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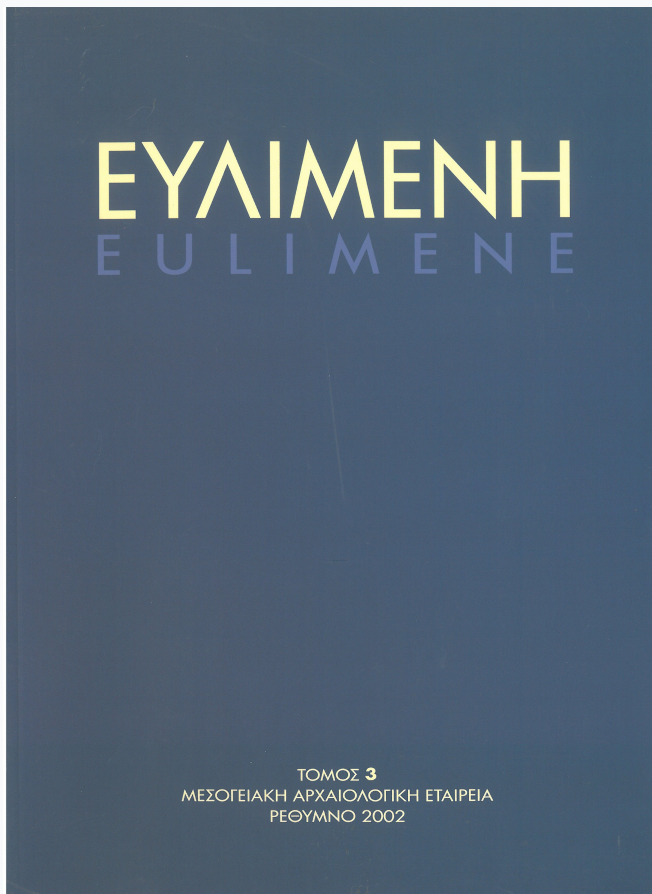
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**The rise of the polis in central Crete,**

*Antonios Kotsonas*

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# ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ

ΜΕΛΕΤΕΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΚΛΑΣΙΚΗ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑ,  
ΤΗΝ ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΙΚΗ, ΤΗ ΝΟΜΙΣΜΑΤΙΚΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΠΥΡΟΛΟΓΙΑ

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**Περιεχόμενα**  
**ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 3 (2002)**

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## Περίληψεις / Summaries / Zusammenfassungen / Sommaires / Riassunti

**Antonio Corso**, Classical, not Classicistic: Thoughts on the origins of «Classicizing Roman Sculpture», *EYΛIMENH* 3 (2002), 11-36

*Classico, non classicista: riflessioni sulle origini della cosiddetta «scultura romana classicistica»* In questo articolo è affrontata la problematica delle copie di età ellenistica e soprattutto romana derivate da statue originali di età greco-classica.

Vengono distinte le varianti, che non necessariamente risalgono a un originale comune, dalle copie vere e proprie, che invece derivano dalla stessa statua.

Sono quindi esaminati casi in cui siano sopravvissuti sia l'originale sia copie da questo ottenute, la casistica delle basi da originali famosi giunte sino a noi e quella delle opere tramandate dalla tradizione antica che sono state riscoperte. Sono altresì richiamate le menzioni di maestri e capolavori di scultura e pittura da parte di scrittori di età classica. Inoltre, si riepiloga succintamente la tradizione antica della critica d'arte. È presentata in modo cursorio la storia dei tentativi di attribuire sculture superstiti agli scultori celebrati dalle fonti antiche, dal quattordicesimo secolo ai nostri giorni. È altresì preso in considerazione lo scetticismo diffuso attualmente sulla possibilità di istituire tali relazioni e sono indicati motivazioni e sostrato culturale che hanno portato diversi studiosi a tale conclusione.

Infine, è ribadita la tesi opposta, che diverse creazioni statuarie note da copie di età romana, ritenute spesso ora opere classicistiche romane, risalgono di contro a originali del quinto e quarto secolo a. C. I motivi addotti a sostegno di tale tesi sono essenzialmente tre:

1. la concordanza iconografica spesso convincente tra tipi copistici di età romana e capolavori di età classica noti da menzioni letterarie;
2. il fatto che diversi tra questi tipi sono stati rieccheggiati su rappresentazioni di piccolo formato già in età classica o nel primo ellenismo;
3. infine il fatto che le grandi arti figurative erano per lo più ritenute morte, o moribonde, durante l'età in cui la produzione copistica fu più intensa.

**Antonios. Kotsonas**, The rise of the polis in central Crete, *EYΛIMENH* 3 (2002), 37-74

*Η γένεση της πόλης-κράτους στην κεντρική Κρήτη.* Ο 6<sup>ος</sup> αι. π.Χ. θεωρείται «σκοτεινός» για την Κρήτη. Ο λαμπρός υλικός πολιτισμός της Εποχής του Σιδήρου σβήνει σχετικά απότομα στα τέλη του 7<sup>ου</sup> αι. π.Χ. χωρίς εμφανή διάδοχο. Το φαινόμενο αυτό έχει παρατηρηθεί στην Κνωσό και αναφέρεται στην αγγλική βιβλιογραφία ως «archaic gap». Η παρούσα μελέτη ξεκινά από τις παρατηρήσεις για την Κνωσό και παρουσιάζει την εξάπλωση του φαινομένου, καταδεικνύοντας αιτίες που έχουν συντελέσει στη διόγκωσή του. Επισημάνσεις αναφερόμενες στο «αδιάγνωστο» της κρητικής κεραμικής του 6<sup>ου</sup> αι. π.Χ. —το οποίο συντελεί καιρία στη σχετική άγνοιά μας— παρουσιάζουν αυτή την πτυχή του ζητήματος, προσπαθώντας παράλληλα να την εντάξουν στο γενικότερο πλαίσιο της ελληνικής κεραμικής παραγωγής. Ακολουθεί η ανίχνευση ενός αρχαιολογικού ορίζοντα του τέλους του 7<sup>ου</sup> αι. π.Χ. σε μια σειρά θέσεων στην κεντρική Κρήτη —την καλύτερα μελετημένη περιοχή του νησιού— ανάλογα με τη λειτουργία τους: νεκροταφεία, ιερά, οικισμοί. Παρατηρείται γενική εγκατάλειψη θέσεων της Εποχής του Σιδήρου και μεταφορά των λειτουργιών τους σε νέες, ένα φαινόμενο με προφανείς κοινωνικές αναφορές. Στοιχεία από την υπόλοιπη Κρήτη επιβεβαιώνουν την εικόνα αυτή. Παράλληλα, αυξάνεται ραγδαία η παραγωγή επιγραφών, ορισμένες από τις οποίες αποκαλύπτουν την αγωνία της κοινότητας να προστατευθεί από περιπτώσεις κατάχρησης εξουσίας. Τα επιγραφικά αυτά δεδομένα και η

ερμηνεία των ανασκαφικών πορισμάτων με βάση παράλληλες ζυμώσεις στην κυρίως Ελλάδα συντελούν στην αναγνώριση του φαινομένου της δημιουργίας της πόλης-κράτους, ενός από τους σημαντικότερους θεσμούς της αρχαίας ελληνικής κοινωνίας. Απότοκο του πολιτικοκοινωνικού αυτού μετασχηματισμού αποτελεί ένα κύμα επεκτατισμού και εχθροπραξιών που κατέληξε στην καταστροφή ή παρακμή σημαντικών πόλεων, όπως ο Πρινιάς και η Κνωσός, και στην ενδυνάμωση άλλων, όπως η Λύκτος και η Γόρτυνα. Συνεπώς, προτείνεται η χρονολόγηση της γένεσης του θεσμού της πόλης-κράτους στην κεντρική Κρήτη στα τέλη του 7<sup>ου</sup> αι. π.Χ., ενός θεσμού που βαθμιαία εξαπλώθηκε σε όλο το νησί και επέφερε σημαντικό αντίκτυπο στην πολιτική του γεωγραφία, αλλά και στις κοινωνικοπολιτικές και χωροταξικές δομές των επιμέρους κοινοτήτων του.

**Μαρία Σταυροπούλου-Γάτση, Γεωργία Ζ. Αλεξοπούλου, ΑΝΑΚΤΟΡΙΟ-ΑΚΤΙΟ ΑΚΑΡΝΑΝΙΑΣ.** Συμβολή στη μελέτη της οχύρωσης της πόλης του Ανακτορίου και στην τοπογραφία της ευρύτερης περιοχής, *ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ* 3 (2002), 75-94

*Anaktorion-Aktion in Akarnania.* Anaktorion was one of the most important colonies of Corinth in the Ambrakian gulf. The ruins of the city are visible in the region of Ag. Petros on the hill Kastrí and have been described in E. Oberhummer, W.M. Leake, L. Heuzag, G. Neak and N.G.L. Hammond. Based on the description of the early travelers and on the plan of W.M. Leake, a survey was conducted in order to locate the ancient remains already known and also to uncover new evidence for the topography of the city. In 1995 vegetation was cleared from some parts of the older and more recent fortifications and small trenches were dug in the area occupied by the sanctuaries, roads and cemeteries of the city. The data was marked on an 1:50000 map together with a number of observations. Aktion is included in this topographical analysis, as it served as the port of Anaktorion.

**David Jordan,** Κατάδεσμος από τον Κεραμικό Αθηνών, *ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ* 3 (2002), 95-98

*A lead curse tablet from the Athenian Kerameikos.* An edition, from autopsy, of an opisthographic lead curse tablet of the fourth century B.C. from the Athenian Kerameikos. The first edition, which has appeared twice, *Minima Epigraphica et Papyrologica* 4 (2000) 91-99 and *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 114 (1999 [2001]) 92-96, admits of improvement. The text consists of a list of men's names plus the word γυναικα.

**Παύλος Χρυσοστόμου,** Συμβολές στην ιστορία της ιατρικής στην αρχαία Μακεδονία, *ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ* 3 (2002), 99-116

*Contributions to the history of medicine in ancient Macedonia.* The publication of two previously unpublished funerary monuments to physicians, one from Hellenistic Pella, and one from Early Christian Pella, provides an occasion for a study of the history of medicine in ancient Macedonia, the worship of the gods of medicine in the city of Pella and the health problems of its citizens. The first monument is an inscribed marble base from the 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C., which supported a marble stele commemorating a doctor from Thasos, who worked in Pella as public physician and who died abroad (Fig. 1-2). The second monument is a marble funerary stone to a physician named Alexander, from the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century A.D. (Fig. 3).

By the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. the kings of Macedonia were already displaying a considerable interest in medicine, accentuating their care for the army and for their subjects. The development of medical science was chiefly due to the presence at the royal court, as visitors or as permanent



residents, of such illustrious physicians as Hippocrates and his son Thessalus, Nicomachus the father of Aristotle, Critobulus of Cos, Philippus of Acarnan, Menecrates of Syracuse, Hippocrates, the son of Draco, and Polydorus of Teios. Historical sources tell us that Critobulus, Cridodemus and Draco of Cos served in the medical corps in the army of Alexander the Great's, as did Philippus of Acarnania, who was Alexander personal physician, and Alexippus, Pausanias and Glaucus (or Glaucias), respectively the personal physicians of Peucestas, Craterus and Hephaestion. Alexander himself had been initiated into the art of medicine by his tutor Aristotle, and had sufficient medical knowledge to attend to the medical and pharmaceutical care of his friends and his men. From archaeological evidence we know of another physician, who died at Pydna in early Hellenistic period and who, judging from his instruments, must have been a surgeon (Fig. 4–6). In contrast to the Hellenistic kingdoms of the East, however, nothing is known of any other physicians from the time of Cassander to the late Hellenistic period.

In the imperial age the medical profession had made great progress, with the invention of new instruments and through specialisation in the diseases of the various organs of the body. The position of public physician, or chief medical officer, that had been instituted in the Roman world, is also attested in Macedonia in the person of Aurelius Isidorus, scion of a prominent Thessalonican family. The «medici» in the Macedonian colonies also appear to have had some connections in Macedonia were self-employed professional physicians (Sextus Iulius Chariton of Amphipolis, Titus Servius and his wife Servia of Thessalonica, Pubicius Lalus and Publicius Hermias of Beroea, Aelius Nicolaus of Edessa, Aptus of Dion, Theodorus of Kato Kleines Florinas and C. Iulius Nicetas of Lyke, as well as Athryilatus of Thasos and Theodorus of Macedonia, known from literary sources). In addition to Alexander of Pella, Early Christian inscriptions also mention the physicians Paul of Philippi, Damian of Thessalonica and Anthemius of Edessa.

In Macedonia, as elsewhere, medicine progressed *in tandem* with the cult of Asclepius, which is attested in many cities (Beroea, Mieza, Dion, Thessalonica, Moryllus, Kalindoia, Antigoneia, Cassandreia, Amphipolis, Philippi, etc.). The priests of Asclepius were illustrious men from the cities of Macedonia, and his priesthood was an office of great social prestige and of particular importance in the organisation of the Macedonian kingdom. Archaeological excavations in the south-west sector of Pella have brought to light a large sanctuary of Asclepius, whose temple and altar were also used for the worship of Apollo, Heracles and the local healing divinity Darro, to whom the prayers for the sick were addressed. The worship of these gods, which continued in Roman Pella too, was an essential feature in the lives of the inhabitants of the city, whose health was affected by problems associated with bad water and malaria.

**Eva Apostolou**, Rhodes hellénistique. Les trésors et la circulation monétaire, *EYΛIΜENH* 3 (2002), 117-182

*Ελληνιστική Ρόδος. Οι θησαυροί και η νομισματική κυκλοφορία.* Η εξέταση των «θησαυρών» που περιέχουν ροδιακά νομίσματα, εκδόσεις του ενιαίου ροδιακού κράτους, από ιδρύσεώς του, το 408 π.Χ., μέχρι τις αρχές του Ιου α. π.Χ., οδηγεί στα ακόλουθα συμπεράσματα:

1. Η κυκλοφορία του ροδιακού νομίσματος σ' όλη την προαναφερόμενη περίοδο αποδεικνύεται αρκετά περιορισμένη εκτός των ορίων του ροδιακού κράτους.

2. Ο συστηματικός έλεγχος της κυκλοφορίας του νομίσματος εντός της ροδιακής επικράτειας επιτυγχάνεται με την περιοδική κατάργηση και την απόσυρση της προγενέστερης εγχώριας νομισματικής παραγωγής (ή μέρους της) και παράλληλα με την αντικατάστασή της απο νέες και εξελιγμένες ως προς τους νομισματικούς τύπους εκδόσεις.

3. Ο «κλειστός» χαρακτήρας της ροδιακής οικονομίας στηρίζει την εμπορική και πολιτική δραστηριότητα των Ροδιών, και αποτελεί σημαντικό παράγοντα της ευημερίας τους κατά την υπό εξέταση περίοδο.

**Robert C. Knapp**, Greek Mercenaries, Coinage and Ideology, *EYΛIMENH* 3 (2002), 183-196

*Έλληνες μισθοφόροι, νόμισμα και ιδεολογία.* Οι σκοτεινοί αιώνες υπήρξαν για τον ελληνικό πολιτισμό η αφετηρία των σημαντικότερων αλλαγών που διακρίνονται αργότερα κατά την αρχαϊκή εποχή. Στην παρούσα εργασία υπογραμμίζεται η διαφορά στον τρόπο ζωής στην Ελλάδα των σκοτεινών αιώνων και στους πιο εξελιγμένους πολιτισμούς της Εγγύς Ανατολής και της Αιγύπτου, προκειμένου να γίνει αντιληπτό πόσο αποσταθεροποιητικοί πρέπει να υπήρξαν αυτοί οι πολιτισμοί στη ζωή των Ελλήνων που έρχονταν σε επαφή μαζί τους. Ενώ οι περισσότεροι μελετητές επικεντρώνονται στους εμπόρους ως την κύρια ομάδα επαφής, εδώ δίνεται έμφαση στους Έλληνες μισθοφόρους, οι οποίοι πολέμησαν στην Αίγυπτο και σε ολόκληρη την Εγγύς Ανατολή στα τέλη των σκοτεινών αιώνων και κατά την αρχαϊκή περίοδο. Η μισθοφορική υπηρεσία, όχι μόνο εξέθεσε τους Έλληνες σε διαφορετικούς υλικούς πολιτισμούς, αλλά επίσης συνέβαλλε στην διαμόρφωση της ιδέας περί Ελληνικής «εθνικότητας». Επιπλέον, αυτές οι επαφές οδήγησαν στην συνειδητοποίηση ότι οι κληρονομικές κοινωνικές δομές που βασιζόνταν στη γενιά, «πίσω στην πατρίδα», θα μπορούσαν να αλλάξουν προς όφελος εκείνων που είχαν αποκομίσει πλούτο και αυτοπεποίθηση στο εξωτερικό. Η παρούσα μελέτη ασχολείται ειδικότερα με τον πραγματικό και συμβολικό ρόλο του νομίσματος σε αυτή την πολιτισμική αφύπνιση. Όποια και αν είναι τα πραγματικά πλεονεκτήματα του νομίσματος και οποιαδήποτε η πρακτική σχέση της εισαγωγής του με τα προϋπάρχοντα νομισματικά συστήματα της Δ. Ασίας, η συμβολική του δύναμη ήταν να ενδυναμώσει τον πυρήνα του κινητού πλούτου και να αμβλύνει την εξουσία του ακίνητου, βασισμένου στη γη, πλούτου. Ήταν επίσης ένα δυναμικό σύμβολο της σχετικότητας της δύναμης και ουσιαστικά η πραγματική ρίζα της δύναμης, άσχετα με τους μύθους που υπήρχαν για να νομιμοποιούν την συνέχιση της εξουσίας από μια ελίτ. Ως νόμισμα, το χρήμα ήταν πλέον πιο ορατό και ευκολότερο να αποκτηθεί από πριν, και ως τέτοιο μπορούσε να χρησιμοποιηθεί με μεγαλύτερη ευχέρεια για την αποσταθεροποίηση των υπαρχόντων διανοητικών και εξουσιαστικών δομών μιας ελίτ. Εν κατακλείδι, η εισαγωγή του νομίσματος αποτελεί αφενός τμήμα της πολιτισμικής μεταβολής που επηρεάστηκε από την επαφή των Ελλήνων μισθοφόρων με τους πολιτισμούς της Εγγύς Ανατολής και της Αιγύπτου και αφετέρου έμβλημα των πολιτισμικών συνεπειών της ελληνικής εμπειρίας που αποκτήθηκε σε εκείνες τις περιοχές.

**Nahum Cohen**, A Poll-tax Receipt, *EYΛIMENH* 3 (2002), 197-200

*Απόδειξη καταβολής φόρου (λαογραφίας).* Πάπυρος διατηρημένος σε καλή κατάσταση. Πρόκειται για μία απόδειξη καταβολής κεφαλικού φόρου, της λαογραφίας, από έναν φορολογούμενο του οποίου το όνομα έχει χαθεί. Διασώζονται μόνο τα ονόματα των γονέων του, Ονήσιμος και Ηρ( ), και του παππού του, Ωρίων. Το πληρωθέν ποσόν είναι 20 δραχμές και 10 χαλκοί. Το έγγραφο χρονολογείται στις 24 Ιουλίου ενός εκ των ετών 177, 178 ή 179 μ.Χ. και προέρχεται από την πρωτεύουσα του Αρσινόϊτου νομού.

**David Jordan**, Άλλο ένα παράδειγμα του Ψαλμού 90.1, *EYΛIMENH* 3 (2002), 201

*Another example of LXX Ps. 90.1.* In a writing exercise found on a fragmentary wooden tablet, published at *BIFAO* 101 (2001) 160–2 (V or VI A.D.), there are several lines beginning ὁ κατο[ or ὁ κατο[. Restore, in whole or in part, LXX Ps. 90.1, 'Ο κατοικῶν ἐν βοθηείᾳ τοῦ Ὑψίστου ἐν σκέπη τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀύλισθήσεται.

**Άννα Λάγια**, Ραμνούς, τάφος 8: ανασύσταση της ταφικής συμπεριφοράς μέσα από το πρίσμα της ταφονομικής και ανθρωπολογικής ανάλυσης, *ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ* 3 (2002), 203-222

*Ramnous, the stone-cist burial Nr 8: mortuary behavior in the light of the taphonomic and anthropological analysis.* The significance of applying taphonomic considerations during the excavation and analysis of a burial as a crucial factor in understanding its function is discussed and it is argued that it requires the participation of an expert in human morphology. The basic taphonomic processes that are important for understanding mortuary behavior are presented and are then applied to the analysis of a multiple burial of the late antiquity from the Necropolis of Ramnous. The stone-cist burial Nr 8 from Ramnous comprised the inhumations of six individuals, three adults and three sub-adults. The position of the skeletal remains in the grave raised questions concerning the manner of burial and the sequence of inhumations. Detailed analysis of the mortuary context, the position of the skeletal remains during excavation, the state of preservation of the bones and bone modifications as a result of taphonomic processes, in combination with the biological profile of the skeletons, suggests that the six individuals were buried in three separate burial episodes. The latest burial was that of an adolescent female that was found *in situ* at the uppermost level of the grave. This had been preceded by the (almost?) synchronous burial of three adults that were laid successively at a deeper level. The earliest inhumations were those of two children, the remains of which were found at the lowest level of the grave in a relatively poor state of preservation. It is argued that the architecture of the grave and the surrounding rocks created different microenvironments within the grave and played a crucial role in the manner of burial and the post depositional position of the skeletal remains. The excavation techniques that were used ensured that bone preservation was a result of events that took place prior to the excavation. The skeleton of the adolescent had the best state of preservation. Among the adults no differences in preservation in relation to sex, age and stratigraphy were observed. Modification of bone surfaces supports the view that the individuals that were the last to bury from each burial episode, were exposed to weathering prior to soil being sieved-in.

## THE RISE OF THE POLIS IN CENTRAL CRETE\*

### I. Introduction

The general picture of relative prosperity for several Cretan communities of the Iron Age culminated into the 7<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1</sup> However, as we shall see, from the last quarter of that century and —especially— during the 6<sup>th</sup> (and partly the 5<sup>th</sup>), scholars identify a surprising lack of material record, which has only recently been partly challenged.<sup>2</sup> Besides, ancient authors provide almost no information about early Crete. Only from the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century and during the Hellenistic age can the amount of evidence —both archaeological and literary— be called sufficient. In this study I attempt to demonstrate that the lack of archaeological evidence is to a significant extent a mirage, produced by selectivity and preference of sites to be excavated, the neglect of that era on Crete, as well as the difficulty of the identification of the material itself, and other, «non-artificial» factors. These parameters are taken into consideration and are incorporated in an interpretive scheme, which hopefully sheds some light on a transitional period for several Cretan communities.

My choice to focus on Central Crete (from the Lasithi mountains to the valley of Amari) has been determined by the amount of research carried out there, which allows the tracing of significant patterns.<sup>3</sup> However, sites from the eastern and western extreme of the island will frequently be discussed. Priority should be assigned to Knossos, where the phenomenon of the 6<sup>th</sup> century was noticed more than half a century ago. It is known as the «archaic gap»,<sup>4</sup> or, «the period of silence».<sup>5</sup> The extent of this phenomenon has not received much attention yet, partly because most sites are only known from reports. It is

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<sup>1</sup> For the Cretan Iron Age (including the 7<sup>th</sup> century) see: Boardman 1961. Σταμπολίδης και Καρέτσου 1998, p. 102–134. For the 7<sup>th</sup> century see: Demargne 1947. Möller and Demargne 1970. All dates are B. C.

<sup>2</sup> Erickson 2000.

<sup>3</sup> The arguments discussed here cannot for example claim to apply to most of the Chania region, for which evidence is dramatically poor (except along its northern coastline).

<sup>4</sup> Coldstream and Huxley 1999, p. 289, n. 2 for a collection of references to the issue. Also, Erickson 2000, p. 13–29 for a review of these references.

<sup>5</sup> Stampolidis 1990, p. 400. Followed by Morris 1998, p. 61.

my intention to discuss it —focusing inevitably on Knossos, for which there is some bibliography—, explore its extent and attempt to interpret it.

A major obstacle to the study of this age is the almost complete lack of material from Knossos,<sup>6</sup> the «capital» of the island for most of its known history and the most critical site for the understanding of its civilization. The Knossos area has been intensively excavated and surveyed for more than a century by the BSA. However, preference for Minoan<sup>7</sup> and, from the sixties, for Iron Age finds has resulted to the neglect of later finds, thus contributing to the growth of the «gap». The same phenomenon can be noticed elsewhere in Crete,<sup>8</sup> though, as we shall see, there is abundant archaic–classical evidence (especially from tombs) on the western part of the island, where relatively few important sites of previous periods have been discovered. Absence of graves means lack of sealed contexts, necessary for the development of the pottery sequence. Coldstream, an authority on Cretan pottery, admits serious difficulties in recognizing 6<sup>th</sup> century Cretan pottery.<sup>9</sup>

In Knossos, the abandonment of the Fortetsa cemetery, at circa 630, was assumed by Brock to be related to a rejection of cremation,<sup>10</sup> which was the dominant practice in Knossos and the Central Crete since the 9<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>11</sup> This remark, however important, responds only to one aspect of a multi–factor phenomenon. The extensive Knossos North Cemetery was also abandoned at circa 630. It was covered by fragments of coarse archaic pithoi—assigned to a domestic context—and used again for burial during the Hellenistic times.<sup>12</sup> There had been a notable diminution in the number of tombs in use during the 7<sup>th</sup> century, but the grave offerings were of high quality, leading to the conclusion that «if the abandonment of the cemeteries were due to any sort of catastrophe in war, that catastrophe would have come suddenly at a time when Knossos was not suffering any decline in prosperity»; alternatively, a major political change was regarded responsible.<sup>13</sup>

The Knossian «archaic gap» has received some attention lately, but no firm conclusions were drawn. Coldstream<sup>14</sup> related the abrupt end of the cemeteries to Strabo's information about a defeat of Knossos<sup>15</sup> (pointing out that no trace of destruction was found in the settlement). He also reflected on Herodotus' testimony on the contemporary drought on Thera that led to the colonization of Cyrene, probably

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<sup>6</sup> Coldstream and Huxley 1999, p. 294–295. Obstacles and/or relevant parameters are discussed throughout the text.

<sup>7</sup> Coldstream 1984, p. 311–312. Coldstream and Huxley 1999, p. 292, 298.

<sup>8</sup> Tarra (Τζεδάκις 1971, p. 511) and Lyktos (Λεμπέση 1973–4, p. 886–7. Ρεθεμιωτάκης 1986, p. 244), though producing interesting finds have perhaps been neglected. Hardly any research has been carried out in the classical cemetery of Lassaia, which was looted. Besides, the «quest» for a new Minoan palace never ceased to be most attractive.

<sup>9</sup> Coldstream and Huxley 1999, p. 295.

<sup>10</sup> Brock 1957, p. 219 (n. 2).

<sup>11</sup> Coldstream and Catling 1996, p. 718.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 722.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> Coldstream 1984, p. 321.

<sup>15</sup> Strabo 10. 4. 7.

with Cretan participation.<sup>16</sup> Huxley,<sup>17</sup> based on Pausanias,<sup>18</sup> proposed the exhaustion of the city in rivalry with Lyktos, but hesitated to believe the reported Spartan intervention on the side of the latter. He connected this rivalry to the possibility of a plague and related these events to the migration of contemporary Cretan artists,<sup>19</sup> believing that the peculiarities of the Cretan constitution would have contributed to the culmination of the crisis.<sup>20</sup>

Coldstream and Huxley, in a very recent article, attempt a full review of the issue, based on collective examination of the Knossos material.<sup>21</sup> They describe the extent of the lacuna in cemeteries, domestic areas and sanctuaries from 630–600 until the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, when a rather modest revival occurs. They underline that cemeteries and domestic areas used in the 7<sup>th</sup> century remained unencumbered by later activity; they also consider the 5<sup>th</sup> century as an era of recovery from a late start in the civic life. They interpret the archaeological lacuna as a possible derivative from a war—reported to Pausanias by Argives<sup>22</sup>—fought by Knossos against Sparta and her offshoot in Crete, Lyktos, resulting in the maltreatment of Epimenides, a Knossian healer, by the Spartans.<sup>23</sup> Traditionally, this is dated at circa 590.<sup>24</sup> Their proposition was rather hesitant, since the sources are late and even Pausanias' contemporary Spartans denied it.<sup>25</sup> However, the Spartans organized an expedition in 346–343 and succeeded in liberating Lyktos, which had been captured by the Knossians.<sup>26</sup> We learn of two more Spartan expeditions in Crete: one in 333, under king Agis,<sup>27</sup> and one in 237, under king Areus.<sup>28</sup>

Hostility between Knossos and Lyktos could have stemmed from claims on the fertile plain that separates them. Ethnicity could have played some part: Lyktos was commonly accepted as a Spartan colony.<sup>29</sup> The inhabitants of the city of Afrati/Arkhades

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<sup>16</sup> Herodotus iv. 150–8, iv. 161. Whitley 2001, p. 245–7. Osborne 1996, p. 8–17 for some problems in the context of this information.

<sup>17</sup> Huxley 1994, p. 128–129.

<sup>18</sup> Pausanias ii. 21. 3, iii. 12. 11.

<sup>19</sup> Vitruvius vii 12, 16: Chersiphron and Metagenes left Crete to work on the Artemision of Ephesus.

<sup>20</sup> Huxley 1994, p. 130.

<sup>21</sup> Coldstream and Huxley 1999 (esp. p. 289–300). On earlier discussions of archaic finds from Knossos see: Boardman 1962.

<sup>22</sup> Pausanias iii. 12. 11. Also, ii. 21. 3.

<sup>23</sup> Pausanias ii. 21. 3, iii. 12. 11. Coldstream and Huxley 1999, p. 301–2, n. 81. On Epimenides see also Demoulin 1979.

<sup>24</sup> Aristotle, Athenian Republic 1. 1. Diogenes Laertius 1. 10. 110. Sandys 1912, p. 2–3 (explains Plato's date—Plato, Laws, 642D, 698C). Harris–Cline 1999, p. 309–20.

<sup>25</sup> Pausanias iii. 12. 11. Less hesitant reference to this war in Coldstream 2000a, p. 171. I believe that the attitude of the Spartans (to deny the murder of a famous Cretan) should probably be related to their need for local supporters in their frequent interventions in Hellenistic Cretan affairs (see the three following notes and Karafotias 1998). The Argives who accused them also had certain interests in Crete (see n. 34 below).

<sup>26</sup> Diodorus Siculus 16. 62. 3–4. Callaghan 1994, p. 136. Huxley 1994, p. 132. Malkin 1994, p. 80.

<sup>27</sup> Diodorus Siculus 17. 48. 2. Arrian ii. 13. 6. Guarducci 1939, xxiii, n. 12, p. 250–1. Effenterre 1948, p. 246–7. Huxley 1994, p. 132.

<sup>28</sup> Plut. Pyrrhus 27. 1–2. Effenterre 1948, p. 248.

<sup>29</sup> Aristotle, Politics 1271b, VII, 28–31. Plutarch, Moralia 247 and 296. Polybius iv. 54. Guarducci 1935, p. 180. Malkin 1994, p. 79–80. A quadrilateral seal with Linear B inscriptions, supposed by A. Vasilakis to

were probably immigrants from SW Arcadia.<sup>30</sup> Linguistic elements connect Lyktos to Afrati/Arkheades, Axos and Eleutherna and confirm the existence of Cypro–Arcadian elements in the dialect of these cities.<sup>31</sup> Gortyn was also thought to be founded by Arcadians<sup>32</sup> or Spartans.<sup>33</sup> On the other hand, some modern scholars regard Knossos as an Argive colony.<sup>34</sup> Even if these migration myths do not reflect a reality (despite the evidence for connections), one cannot deny that they were probably respected by the Cretans and could easily be underlined or even manipulated when support was needed. If some believed their fatherland was in the Peloponnese, then this was «true» in their mentality and vital for our perception.

## II. Some remarks on pottery

As mentioned above, the impression of a «gap» is supported by the fact that Cretan 6<sup>th</sup> century pottery can hardly be recognized, especially since excavation and/or publication of tombs and deposits of pottery is lacking. Erickson's thorough discussion of the pottery from a number of sites has demonstrated that little of it can indeed be assigned to the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>35</sup> Thus, it is not simply the lack of studies, but the non-diagnostic character of the material itself that mostly obstructs its identification.<sup>36</sup> One should then wonder why the Cretan material became non-diagnostic at the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. I believe that this can be primarily attributed to two reasons, one internal-specific, and one external-abstract. The former is the general decline in the quality of the decoration that could indicate no significant demand for painted pottery,<sup>37</sup> probably related to the abandonment of cemeteries with inurned cremations, discussed below. The latter demands a broader view on regional styles of Greek painted pottery and their «evolution»: The LG period witnessed many flourishing regional pottery styles,<sup>38</sup> and was

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prove the Spartan origin of Lyktos, has appeared on the web: <http://www.kairatos.com.gr/myweb/epigrafikatagogitonlittion.htm>

<sup>30</sup> Levi 1931, p. 15–22. On Cretan–Arcadian relations: Μαρτινάτος 1961–2, p. 186–189. Willetts 1977, p. 158–63. Jost 1985, p. 241–249. Λεμνέση 1985, p. 184–186. Kanta and Karetsou 1998, p. 162–163. McLennan 1977, p. 29–78: on the Hymn of Callimachus to Zeus (l: 4–8).

<sup>31</sup> Jeffery and Morpurgo–Davies 1970, p. 133. Chadwick 1980, p. 63–64, 66. Chadwick 1987, p. 329–334. Since these papers identify Afrati with Arkheades, I have retained this identification here (in the form Afrati/Arkheades). In the rest of the text, however, I just refer to Afrati, since Viviers (1994) has proposed the identification of this site with Dattalla.

<sup>32</sup> Pausanias viii. 53. 4. Perlman 2000, p. 63–67.

<sup>33</sup> Konon. Narrat. 36. 47. Willetts 1977, p. 161–162 points out a cult of Amyklaios in Gortyn. Perlman 2000, p. 67–71.

<sup>34</sup> Malkin 1994, p. 71. Graham 1971, p. 154–165: both mainly based on Guarducci 1935, xxx. n. 1, p. 307–308. Also, Willetts 1977, p. 295. Prof. Coldstream has underlined to me that the settlement of Knossos does not favour it being a colony.

<sup>35</sup> Erickson 2000. I rely on this study for the identification of 6<sup>th</sup> Cretan pottery.

<sup>36</sup> For example, the pots found at the late 7<sup>th</sup>–early 6<sup>th</sup> century house at Goulediana hardly bore any decoration at all (Πλάτων 1955a, p. 300, plate 113. Πλάτων 1956, plate 110). See the latest discussion in Whitley 2001, p. 248, 250.

<sup>37</sup> For the latest reference to this decline see Coldstream 2001, p. 72. Whitley (2001, p. 248–252) has related this decline to general tendencies of the mentality of the Cretan society (also Morris 1998, p. 67–8).

<sup>38</sup> Coldstream 1968, p. 360–386.

succeeded at circa 700 or slightly later by the Orientalizing style, adopted by most, but —significantly— not all regional schools.<sup>39</sup> Later, «the Orientalizing style ... the standard style of the seventh century, went out of favour», being replaced by the black-figure technique,<sup>40</sup> favoured in Corinth, Attica, Lakonia, Boeotia, Eastern Greece, Chios.<sup>41</sup> It seems that Crete «could» not follow the transition to black-figure,<sup>42</sup> as almost nobody would follow the Attic potters in the transition to the red-figure technique in the late Archaic–Classical period.<sup>43</sup> There is no space to elaborate on this process and its causes.<sup>44</sup> Whitley has attributed the Cretan neglect of figured scenes to the unpopularity of the Epic cycle on the island.<sup>45</sup> However, it seems that since the Cretan workshops of painted pottery would/could not make the transition to black-figure, it was «rather expected» for them to cease their production of painted pottery, judging by the «evolution» of Greek regional styles.<sup>46</sup> In the Hellenistic period, when figured drawing generally declines, Crete emerges again as an important regional centre of painted pottery.<sup>47</sup> From the time of the abandonment of the Orientalizing style until the beginning of the Hellenistic period imported wares seem to have been the prominent source of fine painted pottery for Crete, black gloss being the local tableware.<sup>48</sup> Following an idea of Snodgrass,<sup>49</sup> Morgan believes that regional styles «break down at precisely the point when the political development of regions gains in complexity, notably with the development of poleis».<sup>50</sup> In the following lines, I will try to demonstrate that this is probably what happened in Central Crete.

### III. Spatial re-organization

In this chapter, a survey of the evidence from cemeteries, sanctuaries and settlements in Archaic Central Crete is intended to illuminate some aspects of the «gap»

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<sup>39</sup> Cook 1997, p. 45, 88 (only few known Argive pots belong to the Orientalizing style); p. 45 for Lakonia (until the 620's), Messenia, Elis, Ithaca. Other regions in NW and N Greece are infamous for the conservatism of their pottery styles that heavily obscures any attempts for dating.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid, p. 43. Also, p. 44 and Boardman 1998, p. 177.

<sup>41</sup> Cook 1997, p. 44–45, 49, 97.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid, p. 45. Some Cretan experiments are attested: Boardman 1998, p. 113. Erickson 2000, p. 185, n. 55. Besides, Cycladic–Orientalizing–painted pottery ceased at circa 580: Boardman 1998, p. 112.

<sup>43</sup> Cook 1997, p. 155–192: only the South Italian production was important.

<sup>44</sup> In the case of the Argolid, Cook attributed the phenomenon to «entrenched conservatism» (ibid, p. 88).

<sup>45</sup> Whitley 2001, p. 251–252.

<sup>46</sup> This general statement does not claim to have covered anything but the general idea. While Whitley —above— explains why there was no elaboration in the decoration, this is meant to help in understanding why there really was serious simplification, by setting it in a broader context.

<sup>47</sup> Cook 1997, p. 193–9.

<sup>48</sup> For the imports and the black gloss see Erickson 2000. For workshops imitating Attic red-figure pottery see: Cook 1990, p. 70. Τζανακάκη 1997, p. 21, 30–32. Erickson 2000, n. 104.

<sup>49</sup> Snodgrass 1999.

<sup>50</sup> Morgan 1999, p. 244.



and relate them to the rise of the polis.<sup>51</sup> This scheme has been advocated by Morris<sup>52</sup> and employed by Coldstream and Huxley.<sup>53</sup> Mainland insights are employed where appropriate.<sup>54</sup>

### Cemeteries

Homer described Crete as inhabited by people of different origins;<sup>55</sup> however, the burial customs of Iron Age Central Crete produce a rather uniform picture. Cremation—usually inurned and collective—was the general rule from the 9<sup>th</sup> century, having been introduced in the 11<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>56</sup> However, the chamber tombs, organised in extensive cemeteries (Knossos,<sup>57</sup> Kounavoi,<sup>58</sup> Afrati,<sup>59</sup> Rhytion,<sup>60</sup> Prinias,<sup>61</sup> Eleutherna<sup>62</sup>), or in smaller «plots» (Gortyn,<sup>63</sup> Axos,<sup>64</sup> Agies Paraskies,<sup>65</sup> Arkhanes,<sup>66</sup> Arkhalokhori,<sup>67</sup> Krousonas Maleviziou,<sup>68</sup> Herakleion district<sup>69</sup>) seem to have been abandoned by the late 7<sup>th</sup> century. Thus, it seems highly probable that the abandonment of the Knossian cemeteries reflects a phenomenon spread throughout Central Crete.<sup>70</sup> Individual cremations—which occur on some of these sites—became popular in the course of the 7<sup>th</sup> century and lasted until the early 6<sup>th</sup>.<sup>71</sup> «Change over time from individual to communal

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<sup>51</sup> For the concept of the polis see Sakellariou 1989. For the archaeology of the rise of the polis see Snodgrass 1980, p. 27–48, 85–122. Morgan and Coulton 1997.

<sup>52</sup> Morris 1998, p. 9–10.

<sup>53</sup> Coldstream and Huxley 1999.

<sup>54</sup> It is not always justified to apply mainland parallels for Crete. However, it is my intention to adopt a broader perspective (given the limits of space).

<sup>55</sup> *Odyssey*, τ 172–7.

<sup>56</sup> Coldstream 1977, p. 48–50 (there are only few earlier cases).

<sup>57</sup> Brock 1957. Coldstream and Catling 1996. For smaller groups of tombs see the BSA series.

<sup>58</sup> Δημοπούλου–Ρεθεμιωτάκη 1988, p. 328–9. Ρεθεμιωτάκης και Δημοπούλου 1994–6, p. 315–7.

<sup>59</sup> Levi 1931, pl. 24 (Middle Wild Goat oinochoe).

<sup>60</sup> Πλάτων 1955, p. 567. Πλάτων 1958, p. 468.

<sup>61</sup> Rizza 1984, p. 48. Rizza and Scrinari 1968, p. 238.

<sup>62</sup> Stampolidis 1990. Stampolidis 1998, p. 176.

<sup>63</sup> Αλεξίου 1966, p. 323. Αλεξίου 1966a, p. 189–191. Coldstream 1977, p. 67–8: a PG tholos.

<sup>64</sup> Αλεξίου 1961, p. 394.

<sup>65</sup> Λεμπέση 1971b, p. 384–92. Πλάτων 1945–7, p. 47–97.

<sup>66</sup> Σακελλαράκης 1986, p. 15. Sakellarakis I. and E. 1997, p. 34–7.

<sup>67</sup> Πλάτων 1957, p. 339.

<sup>68</sup> Καρέτσου 1976, p. 359.

<sup>69</sup> Αλεξίου 1967, p. 210–215. Λεμπέση 1971a, p. 290–292.

<sup>70</sup> In Lyktos, for the burial customs of which Plutarch (*Moralia* 296) has an interesting information, few 7<sup>th</sup> century burials have been excavated, but the report is ambiguous concerning the rite: Ρεθεμιωτάκης 1986, p. 224.

<sup>71</sup> Prinias: Rizza 1984, p. 48. Rizza and Scrinari 1968, p. 234: a date in the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century is suggested. Erickson (2000, 142, n. 50) suggests the first quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. Afrati: Levi 1931, pl. 18: the last precisely dated pots are EC–MC imports. Eleutherna: Stampolidis 1998, p. 175 dates the latest primary cremation to the second quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. Erickson (2000, p. 158, 230) accepts that there is no intact burial later than circa 575 and admits a certain change at around that date, but believes that the use of the cemetery does not stop then. When suggesting, however, a late 6<sup>th</sup> century use of the cemetery one

burial (or the reverse) is an important clue to the character of the status system for each period. A de-emphasis on collective burial indicates decreasing need to mark groups and reinforce membership claims». <sup>72</sup> Coldstream, discussing Knossos, suggests «we must turn our thoughts to the emergence of the Knossian polis». <sup>73</sup>

It can be no coincidence that elaborate grave monuments, probably revealing competition between members of the elite <sup>74</sup>—also identified in the religious sphere at the same time <sup>75</sup>—are found in 7<sup>th</sup> century Crete, in Eleutherna <sup>76</sup> and Prinias. <sup>77</sup> In Prinias, the funerary stelae probably depicting members of the elite were destroyed by human hand at the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century and incorporated in a slightly later monument. As Lebesi points out, such an act was practised by the Persians in Athens. <sup>78</sup> However, I am reminded of what followed the fall of the Cypselids in archaic Corinth: «they threw (Psammetichus') body out of the country without burial, dug up the graves of his ancestors, and cast out their bones». <sup>79</sup> This sacrilegious action, belonging in an archaic context, suggests that the cause of the destruction of the Prinias stelae might have been an internal political reform. <sup>80</sup>

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should also consider that a) the imported unguents—usually found at cemeteries—are no later than 550, while their quantity «dwindles substantially after ca. 575» (p. 163), b) the sherds from kraters and drinking vessels could belong to domestic or sanctuary contexts, since the archaic settlement of Eleutherna was located few dozens of metres up the slope. Alternatively, one could argue that the kraters and drinking vessels are related to customs venerating the ancestors, since the impressive Geometric–7<sup>th</sup> century monuments of the cemetery would have been visible at that time (but see Snodgrass 1980, p. 39). Besides, Erickson's claim that 6<sup>th</sup> century tombs were destroyed by Hellenistic buildings–builders (p. 159) should be thought over, since at least in the area of the cemetery excavated so far (since 1985)—from where the majority of the material he discusses derives—no Hellenistic walls have been revealed. The only Hellenistic constructions excavated so far can be seen south of the Late Hellenistic–Early Roman paved road, under which Iron Age burials have been discovered. Modern cultivation has caused some damage, but one needs more substantial evidence to advocate continuity to the late 6<sup>th</sup> century. After all, post–Classical sherds are also abundant in the surface layers of the cemetery. However, Erickson has argued convincingly that the settlement of Eleutherna presents continuity.

<sup>72</sup> Wason 1994, p. 90: «Individual burial indicates either that group membership is not as important a part of status in death, or that it is important but not marked by the practice of communal burial». «Communal burial indicates that an important aspect of status in death (and significance for the living) is being part of a social group, probably with unambiguous kin–based membership». Morgan and Whitelaw 1991, p. 86–7 for this phenomenon in Argos.

<sup>73</sup> Coldstream 1991, p. 298.

<sup>74</sup> Whitley 1997, p. 335. Morris 1987, p. 206. Morgan and Whitelaw 1991, p. 86–87 for Argos.

<sup>75</sup> Perlman 2000, p. 78 (though I see the Apollo temple as a means for uniting the community).

<sup>76</sup> Σταμπολίδης 1994, p. 28–29, 65, 138–139. Σταμπολίδης 1996: for the Homeric overtones in Eleutherna.

<sup>77</sup> Λεμπέση 1976.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid, p. 46.

<sup>79</sup> Nic. Dam. FGH 90, F. 60.1. Salmon 1984, p. 229.

<sup>80</sup> In the case of Prinias there are no sacrilegious «barbarians»; a foe could be responsible but the internal cause meets the parallel from Corinth. Though I am not implying that the stelae belonged to tyrants, I would like to emphasise that there is a mid–7<sup>th</sup> century stele depicting a grandiose figure seated on a throne and holding a sceptre (bearing eastern and Homeric overtones). Λεμπέση rejects the identification of a king, despite her identification of elements pointing to this direction, considering kingship abolished by that time (Λεμπέση 1976, p. 31–2, 83–6, 94–6), but Herodotus (iv, 154) refers to a king of Axos of the 630's. [Osborne 1996, p. 8–17 for some problems in the context of this information. Also Drews' (1983) scepticism on kings, particularly p. 129–31]. This issue has been discussed in my MPhil Dissertation.

In the 6<sup>th</sup>–and even 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> (excluding its last third, when there is abundance of material) centuries, burials present the most eloquent expression of the «gap».<sup>81</sup> There is remarkably little evidence in an island the archaeology of which has been attracting attention for more than a century. Most evidence comes from West Crete,<sup>82</sup> while the rest of the island seems to have (almost) been «inhabited by immortals»! All these burials however are individual inhumations, usually rather modest.<sup>83</sup> The last cremations in Eleutherna, Afrati and Prinias are no real exceptions since they probably belong to communities less eager to abandon pre-existing rites.<sup>84</sup> The digging of a chamber tomb and the rite of cremation in itself demanded great energy expenditure, thus the decrease in the wealth invested on burials is definitely noteworthy. We may be facing the introduction of what Morris calls «the middling ideology».<sup>85</sup> Besides, Classical (or 6<sup>th</sup> century) cemeteries generally avoid Iron Age burial ground–though adequate evidence exists only for the central part of the island–and may continue in use until the Roman times.<sup>86</sup> Thus, the abrupt abandonment of Iron Age cemeteries seems to be connected to a transition from cremation to inhumation in the late 7<sup>th</sup>–early 6<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>87</sup> probably related to a significant change of social mentality.<sup>88</sup>

A parallel process is attested for contemporary Thessaly, one of the very few Aegean regions practising collective cremation (in tholoi and/or mounds) in the Iron Age.<sup>89</sup> In the Geometric period, the inhabitants of the hilltop settlements buried their dead in collective small mounds, where cremation was the rule. The ash was usually collected in large vessels and accompanied by pots and jewellery. From the 7<sup>th</sup> century mounds become dominant and the rites bear Homeric overtones; this practice lasts until

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<sup>81</sup> See Appendix, which is based mostly on material from the periodicals: *ΑΔ*, *ΑΑΑ*, *Κρητικά Χρονικά*, *Κρητική Εστία*, *BSA*, *Archaeological Reports*, *ASAA*. This study does not claim to include all published or reported burials of that time–span, but it was prepared with great care. One should keep in mind Morris's (1987) illuminating points on the invisibility of «informal» burials and the fact that we lack any kind of anthropological study of the bones in the vast majority of the sites (excluding Knossos and Eleutherna).

<sup>82</sup> E.g. cemeteries have been identified at Tarra (Τζεδάκις 1971, p. 511), Varypetros (Τζεδάκις 1969, p. 431) and Falasarna (Τζεδάκις 1969, p. 433–434. Χατζηδάκη 1987, p. 567. Χατζιδάκη 1988, p. 464–466).

<sup>83</sup> See also Λεμπέση 1987, p. 154–156.

<sup>84</sup> See n. 71.

<sup>85</sup> Morris 1997, p. 11–18. Morris 2000, p. 155–171. See below.

<sup>86</sup> The Iron Age cremation cemeteries of Central Crete show similar duration of use. For continuity from classical to later times see the extensive cemetery of Kydonia–Chania (Πωλογιώργη 1985, p. 162–163). For continuity from the 8<sup>th</sup> c. to the Hellenistic–Roman times see Aptaera (Ανδρεαδάκη–Βλαζάκη 1988, p. 550), Itanos (Viviers 2001). In Itanos, a late 6<sup>th</sup> century burial plot was set over a 7<sup>th</sup> century house (Erickson 2000, p. 234–235. Greco, Kalpaxis, Papadakis, Schnapp, Viviers *et alii* 2000).

<sup>87</sup> In the neighboring island of Rhodes the transition to inhumation started at circa 625 and lasted for about a century (Gates 1983, p. 4–10, 41–42).

<sup>88</sup> Dr. Morgan has suggested to me that the reasons for this change in burial customs could be practical. I accept this point, but I believe that the extent of the horizon of change allows for further explanation. The transitional period may have started in the LO. This would be in agreement with the decrease in the number of urns in the Knossos North Cemetery and Fortetsa. In other sites, it could have started slightly earlier or later, and it could have lasted for a longer or shorter period.

<sup>89</sup> Τζιαφάλιας 1994, p. 187. Also, Morris 1998, p. 36–39.

the mid–6<sup>th</sup> century, when Larissa is assumed to have become a polis.<sup>90</sup> The cemeteries surrounding it have individual inhumations.<sup>91</sup>

A pattern seems to emerge, but an appraisal of the situation in sanctuaries and settlements is also needed, before drawing any conclusions.

### Sanctuaries and temples

In the Knossian sanctuary of Demeter only 5 out of a total of over 5000 figurines can be securely dated in the «archaic gap».<sup>92</sup> In the 5<sup>th</sup> century, offerings multiplied progressively and a temple was built. Above the ruins of an abandoned 7<sup>th</sup> century house the shrine of Glaukos (the only hero–cult identified in Crete) was erected, while at circa 450 the Rhea temple (and a paved road leading to it) was raised on the site of the Minoan palace.<sup>93</sup> The shrine–*andreion* of Afrati succeeds a PG and G construction and dates to the mature 7<sup>th</sup> century;<sup>94</sup> the armor coming from it dates to the late 7<sup>th</sup>–early 6<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>95</sup> when the building was probably abandoned.<sup>96</sup> In Gortyn, the acropolis temple was erected in the second quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, while the altar was constructed in the late 7<sup>th</sup>.<sup>97</sup> They had been receiving earlier offerings, which, however, decline abruptly from circa 620, leaving few remains of the 6<sup>th</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup> and early 4<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>98</sup> However, in the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century the famous Pythion was erected in the plain and flourished.<sup>99</sup> In Prinias, a votive deposit with material starting from LMIIC–when Prinias was settled–was sealed in the course of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. This has been connected to «una importante trasformazione nella vita della città»<sup>100</sup> and to the transfer of the primary sacred area to temple A. Temple A was erected in the last quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, near the (not much) earlier temple B, but with a slightly different orientation and an open space at its front («una nuova sistemazione dell' area sacra»<sup>101</sup>). These changes have been connected to the «nascente polis»,<sup>102</sup> which was however destroyed in

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<sup>90</sup> Τζιαφάλιας 1994a, p. 156: habitation and the agora in the lower city. In this time kingship is supposed to have been abolished.

<sup>91</sup> Τζιαφάλιας 1994a, p. 177.

<sup>92</sup> Coldstream 1973, p. 182. Coldstream and Huxley 1999, p. 295.

<sup>93</sup> Coldstream and Huxley 1999, p. 295–297.

<sup>94</sup> Λεμπέση 1970, p. 455–458 (shrine). Viviers 1994 (*andreion*).

<sup>95</sup> Hoffmann 1972, p. 41–46.

<sup>96</sup> Erickson 2000, p. 351.

<sup>97</sup> Rizza and Scrinari 1968, p. 144–148, p. 46–47. Di Vita 1984, p. 111. The altar was destroyed in the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, probably due to natural causes since it was situated on steep slope.

<sup>98</sup> Rizza and Scrinari 1968, p. 46–47, 114–118 (p. 59 for a classical inscription). Di Vita 1991, p. 310–311.

<sup>99</sup> Di Vita 1984, p. 84.

<sup>100</sup> Palermo 1998, p. 212–213.

<sup>101</sup> Rizza 1991, p. 336 (n. 76 for the date). Rizza 1984a, p. 230–234: the sculptures of temple A date to 625–600. Palermo 1998, p. 213. In my opinion, Carter's (1997, p. 86–97) view on the sympotic role of temple A is very interesting. However, I do not believe that the obvious Oriental connection of its sculpture indicates any special relation to the marzeah. Pernier (1934) for example offers a close contemporary parallel for the lintel goddesses in a sacred fountain model from Hephaisteia, Lemnos.

<sup>102</sup> Palermo 1998, p. 213.

the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>103</sup> On the other hand, a votive deposit from Axos confirms that the production of terracotta figurines continued uninterrupted to the Hellenistic age, though their number declines in the 6<sup>th</sup> century. However, in the vicinity of Axos, a sanctuary deposit was sealed in the PG period, while not far away another deposit, containing Archaic–Hellenistic material, was located next to a building with decorated roof-tiles (a temple?).<sup>104</sup> In Phaistos, the temple of Rhea/Leto was built at the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century and is supposed to have had political functions.<sup>105</sup> In the Phaistos region, the sanctuary of Ayia Triadha was gradually abandoned in the course of the 7<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>106</sup> This is also the time that offerings almost cease at the sanctuary of Smari.<sup>107</sup> The partial desertion of the sanctuary at Kommos, connected to the territorial expansion of Gortyn,<sup>108</sup> starts at the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>109</sup> It could as well be associated with the centralization of cult (in cities), as we shall see below.

There are four major Minoan religious centres of Central Crete in which cult is known to have continued in «Hellenic» times: Syme Viannou, Patsos, the Dictaeon and Idaean caves. In Syme, signs of recession are obvious in the decrease in bronze offerings,<sup>110</sup> though cult does not collapse.<sup>111</sup> In the fifth century a terrace wall and a building were erected.<sup>112</sup> At Patsos, 6<sup>th</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> century offerings have not been found.<sup>113</sup> The Dictaeon cave has produced some imported (black-figured) pottery of the 6<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>114</sup> but the signs of recession are clear.<sup>115</sup> The striking diminution of 6<sup>th</sup> century and Classical votive offerings in the Idaean cave<sup>116</sup> can be only partly attributed to Knossos' problems.<sup>117</sup> However, at least until the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, miniature votive armor, produced in growing quantity and excellent quality, reached Gortyn, Axos, Prinias, Kommos, the Idaean and Dictaeon caves, and to the east, Dreros, Praisos, Palaikastro.<sup>118</sup> At these last two sites, offerings did not cease and temples were built.<sup>119</sup>

<sup>103</sup> Rizza 1984, p. 46–48. Rizza 1991, p. 336.

<sup>104</sup> According to the numbers given for the main deposit from Axos (Rizza 1969), I have calculated the percentage of the terracotta per period (roughly): LM–G 9%, 7<sup>th</sup> century 67%, 6<sup>th</sup>–5<sup>th</sup> 55%, 4<sup>th</sup>–Hellenistic 18.5%. For the two deposits in the vicinity of Axos see: Αλεξίου 1964, p. 447.

<sup>105</sup> Cucuzza 1993. Cucuzza 1998, p. 66–67.

<sup>106</sup> D'Agata 1998, p. 24.

<sup>107</sup> Χατζή–Βαλλιάνου 1995, p. 785.

<sup>108</sup> Perlman 2000, p. 77–78.

<sup>109</sup> Shaw 1998, p. 20–1. Shaw 2000, p. 36.

<sup>110</sup> Λεμπέση 1985, p. 100: 61 cut-out plaques date to the 7<sup>th</sup> century, 13 to the 6<sup>th</sup> century (these numbers are also found at Morris 1998, p. 62). Schürmann 1996: 30 animal figurines date to the PG period, 99 to the EG, 72 to the MG, 127 to the LG, 88 to the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. After the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century bronze offerings are very rare (Erickson 2002, p. 45, note 10).

<sup>111</sup> Erickson 2000, p. 334–341. Erickson 2002.

<sup>112</sup> Λεμπέση 1981, p. 6–7.

<sup>113</sup> Κούρου και Καρέτσου 1994, p. 151, 164.

<sup>114</sup> Boardman 1961, p. 55–56. Watrous 1996, p. 54–55.

<sup>115</sup> Viviers 1994, p. 252.

<sup>116</sup> Boardman 1961, p. 55–6. Watrous (1996, p. 59) does not separate the 6<sup>th</sup> from the 8<sup>th</sup>–7<sup>th</sup> centuries, but he does not illustrate any 6<sup>th</sup> century artefact.

<sup>117</sup> At the sanctuary at Giouhtas the last offerings seem to date to the 7<sup>th</sup> century, though the cult had ceased to be popular rather earlier: Ορλάνδος 1976, p. 176–178.

<sup>118</sup> Simon 1986, p. 253–254. Hoffmann 1972, p. 41–46 for the date.

Temple architecture is met in Kydonia<sup>120</sup> as well, while in other sites the bulk of material is dated to this period (Arkhanes,<sup>121</sup> Kamilari,<sup>122</sup> Vrises Kydonias,<sup>123</sup> Lato<sup>124</sup> and Olous<sup>125</sup>). Continuity is barely attested at Amnisos,<sup>126</sup> but clearly at the Inatos cave.<sup>127</sup>

Consequently, though all major cult places and many sanctuaries of Central Crete reveal signs of serious recession in the «archaic gap», the general picture is not uniform since, elsewhere, new cult *foci* emerged or cultic activity persisted. Besides, the eclipse of bronze dedications after the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century has been interpreted as a result of emphasis on equality at the expense of conspicuous display.<sup>128</sup>

In the sanctuary of Syme, the series of cut-out plaques, declines markedly in the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>129</sup> They have convincingly been interpreted as offerings of ephebes, which had recently been initiated to manhood in a ritual patronized by the divinity.<sup>130</sup> In later times, however, the *kosmoi*, the magistrates of the Cretan poleis,<sup>131</sup> presided over such ceremonies, which nonetheless retained their religious context.<sup>132</sup> Thus, it seems that at least some Cretan communities incorporated in their urban centre and polis ideology a custom originally belonging to an extra-urban sphere and serving different socio-political structures.<sup>133</sup> Prinias Temple A<sup>134</sup> and the Rhea temple at Phaistos<sup>135</sup> (both erected at the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century) are thought to have «hosted» initiation ceremonies, while the cult at Patsos is supposed to have been transferred to Sybritos.<sup>136</sup> A similar

<sup>119</sup> Bosanquet 1901–2, p. 254–257. Bosanquet 1904–5, p. 300–305. Huxley 1994, p. 128. Rizzo 1984, p. 59.

<sup>120</sup> Θεοφανειδης 1956, p. 222–224: a frieze from a 6<sup>th</sup> century temple (for an earlier date see Boardman 1961, p. 137, n. 6). Μαρκουλάκη 1999, p. 194–196: classical temple.

<sup>121</sup> Sakellarakis I. and E. 1997, p. 41: deposit (?) of figurines which dates to the classical period.

<sup>122</sup> Εγγλέζου 1988–9, p. 79 (mostly late classical figurines).

<sup>123</sup> Μόρτζος 1985 (late 5<sup>th</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> century sanctuary deposit with pottery and figurines).

<sup>124</sup> Δαβάρας 2000, p. 29.

<sup>125</sup> Πλάτων και Δαβάρας 1960, p. 512. Πλάτων 1960, p. 259–260: sanctuary deposits with figurines and pottery (some of which imported from Corinth).

<sup>126</sup> Schäfer 1992. Betancourt and Marinatos 2000, p. 210–213, 234–235. Coldstream and Huxley 1999, p. 299–301, 304–307. Καρέτσου, Ανδρεαδάκη–Βλαζάκη και Παπαδάκης 2000, p. 346–352 (n. 371–382).

<sup>127</sup> Καρέτσου, Ανδρεαδάκη–Βλαζάκη και Παπαδάκης 2000, p. 338–344 (n. 356–365).

<sup>128</sup> Λεμπέση 1985, p. 59–60, 222. Also, Erickson 2000, p. 334–341. Erickson 2002, p. 77–79: he discusses various alternatives.

<sup>129</sup> See n. 110. See also Erickson's (2002, p. 77–79) interesting discussion on what he calls an 'evolving dedicatory practice' at the sanctuary at Syme.

<sup>130</sup> Λεμπέση 1985, p. 188–198.

<sup>131</sup> Aristotle, *Politics*, 1272a. Perlman (1992) is sceptical on Aristotle's Cretan constitution.

<sup>132</sup> Willetts 1955, p. 120–3. Willetts 1962, p. 112, 175–176.

<sup>133</sup> Based on Λεμπέση 1985, p. 197. When discussing these early structures, Willetts employs the term 'tribal' (Willetts 1955, p. 15, 33, 250–1), which I prefer to avoid. In the rest of Greece, initiation rites were integrated in the ideology of the polis, but generally continued to be centred on non-urban sanctuaries: Polignac 1984, p. 49–54, 66–85.

<sup>134</sup> Watrous 1998, p. 78–79. He could have employed the parallel of Phaistos casa I, which has a hearth and a LG pithos with an inscription referring to the Cretan initiation rites (the house is Hellenistic but with an earlier phase): Levi 1969, esp. p. 154, 160–162, 176.

<sup>135</sup> Cucuzza 1998, p. 66–67.

<sup>136</sup> Κούρου και Καρέτσου 1994, p. 151, 164.

function has been attributed to the late archaic sanctuary of Glaukos at Knossos.<sup>137</sup> Watrous concludes: «The centralisation of the cultic functions performed by the Archaic city-states eroded the popularity of the extra-urban sanctuaries and thus some fell out of use».<sup>138</sup>

### Settlements

The settlements produce a less consistent picture, because of the lack of systematic excavation. The Iron Age town of Knossos<sup>139</sup> demonstrates no continuity into the 6<sup>th</sup> century. The domestic remains of the 7<sup>th</sup> century were left unencumbered by later buildings and occupation disappears from the palace area without any sign of destruction: «the sixth century is not represented by any trace of domestic architecture or even any major deposit of pottery».<sup>140</sup> Surveys and well deposits have led the leading British excavators to propose that the settlement moved further to the north, where the agora is hypothesized.<sup>141</sup>

Contrary to the sites discussed below, continuity in occupation is indicated at Eleutherna.<sup>142</sup> In its region, a late archaic-early classical farmstead has been partly excavated.<sup>143</sup> Habitation on the Prinias hill commenced in LMIIIC and was rather dense by the 7<sup>th</sup> century, leading to the establishment of a new quarter at its SW foot;<sup>144</sup> the settlement seems to have been destroyed in the early 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>145</sup> An equally long period of occupation, coming to an end (?) in the 6<sup>th</sup> century, is attested at Krousonas Maleviziou.<sup>146</sup> For Afrati, Levi's brief report<sup>147</sup> has been supplemented by later excavation: 6<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> century domestic buildings are located near the sanctuary/*andreion* inaugurated in the 9<sup>th</sup> century and used until the early 6<sup>th</sup>.<sup>148</sup> At Goulediana the settlement was probably established at the late 7<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>149</sup> Lyktos has not yet been excavated systematically but small-scale work has revealed continuity between the late 7<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>137</sup> Callaghan 1978, p. 3 for its date, p. 24–25 for its relation to initiation rites, p. 28: «the importance of the shrine lasted only so long as Knossos remained an independent city».

<sup>138</sup> Watrous 1996, p. 111. Erickson (2002, p. 77–79) discusses alternative interpretations, which are compatible, if not supplementary, to the one presented here.

<sup>139</sup> Knossos seems to have been an urban centre from the Early Iron Age: Coldstream 1984, p. 313. Coldstream 2000, p. 260, fig. 1.

<sup>140</sup> Coldstream 1991, p. 298

<sup>141</sup> Hood and Smyth 1981, p. 18–9. Coldstream 1984, p. 321. Coldstream 1991, p. 289–290. Coldstream and Catling 1996, p. 722. Coldstream and Huxley 1999, p. 298. Coldstream 2000, p. 298. The location of the agora in an area to the north of the Iron Age settlement is suggested because the Roman civic centre was situated there, while few fragments of late archaic-classical inscriptions have been found (see below).

<sup>142</sup> Erickson 2000, p. 155–266.

<sup>143</sup> Τζεδάκις 1973, p. 583.

<sup>144</sup> Rizza 1991, fig. 2–p. 334.

<sup>145</sup> Rizza 1984, p. 46. Rizza and Scrinari 1968, p. 243–245.

<sup>146</sup> French 1994, p. 78.

<sup>147</sup> Levi 1931, p. 40–57.

<sup>148</sup> Λεμπέση 1970, p. 458–460.

<sup>149</sup> Πλάτων 1954a. Πλάτων 1955a. Πλάτων 1956: late 7<sup>th</sup>-early 6<sup>th</sup> century houses and fountain, surrounded by a late archaic wall.

century and the Hellenistic age.<sup>150</sup> It has recently been argued that the Acropolis at Smari, which was abandoned in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, should be identified as the Homeric Lyktos.<sup>151</sup> This would require a considerable settlement shift. A similar shift is attested in Gortyn, where two hilltop settlements seem to have been abandoned in the early 7<sup>th</sup> century, maybe due to an earthquake,<sup>152</sup> and habitation «κατά κώμας» was transferred to the plain, with gradual nucleation on the later polis center.<sup>153</sup> In the course of the 7<sup>th</sup> century a stoa was built on the site of the later agora.<sup>154</sup> At Vigles, near Kommos, late 7<sup>th</sup> century–classical occupation has been traced.<sup>155</sup> In Phaistos, it «clearly appears that there was an interruption at the end of the seventh century in the settlement area and that an abrupt change took place: there was evidently a shift of the settlement onto the plain».<sup>156</sup> A law–inscription from Phaistos, dated in the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, refers to an agora.<sup>157</sup> Besides, the supposed late 8<sup>th</sup> century site of the Dreros agora seems to have been a mirage that still confuses scholars.<sup>158</sup> A 6<sup>th</sup> century date is now given,<sup>159</sup> while the so–called archaic agora of Lato is now considered late classical.<sup>160</sup> The *prytaneion* at Agia Pelagia seems also to have been inaugurated in the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>161</sup> There are also indications for the establishment of a new settlement at Choumeri<sup>162</sup> in the late 7<sup>th</sup> century. In the territory of Sybritos, the settlement of Kephala seems to move from the hilltop to the foot of the hill during the archaic period and another nucleus emerges to the south.<sup>163</sup> Moreover, the Mesara survey has revealed a ring of new sites clustered around Phaistos, dating to the 7<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>164</sup> The Kavousi survey has shown a contemporary de–population of the area, culminating at 600, and attributed to the emergence of the poleis on the coast.<sup>165</sup> Urbanization is also attested by the Praiisos

<sup>150</sup> Λεμπέση 1969b. Λεμπέση 1971, p. 494–499.

<sup>151</sup> Χατζή–Βαλλάνου 2001, p. 136–137.

<sup>152</sup> Allegro 1991, p. 327–330.

<sup>153</sup> Di Vita 1984, p. 70. Di Vita 1991, p. 318.

<sup>154</sup> Pernier 1914, p. 9–2. Perlman 2000, p. 61.

<sup>155</sup> Hope Simpson *et alii* 1995, p. 361–362.

<sup>156</sup> Cucuzza 1998, p. 67. Also, La Rosa 1996, p. 82.

<sup>157</sup> Di Vita and Cantarella 1978, p. 429–435 (p. 431 for the date).

<sup>158</sup> Even Coldstream (2000, p. 298). As far as I know, there is no study concerned with the revised dating (see next footnote) of the Dreros agora.

<sup>159</sup> Effenterre 1992, p. 89.

<sup>160</sup> Picard 1992, p. 157. The earliest signs of significant activity at Lato date to the 7<sup>th</sup> century: Δαβάρας 2000, p. 33.

<sup>161</sup> Αλεξίου 1973–4, p. 883–885.

<sup>162</sup> Λεμπέση 1970a, p. 567.

<sup>163</sup> Belgiorno 1994, p. 212–214, 220–222, fig. 4 (based mostly on surface finds). The LMIIIC–Archaic Kephala settlement moves to the foot of the hill, at Ta Boreina (6<sup>th</sup> century and later) and Pelekyta (7<sup>th</sup> century and later). The nucleus to the south: A. Stephanos (archaic, classical and later) and Charaka (archaic and later). The settlement at Teotokos was inhabited from the LM to the Archaic period.

<sup>164</sup> Watrous *et alii* 1993, p. 230. Hope Simpson *et alii* 1995, p. 397. Also, Watrous, talk on the 7–5–2001 at Cambridge, for a late 7<sup>th</sup> century date. A rural site in the region has recently been published. There is some LG pottery but it is the 7<sup>th</sup> century that is well represented. Sherds from imported pottery indicate that the site was inhabited during the 6<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries: La Rosa and Cucuzza 2001, especially p. 150–156, 209, 217–218, 226–227.

<sup>165</sup> Haggis 1996, p. 414–415, 424.



survey.<sup>166</sup> The Vrokastro survey indicates the appearance of rural sites on the Meseleri valley,<sup>167</sup> while the Lasithi survey suggests their extinction from the plateau.<sup>168</sup>

To sum up, settlement mobility is attested:<sup>169</sup> some hilltop settlements and highland areas are abandoned in favour of fertile lowland or coastal sites.<sup>170</sup> In the Mesara a serious intensification of cultivation is attested. Urbanization generally increases considerably, and civic buildings are erected.<sup>171</sup> Despite the poverty of information, the process seems to have reached a peak by the late 7<sup>th</sup> century. Some scholars would argue that this is a pattern of alterations diagnostic of the origins of the polis.<sup>172</sup>

### Synthesis

I propose that this large-scale spatial re-organisation, attested in cemeteries, sanctuaries and settlements, should be interpreted as the reflection of an important phenomenon, usually described as the rise of the archaic polis.<sup>173</sup> Gortyn provides sufficient information for the interpretation of this process:<sup>174</sup> two hilltop settlements were abandoned, the city-centre was transferred from the Acropolis to the plain, the settlement was gradually nucleated, a stoa and the temple of Apollo, which bore late-7<sup>th</sup> century—and later—law inscriptions, were erected.<sup>175</sup> Snodgrass stresses that a «sufficient criterion for the advent of the polis is the patron deity presiding over the state ... Apollo was strong in this role. A necessary element in such an official cult was a central city sanctuary».<sup>176</sup> The Python of Gortyn seems to correspond to this criterion. Perlman, who

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<sup>166</sup> Whitley 2001, p. 387.

<sup>167</sup> Hayden, Moody and Racham 1992, p. 329.

<sup>168</sup> Watrous 1982.

<sup>169</sup> Change in settlement patterns during the 7<sup>th</sup> century (mostly during its early part) has been noticed in a number of regions outside Crete (Osborne 1996, p. 200–202).

<sup>170</sup> This generalization cannot be taken to apply to the whole of such a large island, with such geographical variation.

<sup>171</sup> Urbanization does not necessitate alienation of man and land: Alcock 1993, p. 117–118. Considering civic buildings, Prof. Coldstream has warned me that early civic centers could have just been renovated with later building.

<sup>172</sup> Demand 1990, p. 14–27.

<sup>173</sup> The term polis is mentioned in two late 7<sup>th</sup>–early 6<sup>th</sup> c. inscriptions from Dreros: Demargne and Effenterre 1937, p. 334 (p. 341 for the date). Effenterre 1946, p. 590 (p. 606 for the date). Ehrenberg 1965, p. 98. Effenterre and Ruzé 1994, n. 64–p. 270, n. 81, p. 306–308. Perlman 1996: discusses the issue of «Πόλις Υπήκοος» in Crete, but her points refer to later times. See Whitley 1991, p. 194 on the regional diversity of the rise of the polis. See Morgan and Coulton 1997 for the limitations of the archaeological sample and the variety and complexity of the issue. Also, Snodgrass 1980, p. 27–48, 85–122. Besides, nucleation of settlement and centralization of cult follows the Roman conquest of Greece (Alcock 1993, p. 96–118 and p. 180–210 respectively), as Prof. Themelis has suggested to me.

<sup>174</sup> See Perlman 2000, esp. p. 60–62, 77–78. What late 7<sup>th</sup> century Gortyn provides is some physical evidence that constitute the defining elements of a polis (see the discussion in Morgan and Coulton 1997). It is the combination of these features—not each one in isolation—that indicates the rise of the polis.

<sup>175</sup> Allegro 1991, p. 327–330. Di Vita 1984, p. 70, 84. Di Vita 1991, p. 318. For the temple see: Pernier 1929, p. 9–21. Guarducci 1950, p. 19, 33. Jeffery 1990, p. 315, dates the inscriptions in the 6<sup>th</sup> century. However, as Erickson (2000) has demonstrated, there is only little 6<sup>th</sup> pottery from Gortyn (the publication of this material, in ASAA 74–75, was in press when this paper was finished).

<sup>176</sup> Snodgrass 1980, p. 33. Also, Snodgrass 1986, p. 11.

believes that Gortyn became a polis in the late 7<sup>th</sup> century, recognises in the shift of cult centre elite competition in the «maturing polis».<sup>177</sup> Thus, Gortyn provides a rather illuminating picture of the polis formation process, in all fields but cemeteries, which will be discussed below. Most sites considered above present, together with the abandonment of old burial grounds, some of the following manifestations of this process, as attested in middle-to-late 7<sup>th</sup> century Gortyn: relocation of the settlement to an easily accessible area and/or nucleation,<sup>178</sup> change in the focal point of the city, erection of public buildings among which the temple of the patron deity, with the inscription of laws, usually on that temple.<sup>179</sup>

«To agree to laws is to accept a degree of homogeneity, to subordinate the separate interests of family or other group to the unity of the community».<sup>180</sup> For Central Crete, the 6<sup>th</sup> century is «the heyday of public written law».<sup>181</sup> We learn of state document published at the Pythion of Lyktos and Itanos.<sup>182</sup> In Dreros, the late 8<sup>th</sup> century temple of Apollo Delphinios—situated near the later civic centre—had laws inscribed on its walls in the late 7<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>183</sup> Besides, in Knossos decrees were published in the temple of the Apollo Delphinios,<sup>184</sup> whose cult is mentioned in the Homeric Hymn to Apollo Pythios (l: 495–6), thus it antedates the second decade of the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>185</sup> Indeed, in the area of the Roman Civil Basilica, where the archaic agora may lie, a fragment of a 6<sup>th</sup> century law inscription belonging to a wall and part of a later inscription have been found.<sup>186</sup> It is highly indicative that both the sanctuary of Athena at Gortyn and that of Demeter at Knossos, which were flourishing until the 7<sup>th</sup> century, virtually stop receiving dedications after the relocation of the urban nucleus and the (supposed in the case of Knossos) erection of the temple of the patron deity, until the Classical period.<sup>187</sup> Besides, as I have already argued, more political functions were attached to many of these new cult places—usually urban and furnished with temples—, in accordance with the ideology of the

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<sup>177</sup> Perlman 2000, p. 78.

<sup>178</sup> On nucleation see: Whitley 2001, p. 247, 387.

<sup>179</sup> Willetts 1962, p. 268 (inscription of laws on temples). Laws are a key-factor for the advent of the polis: Snodgrass 1980, p. 118–20. Morgan and Coulton 1997, p. 118. Whitley 1997 disconnects the publication of law codes and democracy (the Archaic Cretan polis was profoundly aristocratic). Thomas 1996, (esp. p. 28) for an interesting insight.

<sup>180</sup> Osborne 1996, p. 190. This view is in agreement with Wason's (1994, p. 90) remarks on the change to individual burial, another aspect of the same process: «A de-emphasis on collective burial indicates decreasing need to mark groups and reinforce membership claims».

<sup>181</sup> Whitley 1997, p. 655; also, p. 653–655 (table 5). An increase in the publication of written law could be indicative for a period of political reforms, if one judges by the evidence suggesting «that most public law inscriptions in Athens date to around the time of Kleisthenes' reforms» (Whitley 1997, p. 645, n. 55, table 1). It should be underlined that the dating of the Cretan inscriptions is based on letter forms.

<sup>182</sup> Willetts 1962 p. 268. Lyktos has produced archaic laws: Guarducci 1935, xviii, n. 1–7, p. 183–186.

<sup>183</sup> Demargne and Effenterre 1937, p. 333. Effenterre 1946, p. 596. Jeffery 1990, p. 315.

<sup>184</sup> According to Hellenistic inscriptions (for references see Willetts 1962, p. 263)

<sup>185</sup> Evely-White 1974, p. xxxvii for the date of the text. Janko 1982, p. 132.

<sup>186</sup> Hood and Smyth 1981, p. 19–20. Guarducci 1935, viii, n. 2, p. 56–n. 5–5 bis, p. 59–60. Jeffery 1990, p. 315.

<sup>187</sup> Coldstream 1973, p. 182–3. Rizza and Scrinari 1968, p. 115.

emerging polis. The «new regime» employed religious vocabulary in a syntax that, according to Polignac, recalls means for uniting groups of different origin.<sup>188</sup>

The economic aspect of this process can be best attested by the boost in production of large storage vessels.<sup>189</sup> These vessels, used in Minoan and —less frequently— in PG–G times, were mostly popular in the 7<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>190</sup> when they underwent structural and decorative modifications.<sup>191</sup> Watrous relates the pithos-producing workshop of Phaistos<sup>192</sup> (dated to the last quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century) to the new needs for storage and management of the agricultural surplus, produced by the intensification of cultivation around the city, as attested by surveys.<sup>193</sup> Another late 7<sup>th</sup>–early 6<sup>th</sup> century workshop «specialising» in the production of large pithoi has been unearthed at Prinias.<sup>194</sup> Further, the preliminary results of the Vrokastro survey suggests the predominance of storage vessels, including relief pithoi, in the Archaic sites of the Meseleri valley.<sup>195</sup> Interestingly, the little 6<sup>th</sup> settlement evidence that is available enhances the impression of increased storage facilities.<sup>196</sup> Besides, further study on the role of imported transport amphorae found in quantity in building Q at Kommos —dated to the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century— will enhance our understanding of the organisation of production in the Mesara.<sup>197</sup> Thus, craft specialization, increase in long-distance trade,<sup>198</sup> intensification of production, creation of a surplus and investment on storage infrastructure seem to reach a peak in late 7<sup>th</sup> century Central Crete. These economic realities can hardly be disassociated from

<sup>188</sup> Polignac 1984, p. 76–77. In the Cretan context, these groups refer to the local elite families.

<sup>189</sup> This paragraph elaborates on some of Watrous' reflections on Phaistos (talk on the Mesara survey).

<sup>190</sup> Schäfer 1957, p. 9–44. Möller and Demargne 1970, p. 56–93.

<sup>191</sup> Τσιμποπούλου 1981, p. 277–278.

<sup>192</sup> Palermo 1992, p. 50–53 (circa 1.5 m. height).

<sup>193</sup> Watrous *et alii* 1993, p. 230. For the intensification of cultivation see the Mesara survey: Hope Simpson *et alii* 1995, p. 397.

<sup>194</sup> Rizza, Palermo and Tomasello 1992, esp. p. 50–58 (p. 107 for the date).

<sup>195</sup> Hayden, Moody and Racham 1992, p. 329. Hayden 1995, p. 124–125

<sup>196</sup> For the Cretan archaic pithoi see: Schäfer 1957, p. 9–44. Möller and Demargne 1970, p. 56–93. The increase in storage facilities can perhaps be indicated by the following remarks. Nowicki (1999, p. 148–152) estimates that the main storage areas at the Subminoan houses of Karphi covered up to 14m<sup>2</sup> (excluding the 'Priest's house', where storage area covered 22m<sup>2</sup>). The Geometric quarter at Phaistos has revealed a number of rooms with few storage vessels, while room AA was heavily used for storage (AA: approximately 35–40m<sup>2</sup>, the latest pottery in the lowest level that concerns us has been dated to the LG. A couple of vases reveal O trends. Rocchetti 1974–1976, p. 174–198. See also, Cucuzza 1998, p. 66–67). However, in House A at Goulediana, dated to the end of 7<sup>th</sup>–early 6<sup>th</sup> century, two large rooms were used for storage (B, K: approximately 38m<sup>2</sup> each), while the presence of storage vessels was dominant in almost every room of both domestic quarters excavated (Πλάτων 1954a. Πλάτων 1955a. Πλάτων 1956. See also Morris 1998, p. 63–64: he has argued that these rooms do not belong to a single house). Further, the farmstead at Aloidess Mylopotamou (6<sup>th</sup>–early 5<sup>th</sup> century), revealed a storage area of 18.86m<sup>2</sup>, despite being only partly excavated (Τζεδάκις 1973, p. 583). It should be noted that this evidence is meant to be indicative and should not be taken to represent the whole of Iron Age Crete (or even Central Crete).

<sup>197</sup> For Kommos building Q see: Johnston 1993. Shaw 1998, p. 21. Shaw 2000, p. 31–35. Johnston has related the imported amphorae to the need of the Greek colonies in the Cyrenaica for supplies. In addition, Shaw (2000, p. 34) has noted the importance of a study on the role of these amphorae in exchanges within the Mesara.

<sup>198</sup> The character of the find at Kommos building Q is obviously different from that of the imported pottery found in Iron Age Cretan cemeteries.

the rise of the polis. However, one should be cautious to avoid interpreting these as evidence for the formation of what Whitley calls the «consumer city».<sup>199</sup>

The rise of the polis has also been thought to have had a marked impact on burial customs. In LG Athens, Argos and Corinth it has been related to the abandonment of Iron Age intramural cemeteries and the establishment of new ones, outside the cities, changes in burial customs and a decline in grave goods.<sup>200</sup> However, Whitley, studying burial customs and pottery styles in Knossos until the LG/EO period, traces «none of the usual manifestations of the polis ... and this applies as much to burial as it does to other collective representations».<sup>201</sup> Burial customs<sup>202</sup> and pottery styles «continued normally» until circa 630, when, as has been assumed, a «major political change led to the disappearance of the Knossian grandees».<sup>203</sup> It is for this date that Coldstream has suggested: «we must turn our thoughts to the emergence of the Knossian polis».<sup>204</sup>

In LG Argos, the relatively poor pithoi become very popular compared to the rich cist graves and are arranged in «citizen cemeteries», the main of which was located at some distance from the town.<sup>205</sup> Hall assumes that his phenomenon is related to the *synoecism* of the polis of Argos.<sup>206</sup> The same process can perhaps be traced in Archaic Crete, though it should be stressed that the *synoecism* explanation is not applicable to Knossos.<sup>207</sup> Notably, the Archaic town of Lato was located between –at least– two earlier settlements<sup>208</sup> Further, Pausanias attributes *synoecisms* of Cretan coastal cities to Spartan encouragement, in a late 8<sup>th</sup> century context.<sup>209</sup> However, there is evidence in both West<sup>210</sup> and East Crete<sup>211</sup> that a significant move to the coast occurred in the 7<sup>th</sup> or early 6<sup>th</sup> century.

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<sup>199</sup> Whitley 2001, p. 174–179.

<sup>200</sup> Morris 1987, p. 183–5. For Argos: Morgan and Whitelaw 1991, p. 94–95. Barakaki–Gléni and Pariente 1998, p. 174–175. For Corinth: Salmon 1984, p. 44. The material record of 7<sup>th</sup> century Argos (see references above) and Athens (Osborne 1989) is almost as «invisible» as that of 6<sup>th</sup> century Crete. For contemporary–LG–signs of determination of the later civic centre in Athens see Morris 1987, p. 67 (contra, Papadopoulos 1996 who suggests an early 5<sup>th</sup> century date), in Argos: Barakaki–Gléni et Pariente 1998, p. 166.

<sup>201</sup> Whitley 1987, p. 337 (also: 349, 353). He supposes the emergence of an aristocracy in the late 8<sup>th</sup> century (p. 351–352). Morris sees no tension or change in LG Cretan material culture: Morris 1998, p. 65–66.

<sup>202</sup> Inurned cremation and deposition of the urns in chamber tombs was the rule. In general, numbers of objects deposited decline steadily as time passes. However, the 7<sup>th</sup> century sees a remarkable, abrupt decline in the deposition of iron (mostly weapons): Morris 1998, p. 60, table 1. Van Wees 1998, p. 342, table 3.

<sup>203</sup> Coldstream and Catling 1996, p. 722.

<sup>204</sup> Coldstream 1991, p. 298.

<sup>205</sup> Morris 1987, p. 183–4. Barakaki–Gléni and Pariente 1998, p. 174–5 (compare plates IX–X). Hall 1997, p. 97–8, f. 5–6. This should perhaps be associated with the relocation of the Cretan cemeteries.

<sup>206</sup> Hall 1997, p. 99. Also n. 109–110. Dr. Morgan has pointed out to me that these patterns have been over–emphasized, since for example «intramural» burials do not cease completely.

<sup>207</sup> Goldstream 1984.

<sup>208</sup> Nowicki 1987, p. 234. See n. 160 for the activity in Lato.

<sup>209</sup> Pausanias iii 2.7. Eliopoulos 1998, p. 311–312 (n. 26).

<sup>210</sup> Phalasarna: Τζεδάκις 1969, p. 433–4. Χατζηδάκη 1987, p. 567. Hatjidaki 1988, p. 464. The communities of the hinterland have been identified by their Iron Age cremation cemeteries (Ανδρεαδάκη–Βλαζάκη 1985, p. 33).

The *synoecism* of Olynthus, documented by ancient authors, indicates the impact of such a process on the funerary space.<sup>212</sup> In 432, while the already existing polis and agora were retained, the new settlers were offered a previously unoccupied terrain and the traditional 6<sup>th</sup>–5<sup>th</sup> century cemetery was abandoned, in favour of new, rather smaller, burial grounds.<sup>213</sup> Small burial plots, not located on public ground are perhaps indicated at an early 5<sup>th</sup> century law from Gortyn: «if there is no public road, the corpse can be carried over another person's land. A fine of ten staters is imposed for obstructing this provision. If, however, a road does exist and the relatives of the deceased carry the corpse over another's land, they are liable to fine».<sup>214</sup> However, there is no further evidence to suggest that some Cretan communities of the 6<sup>th</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup> centuries were burying their dead in small plots.<sup>215</sup>

Cretan laws support the dating of the rise of the Cretan polis proposed above. Two late 7<sup>th</sup>–early 6<sup>th</sup> century inscriptions from Dreros mention the word polis.<sup>216</sup> What is even more interesting is the fact that both are concerned with the «renforcement de toutes les mesures constitutionnelles qui peuvent s'opposer au pouvoir personnel d'un homme».<sup>217</sup> They could be taken as a terminus ante quem for the rise of the polis in Dreros, but their spirit reveal a rather fresh institution. Ehrenberg understands them as follows: «But even if the ruling class of the population was represented only by a few families, they were subordinated to the Polis, to its claims as well as to its formal constitution», «magistracy had begun to become specialised, and even the highest officials, the kosmoi, powerful as they were, were bound by strict rules and safeguards in the interest of the Polis».<sup>218</sup> Effenterre's comment «l'aristocratie, à peine victorieuse de la royauté, devait se défier d'une tyrannie possible, qui se fût appuyée sur le peuple»,<sup>219</sup> sounds more interesting when combined with Herodotus' testimony that there was a king in Axos at 630's.<sup>220</sup>

This epigraphic evidence fits not only the picture produced by archaeology, but also with literary sources for the 7<sup>th</sup> century lawgivers Epimenides and Thaletas.<sup>221</sup> These

<sup>211</sup> The area of the Isthmus of Hierapetra: Hayden 1995, p. 94, 139-140. Haggis 1996, p. 414-415, 424. Eliopoulos 1998, p. 311.

<sup>212</sup> Thucydides I, 58. Demosthenes, On the Embassy, 19. 263. The *synoecism* of Olynthus, which occurred under specific historical circumstances, is not cited as a parallel for the *synoecisms* in Archaic Central Crete. However, its impact on the funerary space is considered indicative of a community's response to such a process.

<sup>213</sup> Robinson 1942, p. 137.

<sup>214</sup> Willetts 1955, p. 217 (two more Gortyn laws are considered with funerals, p. 216–7). See also, Effenterre and Ruzé 1995, p. 310–311. The much earlier Knossos North Cemetery seems to have been accessible through an important road: Coldstream 1984, p. 317.

<sup>215</sup> A side effect of the small plots would be their archaeological invisibility.

<sup>216</sup> Demargne and Effenterre 1937, p. 334, 341 for the date. Effenterre 1946, p. 590, p. 606 for the date. Ehrenberg 1965, p. 98. Effenterre and Ruzé 1994, n. 64–p. 270, n. 81, p. 306–308.

<sup>217</sup> Effenterre 1946, p. 596.

<sup>218</sup> Ehrenberg 1965, p. 104.

<sup>219</sup> Demargne and Effenterre 1937, p. 343.

<sup>220</sup> Herodotus iv.154.1. Huxley 1994, p. 126. Coldstream and Huxley 1999, p. 303. See Osborne 1996, p. 8–17 for some problems of the context of this information.

<sup>221</sup> Hornblower and Spawforth 1996, p. 546, p. 1491 respectively. Sandys 1912, p. 2–3: explains Plato's later date for Epimenides (Laws, 642D, 698C). On Epimenides see also Demoulin 1979.

two figures acquired considerable reputation, stemming probably from action in their homeland, to which their books were focused, and were invited to assist the political affairs of Athens and Sparta respectively. Further, there is some evidence that the tradition of the laws of Minos was perhaps formulated in the Archaic period,<sup>222</sup> probably in support of the ruling elite of the Archaic Cretan poleis.<sup>223</sup> This is a rather common feature in newly stratified societies<sup>224</sup> and should perhaps be related to Aristotle's information that, in his times, the laws of Minos were regulating (only) the lives of the *perioikoi*.<sup>225</sup> After all, even if the elite had not formulated this tradition, they would most probably have manipulated it according to their interests. These remarks are in accordance with Sallares' idea of a 7<sup>th</sup> century re-institutionalisation of Cretan society motivated by the need to control the serf population, the number of which—he assumes—would have risen considerably.<sup>226</sup>

But should Cretan aristocracy be credited with such a daring response to problems that had earlier brought some mainland communities into serious social tension? I believe it should, since there is no serious tension reflected on the Orientalizing culture and the deposition of wealth in the 7<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>227</sup> The only burial gifts whose number falls sharply in the Orientalizing period are the weapons,<sup>228</sup> but this supports a picture of slight antagonism or turbulence. After all, early legal texts express «elite self-regulation».<sup>229</sup> Thus, the evidence seems to favour a consensus among the competing elite, rather than the culmination of this competition or the upheaval of the people against them.<sup>230</sup> Besides, 6<sup>th</sup> century Crete «seems to lack any evidence for competitive aristocratic display».<sup>231</sup> This can hardly be attributed solely to the selectivity of research

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<sup>222</sup> Effenterre M. and H.V. 1995, p. 335–9; a late archaic inscription from Eleutherna paraphrases a «law of Minos». The oldest reference to these laws is attributed to Hesiod: Plato, *Minos*, 320D. See also Perlman 1992, p. 199, 204.

<sup>223</sup> Thomas 1996.

<sup>224</sup> Tandy 1997, p. 93. Whitley 2001, p. 252 thinks that «the Cretan poleis ... sought to portray their own communities as stable and unchanging, as societies in laws and customs extending back to mythical founders and lawgivers. The written laws ... are ... a means of making this idea concrete».

<sup>225</sup> Aristotle *Politics* 1271b. Aristotle notes that when Spartan colonists reached Lyktos, they found an existing legal system, attributed by the local inhabitants to Minos and, for that reason, respected and used (by the local inhabitants, the *perioikoi* of the classical era) until his own times. Aristotle seems to attribute the survival of this system to it being respected by the *perioikoi* (whom he equated to the Spartan helots: Aristotle *Politics* 1272a). However, its survival can hardly be disconnected from the interests of the elite in safeguarding an aristocratic regime. See also Perlman's (1992) scepticism on Aristotle's Cretan constitution.

<sup>226</sup> Sallares 1991, p. 172. He also discusses this in relation to Sparta (p. 160–92).

<sup>227</sup> The evidence comes mostly from Knossos. Morris 1997, p. 42. Morris 1998, p. 65. For patterns in Cretans cemeteries see Morris 1998, p. 59–61. Also, Whitley in press (the urns decorated in the Orientalizing style were not associated with particularly rich offerings). However, there is some monumental sculpture in both Eleutherna and Prinias. I am skeptical about Perlman's (2000, p. 78) view on the Gortyn temples. She identifies the competition of elite groups in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, contemporaneous use of the temples of Athena and Apollo. I cannot see why the contemporary flourishing of two sanctuaries that belong to the same, probably quite large community, but are strongly separated by geography should be taken to reflect social tension.

<sup>228</sup> Van Wees 1998, p. 342 (table 3). Morris 1998, p. 60 (table 1).

<sup>229</sup> Osborne 1996, p. 186–190, 192–193 (p. 187 for the quotation).

<sup>230</sup> See also Λεμπέση 1987, p. 171–2. Χανιώτης 1987, p. 181.

<sup>231</sup> Whitley 2001, p. 252. The invisibility of the 7<sup>th</sup> century in Attica (in some ways similar to that of 6<sup>th</sup> century Crete), has been attributed by Osborne to the diversion of aristocratic competition towards «areas

and should probably be related to the impact of the rise of the polis on the mentality of the Cretans, the understanding of which is hampered by the lack of any literary testimonies.<sup>232</sup> Morris has identified a similar phenomenon in the region he names Central Greece. He has noted a considerable decline in both grave goods and votive offerings in the late 7<sup>th</sup>-early 6<sup>th</sup> century and, based on the relatively rich literary evidence, he has related it to what he calls the middling ideology, particularly associated to the polis.<sup>233</sup> On the other hand, while Morris sees two antithetical cultures struggling in Archaic Central Greece, the only written evidence from archaic Crete, legal texts, have been interpreted by Whitley as seeking to portray the communities they belong to «as stable and unchanging».<sup>234</sup> By late Classical times, Crete was highly regarded for its stability in the relations between freemen and serfs<sup>235</sup> and discussed in treatises on the ideal constitution.<sup>236</sup>

Crete had witnessed a similar process long before the Archaic Age. In MMI-II, archaeology records the «gradual abandonment of the circular tombs ... for individual burials in pithoi and larnakes».<sup>237</sup> It is illuminating to compare the «paucity of grave-goods in the pithos cemeteries to the richness of those in the early tholos».<sup>238</sup> This lack of wealthy burials has been attributed to «the rise of the peak sanctuaries...[which] may well have diverted much attention away from the cemeteries».<sup>239</sup> Settlements witnessed population mobility and urbanism; in social terms, it is assumed that «the solidarity of the clan was broken down, probably in favour of the immediate family unit on the one hand and the community as a whole on the other».<sup>240</sup> This process took place in Crete at a period when the palace state was born.<sup>241</sup> Thus, it seems that state-complex societies developed in Crete leaving some similar traces, whether they were centred on palaces or poleis.

Consequently, signs of a political reform, bearing the characteristics of the rise of the polis, emerge vigorous and become omnipresent in Central Crete only in the late 7<sup>th</sup>

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not archaeologically visible at all—notably politics» (Osborne 1996, p. 202). Indeed, Aristotle (Politics 1272a–b) has a rather lengthy description of the competition among the Cretan elite for the holding of offices (see also Link 1994, p. 9–29), but why would they have to quit erecting monuments to compete in politics? After all, in 6<sup>th</sup> century Attica, competition is reflected in both politics and monuments. (Osborne 1996, p. 224–225). This should also indicate that archaic sumptuary legislation (attributed to Solon in the case of Attica: Osborne 1996, p. 224–225) could not explain the lack of elite monuments in 6<sup>th</sup> century Crete.

<sup>232</sup> The impact in question is perhaps indicated by probably the only archaeological evidence 6<sup>th</sup> Crete produces in abundance, legal texts (dated on the basis of their letter forms). Whitley has also proposed a cultural explanation based on these texts (Whitley 2001, p. 250–252. Alternatives discussed in Morris 1998, p. 67–68).

<sup>233</sup> Morris 1997. Morris 1998, p. 19–36. Morris 2000, p. 161–191. For the low visibility of the Archaic period in Mainland centres see also Vink 1996–1997.

<sup>234</sup> Whitley 2001, p. 252. See also Kirsten 1942, p. 6. Prent 1996–1997, p. 45.

<sup>235</sup> Aristotle, Politics 1272a, 40–41. 1272b, 18–20.

<sup>236</sup> Perlman 1992, p. 193, n. 5: collection of references.

<sup>237</sup> Branigan 1970, p. 131. Also, Branigan 1970a, p. 178. Rutkowski 1968, p. 222.

<sup>238</sup> Branigan 1970, p. 131.

<sup>239</sup> Ibid.

<sup>240</sup> Ibid. Also, Branigan 1970a, p. 178, 203–4. Rutkowski 1968, p. 222.

<sup>241</sup> Branigan 1970, p. 131. Treuil and Darcque and Poursat and Touchais 1996, p. 219–231.

century. If the process took place later than at Athens, Argos and Corinth,<sup>242</sup> this could be attributed to Crete's geographical position and/or to the endurance of the pre-existing regime.<sup>243</sup> However, once established in a few prominent Cretan sites, the polis type of political organisation must have spread throughout Crete, following the mechanisms of what has been described by Snodgrass in a pan-Hellenic context as peer polity interaction.<sup>244</sup>

#### IV. Warfare

I propose above that the advent of the polis in Central Crete occurred in the late 7<sup>th</sup> or early 6<sup>th</sup> century. This phenomenon had already taken place in major mainland centres and was related to territorial expansion through colonisation,<sup>245</sup> or wars<sup>246</sup> from which occasionally «eternal» hate sprung.

The question of territorial expansion is not an easy one due to the lack of historical accounts. We are told that Cretans participated in the colonization of Gela<sup>247</sup> and possibly Cyrene.<sup>248</sup> The foundation of the former is dated at around 690, while that of the latter at 631.<sup>249</sup> War, another means in the quest for «vital space», was also rife in the late 7<sup>th</sup>–early 6<sup>th</sup> century Crete as we shall see.

Most of the individual parts of the hoplite equipment appear in late 8<sup>th</sup>–early 7<sup>th</sup> century Crete.<sup>250</sup> They are mostly found in sanctuary deposits<sup>251</sup> and are related to the roughly contemporary sharp decline in the number of burials with arms in Knossos,<sup>252</sup> a phenomenon attested slightly earlier in some mainland centres.<sup>253</sup> This is probably also related to the depiction of armour on the Prinias stelae (dated to the 7<sup>th</sup> century), another «form of conspicuous consumption which remained in the public eye, and thus

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<sup>242</sup> Snodgrass 1980, p. 33–34. Polignac 1984. Morris 1987, p. 183–185. Morgan and Whitelaw 1991, p. 82–95. Morris 1987, p. 188 discusses the delay in Samos, Boeotia.

<sup>243</sup> King at Axos in the 630's: Herodotus iv. 154. 1. Huxley 1994, p. 126. Coldstream and Huxley 1999, p. 303. See Osborne 1996, p. 8–17 for some problems in the context of this information. Besides, as we saw earlier, one stele from Prinias depicts a grandiose figure seated on a throne, holding a sceptre, and bearing eastern and Homeric overtones: Λεμπέση 1976, p. 31–32, 83–86, 94–96.

<sup>244</sup> Snodgrass 1987, p.41–58.

<sup>245</sup> Snodgrass 1980, p. 87. Tomlison 1972, p. 60, 75–76 (Argos). Salmon 1984, p. 59–66 (Corinth, Argos). Morgan and Whitelaw 1991, p. 82–83, 90, 107 (Argos). Hignett 1970, p. 37 (Athens).

<sup>246</sup> Polignac 1984, p. 54–66. Snodgrass 1986, p. 17. Osborne 1996, p. 170–176.

<sup>247</sup> Thucydides vi. 4. 3.

<sup>248</sup> Herodotus iv. 150–158, iv. 161

<sup>249</sup> Osborne 1996, p. 122, 128 respectively.

<sup>250</sup> Snodgrass 1964, p. 28–31, 74–76, 86–88.

<sup>251</sup> Simon 1986, p. 253–254.

<sup>252</sup> Van Wees 1998, p. 342 (table 3). Morris 1998, p. 60 (table 1).

<sup>253</sup> Van Wees 1998, p. 338–343 (the latest re-appraisal of the issue, bibliography provided). I believe that, according to his scheme (p. 368), Crete should be one of the places where «it was not state which created the leisure class, but the leisure class which pushed weapons behind the scene of social life, undercut the ideology of personal autonomy, and thereby made it possible for the state to develop». This is in agreement with my previous points on the active role of the Cretan elite in archaic social transformations.



had a broader and more lasting impact than the burial» of weapons.<sup>254</sup> Among the thirteen stelae from Prinias depicting warriors, only one, dated c. 630–620, depicts one wearing a cuirass. Interestingly, he is the only one wearing a «Cretan» type helmet and walking to the right. The warriors on the other stelae usually wear the «open-face» type helmet, have smaller shields and, occasionally, two spears, and always walk to the left.<sup>255</sup> However, the first real Cretan cuirasses date to 640–630<sup>256</sup> and the introduction of the «Cretan» type helmet occurred in the late 7<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>257</sup> Thus, the exceptional features of that stele should perhaps be simply taken to reflect the deceased's pride of his innovative equipment. On the other hand, Van Wees, studying changes in the iconography of «Greeks bearing arms», has demonstrated how this «reflected and affected the development of the state».<sup>258</sup> Although the Prinias stelae are not as informative as painted pottery, the exceptional stele is indeed contemporary to the significant changes in the sacred space of that community that have been related to the rise of the polis.<sup>259</sup> Perhaps both monuments echo the deep transformations that the local society was experiencing.

Prinias, located between Knossos and Gortyn, suffered heavy destruction —once or twice— in the late 7<sup>th</sup>–early 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>260</sup> Though we do not know the origin of the enemy, the ancient name of Prinias is generally thought to be Rizenia, a city that was subject to Gortyn at the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>261</sup> Could then Gortyn have been responsible for the destruction of Prinias? The discovery of a Hellenistic missile on the acropolis of Prinias, inscribed ΓΟΡ,<sup>262</sup> may be indicative, since warfare or hostility among Greek poleis usually originated in archaic times.<sup>263</sup> Besides, it seems that Gortyn launched an expansion campaign as soon as it became a polis, aiming also at the «west to the coast at the expense of Phaistos».<sup>264</sup>

Lyktos also sought to expand its territory in almost every direction in the 6<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries, according to Viviers.<sup>265</sup> Watrous too has attributed the image of depopulation

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<sup>254</sup> For the stelae see Λεμνέση 1976. The quotation comes from a general discussion (Van Wees 1998, p. 367) and is not referring to the Prinias stelae.

<sup>255</sup> Λεμνέση 1976, stele B6, pl. 24–25, p. 29–30, 58–59 (the Corinthian helmet is definitely later than the «open face» type: Hoffmann 1972, p. 2–3). The body of the other warriors is covered by their shield, which does not allow us to see whether they wear a cuirass (p. 81). The stelae that date to 620–610 retain the traditional iconography (p. 61).

<sup>256</sup> Snodgrass 1974, p. 196.

<sup>257</sup> Hoffmann 1972, p. 1–2, 41–46.

<sup>258</sup> Van Wees 1998: the first quotation repeats the title of his article, the second can be found on p. 334.

<sup>259</sup> For the changes in the sacred space of Prinias see the paragraphs on sanctuaries and temples.

<sup>260</sup> Destruction of the stelae at around 600: Λεμνέση 1976, p. 46. Destruction of the settlement in the mid–6<sup>th</sup> century: Rizza and Scrinari 1968, p. 234. Rizza 1984, p. 46.

<sup>261</sup> Willetts 1955, p. 110–114. Rizza 1969a, p. 10–12.

<sup>262</sup> Guarducci 1935, xxviii, n. 28, p. 302.

<sup>263</sup> Perlman (2000, p. 77) has the same suspicion.

<sup>264</sup> Perlman 2000, p. 76, 78 based on archaeology and Odyssey iii, 293–296.

<sup>265</sup> Viviers 1994, p. 252–258 (based on inscriptions, archaeology, texts). Erickson (2000, p. 332–n. 4, p. 332–349. Also, Erickson 2002), based on pottery, argues that the Lyktian expansion to the south should be dated to around 400. This does not contradict my argument, which focuses on the Lyktian expansion to the north. Erickson 2002, p. 76 does not exclude the idea of a conflict between Knossos and Lyktos in the 6<sup>th</sup> century.

produced by the Lasithi survey to its acquisition by Lyktos.<sup>266</sup> The territorial expansion of Lyktos has also been related to the rich collection of armor from the public building at Afrati, dated from the third quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> to the early 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>267</sup> Some of the helmets, cuirasses and *mitrai* bear inscriptions suggesting a contemporary capture and offering of the armor. Raubitschek concludes that the armor was captured in war by victorious Lyktian archers, fighting against the troops of another city; he suggests Gortyn without any argument.<sup>268</sup> The dedication of spoils to a sanctuary is also attested in a late 6<sup>th</sup> century inscription from Axos,<sup>269</sup> where 7<sup>th</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> century armor has been found at sanctuary dumps.<sup>270</sup>

Viviers' study almost excludes Knossos.<sup>271</sup> However, the rise of Lyktos would have probably worried nearby Knossos in terms of political–military balance and should probably be associated to the 6<sup>th</sup> decadence of the latter. We may recall the attribution of the Knossian «archaic gap» to the heavy defeat of the city by Lyktos and Sparta, related to the death of Epimenides, traditionally dated in the 590's.<sup>272</sup> This testimony has been associated to Strabo's information that Knossos was humbled and deprived of many of its institutions and that primacy over the island was taken by Lyktos and Gortyn for some period.<sup>273</sup> Effenterre, however, has argued that Strabo was referring to an event that occurred later.<sup>274</sup>

I believe that the archaic date of this episode and its importance is confirmed by another —rather neglected— passage of Strabo,<sup>275</sup> which probably refers to the same context, since it mentions the devastation of Knossos, the neglect of institutions, the better condition of Lyktos and Gortyn. This text provides a chronological framework. The infinitive λέγεσθαι, at the beginning of the paragraph depends from «Ephorus says» in the previous paragraph. Ephorus (circa 405–330), widely quoted in antiquity and generally complimented for his accuracy, compiled a series of books devoted to

<sup>266</sup> Watrous 1980, p. 283. Watrous 1982, p. 21–3. However, one should also relate the depopulation of the plateau to urbanization in the light of other surveys conducted in East Crete (see section: Settlements).

<sup>267</sup> For the items see Hoffmann 1972 (dating on p. 41–46). For their relation to the expansion of Lyktos see Huxley 1994, p. 129.

<sup>268</sup> Hoffmann 1972 p. 16.

<sup>269</sup> Guarducci 1939, v., n. 6, p. 54. For the date see: Jeffery 1990, p. 316.

<sup>270</sup> Levi 1933. Πλάτων 1951, p. 450 (one *mitra* is inscribed).

<sup>271</sup> Viviers 1994, p. 250 (only).

<sup>272</sup> See part one for bibliography, which does not take into consideration Viviers 1994. On the defeat see: Pausanias ii. 21. 3, iii. 12. 11. The dating of Epimenides is based on Aristotle, Athenian Republic 1. 1 and Diogenes Laertius 1. 10. 110. Coldstream and Huxley 1999, p. 301–302 (in n. 81 they provide other, even later sources). Sandys 1912, p. 2–3 (explains Plato's date—Plato, Laws 642D). See also Harris–Cline 1999, p. 309–320.

<sup>273</sup> Cf. Strabo 10. 4. 7 καὶ δὴ καὶ διετέλεσε (scil. Κνωσός) μέχρι πολλοῦ φερομένη τὰ πρῶτα, εἶτα ἐταπεινώθη καὶ πολλὰ τῶν νομίμων ἀφῆρέθη, μετέστη δὲ τὸ ἀξίωμα εἰς τε Γόρτυναν καὶ Λύττον, ὕστερον δ' ἀνέλαβε πάλιν τὸ παλαιὸν σχῆμα τὸ τῆς μητροπόλεως. For the relation of Pausania's and Strabo's testimonies see Coldstream 1984, p. 321 (the reference to Strabo is misprinted).

<sup>274</sup> Effenterre 1948, p. 237–244.

<sup>275</sup> Strabo 10. 4. 17 λέγεσθαι δ' ὑπό τινων ὡς Λακωνικὰ εἶη τὰ πολλὰ τῶν νομιζομένων Κρητικῶν, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς εὐρῆσθαι μὲν ὑπ' ἐκείνων, ἠκριβωκέναι δὲ τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας, τοὺς δὲ Κρητας ὀλιγωρῆσαι, κακωθεισῶν τῶν πόλεων καὶ μάλιστα τῆς Κνωσίων, τῶν πολεμικῶν· μείναι δὲ τινὰ τῶν νομίμων παρὰ Λυττίους καὶ Γορτυνίους καὶ ἄλλοις τισὶ πολυχνίους μᾶλλον ἢ παρ' ἐκείνοις. Editions: Meineke 1915 and Jones 1928. Laserre 1971 has a slightly different version, still, compatible with my interpretation.

particular areas, among them Crete.<sup>276</sup> His life provides a *terminus ante quem* for the facts described. But when did they occur? According to the narration, they happened after the time of Thaletas,<sup>277</sup> a 7<sup>th</sup> century Cretan healer, poet and lawmaker who improved the Spartan constitution.<sup>278</sup> From the text, it seems that the Spartans quickly perfected the imported institutions, while the Cretan cities, especially Knossos, neglected them, after being devastated. Thus, Thaletas is a *terminus post quem* for these events. Moreover, Strabo's consequent revival of Knossos<sup>279</sup> is in agreement with the recovery in the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century as attested by archaeology.<sup>280</sup> Consequently, a combination of all the fragmentary sources seems to suggest that the Knossians were defeated<sup>281</sup> by Lyktos and —possibly— Gortyn,<sup>282</sup> with the help of Sparta, in the first decade of the 6<sup>th</sup> century.

In addition, at about that time the Afrati armor was captured and inscribed in the Lyktian alphabet. It would seem more convincing to me that the armor, inscribed probably at Afrati,<sup>283</sup> was the share of the booty of the indigenous warriors who fought, allied to Lyktos, in the triumphant war against Knossos.<sup>284</sup> The date fits accurately and Raubitschek's search for a defeated city<sup>285</sup> is satisfied.

The Spartan intervention is less well supported.<sup>286</sup> However, a magnificent ivory plaque from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia depicts a warship (inscribed FOPΘAIA) with warriors on the deck and sailors preparing to set sail.<sup>287</sup> Boardman's revised chronology dates the artifact not long after 600.<sup>288</sup> Its shape corresponds directly with that of the Cretan *mitrai*. Further, the diameter of the plaque is 0.235m, while the average diameter of Hoffmann's *mitrai* is 0.24m.<sup>289</sup> The slight difference in height may be attributed to technical or decorative reasons. The spiral motif along the rim occurs on

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<sup>276</sup> Hornblower and Spawforth 1996, p. 529–530.

<sup>277</sup> Strabo 10. 4. 16.

<sup>278</sup> Hornblower and Spawforth 1996, p. 1491.

<sup>279</sup> Strabo 10. 4. 7.

<sup>280</sup> Coldstream and Huxley 1999, p. 28.

<sup>281</sup> It is needless to say that a major defeat does not «demand» a layer of destruction in the defeated city. Archaeology however confirms that pottery «imports at Knossos come to an abrupt and almost complete end after ca. 600» (Erickson 2000, p. 63).

<sup>282</sup> I include Gortyn since Strabo groups it with Lyktos. Erickson has proposed that Gortyn destroyed Knossos (Erickson 2000, p. 142–146). An indication that the war involved not only Lyktos and Knossos is provided by Strabo's reference to the devastation of several Cretan cities (Strabo, 10. 4. 17).

<sup>283</sup> Viviers 1994, p. 251.

<sup>284</sup> In this suggestion, I accept that Lyktos did not conquer Afrati at that time (Erickson 2000, p. 349–354. Contra, Huxley 1994, p. 129: the reconstruction he proposes does not seem convincing to me.). However, I believe that there was some connection between the two communities (see for example Hoffmann 1972, p. 16).

<sup>285</sup> Hoffmann 1972, p. 16.

<sup>286</sup> For Spartan naval enterprises in archaic period see Huxley 1962, p. 108–n. 124.

<sup>287</sup> Dawkins 1929, p. 214–215, pl. CIX–CX. The presence of the female figure—saying farewell to a warrior (?)—does not contradict my interpretation. For example, she could be the wife the man that dedicated the object upon his safe return from the expedition.

<sup>288</sup> Boardman 1963, p. 5.

<sup>289</sup> Hoffmann 1972, p. 10–14.

Cretan *mitrai* too.<sup>290</sup> We should not forget that the plaque depicts a Spartan warship ready to sail and it is dated not long after 600, and that it bears strong Cretan affinities.<sup>291</sup> Would it be too much to suggest that it was inspired by the Spartan expedition of support to Lyktos? After all, Lyktian troops had already assisted Sparta in the Second Messenian War.<sup>292</sup> It is reasonable to assume that, when every resistance in Messenia was suppressed, around 600,<sup>293</sup> Sparta remembered that there was a «debt to repay».<sup>294</sup>

In the case of the Spartan intervention in the rivalry between Argos and Asine in the Argolid, Asine was totally destroyed and its population was expelled by the Argives (end of 8<sup>th</sup> century).<sup>295</sup> However, the historical reconstruction proposed above does not in any way suppose a similar fate for Knossos. It should be emphasised that a major defeat in battle does not «demand» the destruction of the defeated city, which would probably be identifiable in the archaeological record. Such a defeat would mostly affect the political and economic structures of Knossos. The economic aspect cannot easily be assessed,<sup>296</sup> since no rich finds come from 6<sup>th</sup> century Crete in general. The political impact, however, is discussed by Strabo and Ephorus:<sup>297</sup> Knossos was humbled and deprived of many of its institutions, probably several of those introduced in the late 7<sup>th</sup> century. This information should perhaps be related to the remarkable lack of archaic Knossian legal inscriptions. The very few of them that survive «all date to the very end of the archaic period».<sup>298</sup> However, this is precisely the period to which the recovery of the city from a late start is assigned.<sup>299</sup>

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<sup>290</sup> Levi 1933, p. 67–68, fig. 22a–b (p. 94–5 for the motif).

<sup>291</sup> Stampolidis 1990, p. 402. Marangou 1969, p. 85–90.

<sup>292</sup> Pausanias iv. 19. 4. Snodgrass 1974.

<sup>293</sup> Huxley 1962, p. 58–59, 65.

<sup>294</sup> Coldstream and Huxley 1999, p. 302.

<sup>295</sup> Pausanias ii. 36. 4. Tomlinson 1972, p. 75: the devastation layer at Asine has been dated to the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>296</sup> Erickson has demonstrated that pottery «imports at Knossos come to an abrupt and almost complete end after ca. 600» (Erickson 2000, p. 63).

<sup>297</sup> Strabo 10. 4. 7, 10. 4. 17.

<sup>298</sup> Whitley 1998, p. 326 (compare the finds from several other cities on pages 325–327). Whitley rightly emphasizes that the robbing of stones for reuse in later buildings would have been severe. However, the reuse of the block of an inscription does not necessitate the destruction of the writing. What makes the lack of archaic Knossian legal inscriptions even more striking is the fact that Knossos has produced early informal inscriptions, which are very rare in the rest of Crete (Whitley 1998, p. 318, 326).

<sup>299</sup> Coldstream and Huxley 1999, p. 295–297. Benton 1937, p. 41–43. The limestone eagles from Amnisos—dated to around 500—(Coldstream and Huxley 1999, p. 299–301. Καρέτσου, Ανδρεαδάκη–Βλαζάκη και Παπαδάκης 2000, p. 352), some bronze artifacts and the return of imported vases by the late 6<sup>th</sup> century probably suggest «an intensification of aristocratic competition» (Erickson 2000, p. 153). The connection between political changes and economic revival has been discussed in the case of Argos: the sudden rise of Argos in the second third of the 5<sup>th</sup> century occurred «shortly after the granting of a new democratic constitution» (Morgan and Whitelaw 1991, p. 85–86). Besides, this is also the period of the Argive involvement in Cretan affairs (Guarducci 1935, xxx, n. 1, p. 307–308).

Imported vases stop reaching Knossos again at circa 475 (Erickson 2000, p. 63, 100–115). Erickson relates the serious decline (starting at around 475) in the numbers of pots imported to Crete to the politics of the Athenian empire (Erickson 2000, p. 396–401). This decline should perhaps also be related to a *stasis*, which resulted in the migration of the aristocrat Ergoteles (Pindar, Olympian xii, 16. Pausanias vi. 4. 11), interpreted by some as an attempt for the establishment of a monarchy.<sup>299</sup> Erickson is skeptical about this

## V. Epilogue

In this paper, I have tried to identify and correlate a series of otherwise rather neglected archeological phenomena in Archaic Central Crete. Previous work had attributed many of these to a «gap». In illuminating the «gap», I briefly discussed Cretan 6<sup>th</sup> century pottery and compiled an Appendix listing the known burials of the 6<sup>th</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> centuries. My wish to identify the nature and extent of these phenomena led to a survey of cemeteries, sanctuaries and settlements. This survey revealed a picture of discontinuity in many sites during the late 7<sup>th</sup>–early 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, a pattern especially apparent in Central Crete, which is better excavated and studied. Many of the new (post–7<sup>th</sup> century) sites have not been unearthed or published, contributing for the moment to the image of a «gap». Other sites, however, present continuous record until later times. Based on epigraphic, literary and archaeological evidence, and by employing parallels from well-studied sites of the Mainland, I attributed many of these inter-locking changes to the emergence of the polis,<sup>300</sup> which occurred, according to the scheme proposed here, in late 7<sup>th</sup> century Central Crete. The period of transition to the polis witnessed changes not only in socio-political affairs, but also in economy and martial affairs, as well as the intensification of the need for territorial expansion and interstate hostility. The formulation of its basic principles should probably be assigned to the 6<sup>th</sup> century. Thus, it seems that in some prominent sites significant changes occurred in the third to fourth quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century (at circa 630) and that they spread gradually to the whole island. This process however should be understood in the light of Gjerstad's apothegm: «Life is continuous, archaeology is divisional».<sup>301</sup>

### APPENDIX: 6<sup>th</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> CENTURY BURIALS IN CRETE<sup>302</sup>

#### Chania

##### Chania–Kydonia

–Ανδρεαδάκη–Βλαζάκη, Μαρκουλάκη, Νιντιού–Κινδελή και Δροσινού 1999, p. 153–164 (Chania–Kydonia, classical cemetery).

–Δροσινού, Νιντιού–Κινδελή και Μαρκουλάκη 1994–6, p. 199–200, 203–204 (Chania–Kydonia, classical cemetery).

–Guarducci 1939, p. 122–3, n. 10, 13 (Chania–Kydonia, 5<sup>th</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> c.).

–Μαρκουλάκη 1994, p. 719 (Chania–Kydonia, 4<sup>th</sup> c.).

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connection (Erickson 2000, p. 154, n. 88), though his study shows that Attic imports stop at Knossos slightly earlier than elsewhere in Crete.

<sup>300</sup> Many of these changes have also been related to other phenomena, discussed by other scholars (see the latest review in review in Erickson 2000, p. 13–29). My emphasis on the rise of the polis is certainly compatible to their suggestions, as can be seen by the references provided throughout the text.

<sup>301</sup> Gjerstad 1944, p. 103.

<sup>302</sup> The list includes sporadic finds mostly (excluding burials dated to the last third of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, when evidence increases sharply). Cemeteries are indicated where stated as such at the report. Repetition of brief reports is usually avoided. There is reference only to the date of the find. The type is not mentioned since, in some cases, it is not given in the reports. Typology does not reveal any pattern with respect to my argument, since there is a great variety: cists, pits, pithoi, sarcophagi, chambers, tombs covered with tiles, grave stelae).

- Νινιού-Κινδεληή 1991, p. 411 (Chania-Kydonia, 4<sup>th</sup> c., classical cemetery).
- Pendlebury 1963, p. 349-350 (Chania-Kydonia, classical).
- Πωλογιώργη 1985, p. 161-177 (Chania-Kydonia, classical cemetery).

#### Falasarua

- Gondicas 1988, p. 97-116 (Falasarua 6<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> c. cemetery).
- Hatjidaki 1988, p. 464-466 (Falasarua, 6<sup>th</sup> c. cemetery).
- Τζεδάκις 1969, p. 433-344 (Falasarua 6<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> c. cemetery).
- Χατζηδάκη 1987, p. 567 (Falasarua, 6<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> c. cemetery).

#### Kastelos Varipetrou

- Τζεδάκις 1966, p. 429 (Kastelos Varipetrou, 4<sup>th</sup> c.).
- Τζεδάκις 1969, p. 431 (Kastelos Varipetrou, 6<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> cemetery).
- Τζεδάκις 1970, p. 468 (Kastelos Varipetrou, 6<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> c.).

#### Tarra

- Πλάτων 1959, p. 384 (Tarra, 5<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> c.).
- Τζεδάκις 1971, p. 511 (Tarra, classical cemetery).

#### Other sites

- Ανδρεαδάκη-Βλαζάκη 1988, p. 549-551 (Aptera, classical cemetery).
- Gondicas 1988, p. 38-9 (classical cemetery at Beelitiko, NE of Palaiochora), p. 58-61 (classical cemetery at Tsi porous, NW of Palaiochora), p. 171 (Iasakes, S of Kissamos, classical).
- Μαρκουλάκη 1987, p. 563-566 (Vathi-Inachorion, 4<sup>th</sup> c.).
- Pendlebury 1963, p. 349-350 (Kampanos, classical. Kantanos, classical).
- Πλάτων 1955, p. 569 (Eliros-Rodovani Selinou, 4<sup>th</sup> c.).
- Τζεδάκις 1976, p. 368 (Kakodiki Selinou, classical).
- Τζεδάκις 1965, p. 298 (Skafi Selinou, 4<sup>th</sup> c.).
- Τζεδάκις 1972, p. 638 (Kasteli Kissamou, 5<sup>th</sup> c.).

#### Rethymnon

##### Eleutherna

- Erickson 2000, p. 155-266
- Σταμπολίδης 1994α, p. 25-27 (Eleutherna, 6<sup>th</sup> c. cemetery).

##### Stavromeno

- Benton 1937, p. 42 (Stavromeno, 5<sup>th</sup> c.).
- Τουποπούλου 1983, p. 368-370 (Stavromeno, 4<sup>th</sup> c. cemetery).

#### Other sites

- Belgiorno 1994, p. 205 (Amari, classical).
- Πλάτων 1953, p. 490 (Keramota Milopotamou, 4<sup>th</sup> c.).
- Πωλογιώργη 1983, p. 370 (Axos, 6<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> c. cemetery).

#### Lasithi

##### Elounta

- Δαβάρας 1978, p. 389 (Elounta, 4<sup>th</sup> c.).
- Δαβάρας 2000, p. 40 (Elounta, classical).

##### Itanos

- Greco, Kalpaxis, Papadakis, Schnapp, Viviers *et alii* 2000 (Itanos, classical cemetery).

–Viviers 2001, p. 83 (Itanos, 6<sup>th</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> c. cemetery).

#### Other sites

–Bosanquet 1901–2, p. 243–251 (Praesos, classical).

–Pendlebury 1963, p. 344 (Toplou, 6<sup>th</sup> c.).

–Πλάτων και Δαβάρας 1960, p. 527 (Dreiros, 6<sup>th</sup> c.).

#### Herakleion

##### Agia Pelagia

–Αλεξίου 1972, p. 620 (Agia Pelagia, 5<sup>th</sup> c., cemetery).

–Pendlebury 1963, p. 351 (Agia Pelagia, classical).

##### Chersonesos

–Γκαλανάκη 1994, p. 699–700 (Chersonesos, 4<sup>th</sup> c.).

–Pendlebury 1963, p. 352 (Chersonesos, classical).

##### Gortyn

–Guarducci 1950, p. 123–n. 71, p. 364–n. 348 (Gortyn, 5<sup>th</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> c.).

–Pernier 1929, p. 21–25 (Gortyn, 4<sup>th</sup> c.).

#### Herakleion

–Λεμπέση 1969a, p. 418 (Herakleion, 4<sup>th</sup> c.).

–Πλάτων 1957, p. 336 (Herakleion, classical).

#### Knossos

–Boardman 1967, p. 57 (Knossos, Tekke, classical).

–Coldstream and Huxley 1999, p. 294–296 (Knossos, Fortetsa, 6<sup>th</sup> c., classical).

–Hood and Smyth 1981, p. 39–40 (Knossos).

–Macmillan 1926–7, p. 310 (Knossos, Fortetsa, 5<sup>th</sup> c.).

–Pendlebury 1963, p. 351 (Knossos, Fortetsa, classical).

#### Lassaia

–Αλεξίου 1968, p. 402 (Elytynia 5<sup>th</sup> c., Lassaia 4<sup>th</sup> c.).

–Αλεξίου 1969, p. 415 (Lassaia, 4<sup>th</sup> c., cemetery).

–Δαβάρας 1968, p. 405 (Lassaia, classical).

#### Prinias

–Rizza 1969a (Prinias, 6<sup>th</sup> c. cemetery).

–Rizza 1984, p. 48 (Prinias, 6<sup>th</sup> c., cemetery).

#### Other sites

–Αλεξίου 1966, p. 410 (Matala 4<sup>th</sup> c.)

–Hood 1958, p. 16. (Phaistos, Kalyvia, classical cemetery).

–Λεμπέση 1975, p. 341–342 (Afrati, 6<sup>th</sup> c.).

–Λεμπέση 1976a, p. 353 (Kastamonitsa Padiadhos, 4<sup>th</sup> c.).

–Πλάτων 1955, p. 533 (Rhytion, 6<sup>th</sup> c.).

–Sakellarakis I. and E. 1977, p. 39–40 (Archanes, 5<sup>th</sup> c.–the same in Αλεξίου 1968, p. 402).

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