410) suggests that, at Knossos at least, there was a transitional SM/EPG stage before EPG, which he dates to c. 1000 to 970 BC. Given the problems in determining absolute chronology, in this study ceramic phases or very general terms for absolute dates (such as early/middle/late in a particular century) will be used; in excavation and survey reports that give only ceramic phases, the absolute dates given above and in Figure 5.1 will be assumed, and vice versa.

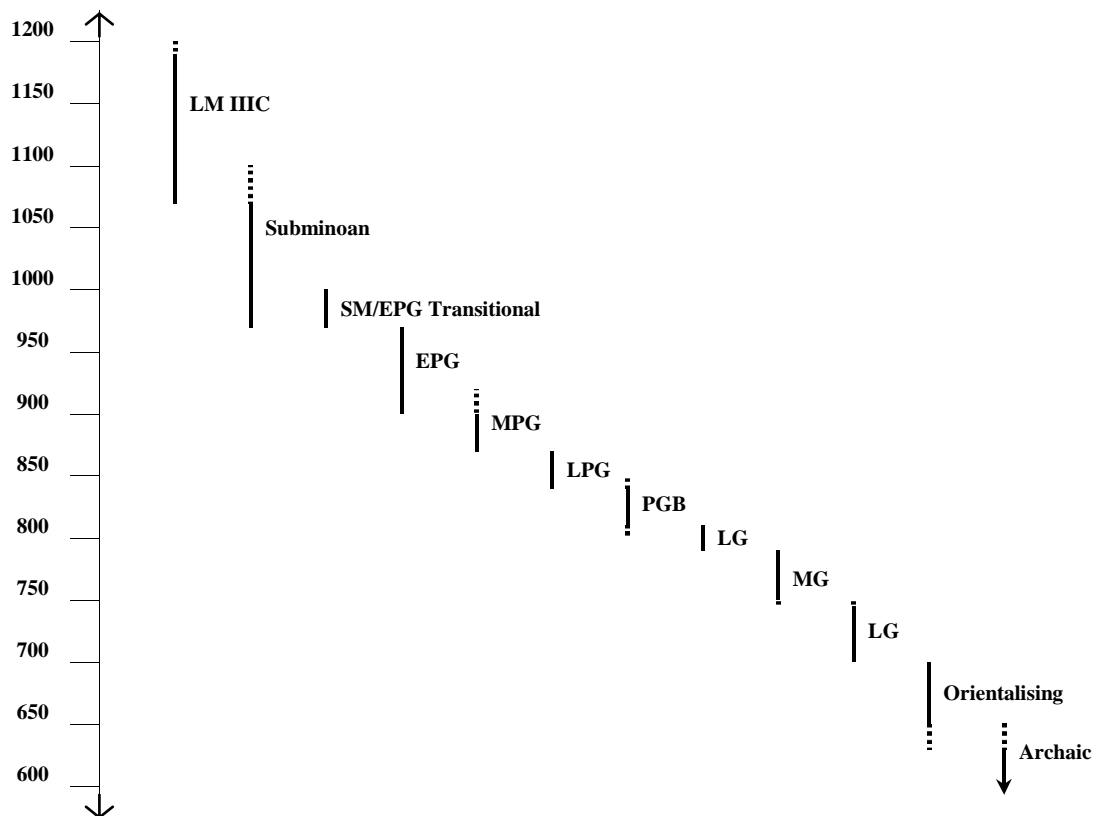


Figure 5.1 Absolute and Relative Chronology for Early Iron Age Crete (the dotted lines account for the different date ranges offered by different scholars).

During the long time period covered by this chapter, the most significant changes occurred in settlement patterns. A number of the sites that were newly founded in the late LM IIIB and LM IIIC periods were abandoned by the end of LM IIIC or in early PG, including some of the sites discussed in the previous chapter such as Palaikastro *Kastri*, Pefki *Kastellopoulo*, Kavousi *Vronda*, Monastiraki *Katalimata*, Vasiliki *Kefala*, Zenia *Kastrokefala* and Neapoli *Kastri*. Concurrent with these changes, and in some areas, such as Kavousi, extending into the G, a process of settlement nucleation and expansion took place, in which at least some of the inhabitants of newly-deserted LM IIIC sites may have moved to nearby settlements. The process of nucleation and expansion that took place in the PG and G periods can be linked to the development of East Cretan poleis such as Praisos, and therefore suggests that in some, if not all, cases in East Crete, the polis structure may have its roots in the early part of the EIA. As noted in Chapter 2, Wallace (2003b) has suggested that pre-existing regional identities helped to smooth the process of this transition, in part through active references in social practices to the transition that took place at the end of LM IIIB and beginning of LM IIIC (described in Section 4.2). The existence of cluster level identities in LM IIIC East Crete (see Section 4.4.1) lends support to her proposition that group identities helped to unify the inhabitants of expanding settlements in the PG. As this chapter demonstrates, a number of social practices in addition to the active references to the past that Wallace postulates, such as group commensality and religion, may have contributed to the development of these identities. The suggestion that at least some poleis in East Crete may trace their roots back to the early part of the EIA directly contributes to debates on the formation of the polis and argues, at least in relation to East Crete, against the suggestion that the eighth century BC was a watershed in Greek history as a number of scholars have posited (e.g., Coldstream 1977; Snodgrass 2000).

5.2 Evidence

The locations of the sites discussed in this section are given in Figure 5.2. A number of sites, such as Lato, Dreros and Itanos, are included in the site descriptions below despite the paucity of EIA evidence from them, due to their later prominence as poleis. Although occupation continues into the PG and G at

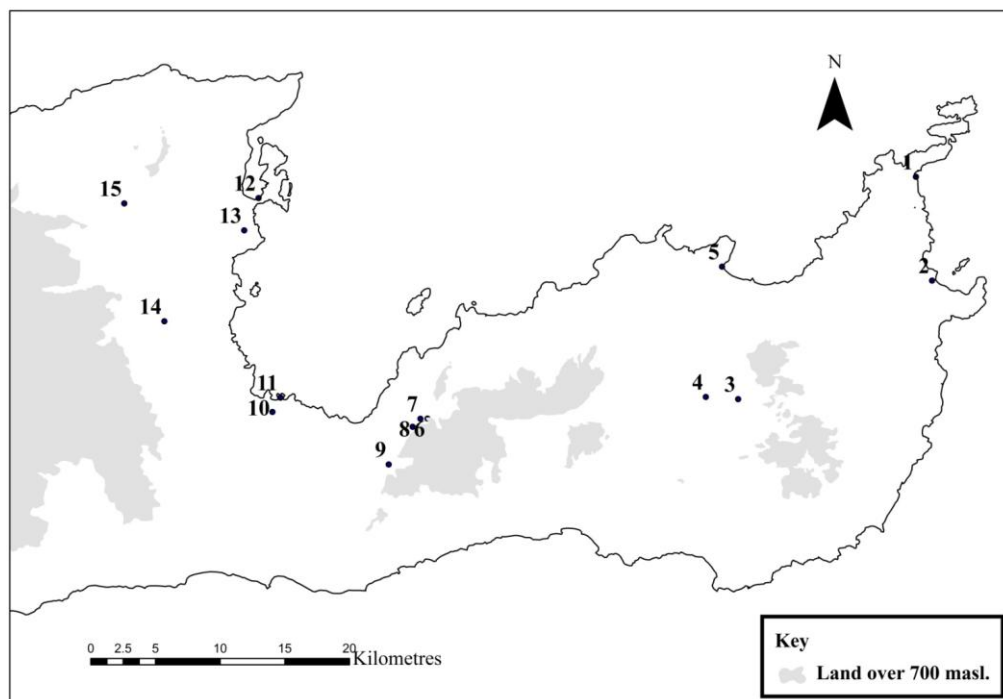


Figure 5.2 Locations of the EIA Sites in East Crete Discussed in this Thesis
 (sites are as follows: 1 - Itanos; 2 - Palaikastro; 3 - Kalamafki Kypia; 4 - Praisos; 5 - Sitia; 6 - Kavousi *Kastro*; 7 - Kavousi *Azoria*; 8 – Kavousi *Vronda*; 9 - Monastiraki *Chalasmeno*; 10 - Istron *Vrokaстро*; 11 - Elias to Nisi; 12 – Olous; 13 - Sta Lenika; 14 – Lato; 15 – Dreros).

some of the sites described in Chapter 4 (specifically Pefki *Stravromenos*, Pefki *Mega Chalavro*, Oreino *Kastri*, Oreino *Petrokopia* and Kritsa *Kastello*), EIA evidence from these sites is too sparse to contribute to the discussion of identities in East Crete during this period, and they are therefore not described in this chapter. The settlement nucleation and expansion discussed in Section 5.1 resulted in much larger settlements and settlement populations than seen in LM IIC sites. For example, PG Kavousi *Kastro*, was possibly larger than 0.8 ha. (Haggis 2005: 82), and the extent of Kavousi *Azoria* during the EIA has been estimated as at least 6 ha. (Haggis 2005: 132; Haggis et al. 2007b: 697). One graphic example of the scale of the increase in settlement size and population during the EIA is provided by the Northwest Building on Kavousi *Kastro*, which expanded during the PG from the two-roomed house of LM IIC (see Section 4.3.5) to a structure containing four houses (see Section 5.2.5). Although space constraints may have limited the extent of expansion in sites such as Kavousi

Kastro, it seems reasonable to posit that most EIA sites in East Crete would have had populations numbering in the hundreds.

5.2.1 Itanos

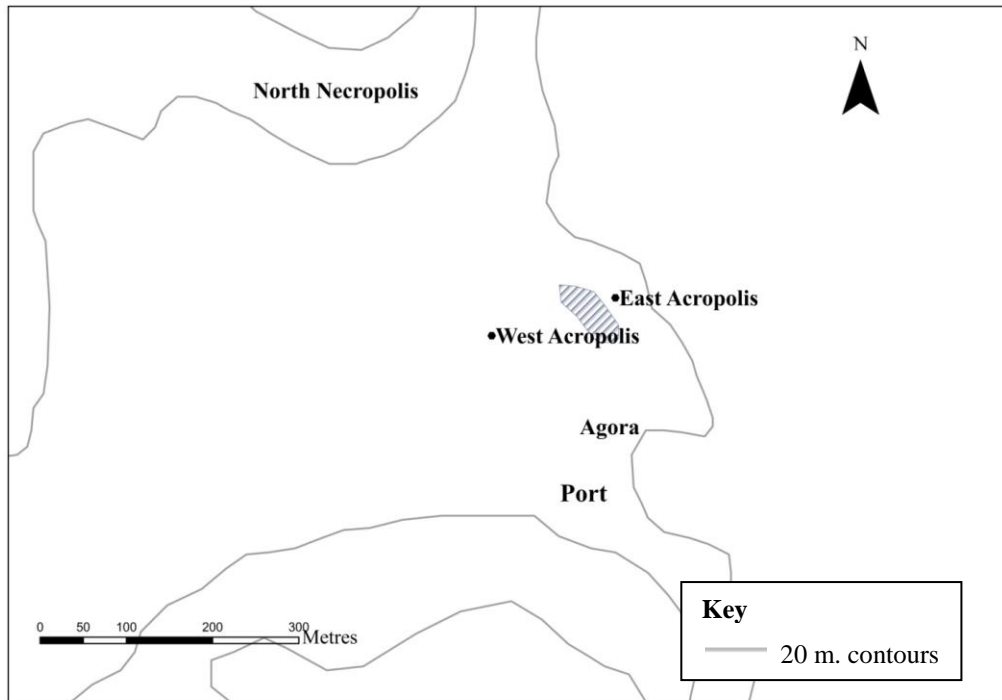


Figure 5.3 Plan of Itanos (After: Greco et al. 1996: 942 Fig. 1). The shaded area is the residential quarter.

Ancient Itanos was located on the north-east coast of Crete, near modern Erimoupolis (Halbherr 1891). Although the level of the water table has prevented exploration of the earliest archaeological levels in some parts of the site (as noted, for example by Greco et al. 1996: 944), French excavations at Itanos over the last century have revealed that the site was used from at least the G, and possibly even the PG, until the Roman and later periods (Blackman 1999-2000: 141, 2000-2001: 134; Blackman et al. 1997-1998: 118; Blegen 1951: 161-162; Cook 1951: 251; Deshayes 1951; Etienne 2000: 466, 2001: 554; Greco et al. 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002; Kalpaxis et al. 1995; Whitley 2003-2004: 89; Whitley et al. 2006: 96). The later city covered two acropoleis, and the saddle between them, whilst its main cemetery, the “North Necropolis” was located to the north (Figure 5.3; see Kalpaxis et al. 1995: 714 for a brief description of the layout of the later city). Unstratified G and Orientalising pottery has been found on the site,

particularly in the foundations of later houses on the summit of the East Acropolis, perhaps suggesting that this was where the primary settlement was located during these periods (Cook 1951: 251; Deshayes 1951; Greco et al. 1999). Blegen (1951: 161) suggests that the “great abundance” of G sherds from Itanos shows that the site was important during that period. A small number of imported sherds found amongst these unstratified examples attest to contacts with other settlements on Crete and beyond the island (Deshayes 1951), and Markoe (1998) has argued specifically for links between Itanos and the East (Markoe specifically mentions the ‘Phoenicians’), based on evidence such as possible maritime routes used during the EIA and the images used on the polis’ coins in the fourth century BC. Continuity in the location of the city’s cemetery is suggested by the fact that the burial remains from the North Necropolis date from the G period onwards (Blackman 1999-2000: 141; Blackman et al. 1997-1998: 118; Cook 1951: 251; Etienne 2000: 466; Greco et al. 1997, 1998, 2000, 2002; Whitley et al. 2006: 96).

5.2.2 Palaikastro

Archaeological exploration in the vicinity of Palaikastro has taken place intermittently for over a century (e.g., Bosanquet 1901/1902a; Bosanquet et al. 1902/1903; Dawkins 1905/1906; Dawkins and Currelly 1903/1904; Dawkins et al. 1904/1905; MacGillivray et al. 1984, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1991, 1992, 1998; Sackett and Popham 1970; Sackett et al. 1965). This work has revealed that a thriving Bronze Age town was located on the plain of Roussolakkos and that there was an LM IIIC settlement on the nearby hill of Kastri (described in Section 4.3.1). Only a few remains dating to later periods have been found near Palaikastro. These indicate that it was the location of an important sanctuary to Dictaeon Zeus, which may have marked the boundary between the Archaic to Hellenistic poleis of Praesos and Itanos, and, in the Hellenistic period, between the poleis of Itanos and Hierapytna (for discussion of this and descriptions of the material and textual evidence, see Bosanquet 1901/1902a: 288; 1908/1909, 1939/1940; Boyd et al. 2006: 92; Crowther 1988, 2000: 146; Dawkins et al. 1904/1905; Hutchinson et al. 1939/1940; MacGillivray and Sackett 2000: 167; Murray 1908/1909; Sackett and Popham 1970: 240-242; Perlman 1995; Prent 2003; Thorne 2000; West 1965).

The Temple of Dictaeon Zeus is discussed in detail in Chapter 6. Cult activity at the site appears to have started by the G, and is possibly also attested for the PG (see Prent 2005: 350-351 for the suggestion that one of the bronze tripods from Palaikastro may date to the PG). EIA evidence at Palaikastro comprises a number of bronze votives, including tripods, shields and miniature armour, which date from the eighth century BC onwards, G pottery fragments from various parts of the BA town, including the site of the later temple, and evidence for a house dated by a fragment of G pottery, above Rooms 29-35 of the early twentieth century excavations (Bosanquet et al. 1902/1903; Dawkins et al. 1904/1905: 308; Hutchinson et al. 1939/1940: 40; Prent 2003, 2005: 350-353; MacGillivray et al. 1987: 263; Sackett and Popham 1970: 240-242). MacGillivray et al. (1987: 263) suggest that ashlar blocks from Building 1 of the BA town at Roussolakkos may have been removed during G period construction work on the Temple of Dictaeon Zeus. Prent (2003) has suggested that the religious activity attested in the G and O remains at Palaikastro may have had military and aristocratic connotations, and that the participants may have been wealthy elites. Similar activity may have taken place at other sanctuaries such as Amnisos, Phaistos and Kommos in central Crete, all also located over BA sites (Prent 2003). Prent (2003) hypothesises that these four sanctuaries may have provided a neutral meeting ground for local elites in the EIA, much like pan-Hellenic sanctuaries such as Delphi and Olympia. Alongside the deposition of votive objects with military and aristocratic connotations, social practices at these sites appear to have signified an elite identity through participation in ritualised dining, which is attested in finds such as vessels for drinking and eating and the remains of animal bones (Prent 2003).

5.2.3 The Praisos Region

As noted in Section 4.3.2, a number of settlements have been identified in the uplands of Eastern Sitia (Nowicki 2000: 56-61; Tsipopoulou 1997b: 239-241; Whitley 2006: 601; Whitley et al. 1999). In LM IIIC and at the start of the EIA, one of the largest of these was located at Kalamafki *Kypia* (Whitley 2006: 601), which surface survey indicates continued to be occupied until c. 900 BC (the LPG; Nowicki 2000: 57; Whitley 1998, 2006: 601; Whitley et al. 1999: 238-242). As described in Section 4.3.2, the settlement at Kalamafki *Kypia* occupied three

hills, with the pottery from Hill 3 dating primarily to the end of LM IIIC or beginning of the PG (Nowicki 2000: 56-58; Whitley 1998: 33, 2006: 601; Whitley et al. 1999: 238-242). Pottery and architectural remains were found on the terraces of Hill 3 and, reused in a terrace near its peak, were found a saddle quern and a kernos (Whitley et al. 1999: 242).

Following the abandonment of Kalamafki *Kypia*, the nearby settlement of Praisos, appears to grow in importance, becoming the largest in the area from at least the G period (Whitley 1998: 33-37; Whitley et al. 1999: 247). Despite possible disturbance of EIA evidence by later activity at Praisos, a thin spread of PG-O pottery indicates the existence of a settlement located on the First Acropolis and on the saddle between the First and Second Acropoleis (Whitley 2006: 605; Whitley et al. 1999: 247-249). Further EIA evidence from Praisos comes from the Altar Hill, or Third Acropolis, situated to the south of the First and Second Acropoleis. Votive offerings, such as bronze tripod legs and pottery found during excavations of the sanctuary at the start of the twentieth century suggest that its use began in the eighth or seventh century BC (Bosanquet 1901/1902b: 254-259; Halbherr 1901: 375-384; Whitley 1998: 37-38). At least three additional shrines or cult areas in the vicinity of Praisos began to be used during the EIA. These were located in an area on the First Acropolis and at the shrines near Vavelloi and at Mesamvryses (Figure 4.4), where the earliest votives, many of which appear to have come from the same mould despite their deposition at different cult sites, date to around 700 BC (Forster 1901/1902: 278-281, 1904/5; Whitley 2006: 606), or even earlier if Demargne (1902: 571-580) is correct in dating the earliest plaques from the deposit near Vavelloi to the G. In addition to these cult sites, an open-air cult site has been found near a spring, not far from the modern village of Roussa Ekklesia (Dunbabin 1944: 88; Erickson 2009, 2010a). Although no associated architecture has been found, two excavated votive deposits from this site demonstrate that it was used from the EIA to the Hellenistic periods, although intensity of use at the site may have varied during this time (Erickson 2009, 2010a; Prent 2005: 301-302). These votive deposits included a variety of pottery, terracotta plaques and figurines, kernoi, and ash and burnt animal bones (Erickson 2009; Papadakis in Erickson 2009: 357). As at the other cult sites in the vicinity of Praisos, many of the terracotta plaques dating to the EIA and Archaic from

Roussa Ekklesia were pressed from the same few moulds and series of moulds, and many of these plaques appear to have come from identical moulds as terracottas found elsewhere near Praisos, particularly at Vavelloi (Erickson 2009). Fine drinking cups dating from the O to Hellenistic period have been found, along with two fragments of terracotta votive plaques, dating to the seventh century, two and a half kilometres south-east of the settlement at Praisos, on the peak of Profitis Elias, the most prominent point in the area surveyed in the 1990s (Whitley et al. 1999: 249-251). Finally, the inhabitants of Praisos may have used the sanctuary located at Palaikastro (Section 5.2.2) where the earliest votives are contemporary with, or slightly earlier than, those at Praisos (Whitley 2006: 606-607).

The settlement evidence from Praisos is complemented by mortuary evidence which suggests that a number of forms of burial were used by its EIA inhabitants. In the cemetery east of and below the Third Acropolis at least 53 LM III and EIA burials have been found, including a number of PG-O tholos tombs, such as Tholos Tombs A and C and Tomb 53 (Bosanquet 1901/1902b: 240-245, 248-251; Droop 1905/1906; Hopkinson 1903/1904; Marshall 1905/1906; Whitley 2006: 605; Whitley et al. 1999: 251-252). A further tholos tomb was found at site 31 in the recent survey of Praisos (Whitley 2006: 605; Whitley et al. 1999: 261), and Tholos Tomb B, located south of the cemetery near the Altar Hill, appears to have contained three interments, one dating to the Late Bronze Age, the second to the G and the third to the fourth century BC (Bosanquet 1901/1902b: 245-248). Whitley (2006: 605) mentions the existence of a “grave circle” near “one of the three Acropoleis of Praisos” and G, and possibly O, cave burials have been found in the Skales Cave and at site 23 of the Praisos survey (Bosanquet 1901/1902b: 235-236; Papadakis and Rutkowski 1985; Whitley 2006: 605; Whitley et al. 1999). Whitley et al. (1999: 252) suggest that the existence of isolated tombs and cave burials in the general vicinity may indicate the “existence of smaller settlements further away [from Praisos], in some cases perhaps amounting to no more than individual farming establishments”.

5.2.4 Sitia

The only EIA-period evidence to date from Sitia comes from a large votive deposit which was found in the modern town. This deposit contained a number of terracotta figurines and plaques, dated from the Subminoan to the Archaic (Papadakis 1983: 91, 103-104; Prent 2005: 300-301). Erickson (2009: 380) suggests that the sanctuary from which this deposit came belonged to a different community to the sanctuary at Roussa Ekklesia (which probably belonged to Praisos; see Section 5.2.3), as the figures at Sitia were made from different moulds using a distinct pottery fabric (Erickson 2009: 359 n. 27, 380).

5.2.5 The Kavousi Region

As discussed in Section 4.3.5, the region of Kavousi has been subject to intensive, systematic archaeological exploration in recent decades, including the Kavousi-Thryphti survey and excavations at Kastro, Vronda and Azoria (Coulson 1997, 1998; Day et al. 1986; Gesell et al. 1983, 1985, 1988, 1991, 1995; Haggis 1993, 1995, 1996, 2005; Haggis et al. 1997, 2004, 2007a, 2007b). Haggis (1993, 1995: 301-309, 323-324, 1996: 408-414, 2005: 81-83) hypothesises the ongoing importance of site clusters (described in Section 4.3.5) in the Kavousi region from LM IIIC into the EIA. As noted in Section 4.3.5, two clusters spanning the LM IIIC and the early EIA have been identified, one at Avgo, incorporating settlements near Trapeza and Melisses, and one near the modern village of Kavousi, incorporating settlements at Azoria, Panagia Skali, Kastro and Vronda (Haggis 1995, 2005). During the EIA, a process of synoecism and nucleation appears to have taken place, leading to the amalgamation of the clusters at Kavousi and at Avgo and the abandonment of many sites in the cluster in favour of habitation at Azoria, which became the main settlement in the region (Haggis 1993: 148-149, 2005: 84-85). As the current evidence for the settlements in the Avgo region is not sufficient to permit a detailed analysis of identity, the remainder of this discussion focuses on sites near the modern village of Kavousi. Although the relative chronology of use of the sites in the Kavousi cluster is uncertain, the settlements at Kastro and Azoria both continue to be used into the O and Archaic periods respectively (for the Kastro, see Coulson 1997, 1998;

Gesell et al. 1995: 92; Mook 2004; for Azoria, see Haggis et al. 2004, 2007a, 2007b). Most of the settlement at Kavousi *Vronda* was abandoned by the end of LM IIIC, although limited occupation of the site, in Building E, continued until the PG (Day et al. 1986: 378-387; Gesell et al. 1991: 286-287). The relative chronology of the settlements and cemeteries associated with Azoria, Kastro and *Vronda* in LM IIIC and the EIA are shown in Table 4.1.

Unfortunately, the early evidence from Azoria has been disturbed and destroyed by later activity on the site (Haggis et al. 2004, 2007a, 2007b). Current evidence suggests that the EIA settlement covered the South Acropolis, with an extent estimated at between 6 and 10 ha., making it considerably larger than contemporary settlements in the region (Haggis 2005: 132; Haggis et al. 2007b: 696-697). Although their character is unclear from the published reports of the Azoria excavations, LM IIIC to LG remains were found below the later Cult Building (Haggis et al. 2007a: 302). Unlike other public buildings in the later city, this building is oriented towards the EIA cultural landscape of Avgo and the south slopes of the Kastro (Haggis et al. (2007a: 302). In the current excavations at Azoria, fragments of two recycled bovine figurines were found in the post-EIA settlement, one whose fabric dates it to LM IIIC and the other which has been broadly dated to LM IIIC – O (Haggis et al. 2007b: 699-701). A bovine figurine was also found in the excavations at the site in 1900 (Boyd 1901: 154). These figurines bear some resemblance to those found by Boyd in an EIA shrine on the southwest side of the Kastro (Boyd 1901: 149-150; Haggis et al. 2007b: 701). As these figurines may have been created in LM IIIC and then reused in the EIA, they need not necessarily contradict the suggestion in Chapter 4 that religious practices in LM IIIC Azoria focused on the ‘goddess with upraised arms’, and they may even have been brought to the site by inhabitants of Kavousi *Kastro*, perhaps when this site was abandoned in favour of nucleation at Azoria at the end of the EIA. The small site at Panagia Skali may be associated with, and ancillary to, the settlement at Azoria (Haggis 1993: 151, 1995: 181-182, 2005: 131).

The earliest archaeological work on the Kastro was carried out by Harriet Boyd in 1900 (Boyd 1901). Although the functions of the rooms excavated by Boyd are largely unclear, subsequent work (e.g., Gesell et al. 1985, 1988, 1991, 1995;

Haggis et al. 1997) has greatly increased understanding of the settlement and its chronology. A number of occupation phases have been identified on the Kastro, spanning LM IIIC to EO, although the most substantial habitation dates to the PG and G (Coulson 1997, Coulson 1998: 40; Gesell et al. 1995: 117; Mook 2004). The best published evidence comes from the upper settlement, and discussion will therefore focus on this area.

During the PG period, the settlement on the Kastro was expanded and efforts were made to regularise room sizes and shapes (Coulson 1998: 40; Haggis et al. 1997). Many of the houses built on the Kastro in the PG were axially arranged with entrances on both the short and long sides of rooms (Figure 4.9). One example of this is Building G, which reached its final form of three-axially-arranged rooms (Rooms 22-24) that followed the contours of the terrace on which they were situated, in the PG (Coulson 1998: 40; Gesell et al. 1995: 101-107; Haggis et al. 1997: 340-345). During the PG, Room 21 functioned as a courtyard providing access to Building G, through Room 22, and to Room 7 (Gesell et al. 1995: 107). An oven in Room 23 of Building G suggests that it may have been a kitchen (Gesell et al. 1995: 107). Gesell et al. (1995: 107) suggest that Room 7 was either ancillary to Building G or functioned as a separate single-roomed house. The number of terracotta and stone weights found in Room 7 led Boyd (1901: 138 n. 1) to suggest that this room may have been used for weaving, perhaps under the control of the owner of Building G. Considerable expansion of the Northwest Building also took place during the PG, when the LM IIIC house was divided and expanded to create two separate houses, NW 1-2 and NW 3-6 (Coulson 1998: 40-42; Gesell et al. 1995: 114; Haggis et al. 1997: 364-370; Mook 1998: 45). On the lower terraces, two new houses were created, NW 7-9 and NW 10 (Coulson 1998: 42; Gesell et al. 1995: 114; Haggis et al. 1997: 370-376; Mook 1998: 45). Within the Northwest Building, only the house comprising NW 7-9 is axially arranged (Coulson 1998: 42; Haggis et al. 1997: 370-374).

The PG period on the Kastro spanned about two centuries and was followed by a brief transitional phase and then a LG phase during which affinities with the LG in other parts of Crete are apparent (Coulson 1998: 42). During the LG, many houses were filled in as part of an extensive artificial terracing operation which

provided level surfaces upon which regularly planned LG structures were built (Coulson 1997: 63, 1998: 42; Haggis et al. 1997). For example, during the LG, Building G, described above, was abandoned and filled in to create a terrace onto which LG houses on the hilltop were expanded (Gesell et al. 1995: 107; Haggis et al. 1997: 344-345). This terracing operation aided the ongoing tendency towards regularisation and axially in house plans begun in PG (Coulson 1998: 42-43). One example of an LG house is provided by Building A (Rooms 41-45), which was a large, axial, five-roomed house on a level bedrock terrace (Coulson 1998: 43; Gesell 1995: 94-97; Haggis et al. 1997:317-333). The original entrance to this building appears to have been in Room 44 (Coulson 1998: 43; Gesell 1995: 96; Haggis et al. 1997: 319-322). The adjacent Room 45 may have been a storeroom, whilst Room 43 was a kitchen, as evidenced by finds in the room such as an oven, three stone tools, two querns and a grinding stone (Coulson 1998: 43; Gesell et al. 1995: 96-97; Haggis et al. 1997: 322-325). Room 42, the largest room in the house, had a central hearth flanked on two sides by column bases and may have functioned as a dining room, whilst Room 41 may have been a sleeping area (Coulson 1998: 43; Gesell et al. 1995: 94-96; Haggis et al. 1997: 325-332). Although not distinguishable on the basis of their associated finds, the room sizes and quality of construction in Buildings H and A have led to suggestions that they may have belonged to important individuals, or leaders, of the LG community on the Kastro (Coulson 1998: 43; Haggis et al. 1997: 332-333). In the Northwest Building, the roof above NW 3 and 4 appears to have collapsed sometime during the G period (Haggis et al. 1997: 376). However, in the LG a new single room, probably associated with the house NW 5-6, was built above NW 3 and 4 (Gesell et al. 1995: 114; Haggis et al. 1997: 377-380; Mook 1998: 45). During this period, the house comprising NW 10 was substantially expanded with the addition of NW 11 which almost doubled its size (Gesell et al. 1995: 114; Haggis et al. 1997: 381-383; Mook 1998: 45). Despite these renovations, however, by the end of the LG, there was a reduction in the number of occupied houses in the Northwest Building and some, such as NW 10-11, ceased to be used (Mook 1998: 45).

Although NW 1-2 was refurbished in the O period, this period is one of gradual abandonment in the Northwest Building (Haggis et al. 1997: 383-388; Mook

1998: 45). For example, the size of NW 7-9 was gradually reduced, as, first, the doorway between NW 7 and 8 and then the doorway between NW 8 and 9 were blocked, and finally NW 9 was abandoned (Haggis et al. 1997: 387-388; Mook 1998: 45). The gradual abandonment and reduction of house sizes evident in the Northwest Building in the O period reflects a similar process that took place at this time across the settlement on the Kastro (Gesell et al. 1995; Haggis 1993: 159; Haggis et al. 1997). For example, during the EO, the doorways between Rooms 43 and 44 and between Rooms 44 and 45 of Building A were blocked and a new external door created in Room 43 (Gesell et al. 1995: 97; Haggis et al. 1997: 319-325). This would have reduced the size of the original five-roomed house to one three-roomed house (Rooms 41-43) and two single-roomed houses (Room 44 and Room 45). By the end of the O period, the settlement may no longer have been permanently inhabited, and instead used for short-term and seasonal activities (Haggis 1993: 159, 1995:311-312).

As noted above, during the PG and LG, extensive efforts towards axially and regularisation, including building renovations and artificial terracing, are evident on the Kastro. House entrances are placed on both the long and short sides of rooms and houses often follow the contours of the bedrock and artificial terraces. Although the axial arrangement of house plans, the existence of column bases in rooms such as Room 42 of Building A, and the locations of house entrances have been interpreted as suggesting mainland or “Mycenaean” influence in architecture on the Kastro (e.g., Gesell et al. 1985: 352-353), interpreting these buildings and other material culture in EIA East Crete as indicating the presence of ‘Minoan’ or ‘Mycenaean’ identities should be avoided for a number of reasons (for further discussion, see Sherratt 2005: 32). First, insights provided by recent analyses of cultural and ethnic identities (discussed in Sections 2.1 and 3.3.1) suggest that they cannot be simply and directly correlated with material culture traits and assemblages – the very basis on which the identities “Minoan” and “Mycenaean” in the EIA are usually assigned. Second, the simplistic designation of “Minoan” or “Mycenaean” cultural identities does not account for the potential diversity of groups and group identities in Bronze Age Crete (and Greece), such as those associated with specific polities, and the way in which these may have changed over time. Finally, the designation of material culture traits and assemblages and

groups of people in EIA Crete as either “Minoan” or “Mycenaean” oversimplifies a potentially complex situation in which multiple cultural identities, some perhaps associated with aspects of the Bronze Age, may have interacted with, and potentially been influenced by, other identities such as social status, gender and age. In the case of the settlement on the Kastro, architectural features such as axial house plans and the locations of house entrances which have been interpreted as “Mycenaean” are more plausibly explained as largely influenced by the topography of the site (Mook 1998: 46-49; Gesell et al. 1985). The axial house plans, house entrances and tendency towards regularising room shapes and sizes in the PG and LG might therefore be seen as attempts to maximise living and working areas within the limits of restricted terrain, whilst columns, indicated by surviving column bases may perform essential structural functions such as providing roof-support, for example for openings to allow smoke to escape from central hearths in rooms such as Room 42 in Building A (as suggested by Haggis et al. 1997: 326).

Evidence for EIA religious practices in the Kavousi region include the shrine at Plai tou Kastrou and a small shrine at Pachlitzani Agriada. As mentioned in Section 4.3.5, the shrine at Plai tou Kastrou may have been used by the inhabitants of Kavousi *Kastro*. Evidence for the shrine comprised traces of a number of walls, possibly from a rectangular structure, carbon remains, pottery sherds and terracotta animals, including bulls, a stag and a dog (Boyd 1901: 149-150; Haggis 1995: 192-193). The small shrine at Pachlitzani Agriada was excavated by Alexiou in the 1950s (Haggis 2005: 137). The use of this shrine has been dated to the PG to Archaic periods (Alexiou 1956). This shrine may have been a central cult place in the region from PG to A, and was located on the route between Azoria and the cluster of settlements at Avgo, at a point equidistant between the two (Haggis 2005: 83-85). Haggis (2005: 83) has suggested that this shrine may have marked agricultural or territorial boundaries between the Avgo and Kavousi clusters of sites. Gesell (1985: 57) has likened the shrine structure to Postpalatial Bench Sanctuaries. A large terracotta statue base was found on the bench in the shrine (Haggis 2005: 137). Other objects found in the shrine include terracotta and bronze figurines, two daedalic plaques and fragments from a terracotta throne (Gesell 1985: 57; Haggis 2005: 137).

As discussed in Section 4.35, a number of cemeteries and burial areas have been located near the settlements in the Kavousi cluster. Tholos tombs at Aloni Skala, Plai tou Kastrou and Skouriasmenos appear to have been associated with the settlement on the Kastro in the PG – O period (Boyd 1901; Gesell et al. 1983; Haggis 1993: 149, 1995: 188-193, 2005: 134-136). The relatively large tholos tomb at Skouriasmenos contains finds of LG and O date (Boyd 1901: 143-148; Gesell et al. 1983: 412-413; Haggis 1995: 189-190; Haggis 1993: 149). The G to O cemetery at Chondrovoulakes may have been used by the inhabitants of Azoria (Boyd 1901: 154-155; Haggis 1995: 185, 2005: 129-132). The tholos tombs at Aloni Skala and Vronda (discussed below) contained multiple burials (Haggis 1993: 151-152, 1995: 328-329). It has been suggested that the tholos tomb at Skouriasmenos, which is better constructed than the tholoi at Aloni and Vronda, indicates at least a degree of differentiation in wealth (Haggis 1993: 151, 1995: 189).

Relatively abundant mortuary evidence comes from Vronda, and demonstrates that whilst the site was largely abandoned by the end of LM IIIC, activity did not cease at this time. During the Subminoan and PG periods, at least 10 tholos tombs were constructed and used in the northern and north-eastern parts of the site (Boyd 1901: 131-136; Gesell et al. 1983: 394-409, 1995: 91-92). The locations of the tholos tombs closest to the buildings at Kavousi *Vronda* and the LG-EO graves within the ruined settlement itself are given in Figure 5.4. Although most of the tholos tombs had been looted prior to excavation, one apparently undisturbed tomb excavated by Boyd contained four skeletons, a pithos and forty other ceramic vessels, fragments of iron blades and spearheads, bronze fibulae, a bronze bracelet, a bronze ring, a clay whorl and a soapstone whorl (Boyd 1901: 133-134, 133 n. 2; Gesell et al. 1983: 398-399). The pottery from this undisturbed tholos ranges in date from Subminoan to PGB (Gesell et al. 1983: 398-399). If this time span represents the periods of use of the tomb, one might conclude the four burials in the tomb took place over a period of between one and a half and two centuries and represent a much lower number of burials than one might expect from the family-based burials that these tombs have been seen as representing (e.g., Haggis 1993: 151, 1995: 328-329, 2005: 83). Whilst this observation does not necessarily preclude family or lineage-based burial in these

tombs, it suggests that some sort of selection, perhaps relating to sex and gender identities or position within the family, took place within the burying group that used each tomb.

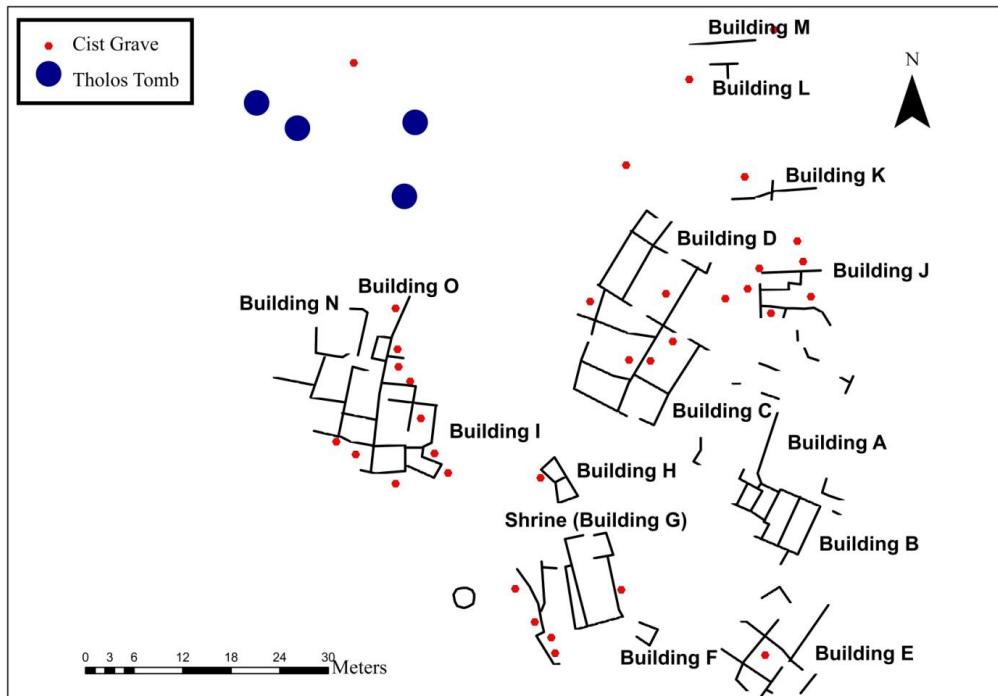


Figure 5.4 Sketch Plan of Kavousi *Vronda* Showing Locations of Tholos Tombs and Cist Graves in Relation to LM IIC Buildings (Plan after Gesell et al. 1995: 69 Fig. 1).

Within the ruins of the LM IIC settlement at Vronda, a total of 107 individuals were found buried in 36 LG and EO graves (Day et al. 1986; Gesell et al. 1988, 1991, 1995; Liston 2007). Although the majority of these graves were cist graves, they represent wide variation in burial practices, including pyre sites, primary and secondary burials, cremations and inhumations, including instances of cremations and inhumations in the same grave. Grave goods included pottery and bronze and iron objects and the quantity of goods varied from none to a number of goods. Unfortunately, most of the burials were cremations and do not provide adequate evidence upon which to assess whether particular identities, such as sex and gender or age identities, were emphasised during the funerary process. Many of the cist graves in the Vronda settlement contained multiple burials, which one might suggest relate to the family or extended family given Liston's (2007: 60) finding that some cranial nonmetric traits were concentrated in graves found

within houses sharing common walls (presumably the “neighbourhoods” discussed in Chapter 4). Given the location of the tholos tombs and cist grave cemetery near Vronda and their periods of use, they may have been used by individuals and families, and their descendants, who had lived in the community at Kavousi *Vronda* in LM IIIC and had perhaps moved to Kavousi *Kastro* or Kavousi *Azoria* at the beginning of the EIA.

5.2.6 The Area near Monastiraki

As described in Section 4.3.6, two LM IIIC sites were located near the mouth of the Cha Gorge, north-east of the village of Monastiraki, at Monastiraki *Chalasmeno* and Monastiraki *Katalimata* (Coulson and Tsipopoulou 1994; Haggis 1993: 154-156; Haggis and Nowicki 1993; Nowicki 2000: 90-97, 2008). Although Monastiraki *Katalimata* ceased to be used by the end of LM IIIC (Haggis and Nowicki 1993: 318-333; Nowicki 2000: 92-97, 2008: 58), limited occupation into the PG at Monastiraki *Chalasmeno* is attested by pottery in Room 5 of Area A and in a possible PG structure, found in Area A during the excavations carried out in 2000 (Blackman 2000-2001: 133; Coulson and Tsipopoulou 1994: 82-84; Haggis 1993: 154; Haggis and Nowicki 1993: 308-318; Nowicki 2000: 90-91). Additional evidence from the EIA at Monastiraki *Chalasmeno* comes from a tholos tomb found in Area B (Blackman 1996-1997: 113). This tomb was constructed over an LM IIIC house and contained fragmentary human bone and PG pottery (Blackman 1996-1997: 113). Following the abandonment of the settlement at Monastiraki *Chalasmeno* in the PG, its inhabitants may have been incorporated into one of the East Cretan poleis that developed through a process of settlement expansion and nucleation during the EIA.

5.2.7 The Vrokastro Region

The Vrokastro Survey Project has identified a number of EIA settlements in the north-western corner of the Isthmus of Ierapetra (Hayden 2003, 2004a, 2005; Hayden et al. 1992). One of the main settlements in the area covered by the survey occupied the Vrokastro hill (termed Istron *Vrokastro* in this study), which

is located a short distance from the coast (Hall 1914; Hayden 1983, 2003, 2004a, 2005; Hayden et al. 1992). As noted in Section 4.3.8, Istron *Vrokastro* was the LM IIIC main settlement in the region and formed part of a group of sites which included a coastal settlement and possible harbour on the promontory at Elias to Nisi (Figure 5.5) and a number of ancillary sites (Hall 1914; Hayden 1983, 2003, 2004a, 2005). Occupation of this group of sites continued into the EIA with a few small changes such as the abandonment of some ancillary sites and growth at Istron *Vrokastro* (Hayden 2003, 2004a, 2005; Hayden et al. 1992). The LM IIIC settlement may have been significantly smaller than the later town, with growth in the PG to G periods leading to expansion of the settlement into the lower section of the town (Hayden 1983: 385; Nowicki 2000: 108). During this time, sea-contact was maintained through ongoing use of the site at Elias to Nisi (Hayden 2001, 2004a: 138-139; Hayden et al. 1992: 328, 338).



Figure 5.5 Elias to Nisi from Istron *Vrokastro*.

Links between *Vrokastro* and a number of areas outside East Crete in the EIA, including central Crete, the Cyclades, Cyprus, the Greek mainland and perhaps the Dodecanese, are attested through finds from Istron *Vrokastro*, which include imported pottery, local copies of imported pottery and relatively early evidence for iron-working, as discussed in Section 4.3.8 (Hayden 2003, 2004a: 146-147).

As in the LM IIIC period, it is therefore important to remember that the wider context of social and political relationships and interaction within which identities in the Vrokastro settlement and its associated group of sites were negotiated and communicated may differ significantly from the wider context within which identities were negotiated and communicated at many (though not all) other EIA sites in East Crete, which do not have such abundant evidence for links outside this region.

Evidence for the settlement at Istron *Vrokastro* comes primarily from Hall's excavations on the site in the early twentieth century (Hall 1914). Although the publication of these excavations provides an incomplete picture, subsequent work by Hayden has considerably clarified the evidence (Hayden 1983, 1991). The settlement at Istron *Vrokastro* comprised an upper and a lower section (Hayden 1983); the lower section may postdate the upper section, as noted above (Hayden 1983: 384; Nowicki 2000: 108). Most of the surviving architectural remains date to the last period of occupation on the site, in the LG (Hayden 1983; Nowicki 2000: 107-109). The simplest architectural units at Istron *Vrokastro* comprise single room structures with doors opening onto exterior courts or routes through the settlement (Hayden 1983: 384). More complex units of two or three rooms were usually built along a single axis (Hayden 1983: 385). As at Kavousi *Kastro*, topography may have been the most important factor in determining the layout of Istron *Vrokastro* and the plans and room arrangements of its houses (Hayden 1983: 386). Following its LG abandonment, the population of Istron *Vrokastro* may have moved to the small polis of Istron on the coast, which was founded in the eighth century BC, and whose chronology overlaps slightly with that of Istron *Vrokastro* (Hayden 2004a: 149, 155).

Evidence for cult activity has been found in a number of locations throughout the settlement (Hall 1914; Hayden 1991). The EIA cult objects are dominated by terracotta animal figurines, amongst which bovinds are most frequent (Hayden 1991). One bovine head from an unknown context may provide a late, possibly G, example of a rhyton (Hayden 1991: 116, 125). In addition to the rhyton, continuity in BA cult objects is evident in the identification of two possible horns of consecration, also from unknown contexts, which may have been in use in the

PG or G periods (Hayden 1991: 126-128). Hayden (1991, 2004a: 142) has identified at least two possible bench shrines in the upper settlement at Istron *Vrokastro* – one spanning rooms 8-11 and the other in room 17 (see Figure 5.6). If a shrine was located in room 17, it would have been located in one of the largest structures, formed by rooms 16 and 17, in the upper settlement (Hayden 1983: 377, 2004a: 142). Below the summit of *Vrokastro* at Karakovilia are ossuaries, near which pottery fragments, including parts of a human figurine, a duck and a horse, were found just outside an unusual one-room structure which may have been associated with burial cult (Hall 1914: 170-172; Hayden 1991: 110-111).

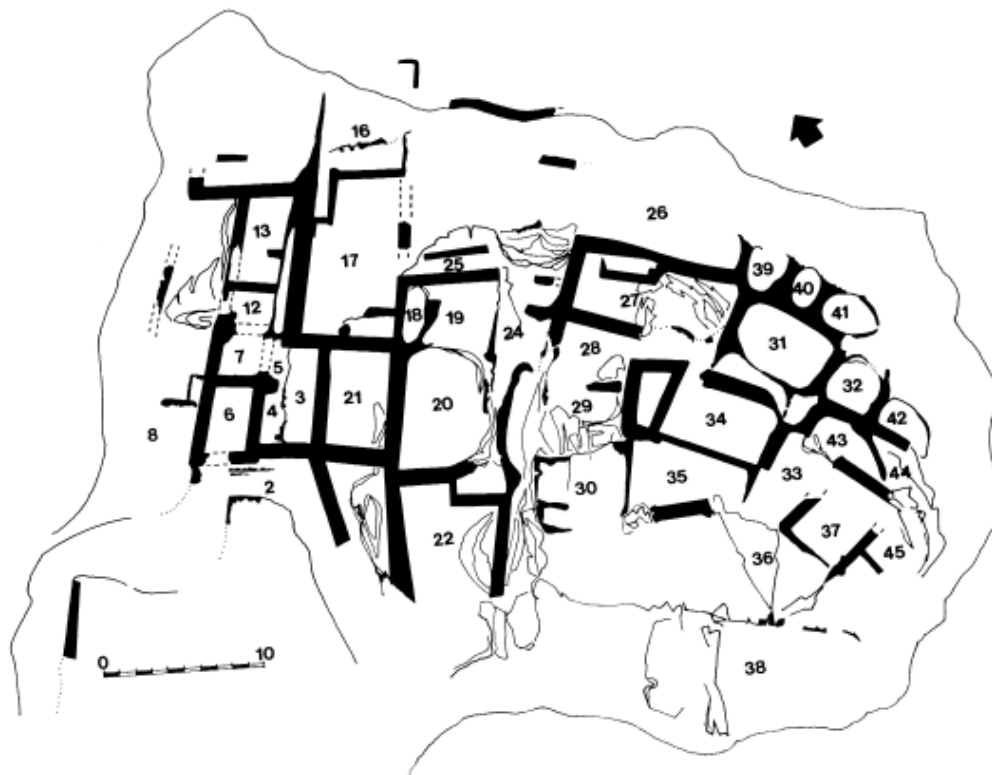


Figure 5.6 Plan of the Upper Settlement at Istron *Vrokastro* (Source: Hayden 1983: 373 Fig. 4).

A variety of EIA burials have been found near Istron *Vrokastro*, including intramural burial of children, bone enclosures or ossuaries, tholos tombs, pithos burials and a multiple burial in a rock shelter on the southern edge of Karakovilia (Hall 1914: 83-84, 123-174; Hayden 2004a: 142-144, 156-159; Hayden et al. 1992). Hall (1914: 175-178) has argued that two different phases in burial

practices can be distinguished at Vrokastro, with the use of ossuaries beginning later than the use of tholos tombs. Hall (1914: 176) notes that 50% of the burials in tholos tombs were cremated and 100% of the burials in ossuaries, and therefore suggests that the change in burial practice from tholos tombs to ossuaries was because less space was needed for burials once cremation was universally adopted. Hayden (2004a: 156) dates the use of tholos tombs at Istron *Vrokastro* from LM IIIC to the PG or G period, whilst the use of ossuaries begins in the ninth century BC at approximately the same time as the settlement at Istron *Vrokastro* expands. Hayden (2004b: 240-244) suggests that differences in the number and quality of grave goods in some of the PG tombs near Vrokastro, as well as in their quality of construction, may indicate differences in wealth and status between families in the settlement. This correlation in settlement growth and a change in burial practices seems to indicate that the changes are not solely due to pragmatic issues of space, as Hall implies, but may in fact relate to an incoming population, an issue which will be examined in more detail in the discussion below.

Evidence for social stratification in the settlement at Istron *Vrokastro* is limited (Hayden 2004a: 159). Within the burial evidence, some differentiation is evident in tholos tombs, which vary in terms of the quality of their construction, the number of interments and the quantity and quality of grave goods (Hall 1914: 123-155; Hayden 2004a: 159). Noting these differences, as well as the possible use of these tombs by extended family groups, Hayden (2004a: 159) argues that although wealthy individuals are not distinguishable, “there still could be economic, and hence social or political differences, amid extended family groups.” One example of a tomb within which burial practices may have served to communicate economic, social and political differences at Istron *Vrokastro* is Hall’s “Chamber Tomb 1”, a large, well-built tholos tomb containing at least six burials, located at Karakovilia (Hall 1914: 123-139). The relatively rich grave goods in this tomb included pottery, metal objects such as a bronze tripod, bronze fibulae, a gold ring and iron tools and weapons and six faience seals which were either imported from Egypt or are local Cretan imitations of Egyptian seals, carnelian, steatite and faience beads (Hall 1914: 123-139).

5.2.8 Olous and Sta Lenika

Although the settlement remains from Olous have largely been submerged by a relative rise in sea level in this part of Crete (Figure 5.7), burial evidence from the settlement has been found. EIA evidence from the cemetery of Olous includes at least fifteen cremation burials in urns, three partial cremations in larnakes and twenty-six inhumations, including three pithos-burials of children, ranging in date from the thirteenth to the ninth century BC (van Effenterre 1948a).



Figure 5.7 Selection of Images Showing the Submerged Ancient Walls of Ancient Olous Near the Poros Isthmus (the Visible Walls Date to the Hellenistic and Roman Periods).

Excavations below the Hellenistic Temple of Ares and Aphrodite (Section 7.2.8), located at Sta Lenika revealed that the Hellenistic building was actually a complete reconstruction of an EIA temple, over part of which the Hellenistic temple lies (Bousquet 1938). Although few remains of this earlier temple were found, it appears to have been a single, rectangular room, measuring 4.75 by 11 metres, with an opening in the north-western wall, opposite which an altar was situated (Bousquet 1938: 393; Lemerle 1937: 474-475, 1938: 482). Although the temple has been dated to the G by its excavators (Bousquet 1938), earlier religious activity on the site is suggested by the finding of PG sherds in association with the altar (Lemerle 1937: 475). A second century BC inscription (IC 16.18, line 7; Faure 1967; van Effenterre and Bougrat 1969) refers to the

temple as the “old Aphrodision” (τὸ ἀρχαῖον Ἀφροδίσιον), perhaps suggesting that worship in the single-roomed G temple focused primarily on Aphrodite, whilst worship in the Hellenistic double temple may have focused on both Ares and Aphrodite (Bousquet 1938).

5.2.9 Lato and North-Eastern Lasithi

As noted in Section 4.3.9, a number of sites were located on the north-eastern slopes of the Lasithi mountains, such as at Kritsa *Kastello*, Vryses *Drasi Xeli*, Vryses *Profitis Elias* and Zenia *Kastrokefala*. During the EIA, a process of nucleation may have occurred, during which these sites were abandoned, and their territory and inhabitants incorporated into the later polis of Lato. Despite its later importance, there is a paucity of evidence for the LM IIIC and EIA settlement at Lato, due, in part, to presumed destruction of this evidence as a result of subsequent, long-lived habitation on the site (Nowicki 2000: 119). Picard (1992) dates the city at Lato to the LG to Hellenistic periods, and a number of G fragments have been found across the settlement (Demargne 1903, 1929), including a G to O votive deposit whose exact provenance is currently uncertain (Demargne 1929; Prent 2005: 290-292). This deposit includes terracotta plaques, human figurines, human heads and animal figurines (Demargne 1929). Demargne (1929: 427-428) has suggested that some of these votives relate to a cult for Eileithyia, one of the principal goddesses of the later city. Chatzi-Vallianou (in Prent 2005: 292) has argued that at least some of these votives indicate worship of Athena.

5.2.10 Dreros

As at Lato, evidence from Dreros for the LM IIIC and EIA periods has been disturbed and destroyed by later activity on the site. The settlement occupied two hills in the north-western edge of the Mirabello Bay area (Figure 5.8; Demargne and van Effenterre 1937a; Lemerle 1936: 485-487). LM IIIC-PG and G pottery is visible across various parts of Dreros, such as on the summit and highest slopes of the main hill (Nowicki 2000: 173; Demargne and van Effenterre 1937a), and early use of the site is attested in an EIA cemetery (Figure 5.8). This cemetery was

located on the northern slope of its eastern acropolis. This cemetery contained about twenty-five relatively poor cremation and inhumation burials in an area enclosed by a circuit wall (van Effenterre 2009). The burials included ossuaries and pithos burials, dating to the PG and G periods, and a small, rectangular tholos tomb which has been dated to the Subminoan period (van Effenterre 2009; Kanta 1980: 133 dates the tholos tomb to “late LM III C to Subminoan”). The cemetery appears not to have been used after the G (van Effenterre 2009: 54).

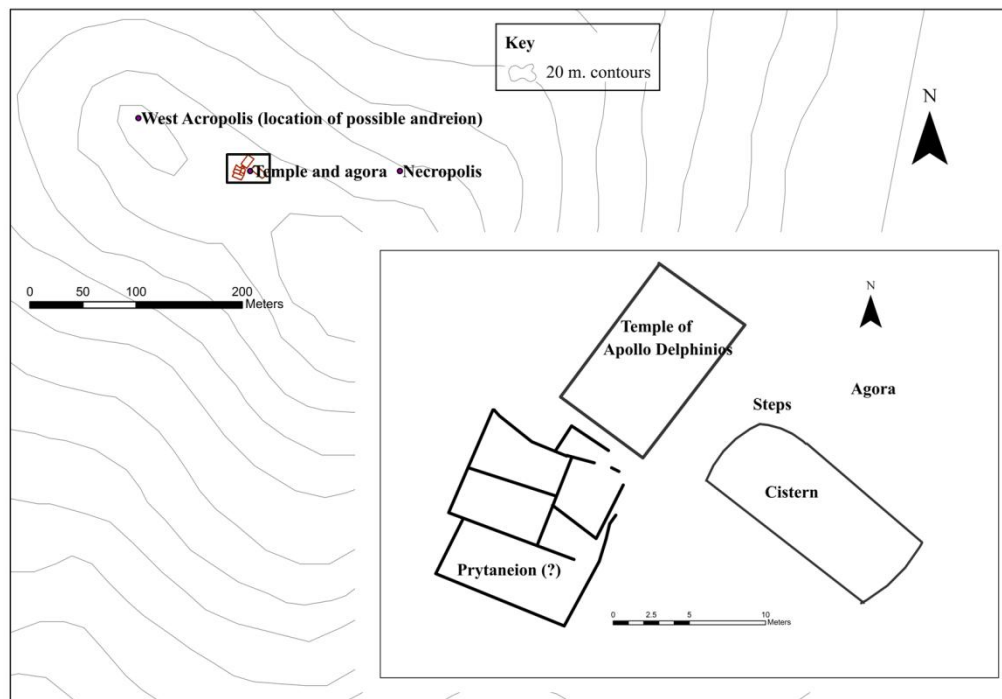


Figure 5.8 Map of Dreros and Sketch Plan of Its Urban Centre (Plan of temple, prytaneion and cistern after Demargne and Van Effenterre 1937a: Plate 1).

EIA evidence for religious activity comes from two locations on the site. The first of these is the Temple of Apollo Delphinios, which was located on one side of the agora, which may be contemporary with the G temple (Figures 5.8 and 5.9; Demargne and van Effenterre 1937a; Marinatos 1936). This temple is one of the oldest to survive on Crete and is thought to have been constructed in the mid-eighth century BC (Marinatos 1936; Prent 2005: 285). Finds from the temple and the terrace upon which it is situated date from LG onwards (Marinatos 1936). Bronze statues thought to represent Apollo, Artemis and Leto were found on a bench in one corner of the temple (Marinatos 1936). To the south of the temple, a

structure which may have later functioned as a *prytaneion*, was first built in the G (Figure 5.8; Demargne and van Effenterre 1937a: 15-26). Recent excavations on the West Acropolis of Dreros, near the later structure possibly identified as an *andreion* (Section 6.2.8) revealed a votive deposit of pottery and fragments of figurines, including terracotta cattle, dating from the end of the BA to the beginning of the G (Mulliez 2010).



Figure 5.9 The Temple of Apollo Delphinios at Dreros (the remains of the temple are in the building; part of the agora is in the foreground of the picture).

5.3 Discussion

As in LM IIIC (Chapter 4), a variety of social practices can be discerned in the EIA evidence for East Crete, through which a number of group identities were negotiated and communicated. These include practices and identities relating to territory, inter-site relationships, community, religion and burial practices.

5.3.1 Territory and Community

As discussed in Sections 5.1 and 5.2, significant changes in settlement patterns took place in EIA East Crete, at the end of LM IIIC, when a number of sites described in Chapter 4 were abandoned and also in the PG-G period, when a pattern of both abandonment and site growth is apparent. In at least some cases, such as at Lato, in the Kavousi region and in the vicinity of Praisos, settlement expansion and nucleation during the EIA can be directly correlated with the abandonment of neighbouring settlements, suggesting that settlement nucleation alongside territorial expansion may have been a key component of the PG-G changes here. If, as is hypothesised, the growth of these settlements is, at least partially, because they absorbed the populations of neighbouring, newly-abandoned settlements, an existing network of relationships, such as those formed through shared social practices discussed in Section 4.4.1, may have aided the transition (see also Wallace 2003b). The growth in settlement size, territory and populations apparent for EIA East Cretan sites would have changed the dynamics of social interaction in these settlements. In contrast to LM IIIC (see Section 4.3), the larger settlement sizes and populations of the EIA make it less likely that the inhabitants of EIA settlements had close personal relationships with all the other inhabitants of their communities, meaning that social practices and relatively abstract political structures and roles may have played an increasingly important role in mediating relationships between members of individual communities and fostering a sense of joint belonging to a community and its associated identity.

The most obvious changes to social practices during the EIA occur in religious practices and in the funerary sphere in the PG to G, described in Section 5.2. For example, the PG sees the start of worship in the shrine at Pachlitzani Agriada in the Kavousi region, whilst definite evidence for worship at Palaikastro, Sta Lenika and in the Temple of Apollo Delphinios at Dreros dates to the G. Changes in the funerary sphere include a move from burial in tholos tombs near the newly-abandoned settlement at Kavousi *Vronda* to burial in the cist grave cemetery in the ruins of the site itself, whilst at Istron *Vrokastro* ossuaries began to be used in the ninth century BC. Both religious and burial practices can be used to mark territory, as de Polignac (1984) discusses for temples in the later Greek poleis,

and Parker Pearson (1999: 124-141) demonstrates through a diverse range of archaeological examples. With settlement expansion in the PG-G periods, territory may have become increasingly important, and these changes to religious and burial practices may have provided an important means of establishing territorial limits, as well as identities associated with individual EIA communities, both physically and symbolically. The presence of a shrine or cemetery would have visually established the physical boundaries of groups associated with individual settlements and their territories, whilst participation in the practices carried out in these locations signified membership of, or belonging to, specific groups associated with individual settlements and participation in the group identities of these settlements. EIA religious and burial practices may have united disparate groups in expanding settlements as a single identity. This may have been particularly important when settlements incorporated previously relatively-independent settlements, such as when Kritsa *Kastello* and the sites at Vryses were incorporated into Lato.

The specific social practices through which settlement identities were negotiated and communicated varied significantly across East Crete. As noted in the above site descriptions, Praisos appears to have become the largest settlement in the area from at least the G period (see Whitley 1998: 33-37; Whitley et al. 1999: 247). As discussed in Section 5.2.3, considerable evidence for religious activity becomes apparent from the end of the G, and by the end of the EIA at least four cult areas in the vicinity of Praisos were in use: the Altar Hill, the shrines at Vavelloi and Mesamvryses and on the First Acropolis. Although Praisos was occupied prior to these developments, its EIA growth seems to be linked to these religious practices, which may have helped to establish and signify a group identity associated with this settlement, through instilling a sense of mutual ‘belonging’ in its inhabitants. Similarities in the votives used on the Altar Hill, beside the urban centre of Praisos, and at outlying sites such as Vavelloi, Mesamvryses and Roussa Ekklesia may indicate that shared cult practices at these sites provided a means by which the boundaries of the group identity focused on Praisos was renegotiated to include outlying settlements and farmsteads. In addition to religious practices, burial practices in the cemetery near the Altar Hill might also have communicated an identity focused on the EIA settlement at Praisos.

The religious practices discussed above appear to have fuelled the development of a community identity focused on the settlement at Praisos through emphasising similarity between members of that group. However, social practices that emphasised difference also appear to have played an important role in the development of a 'Praisian' identity, for example at Roussa Ekklesia, whose votives appear to come from different moulds to those in the Sitia deposit (Section 5.2.4) and at Palaikastro where, as described in Section 5.2.2, evidence suggests that the use of the Temple of Dictaeon Zeus began in the G period, at approximately the same time as the settlement at Praisos expands and becomes more important. Although it is perhaps unwise to project conclusions relating Palaikastro in later periods back to the G period, the increase in activity at this site concurrent with the growth of Praisos and Itanos may indicate that the role of the temple as a boundary marker between these settlements, attested in later textual sources, began relatively early. If this is the case, EIA religious practices at the Temple of Dictaeon Zeus at Palaikastro may have provided an important arena of contestation and negotiation for the unique settlement identities of the main sites in the far east of Crete from their very earliest periods of expansion. A similar process can perhaps be hypothesised for religious activity at the Temple at Sta Lenika (Section 5.2.8).

In areas with LM IIIC site clusters, such as Kavousi, the site cluster itself may have been the highest autonomous political unit and the focus of community during the EIA, as in LM IIIC (see Section 4.4.1; Haggis 2005: 84). This would contrast with regions such as the areas around Praisos, discussed above, and Lato, where settlements on the site of the later urban polis-centres appear to become the focus of community during the EIA, and are perhaps where the highest political groups in the vicinity resided. In the early part of the EIA before the synoecism of the Kavousi and Avgo clusters, the topographic separation of the Kavousi cluster from the cluster of sites at Avgo may have provided one means of marking the boundaries of this high-level unit and its identity in both physical and symbolic terms. A further symbolic and physical marker of the boundaries of the Kavousi and Avgo clusters may have been created in the PG period when the shrine at Pachlitzani Agriada came into use. This shrine, located on the route between Azoria and the cluster of settlements at Avgo, may have initially acted as a

marker of agricultural or territorial boundaries between the Avgo and Kavousi clusters (Haggis 2005: 83). At the same time, this shrine might also have unified individuals and groups within the various settlements of the Kavousi cluster by providing a common focus of religious practice, thereby encouraging the development of a shared group identity. Following the synoecism of the Kavousi and Avgo clusters, the physical and symbolic location of this shrine appears to shift from a boundary to the centre of the larger territory associated with the later settlement at Azoria, and by the end of the EIA, religious practices in the shrine at Pachlitzani Agriada may have unified diverse groups in the different settlements of the Kavousi cluster and in the wider territory of Azoria by signifying a common identity through joint religious practices.

Although cemeteries associated with the settlements at Kastro and Azoria have been identified, there is no obvious relationship between the burial activity at Vronda and either of these settlements. It might therefore be suggested that the SM-PG tholos tombs and LG-EO cist graves at Vronda were used by inhabitants of both settlements, perhaps particularly by the descendants of the former inhabitants of Vronda who had moved to these sites. Joint burial practices at Vronda, within the memory-laden environment provided by the ruins of the former third settlement of the cluster, may have been particularly effective at unifying the inhabitants of Azoria and Kavousi *Kastro* and emphasising joint participation in a common cluster-focused identity, whilst also marking those whose family roots lay in the LM IIIC settlement at Kavousi *Vronda*. At certain times, the burial practices at Vronda may have been particularly important in ensuring the continuation of the cluster identity, particularly when activities in the individual settlements may have heightened the salience of a settlement identity at the cost of other identities, for example during the LG terracing operation at Kavousi *Kastro*.

5.3.2 Religious Practices and Identities

The primary group identities signified through EIA religious practices in East Crete appear to have been the settlement identities discussed in Section 5.3.1. The negotiation and communication of these identities appears to have focused

primarily around the establishment of similarity between the inhabitants of a settlement or site cluster, such as Dreros, Praisos and the Kavousi cluster. The context within which these identities were signified is therefore likely to have been relatively small, perhaps incorporating just a single settlement or site cluster, and occasionally its neighbours, in each case. This small context contrasts to that which might be posited for Istron *Vrokastro*, which, as noted in Section 5.2.7, had more of an external focus and is likely to have been wider than the context within which many other settlements in EIA East Crete operated. Given the more ‘international’ context of Istron *Vrokastro* one might expect its religious practices to demonstrate a degree of outside influence. It is therefore particularly surprising that the cult practices at Istron *Vrokastro*, as evidenced through objects such as animal figurines, particularly bovinds, a rhyton and horns of consecration, appear to be the particularly conservative, and continue LM IIIC cult practices, such as the use of votive animal figurines, at a time when these practices are changing elsewhere in East Crete, for example to practices focusing on architectural structures such as the temple at Dreros and the deposition of votive objects, such as terracotta plaques in the Praisos region and at Lato, and objects with military and elite connotations at Palaikastro. One explanation for the apparently conservative religious practices at Istron *Vrokastro*, might be found in the wide variety of Aegean connections evident there. As well as goods, these connections may indicate regular contact with multiple ‘Others’ (both people and ideas) with a variety of characteristics depending on their place of origin, against which group identities in the *Vrokastro* region were contrasted. In this context, perhaps the maintenance of LM IIIC religious practices provided an effective way for the inhabitants of EIA Istron *Vrokastro* to communicate and perpetuate their unique settlement identity through using ideological resources that were only available locally.

The local focus of identity construction, within a wide context of regular overseas contacts, at Istron *Vrokastro* contrasts to patterns in identity construction through religious practices at other EIA East Cretan sites. Despite the probable smaller scale of the context at these sites, religious practices frequently link their inhabitants to groups and their associated identities that had quite large geographical extents. Although possibly worshipped in East Crete prior to this

time, during the EIA it becomes possible to link the deities worshipped to the names and characteristics of those attested for the Archaic to Hellenistic periods, such as Apollo Delphinios at Dreros, Aphrodite at Sta Lenika, Eileithyia at Lato, and Dictaeon Zeus at Praisos and Palaikastro. These religious practices would have signified participation in a wide range of religious identities, with some, such as Apollo Delphinios at Dreros and Aphrodite at Sta Lenika, linking the worshippers at these places to religious identities that spanned much of the Greek world, whilst others, such as the worship at Eileithyia at Lato and Dictaeon Zeus at Praisos and Palaikastro communicated participation in more local, Cretan (and specifically East Cretan in the case of Dictaeon Zeus) identities.

5.3.3 Burial Practices

As discussed in Section 5.3.1, burial practices, like religious practices, may have been used to signify territory and place identities that ultimately contributed to the formation of poleis and polis-identities in East Crete. However, burial practices could also play a role in the establishment and communication of a number of other types of identities on a variety of levels. For example, at Kavousi *Vronda*, multiple burials in tholos tombs and in cist graves may have emphasised family and extended family identities.

Group identities associated with the inhabitants of the large settlement at Praisos may have been signified through joint use of the cemetery near the Third Acropolis in which Tholos Tombs A and C and Tomb 53 were found, as described above (see Bosanquet 1901/1902b: 240-245, 248-251; Droop 1905/1906; Hopkinson 1903/1904; Marshall 1905/1906; Whitley 2006: 605; Whitley et al. 1999: 251-252). The location of this cemetery near what appears to be the primary cult area of the settlement at Praisos emphasises the close links between burial and religious practices in the signification of territory and settlement identities discussed in Section 5.3.1. As described in Section 5.2.3 a number of different burial types were used by the inhabitants of EIA Praisos and its surrounding settlements, including tholos tomb burial, cave burial and possibly a 'grave circle'. This might suggest that whilst a settlement-specific identity was communicated through joint use of specific burial locations such as the cemetery

near the Third Acropolis of Praisos, multiple identities within and between settlements, each associated with different social groups and their identities, may simultaneously have been negotiated and signified through the different choices made regarding mode of burial. The considerable variety in EIA burial practices, not only across the region but also in individual settlement territories, is apparent in Section 5.2 (see also Eaby 2007, 2009, 2011). For example, the variety of burial types at EIA Praisos can be compared to the different burial types at Istron *Vrokastro*, which included intra-mural burial of children, ossuaries, tholos tombs, pitthos burials and a multiple burial in a rock shelter (Section 5.2.7). Although it is difficult to determine the nature of the social groups associated with the different burial practices, if any, Eaby (2007, 2009, 2011) has suggested that diversity in the wealth of grave goods and differentiation in tomb types, such as the appearance of the 'large' tholos tomb type at Praisos (Tholos Tomb A) and Istron *Vrokastro* (Hall's Chamber Tomb 1) indicates increasing social complexity in the Mirabello and West Siteian Mountain region during the Early Iron Age.

The choice of burial in an ossuary has been linked to changes in the ninth century BC, at approximately the same time as the settlement at Istron *Vrokastro* may undergo a period of expansion. As examples of burial in ossuaries are found at a number of sites in the Mirabello and West Siteian Mountain region such as at Dreros and are considered by Eaby (2007: 326) to be primarily an eastern feature, they may provide evidence for the movement of people and/or ideas within this area. As collective burial in ossuaries at Istron *Vrokastro* approximately coincides with the expansion of this settlement, perhaps this mode of burial provided a sense of collective action and attachment to place which helped to encourage cohesion and integration between the old inhabitants of this site and newcomers in the PG-G period. The lack of clear separation of burial and habitation areas in parts of Istron *Vrokastro*, apparent in the intra-mural burials of children mentioned in Section 5.2.7, may further emphasise that a sense of collective memory and an attachment to place were particularly important in group identities at there.

Rizzotto (2009) has suggested that two different sets of burial practices can be identified for EIA Central and East Crete. The earlier of these, dating from LM

IIIC to the G, focused on burial in small, multiple graves, such as tholoi and chamber tombs, as well as occasional individual burials. The later set of practices involved the establishment of more formal cemeteries, with examples in eastern Crete including the cist graves at Kavousi *Vronda* and the North Necropolis at Itanos, in the LG and EO. Rizotto (2009) argues that these changes may be linked to a change from burial practices emphasising small social groups such as the family or clan in the context of a relatively egalitarian society, to increased social competition in the funerary sphere as new elites emerge and attempt to establish themselves.

5.4 Summary

As discussed in Sections 5.2 and 5.3, a number of changes occurred in the settlement pattern of EIA East Crete during the PG and G period, during which a number of sites were abandoned and others went through a process of nucleation and growth. To some extent, the establishment of new community identities, focused on the expanding settlements, during this time may have been aided by existing networks of social relationships between continuing sites and their neighbouring, newly-abandoned sites. However, various social practices during this time also appear to have fostered a sense of joint belonging to the newly expanding communities, particularly religious practices and burial practices. As discussed in Section 5.3, the process of negotiating and communicating a new group identity focused on an expanding settlement through religious practices is perhaps most apparent in cult activity in the Praisos region, in the shrines at Vavelloi and Mesamvryses, on the First Acropolis and on the Altar Hill, as well as at Roussa Ekklesia and at Palaikastro. Concurrent with the signification of a joint sense of belonging, religious practices at Praisos may also have expressed lines of division between different group identities, such as one associated with Praisos and its territory, another associated with the community that left the votive deposit at Sitia, and another that focused on Itanos and its territory. In contrast to this use of religious practices, the use of the abandoned settlement at Kavousi *Vronda* as a cemetery provides a particularly good example of the signification of a joint identity through burial practices during the EIA.

As discussed in Section 5.3, alongside the communication of settlement and cluster identities, religious and burial practices may also have signified a range of other identities that linked the inhabitants of EIA East Crete with a variety of group identities, including identities that spanned much of the Greek world (in the case of the worship of Apollo Delphinios at Dreros) and identities that linked the inhabitants of different parts of Crete (such as through the worship of Eileithyia at Lato and Dictaeon Zeus at Praesos and Palaikastro). Within individual settlements and clusters of settlements, identities other than these relatively large ones may have been more salient on a day to day basis. These identities include occupation identities, family and/or kin identities which may have been signified through family burial in shared graves at Kavousi *Vronda* (Section 5.2.5) and elite identities, such as those that Rizotto (2009) has argued become apparent in the funerary sphere during the LG and EO.

6 The Archaic and Classical Periods

6.1 Introduction

With the advent of the Archaic period (from the mid-seventh century to the first quarter of the fifth century BC), the type of evidence available for this study begins to change, and textual evidence, which now becomes available, helps to make up a relative dearth of archaeological evidence, particularly for the Classical period (from the second quarter of the fifth century to the mid-fourth century BC). The textual evidence is both literary and epigraphical. Extant literary sources for Crete from the Archaic periods onwards include Homer, Herodotus, Pseudo-Skylax, Plato, Aristotle and Ephorus. Plato, Aristotle and Ephorus, in particular, have been used as a source of evidence for political and social institutions across Crete in the Archaic to Hellenistic periods (for a detailed discussion of these three sources in relation to Crete, see Van Effenterre 1948b), although their use in this way is problematic. Not only are they anachronistic for the Archaic period, but they are often used to provide a uniform picture across Crete, despite the probability that the information in these sources may come from only one A-Cretan polis, Lyttos, and the likelihood that Classical Cretan poleis, varied in aspects of their social, political and religious structures and practices as well as in their extra-Cretan relationships (Erickson 2005: 619-620; Perlman 1992, 2004b, 2005). The epigraphical record on Crete is dominated by formal inscriptions, such as law codes and inter-polis treaties, rather than informal personal inscriptions such as graffiti and dedications, leading to the suggestion that informal literacy was less widespread on Crete than elsewhere in Archaic to Classical Greece (Stoddart and Whitley 1988; Whitley 1997). Although some of these texts, such as those from Dreros (Section 6.2.8), provide useful evidence for the period within which they were inscribed Hellenistic texts are often used as an unproblematic source for the Archaic and Classical periods, with little recognition that significant changes in social and political structures and inter-polis relationships are likely to have taken place between these earlier time periods and the Hellenistic period. Literary sources and Hellenistic epigraphical texts should therefore be used with caution when discussing Archaic or Classical Crete.

Although once thought to reflect a real absence of activity, the dearth in the archaeological evidence mentioned above now appears to be primarily the result of a relative neglect of post-Minoan periods in favour of research into Bronze Age Crete. This has recently started to be rectified and research on Crete has demonstrated that although some historical periods, particularly the Classical period, are less visible in the archaeological record than most other periods, they are not completely missing. The problem, and the history of scholarship associated with it is particularly highlighted in discussions of the sixth century on Crete, which has in the past been recognised as a period for which evidence is significantly lacking (Coldstream and Huxley 1999; Erickson 2005, 2010b; Perlman 1992: 202-203). However, recent investigations at sites such as Azoria and Eleutherna, are beginning to provide evidence for this period and to change scholarly views, which until recently have been based primarily on Knossos where there is a genuine paucity of evidence dating to this time (Erickson 2002: 78-79, 2005, 2010b: 1-22; Haggis et al. 2004; Perlman 2004b). The history of scholarship on the sixth century BC on Crete suggests that whilst archaeological evidence from the Archaic to Classical periods may be either less abundant or less visible than that for other periods, future work on these periods, particularly the Classical period, is likely to reveal enough evidence for a much deeper understanding to be gained of these periods in East Crete, and across Crete in general.

One common view of society on Crete from the Archaic to Hellenistic period suggests that a Dorian aristocracy, descended from Dorian immigrants to the island, ruled over a population of serfs, who were themselves descendents of the island's pre-Dorian inhabitants (e.g., Willetts 1955, 1965, 1977). There are a number of problems with this view, in particular its simplistic approach to ethnicity as culture-history and the fact that this pan-Cretan model fails to take into account the real geographically and diachronic variability that appears to have existed on Crete from the Archaic until the Hellenistic period (for further discussion on the Dorian identity, see Wallace 2010: 371-373). Although aspects of this model may be correct, for example the presence of multiple unequal statuses and identities, Perlman (2005: 282) suggests, based on a variety of

evidence including tribal names, month and festival names, divine epithets, myths and dialect, that “the island’s communities were not in fact overwhelmingly Doric” and that there is no reason “to conclude that [its] inhabitants constructed their own identity as Dorians.” Instead, she hypothesises ethnic diversity alongside diversity in political institutions (Perlman 1992, 2005).

6.2 Evidence

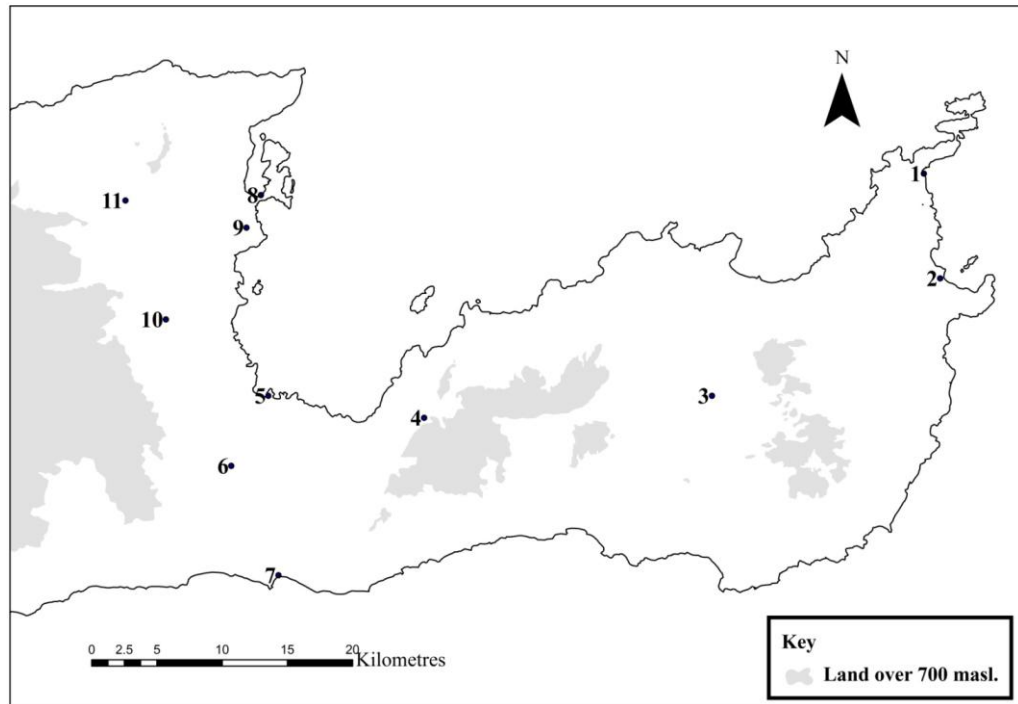


Figure 6.1 Locations of Archaic to Classical Sites in East Crete Discussed in this Thesis (sites are as follows: 1 - Itanos; 2 - Palaikastro; 3 - Praisos; 4 - Kavousi Azoria; 5 - Istron; 6 - Oleros; 7 - Hierapytna; 8 - Olous; 9 - Sta Lenika; 10 - Lato; 11 - Dreros).

The locations of sites discussed in this section are given in Figure 6.1. During the Archaic and Classical periods, the process of settlement expansion begun in the EIA appears to have continued, resulting in further increases in settlement sizes, territories and populations. Some idea of the scale of this increase can be gained from Kavousi Azoria, where, in contrast to the 6 to 10 ha. extent posited for the EIA, the Archaic settlement is estimated to have covered 15 ha. (Haggis 2005: 131-133; Haggis et al. 2004: 341. Given that fourth century BC Praisos is estimated to have been of similar size (Whitley 2006: 612), this estimate seems

particularly large and may suggest a lower density of occupants at Azoria than Praisos. However, of greater significance for the discussion in this thesis is the scale of change, which the estimated figures for Archaic Azoria and Classical Praisos indicates resulted in a doubling of settlement sizes.

6.2.1 Itanos



Figure 6.2 Itanos from the Hill Between the Site and Vai (abbreviations are as follows: P - possible port; E - East Acropolis; W - West Acropolis; N – North Necropolis).

Itanos was located on the north-east coast in the north-east of Crete (Halbherr 1891). As noted in Section 5.2.1, the settlement was occupied from at least the Geometric, and possibly Protogeometric until beyond the Roman period (Blackman 1999-2000: 141, 2000-2001: 134; Blackman et al. 1997-1998: 118; Blegen 1951: 161-162; Cook 1951: 251; Deshayes 1951; Etienne 2000: 466, 2001: 554; Greco et al. 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2002; Kalpaxis et al. 1995; Whitley 2003-2004: 89; Whitley et al. 2006: 96). The site covers two acropoleis and the saddle between them, whilst the only known cemetery associated with the settlement, the “North Necropolis” is located to the north of the settlement

(Figures 5.3 and 6.2). The agora may have been located in the saddle between the two hills where residential buildings were also located. A study of aerial photographs in conjunction with geophysical surveys has led to the suggestion that the ancient city's port was located in a low-lying area which is located south of the two main acropoleis and saddle where the main settlement was located and north of a large hill which separates the site from the neighbouring beach at Vai (Greco et al. 1996: 947-949, 1997: 818-819; Kalpaxis et al. 1995: 728-730; Rowlands and Sarris 2007; Vafidis et al. 2003; Vafidis et al. 2005). Itanos was one of the first Cretan poleis to mint its own coins, at the start of the fourth century BC (Kalpaxis et al. 1995: 713). A number of inscriptions are known from Itanos, some of which provide details of its political organisation, such as the presence of *kosmoi* (chief magistrates of the city, a group also attested in a number of other Cretan poleis). However, most of these inscriptions are of Hellenistic date and should therefore be used with caution when discussing the Archaic to Classical periods (see Section 6.1).

Evidence for the Archaic and Classical periods has been found in the Residential Quarter and in the North Necropolis. At the bottom of two trenches in the Residential Quarter (the shaded area in Figure 5.3), associated with the installation of water pumps, a layer containing Classical pottery, dated to the start of the fourth century BC by a fragment of a red-figure krater, was found above a layer which contained a few Archaic sherds, thereby providing a full stratigraphic sequence for this part of the site from the Archaic period to the Classical and then to the Hellenistic period onwards (Greco et al. 1999: 519-521). In addition, unstratified Archaic and a few Classical sherds were found in the foundations of later houses on the summit of the East Acropolis and across other parts of the site, including on the surface a quarter of an hour north-west of Erimoupolis (Deshayes 1951: 201). Amongst these were a small number of imported sherds, attesting to pan-Cretan and extra-island connections (Deshayes 1951).

Although Archaic and Classical tombs have been found in the North Necropolis, most were significantly disturbed by later activity on the site, including a phase of development around the beginning of the Hellenistic period (Deshayes 1951: 201; Greco et al. 1997: 814-818, 1998: 592-597, 2000: 549-555, 2002: 581-582).

Archaeological exploration in the western part of the North Necropolis has revealed a large Archaic building in an area that appears not to have been used for burials at this time (Greco et al. 2000: 551-555, 2002: 581-582). Limited evidence attests to activity in this area prior to the first major phase of the Archaic building, which dates to the late seventh or early sixth century BC (Greco et al. 2000: 552-553, 2002: 581). This structure was rebuilt along the same plan as its predecessor in the second quarter of the sixth century BC (Greco et al. 2000: 553-554, 2002: 581-582). Following a number of renovations which did not substantially alter the building, it appears to have been largely abandoned in the second quarter of the fifth century BC (Greco et al. 2000: 554-555, 2002: 582). Thereafter, limited evidence, in the form of objects related to sport, suggests some ongoing activity into the fourth century, which may have reused the southern part of the Archaic building (Greco et al. 2000: 554-555, 2002: 582). This part of the North Necropolis was not used for burials until the first century BC (Greco et al. 2002: 582).

In conjunction with recent excavations at the urban centre of the ancient polis of Itanos, Cape Sidero, the peninsula on which it is located, has also been surveyed in order to shed light on its territory (Greco et al. 1996: 950, 1997: 819-822, 1998: 599-601, 1999: 524, 2000: 556-559, 2001, 2002: 578-581; Kalpaxis et al. 1995: 734-736). Kalpaxis et al. (1995: 714) suggest that the territory of ancient Itanos probably covered the entire peninsula, while its border with neighbouring Praisos ran from the Temple of Dictaeon Zeus at Palaikastro, a probable boundary marker between these poleis, and across the plain at Palaikastro to the Bay of Sitia. Work in the Itanos region has found evidence for a variety of activities in the rural hinterland of the polis, including agricultural terraces (of uncertain date), rural settlements and shrines (Greco et al. 1996: 950, 1997: 819-822, 2000: 556-559, 2002: 578-581). At least twenty Archaic and/or Classical sites have been identified (De La Genière 2004: 1449; Whitley 2003-2004: 89). One of these sites is located at *Vamies*, located to the north-west of the urban centre of Itanos, where a large suburban shrine was in use from the Archaic to Hellenistic periods (Greco et al. 1996: 950, 1997: 820-822; Kalpaxis et al. 1995: 734-736). Remains from the site include architecture and pottery, including a terracotta female figurine (Greco et al. 1996: 950, 1997: 820-822; Kalpaxis et al. 1995: 734-736).

The maritime orientation of Itanos in the Archaic and Classical periods is indicated by diverse evidence, including the presence of a possible port (Greco et al. 1996: 947-949, 1997: 818-819; Kalpaxis et al. 1995: 728-730; Rowlands and Sarris 2007; Vafidis et al. 2003; Vafidis et al. 2005), literary sources such as Herodotus, who recounts a story involving a murex-fisherman from Itanos (*The Histories* 4.151-153) and the presence of imported pottery at the site. Imports at Itanos include eighth- and seventh-century BC pottery from Knossos and Eleutherna, seventh-century BC ceramics from Corinth, Aphrati in central Crete and the Cyclades, and Attic pottery dating to the sixth to fourth centuries BC, with a short break between c. 460 and 420 BC (Greco et al. 1999: 525-526). Erickson (2005) links the fifth-century BC break in Attic pottery at Itanos to a more widespread fifth-century BC gap in evidence, which may represent a period of relative isolation for Crete, related to the economy of the Athenian empire. The late fifth-century Attic red-figure pottery from Itanos suggests that it was one of the first Cretan poleis to re-establish contacts outside Crete perhaps because of the primarily Cycladic trade connections of East Crete from the sixth century BC onwards (as opposed to primarily Peloponnesian trade connections in West Crete; see discussion in Erickson 2005).

The available evidence suggests a number of differences in social practices and salient group identities may have existed between A-C Itanos and neighbouring Praisos (Section 6.2.3). Not only is there no evidence linking the Eteocretans to Itanos as they are to Praisos (see Section 6.2.3) but their different geographic locations and the maritime links of Itanos, discussed above, suggest that group identities linked to trade and the sea may have been particularly significant at Itanos, whilst at inland Praisos, despite the extension of its territory to the north and south coasts of Crete by the fourth century BC (as indicated by Pseudo-Skylax 47), identities associated with agro-pastoral activities may have been particularly relevant during the Archaic and Classical periods. Despite these differences, both poleis may have shared a common religious identity in the worship of Dictaeon Zeus at the temple at Palaikastro, with which Itanos is associated in the Moni Toplou inscription and through the inclusion of Dictaeon

Zeus in the list of gods by whom Itanos swore in inter-polis civic agreements (Bosanquet 1908/1909: 350, 1939/1940; Perlman 1995).

6.2.2 Palaikastro

As noted in Section 5.2.2, cult activity on the site of the BA town at Palaikastro begins during the Geometric, and continues until well into the Roman period (Bosanquet 1939/1940: 76; Prent 2003: 85, 100; Thorne 2000). Given the apparent importance of a young, male god in religious practices at the site in both Bronze Age times and in the Geometric to Roman sanctuary, there may be a degree of continuity at the site from the Bronze Age onwards (Bosanquet 1939/1940: 76; Crowther 2000; Perlman 1995: 164; Prent 2003: 95-96; but see Alonge (2005) who disagrees that later worship of Dictaeon Zeus is linked to Bronze Age beliefs and practices). Unfortunately, published details of this site focus heavily on the Bronze Age remains and provide only sparse accounts of the archaeological evidence for the Geometric to Roman temple (for example, Bosanquet 1901/1902a; Bosanquet et al. 1902/1903; Dawkins et al. 1904/1905).

The temple at Palaikastro was built over Block X and part of Block II of the excavated part of the BA town, on the Roussolakkos plain (Benton 1939/1940; Bosanquet 1901/1902a: 288; Bosanquet et al. 1902/1903: 280; Boyd et al. 2006: 92; Dawkins et al. 1904/1905; Hutchinson et al. 1939/1940: 40; Sackett and Popham 1970: 240-242). The position of an open-air altar on the site has been identified by a layer of ash (Bosanquet 1908/1909: 339; Dawkins et al. 1904/1905: 300). Archaic finds from the site come from a layer that in some places is a metre thick, and include the lower courses of a temenos-wall, architectural fragments, such as Medusa antefixes and a sima decorated in low relief with a chariot group, and votives, including bronze miniature armour, shields and tripods and sixth-century torch-holders and lamps (Benton 1939/1940: 51-56; Bosanquet 1901/1902a: 288, 1939/1940: 67; Dawkins et al. 1904/1905; Hutchinson et al. 1939/1940: 40-42). The discovery of the ash layer has led to the suggestion that the earliest temple on the site was built of wood with terracotta embellishments (Bosanquet et al. 1902/1903: 280; Boyd et al. 2006: 134). It was

rebuilt in stone at a later period, perhaps in the sixth or fifth centuries BC (Bosanquet 1939/1940: 68; Boyd et al. 2006: 134). Evidence from this later temple includes architectural fragments such as a Doric capital, a lion-spout, Gorgoneia antefixes and a sima with a palmette and lotus pattern (Bosanquet 1939/1940: 68; Dawkins et al. 1904/1905; Hutchinson et al. 1939/1940: 40-41). Ashlar blocks from the Bronze Age town appear to have been used in the construction of these stone temples (MacGillivray et al. 1988: 263, 266). Few post-Bronze Age remains were found outside the temenos wall of the temple (Dawkins et al. 1904/1905: 299). Only a few architectural remains from the later temple have been found, possibly because much of the stone from this temple was reused by local inhabitants of the area in the nineteenth century (Dawkins et al. 1904/1905: 299). The sparse Classical remains from the site include the foundations of a harbour near the BA town (Bosanquet and Tod 1902: 385) and a few fragments of Classical pottery (Sackett and Popham 1970: 242).

A number of pieces of evidence, all post-Classical, support the identification of this temple as one dedicated to Dictaeon Zeus. In 1904 an inscribed hymn to Zeus was found at the site, in which this god is addressed as a young man and entreated to come to Dicte for the year (Bosanquet 1908/1909; Murray 1908/1909; Perlman 1995; Prent 2003: 96-98; West 1965). Strabo (*Geography* 10.4.6, 12) associates the Temple of Dictaeon Zeus with Praisos, and locates Dicte in the far East of Crete, near the temple at Praisos and close to Cape Samonion (now Cape Sidero). In the first century BC, Diodorus Siculus (5.70.6) noted that the temple was built near the remains of a city founded by Zeus, which were still visible when he was writing. An inscription now displayed at the Toplou monastery and dating after the conquest of Praisos by Hierapytna (see Chapter 7), records an arbitration by the Magnesians in a boundary dispute between Hierapytna and Itanos. The disputed area, named Heleia, adjoins a Temple of Dictaeon Zeus, which marks the boundary between the two poleis. Together with the material remains of the temple itself, this evidence has been interpreted as suggesting that a Temple to Dictaeon Zeus was located at Palaikastro in the ruins of the Bronze Age town - the city built by Zeus to which Diodorus Siculus refers, on the boundary between Itanos and Praisos, and later between Itanos and Hierapytna (Bosanquet 1901/1902a, 1908/1909, 1939/1940; Boyd et al. 2006: 92; Crowther 2000). The

site of the temple may have been called Dicte whilst the land named Heleia may have been located on the Roussolakkos plain, adjoining the temple site (Crowther 1988, 2000; Verbruggen 1981: 134-138; cf. Bosanquet 1939/1940: 67 who says that the temple site was Heleia). Given the similarities between the temples at Palaikastro and on the Altar Hill at Praisos (described in the section on Praisos), one might hypothesise the presence of at least two temples to Dictaeon Zeus in east Crete, and posit that the one referred to by Strabo (*Geography* 10.4.6, 12) was that located at Praisos (see Bosanquet 1939/1940: 65-66).

6.2.3 Praisos



Figure 6.3 The First Acropolis of Praisos from the Third Acropolis.

By the Archaic period the polis of Praisos had reached a relatively large size, and it remained an important settlement until the Hellenistic period (Whitley 1998: 38; Whitley et al. 1995, 1999). Whitley (2006: 612) suggests that Praisos may have reached its maximum size, about 16 ha., by the fourth century BC. The site comprised three hills, termed the First Acropolis, the Second Acropolis, and the Third Acropolis or Altar Hill (Figures 4.4 and 6.3-6.5; Bosanquet 1901, 1901/1902b; Halbherr 1901; Whitley et al. 1995, 1999). The main habitation area of Praisos appears to have spread across the First Acropolis, parts of the Second Acropolis and the saddle between these two hills, and possibly also the plain

between the First and Third Acropoleis (Whitley et al 1995, 1999; Halbherr 1901).



Figure 6.4 The Second Acropolis of Praisos from the First Acropolis.



Figure 6.5 The Third Acropolis, or Altar Hill, at Praisos from Its First Acropolis (the arrow is pointing to the summit).

Whitley et al. (1999: 252-253) have highlighted the different kinds of religious practices evident in the vicinity of Praisos, including votive deposition of terracotta figurines and plaques at spring shrines such as at Vavelloi and Mesamvryses, sacrifices and deposition of predominantly bronze votives on the Third Acropolis and drinking practices at Profitis Elias. The most important temple at Praisos may have been located on the Third Acropolis, where a variety of evidence for cult activity has been found in a deep deposit of ash, burnt bones, and bronze and terracotta votive offerings (Bosanquet 1901, 1901/1902b; 1939/1940: 64-65; Forster 1901/1902: 272-278; Halbherr 1894, 1901; Hutchinson et al. 1939/1940). The terracotta votives, which date to the sixth to fourth centuries BC, include a large statue of a male votary or young god and fragments of two lions (Bosanquet 1901: 188, 1901/1902b: 256; Forster 1901/1902: 272-278; Halbherr 1901: 380-383; Hutchinson et al. 1939/1940: 41-42). Bronze votives from the Third Acropolis include armour, such as helmets, cuirasses and shields, and fragments of tripods (Benton 1939/1940: 56-58; Bosanquet 1901: 188, 1901/1902b: 254-259; Halbherr 1901: 383-384). Some of these votives are similar to objects found in other cult sites on Crete, including at Palaikastro, in the Cave of Zeus on Mt. Ida, and in a temple to Rhea at Phaistos (Bosanquet 1939/1940: 65; Halbherr 1901: 378-379). A number of inscriptions, some thought to be in the 'Eteocretan' language (discussed further below), were found associated with the temple (Bosanquet 1901: 188, 1901/1902b: 232, 255-256; 1939/1940: 65; Conway 1901/1902; Duhoux 1982; Halbherr 1894, 1901: 377; Whitley et al. 1995: 405-406).

Excavations on the Third Acropolis at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth revealed two phases of cult activity (Bosanquet 1901/1902b: 254-257, 1939/1940: 64-65; Halbherr 1901: 375-379). In the first phase, dating from the eighth or seventh century BC to the fifth century, cult activity focused on an open-air altar on the summit of the Third Acropolis (Bosanquet 1901/1902b: 256). During the second phase, dating to around the fifth or early fourth century BC, the summit of the Third Acropolis was levelled and a temenos wall and temple built and perhaps two parapets added to the altar (Bosanquet 1901/1902b: 257, 1939/1940: 65; Halbherr 1901: 375-379). Many of the earlier offerings appear to have been buried when the summit was levelled,

thereby preserving them (Bosanquet 1939/1940: 65). Similarities between the temple on the Altar Hill and the one at Palaikastro suggest that the same deity, Dictaeon Zeus, was worshipped at both sanctuaries (Bosanquet 1939/1940: 65-66; Dawkins et al. 1904/1905: 304-305), a suggestion which may be further supported by Strabo's statement (*Geography* 10.4.6, 12) that there was a Temple to Dictaeon Zeus at Praisos. The presence of lions at the temple on the Third Acropolis may also suggest that Rhea was worshipped here alongside her son, Zeus (Bosanquet 1939/1940: 65; Papadakis 1983: 80).

As discussed in Section 5.2.3, cult activity, beginning in the EIA, is attested at a number of other locations in the vicinity of Praisos - on the First Acropolis, at Vavelloi and Mesamvryses, and at Roussa Ekklesia (Bosanquet 1901: 188, 1939/1940: 64; Demargne 1902; Dunbabin 1944: 88; Erickson 2009, 2010a; Forster 1901/1902; Halbherr 1901; Hall Dohan 1931; Prent 2005: 301-302; Papadakis in Erickson 2009: 357; Whitley et al. 1995: 415-416). The votive assemblages from these sites are very similar, and dominated by terracotta figurines and plaques, many of which may have been formed from the same moulds despite their deposition in these different locations (Erickson 2009; Forster 1901/1902: 280-281, 1904/1905; Hall Dohan 1931: 209). The style of many of these terracotta votives shows Near Eastern and Egyptian influences (Forster 1904/1905; Halbherr 1901: 384-392; Hall Dohan 1931). Earthenware pipes linking the spring at Mesamvryses to the foot of the First Acropolis suggest that this spring was an important source of water for the city (Bosanquet 1901: 188, 1901/1902b: 236), and evidence from this site includes both votives and the remains of the foundations of a small temple (Forster 1901/1902: 278-280). It has been suggested that worship at this temple was linked to a deity of the spring (Forster 1901/1902: 278). Based on the images depicted in the terracotta plaques at Roussa Ekklesia, Erickson (2009) has argued that the site may have been dedicated to a female deity with links to male initiation, and significant participation in ritual by male worshippers. Around the mid-fifth century BC, votive offerings with representational art cease to be deposited at Roussa Ekklesia, and assemblages instead focus on lamps and lamp stands, ceramic vessels dating to the Classical or Hellenistic period, including a small number of cups, and kernoi (Erickson 2010a). Erickson (2010a: 235-240) has suggested that

these changes involved an emphasis on group participation, which he links to symbolically marking territory through ceremonies involving light displays and fire, perhaps carried out at night. In addition to these four sites, possible evidence for cult activity has also been found south-east of the settlement at Praisos, on the peak of Profitis Elias (Whitley et al. 1999: 249-251). Finds from this site are predominantly fine drinking cups dating from the Orientalising to Hellenistic period, and the only obvious cult evidence is provided by two fragments of terracotta votive plaques dating to the seventh century BC (Whitley et al 1999: 249-251). One of these plaques represents a robed figure also found depicted in the votive deposits at Vavelloi whilst the other shows the hindquarters of an animal (Whitley et al. 1999: 251).

Although detailed mortuary evidence for the Archaic to Classical periods at Praisos has not been published, the cemetery east of and below the Third Acropolis contained burials dating from the Late Minoan to Hellenistic periods (Bosanquet 1901: 188, 1901/1902b; Marshall 1905/1906; Whitley et al. 1999: 251-252). One particularly rich burial was found in Tomb 28, which contained pottery, a gold and crystal necklace, a silver ring, two gems, and gold leaf, a sphinx in gold, gold beads and coins from Corinth and Argos (Marshall 1905/1906). As noted in the Section 5.2.3, Tholos Tomb B contained three interments, with the latest dating to the fourth century BC (Bosanquet 1901/1902b: 245-248; Papadakis 1983: 82). Papadakis (1983: 83) describes a tomb near Praisos in which two Panathenaic amphorae dating to the sixth century BC were found, suggesting that Crete may not have been as isolated from events in the wider Greek world during the sixth century BC as is often thought (see also Erickson 2009: 387-388).

According to the fourth century BC source Pseudo-Skylax (47), the territory of Praisos extended from the north to the south coast by the mid-fourth century BC (Bosanquet 1939/1940: 69; Viviers 1999: 226). Although a small area of this territory, to the south of the settlement at Praisos, has been surveyed, uncertainty about the sequence and typology of East Cretan pottery in the Classical and Hellenistic periods makes it difficult to refine chronological variations in settlement patterns (Whitley et al. 1999). However, at least three possible rural

sites, in addition to the cult sites described above, have been identified, all of which contain Classical and Hellenistic pottery in locations of Bronze Age megalithic structures with little evidence for Geometric and Archaic activity (Whitley et al. 1999: 256).

Praisos is possibly best known for its role as the supposed city of the Eteocretans (e.g., Bosanquet 1901: 187, 1939:1940: 63-64; Duhoux 1982; Whitley 1998, 2006). As discussed in Chapter 2, this identity has dominated research on identities in LM IIIC to Hellenistic Crete. The presence of a group and associated identity termed ‘Eteocretan’ is attested in ancient authors, such as Homer (*Odyssey* 19.176), Herodotus (*The Histories* 7.170-171) and Strabo (*Geography* 10.4.6, 12). According to these sources, none of whom come from Praisos itself although Herodotus claims to relate information from its inhabitants, this group was considered to be an autochthonous group descended from the original inhabitants of Crete, and linked to Praisos. The word ‘Eteocretan’ is derived from the Greek words *ἔτεος*, ‘true’, and *Κρής*, ‘Cretan’ (Duhoux 2007a: 247). As Duhoux (2007a: 248) points out, the claims for the ancestry and unique identity of the Eteocretans in ancient Greek literature would seem to belong solely to the “realm of Myth” had they not appeared to have been substantiated at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries by the discovery of inscriptions (mentioned above in the description of finds from the Third Acropolis) which used the Greek script to record a non-Greek language. These inscriptions and the topic of the Eteocretans have been examined in an extensive study by Duhoux (1982). The first inscription to come to light was found by Halbherr in 1884, and was almost immediately described as Eteocretan (Duhoux 2007a: 248). Following the discovery of this inscription, PRA 1 in Duhoux’s catalogue (1982, 2007a), four further inscriptions were found at Praisos and one at Dreros, which are thought to be undoubtedly Eteocretan (Duhoux 1982, 2007a: 248). The provenance, approximate date and number in Duhoux’s catalogue for these inscriptions are given in Table 6.1. In addition to these inscriptions, there are six other inscriptions (not listed in Table 6.1) which may be Eteocretan or include Eteocretan terms (Duhoux 1982, 2007a: 248).

Number in Duhoux's Catalogue (1982, 2007a)	Provenance	Date of Inscription
PRA1	Praisos	6 th century BC
PRA2	Praisos	4 th century BC
PRA3	Praisos	3 rd century BC
PRA4	Praisos	3 rd /2 nd century BC
PRA5	Praisos	6 th century BC
DRE1	Dreros	c. 650 BC

Table 6.1 Details of Inscriptions Thought to be ‘Undoubtedly’ Eteocretan.

As yet, the language used in the inscriptions has not been identified, and decipherment using the current small corpus of Eteocretan writing (which totals only 422 letters) seems unlikely (Duhoux 1982, 2007a: 249). Despite this, the context of the inscriptions and the few extant lines of text can provide some information about the structure of the language and the function of the inscriptions (see discussions in Bosanquet 1909/1910; Conway 1901/1902, 1903/1904; Duhoux 1982, 2007a). All of the Eteocretan inscriptions found to date appear to have been official documents, used in either religious or legal contexts (Duhoux 1982, 2007a: 249-250; Hall 1997: 177-178; Whitley 1998: 27). Despite the apparently official function of the Eteocretan inscriptions, and based partly on the hypothesis that most of the Eteocretan population of Crete was bilingual (speaking ‘Eteocretan’ and Greek) and illiterate, Hall (1997: 179) argues that the use of an Eteocretan language in the inscriptions was a “conscious and active choice” intended to “act as a as a reinforcing indicium of an Eteokretan identity.” This argument seems implausible. Even non-literate individuals have the potential to recognise and distinguish different series of letters (or scripts), at least as different shape-patterns, without being able to read them or determine the language recorded, in much the same way as today one might recognise the Cyrillic script without being able to read it nor determine whether the language recorded is actually Russian, Bulgarian, Serbian, Mongolian or any of the multiple other languages for which Cyrillic is the standard alphabet. In such cases the distinction is not in the script itself but the language recorded by the script. It therefore seems likely that even an illiterate Cretan would have been able to

recognise that the scripts used in Greek and Eteocretan inscriptions were identical, but being unable to read them, would not be able to discern any difference between the two, thereby significantly reducing the capacity of the Eteocretan inscriptions to act as a “reinforcing indicium” of an Eteocretan identity as Hall argues.

There is scope for further examination of these inscriptions, and a need to consider alternative interpretations of their importance and context in ancient East Crete. For example, perhaps literacy was more widespread on Crete than currently thought, in which case the ‘Eteocretan’ inscriptions may have had an important official function for a specific group of people (an emic perspective) which was interpreted as a function related to group identity, termed ‘Eteocretan’ by non-‘Eteocretan’ Greeks (an etic perspective), who may have been able to read the script but not to understand the language recorded, and so imposed their own interpretations on its significance. Further problems with using the ‘Eteocretan’ inscriptions as evidence for a particular ethnic or cultural identity include a disjunction between the material and textual evidence. For example, Strabo’s account (*Geography* 10.4.6, 12) of the Eteocretans specifically links them with Praisos - there is no literary evidence for a link with Dreros, from where, as noted above, one of the six ‘Eteocretan’ inscriptions comes.

In addition to the potentially problematic use of epigraphic evidence, when considering the Eteocretan identity it is also important to bear in mind the issues with examining past ethnic and cultural identities discussed in Chapters 2 and 3. Whether the ‘Eteocretan’ inscriptions were genuinely in a language recognised as ‘Eteocretan’ by their creators, the only direct extant references to the Eteocretans come from the etic viewpoint of ancient Greek literature by non-Cretan authors. On current evidence it is not possible to discern whether any members of the group described as Eteocretan by ancient authors adhered to this identity. Despite the problems that Duhoux (1982: 13) sees in correlating the archaeological and epigraphical evidence with the ancient Greek literary tradition, he still states that the discovery of the ‘Eteocretan’ inscriptions “confirme...que Praesos était un centre éteocrétois important, puisque cette bourgade a livré le plus grand lot d’inscriptions sûrement éteocrétoises”, which is perhaps a tenuous conclusion,

given the very small number of inscriptions identified by modern scholars as undoubtedly Eteocretan and the fact that these inscriptions have been identified as 'Eteocretan' on the basis of literary sources which, as discussed here provide only an etic perspective on a group which may not have been recognised by those to whom this identity was attributed.

Despite the problems outlined above, and whatever the reality behind the claims of the Eteocretans in the literary tradition, it could be argued, in light of current theory about identity, that what is most significant is that there appears to have been a group of people in east Crete, and particularly around Praisos, who were perceived by at least some individuals outside the group as having a specific group identity, and may themselves have constructed and adhered to this identity (Whitley 1998). The proposition that this group-identity may have been emic (i.e. held by people within the group, rather than ascribed from outside the group) *may* be demonstrated by the 'Eteocretan inscriptions' found at Praisos and Dreros, as well as, to a small degree, in other aspects of material culture and social practices, such as the religious and drinking practices discussed by Whitley (2006), all of which might be interpreted as indicating the construction and presentation of a group identity not shared by all the inhabitants of Crete.

6.2.4 The Kavousi Region

As noted in Section 5.2.5, over the later part of the EIA a process of synoecism and nucleation appears to have taken place in the Kavousi region (Haggis 1993: 148-149, 2005: 84-85). As part of this process sites such as Kavousi *Kastro* were abandoned in favour of habitation at the main settlement in the area, Kavousi *Azoria*, which may have been the urban centre (or *astu*) of an early polis by the seventh-century BC (Haggis 1993: 148-149, 2005: 84-85). Haggis (1996: 415, 2005: 85-86) links seventh century BC population nucleation in the Kavousi region to an increasing sense of regional unity and changes in economic interests to incorporate areas outside the immediate region. Any sense of regional unity present at the end of the EIA seems likely to have been strengthened by the process of nucleation, which would have brought the inhabitants of the EIA settlements in the former Kavousi and Avgo clusters into regular daily contact

with the inhabitants of other newly-abandoned settlements as they all began to live in the single, larger settlement at Azoria. This regional unity may also have been strengthened by the early Archaic transformation of the urban space in Azoria itself (described below).

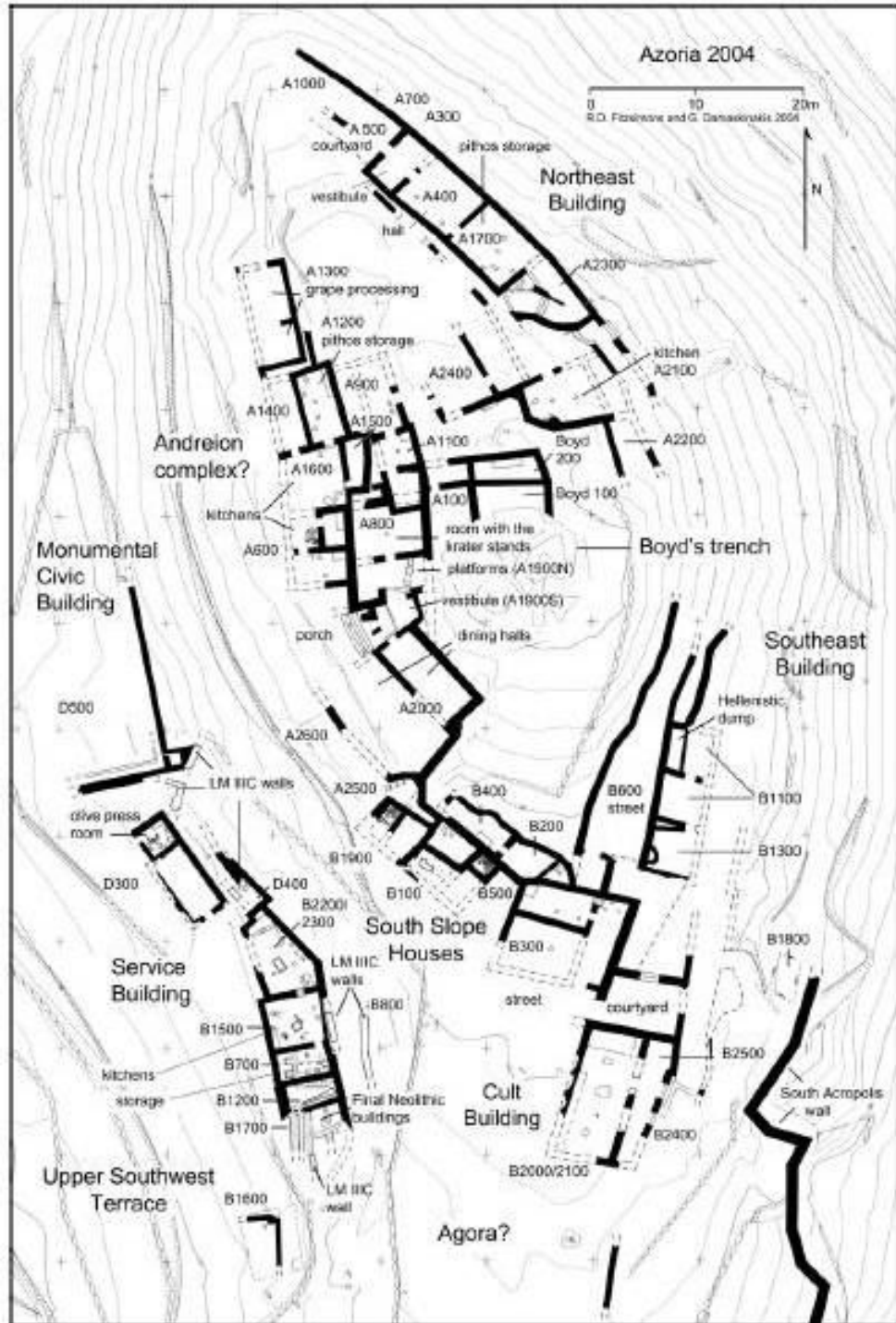


Figure 6.6 Plan of the South Acropolis at Azoria (Source: Haggis et al. 2007a: 244 Fig. 1).

As noted in the introduction to this section, the extent of Archaic Azoria has been estimated at about 15 ha. (Haggis 2005: 131-133; Haggis et al. 2004: 341). The first excavations on the South Acropolis of Azoria were carried out by Boyd (1901: 150-155), who uncovered a number of circular structures of unknown date and evidence that the site was contemporary with the LM IIIC and EIA sites at Kastro and Vronda. More recent excavations on the South Acropolis have revealed evidence of settlement from LM IIIC until the site's abandonment in the late Archaic period (Haggis et al. 2004, 2007a, 2007b). Most of this evidence post-dates a large-scale re-organisation and rebuilding of Azoria at the end of the seventh century BC (Haggis et al. 2004, 2007a). This re-organisation significantly changed the layout of the site and entailed building spine walls which helped to support terraces on which houses and new civic structures were built (Haggis et al. 2004). These civic structures included a building termed the “Andreion Complex²”, the “Monumental Civic Building” and its neighbouring Hearth Shrine, the “Service Building”, the “Cult Building” and possibly also the ancient agora (see Figure 6.6 for the locations of these structures; Haggis et al. 2004, 2007a).

The Andreion Complex is located on the West Slope of the South Acropolis and incorporates a number of rooms and different activity areas (Haggis et al. 2004: 367-386, 2007a: 253-265). Finds in the three-roomed building (in Trenches A900 and A1100) on the upper terrace of the Andreion Complex included a number of loom weights which, along with an absence of evidence for food-processing, may indicate that its primary function related to non-domestic textile production (Haggis et al. 2004: 370-372). Four rooms to the west of this building (Trenches A1200 and A1400-A1600) appear to have been used for storage and as a kitchen (in A1600), perhaps for the dining areas identified in Trenches A800 and A2000 (Haggis et al. 2004: 373-378, 2007a: 253-265). The large room (30m²) in A800 contained fragments of three elaborately decorated terracotta stands along with other ceramics which provide evidence for drinking and dining activities (Haggis

² This set of buildings will be referred to as the Andreion Complex throughout this discussion. This is not meant to imply uncritical acceptance of this structure as an *andreion* of the type discussed by ancient authors but is instead to avoid confusion by using the same terminology as that employed by the excavators of the site who recognise that the identification of this building as an *andreion* is tentative and not unproblematic (see Haggis et al. 2004: 380-382, 387-390; Haggis et al. 2007a: 263).

et al. 2004: 379-382). The excavators of the site suggest that the stands may have served as centrepieces, supporting kraters, in drinking and dining ceremonies (Haggis et al. 2004: 379-380). This room is separated by two rooms in A1900 from an even larger room in Trench A2000 (Haggis et al. 2007a: 253). This room contained a number of finds, such as fragments of fine cups, the base of a kotyle, small craters, table amphorae and a fenestrated stand, which suggest that activities related to consumption, specifically drinking, took place here (Haggis et al. 2007a: 253). The northern room in A1900, A1900N, contained pottery, food remains and fragments of iron obeloi, and three built platforms, whose specific function is unknown (Haggis et al. 2007a: 253-257). The southern room, A1900S, contained drinking and dining remains, such as shells, animal bones, seeds, cup fragments, a krater, the foot of a kylix, the base of a jug and two fenestrated stands, which were possibly swept into the area from the rooms in A2000 and A1900N (Haggis et al. 2007a: 257-258). A two-roomed building (A1300) located to the north of the storerooms in A1200 and A1400 may have been used for wine pressing and olive oil production (Haggis et al. 2004: 369-370). The identification of this building complex as an *andreion* is based primarily on the drinking and dining evidence from A800 and A2000 as well as its large-scale, apparently non-domestic kitchens and storerooms (see discussion in Haggis et al. 2004: 380-382, 387-390, 2007a: 263). Haggis et al. (2007: 262-263) suggest that a porch and vestibule area in A1900S functioned to link different areas of the complex and to differentiate different areas of consumption. They suggest that the large hall in A2000, which they estimate could seat over 20 people, had a more public function than the rooms in A1900N and A800 to which access may have been more restricted. In addition to the dining areas in A800 and A2000, an additional room, similar in size to A2000, may have been located on the terrace below A2000 (Haggis et al. 2007a: 262).

The “Service Building” and “Monumental Civic Building” were located to the west of the possible agora (Haggis et al. 2007a: 274-301). The southern end of the Service Building contains seven rooms which appear to have served as storerooms and kitchens (Haggis et al. 2007a: 274-294). At its northern end are two rooms, possibly used for olive oil production, whose formal relationship to the rest of the building is currently unclear (Haggis et al. 2007a: 294-295). The

Monumental Civic Building is located immediately north of the Service Building and comprises a very large room (180-200m²) with a stepped bench running along its interior (Haggis et al. 2007a: 295-301). Finds from the room include serving vessels such as a situla and a fine lekane as well as both floral and faunal food remains (Haggis et al. 2007a: 298). Although the function of this room is currently uncertain, Haggis et al (2007: 299-301) suggest that it served a civic function, possibly similar to the functions of later *prytaneia*.



Figure 6.7 View from Immediately Above the Monumental Civic Building at Azoria, Showing Its Orientation Towards the Outside World.

The “Cult Building” is a poorly preserved structure adjacent to the possible ancient agora of the settlement (Haggis et al. 2007a: 269-273). This building appears to have had benches running along the interior faces of its east and west walls and contained a Late Archaic pit or bothros (Haggis et al. 2007a: 271). Unfortunately, little evidence of the possible function of this building in the Archaic period was found, apart from a fragmentary terracotta plaque (Haggis et al. 2007a: 271-272). As noted in Section 5.2.5, LM IIIC to LG remains were found below this building (Haggis et al. 2007a: 302). Unlike the other public buildings so far uncovered at Azoria, described above, which were oriented westwards towards the outside world (Figure 6.7), this building was oriented

towards the EIA cultural landscape of Avgo and the south slopes of the Kastro, perhaps asserting a new community identity that integrated the previously dispersed populations of this region (Haggis et al. 2007a: 301-302).

Only a few Archaic sites have been identified within the wider Kavousi area, including at Sopata and Trapeza in the Avgo Valley and Panagia Skali and Pachlitzani Agriada near modern Kavousi (Haggis 2005). Architectural and ceramic remains from Panagia Skali suggest that it was used from LM IIIC until the Archaic period (Haggis 2005: 131). This site may have been ancillary to the settlement at Azoria (Haggis 1993: 151, 1995: 181-182, 2005: 131). As described in Section 5.2.5, the small shrine at Pachlitzani Agriada, excavated by Alexiou in the 1950s, was used from the PG to Archaic periods (Alexiou 1956; see also Haggis 2005: 137; Prent 2005: 299-300). The shrine comprised a building with an internal bench and finds included a large terracotta statue base, terracotta and bronze figurines, and two daedalic plaques. Alexiou (1956) suggested that the deity worshipped at this shrine was Eileithyia, a specifically Cretan deity associated with childbirth. As discussed in Chapter 5, this shrine may have been a central cult place in the region from PG to A, and have functioned to symbolically mark the centre of a territory associated with the settlement at Azoria by the end of the EIA, thereby unifying the inhabitants of this region by signifying a common identity through joint religious practices. The function of this shrine as a symbol of a common identity would have continued to be important in the Archaic period, particularly in its early stages, when collective memory (and initially, personal memory) might be expected to recall the time when the population of the region lived in more dispersed settlements.

A fiery destruction layer dated to the late sixth century BC has been found across the excavated part of Azoria (Haggis et al. 2004). Following this, the function of some parts of the site appears to have changed, such as the south kitchen in the Andreion Complex which was subsequently used as a dump (Haggis et al. 2004). However, many areas were rebuilt, including the north kitchen in the Andreion Complex (Haggis et al. 2004: 386) and occupation at the site continued until the first quarter of the fifth century BC when the site was abandoned (Haggis et al. 2004, 2007a). No Classical sites were found in the region in the Kavousi-Thryphiti

Survey, and the inhabitants of this area may therefore have moved to growing settlements on the coast or in and near the Isthmus of Ierapetra, such as Hierapytna, Minoa, Oleros, Istron, Larisa and Lato (Haggis 1993: 160, 1996: 415, 2005: 41, 86).

6.2.5 The Isthmus of Ierapetra

As noted in Section 5.2.9, following the Late Geometric abandonment of Istron *Vrokastro*, its population may have moved to settlements in the northern part of the Isthmus of Ierapetra (Hayden 2004a: 149, 155, 191). The settlements attested either epigraphically or in literary sources in the Isthmus of Ierapetra include Hierapytna, Larissa, Istron, Minoa and Oleros. Although by the Hellenistic period, Hierapytna was the most important settlement on the Isthmus, very little is known about it prior to the fourth century BC (Hayden 2004a: 225). The primary reason for this is that the remains of the city lie under modern Ierapetra, and most evidence for this polis comes from Hellenistic and Roman inscriptions. Although these later inscriptions can shed some light on the political and social practices of the city, it is not certain that these practices extended back to the Archaic to Classical period, and it will therefore not be considered in detail in this chapter.

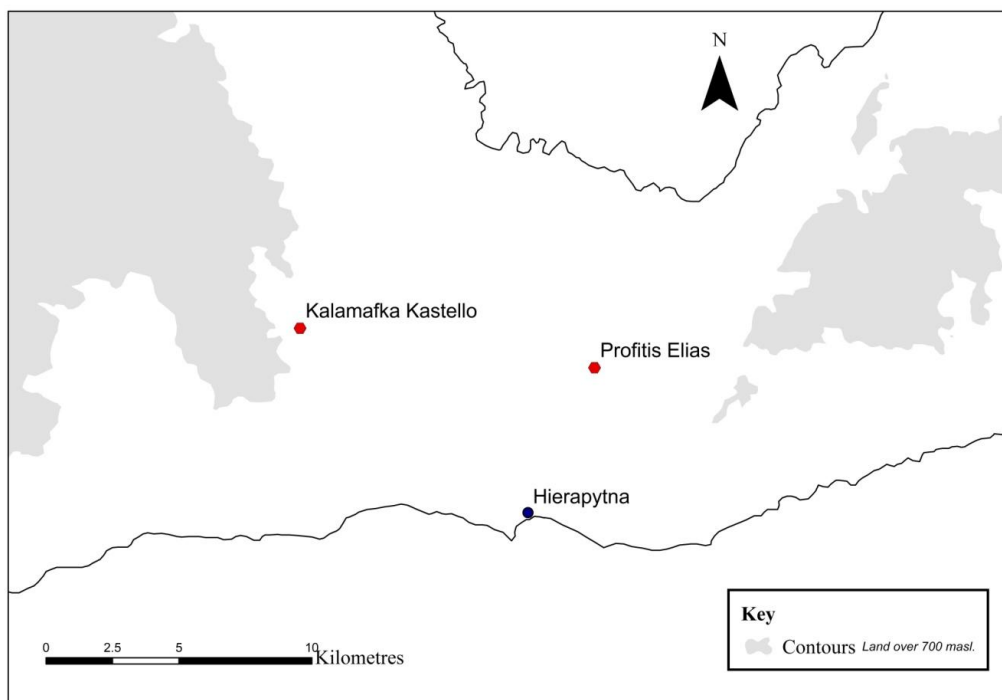


Figure 6.8 The Two Possible Locations of Larisa in Relation to Hierapytna.



Figure 6.9 The Promontory of Nisi Pandeimon, the location of Ancient Istron, from Istron Vrokastro (P marks Priniatikos Pyrgos where a site ancillary site to Istron may have been located).

The precise location of Larisa, which Strabo (*Geography* 9.5.19) states synoicised with Hierapytna, is currently unknown (see Section 7.2.5). Two possible locations have been put forward (shown in Figure 6.8): Profitis Elias, which is located near modern Episkopi, and Kalamafka *Kastello*, near modern Kalamafka (for Profitis Elias, see Watrous in Tomlinson 1994-1995: 65; Watrous and Blitzer 1995; for Kalamafka *Kastello*, see Nowicki 2000: 127-128). The locations of Minoa, Istron and Oleros have been discussed in the reports of the Vrokastro Survey Project, which covered the northern part of the Isthmus, including its coastline (Hayden 2004a: 221-222; Hayden et al. 1992). Although the precise location of Minoa is unknown, it is likely that it was located within the area surveyed by the project (Hayden et al. 1992: 296-297). The general vicinity of ancient Istron is suggested by the survival into the present of its name as a toponym, and the settlement itself was probably located on the promontory of Nisi Pandeimon (Figure 6.9), where remains of architecture and pottery have been found (Hayden 2004a: 168, 221; Hayden et al. 1992: 298, 330-332). A site on the promontory of Priniatikos Pyrgos, which is currently being excavated, may have been part of the polis of Istron (P in Figure 6.9; Erickson 2010c: 307; Hayden 1999: 352). Ongoing excavations at Priniatikos Pyrgos have revealed evidence for a wide range of

periods, including a large deposit of fineware pottery mixed with ash and bone, dating to the Classical period, which may indicate public feasting (Erickson 2010c). Oleros was located near the modern village of Meseleri, whose name may derive from that of the ancient settlement (Hayden 2004a: 168, 221-222; Hayden et al. 1992: 298, 332).

The status of Istron and Oleros, and their relationships with each other and neighbouring settlements, such as Hierapytna and Lato, are uncertain. Hayden et al. (1992: 336) suggest that they were at least occasionally autonomous. Settlement in the territory of Istron may have nucleated on the site on Nisi Pandeimon (Hayden 2004a: 191), and given its proximity to the sea, possible harbour on the eastern side of the promontory and beaches suitable for landing ships on both its east and west (Hayden 2004a: 223), its maritime interests may have been an important focus of its economic activity. Oleros is less well attested epigraphically than Istron (Hayden 2004a: 176). Hayden (2004a: 191) suggests that Istron and Oleros may have had a “symbiotic relationship for a few hundred years” in which Istron provided port facilities for Oleros. Oleros appears to have had a more dispersed settlement pattern than Istron (Hayden 2004a: 191), and was also the location for the Temple of Athena Oleria, the remains of which may have been found just east of Meseleri (Hayden 2004a: 176, 182-183).

6.2.6 Olous and Sta Lenika

The Archaic to Roman city of Olous is situated on the Isthmus of Poros, which connects the Spinalonga Peninsula to the rest of Crete (van Effenterre 1992a). As mentioned in Section 5.2.8, the remains of this city are now underwater, having been submerged by a rise in sea level in this part of Crete. A votive deposit containing terracottas of Archaic to Classical date was found on the Isthmus and may indicate the location of an A-C sanctuary (Erickson 2009: 356).

Although the remains from the Temple of Ares and Aphrodite near the modern village of Sta Lenika dates primarily to the EIA and H periods (Bousquet 1938; see also Section 5.2.8 and Section 7.2.8), activity there during the Archaic and Classical periods is attested by an Archaic inscription from the modern village,

which refers to a cult for Ares (Prent 2005: 348), and an Archaic bronze bull found in excavations on the temple site (Lemerle 1937: 474). Given its location at an equidistant point between the settlements of Lato and Olous, the Archaic, and perhaps Classical (despite the lack of evidence from this period) worshippers in this temple seem likely to have been predominantly from these two poleis.

6.2.7 Lato

Despite the later importance of Lato, Archaic to Classical evidence from this site is extremely sparse, and most of the currently visible remains in the urban centre of the site date to a late fourth century/early third century BC reconstruction of the settlement (Demargne 1901; Ducrey and Picard 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1976, 1996; Ducrey et al. 1972; Hadjimichali, V. 1971). The layout of the centre of Lato during the Archaic to Classical periods, and the ways in which it may have functioned within the city are therefore not known. Use of the urban centre in the A-C period is suggested by the finding of a number of A-C pottery fragments and figurines in the vicinity of the agora, particularly below the structure identified as the Hellenistic *prytaneion* and the “West Bastion”, and from a suburban shrine (Demargne 1903: 216; Ducrey and Picard 1972: 583-587). Amongst these figurines were an Archaic figurine of the woman wearing a helmet or hat and male figurines, dated to the Archaic period, which were identified as warriors (Demargne 1929: 409-411).

Three seventh century BC kilns were found below the main temple of the city, which is located south of the agora, on the northern slopes of the South Acropolis (Ducrey and Picard 1969). The first kiln was the best preserved and contained a variety of sherds as well as ash (Ducrey and Picard 1969: 793-803). The second kiln was located north-east of the first and pre-dates it, although not significantly as the ceramics found in both kilns share similarities (Ducrey and Picard 1969: 804). The third kiln was located north of the second (Ducrey and Picard 1969: 805). This kiln was larger than the first two and did not contain traces of any kind of support for ceramics as they were fired, leading the excavators to conclude that they could not be sure that it was used for pottery as were the first two (Ducrey and Picard 1969: 805). Pottery from in and around the kilns on the temple terrace

includes sherds from vessels such as skyphoi and bowls (Ducrey and Picard 1969: 808-815). Despite their uncertainty about whether the third kiln was used for pottery, a number of terracotta fragments were found in the rubble that had filled this kiln, including female masks and a votive plaque with a female head (Ducrey and Picard 1969: 815-822).

As noted in Section 5.2.9, Geometric to Orientalising votives from a deposit at Lato have been found, some of which may relate to worship of Eileithyia, who is known to have been the principal goddess of the Hellenistic city (Demargne 1929). Despite the lack of explicit evidence for a cult to Eileithyia at Lato in the Archaic to Classical periods, ongoing worship of this deity through these periods seems likely, particularly given the evidence for her worship both before and after the Archaic to Classical periods. Amongst the votives found in this deposit were a number of terracotta plaques, similar to those found at Praisos (described in Sections 5.2.3 and 6.2.3), although with more variation in the images represented on the plaques than is apparent at Praisos (Demargne 1929: 417-426).

As described in Section 7.2.9, a number of structures relating to political, social and religious practices were built in the reconstruction of Lato in the early Hellenistic period. These, together with epigraphical evidence, suggest the presence of a relatively complex political structure comprising a number of groups with different statuses and roles, membership of which may have varied from year to year (for example, depending on which individuals held political office in a particular year). As discussed in Chapter 7, the reconstruction of Lato in the early Hellenistic period may have expressed and heightened the salience of a polis-based group identity in the settlement. The date of this reconstruction, early in the Hellenistic period, might suggest that this identity, with a particular emphasis on its political aspects (manifest, for example, in the *prytaneion*), had already begun to be important in the preceding, Classical, period. One might even hypothesise a situation whereby the salience of this identity gradually increased over time in conjunction with the EIA nucleation of settlement around Lato (see Section 5.2.9) and the establishment and evolution of the political structures and groups which are attested in the Hellenistic epigraphical record. The worship of Eileithyia, the principal deity of the Lato may have further served to emphasise

joint participation in a group identity focused around the polis whilst also distinguishing this group identity from the polis identities of neighbouring poleis where more ‘Greek’ deities were worshipped, such as Apollo Delphinios at Dreros (Demargne and van Effenterre 1937a; Marinatos 1936).

6.2.8 Dreros

Dreros has been described by van Effenterre (1992b: 86) as “one of the most typical Archaic cities of Crete”. As noted in Section 5.2.12, remains from this city cover two hills, and the saddle between them, and is located a few kilometres inland from the north-western edge of the Mirabello Bay (Demargne and van Effenterre 1937a; Lemerle 1936: 485-487). The centre of the city was located on the saddle between the two hills, comprising the Geometric Temple to Apollo Delphinios described in Section 5.2.12, the agora, a large cistern (built in the Hellenistic period) and a structure located immediately south of the temple which may have been the *prytaneion* (Figure 5.8; Demargne and van Effenterre 1937a). As described in Section 5.2.12, the agora may be contemporary with the temple, to which it is connected by a series of steps. Although many of the finds from the temple and the terrace on which it is situated date to the EIA, finds associated with the temple, and dating to the Archaic to Hellenistic periods, including the inscriptions discussed below, suggest that it continued to be used during this time (Demargne and van Effenterre 1937a: 27-32, 1937b; Marinatos 1936; Prent 2005: 285-286). In addition to its close relationship with the agora, noted in Section 5.2.12, the incorporation of the Temple of Apollo Delphinios into the political fabric of Dreros is most obvious in the Archaic laws which may have been inscribed on its East wall (Demargne and van Effenterre 1937a: 27-32, 1937b: 333). These inscriptions were found in excavations of the Hellenistic cistern beside the temple, into which they appear to have fallen, most likely in the post-Hellenistic period following the abandonment of Dreros (Demargne and van Effenterre 1937a: 28, 1937b). Among the 13 fragments in the cistern, eight separate texts have been identified, concerned primarily with laws and the functioning of the polis (Demargne and van Effenterre 1937a: 27-32, 1937b). For example, one inscription, dated to the seventh century BC, gives a law said to please the polis (πόλι), which states that once individuals have been *kosmoi*

(κόσμοι), they must wait 10 years before being allowed to do so again, or face penalties. The text ends by stating that the law has been sworn by oath by three groups: the *kosmos* (κόσμος), the *damioi* (δάμιοι) and the “twenty of the polis” (ἵκατι οἱ τᾶς πόλι[10]ς; see Demargne and van Effenterre 1937b for a restored version and discussion of this text).

Two particular aspects of this law are significant in this discussion. The first of these is the reference to the polis, which suggests consciousness of a coherent and distinct community and political body existed at Dreros from the Archaic period (Ehrenberg 1943: 14). The second is the reference to at least three different groups within this polis, the *kosmoi*, the *damioi* and the ‘twenty of the city’. Although the precise nature of the *damioi* and the twenty of the city is unclear (Demargne and van Effenterre 1937a: 346-347; Ehrenberg 1943: 17), their importance to the polis and to its political and legal practices has not been disputed. Together, these references suggest the presence at Dreros of complex polis-based group identities, which were particularly emphasised within the polis in the political and judicial contexts of these Archaic inscriptions. The broadest polis-based group identity that might be posited on the basis of this inscription, is one that encompassed at least the male citizens of Dreros, if not all its inhabitants. However, within this group identity, smaller sub-groups may have existed, some of whose names can be identified as the *kosmoi*, *damioi* and the ‘twenty’ in this inscription. It might be argued that for most inhabitants of Dreros, membership of a polis-based group identity at the broadest level (i.e. that encompassing at least the male citizens) was available to all and perhaps salient in many contexts in addition to the political and judicial context of the Archaic inscriptions. The text prohibiting individuals from serving as *kosmoi* for a 10 year period following a term of office suggests that in at least one case of the smaller polis-based sub-groups at Dreros, that of the *kosmoi*, access to membership was controlled and transient.

Although it is not certain whether the ability to become a member of the smaller sub-groups was open to all the citizens of Archaic and Classical Dreros, comparison with evidence for legal and constitutional practices and prescriptions across the rest of Crete and Greece in different time periods suggests that access

to membership may have been restricted along lines of age, gender, social status and/or wealth, if only to ensure that officials of the state were able to carry out their duties properly. This suggests that other identities may have cross-cut polis identities and may have influenced intra-settlement relationships and group-memberships to a certain extent. Even for those individuals who were able to become members of the smaller polis-based sub-groups in Dreros, such as the *kosmoi*, group-membership may have been short-lived. One might hypothesise a situation in which salient identities for certain individuals changed relatively rapidly, for example a particular formal identity associated with the office of *kosmos* may be acquired by an individual for the duration of their term in office. When salient, these short-term identities may have determined and defined key relationships for individuals, such as how they related to other groups within the polis as well as with whom they may have had particularly frequent interaction (for example, other *kosmoi*). To a certain extent these identities may have continued to influence individual action and interaction once they ceased to become immediately salient, perhaps, for example, determining the behaviour of *ex-kosmoi* so that they did not violate the law described above.

South of the temple was a structure comprising three rooms and a vestibule, which may have been the *prytaneion* (Demargne and van Effenterre 1937a: 15-26). Although the finds from this building range in date from the Geometric until the Hellenistic period, Demargne and van Effenterre (1937a: 18) suggest that it may have been built around the same time as the building on the West hill, excavated by Xanthoudides. The function of the building on the West Acropolis has been identified as either a temple or *andreion*, and contained finds such as weapons and armour (see discussions in Marinatos 1936: 253-254; Prent 2005: 283-284). Although these need not necessarily be mutually exclusive, particularly as cult activities are likely to have taken place within *andreia*, the discovery of an EIA votive deposit in the vicinity of this building (described in Section 5.2.10) lends support to the proposition that it was a temple, and suggests that religious activity on the site may have continued from the EIA into the Archaic period. Whether this building was a temple or *andreion* however, its monumentality and associated finds with military connotations suggest that it played an important role in certain intra-polis group identities, perhaps particularly associated with

men or certain age groups. The presence of armour in this building might suggest that warrior or warfare ideology may have been an important aspect of the group identities which were negotiated and communicated through the use of this building.

6.3 Discussion

Based on the site descriptions given in Section 6.2, a number of social practices and group identities may be hypothesised to have been important in Archaic to Classical East Crete. These include practices relating to political structures and institutions, the creation of ‘place’ through construction activity, religious practices and group commensality, all of which are discussed below.

6.3.1 Place, Buildings and Political Practices

Social practices relating to the political sphere are particularly apparent in the Archaic to Classical evidence from East Crete, described in Section 6.2. Although the nature of political practices varied from site to site, they take two general forms: the first relates to building practices in specific places, often the urban centre of settlements, and the second to practices associated with writing and political, legal and religious inscriptions. Both of these sets of practices are apparent at Dreros, where, as described in Section 6.2.8, a set of Archaic laws were inscribed on one wall of the Temple of Apollo Delphinios, which was itself adjacent to both a possible *prytaneion* and the settlement’s agora. As discussed in Section 6.2.8, inscriptions such as the one stipulating a minimum of ten years between periods as service as a *kosmos*, indicate both the presence of a broad polis-based identity which encompassed at least some male citizens of a settlement, which was explicitly identified as a *polis*, and a number of sub-groups within the polis, membership of which may have been controlled and transient. The establishment of buildings such as the possible *prytaneion* of Dreros in specific loci within the physical space of the polis, particularly in its urban centre, may have both been influenced by an increasing importance of certain polis-based sub-groups to the political and social functioning of the settlement and served to

further increase the salience of both a broad polis-based identity and identities associated with sub-groups such as the *kosmoi*.

Practices associated with the *prytaneion* and the inscription of law codes on one wall of the Temple of Apollo Delphinios would have established and signified the polis identity associated with Dreros and linked it to the heart of the settlement both physically and symbolically and perhaps helped to unify its inhabitants as a corporate body in which each member adhered to this common identity. At the same time, below this polis identity may have fallen a number of segmentary group identities, also communicated through political practices in the urban centre of the settlement, such as identities associated with different sub-groups of the polis like the *kosmoi*. A number of other sub-groups and identities may have existed alongside those explicitly named in the Dreros inscription described in Section 6.2.8, such as groups linked to age and/or gender. The political influence of these groups may have varied and certain individuals may have been members of multiple sub-groups, perhaps with their position in some influencing their position in others. Membership of these groups and their associated identities may have been communicated through the specific practices carried out by their participants in structures such as the *prytaneion* and perhaps also in the public building on the West Acropolis of Dreros (Section 6.2.8). Together these practices would have signified a joint sense of belonging at one level, that of the polis, whilst also communicating the lines that divided those who belonged to this identity into a complex pattern of overlapping allegiances based on which smaller groups within this whole they belonged to, including the different political sub-groups and groups and identities based on characteristics such as age, gender, social status and wealth. A similar process, whereby both a group identity associated with a settlement or early polis and group identities associated with sub-groups within this whole were manifested through the same practices in the political sphere and through the use of the built environment can be posited for other East Cretan sites, such as in the Andreion Complex and Monumental Civic Building at Azoria (see Section 6.2.4). Although a paucity of Archaic to Classical evidence at Lato (Section 6.2.7) precludes determining which features of the built environment may have been used to signify identities associated with sub-groups in this polis, a polis identity seems likely to have been salient at this site in the

Classical period and was perhaps a necessary precursor to the extensive reconstructions carried out in this settlement in the early Hellenistic period, and helped to smooth the process of organising these reconstructions.

At both Itanos and Azoria, there is evidence for practices associated with building important, apparently civic, structures and the reorganisation of the built environment in the seventh century BC. At Itanos, this is evident in the building of the Archaic structure in the North Necropolis area. Unfortunately, the Archaic to Classical evidence from the main urban centre of Itanos, on the two acropoleis and in the saddle between them, is not sufficient to assess whether these practices may have extended beyond the North Necropolis to this area as well. At Azoria there is abundant evidence for these practices and the significant changes that they brought to the built environment of the settlement (see Section 6.2.4). Although neighbouring sites such as Kavousi *Kastro* underwent significant reorganisation in the EIA, the seventh century BC changes at Azoria would have required a greater degree of urban planning and large-scale organisation (Haggis et al. 2004: 390). Haggis et al. (2007b: 707-708) have suggested that these changes appear to represent a deliberate attempt to bury or conceal architectural remains from the EIA past whilst also carefully controlling and reintegrating certain EIA objects into “a new systemic context that emphasized public venues of aristocratic display at the expense of visible references to local lineage connections.” They hypothesise that within this context and through the building of the monumental public architecture described in Section 6.2.4, a new community and urban identity was constructed and new political roles and social institutions defined (Haggis et al. 2007b: 708; see also Haggis et al. 2004: 390). In its emphasis on controlled use of the past through selective suppression or display, the process at Azoria therefore appears to differ significantly from that at Dreros and Itanos, although the types of group identities communicated through subsequent activity in the resulting built environments were similar. At Dreros, the Temple of Apollo Delphinios, appears to have been used continuously from the EIA into the Archaic and modified only to ‘add value’ through the inscribing of Archaic law codes on one wall. Although evidence is sparse from Itanos, areas of the site such as the North Necropolis also appear to have been in continuous

use from the EIA into the Archaic, again without an obvious pattern of selective suppression or display of material references to the past.

Although a relative lack of evidence from EIA Dreros and Itanos precludes detailed discussion, it is possible that variations between Archaic practices at these sites and Kavousi *Azoria* are the result of different patterns of development in social relationships and identities in the EIA. As discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, the inhabitants of the Kavousi region in LM IIIC and EIA may have shared certain group identities, particularly one associated with a site cluster in the region, which acted to unify them, whereas site clusters have not been posited for LM IIIC and EIA Dreros and Itanos.

At Archaic *Azoria*, the new community and urban identity associated with the seventh century BC changes and the building of structures such as the Andreion Complex and the Monumental Civic Building, posited by Haggis et al (2007b: 707-708) may have further unified the different groups in the Kavousi region, for whom group identities associated with their immediate settlement, such as the specific settlement at Kavousi *Kastro*, may have been more important or more immediately salient on a daily basis during the EIA than a group identity associated with their particular site cluster. The substantial changes to the built environment of *Azoria* in the seventh century may have served to neutralise potentially problematic material references to EIA group identities that excluded newcomers to the settlement (whose forebears had not been linked directly to these reminders of the past) and to privilege the long-established kin and family groups in the settlement. In this light, rebuilding the centre of the settlement and substantially changing its urban topography provided a means by which all the inhabitants of the settlement, including those families which had moved there within living memory could participate as equals as they were all living and interacting in a relatively new environment.

Although at Dreros, a polis identity appears to have been established from an early date, in the Archaic period, the time when formal polis identities were established and became salient across East Crete may have varied. For example, the fact that politically-important buildings such as a *prytaneion* do not appear to

have been established at Lato until the Hellenistic period might suggest that these identities only became institutionalised there at a later date than at Dreros. However, polis-based identities need not necessarily have been negotiated and communicated primarily through building and writing practices relating to the political sphere. In many cases, religious practices may have played an equal or greater role in creating a sense of belonging to a particular community as is discussed in Section 5.3.1 for religious practices at shrines in the vicinity of EIA Praisos and at Palaikastro. Religious practices and the identities signified through these in the Archaic to Classical periods are considered in further detail in the following section, Section 6.3.2.

6.3.2 Religion and Religious Practices

A number of sites in Archaic to Classical East Crete provide good evidence for religion and religious practices, such as Palaikastro, Praisos and Olous. A number of different religious practices can be discerned at Praisos and Palaikastro (see Sections 6.2.2 and 6.2.3), including practices linked to votive deposition of terracotta figures and plaques, at the spring shrines at Vavelloi and Mesamvryses and in the shrine on the First Acropolis and practices linked to sacrifice and votive deposition of bronzes on the Third Acropolis and at the Temple of Dictaeon Zeus at Palaikastro (see Whitley et al. 1999: 252-253 on variation in votive practices). Although Whitley et al. (1999: 252-253) also list the drinking practices at Profitis Elias as evidence for variation in votive practices and cults, the paucity of material evidence that might be specifically linked to religious activity from this site suggests caution is needed in the interpretation of these practices. They will therefore be considered in Section 6.3.3, which focuses on social practices related to consumption of food and drink.

Whitley (1998: 37) has noted that Praisos is exceptional in its use of terracotta votives, some of which appear to be of styles only found within and on the borders of its territory. Parallels in the votive terracottas from cult sites in the territory of Praisos, such as at Vavelloi, Mesamvryses, Roussa Ekklesia, and on the First Acropolis suggest that similar religious practices may have taken place at these sites. As discussed in Chapter 5, joint participation in similar religious

practices across the territory of Praisos may have linked diverse individuals and groups into a single group and helped to establish a common group religious identity. The continuation of these practices into the Archaic period suggests that this group identity also continued to be signified and salient into this time period. As the geographical extent of this religious identity coincided with the territorial extent of Praisos, it seems likely that these practices also helped to unify its diverse inhabitants and communicate a shared political and territorial identity associated with this polis. Whilst denoting similarity between the inhabitants of Praisos who participated in these practices, cult activity which focused on deposition of terracotta votives would simultaneously have emphasised lines of difference between those who inhabited the wider territory of Praisos and participated in its religious life and those outside its territory who did not. Although the continuation of these religious practices from the EIA into the Archaic suggests a measure of stability, variation in religious practices by the inhabitants of this polis, such as in the deposition of terracotta plaques at Vavelloi, Mesamvryses, Roussa Ekklesia and on the First Acropolis and the deposition of bronze votives on the Third Acropolis and at Palaikastro (see Sections 6.2.2 and 6.2.3) also indicates fluidity in the religious identities adhered to by the different inhabitants of this polis at different times.

As noted in Section 6.2.2, the temple at Palaikastro is located on the boundary between the poleis of Praisos and Itanos, and is likely to have acted as a marker of this boundary between the Archaic and Hellenistic periods, if not before (see discussion in Section 5.3.1; for further discussion of this temple as a boundary marker, see Bosanquet 1939/1940; Perlman 1995; Prent 2003). The similarities between the temple at Palaikastro and the sanctuary on the Third Acropolis at Praisos, particularly in their material remains, noted in Sections 6.2.2 and 6.2.3 (see also Bosanquet 1939/1940: 65-66; Dawkins et al. 1904/1905: 303-305), together with Strabo's comment (*Geography* 10.4.6, 12) that the Temple of Dictaeon Zeus was located within the territory of Praisos appear to indicate that the temple at Palaikastro fell within the territory of this polis. Yet, this is challenged by evidence for the worship of Dictaeon Zeus at Itanos, including the inclusion of Dictaeon Zeus amongst the gods by whom the inhabitants of this polis swore in inter-polis civic agreements and the Toplou inscription, which

seems to imply that the temple site belonged to Itanos (see Bosanquet 1939/1940; Perlman 1995).

It is possible that the temple at Palaikastro and its lands may have belonged to Itanos or Praisos, and later Hierapytna, at different times during the Archaic to Hellenistic periods (as Perlman 1995: 163-165 seems to suggest). Alternatively, the temple at Palaikastro may not have formally 'belonged' to any polis in the Archaic to Hellenistic periods, but rather functioned as a regional sanctuary, which provided a neutral meeting ground for the elites from all poleis in the far east of Crete (Prent 2003: 95-96). In this scenario, although the temple may not have formally 'belonged' to any polis, Itanos, Praisos and Hierapytna each may have exercised a varying degrees of predominance in their influence or control over the sanctuary at different times during the Archaic to Hellenistic periods. Regardless of whether any poleis ever 'owned' the temple at Palaikastro, and if so, at which points during the Archaic to Hellenistic periods, the worship of Dictaeon Zeus in Itanos and Praisos may have signified joint participation in a group, and its associated identity, that spanned the far east of Crete, encompassing the poleis of Itanos, Praisos and perhaps Hierapytna in the Archaic to Classical periods. At the same time, however, some of these practices may have been carried out at the Temple of Dictaeon Zeus which simultaneously marked a physical and symbolic boundary between the poleis of Itanos and Praisos.

If the temple at Palaikastro did not belong to Praisos or Itanos in the Archaic and Classical periods, it might be expected that each polis would have used various social practices to express its relationship with the temple and to demarcate the physical and symbolic boundary it indicated between different poleis and their associated political and territorial identities. In the case of Praisos, active use of similar material culture and religious practices at the temple at Palaikastro and in the important sanctuary on the Altar Hill in the heart of Praisian territory may have provided one means of expressing a Praisian political and territorial identity which centred on the city itself and was limited to its territorial extent, defined in part by Palaikastro *Roussolakkos*. At the same time, however, joint participation in worship of Dictaeon Zeus during the Archaic to Classical periods by the poleis of Praisos, Itanos and perhaps Hierapytna (where worship of Dictaeon Zeus is

attested in the Hellenistic period; see Section 7.2.6) would have connected these three poleis through joint membership of a religious group identity focused on Dictaeon Zeus. Although this joint group identity need not indicate a formal political federation of the poleis in the far east of Crete (see Perlman 1995: 166-167), it may, at times, have helped to smooth difficult relations between these poleis. Elsewhere in East Crete, rather than incorporating different poleis into a joint religious identity with neighbouring poleis, the choice of a particular deity worshipped served to distinguish between neighbouring poleis, as was noted in Section 6.2.7 where it was suggested that the worship of a specifically Cretan deity, Eileithya, at Lato, may have distinguished this polis and its identity from that of its neighbours, Dreros and Olous.

The above discussion demonstrates that religious practices were closely tied to inter-polis relations and were also often linked to the negotiation and communication of the identities of individual poleis. Within the urban centre of Azoria, the Cult Building, which was oriented towards the EIA cultural landscape of Avgo and the south slopes of the *Kastro* (see Section 6.2.4), may have visually established links between the polis centre and its territory, thereby communicating the new community identity that integrated the previously dispersed populations of this region (Haggis et al. 2007a: 301-302). Links between centre and hinterland of East Cretan settlements may also have been signified through religious practices carried out, at least in part, by inhabitants of the urban centre at shrines in the wider territory of a polis, such as at *Vamies* near Itanos or at Pachlitzani Agriada near Kavousi. If the shrine at Pachlitzani Agriada was indeed for Eileithya, as Alexiou suggests (1956), practices at this shrine may have also linked the inhabitants of Azoria to a wider group of worshippers of this deity outside its own territory.

The site descriptions in Section 6.2 reveal some of the wide variety of deities that were worshipped by the inhabitants of different settlements in East Crete: particularly Cretan deities or versions of deities appear at Itanos and Praisos (Dictaeon Zeus) and at Lato (Eileithya). More generally Greek deities appear at Dreros (Apollo Delphinios) and at Olous and/or Lato (for example in the worship of Ares and Aphrodite at Sta Lenika). These practices would have linked the

inhabitants of settlements in East Crete to a variety of groups and identities, most of which may have crossed polis boundaries and, in the case of mainland Greek deities, may have linked poleis on Crete to identities that encompassed much of the Greek world. At the same time as signifying broad regional links, however, as discussed above these religious practices may have functioned to communicate difference on a more local level, between neighbouring poleis, such as between Lato, Dreros and Olous.

6.3.3 Group Commensality

Practices relating to consumption of food and drink may have signified certain group identities at a handful of the sites discussed in this chapter. For example, social practices associated with drinking appear to have been important in Archaic and Classical Praisos. As described in Section 6.2.3, evidence for these practices comes from Profitis Elias, which is located to the south-east of the settlement at Praisos (Whitley et al. 1999: 249-251). Although it is difficult to hypothesise the meaning of these practices without more detailed publication of the evidence from this site, and perhaps excavated evidence for comparable practices at other sites within the territory of Praisos, one might posit that through these practices a specific group identity, perhaps associated with an elite who wished to visually establish their significance within the polis as a whole, was negotiated and communicated. If Erickson's (2010c) suggestion that the Classical deposit of pottery, ash and bone from Priniatikos Pyrgos indicates public feasting (as mentioned in Section 6.2.5), group commensality may also have been an important mode through which group identities were created and perpetuated at this site, although a more detailed understanding of the site in this period is required before the nature of these particular group identities can be explored.

The nature of the types of group identities which were signified through consumption practices is perhaps more clear at Azoria. Here, group identities, perhaps involving only a portion of the inhabitants of the settlement, were constructed and negotiated through social practices involving the consumption of food and drink in the new public buildings of the Andreion Complex and the Monumental Civic Building. If the identification of the building complex on the

West Slope as an *andreion* is accurate, literary sources on this institution suggest that group identities associated specifically with elite, male citizens might have been salient in the context of these buildings. For many individuals within the settlement, depending on the wider temporal context, these group identities associated with elite, male citizens would have intersected with identities linked to the life cycle and practices and initiation ceremonies linked to the specific ages of certain boys in the settlement. Different group identities may have been emphasised at different times in each of the two public buildings in which drinking and dining took place at Azoria. In the Andreion Complex, where, as noted in Section 6.2.4, certain rooms such as A800 had more restricted access than others, such as A2000, sub-groups and their associated identities within the wider elite, male citizen group may have been emphasised and privileged. Although often post-dating the Archaic to Classical period, textual evidence, such as inscriptions referring to *kosmoi* at Itanos, might suggest the nature of some of these sub-groups and offer insight into the way in which they fitted into the wider political structure of ancient poleis.

6.3.4 The Eteocretan Identity

As discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, much work on identity in Crete to date has focused on the Eteocretan identity (including Duhoux 1982; Hall 1997; Sjögren 2006; Whitley 1998, 2006). As discussed in Section 6.2.3, although this identity is highly problematic, what may be most significant is that there appears to have been a group of people in east Crete, particularly around Praisos, who were perceived by at least some individuals in the wider Greek world to have a unique, autochthonous group identity, and may themselves have constructed and adhered to a unique, autochthonous group identity even if they did not call themselves Eteocretans. The literary evidence, particularly Homer, Herodotus and Strabo, suggests that this autochthonous identity became salient during the Archaic and Classical periods and continued to be relevant into the Hellenistic period. As settlement sizes and populations grew, and contact with neighbouring settlements and the wider Greek world increased and the polis, as a political and social entity, became widespread by the Archaic period, individual poleis appear to have attempted to assert their unique identities through a variety of social practices,

including those discussed in Section 6.3.1. At Praisos, one way in which this was done may have been to emphasise links with the past, through the promotion of an autochthonous identity (which came to be known outside Praisos as the Eteocretan identity). Although our modern understanding of Cretan chronology makes it tempting to link the re-use of Bronze Age structures in the Praisos region in the Classical period (Section 6.2.3) to attempts to communicate an autochthonous Eteocretan identity, one should be cautious in attributing patterns of re-use to active promotion of an ancestral past (Whitley 2002). Given the interest in a heroic and/or mythical past apparent in much of Greek literature, including the identification by Diodorus Siculus of the Bronze Age town at Palaikastro as a city built by Zeus (discussed in Section 6.2.2), these re-use practices seem more likely to have formed part of another means of promoting a unique Praisian identity, by visually and materially linking it to a mythical or divine past, rather than an ancestral or historical past. Even if the ‘Eteocretan inscriptions’ were not ever actively used to promote an autochthonous group identity for the people of Praisos, nor perceived to do so by outsiders, they may have contributed to the establishment and perpetuation of a Praisian polis identity through practices associated with their use in religious and administrative contexts.

6.4 Summary

As is discussed in Chapter 5, a process of settlement nucleation and territorial expansion took place in East Crete during the EIA. Evidence from Archaic to Classical Crete suggests that this was followed by a period of consolidation of political institutions and a transformation of settlement/territorial identities to become more formal, self-aware polis identities. The most explicit evidence for this in East Crete comes from the Archaic inscriptions at Dreros, discussed in Section 6.2.8. Although the lack of equivalent evidence for communities referring to themselves as a polis from the other A-C sites in East Crete may suggest that this identity became salient at Dreros earlier than elsewhere in East Crete, it is likely that group identities focusing on individual poleis, and incorporating an urban centre and settlement territory, and institutionalised political and religious practices and offices, were manifest across East Crete by the late Archaic and

Classical periods. During the Archaic and Classical periods, a number of political group identities within each polis itself might be hypothesised, including those associated with political offices such as the *kosmoi*, *damioi* and the “twenty” attested at Archaic Dreros. In addition to practices directly associated with writing and political institutions, other practices, such as the construction and use of specific buildings, such as the Andreion Complex and Monumental Civic Building at Azoria (Section 6.2.4), also appear to have signified identities associated with sub-groups within individual settlements and poleis. As in the EIA (see Section 5.3), religious practices, for which evidence is particularly abundant in the region of Praisos (Section 6.2.3), continued to play an important role in signifying community, and, by the Classical period, formal polis identities.

In addition to communicating a joint sense of belonging by the citizens of individual poleis, religious practices at the boundaries of their territories may have played a particular role in demarcating the physical and symbolic boundaries between poleis and their identities, for example at the Temple of Dictaeon Zeus at Palaikastro (Section 6.2.2) and the Temple at Sta Lenika (Section 6.2.6). Concurrent with this, however, religious practices also appear to have linked individual East Cretan poleis to each other and to higher level groups and identities that spanned different parts of Crete and the Greek world, including an identity spanning the far east of Crete and associated with the worship of Dictaeon Zeus by Praisos and Itanos, an identity covering much of Crete and associated with worship of Eileithyia at Lato, and identities that spanned much of the Greek world and associated with the worship of Apollo Delphinios, at Dreros, and Ares and Aphrodite, at Sta Lenika.

Formal identities such as individual polis identities, identities associated with political offices and religious identities would have been cross-cut and intersected by a variety of identities, most of which can only be hypothesised given the paucity of the available evidence. For some individuals in East Crete, particularly at Praisos and perhaps Dreros, one of these identities may have been an ethnic or cultural identity linked to the references to the Eteocretans found in extant literature (Sections 6.2.3 and 6.3.5). Within individual poleis, a particularly important identity may have been one associated with elite, male citizens and

consumption practices, evidenced, for example, in the Andreion Complex and Monumental Civic Building at Azoria (Section 6.2.4). In addition to these, a wide variety of identities associated with age, gender, wealth, social status, citizen status and family and/or kin which may have been important in different contexts, including both the relatively informal context of daily life in the Archaic to Classical poleis of East Crete and more formal contexts such as when individuals were appointed to specific political offices.

7 The Hellenistic Period

7.1 Introduction

The final time period considered in this thesis is the Hellenistic period (from the mid-fourth century BC until the Roman conquest of Crete between 69 and 67 BC). As in the Archaic to Classical periods (Chapter 6), evidence for the Hellenistic period is both archaeological and textual. As mentioned in Section 6.1, although Plato, Aristotle and Ephorus have been used as literary sources for political and social institutions across Crete in the Archaic to Hellenistic periods, their use is problematic and the relatively uniform picture across Crete that is derived from these sources masks the real diversity that is likely between its different poleis (Perlman 1992, 2004b, 2005). The most useful and abundant textual evidence for the Hellenistic period comes from formal inscriptions, particularly inter-polis agreements and citizenship oaths such as those from Itanos and Dreros (mentioned in Sections 7.2.1 and 7.2.10 respectively).

During the Hellenistic period, the inhabitants of various Cretan poleis participated in events in the wider Mediterranean world, particularly in warfare and the military sphere. Many Cretans were engaged as mercenaries in foreign armies during the Hellenistic period (Bosworth 1988: 263; Spyridakis 1977; Van Effenterre 1948b: 173-200), and many Cretan poleis became involved in various wars, including those sparked by the effects of Cretan piracy on the commercial activity of Rhodes (Bosworth 1988: 75, 199-201; de Souza 1995: 192; Errington 1989: 245-248; Karafotias 1998: 105). During the Classical and Hellenistic periods, Crete was an important base for pirates who operated throughout the Mediterranean (Chamoux 2003:146, 176; de Souza 1995; Errington 1989: 245-248; Wiseman 1994: 331). Despite attempts to deal with the problem of piracy in the Mediterranean during the Hellenistic period, such as the war between Rhodes and a number of Cretan poleis referred to above, and Pompey's campaign in the eastern Mediterranean, the problem was only fully resolved through Roman intervention in the East Mediterranean in the mid-first century BC, around the

same time as the Roman conquest of Crete (de Souza 1995: 193; Sherwin-White 1994: 248-250).

In addition to participation in warfare and piracy in the wider Mediterranean, the Hellenistic period on Crete is marked for its inter-polis rivalry and strife, which appears to have intensified during this period, particularly in the third and second centuries BC (Alcock et al 2003: 367-368; Bennet 1990: 201-202; Karafotias 1998; Spyridakis 1970). A number of East Cretan poleis were involved in inter-polis strife, which eventually resulted in a number of settlements being conquered and taken over by neighbouring poleis, the most important of which was Praisos which was conquered by Hierapytna sometime between c. 145 and 140 BC (Section 7.2.3). As will be seen in Section 7.2, communities both inside and outside Crete, such as Knossos, Rome and Magnesia on the Maeander, often acted as intermediaries in these disputes. The presence of a Hellenistic federation, or *koinon* (κοινόν), of the different poleis on Crete has been much discussed (e.g., Ager 1994; Chaniotis 1999b; Perlman 1992; Spyridakis 1970: 89-90; Van Effenterre 1948b: 127-160). The Cretan *κοινόν* appears to have been based on an agreement between Knossos and Gortyn and their allies and to have existed during times when relations between Knossos and Gortyn were friendly (Chaniotis 1999b). The Cretan *koinon* appears to have been only relatively loosely structured compared to other Greek federations - member poleis retained their autonomy and there appears not to have been an extensive federal structure (Ager 1994: 2; Spyridakis 1970: 90; Willetts 1977: 80; Van Effenterre 1948b: 131-132, 150-151). However, at times the *koinon* did work as a unit, such as through the institution known as the *koinodikion* (κοινοδικίον) which existed to settle disputes between member states and their citizens (Ager 1994; Ager 1996: 180; see also Van Effenterre 1948b: 145-148 for a discussion which highlights the limits of then current evidence for the role of this institution).

7.2 Evidence

The locations of the Hellenistic sites discussed below are given in Figure 7.1. Figure 7.2 illustrates the possible boundaries of polis territories at the start of the second century BC. As is discussed in this section, textual evidence for polis

boundaries during the Hellenistic period is available only for the boundaries between Itanos and Praisos (later Hierapytna) and between Lato and Hierapytna; of these, only the boundary between Lato and Hierapytna has been examined in detail and its actual line correlated to the topography of this part of Crete (Faure 1967; van Effenterre and Bougrat 1969). This boundary is therefore shown as a solid line in Figure 7.2, whilst the other boundaries lines, which have been hypothesised on the basis of topography, settlement positions and modern municipality boundaries, are shown as dotted lines to reflect the current uncertainty about their actual positions. In Figure 7.2, the boundaries of Hierapytna and Itanos extend into the sea to demonstrate the fact that their actual territories are likely to have included parts of the sea, and islands such as Leuke (modern Kouphonisi) in the case of Itanos, and Chryssi (Gaidouronisi) in the case of Hierapytna.

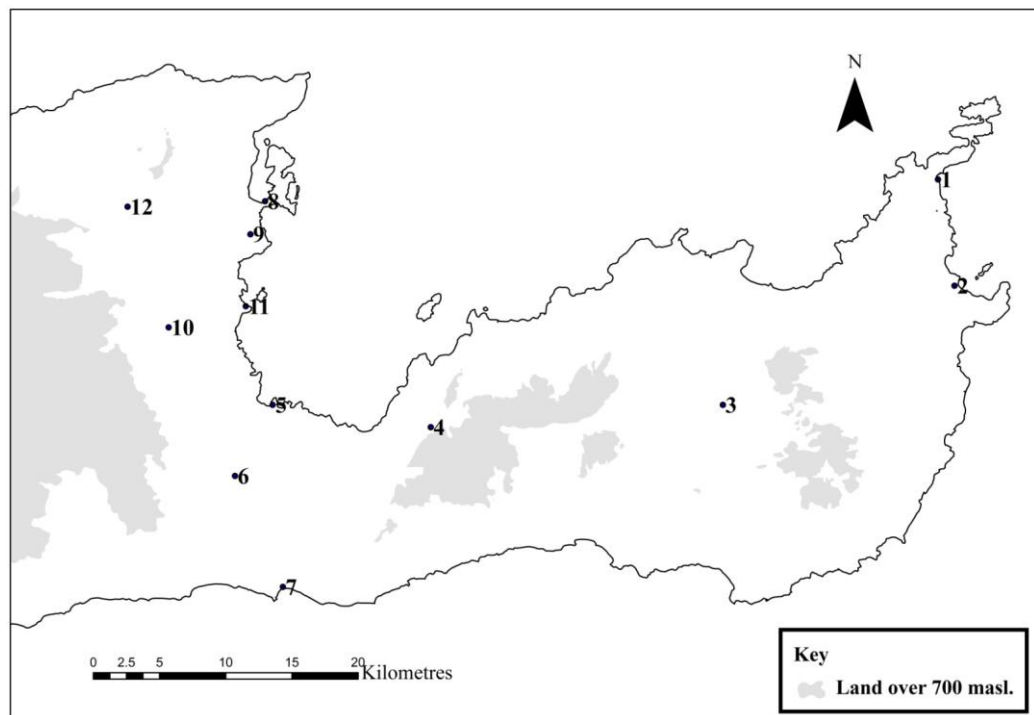


Figure 7.1 Locations of the Main Hellenistic Sites in East Crete Discussed in this Thesis (Sites are as follows: 1 – Itanos; 2 – Palaikastro Temple; 3 – Praisos; 4 – Kavousi *Azoria*; 5 – Istron; 6 – Oleros; 7 – Hierapytna; 8 – Olous; 9 – Temple at Sta Lenika; 10 – Lato he Hetera; 11 – Lato pros Kamara; 12 – Dreros).

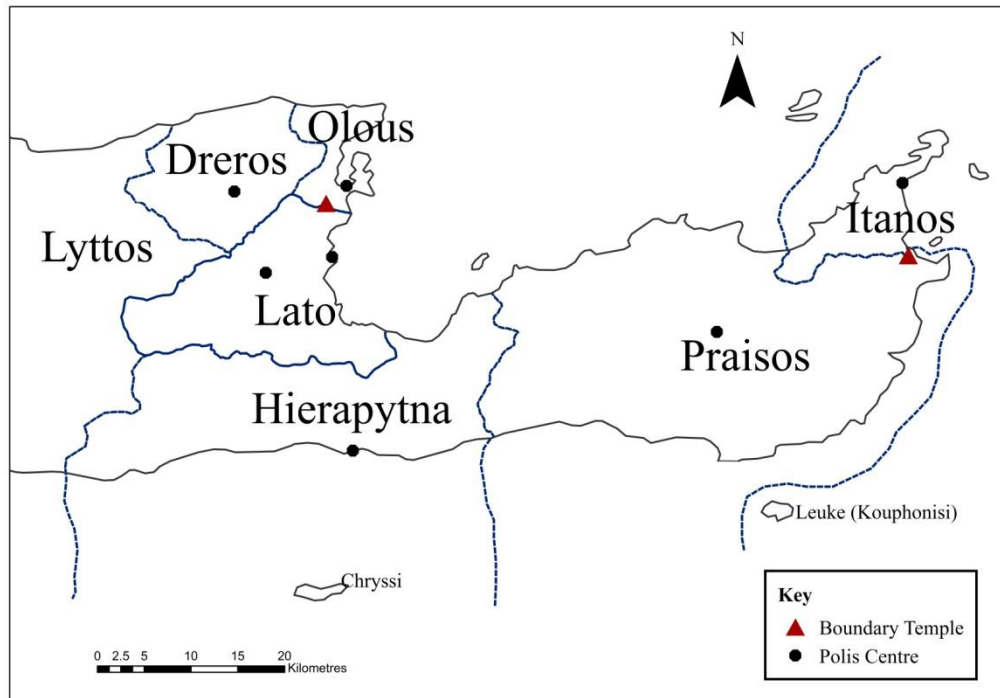


Figure 7.2 Map Showing Approximate Polis Boundaries at the Start of the Second Century BC.

Alongside the wide context of social practices and processes, including identity construction, provided by the pan-Mediterranean links of Hellenistic East Crete (discussed in Section 7.1), the daily context of social lives in individual settlements is likely to have been considerably larger than previously, as settlement sizes, populations and territories continued to increase during this period. Although no estimates have been made of the sizes of East Cretan poleis in the Hellenistic period, an indication is provided by the suggestion that fourth century BC Praisos covered 16 ha. (Whitley 2006: 612), whilst the relatively small polis of Oloüs covered c. 8.25 ha. and may have had a population of 80 to 250 people in the Archaic to Hellenistic periods (no chronological refinement beyond this is stated; Hayden 1997: 134-135). Given these estimates, it would not be surprising if the populations of the main poleis of East Crete (including rural inhabitants) numbered in the thousands.

During the course of the Hellenistic period, the urban centre of the polis of Lato shifted from the settlement in the mountains, sometimes referred to as Lato he Hetera, to one situated on the coast beneath modern Agios Nikolaos, and called

Lato pros Kamara. In Chapters 5 and 6 the name Lato was sufficient as it referred to the polis as a whole and to its urban centre, then situated at Lato he Hetera. However, in discussing this polis in the Hellenistic period, it is at times necessary to distinguish between the polis as a whole and its urban centre at any one moment in time. In this chapter and in Chapter 8, therefore, the name Lato will be used to refer to the polis as a whole, regardless of where its urban centre was located, whilst the names Lato he Hetera and Lato pros Kamara will be used to refer to each of these urban centres. Chronologically, when Lato is used in a context that pre-dates the late-third to second centuries BC, it might be assumed that its urban centre was at Lato he Hetera, which was abandoned in the second century BC (see Section 7.2.9) whilst in contexts that post-date this time, it might be assumed that its urban centre was at Lato pros Kamara.

7.2.1 Itanos

Itanos was one of the most important cities in the far East of Crete during the Hellenistic period. Evidence for the Hellenistic city comes from texts, coins and the results of archaeological explorations on the site of the city and the Cape Sidero peninsula, on which Itanos was located (Greco et al 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002; Kalpaxis et al. 1995; Rowlands and Sarris 2007; Vafidis et al. 2003; Vafidis et al. 2005). This work has given an indication of the topography of the centre of the city, which spanned two hills and the flat plain between them (Figure 5.3). As mentioned in Section 6.2.1, the agora of Itanos may have been located in the flat plain between the two acropoleis, not far from the 'residential quarter', where a number of buildings have been excavated (the shaded area in Figure 5.3; Greco et al. 1996: 950; Kalpaxis et al. 1995: 714). Although most of the structures uncovered in the habitation quarter date to the Roman period and later, evidence from this area suggests that its use was continuous from before the Hellenistic period (see Section 6.2.1; Greco et al, 1996: 943-944, 1997: 811-814, 1998: 586-591, 1999: 519-524). The flat area south of the two acropoleis may have been where the city's port was located (Greco et al. 1996: 947-949, 1997: 818-819; Kalpaxis et al. 1995: 728-730; Rowlands and Sarris 2007; Vafidis et al. 2003; Vafidis et al. 2005). A terrace wall dated to the Hellenistic period is still visible near the summit of the West

Acropolis (Figure 7.3). This terrace may have supported an important public building in the ancient city, such as a temple (Perlman 2004a: 1168). Two Early Christian basilicas are located on the slopes of the East Acropolis, one of which reused material from a Hellenistic temple to Athena Polias (Sanders 1982: 138). A fortification wall has been identified on the large hill south of the city, and this may have been associated with the Ptolemaic garrison which was located at Itanos in the third to second centuries BC (Greco et al. 1996: 949, 1998: 597-599).



Figure 7.3 The Hellenistic Wall on the West Acropolis of Itanos (Photo Taken from the East Slope of this Hill).

As discussed in Section 6.2.1, a large cemetery, termed the North Necropolis by its excavators and in use from before the Hellenistic period, was located on the low hill to the north of the probable urban centre of Itanos (see Figure 5.3). Although most of the burials in the North Necropolis date to the Hellenistic period, they are a problematic source of evidence as they were much disturbed and most graves had been looted in antiquity (Greco et al. 1997: 814-818, 1998: 595, 2000: 549). Despite this, however, a general trend in the cemetery towards burials oriented on a north-south axis with the heads towards the south has been identified (Greco et al 2002: 581). Most Hellenistic burials were concentrated in

the eastern part of the North Necropolis (Greco et al, 1998: 594, 2002: 581), and use of the western part, where some of the area covered by the Archaic building complex described in Section 6.2.1 was located, did not begin until the first century BC (Greco et al. 2000: 551-555, 2002: 582). A phase of destruction and reorganisation in the cemetery has been identified and dated to the first half of the second century BC (Greco et al. 1998: 595, 597, 2000: 551).

As noted in Section 6.2.1, a number of rural sites have been located on the Cape Sidero peninsula on which Itanos was located (Greco et al. 1996: 950, 1997: 819-822, 1998: 599-601, 1999: 524, 2000: 556-559, 2001, 2002: 578-581; Kalpaxis et al. 1995: 734-736). Some of the sites which were used in the Hellenistic period also appear to have been used in the Bronze Age (Greco et al. 2001: 642). In addition to rural and agricultural sites in the territory of Itanos, a suburban sanctuary, perhaps to Demeter, has been identified at *Vamies* (Kalpaxis et al. 1995: 734; Greco et al. 1996: 950, 1997: 820-822). As noted in Section 6.2.1, finds from this sanctuary suggest it was in use from the Archaic to the Hellenistic periods (Greco et al. 1997: 820-822; Kalpaxis et al. 1995: 734).

The ancient boundaries of the territory of Itanos are given in a text which records a second century BC arbitration, by the Magnesians, between Itanos and Hierapytna, of which two copies survive, one found at the Toplou Monastery, not far from ancient Itanos, and the other at Magnesia on the Maeander (for discussions, see Bosanquet 1939/1940; Spyridakis 1970). Although the precise location of these boundaries depends on where Dragmos, which was subsequently incorporated into Praisos, was located, the territory of Itanos appears to have covered most of the peninsula on which it is based, and perhaps extended as far south as Palaikastro where the temple of Dictaeon Zeus may have functioned as a boundary marker between Itanos and Praisos until the early Hellenistic period, and between Itanos and Hierapytna in the later Hellenistic period (see Chapters 5 and 6). The worship of Dictaeon Zeus at Itanos is attested in the citizenship oath, discussed below, where this deity heads a list which includes Hera, the gods in the Dictaeon temple, Athena Polias, the gods to whom sacrifices were made in the temple of Athena, Zeus Agoraios and Apollo Pythios (*IC* III 4.8). The inscriptions recording the arbitration by the Magnesians in the second century BC dispute

between Itanos and Hierapytna indicate that certain islands, including Leuke, belonged to Itanos during at least some of the Hellenistic period. The maritime orientation of ancient Itanos in the Archaic to Classical periods was highlighted in Section 6.2.1. Evidence for this includes the possible presence of a port (Greco et al. 1996: 947-949, 1997: 818-819; Kalpaxis et al. 1995: 728-730; Rowlands and Sarris 2007; Vafidis et al. 2003, 2005), images on some of the city's coins, such as a marine deity and sea monsters (Perlman 2004a: 1168), the overseas connections of the city, particularly with the Ptolemies, and their control of islands such as Leuke.

At some point, probably during the third century BC, Praisos expanded its territory, conquering Dragmos, and threatening parts of the territory of Itanos, including land called Heleia near the sanctuary at Palaikastro (Section 7.2.2), and the island of Leuke. In response to this, Itanos appears to have appealed for help to Ptolemy II who subsequently garrisoned the disputed land at Palaikastro and the island of Leuke (Bosanquet 1939/1940: 73; Perlman 1995: 165; Spyridakis 1970; Viviers 1999: 225). The establishment of the Ptolemaic garrison at Itanos in the early third century BC may be linked to these events, and an Itanian decree dating to c. 265 BC, recording honours given to Patroclus, one of Ptolemy II's generals, and a later dedication, in honour of Ptolemy III and his wife Berenike, may relate to the aid given by the Ptolemies to Itanos during the third century BC (Bosanquet 1939/1940: 73; Reinach 1911: 391-400; Spyridakis 1970: 46, 70). Another inscription, also dating to the first half of the third century BC, records the creation of a new citizenship oath at Itanos, leading to the suggestion that Patroclus not only helped Itanos against Praisos but also helped to resolve internal problems in the city (*IC* III 4.7 and 4.8; Spyridakis 1970: 46, 73-75). This inscription, which prohibits land redistribution and the cancellation of debts, may relate to social and economic unrest or moves towards increasing the size of the citizen body (Shipley 2000:132; Spyridakis 1970: 74, 1977: 305, 1979: 382, 382 n. 16).

The remains of two colossal, white marble statues were found in the nineteenth century in two areas of dispute mentioned in the Toplou inscription: one on the coast at Palaikastro, near the area of land termed Heleia in the Toplou inscription,

and the other on Leuke (Bosanquet 1901/1902a: 288-289, 1939/1940: 70-71; Spratt 1865: 210-211). According to Bosanquet (1939/1940: 71) the style of the statue suggested “an Egyptian model” perhaps indicating that they were linked to Ptolemaic garrisons at each of these disputed points, although the exact dates when these garrisons were in operation is currently unknown (Bosanquet 1901/1902a: 288-289, 1939/1940: 70-71). The names of two of the commanders of the garrison at Itanos are known from inscriptions; both seem to have been foreign mercenaries (Spyridakis 1970: 79). An inscription dating to sometime between 216 and 206 BC records the dedication by one of the garrison’s commanders, Lucius, son of Gaius, a Roman, to Ptolemy Philopater (Bosanquet 1939/1940: 69, 73; Reinach 1911: 400-415; Spyridakis 1970: 79-81). Another inscription records a dedication by another commander, Philotas from Epidamnos to Zeus Soter and Tyche Protogeneia Aienoas (Demargne 1900: 238-239; Spyridakis 1969, 1970: 81-82). The exact date of the dedication of Philotas has been debated, as has the origin of the cult of Tyche Protogeneia at Itanos (for example, Chaniotis 2002: 109; Demargne 1900: 238-239; Spyridakis 1969). The worship of Tyche Protogeneia may have links to the worship of Tyche by a number of Greeks in the Hellenistic period as well as to the worship of Isis, to whom Tyche Protogeneia is linked in a mid-second century BC inscription from Delos (Spyridakis 1969). In addition, Tyche Protogeneia has been linked to Fortuna Primigeneia, attested at Praeneste and, by 194 BC, at Rome (Chaniotis 2002: 109; Spyridakis 1969). Spyridakis (1969) has argued that the worship of Tyche Protogeneia was brought to Itanos by foreign soldiers and that the fusion of these three deities (Tyche Protogeneia, Fortuna Primigeneia and Isis) may even have taken place at Itanos, where foreign soldiers from different places would each have identified familiar elements in this cult. Itanos appears to have retained its political autonomy throughout the duration of the Ptolemaic garrison in the polis (Spyridakis 1970: 77). Given that they appear to have been invited to the polis, the Ptolemaic garrison was probably not unwelcome to its citizens, (Spyridakis 1970: 71, 75-76).

Disputes in Crete around the mid-second century BC resulted in a general war involving Knossos, Itanos and Lato against Gortyn, Hierapytna and Olous (Oliver 2004: 474; Spyridakis 1970: 61). Although the Ptolemaic garrisons at Palaikastro,

Leuke and Itanos were withdrawn after the death of Ptolemy Philometor in the mid-second century BC, Itanos, with the good will of its friends (τῶν φίλων εὐνοίαι; IC III 4.9, line 44), was able to defend her territory. During these disputes, Praisos was destroyed by Hierapytna (sometime between 145 and 140 BC), which then disputed with Itanos over possession of the land, known as Heleia adjacent to the Temple of Dictaeon Zeus at Palaikastro, and over the island of Leuke. The key events in this dispute, which lasted for a number of decades and was eventually settled through arbitration by the Magnesians (and recorded in the inscriptions mentioned above), at the request of Rome, have been discussed by a number of scholars (e.g., Ager 1996: 431-446; Cary 1926; Spyridakis 1970). An undated inscription recording an *isopoliteia* agreement between Itanos and Hierapytna may represent the final end to the dispute between them (Bosanquet 1939/1940: 69; Reinach 1911: 415-420). Following the Roman conquest of Crete, Itanos continued to have independent city status in the early Roman period (Sanders 1982: 12).

7.2.2 Palaikastro

As described in Sections 5.2.2 and 6.2.2, cult activity on the site of the Temple of Dictaeon Zeus at Palaikastro began by the Geometric and continued to be important into the Roman period. As noted in Section 6.2.2, the temple was built over Block X and part of Block II of the excavated Bronze Age settlement (Benton 1939/1940; Bosanquet 1901/1902a: 288; Bosanquet et al. 1902/1903: 280; Boyd et al. 2006; Dawkins et al. 1904/1905; Hutchinson 1939/1940: 40; Sackett and Popham 1970: 240-242). Unlike earlier periods when votives included bronze tripods, shields and miniature armour, all of which may have been linked to elite groups (see Sections 5.2.2 and 6.2.2), Hellenistic finds from the temple are primarily ceramic, particularly lamps, torch-holders, cups and bowls (Dawkins et al. 1904/1905: 307; Hutchinson 1939/1940: 40-41). Although its letter forms indicate that it was not inscribed until the second or third centuries AD, the metre, orthography and some of the individual words used in the ‘Hymn to Dictaeon Zeus’, found at the site in 1904 (and mentioned in Section 6.2.2 as part of the evidence identifying this site as a Temple of Dictaeon Zeus), suggest

that it was composed in the fourth or third centuries BC (Bosanquet 1908/1909; Murray 1908/1909; Perlman 1995; Verbruggen 1981: 101-111; West 1965). If this is the case, the hymn may provide evidence for practices at the temple in the Hellenistic period, such as the singing or reciting of the hymn around the altar of Dictaeon Zeus at an annual festival (Bosanquet 1908/1909: 348). Contemporary concerns, including the fertility and increase of flocks and produce as well as the welfare of cities, ships, citizens and for justice, are expressed in the hymn. In the early twentieth century, a second century BC inscription from Palaikastro, still “encrusted with the characteristic red earth of Roussolakkos” was found a mile north-west of the site (*IC III 2.1*; Bosanquet 1908/1909: 340). This inscription records the restoration of certain old statues in the Temple of Dictaeon Zeus by Hierapytna. Dictaeon Zeus appears to have been worshipped only in the poleis of the far east of Crete, Itanos, Praisos and Hierapytna, and in various inscribed oaths he takes a prominent place amongst the deities by whom the citizens of all these poleis swear (Bosanquet 1908/1909: 350, 1939/1940: 62; Sporn 2002).

In addition to the ‘Hellenic’ building found in the earliest excavations, later work has revealed Hellenistic and Roman walls and pottery at the foot of Palaikastro *Kastri* (for the ‘Hellenic building, see Bosanquet 1901/1902a: 289; Bosanquet and Tod 1902: 385; Dawkins et al. 1904/1905: 259; for the Hellenistic and Roman walls, see MacGillivray et al. 1988: 282; Sackett and Popham 1970: 240-242). As discussed in Section 7.2.1, land adjoining the sanctuary at Palaikastro was disputed between the poleis of Itanos, Praisos and Hierapytna in the third and second centuries BC, and the remains of a colossal, white marble statue, found on the coast at Palaikastro in the nineteenth century (Bosanquet 1901/1902a: 288-289), may be linked to a Ptolemaic garrison established there during the course of the disputes.

Despite the disputes of the third and second centuries BC, the Temple of Dictaeon Zeus at Palaikastro and worship of Dictaeon Zeus at this temple may have provided an important commonality between the three main Hellenistic poleis of far eastern of Crete, Itanos, Praisos and Hierapytna. As noted above, Dictaeon Zeus is prominent among the gods by whom the citizens of all of these poleis swore, and the invitation to Dictaeon Zeus in the Hymn described above is to

come to our poleis (πόληας ἀμῶν) rather than to a single polis. Some scholars have even gone further, suggesting not only shared religious practices and beliefs but also an East Cretan federation between Itanos, Praisos and Hierapytna, with the Temple of Dictaeon Zeus acting as a federal temple (Spyridakis 1970: 25-26; Verbruggen 1981: 109). While there is no firm evidence for a federation, it does seem likely that at the start of the Hellenistic period relations between these poleis were considerably more amicable than they were in the later part of this period – the record of the Magnesians' arbitration between Itanos and Hierapytna even refers to the old friendship (ἀρχαῖς ... φιλίαν) between these two poleis (IC III 4.9, lines 33-34).

7.2.3 Praisos

During most of the Hellenistic period, Praisos was one of the three most important poleis in the far east of Crete. As described in Section 6.2.3, the settlement covered three hills, the First, Second and Third Acropoleis (or Altar Hill) and the land between them (Bosanquet 1901, 1901/1902b; Halbherr 1901). As noted in Chapter 6, the settlement may have reached its maximum extent by the fourth century BC, covering about 16 ha. (Whitley 2006: 612). The main habitation area spread out across the First Acropolis, parts of the Second Acropolis and the saddle between these two hills, as well as perhaps the plain between the First and Third Acropoleis (Whitley et al. 1995, 1999; Halbherr 1901). The Hellenistic cemetery was located to the East and below the Third Acropolis where burials from earlier periods have also been found (Bosanquet 1901: 188; Bosanquet 1901/1902b; Marshall 1905/1906; Whitley et al. 1999: 251-252). Praisos was conquered by Hierapytna sometime between 145 and 140 BC, and there is a dearth of Late Hellenistic material at the site (Sanders 1982: 137), suggesting that widespread habitation ceased with the Hierapytnian victory. Although the recent work at Praisos has not uncovered a destruction horizon on the First or Second Acropoleis (Whitley 2008: 96), the early excavators of the site suggest that the temple on the Third Acropolis was deliberately destroyed and its remains scattered (Bosanquet 1939/1940: 65). Despite a paucity of evidence in the EIA to Classical periods, substantial activity, including habitation, appears to begin in the Hellenistic period in the vicinity of Ziros, in the south-eastern corner

of Crete, perhaps stimulated by the dispersal of the inhabitants of Praisos following its defeat by Hierapytna (Branigan et al. 1998).

The main temple at Praisos in the Hellenistic period was probably the one located on the Third Acropolis; evidence for cult activity on this site was described in detail in Section 6.2.3. Although no epigraphic evidence from the temple area associates it with specific deities, it is likely that the principal deity worshipped on the Third Acropolis was Dictaeon Zeus (see Section 6.2.3). The importance of this deity to the citizens of Hellenistic Praisos is attested in a third century BC inscription in which Dictaeon Zeus heads the list of deities, which also include Poseidon, Athena and Apollo Pythios, by whom the citizens of Praisos swear in an agreement with the people of Stalai (*IC III* 6.7). Poseidon may be included in this list as the god of Stalai (Bosanquet (1939/1940: 65). A number of Hellenistic religious and/or legal inscriptions were also found on the Third Acropolis, including inscriptions in Greek and inscriptions thought to be in the Eteocretan language (see discussion in Chapter 6; Bosanquet 1901: 188, 1901/1902b: 232, 255-256; 1909/1910; 1939/1940: 65; Conway 1901/1902, 1903/1904; Duhoux 1982; Halbherr 1894, 1901: 377; Whitley et al. 1995: 405-406). As some of the 'Eteocretan' inscriptions date to the Hellenistic period (see Table 6.1), one might argue that *if* these inscriptions related to a unique group identity held by some or all of the inhabitants of Praisos, it continued to be salient for a very long time from at least the Archaic until the Hellenistic period. Even if this identity was not emic (i.e. held by people within the group) but solely etic (ascribed by those outside the group), its sporadic appearance in literary sources as chronologically separate as Homer, Herodotus and Strabo suggests that the perception that there existed a distinguishable group of people with a specific identity in east Crete, particularly around Praisos, was particularly long-lived.

As described in Sections 5.2.3 and 6.2.3, a number of cult places in addition to the one on the Third Acropolis have been identified in and near Praisos. Although the lack of Hellenistic finds from the shrine at Mesamvryses may suggest that it had gone out of use by this period, the remains from the shrines at Vavelloi and on the First Acropolis appear to indicate that they continued in use during this time (Forster 1901/1902, 1904/1905; Halbherr 1901: 384-392; Whitley et al. 1995:

407, 415-416, 1999: 256). Fine drinking cups from Profitis Elias suggest that the earlier drinking practices on this peak (discussed in Sections 5.2.3 and 6.2.3) continued into the Hellenistic period (Whitley et al. 1999: 251, 256). In addition, the votives from the shrine near Roussa Ekklesia indicate that earlier practices, involving lamps and lamp stands, ceramic vessels, and kernoi, dating to the Classical period continued into the Hellenistic (Erickson 2010a). There appears to be a significant reduction in the number of lamps that can be dated with certainty to the Hellenistic period, relative to the preceding Classical period - only three date to the third century BC and one to the second century BC (Erickson 2010a).



Figure 7.4 The First Acropolis of Praisos and the Almond Tree House from the Summit of the Second Acropolis (the arrow is pointing to the Almond Tree House).

A large Hellenistic structure (Figures 7.4 and 7.5), termed the “Almond Tree House”, was excavated on the north-west slope of the First Acropolis in the early twentieth century (Bosanquet 1901/1902b: 259-270). Coins from this building date from the fourth to the second century BC (Bosanquet 1901/1902b: 260). The building has a monumental character, built of carefully dressed stones with an ashlar facade (Figure 7.5B), and comprises nine rooms, of which two are distinguishable for their large size and rectangular shape (Bosanquet 1901/1902b: 259-270). A set of stairs in room 3 led to an upper storey (Bosanquet 1901/1902b:



Figure 7.5A The Almond Tree House at Praisos from the West; Figure 7.5B The Monumental Ashlar Facade of the Almond Tree House.

261). The oil press and storage tank found in room 4 may date to slightly later than the main use of the building, though perhaps still within the Hellenistic period (Bosanquet 1901/1902b: 261, 264-268; Whitley 2008: 96). Although the precise function of the Almond Tree House prior to its conversion for use for oil-processing is uncertain, it has been suggested that it served a public function, perhaps as an *andreion* (Bosanquet 1901/1902b: 260). Although identifying structures with terms attested in literary sources, such as *andreia*, on the basis of

their material remains is not unproblematic, in this discussion the social practices apparent in the evidence are of greater significance than the accuracy of a particular term or word. In this case, Whitley (2008: 96) has suggested that the visibility of the Almond Tree House to travellers to Praisos and the large quantity of animal bones and drinking cups found in the upper layers of this building in recent excavations are “at the very least consistent with some kind of public dining” (Whitley 2008: 96). The fact that the original excavators noted that finer wares “were almost wholly wanting” from this building need not preclude a public dining function - fragments of finewares may have been swept out of the building when it was converted for oil-processing. Group commensality in a building in a relatively central location in the polis, such as the Almond Tree House, may have fostered bonds between citizens of Praisos, developing relationships between them and strengthening their common identity as citizens of this polis.

By the fourth century BC, the territory of Praisos extended from the north to the south coast (as indicated by Pseudo-Skylax 47). Although the exact dates and history of the territorial expansion of Praisos cannot be determined, some insight is provided by inscriptions. The second century BC record of arbitration between Itanos and Hierapytna by the Magnesians discussed in Section 7.2.1, reveals that Praisos conquered and incorporated Dragmos into its territory, perhaps during the fourth or early third century BC (Perlman 1995: 165 suggests a date of 270-260 BC as the *terminus ante quem* for this event), and a third century BC inscription gives an agreement between Praisos and two groups of people, the Stalitai and the Seteiatiai (*IC* III 6.7; see discussions in Bosanquet 1939/1940: 69; Spyridakis 1970: 27-32). The terms of this agreement suggest that each of these groups represents a coastal settlement, one, perhaps known as Seteia and located near the modern town of the same name, on the north coast and the other, Stalai, on the south coast of Crete (Bosanquet 1939/1940: 69-70; Spyridakis 1970: 27-32). Although the exact relationship between Praisos and these two settlements is not certain, they may have originally been independent, but become dependent upon Praisos by the third century BC (Spyridakis 1970: 27-32). In addition to relationships with dependent settlements such as Stalai and Seteia, Praisos also made agreements with other poleis. For example, a third century BC inscription,

found at Itanos, gives terms of an *isopoliteia* treaty between Praisos and Hierapytna in which the citizens of each of these poleis was allowed to renounce their citizenship of the one polis and become naturalised as citizens of the other (IC III 4.1; Reinach 1911: 378-391; for brief discussions on *isopoliteia* treaties in Crete, see Chaniotis 1999a: 202-204; Guizzi 1999). In addition to providing insights into inter-settlement and inter-polis relations on Crete, inscriptions from Praisos also indicate complexity and formalisation in its political institutions, through the mention of specific political officials and groups such as *archontes* (ἄρχοντες), who, according to Spyridakis (1970: 34) were renamed magistrates previously known as *kosmoi*, and a council (βουλή; see IC III 4.9 and 4.10 for the relevant inscriptions).

7.2.4 The Kavousi Region

In Section 6.2.4, it was noted that no Classical sites were found in the Kavousi region during the Kavousi-Thryphti Survey (Haggis 1996: 415, 2005: 41, 86). Although this trend appears to continue in the Hellenistic period, there is some evidence for limited reoccupation at Azoria and possibly at Agios Antonios. Unfortunately, the published evidence from Agios Antonios, which was excavated by Boyd (1901: 156) at the beginning of the nineteenth century, is not sufficient to be useful to this discussion, therefore only the evidence from Azoria is discussed below. Given the lack of evidence for continuous occupation at Azoria and the nature of the finds described below, it seems likely that Azoria did not have polis status during the Hellenistic period but rather had been subsumed into the territory of a nearby polis, most likely Hierapytna.

The third century BC reoccupation of Azoria concentrated on the South Acropolis (Haggis et al. 2007a: 305). One area of reoccupation was the upper terrace of the Andreion Complex (described in Section 6.2.4) on the West slope of the South Acropolis where two poorly-preserved Hellenistic buildings were constructed in the ruins of the Archaic building (Haggis et al. 2004: 372, 379). Another area of reoccupation was in the Southeast Building on the south-eastern side of the South Acropolis, which was modified for use as a temporary shelter and an adjoining refuse pit (Haggis et al. 2007a: 265-269). Finds in the refuse pit included animal

bones, drinking vessels such as cups, lekanes, jugs and transport amphorae, lamps, three loomweights, a terracotta bull figurine and metal objects, including an iron obelos, three arrowheads, a piece of copper, nails and a bronze pin (Haggis et al. 2007a: 266-268). Two silver Argive triobols, dating to the third century BC, were found on the street outside the Cult Building (described in Section 6.2.4) in the southern part of the South Acropolis (Haggis et al. 2007a: 269). Enigmatic evidence from the Cult Building suggests that it too was reused at a later date - a terracotta amphora was placed in a small stone-lined pit to the south of the Archaic bedrock platform in this building (Haggis et al. 2007a: 271). No associated Hellenistic pottery was found and the amphora is composed of a fabric and slip that the excavators state is “uncharacteristic of contemporary local Archaic or Hellenistic pottery from the site” (Haggis et al. 2007a: 271). The amphora has been likened to particular late second and early first century BC amphorae from the Campania region (Haggis et al. 2007a: 271 n. 63). A few goat bones were found in the fill of the amphora (Haggis et al. 2007a: 271). Haggis et al. (2007: 305) have posited that the third century BC reoccupation of Azoria may represent a Hellenistic garrison placed at this strategically-located site by Hierapytna during the third century BC territorial disputes in East Crete. If this is the case, one wonders if some of the soldiers in this garrison had formerly served as mercenaries, with the foreign finds from the reoccupation, such as the Argive triobols and the Campanian amphora, coming to Crete, and ultimately going to Azoria, with their soldier-owners.

7.2.5 The Isthmus of Ierapetra

As discussed in Section 6.2.5, there are a number of settlements which are attested epigraphically or in literary sources in the Isthmus of Ierapetra. In the northern half of the Isthmus, settlements occupied during the Hellenistic period include Istron and Oleros. As described in Section 6.2.5, the main settlement of Istron was probably located on the promontory of Nisi Pandeleimon (Figure 6.9), with the site extending to the west onto the promontory of Priniatikos Pyrgos (P in Figure 6.9; Erickson 2010c: 307; Hayden 1999: 352), whilst Oleros was located near the modern village of Meseleri (Hayden 1997; Hayden 1999: 352; Hayden et al. 1992). As noted in Section 6.2.5, each of these settlements was, at

least occasionally, autonomous. However, both appear to have lost their independence by the second century BC, when they cease to appear as autonomous bodies in epigraphic evidence, and when records of the boundary between Lato and Hierapytna appear to suggest that it fell in or near the Meseleri basin, putting Istron within the territory of Lato and Oleros in the territory of Hierapytna (Faure 1967; Hayden 1995; Hayden et al. 1992; Perlman 2004a: 1167; van Effenterre and Bougrat 1969). Hellenistic graves have been found near Istron (Dunbabin 1944: 88), and a cemetery linked to Oleros, with predominantly Hellenistic ceramics and tomb types including rock-cut cist graves and rock-cut chambers, was identified during the Vrokastro Survey (Hayden et al. 1992: 332). A treaty between Istron and Teos refers to a Temple of Athena Polias at Istron, where there may also have been a Temple of Ares and Aphrodite (*IC I 14.1*; Hayden et al. 1992: 299 n. 22; Perlman 2004a: 1167). Following the absorption of Oleros into the territory of Hierapytna, worship of the principal deity of Oleros, Athena Oleria, appears to have been carried out by Hierapytna (*IC III 5.1*; Hayden 1997: 96). The subsequent importance of this deity to Hierapytna is attested in the inclusion of Athena Oleria in the list of deities by whom Hierapytna swore and in a second or first century BC inscription which records a dedication by the *kosmoi* of Hierapytna in the Temple of Athena Oleria (*IC III 5.1*; Bosanquet 1908/1909: 350; Spyridakis 1970: 37). As mentioned in Section 6.2.5, although the precise location of Larisa is unknown, two possibilities have been put forward, Profitis Elias, near modern Episkopi, and Kalamafka *Kastello*, near modern Kalamafka (see Figure 4.4; for Profitis Elias, see Watrous in Tomlinson 1994-1995: 65; Watrous and Blitzler 1995; for Kalamafka *Kastello*, see Nowicki 2000: 127-128).

7.2.6 Hierapytna

By the Hellenistic period, Hierapytna was one of the most important poleis in East Crete, and continued to be important into the Roman period. Unfortunately, however, very little is known about the settlement prior to the fourth century BC, and it has even been suggested that the settlement was only founded in either the fifth or fourth century BC (Perlman 2004a: 1166). Very little archaeological evidence for the Hellenistic settlement, the remains of which lie under the modern city of Ierapetra, is available (Sanders 1982: 139). Most evidence for Hierapytna

comes from Hellenistic and Roman inscriptions. Many of these inscriptions provide details of inter-polis agreements between Hierapytna and a number of other settlements in Crete, including Knossos, Gortyn, Lyttos, Priansos, Lato, Praisos and Itanos (many of these are discussed in Chaniotis 1999a). Examples of these include a third century BC isopolity agreement with Praisos, found at Itanos (Bosanquet 1939/1940: 69; Reinach 1911: 378-391), and a second century BC isopolity treaty with Priansos (*IC III* 3.4; Ager 1996: 178-181). A fragment of an inscription recording an agreement between Knossos and Hierapytna was found in the Palaikastro region in the early twentieth century, perhaps once displayed in the Temple of Dictaeon Zeus at Palaikastro (Bosanquet et al. 1902/1903: 337). By the second century BC, the boundary between Lato and Hierapytna may have been in or near the Meseleri basin, with Oleros probably located in the territory of Hierapytna (Faure 1967; Hayden et al. 1992: 299; van Effenterre and Bougrat 1969).

As discussed in Section 7.2.1, sometime between 145 and 140 BC Hierapytna conquered Praisos and was subsequently involved in a boundary dispute with Itanos, during which Magnesians acted as arbitrators between the two poleis. As described in Section 7.2.1, the disputed areas, specifically land named Heleia, which was located near the Temple of Dictaeon Zeus at Palaikastro, and the island of Leuke were ultimately awarded to Itanos, and a later isopolity agreement between Hierapytna and Itanos may mark the final end of hostilities between the two. Although isopolity agreements cover a number of areas, particularly in the economic sphere, it is pertinent to this study that they include clauses allowing the citizens of either signatory polis to become citizens of the other, often with the precondition of giving up citizenship in their original polis (Bosanquet 1939/1940: 69; Chaniotis 1999a: 202-203; on the economic aspects of these treaties see Chaniotis 1999a; Guizzi 1999). This suggests that participation in individual polis identities was, to a certain degree, flexible and that the specific nature of an individual or group's citizenship identity could change if they moved from one polis to the other. However, the precondition that the individuals and groups who made this move give up their status as citizens of the original polis suggests that, unlike some identities, an individual or group could only have one formal citizenship identity to the exclusion of all other similar identities.

Although epigraphic evidence provides an indication of Hierapytna's northern, north-western and eastern boundaries by the second century BC, no sources for its south-western boundary are currently known (Vogeikoff-Brogan 2004: 214). Hierapytna's neighbour to the west was Biannos (Perlman 2004a: 1154).

It has been suggested that one of the reasons for the many treaties formed by Hierapytna and other Cretan poleis and Hierapytna's expansion eastwards towards Praisos and northwards to incorporate Oleros (described above and in Sections 7.2.1 and 7.2.5) was pressure exerted by Hierapytna's growing population on its limited resources, particularly land (Chaniotis 1999a: 203-204). These treaties reveal a complex network of connections and relationships between the inhabitants of Hierapytna and those of other Cretan poleis which would have formed one level of the wider context within which identities at Hierapytna were negotiated and communicated. Epigraphic evidence, including a late third century BC agreement between Hierapytna and Antigonos III (*IC III 3.1A*; Ager 1996: 138-139), and an agreement with Rhodes dating to the end of the third century BC, shortly after the end of the Cretan War (*IC III 3.3A*; Spyridakis 1970: 38), suggests that an even wider context, of the eastern Mediterranean, may have been important as well. Towards the end of the Hellenistic period increasing Roman involvement in Cretan affairs meant that this context extended beyond the eastern Mediterranean to Rome – a context which ultimately took on much greater significance when Crete was conquered by Q. Metellus and fell under Roman control. During the early Roman period, Hierapytna had city status (Sanders 1982: 12 fig. 4) and was probably the most important city in eastern Crete.

Literary sources (specifically Strabo and Stephanos of Byzantium) attest to a variety of names for the early settlement of Hierapytna, including *Kurba* (Κύρβα), *Pytna* (Πύτνα) and *Kamiroi* (Κάμιροι; discussed in Spyridakis 1970: 35). For some scholars, the later use of the name *Kamiroi* for one of the tribes at Hierapytna together with the existence of a settlement named *Kamiroi* on Rhodes provides additional evidence for the close connections between Hierapytna and Rhodes in the later Hellenistic period (e.g., Spyridakis 1970: 35-36, 1977: 299 n. 4). Despite the fact that they were on opposing sides during the Cretan War, there is also a tradition in Strabo (*Geography* 10.3.19) that Hierapytna was founded by

one of the Kouretes from Rhodes, Κύρβας (discussed by Spyridakis 1970: 36). Van der Vliet (2005: 143) has questioned how much discussions of the old names of Hierapytna really contribute to our knowledge of its early history and suggests that “it is more interesting and more relevant to learn how this kind of traditions have been used and manipulated in the diplomatic moves of the Hellenistic age.” The agreement with Rhodes included clauses about the provision of mercenaries by Hierapytna to Rhodes, and may have been part of an attempt by Rhodes to reduce the disruption to its trading activity caused by pirates, for whom Hierapytna formed one of the main Cretan bases (Ager 1991: 18, 18 n. 28; Sheedy 1996: 430; Spyridakis 1970: 38, 1977: 300-301). Some of the mercenaries supplied to Rhodes by Hierapytna may have come from groups that had an inferior status (though were not necessarily slaves), possibly without full citizenship rights and/or freedom (Spyridakis 1977: 300-301; Van der Vliet 2005: 143).

The epigraphic evidence from Hierapytna suggests the presence there of a number of political offices during the Hellenistic period, including *kosmoi*, referred to, for example, in the isopolity treaty with Priansos (*IC III 3.4*; Ager 1996: 178-181). Young male graduates of the *agela* at Hierapytna joined the citizen body through a process that involved swearing an oath during a festival called the Thiodaisia, which was attended by individuals from at least one other Cretan polis, Knossos (*IC I 8.13*; Leitao 1995: 136; Willetts 1962: 107-108, 204-206). A similar process also appears to have taken place at Olous and Lato (see Sections 7.2.7 and 7.2.9 respectively). Amongst the civic structures attested epigraphically in the Hellenistic city were a *prytaneion* and an *andreion* (Perlman 2004a: 1166).

As noted in Section 7.2.2, all three of the main poleis of the far east of Crete, including Hierapytna, worshipped Dictaeon Zeus, and a second century BC inscription records the restoration of certain old statues in the Temple of Dictaeon Zeus by the *kosmoi* of Hierapytna (*IC III 2.1*; Bosanquet 1908/1909: 340). Other deities by whom the citizens of Hierapytna swore include Hestia, Zeus Oratrios, Hera, Athena Oleria, Athena Polias, Athena Samonia, Apollo Pythios, Lato, Artemis, Ares and Aphrodite, the Kouretes, Nymphs and the Korybantes (Bosanquet 1908/1909: 349-350). The inclusion of Athena Oleria in this list,

together with the evidence for Hierapytnian worship of this deity described in Section 7.2.5, suggests that as it expanded, Hierapytna actively appropriated religious practices and identities associated with newly conquered settlements. This practice would have served both to assert the superior status of the inhabitants of Hierapytna over newly conquered territories and to symbolically incorporate new groups and identities into a higher level identity that was focused on Hierapytna itself. Spyridakis (1970: 37) links the worship of Athena Samonia, whose temple was located near modern Cape Sidero, to the second century BC eastward expansion of Hierapytna, perhaps indicating an attempt at a similar process by Hierapytna during its disputes with Itanos. As in many other Cretan poleis, the worship of Egyptian deities is attested at Hellenistic Hierapytna, in a reference to Isis (Spyridakis 1970: 101). Other links to Egypt are suggested by finds of stamped Hierapytnian amphorae in Alexandria (Bowsky 1997: 201 n. 15). Graffiti, primarily from the Hellenistic period, attest to worship by Hierapytnians in the sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite at Kato Syme (outside the geographical area considered in this study), alongside worshippers from other Cretan settlements, including Knossos, Tyliisos and Arkades (Lebessi 1976: 13).

7.2.7 Olous

As noted in Section 6.2.6, the city of Olous was situated on the Isthmus of Poros, which connects the Spinalonga Peninsula to the rest of Crete. Perlman (2004a: 1178) suggests that Olous was “a *polis* in the political sense by the early Hellenistic period.” Most of the remains of this settlement are now underwater (see Figure 5.7) and only sparse remains from the settlement have been recorded and published, much of which precedes and post-dates the Hellenistic period. Ancient remains are visible underwater for a considerable distance to the south of the Isthmus, whilst to the north scattered stone blocks are visible for only a few metres from the shoreline, after which the sea-bed drops sharply, perhaps indicating the position of the shoreline or harbour-edge of the ancient city. The primary evidence for the Hellenistic settlement comes from inscriptions, which attest to boundary disputes with the neighbouring polis of Lato (discussed in Section 7.2.8) and certain religious and political practices and institutions.

Epigraphic evidence provides details of the boundary between Olous and Lato in the second century BC, which appears to have fallen about half way between ancient Lato pros Kamara (modern Agios Nikolaos) and the Isthmus of Poros (Faure 1967; van Effenterre and Bougrat 1969). The principal deity of Olous may have been Zeus Tallaios, in whose temple public enactments were displayed (*IC I* 22.4C; Bosanquet 1908/1909: 349; Demargne 1900: 232; Homolle 1879: 292-296; Perlman 2004a: 1179). Evidence for the worship of Britomartis at Olous includes epigraphic references to this goddess, the representation of Britomartis on its coins and Pausanias' statement in his discussion of the works of Daidalos (Pausanias 9.40.3) that there was a *xoanon* of Britomartis at Olous (see also Bosanquet 1939/1940: 76; Willetts 1962: 179-180). The temple of Britomartis may have been located on the Spinalonga peninsula (van Effenterre 1992a: 216). The Egyptian deities Isis and Serapis were worshipped by at least some individuals at Olous by the second century BC (*IC I* 22.11; Spyridakis 1970: 101). The worship of Egyptian deities was probably brought to Cretan settlements by Cretan soldiers and mercenaries who visited Egypt as well as by non-Cretan visitors to the island (Bowsky 2006: 406). That at least some inhabitants of Olous acted as mercenaries is attested in a third century BC agreement concerning the provision of mercenaries by Olous to Rhodes (Chaniotis 1999a: 203). The inhabitants of Olous may have worshipped at certain temples which were located in territory which was, during part of the Hellenistic period, disputed between Olous and Lato but under the jurisdiction of Lato, such as the Temple of Ares and Aphrodite at Sta Lenika discussed in Section 7.2.8 (Bowsky 1989a: 333). During these times, the *eunomiotai* at Lato (see Section 7.2.9) may have been responsible maintaining order and mediating between worshippers from Olous and the inhabitants of Lato (Bowsky 1989a: 333).

A second century BC inscription demonstrates that, as at Hierapytna (see Section 7.2.6) and Lato (see Section 7.2.9), graduates from the *agela* at Hellenistic Olous joined the citizen body during an annual festival (*IC I* 16.5; Leitao 1995: 136; Willetts 1962: 107-108, 204-206). Just as the swearing in of new citizens at Hierapytna was attended by individuals from at least one other Cretan polis (in this case, Knossos), so at Olous this ceremony was attended by the *kosmoi* of Lato (*IC I* 16.5). At Olous, the chief magistrate or *kosmos* for each board was called

the *damiorgos* (δαμιοργός; Perlman 1992: 195). Other officials may have included *eunomiotai* whose responsibilities included dedications and building work in sanctuaries as well as contributing to the maintenance of law and order through overseeing hospitality and relations with citizens of other poleis (see discussions in Bowsky 1989a: 333; Chaniotis 1999a: 201-202). Tombs and grave stelai dating to the fourth century BC onwards have been found north-west of Poros and the remains of guard-houses or small fortifications have been found along the city boundary to the north, west and south (Dunbabin 1944: 88; Perlman 2004a: 1179; van Effenterre 1992a: 220).

As at Hierapytna in the Hellenistic period (Section 7.2.6), identities at Olous were negotiated and communicated at levels beyond that of the immediate polis, including a relatively local, Cretan level and one that went beyond Crete to the eastern Mediterranean. Rivalries with Lato and Knossos are attested in the inscriptions associated with the second century BC war with Lato and its subsequent settlement (described in Section 7.2.8), in a late second century BC alliance agreement with Lato (*IC I 16.5*), and in a second century BC isopolity treaty between Olous and its ally, Lyttos (*IC I 18.9*; Ager 1996: 475-478). In the third century BC, the Ptolemaic general Patroclus was honoured by Olous (*IC 22.4A*; Demargne 1900: 223-235). During the third and second centuries BC, a number of individuals received *proxenia* rights at Olous, including a large number of Rhodians, a doctor from Kasos and individuals from other places including Egypt, Cyrene, Samos and other Cretan poleis, Gortyn, Aptera and Rhithymna (*IC 22.4*; Demargne 1900: 223-235). Rhodes appears to have had a garrison at Olous in the late Hellenistic period (Ager 1991: 19 n. 32; Chaniotis 2002: 100), and two late third century BC treaties show that mercenaries were sent to Rhodes from Olous as well as Hierapytna (Chaniotis 1999a: 203).

7.2.8 Sta Lenika

The Temple of Ares and Aphrodite was located at Sta Lenika, on the slopes of Mount Oxa, about halfway between Lato pros Kamara and Olous (Bousquet 1938: 386). Use of the temple during the Early Iron Age and Archaic to Classical periods was discussed in Sections 5.2.8 and 6.2.6 respectively. Although small

finds from the shrine are sparse, a number of inscriptions were found there during excavations at the end of the 1930s (Bousquet 1938). During the Hellenistic period, a double temple with a shared vestibule appears to have been built partly over the earlier Geometric temple, which comprised a single cella and vestibule (Bousquet 1938). During this reconstruction, the orientation of the temple was changed from north-west, towards the mountainous inland, to south-east, towards the sea (Bousquet 1938: 393). In a second century BC inscription (*IC* 16.18, line 7), this temple is referred to as the Old Aphrodision (τὸ ἀρχαῖον Ἀφροδίσιον), and the change from a single cella to two may relate to a change at the temple from worship primarily of Aphrodite to worship of Ares and Aphrodite together (Bousquet 1938).

The change in the plan of the temple is commemorated in an inscription, possibly set up by Lato, which refers to its reconstruction in the late second century BC (Bowsky 1989a; Bousquet 1938: 389-395; Ducrey 1969: 841-843). The temple was located on or near the boundary between the poleis of Olous and Lato, on land disputed between these two poleis in the late second century BC when they were at war with each other (Ager 1996: 466-475; Bousquet 1938). Although Bousquet (1938: 401) has suggested that the second century BC work in the temple was undertaken to repair damage caused in the war between Olous and Lato, the paucity of evidence for use of this temple in the Archaic to early Hellenistic periods (see Section 6.2.6) might suggest that a revival of cult practices on the site was equally or more significant. The reconstruction of the temple in the second century BC may suggest that this conflict was carried out not only in the military sphere but also in an ideological sphere which involved the revitalisation of worship on the temple site as a physical and symbolic statement of the extent of Lato's territory. Inscriptions relating to the conflict between Lato and Olous refer to the *kosmoi* in charge in particular years, allowing relatively fine temporal resolution of its history to be determined (Ager 1996: 466-475; Bowsky 1989a; Bousquet 1938).

The general timing of this war coincides with that of other conflicts in Crete which together seem to have involved Gortyn, Hierapytna and Olous against Knossos, Itanos and Lato (Bousquet 1938: 405-406; Spyridakis 1970: 61).

Although Lato set up a victory inscription in the temple at Sta Lenika in the kosmate year 122/121 BC (Bowsky 1989a: 338; Bousquet 1938: 405-406), war over disputed land and the ownership of certain portable goods appears to have continued (Ager 1996: 466-475; Bowsky 1989a: 339-340). In 117/116 BC, Knossos was invited to arbitrate between Lato and Olous and, following an extension of six months on the time allowed for the Knossians to come to a decision, this was completed in 115 BC (Ager 1996: 466-475; Bowsky 1989a: 339-340; Bousquet 1938: 405-406). Olous appears to have been unhappy with the decision made by Knossos and appealed first to Athens and then to Rome for further arbitration (Ager 1996: 466-475; Bowsky 1989a: 340-341; Bousquet 1938: 406). However, the original decision by Knossos was upheld, that certain goods, including a ship and its cargo that sunk in the Gulf of Mirabello, should be awarded to Olous, whilst Lato was awarded the disputed land and compensation for damages, to be paid by Olous (Ager 1996: 466-475; Bowsky 1989a: 340-341). Boundary records dating from around the time of this settlement suggest that the temple at Sta Lenika was subsequently on the boundary between the territories of Lato and Olous (Faure 1967; van Effenterre and Bougrat 1969). The importance of this temple as a marker of the boundary between Lato and Olous is evident not only in its position within the disputed land, but also through its use as one of the places where inscriptions relating to the dispute, and its final resolution, were displayed. Work on the temple at Sta Lenika appears to have been carried out sporadically from c. 120 to 109 BC (Bowsky 1989a: 338-341), and van Effenterre (in Ducrey 1969: 842) has suggested that Lato may have marked its repossession of the region of Sta Lenika through reconstruction work on ancient sanctuaries. The continued work on this temple after the conflict with Olous had officially been resolved suggests that the ideological sphere continued to function as an arena for competition between the inhabitants of Lato and Olous and their associated identities, perhaps increasing the need for officials at Lato, such as the *eunomiotai* (see Section 7.2.9), to ensure that this competition did not spread again to the military sphere. The second century BC reconstructions at Sta Lenika form part of a wider programme of reconstructions by Lato in the second century BC, discussed in Section 7.2.9.

7.2.9 Lato



Figure 7.6 The Urban Core of Lato from the Slopes of the South Acropolis (abbreviations are as follows: P - Prytaneion; C - Cistern; A - Agora; T - Temple on the Temple Terrace; Th - Area of 'Theatre').

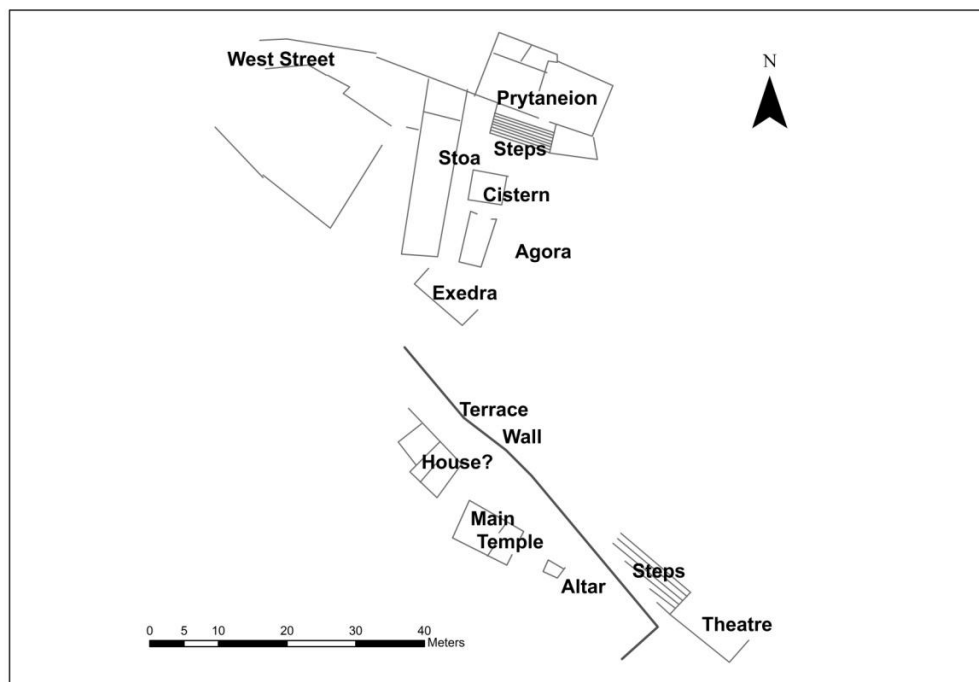


Figure 7.7 Sketch Plan of the Urban Centre of Lato he Hetera (After: Picard 1992: 154 Figure 19.1)

As noted in the introduction to Section 7.2 and discussed below, the urban centre of the polis of Lato (see Figures 7.6 and 7.7) shifted during the Hellenistic period from Lato he Hetera, situated in the mountains, to its port at Lato pros Kamara, situated on the coast beneath modern Agios Nikolaos. Most of the visible remains at Lato he Hetera date to a late fourth-century/early third century BC reconstruction (Demargne 1901; Ducrey and Picard 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1976, 1996; Ducrey et al. 1972; Hadjimichali 1971). This reconstruction included the building of a *prytaneion* at the top of a series of steps at the northern end of the agora (Figures 7.6 to 7.8), the construction of a cistern in the agora (the fenced in area in Figure 7.9), a stoa on its west and an exedra at its southern end, changes to the buildings along the West Street and building works on and below the ‘temple terrace’, including the construction of the large temple on the terrace itself, shown in Figure 7.10, and the so-called ‘theatre’, shown in Figure 7.11, which comprises a set of steps or seats and an exedra built below the temple terrace, against its retaining wall (Bosanquet 1900: 172; Demargne 1901, 1903; Ducrey and Picard 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1976, 1996; Ducrey et al. 1972; Evans 1895/1896; Hadjimichali 1971). The *prytaneion*, which was identified by an inscription, comprised four rooms: two main rooms and two smaller rooms, of which the main East and West rooms are visible in Figure 7.8 (Demargne 1903: 213-219; Ducrey and Picard 1972). The large room on the west has a central hearth and stone benches, or couches, and has been identified as an *estiatorion* (Demargne 1903: 216-218; Ducrey and Picard 1972: 576-579). The large room on the east may have been a peristyle court (Demargne 1903: 218; Ducrey and Picard 1972: 571-576). The north-western smaller room was only accessible through the large western room, whilst the north-eastern smaller room was only accessible through the eastern peristyle court (Demargne 1903: 218; Ducrey and Picard 1972: 579). The small room accessed through the possible *estiatorion* contained jars and fragments of armour, and may have functioned as an archive room and treasury (Demargne 1903: 218; Ducrey and Picard 1972: 579). Although the precise function of the so-called theatre below the temple terrace (Figure 7.11) is uncertain, both this part of the site and the steps up to the *prytaneion* from the agora may have served as meeting places, perhaps for political purposes, with the theatre perhaps for relatively large groups and the *prytaneion* steps for smaller groups (Ducrey and Picard 1971: 530, 591-592).



Figure 7.8 The *Prytaneion* of Lato from the South-East Corner of the East Room.



Figure 7.9 The Agora of Lato from Its South-East Corner.



Figure 7.10 The Altar and Temple on the Temple Terrace at Lato.



Figure 7.11 Part of the 'Theatre' at Lato.

The two main foci of religious practices in the centre of Hellenistic Lato the Hetera appear to have been the shrine in the agora itself and the temple on the large terrace to the south of the agora. Archaic figurines found in association with

the simple temple in the middle of the agora and in the nearby cistern suggest that it was used prior to the reconstruction of Lato he Hetera (Demargne 1903: 210-211, 229-230; Picard 1992: 157). Although the deity associated with this temple is uncertain, an inscription found nearby may refer to Ares and Zeus (Demargne 1903: 211). The temple south of the agora comprised a cella and pronaos which opened to the east, in front of which was a built altar as seen in Figure 7.10 (Ducrey and Picard 1970). Although the base of the cult statue was found in the cella, the deity worshipped there could not be read from its poorly preserved inscription (Ducrey and Picard 1970: 584-586, 588). The principal deity of Lato was the Cretan goddess, Eileithyia, in whose temple important public decrees were displayed (Perlman 2004a: 1174; Willetts 1958: 223). Unfortunately, the location of the temple of Eileithyia at Lato is unknown (Perlman 2004a: 1174). Other deities worshipped by the inhabitants of Lato in the Hellenistic period included Zeus Kretagenes, Hestia, Hera, Ares and Aphrodite (Bosanquet 1908/1909: 349; Willetts 1962: 207). A second century BC inscription which may refer to a Serapeion suggests that Serapis was worshipped in Hellenistic Lato as at many other Cretan poleis during this time (*IC* 1 16.47; Spyridakis 1970: 101).



Figure 7.12 Agios Nikolaos, on the site of ancient Lato pros Kamara, from the Agora at Lato he Hetera.

Lato he Hetera was largely abandoned by the second century BC as its population gradually moved to its port-city at Lato pros Kamara, beneath modern Agios Nikolaos (Bowsky 1989b: 115; Demargne 1901: 305; Picard 1992: 158). Figure 7.12 shows the view from the agora of Lato he Hetera towards modern Agios Nikolaos. Although the presence of the modern city masks many of the ancient remains of Lato pros Kamara, burials dating to the Hellenistic to Roman periods have been uncovered in different parts of Lato pros Kamara, including on its south-western side in the direction of Lato he Hetera (Bowsky 1989b: 115-117).

In addition to archaeological evidence, a number of inscriptions from both Lato he Hetera and Lato pros Kamara have been found, which shed light on certain political institutions and have provided a detailed record of some of the boards of *kosmoi* at Lato pros Kamara in the late second century BC (Bowsky 1989a). The epigraphic evidence from Lato suggests that there existed a relatively small elite group who provided most of the prominent officials of Lato pros Kamara, such as the *kosmoi* (Bowsky 1989a, 1989b). Some of these individuals can be linked through familial ties to important individuals in the earlier settlement at Lato he Hetera, suggesting that there was some continuity in the families that comprised the polis elite despite the move to Lato pros Kamara (Bowsky 1989a: 337; 1989b: 124, 129). The importance of kinship in the political structures of Lato is evident, for example, in the fact that at times brothers may have served on the same board of *kosmoi* (Bowsky 1989a: 333). The reference to one of the *protokosmoi*, or leader of the board of *kosmoi*, of Lato in an inscription from Istron may relate to a time when Istron fell into the territory of Lato (Section 7.2.5; Hayden et al. 1992: 299 n. 25). Other officials attested at Lato may have included *oikonomoi*, who had a managerial or financial role (Bowsky 1989b: 122; though compare Voutiras 1990: 670-1 who says this is a misreading of the original and did not refer to a group of officials), and *eunomiotai*, whose responsibilities, as at Olous (Section 7.2.7), included dedications and building work in sanctuaries as well as contributing to the maintenance of law and order through overseeing hospitality and relations with citizens of other poleis (see discussions in Bowsky 1989a: 333; Chaniotis 1999a: 201-202). Bowsky (1989a: 343) has suggested that the *eunomiotai* were slightly younger than the *kosmoi* and cites examples of individuals who were *eunomiotai* a number of years before they went on to carry

out other official roles, such as *kosmoi* or ambassadors to other poleis. As at many other Cretan poleis, including Hierapytna and Olous (see Sections 7.2.6 and 7.2.7) graduates from the *agela* in Hellenistic Lato joined the citizen body during an annual festival called the Thiodaisia (Leitao 1995: 136; Willetts 1962: 107, 204-206).

As was discussed in Section 7.2.8, disputes with Olous in the second century BC ultimately led to war and subsequent arbitration by Knossos. Epigraphic evidence from the late Hellenistic period provides details of toponyms in the territory of Lato, on the basis of which the extent of its territory has been tentatively reconstructed (Faure 1967; van Effenterre and Bougrat 1969). During the second century BC, the eastern boundary of this territory may have been near the Xeropotamos River whilst the southern boundary with Hierapytna may have been in or near the Meseleri basin (Faure 1967; Hayden et al. 1992: 299; van Effenterre and Bougrat 1969). On the West, the boundary with Lyttos may have fallen along the eastern edge of the Lasithi plateau whilst the northern boundary with Olous fell about half-way between Olous and Lato pros Kamara, and was marked by the temple at Sta Lenika (Section 7.2.8; Bousquet 1938: 388; Faure 1967; van Effenterre and Bougrat 1969). During the second century BC, the inhabitants of Lato, led by the *kosmoi* and *eunomiotai*, some of whom are individually named in inscriptions from Hellenistic Lato, engaged in a wide programme of building and restoring temples and statues in the territory of the polis and in Lato pros Kamara, including a temple at Istron and the temple at Sta Lenika described in Section 7.2.8 (Bowsky 1989b: 120, 1989b; Bousquet 1938: 393; Ducrey 1969: 841-843; Xanthoudides 1898: 76-77). Bousquet (1938: 393) suggests that this programme of restoring temples and dedicating new statues is part of a trend that can be seen in cities across the Greek world at the time. Although evidence for this trend elsewhere in East Crete is generally lacking, one other example may be the second century BC restoration of certain statues at Palaikastro by Hierapytna (see Sections 7.2.2 and 7.2.6).

Connections between Lato and a number of Cretan poleis, including Olous, Hierapytna, Knossos and Lyttos, are attested in inscriptions which record inter-polis treaties and details of the war between Lato and Olous and its subsequent

settlement (for inter-polis treaties, see Chaniotis 1999a: 201-203 and Viviers 1999: 227-228, with references; for the war between Lato and Olous, see the discussion in Section 7.2.8). Connections outside Crete are attested in an early second century BC Rhodian dedication to Athena Lindia at Lato pros Kamara (*IC* I 16.35), and in the worship of Serapis in a Serapeion at Lato, mentioned above.

7.2.10 Dreros

Unlike the Archaic to Classical periods (described in Section 6.2.8), published evidence for the Hellenistic period at Dreros is relatively sparse. The limited evidence for the use of the Temple of Apollo Delphinios during this period includes two copies of an inscription, a few sherds of possible Hellenistic date and an Argive coin (Marinatos 1936). The *prytaneion* (mentioned in Sections 5.2.10 and 6.2.8) continued to be used and may have undergone a degree of renovation, dated to the fourth or third century BC by pottery and coins from a variety of places including Egypt, Ephesus, Rhodes and Knossos (Demargne and van Effenterre 1937a: 15-26). At the end of the third century or start of the second century BC, a new cistern was constructed to the East of the Temple of Apollo Delphinios (Demargne and van Effenterre 1937a: 27-32; van Effenterre 1937: 327). A number of other deities were worshipped at Dreros, including Zeus Tallaios, who, as noted in Section 7.2.7, was also worshipped at Olous (Bosanquet 1908/1909: 349). The possible *prytaneion*, located south of the Temple of Apollo Delphinios, appears to have continued in use and undergone a degree of reconstruction during the Hellenistic period, dated by evidence including foreign money such as a gold pentadrachm of Ptolemy Soter, two tetradrachmae of Lysimachus, a silver tetradrachm from Ephesus and coins from Rhodes and Knossos (Demargne and van Effenterre 1937a: 15-26). A destruction layer, probably dating to the attack and destruction of Dreros by neighbouring Lyttos in the third or second century BC has been found in recent excavations on the West Acropolis of Dreros (Mulliez 2010). Following this destruction, Lyttos appears to have replaced Dreros as Lato's neighbour on the west (van Effenterre and Bougrat 1969: 9).

In Sections 7.2.6, 7.2.7 and 7.2.9 it was noted that new graduates from the *agela* swore a citizenship oath. Some idea of the texts of these oaths might be gained from the citizenship oath from Itanos (Section 7.2.1) and the well-known third century BC citizenship oath from Dreros (*IC* 9.1; Perlman 1995: 166; van Effenterre 1937; Willetts 1962: 200-201). Clauses in the citizenship oath from Dreros include swearing to harm the people of Lyttos, to remain faithful to Dreros and not to harm it, and to aid Knossos (*IC* I 9.1). As in the Archaic to Classical periods (Section 6.2.8) epigraphic evidence provides limited insight into the political institutions of the polis of Dreros in the Hellenistic period, which appear to have included a board of magistrates known as *kosmoi* and a council or *boula* (*IC* I 9.1; Demargne and van Effenterre 1937a: 29-31; Marinatos 1936: 280-283).

7.3 Discussion

As in the LM IIIC to Classical periods (Chapters 4 to 6), a variety of social practices can be discerned in the evidence presented in Section 7.2, through which a number of group identities were negotiated and communicated. These include practices in the political sphere, particular uses of the landscape and the built environment of the urban centres of poleis, religion, commensality, practices associated with status differentiation and practices relating to the wider context within which relationships and social processes took place in Hellenistic Crete.

7.3.1 Place and Politics

The landscape of Crete, with its combination of mountains and plains, was described in Chapter 1. The intersections between landscape, topography and socio-political practices are particularly apparent in the Hellenistic period. This is perhaps best seen in inscriptions demarcating boundaries between poleis which are often expressed in topographic terms, such as the Toplou inscription with details of the boundaries of, and with, Itanos (discussed in Section 7.2.1) and second-century BC inscriptions with details of the boundaries of Lato (see Section 7.2.9). In some cases, these boundaries followed particularly significant topographic features, such as the eastern edge of the Lasithi plateau, which formed the western boundary of Lato (Section 7.2.9). Although not directly

attested through textual evidence, the prominent topographic feature between the poleis of Hierapytna and Praisos, the Thryphiti mountains, may have formed the boundary between these two poleis. Inter-polis treaties defining territorial boundaries, such as those agreed by Lato with its neighbours (Section 7.2.9) would have formally established the geographical extent of polis territories and their associated identities, thereby influencing and perhaps determining how territorial landscapes were used by their inhabitants, particularly at their margins. For some individuals in East Cretan poleis, the ways in which these treaties influenced their movement across, and economic and/or subsistence activity in, the landscape would have provided a daily reminder of the formal polis structure, its institutions and associated identities. The use of natural and anthropogenic features to mark polis boundaries would have endowed these features with agency to influence social relationships and practices. For example, the particular status and identity of an individual, such as a shepherd, may have varied from citizen to non-citizen as they moved across the landscape from one side of a particular feature, such as a mountain, to another, crossing polis boundaries along the way.

Alongside formal inter-polis treaties and informal daily use of the landscape, other social practices may also have demarcated polis territories, such as religious practices which emphasised both similarity and difference. Religious practices in Hellenistic East Crete included building and restoration work at shrines throughout the territory of Lato (Section 7.2.9), the second century BC restoration of certain statues in the Temple of Dictaeon Zeus at Palaikastro by the inhabitants of Hierapytna (Sections 7.2.2 and 7.2.6), and worship in border shrines, such as in the temples at Sta Lenika (Section 7.2.8) and at Palaikastro (Section 7.2.2). These practices would have physically linked these boundary areas to the inhabitants of the poleis involved in each set of religious practices, thereby symbolically establishing and communicating the limits of their polis territories and identities. In these boundary spaces, both a sense of shared participation in a common group, by the inhabitants of individual poleis, and a line of difference between these inhabitants and the 'Other' of the citizens of the neighbouring polis are likely to have been important. Within polis territories, however, rather than at their boundaries, social practices appear to have focused primarily on signifying similarity. For example, at Praisos, as during earlier periods (see Chapters 5 and

6), the ongoing use of shrines such as those at Vavelloi, on the First Acropolis and at Profitis Elias in the Hellenistic period (Section 7.2.3) may have perpetuated, thus ensuring the continuing salience of, a common religious identity signified through shared practices.

As can be seen in Chapters 4 to 6, religious practices that signify community identities through emphasising similarity and difference all have their roots in time periods preceding the Hellenistic. In contrast to these, the Hellenistic period sees a new set of religious practices which seem to focus on appropriation rather than similarity and/or difference. These are evident in the practices of Hellenistic Hierapytna, where, as described in Section 7.2.6, the deities of newly conquered or contested settlements appear to have been incorporated into the pantheon of this polis, such as in the second-century BC worship of Athena Oleria and Athena Samonia by its citizens. As discussed in Section 7.2.6, this new set of religious practices may have been an attempt to symbolically incorporate newly conquered groups and their associated identities into a higher level polis identity focused on the victorious polis.

Whilst religious practices at their boundaries focused on both similarity and difference, building practices in the urban centres of individual poleis helped to unify their inhabitants into a corporate body and to provide a physical focus for many different types of political identities. In Section 7.2.9, it was noted that at the end of the fourth century and beginning of the third century BC, the inhabitants of Lato undertook a large-scale reorganisation of the built environment of the centre of the polis, then located at Lato he Hetera, including the construction of meeting areas, a *prytaneion* and a large temple. One might hypothesise that the inhabitants of Hellenistic Lato shared a strong group identity, associated particularly with this polis, which acted to unify them as this reorganisation was carried out. The actual process of working together on reorganising the built environment of Lato he Hetera may have created and reinforced strong bonds between the inhabitants of Lato, increasing their sense of belonging to this polis and also the salience of their polis-identity. The visual erasure of the three seventh century BC kilns found below the main temple on the temple terrace of Lato he Hetera (Section 6.2.7; Ducrey and Picard 1969), and the

reorganisation of the urban centre of this settlement, including the building of the building of the meeting areas, *prytaneion* and the two temples described in Section 7.2.9 may indicate that the political and religious practices, and the identities they signified, were becoming increasingly important in Hellenistic Lato. The physical focus for the Lato polis-identity provided by this reorganisation, as well as the particular nature of the identity which it communicated, may have ensured the ongoing importance of this identity through the third century BC. Despite the prominent role one might hypothesise for the built environment of Lato he Hetera in the polis identity of Lato during the first half of the Hellenistic period, the relocation of its urban centre from Lato he Hetera to Lato pros Kamara suggests that by the Hellenistic period this identity was one based primarily on an abstract community in which practice rather than place was most significant in ensuring its continued salience. Despite this, the move to Lato pros Kamara may have been unsettling for many of its inhabitants, and perhaps the widespread programme of rebuilding and rededication of shrines in the wider territory of Lato in the second century BC indicates a need to unify the inhabitants of this polis and to signify its polis identity through practices that encompassed the polis as a whole and took the focus away from its urban centre.

In addition to the religious practices and specific practices associated with construction and use of the built environment of polis centres, social practices such as the swearing of citizenship oaths and their monumentalisation in stone may have played an important role in establishing and maintaining the salience of polis identities, and ceremonies such as the annual swearing in of new citizens may have been particularly significant times when individuals accepted and internalised their own unique polis identities (see Section 3.1). The process of monumentalising these oaths in stone would have required corporate action by at least some members of the polis, and would have provided a visible, public proclamation of the unity and identity of the group associated with poleis where citizenship oaths have been found. This manifestation of individual polis identities would have complemented the materialisation and communication of polis identities through social practices such as the construction of public buildings and spaces and the rebuilding of shrines discussed above. At times when inter-polis treaties were negotiated, such as in the poleis of Itanos, Praisos,

Hierapytna, Olous and Lato (see Sections 7.2.1, 7.2.3, 7.2.6, 7.2.7 and 7.2.9 respectively), and citizenship oaths written and/or recited in poleis such as Itanos, Hierapytna, Olous, Lato and Dreros (Sections 7.2.1, 7.2.6, 7.2.7, 7.2.9 and 7.2.10 respectively), polis identities are likely to have been particularly prominent. In the case of inter-polis treaties, categorisation of the inhabitants of other poleis (see Section 3.1) may have influenced social relationships and the course of negotiation prior to the signing of these agreements. When a major polis made agreements with smaller or dependent settlements, such as the agreement between Praisos and the settlements of Stalai and Seteia, described in Section 7.2.3, it is unlikely that their officials negotiated on an equal footing with each other. The knowledge of belonging to the stronger polis, Praisos, and the internalisation of its group identity, may have given Praisian officials more confidence and the upper hand in their dealings with those representing Stalai and Seteia, who in turn, having internalised their dependent status and identity, may have been less likely to resist Praisian demands. The different identities of Praisos and Stalai may have been further emphasised by their religious and economic practices – for example, Stalai may have had a more maritime focus than Praisos, which is perhaps reflected in the inclusion of Poseidon in the list of deities by whom citizens swear in the treaty between these two settlements.

The process of writing and setting up citizenship oaths, such as those from Itanos and Dreros (Sections 7.2.1 and 7.2.10 respectively), may have strengthened links between the different members of these poleis. The process of swearing these oaths, for example at Itanos, Hierapytna, Olous, Lato and Dreros (Sections 7.2.1, 7.2.6, 7.2.7, 7.2.9 and 7.2.10), would have actively signified membership of a polis-based group and its associated identity whilst also indicating and confirming exactly which individuals adhered to this identity and which did not – a contrast that was perhaps heightened by the presence of individuals from other poleis at some of these ceremonies including those of Hierapytna (witnessed by Knossians; Section 7.2.6) and those of Olous (witnessed by *kosmoi* from Lato; Section 7.2.7). In addition to communicating a specific polis-based identity, practices associated with citizenship oaths may have also highlighted other axes of difference and similarity within and between the inhabitants of individual poleis, such as groups and identities associated with age (for example, if only individuals of or above a

certain age were allowed to take the oath), social status and wealth (for example, if only individuals who met certain socio-economic requirements were allowed to take the oath), gender (for example if only men were allowed to take the oath) or degree of freedom (for example, if slaves or semi-free individuals and groups were not allowed to take the oath). The meaning of this oath for each individual present when it was recited may therefore have differed –for the adult male citizens, it may have encouraged a feeling of joint participation in the polis and its structures and formal identity, for others, the particular identities that were brought to the fore may have depended on why they were excluded from full participation in the formal polis group. For example, the gender identity of women may have been most salient, whilst for slaves identities associated with their lack of freedom and social status may have been most prominent. Despite their inability to participate fully in a formal polis identity, many individuals and groups precluded from taking citizenship oaths may still have felt the pertinence of a polis identity in certain contexts – for example, it is likely that a polis identity (the particular nature of which may have varied) was salient for the wives and daughters of citizens and perhaps also for those who lived in each polis (as an identity of place, see Section 3.3.4), regardless of their citizen status.

As noted in Section 7.2.6, some isopolity treaties included clauses allowing the citizens of either signatory polis to become citizens of the other, often with the precondition of giving up citizenship in their original polis (Bosanquet 1939/1940: 69; Chaniotis 1999a: 202-203). This suggests that although abstract polis identities might be relatively stable, the composition of the groups who participated in specific polis identities was fluid and could change. Those who wished to do so, and were eligible, could choose citizenship in a different polis in place of their existing citizenship, thereby actively acquiring a new polis identity and changing the composition of the group which adhered to the identity of the chosen new polis. Changes in polis identity of this nature may have complicated an individual's group identities - for example, an individual who left their ancestral polis at Praisos and acquired citizenship of Hierapytna may have experienced a conflict in certain situations between certain family identities which focused on a network of kin relationships in the territory of Praisos and their new polis identity which focused on Hierapytna. In other contexts, however, such as

when worshipping Dictaeon Zeus, such conflicts, and the identities that they brought to the fore, may not have been apparent as the inhabitants of both these poleis worshipped Dictaeon Zeus.

Within each polis and below the level of the polis identity, a number of identities may have been negotiated and communicated through political practices and practices associated with the built environment. For example, a number of officials and political institutions and groups are attested epigraphically at the sites discussed in Section 7.2: *archontes* and a *boula* at Praisos, *kosmoi* at Hierapytna, *kosmoi*, *eunomiotai* and a *damiorgos* at Olous, *kosmoi* and *eunomiotai* at Lato, and *kosmoi* and a *boula* at Dreros. As at Dreros in the Archaic to Classical periods (see Sections 6.2.8 and 6.3.1), membership of these groups may have been controlled, transient and restricted to individuals that met certain group identity requirements, such as gender, age, social status or wealth, thereby increasing the salience of these group identities in certain contexts as well as highlighting boundaries between sub-groups in a polis, some of which may not have been fully permeable. Whilst the group identity may have lasted for a long period of time, individual membership of certain groups, and individual signification of identities associated with these groups, such as *archontes*, may have been short-lived; one might hypothesise a situation in which salient identities for certain individuals changed relatively rapidly, for example when they became *archontes* or members of the *boula*, and then as their term of office came to an end. In some cases, identities associated with sub-groups within a polis, including those listed here, may have had a physical focus in the built environment of its urban centre, such as in meeting places and the *prytaneion* found at Lato the Hetera (Section 7.2.9) and Dreros (Section 7.2.10) and in the *prytaneion* and *andreion* which are attested epigraphically at Hellenistic Hierapytna (Section 7.2.6).

7.3.2 Religious Practices and Identities

As demonstrated in Section 7.3.1, religious practices and identities and political identities were closely linked. However, other identities were also negotiated and communicated through religious practices, including regional identities and a

variety of religious identities, all of which would have intersected with the political identities discussed in Section 7.3.1. The simultaneous signification of polis identities and other identities is perhaps best seen in evidence associated with the worship of Dictaeon Zeus and religious practices at the Temple of Dictaeon Zeus at Palaikastro.

The prominent position given to Dictaeon Zeus in the list of deities by whom Praisos, Itanos and Hierapytna swore (see Sections 7.2.1, 7.2.2, 7.2.3 and 7.2.6) and a possible joint annual festival at the temple, during which the Hymn of Dictaeon Zeus may have been recited and the god called to come to our poleis (πόληας ἀμῶν) suggest that Hellenistic social practices associated with the temple at Palaikastro may have signified joint participation in a common identity by all three of the major poleis in the far East through which they were distinguished, and distinguished themselves, from other Cretan poleis. This identity appears to have continued into the Hellenistic period from the Archaic to Classical periods (Section 6.3.2) and would have functioned at a higher level than the segmentary polis identities also signified at the temple through its function as a marker of the boundaries between East Cretan poleis. Given the apparent importance of Dictaeon Zeus in far eastern Crete, it is not surprising that each of the main poleis in this region actively incorporated worship of Dictaeon Zeus as a prominent part of their individual polis identities. Similar beliefs and practices may have provided a common, and clearly understood, arena for inter-polis competition, and the significant degree to which each of these poleis claimed or actively appropriated identities associated with Dictaeon Zeus may have encouraged the others to do the same. Over a long period of time, from the EIA until the Hellenistic, this competition probably encouraged the worship of Dictaeon Zeus, perhaps further highlighting the need for each polis to actively signify the importance of this religious identity to the polis group. In contrast to the Archaic to Classical period when Praisos communicated its participation in an identity focused on Dictaeon Zeus through practices which made use of similar material culture to that at Palaikastro (discussed in Section 6.3.2), during the Hellenistic period these social practices altered and now incorporated the inclusion of Dictaeon Zeus in the lists of deities by whom the East Cretan poleis swore and the restoration of certain statues in the temple at Palaikastro by

Hierapytna (Sections 7.2.2 and 7.2.6). A similar process whereby a regional identity incorporating more than one polis was signified through practices which also emphasised a polis-identity might be hypothesised for Lato and Olous and practices associated with the temple at Sta Lenika discussed in Section 7.2.8.

Whilst practices associated with the worship of Dictaeon Zeus, and the temple at Palaikastro, by Itanos, Praisos and Hierapytna, or with the worship of Ares and Aphrodite, and the temple at Sta Lenika, by Olous and Lato may have served to unify these sets of poleis and to distinguish each of them from its neighbours, other religious practices in poleis in Hellenistic East Crete would have signified participation in religious identities that functioned at a variety of levels. Participation in relatively local Cretan religious identities may have been signified through worship of deities such as Dictaeon Zeus by Itanos, Praisos and Hierapytna (Sections 7.2.1, 7.2.3 and 7.2.6), Britomartis by Olous (Section 7.2.7) and Eileithyia and Zeus Kretagenes by Lato (Section 7.2.9), whilst participation in identities at a higher, panhellenic level may have been signified through the worship of deities such as Athena Polias, Apollo Pythios and Demeter by Itanos (Section 7.2.1), Athena Oleria by Oleros, and then Hierapytna (Section 7.2.5), Athena Polias, Hera, Hestia, Ares and Aphrodite by Hierapytna (Section 7.2.6), Hera, Hestia, Ares and Aphrodite by Lato (Section 7.2.9) and Apollo Delphinios by Dreros (Section 7.2.10). The worship of the Egyptian deities, Isis and Serapis at a number of East Cretan poleis, including Hierapytna, Olous and Lato (Sections 7.2.6, 7.2.7 and 7.2.9) may have signified participation in a different set of identities, also at a relatively high level, associated with the Ptolemies and linked to the increasingly wider context within which identities in eastern Crete were negotiated and communicated during the Hellenistic period.

Despite the links to a high-level group identity signified through some of these religious practices, the attribution of unique epithets to deities, particularly those associated with specific places such as Athena Oleria and Athena Samonia, may indicate an attempt to define a unique group identity for worshippers in different settlements within the context of the wider religious identity. On a relative low level, the choice of principal deity may have distinguished each polis and its identity from that of its neighbours, such as in the choice of Apollo Delphinios at

Dreros (Section 7.2.10) and Eileithyia at neighbouring Lato (7.2.9). Religious practices may also have served to highlight and define axes of difference and similarity between different groups in the same polis. For example, at Hellenistic Itanos, the worship of Tyche Protogeneia, who may have been closely linked to Ptolemaic garrison there (see Section 7.2.1) may have emphasised the boundaries between the foreign soldiers in this garrison and their identity and others, such as the citizens of Itanos, who did not worship this deity. At Hellenistic Hierapytna, Olous and Lato (Sections 7.2.6, 7.2.7 and 7.2.9) worship by some citizens of Isis and/or Serapis may have distinguished certain inhabitants of these poleis from the rest, thereby perhaps establishing and communicating a unique religious identity for these groups.

In the Temple of Dictaeon Zeus at Palaikastro the particular form of religious practices appears to have changed over time, from practices in the EIA revolving around votive deposition of elite objects such as bronze tripods and weaponry, described in Section 5.2.2 to practices in the Hellenistic which used ceramic objects such as the lamps, torch-holders, cups and bowls listed in the site description in Section 7.2.2. The Hellenistic finds from the temple do not seem out of place in the type of annual festival that the Hymn to Dictaeon Zeus may refer to, and perhaps represent a change in the primary identities signified through practices at the temple, from elites in the EIA, as suggested by Prent (2003), to citizens of individual poleis by the Hellenistic.

7.3.3 Commensality and Elite Identities

The limited evidence for group commensality and elite identities in Hellenistic East Crete suggests that these were closely linked to the polis and political identities. For example, in Section 7.2.3, it was noted that practices relating to public commensality may be evident in the Almond Tree House at Praisos. As in the pre-Hellenistic period (see Chapters 4 to 6), practices associated with group commensality would have fostered bonds and developed relationships between members of the group and signified a joint group identity to the exclusion of those who did not participate. At Praisos these practices seem to appear in the urban centre of the polis at around the same time as it was expanding its territory, to

include settlements such as Dragmos, Stalai and Seteia. This perhaps indicates that a group identity focused on the core of the polis and held by the inhabitants of this area became particularly salient as the context of its political activity expanded to take into account its new territory. Such practices, and the group identities that were negotiated and communicated through them, may have emphasised the high position of the victorious citizens of Praisos over their newly conquered subjects, whilst also unifying them in the face of pressure and resistance to their expansionist policies, such as in the Ptolemaic garrisons at Palaikastro and Leuke.

As discussed in Section 7.2.9, epigraphic evidence from Lato pros Kamara has demonstrated that most of the prominent officials, such as the *kosmoi*, appear to have been drawn from a relatively small elite group, some of whom can be linked through familial ties to important individuals in the earlier settlement at Lato he Hetera (Bowsky 1989a, 1989b). These familial ties, together with the recognition that at times brothers may have served on the same board of *kosmoi* (Bowsky 1989a: 333), suggest that kinship and family identities may have played a significant role in Hellenistic Lato, and perhaps at other East Cretan poleis, and directly intersected with identities associated with the elite and formal political sub-groups within the polis. The role of kinship in elite and political identities at Hellenistic Lato suggests that the boundaries between different sub-groups and their associated identities may not have been fully permeable and that the particular group identities held by individuals and groups, including family and status identities, might limit their opportunities and ability to access positions of power and influence. Alongside kinship, participation in other group identities may also have functioned to divide individuals and groups and to limit and/or determine access to certain positions in the polis. Evidence for citizenship oaths and the swearing of these oaths by graduates from the *agela* in poleis such as Itanos, Hierapytna, Olous, Lato and Dreros (Sections 7.2.1, 7.2.6, 7.2.7, 7.2.9 and 7.2.10) suggest that identities associated with age and the life cycle, as well as perhaps gender, may have been particularly salient in different ways for specific individuals and groups in these poleis in the Hellenistic period, and served to highlight patterns of difference and similarity between groups in individual poleis.

7.3.4 The Widening Context and its Influence Over Identities

As can be seen in Section 7.2, each of the important poleis of Hellenistic East Crete had a variety of relationships external to the polis itself, including relationships with other Cretan poleis (including poleis in East Crete) and with powers outside Crete. These relationships would have formed important levels of the wider context within which identity signification by individual poleis took place. In many cases, whether in the religious sphere, such as the worship of Dictaeon Zeus in far eastern Crete, the worship of Isis and Serapis in Hierapytna, Olous and Lato and the worship of Tyche Protogeneia by the garrisoned soldiers at Itanos (all discussed in Section 7.3.2), or in the political sphere, such as the process and negotiating and agreeing inter-polis treaties (discussed in Section 7.3.1), relationships at a level beyond that of individual poleis may have formed an integral part of the process of negotiating and communicating a variety of identities.

Hellenistic Itanos, described in Section 7.2.1, provides the opportunity to examine the process of identity negotiation and communication between the inhabitants of an individual polis and individuals and groups from outside Crete in further detail. As was argued in Section 7.3.3, religious practices, such as the worship of Tyche Protogeneia may have emphasised the different group identities to which the foreign soldiers and citizens of Itanos in the Hellenistic period adhered. These different group identities are likely to have been signified through other social practices which are not visible in the available evidence, such as through the specific locations of living areas in and around the polis, frequency of contact within and between these different groups, marriage opportunities and other social relationships. Evidence for the possible relations between garrisoned soldiers and the settlements within which they were located around the Mediterranean in the Hellenistic period has been discussed by Chaniotis (2002). He highlights specific areas where social interaction between the two may have occurred, such as in sanctuaries and gymnasia, and emphasises that the types of interaction possible may have depended on the purpose of the garrison and whether it was short- or long-term. As noted in Section 7.2.1, the Ptolemaic garrison was not unwelcome to its citizens (Spyridakis 1970: 71, 75-76), and inscriptions provide evidence for

shared practices in the form of honours to the Ptolemaic dynasty (specifically the dedication in honour of Ptolemy III and Berenike by Itanos and the dedication to Ptolemy Philopater by Lucius, one of the commanders of the garrison, both described in Section 7.2.1). This may suggest that association with the Ptolemies and their sphere of influence was an important aspect of the identity of Itanos in the third century BC as well as for members of the garrison. This joint participation in a common identity may have provided a sense of common ground for the two groups (and also linked them to a wider group beyond Crete) during much of the third century BC, despite their religious and other differences. For the people of Itanos, the salience of identities associated with the Ptolemies may have been greatest during the third century and early part of the second century BC, and then declined as their extra-polis interactions focused on other poleis and powers, such as Hierapytna, Magnesia and Rome.

Agreements which involved the provision of mercenaries by Cretan poleis to outside powers, such as those between Olous and Rhodes and between Hierapytna and Rhodes (Sections 7.2.6 and 7.2.7), suggest that identities associated with the military sphere and with mercenary activity may have been highly significant for a number of individuals and groups in Hellenistic East Crete. For these individuals, local identities such as those associated with their polis, religious practices and family may have been most salient when in their home polis. When overseas on mercenary service, and in a context removed from Crete, the Cretan, polis and/or mercenary identities of these individuals may have been particularly prominent. Within East Crete, the limited evidence for the reoccupation of Azoria (described in Section 7.2.4) might suggest that identities associated with Hierapytnian military and mercenary service were salient at this site during the Hellenistic period, if the suggestion that this site was used as a garrison is correct. An extra-Cretan aspect to these identities at Azoria is suggested through the finds of Argive triobols and the Campanian amphora (Section 7.2.4). If garrisoned by Hierapytna as part of the disputes between East Cretan poleis, as suggested by Haggis et al. (2007: 305), the military activity at this site may also have increased the salience of a Hierapytnian identity, both for those at Azoria and for those in the urban centre of Hierapytna who had made the decision to establish this garrison.

7.4 Summary

In Section 7.1, it was noted that Hellenistic Crete was marked by inter-polis rivalry and strife. Given this, it is perhaps unsurprising that polis identities appear particularly salient during this period, and are expressed through a variety of social practices. With the formalisation of the polis structure, many of these practices themselves appear to have been formalised, for example in the inter-polis treaties and citizenship oaths from poleis such as Hierapytna, Itanos and Dreros, as well as in the construction of buildings for use in the political life of the polis, such as the *prytaneion* beside the agora at Lato he Hetera (Section 7.2.9). As in the Geometric to Classical periods (see Chapters 5 and 6), religious practices provided a way to bring together the inhabitants of different communities and poleis, fostering a shared sense of belonging, whilst also demarcating the physical and symbolic boundaries between poleis and their territories. Although in some cases, such as at Praisos, ongoing use of certain cult areas may have encouraged a shared sense of belonging to that polis, during the Hellenistic period, a new set of religious practices are apparent, which appear to be an attempt to symbolically incorporate newly conquered groups and their associated identities into a higher level polis identity focused on the victorious polis. These practices involved the incorporation of the deities of newly conquered settlements into the religious milieu of victorious poleis, and are most apparent in the worship of Athena Oleria and Athena Samonia by the citizens of second century BC Hierapytna, discussed in Sections 7.2.6 and 7.3.1. As in the Archaic to Classical periods, religious practices at polis boundaries signified the spatial extent of polis territories and identities, particularly at the Temple of Dictaeon Zeus at Palaikastro (Section 7.2.2) and in the temple at Sta Lenika, where Hellenistic reconstruction work may relate to an ideological expression of the conflict between Lato and Olous (discussed in Section 7.2.8). As in the Archaic to Classical period (see Chapter 6), within each polis, a number of relatively formal identities, such as those associated with different political offices, may have been temporarily salient for different individuals at different times. As mentioned in Sections 6.3.1 and 7.3.2, participation in these political offices, such as that of *kosmoi* may have been controlled and restricted to those who met certain criteria, thereby bringing other identities, such as those

associated with gender, wealth and social status and citizen status, to the fore at times when these offices were appointed.

During the EIA and Archaic to Classical periods (Chapters 5 and 6), religious practices associated with different deities signified the participation of their worshippers in group identities that spanned different geographical areas, such as the worship of Dictaeon Zeus in the far East of Crete, which linked together Praisos, Itanos and Hierapytna, the worship of Eileithyia at Lato, which linked this polis to a more generally Cretan religious identity, and the worship of Apollo Delphinios, which linked the inhabitants of Dreros to an identity that covered much of the ancient Greek world. The evidence from Hellenistic East Crete, described in Section 7.2, suggests that these practices, and participation in the identities to which they linked their practitioners, continued into this period. However, alongside these, the increasing scale of the context within which the inhabitants of East Crete were living during this period and the contact with non-Cretans that this brought, led to the acquisition of new religious identities by some individuals and groups, such as those associated with the worship of Isis and Serapis. The evidence from Hellenistic Itanos (Section 7.2.1) suggests that religious practices may have functioned to distinguish the inhabitants of certain East Cretan poleis between those who were Cretan and those who were temporarily stationed on the island and who signified their different group identities not only through social practices such as where they lived (such as in the Ptolemaic fort at Itanos) and in their occupation (as mercenaries), but also through religious practices, such as the worship of Tyche Protogeneia.

In addition to the different group identities that may have been salient in Hellenistic East Crete, discussed in Section 7.3, a number of other, informal identities may have been salient at different times for specific groups and individuals. These may have included identities associated with gender, age, wealth and social status, citizenship status, family/kin identity and place of origin, including in Crete itself and places outside Crete.

8 Discussion and Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

As is apparent in the discussions in Chapters 4 to 7, it is difficult to separate out and distinguish group identities in ancient East Crete because they were all connected in a complex, multi-layered network of social relationships and practices that took place within a specific geographical space and historical context. This is perhaps most apparent in the links between the political and religious spheres, as religious practices often signified both political and religious identities. The physical environment of East Crete is described briefly in Chapter 1. Overall, the form of this environment remained relatively unchanged throughout the time period examined in this thesis, particularly when considered in the *longue durée* of general relationships between the different elements of the land- and seascape, such as mountains, plains and the sea – a scale generally unaffected by the localised changes that occurred, such as those related to subsistence practices like terracing, and natural processes, such as erosion and tectonic activity (for further discussion of different scales in the Mediterranean, see Braudel 1972-1973). However, the ways in which this environment was used and its particular meanings and agency varied through the time from LM IIIC to the Hellenistic period, not only in terms of settlement patterns and the topography of the sites chosen for settlements, but also in terms of the way in which the resources and opportunities presented by this environment were used, such as in agricultural and pastoral practices and in connections between the different settlements of East Crete and between these settlements and the rest of Crete and other parts of the Mediterranean. To some degree, these changes can be related to changes in the wider historical context, and it is therefore useful to summarise the changes in this context, and how this context may have influenced past identity construction and meanings. The wider context within which identities were constructed in East Crete from LM IIIC to the Hellenistic period is discussed in Section 8.2. Section 8.3 deals with community and political identities, and religious identities are considered in Section 8.4. The focus of Section 8.5 is on group identities, such as social status, family, kin and lineage identities, age and

gender identities, which are not as readily apparent in the evidence discussed in this thesis as the political and religious identities discussed in Sections 8.3 and 8.4. Section 8.6 briefly considers how the group identities discussed for ancient East Crete compare with those for the rest of Crete before the final conclusions are presented in Section 8.7.

8.2 Place, Space and Time: The Physical and the Temporal/Historical Context of Identity Construction

The period immediately preceding the chronological range of this thesis was one of disruption and discontinuity, during which many identities salient in the Bronze Age ceased to be so or were significantly transformed, whilst those that offered a source of material and/or emotional strength and support, are likely to have become increasingly important (Section 4.2). At the end of LM IIIB and beginning of LM IIIC, many settlements were founded in new locations, in a relatively dispersed settlement pattern which, on present evidence, lacks a distinct settlement hierarchy. As discussed at the beginning of Section 4.3, many of these settlements, particularly when they were first established, are likely to have been relatively small, both in their physical size and population. On present evidence, few links with sites beyond those in near proximity appear to have existed in LM IIIC East Crete, except at a few coastal sites like Istron *Vrokastro*, with its possible harbour on the promontory of Elias to Nisi and its evidence for intermittent links with central Crete, the Cyclades, the Greek mainland and possibly the Dodecanese (described in Section 4.3.8; Hayden 2003, 2004a: 146-147). The wider context within which identity was constructed during LM IIIC was therefore probably quite small in most East Cretan settlements, both in terms of the highest scale of the possible context, which inter-settlement links suggest extended only to local regions or site clusters for most sites, and in terms of the context of daily identity construction, provided by individual settlements and/or site clusters and their populations. The reduced scale apparent in LM IIIC contrasts significantly with that of the Bronze Age, thereby emphasising the degree of disruption to social relationships and practices brought about by the changes between the late LM IIIB and LM IIIC periods.

During the Early Iron Age, the context within which identities were negotiated and communicated appears to have expanded gradually, both in terms of extra-settlement links and in terms of the size and population of individual communities which would have been the backdrop for daily social practices and identity construction. An important part of these changes would have been the transformations in the settlement pattern of East Crete that occurred during the EIA, when some settlements were abandoned and others underwent a process of nucleation and expansion, perhaps absorbing the populations of newly-abandoned sites. As discussed in Section 5.3.1, the gradual increase in size of the daily context of identity construction that accompanied EIA growth in settlement sizes and populations would have changed relationships within settlements, making it less likely that the inhabitants of these settlements had close personal relationships with, and knowledge of, all the other inhabitants of their communities and increasing the value of social practices that established and perpetuated a group identity shared by the inhabitants of these settlements, such as through religious practices and burial practices (see Chapter 5).

Ongoing expansion in settlement territories and populations seems likely from the EIA into the Archaic and Classical periods, alongside more frequent interaction beyond the immediate settlement and its neighbours (Chapter 6). These changes would have increased the scale not only of the highest level of social interaction but also the size of the daily context of identity signification in individual settlements and local regions. Imported pottery has been found at Itanos (Section 6.2.1) and a maritime focus for coastal settlements, such as Itanos, Olous and Istron, would have distinguished them from settlements located further inland, such as Praisos, Azoria and Oleros, which may have had a more agro-pastoral and/or intra-island focus. These differences suggest that the wider context of social practices and identity construction varied across East Crete depending on the location of individual poleis and their primary economic activities. Alongside ongoing increases in the scale of wider context significant developments appear to have occurred within East Cretan settlements in the Archaic period, with the formalisation of community identities as 'polis' identities and the institutionalisation of political offices and polis structures, as attested by the legal inscriptions from Dreros (Section 6.2.8). The increasing formalisation of polis-

based institutions and political offices, and their associated identities, is indicated by the particular way in which writing was used in Archaic Crete, where, unlike in the rest of the Greek world, epigraphic evidence is dominated by legal inscriptions rather than informal and/or personal inscriptions such as graffiti and dedications (see discussions in Stoddart and Whitley 1998; Whitley 1997).

The references to the polis and associated political offices in inscriptions on Crete from the Archaic period onwards, such as those at Dreros, need not necessarily mean that these political institutions were only formalised in this period. Although not necessarily a strict, formal hierarchy at that time, social differentiation may have been present, to varying degrees, in the settlements of eastern Crete during LM IIIC (Section 4.4.3), and it is perhaps out of this that political hierarchies and offices began to develop during the EIA before being made visible in inscriptions from the Archaic period onwards (for further discussion of political practices and identities, see Section 8.2). The growth of these institutions may have been encouraged by growth in the population sizes and territorial extent of these early Cretan poleis, and have functioned to aid the smooth running of communities whilst also providing formal channels of communication between settlements as they came into increasingly frequent contact with each other. Although it is not possible on present evidence to determine at what point and how each institution and office came to be formalised and named as it did, it seems likely that this was a gradual process in each settlement, influenced both by internal growth and external developments in other settlements and in the wider Mediterranean. Although it is unlikely that this process developed at a constant rate through time or across individual settlements in East Crete (or Crete as a whole), particularly when one considers the discontinuous geographical spread of Archaic legal inscriptions on Crete, it is also unlikely that it suddenly appeared fully formed in this period, as a focus purely on the textual evidence might imply. Some of the social practices through which these political institutions and identities may have developed during LM IIIC and the EIA are evident in the material remains described in Chapters 4 and 5, and include group commensality, religious practices and burial practices.

The intersections between the physical environment of East Crete and the socio-political activities of its inhabitants are particularly apparent in the Hellenistic period. It was during this time that territorial expansion reached its peak, as is most apparent in the activities of Hierapytna (described in Section 7.2.6) within this region, and territorial boundaries and polis identities were physically demarcated through features of the landscape and built environment as well as through a variety of social practices (Section 7.3.1). Despite the importance of landscape features in marking polis boundaries, these boundaries do not necessarily coincide with the most obvious topographical features and divisions of East Crete, and it is important to consider both the land- and seascape in conjunction with each other when examining the relationship between the physical environment and the socio-political structures of its inhabitants. For example, although the Isthmus of Ierapetra might be viewed as a topographical unit and therefore perhaps considered most likely to fall under one polis, during at least part of the Hellenistic period it was divided between Hierapytna, in the south, and Lato, in the north (see Chapter 7, especially sections 7.2.5, 7.2.6 and 7.2.9). This is perhaps unsurprising when the coastal location and external links of Hierapytna are brought into consideration, in which case it can be viewed as located on the line between the two different parts of its territory and influence, one based on land, and the other on the sea (see Figure 7.2). Similarly, although Itanos might appear to have occupied only a relatively small territory on the north-eastern peninsula of Crete, the extent of its territory seems considerably larger when one takes into account that this territory is likely to have extended out to sea, and included islands such as Leuke (see Section 7.2.1).

A comparison of the evidence for each period considered in this study (Chapters 4 to 7) reveals that alongside the relatively large size of the territories of Hellenistic East Cretan poleis such as Hierapytna, settlements themselves were large in comparison to earlier settlements in East Crete, meaning that the daily context of identity construction was considerably larger than previously. By the Hellenistic period, there is material and textual evidence from all over East Crete for links across Crete and the Mediterranean, including the Ptolemaic presence and influence at Itanos and Olous, the giving of *proxenia* rights by Olous to individuals from Rhodes, Kasos, Egypt, Cyrene, Samos and other Cretan poleis,

arbitration between warring poleis, such as Itanos and Hierapytna, and Lato and Olous, by Magnesia and Rome, foreign coins at Dreros and the Argive triobols and possibly Campanian amphorae at Azoria, and the worship of Egyptian deities at a number of poleis, including Hierapytna, Olous and Lato (Chapter 7). This evidence suggests that in addition to the broad context of daily social practices in Hellenistic East Crete, the wider context had also expanded significantly to cover much of the Mediterranean. The increased scale of interaction and context of social practices at every level appears to have brought the inhabitants of East Cretan poleis into more frequent contact with each other and perhaps led to the strife and rivalry that characterised this period, both in terms of physical warfare between poleis, such as Hierapytna, Praisos and Oleros, and in symbolic terms, for example in practices that signified individual polis identities to neighbouring poleis and the extra-Cretan world.

The above summary reveals a trend in which the scale of the context within which identity construction took place in ancient East Crete increased through time. At a low level, the scale increased from relatively small settlements and territories to medium- and large-sized poleis which included both an urban centre and a rural hinterland. On a higher level, based on inter-settlement contacts both within and outside Crete, the scale increased from intermittent links with areas outside eastern Crete by just a handful of settlements (based on current evidence) to a high level of integration in pan-Mediterranean networks by most, if not all, East Cretan poleis in the Hellenistic period (although not every inhabitant of these poleis would necessarily have participated in these networks). Although a variety of identities were mobilised at different levels as the scale of the context increased through time, group identities based on the daily interactions, spheres of contact, and social practices of individuals in East Crete continued to be salient, although their form and meaning changed, in part because of the ever-increasing scale of the highest context of interaction, as is discussed in Section 8.3 for community identities.

8.3 Community and Political Identities

In Section 8.2, I suggested that the formalised political institutions and identities that became apparent in East Crete from the Archaic period onwards originate in practices operating in the EIA, which themselves may have developed out of small-scale social differentiation in LM IIIC. Although it is anachronistic to refer to the small LM IIIC settlements of East Crete as poleis, social practices appear to have established group identities associated with individual communities from their first foundations. Two types of community identities are apparent in LM IIIC East Crete. The first encompassed the inhabitants of individual settlements, such as Palaikastro *Kastri* and each of the sites described in Section 4.3 in the regions of Praisos, Pefki, Oreino, Kavousi, Monastiraki and Vrokastro, and, as discussed in Section 4.4, were signified through a variety of social practices that included group commensality (at Palaikastro *Kastri*, Kalamafka *Kypia*, Kavousi *Vronda*, and on the summit of Pefki *Kastellopoulo*), burial in cemeteries associated with specific settlements (in the Kavousi and Pefki regions, and religious practices (at Kavousi *Vronda*, Kavousi *Kastro* and Kavousi *Azoria*, Vasiliki *Kefala*, Monastiraki *Chalasmeno* and Istron *Vrokastro*). The second comprised the inhabitants of interdependent groups of neighbouring settlements in site clusters. Site-cluster identities can be located at a slightly higher level than individual settlement/community identities and were only salient in some parts of East Crete, such as in the Kavousi region (Section 4.3.5). The social practices through which cluster identities were established and communicated include the sharing of economic and/or subsistence resource (such as in the Kavousi region), joint use of burial areas (in the cemetery at Glikis Prinós in the Pefki region and in the vicinity of Praisos), and religious practices (such as those associated with the ‘goddess with upraised arms’ at many sites in East Crete).

The LM IIIC social practices mentioned above, and the new group identities that they helped to establish and perpetuate, would have helped to unite the diverse individuals and groups who had come together to form the new LM IIIC settlements. The new sense of community created by these practices was perhaps particularly important in providing a sense of stability, given the disruption and discontinuity that forms the temporal backdrop to these processes (see Section

4.2). Some of these LM IIC social practices, such as group commensality, may even have had their genesis in active encouragement by settlement leaders or innovators as a way of bringing individuals together and forging new relationships. Other social practices, including co-operation between families and settlements in subsistence and economic activities, and similar religious and burial practices, probably do not have their genesis in active promotion, but still functioned to bring together individuals and groups, thereby promoting a sense of belonging and helping to establish new settlement and cluster-focused identities by emphasising similarity between the participants in these groups. Given the potential importance of subsistence activities in the wider landscape in the promotion of at least some of these identities, particularly site cluster identities, it seems likely that they incorporated both attachments to the specific regions in which individual communities lived and relationships between co-habitants of these communities. It is possible that LM IIC attachments to the wider region within which settlements were located (rather than to the built environment of settlements themselves) provided a sense of similarity between inhabitants of these regions and helped to smooth the process of site nucleation that occurred during the EIA (see Chapter 5).

Alongside a shared attachment to place, social practices which unified the inhabitants of particular regions would have played an important role in promoting social cohesion and aiding good relationships between the new inhabitants of expanding settlements during the EIA. The social practices apparent in the evidence from East Crete suggest that community identities continued to be important, and were perhaps strengthened and perpetuated through encouraging a perception of similarity between the inhabitants of individual regions and the inhabitants of particular settlements. For some individuals and groups, these practices would have helped to encourage the salience of a new community identity focused on a settlement to which their families had moved within living memory, and to integrate them into the more long-established group that encompassed those whose families had lived in these settlements for longer periods of time. These social practices included religious practices such as worship at cult places like the sanctuary of Dictaeon Zeus at Palaikastro (Section 5.2.2), Pachlitzani Agriada in the Kavousi region (Section

5.2.7), the sanctuary at Sta Lenika (Section 5.2.10) and the Temple of Apollo Delphinios at Dreros (Section 5.2.12) and practices involving the deposition of votive terracottas in the vicinity of Praisos and worship on its Third Acropolis (Section 5.2.3), as well as burial practices focusing on the use of shared burial grounds, such as in the Kavousi cluster (Section 5.2.7).

As discussed in Section 5.3.1, the process of identity negotiation and communication in EIA East Crete occurred on both a material level and on a metaphorical level - the material in the form of the visual statement of the presence of settlement groups and identities in particular locations, through structures such as temples and areas devoted to communal burial, and the metaphorical through the joint participation in the activities carried out at these locations. As discussed in Section 8.2, it is likely that the formalised polis structure and political offices evident from the Archaic period onwards have their roots in the EIA. Although current evidence sheds little light on how this process developed, one possibility is that political and social hierarchies began to develop as settlement populations and organizational requirements reached a certain level (for a theoretical discussion of this type of process, see Johnson 1982), with at least some of the lineages and family groups that had been influential in LM IIIC at the top of these hierarchies alongside talented, inspiring and/or influential individuals (the so-called 'Big Men' posited for elsewhere in EIA Greece; see Whitley 1991b). These hierarchies may have become more formalised, and political offices crystallised, as the internal dynamics of growing EIA settlements required greater regulation to ensure their inhabitants lived together amenablely. As this process occurred and as categorisation became more important in ordering an increasingly large social world (see Section 3.1), specific identities associated with different positions in social and political hierarchies, as well as with different political offices, developed. Part of this process seems to have involved defining which individuals could access different positions and official posts through delineating which identities they should or might not hold, perhaps ultimately completely excluding those who held certain identities, such as (although not necessarily) sex and gender identities associated with women or identities associated with specific age groups or social statuses. As political identities crystallised, they were institutionalised and formalised through practices such as

the writing of laws, and it became necessary to define more clearly and in a very public manner which individuals qualified for access to different positions and which did not, perhaps leading to the development of institutions and practices such as those associated with the *andreia*, age-classes in the *agela* and citizenship oaths that appear to have existed at a number of East Cretan settlements and poleis by the Archaic to Hellenistic periods, such as at Azoria, Hierapytna, Olous, Lato, Dreros, Itanos and Praisos (see Chapters 6 and 7). In addition to the internal reasons for the development of these institutions and offices, similar developments in other settlements in East Crete and beyond may have stimulated the process within each EIA settlement, in part, perhaps, because they provided a convenient and structured communication channel between settlements as they came into increasingly frequent contact with each other.

As the evidence from Dreros demonstrates, by the Archaic period, the inhabitants of at least some settlements in East Crete had begun to think and refer to themselves as living in a polis with formal offices, such as the *kosmoi* and the ‘twenty of the polis’ (Section 6.2.8). Concurrent with, and perhaps contributing to, the formalisation and institutionalisation of community identities as polis identities, the social practices through which these identities were communicated also appear to have become more formal. These social practices included the construction and use of buildings in specific places, often prominent parts of the built environment of settlements, and on the production and display of legal and religious inscriptions, also often in prominent places (discussed in Section 6.3.1). Examples of practices relating to buildings include the *andreion* and Monumental Civic Building at Azoria (Section 6.2.4), the Archaic structure in the North Necropolis of Itanos (Section 6.2.1) and the possible *prytaneion* at Dreros (Section 6.2.8). Evidence for Archaic to Classical writing practices is most abundant at Dreros (Section 6.2.1), but also includes some of the ‘Eteocretan’ inscriptions at Praisos (Section 6.2.3). Religious practices through which community, and specifically polis, identities were signified also appear to have become more formal, and like the practices discussed above helped to bring together individuals and groups within the wider territory of the polis, establishing and communicating polis identities that incorporated all the inhabitants of expanding settlements and their increasing territories. At cult sites,

such as in the temples at Palaikastro and Sta Lenika, religious practices may have demarcated the boundaries between polis territories and their associated identities, both materially and symbolically, whilst perhaps also bringing together the inhabitants of individual poleis in worship at these sites. At Praisos, commensality also continued to play a role in bringing individuals together and reinforcing a sense of common belonging and identity, in the drinking and dining activities on Profitis Elias (Section 6.2.5).

The polis identities in East Crete from at least the Archaic period onwards appear to have encompassed both an urban centre and a relatively large associated territory. As the size of polis territories and populations continued to expand during the Archaic and Classical periods, it becomes even more likely that the individuals within them were less well acquainted with all the other inhabitants of their settlement. In this wide social world, the formalisation of political institutions in Archaic period perhaps helped to increase the salience of polis identities for the inhabitants of East Cretan communities by disassociating them from specific individuals or families and instead focusing them on specific places, such as the urban centre of settlements such as Azoria and Dreros, and an abstracted ideological community. The continued prominence of these identities into the Hellenistic period suggests that social practices associated with the polis were particularly effective at unifying disparate groups and encouraging a shared sense of belonging to a community that shared a common formal identity. The specific requirements for participation in political offices, such as that of *kosmos*, and in formal polis identities may have highlighted lines of division within settlements, and demonstrated the intersection of these formal identities with other groups and identities in the polis, such as those dependant on gender, age, social status, lineage and/or birth-place. However, even individuals who did not meet these requirements may have adhered to a group identity associated with specific poleis, although perhaps without all of its formal connotations, such as the wives and/or daughters of citizens or individuals without full citizenship rights.

By the Hellenistic period, the polis appears to be firmly established as the highest autonomous unit of community, comprising an urban centre and a firmly

delineated territory marked by features of the natural and built environment and social practices at its boundaries, including in cult places such as the Temple of Ares and Aphrodite at Sta Lenika and the Temple of Dictaeon Zeus at Palaikastro (see Section 7.3.1). In addition to these practices that communicated polis identities through a dialogue of similarity and difference in boundary locations, particularly in relation to an ‘Other’ of neighbouring poleis, they were also established through integrative social practices in the urban centres, enacted by the citizens of individual poleis acting as a corporate body. Many of these practices and the polis identities that they signified were formalised and institutionalised before the Hellenistic period. This formalisation continues into the Hellenistic period and appears to be further strengthened through official modes of interaction between poleis, such as those set out in inter-polis treaties (see Chapter 7). Although practices in the urban centres of poleis, such as in the late fourth and early third century BC appear to highlight the importance of place and practices in specific places in maintaining the prominence of polis identities in the Hellenistic period, any vestiges of attachment to place, in the form of the built environment of an urban centre, from preceding time periods appear to have disappeared by the Hellenistic period. For example, despite the work that went into reorganising the urban centre of Lato he Hetera, within a couple of centuries the urban centre of this polis had been relocated to Lato pros Kamara, without any apparent loss of salience of the group identity of this polis for its inhabitants. This suggests that the basis of community identities in East Crete changed significantly through the time period considered here, from the small communities with a high attachment to place of LM IIIC to abstract entities associated with formalised political structures and institutions by the Hellenistic period.

Alongside formalised polis identities, practices associated with political offices and the use of specific buildings, such as *prytaneia*, in Archaic to Hellenistic East Cretan settlements established and communicated a variety of formal groups and their associated identities, such as the *kosmoi* and *eunomiotai* at Lato (Section 7.2.9). The primary audience for these practices was probably the inhabitants of each East Cretan polis, for many of whom the built environment of its urban centre would have provided the physical context for the construction of multiple identities during the course of their daily lives and through a variety of social

relationships. This suggests that group identities associated with political offices and structures had a hierarchical relationship with the identity of the polis in which they were found. Whilst the polis identity would have brought together the inhabitants of individual poleis as a unit sharing similar features with each other, identities associated with sub-groups in each polis would have been segmentary and marked lines of difference within this wider group. Further lines of difference would have been marked by the multiple, informal identities of daily life for polis inhabitants, some of which would have intersected and overlapped with these formal sub-group identities, and may have been brought to the fore at times when identities associated with specific political offices, or the qualifications for access to those offices, such as gender, age or social status, were particularly salient.

Hellenistic practices associated with writing can be linked to the increased formalisation of political identities, and functioned to communicate both hierarchical and segmentary political identities on a number of levels. Within the polis itself, practices associated with citizenship oaths, taken by young male graduates of the *agela*, in East Cretan poleis such as Itanos, Hierapytna, Olous, Lato, Dreros (Sections 7.2.1, 7.2.6, 7.2.7, 7.2.9 and 7.2.10 respectively), signified an identity associated with individual poleis, whilst also communicating other group identities held by the oath-takers, such as their male identity and age-class. Legal inscriptions and temple dedications and records of restoration work also expressed both a polis identity and identities associated with specific groups within the polis itself. As was noted in Section 7.2.9, during the second century BC a programme of building and restoring temples and statues was undertaken in the territory of Lato, led by its *kosmoi* and *eunomiotai*, some of whom are individually named in the extant inscriptions recording this building programme. The naming of specific individuals on these inscriptions would have communicated their membership of these groups and adherence to their associated political identities. This permanent record of group memberships and identities was perhaps seen as particularly desirable for these individuals given the temporary and transient nature of membership of these groups and their associated identities (as discussed in Chapters 6 and 7).

Despite the formalisation of polis identities, inter-polis treaties and strife, including the defeat and incorporation of poleis such as Praisos and Oleros by Hierapytna, show that these identities were not immutable. The Praisian polis identity probably ceased to be salient after this polis had been defeated by Hierapytna, and a group identity associated with Oleros would have been altered as it was taken over and subsumed into Hierapytna's territory and the Hierapytnian identity (Section 7.2.5), perhaps to one associated with a settlement as a group of social relationships without political connotations. If there was ideological resistance to these changes by the inhabitants of either Praisos or Oleros, it is unfortunately not apparent in the currently-available evidence. The possible abandonment of Praisos and relocation of some of its inhabitants to the Ziros region in the second century BC (see Section 7.2.3) suggests that the inhabitants of this community may have experienced a process of disruption and dislocation to many group identities and social practices not completely dissimilar to that suggested from the LM IIIB to LM IIIC period (Section 4.2). In contrast, the degree of disruption and dislocation for the inhabitants of Oleros may not have been as great, although the group identity associated with this community was probably transformed and incorporated into an identity focused on Hierapytna, through practices such as the adoption of worship of Athena Oleria by Hierapytna (see Chapter 7). Whilst these changes in polis identities were brought about by the actions of those outside the associated poleis, the isopolity agreements described in Chapter 7 suggest that some individuals could actively choose to change their polis identity, by leaving one polis and becoming citizens of another. In these cases, however, the abstract entity of the origin polis and its associated identity would not have ceased to be salient despite fluctuations in its membership.

The above discussion suggests that both continuity and change took place in community and political identity in East Crete between LM IIIC and the Hellenistic period. In one sense there is continuity throughout this time as the polis identities of the Archaic to Hellenistic periods appear to have developed out of community identities that were established during LM IIIC and continued to be salient during the Early Iron Age. Political identities associated with sub-groups within Archaic to Hellenistic East Cretan poleis may also represent a degree of

continuity from the EIA, as they perhaps grew out of small scale social differentiation, as discussed above. Despite this element of continuity, however, the nature of community identities changed significantly through the time period considered here, from small-scale settlement and site cluster identities which focused on people and place to large-scale polis identities that focused on an abstract entity linked to formal political structures and dependent neither on specific people and/or lineages nor on particular places. Through this long time period, identities were constructed through a dialogue of both similarity and difference within specific historical contexts which themselves changed through time. The multitude of political identities salient at different times in East Crete between LM IIIC and the Hellenistic period intersected and overlapped with a variety of other identities, including the religious identities discussed in Section 8.4.

8.4 Religious Identities

The close links between religious practices and political identities throughout the period examined in this thesis are apparent in Chapters 4 to 7 and in Section 8.3. In addition to these, other identities, which cut across and intersected with political identities, were also signified through religious practices. The identities were often associated not only with religion but also with particular groups on a range of geographic scales, from small regions within East Crete to areas covering much of the Mediterranean.

In Section 4.4.2 it was noted that Prent (2005: 105-209) has suggested that two main sets of religious practices existed in LM IIIC Crete, each associated with specific assemblages of cult objects, the first linked to assemblages which included figurines of so-called ‘goddesses with upraised arms’, and the second to cult assemblages dominated by terracotta figurines of animals. Although evidence for both of these sets of practices has been found in East Crete, worship associated with the ‘goddess with upraised arms’ appears to have been more widespread. Evidence for this set of religious practices comes from sites such as Praisos (Section 4.3.2), Kavousi *Vronda* and Kavousi *Azoria* (Section 4.3.5), Monastiraki *Chalasmeno* (Section 6.3.6), Vasiliki *Kefala* (Section 4.7), Pefki

Kastellopoulo (Section 4.3.3), and in the vicinity of Vryses (Section 4.3.9). Sites with remains of practices associated with animal figurines include Istron *Vrokastro* (Section 4.3.8), Plai tou Kastrou near Kavousi *Kastro* (Section 4.3.5), and possibly in Building D at Kavousi *Vronda* (Section 4.3.5). As discussed in Chapter 4, these LM IIIC religious practices would have communicated settlement and site cluster identities, whilst also signifying the participation of their adherents in identities that extended beyond their immediate settlement, or cluster of settlements, to a higher level that covered much of Crete (Section 4.4.2). Gesell (2004; see also Eliopoulos 2004) has argued that the worship of the ‘goddess with upraised arms’ may have descended from elite palace-controlled religious practices earlier in the Bronze Age (Gesell 2004), thereby indicating a degree of continuity in religious practices, if not also in religious identities, from the Bronze Age into this period, and perhaps suggesting that religious identities provided one of the sources of material and/or emotional strength discussed in Section 4.2. Continuity with Bronze Age practices, and perhaps nostalgia for that time, is also evident in the horns of consecration associated with animal figurine votives at Istron *Vrokastro* (Section 4.3.8), and may have served a similar purpose.

Although strictly we cannot tell whether or not there was continuity in the deities worshipped, religious practices themselves began to change during the EIA (Chapter 5), perhaps suggesting concurrent changes in the nature of religious identities in East Crete from this time onwards. As is discussed in Chapter 5, the EIA is the period when religious practices that can be associated with named deities first become apparent. During this time, significant variation in religious practices between the different settlements of East Crete is apparent, in contrast to the similarities across this region during LM IIIC. Examples of this variation in the sites described in Section 5.2 include votive deposition of terracottas in the vicinity of Praisos, the deposition of apparently more ‘elite’ objects such as metal shields, armour and tripods on the Third Acropolis at Praisos and at Palaikastro, and the two different sets of religious practices in EIA Dreros, one focusing on the Temple of Apollo Delphinios and the other on the West Acropolis. The different deities worshipped include Dictaeon Zeus at Praisos and Palaikastro, Eileithyia at Lato (Section 5.2.11) and Apollo Delphinios at Dreros (Section

5.2.12). Although the form of religious practices changed through time at certain cult sites, such as Palaikastro (where religious practices no longer focused on 'elite' objects), the diversity in deities worshipped continued into the Archaic to Hellenistic periods, when the diverse deities worshipped in East Crete included Dictaeon Zeus in the far eastern poleis of Itanos, Praisos and Hierapytna, Britomartis at Olous, Eileithyia at Lato, Apollo Delphinios at Dreros, and Ares and Aphrodite at Sta Lenika. Each of these sets of religious practices would have linked their groups at a variety of levels, from the far east of Crete (in the worship of Dictaeon Zeus) to Crete more generally (in the worship of Britomartis and Eileithyia), and from the wider Greek world (in the worship of Apollo Delphinios, Athena Oleria, Athena Samonia, Ares and Aphrodite) to the wider Mediterranean (in the worship of Tyche Protogeneia, Isis and Serapis).

The patchwork of religious affinities in East Crete by the Archaic to Hellenistic periods suggests that a number of different religious identities could be salient for the inhabitants of this region. Although many of these practices linked their adherents to identities on a variety of scales, the perception of belonging to a group that spanned a geographical area beyond that of the immediate cult site, settlement or polis may have varied depending on the context. If only a small proportion of the inhabitants of specific East Cretan poleis worshipped foreign deities such as Isis and Serapis, their sense of belonging to a wider group is likely to have been greater than those who worshiped a deity which was the focus of devotion for most of the inhabitants of their poleis, even if worship of this deity linked their adherents to the wider Greek world, such as through worship of Apollo Delphinios, Ares, or Aphrodite. As discussed in Section 7.3.2, links to a high-level group identity may have been acknowledged by those who participated in worship of deities such as Athena Oleria and Athena Samonia, who then perhaps attempted to appropriate aspects of this identity for a local group and/or define their own unique position within this wider group through the attribution of unique epithets, particularly those associated with specific places or communities, such as 'Oleria' or 'Samonia', to panhellenic deities such as Athena. Within the different regions of East Crete, even where links to a wider group may have been signified, the specific choice of principal deity by each polis may have distinguished it and its polis identity from that of its neighbours, for example, in

the worship of Apollo Delphinios at Dreros (Section 7.2.10) and Eileithyia at neighbouring Lato (7.2.9).

The greatest changes to religious practices in East Crete occur during the EIA, when practices associated the ‘goddess with upraised arms’ and with animal figurines largely appear to have been abandoned or transformed into the practices evident in subsequent periods. However, as the later changes in religious practices at Palaikastro and Roussa Ekklesia (see Sections 7.2.2 and 7.2.3 respectively) indicate, these changes need not necessarily indicate a change in the deity worshipped, or more than subtle transformations in the religious identities and other identities signified through practices in these cult places. Overall many religious identities in East Crete appear to have continued to be salient for long periods of time. One reason for this may have been the close links between religious practices and political identities, each of which would have reinforced and strengthened the other, aiding their longevity. Real changes in religious identities do seem to have occurred during the Hellenistic period, with participation in worship practices brought to Crete by foreigners and/or Cretans who had been abroad, such as in the worship of Isis and Serapis. The introduction of these identities to Crete can be directly linked to the increased scale of wider context of this period, relative to preceding periods, and the increased resources it provided for identity construction. However, the increased salience of identities associated with the worship of these Egyptian deities to at least some individuals in East Crete does not seem to have been accompanied by a decrease in the salience of identities associated with longer-established religious practices and identities. Instead, this identity may have joined the many already available or possible in Hellenistic East Crete, some of which are discussed further in Section 8.5.

8.5 Shifting Contexts: The Multiple Formal and Informal Identities of Daily Life

Sections 8.3 and 8.4 of this chapter have focussed primarily on formal identities, which, whilst important, are unlikely to have been the most significant or salient to the inhabitants of ancient East Crete in their day-to-day lives. Unfortunately,

the material and textual evidence for East Crete from LM IIIC to the Hellenistic period, described in Chapters 4 to 7, best illuminates these formal identities, and the presence and nature of less informal identities must be inferred on the basis of this evidence and comparison with ethnographical and other archaeological research. The primary aim of this section is therefore to give an impression of the complexity and multiplicity of identities that may have been salient and/or possible in ancient East Crete from LM IIIC to the Hellenistic period, rather than a comprehensive and detailed portrayal of these identities.

The easiest of these types of identities to infer on the basis of current evidence relates in part to the political identities discussed in Section 8.3, and constitute identities that relate to social status and/or wealth. As discussed in Section 4.4.3, a degree of social differentiation is apparent in at least some LM IIIC settlements, such as Kavousi *Vronda*, Oreino *Kastri*, and possibly Monastiraki *Katalimata*. This differentiation may have resulted in small differences in the group identities held by the different inhabitants of these settlements. These identities perhaps developed through distinction between individuals or families in LM IIIC communities who were particularly wealthy, influential and/or persuasive and those who were not. As some settlements were abandoned during the EIA and others expanded, individuals and families in the more privileged positions may have come into more frequent contact with each other than other inhabitants of their respective settlements, possibly because their social positions enabled them to manipulate and control extra-settlement relationships and/or because they were the most appropriate individuals through whom inter-settlement communication should be channelled. During the EIA, an 'elite' class may have developed through these types of social relationships, evidence for which includes the religious practices at Palaikastro during the Geometric period (see Prent 2003, who suggests that the Geometric and Orientalising remains at Palaikastro had military and aristocratic connotations and that worship there at this time was carried out by wealthy elites, with Palaikastro and other cult sites in Crete possibly providing a neutral meeting ground for these elites) and differentiation in burial practices, such as in the appearance of 'large' tholos tombs at sites such as Praisos and Vrokastro (Eaby 2007, 2009, 2011).

As political institutions developed and were formalised in settlements in East Crete during the EIA and Archaic period, those participating in these ‘elite’ identities perhaps had a role in shaping qualifications for access, enabling them to establish limits that ensured that those in political offices were predominantly within the group sharing their elite identity. By the Archaic to Hellenistic periods, these identities seem to have been signified primarily through social practices that included participation in certain political offices, such as that of *kosmos* in poleis such as Lato (see Section 7.2.9), and in practices in buildings associated with political structures and institutions, like *andreia* and *prytaneia*. In addition, these identities were perhaps signified through funding public works, such as the temple rebuilding and restoration programme that took place in second century BC Lato. This public expression of status identities accords well with Westgate’s (2007: 451) suggestions that social roles were “less sharply differentiated” in the private sphere of linear houses, such as those found at Lato, and that in Classical and Hellenistic Crete “the household was a less important context of the articulation of social roles” than it was in other parts of Greece.

In addition to sub-groups based on social status and political offices, it is likely that multiple, more egalitarian, sub-groups and identities existed within individual sites from LM IIIC to the Hellenistic period. These sub-groups and their associated identities are likely to have been transient and to have changed relatively frequently when viewed through the lens of the long time period considered in this thesis, and were perhaps based on social practices and customs which leave few, if any, archaeological traces, such as real and purported kin and lineage relationships (discussed further below), friendships, neighbourhood groupings determined by the location of a household in the settlement and common interests. One possible manifestation of these identities in practice is provided by Tsipopoulou’s (2009) suggestion that each of the six better-preserved figurines of the ‘goddess with upraised arms’ at Monastiraki *Chalasmeno* was associated with a cult assemblage comprising a snake tube, pinax and kalathos, and dedicated by different *gene* or clans in the settlement.

In addition to the possible evidence provided by the figurines of the ‘goddess with upraised arms’, other hints for the importance of family and/or lineage identities

include the EIA burials at Kavousi *Vronda* (Section 5.2.7) and in the Vrokaastro region (Section 5.2.9) and the links between familial ties and the group of elites and holders of political offices in Hellenistic Lato (Section 7.2.9). These family and lineage identities would have created a complex network of social relationships that stretched across settlements and through time (as indicated by the continuous use of specific burial locations such as Kavousi *Vronda* in the EIA), and extended between settlements through the ties created by marriage and migration. Although lineage identities, as a type of group identity, are likely to have been salient in East Crete from LM IIIC until the Hellenistic period, specific lineage and kin identities probably changed and varied considerably through time according to the fortunes of different families and their movements across the land- and possibly seascape, and within and between settlements, and later poleis. Cross-cutting these identities would have been local identities within individual settlements, such as the neighbourhood identities hypothesised for the LM IIIC Kavousi region (Section 4.3.5). Although a relative paucity of detailed published evidence from later sites precludes final conclusions, it is likely that similar neighbourhood identities, as well as other identities determined according to the locations of homes within settlements, daily spheres of interaction and economic and/or subsistence activity within and between households, were salient in East Cretan settlements after LM IIIC, during the EIA and into the Archaic to Hellenistic periods.

Another set of identities that are relatively easy to infer on the basis of the current evidence from ancient East Crete are those which relate to gender. The most obvious of these is a male identity which by the Hellenistic period appears to have focused on a warrior ideology and citizenship status, and was closely linked to age identities through socio-political practices such as age classes (the *agela*) and initiation ceremonies, as are evidenced at Hellenistic Hierapytna, Olous and Lato (see Sections 7.2.6, 7.2.7 and 7.2.9 respectively). Given the focus on weaponry in the context of the *andreion* and the evidence for bronze weapons at Early Iron Age temples such as Palaikastro, it is plausible to argue that the emphasis on a warrior ideology within the male identity may have had its roots in this time period and that there may therefore have been some continuity in the nature of a male gender identity in East Crete through time.

Westgate's (2007) study of the architectural remains of houses from Cretan sites such as Lato and Trypetos suggests that gender segregation was not strongly marked in the architecture of individual homes (the private sphere), and it therefore seems that in at least some Cretan poleis, such as Lato, gender segregation, and the negotiation and communication of a masculine, citizen identity, took place primarily in the public sphere. At Lato, the locus of the social practices through which this occurred was probably the structures associated with the polis and its institutions, such as the *prytaneion*. Although it is possible that gender identities were signified through specific practices which have not left archeologically-visible traces in individual houses, the current evidence suggests that the primary context within which gender identities were marked was the public sphere, and the primary social practices through which these were negotiated and communicated were political practices. In ancient East Crete by the Hellenistic period, if not earlier, it therefore seems that social practices signifying gender identities focused on a male identity which was closely linked to citizenship and political activity. Within this context, other gender identities, such as those associated with women, may not have been explicitly negotiated and communicated through social practices, but rather been a default position marked by non-participation in political practices in the public sphere. In discussing the particular male identity manifest in East Crete by the Hellenistic period, it is important to note that they cannot be separated from other identities, such as those relating to age and citizen status, and therefore whilst a particular male identity may have been communicated through political practices in the public sphere, many men would have been precluded from active participation in this identity by the other identities and statuses that they held, such as foreigner or slave.

Unfortunately, there is a paucity of evidence in LM IIIC to Hellenistic East Crete for social practices through which female and other male identities not associated with citizenship and a warrior ideology may have been negotiated and communicated. Although the methodology adopted by those who research female identities through maintenance activities (mentioned in Section 2.3) would suggest that women should be identifiable through evidence for domestic activity at sites such as LM IIIC Kavousi *Vronda*, Early Iron Age Kavousi *Kastro* and

Istron *Vrokastro*, Archaic Azoria and Hellenistic Lato, the lack of a direct link between this evidence and women suggests caution should be used in applying that methodology in this case. Whilst it is possible that particular female identities provided a transversal identity (on transversal identity and equality, see Montón Subías 2007) linking women of different ages and statuses in different ways between LM IIIC and the Hellenistic period, differentiation within this group is also suggested through the particular network of links and relationships that individual women and groups of women would have had. For example, the wives and daughters of male citizens may have been distinguished from the wives and daughters of non-citizens, such as foreigners and slaves, through their close, direct links with this group.

Multiple other identities would have been salient in ancient East Crete alongside, and intersecting with, status and kin identities. The evidence from citizenship oaths and for the *agela* in Archaic to Hellenistic Crete suggests that one set of salient group identities may have related to age groups and classes. Other types of identities that might be posited include (in)equality identities relating to one's position on a range between slave and full citizen status, identities relating to place of origin, such as the foreign mercenaries at Hellenistic Itanos (Section 7.2.1), and a large variety of occupational and/or craft identities relating, for example, to military and mercenary activity, weaving, potting, pastoralism, farming and mercantile activity. These multiple types of identities, together with others which developed and were salient for varying lengths of time, but are not apparent in the available evidence, would have demarcated the many social groups that existed at a variety of levels at any moment in time in ancient East Crete, thereby aiding social relationships and functioning through categorising these individuals and determining with whom the adherents of these different identities came into regular contact (see the discussion in Chapter 3). The particular group identity most pertinent at any moment in time, whether a relatively formal one associated with the political or religious sphere, or a less formal one such as those discussed in this section, would have depended on the context. Some of these, whether formal or informal, were relatively stable over the lifetime of different individuals. Others perhaps changed relatively rapidly, and even the political and religious identities discussed in Sections 8.2 and 8.3

were not immutable but subject to transformation, amendment and even abandonment when they ceased to be salient and/or possible within the specific context. Together with the formal identities discussed in Sections 8.3 and 8.4, the multiple informal identities of daily life discussed in this section would have interacted and overlapped with each other in both hierarchical and segmentary patterns.

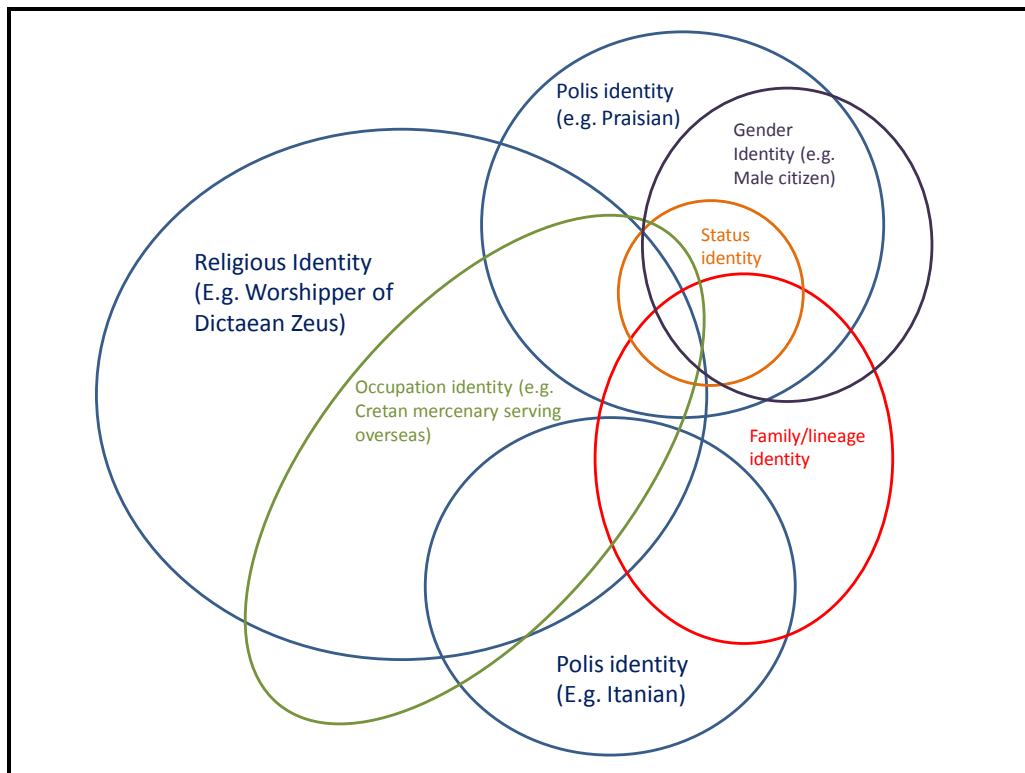


Figure 8.1 Diagram Illustrating the Possible Overlaps and Contrasts Between a Number of Formal and Informal Identities in Ancient East Crete.

Although a distinction has been drawn in this chapter between “formal” identities, such as polis identities and religious identities, and the multiple other “informal” identities that may have been salient, it is unlikely that this distinction was recognised by the inhabitants of ancient East Crete, for whom many of these identities would have been inextricably linked. This can perhaps best be seen in the case of initiation ceremonies, such as those evidenced for Hellenistic Hierapytna, Olous and Lato (see Sections 7.2.6, 7.2.7 and 7.2.9 respectively). In addition to the gender identities, particularly a specific masculine identity, that

Leitao (1995) suggests would have been highlighted during these ceremonies, they would also have communicated identities linked to age groups and citizen status, thereby linking two relatively informal group identities (gender and age) to a formal group identity based on citizenship of a polis. Thus, in practice, the multiple formal and informal identities salient in the day to day lives of the inhabitants of ancient East Crete were messy and not always easy to distinguish as they both overlapped certain identities and stood in contrast to others (see Figure 8.1).

8.6 East Crete in Context

In Section 8.2, it is argued that the scale of the context within which identity was constructed and negotiated in East Crete increased through time between LM IIIC and the Hellenistic period. Throughout this period, a pattern of continuity and change in the salience of different types of group identities, including community and political identities, religious identities, family, kin and lineage identities, social status and/or wealth-based identities, and identities related to age groups and classes, and sex and gender can be posited for the inhabitants of the communities of ancient East Crete (as discussed in Sections 8.3 to 8.5). Given the justification of East Crete as a distinguishable unit of study in Section 1.3, it is pertinent to examine how different it was from the rest of Crete in terms of the topic that forms the focus of this thesis – group identities. Unfortunately, however, time and space limits preclude the kind of detailed analysis of these regions such as that conducted by this study for East Crete, and the discussion below is therefore brief and intended only to present some general thoughts.

As is described in Section 4.2, the LM IIIB and early LM IIIC periods were marked by disruption and dislocation, particularly in settlement patterns, which may have tested group boundaries and inter-group bonds, strengthening some groups and their associated identities, whilst also acting as a catalyst that hastened the dissolution of other group identities and their associated identities. In particular, identities associated with Bronze Age political structures probably ceased to be relevant, especially in East Crete where changes in the settlement pattern are most striking. Although change is evident in central and western Crete,

for example in the establishment of settlements in new locations, such as Karfi, above the Lasithi plateau (Pendlebury et al. 1937/1938; Wallace 2005), on Agios Ioannis in the vicinity of the later polis of Gortyn (for summaries of this evidence and associated bibliography, see Di Vita 1992; Kanta 1980: 91-92; Nowicki 2000: 186-187), and at the site near Rokka in the Kissamos district (Nowicki 2000: 215-217), there is also continuity of occupation at certain large Bronze Age settlements such as Chania, Knossos and Phaistos, as is discussed in Section 4.2 (for Chania, see Hallager and Hallager 1997, 2000; Kanta 1980: 217-227; for Knossos, Cadogan et al. 2004; Coldstream 2000; Evely et al. 1994; Hood and Smyth 1981; for Phaistos, see La Rosa 1992; Watrous et al. 2004).

Despite the loss of complexity that probably accompanied the dissolution of Bronze Age political structures at these sites, it is not implausible to suggest that identities in these locations did not undergo the same degree of change as they did in East Crete and in other parts of central and western Crete where a complete change in settlement pattern is apparent. Place identities associated with communities at sites like Chania, Phaistos and Knossos are likely to have continued, alongside other identities associated with their large populations and continuing kin structures and social relationships, such as family and lineage identities, gender and sex identities, and perhaps low-level elite identities. Although the nature of community identities at these sites would have been altered with the changes in their political structures and contexts that occurred in the Late Bronze Age, unlike in East Crete, they are likely to have been less personalised, and more closely associated with their specific places in the landscape from LM IIIB and LM IIIC into the EIA both because of the relatively large populations that can be posited for these sites (which made close personal relationships between all their inhabitants impossible) and because at least some of their inhabitants (those that continued living in these sites rather than moved there from elsewhere) did not experience a loss of place (discussed in Section 3.3.4). Despite these possible continuities in certain group identities, however, change is also apparent, for example in religious identities associated with new practices linked to the worship of the so-called ‘goddess with upraised arms’, discussed in Chapter 4, at sites such as Karfi, Knossos, Kannia, Gazi, Prinias and Sakhtouria, in addition to settlements in East Crete such as Kavousi *Vronda*,

Vasiliki *Kefala*, Monastiraki *Chalasmeno*, Praisos and in the Vryses area (D'Agata 2006: 400-401; Day 1997: 402; Day et al. 2006: 140-142; Eliopoulos 2004; Gesell 1985, 1999, 2004; Klein 2004; Tzedakis 1967). If this religious identity functioned in the same way in central and western Crete as it did in eastern Crete, it would have signified group identities associated with individual LM IIIC communities, whilst also linking the inhabitants of these communities to an identity that covered much of Crete (as discussed in Chapter 4).

The depersonalised, and perhaps strongly place-based community identities that were salient in settlements such as Chania, Phaistos and Knossos continued into the Early Iron Age, during which time further changes in settlement patterns occurred in parts of central and western Crete, including the abandonment of some sites and nucleation and expansion at others, analogous to changes in East Crete discussed in Chapter 5 (Sjögren 2003; Wallace 2003b). For example, settlements on the hills of Agios Ioannis, Profitis Elias and Charkià Pervoli, in the northern Mesara, were abandoned at the end of the eighth century BC, and their inhabitants appear to have jointly established a new community below these hills, on the site of the later polis of Gortyn (Perlman 2000: 77-78). Sjögren (2003: 85) has suggested that the process of settlement nucleation and expansion occurred later in the far west of Crete than elsewhere, and dates the process there to the sixth century BC. As in East Crete, for example the site clusters of the Kavousi region, it is possible that existing relationships between these settlements helped to smooth this transition process and aid the formation, acceptance and salience of new community identities that encompassed all the inhabitants of these expanding sites. Within these communities, a wide variety of identities would have been salient on a daily basis, including identities associated with social differentiation and/or elite status, as suggested by the mortuary evidence from Early Iron Age Knossos (Kotsonas 2006), as well as identities related to stage in the life-cycle, as suggested by differentiation in burial practices in the Geometric to Archaic cemetery at Eleutherna, where babies, children and adolescents were inhumed in the southern and western sectors of the cemetery, whilst in the northern and eastern sectors a variety of burial types were used, primarily for adults (Perlman 2004b: 119-120; Stampolidis 1990).

As in East Crete, the wider context within which identities were negotiated and communicated would have varied across different parts of central and western Crete, with evidence from some sites indicating a considerable degree of connectivity with areas outside Crete. For example, at Kommos in the ninth to seventh centuries BC, where a possible Phoenician, or Phoenician-inspired temple (Temple B), has been found (Shaw 1989, 1998), the scale of the context is likely to have been considerable, perhaps foregrounding certain group identities that were only infrequently salient in less well-connected sites, such as those associated with maritime activities and the contrasts between local and foreign identities. As in East Crete, changes in religious practices, and perhaps in their associated identities, are apparent in central and western Crete during the EIA. D'Agata (2006: 403) dates the end of LM IIIC cult practices, such as worship of the 'goddess with upraised arms' to the tenth century BC. New religious practices evident in the EIA include worship of named deities. For example, at Knossos, the worship of Demeter on the Gypsades hill begins in the Late Geometric (Coldstream 1973), and at Gortyn, the temple of Apollo Pythios was founded by the end of the seventh century BC (Perlman 2000: 78). The variation in both deities worshipped and in the form of religious practices at individual sites identified in East Crete is also apparent in central and West Crete. For example, in addition to the eastern-inspired religious practices posited for Temple B at Kommos (Shaw 1989, 1998), at sites such as Ayia Triada, Knossos, Phaistos and Palaikastro religious practices involved drinking practices and the deposition of 'elite' objects such as armour and tripods, sometimes in locations that had been used in the Bronze Age (Prent 2003). At least some of these sanctuaries, such as Palaikastro, the Idaean Cave and Kato Syme, may have functioned as regional meeting points for elite in the Early Iron Age (Prent 2003; Watrous 1996: 103-104).

These different practices would have created a patchwork of religious practices and identities across the whole of Crete, which continued into the Archaic and Hellenistic periods, linking their adherents to a multitude of religious identities on a variety of scales, including worshippers of deities venerated across much of the Greek world, such as Apollo Pythios at Gortyn, Demeter at Knossos, Hermes and Aphrodite at Kato Syme, as well as lower level veneration of Cretan deities such

as Britomartis at Chersonisos, and Diktynna at Kydonia and Polyrrhenia (for detailed discussion of religious practices on Crete see Willetts 1962). It is argued in this thesis that religious practices in East Crete were closely linked to political practices, and, at times, signified religious and political identities simultaneously. This may also have been the case in other parts of Crete - for example Perlman (2000: 78) links the establishment of the new community on the plain at Gortyn in the eighth century BC, mentioned above, with the construction of a temple sometime between c. 675 and 650 BC on the site of an earlier sanctuary on Agios Ioannis, as well as with the construction of a temple to Apollo on the plain by the end of the seventh century BC (on the intersection of religious and political/civic practices and institutions in Archaic to Hellenistic Crete, see also Erickson 2009, 2010a, 2010b: 268-271; Watrous 1996: 110-111). As at sanctuaries such as the Temple of Dictaeon Zeus at Palaikastro and the Temple of Ares and Aphrodite at Sta Lenika, at least some sanctuaries in the rest of Crete probably demarcated the boundaries of poleis and their associated identities, such as the Diktynnaion on the border between Kydonia and Polyrrhenia in western Crete (Alcock 2002: 108).

Although the nature of community identities at certain sites in central and western Crete, such as Chania, Phaistos and Knossos, probably differed from those in East Crete in LM IIIC and the Early Iron Age because of their continuity of settlement at specific places in the landscape, by the Archaic period, the process of formalising these identities as polis identities appears to have been widespread across the whole of Crete. In her discussion of the polis status of various Cretan settlements, Sjögren (2003: 96-207) identifies twelve sites which had polis status before the fifth century BC: Arkades, Axos, Gortyn, Dreros, Eleutherna, Eltynia, Knossos, Lykastos, Lyttos, Milatos, Phaistos and Rhytion. The formalisation of these polis identities was accompanied by social practices similar to those evident in East Crete, such as the creation of civic centres and the production of legal inscriptions, often inscribed on temple walls, such as on the temple of Apollo Pythios at Gortyn, where, in the Archaic to Classical period, an agora may have been located near the area of this temple, and another near the site of the first century BC Odeion (Perlman 2000: 72).

As in East Crete in the Archaic to Hellenistic periods, the formalised polis identities of central and western Crete appear to have developed alongside an institutionalisation of political structures and institutions, including offices such as *kosmoi*, each of which would have been associated with specific group identities. At times when these formalised political identities were salient, other identities cross-cutting and intersecting these, such as those associated with gender, age, social status and/or citizen status, may also have been brought to the fore, highlighting patterns of similarity and difference between the different groups in Cretan poleis. At the same time, lines of difference and similarity signified identities that linked together the inhabitants of many different settlements on Crete, for example in religious practices at Kato Syme, where inscriptions attest to the presence of individuals from poleis as diverse as Hierapytna, Lyttos, Knossos, Tylissos and Arkades (Lebessi 1976: 13). Although many of the multiple formal and informal group identities that were salient in daily life in East Cretan poleis between LM IIIC and the Hellenistic can only be hypothesised, textual evidence from Gortyn, in the form of its famous law-code, provides some insight into the nature of these identities from the Archaic period onwards, and indicates that they could include gender, age, social status, statuses associated with citizenship, slave-status and other degrees of freedom and foreigner (Perlman 2002; Willetts 1955). In some central and West Cretan sites, other identities, such as those associated with being a foreigner and/or mercenary posited for Hellenistic Itanos (see Section 7.2.1), were also important for some individuals and groups. For example, religious practices which linked their adherents to a group that extended beyond Crete include the worship of Isis and Serapis at sites such as Gortyn and Chersonisos in the Hellenistic period (Sanders 1982: 36-37).

A gradual expansion of polis territories appears to have taken place across Crete through time from the Archaic period onwards, ultimately leading to the inter-polis strife that marked the Hellenistic period. For example, the territory of Lyttos appears to have expanded to include the Lasithi plateau, and eventually parts of the south coast of Crete, sometime between the seventh century and the end of the fifth century (Erickson 2010b: 239; Watrous and Blitzer 1982: 22-23), whilst Gortyn appears to have incorporated other communities in the Mesara in its

territory, as dependent settlements, during the Classical and Hellenistic periods (Erickson 2002: 82-85; 2010b: 240-241; Perlman 1996; Sanders 1976). As appears to have occurred at Oleros, when it came under Hierapytna (see Chapter 7), the inhabitants of the victorious poleis behind these expansions sometimes used religious practices to incorporate conquered populations into a new group with an identity focused on the ruling polis, as Lyttos may have done at the sanctuary at Kato Syme in the fifth century BC (Erickson 2002).

Overall, a pattern of change in group identities from relatively informal community identities to formalised identities associated with a polis structure and its associated offices can be identified in central and western Crete, as it can in East Crete. Unfortunately, the space available for the brief overview presented here is insufficient to identify detailed, specific differences in the patterns of change in each of the different regions of Crete. However, the continuity of occupation at sites such as Knossos, Chania and Phaistos suggests that community identities at these sites became abstract entities disassociated from people and place at an earlier date than elsewhere in Crete. This difference in community identities does not seem to have significantly distinguished these sites and the group identities held by their inhabitants from those in the rest of Crete during the Archaic to Hellenistic periods. Although Sjögren's (2003: 101-102) list of settlements with definite polis status by the fifth century BC includes only one East Cretan site (Dreros) and none in the far East, most of the sites she lists were not continuously occupied from the Late Bronze Age to the Archaic period, and even Knossos, which was occupied from the Late Bronze Age into the Early Iron Age, appears to have undergone a period of abandonment or significant contraction in the sixth century BC, judging from the dearth of evidence dating to that period (Cadogan 1992b: 133; Hood and Smyth 1981: 18; for a discussion of the sixth century BC in Crete generally, with references, see Erickson 2010b: 1-22). The inhabitants of the early poleis of central and western Crete like those in East Crete, appear to have participated in a wide variety of both formal and informal identities associated with their individual communities and poleis, religious practices, kin and lineage groups, social status, gender, age and place in the life-cycle, as well as a multitude of other identities, each following lines of difference and similarity within Cretan communities and across the Greek world,

and salient at different times, depending in part on the context and the scale of this context (see Chapter 3).

In Section 1.3, it is argued that it is possible to separate East Crete from the rest of Crete on a geographical and topographical basis, although this distinction is less clear in socio-political terms, as East Crete does not form a coherent unit distinguishable from the rest of the island but rather the boundary simply follows the western edge of the westernmost small polities in this area. Although, as argued above, many different identities at different scales were salient in ancient Crete, this does not seem to have included a scale that incorporated only the inhabitants of East Crete in an ‘East Cretan identity’ and differentiated them from the inhabitants of the rest of Crete (although it has been argued that the pottery of eastern Crete shares common features that distinguish it from the pottery of Central Crete in the Early Iron Age; Coldstream 1968: 257-261; Tsipopoulou 2005b). The closest one can get to this scale is perhaps the identity associated with the worship of Dictaeon Zeus, whose geographical extent appears to have been the far East of Crete. Immediately below this, identities at the polis level appear to have been the most significant, whilst immediately above this, identities at the wider Cretan, Greek and/or Mediterranean level seem to have been most prominent, such as identities associated with mercenary activity outside Crete or the worship of deities such as Eileithyia at Lato, Apollo Delphinios at Dreros, Ares and Aphrodite in the Temple at Sta Lenika, and Isis and Serapis in various parts of East Crete. Although it could be argued that the identities mentioned alongside the Eteocretans in Homer (*Odyssey* 19.175-177) indicate the presence of region-specific groups and identities in Crete, at least during the eighth century BC, the discussion in Sections 6.2.3 and 6.3.4 demonstrates that these identities cannot simply be presumed to have been salient in ancient Crete because they are attested in literary sources, and, even if they were, the geographical extent of at least one of these, the Eteocretan identity, does not correlate neatly with any single region of the island. Within the context of modern scholarship, which frequently divides Crete into the three separate regions of East Crete, central Crete and West Crete, the dearth of evidence for a specifically ‘East Cretan’ identity may be surprising. However, it is understandable when the wider context of social practices and identity negotiation and communication from LM IIIC to

the Hellenistic period is considered, which, as discussed in Section 8.2, includes a gradual move from a relatively small, local level, to a pan-Mediterranean level without ever focusing primarily on Crete in a way that might bring to the fore patterns of similarity and difference between the different regions of the island rather than between the many different polities on the island.

It is pertinent to the topic considered in this thesis to question whether a ‘Cretan’ identity, encompassing the whole island, was ever salient between LM IIIC and the Hellenistic period. Unfortunately, detailed examination of this, which would require consideration of the evidence from every part of the island, is not possible within the confines of a thesis focusing on only eastern Crete; therefore, the brief discussion that follows is intended to present only some preliminary thoughts. A number of scholars have considered whether large-scale identities, such as a ‘Cretan’ identity or an identity associated with the Bronze Age mainland Greeks may have been significant in the Bronze Age (for example, Bennet 1999, 2011: 158-162; Driessen 1998-1999). As this work demonstrates, the primary evidence from the Bronze Age for an identity whose geographical extent was coterminous with, and only with, Crete comes from extra-Cretan locations and is dominated by Near Eastern and Egyptian texts, which, for example refer to Keftiu and Kaptara (possibly Crete) and to Ahhiya and Ahhiyawa (possibly mainland Greece). Not only is this an etic perspective rather than an emic perspective (Bennet 1999; Sherratt 2005), but it has been argued convincingly that these terms were primarily geographical rather than primarily socio-political (Bennet 1999, 2011: 158-162). Thus, these terms may have been used in their Near Eastern and Egyptian contexts in a similar way to the later Greek term ‘Phoenician’, which as Sherratt (2005: 35-36) highlights, was a collective reference, created by the Greeks, to a set of people who may not have recognised a shared identity but rather thought of themselves in terms of their individual cities.

Similarly, in the historical period, the evidence for a group whose membership was coterminous with, and only with, Crete is primarily textual and predominantly extra-Cretan in origin. In his discussion of whether Crete was unified (particularly in relationships with the outside world) in the fifth century BC, Van Effenterre (1948b: 26-28) has emphasised the handful of stories in

extant literary sources which indicate unified action by the inhabitants of Crete, such as the invitation for Crete to join the mainland Greek poleis in their action against Xerxes (Herodotus, *The Histories* 7.145 and 7.169), the military action by every polis on Crete apart from Polichna and Praisos, on Sicily to avenge the death of Minos (Herodotus, *The Histories* 4.170-171) and the return of the bones of Minos to Crete by Theron (Diodorus Siculus, 4.79) as well as the common traits evident in the Archaic laws from poleis in different parts of Crete, such as Eltynia, Gortyn, Axos, Eleutherna and Dreros. Whilst it is true that this evidence suggests a degree of unity amongst at least some of the poleis on Crete, it is not unproblematic. The literary stories cited by Van Effenterre provide only an etic perspective, which, through the specific mention that Polichna and Praisos did not participate in the vengeance of Minos' death, underscore a possible lack of unity between poleis in post-Bronze Age Crete which is further corroborated by the inter-polis strife that characterised the island in the Hellenistic period (see Chapter 7). Furthermore, although there are similarities in the Archaic legal inscriptions from Crete, there is also considerable diversity from polis to polis, such as in the number of kosmoi and the terms used for different political offices (for further discussion, see Perlman 1992).

The earliest emic evidence for Cretan unity, and a possible 'Cretan' identity after the Bronze Age is the founding of the Cretan *koinon*, which dates to the Hellenistic period (Perlman 1992: 193), and would have involved joint co-operation and participation by the different poleis on Crete. Perlman (1992: 194) has noted that it is only after the development of the *koinon* that the word 'Cretan' (*Κρής* or *Κρηταιεύς*) appears in inscriptions from the island, although earlier references (dating to at least the fifth-century BC) to the inhabitants of the island in this way occur in texts from outside Crete (Perlman 1992: 194 n. 7), perhaps mirroring the collective etic reference to a group who may not have recognised a shared identity discussed above for the Bronze Age Near Eastern and Egyptian terms Keftiu, Kaptara, Ahhiya and Ahhiyawa. The bonds created by joint participation in the Cretan *koinon* and adherence to a Cretan identity which may have developed through this joint action were not strong enough to maintain the unity of the poleis on Crete at all times nor to prevent the, albeit temporary, dissolution of the *koinon*, when the Cretan poleis were at war with each other.

Overall, individual settlement and cluster, and later polis, identities appear to have been more significant for the inhabitants of LM IIIC to Hellenistic East Crete, and perhaps Crete as a whole. These identities would have emphasised lines of difference between different groups on Crete and therefore perhaps worked to limit the development of a strong ‘Cretan’ identity. The development of such an identity may have been further limited by the nature of Cretan topography, which, as discussed in Section 1.2, limited ease of travel by land and may, at times, have meant that off-island locations such as Kasos, Karpathos and perhaps Rhodes were more accessible for the inhabitants of East Cretan poleis than other parts of Crete, and therefore were perhaps more likely to provide the context for, and to be incorporated into, the social practices through which identities were negotiated and signified.

8.7 Final Conclusions: Continuity and Change in Ancient East Cretan Identities

In Chapter 2, it was noted that previous studies of identity in East Crete have been dominated by cultural and ethnic identities, particularly the Eteocretan identity. As discussed in Sections 6.2.3 and 6.3.5, interpreting the evidence for this identity and its implications for the study of identity in ancient East Crete is a highly problematic undertaking. Although it is difficult to see how it might fit in to the broader network of identities at Dreros, where evidence for this identity comes from a single short inscription in an unknown language, at Praisos the Eteocretan identity may have formed part of attempts to construct and communicate a specific polis identity. However, as is evident in this thesis, this was not the only set of practices through which a polis identity for Praisos was negotiated and communicated in the Archaic to Hellenistic periods, nor the only means for its inhabitants to come together and express their joint sense of belonging to the polis and its identity. Although ethnic and cultural identities, such as the Eteocretan identity in East Crete, and similar identities in other parts of Crete are intriguing for scholars, a heavy focus on this type of identity is a function of privileging textual over material evidence in understanding first-millennium BC Crete that limits our understanding of the past societies in which they may have been salient, and risks over-estimating their true importance relative to other group identities.

In Section 2.6 it was noted that multiple identities can be salient for individuals or groups simultaneously and/or in conjunction with each other. Whilst there is value in examining particular group identities by themselves, both continued study of specific identities and research on multiple identities in intersection with each other are desirable for future scholarship on identity in archaeology. The present study set out to identify the multiple types of identity that were salient in East Crete between LM IIIC and the Hellenistic period and to examine them comparatively to determine the degree of continuity and change that occurred in group identities during this time. As this thesis has demonstrated, the identities most easily discerned through a study of the published evidence are formal identities relating to the political and religious sphere. In both these spheres, there is a considerable degree of continuity in the nature and salience of identities between LM IIIC and the Hellenistic period. Overall, changes to group identities appear to have taken one of two forms. The first is a change in the nature, extent or meaning of an identity without the complete loss of salience of that identity, most readily apparent in the transformation of the community identities of LM IIIC and the EIA into the polis identities of the Archaic to Hellenistic periods. In the second form of change the identity ceases to be salient and ultimately to exist, the best example of which is the identity associated with the polis of Praisos following its defeat by Hierapytna. Continuity also appears in two forms. The first of these is direct continuity of a specific identity for relatively long periods of time. Examples of these identities include both political identities, such as the polis identities apparent in East Crete from at least the Archaic period until the Hellenistic, and religious identities, such as the worship of Apollo Delphinios at Dreros and Dictaeon Zeus in far eastern Crete. The second form of continuity involves the persistence of the general form of an identity, although its specific nature and membership vary through time. The best examples of this are settlement identities, whose nature and membership in LM IIIC and the EIA focused on similarity within small communities across relatively small territories, and was mediated through practices that emphasised sharing, whereas in the Archaic to Hellenistic periods, its nature focused on both similarity and difference within and between poleis with urban centres and relatively big territories, and was mediated through practices that were often very formalised.

As is discussed in Section 8.5, a number of other identities which are less easy to discern in the published evidence for LM IIIC to Hellenistic East Crete, may have been salient. These would have cut across and intersected with each other and with the political and religious identities that dominate discussion in this thesis. Although it is possible to separate these identities from political and religious identities in a discussion such as this, in reality they were probably very closely linked, as is apparent, for example, in discussions of the possible qualifications for membership of poleis and participation in political offices, which may have focused around adherence to certain informal identities, such as age, gender and status. In exploring the development of polis identities through time, as is done in Section 8.3, it is tempting to ask whether the identity or the polis came first. The answer is perhaps neither: in East Crete between LM IIIC and the Hellenistic periods, group identities and the social practices through which they were signified developed in dialogue with each other and with the wider physical and historical context, and in the process gradually transformed each other to the point where the Hellenistic community and identity, which focused on the polis, looked very different from the LM IIIC community and identity, which focused on relatively small individual settlements.

In conclusion, both continuity and change are evident in group identities in East Crete between LM IIIC to the Hellenistic period. The most obvious change occurred in political identities, which were gradually transformed from community identities held by a relatively small group with bonds based on personal relationships to formalised, abstract polis identities, held by considerable numbers of people and mediated through institutionalised practices. Social practices in Archaic to Hellenistic poleis, such as writing and the construction of the built environment of their urban centres to include political buildings such as *prytaneia*, as at Lato he Hetera, served to emphasise the depersonalised nature of polis identities, by placing their focus and functioning on formalised political structures, rather than social relationships. For example, inscribing the laws of a polis on the walls of a prominent temple, such as the Temple of Apollo Delphinios at Dreros, provided for continuity of the jurisdiction of the polis and of its political institutions independent of particular individuals or lineage groups. Alongside community and polis identities, religious identities were also

particularly significant in ancient East Crete, and like political identities, demonstrate change through time both in the social practices through which they were signified and in the possible nature of the identities themselves. The most significant changes relate to a proliferation of specific religious identities through time, from the limited practices and identities, focused on worship of the ‘goddess with upraised arms’ and the use of assemblages of animal figurines and horns of consecration in LM IIIC, to a wide variety of practices in Archaic to Hellenistic Crete that linked their adherents to a range of identities on different levels at widely varying geographical scales from the level of individual poleis to the wider Mediterranean. As discussed in Section 8.5, formalised religious and political identities were cut across and intersected by a wide variety of informal identities, including those linked to social status, family, kin and lineage groups, gender, age, occupation, and perhaps cultural and/or ethnic groupings such as the ‘Eteocretans’. Some of these identities would have been salient over relatively long periods of time, whilst others would have been salient only briefly. All of these, and the social practices through which they were expressed, are likely to have changed as the wider context of identity negotiation and communication changed through time in ancient East Crete.

Although the group identities discussed in this thesis can be grouped into specific types, such as political, religious, social status, lineage, kin, gender, age, and cultural and/or ethnic identities, the overall picture in LM IIIC to Hellenistic East Crete is one of diversity. For example, although the modern scholar may separate out ‘polis identities’, ‘religious identities’ and ‘family identities’ and discuss them as abstract types of identity, to the inhabitants of ancient East Crete, their particular identities, which probably often overlapped and intersected with each other, and those of the individuals and groups in their immediate social world would have been the most significant, such as *their* family identity in opposition to the family identity of a fellow, but unrelated, citizen, or *their* combined Praisian identity in opposition to someone else’s Hierapytnian identity, or a combined identity as worshippers of Dictaeon Zeus in contrast to someone from Knossos’ identity as a worshipper of Demeter, all of which may have been variously expressed depending on the context and available resources. Together, these intersecting, sometimes segmentary, sometimes hierarchical, context-

dependent identities would have resulted in a far more complex social life than the limited evidence available from LM IIIC to Hellenistic East Crete will ever be able to reveal to us.

Although textual evidence is useful, studies such as this are not possible without the understanding of past social practices provided by material remains. Unfortunately, very few LM IIIC to Hellenistic sites in East Crete have been excavated in their entirety. Those that have been, in particular the LM IIIC to Archaic sites in the Kavousi region, give some indication of the depth of understanding they might offer of past group identities, particularly the types of informal identities discussed in Section 8.5 which were probably more significant in the daily lives of the inhabitants of ancient East Crete than the formal political and religious identities that form the focus of the discussion in this thesis. Future archaeological exploration of post-Minoan sites in East Crete is therefore highly desirable to further understand group identities in this region. In addition to this, however, and using currently available evidence there is considerable scope for future research on group identities in Crete, including, in the Bronze Age period, prior to that chosen as the temporal beginning of this thesis, and in the Roman period. The Roman period, for example, continues the pattern of continuity and change in group identities discussed in this thesis. Many religious practices continued, suggesting the ongoing salience of these identities. In addition, some Hellenistic East Cretan poleis, such as Hierapytna and Itanos (Sanders 1982) had independent city status in the Roman period, and in these sites, a group identity related to the immediate community may have continued to be signified through social practices, particularly in the political sphere. However, these settlements were no longer the highest autonomous political unit, and integration into the higher political unit that the Roman period required probably saw a high degree of variation in the reactions of the inhabitants of East Cretan settlements, including practices intended to communicate resistance by some, and practices intended to establish participation in this new sphere and adherence to a 'Roman' identity by others. A final avenue for future work would be an expansion of the brief discussion of identity in central and western Crete in Section 8.6, including the detailed analysis precluded in this thesis by time and space constraints. Only a detailed analysis of this kind would demonstrate the real variability and patterns

of continuity and change in group identities across the whole of Crete through the *longue durée*.

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