

Post Abandonment Visitation on the Island of Crete During the Early Iron Age:
Intergenerational Transmission of Social Identity through Memory Practice and its
Effects on Long-Term Social Change

by
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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

During the Late Bronze Age to Early Iron Age transition, coastal sites on the Eastern side of the island of Crete were abandoned in favor of locations high in the mountainous interior. Why this shift in settlement occurred is unknown, but it is generally believed that population movement at this time was a response to poorly understood factors connected with the period of instability known as the Bronze Age “collapse,” when population in the Mediterranean declined, specialized knowledge was lost, and prevailing hierarchical palatial institutions failed. Spurred by the factors that precipitated this collapse—whatever they may have been—many Cretans left long-established homes to found new settlements in the mountainous landscape of the interior. As prevailing conditions began to wane, however, the majority of these sites, too, were abandoned—left behind in favor of slightly lower-elevation locations with better access to water and arable land, and more room to expand.

Though many of these settlements were inhabited for no more than 3-4 generations, they retained an important place in the memory of East Cretans for centuries after their abandonment. Periodic returns, for the burial of the dead and for the performance of other communal rituals, are evident in the archaeological record at several of these sites. Why? What was it about these places, in particular, that marked them as important to the ancient Cretans? What did they represent for those who returned to them? What prompted the beginning and the end of these practices, and why were they periodically renewed? What relationship, if any, did these post-abandonment practices have to the moments of social transformation that led to both the creation and the abandonment of these sites?

These same questions can be applied to concurrent episodes of post-abandonment visitation taking place at a completely different genre of place on the island. These were abandoned lowland sites of urban character, all of which contained monumental buildings constructed from ashlar masonry. Ritual practices occurring at these monumental sites after their abandonment have received a greater amount of scholarly interest, and have primarily been interpreted as attempts made by a rising Early Iron Age elite to reconnect with a “glorious” Bronze Age past for the purpose of legitimating claims to authority, status, or territory in an atmosphere now rife with social and political instability.¹ To the extent that they have been addressed in scholarship, post-abandonment visitations to post-collapse upland settlements have been viewed through this same lens.²

While this is a legitimate interpretation—one arising from extensive study of similar phenomena occurring on the Greek mainland, primarily in the 8th century—when we extend this hypothesis to explain patterns of post-abandonment ritual behavior across the entirety of the island of Crete throughout the Early Iron Age, it falls short. It is clear that not all ritual activities carried out on the island in the post-collapse period were performed by the same people, in the same way, or for the same reason. The historical lens that has encouraged us to view all of these ritual episodes as having a similar meaning, and as inevitably connected with the search for status or authority, is one that appears to be grounded in a form of linear historicism which tends to view “society” as a homogenous, monolithic entity that is autonomously striving to evolve towards greater social complexity. This lens assumes the existence of, or the desire to establish, hierarchical social systems as a given, when, in reality, what constitutes glory, or status, or even authority has always

¹ Coldstream 1998; D’agata 1999; Day 2007; Prent 2003; 2005; Wallace 2003; 2010.

² Day 2022.

been highly variable between social groups, and purposeful movements away from social complexity are not unknown.

On Crete, it is significant that the period of social transformation which originally led to the establishment of upland settlements, and at least two other periods of social change that followed it, did not, ultimately, lead to the reestablishment of the same strict social hierarchy that underlay the palatial systems of administration belonging to the Late Bronze Age. They led, instead, to the development of entirely new sociopolitical systems centered on ideas of citizenship and corporate belonging. Post-abandonment practices taking place on the island during the Early Iron Age may have played an important role in these long-term processes of social change. Social memory and the rites created to perpetuate it become essential aids in the reformation and reinforcement of social frameworks that have been weakened or even shattered in the wake of transformative periods or events.³ Embodied practices, such as those taking place at the sites under discussion, aid in creating a sense of stability and group belonging in times of change. They also serve as acts of intergenerational transfer, however, projecting the most fundamental aspects of the culture and identity of participating communities forward in time to impact future social development.⁴ The study of post-abandonment rites taking place in this period may, therefore, open a tangible material window onto these processes of social change.

The purpose of this dissertation is to document the material evidence associated with all known episodes of post-abandonment visitation occurring on the island of Crete between 1250 and 630 BCE, to use this information to critically assess the assumption that these practices were an exclusively elite behavior aimed at the acquisition of power, authority, or status, and to gain insight

³ Assmann 2021, 26.

⁴ Connerton 1989, 40; Alcock 2015, 25.

into their chronological relationship to and role in the periods of social transformation and change that appear to have initiated and to have framed both their development and their periodic renewal. I argue that variations both in the genre of place targeted for these rites and in the rites themselves suggest that these practices were associated, not with a universal desire to connect with a monolithic elite identity associated with a “glorious” and homogenous Bronze Age past, as has been suggested, but with the development and maintenance of distinct post-collapse identities that differed significantly along ideological lines. I argue, also, that the differences in social ideology which were reflected in ritual activities like the post-abandonment practices associated with each of these genres of place are important for our understanding of later social developments on the island and how and why they emerged.

A Note on Terminology

There are a number of terms that are used repeatedly in this dissertation for which a universal meaning should not be assumed, or for which some explanation is required. Chief amongst these are the terms “abandonment”, “post-abandonment visitation,” “collapse,” “monumental”, “upland settlement,” and “identity.” Abandonment, while seemingly a self-explanatory concept, is particularly difficult to define in terms of the rites under discussion. If people built an active open-air sanctuary in the ruins of an abandoned settlement, can that settlement still be considered to have been abandoned? If structures were erected to facilitate post-abandonment activities, was this still an “abandoned” location? Where post-abandonment behaviors have a long temporal duration, is there not a point where structures created to facilitate these activities become more of a focus of memory than the abandoned place itself? These

questions, particularly the last, are difficult, if not impossible to answer, and the only hope of addressing them is to propose a definition for abandonment that appears reasonable, and to use that definition as a litmus test to determine which case studies are applicable to the questions at hand. For the purposes of this dissertation, abandonment is defined as an absence of permanent inhabitation, and a lack of continuous presence at the site in question. A location may remain abandoned, even if permanent structures are built within its ruins, assuming that these permanent structures are intended to serve a specific ritual function related to post-abandonment rites and are not inhabited or used continuously. By this definition, all twelve of the case studies in this dissertation can truly be considered “abandoned” sites.

It is also worth considering precisely what is meant by the term “post-abandonment visitation,” and why the choice has been made to define this category of social behavior in precisely this way. Post-abandonment visitation, as defined here, involves a pre-meditated effort to gain access to places that have fallen out of use and are no longer serving their original or intended function, and yet are remembered by people of later generations. Often these visits include the deposition of materials brought by the visitor, the collection or reorganization of material culture belonging to the site itself, various kinds of mark making practices, or any combination of these things. It is, perhaps, more common to define these kinds of behaviors as “reuse”, particularly when patterns of visitation to a particular site extend over a long period or involve the erection of permanent structures. This term is misleading for a number of reasons. First, it makes these practices sound quotidian—as though they represent a return to ordinary use—when, as will be discussed in Chapter 2, they are the opposite of this.⁵ Second, to “reuse” something implies, to some degree, the elimination of its pastness as it is purposefully adapted to

⁵ Assmann 1995, 128.

the needs of the present moment. This is not an accurate representation of what these behaviors intend. The use of the word “visitation” undoes both implications. It highlights the fact that this form of behavior is more closely akin to a ritual pilgrimage —the power of which lies precisely in its transience and in its distance from the everyday.⁶ “Visitation” to abandoned spaces is not about subsuming the past in the present, in the way that “reuse” implies. It is, rather, about immersing oneself in the past through the power of the unstable temporalities that are inherent to places left behind in time.

Episodes of post-abandonment visitation are not random or purposeless acts. They are targeted memory practices that mobilize abandoned and ruinous places as catalysts to provoke confrontations or to create alignments with past realities through the power that material, place, and landscape have to endure through time, beyond the span of human lives.⁷ The way these sites are perceived may differ based on the way that time and historicity are conceptualized by the visiting group, and, thus, the reasons for seeking them out may be varied. Abandoned places may be sought out due to their connection with specific events, or specific communities in the past, or because the past is perceived as still present within these spaces. They may be targeted because they are considered representative of moments of struggle, or moments of glory. They may retain their importance because they provide a way of solidifying or grounding social identities and social ideals that are perceived to be under threat, or a means of memorializing injustices that are at risk of being repeated or going unredressed. Most importantly, their significance is tied to the fact that they provide a forum or a venue wherein these pasts, risks or threats can be engaged with, mitigated or undone through the power of ritual practice.

⁶ Bell 1990.

⁷ Bergson 1991; Hamilakis 2010, 193; Ingold 1993; Van Dyke 2019, 215

Just as there are myriad reasons why practices may be undertaken at abandoned places, there is no limit to the number of forms that post-abandonment visitation can take. The case studies in this dissertation highlight this variability, ranging from the establishment of cult sites in association with Bronze Age monumental ashlar constructions, to burials within the walls of ruined settlements, to feasting in purpose-built structures overlooking ruined sites. The vital factor that they all have in common is that “abandoned” or uninhabited sites are the explicit focus of these activities, and the rites being performed rely upon the status of the abandoned site as a symbol of a specific idea or narrative about the past, whether it be a remembered past, an invented one, or one that is perceived as still present, affective, and alive in that space.

The next term to be considered is the controversial word “collapse” which is used here only as a matter of convenience in designating a very specific temporal period of social transformation that appears to have been widespread in its effects even if the causes underlying these effects are poorly understood. This is the LBA-EIA transition period which occurred somewhere around 1200 BCE. It is widely understood that societal transformation and shift were endemic to this period in the broader geographical region, and, as Mediterranean-wide interconnectivity was a hallmark of the Late Bronze Age period, with Crete serving as a key point of exchange in this web of interaction, it is certain that these more wide-spread changes had an impact on the island.⁸ It should not be taken for granted, however, that the conditions in which the post-abandonment rites described in the following pages took root were in any way identical between Crete and the wider region. While this is considered to have been a time of generalized destruction and decline throughout the Mediterranean—one that witnessed the dissolution of highly stratified sociopolitical administrative systems, destruction and

⁸ Murray 2017.

abandonment of urban centers, dramatic population decrease, and population shift in many regions—more recent scholarship has greatly nuanced this assumption.⁹ Mediterranean-wide data for this period of time, in fact, speak to both areas and spheres of continuity *and* change, destruction *and* resilience, as people in individual communities with varying access to resources made decisions about how to adapt to the conditions which prevailed *for them*.

We need to look no farther than the fact that later socio-political systems which began their development in the Early Iron Age vary widely from region to region, for an indication that the direction in which different societies developed at this time was likely determined by local processes rather than global ones.¹⁰ While an understanding of broader, Mediterranean-wide change is important background to this research, especially for scholars wishing to address what may have caused these changes, these specifics are less important to the study at hand than understanding what was changing on a local basis, and how local communities were responding to these changes, both practically and ideologically. The archaeological evidence for social transformation on the island of Crete, itself, at this time—particularly the evidence relating to those spheres which most closely reflect changes in how people organized themselves, their relationships to each other, and their relationship to the past—will be discussed in Chapter 3, along with evidence for several other periods of significant social change which both preceded and followed this “collapse” period.

As the introduction to this chapter makes clear, two categories of site were targeted for post-abandonment visitation following the collapse period on Crete—lowland monumental sites and upland settlements. The terminology used to discuss both of these categories of site needs

⁹Nowicki 2000, 15; Snodgrass 1971, 2; Wallace 2010, 23.

¹⁰Wallace 2010, 104-169.

some clarification. To begin with lowland sites of so-called “monumental” character, it is important to define what is meant, in this dissertation, by the use of the word “monumental”. For this definition I rely on the work of Bernard Knapp, who defined monumental sites as large, multi-purpose or special-purpose sites, which usually include buildings or building complexes constructed of ashlar masonry.¹¹ Equally important to what defines their appearance or character is what these sites appear to represent ideologically, however. Knapp points out that the construction of monumental sites is an inherently elite, or power-driven, enterprise, often motivated by the pursuit of social status or political power and facilitated by the capacity to deploy surplus labor and material resources. Monumental sites are, thus, places where elite social identities connected with this type of aggrandizement are made manifest. Such places may, as Knapp suggests, be mythologized and retained in memory in order to help create (or recreate) specific social, historical, and/or political configurations.¹² The “monumentality” of these sites, both in terms of their construction and in terms of the ideology embodied within them, is the most critical aspect of their character, and thus they will be referred to as “lowland monumental sites” throughout this dissertation.

The term “upland settlement” is, perhaps, even more important to discuss. The motivating factors behind the movement towards high-elevation settlements continue to be a focus of intense scholarly interest and debate. While understanding settlement shift is not the focus of the research presented here, the extremity of the debate makes it necessary to reconsider the terminology used to discuss these newly established sites. Originally referred to as “refuge” settlements, scholars have more recently labelled the high-elevation sites founded in LM IIIB-

¹¹ Knapp 2009, 50.

¹² Knapp 2009, 55.

IIIC as “defensible”, a term which originated with Nowicki’s foundational work on the subject (Table 1.1).¹³ Both of these characterizations have been met with criticism.

While it is certainly accurate to refer to these sites as “defensible”, due to the natural affordances of the landscape in which many of them were founded, this word also carries with it the suggestion that these sites were selected precisely because they had this characteristic, implying that settlement shift resulted primarily from a fear of attack. As Haggis points out, the definition of specific topographical site locations as “defensive” associates the choice to inhabit them with the idea of imminent danger, and there is a circularity to this tendency to cite topographic “defensibility” as a reason to both suggest and to confirm that conditions on the island were unstable at this time.¹⁴ Although this may very well have been the case—and in some instances the extremity of the sites, the sporadic presence of fortification walls, and the fairly brief period of occupation make any other supposition less likely—it is far from the only argument that has been advanced.¹⁵

In discarding the term “defensive settlement”, however, it is important not to lose sight of the fact that short-distance migration towards inland, defensible locations was not a phenomenon confined to the LBA-EIA transition but was a strategy that already had a long history on the island.¹⁶ Short-term movements to defensible sites had occurred as recently as late LM IB in eastern Crete and on the southern coast. Many upland sites established in LM IIIB-IIIC could thus

¹³ Nowicki 2000, 14.

¹⁴ Haggis 2001, 52.

¹⁵ Changes in climate, epidemics, an increased focus on animal husbandry, and movement away from a market economy that was no longer supported by palatial infrastructure have all been suggested as plausible alternatives to the idea that coastal depopulation and the foundation of high-elevation sites was due to violent threat—a threat which may have taken the form of external dangers coming from the sea, dangers that were internal to the island such as brigandage or opportunism resulting from increased insecurity during a time of social breakdown, or a combination of both. See Borgna 2003, 157; Burke 2018, 238; Cline 2020, 223-224; Day 2016, 206; Haggis 1993, 143; Hitchcock 2018; Knapp and Manning 2016; 2001, 53; Moody 2009; Wiener 2022, 105.

¹⁶ Nowicki 2000, 30.

more appropriately be described as re-establishments, as many were founded on sites that were already known and inhabited in the past. This is particularly true of East Crete, where the upland settlement phenomenon is most pronounced during the transition period in question. Modern parallels also speak strongly to a tendency towards settlement shift in response to threat, and to the strength of the social memory binding people to the mountains during periods of danger and difficulty. Even historically, Cretans are known to have used the mountains as places of retreat during periods of Byzantine, Venetian, and Ottoman rule and under the German occupation in World War II.¹⁷ Ethnographer Hamish Forbes relates that, to the Cretan population that he has worked with:

“...withdrawal of the population in the past from coastal areas and from low-lying plains generally because of the fear of raiders was a reality, not a hypothesis. This ‘reality’ was part of the cultural repertoire handed down to each succeeding generation: The mountains were places of safety from attack, especially during periods of domination by alien powers when life for ordinary Greeks was especially hard.”¹⁸

The importance of the intergenerational transmission of this memory, which appears to have been tied to the reoccupation of upland sites in both historic and prehistoric times, is critical to consider when attempting to understand the meaning that accrues to sites like this over time, even long after their abandonment.

The term “refuge settlement” is commonly held to be similarly laden with implications about the nature of the crisis and the nature of the migrants themselves. As Burke points out, our interpretation of refugee movements is heavily colored by the assumptions that we make about

¹⁷ Forbes 2000, 205 ; Nowicki 2000, 231. It should be noted that the average altitude of upland settlements was significantly higher during the LBA-EIA transition than for any of these other periods, a fact which must be of significance. Nowicki 2000, 233; See also Kanta 2001, 14.

¹⁸ Forbes 2000, 205.

modern refugees—that they are border transgressors arriving from distant places, destitute and without agency, and that they are bound to have a liminal status in the communities that they come to inhabit.¹⁹ Burke defines refugees, both in the modern and the ancient world, in a much more broadminded and accurate way—as “risk-initiated self-migrants” who may be motivated by a variety of differing factors, either acute or slowly developing, as diverse as loss of access to arable land (or changes in the productivity of that land), economic instability, loss or destruction of property, increased morbidity and mortality through violence or disease, marginalization, or community disarticulation.²⁰ In other words, refugees are simply people who relocate in response to prevailing circumstances—regardless of what those circumstances are, how fast this relocation occurs, or how far they decide to move. As Nowicki writes, “Settlement and its changes represent the complex response of a population of a particular region to conditions of life, influenced by internal and/or external conditions, shaped by natural and/or human factors.”²¹ When considered in this light, the term “refuge settlements” is not at all inaccurate, but the assumptions connected with the word itself make it similarly difficult to deploy without introducing the suggestion of the precipitate, unplanned, and often short-term movements of people in response to acute threat. This does not seem to have been the case during the transition period, as it appears that the shift from coastal to mountain settlement may have taken place more gradually than previously supposed, likely as a well-considered strategy rather than a sudden response to prevailing circumstances.

As we currently lack an alternative nomenclature for these sites that states the realities related to them without introducing a bias towards specific interpretations, I would suggest that it

¹⁹ Burke 2018, 231.

²⁰ Burke 2018, 237.

²¹ Nowicki 2018, 141.

is most prudent to refer to the sites established as the result of population shift occurring in this period simply as “upland sites/settlements.” Neutral terms such as these are easier to use in an impartial fashion. Nevertheless, we should be mindful that they carry a danger of their own by removing any indication of the extremity of the movements in question. While the reasons behind the foundation or refoundation of upland settlements in LM IIIB-IIIC remain unclear, the extent of the shift in settlement pattern associated with them marks the LBA-EIA transition as a period of intense change in the way that people lived and organized their lives, and thus the importance and the impact of these movements in human terms should not be underestimated. The strategic movement of populations from inhabited coastal centers to dispersed upland sites, even if it occurred gradually over time, would have carried heavy social, and possibly emotional, implications for the individuals and communities involved.²² Nowicki refers to these choices as “acts of desperation”,²³ and while this may be a hyperbolic interpretation, it should be acknowledged that even migrants moving over short distances would have left behind long-established homes and many of the experiential frameworks that had structured their individual and community identities, in some cases for generations—taking with them only those which had the power to endure beyond the dissolution of many others. Such measures are unlikely to have been undertaken lightly and must have been initiated in response to significant “push and pull” factors that were powerful enough to initiate or, in this case perhaps more accurately, continue this breakdown in experiential frameworks, regardless of what those factors were or the time scale at which they exerted their influence. The power of the identities that became embodied within these sites should, therefore, not be underestimated.

²² Nowicki 2018, 119.

²³ Nowicki 2002, 154.

What it is and isn't possible to say about specific identities on the island and what is meant, in general, by the use of the term "identity" in this dissertation should also be considered. It will be suggested in the following pages that post-abandonment ritual practices served as a means of strengthening and perpetuating the post-collapse social "identities" associated with both upland settlements and lowland monumental sites. There are two aspects of note to consider when evaluating this claim. The first of these is that it is an assertion made without any intention of implying that these acts were *consciously* undertaken for this purpose. While identity is a critical concern for us, in the contemporary moment, we can in no way assume that this was the case for individuals or communities in the ancient world. Whatever the primary purpose that these practices were intended to serve, however, they also had encoded within them aspects of social belief that were both reinforced and projected forward in time through these behaviors. For this reason it is suggested here that, regardless of their conscious intent, they had the effect of fortifying specific understandings of society and how it ought to function.

The second point of note is the acknowledgement that the identification of cultural or ethnic identity in the archaeological record is a fraught enterprise. While material markers like architectural or ceramic forms may come, over time, to be associated with specific cultural identities, "pots", as the saying goes, "don't equal people." This is, perhaps, particularly important to keep in mind for Crete during the Late Bronze to Early Iron Age. The archaeological record speaks to a marked increase on the island in what have traditionally been considered Mycenaean material markers—specific architectural forms, ceramic shapes, and burial types found primarily on the mainland—in the periods directly preceding the collapse. As will be discussed in Chapter 3, these first appeared in the area of Knossos after the destructions of late LM IB and then gradually spread outwards towards the periphery. At the same time,

elements of cultural continuity in these same material categories are notable, particularly in the east of the island. Later textual evidence, primarily from Strabo, connects this area with an autochthonous Minoan identity.²⁴ Whether the arrival of Mycenaean material markers signaled the arrival of Mycenaean people, in the form of invaders or migrants, as opposed to cultural diffusion is unknown. Regardless, Mycenaean and Minoan cultural influences appear to have been coexisting and mixing on the island for over two centuries before the collapse period.

Even if we could, with certainty, equate specific material markers with these specific cultural identities, in thinking about “who” was revisiting these sites it is necessary to consider the likelihood that the identities existing on the island in the wake of the changes associated with the collapse were not entirely the same as those which preexisted this period of transformation. The ability to maintain social stability during this interval of uncertainty likely rested on the fact that key aspects of preexisting identities were maintained. However, as the experiential frameworks that structured the lives of people on the island shifted, changed, or, in some cases, broke down completely, these identities would also, by necessity, have shifted and changed in order to make sense of, or make room for, these changes. To some degree, therefore, the changes associated with the LBA-EIA transition would have resulted in the creation of essentially new ways of existing in the world that were critically informed by, but not necessarily defined by what had come before. We cannot, therefore, speak of explicitly “Minoan” or “Mycenaean” identities in relation to the material assemblages associated with post-abandonment practices on the island of Crete during the Early Iron Age, though we can, perhaps, see in them the echo of certain social aspects that we associate with these cultural identities.

²⁴ Strabo 10.4.6

In this dissertation the ethnic or cultural identities associated with specific material markers—which, as discussed above, can only be speculated about—are of less importance than the social ideologies that underlay their use, which are more easily identified in the archaeological record. Elite warrior burials, for instance, are important in this text, not as an indicator of “Mycenaean” identity, but as an indicator of a social ideology that was associated with elite competition and display. This is an ideology that is materially apparent at some sites—in the deposition of high-value goods in contexts associated with specific individuals, for example—and not at others. In the same vein, a more heterarchical social system evidenced in material markers associated with the east before the collapse period can be hypothesized for some sites—burials where all of the assemblages are similar in size and value, for instance—and not at others. The question of concern here is not “who” people were, from an etic perspective, but rather “how” members of specific communities related themselves to one another and how they maintained the social frameworks that kept these relationships in place. When the word identity is used, therefore, it is not intended to suggest a specific ethnic belonging, but rather to indicate a shared emic understanding of the place that members of a given community held in relationship to one another. These understandings may very well have been holdovers from earlier cultural identities, but no attempt will be made to assert this with certainty.

Chapter Divisions

The research put forward in this dissertation will be organized as follows:

Chapter 2 provides a brief literature review on the study of post-abandonment visitation in mainland Greece and Crete, followed by an introduction to the bodies of theory that contribute

to the theoretical foundation of this dissertation. These include the topic of social memory and several bodies of theoretical work which contribute to an understanding of the formation and reification of identity including the power of place, the role of ritual practice, and the intergenerational transmission of memory. Attention will then be turned to the theoretical framework that directly structures the approach that this dissertation takes. This theoretical framework combines observations on the social significance of the construction and abandonment of specific genres of place with social trauma theory to create what will serve as a model for understanding the post-abandonment practices described in the following pages.

Chapter 3 situates the evidence for post-abandonment visitation to abandoned sites of memory in the Early Iron Age on Crete within a wider framework of social change occurring on the island between the late LM IB destructions of c. 1450 BCE and the end of the Early Iron Age in around 630 BCE. This includes a detailed exploration of changes in the material record related to changes in settlement patterns, economic patterns of consumption and exchange, mortuary practice, and ritual activity during four distinct periods of social change, including LM II-LM IIIA2, LM IIIB-LM IIIC, LM IIIC/SM to PG, and LG to EA.

Chapters 4 and 5 catalog the archaeological evidence for post-abandonment practices taking place at upland settlements and lowland monumental sites respectively. Included in these chapters are details concerning the general history of each case study, the phases of revisitation occurring at each site, the overall chronology of the deposits and the material included within them, and the spatial focus of the deposits. Following this, a detailed catalog of the contents of each deposit are given for each case study.

Chapter 6 synthesizes the data from Chapters 4 and 5 in order to analyze similarities and differences in the material assemblages associated with each genre of place under discussion.

Differences in the spatial distribution of the deposits placed within upland and lowland monumental sites will also be analyzed, followed by a discussion on the significance of the differences in the intrinsic versus extrinsic value of the rites being performed at each site-type.

Chapter 7 is a discussion intended to synthesize the theory given in Chapter 2 and the background information given in Chapter 3 with the data offered in Chapters 4, 5 and 6 to provide a better understanding of the chronological relationships that exist between periods of social change on the island, the creation and abandonment of specific site-types, and memory practices that involve a return to these abandoned sites. This chapter will discuss the question of whether or not the episodes of memory practice under discussion were related to the need to solidify or reinforce identities that arose in the wake of the LBA-EIA transition, and, if so, whether or not we can view these practices as implicated in long term processes of social change on the island. The dissertation, as a whole, will then be concluded with a discussion of the insights gained from the research detailed within these pages, and with suggestions for future research.

Overall, I will argue that variations both in the genre of place targeted for post-abandonment rites on the island of Crete during the EIA and in the rites themselves suggest that these practices were associated with the development and maintenance of distinct post-collapse identities that differed significantly along ideological lines. I will also argue that the differences in social ideology which were reflected in ritual activities associated with each of these abandoned genres of place are important for our understanding of later social developments on the island and how and why they emerged.

Figures

Period	Approximate Date
Late Minoan IB	1480-1425 BCE
Late Minoan II	1425-1390 BCE
Late Minoan IIIA1	1390-1370/1360 BCE
Late Minoan IIIA2	1370/1360-1340/1330 BCE
Late Minoan IIIB	1340/1330 BCE-1190 BCE
Late Minoan IIIC	1190-1070 BCE
Subminoan	1070-970 BCE
Protogeometric	970-810 BCE
Early Geometric	810-790 BCE
Middle Geometric	790-745 BCE
Late Geometric	745-700 BCE
Early Archaic/Protoarchaic	700-630 BCE

Table 1.1 Chronology (After Prent 2005)

CHAPTER 2 PLACE, PRACTICE, PURPOSE: THEORIZING IDENTITY FORMATION AND REIFICATION DURING TIMES OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

Visitation to abandoned places is a category of behavior that has been held in common amongst many people, in many times, and in many parts of the world. It is a practice that is clearly connected with an interest in the past as embodied within specific locations—places that hold important associations for those who visit them, whether because of continuously held knowledge concerning them or because of reimagined or reappropriated histories later projected on to them. Visitation of this kind has what Maurice Halbwachs labeled a “double-focus,” one part of which is the physical site itself and its material affordances, and the other part of which is the symbolic value that it holds for those who continue to see it as significant—a narrative or an idea, shared by the group in question, that “adheres to and is superimposed upon this physical reality”.²⁵ These narratives, at times, become physically superimposed upon abandoned places through the material remains of ritual practice or other activities taking place there. When this occurs, the double focus described by Halbwachs—the material affordances of the place of memory, itself, combined with the understandings that visitors project on to it—provides a tangible window onto the meaning that these sites held for the people who singled them out as important. Practices such as these are not temporally limited to the period under discussion, nor are they geographically limited to the Mediterranean. The idea that places associated with the past have significance is one which is, if not universal, widespread throughout time and space. As such, there is a wide body of theoretical literature, coming out of many different disciplines

²⁵ Halbwachs 1992, 204; Till 2003, 290.

and regions of study, through which one might query the meanings and importance of the memory practices which are the focus of this dissertation.

Before approaching this literature, however, it is important to understand the lens through which activities like these have traditionally been viewed in the region and time period under consideration. The interest in the past that arose during the Early Iron Age has been the focus of a large corpus of scholarship. Tomb cult has received special attention, as has the worship of heroes at “hero shrines”.²⁶ Visitation to Bronze Age lowland monumental sites on Crete also has its place in the literature, and several scholars have touched on visitation to upland LM IIIC settlements as well.²⁷ In reviewing this literature, particularly the citations attached to it, several things become apparent. Firstly, as implied in the introduction, the work that has been done on memory practices at abandoned sites on Crete has been very heavily influenced by the work of scholars whose main focus of interest is mainland Greece—more particularly mainland Greece in the 8th century BC. The conclusions of mainland scholars have been, for the most part, transferred over uncritically, as though Crete and the mainland might be considered identical in terms of culture and history.²⁸ This is decidedly not the case. Secondly, and likely as a result of this first predisposition, there has been a tendency to treat all instances of post-abandonment visitation as though they were the same, regardless of the nature of the place being targeted for visitation, the nature of the practices being carried out, or the time period in which this visitation takes place.

²⁶ Antonaccio 1994; 1995; Coldstream 1976; Bremmer 2019; Kearns 1992; Mazarakis 1999; Minchin 2012; Morris 1998; Snodgrass 1988; Whitley 1994.

²⁷ Coldstream 1998; D’agata 1999; Day 2007; 2022; Prent 2003; 2005; Wallace 2003; 2010.

²⁸ See for example Prent 2005, 512.

This second tendency might be further explicated by a third apparent trend in the literature—post-abandonment visitation on both the mainland and on the island of Crete is rarely approached through an interdisciplinary theoretical lens. Theoretical references are scarce in the literature of both regions.²⁹ Instead of interpretation relying, in part, on a structuring theoretical framework, interpretation has been largely based on earlier archaeological writings, many of which are colored by their grounding in 19th century political and social ideologies—particularly in linear models of social development which emphasize the role that sites of memory play in the process of legitimizing and maintaining both power and territory in the context of the nation state. The notion that “eventually, the use of memory always intersects with power,” is one that was born in the 19th and 20th centuries and, because of this, these are the easiest interpretations for us to see as feasible.³⁰ As current interpretations stand, all episodes of post-abandonment visitation, both in Crete and on the mainland, are seen within this context—as being performed by emerging elites seeking to legitimize their claims to power, influence, and/or territory as society evolved inexorably from collapse towards social complexity. This is by no means the only interpretation possible, and yet it has become so codified in the literature that few attempts have been made to break away from this assumption.³¹ The goal of this chapter is to redress this situation by addressing the theoretical gap in the prevailing literature on the subject of post-abandonment visitation on the island of Crete between LM IIIC and the early Archaic periods. This requires us to take a step back from the archaeological evidence and query, from a theoretical perspective, several themes that underlie the topic of this dissertation. The central

²⁹ There are some important exceptions to this, including, amongst others, the work of Metaxia Tsipopoulou. See Tsipopoulou 2019 as an example.

³⁰ Hoelscher and Alderman 2004, 349.

³¹ Van Dyke 2019, 211.

focus of all of these themes is identity—how it is formed, how it is reified, and how it is projected into the future.

The time period under discussion was one characterized by multiple horizons of transformation and change, and identity, as a structuring and stabilizing force, becomes critical following moments of extreme social alteration.³² The power of place in the grounding of identity, the role of ritual practice in the solidification and reification of evolving identities, and the intergenerational transmission of memories that serve to project those social identities into the future are all topics which have a great deal of literature attached to them, and which are fundamental to understanding the memory practices under discussion. After a brief introduction to the concepts of social memory and identity, each of these topics will be addressed.

Attention will then be turned to the theoretical framework that directly structures the approach that this dissertation takes. As described in Chapter 1, post-abandonment visitation on the island of Crete during the EIA appears to have been focused on two distinct genres of place—upland settlements and lowland monumental sites. A theoretical discussion on the creation and abandonment of specific categories of site, and the connection between cycles of creation/abandonment and moments of social transformation, will be followed by an explanation of social trauma theory. This body of theory gives us a means of understanding the processes by which societies adapt to extreme change, and how, through these adaptations, periods of social transformation become integrated into the social body, and into social memory, in such a way that they become intergenerational in their effects—going on to significantly influence the direction in which society develops. The material progression associated with the creation and

³² Assmann 2021, 26.

abandonment of categories of place will then be combined with the social progression associated with social trauma theory to create what will serve as a model for understanding the post-abandonment practices described in the following pages.

Theoretical Background: Memory, Identity, Place Practice

Social Memory and Identity

The concept of social memory—memory that belongs to a collective rather than to an individual³³—has been written about extensively but has long suffered from a problem of definition.³⁴ It has been referred to at times as cultural memory, collective memory, or public memory. These terms have been used interchangeably by some. At the same time, each carries a slightly different interpretation in each of the many fields of study in which they have been deployed.³⁵ For the purposes of this dissertation, because of its focus on embodied memory practices, I prefer the definition given by Aleida Assmann. She suggests that social memory can be viewed as a system of values contained within material artifacts, embodied practices, and institutions that serve to preserve the past as a critical resource for both the present and the future. The significance of social memory, based on this definition, lies in the fact that the elements that comprise it serve both to create and to perpetuate the knowledge that is necessary for the reinforcement and continuation of distinct social identities through time.³⁶

³³ Halbwachs 1992.

³⁴ Alcock 2015; Assmann 2015; Assmann and Czaplicka 1995; Bradley 2002; Connerton 1989; Connerton 2006; Hamilakis 2010; Halbwachs 1992; Rojas 2017; Van Dyke 2019

³⁵ Van Dyke 2019, 209.

³⁶ Assmann 2021, 26.

There are three aspects which make social memory a relevant concept for this dissertation. First, attachment to place and ritual practice—the major elements of post-abandonment visitation—are both produced from and productive of social memory. They are so integrally connected with it that they cannot be separated from it. Second, social memory is often organized around fixed points—people, places, narratives, things, and, significantly *events*, around which broader associations of meaning and belonging are arranged.³⁷ “Fateful events of the past” are one of the fixed horizons upon which social memory can be constructed.³⁸ Moments of critical social transformation are thus integrally connected with the creation of social memory, and social memory is what provides the link between post-abandonment visitation, transformative periods in the past, and evolving social identities.

It is this connection to identity formation that is the third and final aspect of social memory which gives importance to the concept within the context of this study. Identity can be defined in a myriad of different ways, studied at a number of different scales, and approached from innumerable angles. In this dissertation, identity is considered at the scale of the group, rather than at the level of the individual, and is defined as the way in which members of a community perceive themselves and their relationship to one another.³⁹ These understandings of group identification and belonging are born from shared experiences and shared understandings of the past.⁴⁰ Because identity and social memory are fluid and changeable, however, the solidification of both is an experiential and dynamic process which must be undertaken over and over again in response to the needs of the present moment.⁴¹ Renegotiated, reframed, and

³⁷ Assmann and Czaplicka 1995, 129; Cubitt 2007, 201, 203; Minchin 2012, 78.

³⁸ Assmann and Czaplicka 1995, 129; Minchin 2012, 78.

³⁹ Meskell 2002, 280.

⁴⁰ Alcock 2002, find page.

⁴¹ Assmann and Czaplicka 1995, 128; Buell and McEnroe 2019, 50-51.

repackaged with every generation, social memory serves to exert both formative and normative influences on social identity. In this way the past becomes an important tool in maintaining the stability of the present social order.⁴²

As Assman and Czaplicka state, it is the “stress fractures” of history—the “fateful events of the past”—which appear to produce the best archaeological evidence for social memory in the ancient world, and the LBA-EIA transition, as will be shown in the following chapter, was a moment of widespread social fracture.⁴³ The solidity of the past—even a past restructured by destabilizing events—can serve as a binding agent for collectives in flux, and this may explain why memory practice in the Early Iron Age appears to have been so prevalent.⁴⁴ The events which trigger this restructuring may trigger different responses in different groups, however. The adoption of critical events into social memory is, perhaps, inevitable, but the *way* these events get adopted is often strategic, allowing for the re-establishment of a stability that is unique to differing social identities—whether the goal is a return to an old order, or the beginning of something fundamentally new.⁴⁵ It is important to this study to understand that tensions between different perceptions both of the past and of its meaning in the present not only existed in the ancient world, but resulted in different approaches to the commemoration of that past and the identity that it was structured to represent.⁴⁶ Both what a community actively chooses to remember or exerts its agency to forget,⁴⁷ and how they actively choose to ritually embody those processes of memory formation, say fundamental things about the way they perceive their own

⁴² Hoelscher and Alderman 2005, 349; Connerton 1989, 3; Minchin 2012, 78.

⁴³ Assmann and Czaplicka 1995, 129

⁴⁴ Crawford 2007, 39.

⁴⁵ Cubitt 2007, 202, 210.

⁴⁶ Meskell 2007, 222.

⁴⁷ Connerton 2006, 320; Crawford 2007, 27; Cubitt 2007, 224; Hoelscher and Alderman 2004, 348.

unique identity. We should expect nuance and difference rather than homogeneity in the material evidence for these processes.

People in Place, Places with Power

Post-abandonment visitation, like many other forms of memory practice, is grounded in *place*. Place—the center of meaning, memory, and lived experience that forms the physical landscape structuring a group’s existence—is what defines these practices and gives them their meaning.⁴⁸ An understanding of the means by which meaning, memory, and identity adhere to specific places in the landscape is, therefore, fundamental to any study of post-abandonment visitation. The process of place-making is essential both to the formation of communities and to the formation of social memory, which, as discussed above, is both produced by and productive of practices of the kind under discussion.⁴⁹ We live our lives in places, our memories and our identities are connected with places, and the collected wisdom and folklore of our communities “sit” in places.⁵⁰ These associations do not vanish when places are left behind. They linger in the landscape, continuing to inform choices about which spaces should be inhabited or abandoned, remembered or forgotten.⁵¹

The idea that memories are more easily retained and transmitted when they exist within a material framework is important to the work of this dissertation and to an understanding of the significance of place.⁵² As referred to in the introduction to this chapter, Halbwachs posits that

⁴⁸ Till 2003, 291.

⁴⁹ Till 2003, 292.

⁵⁰ Basso 1996.

⁵¹ Forbes 2000, 217.

⁵² Alcock 2002, find page: Hamilakis 2010, 194.

memory endures when it has a double focus—a material component or a place in space, and a symbolic meaning that attaches to that material component.⁵³ Connerton goes as far as to say that without reference to a socially specific spatial framework within which memories can be localized, the maintenance of social memory would be impossible.⁵⁴ Of equal importance to the study at hand is the role of the landscape, itself, as witness—as a container for experiences associated with the transformative events of the past.⁵⁵ There is power in the “place where” things happened—the “place where” challenges were met and overcome, or where tragedy struck. It is often the power of “place where” that provokes post-abandonment visitation, both in the ancient world and in the contemporary moment.⁵⁶

The role of the body and its sensorial capacities in experiencing place, most particularly the experience and sensation of the movement of the body through space, is another aspect that becomes important in the context of ritual memory practices such as post-abandonment visitation.⁵⁷ It is through embodied engagement with the places of the past that their potential to provoke memory and sensation becomes actualized.⁵⁸ This provocation is deeply affective and, as will be discussed below, it is this affectivity that provides ritual practice with a quality that I call “stickiness.” It is affectivity that makes practice “stick” or adhere to the individual, and thus the collective, psyche, that imbues it with meaning, and that gives it power to endure the passage of time and the transition from generation to generation. It is the senses that provoke the visceral nature of “place where”, that connect the body to place, and that bind memory to the body.⁵⁹

⁵³ Halbwachs 1992; Till 2003, 290.

⁵⁴ Connerton 1989, 37; Van Dyke 2019, 210.

⁵⁵ Trigg 2009, 93.

⁵⁶ Argenti and Schramm 2019, 23.

⁵⁷ Casey 1996; Hamilakis 2017; Williams 2006.

⁵⁸ Graham, forthcoming; Hamilakis 2017.

⁵⁹ Hamilakis 2010, 191.

While all material traces of the past can aid in remembrance, the affective potential of traces rooted in place are exponentially more powerful in the maintenance of identity, not only because of their sensorial power, but because of the effort involved in maintaining connections to them through space and time.⁶⁰ This is particularly true when the effort involved in maintaining these connections through the ritual practices in question becomes extreme, as will be discussed below and later in this dissertation. The more effort that is required to return to places of memory, and the more extreme in terms of the intrinsic cost of the rites undertaken in these places, the greater the impact of these visitations in solidifying and strengthening the identity of those who are engaged in them.⁶¹ Returning to places of memory in repeated ritual episodes across decades or even centuries affirms values and aspects of identity that are collectively held by grounding them solidly in place and time, but places like these also provide a venue wherein the past can be reimagined or reworked to fill the needs of the present moment.⁶² Differing social groups may maintain connections to the same past, but both perceive and memorialize the various places associated with that past in different ways. Again, it is not homogeneity but difference that we should expect when approaching the material traces of ritual practices rooted in place in the ancient world.

The Power in Practice

Ritual practice has already figured heavily in the theoretical frameworks discussed above, something which highlights a difficulty inherent to the work of this chapter. Many of these

⁶⁰ Ingold 1993; Lowenthal 1975.

⁶¹ Xygalatas et al. 2013, 1604.

⁶² Alcock 2002, find page.

theoretical concepts—place, memory, and ritual in particular—are so deeply intertwined that separating them out into distinct categories creates spaces in meaning that are not representative of reality. Post-abandonment visitation relies on social memory, place, *and* ritual for its meaning. Despite this inherent interconnectedness, there are some aspects of ritual that are important to draw out in order to more fully understand their power, particularly in the context of social transformation.

In ritual, as in many other areas of theory discussed in this chapter, an agreement on definition is difficult to come by.⁶³ In earlier work there was a tendency to conflate ritual activity with religious practice, but, in truth, acts of ritual predate notions of a definitive separation between the “religious” and the “secular.”⁶⁴ In general, one might say that ritual is a typically embodied practice that involves repeated “invariant sequences of formal acts and utterances.”⁶⁵ I would add to this definition that ritual is an attempt to connect with that which is intangible or which exists in a realm beyond physical reach—whether this is a spiritual, a conceptual, or a symbolic realm—by means of that which *is* tangible and within reach—through bodies, dead or alive, through place, or through physical objects. I would further suggest that the purpose of ritual, though it may take many different forms, is often related to a need to attain a sense of control or influence over that which is inherently uncontrollable—death, tragic events, the natural world, etc. In this regard, considering what ritual *does*—what it has the power to facilitate and how—is far more important to this project than defining what ritual *is*.

Though ritual has many functions, and can be mobilized to produce many outcomes, within the context of this study the most important thing that ritual has the power to facilitate is

⁶³ Bell 2007.

⁶⁴ Renfrew 2007, 110.

⁶⁵ Rappaport 1999, 24.

social cohesion. The nature of this cohesion may be variable, although, as discussed below, some rituals are more well-suited to creating certain kinds of cohesion than others. Ritual may be used to legitimate authority within a rigidly hierarchical social system, to create a sense of civic duty, or to heal a social rupture, but, as discussed above, it can also be used to create a common sense of identity.⁶⁶ Anthropologist Jennifer Cole notes that the periods following rebellions or other destabilizing events often see a rise in ritual activity precisely because of the power that ritual has to reintegrate or bind together shattered group identities through shared practice.⁶⁷ The integrative function of ritual allows for social tensions to be eased, and harmonious social relationships to be reestablished in periods of divisiveness, and also in periods of uncertainty.⁶⁸ Key to this ability are the social rules, conventions, and obligations that underlie ritual—the a priori assumptions that both arise from and reify the social identity of the participants. Participation in the ritual is also a performance of acceptance—of committing oneself to these rules and obligations in a public setting, and watching others do the same.⁶⁹ Through the performance of shared commitment, social order is both established and maintained.⁷⁰

One of the critical aspects of ritual that facilitates the creation of social cohesion, particularly in times of social rupture, is its ability to generate meaning connected to the transformative events of the past. Ritual itself is a process of interpreting, packaging, and delivering the past in a way that makes it understandable. This is particularly true in the case of problematic or tragic pasts, which can include events so far outside the realm of everyday experience that they are difficult, if not impossible, to assimilate into existing experiential

⁶⁶ Argenti and Schramm 2019, 19; Renfrew 2007, 119; Van Dyke 2019, 213.

⁶⁷ Cole 2004, 92.

⁶⁸ Cole 2004, 98.

⁶⁹ Rappaport 1979, 193.

⁷⁰ Renfrew 2007, 119.

frameworks without an appeal to symbolic powers perceived to exist outside of everyday human life. Ritual allows groups to connect with these symbolic powers, and, so, acts to restore balance in unstable situations—to pick up shattered axioms, identities, and communities and to put them back together again in a way that makes the event that shattered them not only comprehensible, but meaningful within a wider symbolic context.

This process is powerful. Compressing a difficult past into a narrative that makes sense to those who experienced it not only makes the past concrete and assimilable, but also provides a place for the ephemeral emotions of pain, fear, or grief associated with that past to become incorporated into a wider network of semantic meanings.⁷¹ It gives those emotions a place to dwell, but it also gives them power and purpose. In this way, difficult events and the “useless” emotions that accompany them, which may be perceived as distracting from processes of social recovery, become a means of binding social groups together.⁷² Not only this, but they may go on to have a profound impact, through the intergenerational transmission of these rituals and their accompanying memories, on the identity and belief systems of generations of people *who never experienced that which is being remembered*.⁷³ Ritual can be seen as instrumental, therefore, not only in constituting the remembered past, but in constituting the community doing the remembering—not just for those within living memory of the events concerned, but for countless generations to come.⁷⁴

Another aspect of ritual that gives it power as “social glue” is its distance from everyday realities—its existence outside of the quotidian and habitual performances of ordinary life.

Walking into a ritual space, holding a ritual object—these acts create a sense of the sacred merely

⁷¹ Cole 2004, 100.

⁷² Hutchison and Bleiker 2008, 387.

⁷³ Argenti and Schramm 2009, 23; Hirsch 2008.

⁷⁴ Cubitt 2007, 219, 222.

because they are set apart from everyday life. This is particularly true for post-abandonment visitation, as, by definition, this category of ritual act requires people to step outside of their habitual space of existence and physically enter “the past” as captured and held within places of memory. The “return” to the past makes the past an active, rather than a passive agent, in the life of the social collective.⁷⁵ The past becomes a lived experience—a reality—rather than only a vague notion or idea of “pastness”. Within this space of memory, people inhabit a world that has become “other,” strange, and deeply affective from the point of view of both the emotions and the senses.

The affectivity of ritual is an essential part of its distance from the everyday. Through these experiences, the past transitions from a memory held within the social body of the community to one held within the body of the individual participant. In acts of post-abandonment visitation, the movement through space that is required to connect people to abandoned places is already innately sensorial, but the temporally liminal nature of places connected with the past also carries its own affective potential. Abandoned sites are places where past, present, and future become juxtaposed and entangled,⁷⁶ and these unstable temporalities have their own “taste”—their own way of speaking to practicing bodies. Additionally, the fragmented material culture innate to these sites carries its own uncanny sensorial aura, inhabiting, as it does, a similarly unstable plain, not only between past and present, but between wholeness and disintegration.⁷⁷ The sites, smells, and other sensations provoked by the decay of the fragmented built environment, blend with the sensorial aspects of the ritual itself—the smell of burning, the taste of wine, the sensation of movement—which differ depending on the rites

⁷⁵ Cubitt 2007, 219.

⁷⁶ Argenti and Schramm 2009, 5.

⁷⁷ Bell, forthcoming; Edensor 2007.

involved. The collective group becomes a part of this sensorial assemblage,⁷⁸ and these sensorially shared experiences bind participants to each other and to their shared understanding of the past.

Physical and emotional sensations exist in the body before they are translated by the brain into a conscious system of meaning. Sensations like those described above thus provide the raw material for meaning-making—the raw data for remembrance.⁷⁹ Not all rituals are created equal in terms of their affective potential, however. Spiritual fervor, such as that which one might feel when leaving a votive offering at a cult site, is a quite different emotional experience from the grief that one might feel during the burial rites at a funeral, for example, or the emotions which one might feel while commemorating a battle or memorializing a genocide. Of particular interest to the study at hand, which deals with post-abandonment rituals of a number of different kinds, are the differences in the relative “cost” of these rituals—not only in terms of their extrinsic, or exchange value, but in terms of their intrinsic value—their innate affectivity or the labor or effort they take to accomplish. The reason for this is that research shows that the relative cost, and the *kind* of cost, that differing rituals bear has an impact on both the level and the type of social cohesion that they create.⁸⁰ While the deposition of cult offerings of high-extrinsic cost may contribute to social stability through the continued reinforcement of social hierarchies, studies on ritual behavior have shown that rituals which are more extreme, or have a high affective cost, tend to amplify more inclusive social identities. Intense ritual experiences have cooperative effects, and the acceptance of and willingness to participate in something that has a greater intrinsic cost not only reifies corporate identities but amplifies prosocial attitudes

⁷⁸ Hamilakis 2017.

⁷⁹ Cole 2004, 99.

⁸⁰ Atran and Norenzayan 2004; Cronk 1994; Durkheim 1995 (1912); Rappaport 1999; Sosis and Alcorta 2003; Xygalatas et al. 2013.

and behaviors. “Costly displays of group commitment” which appear nonsensical from a labor-value perspective are conserved and perpetuated because the return on investment can be measured in terms of greater social cohesion within the corporate group.⁸¹ Not all rituals are created equal, therefore, either in terms of impact or in terms of the kind of social relationships that they reify. Again, the differences matter.

Projecting the Past Forward

The intergenerational transmission of memory is essential to the project of this dissertation. The time frame of this study spans centuries of human history during which there is very little evidence for the common use of written language. Despite this fact, the evidence that will be given in the data sections of this study will show that, even when components of ritual behavior fell out of use, the specifics related to the performance of these acts were retained in memory, at times for centuries, before making a reappearance. This temporal span is well beyond what is typically considered the limit of oral history, which is, in most cases, presumed to extend no longer than 80-100 years, or three to four generations.⁸² The examples given in this dissertation are not alone. At Gournia, for example, two identical deposits, each containing over 300 vessels related to ritual feasting, were uncovered in the same room adjacent to the SW courtyard of a monumental structure. The second deposition was superimposed directly over the first, but was placed 200 years, or eight generations later.⁸³ How was the memory connected with

⁸¹ Xygalatas et al. 2103, 1604.

⁸² Assmann and Czaplicka 1995, 127

⁸³ Buell and McEnroe 2019, 50-51.

this ritual deposition transferred? The answer is connected with aspects of social memory that we have already discussed.

The first of these aspects is that the links that bind past, present, and future are often, as Susan Alcock says, materially derived.⁸⁴ Material links to the past are strengthened and become codified through what Aleida Assmann, in her study of intergenerational transmission of memory, has called “strategies of duration.”⁸⁵ While Assmann generally limits the ability to mobilize strategies of duration to those cultures that use writing as an external system for storing information, we know from the discussions above that attachment to places and their associated structures have the capacity to encode cultural meaning and memory for generations to come. Memorials, buildings—physical artifacts of all kinds—have the capacity to endure. Durability is, in fact, one of the most important aspects of material.⁸⁶ The material related to earlier ritual activity, here encoded specifically within abandoned sites, serves as an external system of memory storage in just the same way that a written text would. Material links to the past thus provide anchors of memory that allow for the transmission of culture and identity well beyond the limits of oral history.

The second aspect that relates to the transmission of social memory across generations is what Assmann has called “strategies of repetition” —embodied performances, music, dance, and, above all, *ritual*.⁸⁷ As has been shown, ritual has great power to create enduring links between past, present, and future—it allows the lived past to be lived again through the affectivity of embodied practices passed down from generation to generation. As Connerton notes, it is

⁸⁴ Alcock 2002, find page.

⁸⁵ Assmann 2015, 82.

⁸⁶ Hamilakis 2010, 193.

⁸⁷ Assmann 2015, 82.

commemorative ceremonies and bodily practices that are the most crucial acts of transfer for ensuring that the most vital aspects of culture and identity endure through time.⁸⁸

When collective experience crystallizes into a durable material form, or into an embodied ritual practice, it creates an enduring legacy “whose meaning, when touched upon, may suddenly become accessible again across millennia.”⁸⁹ While we may not understand precisely how this process works, it is clear that memory can be transmitted well beyond the limits of oral history. It is the ability of these connections to the material past, and the practices related to that past, to be preserved and perpetuated—to endure decades, centuries, or even a millennium into the future, that makes the study that follows possible.

Theoretical Framework: The Creation and Abandonment of Genres of Place and Social Trauma Theory

The Creation and Abandonment of Genres of Place

The preceding pages have provided the theoretical building blocks that form the foundation of this dissertation—social memory, identity, place, practice, and the intergenerational transmission of memory. The following pages will provide the theoretical framework upon which it is structured. The explanation of this framework begins with an assessment of the significance of genres of place in relation to periods of social transformation. One of the questions posed at the beginning of Chapter 1 was this: What was it about upland settlements, in particular, that marked them as important to ancient Cretans? To take this question

⁸⁸ Connerton 1989, 40.

⁸⁹ Assmann and Czaplicka 1995, 129

further, why were these settlements and lowland monumental sites, singled out for post-abandonment ritual activity while other abandoned sites on the island were destroyed through quarrying, reused for habitation, or completely ignored?⁹⁰ Incorporated into this very specific question, which will be addressed more explicitly at a later point in this dissertation, are two much broader theoretical questions. First, what does it mean when something that can be conceptualized, from an archaeological or etic perspective, as a “genre” or “type” of site comes into being and then is subsequently abandoned? Second, what might it mean when a number of different sites that belong to the same “genre” or “type” of site are targeted by the same kinds of post-abandonment activities?

To address the first question, I would propose that genres of place arise out of social necessity, though they are likely not consciously organized or conceptualized as specific “categories” or “types” of sites during the process of their creation. This social necessity cannot be based on a purely local phenomenon, which would result in the construction of only a single site, but must, by definition, be the result of a more widely held social requirement. The more numerous the individual examples of a category of place are, the more widespread the phenomenon which drove the need for its creation can be considered to have been. In order to make this concept clearer, I will utilize an analogy from more recent history: the construction of mental asylums in the United States.

In this example, the onset of the Industrial Revolution—a moment of profound social transformation—led to increased urbanization and the loss of village-based networks of care for the “insane,” which in turn led to an increase in the number of unhoused mentally ill in urban

⁹⁰ Some examples include small farmsteads and hamlets across the island and peak sanctuaries in the east, which Gaignerot-Driessen suggests may have been actively avoided. Gaignerot-Driessen 2019. See also Prent 2003, 86-87.

settings.⁹¹ Social necessity, at this point in time, resulted in the creation of a category of place—*asylums*—that was intended to meet a need—the need to house and care for the mentally ill. This need was generated by a significant social change. The widespread and broadly contemporaneous nature of the circumstances that created this need is indicated by the sheer number and the wide geographical spread of the asylums, which were constructed within a fairly narrow time period to meet it—the mid to late 19th century. In a reciprocal fashion, the collective abandonment of a genre of place can be considered reflective of a second moment of widespread social or cultural transformation—one which resulted in the negation of that genre’s necessity or desirability. In the example given above, WWI and the Great Depression led to overcrowding in asylums,⁹² which, in turn led to increased abuse and neglect, ultimately resulting in deinstitutionalization and the abandonment of the majority of these buildings.⁹³ In this cycle we can see the impact of social transformation on the built environment at two distinct points—in the moment of their creation, and in the moment of their abandonment.

As it happens, this particular genre of place—*asylums*—also allows us to put forward a potential answer to the second question listed above. What does it mean when a number of different sites that belong to the same “genre” or “type” of place are targeted by the same kinds of post-abandonment ritual activity? A large number of asylums have, over the roughly 70 years since deinstitutionalization began, been left derelict and decaying in the landscape. Though initially left untouched, these sites have, in the last several decades, become hotspots for visitation among urban explorers who see them as representative of a marginalized identity to which they, themselves, relate. Specific and widely held understandings of the past associated

⁹¹ Morrissey and Goldman 1986.

⁹² Commission on the Treatment and Care of People Afflicted with Physical or Mental Disabilities 1939, 17.

⁹³ Grob 1991.

with these structures are encoded within the material interactions that visitors have with them, and these understandings are made manifest in the graffiti and other material interventions that serve as the physical reminders of these interactions. To visit an abandoned asylum now means to confront, not only the site itself, but the narratives embedded within the material leftover from previous post-abandonment interventions. These narratives are overwhelmingly focused on the asylums as places of abuse and neglect, and this understanding is reflected in the content of graffiti and the specific areas of the buildings that are the focus of greatest interest.

Significantly, this content and these areas of focus—morgues, hydrotherapy/operating rooms, and patient housing—are similar across the majority of these abandoned sites, suggesting that the particular narrative about the past being projected onto these buildings is one that is widely understood as representative. These interactions have increased in response to the recent mental health care crisis, and the narrative being strengthened through post-abandonment visitation and media representations of asylums has had a direct impact on the solutions which we are willing to consider as a response to this crisis. Calls on the part of medical professionals for the construction of new asylums to meet current social needs have been met with extreme resistance, in large part because of the place which asylums have come to hold in the social imagination. These are narratives that have been, and continue to be, reinforced through post-abandonment visitation.

From this and other modern examples we can hypothesize that post-abandonment visitation that is directed at a *genre of place*, particularly when the visitation takes standardized forms, is, thus, indicative of a more widely held, or extra-local, social narrative related not only to what that category once represented, but to the significance which that category of place

continues to hold in the social imagination.⁹⁴ As referenced at the beginning of this chapter, this significance is understood by the visitors to “adhere” to, or be an innate characteristic of the site itself, but it is also a significance that becomes “superimposed upon” the site through the material remains associated with acts of visitation.⁹⁵ Not only the idea of this category of site as being noteworthy, therefore, but also the particular meaning that has been attributed to it, is projected forward into the future both through the intergenerational transmission of memory and through the resulting physical alteration of the sites which, by definition, reflects the narrative which dictated the form that these interactions took.⁹⁶ The reinforcement of specific narratives about the past through ritual interaction with abandoned sites can, as shown in the example above, directly impact the direction in which social change develops.

There is a linear progression to these observations, which can be represented visually (Fig. 2.1). As described above, the existence of an abandoned category of place implies two moments of social impetus or impact. The first of these is representative of the social need which gives rise to a specific genre of place (Fig. 2.1a), and the second is representative of the decline of that need (Fig. 2.1b). The decades following abandonment may be a period of narrative negotiation (Fig. 2.1c), during which individual memories and experiences connected with these sites become incorporated into more collective understandings of the past. This is a period which is backward facing (Fig. 2.1d), relying upon the materiality of the abandoned category of site to serve as a witness to the reality behind the developing narrative, but it is also one which is forward-looking (Fig. 2.1e) in that these narratives, once formed, become highly transferrable, having a direct impact on what is considered possible or socially permissible in the future.

⁹⁴ Cubitt 2007, 204.

⁹⁵ Halbwachs 1992, 204.

⁹⁶ Cubitt 2007, 202.

Eventually, this period of negotiation results in the solidification of an agreed upon narrative concerning this category of place and the past which it represents (Fig. 2.1f). A narrative, once in place, has power—whether as a cautionary tale, or as a success story—to impact the direction in which society moves in the future. These narratives, and the post-abandonment rites that support them, remain in place for as long as they are socially necessary, whereupon they may fade into obscurity. If a new challenge related to the past represented by this category of site arises, however, there may be a revival of interest in the material correlates to that past, as they are, once again, called on to act as witnesses to the narrative they have been coopted to represent.

Although the timeline represented in Figure 2.1 has a linear progression, it is also decidedly cyclical or layered in terms of its temporality. There are moments in this progression when past, present, and future occupy the same space—a feat made possible through material's inherent durability,⁹⁷ and through the temporal mutability that is innate to sites of memory, generally. The capacity that material remnants have to tell or to become symbolic of a story is heightened by each succeeding episode of post-abandonment visitation, which, through the material impact that this behavior has on the site, serves to amplify the aspects which pertain most directly to the narrative perceived to be embodied within the ruins. Altered, added to, rearranged—staged, as it were—through these practices, these sites are no longer mute witnesses to an uninterpreted past. They materially reflect the narrative that has solidified around them, and with every subsequent instance of revisitation, this narrative becomes even more materially pronounced.

If the creation and abandonment of categories of place, and the physical interventions associated with post-abandonment rites, can be considered part of a material progression that, as

⁹⁷ Hamilakis 2010, 193.

has been shown, can be mapped onto periods of social change, this progression must also be reflective of wider social processes within which these periods of change, creation, abandonment, and visitation are nested. Social trauma theory, a body of theory developed in the field of sociology, offers a means of understanding these processes, particularly as they relate to periods of extreme social transformation such as the Bronze Age collapse.

Social Trauma Theory

The introduction to this chapter identified two key issues that have affected the study of post-abandonment visitation on the island of Crete. The first of these is that theory is, as a rule, underutilized in the study of memory practices such as these in mainland and Cretan archaeology—an inclination exacerbated by the fact that these areas have become somewhat conflated by the importation of mainland interpretations directly onto Cretan material. Secondly, the interpretations, themselves, have been heavily influenced by the temporal positioning of both earlier scholars and ourselves in the era of the nation-state, which predisposes us to default to interpretations of memory practice that privilege territoriality and power. Given the first problem, it is, perhaps, not surprising that I should seek to explore a new theoretical approach to the study of memory on Crete. Given the second, it seems paradoxical that I should seek alternate interpretations to these practices by appealing to a body of theoretical literature that is, manifestly, a product of the experiences of our own time—an era that has witnessed totalitarian regimes, total war, and cultural genocide, and has had to grapple with the social impacts of all of these.

The question of how human beings, as individuals and as communities, survive extreme social change and live with its memory is, from the point of view of the majority of the available

theoretical literature, a thoroughly modern one. It is a matter of fact, however, that collectives throughout time have experienced massive social change and have had to find ways of assimilating those experiences into their understanding and identity. What has been problematic about the application of modern frameworks to archaeological contexts in the past is not that we have formulated questions about the formation of the archaeological record based on experiences in the modern and post-modern eras, but that we do not transparently acknowledge that the answers we receive are necessarily limited by what we are capable of perceiving as scholars emplaced within our own time.⁹⁸

Based on this belief, I have chosen to explore a body of theoretical work—cultural and social trauma theory—as an alternative means of understanding post-abandonment visitation during the LBA-EIA transition. I do this despite the fact that this is not a theoretical framework that was developed with the ancient world in mind and I transparently acknowledge that it must be implemented with a great deal of circumspection and self-awareness. The reason for this choice centers on what this body of theory offers in terms of wider interpretive possibilities. Social trauma theory, while it acknowledges the likelihood that elite strategies aimed at the acquisition or retention of power and territory will emerge in times of social instability, gives equal footing to the likely emergence of non-elite strategies aimed at solidifying threatened corporate identities following moments of extreme change.⁹⁹ Allowing for the existence of multiple social groups, each with their own memories and identities, gives greater nuance to our understanding of the past and avoids the danger of, as Susan Alcock notes, “reifying some monolithic, mystical group” rather than doing justice to the more complex reality of the past.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ Olivier 2011, 97-98.

⁹⁹ Alexander 2004; Argenti and Schramm 2009; Assmann 2015; 2016; 2021; Cole 2004; Eyerman 2021; Fuchs 2011; Hamburger 2021; Hinton 2002; Hutchison and Bleiker 2008; Sztompka 2004; Volkan 2021.

¹⁰⁰ Alcock 2002, 15.

The acknowledgement that the creation and maintenance of memory practices forms a fundamental part of *both* of these strategies is an additional essential aspect of this theoretical framework. Using social trauma theory thus allows us space to question the previous insistence that all episodes of post-abandonment visitation on the island during the period in question were performed by the same groups for the same reasons and should thus carry the same interpretation.

Interest in the concept of social trauma—trauma that is experienced and understood as belonging to a community rather than to an individual—has been evolving since the 1980’s in the social sciences. Its usefulness and applicability on an interdisciplinary scale quickly enabled it to expand beyond its origin in Holocaust studies, but like the concept of collective memory, explored earlier, it initially suffered from overly broad usage and a lack of clear definition.¹⁰¹ A more precise term, “cultural trauma”, was coined by Jeffrey Alexander and colleagues in their edited volume *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity*, a work that emerged out of a year-long collaborative project at the Center for Advanced Studies in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford University.¹⁰² Work on this topic has advanced in the fields of sociology, anthropology, psychology, psychiatry, memory studies, law, social and cultural theory, and ethics since the publication of that seminal volume in 2004. Archaeology, however, has kept its distance from this body of theoretical work.

The biggest stumbling block to recognizing the usefulness of social trauma theory in the field of archaeology appears to be a general inability to move beyond the perceived semantics of the word “trauma”. Lay understandings of the word focus on its psychological aspects, which are

¹⁰¹ Hamburger 2021, 4; Assmann 2015, 86.

¹⁰² Alexander et al. 2004, vii.

primarily centered on individual subjective experiences not well suited to archaeological inquiry. In the concept of cultural trauma, however, “trauma” is defined as an abrupt, unexpected, and widely prevalent *social change*, often precipitated by an “impact event” of unspecified character—one which has such widespread effects at the level of the individual, that those effects are registered and reflected at the level of the community or social collective.¹⁰³ Impact events do not have to be “traumatic” in the popular sense to fit within this theoretical framework. They might be difficult, unjust, or violent, but they may also be benign, or even positive in nature.¹⁰⁴ The Industrial Revolution, for example, could be considered an impact event, though its effects, as discussed earlier, reached well beyond the boundaries of a single community. Though not inherently “traumatic” from a lay perspective, it was an unforeseen, rapidly evolving social development that unquestionably altered the trajectory of society—in this case globally—in ways that are abundantly apparent archaeologically. It was a “fateful event of the past.”¹⁰⁵

The content or the nature of the event is not what lies at the root of cultural trauma theory. The word “trauma” refers, instead, to the rend or the wound in the social fabric that extreme change of any kind causes—a wound that requires the reconstitution of the social body in such a way that this change can be adapted to and made socially meaningful. Cultural trauma results from the shattering of the experiential frameworks that form the basis of community identity.¹⁰⁶ In the wake of an impact event, these experiential frameworks must be reconstituted in such a way that they preserve vital elements of deeply held identities while, at the same time, adapt to incorporate the exigencies of new circumstances. Part of this reconstitution is the creation of meaning around the impact event, itself—coming to terms with the significance of

¹⁰³ Assmann 2015, 87; Fuchs 2011.

¹⁰⁴ Assmann 2021, 27; Sztompka 2004, 157; Alexander 2004, 2.

¹⁰⁵ Assmann and Czaplicka 1995, 129.

¹⁰⁶ Sztompka 2004, 157.

this past and incorporating it into the reformed collective identity through memorializing practices.¹⁰⁷ Through this process, impact events become deeply engrained in the cultural knowledge that is subsequently passed on from generation to generation, becoming an inseparable part of the social body—how it thinks, responds, acts and remembers. Even when the moment of transformation is no longer deeply preoccupying, the restructured collective identity associated with it continues to serve as the foundation upon which approaches to new or evolving social problems are constructed. The consequence is that impact events cast shadows, not only on short-term responses, but on long-term social developments.¹⁰⁸ Cultural trauma theory seeks to understand the processes by which societies adapt to extreme changes like these, and how, through these adaptations, impact events become integrated into the social body, and into social memory, in such a way that they become intergenerational in their effects—going on to significantly influence the direction in which society develops.

When we are able to dismiss the psychological aspects of the word “trauma” and move beyond the everyday understanding of its meaning, the potential applicability of this theoretical framework to archaeology becomes much clearer. Although cultural trauma theory was born out of the experiences of our own time, communities from prehistory onwards have experienced massive social disruptions, many of which are identifiable through material correlates observable in the archaeological record. Some of these periods of extreme change may have been manifestly positive in nature, as opposed to “traumatic” in the lay sense. The LBA-EIA transition on Crete shows, on the whole, remarkable economic and social resilience, despite dramatic and obvious social change, as will be discussed in the following chapter.¹⁰⁹ Regardless of the content of the

¹⁰⁷ Hamburger 2021, 5; Simko 2020, 55; Sztompka 2004, 160.

¹⁰⁸ Alexander 2004, 24; Hamburger 2021, 3; Sztompka 2004, 162.

¹⁰⁹ Wallace 2010, 2021.

change itself, or of the ultimate result of its impact, EIA Cretans—of varying identities—would have had to find ways of assimilating these experiences, both into their understanding and into their worldview.

There is, however, a difficulty inherent to applying cultural trauma theory, as a blanket framework, to a study centered on the transformative events of the LBA-EIA transition. Cultural trauma theory focuses on targeted individual groups and communities who share a common cultural identity, and the “Bronze Age collapse”—much like the Industrial Revolution—might be considered an almost “global” phenomenon, with effects reaching well beyond both regional and cultural boundaries. In 2021 a new, interdisciplinary volume was published, which brought all of the latest research on the topic of collective trauma together in one place. This volume, *Social Trauma: An Interdisciplinary Textbook*, contributed additional concepts and ideas, originating in many fields, which allow for the expansion of this theoretical framework beyond the boundaries of a single cultural group to allow for the assessment of the social consequences of impact events with a more widespread distribution.¹¹⁰ The introduction to this volume limited this theory’s understanding of traumatogenic events to those which include violence, however—a distinction that earlier attempts at understanding collective trauma did not see as meaningful.

Producing a theoretical framework which allows for the assessment of a widespread impact event like the “Bronze Age collapse,” across multiple social groups and a wider geographical spread requires combining elements of both the earlier and more recent understandings of cultural and social trauma theory, precisely because the nature of these events are so poorly understood. I have chosen to retain the term “social trauma theory” because the

¹¹⁰ Hamburger et al. 2021.

focus of this study is not limited to a single cultural group even though these groups co-existed within a geographically defined area—the island of Crete. As the following chapter will show, regional differences on the island during this period speak to the existence of multiple social identities, each of which appears to have navigated the transition period in different ways. The applied theoretical framework must, therefore, make room for these differences, allowing these nuances to come to the fore, rather than creating a homogenizing narrative which, while it may be satisfying, cannot be accurate.

Social trauma theory, as put forward in the sources already mentioned, can be mapped out as a linear progression with cyclical attributes in just the same way that the creation, abandonment, and subsequent interpretation of genres of place can be. In fact, the parallels between these two progressions are not coincidental, as moments of intense social transformation are critical to both cycles. In social trauma theory, an impact event of unspecified nature (Fig. 2.2a) is followed by a reactionary period (Fig. 2.2b). If the impact event in question was a difficult one—a natural disaster, economic recession, revolution, etc.—then this may be a period of sheer survival. If the “event” represents something more benign—the development of new technologies or the introduction of new religious theologies, for example—then this may only be a period of negotiating the implications of that change. This period can vary in length. In the modern era, it is usually between 15 and 30 years, or from one to two generations, depending on the extremity of the impact. This period is largely one of silence in terms of addressing the event itself, as the import of that event is still in the process of becoming clear.¹¹¹ This silence ends only when enough temporal distance has been achieved to allow for the full impact of the event on the social collective to be comprehended (Fig. 2.2c). It is only after this point that the process

¹¹¹ Argenti and Schramm 2009, 10-11, 13; Assmann 2021, 29; Cubitt 2007, 207; Olivier 2011, 78-79.

of meaning-making—the process of negotiating the narrative surrounding that event—begins (Fig. 2.2d). To return to contemporary analogies, this is a gap that we have seen in the current era in association with the events of the Second World War. It was not the first generation of Holocaust survivors, for example, that began to grapple with and memorialize that historical trauma, but rather the second and third generations.¹¹² A similar silence on the part of direct survivors of the bombing of Hiroshima is also notable.¹¹³

As we saw in the earlier progression associated with categories of place, this period of narrative negotiation is both backward facing (Fig. 2.2e)—in this case, focusing on how the event was adapted to or survived—and forward looking (Fig. 2.2f). This is a period of renegotiating collective social identity—of expanding experiential frameworks and realms of possibility in such a way that they are able not only to absorb the event in question, but to attach a comprehensible meaning and significance to it. To put this in plainer terms, one might say “This happened, we chose to adapt to it and understand it in this way, and that says X about who we are as a community or as a social body.” The process of renegotiation is aided by the recognition or creation of material correlates to this collective memory, such as monuments and memorials, and often also through the implementation of embodied ritual practices that serve to powerfully connect later generations—with no direct experience of this event or its aftermath—to the reinterpreted past in a personal and enduring way. Visitation to sites of memory connected with the impact event falls under this category of embodied practice and can be clearly seen to be a part of the memorializing practices associated with both examples given above.¹¹⁴ Visitation to concentration camps such as Auschwitz or to the Genabuku Dome, the only structure left

¹¹² Hirsch 2008.

¹¹³ Olivier 2011, 78.

¹¹⁴ Assmann 2021, 27.

standing in the wake of the Hiroshima bombing, have become important means of perpetuating the experience and memory of these events.

Once the adaptive social identity is solidified (Fig. 2.2g), social trauma theory suggests that it will have an intergenerational effect on the future of this social collective, and, given enough temporal distance from this initial process, we can often see the echoes of this impact event and the changes in social identity that arise from it reflected in the future political and social changes that this collective body will undergo.¹¹⁵ If a threat to this new identity ever arises (Fig. 2.2h), particularly one that is directly related to the original impact event, the memory of this moment of survival and adaptation becomes a powerful tool for countering that threat (Fig. 2.2i).¹¹⁶ Memorializing practices in this period of risk may turn back to the material correlates of the defining past, and to the embodied rituals that once helped to form and reify the identity which now finds itself in danger. When Europe experienced a rise in antisemitism in the early 2000's, for example, a travelling exhibit of over 700 objects from Auschwitz, explicitly organized to combat this rising tide of prejudice and to educate younger generations with no direct experience of the Holocaust, began touring the continent.¹¹⁷ Over 70 years after Auschwitz was liberated, the materials and places associated with this formative period of the past are still being used to solidify specific social identities associated with that moment of trauma in the face of recurrent threat.

Figure 2.1, which highlights the linear progression involved in the establishment and subsequent abandonment of categories of place, is representative of a primarily material phenomenon. Figure 2.2, which highlights the critical moments in a community's experience and

¹¹⁵ Alexander 2004, 24; Hamburger 2021, 3; Sztompka 2004, 162.

¹¹⁶ Hamburger 2021, 5; Olivier 2011, 95.

¹¹⁷ Solly 2017, 26 July.

adaptation to social transformation, is representative of a primarily social one. Nevertheless, the material and the social overlap in both theoretical spaces at specific moments—the moments where embodied rituals become focused on the material correlates of the past. The combination of these two figures (Fig. 2.3) produces what may serve, essentially, as a model applicable, with due circumspection, to periods, both modern and ancient, which witness the creation, abandonment, and subsequent visitation to a category of place—a process which, as detailed above, cannot be separated from broader processes of social transformation. Practices focused on the acquisition of power and territory are not overtly illustrated in this model, but neither are they negated. These motives can, in reality, be subsumed within the broader category of the need to solidify identity. The model makes no statements concerning the identity in question and thus is equally applicable to so-called “elite” and “non-elite” social groups—both of which should be assumed to be capable of exerting their agency, to the degree that this was possible, in reforming their identities in the wake of an impact event.

In this model (Fig. 2.3), an impact event results in the creation and use of a specific genre of place (Fig. 2.3a-c). A subsequent impact event or social transition results in the abandonment of that category of place (Fig. 2.3d-e). At some point following this abandonment, the period of silence, lasting around 1-2 generations, that generally accompanies social changes of great significance ends, and the period of meaning-making—of developing a narrative surrounding that change and its import—begins (Fig. 2.3f-h). As already discussed, this period is both backward-facing (Fig. 2.3i) and forward-looking (Fig. 2.3j). This is the period in which a first wave of post-abandonment visitation to the material correlates of the impact event—in this case, a specific category of place—may occur, the result of which will be the material alteration of the sites in question in ways that likely reflect the developing narrative (Fig. 2.3k).

Eventually, the newly reconstituted community identity, which arose as shattered experiential frameworks were reformed in the wake of the impact event, will become solidified—due in part to the ritual power of the memory practices focused on these events as embodied within abandoned places of memory (Fig. 2.3l). At this point, the need to perpetuate ritual activities at these sites may recede. If a threat to this identity ever arises, however, particularly one that can be symbolically connected in some way to the original impact event, the resumption of sometimes long abandoned ritual practices at these places of memory may be resumed, as a means of honoring and strengthening the identity which arose in the wake of the original moment of social “trauma” (Fig. 2.3m-p). In these cases, the material alterations from the first period of visitation will serve as essential anchors to these practices.

The Holocaust, as referenced above, is the clearest modern-day reflection of this model. WWII led to the creation of concentration camps, such as Auschwitz, as a category of place. The defeat of Germany by the Allied Forces led to the freeing of the prisoners held at these sites, and to their abandonment. After a period of silence, as the Jewish community and the world grappled with the enormity of these events, the need to memorialize these places of suffering as symbols of the Holocaust was recognized. Visitation to these abandoned sites began. While the embodied practice of visitation to abandoned concentration camps has not ceased, an increase in, and amplification of, the memorialization of these sites in response to threats to the Jewish identity most associated with their traumatic past has been apparent in recent years, most notably in the travelling exhibit mentioned above. It is important to note that, when one visits Auschwitz today, one does not only confront the material remains of the site itself, but material directly associated with the current phase of visitation—modern restoration work, signage, and other material indicators of interest in the site that post-date its abandonment. These interventions are now an

integral part of the site itself and reflect specific understandings of this past from the point of view of those members of the community who survived it. Should visitation cease and be renewed at some point in the future, these physical alterations will have an impact on the experience that later visitors will have. Even in the current moment, the memory of the Holocaust—a memory bolstered and reinforced by the material correlates to that past—critically informs both social and political decisions being made by this community.

Social trauma theory was created to explain periods of extreme social transformation and social adaptations associated with them in the modern period. Because of our limited temporal distance from these events, we are not yet able to trace the echoes of these social transformations and the identities that arise from them even as far as a century. When applying this theoretical framework to archaeological contexts, however, we have the potential opportunity to trace the social impact of these events well beyond that length of time. While we cannot tie post-abandonment visitation at any one individual site to moments of large-scale social change, we can, based on the theoretical ideas outlined above, connect abandoned *genres of place* and subsequent visitation to them to more widespread social transformations and to broader social narratives about the past represented by these sites. We cannot assume that these narratives remained the same over time, or that the specific understandings attached to these sites remained static, particularly as the span of time addressed in this dissertation reaches across several centuries. We can hypothesize, however, that, when we see continuity of spatial focus, continuity in, or renewal of, practice, and continuity in the aspects of the identity or ideology being underscored by these practices, we are seeing in this continued visitation the echoes of the original social transformation that these sites represent. We can also hypothesize that periods of

renewal in ritual activity at these sites will correspond with moments of increased pressure on the communities that relate themselves to this past.

The purpose of this dissertation is not to prove a wide-ranging applicability for this model in the field of archaeology. Rather, this theoretical framework is proposed as a means of asking new questions of the evidence associated with the episodes of post-abandonment visitation visible in the material record of EIA Crete. The basic questions which this framework allows us to ask are these: are the episodes of memory practice that we see taking place at both upland settlements and lowland monumental sites during the Early Iron Age related in some way to the need to solidify or reinforce the identities that arose in the wake of the LBA-EIA transition? Did these practices rise and fall in response to further periods of social transformation or “threat” and, if so, can we view these practices as implicated in long-term social change?

Conclusion

The theoretical perspectives offered above make clear that social memory, and its associated practices, play a foundational role, not only in the transgenerational transfer of social knowledge, but in the formation and reification of evolving social identities, particularly in the wake of moments of significant social trauma, or change.¹¹⁸ One of the key points that this chapter brings to the fore, however, is that, in moments of social transformation, different groups may assimilate these changes into their experiential frameworks in different ways. The result is the emergence of diverse social identities whose adherents approach the shared past through

¹¹⁸ Alcock 2015, 25; Assmann 2015, 81.

varying perceptual lenses and therefore incorporate that past into their ritual practice in individual ways.

These variations are significant—far more significant than they have been deemed to be thus far—and their importance lies in the fact that collectively held understandings are the foundations upon which group decisions are made, and group actions are carried out.¹¹⁹ As will be shown in the following chapters, the different perceptual lenses revealed through variations in post-abandonment visitation on the island during the Early Iron Age speak to conflicting views held by coexisting groups as to how they should relate themselves to the social institutions of the past—what they should honor and what they should leave behind. Social trauma theory suggests that, as these views were projected into the future, at least partially through the practices in question, they determined the directions in which society as a whole could conceivably develop.

As Comaroff and Comaroff have said, “history involves a sedimentation of micropractices into macroprocesses.”¹²⁰ The identities reified through the micropractice of ritual visitation to abandoned sites of memory would eventually solidify into a macroprocess—a widespread movement towards a sociopolitical system grounded in citizenship and corporate belonging, rather than one based on the strict social hierarchy associated with the Final Palatial Period—the Cretan polis. Some examples of the memory practices that will be discussed in the following pages—rituals that had a high intrinsic “cost” and appear to have been focused on the reification of a corporate identity—appear to prefigure this development to a degree. Others—focused on the extrinsic cost of the deposits rather than the affective “cost” of the rites—do not. The study of these practices reveals an untidy web of concurrent and quite possibly conflicting

¹¹⁹ Alcock 2015, 25.

¹²⁰ Quoted in Argenti and Schramm 2009, 13.

strategies of social memory at work on an island that would, between 1450 and 630 BCE, confront several horizons of significant social change. These “fateful events of the past” are the subject of the next chapter, which situates the evidence for post-abandonment visitation to LM III C upland settlements and Bronze Age monumental sites within a wider framework of social change.¹²¹ The theoretical model offered above will be revisited in Chapter 7.

¹²¹ Assmann and Czaplicka 1995, 129.

Figures

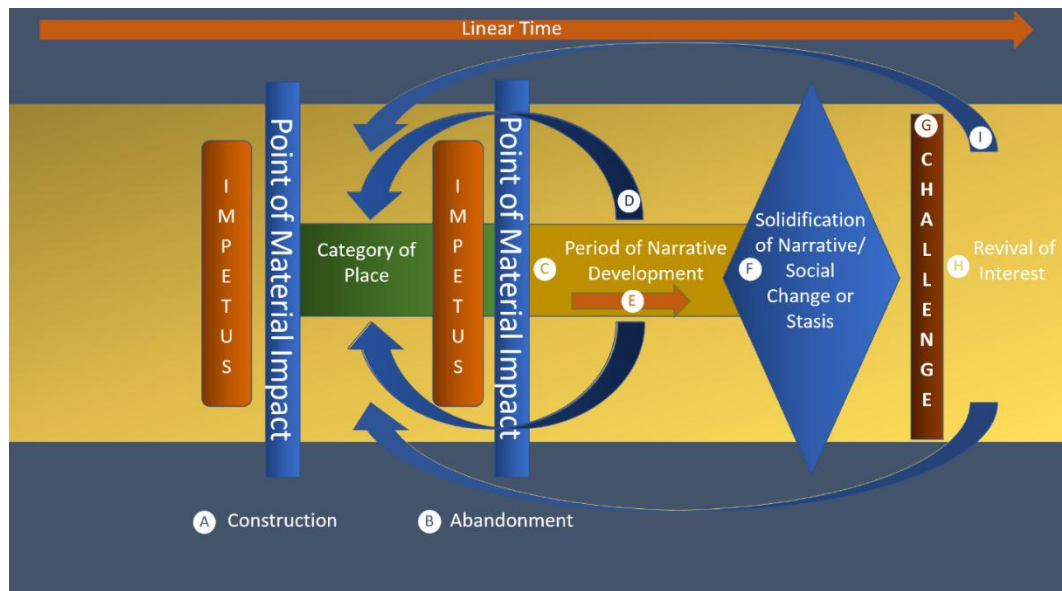


Figure 2.1 The Creation and Abandonment of Categories of Place

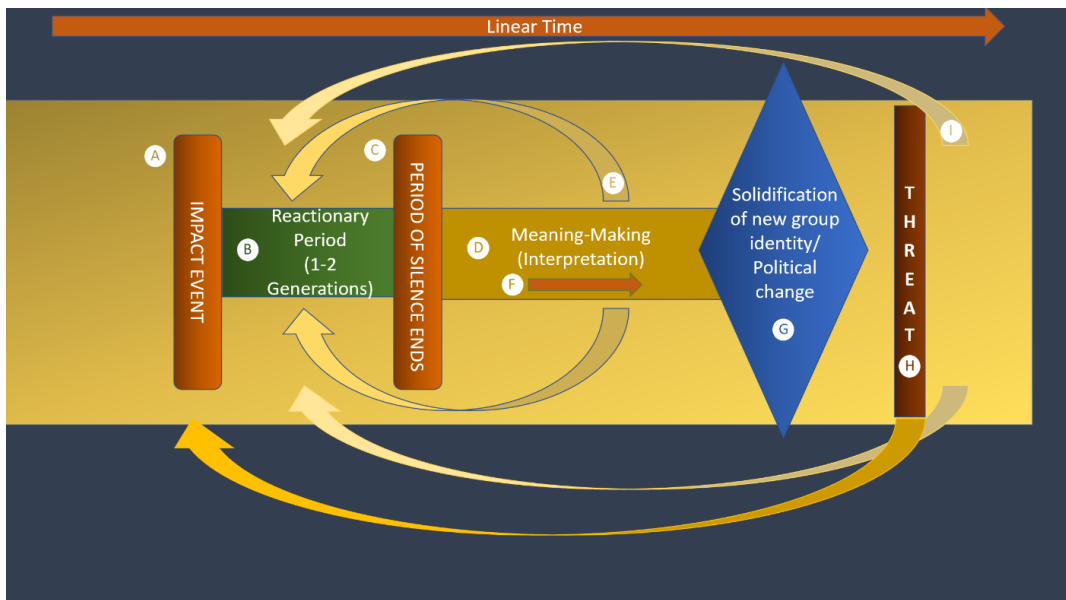


Figure 2.2 Social Trauma Theory

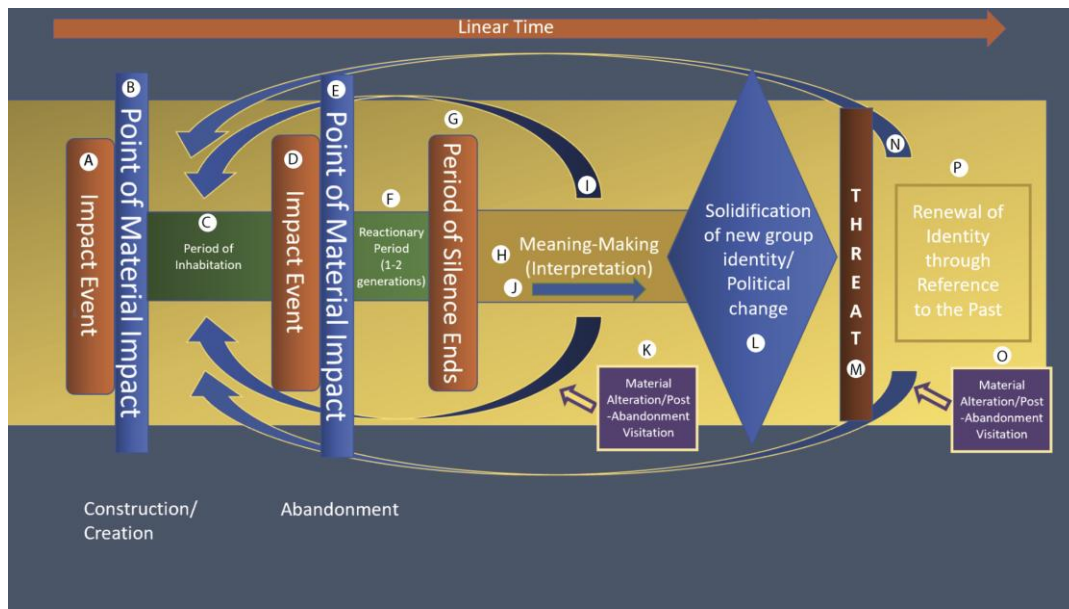


Figure 2.3 The Theoretical Model

CHAPTER 3 SITUATING THE EVIDENCE FOR POST-ABANDONMENT VISITATION IN EARLY IRON AGE CRETE WITHIN A WIDER FRAMEWORK OF SOCIAL CHANGE

As touched upon in Chapter 1, the Bronze Age “collapse has long been a subject of intense debate. The events surrounding the LBA-EIA transition in the region of the eastern Mediterranean and the social changes that resulted from them have been variously attributed to natural disasters—including earthquakes, plagues, and climate change—violence from marauding bands of sea-people, and political struggles both within and amongst dominant centers of power.¹²² As Knapp and Manning suggest, the causes which are given the greatest weight tend to vary according to the changing times and circumstances of the scholars who have studied, do study, and will continue to study this moment in history. Neither the factors which may have precipitated the collapse, nor the collapse period, itself, are the subject of this dissertation, however.

Though this moment of widespread social change is essential to the topic of post-abandonment visitation on the island of Crete during the Early Iron Age—providing, as it did, the raw material for these practices in the form of the two genres of abandoned place under discussion—the collapse period was not the only period of social transformation that Crete faced within this time span. The period stretching between 1450 BCE and 630 BCE in fact witnessed several moments of intense social change, all of which had an impact on the way in which society developed, and all of which may, ultimately, be found to have impacted post-abandonment practices on the island. In order to understand what motivated episodes of post-abandonment visitation taking place during this span of time, and the role that these practices

¹²² Cadogan 1992, 38; Drake 2012, 1862; Knapp and Manning, 2016; Nowicki 2001, 23.

may have played in processes of long-term social development, we must first understand the overall arc of social transformation that characterized the Early Iron Age on the island of Crete. Accordingly, this chapter seeks to provide the background information necessary to place material evidence for episodes of post-abandonment visitation to sites of memory in Crete within a wider framework of social change, beginning after the destructions at the end of LM IB and ending at the earliest origins of the Cretan polis, in the second half of the 7th century.

Saro Wallace and Florence Gaignerot-Driessen have both identified critical moments of change within this time span that they perceive as being foundational to later sociopolitical developments. Wallace favors the Protogeometric period that directly followed the period in which upland settlements were founded, while Gaignerot-Driessen locates the critical moment of change in the 8th century.¹²³ This chapter is, therefore, divided into four temporal periods. The LM II-III A2 period which follows the LM IB destructions and foregrounds regional divisions in response to later change; the LM IIIB-IIIC period of social “collapse” that prompted the establishment of upland settlements; the SM-PG period which Wallace identifies as one of critical social transformation; and the LG-EA period which Gaignerot-Driessen favors as most critical to later social developments. Within each temporal period evidence for change in four aspects of social practice that are reflected in the archaeological record will be explored: changes in settlement patterns, economic patterns of consumption and exchange, mortuary practice, and ritual activity. These are areas in which differences in social ideology may come to the fore.

Things to note during this discussion are, first, that due to the paucity of study and publication of the archaeological evidence pertaining to the west and south of the island, this chapter and the dissertation as a whole focuses primarily on central and east Crete, though

¹²³ Wallace 2010; Gaignerot-Driessen 2016; Judson 2018, 172; Pollard 2023, 262.

information is given concerning other regions where it is available. It is my hope that, eventually, more studies focused on these areas—and particularly on the upland settlements of these regions—will allow for the expansion of the inquiries undertaken here. It should be acknowledged, in the meantime, that our understanding of the overall sociopolitical development of the island is hampered by the uneven nature of the excavation data. Second, in the following pages, two distinct and apparently regional identities are emphasized, but the reality was undoubtedly far more complex. The two identities and their associated ideologies identified here were likely not homogenous entities, and there were likely many other groups with other identities that, while not as visible in the archaeological record, also influenced the overall direction of social change. This limitation is readily acknowledged, with the hope that future research can add even greater nuance to the arguments advanced here.

The Beginnings of Change: LM II-III A2

The archaeology of social change requires that we consider moments of profound social transformation not as singular happenings, or events, but, as Sewell states, “sequences of occurrences that result in transformations of structures.”¹²⁴ In other words, rather than seeing an “event” like the Bronze Age “collapse” as an isolated incident, we must view it as the end result of a build-up of pressure caused by a series of disarticulations in previously reliable schema. It is the compounding pressure of sequential moments of sociopolitical fissure that ultimately lead to the failure of existing social frameworks to continue to reliably structure human identity and experience. The result of these structural failures are schisms which often manifest themselves in

¹²⁴ Sewell 2005, 227.

profound material transformations. The archaeological record of the LM IIIB-IIIC periods is reflective of significant material change in almost all aspects of social practice and organization—but the points of fracture in the social frameworks that structured these aspects of practice were located along fault lines appearing as the result of pressures already very much in evidence in the previous period. As such, it is impossible to understand the material transformations of the Late Bronze Age to Early Iron Age transition fully without situating this moment of schism within a much wider temporal framework of social change, beginning with the widespread destructions occurring at the end of LM IB (1450/1425 BCE).

Generally held to mark the end of the Neopalatial period, these destructions¹²⁵ did not, in reality, belong to a single, unified event, but appear to have come in a series at some sites and at slightly different chronologies at others.¹²⁶ Whether we consider this period of turmoil to have lasted for only a few years or across several decades, the material impact that it had spanned the length and breadth of the island and is visible in evidence for population decline, shifts in settlement patterns, and significant transformations in material culture. While there is much debate as to the ultimate cause of the LM IB destructions,¹²⁷ it is clear that, starting at this time, material signatures associated with the mainland, particularly in central and east-central Crete, increased significantly.¹²⁸ The question of whether the widespread devastation and the subsequent material changes associated with it were the result of a mainland invasion, internal revolt, or other unknown or unrecognized factors that opened the way for increasing outside influence is uncertain, and this

¹²⁵ Destruction deposits are typically those that include burned sediment, charcoal, collapsed architectural debris, and smashed objects. See Jusseret and Sintubin 2012.

¹²⁶ Platon 2022a, 319; Rehak and Younger 2001, 441; Soles 2022, 295.

¹²⁷ Though many hypotheses have been put forward, it does appear that the destructions were at least partially the result of human agency and not exclusively related to natural disaster, as the material record bears witness to active preparation in advance of these destructions in the form of cached valuables and barricaded houses. See Brogan et al. 2006, 96; Haggis 2020, 1069; Nowicki 2008, 81; Wiener 2022, 99.

¹²⁸ D'Agata and Girella 2022, 21; Preston 2008, 311.

question has remained a topic of intense discussion and debate amongst scholars.¹²⁹ What is beyond debate is that changing circumstances at the end of LM IB significantly impacted life on Crete in ways that would critically inform the directions in which regionally distinct social identities evolved in the wake of later events.¹³⁰

Changes in Settlement Pattern

The destructions of late LM IB affected every region of the island, but to varying degrees and for varying lengths of time. While some areas were immediately reoccupied, others were left abandoned, sometimes for generations. In west Crete and the Mesara, there were major destruction events at Nerokourou, Haghia Triada, and at the palaces of Chania and Phaistos.¹³¹ Archaeological survey has uncovered an almost complete lack of evidence for the LM II period in these areas,¹³² suggesting that almost the entirety of the region became depopulated at the end of LM IB—a supposition that is bolstered by survey data from the proceeding period.¹³³ In the Mesara, only 9 of the 34 sites that were occupied before the destructions were in use in LM IIIA1, and all of these settlements were significantly smaller than their predecessors.¹³⁴ Following the same pattern, major urban centers and settlements in the east like Palaikastro, Zakros, Petras, Papadiokampos, Gournia, Pyrgos, Makriyalos, Mochlos, and Vasiliki were all destroyed, but the accompanying drop in

¹²⁹ Hatzaki and Kotsonas 2020, 1033; Rehak and Younger 2001, 440. See also Alberti 2004; Hatzaki 2011, 2016; Nafplioti 2008; Preston 2004;

¹³⁰ Haggis 2001, 45; Haggis et al. 2005, 81.

¹³¹ Rehak and Younger 2001, 440

¹³² While no LM II sherds were found during survey, sporadic sherds from the LM II period were found at excavated sites like Phaistos, Kommos and Hagia Triada in LM IIIA1 contexts (D'Agata 2022, 16; Watrous et al. 1993, 227).

¹³³ This is evidenced by the abandonment of previously vibrant settlements and a drop in archaeologically visible burial. Chania and Nerokourou are exceptions to this pattern however, as they were reoccupied immediately after their destruction. Burke 2005, 408; Watrous et al. 1993, 228.

¹³⁴ D'Agata 2022, 17.

population appears to have been more pronounced in east Crete than in any other region of the island.¹³⁵

In central and east-central Crete, Poros, Katsambas, Archanes Tourkogeitonia, Amnisos, Xominthos, Slavokambos, Tylissos, Nirou Chani, Malia, and Sissi all have destruction layers that match the pattern seen in the rest of the island, but it is in the area of Knossos that a noticeable and important difference in this pattern can be seen. Although many of the more monumental structures in the vicinity of the palace were destroyed or severely damaged, a good part of the main palatial building remained largely intact, and neither the palace itself nor its associated settlement were completely abandoned. Knossos was, thus, the only palace to have continued functioning after LM IB, and it remained the largest urban center on the island despite the fact that a substantial contraction in its population had resulted in the reduction of the settlement to less than half of its former size.¹³⁶

The Linear B tablets postdating the Neopalatial destructions indicate that a palatial administration continued to be centered here, and continued to exercise considerable influence (if not control) over many parts of the island, but while Knossos remained a center of power, it did not survive unaltered.¹³⁷ Changes in administrative language and practice, new forms of material culture, and fundamental transformations in the mortuary sphere combine to show a cultural shift of indisputable significance, regardless of how we understand the process by which these changes took place.¹³⁸ Critically, the shifting socio-political dynamics at Knossos demonstrate, as Hatzaki

¹³⁵ Rehak and Younger 2001, 440, 442; Wiener 2022, 103.

¹³⁶ Wiener 2022, 97.

¹³⁷ D'Agata 2022, 15; Hatzaki and Kotsonas 2020, 1034; Rehak and Younger 2001, 453.

¹³⁸ Brogan et. al 2002, 89; Hatzaki and Kotsonas 2020, 1032; Rehak and Younger 2001, 444-457; Watrous et al. 2012, 65; Wiener 2020, 97.

and Kotsonas state, the arrival on the island of "a new warrior elite identity and an ideology previously unknown on Crete."¹³⁹

Whether the changes in material culture evident at Knossos are indicative of an occupying mainland power or of more passive processes of cultural diffusion, the influence of the new ideology which they embodied spread out from the center of the island to impact every region, but with varying degrees of intensity. It is to this influence that we should look when we note that the ways in which many of the settlements abandoned at the end of LM IB into LM II were reoccupied are often indicative of a pronounced break from the Neopalatial past. Driessen and D'Agata suggest that at sites like Malia and Sissi, evidence for immediate and aggressive reuse after destruction, with little regard for pre-existing infrastructure, may indicate the "occupation" or even colonization of former urban sites viewed as territorially strategic—a view which favors the idea that changes in material culture were the result of newly arrived populations, if not outright invasion.¹⁴⁰ The remarkably fine quality of the ceramics at both sites, and the almost exclusively Knossian repertoire represented in the assemblages suggest a rapid and striking change.¹⁴¹ This is a pattern that can be seen at various scales in centers across the island.

In the east, archaeological evidence for settlement remains generally sparse from LM II-III A1, but several destroyed coastal urban sites were reoccupied on a limited scale.¹⁴² Here, as in other areas of the island, central Cretan influence is indicated at many of these reestablished sites.¹⁴³ While the overall relationship between the population that abandoned these settlements

¹³⁹ Hatzaki and Kotsonas 2020, 1032. See also Preston 2008, 316.

¹⁴⁰ D'Agata 2022, 18; Driessen 2021, 715.

¹⁴¹ D'Agata 2022, 253, 261. See also Driessen 2021, 713-714.

¹⁴² Haggis et al. 2005; Watrous et al. 2012.

¹⁴³ It should be noted that, while influence is apparent, there appear to be no toponyms listed in the Linear B tablets that make reference to sites in eastern Crete, which suggests a lack of direct Knossian control of this area in the Final Palatial period. Brogan et. al 2002, 105; Gaignerot-Driessen 2020, 23; Knappett and Cunningham 2022, 331; Merousis 2002, 164; Preston 2008, 313; Wallace 2010, 44.

and those who reoccupied them is unclear, it is significant that there appears to have been, in most cases, no social recognition of earlier domestic structures during reoccupation, nor was there any interest expressed in reusing individual buildings or rebuilding the settlements.¹⁴⁴ At Mochlos and Gournia, as in major settlements in other regions, reuse was focused in areas on the edges of the urban center, with new structures superimposed over the destruction debris of the destroyed site, largely or completely neglecting the Neopalatial plan and existing infrastructure.¹⁴⁵

While the neglect of previous site plans may hint at a significant change in the social identity of those occupying some of the destroyed settlements in the east, of even greater significance is the fact that newly constructed architecture reflected a fundamental change in the way that social groups organized and related themselves to one another.¹⁴⁶ In east Crete, contiguous, agglutinated blocks of houses—co-residential compounds of interrelated households that grew over time as the extended kinship groups that inhabited them grew—had characterized the region for over 2000 years. At Mochlos, Gournia, and other sites in the east, these agglomerative residential complexes were replaced in the Final Palatial period by free-standing buildings, spatially unrelated to and distinct from one another, that show no sign of generational expansion.¹⁴⁷ This represents a striking change in the way inhabitants conceived of and structured their relationships to one another and to society as a whole, reflecting a much greater emphasis on the individual, rather than the extended, family group—a step away from the larger

¹⁴⁴ Brogan 2019

¹⁴⁵ Haggis 2020, 1069.

¹⁴⁶ Langohr 2022, 263; Soles 2022, 295. The excavators of both Gournia and Mochlos agree that the founding populations at these sites after the LM IB destructions were likely Knossian in origin. Haggis 2020, 1071.

¹⁴⁷ Driessen 2021, 713; Haggis 2020, 1070.

kinship-group associations that had traditionally served as the foundation of an inclusive corporate society in the east and other parts of the island.¹⁴⁸

This apparent change in the social perception of an individual's relationship to, and place in, the wider community is also reflected in the fact that the LM II-III A1 communities at these sites appear to have been much less heterarchical in nature, showing evidence for a level of social stratification that is new to the period—an idea which is bolstered by the evidence for changes in mortuary and consumption practices that follows. Critically, this new social ideology did not, at any point, completely replace material signatures for a preexisting east Cretan identity, and, in fact, what is likely to have been central Cretan influence appears to wane over time in this region. It appears that the new “warrior elite” ideology radiating out from Knossos never gained the foothold in east Crete that it did in the center and west of the island, a fact that cannot be disregarded in light of the strong regional differences that emerged in later periods.

Economy, Trade, and Subsistence

While palatial centers appear to have been a driving economic force in the Neopalatial period, heavily influencing and perhaps even supporting the production, acquisition, and redistribution of raw materials and the manufacture and trade of value-added prestige goods, we have a limited understanding of the way in which this economic system functioned, the nature of the connection between different palatial centers across the island, and the degree to which independent local systems of production, trade, and exchange operated in tandem with, or perhaps even in cooperation with, palatial administration. Linear A documents, though

¹⁴⁸ Hamilakis 2012, 193.

untranslated, seem to indicate the existence of a sophisticated system for recording and tracking assets, including animals, products, and people, but lack of evidence precludes a real understanding of the degree to which the Final Palatial administration that came into being after the LM IB destructions coopted elements of this pre-existing administrative system and network of exchange. What is clear is that there were at least some fundamental changes in the administrative system at Knossos at this time, the most profound of which was a change in the language of record-keeping, from Linear A to Linear B—one of many indications that mainland influence at the urban center was increasing.¹⁴⁹

Our understanding of the economy in the Final Palatial period is unavoidably Knossos-centric. The Knossian ceramic sequence forms the backbone of our understanding of chronology and socioeconomic interaction for the entirety of the island, and the majority of the evidence relating to subsistence and trade in this period originates from the Linear B Tablets, preserved in the final destruction of the palace in LM IIIA2, which record only transactions in which Knossos was the key player.¹⁵⁰ Our understanding of small farmsteads, hamlets, and the rural hinterlands is limited, as is our understanding of how the economy functioned in areas of the island outside of the influence of the palace. It is likely, however, that a substantial agropastoral economy, supported by small rural settlements, and rooted in local and interregional connections that had survived the destructions of LM IB, continued to exist, independent of the palatial economy but often mobilized to further palatial interests.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁹ Wiener 2022, 97.

¹⁵⁰ Coldstream 2008, 233-261; Hatzaki and Kotsonas 2020, 1042-43.

¹⁵¹ Borgna 2003, 154.

Textual evidence supports this premise, as it appears to indicate that site hierarchy became a critical component of the Knossian regime.¹⁵² Based on his study of the Linear B tablets, Bennet proposed that the Final Palatial economy functioned as a three-tiered system. Knossos would have sat at the pinnacle of this system while former palatial centers, now reoccupied, like Malia, Phaistos, and Chania, would have functioned as second-order sites. Below these, would have been smaller third-order hubs like Tylissos and Agia Triada. In the three-tier model, the small rural settlements for which we have such limited archaeological evidence would have served as the primary centers of production for raw agricultural products in the form of crops, livestock, and secondary products like wool. Third order sites would have acted as the principal points of supply for second-order sites, which served as intermediary stations or holding areas for raw resources. Knossos itself may have functioned as a storage, manufacturing, and distribution center, converting these products, as well as other raw materials acquired through trade, into value-added goods for palatial consumption and gift-exchange. Resources acquired by the palace must also have supported its function as a critical node in the long-distance trade networks that characterized the Mediterranean region at this time, as imports demonstrate close connections, not only to mainland palatial centers, but also to Cyprus, the Near East, western Anatolia, the Cyclades, and the western Mediterranean.¹⁵³

Whether or not the economic system that flourished on the island after the destructions of LM IB was as strictly codified as Bennet suggests, the existence of regional outposts is clearly indicated in the Linear B tablets, as is the existence of “collectors”—lower-tier administrators responsible for the management of local resources and labor—who originated from or were

¹⁵² Preston 2008, 313.

¹⁵³ Bennet 1985.

assigned to these sites.¹⁵⁴ Based on the place-names listed in the Linear B tablets, Wilson was able to identify five regions encompassing the majority of the island, each with its own urban center, which were, to one degree or another, economically enmeshed with Knossos (Fig. 3.1).¹⁵⁵ While much has been made of the fact that there appear to be no toponyms listed in the Linear B tablets that make reference to sites in east Crete, it is clear that Knossian influence was present in this region, and that east Crete had access to the interregional networks that allowed for the trade and exchange of both Knossian and foreign goods across the island.¹⁵⁶

Brogan and Soles hypothesize that the appearance of high quality Knossian-style LM II-III A pottery at Mochlos, both imported and locally made, signaled the presence of a new elite class, which derived its authority, in part, from connections to the palace, and which appears to be representative of the intrusive social ideology identified by Hatzaki and Kotsonas.¹⁵⁷ central Cretan elite influences were also apparent at Zakros, where the earliest re-inhabitation layers contained ceramics of very high quality, most notably a number of imported Knossian Ephyrean goblets—a distinctly mainland style of vessel possibly representative of new drinking etiquettes and social behaviors that stand in marked contrast with Neopalatial practice.¹⁵⁸ Platon concluded that the presence of these and other high-quality vessels indicated the presence at Zakros of a group with political standing and importance, and strong ties to the center of the island.¹⁵⁹ In combination with petrographic evidence showing a close connection between Zakros and Knossos after the Neopalatial destructions, this fact may support Langohr's hypothesis that some

¹⁵⁴ Preston 2008, 313.

¹⁵⁵ Merousis 2002, 164; Wilson 1977.

¹⁵⁶ Brogan et. al 2002, 105; Gaignerot-Driessen 2020, 23; Knappett and Cunningham 2022, 331; Merousis 2002, 164; Wallace 2010, 44.

¹⁵⁷ Brogan et. al 2002, 112-113.

¹⁵⁸ Borgna 2004, 263; D'Agata 2022, 23; Hatzaki and Kotsonas 2020, 1032, 1042; Mountjoy 1983, 270; Platon 2022a, 322.

¹⁵⁹ Platon 2022a, 322.

sites in east Crete—like Gournia, Mochlos, and Zakros—may have served as “strategic outposts” for the new regime at Knossos even if they were never fully incorporated into the palatial economy.¹⁶⁰

If this is the case, however, these connections were less prominent, though not absent, in the far east of the island, and their influence in the entirety of the region seems to have lessened over time. At Palaikastro, which appears to have been immediately reinhabited, possibly by local populations, after the late LM IB destructions, very little evidence for a Knossian connection in the Final Palatial period has been discovered. Post-destruction Knossian imports are rare and drop off completely by the end of LM II, when Palaikastro became the main producer of a distinctly eastern ceramic style based on evolving Neopalatial precursors.¹⁶¹ The pulled-rim bowl—an evolution of the Neopalatial ogival cup—became a fundamental part of a regionally distinct domestic set which also included a bell bowl and a trefoil-mouthed or beak-spouted jug—developments of local LM IB cups, bowls, and jugs, with links to a much longer tradition of production and consumption in the east.¹⁶² Critically, this homogenous domestic set is found across the eastern region, including Palaikastro, Zakros, Mochlos, Gournia, Myrsini, and Petras amongst other settlements, and appears to be connected with what Langohr labels “a locally anchored and regionally shared non-elite component within the east Cretan communities.”¹⁶³ This local segment of the population, actively participating in localized networks of trade and communication connecting the entirety of the region, continued to have a presence throughout LM II and LM III at almost all settlements in the east and in surrounding communities, including those where

¹⁶⁰ Langohr 2022, 261-262.

¹⁶¹ Knappett and Cunningham 2022, 334, 336, 338; Langohr 2022, 262; Platon 2022a, 324.

¹⁶² Langohr 2022, 262-263; Platon 2022A, 324.

¹⁶³ Smith 2023; Langohr 2022, 263.

Knossian influence appears to be strong following the LM IB destructions.¹⁶⁴ Local identity, in fact, appears to strengthen over time, in conjunction with the waning of central Cretan influences at sites like Gournia, Mochlos, and Zakros by LM IIIA, and this is further substantiated by the evidence from the mortuary record.¹⁶⁵

Mortuary Practice

The Neopalatial period was characterized by a lack of archaeologically visible burials throughout the majority of the island, with the exception of Knossos, where pithos burials, chamber tombs, and tholoi indicate the existence of a wide range of burial types. Even at Knossos, however, there is no evidence that funerary practice in the Neopalatial was ever a forum for elite competition or a realm in which social relations or identities were asserted, renegotiated, or reinforced.¹⁶⁶ This is a status quo which changes markedly after the LM IB destructions. Again, the vast majority of our evidence for the Final Palatial period comes from Knossos itself, where the changes in administration and settlement already noted in the previous sections were accompanied by a distinct and sudden transformation in both the form and underlying intent of mortuary practice. The appearance of new tomb types and the establishment of ostentatious display as a fundamental aspect of the burial realm should be viewed as part of the broader package of material culture

¹⁶⁴ Haggis 2020, 1072.

¹⁶⁵ By the 14th century, the pottery workshop at Zakros was also making stylistic reference, not to Knossian styles, but to the LM IB past, and producing wares of a markedly eastern character. Platon 2022a, 323; Platon 2022b, 67; Langohr 2022, 265.

¹⁶⁶ Hatzaki 2012, 310; Preston 1999, 134; Preston 2004, 138.

change connected with new or evolving social ideologies that become so archaeologically apparent in this period.¹⁶⁷

This change in social ideology is made evident in the appearance of new tomb types—shaft graves and single-chamber (as opposed to earlier multiple-chamber) tombs at sites like Mavro Spelio, and monumental tholoi such as the ones at Kephala and Isopata.¹⁶⁸ This coincides with a transition from the Neopalatial practice of multiple burials to primarily individual burials—a change representative of much deeper shifts in the way that identity was being, not only portrayed, but defined.¹⁶⁹ The intentional focus on individual, as opposed to corporate, identity in mortuary practice is also manifested in efforts to preserve the articulation of the skeleton—a departure from the practice of secondary burial which had characterized the island for over a thousand years—and is paralleled by a change in the role that material culture played in the funerary sphere.¹⁷⁰ While funerary ritual and burial offerings were previously intended to reify an identity that was transient and inseparable, even in death, from the community to which it belonged, valuable grave goods and single burials in the final palatial period were designed to perpetuate the memory and status of distinct personhoods as *representative* of larger group identities—a change that demonstrates a fundamental shift in the perception of the role of the individual within the wider group.¹⁷¹

The change which has been considered most emblematic of these developments is the sudden appearance of assemblages identifiable through comparison with mainland parallels as so-called “Warrior” burials. These appear in LM II, exclusively in and around Knossos, and are

¹⁶⁷ Hatzaki 2018, 199.

¹⁶⁸ Alberti 2004, 128; Forsdyke 1926/1927, 246; Preston 1999.

¹⁶⁹ Alberti 2004, 128.

¹⁷⁰ Hatzaki 2018, 200.

¹⁷¹ Papadopoulou 2017, 150.

characterized by the inclusion of weapons, particularly swords and dirks of the horned and cruciform types, clay, bronze, and stone vessels, sometimes in large numbers, and other high-value objects made from precious materials (Fig. 3.2).¹⁷² This ostentatious burial type has been interpreted as a form of social advertisement and a means of asserting status in a new and still unstable political climate.¹⁷³ Though mirroring mainland practices and ideologies, those participating in this form of ostentatious display also appear to have deliberately appropriated symbols of power and authority important in the Neopalatial period—incorporating symbolically charged objects like bulls head rhyta and bronze double axes and, in some cases, even reused ashlar blocks from monumental Neopalatial structures in their burial monuments and assemblages.¹⁷⁴ This is a practice limited to LM II, however. By LM IIIA1, hybridized burial monuments that blended mainland forms with indigenous ritual symbols were abandoned in favor of a more complete acceptance of Mycenaean typologies as an ideological resource, and ostentatious burial became a marker of inclusion within an elite community, rather than a forum for competitive display.¹⁷⁵

Initially, these changes in funerary practice appear to have been confined to Knossos alone, and it has been hypothesized that this circumstance is reflective of Knossian control of certain burial typologies as a symbolic expression of regional dominance. Alternatively, the lack of ostentatious burials in other parts of the island can be explained by a reluctance on the part of the majority of the population to replace traditional practices.¹⁷⁶ It is particularly notable that, even at second-order sites, mortuary traces of elites with connections to Knossos remain elusive.¹⁷⁷ This

¹⁷² Driessen 1984, 56; Preston 2004, 138.

¹⁷³ Preston 2004, 141.

¹⁷⁴ Preston 1999, 137, 141; Preston 2008, 315.

¹⁷⁵ Preston 2000, 147.

¹⁷⁶ Preston 2004, 138, 142.

¹⁷⁷ Preston 2008, 314.

changes dramatically by LM IIIA2 when Knossian forms of burial—particularly chamber tombs—begin to have a much wider distribution.¹⁷⁸ The more widespread uptake of ostentatious burial as a social strategy is a phenomenon that is particularly apparent in central Crete after the fall of Knossos at the end of LM IIIA2, a circumstance which will be discussed more fully below.

The warrior burial typology is almost completely absent in east Crete in this period, with the exception of a single, very poorly furnished example from an area near Palaikastro, dated to LM IIIA2.¹⁷⁹ Archaeologically visible burial practices in this region continued to remain relatively scarce for the early part of the Final Palatial period, with poorly furnished burials in pits and rock shelters reflecting continuity in older mortuary traditions for the majority of the population.¹⁸⁰ LM IIIA1 to IIIB burials near Gournia and the LM IIIA1-2 cemetery at Limenaria near Mochlos reflect a much greater degree of social differentiation, however—a circumstance as reflective of new social ideologies as the presence of elite Knossian drinking vessels, and new architectural forms at both reoccupied sites. In both areas, more elaborate tomb types with wealthier funerary assemblages form a striking contrast with the more common and more poorly furnished pithos burials and pit graves (Fig. 3.3).¹⁸¹ While there were some multiple burials at Mochlos, the wealthier graves were furnished with larnakes containing single burials, mirroring the Knossian trend towards emphasizing individual rather than corporate identity.¹⁸² While Langohr suggests that the mortuary record of east Crete during this period reflects a conscious effort on the part of many communities to separate themselves from new funerary behaviors practiced by the Knossian elite in LM II and subsequently adopted at Knossian “strategic outposts” in the region, movement

¹⁷⁸ Preston 2004, 140.

¹⁷⁹ Basakos 2016, 23.

¹⁸⁰ Buell 2022, 310.

¹⁸¹ Brogan and Soles 2002, 100; Buell 2022, 310.

¹⁸² Haggis 2020, 1070.

towards individual burials was a more widely adopted trend, and was representative of a profound change that will be shown to have been—in the east, at least—short lived.¹⁸³

Ritual Activities

The Neopalatial period which preceded the LM IB destructions had already seen significant changes in the way that ritual practice was organized and administered. It seems that, by this time, an amalgamated spiritual practice, which was at least partially centrally-administered, had integrated aspects of both “official” palatial and “public” rural cults into a wider framework of symbolic meaning.¹⁸⁴ This palatial “religion” acquired and adapted previous elements of communal ritual practice already deeply rooted within Minoan culture and within the Minoan landscape, in the process of which peak, cave, and open-air sanctuaries were reduced in number and incorporated into a more controlled system of cultic expression. Peak sanctuary sites in the Neopalatial had already been reduced in number from 25 to 8, all of which were located near Neopalatial urban centers—a nucleation of practice emblematic of the increasing political influence on the broader ritual sphere and an increasingly palatial domination of cult at this time.¹⁸⁵ Even before the destructions of LM IB, this increase in palatial control appeared to be more heavily weighted towards central Crete. In the Pre- and Protopalatial periods, the public peak sanctuaries of which we are aware are more heavily concentrated in the eastern side of the island (Fig. 3.4). With the increase in palatial control of ritual space, the number of peak sanctuaries in the east dropped by 77%. (Fig. 3.5). By the Final Palatial period, when palatial

¹⁸³ Langohr 2022, 265-66.

¹⁸⁴ Gaignerot-Driessen 2014, 489; Peatfield 1987, 93; 1994, 27-28.

¹⁸⁵ Moody 1987, 238-240; Peatfield 1987, 92; 1994, 21-22; 2016, 490. For elite domination through religious centralization see Cherry 1978, 411-37.

control was entirely limited to central Crete, only a single peak sanctuary—Mt. Juktas—remained in use, under the exclusive control of the palace of Knossos (Fig. 3.6).

This change is emblematic of a trend relating to ritual practice that is evident in the archaeological record, beginning in the Neopalatial and strengthening exponentially after the destructions of LM IB—namely that access to cult spaces became significantly more restricted as palatial control over the cultic sphere increased. Ritual spaces within the palaces, such as shrines, pillar crypts, and lustral basins, were always spatially situated to limit access, but even the courtyards, which are believed to have, at one point, been places of public gathering, became less accessible to those outside of the palace in the Neopalatial period and later, as evidenced by changes in plan at the palace of Knossos.¹⁸⁶ The evidence for large-scale abandonment of places of public cult, supports the claim that already in the Neopalatial period, access to non-domestic cult spaces by people not associated with the palace was limited.¹⁸⁷ This is a trend that accelerates in the Final Palatial period with the continued abandonment of an increasing number of extra-urban sanctuaries, including once widely-visited cave and peak sanctuaries. Additionally, ritual assemblages associated with the sites that remain in use show a marked increase in the number of objects crafted from luxury materials and a movement away from the simple terracotta votive offerings that once characterized public cult.¹⁸⁸ This is made evident in the high-quality of the finds associated with those cave and open-air cult sites which remained in use, such as the Idean cave, Kato Syme, and Juktas, and is a further point in favor of an

¹⁸⁶ Peatfield 1994, 21, 26; Gesell 1987, 123-128; Moody 1987, 239

¹⁸⁷ Girella 2008, 173; Peatfield 1994, 26

¹⁸⁸ An example of this is the reduction in public access to palatial courtyards signaled by changes in plan between the Old and New palace periods See Peatfield 1994, 21; Gesell 1987, 123-128; Moody 1987, 239.

understanding of cult activity, outside of the domestic sphere, as limited to those with an elite identity at this time.¹⁸⁹

Significant change is also attested in a second sphere of ritual activity which had been, and would continue to be, of critical importance in Crete—commensal dining. Originating in the early Neolithic period and serving a variety of functions, from funerary ritual to spiritual worship to acts primarily associated with community-building, feasting had a long history on Crete.¹⁹⁰ Borgna notes that the number of specific locations dedicated to feasting appears to have increased from the end of the early Bronze Age on, culminating in what Hamilakis calls an “explosion” in ritual commensality in the Neopalatial period when public ceremonial consumption events reached their peak.¹⁹¹ The growing number of palatially sponsored feasting events, coordinated as it appeared to be with growing palatial influence over other realms of ritual activity, suggests that these events were one strategy amongst many that were mobilized in the creation and retention of social cohesion around new centers of power well before the destructions of LM IB.

Even at the height of this power, however, the ethos behind large-scale Minoan feasting events appears to have been centered on the maintenance of a community identity which recognized the individual as part of a homogenous corporate whole, as evidenced by the large numbers of identical, undecorated drinking cups recorded in the Linear A tablets and found in feasting assemblages in many palatial contexts.¹⁹² More exclusive banqueting did take place, often in formalized architectural settings, in specific areas of the palaces and in elite villas. While

¹⁸⁹ Girella 2008, 173; Peatfield 1994, 26

¹⁹⁰ Borgna 2004, 256; Hamilakis 2012, 190.

¹⁹¹ Hamilakis 2012, 192.

¹⁹² Hamilakis 2012, 192-193.

these more exclusive events have been interpreted as efforts, particularly on the part of the emerging elite, to adapt existing tools, previously used for the creation and legitimization of communally shared identities, to contexts favoring more “selective affiliation,” these efforts at building personal power were constructed on the foundations of a pre-established social ideology of shared consumption that emphasized communal unity.¹⁹³

This stands in marked contrast with the social ideology reflected in feasting deposits post-dating the LM IB destructions. These assemblages appear heavily influenced by the Mycenaean practice of feasting as a tool for social competition and power acquisition. Feasting, on a large scale, became limited to a handful of major urban centers, and a new emphasis on individuality and display is apparent in the changing material assemblages associated with these events. While Neopalatial feasting deposits are characterized by large numbers of identical plain conical cups, which would have been held cupped in the palms, in the final palatial period, these assemblages are dominated by kylikes and “champagne cups” in much smaller numbers (Fig. 3.7). These vessels, designed to be lifted and held by the stem, allowed for the elaborate decoration that is one of their defining characteristics to be displayed by the drinker and seen by other participants in the feast, and they are thus representative of a fundamental change in the social ideology being reinforced by shared acts of communal consumption. Rather than emphasizing the individual as a part of a homogenous collective, the social ideology of the final palatial period centered on social differentiation.¹⁹⁴

As the preceding pages make clear, the island of Crete had already experienced significant social change in the two and a half centuries preceding the period of intense social

¹⁹³ Borgna 2004, 263.

¹⁹⁴ Hamilakis 2012, 193.

transformation that would mark the transition from the Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age. The social frameworks that had previously structured human experience on the island, some of which had been in place for millennia, were significantly altered by these changes. In some regions it appears that fundamental aspects of social identity had, in fact, already been replaced by new ideologies and new ways of structuring relationships between individuals and communities long before the “collapse.” In others, particularly in the east, long-held traditions, perceptions of corporate belonging, and local networks of trade and exchange proved more resilient. These aspects of social identity provided a point of continuity as other structuring elements of society fractured under the pressure of changing circumstances in LM IIIB. Regionally differing degrees of acceptance of mainland ideologies thus laid the foundations for regional difference in social response to these circumstances.

“Collapse”: LM IIIB-IIIC

The difficulties in understanding the underlying causes of the “collapse” that occurred in the Mediterranean around 1200 BCE were alluded to earlier, as were issues of terminology pertaining to the upland, or “defensive” settlements, that are the most critical material markers of this period on the island of Crete. While there is evidence for a second wave of island-wide destruction and depopulation at this time, insecurity caused by the threat of violence from either an internal or an external source is far from the only theory that has been advanced to explain the societal transformations associated with this period and the form that settlement shift, particularly in the east, took at this time.¹⁹⁵ Changes in climate, epidemics, an increased focus on animal

¹⁹⁵ Haggis et al. 2005; Kanta 2001, 13; Watrous et al. 1993, 229.

husbandry, and movement away from a market economy that was no longer supported by palatial infrastructure have all been suggested as plausible explanations for the changes seen in the archaeological record on Crete at this time.¹⁹⁶ The reality was likely far more complicated, and may have included a combination of any or all of these potential factors.

Gaining insight into causation is not the project of this dissertation. The goal of this study is, instead, to seek a clearer understanding of how the generations immediately following this period viewed these events and the impact they had on their forebears, and how they incorporated this past into the perception of their own identity. This perception cannot have been homogenous across differing parts of the island, as the way in which each region experienced and navigated this period of instability varied significantly. This may have been because the specific circumstances affecting the center and west of the island were, to a degree, different from those affecting the east, but a less-acknowledged point of consideration is the difference in the way each region had navigated the events of the previous two and a half centuries. The predominant social ideology in each region—which varied based on the degree of uptake of imported mainland cultural paradigms—markedly impacted the way that existing social structures faltered, rebounded, and then subsequently reformed.

Changes in Settlement

The beginning of LM IIIC was once considered to be the temporal horizon for settlement shift on the entirety of the island, but it is now clear that the timing of the events associated with

¹⁹⁶ Borgna 2003, 157; Burke 2018, 238; Cline 2020, 223-224; Day 2016, 206; Haggis 1993, 143; Knapp and Manning 2016; Moody 2009; Wiener 2022, 105.

this period of transformation was, as with the earlier LM IB destructions, variable by region. Population movements now appear to have begun, in some areas, as early as the first part of LM IIIB. This chronology links new patterns of settlement more closely with the final destruction of the palace at Knossos, and the breakdown of the Final Palatial system of administration that had exerted its ideological influence on the island, to varying degrees, for the preceding two and a half centuries. While the precise relationship between settlement shift and the loss of this power-center is unclear, some correlation between these two events seems to be indicated. It seems unquestionable, at least, that differential responses to this breakdown were influenced by the degree to which each region was integrated into the palatial economic system, an observation which will be discussed more fully below.¹⁹⁷

Settlement shift appears to have begun the earliest and to have been the most pronounced in east Crete, where Knossian power and influence was weakest. Beginning in the early parts of LM IIIB, all of the coastal settlements that had been reoccupied after their initial destruction in late LM IB in eastern Crete were abandoned, and there was an accompanying wave of settlement at high-elevation sites, far from what have traditionally been considered the more fertile coastal plains (Fig. 3.8).¹⁹⁸ These sites held many characteristics in common: wide viewsheds, access to arable land and perennial water supplies, and topography that has been defined as “easily defensible”.¹⁹⁹ By the beginning of LM IIIC, virtually the entire coastal area in the eastern part of the island had been depopulated. This is a pattern of settlement shift followed in the southern region of the island as well, where movement towards upland settlements began slightly later, in

¹⁹⁷ Tsipopoulou 1997, 244.

¹⁹⁸ In some instances, this may have been a gradual process. In the area of Praisos, for example, movement towards upland sites appears to have occurred in two distinct phases, with the first potentially occupying the hill of Kapsalos, and the second being the movement to the more extreme sites of Praisos and Kypia. Forbes 2000, 222; Langohr 2020, 89; Whitley et al. 1999, 236-237.

¹⁹⁹ Nowicki 2000, 2007; Wallace 2007, 2010; Haggis 2001, 45.

late LM IIIB or early LM IIIC, in connection with the abandonment of coastal settlements like Myrtos Pyrgos and Thrimbokampos.²⁰⁰

While settlement shift in the east and south may have begun shortly after the fall of Knossos, central Crete, the Mesara, and parts of the west appear to have remained relatively stable in terms of settlement until the end of LM IIIB.²⁰¹ When populations in these areas did begin to move, they appeared to follow a different pattern of settlement than those in the eastern part of the island. Rather than a complete abandonment of coastal sites, the center and west show a pattern of nucleation at coastal urban centers (Fig. 3.9). At Phaistos, for example, the material record bears witness to an increase in population in LM IIIC, which Borgna connects with the abandonment of other recently prominent but now less secure sites like Agia Triada and Kommos.²⁰² A similar phenomenon is also noted for Chania and Khamalevri, and Knossos also saw an increase in building activity and population as the settlement in the area of the Stratigraphical Museum began to grow as outlying settlements were abandoned.²⁰³

Nowicki has suggested that these two different types of settlement shift—earlier movements to the mountains in the east and south and slightly later concentrations of population at larger urban centers in the center and west of the island—represent different strategies for dealing with the increasingly unstable conditions that prevailed at this time.²⁰⁴ It is interesting to note, however, that even in areas where nucleation was occurring, select segments of the population still appear to have chosen to move towards higher elevation sites. A limited number

²⁰⁰ Langohr 2020, 89.

²⁰¹ We should always acknowledge, as Nowicki reminds us, that the history of landscape, land exploitation, and research hampers our understanding of settlement patterns in the western part of the island (Nowicki 2007, 442). As more survey work and further research is undertaken in this area, the picture of settlement during this period may very well change.

²⁰² Borgna 1997, 224.

²⁰³ Borgna 2003, 158; Nowicki 2000, 225.

²⁰⁴ Borgna 2003, 160; Nowicki 2000, 225.

of upland settlements were established on the west side of the island, and in the center of the island, at the same time that the populations of some smaller inland sites were nucleating at urban centers like Phaistos, other groups were moving towards the foothills of the Idaean and Asterousia mountains to form new settlements such as Smari Profitis Elias and Astritzi Kefala (Fig. 3.10).²⁰⁵ Though these sites offered improved viewsheds over previous lowland settlements, they were not as inaccessible or sited within topography that was extreme in the same way that upland sites in other parts of the island were. Settlement shift in these areas, particularly in central Crete and the Mesara, can therefore be said to have been significantly less dramatic than in other regions, while at the same time being more varied in form.²⁰⁶ It has been suggested that the co-existence of continuously inhabited sites and newly established, fairly accessible upland settlements indicates significant divisions in the population of these regions of the island.²⁰⁷

An additional point of difference which distinguishes central Crete from eastern Crete, and which directly relates to the later phenomenon of post-abandonment visitation to upland settlements, is that there is a much more marked degree of settlement continuity from LM IIIC forward in this area. Once established, both nucleated and lower-elevation upland settlements in the center of the island remained occupied into the Archaic period and often even longer. This contrasts markedly with the pattern of settlement in the east side of the island, where a second

²⁰⁵ This phenomenon is much less pronounced in the west, where only 14 upland settlements have been located, than in the east where over 70 are known. Nowicki 2000; Watrous 2001, 86.

²⁰⁶ Nowicki 2000, 241.

²⁰⁷ A common tendency is to attribute these divisions to ethnic difference, based on the long-standing belief that mass migration was a hallmark of the transition period—a premise which more recent scholarship has called into question. As has been well discussed, however, the idea that one can locate ethnicity in the material record is fraught. The question of *cultural* rather than ethnic identity, and its relationship to human agency, is an interesting one, however, and one that plays a key role in the research presented throughout this dissertation. Day 2016, 207; Kanta 2001; Nowicki 2000, 242; Prent 2005, 615; Tsipopoulou 2005; Wallace 2010, 56, 60; Watrous 2001, 86.

wave of population shift appears to have occurred in the middle of LM IIIC, around 1170-1150 BC. At this time the highest-elevation upland sites were abandoned and a number of new settlements below these sites, still at high elevation but in more accessible locations, were established.²⁰⁸ This shift may have been related to population growth and the accompanying need to find sites more suitable for settlement expansion. It is likely, however, that the movement towards lower-elevation sites was also related to the continually evolving conditions on the island.²⁰⁹

The gradual movement down from higher elevation sites is a phenomenon not seen in central Crete or the Mesara, possibly because the small number of upland sites that were settled in this area were, from the outset, established in less extreme locations, in areas with ready access to arable land and already suitable for settlement expansion.²¹⁰ While over half of the LM IIIB/IIIC upland settlements in the east of the island were abandoned by the end of LM IIIC, none in the center of the island, with the exception of the fortified site of Kastrokephala, were abandoned at this time. All were continuously inhabited throughout the EIA, with some continuing into the Classical and Hellenistic periods or beyond. The result of this is that the largest body of archaeological evidence concerning upland sites established in LM IIIB/IIIC inevitably comes from the eastern part of Crete—firstly, because the number of upland sites established in this area was far greater than in any other part of the island, and, secondly,

²⁰⁸ Newly established sites were less “defensible” and more conveniently located than the earliest settlements, but still represent a settlement pattern fundamentally different from Neopalatial and Final Palatial site distribution. Nowicki, who strongly argues for the definition of these sites as “defensive”, hypothesizes that this indicates that the threat which initially drove settlement shift had lessened to a degree sufficient to allow movement away from the most inaccessible sites, but that conditions were still insecure enough to prevent reoccupation of earlier settlements. McEnroe 2010, 147; Nowicki 2002, 155, 160.

²⁰⁹ Day 2016, 207-208; Nowicki 2000, 235; Nowicki 2011, 50; Watrous et al. 2012, 74.

²¹⁰ This is generally true of the west as well, although it appears that at least four of the fourteen upland sites known from this area were abandoned by the end of LM IIIC (Nowicki 2000).

because, unlike in central Crete and the Mesara, the LM IIIC remains of upland settlements remain largely unobscured by later occupation layers.

Economy, Trade, and Subsistence

The choice between movement towards the mountainous hinterlands and nucleation at regional centers was likely driven by multiple factors—some of which pulled populations towards coastal urban sites and others of which pushed them away. Not all of these factors are known, and the balance of “push” and “pull” was clearly not universal across the island. The degree to which palatial infrastructure had served as a foundation, not only for the construction and support of a specific social ideology, but for economic subsistence and exchange appears to have been a key predictor for which of these directional influences would prevail in differing regions of the island.

Community groups in the east which may have had points of contact with palatial infrastructures, but were never fully integrated into them, fell back on long-standing support systems centered on extended kinship groups and local networks, whose continued existence throughout LM II-III A2 is implied in the archaeological evidence already discussed. In the center and west of the island, where integration with palatial organization seems to have supplanted preexisting economic and social systems to a much greater degree, second- and third-tier sites, possibly under the leadership of the lingering remnants of local administration evidenced in the Linear B tablets, seem to have stepped into the vacuum of power left by the fall of Knossos in LM III A2.²¹¹ The decentralization of economic control allowed for the development of a more diffuse network of loosely defined economic and political units, each of which likely continued

²¹¹ Gaignerot-Driessen 2018, 727; Langohr 2020, 91; Nowicki 2000, 239.

to leverage the production capabilities of the surrounding rural hinterlands as they had done under the previous palatial system.²¹² Chania appears to have managed this transition with greater success than other regional centers, likely due to the strength of its previous ties to Knossos. It quickly became the most prominent point of contact for the trade and exchange of goods with Mycenaean Greece, but long-distance exchange with the wider Mediterranean world was not limited to the west.²¹³ The circulation of imported goods, particularly of metals, once largely managed by Knossos, became a source of wealth and power attainment for those in coastal and lowland sites in the center of the island as well.²¹⁴

Pottery manufacture was a key aspect of craft production at Chania and at other previously second- or third-tier sites, and the development of elaborate pottery styles beginning early in LM IIIB is indicative of a larger social phenomenon that seems to have arisen as a result of the increasingly insecure situation on the island and in the Mediterranean as a whole.²¹⁵ While elite display declined significantly at Knossos after the fall of the palatial administration,²¹⁶ this decline coincided with a surge in the construction of monumental architecture at sites like Haghia Triada and Kommos, the uptake of ostentatious burial practices, showcased at cemeteries like Archanes Phourni and Armenoi, and the performance of ritual activities focused on the establishment and maintenance of social and political power by influential individuals or kinship groups at previously lower-tier sites like Phaistos.²¹⁷ These were spheres of production and

²¹² Merousis 2002, 167.

²¹³ Inscribed stirrup jars dating to this period and originating in this area have been found at several mainland palatial centers, like Thebes, Tiryns, and Mycenae, which outlived Knossos, but would go on to fail in a similar fashion later in LM IIIB. Langohr 2020, 87, 91; Merousis 2002, 168.

²¹⁴ Port cities, like Mochlos and Gournia, that had once served as gateways for long-distance trade in the east were abandoned, as the local economy turned away from the coasts and towards the mountainous interior. Platon 2022b, 69; Borgna 2003, 161-163.

²¹⁵ Borgna 2003

²¹⁶ Hatzaki 2018, 201; Hatzaki 2020, 1035.

²¹⁷ Preston 2008, 316-318.

consumption previously limited to a Knossian elite, and the diffusion and deployment of these strategies at peripheral sites is indicative of growing social competition in a politically unstable environment. Power concentrated in the sites which were most able to coopt and capitalize on the remains of Knossian infrastructure that were already in place, and this was physically manifested in the landscape in the nucleated pattern of settlement that arose in early LM IIIC. When conditions deteriorated in the center and west, the movement of populations away from smaller sites and settlements was focused towards these urban centers where rising elites struggled for control and influence using strategies adopted from the mainland ideologies that had grown increasingly deep-rooted in this region since their arrival on the island in late LM IB.

Pre-existing ties to arable land and perennial water sources were critical factors in determining which settlement sites were economically sustainable given the changing circumstances in each region.²¹⁸ Populations at nucleated settlements in central and west Crete likely relied on previous connections to largely abandoned rural hinterlands to sustain them. Though settlement shift in the east was much more extreme, and followed a pattern of dispersion rather than nucleation, the same basic considerations applied. The mountainous hinterlands where settlements were established were not, as Nowicki points out, *terra incognita* to those already living in these regions—particularly to those already engaged in the agropastoral activities that would form the basis of the subsistence economy that characterized this region in LM IIIB/IIIC.²¹⁹ While the physical location, and, significantly, the average elevation, of settlement may have changed, the agricultural catchments and water sources leveraged by newly

²¹⁸ Wallace 2010, 53.

²¹⁹ Nowicki 2000, 24; 2002, 154. Tsipopoulou 2003, 565.

established upland communities likely remained substantially the same as they had been in the earlier period.²²⁰

Given the familiarity of local inhabitants with the landscape, it is significant that these sites were less conveniently located with regard to land and water resources than at any other point in the history of the island.²²¹ The elevation of upland settlements, some of which were located at over 1000 meters above sea level, was, on average, higher during the LBA-EIA transition than at any other period.²²² Theories suggesting that settlement shift occurring during the transition period was driven by economic or subsistence concerns have failed to adequately address this point. Haggis' contention that these difficult to access sites, positioned as they are on bedrock outcroppings, were chosen in order to maximize the available arable land appears to be negated as an island-wide principle first by the fact that many other much more easily accessible sites that were left unsettled would have fulfilled this requirement, and second by the fact that never before and never afterwards was it necessary to maximize arable land in this way in order to sustain the population—even at times when the population was significantly larger.²²³ It seems likely, therefore, that while consideration for subsistence needs was a clear priority, the focus on the elevation and the specific topography of these sites—particularly those which were settled early in the transition period—was not driven primarily by economic considerations, but by requirements of a different kind, whether these were related to the inherent defensibility of these upland sites or the view that they offered of the coastline and surrounding areas.

²²⁰ Nowicki 2000, 24; 2002, 154; Wallace 2001, 75.

²²¹ Wallace 2001, 69, 79, 83.

²²² Kanta 2001, 14; Nowicki 2000, 233; Wallace 2010, 60.

²²³ Haggis 2001, 49.

Another possibility is that, rather than the open view of the coast from the sites, it was the visibility and intervisibility of their positions in the landscape that was key (Fig. 3.11).²²⁴ The settlement patterning of upland sites developing in LM IIIB-IIIC shows no evidence of the site-hierarchy that characterized the Knossian economic system, and there is no indication that a single or several larger sites exercised control or authority over other, smaller ones.²²⁵ Studies of dispersed highland settlements in prehistoric Peruvian landscapes²²⁶ suggest that site intervisibility in the absence of site hierarchy is indicative of a fragmented or decentralized political landscape. This “Cohesive Equals” scenario of settlement, where independent and largely equivalent settlements are sited in such a way that they create networks of intervisibility, may form without the necessity for supra-community decision-making as communities appraising the developing pattern of settlement begin to recognize the advantages inherent to binding their community to others, both friend and foe, through visual ties. Such a scenario may also arise, however, as the result of socio-political alliances or confederacies forming as a response to a general instability in the political landscape.

Other characteristics of the settlement pattern speak to the likelihood that the second scenario—site intervisibility as the result of the development of socio-political alliances—is the correct one, and that newly established settlements may have formed networks of cooperation and at least partial interdependence as a natural development resulting, possibly, from the need for defense, but almost certainly to facilitate resource sharing. Haggis has noted that upland settlements in the east were most often located in closely-bounded site clusters, where 2-3, or even more, intervisible sites were settled within a one kilometer radius or less from one another

²²⁴ Day 2016, 206; Gaignerot-Driessen 2017, 515.

²²⁵ Haggis 1993, 151; Wallace 2001, 90.

²²⁶ Mullins 2016.

(Fig. 3.12).²²⁷ This form of spatial organization would have resulted in a significant overlap in the agricultural and pastoral land needed to support each community, indicating that some form of cooperative and likely reciprocal relationship between individual settlements within the cluster existed. In site clusters such as these, cooperative systems of exchange for labor and goods, and the continued development of social bonds through exchange of marriage partners would have ensured that a wider range of skills and resources necessary for survival were accessible to each settlement—considerations offering considerable advantages over completely independent hamlets and villages, or individual homesteads.²²⁸

Despite what we perceive as inaccessible or isolated positioning, the archaeological data clearly indicate that settlement clusters maintained close connections, both internally, and with other clusters in both neighboring and more distant regions.²²⁹ While some roads that had existed previously as major arteries of communication fell out of use, smaller, less prominent means of inter-community access gained in importance, and many of the slightly lower elevation sites established slightly later in LM IIIC in eastern Crete were located in easy proximity to these communication routes.²³⁰ The available archaeological data speak to the widespread sharing of local ceramic traditions and other important cultural markers, not just in the east, but across wide swaths of the island. There is, for example, a noticeable homogeneity in LM IIIC pottery shapes throughout Crete, though in the east there was a greater tendency towards simple pottery devoid of stylistic elaboration.²³¹ Close parallels existed in the emerging institutions associated with upland settlements that clearly suggest far-reaching networks of communication and cultural

²²⁷ Haggis 1993, 139; 2001, 45; Wallace 2010, 63.

²²⁸ Haggis 2001, 50; Haggis et al. 2005, 83; Wallace 2001, 65, 85; 2020, 252.

²²⁹ Haggis 2001, 51.

²³⁰ Wallace 2010, 145.

²³¹ Day 2016, 206.

exchange despite the widely dispersed nature of settlement.²³² Contributing to the impression of a larger degree of interconnectedness than new patterns of settlement initially suggest is the fact that, while long-distance exchange was greatly reduced in this period and largely limited to the center and west of the island, a small number of imports were found at upland settlements in the east such as Karphi in the Lasithi Plain, and Vrokastro in the Ierapetra isthmus.²³³

Mortuary Practice

As previously mentioned, the decline of Knossian dominance was reflected in the mortuary sphere, with ostentatious burials in areas surrounding the former palatial center becoming severely reduced towards the end of LM IIIA2. This decline was met with a concomitant rise in conspicuous consumption and display on the part of those in previously secondary and tertiary sites in the center and west who were able to mobilize the remnants of Knossian economic infrastructure to acquire wealth, status, and power. In the funerary realm, this is represented by the more widespread adoption of ostentatious burial practices that had previously been geographically limited to Knossos and its immediate vicinity. The LM IIIA2 cemeteries at Archanes Phourni, Kalyvia and Armenoi—all of which contained wealthy burials in monumental tholoi, chamber tombs, shaft graves marked with stelae, and/or elaborately decorated larnakes—are representative of this phenomenon.²³⁴ At Armenoi, in particular, which was established in LM IIIA2 and was used through LM IIIB, variability in the monumentality of

²³² Borgna 2003, 164; Wallace 2017, 71, 75.

²³³ Murray 2017, 85.

²³⁴ Preston 2004, 143; Hatzaki 2012, 311; Hatzaki et al. 2020, 1043.

the tombs and the richness of the accompanying grave goods is indicative of the social competition which seems to be a hallmark of the period in these regions.²³⁵

Significantly, the most monumental tholoi and chamber tombs at Armenoi are chronologically limited to the earlier period of use at the cemetery. Towards the end of LM IIIB, the decrease in tomb size and in the quality of burial offerings at the site appears to indicate either that the power of these groups was in decline, or that the need or desire to emphasize status through ostentatious display in the funerary realm had diminished as conditions became more unstable and populations began to nucleate at urban centers.²³⁶ Borgna goes as far as to suggest that a movement away from ostentatious display was a considered social strategy designed to encourage social cohesion within newly formed groups, likely comprised of representatives from a variety of different social backgrounds.²³⁷ The tombs at Liliana, near the nucleated center at Phaistos, seem to support this hypothesis. Though these burials represent the continuation of the LM IIIA-B chamber tomb burial typology, they are noticeably bare of precious objects and weapons.²³⁸ This general lack of differentiation in burial treatment appears to be a hallmark of late LM IIIB and early LM IIIC and is accompanied by a significant decline in cemetery and tomb use generally.²³⁹

It should be noted that there were distinct differences in funerary practice between the central and western lowland sites which became nucleated centers at the beginning of LM IIIC and the upland hill sites which were established in central Crete in the same period. Even while lowland populations moved away from conspicuous display in the mortuary sphere, they

²³⁵ Papadopoulou 2017, 152.

²³⁶ Papadopoulou 2017, 152.

²³⁷ Borgna 2003, 171.

²³⁸ Perna 2011, 140-41.

²³⁹ Pollard 2023, 203.

continued to make use of the mainland burial types which had characterized the region since LM II, and, in some cases, to bury their dead at cemeteries and necropoleis belonging to earlier periods. By contrast, upland settlement populations buried their dead in small tholoi of square or round plan—a practice typical of upland settlements in the east as well. This appears to substantiate the suggestion that there may have been something fundamentally different about the identity of those who chose to occupy upland sites rather than to remain connected to lowland or coastal areas, and, while the continued occupation of central upland sites into later periods makes a more detailed comparison between these and site clusters in the east difficult, similarities in mortuary practice may be another indication that cultural connections between upland sites in different regions of the island may have existed.²⁴⁰

Beginning at the end of LM IIIC and into the Subminoan period, the trend away from ostentatious burial began to reverse itself in the lead-up to the next critical period of social transformation. Elite warrior graves made a reappearance, concentrated at Knossos and its hinterlands, and at Prinias.²⁴¹ In this period of change, the past became a point of critical and conscious reference in the struggle to determine which social identities and ideologies would serve as the foundation for the next sociopolitical phase on the island. This is seen not only in episodes of post-abandonment visitation—the first phase of which begins at this time—but also in the reuse of elite mortuary spaces connected with the earlier LM III period. The monumental tholoi at Isopata and Kephala were both reopened in LM IIIC/SM to receive new burials, and other examples of reuse are found in the LM III chamber tombs at Nea Alikarnassos.²⁴² These tombs were originally constructed as conspicuous markers of social status, and the reuse of

²⁴⁰ Perna 2011, 127.

²⁴¹ Perna 2011, 146.

²⁴² Perna 2011, 141.

funerary architecture as a symbol of power connected with an elite past signifies the reemergence of social competition, presumably in response to the waning of the crisis conditions that had encouraged group cohesion only a few decades earlier.²⁴³

While the majority of LM IIIC/SM cemeteries are located in east Crete,²⁴⁴ the LM IIIB period in which dramatic settlement shift began to occur is represented by far fewer known burials.²⁴⁵ It has been hypothesized that the movement to mountainous sites was, at first, anticipated to be a temporary strategy for coping with prevailing circumstances in this region, with the result that new cemeteries may not have been established until the second generation of occupation. The first generation of settlers may have buried their dead in preexisting cemeteries near abandoned coastal and lowland sites.²⁴⁶ As noted previously, however, traditional practices were maintained for longer in areas where the new social influences appearing after the destructions of late LM IB were weak or nonexistent. Neopalatial practices that are less archaeologically visible, such as burials in caves and rock shelters, may have continued in this period, with the result that little can be said about how the earliest residents of upland settlements in the east buried their dead.²⁴⁷

By LM IIIC, cemeteries of small tholos tombs, linked to earlier Minoan traditions rather than to the monumental tholoi of central Crete which had Mycenaean antecedents, became the most common form of interment in the east and in the Lasithi Plain.²⁴⁸ A return to earlier Minoan paradigms is visible, too, in the reappearance of agglutinative housing blocks that grew over time as family groups in upland settlements grew, and in the resumption of multiple burials where

²⁴³ Hatzakis 2020, 1035.

²⁴⁴ Perna 2011, 126.

²⁴⁵ Episkopi, Kritsa Katharos, and Kata Lakkoi see continued use of chamber tombs in LM IIIB. Perna 2011, 128.

²⁴⁶ Nowicki 2000, 233-34.

²⁴⁷ Perna 2011, 128.

²⁴⁸ Eaby 2011, 175; Perna 2011, 126.

kinship connections formed the basis for inclusion within a given grave context.²⁴⁹ The largely heterarchical social structure of the upland settlements in this region is mirrored in the lack of social differentiation in the architecture and in the tholoi. Both appear to have varied in size in accordance with the size of the kinship group, as represented by the number of standard sets of household assemblages in a given residential block or by the number of burials in a given tholos, rather than in accordance with the value of the domestic sets or of the grave goods, all of which were largely homogeneous.²⁵⁰ This uniformity is indicative of an emphasis on social cohesion similar to that which was briefly seen in the center and west, but of much longer duration, and of the formation of a new community identity that had its foundations in earlier social paradigms.²⁵¹

Exceptions to the uniformity displayed in LM IIIC upland tholoi are rare. Chief amongst these are the very rich Mouliana warrior burials excavated by Xanthoudides in 1904.²⁵² These graves, which are completely uncharacteristic for the area, were rich in weapons (including a number of Naue II swords), bronze vessels, and gold jewelry, and, in one instance, a golden plate had been placed over the face of the dead (Fig. 3.13).²⁵³ The closest parallels in the region come from the earlier elite burials of LM IIIA-IIIB at sites like Mochlos and Episkopi, though, as mentioned previously, warrior graves were almost completely absent in the east during this period. Nowicki connects the Mouliana burials to the lingering remnants of this earlier elite.²⁵⁴ Though much less visible in the archaeological record of this period, there are other hints at the remains of a more hierarchical social ideology in the much more poorly furnished warrior graves at the cemetery of Scalavoi-Pharamkokephalo near Siteia,²⁵⁵ and also in the evidence for LM

²⁴⁹ Eaby 2011, 176.

²⁵⁰ Eaby 2011, 175.

²⁵¹ Eaby 2011, 176; Wallace 2005.

²⁵² Nowicki 2004, 278; Xanthoudides 1904.

²⁵³ Basakos 2016, 24

²⁵⁴ Nowicki 2004, 278.

²⁵⁵ Basakos 2016, 25.

IIIC elite feasting at the Early Minoan Cemetery at Petras.²⁵⁶ This influence appears to be slight and apparently short lived, however.

In the east, as in the center and west, post-abandonment visitation to sites of memory began at the very end of LM IIIC into the Subminoan period, as did attempts to reconnect with the past through the deposition of the dead in juxtaposition with architectural remains of earlier periods. Critical differences are apparent, however, and, while these will be discussed more thoroughly in the following chapters of this dissertation, it is helpful to introduce some of these differences here. Rather than the reuse of earlier graves that is seen at central sites like Isopata, Kephala and Nea Alikarnassos, there are a number of instances in east Crete where upland settlements that were abandoned at the tail end of LM IIIC were, themselves, reused as cemeteries. Vronda, where a tholos cemetery was established, possibly within living memory of the site's abandonment, is the most prominent example of this phenomenon, but a slightly later tholos tomb was also inserted into a ruined building at Halasmenos. The desire to create or maintain connections between the present and the past is held in common between the two regions, but the fundamental differences in the choices made in relation to this desire should not be overlooked.

Ritual Activity

As might be expected, the breakdown and eventual disappearance of palatial authority on the island resulted in changes to many material aspects of cult expression.²⁵⁷ These changes may have begun as early as LM IIIA2, with the destruction of the palace at Knossos, but did not find what is typically seen as their full expression until LM IIIC, with the appearance of bench

²⁵⁶ Rupp 2017; Rupp and Tsipopoulou 2022.

²⁵⁷ D'Agata and Hermay 2012, 278;

shrines featuring female terracotta figures which have been termed “Goddesses with Upraised Arms” or “Goddesses with Upraised Hands” as their primary cult objects (sometimes referred to as GUA’s) (Fig. 3.14).²⁵⁸ Gaignerot-Driessen describes the development of this new form of shrine as a “radical evolution” in both the architecture and the material assemblages associated with cult—an evolution that she and others believe can be traced from its roots in earlier palatial practices, through the development of “stand shrines” and other LM III bench shrines, to its culmination in the fully-matured shrines to the Goddess with Upraised Arms.²⁵⁹

While this approach is rational and well-supported by the available archaeological evidence, it provides an incomplete picture of cult development at this time in that, while “stand shrines”, earlier bench shrines, and even fragments of Goddesses with Upraised Hands can be found throughout the island,²⁶⁰ LM IIIC bench shrines are exclusively associated with upland settlements, primarily in east Crete (Figs. 3.15 and 3.16). They must be viewed, therefore, at least on the basis of the material currently available to us, as a strictly regional phenomenon. While their development may have been grounded within broader developments taking place island-wide, and while it is clear that their form is rooted in a similar, and widely available, symbolic language, they do not represent the ultimate expression of these developments on a broader geographical scale. In fact, the aspects of LM IIIC bench shrines that are “radically” different from preceding palatial and LM IIIB bench shrines show, not an evolution of, but a profound difference in the social ideology underpinning the rites they were constructed to facilitate.

²⁵⁸ Eliopoulos 2004, 86; Gaignerot-Driessen 2020, 24.

²⁵⁹ Eliopoulos 2004, 86,88; D’Agata 2006, 400; Gaignerot-Driessen 2014, 491; Gesell 1985, 47, 51; Peatfield 1994, 29

²⁶⁰ Gesell 1985, 48.

It is possible to trace, between LM IIIA2 and LM IIIC, the selective undoing of trends in ritual practice that, though perhaps having their earliest origin in the Neopalatial period, found their full expression under the Knossian influence of the Final Palatial period.²⁶¹ There appears to have been a return to public cult practice at several extra-urban peak and cave sanctuaries which had fallen out of use between LM IB and LM IIIB and increasing accessibility can also be seen in urban shrine spaces.²⁶² While less exclusionary than most forms of cult in the Final Palatial period, the LM IIIB “stand” and bench shrines held to be the precursors to LM IIIC shrines still maintained a relative degree of restricted access. These shrines were integrated into architectural complexes most often identified as “elite” domestic spaces by their excavators based on the quality and content of the assemblages found within them, and participants had to pass through multiple narrow spaces and passageways to access the cult spaces within. These spaces were small and had limited capacity, as the plans of the shrines in Building CD at Sissi and House X at Kommos show (Figs. 3.17 and 3.18).²⁶³ Despite this, these urban shrines do appear to have been representative of public rather than of “official” or purely domestic cult. The structures into which they were incorporated almost always included spaces dedicated to suprahousehold storage, processing, and consumption of food and drink, suggesting that acts of group feasting were occurring in association with these spaces, likely under the administration or authority of the individual or family group to whom the building belonged.²⁶⁴

²⁶¹ In this, and in many other cases, western Crete must be almost completely excluded from this analysis due to the lack of data that results from its poor excavation history.

²⁶² The caves of Patsos and possibly Psychro, the peak sanctuary at Mount Kophinas, and a poorly understood ritual site at Kastri Viannou all saw a resumption of practice after the fall of the palatial administration. Despite a gap in visitation of, in some cases, as much as two and a half centuries, the votive offerings from LM IIIB and later are, in general, similar, in form to those found in earlier periods, which suggests a return to older methods of practice that had been greatly curtailed during the Final palatial periods. Prent 2005, 154-174.

²⁶³ Gaignerot-Driessen 2014, 510-511; Gaignerot-Driessen 2016, 23.

²⁶⁴ Gaignerot-Driessen 2014, 510.

It is significant that LM IIIB bench shrines are most heavily concentrated in the center of the island, particularly at sites that held second-order status during the Final Palatial period (Fig. 3.19). Sponsored feasting, in this context, may be considered another indication of the presence or growth of a post-palatial elite—one that either retained remnants of power and prestige from the previous period, or that had stepped into the vacuum of power left by the fall of the palatial administration. These early post-palatial cults appear to have been modelled after Final Palatial social paradigms, which, contrary to the social ideology inherent to earlier Minoan practices, were designed to create and/or maintain unequal social relationships based on the ability to regulate cultic expression and to control and distribute surplus through commensal events.

Evidence for this kind of control and restriction is completely lacking in the LM IIIC bench shrines, all of which were free-standing, independent cult buildings, typically located at the edge of settlements adjacent to an open space suitable for gathering. These shrines were not associated with larger domestic buildings, which might indicate control of ritual practice by a single individual or family but are sited in such a way that they are equally accessible from all residential structures in the settlement. Their position suggests that these were ritual spaces belonging to the community as a whole, rather than to an elite individual or kinship group.²⁶⁵ The public nature of cult activity at the shrine of Halasmenos, for example, is indicated by the large door providing visual access to the interior of the building, by the shrine's accessibility from several roads, and by the fact that the structure has equality of access across the settlement (Fig. 3.20).²⁶⁶ While ritual activity at these shrines also appears to have included commensal activities,²⁶⁷ the source of the surplus mobilized for these events appears to have been communal

²⁶⁵ Prent 2005, 617; Gaignerot-Driessen 2016, 24; Gaignerot-Driessen 2020, 23.

²⁶⁶ Tsipopoulou 2009, 132. The same equality of access has been noted for the shrine at Karphi. Nowicki 2000, 238.

²⁶⁷ A cooking pot and cups were found in the shrine at Halasmenos, as only one example. Tsipopoulou 2009, 129.

storage, possibly held within the shrine itself, as suggested by the evidence from Halasmenos, or in separate communal buildings like Building A/B at Vronda, rather than storage rooms associated with elite dwellings (Fig. 3.21).²⁶⁸

Multiple scholars have noted the more heterarchical ideology embodied in the LM IIIC shrines at upland settlements, and it has been suggested that the architectural evolution of bench shrines between LM IIIB and LM IIIC is representative of a gradual transition away from a hierarchical system that was more closely adherent to the social ideology linked with Final Palatial Knossos. This transition is held to have continued, reaching its culmination in the hearth shrines originating in the 8th century that are fundamental to the development of later institutions associated with the Cretan polis.²⁶⁹ The idea of a homogenous evolution from one ideology to another obscures something fundamentally important, however—during the Late Bronze Age to Early Iron Age transition, from LM IIIB-IIIC, significant regional differences in cult are revelatory of fundamental differences in the social ideology that is being strengthened through these practices. As the theoretical chapter of this dissertation brings to the fore, cult and commensal activities are key strategies in the creation and strengthening of social identity, particularly during times of instability and uncertainty. The differences in practice attested in the archaeological record relating to cult in this period are important in this respect, and critical to understanding the development of memory practices centered on abandoned sites related to this period.

Regional differentiation in the ideological underpinnings of cult during this period are further emphasized by a trend away from ritual and votive objects crafted from precious or semi-

²⁶⁸ Tsipopoulou 2009, 132.

²⁶⁹ Gaignerot-Driessen 2014, 516; Whitley 2009a, 281.

precious materials in the assemblages associated with both extra-urban cult sites, and at LM IIIB and IIIC bench shrines. This is a trend that is most evident in LM IIIC bench shrines, where the characteristic assemblage was comprised of snake tubes, plaques, kalathoi, and the Goddesses with Upraised Arms, all of which were crafted from coarse terracotta.²⁷⁰ Even the most complex component of this assemblage, the GUA's, appear to have been made by craftsman who also made ordinary domestic pottery. The skirts were thrown on the wheel like pottery vessels, and the torsos of the figures were formed in independent pieces in shapes already common in the potter's repertoire—like conical cups and kalathoi—which were then joined with lumps of clay and the joins smoothed over to form the body of the figure.²⁷¹

Cave and peak sanctuaries that saw ritual use in this period also show a marked movement away from the deposition of the prestige offerings that were characteristic of the preceding period.²⁷² At the cave sanctuary of Patsos, for instance, Neopalatial offerings, including terracotta figurines, a stone offering table, stone vase, seal stones, and a bronze chisel, blade and double axe, give way to Postpalatial offerings of anthropomorphic and animal figurines, crafted primarily from terracotta, although a handful of bronze votives are also attested.²⁷³ While the trend away from votive offerings and other ritual objects crafted from

²⁷⁰ The one exception to this might be considered the Shrine of the Double Axes, which was established in the palace of Knossos in LM IIIA2-IIIB and which contains the earliest known example of a GUA. It is unclear if the palace was still occupied when this shrine was constructed. Compared with the later coarse terracotta GUA's, the goddess from the Shrine of the Double Axes is much smaller and finer, featuring elaborately painted jewelry and clothing. The objects accompanying her, like the finely carved steatite double axe which was found on the bench with her, are also closer to palatial types than those found in later bench shrines. The presence of the stone axe, in particular, is significant, as non-heirloom objects crafted from stone are rare in this period. The Shrine of the Double Axes is an anomaly, however, which might be seen as representing a bridge between earlier, elite ritual assemblages and those from even very slightly later bench shrines, which were crafted exclusively from affordable materials common to everyday life. Day et al. 2009, 108; Evans 1928, 337; Gaignerot-Driessen 2014, 512; Gesell 1985, 41, 54; Gesell 2004, 133-134.

²⁷¹ Tsipopoulou 2009, 127

²⁷² Sakellarakis 1987, 247.

²⁷³ Kourou and Karetsou 1994, 151; Prent 2005, 15

luxury materials seems clear, and is evident across the entirety of the island, this observation needs to be given greater nuance. A generalized loss of specialized craft and access to imported metals and other luxury materials is a hallmark of the so-called “collapse” period, in the Mediterranean generally and on Crete as well.²⁷⁴ Truly prestige materials appear to have been less attainable at this time, but differing levels of access to the highest quality craftsmanship and materials that were still available are apparent in Postpalatial ritual assemblages. Though of lesser extrinsic value than those from the earlier period, and therefore following the general trend already observed, the objects at Patsos, for example, can be considered exceptional *for their time* in their craftsmanship and quality, and this is true, in general, even for ceramic assemblages associated with extra-urban ritual sites.²⁷⁵ These were limited, in the Postpalatial period, to central Crete.

Gaignerot-Driessen makes the critical point that cultic evidence from LM IIIC Crete tells us more about changes in social and political organization than it does about religion. I would suggest that this is true of the entirety of the Postpalatial period, and that what emerges from a close reading of the material evidence relating to cult activity from LM IIIA2 to LM IIIC is a picture revelatory of the development—or perhaps solidification—of distinct regional differences in social ideology, and thus organization, on the island—differences that became more apparent over time.

The Grounding of Identity: Late LM IIIC/SM-PG

²⁷⁴ Gesell 1985, 41. (Find others)

²⁷⁵ Korou and Karetsou 1994, 84, 150-151, 163.

The Protogeometric marks a period of pronounced change on the island, indicative of a movement away from the instability that had characterized the Late Bronze Age to Early Iron Age transition of LM IIIB/IIIC. Our perception of the late 11th through the 9th centuries is that it was a time characterized by expanding settlement, economic growth, and important social development, but there are very real challenges to a full understanding of the period. Some of these challenges are connected with the deeply problematic historiography of archaeological study on the island, generally. The Minoan period, with its grand palaces and rich material culture, was the first focus of interest on the island, in keeping with the ideology underpinning 19th century archaeological research, and, as a result, over a century of scholarship has been dedicated to our understanding of this material. Research in the following era turned its attention from the Minoan directly to the Archaic period as archaeological interest fixated on the origins of Classical Greek civilization. The Protogeometric and Geometric periods which lie between these two eras of more marked social complexity, have, so far, received far less interest. While this is a circumstance that has been steadily changing over the last three decades, we are still hampered by the fragmentary nature of the available data, which is the result not only of the lack of targeted excavation and study, but of the fact that the vast majority of known Protogeometric and Geometric sites are obscured by later occupation layers.²⁷⁶

Despite the ephemeral and/or unstratified nature of much of the evidence, it is this period which Wallace has singled out as being the most foundational to the later evolution of the Cretan polis system, which did not begin to take shape in earnest on the island until the early Archaic. She makes this claim primarily on the basis of the increase in site nucleation that occurred at this time, viewing growing settlements across the island as true polities with nascent social structures

²⁷⁶ Judson 2018, 8; Gaignerot-Driessen 2017, 516-17; Pollard 2023, 262;

that would eventually solidify into the civic institutions associated with the later city-states.²⁷⁷

While many of the hallmarks that we associate with the fully developed polis system do not appear to be present in this period, marked changes in the material record indicate that it was one of significant transformation, and, as in the former periods, regional differences are very apparent in these material indicators of change.²⁷⁸

Changes in Settlement

As implied above, settlement shift is once again a key indicator of change during the Protogeometric period, particularly in the east, where over 50% of the settlements established in LM IIIB/IIIC were abandoned and populations began to nucleate at sites that were significantly less extreme than those founded at the very beginning of the transition period.²⁷⁹ While many of the most extreme sites had already been abandoned in the late 12th century, a significant number of the settlements that remained occupied in late LM IIIC were limited in their ability to expand due to the nature of their topography, which provided insufficient space to grow, and less-easy proximity to natural springs and agricultural hinterlands. The settlements which would survive to become focal points of nucleation were sited in areas that, while still elevated above the surrounding plains, provided enough room for settlement expansion and population growth, and had relatively easy access to perennial water sources and large tracts of arable land (Fig. 3.22). They were also strategically placed relative to established routes of travel, trade, and communication, which their elevated position allowed them to control visually.²⁸⁰ Their elevated

²⁷⁷ Judson 2018, 172; Pollard 2023, 262, 268; Wallace 2005.

²⁷⁸ Snodgrass 1971, 169; Nowicki 2000, 242.

²⁷⁹ Gaignerot-Driessen 2017, 515; Nowicki 2000, 241; Wallace 2006, 641; 2010, 234.

²⁸⁰ Gaignerot-Driessen 2017, 515; Wallace 2006, 641; 2010, 234, 238-242.

position made them visual focal points for a wider expanse of territory, which an increased labor pool allowed them to more fully exploit, as the average size of settlement began—and continued—to increase.²⁸¹

Though normal population growth in an environment that had become increasingly stable may have served as a sufficient impetus for nucleation—and, in fact, the generally coordinated and broadly contemporaneous nature of these population shifts seems to indicate that this was a likely motivator²⁸²—Nowicki relates the phenomenon of settlement nucleation in the Protogeometric to new political situations, or possibly even to newly arrived immigrants to the island, citing the appearance of new elements in material culture relating to cult activities, burial customs, art and architecture.²⁸³ Haggis also points to significant changes in material culture occurring around 1000 BC,²⁸⁴ but the material basis for this understanding is unclear. Tsipopoulou, in her seminal volume on the Early Iron Age pottery of east Crete, emphasizes the well-chosen locations of nucleated settlements as being indicative of an intimate knowledge of the landscape and its resources that could only have been held by inhabitants of long-standing,²⁸⁵ and Judson, whose doctoral work was focused on the Protogeometric and Geometric periods, specifically, suggests that the data points instead to an overall demographic and cultural continuity within the various regions of the island from the Protogeometric through the Late Geometric periods.²⁸⁶

²⁸¹ Wallace 2010, 234.

²⁸² Wallace 2010, 238.

²⁸³ Nowicki 2000, 241.

²⁸⁴ Haggis 2001, 47.

²⁸⁵ Tsipopoulou 2005, 553.

²⁸⁶ Judson 2018, 172.

The continuity in the landscape of the eastern region is a point in favor of this conclusion. There are no known examples of new site foundations during this period of nucleation.²⁸⁷ All of the sites that became focused centers of population growth had their foundations in the LM IIIC past, and a closely held connection to this earlier period can be found in many aspects of the archaeological record, particularly in the funerary sphere. This very specific past, and the social identity that had come to be associated with it, remained a constant point of reference in this region, not only through the continuities that existed in patterns of settlement, but through the continued visibility in the landscape of the large number of upland sites which had been left behind as populations began to nucleate. The visible LM IIIC past, and the ties to it which were actively being perpetuated through ritual activity at these abandoned sites, provided a vital point of common reference in rapidly expanding settlements, serving as a stable foundation for newly integrated communities.²⁸⁸

The contrast between settlement patterns in LM IIIC and the Protogeometric period is far more distinct in the east than in any other region. Nucleation continued in central Crete, but its scale is unclear as virtually no LM IIIC sites were abandoned, and the continuing connection between urban nucleated centers and the broader landscape remains under-explored (Fig. 3.23).²⁸⁹ We have even less data concerning the situation in this period in the west,²⁹⁰ though survey suggests that the Early Iron Age, generally, was a low point in the occupation of this part of the island. No specifically Protogeometric sites have been identified, and there appears to have been a period of partial abandonment at many sites along the Northern coast during the 10th and

²⁸⁷ Wallace 2006, 642.

²⁸⁸ Judson 2018, 169-70; Wallace 2006 642.

²⁸⁹ Nowicki 2000, 241; Wallace 2010, 247; Judson 2018, 195.

²⁹⁰ Wallace 2010, 245.

9th centuries (Fig. 3.24).²⁹¹ As in the east, however, the past, embodied within the landscape, became a clear point of reference in both west and central Crete.

There was a notable adherence in settlement to former Minoan palatial centers that had been incorporated into the Knossian economic system in LM II-III A2, particularly at Knossos, Phaistos, and Chania, which all expanded in the Protogeometric.²⁹² The core area of the settlement at Knossos, for instance, developed significantly at this time, and several stratified Protogeometric deposits have been uncovered, although a complete picture of the site in this period has yet to be formed.²⁹³ At Phaistos, a major road constructed in the Protogeometric is indicative of a growing population, as is the fact that this road was quickly covered over by the houses that would form the core of the later Geometric quarter.²⁹⁴ While continuity of settlement in these areas may have been a matter of economic convenience, funerary and other ritual practices confirm that the past associated with them was an important point of symbolic reference. All of these sites were, by this point, palimpsestic, having deep histories with multiple temporal horizons. While Judson connects the tendency to remain settled near former palatial sites with a desire to connect to a specifically Minoan past, references to former periods in the mortuary practice of this time add much greater nuance to this understanding, and this will be discussed more fully below.

Economy, Trade, and Subsistence

²⁹¹ Judson 2018, 203-4.

²⁹² Judson 2018, 197; Wallace 2006, 644.

²⁹³ Kotsonas et al. 2019; Pollard 2023, 264.

²⁹⁴ Judson 2018, 196.

As mentioned above, settlement nucleation, which in the center of the island appears, originally, to have begun as a strategy for dealing with the insecurity of the transition period, was likely a natural result of population growth in the east. Centralized settlements, more conveniently located in the landscape, allowed for the more efficient exploitation of both agricultural and human labor resources, and increased production, in turn, allowed for the sustaining of larger populations. An economic explanation for site nucleation is reinforced by the fact that, in areas like the Mirabello region of east Crete, groups of rural sites appear to surround developing urban centers (Fig. 3.25).²⁹⁵ The nucleation of populations at centralized sites that controlled larger agricultural territories inevitably resulted in longer average travel-times to outlying farming zones. Effective exploitation of agricultural hinterlands in these circumstances was likely dependent on the presence of smaller, outlying rural farmsteads, or on the use of field houses, and other forms of temporary habitation, occupied during seasons when closer proximity to the land was required.²⁹⁶ The result of the increasing production capabilities afforded by nucleation was a reciprocal and consistent expansion in settlement size, which occurred at most sites from the Protogeometric into the Archaic period and sometimes beyond.²⁹⁷

The siting of settlements along major routes of communication and trade was both indicative of, and productive of, an expansion in regional exchange. Local craft production also expanded in response to rising opportunity and demand, resulting in an apparent increase in craft specialization, supported by the accumulation of subsistence surplus that the newly formed settlement structure allowed.²⁹⁸ This growth in economic complexity does not appear to have contributed to an intensification of interregional exchange, however. The Protogeometric period

²⁹⁵ Gaignerot-Driessen 2017, 515.

²⁹⁶ Wallace 2010, 247.

²⁹⁷ Wallace 2006, 642.

²⁹⁸ Wallace 2006, 645; Pollard 2023, 267

was marked by pronounced regional differences in material culture which may indicate that the island was characterized by a degree of regional isolation at this time.²⁹⁹ As Desborough pointed out, however, regional differentiation may result from an active choice to adhere to regional styles, rather than from a lack of interconnectivity.³⁰⁰

Regional differences in pottery style may also be partially explained by the fact that a pronounced variance can be seen between the regions in relation to their connections to trade networks external to the island. The volume of foreign imports, particularly from the eastern Mediterranean, began to rise markedly in the late 10th century into the early 9th century in central Crete, and continued to increase in succeeding periods.³⁰¹ The emerging Protogeometric style of pottery on the island was heavily influenced by imported Attic wares, which are abundantly demonstrated in the archaeological record of central Crete.³⁰² Neither these Attic imports, nor the stylistic influence associated with them, ever appear to have reached east Crete, however.³⁰³ The reasons for this are unclear, but regional differences in ideology and social organization may have played a role. Many of the imported materials known from the archaeological record of this period are luxury items, and they are most often found in cultic or mortuary contexts.³⁰⁴ Limited access, and the deployment of these goods in settings that have a long history as venues for conspicuous consumption and status display in this part of the island are suggestive of an increase in levels of social stratification not seen in the east, where imports were rare and styles remained primarily conservative.³⁰⁵

²⁹⁹ Prent 2005, 225

³⁰⁰ Desborough 1952, 259-60, 270-71.

³⁰¹ Judson 2018, 4-5; Wallace 2006, 641, 645.

³⁰² Coldstream 2008, 234-35; Kotsonas 2011, 135.

³⁰³ Tsipopoulou 2005, 556.

³⁰⁴ Pollard 2023, 266.

³⁰⁵ Judson 2018, 5; Pollard 2023, 266.

In the eastern region of the island, the majority of sites continued to adhere to older mortuary traditions, even as significant changes in the way that people inhabited the landscape were under way.³⁰⁶ Protogeometric burials have been found in the caves and rock shelters of Zakros Gorge,³⁰⁷ indicating that Minoan funerary traditions were still very much in use, and the small tholos, which had become a standard characteristic of upland settlements in LM IIIC continued as a common burial type. The tholos cemetery established in the ruins of Vronda continued to receive burials in the Protogeometric period, and, in the neighboring site cluster a new tholos tomb was constructed at the uninhabited site of Halasmenos.³⁰⁸ A PG vessel was also deposited in the tholos at Azoria, although it is unclear if this was associated with a new burial or if it was placed as a grave offering.³⁰⁹ All of the burials at these sites were characterized by the same lack of social diversity that was apparent in the mortuary landscape of the earlier LM IIIC, revealing that the focus of these practices was not only a continued geographical connection with the past, but a continued ideological one.

New tholos cemeteries were founded, not only in association with abandoned upland settlements, but with upland sites that continued to be occupied. The cemeteries of Plai tou Kastrou, Aloni, and Skouriasmenos were all established in the vicinity of the LM IIIC settlement of Kastro, which appears to have expanded in the Protogeometric despite the very limiting nature

³⁰⁶ Eaby 2011, 181.

³⁰⁷ Platon 2022b, 68.

³⁰⁸ Day 2022, 249; Haggis 2011, 517; Tsipopoulou 2005, 319.

³⁰⁹ Haggis 2024, 21.

of its topography.³¹⁰ Although the final publication of the material from these three cemeteries is still awaited, it does appear that at least some of these tholoi contained burials that were wealthy in comparison with those at other nearby sites. Why this should be is unclear, but Kastro is notable for being one of very few upland settlements in extreme locations that remained in use. It was originally thought that this peculiar category of site was occupied by powerful clans that were resistant to incorporation within larger communities at nucleated sites. Wallace has suggested, instead, that these “citadel” sites, with their highly visible locations, acted as mnemonic resources in the same way that abandoned LM IIIC sites did, and that the residents played a special role or held a special status connected with this history.³¹¹ This is an area in need of further research, as the degree of differentiation between the individual tholoi of these cemeteries is unclear, and it is still unclear if residents at other “citadel” sites were differentiated in death in the same way. Competitive consumption in the funerary sphere was definitively the exception rather than the rule in the east in this period, however, as it had been in the previous one.

A continued distinction between east and central Crete is apparent in this regard. The small tholoi associated with LM IIIC upland settlements were characterized both by the small diameter of their chambers and by their rough and irregular fieldstone construction. These differ markedly from a second type of tholos that originated in the Protogeometric period in central Crete. These were almost exclusively circular in shape and defined by their comparatively large chambers—2.5 meters in diameter or more, and often larger than 3 meters—and by much more regular masonry.³¹² Though not as large as the tholoi that appeared in the area of Knossos in LM

³¹⁰ Coulson 1998; Judson 2018, 179.

³¹¹ Wallace 2010, 254.

³¹² Eaby 2011, 166, 171.

II, or those which were built by secondary elite after LM IIIA2 at cemeteries like Armenoi, Eaby connects their development with the same social phenomenon that had inspired the construction of these earlier monumental tombs—the rise of competitive display within a rapidly changing social environment. As nucleated settlements grew, the pressure on prominent individuals or families to either maintain or develop power, authority, and status also appears to have grown. A number of large chamber tombs constructed in this period, including those at Knossos Kephala, Phaistos tou Phygote to Aloni, and Phaistos Kayviani, are also representative of this phenomenon. These chamber tombs echoed earlier LM II and post-LM IIIA2 elite prototypes in the same way that large tholoi did, and they were located in association with sites critical to the former palatial administration. Due to their size, the wealth of their associated grave goods,³¹³ and their relative rarity, both of these renewed types can be viewed as reflective of the same efforts towards ostentatious display that had been seen in the region previously.³¹⁴

While indirect reference to the past is clear in the large size of the burial monuments associated with the emerging elite in the central region, and in their physical location near former palatial centers, more direct references to the palatial past can be found in other areas of the mortuary sphere. This is particularly true of Knossos, where the 9th century witnessed not only the imitative production of larnakes that directly reference LM IIIA-B styles, but, in some cases, the reuse of clay larnakes taken from LM IIIA-B tombs. In addition, some of the richest burials in the Knossos North Cemetery were found in large, reused tombs, originally dating to LM III.³¹⁵ It is these direct references to a more discretely located past—a specifically Postpalatial past—that allow us to more accurately pinpoint the historical focus of continued settlement near former

³¹³ Wallace notes that the volume of imported and imitated luxury items at the Knossos North Cemetery begins to increase notably in the Protogeometric period. Wallace 2010, 249.

³¹⁴ Eaby 2011, 188.

³¹⁵ Coldstream 1998, 58.

palatial centers. Rather than being focused on a diffuse “Minoan” past, as Judson and many other scholars have suggested, the past being referenced through settlement patterns and mortuary practice in the central region of the island, at this time, in earlier times, and in times that were yet to come, was fixed on what, from our perspective, was a specifically LM III horizon. Though people in the ancient world may not have conceptualized the past in the same way that we do, it appears clear that certain aspects of material culture, which were stylistically associated with a specific period in the past, could become a focus of interest. In this case, the past being focused on was connected with what we conceive of as a Final or Postpalatial past—and this was a past materially underpinned by a social ideology that was founded on social differentiation and elite identity, emerging out of Mycenaean antecedents.

Ritual Activity

The general paucity of archaeological information associated with the Protogeometric affects our understanding of ritual activity occurring in this period as well, particularly at sanctuary sites where, generally, few votives can be assigned to the 10th century.³¹⁶ This is not a situation that is unique to Crete, however, and, in fact, more sanctuary sites are known from this period on the island than in any other single region of the Aegean or on the mainland.³¹⁷ It does appear that the total number of known cult sites on the island increased in number between LM IIIC and the Protogeometric period, and critical points of change, mapping directly on to the

³¹⁶ Prent 2005, 224.

³¹⁷ Kotsonas 2017, Fig. 2.

changes occurring in the settlement and funerary spheres, can be observed in the ritual landscape at this time.³¹⁸

On the east side of the island, the cult of the Goddess with Upraised Arms fell out of favor at the end of the LM IIIC/SM period at the same time that many of the upland defensive settlements with which they were associated were abandoned.³¹⁹ The cult's particular association with these sites is emphasized by the fact that all of the known LM IIIC bench shrines were abandoned with their cult equipment left in place, suggesting that this ritual set "belonged" in these places, and had no significance outside of them. Two possible exceptions to this rule exist. The first of these is Pachlitzani Agriada, a small cult building that was established at the bottom of the Azoria hill in the Protogeometric period.³²⁰ This freestanding structure was equipped with a stone-built bench on its east wall, upon which the base of an almost life-size figure dating to the 7th century and several other votive objects were found still in place. The base still retained the figure's feet and the hem of its skirt, which allows for the identification of the figure as female, but the relationship between this shrine and earlier shrines to the Goddess with Upraised Arms is unclear. Its situation outside of an established settlement does not fit the pattern of this cult, and its late date—particularly the late date of the figure—is also anomalous. Characteristic elements of the cult assemblage, such as snake tubes and kalathoi, are missing, and the presence of a clay figurine of a pregnant woman suggests a focus on female fertility and childbirth not previously associated with GUA's.³²¹ A second possible exception is the bench shrine from Kako Plai, the hill adjacent to the upland settlement of Anavlachos. Here a small rectangular building was erected, apparently in the Protogeometric. A Protogeometric skyphos was found in place

³¹⁸ Prent 2005, 625.

³¹⁹ Gaignerot-Driessen 2014, 516.

³²⁰ Haggis et al. 2005, 84; Judson 2018, 256.

³²¹ Prent 2005, 430.

within the building, as was a terracotta female head, which may originally have belonged to a GUA. This figure noticeably lacks the cultic attributes of earlier LM IIIC GUA's, however, making its identification insecure.³²²

Whether or not these cult buildings can be connected with forms of earlier practice, the uncharacteristic location of these cult buildings is revelatory of a new trend in ritual behavior belonging to this period. Previous to this time, shrines—like the LM IIIC bench shrines—were located within the center of settlements. “Urban” shrines like these are unknown in the Protogeometric, in any region of the island, though this understanding may partially be a function of the lack of preserved stratigraphy in continuously occupied settlement sites.³²³ It receives some corroboration in the concomitant rise of suburban sanctuaries, however. These were cult sites located either at the very edge of settlements or in the surrounding valleys or hillsides—a pattern to which both the sanctuaries at Pachlitzani Agriada and Kako Plai conform. Suburban shrines have no direct precursors in the previous period and, thus, represent a substantial change in the ritual practice of the time—and one that appears to have been lasting. Most of the sites established in this period remained in use through the Archaic.³²⁴

Sanctuaries of this type were established in both eastern and central Crete, and the explanation for their geographical location has typically relied on the work of De Polignac, who theorized that a similar phenomenon in the regions of mainland Greece was connected with the growing need to clearly demarcate the boundaries of recently formed territories.³²⁵ De Polignac's work was focused on sanctuaries dating to the 8th and 7th centuries, however, and its applicability

³²² Gaignerot-Driessen 2018, 729.

³²³ D'Agata 2006, 405.

³²⁴ Prent 2005, 245, 625, 637.

³²⁵ De Polignac 1995.

to the Cretan evidence, due to the difference in temporal and regional focus, should be questioned. While warfare between settlements is known in the 7th century,³²⁶ there is no evidence that the Protogeometric was a time of territorial dispute, and there is no reason to suppose that suburban shrines combined religious and territorial concerns.³²⁷

Though not expressly linked with territorial claims, there is reason to speculate on the relationship of changes in cult practice to the changing sociopolitical organization of nucleated settlements, particularly in the central region of the island. Prent, in her foundational volume on Cretan cults and sanctuaries, notes that, beginning in the Protogeometric period, increasing variation in the form and function of cult practice appears to have been the result of a schism in the identity which these practices were intended to underscore. She defines the primary distinction between various sanctuary forms as based on whether they served to articulate elite values and institutions, or if their purpose was to aid in the definition and integration of social groups within communities as a whole.³²⁸ Suburban sanctuaries were marked by large assemblages of simple animal and anthropomorphic terracotta votives, indicating that these were sites accessible to a wide community of worshippers, and, therefore, should be included in the latter of Prent's categories.³²⁹ Belonging to the former category—ritual activity focused on the reification of a rising elite identity—are renewed activities occurring at extra-urban sanctuaries, which are found only in the center of the island in this period, and the establishment of sanctuaries within the ruins of abandoned monumental sites connected with the previous LM

³²⁶ Kotsonas 2002, 57.

³²⁷ Cf. Dagata 2006, 408-10; Cf. Prent 2005, 625.

³²⁸ Prent 2005, 627.

³²⁹ Prent 2005, 633.

II/III period—a phenomenon almost entirely limited to the central region throughout the Early Iron Age.³³⁰

Extra-urban sanctuaries in the center of the island had seen a return to use in the previous period, but at this time the terracotta figures associated with earlier periods were replaced by bronze animals and, occasionally, human figurines, which represented a significant increase in the investment of wealth in votive dedications beginning in the Protogeometric. This can be explained, in part, by the fact that increasing stability and renewed external trade relationships allowed for the acquisition of luxury goods that had previously been out of reach, even for those of status. As previously mentioned, votive offerings at extra-urban sanctuaries during LM IIIC were, on the whole, exceptional for their time in terms of their quality and craftsmanship, suggesting that these sites were already limited in terms of their access. A parallel change, occurring concurrently with the increase in the overall value of the dedications, is, perhaps, more significant, therefore, in relation to the role these sanctuary sites played in reifying elite identity. Previously homogenous offerings became increasingly characterized by variety in their subject and type, displaying a new focus on the individuality of the dedicant which can be connected, ideologically, to the other venues of competitive display already discussed.³³¹ The number, value, and distinction of these objects continued to increase until the 8th century (Table 3.1). The Idean Cave and Kato Syme, in particular, are characterized by the wealth and diversity of their offerings, which began to include not only elaborately worked bronzes, but objects made from gold and ivory.³³²

³³⁰ The only possible exceptions to this rule is the sanctuary established at Palaikastro in the 7th century, but even Prent acknowledges that this is likely representative of a different phenomenon. This will be discussed more fully in Chapter 6.

³³¹ D'Agata 2006, 405.

³³² Prent 2005, 644-45.

A similar focus on elite identity is evident at a number of sanctuary sites that were established in this period in the ruins of monumental Bronze Age sites, including Kommos, Amnisos, and Tylissos. All of these cult deposits were placed in association with the ashlar masonry of abandoned monumental structures, implying a clear desire to connect with the past through its physical remnants. These episodes of post-abandonment memory practice will be discussed more fully in Chapter 5 of this dissertation, but it can be stated here that, in general, these sites lacked the large number of simple votives connected with public cult and were instead characterized by objects with elite connotations.³³³ These practices should be viewed as connected with a desire to strengthen claims to authority and status through association with the memories of power that remained embedded within these sites.

Both in the center and the east of the island, reference to the past became a critical aspect of mortuary and ritual practice for certain groups in the Protogeometric period. In both areas, those participating in these practices hoped to connect with a social identity that had a deep history in the region. Practices like these allowed for the confirmation and reification of these identities in a moment of potential disarticulation when rapid social development threatened to move society in new directions. In the east of the island, reliance on memory practices associated with the past had a levelling effect, encouraging social cohesion through constant reference to a shared cooperative past, even as increasing social complexity allowed for the acquisition of surplus and the development of specialized skill. In the center of the island the opposite appears to have been true. Select groups mobilized a very specific temporal horizon—one which we associate with the Final to Postpalatial past—to reify associations that awarded them power and

³³³ Prent 2005, 638.

status in communities where older systems of authority may have been at risk of being subsumed by rapid social change.

Towards the Cretan Polis: LG-EA

The 8th to 7th centuries is the period in which most scholars can agree that the defining features of the polis began to appear on Crete and more widely throughout the Greek world. Increasing social complexity was, perhaps, the natural result, not only of growing urbanization, but of improved conditions in the Mediterranean, the resumption of high levels of external contact, and countless other contributing factors. It is critical, however, to remain conscious of the fact that the direction in which this social complexity developed was by no means predetermined or inevitable. The fact that the strict hierarchal social structures characteristic of the Late Bronze Age palatial system did not go on to characterize the complex social organization that emerged out of the “Dark Ages” was primarily the result, not of circumstance, but of active choice. The primary focus here is not to define exactly how the Cretan polis system came in to being, or to make claims about which of the social identities and ideologies being reified through post-abandonment memory practices throughout the history presented here had the greatest impact on its eventual form—a form which, in any case, appears to have been variable. What this chapter seeks to highlight is that, during critical moments of change between the 12th and the 7th centuries, ritual visitation to abandoned sites became a rich mnemonic resource that served to reground social identities that were under pressure in the roots of their origin.

In both central and eastern Crete, the identities in question came into being as the result of the period of widespread social transformation occurring around 1200 BC, though we can still see echoes of earlier social identities and ideologies embedded within them. From the end of the 11th and into the 10th century, a further period of intense social change initiated post-abandonment practices aimed at resolidifying these identities. The 8th and 7th centuries represent another threshold of social change. This was a period marked by the continued growth of nucleated settlements, but, also by major rebuilding campaigns in a number of urban centers that completely restructured the urban environment, both revealing and creating new understandings of public and private space, and new ways of interpreting the role of both individuals and larger kinship groups within the broader sociopolitical community that would eventually go on to become the Cretan city state.³³⁴ In this period of change, the need to reify long-held identities would resurface.

Changes in Settlement

The Late Geometric to early Archaic is the only period in this study in which changes in settlement were not primarily reflected in the movement of populations. Instead, change in this period is represented by the growth and restructuring of the urban environment, the creation of civic centers, and the increasing codification of communal building types.³³⁵ While this is a process that began at some sites in the 8th century, it was at the end of the 7th century that the

³³⁴ Kotsonas 2002.

³³⁵ Judson 2018, 6; Tsipopoulou 2005, 559.

essential form and character of the Cretan polis began to be solidified.³³⁶ Our understanding of these changes is, again, mediated by the long history of many of these settlements, which in many cases has resulted in the obscuration of the earliest phases of urban architecture by later occupation layers. Two sites that were abandoned in the Archaic period—Prinias in the center of the island, and Azoria in the east—offer the best evidence for the changing character of urban space during this period.

In central Crete five urban centers became dominant. These were Knossos and Prinias in the north, and Gortyn, Phaistos, and Arkades in the south.³³⁷ Of these, all but Prinias were continuously occupied into the Classical period and beyond, and, thus, Prinias provides the clearest picture of the changing urban landscape in the center of the island at this time. The site was originally settled in LM IIIC, but its plan was altered in the 8th century to accommodate well-planned house blocks accessible from an organized system of streets. In the same period, a large public cult building, Temple B, was constructed (Fig. 3.26).³³⁸ This was not a free-standing urban shrine, but one incorporated into another multi-roomed building which appears to have served a poorly understood public function, though likely one with elite connotations.³³⁹ In the following century, Temple A was inserted into the urban fabric at a slightly different orientation (Fig. 3.28).³⁴⁰ Both of these cult buildings opened onto large open spaces, suitable for public gathering, and in both instances their construction required the restructuring of the surrounding urban fabric. In this process, domestic structures were levelled, indicating that, by this point in the life of the settlement, private space could be subsumed by public functions when the need

³³⁶ Haggis 2011, 515.

³³⁷ Eaby 2011, 187; Sjögren 2003, 80-84.

³³⁸ Sjögren 2003, 32.

³³⁹ Gigli Patanè 2011, 260.

³⁴⁰ Gigli Patanè 2011, 259.

arose.³⁴¹ Prent has identified both Temple A and Temple B as hearth shrines, a cult type which will be discussed more fully below. It is likely that the buildings served slightly different functions, however, with Temple B serving as a primarily cultic space, and Temple A serving as a venue for ritual dining.³⁴² Regardless, both buildings are indicative of the evolution of a key aspect of the Cretan polis—the increased articulation of public and sacred space.

The settlement of Azoria, which was also established in LM IIIC, has a much different history. As referenced above, Azoria was one of the large number of upland sites that was abandoned in the later part of the same period in which it was established, and also one of the sites that became a focus for post-abandonment visitation shortly after its desertion. In the same period that the plan of Prinias was being restructured, a ritual dining building, similar in plan to both Temple A and Temple B, was established at the ruined site in association with an earlier LM IIIC bench shrine.³⁴³ A second ritual dining structure was constructed in the 7th century, this time over the LM IIIC/PG tholos that was placed during the first period of post-abandonment visitation (See “Azoria”, Chapter 4).

These episodes of ritual activity at Azoria were taking place at the same time that the neighboring site of Kastro, the likely origin of the visitors, saw a period of increased growth.³⁴⁴ Urban restructuring at Kastro increased the size and complexity of the site without altering the way that the community lived. Agglutinative residential units with plans structured by the growth of individual kinship groups was still a characteristic feature of the settlement, even though the widespread building program associated with this period indicates resources of power and labor

³⁴¹ Cabaniss 2015, 84.

³⁴² Prent 2005, 631-632.

³⁴³ Haggis 2011, 516-517.

³⁴⁴ Haggis 2005, 84.

that are new.³⁴⁵ The temporal connection between growth at this site and the post-abandonment visitation occurring at Azoria is clear, and likely significant given the next phase of development in the Kavousi area.

In the late 7th century, Kastro was gradually abandoned and Azoria was reinhabited, but only after an extensive building program completely altered the urban fabric of the ruined settlement. Haggis, who excavated the site, defined this rebuilding process as a widespread, transformative, and destructive process, which speaks to a “cognitive restructuring” that shifted focus from specific kinship affiliations to communal identities grounded in a new notion of civic identity and consciousness.³⁴⁶ A comprehensive plan was imposed on the site, with both civic and domestic structures articulated within the same framework of "spine" walls. Within this tightly controlled space, the agglutinative growth that typified domestic structures in this region ceased. While buildings were internally modified, no significant additions or changes were made to any part of the settlement until its abandonment in the early 5th century (Fig. 3.27).³⁴⁷

These new, static residences appear to be representative of dispersed households, whose multi-local members maintained a presence within the settlement, but also at rural farmsteads in the hinterlands—a change that reveals a striking reorientation in the perceived relationship between individual kinship groups and the larger community of which they were a part. As at Prinias, the urban restructuring of Azoria is indicative of the increasing articulation of public, private, and sacred space, and the subsuming of private interests within a new, more public-facing sociopolitical landscape. A monumental civic building and a large communal dining complex, both placed at the core of the settlement, are symbolic of this change (Fig. 3.28).

³⁴⁵ Gaignerot-Driessen 2017, 516-17.

³⁴⁶ Haggis and Mook 2011, 518-520.

³⁴⁷ Haggis 2012, 204.

Within this new social and urban structure, kinship ties were not suppressed, but rather were reshaped in order to be integrated into a much wider spectrum of community relationships.³⁴⁸ At the same time that the radical reconstruction of the urban fabric at Azoria appears to represent a disengagement from the LM IIIC past which it represented, certain aspects of the site retained their significance and were integrated into both new urban and new social constructions. Heirloom objects from both the LM IIIC past and the periods of earlier revisitation were found within the 7th century buildings. Cult activity continued in the area of the previous LM IIIC bench shrine, and foundation walls from older structures were incorporated into new buildings. The new society at Azoria was literally—and purposefully—constructed on a post-collapse past.³⁴⁹

Economy, Trade, and Subsistence

The economic situation in Late Geometric Crete is characterized by increasing connectivity, both between Crete and the wider Mediterranean, and, slightly later in the 8th century, between the individual regions of the island. Early Iron Age Knossos played almost as large a role in wider networks of external trade in this period as its Final Palatial predecessor had before the collapse of these networks around 1200 BC, aided by the expansion of Phoenician trade in the Mediterranean.³⁵⁰ Hatzaki and Kotsonas note that, of all of the sites in the Aegean, Knossos has yielded imports from the widest range of origins. The 8th century represents a period

³⁴⁸ Gaignerot-Driessen 2017, 519; Haggis 2011, 521.

³⁴⁹ Haggis 2011, 518-20.

³⁵⁰ Hatzaki and Kotsonas 2020, 1045; Tsipopoulou 2005, 549.

of intensified contact with Attica, in particular—paralleling the earlier period of intensive uptake of Attic styles in the 10th century—and imports from this region, and from the wider Aegean, increased into the 7th century, even as links with the Near East began to wane.³⁵¹ Material culture appears to become increasingly Hellenized from this point on, and the island saw an increase in imported metalwork from the Peloponnese and in imported pottery from Corinth, east Greece, and the Cyclades. This is truer for the center of the island than for other regions, however. In the east and west, receptivity to mainland pottery styles appears to have been limited, at least in the beginning of the period, and they remain scarce in the material record of these areas until slightly later when the east shows evidence of stylistic contact with the Cyclades, and Khania begins to draw heavily on styles from the Argolid and Corinth.³⁵²

The beginning of the Late Geometric, however, was marked by the same regional isolation that had characterized the early Protogeometric. What contact there was between ceramic workshops in the east and those in other parts of the island was direct, and, apparently, not reliant on Knossos as had been the case in some earlier periods.³⁵³ An almost complete lack of the Attic connections that had intensified to such a degree in central Crete speaks to this fact. In Tsipopoulou's catalogue of Early Iron Age pottery in eastern Crete, not a single Attic import is attested, though by the 6th century there were Attic vessels present at Azoria.³⁵⁴ The overwhelming impression that arises from early 8th-century pottery in the region is one of continued conservatism, with many continued links to ceramic production in the LM IIIC past. While this is true, in terms of shape, for other parts of the island as well, a resurgence of LM IIIC decorative motifs is particularly pronounced in the east—a trend which Tsipopoulou interprets as

³⁵¹ Hatzaki and Kotsonas 2020, 1045; Prent 2005, 624.

³⁵² Prent 2005, 624.

³⁵³ Tsipopoulou 2005, 551.

³⁵⁴ Brisart 2014, 267; Tsipopoulou 2005, 555.

a purposeful revival, aimed at strengthening a social identity that east Cretans perceived as being uniquely their own.³⁵⁵ Regional isolation appears to wane towards the end of the 8th century, however, with connections between east and central Crete intensifying at this time, and the rest of the period is marked by increasing homogeneity.³⁵⁶

As the social organization in nucleated settlements began to grow more complex, and pressures towards integration intensified, there appears to have been a decrease in competitive consumption and ostentatious display, both in the funerary and in the ritual sphere, that is most apparent in the center of the island where these practices were most prominent. Burial assemblages became more homogenous, and an increase in the highly individualized luxury dedications at extra-urban sanctuaries, which will be discussed below, began to decline. By the 6th century, the island was characterized by a marked austerity, and the archaeological record shows very little evidence for competitive elite display.³⁵⁷ Pollard suggests that these changes should be understood within the context of the emerging city state, rather than as an indication of economic decline. The decrease in personal displays of wealth occurred concurrently with the emergence of monumental civic architecture that, as we have seen, increasingly began to structure the urban environment in this period. At the same time, an increase in the production of large storage vessels, and expanded investment in storage infrastructure, speak to a rising stability in agricultural surplus—all factors which support a social, rather than an economic, explanation for the decline in conspicuous consumption.³⁵⁸

³⁵⁵ Tsipopoulou 2005, 554.

³⁵⁶ Judson 2018, 6; Pollard 2023, 274.

³⁵⁷ Kotsonas 2002, 55-56; Pollard 2023, 292; Whitley 2001, 252.

³⁵⁸ Kotsonas 2002, 52.

In the eastern part of the island, new forms of burial rites—cremations in “bone enclosures”—appeared at some sites in the 8th and 7th centuries, though basic practices remained largely the same in the region. There is some evidence for increasing social complexity in the tholos tombs at the citadel site of Kastro, and in a single large tholos constructed at the nucleated site of Praisos, but a focus on kinship and corporate identity remains evident at the majority of sites.³⁵⁹ The only possible exception to this is the nucleated site of Dreros, where the number of burials in each tomb dropped in this period. The focus on the individual that characterizes this development at earlier periods in the center of the island appears to be lacking at this site, however. Eaby interprets this change as a shift in focus away from inclusion within individual kinship groups and towards membership in a larger clan or community—a change representative of movement towards the polis and one also apparent in the urban development at Azoria discussed above.³⁶⁰ It is significant, therefore, that the earliest legal inscription (late 7th century) on the island, which mentions “the twenty of the polis,” was found at Dreros.³⁶¹

Also significant is the fact that the Late Geometric is a period in which the solidification of identities connected with the past reappeared as a major concern in the mortuary sphere.³⁶² After a decrease in practice which appears to have spanned the period between the Protogeometric and the Late Geometric, burials resumed at the abandoned site of Vronda, but with key differences in practice. Rather than inhumations in tholoi, the burials beginning in the Late Geometric were

³⁵⁹ Eaby 2011, 183.

³⁶⁰ Eaby 2011, 183.

³⁶¹ Haggis 2020, 1080.

³⁶² Judson 2018, 171.

primary cremations, a practice that was relatively rare on the island in this or any other period, which were performed within burial enclosures. Gaignerot-Driessen emphasizes the importance of the close spatial relationship between these enclosures—which are also found at Anavlachos, Dreros, and Vrokastro—and the earlier LM IIIC-PG tholoi which were present at all of these sites.³⁶³ At Vronda, however, the enclosures are even more spatially related to the settlement itself, placed within the ruins of the abandoned houses, and often utilizing the walls as part of their construction.

These Late Geometric enclosures represent not only a resumption of post-abandonment practice at the site, but an intensification of the associated rites—a topic which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6. The coincidence of the Late Geometric cremations at Vronda, the restructuring of the urban environment at Kastro, and the construction of a hearth temple at the abandoned site of Azoria has great significance, underscoring the connection between rapid change in the sociopolitical sphere of this settlement cluster and the resumption of post-abandonment practices that reinforced connections with identities rooted in a specifically LM IIIC past. The lack of social differentiation common to the LM IIIC settlement of Vronda, and the burials in the tholoi from the late LM IIIC-PG periods, is seen also in the LG-EA burial enclosures at the site. In this period, as in the Protogeometric, ritual practice at abandoned upland settlements rooted the residents of nucleating settlements within an ideology of corporate belonging.³⁶⁴

³⁶³ Eaby 2011, 181; Gaignerot-Driessen 2017, 517

³⁶⁴ Of great interest, therefore, are two LM III tombs—one of the chamber tombs at Mochlos and the large tholos at Achladia—which were opened to receive an offering of a single Late Geometric vessel, a deviation in temporal focus which is difficult to explain. Eaby 2011, 184.

In the central region of the island, changes are also apparent in the funerary realm. The Late Geometric period saw an increase in pit and pithos burials in the center of the island, containing only one or two individuals in each grave. This method of burial was present in the region in earlier periods, but the examples are scattered and do not appear in designated cemeteries as they do in the 8th century. Pit burials, pithos burials, and small chamber tombs appear to have been the dominant burial types, and all were typically poor in grave goods, but lack of excavation outside of major urban centers and uneven publication makes generalization difficult.³⁶⁵ A much greater diversity in burial types is characteristic of the handful of large urban centers that became dominant at this time, and Eaby attributes the much more variable nature of the mortuary record at these urban sites, in terms of both burial typology and the wealth of grave goods, to the increasing social complexity associated with the continued growth at these centers.

As in the east, the desire to connect with the past continued in the restricted use of large tholoi, spatially and ideologically connected with the LM III past, and in the continued reuse of LM III larnakes in the tombs of the Knossos North Cemetery.³⁶⁶ Both of these practices are seen in the Late Geometric, but by the end of the period, the desire to connect with an elite past at the Knossos North Cemetery appeared to wane. The 7th century saw a notable decline in the number of tombs in use, although the grave offerings associated with these graves were still of an elite nature.³⁶⁷ The large chamber tombs of central Crete were also abandoned by the late 7th century, and at Prinias elaborate funerary stele associated with elite competition in the area, which dated to the Late Geometric, were destroyed and incorporated into a later monument.³⁶⁸ These changes are a further example of the growing austerity, reflective of the social, rather than the economic,

³⁶⁵ Eaby 2011, 186, 189.

³⁶⁶ Eaby 2011, 188; Coldstream 2000, 277.

³⁶⁷ Kotsonas 2002, 38.

³⁶⁸ Kotsonas 2002, 38.

transformations of the late 7th century, that we see signaled in the material record at this time. It is clear that this austerity represented a much greater change in underlying social ideology in the center of the island than it did in the east, but the processes that encouraged and enabled these changes are still unclear.

Ritual Activities

Ritual practice in the Late Geometric period incorporated many of the sanctuary types from the previous period, although changes within them are apparent. The regional distinctions between the east and the center of the island are less noticeable towards the end of this period, as communities in each region moved closer to a shared understanding of cooperative belonging. Extra-urban ritual sites were still primarily limited to central Crete, with the exception of the shrine at Palaikastro which developed early in the 8th century, but there appears to have been a movement away from conspicuous display at all of these sites, as was seen also in the mortuary sphere, towards the end of the period.³⁶⁹ Cult practices in suburban shrines began to take on a different character in the 8th and 7th centuries as well—one which was more specifically connected with social integration in both the eastern and western examples. The appearance of mould-made plaques and figurines in these assemblages—standardized iconographical depictions of young men and women in their idealized roles—has led to the suggestion that the

³⁶⁹ Pollard 2023, 279; Prent 2005, 642.

cult related to these figures was focused on the reification of idealized social roles and specifically aimed at the integration of the young into a corporate society.³⁷⁰

The most significant development within the cult sphere relating to this period, however, was the inception of the hearth shrine, which Mazarakis Ainian has identified as an important step in the movement towards the closer articulation of public and sacred space characteristic of the polis.³⁷¹ Like the earlier shrines to the Goddess with Upraised Arms, hearth temples were modest free-standing constructions, centrally located within settlements that were primarily of the agglutinated type. They typically had between one and three rooms, linearly arranged, one of which contained stone benches and a rectangular stone-built hearth.³⁷² In the latter regard, they reference elements of the megaron plan of mainland origin that was introduced to the island in LM II/III. They thus represent an interesting syncretism of elements related to both eastern Cretan and central Cretan typologies. This hybridization may also extend to their assemblages which, like LM IIIC bench shrines, appear to have included cult objects displayed on benches, but these assemblages sometimes appear to have incorporated objects of bronze, including armor—a circumstance at odds with the simple clay figurines, snake tubes, and kalathoi that characterized shrines to the Goddess with Upraised Arms. Objects like these relate more closely to the votive offerings at extra-urban shrines, but their identification as votives within the hearth shrine setting is far from clear.³⁷³

Prent hypothesizes that the precious nature of the objects at some of these shrines, and their military connotations, imply smaller groups participating in cult practices that were associated with elite sociopolitical institutions, but notes, critically, that it is not possible to

³⁷⁰ Prent 2005, 264.

³⁷¹ Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 393-96; Prent 2007, 142.

³⁷² Gesell 1985, 87; Prent 2007, 145.

³⁷³ Prent 2005, 628-29.

ascribe the same function to every hearth shrine. Not all of these structures contained elite assemblages, and in some cases there is no concurrence amongst scholars as to how they should be defined—the building on the west hill of Dreros which Prent defines as a hearth shrine, for example, was identified as a sanctuary by the excavator of the site, and as an *andreion* by Marinatos.³⁷⁴ Some hearth shrines appear to have been focused on cult, while others appear to have been more closely associated with group dining practices. Debris from sacrificial dining is a frequent find in these structures, leading many to view them—as Marinatos viewed the structure on the west hill of Dreros—as precursors to the Cretan *andreion*—a dining hall wherein male leaders of the community met to dine in a context that was both religious and civic at the same time—a blending of sacred and civic space characteristic of the polis. The solidification of the form of this cult structure appears to have preceded the solidification of its function.

It is interesting to note that in the 8th century, when the hearth shrine first appeared, several buildings of similar structure, which appear to have served as feasting venues, were erected in association with abandoned upland settlements in the east, including at Halasmenos, at Azoria, as previously discussed, and possibly at Kypia, although this example has never been excavated and cannot yet be confirmed. The assemblages associated with the structures at Halasmenos and Azoria did not contain bronze objects, and while they appear representative of a form of dining that was somewhat exclusive, their assemblages were not elite. The excavators at Halasmenos hypothesized that the intrusive building constructed within the ruins of the site, represents the earliest example on the island of an *andreion*, an identification which ties the evolution of certain aspects of state formation more closely to an identity rooted in the upland settlements of the east. As referenced above, however, by the 6th century the emphasis on

³⁷⁴ Prent 2005, 283-84.

conspicuous display and elite competition in the cult setting which had characterized the 8th century in the center of the island had almost completely disappeared as well. Growing wealth was increasingly funneled into demonstrations of civic loyalty through contributions in the public sphere, and equality was increasingly emphasized at the expense of individual status.³⁷⁵

While it is unclear exactly how and why society on the island of Crete became increasingly homogenized toward the end of the 7th century, with all regions of the island eventually moving towards the polis system, it is significant that it was at this time that waning post-abandonment practices at both upland settlements and lowland monumental sites ceased entirely.

This implies that the need to solidify specific aspects of the social ideologies and identities embodied within these sites was no longer pressing. These practices were never renewed at upland settlements, but ritual practices at abandoned lowland monumental sites would begin again during the Hellenistic period.

Conclusion

This chapter has sought to provide the background information necessary to place material evidence for episodes of post-abandonment visitation to sites of memory in Crete within a wider framework of social change. As the preceding pages have shown, Crete was already in flux long before the Bronze Age to Iron Age transition began. The period associated with the LM IB destructions ushered in a new era on the island, one where mainland signatures increased, and

³⁷⁵ Kotsonas 2002, 47.

a new social ideology became evident in the archaeological record. This change had an impact on all other periods of social transformation that followed, including the Bronze Age collapse. Regional differences in both the changes occurring and the choices being made during this period of transition were tied to the degree to which different areas of the island were incorporated into the Final Palatial economic system, and responses to these events were colored by the degree to which each region had adopted the social ideologies associated with the rise of this administration. Regionally distinct connections to this social ideology continued to influence the choices being made in a further two periods of social transformation—the LM IIIC/SM to PG period identified by Saro Wallace as critical to the formation of the polis system and the LG-EA period which is singled out by Florence Gaignerot-Driessen as being productive of the same.

The following chapters will use the wider framework of social change offered here as a backdrop against which to understand the post-abandonment practices taking place on the island during the Early Iron Age. During each successive period of change, as social pressures mounted, the reinforcement of these regionally distinct social ideologies became a key means of confronting, shaping, and directing social development. The past became a critical resource in this endeavor, and regional social identities were strengthened and projected into the future through the expedient of grounding them, during these key moments of change, in places associated with the past.

Figures

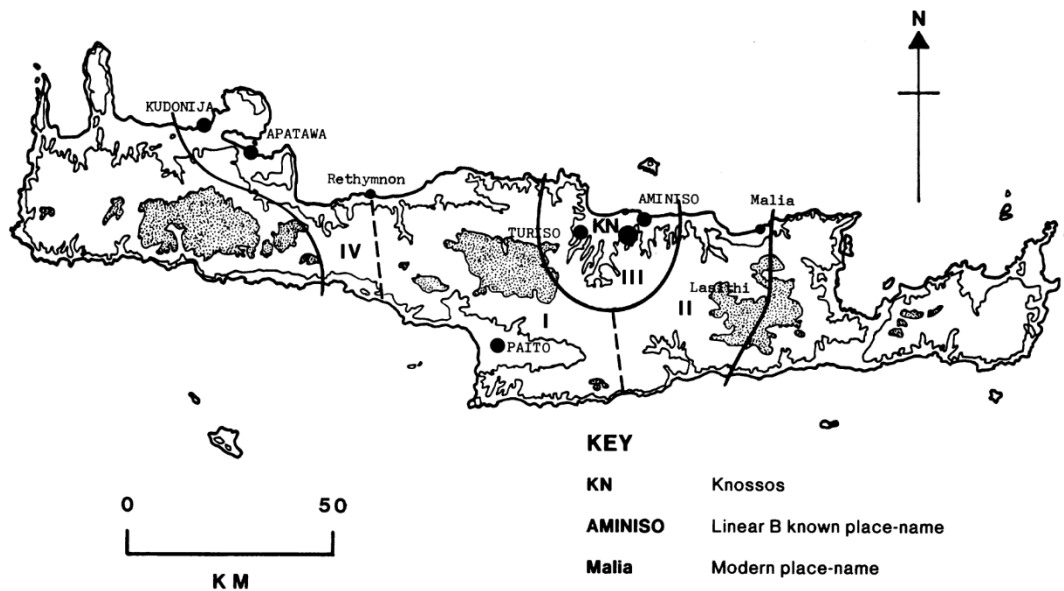


Figure 3.1 The five regions represented in the Linear B tablets

Bennet 1985, Fig. 3.1

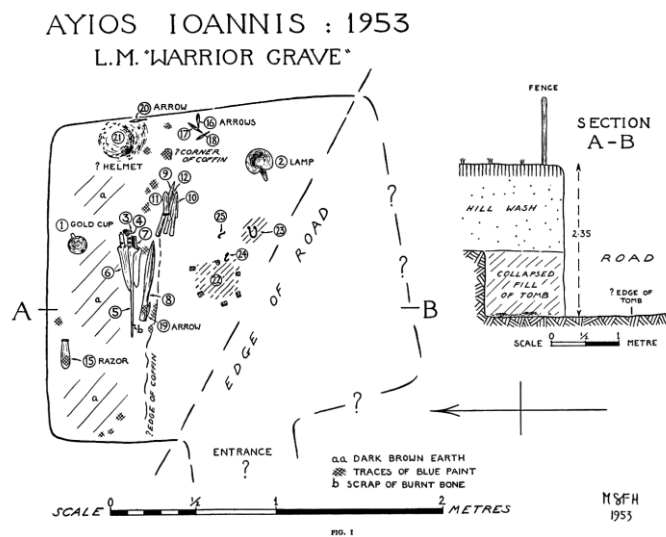


Figure 3.2 Warrior Grave from Ayios Ioannis

Hood 1956, Fig. 1.



Figure 3.3 Pithos burial, Tomb 16, Mochlos

Soles and Davaras 1996, Plate 64a

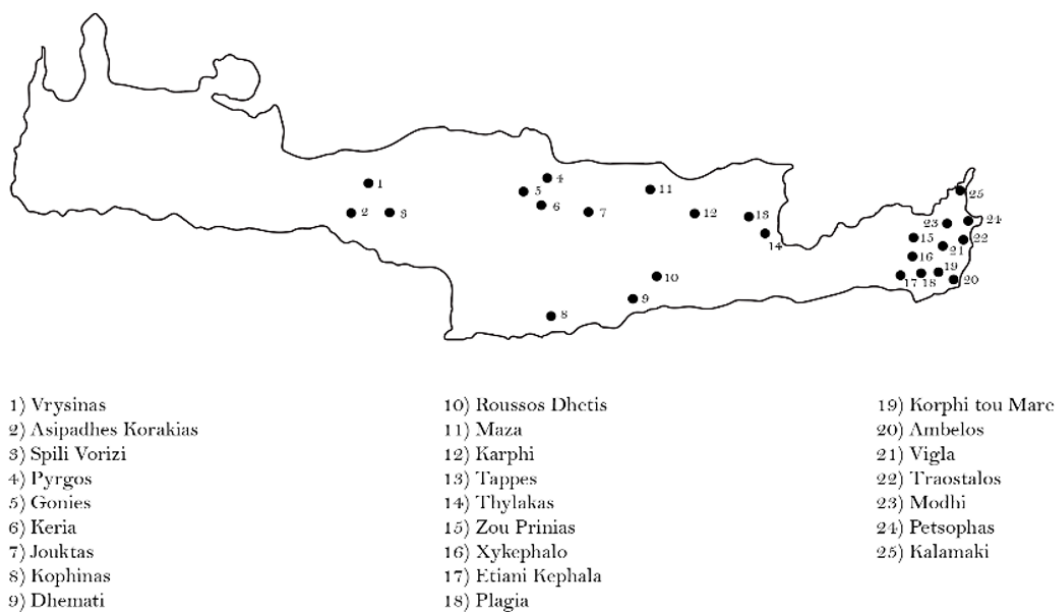


Figure 3.4 Pre and Protopalatial Peak Sanctuaries

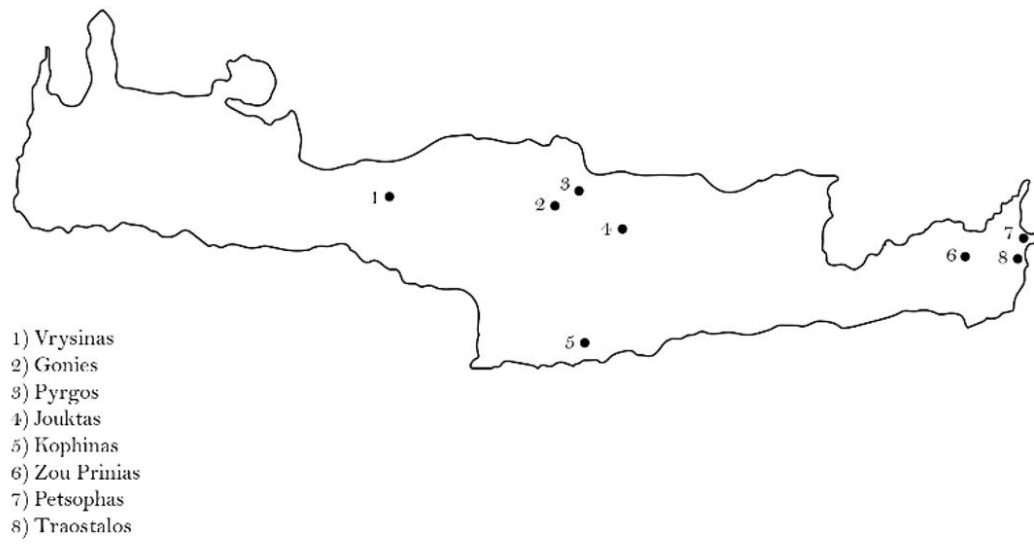


Figure 3.5 Neopalatial Peak Sanctuaries



Figure 3.6 Final Palatial Peak Sanctuaries



Figure 3.7 Conical Cup, 1750-1700 BC, Kylix, LM IIIB (1340-1190)

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

26.31.437, Popham 1970, Fig. 51.

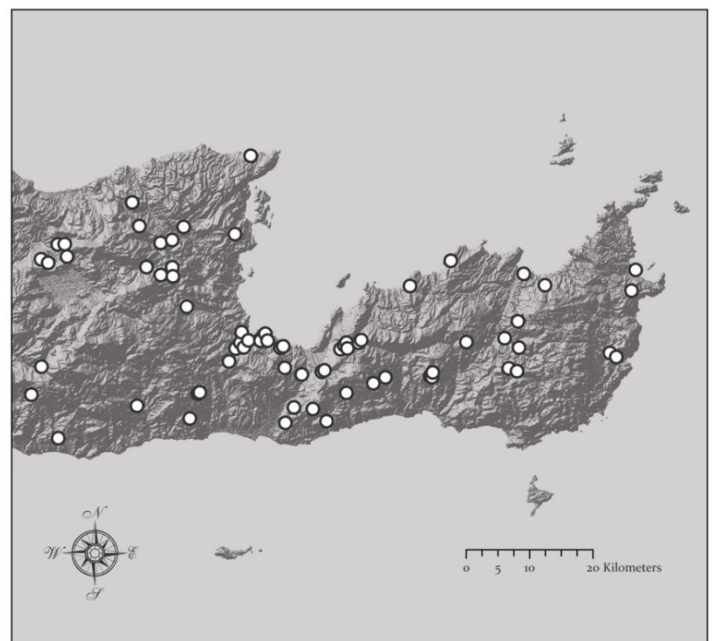


Figure 3.8 Location of Settlements in Eastern Crete, LM IIIB (left) and LM IIIC (right)



Figure 3.9 Location of Settlements in Central Crete, LM IIIB (left) and LM IIIC (right)



Figure 3.10 LM IIIC Settlements Above 400 masl in Central and West Crete

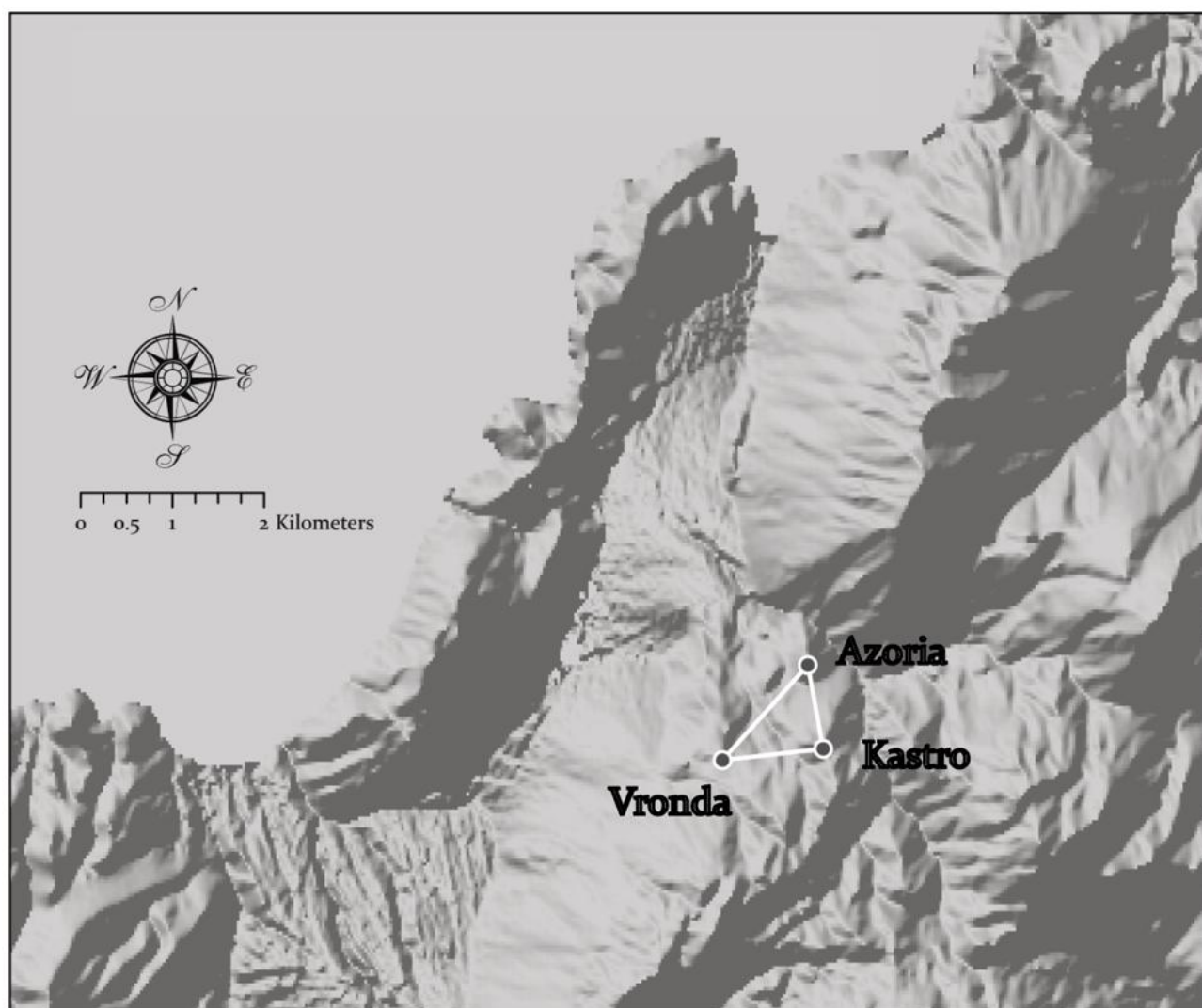


Figure 3.11 Site Intervisibility, Kavousi Cluster

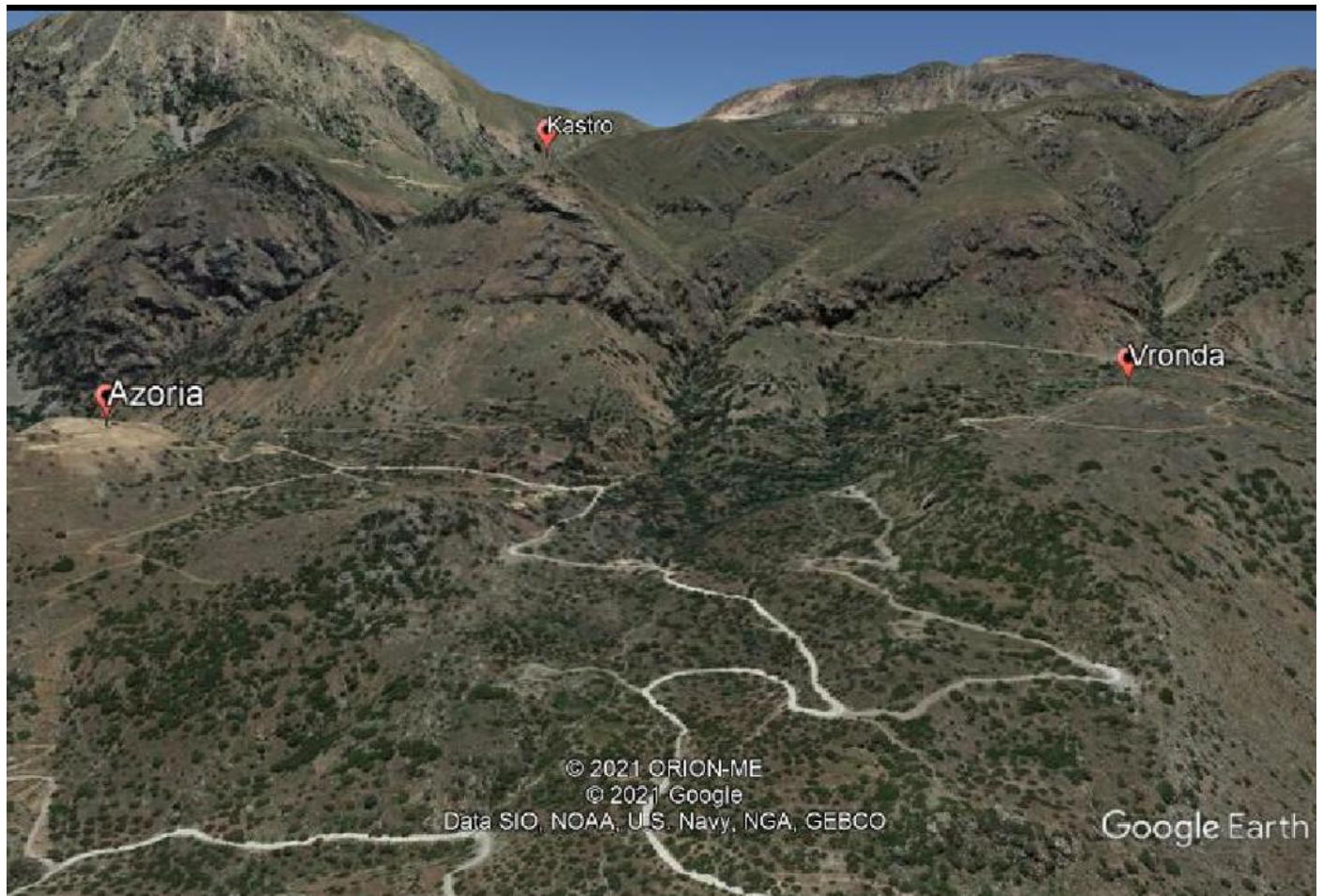


Figure 3.12 The Kavousi Cluster



Figure 3.13 Artifacts from the Mouliana Burials, LM IIIC

<https://moulianaproject.wordpress.com/history/>

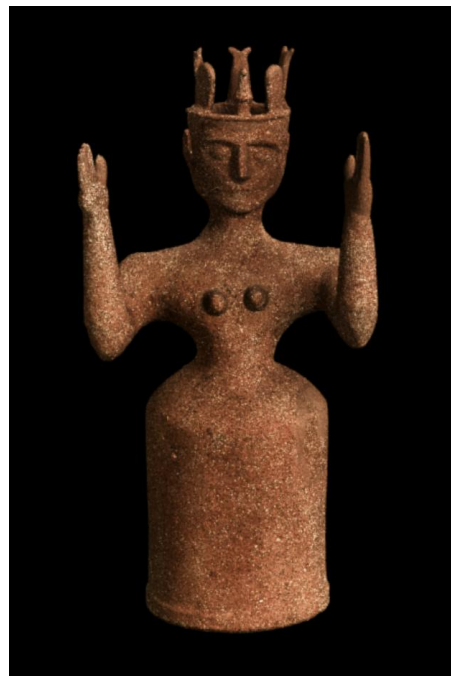


Figure 3.14 Goddess with Upraised Arms

Gazi, Crete 1300-1200 BC

Heraklion Museum



Figure 3.15 Distribution of Goddesses with Upraised Arms

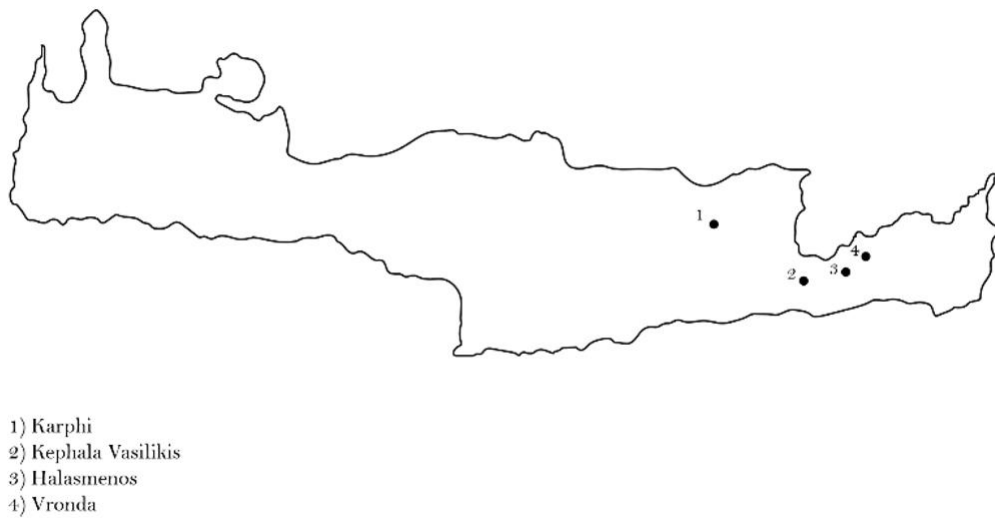


Figure 3.16 LM IIIC Bench Shrines

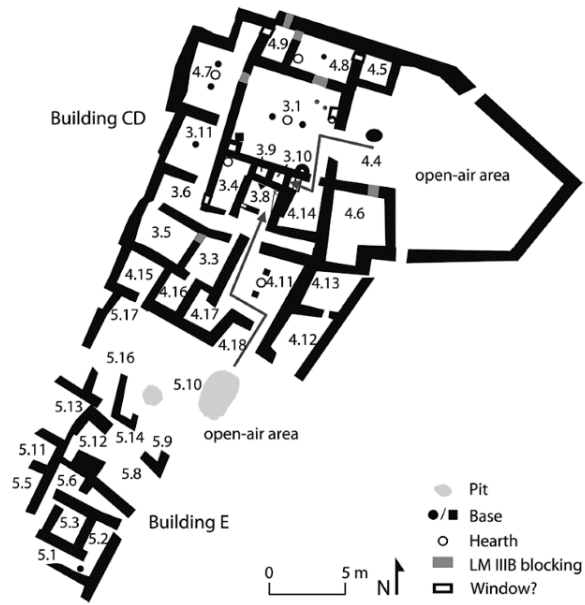


Figure 3.17 Building CD at Sissi

Gaignerot-Driessen 2014, 495

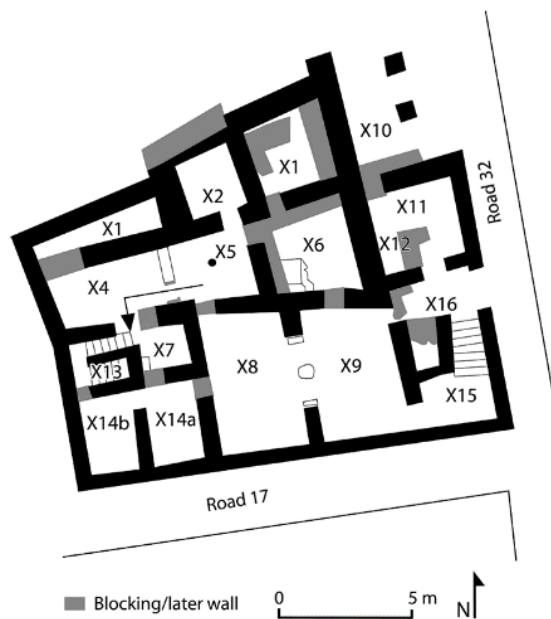


Figure 3.18 House X at Kommos

Gaignerot-Driessen 2014, 499.



- | | |
|----------------|----------------------|
| 1) Kartsalis | 10) Sissi |
| 2) Agia Triada | 11) Kephali Chondrou |
| 3) Kommos | 12) Gournia |
| 4) Koumasa | 13) Palaikastro |
| 5) Kannia | |
| 6) Prinias | |
| 7) Gazi | |
| 8) Katsamba | |
| 9) Malia | |

Figure 3.19 LM IIIB Stand and Bench Shrines

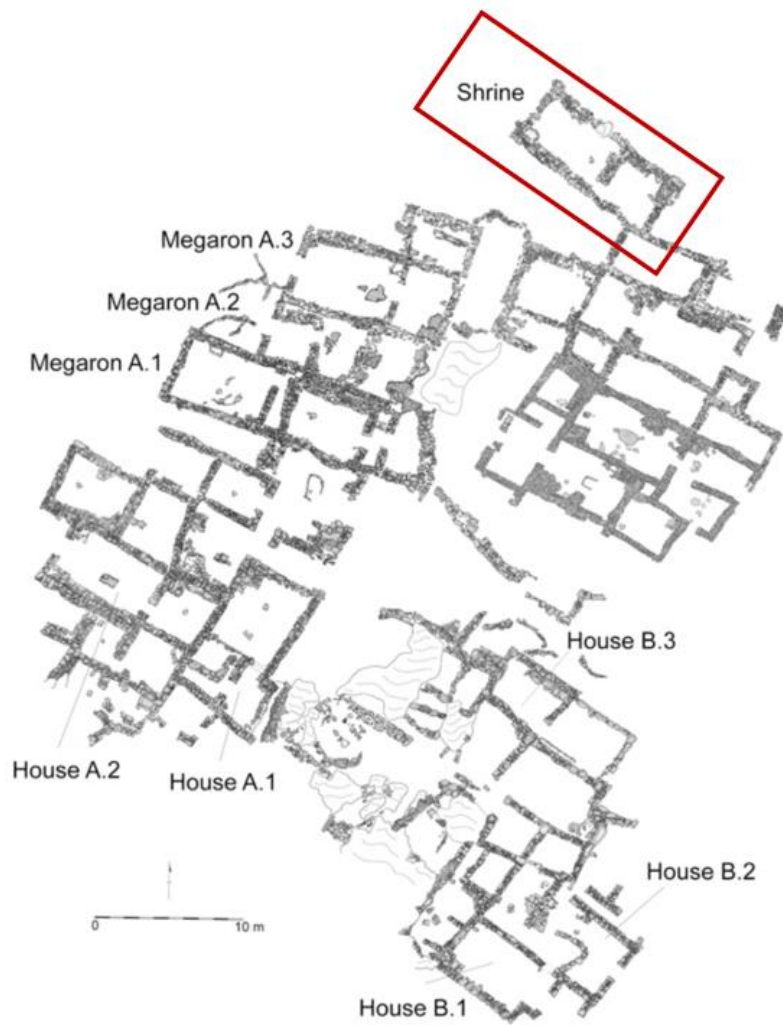


Figure 3.20 Plan of Halasmenos with LM IIIC Bench Shrine Outlined

Adapted from <https://instapstudycenter.net/archaeological-projects/ascsa-projects/chalasmenos/>



Figure 3.21 Building A/B at Vronda (outlined in red)

Adapted from Liston 2009, Fig. 4.1.



Figure 3.22 Location of PG Settlements in East Crete

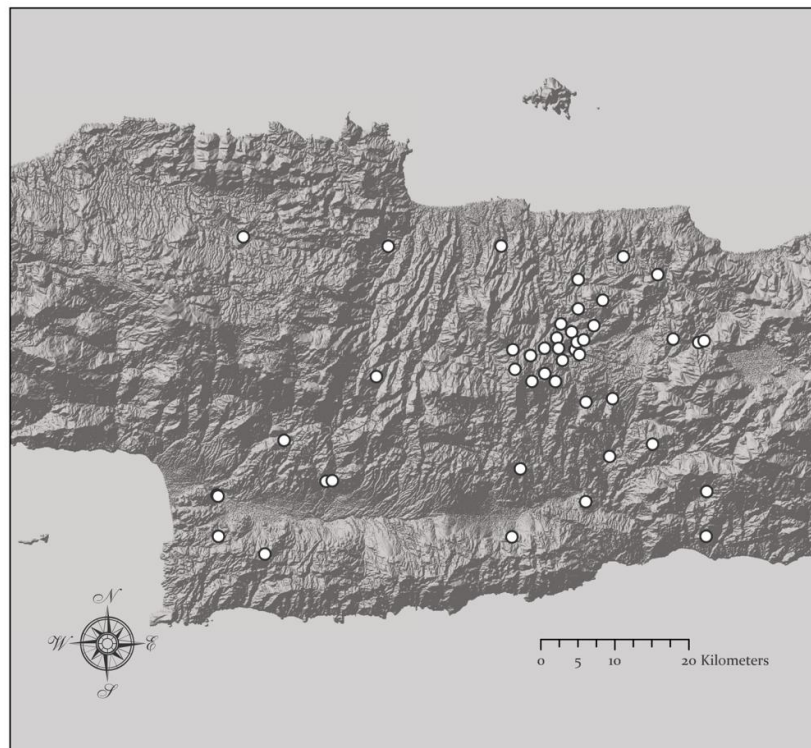


Figure 3.23 Location of PG Settlements in Central Crete

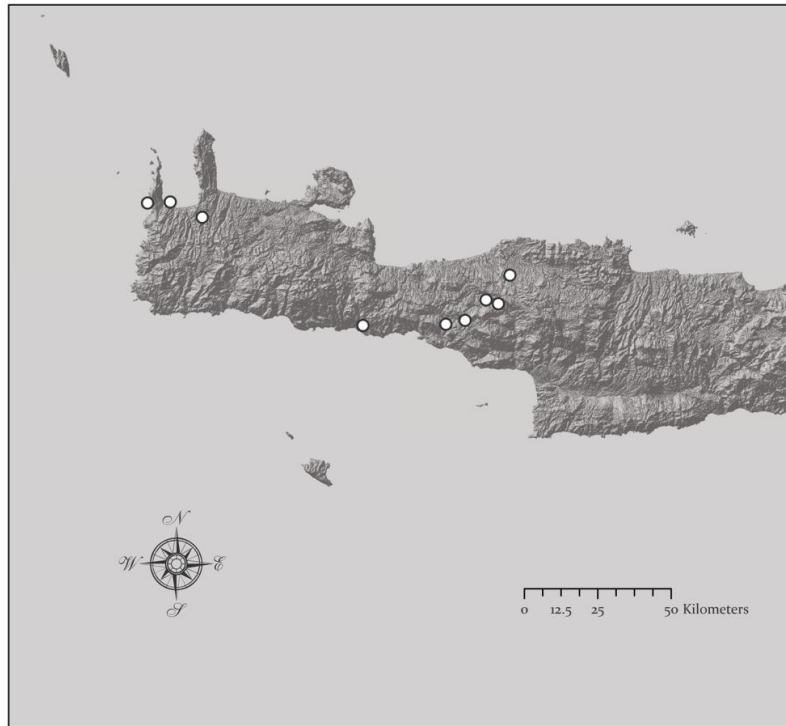


Figure 3.24 Location of Certain PG Settlements in West Crete

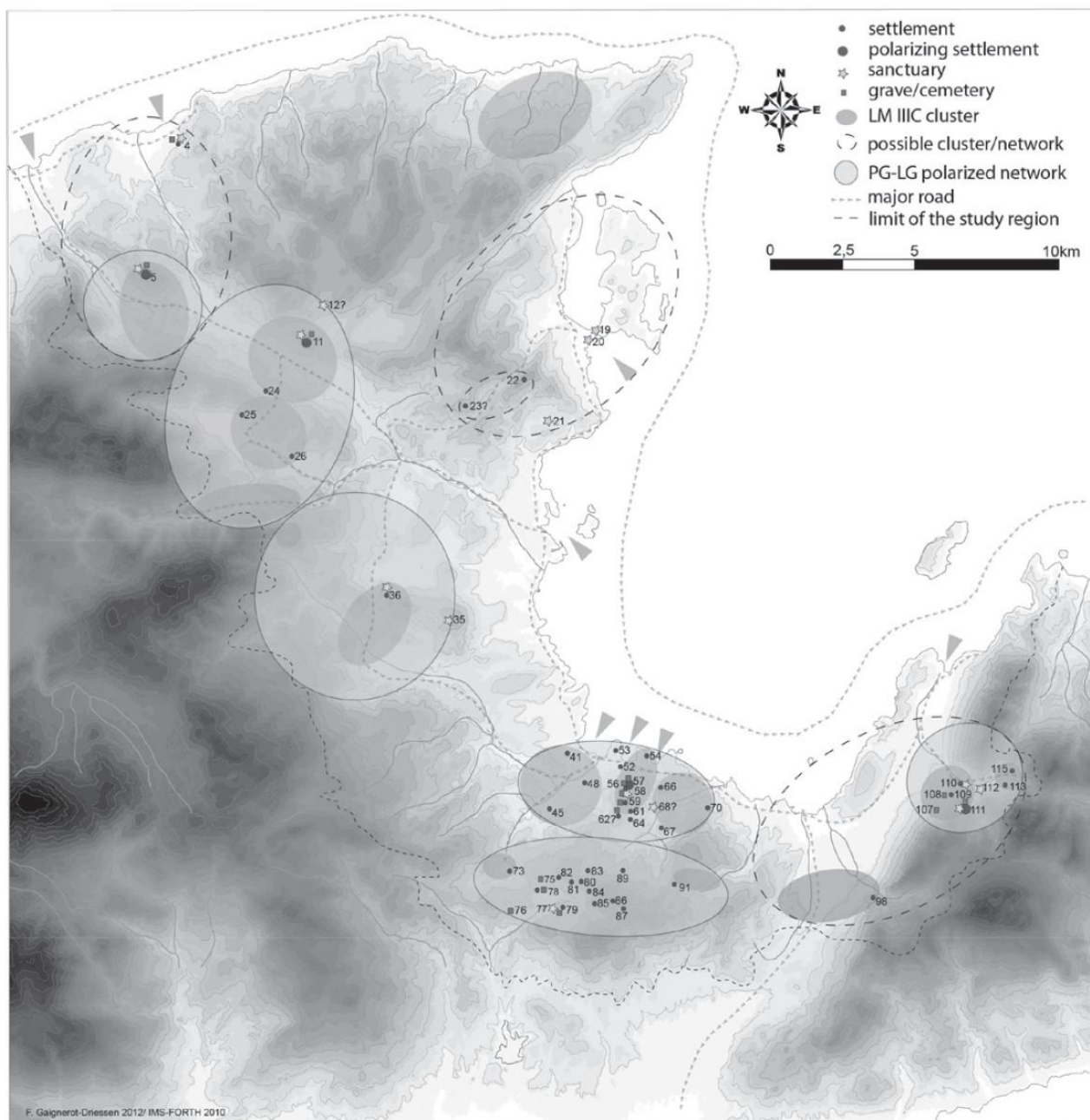


Figure 3.25 Rural sites clustered around PG nucleated sites in the Mirabello

Gaignerot-Driessen 2017, Fig. 3.

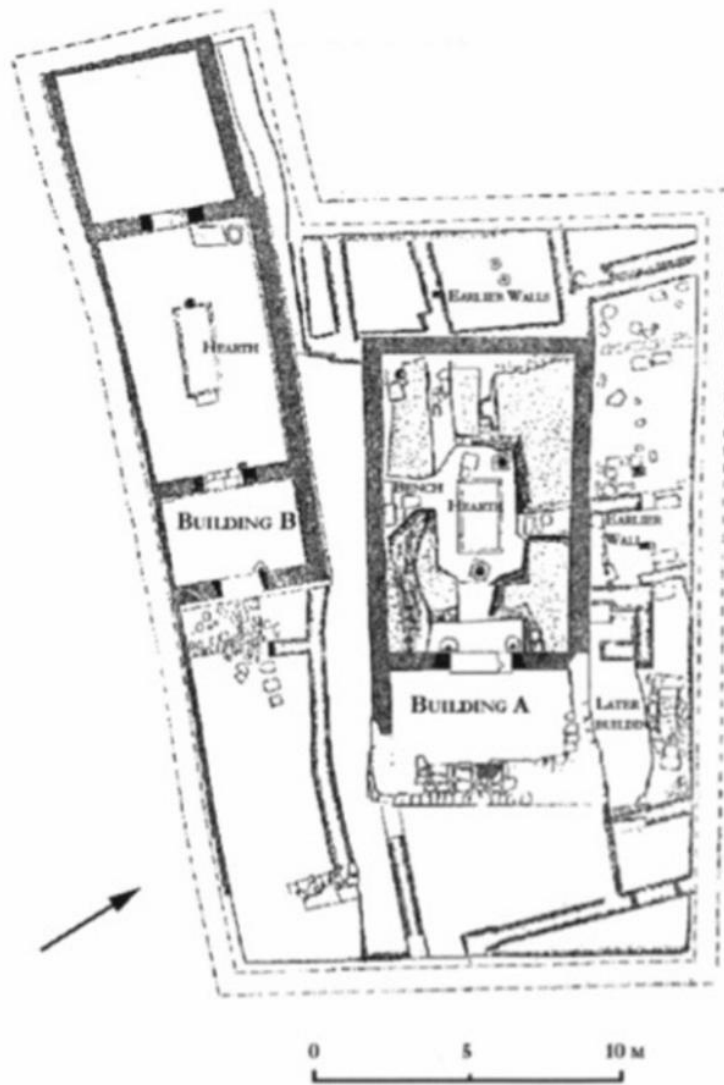


Figure 3.26 Plan of Temple A and Temple B at Prinias

Sjögren 2003, Fig. 19.



Figure 3.27 Site plan of the 7th century settlement at Azoria

<https://azoria.unc.edu/wp-content/uploads/sites/18909/2019/01/Azoria-Reconstructed-Block-Plan-2018.jpg>



Figure 3.28 Site plan of the 7th century settlement at Azoria with Monumental Civic Building and Communal Dining Building Marked

Adapted from <https://azoria.unc.edu/wp-content/uploads/sites/18909/2019/01/Azoria-Reconstructed-Block-Plan-2018.jpg>

Table 3.1 Number of bronze votives by type at the sanctuary of Kato Syme

(Hatzimichael and Whitley 2012, Table 18.1.)

<i>Period (BC)</i>	<i>Bronze plaques</i>	<i>Anthropomorphic figurines</i>	<i>Animal figurines</i>	<i>Total</i>
10th century (PG)	0	2	30	32
9th century	0	2	135	137
8th century	1	8	281	290
7th century	51	13	86	150
6th century	13	3	0	16
5th century	2	0	0	2
Total	67	28	532	627

CHAPTER 4 POST-ABANDONMENT VISITATION TO UPLAND SETTLEMENTS

The preceding chapters were intended to provide both the theoretical foundation and the background knowledge necessary to work towards a more in depth understanding of post-abandonment visitation behaviors on Crete during the EIA, and the social function which they may have served. As has been shown, the long arc of time stretching between the destructions of late LM IB and the beginning of the Archaic period was punctuated by several periods of pronounced social change on the island. During these periods of change, as social pressures increased, the reinforcement of regionally distinct social identities became vitally important as a means of confronting, shaping, and directing social development. Ritual interaction with the pasts associated with these distinct identities became a rich resource in this process of social negotiation and transformation.

In order to facilitate a greater understanding of the role that ritual practices focused on abandoned sites of memory may have played during these periods of social flux, this chapter and the following chapter provide detailed information on all known examples of post-abandonment visitation on the island occurring during this span of time, divided by the specific genre of place that each visited site falls into. As introduced in Chapters 1 and 2, two specific categories of place became a focus of interest for post-abandonment visitation during the Early Iron Age—upland settlements and lowland monumental sites. Chapter 4 deals specifically with visitation to upland settlements, all examples of which come from the east side of the island. Chapter 5 deals with visitation to Bronze Age lowland sites that have buildings constructed of ashlar masonry as one of their defining characteristics. The accounting given in these chapters includes detailed

information on the sites themselves and their histories, information regarding the phases of visitation at each site, and, where possible, a catalog of the pottery and objects found in each of the post-abandonment deposits associated with the sites, with objects being defined as all artifacts that do not fall into the category of ceramic vessels.

There is a difficulty inherent to the task of collating this material, however—one inherent to all archaeological work—and that is the unevenness of the excavation data. While some of the upland sites included in this chapter—like Vronta—have been fully excavated, others—like Vasiliki Kephala—have been the subject of only preliminary or rescue excavations. Similarly, while the finds at some sites were meticulously recorded during excavation and fully published afterwards, at other sites we must rely on less detailed, unpublished, or incomplete reports. The size and number of deposits at each of these sites varies considerably, as does their state of preservation. As a result of this, the analysis of the material from these deposits must remain more qualitative than quantitative, although every attempt is made in this and the following chapter to provide quantitative information when it exists.

Despite the limited number of case studies available, and the limitations enumerated above, sufficient data exist to make a preliminary study of the post-abandonment assemblages that were deposited at LM IIIC upland settlements between the late LM IIIC and the early Archaic periods, and to note a number of parallel trends that exist between and amongst these sites. These trends will be detailed in the summary that follows this chapter, and these data will be further synthesized with the preceding theoretical framework and background information in Chapter 7.

Azoria

Site Location: 35°07'04"N, 25°51'59"E

Site Category: Upland Site

Periods of Inhabitation: Late Neolithic/ Final Neolithic, Final Neolithic/Early Minoan I, Early Minoan III, LM IIIC, Late 7th to 5th centuries, Hellenistic.

Brief Site Description

Azoria is an upland site, belonging to the Kavousi cluster in eastern Crete. This cluster consists of three sites—Kastro, Azoria, and Vronda—all of which were reoccupied or settled in early LM IIIC at the time that the coastal settlements of East Crete were abandoned. Although Final Neolithic, EM I, and EM III sherds have been uncovered at Azoria, the first large-scale settlement phase belongs to this LM IIIC threshold. It is probable that, amongst the sites in the Kavousi cluster, the higher-elevation site of Kastro was settled first, and that Azoria and Vronda were established slightly later. This is in accordance with the established pattern, discussed in Chapter 3, of initial settlement at more extreme sites, followed by a gradual movement to slightly lower elevation areas with easier access to water and arable land. Azoria was abandoned in the 11th century and was subsequently subject to what appears to have been two periods of post-abandonment visitation, which are described below.³⁷⁶ Some PG material was found on the site, but the main period of visitation appears to have been the late 8th to the 7th centuries. From the late LM IIIC to the end of the 8th century, Azoria appears to have remained uninhabited, serving, not as a settlement, but as a special function site for ritual dining and perhaps other cult activities. This ritual activity was likely performed by the residents of Kastro, which was still occupied during this period. During the late 7th century into the 6th century, however, the majority

³⁷⁶ Haggis 2016, 19.

of the site was completely restructured to form a monumental civic center, and Azoria was subsequently reinhabited. This period of inhabitation lasted into the 5th century at which time the site was rapidly abandoned before its destruction by fire.³⁷⁷

The creation of the Archaic civic center destroyed most of what remained of the LM IIIC settlement, severely limiting what can be said about that period of the site's occupation. In this regard, Azoria is unique amongst the case studies given here, as most LM IIIC upland sites that were abandoned late in that period were never reoccupied, allowing for the preservation—aside from normal taphonomic processes—of the LM IIIC architecture and remaining assemblages. Of the LM IIIC walls that are preserved on the site, only one can convincingly be identified in terms of its original purpose. This is wall D601. The discovery of fragments of a Goddess with Upraised Arms in its vicinity appears to indicate that this wall was originally associated with an LM IIIC bench sanctuary. It is possible that a tholos tomb on the site predates the site's abandonment as well—a possibility which will be discussed more fully below. If this is the case, then this represents a second example of extant LM IIIC architecture that can be convincingly tied to its original function.

Outside a scattering of LM IIIC walls and rooms, and the structures and deposits associated with the episodes of post-abandonment visitation discussed below, Azoria is primarily an Archaic site that has been defined by its excavators as a proto-polis—an early example of a Cretan polis center (Fig. 4.1). As discussed in Chapter 3, the direction in which new sociopolitical systems develop is integrally tied to the aspects of social identity that are either retained or discarded as communities evolve through time. Memory practices, such as post-

³⁷⁷ Haggis 2011, 438.

abandonment visitation, that are geared towards the reification of aspects of identity rooted in specific pasts thus become critical during times of intense social transformation. Azoria is perhaps the clearest example of repeated episodes of visitation aimed at reifying a specific identity—in this case an identity being actively connected to the LM IIIC settlement—evolving into a new system of sociopolitical organization.

Phases of Revisitation

As mentioned above, the complete restructuring of the site that occurred in the late 7th century had a marked impact on the preservation of earlier structures and deposits at Azoria. Our understanding of both the LM IIIC settlement and the later uses of the site are affected by this lack of preservation. It appears likely, however, that post-abandonment activity was more intensive at Azoria than the deposits recorded below would indicate. While some of the Early Iron Age walls were reused or left standing in the Archaic civic center, much of the earlier architecture was destroyed and many of the remaining buildings were filled in with the rubble created by this destruction. In several instances, it is clear from the excavation reports that material pertaining to the periods during which the site was abandoned was found in this fill. As an example, fragments of LG figurines and plaques were uncovered in the unstratified debris excavated in the area behind the Monumental Civic Building, indicating that LG cult activity was taking place on the site in a context that is no longer extant. No catalog of this LG material exists, and thus these sporadic finds cannot be included in this study, even as an out of context

deposit. It is important to note that this material was present on the site, however, as it indicates that the already robust record of post-abandonment visitation given here is incomplete.

Of equal importance to note is that it appears clear, despite the choice to reorganize the settlement in the Archaic period, that the perceived history of the site was viewed as significant, not only to those who visited it during its abandonment, but to those who selected it for re-inhabitation in the late 7th century. The palimpsestic nature of the earlier material that has been recovered indicates that a memory of the settlement and, presumably, the ideological meanings that had become attached to it, were retained over long periods of time, despite its long period of abandonment, and even where temporal gaps in post-abandonment practice are apparent. The continued recognition of the significance of the site's history appears indicated by the selective retention of both objects from LM IIIC and the 8th/7th century, which were found curated in later Archaic contexts after the restructuring of the site, and of architectural remnants from both periods that were either left standing or incorporated into the later building program.³⁷⁸ While these examples of reuse lie beyond the scope of this project, as they indicate practices which are related to ways of inhabiting a place of memory as opposed to ways of retaining a place of memory as an important site of visitation, it is worth mentioning—as only one example of a broader trend—that Geometric ritual objects, including a number of female figurines, were found reused in the archaic hearth shrine (D900, Fig. 4.1). This hearth shrine has a close spatial connection, both to the wall of the LM IIIC bench shrine and to a votive deposit from the earlier 7th century which will be discussed below. This circumstance appears indicative of the spatial

³⁷⁸ Haggis 2015, 14.

targeting that one would expect in instances where a memory of the earlier history of a site, and the meanings accorded to specific spatial contexts within it, are retained.

The episodes of post-abandonment visitation which are clearly discernable at the site of Azoria include depositions made in a tholos tomb of LM IIIC date, the construction of at least five, and possibly more, building complexes during the 8th-early 7th century, and the deposition of a number of individual deposits in these 8th-7th century buildings which appear to have been made during the late 7th century restructuring of the site. These episodes appear to have taken place in two distinct periods—the very late LM IIIC into the PG period, and the late 8th to 7th century. There appears to have been a gap in practice occurring between the Proto and Late Geometric periods.

LM IIIC Tholos tomb

The earliest potential example of post-abandonment visitation at the site of Azoria is a late LM IIIC tholos tomb that was found in the southwest of the site (Fig. 4.2). While there was initially some debate as to whether or not this tomb was established during the period of the site's inhabitation or was constructed after its abandonment, recent stratigraphical study now suggests that the tomb was contemporary with the original settlement. The material found within the tholos was originally dated to LM IIIC/SM/PG, but re-study has downdated some of this material. It now appears that the majority of the sherds found on the floor of the tholos, and the majority of the complete vessels found within it, were firmly LM IIIC in date. Radiocarbon dating of the remains appears to suggest with high confidence that the majority of the burials,

themselves, belong to the 12th century.³⁷⁹ The possibility exists, however, that the two latest burials, Burials 4 and 5, may post-date the inhabitation of the site.³⁸⁰

Some complexities in understanding the chronology of the tholos tomb at Azoria remain. Azoria appears to have been both established and abandoned within the same period. It is for this reason that it is difficult to completely rule out the use of the tomb in the years immediately following the site's abandonment. The construction of the tomb in close association with an LM IIIC wall is also difficult to reconcile with evidence from other tholos cemeteries dating to this period. While there are a number of tholos tombs located under 500 meters from their respective settlements, there is only one known example that was placed less than 100 meters from an inhabited site.³⁸¹ The excavator acknowledges this difficulty, but suggests that the LM IIIC building adjacent to the tomb may have had a special-function in relation to post-funerary ritual, which would explain its proximity to the burials.³⁸² The ceramic material from the areas adjacent to the tomb has yet to be studied, and more concerning the function of the LM III building may yet be uncovered. Until this time, the placement of the tholos in close proximity to an LM IIIC wall remains difficult to explain.

While it now seems more likely that the tholos was constructed during the time that Azoria was inhabited, a skyphos and possibly some of the objects found within the tomb date to EPG or later.³⁸³ The insertion of PG material into the tomb definitively post-dates the abandonment of the site, and the excavator suggests that this material was likely associated with

³⁷⁹ Personal communication with Donald Haggis.

³⁸⁰ Haggis 2024, 18, 21.

³⁸¹ This is one of the tholoi at Ta Mnemata, a tholos cemetery associated with the upland settlement of Karphi, which was placed 80 meters from the site. Eaby 2007, 236.

³⁸² Haggis 2024, 27.

³⁸³ Haggis 2015.

later revisitation involving libation rituals, deposition of offerings, and/or the rearrangement of objects and skeletal material within the tomb. It also appears that the tomb was reopened, and the burials exposed, during a further period of visitation occurring in the 7th century. The burials were subsequently deliberately covered over with an even layer of consolidated phyllite clay, which served to protect the skeletal material and the offerings, and this transitional layer of clay was then covered with layers of fill, also dating to the 7th century.³⁸⁴ The tholos is thus included in this study as an example of post-abandonment visitation despite the fact that the date of its initial use may predate the abandonment of the site.

Protoarchaic Building 1 (B4100, B4000, B3000, B3700, B3800, B4500)

The Protoarchaic building on the Southwest Slope of the acropolis at Azoria appears to have been constructed, initially, in the Late Geometric period, though its period of active use extended into the early Archaic and at least three phases of architecture have been identified (Fig. 4.3).³⁸⁵ The building complex consists of a large dining hall, storeroom, two food processing rooms, and a kiln in a small extension to the east, which belongs to the latest phase of the structure.³⁸⁶ The excavators have identified this as a building dedicated to public feasting on a large scale due to the size of the main hall, the presence, within it, of a central hearth, and the generally high quality of the building's construction. This supposition is strengthened by the presence of an assemblage of over 7000 sherds, primarily LG to EA in date, which was found

³⁸⁴ Haggis 2024, 8-9.

³⁸⁵ Haggis 2014.

³⁸⁶ Haggis 2016.

deposited in the area around the threshold that lies between the kiln room (B4000) and the courtyard of the building (B3000). 85% of this “pyre deposit” consisted of fragments of fine ware pottery, with drinking and pouring vessels predominating. Of the coarse ware pottery, the most common vessel represented was the cooking pot. The directors of the excavation posit that the thoroughness of the breakage apparent in these vessels suggests ritual dining in repeated episodes over a long period of time. 60% of these ceramic fragments were burned, and they were found within a matrix of dark ashy soil, mixed with burned and unburned animal bones, clearly indicating large scale feasting and, possibly, sacrificial dining. The presence of the top of the cranium and base of the horn cores of an ox skull found on the floor within the main hall of the building, suggestive of a bucranium, supports the hypothesis of the excavators.³⁸⁷ Similar bucarania were found within LM IIIC Building A/B at Vronda, which also appears to have had a communal dining function. The later addition of the kiln in the 7th century may have been used for ceramic production preparatory to the rites taking place in the adjacent dining room.³⁸⁸

That this building was constructed during the period of the site’s abandonment is clear, as no continuous stratified sequence of occupation has been found dating between PG and LG at Azoria. The site appears to have remained uninhabited from the late LM IIIC until it was restructured as a civic center in the late 7th century. Nevertheless, during this period of abandonment it appears to have retained its significance and to have served a special function for those who constructed and utilized the 8th-7th century buildings on the site. That the rites taking place in this particular building were ideologically connected both with the original LM IIIC settlement, and with the subsequent placement or reuse of the tholos tomb discussed above is

³⁸⁷ Haggis 2014.

³⁸⁸ Haggis 2016, 20.

made clear by the fact that both the tholos and the LM IIIC wall it was associated with were incorporated into this structure.

The tomb was incorporated in such a way that its lintel faced into the southernmost room of the building (B3700) which contained a hearth and a bench on which burnt material was found—animal bones, seeds, and fragments of drinking, serving and cooking ware.³⁸⁹ The assemblage included ceramic fragments dating to PG, LG, and the early Archaic period, and may represent offerings burned on the bench itself, or placed there after burning.³⁹⁰ A carefully constructed channel in the south wall of this room was placed cutting into the wall of the tholos and opening into a gap in the vault, allowing access into the tomb's chamber from above. The function that this feature served during the life of the building is unclear, but it was likely also used to facilitate the final filling of the tomb which occurred in the 7th century, possibly coinciding with the end of the ceremonial use of Protoarchaic Building 1.³⁹¹ The material within this final fill included around 500 sherds of drinking and dining vessels, most likely residual dining material from the building itself.³⁹² Below this layer of fill, the 7th century transitional layer, mentioned above, was found to contain fragmentary vessels primarily associated with cooking, which appear to have been broken and intentionally placed within the tomb at the time that the building was in active use. Some of these fragments were found deliberately positioned on the clay surface used to seal the burials. Hearth material, including burnt animal bones, were also found within this layer, which, in combination with the cooking vessels, suggests that the later deposition or depositions within the tomb were associated with feasting occurring in the

³⁸⁹ Haggis 2014, 16; Haggis 2024, 44.

³⁹⁰ Haggis 2024, 35, 44.

³⁹¹ Haggis 2024, 36-37, 40.

³⁹² Haggis 2024, 40.

building. It is unclear if this material was connected with a single feasting event, or whether this deposition occurred over a longer span of time.³⁹³

At some point after these depositions were made, the entrance to the tomb was sealed and the chamber filled, likely through the channel mentioned above. Vessels, including a fine painted necked jar, were found deliberately fragmented and placed within the stomion and the fill of the dromos, and the entrance of the tomb was then sealed with a dolomite boulder.³⁹⁴ The deliberate positioning of Protoarchaic building 1 in such a way that it incorporated the LM IIIC tholos, the clear evidence for the reopening of the tomb and interference with its contents, and the introduction of later material into it all speak to purposeful interaction with the LM IIIC past as embodied within this structure. The inclusion of PG fragments in the burnt offerings on the bench in room B 3700 may also make reference to the earlier phase of revisitation to the site.

The LM IIIC wall in relation to which the tomb was placed was also incorporated into later structures associated with Protoarchaic Building 1. This wall was later used as the base for a 7th century platform, extending directly behind and partially over the tholos tomb, which may have been used for ritual purposes.³⁹⁵ The excavator noted that the curve of this platform appeared to echo the curvature of the tholos itself, entombed within it.³⁹⁶ Slightly to the north of this feature, a semicircular enclosure or peribolos, also of unknown function, was built up against the northern end of the LM IIIC wall. Both of these structures, the platform and the peribolos, were constructed in direct relationship with the remains of LM IIIC architecture. The association

³⁹³ Haggis 2024, 37-39.

³⁹⁴ Haggis 2024, 37-38.

³⁹⁵ Haggis 2014, 17; Haggis 2024, 41.

³⁹⁶ Haggis 2014, 17.

of Protoarchaic Building 1 with both the earlier LM IIIC settlement, and earlier episodes of revisitation appears, therefore, to have been purposeful.

Protoarchaic building 2 (A2800, A3200, A3300)

A second Protoarchaic building was uncovered to the east of the late 7th century Monumental Civic Building on the site (Fig. 4.3). This structure appears to have had a cultic function, with assemblages related both to the preparation and consumption of food and drink, and to votive offerings.³⁹⁷ In this complex of rooms, room A3300, with its curbed hearth, likely served as a kitchen.³⁹⁸ A similar use can be posited for A3200 which has a well-preserved oven in its NE corner.³⁹⁹ This room also appears to have served a cultic function, however. A sondage made between two later Archaic walls placed at its southern end revealed a series of six schist paving stones at the western limit of the 7th century floor, and an ash deposit at its eastern end.⁴⁰⁰ A little to the north of this paved surface, a votive deposit of nine terracotta animal figurine fragments was discovered, likely representative of eight different bull figurines. Some of these fragments were found placed on the floor, and others were found in the occupation debris above it. Fragments of pottery, some of which showed evidence of burning, were found in association with this deposit and also in association with the ash located at the opposite end of the sondage. While some of these fragments are representative of pithoi and coarse ware cooking pots more clearly tied to food preparation, the majority of the vessels came from fineware drinking and

³⁹⁷ Haggis 2016, 14.

³⁹⁸ Haggis 2015, 4; 2016, 12.

³⁹⁹ Haggis 2015, 3; 2016, 12.

⁴⁰⁰ Haggis 2016, 13.

pouring vessels.⁴⁰¹ Fragmentary animal bones were found throughout the entirety of the room, including a number of fragments that had been completely blackened due to continuous exposure to the coal used to heat the room's oven.⁴⁰² A3200 also had a roughly oval clay hearth in the center of the room which appears similar to the hearth in Protoarchaic building 1.⁴⁰³ The combination of the votive deposit, the central hearth, and what appears to be feasting debris has led the excavators to hypothesize formal and communal ritualized functions taking place in the room, analogous to those taking place in Protoarchaic building 1, but on a smaller scale and with an additional cultic element represented by the votive offerings, which are present in this building but not in Protoarchaic building 1.⁴⁰⁴ Room A2800, directly to the south, is presumed to have functioned as a storage and/or processing room in support of the activities taking place in the other rooms of the building. A fragmentary pithos was uncovered in the NE corner within an ashy deposit. Little of the remainder of the room was preserved.⁴⁰⁵

As with Protoarchaic building 1, several aspects of Protoarchaic Building 2 appear to connect it with a reverence for the LM IIIC past. The presence of a votive deposit in room A3200 is significant when one considers the spatial connection between this building and the remaining wall of the LM IIIC bench shrine which lies to the north of A3300 and was connected to it through the addition of a later wall. It is even possible that this complex occupied the same space as an earlier LM IIIC structure, as the SE corner of an LM IIIC building has been isolated directly to the east of room A3200, the southern wall of which appears to align with the 7th century wall A2822 that originally formed the southern wall of A3200. Also of significance, in

⁴⁰¹ Haggis 2016, 19.

⁴⁰² Haggis 2015, 4; 2016, 13.

⁴⁰³ Haggis 2016, 14.

⁴⁰⁴ Haggis 2016, 15.

⁴⁰⁵ Haggis 2015, 3.

this regard, is the presence in the assemblage of fine ware pottery in A3200 of a number of LM IIIC deep bowls, heirlooms which the excavators hypothesize may represent a ritual focus on the material remains of the original settlement.⁴⁰⁶

Archaic Service Building

The so-called Service Building, which lies to the east of Protoarchaic building 1 and to the southwest of Protoarchaic building 2 contains elements of earlier 7th century architecture, but extensive Archaic rebuilding makes it impossible to say what this structure's function would have been in this earlier period. The building was marked as significant by those who restructured the site in the late 7th century, however, when they ritually placed three individual deposits of vessels in the building before it was filled in and incorporated into the later architecture on the site. These so-called "krater deposits" will be discussed more fully below. The krater deposits in this structure were located in room D400 and room B1200, and a related deposit was uncovered in room B1700. As is the case with almost all of the other 7th century buildings on the site, the Service Building incorporated earlier LM IIIC walls into its architecture. The west wall of D400 is LM IIIC as is the east wall of B1200 and the west wall of B1700. It is potentially significant, therefore, that these are the rooms which were targeted for the placement of the krater deposits.

⁴⁰⁶ Haggis 2016, 15.

Protoarchaic Building 3 (B6300, B6500, B6600, B6700)

Protoarchaic building 3 was constructed in the 7th century and has at least two architectural phases (Fig. 4.3). The overall function of this cluster of rooms is unclear, however. Room B6300 originally had a large semi-circular basin, lined on the sides and top with schist slabs and on the bottom with phyllite clay, sunken into the floor in front of the doorway. This basin was filled in during a later phase of the building. In the second architectural phase, an iron-working furnace was installed in the room directly to the east, B6500. This room was thoroughly cleaned prior to its abandonment leaving little residual debris associated with its earlier function. A smithing hearth bottom was found in the adjoining early Archaic room, B6800, however. It is likely that the function of this building was industrial in nature, and thus it represents something fundamentally different than the other buildings detailed here. This difference is reflected, also, in the way it was managed during the later Archaic restructuring of the site. Rather than being filled in, the complex was abandoned and later incorporated into another structure. Room B5800 to the west of the structure, and B6800 to the south were both constructed in the early Archaic period. Additionally, Protoarchaic Building 3 does not appear to have received a krater deposit in the same way that the other 7th century buildings did, which may imply either that the purpose of the krater deposit was to ritually close the earlier buildings before they were destroyed or that the industrial nature of the building did not require the same reverence that the other structures did.

Protoarchaic Building 4 (A2500)

Protoarchaic building 4 is a two-room structure dating to the 7th century (Fig 4.3). Both rooms were emptied of their contents and completely filled in during the Archaic reconstruction of the site, and therefore nothing of their function is known. Their significance is indicated by the presence of a krater deposit in A2500, however.

Krater Deposits

In addition to the insertion, or reuse, of the LM IIIC/SM/PG tholos tomb, and the construction of the 7th century structures listed above, a 3rd type of ritual deposit is present at Azoria. These are the so-called “Krater Deposits,” which have been identified by Donald Haggis as deposits likely intended to ritually “close” the 7th century buildings before the rebuilding of the settlement in the early Archaic period.⁴⁰⁷ Five of these deposits were discovered during the excavation of the site (Fig. 4.4). While each varies slightly in its contents, they have in common the presence of a single krater or dinos as well as a number of drinking, cooking, and serving vessels. While the specifics of each assemblage are given below, their general locations will be given here.

The first of these Krater Deposit’s was uncovered in room A3300 during the excavation of the Archaic Communal Dining Room. The assemblage was located in a small, enclosed area in the northern part of the room. The presence of wall collapse and roofing material below the

⁴⁰⁷ Haggis 2022.

intrusive vessels indicates that the 7th century building was abandoned at the time that they were carefully placed on top of this rubble. After the placement of the deposit, the room was blocked off and filled in.

The second deposit was uncovered in room A2500, as discussed above. Nothing about the function of this structure is known, but its ritual closure indicates recognition of its importance by the Archaic builders.

The third deposit was uncovered in the Archaic Service Building in D400, a small room of 7th century date. The vessels were placed within the debris used to fill and close the room.

The fourth deposit belongs to the same building but was uncovered in B1200. This deposit was included in the category by Haggis, though he points out that there are important differences in the placement of this assemblage. Rather than being nestled into the collapse debris from the earlier 7th century structure, the deposit in B1200 appears to have been placed in the room before the ceiling and walls collapsed. The vessels were found within this collapse debris, rather than in deliberate fill, and they are far more fragmentary because of this circumstance. An additional difference is that LM IIIC material was also found within this deposit. The similarity of the assemblage and of the context encouraged Haggis to include this as a Krater Deposit, however.

The final Krater Deposit was uncovered in room B4000, the kiln room in Protoarchaic building 1. This room had been abandoned but was left standing into the 6th century. Eventually it was filled to support the construction of an Archaic street. The Krater Deposit was found nestled within this fill.

Additional Deposits

There is one additional deposit at the site of Azoria which appears related to the krater deposits, but which differs slightly in terms of its contents. It was found in room B1700 of the Archaic Service Building, just to the south of room B1200 (Fig. 4.4). A small enclosure formed by a ring of stones contained a collection of mandibles from at least 20 goats, and three vessels.

Chronology of Deposits

The evidence for post-abandonment visitation at Azoria consists of built structures and deposits from two distinct periods with a gap in practice separating them. The first of these periods is represented by the LM IIIC/SM/PG tholos tomb in the southwestern area of the site. As stated above, there is some debate as to whether or not the tomb itself was constructed before or after the abandonment of the site, but the PG vessels deposited within it definitively post-date both the site and the burials. The second period of visitation began in the LG period and represents a marked intensification of post-abandonment practice. Five buildings were constructed on the site during this phase. The function of two of these buildings, the Archaic Service Building and Protoarchaic Building 4, is unknown. Protoarchaic Buildings 1 and 2 both served a ritual function, and Protoarchaic Building 3 appears to have been a building dedicated to metal working. These buildings were repeatedly revisited from the LG into the EA period when all but Protoarchaic Building 3 were filled in to facilitate the re-inhabitation and restructuring of

the site in the late 7th century. At this time, five krater deposits were placed within the LG structures, targeting all but Protoarchaic Building 3.

Chronology of Vessels

Any discussion relating to the ceramic vessels that post-date the LM IIIC settlement of Azoria is complicated by the fact that the site has not yet been fully studied or published. Individual vessels from some of the known post-abandonment deposits are cataloged below, but other deposits, like the pyre deposit in Protoarchaic Building 1, can be described only in terms of sherd counts and general content. Generally speaking, the pottery post-dating the site consists of a handful of PG vessels and a much larger number of LG/EA vessels. The majority of the PG vessels cataloged below were found in the tholos tomb, but it is of interest that two of the krater deposits—the deposit from Room D400 and the one from Room A3300—contained PG kraters which were clearly heirlooms. This is seen also at Vronta, where some of the LG/EA enclosure burials included PG vessels. It should be noted, also, that several post-abandonment contexts from the 8th-7th century included heirloom objects and vessels dating to LM IIIC. Many of these are not yet cataloged. The majority of the LG/EA vessels were found in association with Protoarchaic Buildings 1 and 2, both of which appear to have functioned as sites for food preparation and feasting. The pyre deposit in Protoarchaic Building 1 represents a particularly large number of vessels, all of which date to LG/EA. A chart of the temporal distribution of the vessels from post-abandonment contexts at Azoria is offered in Fig. 4.5, but as it is based on incomplete data, this must be considered provisional.

Distribution of Vessels by Function

Of the individual vessels cataloged below, the vast majority (45%) are drinking vessels. These are followed by cooking vessels at 18% and mixing vessels at 13% (Fig. 4.6). Significantly, all of the cooking vessels date to LG/EA. As at Halasmenos and at Vronda, the ceramic assemblages associated with LM IIIC/SM/PG tholoi tend to be restricted to the drinking, pouring, and storage/transport vessels necessary for funerary and post-funerary rituals, likely involving the pouring and consumption of liquids, liquid libations, and/or other offerings to the dead (Fig. 4.7). Ritual activity in LG/EA was centered on feasting, and of the individual vessels dating to that period that are cataloged below 22% are cooking pots, while the remaining 78% are all fineware vessels, primarily drinking, pouring, and mixing vessels (Fig. 4.8). The pottery fragments in the pyre deposit suggest that the distribution by function of the cataloged vessels is fairly representative of the site as a whole in the LG/EA period of visitation. As discussed above, 85% of this deposit consisted primarily of fineware drinking and pouring vessels, with the remaining 15% consisting of coarseware cooking pots.

Chronology of Objects

As with the ceramic vessels at the site, the chronology and distribution of the objects that were deposited after the initial abandonment of Azoria cannot be fully analyzed as no complete catalog exists and the site has not yet been fully studied. It is clear that there are additional objects, like the LG figurines and plaques that were mentioned earlier as having been found in

the debris behind the Monumental Civic Building, which cannot be quantified. What can be said on the basis of the objects that were found in the post-abandonment deposits cataloged here is that the objects at the site, like the ceramic vessels, date primarily to two periods—LM IIIC/SM/PG and LG/EA. Of the earlier objects, 3 were found in the tholos tomb in association with the PG vessels that represent a later intrusion into the burial. These were two ceramic spindle whorls and a bronze ring. The final object dating to the earlier period of visitation, an LM IIIC/SM/PG figurine, was found in association with the krater deposit in Room B1200. The remainder of the objects date to LG/EA. A chart of the temporal distribution of the objects from post-abandonment contexts at Azoria is offered in Fig. 4.9, but as it is based on incomplete data, this must be considered provisional.

Distribution of Objects by Function and Material

Of the small number of objects found in post-abandonment contexts on the site, the majority are votive in nature. These votives are all simple terracotta animal figurines and the bulk of these were found in a single location, Room A3200. The only exception is the heirloom figurine—dating to LM IIIC/SM/PG—that was found in association with the krater deposit in Room B1200. Metal objects are rare and limited to the category of adornments—a single bronze ring found in the tholos tomb, and a bronze pin also found in the krater deposit of Room B1200. The remainder of the objects were tools—two ceramic spindle whorls found in the tholos tomb and 2 stone querns which were found in the krater deposit in Room D400.

As noted above, the majority of the LM IIIC settlement at Azoria was destroyed during the restructuring process that preceded the re-inhabitation of the site in the late 7th century. It is not possible, therefore, to compare the proposed function of the LM IIIC buildings with the ways in which they were targeted and reused after the site's abandonment. Despite the fact that we cannot connect later reuse with a continued understanding of how the buildings of the LM IIIC settlement functioned, enough evidence remains to suggest that it was, in fact, the LM IIIC settlement that was the focus of interest and ritual during both the LMIIC/SM/PG and the LG/EA periods of visitation. As mentioned previously, the tholos tomb was placed in the middle of the LM IIIC settlement, abutting an LM IIIC wall. Regardless of whether its construction preceded or post-dated the abandonment of the site, its connection with the settlement is clear and, thus, the later reverencing of the tomb through the placement of objects and vessels within it must also be seen as connected with an interest in the specifically LM IIIC past.

The tomb continued to be a focus of post-abandonment interaction with the site in the later period of visitation as well. Protoarchaic Building 1 incorporated both an LM IIIC wall and the LM IIIC/SM/PG tholos tomb into its structure. The alignment of doorways that allowed the opening of the tomb, which had been incorporated in such a way that its lintel faced directly into a room, to serve as a visual focal point for those entering the building, as well as the placement of a 7th century paving on top of the LM IIIC wall echoing the curve of the tholos, suggests that this was done very purposefully and not as a matter of convenience.

Other examples of 8th-7th century reuse are equally suggestive of a desire to connect to the period in which the settlement was active. Protoarchaic Building 2, where the large votive deposit of animal figurines was uncovered, shares a wall with the LM IIIC bench shrine, and the assemblage of fineware pottery found in association with these figurines included a number of LM IIIC deep bowls. The archaic service building also appears to have incorporated several LM IIIC walls into its structure, and the rooms in which these walls were located were those which received krater deposits before the building was ritually closed.

Deposit Contents

LM IIIC Tholos Tomb

Deposit type:

Funerary

Description:

Primary inhumation, commingled.

It should be noted that the inventory for this assemblage is incomplete. It is known that both earlier and later vessels were found within the tomb. More details will need to be added as they become available.

Location/Associated Architecture:

The LMIIIC tholos tomb is located in the southwest corner of the site, abutting an LM IIIC wall. The tomb and the adjoining wall were both incorporated into Protoarchaic building 1 when it was constructed, and both the wall and the tomb were later used as the base for a 7th century platform.

Associated Human Remains:

- Burial 1a: Adult, aged 20-60. Sex unknown.
- Burial 1b: Adult, aged 20-60. Sex unknown.
- Burial 2: Adult, aged 30-45. Possibly Female.
- Burial 3: Adult, aged 20-60. Male.
- Burial 4: Adult, aged 30-early 40s. Female.
- Burial 5: Adult, aged 50-60. Sex unknown.

Burial 6: Juvenile, aged 3-5. Sex unknown.

Burial 7: Juvenile, aged 14-16. Sex unknown.

Total: 8 Burials

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

1 skyphos (EPG)
1 bowl (LM IIIC)
1 stirrup jar (LM IIIC)
1 flask (LM IIIC)
1 juglet (LM IIIC)
1 hand-built jug (LM IIIC)

Total: 6 vessels

Associated Objects:

2 spindle whorls
1 bronze ring
1 bronze fibula

Total: 2 objects

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Unknown

Deposit in Room A3300 (Protoarchaic Building 2)

Deposit type:

Ritual

Description:

Krater Deposit

Location/Associated Architecture:

The krater deposit in room A3300 was located in a small, enclosed area in the northern part of the room and was found nestled into buildings collapse debris.

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

2 cups (EA)

1 krater (PGB)

Total: 3 vessels

Associated Objects:

None

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Unknown

Deposit in Room A3200 (Protoarchaic Building 2)

Deposit type:

Votive

Description:

Terracotta figurines

Location/Associated Architecture:

This deposit was found in association with a paved surface in Room A3200

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

Uncatalogued fineware, mostly drinking and pouring vessels, some of which dates to LM IIIC and is hypothesized to represent ritual reuse of earlier material. Some coarseware cooking vessels.

Associated Objects:

2 terracotta bull figurines (complete, LG/EA)

1 terracotta bull figurine (damaged, LG/EA)

6 terracotta bull figurines (fragmented, LG/EA)

Total: 9 object fragments, likely 8 total figurines

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Fragmentary animal bones found throughout the room, some burned

Deposit in Room D400

Deposit type:

Ritual

Description:

Krater Deposit

Location/Associated Architecture:

This deposit was placed in association with an LM IIIC wall in room D400. The vessels were placed within the debris used to fill and close the room.

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

1 skyphos (EA)
1 krater (PGB/G)
1 mortar (EA)
1 jar (EA)

Total: 4 vessels

Associated Objects:

2 stone querns (undated)

Total: 2 objects

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Unknown

Deposit in Room B1200

Deposit type:

Ritual

Description:

Krater Deposit

Location/Associated Architecture:

This deposit was placed in a room that makes use of an LM IIIC wall. Unlike the other krater deposits, this deposit was placed in the room before the ceiling collapsed and also included LM IIIC material.

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

2 cups (LG/EA)
1 dinos (LG/EA)
2 cooking pots (LG/EA)

Total: 5 vessels

Associated Objects:

1 terracotta animal figurine (LM IIIC/SM/PG)
1 bronze pin (LG/EA)

Total: 2 objects

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Unknown

Deposit in Room A2500 (Protoarchaic Building 4)

Deposit type:

Ritual

Description:

Krater Deposit

Location/Associated Architecture:

This deposit was found in one room of a two-room structure dating to the 7th century, the function of which is unknown.

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

5 cups (EA)
4 skyphoi (EA)
2 juglets (EA)
1 krater (EA)

2 cooking pots (EA)
1 pyxis (EA)
2 lids (EA)

Total: 17 vessels

Associated Objects:

None

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Unknown

Deposit in Room B1700

Deposit type:

Undetermined

Description:

Deposit of vessels and goat mandibles

Location/Associated Architecture:

Possibly connected to this krater deposit in B1200, directly abutting this room on the south in B1700, was a ring of stones that formed a low enclosure or small peribolos, bordered on the north by the south wall of B1200, and on the west by a single line of stones. The area of the enclosure was partially paved. The deposit contained by the enclosure included mandibles from at least 20 different goats—all prime meat age animals—carefully disarticulated and deposited without other cranial or post-cranial butchering debris.

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

1 skyphos (EA)
1 dinos (EA)
1 cooking pot (EA)

Total: 3 vessels

Associated Objects:

None

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Goat, including the mandibles of at least 20 different goats

Deposit type:

Ritual

Description:

Krater Deposit

Location/Associated Architecture:

This deposit is located in the kiln room of Protoarchaic Building 1.

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

2 cups (EA)

1 hydria (EA)

1 krater (EA)

1 aryballos (EA)

2 cooking pots (EA)

Total: 7 vessels

Associated Objects:

None

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Unknown

Deposit type:

Feasting

Description:

Pyre Deposit

Location/Associated Architecture:

This deposit consists of an assemblage of over 7000 sherds deposited around the threshold that leads from the courtyard of Protoarchaic Building 1 (B3000) into the kiln room of Protoarchaic Building 1 (B4000).

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

This deposit has not been cataloged. What is known is that 85% of the sherds belonged to fineware vessels, predominantly drinking and pouring vessels. The remaining 15% of the sherds represent coarseware pottery, predominantly cooking pots. 60% of the sherds were burned, and the deposit itself was in a matrix of burned, ashy soil containing burned and unburned animal bones.

Associated Objects:

None

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Burned and unburned animal bones

Halasmenos

Site Location: 35°05'01"N, 25°49'54"E

Site Category: Upland Settlement

Periods of Inhabitation: LM IIIC

Brief Site Description

Halasmenos is an upland settlement that was established slightly later than the more extreme site of Monastiraki Katalimata, which occupies the same site cluster. This pattern of settlement is in accordance with the established pattern, discussed in Chapter 3, of initial settlement at more extreme sites, followed by a gradual movement to slightly lower elevation areas with easier access to water and arable land. While Katalimata has Final Neolithic, Early

Minoan, LM IIIC, Byzantine, and Venetian occupation layers, the much more accessible site of Halasmenos was occupied in only one period (Fig. 4.10). The site was founded on virgin soil in late LM IIIC and was never reinhabited after its abandonment in the very latest part of that period.⁴⁰⁸ Halasmenos appears to have been occupied for no more than 3 generations, and to have been abandoned peacefully, with no sign of destruction.⁴⁰⁹

As at other upland sites, the architecture of the settlement at Halasmenos consists of both domestic structures and buildings that appear to have had public or communal functions. While Tsipopoulou emphasizes the typically Minoan character of the houses, which show generational growth in the same way that the houses at Vronda, discussed below, do, she has also highlighted the Mycenaean character of three adjacent buildings on the site that appear to have a similar plan to Mycenaean megara. She suggests that the "megara" were used for the consumption of communal meals—a similar function to that hypothesized for Building AB at Vronda and for the “megara” at Karphi—although, unlike building AB, the megara at Halasmenos and Karphi lacked storage magazines and evidence for food preparation, which appears to have taken place in a different sector of the sites.⁴¹⁰ The presence of several large pithoi in the communal ritual building at Halasmenos—an LM IIIC bench shrine with the typical ritual assemblage associated with the cult of the Goddess of Upraised Arms—may suggest that this building served a dual function, meeting both the ritual and the larger-scale storage needs of the community.⁴¹¹

The social organization at Halasmenos is difficult to parse out. Tsipopoulou, who excavated the site, stresses that the architecture appears to be hierarchically organized, yet there

⁴⁰⁸ Tsipopoulou and Nowicki 2003, 562; Tsipopoulou 2004, 129; 2018, 6.

⁴⁰⁹ Tsipopoulou 2004, 136.

⁴¹⁰ Tsipopoulou 2005, 318-322.

⁴¹¹ Tsipopoulou 2004, 127.

also appears to have been little social differentiation in terms of the majority of the domestic assemblages. The only fully published house from Halasmenos, House A.2, was noted to be similar in size, plan, and assemblages to houses at other upland sites, like Vronda and Karphi—although it was noted that this building contained a slightly larger collection of cooking implements, several heirloom objects, and a large, decorated bronze fibula, which may represent the ownership of prestige items.⁴¹² Unlike other upland sites that are listed in this catalog, metal finds at Halasmenos were rare, however, and iron is entirely absent, suggesting that the residents were generally not wealthy or did not have access to this resource.⁴¹³ A single tholos tomb 200 meters to the south of the settlement and dating to the same period contained only five burials, which does suggest that not everyone at the site received similar treatment in death.⁴¹⁴ The burials themselves were relatively poorly furnished, however, containing only ceramic vessels with no personal adornments, tools, or weapons.⁴¹⁵ Overall, the excavator suggests that the social organization at the site was based on clans or extended kinship groups and that, as appears to be the case at other upland sites, there was no single leader.⁴¹⁶

Phases of Revisitation

Halasmenos was visited after its abandonment during two periods with a significant gap in practice separating the two. The first appears to have occurred in SM-PG, and the second in the LG period. As at Vronda, and possibly Azoria, the earliest phase of visitation involved the

⁴¹² Eaby 2018, 99-102.

⁴¹³ Tsipopoulou and Nowicki 2003, 563.

⁴¹⁴ Tsipopoulou and Nowicki 2003, 562.

⁴¹⁵ Tsipopoulou and Nowicki 2003, 563.

⁴¹⁶ Tsipopoulou 2011, 468.

burial of at least one individual, but also what appears to have been the reuse of an earlier shrine in one of the rooms of House A1. The second phase of visitation involved the construction of a special function building and an eschara, or bothros/hearth, both of which were associated with assemblages related to communal feasting.

PG Tholos Tomb

In the PG period, a tholos tomb was constructed within house B.2 (Fig. 4.10). It was semi-circular in shape, presenting as a typical tholos at the front, but abutting the internal walls of the house at the rear. While this tholos has been mentioned by Tsipopoulou in articles pertaining to the site as a whole,⁴¹⁷ it is not well-documented and much of the material associated with it now appears to be missing. The deposit can be partially reconstructed from the trench notebooks relating to the excavation of trenches B3, B4, and B5, however. The deposit contained only a small amount of human bone, ceramic vessels, a bronze ring, and some marine shell. Fragments of carbon and a small amount of charred wood were also noted. While the building in which the tholos was discovered was originally identified as having a domestic function, Tsipopoulou later recharacterized this sector of the site as an area dedicated to the preparation of communal meals. It is possible that the fragments of carbon and charred wood are related to the earlier function of this building.

⁴¹⁷ Tsipopoulou 2004, 129; 2011, 465.

PG Shrine

In Room 4 of Building A1, a later assemblage of SM to PG material was found deposited in an area that appears to have been associated with ritual use during the LM IIIC occupation of the site. This room, while connected to Building A1, could only be accessed from the exterior of the building, and the excavators posit that the exterior accessibility of the space may indicate that it had a more public character—perhaps serving an ancillary function to the communal shrine (Fig. 4.10). The earlier material in the room consisted of decorated kalathoi, conical cups, kylikes, and 2 rare bridge-spouted cups which likely served a special function. A male figurine may also date to the period of inhabitation. The later material associated with post-abandonment visitation included a bull figurine, a bronze ring, and several vessels. Evidence for intense burning, including carbon fragments and burnt animal bones, was found in this room and may indicate that later rites taking place in Room 4 included feasting or burnt offerings.⁴¹⁸

LG Building

In the LG period, a rectangular structure was constructed on the ruins of the largest of the three megara, sharing its orientation and making use of a part of one of its walls (Fig. 4.11).⁴¹⁹ The building consisted of a large rectangular room with a second, partially exterior space formed by the extension of the long walls, and an open space, supported by the construction of a

⁴¹⁸ Tsipopoulou 2011, 464-467.

⁴¹⁹ Tsipopoulou 2004, 129.

retaining wall, in front of the building's entrance. The only finds associated with this building were storage, cooking, serving, and drinking vessels, and animal bones. The excavator interpreted this structure as a communal dining building for a relatively small group of people.⁴²⁰

Eschara

To the south of the LG building, a rectangular structure of standing slab stones was discovered which dates to the same period (Fig. 4.12). The “eschara” or hearth contained animal bones and ash.⁴²¹

Chronology of Deposits

As stated above, Halasmenos received post-abandonment visitation deposits in two periods—the SM/PG period and the LG period. The 4 post-abandonment deposits present on the site are equally divided between the periods, with two dating to SM/PG and two to LG. It should be noted, however, that both the much larger number of vessels dating to the later period of visitation and the investment in a permanent architectural setting for the rites taking place in the ruins of the abandoned site at this time indicate, as was seen at Azoria, a marked intensification of practice beginning in the LG.

⁴²⁰ Tsipopoulou 2004, 129-136.

⁴²¹ Tsipopoulou 2004, 130.

Of the 45 vessels identified as post-dating the abandonment of the site, 7 belong to the first period of visitation, the PG period, and the remaining 38 date to the LG (Fig. 4.13). The deposits from the earlier period of post-abandonment visitation appear to have remained undisturbed during later visits to the site. No LG vessels were found in association with either the PG tholos tomb or the PG shrine, indicating that the focus of visitation in this period continued to be the settlement itself rather than the earlier post-abandonment deposits.

Distribution of Vessels by Function

The vessels surviving from the post-abandonment deposits at Halasmenos suggest an overall emphasis on cooking and drinking activities taking place within the ruins of the abandoned site. The emphasis on these functions appears to have remained the same over time, through both phases of visitation, although the percentage of drinking vessels is slightly lower in the later phase (Fig. 4.14, 4.15, 4.16). Storage, on the other hand, appears to have been of slightly greater importance in this later period. This, along with the fact that the overall number of vessels is greater in the later phase of visitation, as mentioned above, suggests an intensification of practice occurring during the LG, with rites of greater scale and/or frequency taking place at the site. This is a supposition that receives support from the fact that the LG period saw the establishment of a permanent architectural setting for these events constructed within the ruins of

Megaron A.1. The difference in number and proportion of vessels between the two phases of visitation may also be the result of a difference in the character of some of the rites taking place. The PG burial was accompanied by vessels associated with the transport and pouring of liquids and a single tray, and the use of these vessels was likely connected with funerary practices. All of the other vessels appear connected with feasting and drinking contexts, but the presence of at least one figurine in the earlier SM-PG ritual deposit suggests a slightly different character to these rites which is not obvious from the vessels alone.

Chronology of Objects

The number of recovered objects which post-date the abandonment of Halasmenos is quite small. Of the four objects cataloged, 3 can definitively be dated to the PG period, while the fourth may be as early as LM IIIC or as late as SM. This object, a male figurine made from lead with traces of copper and silver that was found in the PG shrine, may, in fact, date to the period when the site was inhabited. It is included here as it was found in association with later objects.

Distribution of Objects by Function and Material

Surviving objects were found only in association with the assemblages from the first phase of visitation at Halasmenos. A single bronze ring, likely a personal adornment, was found accompanying the PG tholos burial in House B.2. The objects from the second deposit, which

appears to have had a ritual function, are votive in character, though a bronze ring found in this deposit, identical to the one found in the PG tholos, is more difficult to characterize.

Spatial Focus of the Deposits

The buildings of the LM IIIC settlement were the clear spatial focus of the visitation occurring at the site of Halasmenos. All of the spaces targeted appear to have had a special function during the life of the settlement, and in two instances—the ritual deposit placed in the LM IIIC shrine of House A.1 and the feasting building constructed in the LG period within the ruins of Megara A.1—the character of the rites associated with post-abandonment visitation to the site appear to map on to the original function of the structure being targeted. The PG shrine, located in Room 4 of House A.1, targeted an area of earlier ritual activity, and both the earlier and the later shrines contained vessels which served similar functions, primarily drinking vessels. The floor deposits for the later LG feasting building and the LM IIIC structure within which it was built cannot be directly compared—no good floor deposit for the earlier building could be recovered, likely due to the presence of the later building which replaced it⁴²²—but Megara A.2 and A.3, both similar in plan to Megaron A.1, had assemblages related to feasting activities and it has been assumed by the excavator that A.1 had a similar function. While the eschara associated with the LG feasting building does not have a predecessor and targets an area of space which was originally between LM IIIC structures, it should be considered connected in its function with the adjacent structure, and therefore also connected to the earlier function of this area of the site. By

⁴²² Tsipopoulou 2011b, 333.

contrast, the PG tholos tomb was constructed within a space originally assumed by the excavator to have held a domestic function, but which she later recharacterized as a building dedicated to food preparation. This post-abandonment deposit is, therefore, truly intrusive, making use of the ruined building but without reference to the original function of the space it inhabits.

Deposit Contents

PG Tholos Tomb

Deposit type:

Funerary

Description:

Primary or secondary inhumation

Location/Associated Architecture:

This deposit is located within LM IIIC House B.2, abutting the internal walls of the house at the rear of the tomb.

Associated Human Remains:

Burial 1: Age and sex unknown. The deposit included only fragments of the jaw and cranium. Splinters of bone were noted throughout the fill.

Total: 1 burial

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

1 tray (PG)

1 jug (PG)

1 stirrup jar (PG)

Total: 3 vessels

Associated Objects:

1 bronze ring (PG)

Total: 1 object

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Marine shell

PG Shrine

Deposit type:

Ritual

Description:

Assemblage of pottery and votive material related to ritual and, possibly, feasting activity.

Location/Associated Architecture:

This deposit was located in Room 4 of LM IIIC Building A.1

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

1 tripod cooking pot (SM-PG)

1 krater (SM-PG)

1 deep bowl (SM-PG)

1 cup (SM-PG)

Total: 4 vessels

Associated Objects:

1 Ceramic bull figurine (PG)

1 Male figurine, lead and copper with traces of silver (LM IIIC/SM/PG)

1 Bronze ring (PG)

Total: 3 objects

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Burnt animal bones noted

Deposit type:

Feasting

Description:

Pottery and animal bones in association with architecture constructed after the abandonment of the site.

Location/Associated Architecture:

This deposit was located in a building constructed on the ruins of LM IIIC Megaron A.1

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

7 kraters (LG)
4 skyphoi (LG)
4 one-handled cups (LG)
3 cooking pots (LG)
8 shallow basins (LG)
6 pithoi (LG)
6 lids (LG)

Total: 38 vessels

Associated Objects:

None

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Unspecified animal bones

Deposit type:

Feasting

Description:

Rectangular structure of standing slab stones containing animal bones and ash.

Location/Associated Architecture:

This deposit was located 2 meters SW of the LG building constructed on the ruins of LM IIIC Megaron A.1

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

None

Associated Objects:

None

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Mixed unidentified faunal remains

Karphi

Site Location: 35°13'03"N, 25°28'12"E

Site Category: Upland Settlement

Periods of Inhabitation: MMI I-II, LM IIIC

Brief Site Description

Karphi is one of the largest and the highest of the known upland settlements, sitting at 1147 masl and stretching across what has been estimated to be a site of about 30,000 square meters, of which only a little over 6000 square meters has been excavated.⁴²³ There is a MM peak sanctuary on the site, but the main period of inhabitation appears to have dated to LM IIIC and to have lasted for a period of between 100 and 200 years. The first phase of occupation consisted of a number of shelters erected in natural cavities or depressions in the rock, but the site expanded gradually over time, developing a sophisticated plan with paved roads, blocks of houses, and what appear to have been communal or public open spaces and buildings of special

⁴²³ Nowicki 1987, 235-256; 2000, 157-164.

function (Fig. 4.17).⁴²⁴ While most upland settlements show signs of peaceful and, potentially, gradual desertion, there is some evidence that Karphi was destroyed and burned before its abandonment, though the extent and the circumstances of this destruction are unclear.⁴²⁵

Though much larger and occupied for a longer period of time than the other LM IIIC upland sites listed in this catalog, Karphi likely shared a similar social organization—one which was centered on the nuclear family or kinship group. The architecture that has been excavated at the site thus far is likely representative of about 25-30 houses, each of which would have been the home of a single extended family. The size of these houses varies from between one to six rooms, but most domestic structures had two to three. Pendlebury designated what he felt to be the largest of these houses as the Great House, interpreting it as the home of a great chieftain, but this designation has since been disputed.⁴²⁶ While the Great House produced a larger amount of bronze relative to the other domestic spaces on the site, it is only nominally larger than some of the other houses, and very little has been found at the site, as a whole, which suggests social stratification of any kind.⁴²⁷ As at Vronta, all of the houses were constructed of the same, coarse materials and all held what Day has called a “remarkably uniform” assemblage of artifacts.⁴²⁸ The domestic buildings at Karphi follow the Minoan agglutinative tradition, expanding exponentially as the kinship group that inhabited the structure grew. At Karphi, as at other upland sites, larger houses are therefore more likely to be indicative of larger families than of differentiation in wealth or status.

⁴²⁴ Nowicki 1987, 237.

⁴²⁵ Wallace 2012, 73-74.

⁴²⁶ Day and Snyder 2004, 75; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 219-20, 304; Nowicki 1999, 148-149.

⁴²⁷ Day 2011b, 320.

⁴²⁸ Nowicki 2000, 162-163.

There are three “megaron” style structures in the north-eastern part of the main site, similar to those found at Halasmenos, and it has been suggested that these represent a Mycenaean presence at Karphi (Fig. 4.17). The idea that the site was inhabited by different cultural groups is not borne out by the material evidence, but it is possible that these buildings served a special function.⁴²⁹ While they produced similar material to smaller domestic spaces on the site, they yielded a far greater number of kylikes, suggesting that drinking rituals may have occurred in these spaces.⁴³⁰ In addition, hearths at the site of Karphi are almost exclusively located in these buildings.⁴³¹ Wallace, therefore, has suggested that the megara at Karphi served as communal feasting buildings in the same way that the megara in sector A of Halasmenos and Building AB at Vronda likely did. Of critical importance, in this respect, is that the megara at Karphi, like Building AB at Vronda, do not seem to have expanded over time in the way that the other domestic architecture on the site did, which strongly suggests that the megara were not houses, but buildings that served a communal function.⁴³² There do appear to have been other specialized spaces on the site. Room K 134, K143, and K144 may have served as a food preparation area and storage spaces, respectively, in support of the activities taking place in the Megara, and, like most upland settlements, Karphi also had a communal bench shrine where fragments of Goddesses with Upraised Arms were found.⁴³³

It has been suggested that ritual life at this settlement was more varied and complex than at other upland sites. Fragments of GUA’s were also found in two other buildings that are spatially unrelated to the Shrine, and votive figurines, libation vessels and other cultic objects

⁴²⁹ Nowicki 2000, 163; Day 2011b, 320.

⁴³⁰ Day 2011b, 320.

⁴³¹ This supposition has since been questioned by Wallace due to discoveries made during her 2008 excavations at the site. See Wallace 2011, 327; Wallace and Mylona 2012, 73.

⁴³² Wallace 2011, 331.

⁴³³ Day 2011b, 320; Nowicki 2000, 163; Pendlebury and Money-Coutts 1937-1938, 71 ;Wallace, 330.

were found in other areas of the site, possibly suggesting domestic cult activity.⁴³⁴ It should be remembered, however, that Karphi was significantly larger in size and population than other excavated upland sites where cult activity centered on a single community shrine is noted. The nuance observed in the material record at Karphi related to cult activity may therefore be reflective of the larger amount of available evidence rather than of a true difference in ritual practice. Overall, despite differences in the size of the settlement, and despite its location in the Lasithi plain, closer to the center of the island, the population of Karphi appears to have shared a similar social organization and similar communal ritual practices to smaller upland sites farther to the East.

Phases of Revisitation

It is difficult to clearly define what constitutes a deposit associated with post-abandonment visitation at the site of Karphi due to difficulties and disagreements regarding the dating of the site as a whole. Both Day and Nowicki note a complex history of excavation and study, with disagreements amongst those who have excavated at the site and those who have studied the pottery such as Pendlebury, Seiradaki, Desborough, Popham, and Kanta.⁴³⁵ Pendlebury, who was the first to excavate at Karphi, concluded that the site was active for 200 years, stretching from 1100-900 B.C.⁴³⁶ Seiradaki, who published the pottery, dated the site primarily to LM IIIC,⁴³⁷ while Desborough was of the opinion that the site was founded in the

⁴³⁴ Day 2009, 138-151.

⁴³⁵ Day 2011, 1; Nowicki 1987, 237.

⁴³⁶ Pendlebury and Money-Coutts 1937-1938, 140-141.

⁴³⁷ Seiradaki 1960.

mid to late LM IIIC and lasted for only 100 years.⁴³⁸ While there are some deposits which definitively post-date the abandonment of the site, regardless of whose chronology one privileges, there are others which can, thus, only be said to be potentially related to post-abandonment visitation.

Adding to this difficulty is conflicting evidence and opinions given by Pendlebury in his excavation reports, and by others in their interpretations. Chief amongst the difficulties in this latter category is Day's conflicting assertions that, first, whole or nearly complete vessels at the site should be assumed to have been in use at the time of abandonment, and second, that whole fine-ware pots are rare at the site and were likely removed by the inhabitants when they left. Following the second of these assertions, whole fine ware pots of very late date found at the site could easily be considered related to post-abandonment visitation. Following the first, they must, *de facto*, be labeled as dating to the period of abandonment itself. Adding to the confusion is the assertion on the part of Day and Wallace that the site was destroyed by fire. Both assume that burnt vessels therefore date to the period of abandonment, but the latest vessel on the site, a PG/LG jar which cannot be chronologically related to the original occupation, was also found burned. This opens up the possibility that the burning of vessels may have been a part of post-abandonment ritual at the site, and not merely evidence of a burned destruction layer—a supposition which receives strength from the fact that in room K115, the later vessels were the only ones in the room that were burned, and the room itself showed no sign of burning. The strategy I have chosen to follow is to record as potentially significant any vessels which Day, in her re-examination of the pottery of the site, labeled as particularly late relative to the main

⁴³⁸ Desborough 1964, 172-176.

period of occupation. The deposit of later vessels in Building MG, which was excavated by Saro Wallace, are also included in the list of deposits below.

It should be noted that visitation or reuse in later periods also occurred at the nearby cemetery of Ta Mnemata, which was likely associated with the settlement of Karphi. As this kind of visitation is more closely related to tomb cult, it will not be treated in detail here. It is significant, however, that the later burials and offerings at the cemetery date to the same period as the later vessels found at the settlement.

Deposit in room K 81

Room K81 is located in the Central West Quarter of the site (Fig. 4.10). Nothing that was found in the rooms of this building suggested its function, though Day has concluded that it was likely a domestic establishment. It was noted that the amount of bronze found in this building was unusual, as was the presence of bone pins found in K67 and K81. A single cup, nearly complete, and extremely large post-dates the period of use. The shape is rare, and of unknown function.⁴³⁹

⁴³⁹ Day 2011, 144-147.

Deposit in room K 115

K 115 is a small room in a four-room house in the area of the Western Cliff Houses (Fig. 4.10). The room itself has been identified as a roofed cellar, likely reached by ladder from K106 which is thought to have been an area associated with ritual observances. The assemblage associated with this room was made up of nearly complete vessels, including five vessels of very late LM IIIC or SM date which may post-date the site. Other vessels found in the room show that this was a space associated with storage, cooking and food preparation, but the presence of fine ware indicates that eating and drinking may also have occurred here. An earlier LM IIIC hut urn was also present in the room, possibly serving a religious function.⁴⁴⁰

Deposit in room K23

"The Magazines" of the Southeast quadrant, so-called due to the large number of storage vessels and ordinary domestic wares, is one of the unique buildings on the site which does not appear to have grown over time in the way that domestic structures did (Fig. 4.10). K23 is one in a line of rooms connected by doorways which includes K22, K23, K29, and K30. K23 is the most important room of the block and the largest in the building. The stratigraphy of this room was recorded as being the most complex of any at Karphi, with two distinct layers which appear to indicate that the building suffered fire damage in its history and was then rebuilt, using the burnt roofing material as fill for the new floor. The floor deposit was labeled by the excavators as

⁴⁴⁰ Day 2011, 199-206.

being typical for the site, but it was noted that there was little fine ware. There were a number of storage vessels and fragments of deep bowls. Objects from the room include a fragment of a bronze bowl, 3 Neolithic axes, terracotta spindle whorls and spools, a pierced bone sword pommel and shell. Much of the floor deposit that was whole or nearly complete was burned, including both of the late vessels. Other fragments of deep bowls and kraters coming from the earlier layer were not burned, and Day notes that this contradicts the conclusions of the excavation report.⁴⁴¹

Deposit in room K 116

K116 is a room in the Commercial Quarter (Fig. 4.10). All of these rooms (K77-K79, K89, K112 and K116) are connected and two of the rooms were paved and were likely open courtyards (K79 and K89). K116 was entered through K89 and seems to be somewhat separated and it may have had a different function. It has been identified as a possible shrine because there were GUA's found within it. It was also used very late, with pottery from SM. Room K 116 had a ledge on the north side where the GUA's (at least 2, maybe 3) may have stood. Other objects in the room were ordinary domestic items: A grinder, a whetstone, and 3 terracotta spindle whorls. The pottery from this deposit was found to have more fine whole vessels than normal. There was also part of a plaque, but no snake tubes or offering stands. The pottery from K 116 is amongst

⁴⁴¹ Day 2011, 83-93.

the latest of the site and Day notes that the shrine may have been in use after the rest of the site was abandoned.⁴⁴²

Deposit in room K 79

K79 is a room in the Commercial Quarter (Fig. 4.10). All of these rooms (K77-K79, K89, K112 and K116) are connected and two of the rooms were paved and were likely open courtyards (K79 and K89). K79 contained a quantity of broken fine ware, as had other open spaces in the settlement. The objects in the room included two bronze pins, the base of a stone vase, the head of a (probably human) figurine, and a cylindrical terracotta spindle whorl. The pottery was largely fragmentary and is probably not representative of a floor deposit. A large SM cup found in the room has parallels with other later deposits in K115 and K81.⁴⁴³

Deposit in room K12

Room K 12 is part of the Great House, so called because of its size, protected position, and the presence of architectural refinements such as the use of fine cut blocks of limestone and elaborate door jambs (Fig. 4.10). K12 is thought to have been the cellar of this house, as it could only be reached from the roof above. The room has benches on its north and east sides. The pottery was found to be predominantly fragmentary. Late vessels appear to include a deep bowl

⁴⁴² Day 2011, 169-180.

⁴⁴³ Day 2011, 169-171.

of SM date, possibly an import, and an unusual jar, which may date to PG or to the LG-Archaic period. It was noted that this jar looks very different from the other material at the site.⁴⁴⁴

Deposit in room K26

K 26 is a small room in the complex known as the Southern Houses (Fig. 4.10). It was connected to a larger room, K27, and was reported to contain roofing clay and evidence of burning, but no other unusual features. A good deal of bronze was found in the room—a votive double axe, a disc, a dagger hilt, an awl with a bone handle, a disc with bosses, and thin fragments—and the presence of many pithoi and pithoid jars indicates the room was used for storage. The number of nearly complete tripod cooking pots may also suggest food preparation. There was difficulty dating the krater from this deposit as it is late in shape, but earlier in decoration.⁴⁴⁵

Deposit from Building MG1

Building MG is on the summit of the hill, in an area of architecture somewhat removed from the main settlement of Karphi, that may represent an independent community living in very close range. The building itself was likely one of special character based on the size of the rooms and the nature of the finds, which suggest specialized group activities (Fig. 4.18). The structure

⁴⁴⁴ Day 2011, 55-66.

⁴⁴⁵ Day 2011, 109-115.

was destroyed violently, by fire, while still in use. Physical interference with the room's contents took place either around the time of destruction or shortly thereafter, before the full collapse of the structure. EIA sherds of cooking pots suggest some limited or specialized reuse of the building, possibly touching some of the destruction deposits, before the building fully collapsed.⁴⁴⁶

Chronology of Deposits

The problems with identifying post-abandonment deposits at the site of Karphi have already been noted above. It appears that the site was inhabited through the LM IIIC period, but the exact date of abandonment remains unclear. A group of 11 cooking pots uncovered in Building MG1, which is situated about 250 meters to the SE of the settlement, definitively post-date the abandonment of the site, but post-abandonment deposits from the settlement proper are more nebulous. I have chosen to include in the cataloged deposits below only groups of vessels that include at least one example from the SM period or later, as it seems most likely that the site was abandoned by the end of LM IIIC. While it cannot definitively be said that the very late LM IIIC vessels listed below in association with SM vessels were deposited after the site was abandoned, their spatial relationship to this later material strengthens the argument for their inclusion in the study. The date of the cooking vessels from Building MG1 is very insecure, the excavators having placed them in a chronological range that stretches from the PG into the EA period. A gap in practice at this site between the placement of the late LM IIIC/SM vessels in the

⁴⁴⁶ Wallace 2020, 87, 149-169.

settlement and the cooking pots in Building MG1 is therefore possible, but unproven. It seems clear, however, because of the distance of Building MG1 from the main body of the settlement of Karphi itself, the differences in the type and contents of the deposit, and the slightly later date of the pottery that the deposit in Building MG1 represents a different episode of visitation, even if the precise chronological difference between the episodes is unclear.

Chronology of Vessels

Of the 28 later vessels present in the Karphi deposits, 8 date to the late LM IIIC period and 8 date to the SM period. A single vessel dates to the PG/G period and the 11 cooking pots from Building MG may date anywhere between the PG period and the EA period.

Distribution of Vessels by Function

The distribution of vessels by function at Karphi is slightly different than at the other upland sites, where drinking and pouring vessels predominate, usually across two distinct periods of visitation. The comparatively large size of the deposit in Building MG1, which included only cooking pots, ensures that, when considering the deposits as a whole, vessels related to cooking are overrepresented (Fig. 4.19). When considering the material from the settlement proper alone, cooking vessels are entirely absent (Fig. 4.20). Drinking vessels are, as might be expected from the material at other sites, the most common, representing 47% of the deposits, but pouring

vessels are not represented at all, which represents a significant difference between this and other sites. The second most common category of vessel are storage and transport vessels, representing 41%. This is a trend that holds across both LM IIIC and SM vessels. The remaining vessels are kraters, which are considered here as mixing vessels. Overall, the distribution of vessels by function suggests significant differences in the rites occurring in Building MG1—which likely took place at a slightly later date—and the settlement, itself. The later deposits in the settlement proper are not related to feasting and, assuming that they are related to post-abandonment activity, likely represent drinking activities taking place at or offerings being left at the site.

Chronology of Objects

The objects which may have been associated with each of these deposits cannot be discussed here as they have never been fully studied. It is currently unclear which objects found in each room, if any, can be associated with the deposits of later vessels recorded below. This represents an area in need of further study.

Spatial Focus of the Deposits

The spatial focus for the deposits listed below is, again, the LM IIIC settlement, but also includes an attendant LM IIIC structure, Building MG1 which lies a short distance away from the settlement proper and which may have belonged to an independent community. The original

function of this building is unclear as the building has not yet been fully excavated, but the initial interpretation of the excavators is that the structure likely provided a setting for specialized activities during its period of active use. As noted above, the building was destroyed by fire, and, at some point before its complete collapse, became the setting for post-abandonment feasting represented by the presence of the fragments of 11 cooking pots, as outlined in the catalog below. It is unclear, at this point, if this later function represents a continuation of use, or new rites instigated by later visitors to the site.

Leslie Day, who published the restudied pottery of Karphi in 2011, has noted that the later pottery from the settlement itself is more tightly clustered in the northwest corner of the site. At least three of the deposits from this quadrant were found in rooms that had a ritual connection, and Day suggests that former inhabitants may have returned to continue their ritual observances in this area. Room K115 is a storeroom associated with a room containing figurines, Room K 116 yielded fragments of at least three goddesses with upraised arms, and K 79 is part of an exterior courtyard associated with K 116. There are SM vessels in other areas of the site, however, which were not explicitly associated with ritual, but which may have been important in other ways. There was later material found in Room K23, the largest and most important room in the Magazines of the southeast quadrant, and in Room K12 of the Great House, which had benches on its north and east walls. Later material was also found in K 81, which was part of a domestic structure, and in K 26, a storage room possibly connected with food preparation.

Deposit Contents

Deposit in Room K81

Deposit type:

Undetermined

Description:

Deposit of a single vessel

Location/Associated Architecture:

This deposit was located in Room K81 of the Central West Quarter. The function of the building is unknown, but Day has suggested that it was originally a residence.

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

1 cup (SM)

Total: 1 vessel

Associated Objects:

None

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Unknown

Deposit in Room K115

Deposit type:

Undetermined

Description:

Deposit of vessels

Location/Associated Architecture:

This deposit was found in Room K115, a small room in one of the Western Cliff Houses. This room was originally associated with storage and is in close association with a room containing figurines.

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

1 cup (late LM IIIC)
1 bowl (signs of burning, late LM IIIC)
1 skyphos (signs of burning, SM)
1 Kylix (signs of burning, late LM IIIC)
1 pyxis (signs of burning, late LM IIIC)

Total: 5 vessels

Associated Objects:

None

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Animal bones were found in the room, but these may have been related to the room's original function.

Deposit in Room K23

Deposit type:

Undetermined

Description:

Deposit of vessels

Location/Associated Architecture:

This deposit was found in the largest room of the Magazines in the southwest quadrant of the site.

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

1 krater (signs of burning, SM)
1 amphora (signs of burning, late LM IIIC)

Total: 2 vessels

Associated Objects:

None

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Unknown

Deposit in Room K116

Deposit type:

Undetermined

Description:

Deposit of vessels

Location/Associated Architecture:

This deposit was located in Room K116 of the Commercial Quarter. It is possible that this space originally served as a shrine as it produced fragments of at least 3 Goddesses with Upraised Arms.

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

1 stirrup jar (SM)

1 amphora (signs of burning, SM)

1 pyxis (signs of burning, late LM IIIC)

Total: 3 vessels

Associated Objects:

None

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Unknown

Deposit in Room K79

Deposit type:

Undetermined

Description:

Deposit of vessels

Location/Associated Architecture:

This deposit was located in Room K79 of the Commercial Quarter, likely an open courtyard.

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

2 cups (LM IIIC/SM)

Total: 2 vessels

Associated Objects:

None

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Unknown

Deposit in Room K12

Deposit type:

Undetermined

Description:

Deposit of vessels

Location/Associated Architecture:

This deposit was located in Room K12, likely the cellar of the Great House.

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

1 cup (SM)

1 jar (signs of burning, PG/LG)

Total: 2 vessels

Associated Objects:

None

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Unknown

Deposit in Room K26

Deposit type:

Undetermined

Description:

Deposit of vessels

Location/Associated Architecture:

This deposit was located in a small room in the Southern Houses.

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

1 kalathos (signs of burning, SM)

1 krater (signs of burning, late LM IIIC)

Total: 2 vessels

Associated Objects:

None

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Unknown

Deposit from Building MG1

Deposit type:

Undetermined

Description:

Deposit of vessels

Location/Associated Architecture:

This deposit was located in building MG, on the summit of the hill, which was likely associated with specialized communal functions, possibly related to an independent community.

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

11 cooking pots (PG-EA)

Total: 11 vessels

Associated Objects:

None

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Fragments of animal bone

Vasiliki Kephala

Site Location: 35°04'51"N, 25°48'11"E

Site Category: Upland Settlement

Periods of Inhabitation: FN-EM I, LM IIIC, V, T

Brief Site Description

The site of Vasiliki Kephala is a primarily LM IIIC upland site that was partially uncovered during rescue excavations occurring between 1994-1996. Ten buildings were revealed but the incomplete nature of the excavation makes it difficult to comment on the social or architectural organization of the site as a whole (Fig. 4.21). The exception to this is its southern quarter, where the excavations were more comprehensive. In this part of the site, two large buildings, Building Alpha and Building Epsilon, were uncovered.⁴⁴⁷

⁴⁴⁷ Eliopoulos 1998, 304.

Building Alpha has received little comment from the excavator, but Building Epsilon was identified as a large Temple complex with eight rooms grouped into three wings, each of which may have had a different function (Fig. 4.22). The Central Wing consisted of two rooms, one of which had a large clay hearth framed by stone column bases. The second room in this wing was a small storage magazine. The Northern Wing featured three rooms, including the “Hall of the Altar”, a room with benches of differing characters lining all four of its walls. In the center of the room was a large, low altar with an unworked upright stone of half a meter in height embedded in its northern end. The excavators interpreted this construction as a combination altar and baetyl. A small hearth was found on the floor close to the doorway of a second room, which had no internal features aside from a column base in its southern end. The third room in the Northern Wing was a later addition, possibly from the Protogeometric period, that occupied an area that was once open. The preservation of this room is poor, and the only preserved internal element is a bench along the western wall of the room.⁴⁴⁸

The Southern Wing was the part of the building where the cult images were stored, and it seems to have been situated to provide limited access, as there is no internal communication between this wing of the building and the rest of the complex. The three rooms that made up this wing had to be accessed from a single exterior door. This part of the building contained a room with benches along all of its walls, and a small built base in the center which may have supported another altar. Cult objects were found in situ on both benches which echo the cult assemblages found at other LM IIIC shrines to the Goddess with Upraised Arms, including snake tubes, kalathoi, and four Goddess figurines. One of these goddesses was unique in that it was placed on a throne. This room also contained a hearth. Other objects of significance were cooking pots,

⁴⁴⁸ Eliopoulos 1998, 305-307.

trays, dishes, amphorae, jugs and pithoi. The adjoining room also had benches around the walls, and two clay hearths, one on the eastern part of the floor, and the other just outside the room.⁴⁴⁹

While it appears clear that Building Epsilon was the settlements cult shrine, its connection to what appears to be a larger religious complex is unique, as LM IIC bench shrines are typically free-standing structures of one to two rooms. While nothing has been published on the layout of the remaining eight partially excavated buildings of the settlement at Vasiliki Kephala, Elipoulos has noted that the size, setting, and layout of the settlement appears to have been very different from the nearby site of Vronda. He notes that Vronda was a medium-sized settlement, with “a feeling for a rural conservation of resources and manpower,” while he describes Vasiliki Kephala as “built in a broad and relaxed layout.”⁴⁵⁰ While he comments on the dissimilarity of the settlements themselves, he does point out that the pottery appears very similar between the two sites.⁴⁵¹ Further discussion of the social organization of the site, and its similarity or difference to other upland settlements must await further study and publication by the excavator.

Phases of Revisitation

At Vasiliki Kephala, incomplete excavation limits what can be said about the post-abandonment visitation which may have been taking place at the site. Only one deposit

⁴⁴⁹ Elipoulos 1998, 307-309.

⁴⁵⁰ Elipoulos 2004, 85.

⁴⁵¹ Elipoulos 1998, 309.

connected with later visitation can be localized, currently, and this was found in the later addition to the Northern Wing.

Addition to North Wing of Building Epsilon

If the excavator is correct in assuming that room E1 of Building Epsilon was an addition that was constructed during the Protogeometric period, then we must consider this construction related to post-abandonment visitation. The addition and its associated deposit are the only elements that were found on the site post-dating LM IIIC, with the exception of later Venetian and Turkish material.⁴⁵² Only the NW corner of the floor was preserved in this room, but on this small section of floor, a PG tripod cooking pot and bell skyphos were found carefully deposited (Fig. 4.14).⁴⁵³

Chronology of Deposits

While the limited nature of the excavation makes definitive statements regarding the chronology of the site and any later visitation impossible, it seems, from the available evidence, that Vasilki Kephala received visitation in a single period only—the Protogeometric period. Further excavation may reveal additional evidence.

⁴⁵² Melissa Eaby, personal communication.

⁴⁵³ Eliopoulos 1998, 306.

Chronology of Vessels

Both vessels associated with the NW corner of the floor in the north addition to Building Epsilon have been dated to the Protogeometric period.

Distribution of Vessels by Function

The function of the vessels in the single post-abandonment deposit at Vasiliki Kephala map on to the functions of other vessels in similar deposits at upland settlements. One is a cooking vessel and the other a drinking vessel.

Spatial Focus of the Deposits

The spatial focus of the Vasiliki Kephala deposition is the LM IIIC shrine. Whether the deposit represents an element of continuity of use is impossible to assess given the limited nature of the data. The deposit itself contains nothing that overtly references the rites taking place at the earlier shrine, but, as cooking pots were a part of the assemblage of the LM IIIC building, the possibility that the post-abandonment rites associated with this deposit represent an aspect of cult continuity cannot be ruled out. It is notable, however, that no PG vessels were found within the shrine itself, suggesting either that the later rites taking place belonged outside of the shrine and

not within it, or that the building had already partially collapsed and was inaccessible by the PG period.

Deposit Contents

Addition to North Wing of Building Epsilon

Deposit type:

Undetermined

Description:

Deposit of vessels

Location/Associated Architecture: This deposit of vessels was located in a small addition off of the LM IIIC shrine. This addition had a bench against the west wall, and the deposit was located in the NW corner of the room on the only preserved section of the floor.

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

1 tripod cooking pot (PG)

1 skyphos (PG)

Total: 2 vessels

Associated Objects:

None

Floral and Faunal Remains:

None noted

Vronda

Site Location: 35°06'36"N, 25°51'29"E

Site Category: Upland Settlement

Periods of Inhabitation: EM II, MM II, LM IIIC, Byz

Vronda is an upland site, belonging to the Kavousi cluster in eastern Crete. This cluster consists of three sites—Kastro, Azoria, and Vronda—all of which were reoccupied or settled in early LM IIIC at the time that the coastal settlements of East Crete were abandoned. It is probable, based on the overall pattern of settlement in the area, that, amongst the sites in the Kavousi cluster, the higher-elevation site of Kastro was settled first, and that Azoria and Vronda were established slightly later. This is in accordance with the established pattern, discussed in Chapter 3, of initial settlement at more extreme sites, followed by a gradual movement to slightly lower elevation areas with easier access to water and arable land. Although Vronda has revealed evidence for some degree of occupation in the EM II and MM II periods, the primary period represented by the architectural remains on the site is LM IIIC.

The LM IIIC built environment of Vronda is well-preserved, and is revelatory of both the general character of the site and of the social organization of those who lived there (Fig. 4.23). It follows the agglutinative tradition of architecture that characterized the eastern region of the island for millennia. Agglutinative architectural patterns grow organically, through a process akin to cell-division. In response to generational growth, additional cells, mimicking the characteristics of the domestic spaces already in existence—including general size and relevant architectural features—are added to the original structure through the practical expedient of shared walls. By this process, what may begin as a single domestic space, over time, becomes a series of individual residences that, while maintaining some degree of separation through differential means of access to individual spaces, belong, spatially, to a single evolving structure. Alterations to the architecture—the blocking of existing doorways, and the addition of repetitive architectural elements like hearths and benches—reflect generational growth and the natural

expansion of the family. This form of built environment is considered a hallmark of communities comprised of individual nuclear households that maintain strong extended kinship relationships, and it is widely agreed, based on both this architectural data and on evidence for kinship-based mortuary practice, that the nuclear family was likely the basic unit of society at Vronda and other upland settlements in this part of the island.⁴⁵⁴

In such a society, each clustered residence might be considered the domain of a single extended kinship group. Settlements such as these generally appear to have been comprised of between 10 and 24 domestic blocks, reflecting a population of between 20-100 inhabitants at most sites, with this number starting smaller and growing over time as the number of family members multiplied.⁴⁵⁵ Because of the organic nature of its growth, the analysis of agglutinated architecture, much like tree-ring analysis, can offer significant clues about the longevity of the site. Vronda is estimated to have been an active settlement for about four generations, based on the phased nature of architectural growth and expansion.⁴⁵⁶

The built environment of Vronda and other eastern upland settlements appears to have offered only limited differentiation between public and private space, which both reflected and encouraged a tradition of shared living and shared labor at the level of the individual kinship group and in the wider settlement community, through close proximity and shared outdoor work and gathering spaces. A non-hierarchical social structure appears to have been equally emphasized by a general consistency in house size.⁴⁵⁷ Larger blocks of agglutinated houses appear to have housed larger families, with size seeming to be a function of necessity rather than

⁴⁵⁴ Day 2016, 220; Day and Snyder 2004, 78; Gaignerot-Driessen 2016, 25; Glowacki 2004; Wallace 2005, 256; 2011, 327.

⁴⁵⁵ Haggis 1993, 151.

⁴⁵⁶ McEnroe 2010, 150.

⁴⁵⁷ Wallace 2005, 254.

of social status, as differentiation in material assemblage is not evident at the site beyond the number of nearly identical domestic sets in any given house-block.⁴⁵⁸ Only two buildings are differentiated, architecturally, from the others at the settlement. One of these is building G, a communal LM IIIC bench shrine such as those which were discussed in Chapter 3. The other is building AB (Fig. 4.24).

There has been some debate as to the function of building AB, and much has been said on the topic of the social organization of the Vronda settlement based on this building alone.

Although it is constructed of the same rubble masonry as the other buildings on the site, it is the largest of any of these, and its placement at the highest point of the settlement appears to set it apart from the others. It is also distinguished, architecturally, by large storage magazines, a paved floor in one of the rooms, and a decorated terracotta window frame which adorned either the interior or the exterior of one of the windows in its east wall. The assemblages associated with building AB also differ from those in the other buildings of the settlement. Instead of the standard domestic set, this structure yielded an unusual number of vessels related to cooking and to feasting and drinking activities.⁴⁵⁹

Two hypotheses have been advanced to explain the unique nature of building AB relative to the other structures on the site. The first of these is that this was the home of an elite "chieftain". Based on this assumption, Whitley and others have posited that Vronda, and other settlements resembling it, were examples of "big man" societies, where social and political prestige were held by a single charismatic, male figure to whom power accrued with sufficient force to allow the command of surplus, and thus loyalty and labor, from those with less social

⁴⁵⁸ Nowicki 2000, 239; Nowicki 2011, 365.

⁴⁵⁹ Day and Snyder 2004, 73.

clout.⁴⁶⁰ The excavator suggests a second possibility however, which is that building AB represents a communal dining and storage building where the surplus of the community was stored and ritual dining activities dedicated to drawing the community together were carried out. The fact that household storage spaces, site-wide, were too limited to have supplied for more than the short-term needs of resident families supports this hypothesis.⁴⁶¹

The most significant argument against the identification of building AB as a chieftain's house is the fact that this structure did not grow over time in the same way that other domestic buildings did.⁴⁶² The only other building to share this characteristic at Vronda was Building G, the communal shrine. Wallace suggests that maintaining a static building plan for some structures, at Vronda and at other upland sites, was a deliberate and symbolic choice that had a coherent social meaning.⁴⁶³ Whether or not this lack of growth was recognized as a symbolic marker of importance, it signals, from a purely mechanical point of view, a significant difference in function for these buildings, or, at the very least, a significantly different way of conceptualizing domestic space. One cannot conclude that these were elite domiciles without also concluding that the way in which this leading family spatially structured their relationship to their own family members and to other members of the extended clan-community differed from every other household on the site. The most likely explanation for the architectural differentiation of building AB from the other residential structures, therefore, is that it served a communal function, as the shrine did. This conclusion, and the identification of Vronda and other upland sites as largely egalitarian and community based, is strengthened by the uniform nature of the remaining domiciles and the standardized tool and vessel assemblage that was held

⁴⁶⁰ Whitley 1991.

⁴⁶¹ Day 2016, 216-217.

⁴⁶² Day 2016, 220.

⁴⁶³ Wallace 2010, 129; 2011, 331.

in common amongst the them, with no one home having a larger assemblage, or one of better quality than any of its neighbors.⁴⁶⁴

Phases of Revisitation

The site of Vronda received post-abandonment visitation deposits in two periods (Fig. 4.17). The first episodes of visitation may have begun within living memory of the abandonment of the site in LM IIIC and included the construction and use of small tholos tombs. These were primarily located on the periphery of the settlement, but in at least one instance, a tomb was placed intersecting the walls of an LM IIIC house. While there has been some debate about whether or not the tholoi were constructed during the period that the site was occupied,⁴⁶⁵ this fact, and the fact that the pottery from the tholoi was, in all cases, slightly later than the pottery associated with the settlement, indicates that the tholoi should be considered post-abandonment constructions. These tholos tombs were in active use until the PG period, but this period was followed by a significant reduction, or perhaps even a gap, in practice. It appears that additional depositions may have been made within or on top of the tholoi in the 8th century, however, at the same time that the second phase of visitation began. This second phase of visitation lasted from the LG to the EA/A period and was characterized by burials—the vast majority of which were primary cremations—within stone-lined enclosures constructed within or alongside of the ruined houses of the settlement.

⁴⁶⁴ Day 2011b, 320; McEnroe 2010, 150.

⁴⁶⁵ Donald Haggis, personal communication

Eleven tholos tombs were constructed at the site of Vronda after its abandonment in the late LM IIIC period. Eight of these were discovered and excavated by Harriet Boyd in 1900, but three of these tholoi can no longer be located. The remaining three were discovered and excavated by the Kavousi Project which ran from 1978 to 1992. Poor preservation and incomplete excavation records from the earliest work on the site makes the original assemblages of the tombs difficult to reconstruct. Almost all of them had been robbed previous to the excavation, and Boyd's project did not preserve the skeletal material. The Kavousi project cleaned the tholoi in 1981, recovering additional material from within the tombs and from the entranceways, which had not been excavated by Boyd, but the assemblages cataloged by Day and reflected in this dissertation are unavoidably incomplete.⁴⁶⁶

Just as the houses in the LM IIIC settlement were built using identical construction techniques the tholoi were all constructed in an identical fashion. A pit ranging between 1.2-1.6 meters deep was dug into the soil, and then the walls of the tomb were constructed within this pit using the same locally available fieldstone that was used in the construction of the other buildings on the site. Each tomb had a pseudo-dromos consisting of a rectangular trench of about 1 meter in length cut into the earth leading to a carefully constructed stomion, which was blocked with large flat stones.⁴⁶⁷ In front of the entrance to three of the ten tombs were found, at the level of the lintel, additional large flat stones. The excavators hypothesize that these may have served as a paved area for the performance of funerary rituals, as the entrance area of nearly every tomb contained

⁴⁶⁶ Day et al. 2023, 15.

⁴⁶⁷ Gesell, Day, and Coulson 1986, 396.

quantities of pottery vessels, always fragmentary, including cups, kraters, and kalathoi, all of which are vessel shapes associated with the drinking or pouring of liquid and/or the making of offerings in a variety of settings.⁴⁶⁸

The poor preservation of the remaining skeletal material within the tholoi makes an in-depth analysis of the human remains belonging to this period impossible, but it can be said that each tholos tomb contained multiple burials and appeared to have been in use for several generations. All ages and genders are represented in the skeletal material that remains. The gap in time between the desertion of the site and the construction of the tombs is small—possibly small enough that some of the original inhabitants could have been amongst the dead interred here. Given this fact, it is quite possible that the motivating factor for this phase of post-abandonment visitation and reuse at the site was a close ancestral connection between the visitants and the previous inhabitants of the settlement.⁴⁶⁹ Even if this were not the case, the past being targeted must have, of necessity, included a recent, remembered LM IIIC past.

The burial assemblages themselves speak to a social organization that continued to be closely aligned with the one reflected in the architecture of the abandoned site. The grave goods found in the tholoi were remarkably consistent from tomb to tomb and consisted primarily of ceramic vessels, clay and stone spindle whorls, simple rings, hairpins, and fibulae made of bronze, and iron spearheads and blades.⁴⁷⁰ There was no evidence of great wealth or social differentiation amongst the dead, suggesting that they, like the residents of the LM IIIC settlement, were of a uniform economic and social status.⁴⁷¹

⁴⁶⁸ Gesell, Day, and Coulson 1986, 399, 404; Day 2007, 746.

⁴⁶⁹ Antonaccio 2016, 118; Wallace 2010, 321-22.

⁴⁷⁰ Boyd 1900; Gesell, Day, and Coulson 1986; Day 2011, 746.

⁴⁷¹ Liston 1993, 33.

A severe drop off, or perhaps even a gap, in practice separates the LM IIIC-PG tholos tombs from the later LG-EA/A visitations to the site of Vronda. This second phase of visitations also focused on the interment of the dead, and there appears to have been significant continuity between the two periods of reuse in terms of funerary and post-funerary ritual, type and quantity of grave goods, and in the demographic constitution of the deceased.⁴⁷² Two areas of marked dissimilarity are notable, however. Firstly, although there is some variation in method of interment at the site during this period, with a handful of inhumations and secondary burials represented, the most prevalent method of deposition during this period of reuse was primary cremation, an exceedingly rare burial practice, on Crete or elsewhere.⁴⁷³ As opposed to secondary cremations, where the remains of the deceased are burned on a pyre and the resulting ash and bone fragments are collected to be deposited in a secondary location, primary cremation requires the transportation of the deceased to the site of burial, where the body is burned and then interred in place. At Vronda, primary cremation is evidenced by the articulated state of the bone fragments within the ash, and by the evidence for intense burning at the grave sites.⁴⁷⁴

A second area of marked dissimilarity between the two periods of reuse relates to the location of the graves. Rather than the continued deposition of the dead on the fringes of the settlement, the later cremations took place at the very heart of the site, within the ruined structures themselves. The LG to EA/A graves were located in the middle of rooms, in doorways, or occasionally just outside of the abandoned domestic buildings of the LM IIIC settlement, but

⁴⁷² Day 2011, 749; Mook 2007, 480.

⁴⁷³ Day 2016, 210; Day 2007, 747; Liston 1993, 44; Liston 2007, 57, 60.

⁴⁷⁴ Liston 1993, 86.

always in alignment with the architecture.⁴⁷⁵ These graves consisted of stone enclosures where the primary cremations would take place, some of which were free-standing but others of which took advantage of the remaining walls of the settlement.⁴⁷⁶ Lined cists graves dug into the remains of roof and wall material that had collapsed into the interior of the structures also served as places of primary cremation.⁴⁷⁷ The stones used for both of these constructions were the same local limestone and breccia which were used in the construction of the original settlement and in the construction of the tholoi.⁴⁷⁸ As was the case in the tholos tombs, the stone enclosures and cist graves in the remains of the settlement received multiple occupants, again, most likely based on family groupings.⁴⁷⁹

Every domestic structure on the site received interments during the second phase of post-abandonment reuse and visitation at Vronda, and there is evidence, in the form of shared cranial traits, supporting a connection between family groupings and the specific houses in which they were interred.⁴⁸⁰ In addition to this, cist graves were discovered in building G, the LM IIIC settlements community shrine, which had been abandoned with its artifactual assemblage intact. This assemblage contained several large GUA's, snake tubes and other standard ritual elements common to shrines of this type. Notably, this building was found to have been disturbed by a LG grave, during the construction of which much of the contents of the shrine were carelessly discarded to the south and west of the building. Three other graves were placed in association with this one.⁴⁸¹

⁴⁷⁵ Glowacki 2002, 45; Liston 1993, 27.

⁴⁷⁶ Liston 1993, 43-44.

⁴⁷⁷ Gesell, Coulson, and Day 1988, 148; Gesell, Day, and Coulson 1995.

⁴⁷⁸ Liston 1993, 44.

⁴⁷⁹ Day 2007, 749-50; Mook 2007, 480.

⁴⁸⁰ Day 2007, 748; Liston 1993, 42; Liston 2007, 59.

⁴⁸¹ Gesell, Day, and Coulson 1995, 79-80; Day 2007, 748.

As previously mentioned, Building G and Building A-B were the only structures of special function at the site of Vronda. While the special character of Building G appears to have been disregarded by the latest phase of visitants to the abandoned settlement, it is possible that Building A-B continued to be treated in isolation from the rest of the site. No graves were discovered within this building by the Kavousi Project. Boyd, however, uncovered a small hoard of iron objects in one of the rooms of the building—a pick, an axe head, and a fragmented sword—and it is possible that these may have been associated with cremated remains that Boyd and her workmen did not recognize as such.

Chronology of Deposits

As stated earlier, the site of Vronda received post-abandonment deposits in two periods. The first period of visitation may have begun within living memory of the abandonment of the site in LM IIIC and was characterized by the construction of small tholos tombs. The second phase of revisitation, which began after a period of significant decline in practice, which lasted from roughly the end of the PG period until the LG period, was characterized by enclosure burials, the vast majority of which contained primary cremations. Of the 43 post-abandonment deposits at Vronda which are cataloged below, 10 belong to the earlier period of visitation and the remaining 33 belong to the later period, which represents a marked intensification of activity over time (Fig. 4.25). The significance of this is heightened by the fact that the chronological span represented by the first phase of visitations—roughly 260 years—is considerably longer than that of the second, which only lasted for slightly over a century. Predictably, perhaps, the

increase in the number of deposits is matched by an increase in the number of vessels and objects being deposited in the second phase. While the number of burials also appears to have increased between the two periods, it is impossible to make a meaningful comparison in this regard, as human remains were not preserved after Harriet Boyd's excavation of the tholoi. The remains of 18 individuals buried in the tholoi have been recovered, but the original number of burials was undoubtedly much higher. The remains of 102 individuals were recovered from the later enclosure burials.

Chronology of Vessels

Of the 635 total vessels uncovered in post-abandonment deposits from Vronda, 160 came from the earlier tholoi and 475 came from the LG-EA/A enclosure graves (Fig. 4.26). The vast majority of the latter category date to the LG period. A small number of LG vessels was also found in association with the earlier tholoi. The much earlier date of the majority of the vessels and objects from the tholos burials, as well as, in the cases where it can be determined, the placement of the later vessels, suggests that these vessels were introduced into the tholoi at a later date as offerings. An example would be the two LG cups which were found placed in the pseudo-dromos of Tholos II.⁴⁸² A parallel for this behavior can be found at nearby Azoria where the LM IIIC tholos was reopened to receive later vessels. Radiocarbon dates have revealed that the vessels at Azoria were not accompanied by later burials but were, instead, placed as offerings to the previously interred.⁴⁸³ Using this parallel, we can plausibly reconstruct a scenario in which

⁴⁸² Day et al. 2023, 19.

⁴⁸³ Donald Haggis, personal communication.

the LG vessels found in association with these earlier tombs were offerings made by later visitors to the site.

In tandem with this observation, it should also be noted that a handful of heirloom objects and vessels dating to the earlier period of burials were found in association with the LG-EA/A enclosure graves, creating an even stronger temporal connection between the two episodes of visitation. It is unclear whether these earlier objects—a number of SM-PG vessels—were taken from the earlier graves to be redeposited with the later burials, or if they were heirlooms of importance brought with the later visitors. Regardless of which scenario is the correct one, it appears clear that the LG visitants attempted, at least in some instances, to create a direct temporal connection between the buildings of the settlement, the builders of the earlier tholoi, and themselves. This, in addition to the similarities in practice that will be discussed below suggests that later visitors saw themselves as part of a continuing tradition which linked them, not only to the earlier visitors, but to the original inhabitants of the site.

Distribution of Vessels by Function

Approximately 50% of the pottery in the post-abandonment deposits at Vronda appear to have been drinking vessels, with the cup being the most predominant shape. Storage and transport vessels are the second most common category, making up about 21% of the total vessels post-dating the site, followed by pouring vessels at 12% (Fig. 4.27). There is only very slight variation in the distribution of vessels by function between periods of visitation suggesting that funerary and post-funerary rituals remained similar over time (Fig. 4.28, 4.29).

Chronology of Objects

Little can be said about the chronological distribution of the objects that were deposited in the tholoi or the enclosure graves. Most of the objects were not dated by the excavators, and those that were dated appear to have had dates consistent with the date of the graves in which they were found. A notable exception are two heirloom pieces, a bronze bracelet dating to LM IIIB and a serpentinite lid dating to EM II-MMIII, both of which were found in Tholos IV. These heirloom objects are outliers that clearly had significance for those who deposited them in this tomb, but the deposition of heirlooms that predate the LM IIIC foundation of the settlement is not a trend that extends to the rest of the cemetery.

Distribution of Objects by Function and Material

The objects that were recovered from the post-abandonment deposits at Vronda fall into four categories: tools, adornments, weapons, and “other”. The objects belonging to the “other” category were primarily fragments of bronze sheeting, which may have been attached to organic materials that do not survive, and objects that could not be identified. As with the pottery vessels discussed above, the enclosure burials yielded many more objects than were present in the tholoi. Of the 305 total objects belonging to post-abandonment deposits that were recovered from the site, 48 were recovered from the tholoi and 257 were recovered from the enclosure burials. When the assemblage is considered as a whole, weapons appear to predominate, comprising 41% of the totality of objects deposited at the site after its abandonment (Fig. 4.30). Personal adornments

and tools were also prevalent at 29% and 21% respectively. Votive offerings, such as figurines, and vessels made of material other than ceramic were not present on the site. Bronze and iron were the primary materials represented, though lead, stone (including obsidian), bone, terracotta, and glass were also present in much smaller amounts.

The objects that were recovered from the earlier tholoi and the later enclosures were remarkably similar in their character, but different in their distribution by function and in the materials from which they were made. In the tholoi, personal adornments predominate at 42% of the objects present (Fig. 4.31). All of these adornments were fashioned from bronze with the exception of a single stone bead. Weapons comprised 35% and were fashioned from iron with no exceptions. Tools comprised 10% of the object assemblages and were made from clay or stone. In the enclosure burials, weapons predominate at 42% of the objects present in the graves and all of these were fashioned from iron (Fig. 4.32). Personal adornments comprised 26% of the assemblage, and these were fashioned from a much wider variety of materials than those recovered from the tholoi. 24 out of 67 objects classified as adornments were made of bronze and 19 of iron. Bone, glass, lead, stone, and terracotta were also represented. Tools were much more prevalent in the enclosure burials than in the tholoi, with 23% of the objects from the graves falling into this category. The vast majority of these tools were fashioned from iron, but bronze, bone, stone, and terracotta tools were also present. We must be careful about drawing conclusions from these differences, however, as it should be remembered that nearly all of the Vronda tholoi had been robbed.

In both the earlier and later episodes of visitation, it is clear that the LM IIIC settlement of Vronda was, itself, the spatial focus of post-abandonment practices. While it has been argued that the tholos cemetery was established before the abandonment of the site, it is clear from the material evidence that the tholoi with the earliest materials are located closest to the settlement—including Tholos VIII, which physically intersects the wall of LM IIIC Building L. While there are a number of instances in the LM IIIC period where tholos tombs are found located within 500 meters of an active settlement, there is only one known example where a tholos tomb was constructed less than 100 meters from an inhabited site.⁴⁸⁴ There are no other examples, with the exception of the problematic tholos tomb at Azoria (discussed earlier in this chapter), where tombs are found less than 80 meters from an active settlement. It is highly unlikely, therefore, that the Vronda tholoi, almost all of which are less than 25 meters from the buildings of the settlement, were in use at the time that the settlement was inhabited. Even the two tholoi furthest from the buildings—Tholos IX and X, which are 235 M and 100 M NNW of Building M, respectively—are unlikely to have been in use during the period when Vronda was actively occupied, as no material earlier than SM was found within these tombs. Indeed, the vast majority of associated vessels, in both cases, date to the PG period. The likelihood is, therefore, that the tholos cemetery was deliberately established in juxtaposition with the settlement shortly after its abandonment. The difficulty of reaching the site rules out convenience as a motive for the choice

⁴⁸⁴ This is one of the tholoi at Ta Mnemata, a tholos cemetery associated with the upland settlement of Karphi, which was placed 80 meters from the site. Eaby 2007, 236.

of location, so it must be assumed that the choice to bury the dead at the abandoned settlement was a purposeful and likely symbolically powerful one.

The later period of visitation is even clearer in its spatial focus on the LM IIIC settlement as the vast majority of the enclosure graves were erected within the buildings themselves. This is a point of great significance. While several later vessels were found deposited within the earlier tholoi, the tholoi were not the primary target for later depositions. Indeed, the example from Azoria speaks against the assumption that the handful of later vessels found in the tholoi were associated with later burials at all. In other words, we are not looking at a simple case of tomb cult, where an earlier cemetery became a target for later burials. Rather, it appears that we are looking at an instance where burials in two separate periods targeted the same location—the LM IIIC settlement—in markedly different ways. The tholoi and the period which they represented were acknowledged by later visitors, as previously stated, through the deposition of later vessels in these earlier tombs, and through the deposition of earlier vessels in the later tombs, but it was the settlement itself, and presumably what that settlement represented symbolically, that remained the focus in the second period of visitation. The funerary nature of these deposits indicates that they are intrusive and do not map onto the original function of the buildings in which they are placed, but, as noted above, the dead appear to have inhabited the residential structures in the same way that the living had once done—in family groupings. The burials that are placed within the shrine, however, do not “occupy” a previously residential space. The material left within the shrine by the previous inhabitants appears to have been removed from the building and discarded without consideration for its previously sacred nature. This seems to indicate either a loss of understanding of the sacred nature of the space, or, as we know from

Chapter 3 is the case, a fundamental change in religious practice in the centuries since the abandonment of the site.

Deposit Contents

Tholos I

Deposit type:

Funerary

Description:

Primary or secondary inhumation

Location/Associated Architecture: Tholos I was excavated by Boyd and is located about 22 meters north of building M of the settlement and was found robbed. It has a circular plan with an interior diameter of between 1.64 and 1.68 meters. The stomion was blocked in antiquity with two large flat stones. Stones found in the dromos suggest that the location of the tomb may have been marked with a cairn. The tomb was found plundered.⁴⁸⁵

Associated Human Remains:

Burial 1: Adult, aged 20-40. Sex unknown. Only four fragments of long-bone shaft were found.

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

1 kalathos (LM IIIC/SM, signs of burning)

1 skyphos (PG)

1 krater (PG)

Total: 3 vessels

Associated Objects:

1 spindle whorl (undated)

Total: 1 object

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Sheep

Goat

⁴⁸⁵ For information regarding this grave, see Day et al. 2023, 16-18.

Deposit type:

Funerary

Description:

Primary or Secondary Inhumation

Location/Associated Architecture:

Tholos II was excavated by Boyd. It is located 22 meters roughly NNW of Building M of the settlement and was found partially robbed. The tholos is oval in shape with interior dimensions of 1.3 x 1.7 m. The pseudo-dromos had a layer of stones which formed a cairn or marker over the pit. The tomb was found partially plundered.⁴⁸⁶

Associated Human Remains:

The tomb was noted by Boyd to have contained three skeletons, but skeletal remains for only one were recovered during the cleaning of the chamber by the later Kavousi team.

Burial 1: Adult, aged 20-40. Gender unknown. Only a first metacarpal and a long-bone shaft fragment were found.

Total: 1 burial

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

Boyd mentioned that 13 vessels were recovered from Tholos II, but only one, II P1, a lentoid flask, can be securely identified. These vessels were all dated by Boyd to LM IIIC/SM. Fragments of an LM IIIC/SM/PG deep bowl and two LG cups were found in the pseudo-dromos of the tomb by the Kavousi team. The LG cups may be evidence of later ritual interaction with the earlier burials.

1 flask (SM)

1 deep bowl (LM IIIC/SM/PG)

2 cups (LG)

Total: 4 vessels

Associated Objects:

2 bronze rings (undated)

2 ceramic spindle whorls (undated)

Total: 4 objects

⁴⁸⁶ For information regarding this grave, see Day et al. 2023, 18-20, 34-35.

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Sheep
Goat
Some unidentified

Tholos IV

Deposit Type:

Funerary

Description:

Primary Inhumation, commingled

Location/Associated Architecture:

Tholos IV was excavated by Boyd, and is located about 28 meters north of Building O and was found intact. It was built into the hillside, and was roughly circular in shape, with interior dimensions of 1.7x1.8 m. The floor of the tomb was bedrock. The tholos included an elaborately constructed stomion, and two walls, one of which is a terrace wall, form a space in front of the tomb. A small pit was cut in front of the stomion and lined with two stones to form a pseudo-dromos.⁴⁸⁷

Associated Human Remains:

Burial 1: Adult, aged 40-60. Sex unknown.
Burial 2: Adult, aged 20-40. Sex unknown.
Burial 3: Adult, aged 20-40. Sex unknown
Burial 4: Juvenile. Sex unknown.
Burial 5: Adult, aged 20-40. Sex unknown.
Burial 6: Adult, aged 20-40. Sex unknown.

Total: 6 burials

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

1 cup (LM IIIC)
1 cup (PG)
1 cup (LG)
3 askos (SM)
1 flask (SM)
1 stirrup jar (SM/PG)
1 stirrup jar (PG)
3 jars (PG)
1 lekythos (PG)

⁴⁸⁷ For information regarding this grave, see Day et al. 2023, 20-27.

1 juglet (signs of burning, PG)
1 amphora (PG)
1 krater (PG)
1 kalathos (PG)
1 other (PG)
31 other (undated)
1 pithos (undated)

Total: 50 vessels

Associated Objects:

1 bronze fibula (SM)
3 bronze fibula (SM/PG)
1 bronze fibula (undated)
1 bronze bracelet (LM IIIB)
1 bronze pin (undated)
1 bronze ring (undated)
2 iron knives (undated)
2 iron spearheads (undated)
1 iron horseshoe (undated)
1 iron "sword point" (undated)
1 iron "sword handle" (undated)
1 serpentinite lid (EM II-MMII)
1 stone bead (undated)
1 stone spindle whorl (undated)
1 ceramic spindle whorl (SM/PG)

Total: 19 objects

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Sheep
Goat
Marine Shell

Tholos V

Deposit type:

Funerary

Description:

No human bone discovered

Location/Associated Architecture:

Tholos V was excavated by Boyd and is located less than 20 meters north of Building N and was found completely empty. It is a square tholos with interior dimensions of 1.8m x 1.84 m. There is a pit cut into the bedrock in front of the stomion and two stones from the facade project out to form a pseudo dromos.⁴⁸⁸

Associated Human Remains:

No human remains were found in association with this tholos.

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

1 deep bowl (LM IIIC)
1 cup (LM IIIC)
1 pyxis (LM IIIC)
1 pithos (LG)

Total: 4 vessels

Associated Objects:

None

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Sheep
Goat

Tholos VI

Deposit type:

Funerary

Description:

No human bone discovered

Location/Associated Architecture:

Tholos VI was excavated by Boyd and is located around 24 meters north of Building N and was found empty. It has roughly circular plan with interior diameter of between 1.7m and 1.9 m. There is a pit cut into bedrock in front of the stomion that serves as a pseudo-dromos.⁴⁸⁹

Associated Human Remains:

No human remains were found in association with this tholos.

⁴⁸⁸ For information regarding this grave, see Day et al. 2023, 27-28.

⁴⁸⁹ For information regarding this grave, see Day et al. 2023, 28-29, 34-35.

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

None

Associated Objects:

None

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Sheep
Goat
Rabbit
Dog

Tholos VII

Deposit type:

Funerary

Description:

No human bone discovered

Location/Associated Architecture:

Tholos VII was excavated by Boyd. The only architectural remains were a lintel and a few stones forming the side of the dromos. This tholos can no longer be located.⁴⁹⁰

Associated Human Remains:

No human remains were found in association with this tholos.

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

1 stirrup jar (SM)
1 jar (PG)
1 bowl (PG)
1 jug (undated)

Total: 4 objects

Associated Objects:

1 bronze fibula (SM)
1 bronze fibula (undated)
2 bronze rings (undated)
1 bronze pin (undated)
2 bronze fragments shaped like fishhooks (undated)

⁴⁹⁰ For information regarding this grave, see Day et al. 2023, 29-30.

1 bronze object consisting of 3 pieces of broken bronze plate (undated)

1 stone spindle whorl (undated)

Total: 9 objects

Floral and Faunal Remains:

N/A

Tholos VIII

Deposit type:

Funerary

Description:

Primary inhumation, commingled

Location/Associated Architecture:

Tholos VIII was excavated by Boyd and lies on the west side of Building L, cutting through the floor of Room L2. It is poorly preserved but has a square plan with rounded corners and interior dimensions of 2 m x 2 m. A pit was cut into bedrock in front of the door, and this served as a pseudo-dromos.⁴⁹¹

Associated Human Remains:

Burial 1: juvenile. Sex unknown.

Burial 2: Juvenile. Sex unknown.

Burial 3: Adult, aged 40-60. Sex unknown.

Burial 4: Adult, aged 40-60. Sex unknown.

Total: 4 burials

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

1 stirrup jar (LM IIIC)

6 deep bowls (LM IIIC)

1 cooking dish (LM IIIC)

1 stand (LM IIIC)

1 goblet (LM IIIC/SM)

1 kalathos (LM IIIC/PG)

8 other (undated)

Total: 19 vessels

⁴⁹¹ For information regarding this grave, see Day et al. 2023, 30-35.

Associated Objects:

2 bronze pins (undated)
1 bronze fibula (undated)
1 bronze fragment shaped like a fishhook (undated)
1 iron spearhead (undated)
1 iron hilt (undated)
Iron blades (plural but no exact number indicated by boyd, undated)

Total: 7+ objects

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Sheep
Goat
Pig
Bovine
Other

Tholos IX

Deposit type:

Funerary

Description:

Primary inhumation, commingled

Location/Associated Architecture:

Tholos IX is located roughly 235 meters approximately NNW of Building M and was cleared by a local land owner. The structure is poorly preserved but appears to be square with rounded corners in the upper course.⁴⁹²

Associated Human Remains:

Burial 1: Juvenile. Sex unknown.
Burial 2: Adult, aged 40-60. Male.
Burial 3: Adult, aged 40-60. Male.

Total: 3 burials

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

2 cup (SM/PG)
15 cups (PG)
1 cup (PG/G/LG)

⁴⁹² For information regarding this grave, see Day et al. 2023, 35-44.

1 cup (G/LG)
1 skyphos (SM/PG)
2 Sykphoi (PG)
1 bowl (PG/G)
2 bowls (PG)
1 Jar (PG/G)
3 Jars (PG)
1 stirrup jar (PG)
1 flask (SM)
2 juglets (PG)
4 jugs (one with signs of burning,PG)
1 jug (PG/G)
1 jug (undated)
10 oinochoe (PG)
1 oinochoe (PG/G)
1 askos (SM/PG)
1 krater (PG)
2 amphora (PG)
1 amphora (G/LG)
2 pithoi (both with signs of burning, undated)
1 pyxis (PG)
1 lid (G)
1 other (undated)

Total: 60 vessels

Associated Objects:

1 iron spearhead (undated)
6 iron daggers (undated)
1 iron blade (undated)

Total: 8 objects

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Marine shell

Tholos X

Deposit type:

Funerary

Description:

Primary inhumation

Location/Associated Architecture:

Tholos X is located roughly 100 meters approximately NNW of Building M and was found robbed. This tholos had an irregular ground plan, which was oval at the south but with square corners on the north, forming a horseshoe shape. It had a long, well-built stomion with a pit dug as a pseudo-dromos. A pit dug below the floor of the tomb was found filled w/ dog bones, stones, fragmentary pottery, and a bronze pin fragment. This pit had later pottery. A PG cup/skyphos and a possible krater rim was found in the pseudo-dromos.⁴⁹³

Associated Human Remains:

Burial 1: Juvenile. Sex unknown.

Total: 1 burial

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

1 cup (PG)
1 cup (Byzantine/Venetian)
2 skyphoi (PG)
1 stirrup jar (SM)
1 closed vessel (LG)
1 other (G/LG)

Total: 7 vessels

Associated Objects:

1 bronze pin (undated)

Total: 1 object

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Dog
Sheep
Goat
Other

Tholos XI

Deposit type:

Funerary

Description:

Primary inhumation, commingled

⁴⁹³ For information regarding this grave, see Day et al. 2023, 44-48.

Location/Associated Architecture:

Tholos XI is located 10 meters north of Building O and was found robbed. The psuedo-dromos and stomion were undisturbed, however. There was a rubble filled pit in front of stomion and several large stones were found in the pseudo-dromos, one of which probably originally blocked the doorway. Above these stones were found fragments of fine cups and kraters. The number of drinking vessels above the level of the paver is suggestive of post-funerary drinking rituals. The tomb is rectangular, with interior dimensions of 1.5-1.6m X 1.65-1.85m. The construction of this tomb was inferior compared to other tombs at the site.⁴⁹⁴

Associated Human Remains:

Burial 1: Adult, aged 40-60. Male.

Burial 2: Adult, aged 20-40. Female.

Total: 2 burials

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

2 cups (one with signs of burning, LM IIIC)

1 cup (LM IIIC/SM/PG)

1 cup (PG/G)

2 cups (PG)

2 cups (LG)

1 krater (SM/PG)

1 krater (G)

1 jar (PG)

Total: 11 vessels

Associated Objects:

None

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Sheep

Goat

Bovine

Grave 1

Deposit type:

Funerary

⁴⁹⁴ For information regarding this grave, see Day et al. 2023, 48-51.

Description:

Primary cremation, commingled

Location/Associated Architecture:

Grave 1 was placed in Building E and was bounded by walls belonging to Room E3, V 802 on the north and V 804 on the west. The burial space was estimated at 2m x 1.75m. The excavators noted that the burial may have had additional low walls, but no traces remain.⁴⁹⁵

Associated Human Remains:

Burial 1: Adult, aged 20-40. Male.

Burial 2: Adult, aged 40-60. Sex unknown.

Total: 2 burials

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

18 cups (signs of burning on 9, LG)

2 skyphoi (signs of burning, LG)

1 skyphos (signs of burning, LG/EA)

1 skyphos (EA)

1 jug (signs of burning, PG)

1 jug (signs of burning, LG)

1 jug (signs of burning, LG/EA)

2 kalathoi (signs of burning, PG)

1 juglet (signs of burning, LG)

1 amphora (PG-EA)

1 amphora (undated)

1 strainer (signs of burning, LG)

1 open vessel (LG)

1 closed vessel (signs of burning, LG)

Total: 33 vessels

Associated Objects:

1 bronze fibula (undated)

17 iron arrowheads (undated)

1 iron awl (undated)

1 stone bead (undated)

Total: 20 objects

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Sheep

Goat

Deer

Marine Shell

⁴⁹⁵ For information regarding this grave, see Day et al. 2023, 53-59.

Some Unidentified
Marine Shell (Vermetid)

Grave 2

Deposit type:

Funerary

Description:

Secondary cremation

Location/Associated Architecture:

Grave 2 consists of deposited cremated remains. There is no evidence for any construction. The grave uses the existing walls of Room C2 and projecting spurs of bedrock on the north and southwest. The remains were located along the east wall of C2 , and were possibly placed in a fissure in the bedrock. The excavators noted the unusual nature of this deposit, as there is very little pottery and no objects accompanying the remains.⁴⁹⁶

Associated Human Remains:

Burial 1: Adult, aged 20-40. Female.

Total: 1 burial

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

1 skyphos (signs of burning, LG)

1 skyphos (LG/EA)

Total: 2 vessels

Associated Objects:

None

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Dog

Sheep

Goat

⁴⁹⁶ For information regarding this grave, see Day et al. 2023, 59-61.

Deposit type:

Funerary

Description:

Primary cremation, commingled

Location/Associated Architecture:

Grave 3 consists of a stone-lined enclosure built up against the east side of an earlier terrace wall. The north, south, and west enclosure walls consist of bedrock boulders in single rows, one course high. A platform with stone paving extends to the south of the enclosure with a pot stand or base composed of 3 upright stones in a rough circle in the midst of this. This base may have held a grave marker.⁴⁹⁷

Associated Human Remains:

Burial 1: Adult. Male.

Burial 2: Subadult/adolescent. Female.

Total: 2 burials

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

8 cups (3 with signs of burning, LG)

1 cup (signs of burning, G)

1 cup (signs of burning, LG/EA)

1 bowl (LG)

1 jug (signs of burning, LG)

1 jar (signs of burning, LG)

3 skyphoi (signs of burning, LG)

2 aryballoi (1 with signs of burning, LG)

1 cooking tray (LG)

1 flask (LG)

Total: 20 vessels

Associated Objects:

2 bronze pins (undated)

1 bronze earring (undated)

1 stone tool (undated)

1 terracotta bead (undated)

Total: 5 objects

⁴⁹⁷ For information regarding this grave, see Day et al. 2023, 61-67.

Floral and Faunal Remains:

None

Grave 4

Deposit type:

Funerary

Description:

Primary cremation, commingled

Location/Associated Architecture:

Grave 4 is located in room D3 of Building D. It may once have been a rectangular enclosure, but the western boundary has eroded and there is no trace of a boundary wall on the west. The grave uses the existing house walls on the north, south, and east.⁴⁹⁸

Associated Human Remains:

Burial 1: Subadult/adolescent. Female.

Burial 2: Fetus. Sex unknown.

Burial 3: Infant. Sex unknown.

Total: 3 burials

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

- 1 cup (signs of burning, PG)
- 1 cup (signs of burning, G)
- 2 cups (LG)
- 2 cups (1 with signs of burning, EA)
- 1 skyphos (LG/EA)
- 1 skyphos (signs of burning, EA)
- 4 aryballoi (2 with signs of burning, EA)
- 1 aryballos (undated)
- 1 lekythos (LG/EA)
- 3 lekythoi (EA)
- 2 pyxides (EA)
- 1 krater (EA)
- 1 lid (EA)
- 1 pithos (LG)
- 1 closed vessel (signs of burning, LG/EA)
- 1 closed vessel (EA)
- 1 closed vessel (undated)

⁴⁹⁸ For information regarding this grave, see Day et al. 2023, 67-73.

Total: 25 vessels

Associated Objects:

2 bronze pins (LG-EA)

1 terracotta bead (undated)

Total: 2 objects

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Pig

Rabbit

Sheep

Goat

Some Unidentified

Graves 5 and 11

Deposit type:

Funerary

Description:

Primary cremation, commingled

Location/Associated Architecture:

Grave 5 is a rectangular stone-built structure located in room C4. It was constructed by digging into the rock debris and collapsed roofing in Building C. Rather than making use of the house walls, a pit was created and then lined on each side with a single row of boulders. The space behind these was filled with additional stones and soil. The material originally designated as Grave 11 was later determined to be a discard deposit from Grave 5 and the material from these two graves has thus been combined.⁴⁹⁹

Associated Human Remains:

Burial 1: Adult, aged 20-40. Male.

Burial 2: Adult, aged 40-60. Male.

Burial 3: Adolescent. Female.

Burial 4: Infant. Sex unknown.

Burial 5: Juvenile. Sex unknown.

Burial 6: Infant. Sex unknown.

Burial 7: Adult, aged 40-60. Male.

Total: 7 burials

⁴⁹⁹ For information regarding this grave, see Day et al. 2023, 73-81.

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

7 cups (4 with signs of burning, LG)
1 skyphos (LG)
2 jars (1 with signs of burning, LG)
1 kantharos (signs of burning, LG)
1 aryballos (signs of burning, LG/EA)
1 amphora (LG/EA)
1 amphora (LG)
1 jug (signs of burning, LG/EA)
1 closed vessel (LG)
1 closed vessel (undated)

Total: 17 vessels

Associated Objects:

1 bronze pin (LG/EA)
5 iron spearheads (undated)
4 iron knives (undated)
1 iron scraper (undated)
1 iron tweezers (undated)
1 obsidian blade (undated)

Total: 13 objects

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Dog
Sheep
Goat
Pig
Bovine

Grave 6

Deposit type:

Funerary

Description:

Primary cremation, commingled

Location/Associated Architecture:

Grave 6 lies between Buildings C and D and is a rectangular, stone-lined burial enclosure. There are no house remains in the area, and the east boundary wall may have been a terrace. It is 2-3 courses high and extends beyond the burial enclosure. The west and south wall are constructed of

a single row of limestone and bedrock boulders, and the north wall has 2 courses. A small enclosure to the south may have had some association with the grave and was possibly a paving.⁵⁰⁰

Associated Human Remains:

Burial 1: Adult, aged 20-40. Sex unknown.

Burial 2: Infant. Sex unknown.

Burial 3: Adult, aged 20-40. Sex unknown.

Burial 4: Adult, aged 40-60. Male.

Burial 5: Adult, aged 40-60. Male.

Total: 5 burials

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

2 cups (1 with signs of burning, G)

13 cups (8 with signs of burning, LG)

1 skyphos (G)

4 skyphoi (1 with signs of burning, LG)

1 juglet (LG)

1 juglet (undated)

1 jug (LG)

1 jar (signs of burning, LG)

1 oinochoe (signs of burning, LG)

1 krater (signs of burning, LG)

1 amphora (LG)

1 pyxis (LG)

1 closed vessel (LG)

1 closed vessel (undated)

Total: 30 vessels

Associated Objects:

3 iron pins (undated)

1 iron fibula (undated)

3 iron spearheads (undated)

2 iron knives (undated)

1 iron axe head (undated)

2 iron chisels (undated)

2 iron awls (undated)

1 iron hammer (undated)

2 iron files (undated)

1 iron tongs (undated)

4 iron unidentified objects (undated)

2 bone unidentified objects (undated)

1 obsidian blade (undated)

⁵⁰⁰ For information regarding this grave, see Day et al. 2023, 81-90.

1 terracotta bead (undated)

Total: 26 objects

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Sheep

Goat

Pig

Deer

Grave 8

Deposit type:

Funerary

Description:

Secondary cremation, commingled

Location/Associated Architecture:

Grave 8 is a rough, circular pit cut into the red clay roof in room I2 of Building I. It contained cremated human bone and very little else. There is no evidence for in situ burning, so the cremated remains were likely deposited secondarily. There were fragments of three pottery vessels in the grave, but none were diagnostic so none of these vessels were given an object number.⁵⁰¹

Associated Human Remains:

Burial 1: Adult, aged 20-40. Female.

Burial 2: Fetus. Sex unknown.

Total: 2 burials

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

Fragments of 3 vessels

Associated Objects:

None

Floral and Faunal Remains:

None noted

⁵⁰¹ For information regarding this grave, see Day et al. 2023, 90-91.

Deposit type:

Funerary

Description:

Primary cremation, commingled

Location/Associated Architecture:

Grave 9 is a stone-built enclosure located in room J1 of Building J. The enclosure makes use of one of the existing house walls as its southern boundary. The floor of the grave was gray roofing material from the collapsed house. In a pit to the west of the grave, a scattering of human bone and pottery was discovered. This material was originally identified as Grave 14, but it became apparent that this was a discard deposit from Grave 9. The material from Grave 14 is thus included with the material from Grave 9.⁵⁰²

Associated Human Remains:

Burial 1: Adult, aged 40-60. Male.

Burial 2: Adult, aged 20-40. Female.

Burial 3: Fetus. Sex unknown.

Burial 4: Adult, aged 40-60. Male.

Burial 5: Adult, aged 20-40. Sex unknown.

Burial 6: Adult, aged 40-60. Sex unknown.

Burial 7: Infant. Sex unknown.

Total: 7 burials

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

1 cup (signs of burning, PG)

4 cups (2 with signs of burning, PG/G)

9 cups (5 with signs of burning, G)

18 cups (9 with signs of burning, LG)

1 skyphos (signs of burning, SM/PG)

4 skyphoi (LG)

1 kalathos (signs of burning, G)

1 kalathos (signs of burning, LG)

1 stirrup jar (SM/PG)

1 jar (LG)

1 miniature jug (G)

4 jugs (2 with signs of burning, LG)

1 jug (LG/EA)

1 juglet (undated)

1 krater (LG)

⁵⁰² For information regarding this grave, see Day et al. 2023, 92-109.

1 amphora (G)
1 amphora (signs of burning, PG-LG)
2 amphoras (LG)
1 amphora (LG/EA)
1 aryballos (signs of burning, LG)
1 closed vessel (G/LG)
1 closed vessel (LG)
1 feeding bottle (PG/G)

Total: 58 vessels

Associated Objects:

3 bronze fibulae (undated)
1 bronze awl (undated)
8 fragments of bronze sheeting (undated)
1 iron pin (undated)
15 iron spearheads (undated)
1 iron weapon, unidentified (undated)
10 iron knives (undated)
3 iron axe heads (undated)
2 iron scrapers (undated)
1 iron chisel (undated)
5 iron awls (undated)
1 iron tool, unidentified (undated)
4 iron flesh hooks (undated)
1 stone bead (undated)

Total: 56 objects

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Rabbit
Sheep
Goat
Other

Grave 10

Deposit type:

Funerary

Description:

Primary inhumation

Location/Associated Architecture:

Grave 10 is a pithos burial in a stone-lined enclosure built into Room J4 of Building J. The south wall of the enclosure may have been reused from building J. The east wall may also have belonged to an earlier structure. A circle of small stones was placed to support the vessel. There were no associated grave goods.⁵⁰³

Associated Human Remains:

Burial 1: Juvenile. Sex unknown.

Total: 1 burial

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

1 pithos (LG)

Total: 1 vessel

Associated Objects:

None

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Sheep

Goat

Rabbit

Grave 12

Deposit type:

Funerary

Description:

Primary cremation, commingled

Location/Associated Architecture:

Grave 12 is a stone-lined enclosure located in Room J4 and built up against an existing wall of Building J on its south side. A circle of stones was found in the southeast corner of the enclosure, extending over the top of the south wall. It may have been deliberately constructed to hold the pottery from one of the burials, likely the last. Grave material was also found outside of the enclosure, possibly the result of dumping in preparation for subsequent burials. The area outside the grave may also have been an open area for rituals and display of grave markers. Another area

⁵⁰³ For information regarding this grave, see Day et al. 2023, 109-111.

of material was recovered from the area to the east, and the north. There is a degree of commingling of surface material between Grave 9 and Grave 12.⁵⁰⁴

Associated Human Remains:

Burial 1: Adult, aged 20-40. Sex unknown.
Burial 2: Adult, aged 20-40. Sex unknown.
Burial 3: Adult, aged 20-40. Sex unknown.
Burial 4: Adult, aged 20-40. Sex unknown.
Burial 5: Adult, aged 40-60. Male.
Burial 6: Adult, aged 20-40. Female.
Burial 7: Fetus. Sex unknown.
Burial 8: Juvenile. Sex unknown.

Total: 8 burials

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

1 cup (PG)
10 cups (4 with signs of burning, LG)
3 cups (1 with signs of burning, LG/EA)
4 skyphoi (2 with signs of burning, LG)
1 skyphos (EA/A)
2 kalathoi (1 with signs of burning, LG)
1 oinochoe (PG)
1 oinochoe (G)
2 oinochoai (LG)
3 jugs (1 with signs of burning, G)
3 jugs (1 with signs of burning, LG)
1 jug (LG/EA)
1 hydria (LG)
1 krater (PG)
1 krater (signs of burning, G)
1 krater (signs of burning, LG)
1 aryballos (signs of burning, LG)
1 aryballos (signs of burning, LG/EA)
1 amphora (G)
1 amphora (LG)
1 pyxis (LG)
2 trays (both with signs of burning, LG)
1 ladle (signs of burning, LG)

Total: 44 vessels

Associated Objects:

3 bronze pins (undated)
1 bronze tool, unidentified (undated)

⁵⁰⁴ For information regarding this grave, see Day et al. 2023, 111-124.

19 iron arrowheads (undated)
7 iron spearheads (undated)
6 iron knives (undated)
1 iron saw (undated)
1 iron file (undated)
2 iron chisels (undated)
2 iron flesh hooks (undated)
4 iron tools, unidentified (undated)
2 bone tools, unidentified (undated)
1 terracotta bead (undated)

Total: 49 objects

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Sheep
Goat
Pig
Deer

Grave 13

Deposit type:

Funerary

Description:

Primary cremation, commingled

Location/Associated Architecture:

Grave 13 is an irregular pit dug into what appears to be roofing debris very near the modern surface. The grave is unusual for its total lack of architecture and it was initially interpreted as a pyre site. The roofing clay suggests the presence of a building in an earlier phase, but no traces now remain, perhaps because of erosion or removal by human activity.⁵⁰⁵

Associated Human Remains:

Burial 1: Adult, aged 20-40. Sex unknown.
Burial 2: Adult, aged 20-40. Sex unknown.

Total: 2 burials

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

7 cups (G)
1 cup (LG)

⁵⁰⁵ For information regarding this grave, see Day et al. 2023, 124-127.

3 jugs (LG)
1 jar (signs of burning, PG/G)
1 closed vessel (Signs of burning, PG/G)
1 closed vessel (G)

Total: 14 vessels

Associated Objects:

None

Floral and Faunal Remains:

None noted

Grave 15

Deposit type:

Funerary

Description:

Primary cremation, commingled

Location/Associated Architecture:

Grave 15 lies in the doorway that leads from a courtyard into Room I4 of Building I. The grave makes use of the wall to its east and additional stones were placed on the northeast and south to form a roughly circular space. It may originally have been a rectangular enclosure, but the grave was close to the surface and badly disturbed.⁵⁰⁶

Associated Human Remains:

Burial 1: Adult, aged 20-40. Sex unknown.

Burial 2: Adult, aged 40-60. Sex unknown.

Burial 3: Fetus. Sex unknown.

Burial 4: Adult, aged 20-40. Sex unknown.

Total: 4 burials

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

1 jug (signs of burning, EA/A)

1 lekythos (signs of burning (LG/EA)

Total: 2 vessels

⁵⁰⁶ For information regarding this grave, see Day et al. 2023, 127-129.

Associated Objects:

None

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Marine Shell

Grave 16

Deposit type:

Funerary

Description:

Primary cremation, comingled

Location/Associated Architecture:

Grave 16 is a stone-built enclosure set into the rubble of Room K1 of Building K without making use of any existing house walls. A small circle of stones was found in the east end of the enclosure. This circle of stones surrounded a pottery deposit that included a large amphora, which may have been used as a grave marker.⁵⁰⁷

Associated Human Remains:

Burial 1: Adolescent. Sex unknown.

Burial 2: Adult, aged 20-40. Sex unknown.

Total: 2 burials

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

1 cup (PG)

4 cups (3 with signs of burning, G)

8 cups (2 with signs of burning, LG)

1 skyphos (PG)

3 skyphoi (LG)

1 bowl (signs of burning, LG)

1 aryballos (LG)

1 amphora (PG/G)

2 amphora (one with signs of burning, LG)

Total: 22 vessels

Associated Objects:

1 bronze pin (undated)

⁵⁰⁷ For information regarding this grave, see Day et al. 2023, 129-134.

1 iron pin (undated)
1 iron needle (undated)
2 iron spearheads (undated)
1 iron knife (undated)
1 iron scraper (undated)
1 obsidian blade (undated)

Total: 8 objects

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Some Unidentified
Rabbit

Grave 17

Deposit type:

Funerary

Description:

Primary cremation, comingled

Location/Associated Architecture:

Grave 17 is a rectangular enclosure located in Room J4 of Building J. It makes use of one of the existing house walls, which it shares with Graves 10 and 12. The southern wall of the enclosure is now missing. There is possible mixing of material with Graves 10 and 12.⁵⁰⁸

Associated Human Remains:

Burial 1: Adult, aged 40-60. Male.
Burial 2: Juvenile. Sex unknown.
Burial 3: Infant. Sex unknown.

Total: 2 burials

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

1 cup (signs of burning, LG)
1 cup (signs of burning, LG/EA)
2 skyphoi (both with signs of burning, EA)
1 hydria (LG/EA)
1 lekythos (signs of burning, EA)
1 jar (signs of burning, LG)
1 aryballos (signs of burning, LG)
1 bowl (signs of burning, EM I)

⁵⁰⁸ For information regarding this grave, see Day et al. 2023, 134-138.

1 basin (signs of burning, LG)

1 pyxis (EA)

Total: 11 vessels

Associated Objects:

2 bronze pins (EA)

1 fragment of bronze sheeting (undated)

2 iron pins (EA)

1 iron spearhead (undated)

1 iron knife (undated)

Total: 7 objects

Floral and Faunal Remains:

None noted

Grave 19

Deposit type:

Funerary

Description:

Primary cremation, commingled

Location/Associated Architecture:

Grave 19 is a stone-lined burial enclosure within Room G1 of the LM IIIC shrine, Building G. The enclosure makes use of the bedrock face and the bench from the earlier Shrine for its east side. The burial extends to the east wall and over the bench.⁵⁰⁹

Associated Human Remains:

Burial 1: Adult, aged 20-40. Sex unknown.

Burial 2: Adult, aged 20-40. Sex unknown.

Burial 3: Fetus. Sex unknown.

Total: 3 burials

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

5 cups (4 with signs of burning, G)

5 cups (4 with signs of burning, LG)

3 skyphoi (all with signs of burning, LG)

1 open vessel (signs of burning, undated)

⁵⁰⁹ For information regarding this grave, see Day et al. 2023, 139-143.

2 jugs (one with signs of burning, LG)
3 aryballoi (2 with signs of burning, LG)

Total: 19 vessels

Associated Objects:

1 terracotta bead (undated)

Total: 1 object

Floral and Faunal Remains:

None noted

Grave 19 Dump

Deposit type:

Dump

Description:

Dump of earlier burial materials

Location/Associated Architecture:

This deposit found to the south of Grave 19 and the LM IIIC shrine, Building G.⁵¹⁰

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

1 cup (undated)
1 jug (LG/EA)
1 amphora (LG)
1 lid (LG/EA)

Total: 4 vessels

Associated Objects:

None

Floral and Faunal Remains:

None noted

⁵¹⁰ For information regarding this grave, see Day et al. 2023, 139-143.

Deposit type:

Funerary

Description:

Primary cremation, commingled

Location/Associated Architecture:

Grave 20 is located between Buildings J and C. It is a stone-lined rectangular enclosure that makes use of an existing wall from Building J as its eastern boundary.⁵¹¹

Associated Human Remains:

Burial 1: Adult, aged 20-40. Male.
Burial 2: Adult, aged 40-60. Male.
Burial 3: Adult, aged 20-40. Female.
Burial 4: Fetus. Sex unknown.
Burial 5: Adult, aged 40-60. Male.
Burial 6: Adult, aged 20-40. Male.
Burial 7: Adult, aged 40-60. Male.

Total: 7 burials

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

1 cup (undated)
3 cups (all with signs of burning, G)
4 cups (1 with signs of burning, LG)
1 skyphos (signs of burning, LG)
1 jug (signs of burning, LG)
1 krater (signs of burning, LG)
1 jar (G)
1 jar (G/LG)
1 jar (LG)
1 kalathos (PG)
2 amphoras (one with signs of burning, LG)
1 closed vessel (G)
1 closed vessel (undated)
2 lids (both with signs of burning, LG)

Total: 21 vessels

Associated Objects:

2 bronze fibula (SM-PG)

⁵¹¹ For information regarding this grave, see Day et al. 2023, 143-150.

2 fragments of bronze sheeting (undated)
2 iron pins (undated)
2 iron spearheads (undated)
2 iron knives (undated)
1 iron awl (undated)
1 bone bead (undated)
1 stone bead (undated)

Total: 13 objects

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Sheep
Goat

Graves 21 and 22

Deposit type:

Funerary

Description:

Primary cremation, comingled; Secondary cremation, commingled; Primary inhumation, comingled

Location/Associated Architecture:

Grave 21 is a partial enclosure in Room J1 of Building J. Only the south and west walls were well preserved when the site was excavated. The grave consists of both the enclosure and a pithos burial, set within the enclosure in a circle of stones. Three of the seven burials in Grave 21 were found in the pithos and three were found above it in the enclosure. A fetus representing the seventh burial was discovered during water sieving. The material originally designated as Grave 22 was later determined to be a discard deposit from Grave 21 and the material from these two graves has thus been combined.⁵¹²

Associated Human Remains:

Burial 1: Juvenile. Sex unknown. (Primary inhumation)
Burial 2: Adult, aged 40-60. Male. (Secondary cremation)
Burial 3: Adult, aged 40-60. Female. (Secondary cremation)
Burial 4: Adult, aged 20-40. Male. (Primary cremation)
Burial 5: Adult, aged 20-40. Male. (Primary cremation)
Burial 6: Adult, aged 20-40. Female. (Primary cremation)
Burial 7: Fetus. Sex unknown. (Primary cremation)

Total: 7 burials

⁵¹² For information regarding this grave, see Day et al. 2023, 151-156.

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

1 cup (G)
5 cups (2 with signs of burning, LG)
2 cups (LG/EA)
1 jug (signs of burning, G)
1 kalathos (G)
1 jar (LG)
1 amphora (LG)
1 pithos (LG)

Total: 13 vessels

Associated Objects:

1 iron spearhead (undated)
1 iron knife (undated)
1 lead object, unidentified (undated)
1 bone object, unidentified (undated)
1 stone lid (undated)

Total: 5 objects

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Sheep
Goat
Pig
Dog
Deer

Grave 23

Deposit type:

Funerary

Description:

Primary cremation, comingled; Primary inhumation

Location/Associated Architecture:

Grave 23 is an irregular burial enclosure, more oval than rectangular in shape. It is set into the packing for the south terrace supporting the southern rooms of Building I-O-N.⁵¹³

⁵¹³ For information regarding this grave, see Day et al. 2023, 156-161.

Associated Human Remains:

Burial 1: Infant. Sex unknown. (Primary cremation)

Burial 2: Adult, aged 20-40. Sex unknown. (Primary cremation)

Burial 3: Adult, aged 20-40. Sex unknown. (Primary cremation)

Burial 4: Adult, aged 40-60. Sex unknown. (Primary inhumation)

Total: 4 burials

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

1 cup (LG/EA)

3 cups (EA/A)

1 jug (EA)

1 krater (LG)

1 basket vase (signs of burning, LG)

1 closed vessel (signs of burning, LG)

Total: 8 vessels

Associated Objects:

1 bronze pin (A)

1 bronze fibula (EA)

1 bronze fibula (undated)

1 iron needle (undated)

2 stone beads (undated)

1 stone quern (undated)

Total: 7 objects

Floral and Faunal Remains:

None noted

Grave 24

Deposit type:

Funerary

Description:

Primary or secondary inhumation

Location/Associated Architecture:

Grave 24 consists of a scatter of un-cremated bones found in Building O, Room O1. There is no enclosure associated with this grave. The body was deposited carelessly, either at time of burial or after a disturbance of the area. It was thrown into this area and, perhaps, covered with stones.

There is no associated architecture. The bones lay on top of red roofing material from the collapsed roof of the LM IIIC building.⁵¹⁴

Associated Human Remains:

Burial 1: Juvenile. Sex Unknown.

Total: 1 burial

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

None

Associated Objects:

None

Floral and Faunal Remains:

None noted

Grave 26

Deposit type:

Funerary

Description:

Primary cremation; Secondary cremation

Location/Associated Architecture:

Grave 26 is a stone-lined enclosure west of the LM IIIC shrine, Building G. The area was badly disturbed. The grave is a large pit cut into a red clay layer. Five carbonized beams running east to west across the enclosure were found at the bottom of the pit. Some of the cremations occurred in situ. Between the north wall of the enclosure and the massive wall that bounds a platform south of Grave 27 was a stone paving, perhaps a platform similar to one associated with grave 3. This grave may have been placed in association with Graves 27 and 32, as all three are roughly in a line and the paved area of Grave 26 butts up against a similar but larger platform south of Grave 27.⁵¹⁵

Associated Human Remains:

Burial 1: Adult, aged 40-60. Sex unknown. (Primary cremation)

Burial 2: Juvenile. Sex unknown. (Primary cremation)

Burial 3: Adult, aged 20-40. Sex unknown. (Secondary cremation)

⁵¹⁴ For information regarding this grave, see Day et al. 2023, 161-162.

⁵¹⁵ For information regarding this grave, see Day et al. 2023, 1162-168.

Total: 3 burials

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

1 cup (LG)
5 skyphoi (4 with signs of burning, LG)
2 mugs (LG)
1 jug (signs of burning, LG)
1 oinochoe (signs of burning, LG)
1 hydria (signs of burning, LG)
1 jar (LG)
3 kalathoi (all with signs of burning, LG)
1 aryballos (LG)
1 amphora (LG)
1 pyxis (signs of burning, LG)
2 trays (both with signs of burning, LG)
3 lids (all with signs of burning, LG)

Total: 23 vessels

Associated Objects:

1 bronze fibula (SM/PG)
2 iron spearheads (undated)
1 iron knife (undated)
1 terracotta bead (undated)

Total: 5 objects

Floral and Faunal Remains:

None noted

Grave 27

Deposit type:

Funerary

Description:

Primary cremation

Location/Associated Architecture:

Grave 27 is a stone-built enclosure that is located west of Building G, the LM IIIC shrine, and in line with graves 26 and 32. The grave is one of the most elaborately constructed of those at Vronda. Its southern wall has two good faces and is more than 1 meter thick, and it may have

been used as a paved platform for post-funerary rituals. The grave had been robbed and was found almost entirely empty.⁵¹⁶

Associated Human Remains:

Burial 1: Adult, aged 20-40. Sex unknown.

Total: 1 burial

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

8 cups (3 with signs of burning, LG)

1 krater (EA)

1 lekythos (LG/EA)

2 amphoras (1 with signs of burning, LG)

1 closed vessel (LG/EA)

Total: 13 vessels

Associated Objects:

1 iron tool, unidentified (undated)

1 bone object, unidentified (undated)

Total: 2 objects

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Sheep

Goat

Deer

Grave 28

Deposit type:

Funerary

Description:

Primary cremation; secondary cremation

Location/Associated Architecture:

Grave 28 is a stone-lined enclosure in Room O3 of Building O. Part of the material from this grave was dumped in Room N1 of Building N. Other dumps of material from this grave were uncovered immediately to the north, and some fragments of pottery appeared just to the south. The grave makes use of an existing terrace wall that served as the eastern boundary for building O. It is a very carefully constructed enclosure, compared to others at the site. The grave included

⁵¹⁶ For information regarding this grave, see Day et al. 2023, 168-171.

eight cremation burials, two in amphorae which were wedged tightly into the SE corner of the enclosure with a circle of stones to support them.⁵¹⁷

Associated Human Remains:

Burial 1: Adult, aged 40-60. Male. (Primary cremation)
Burial 2: Juvenile. Sex unknown. (Primary cremation)
Burial 3: Adult, aged 20-40. Female. (Primary cremation)
Burial 4: Adult, aged 60+. Male. (Primary cremation)
Burial 5: Adult, aged 20-40. Sex unknown. (Primary cremation)
Burial 6: Adult, aged 20-40. Sex unknown. (Secondary cremation)
Burial 7: Adult, aged 20-40. Sex unknown. (Secondary cremation)
Burial 8: Adult, aged 60+. Male. (Primary cremation)

Total: 8 burials

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

13 cups (7 with signs of burning, LG)
1 skyphos (LG)
2 jugs (LG)
4 kraters (2 with signs of burning, LG)
1 jar (PG)
1 jar (PG/G)
1 amphora (LG)
1 aryballos (LG)
2 closed vessels (undated)
2 lids (LG)

Total: 13 vessels

Associated Objects:

1 bronze fibula (undated)
2 iron javelins or spears (undated)
1 iron knife (undated)
1 iron axe head (undated)
1 iron tool, unidentified (undated)
1 stone lid (undated)

Total: objects

Floral and Faunal Remains:

None noted

⁵¹⁷ For information regarding this grave, see Day et al. 2023, 172-181.

Deposit type:

Funerary

Description:

Secondary cremation

Location/Associated Architecture:

Grave 29 is a deposit of dark, soft ashy soil containing human remains with no associated architecture. Very little grave material was uncovered. This deposit may represent a dump from a different grave or a refuse pit used in the Geometric period, possibly the result of cleaning up after the burials and their associated rituals. There is no evidence of burning in situ.⁵¹⁸

Associated Human Remains:

Burial 1: Adult, aged 20-40. Sex unknown.

Total: 1 burial

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

1 Jug (LG)

Total: 1 vessel

Associated Objects:

1 lead bead (undated)

Total: 1 object

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Sheep

Pig

Bovine

Goat

Some Unidentified

Deposit type:

Funerary

⁵¹⁸ For information regarding this grave, see Day et al. 2023, 181-183.

Description:

Primary cremation

Location/Associated Architecture:

Burial 30 is a rectangular stone-lined enclosure on the south edge of the terrace supporting Building I-O-N. It does not use the walls of the building itself. The graves that were originally identified as Graves 33 and 7 were later reclassified as discard deposits from Grave 30. The material from these deposits is thus also included here.⁵¹⁹

Associated Human Remains:

Burial 1: Adult, aged 20-40. Male.

Burial 2: Adult, aged 40-60. Male.

Burial 3: Adult, aged 20-40. Sex unknown.

Burial 4: Infant. Sex unknown.

Burial 5: Adult, aged 20-40. Female.

Total: 5 burials

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

13 cups (5 with signs of burning, LG)

2 cups (1 with signs of burning, LG/EA)

1 cup (EA)

1 cup (EA/A)

2 cup (undated)

2 skyphoi (LG/EA)

1 skyphos (EA)

1 bowl (LG)

1 open vessel (LG)

1 jug (signs of burning, LG/EA)

1 juglet (LG)

1 aryballos (signs of burning, LG/EA)

2 pyxides (both with signs of burning, LG)

1 pithos (A)

1 lid (LG)

1 lid (LG/EA)

1 lid (undated)

Total: 33 vessels

Associated Objects:

1 bronze fibula (undated)

1 fragmented bronze sheeting (undated)

3 iron pins (LG/EA)

2 iron pins (undated)

⁵¹⁹ For information regarding this grave, see Day et al. 2023, 183-192.

2 iron spearheads (undated)
2 iron knives (undated)
1 iron needle (undated)
1 iron axe head (undated)
2 iron chisels (undated)
2 terracotta beads (undated)

Total: 17 objects

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Sheep
Goat
Pig
Bovine
Marine Shell (other)

Grave 31

Deposit type:

Funerary

Description:

Primary cremation

Location/Associated Architecture:

Grave 31 is a possible pyre site in the center of Room D1 of Building D. A pit dug into the roofing material. The grave had no built elements which made it difficult to define. Lack of architectural features and accompanying grave goods make it unlike the usual vronda cremations. Possibly the majority of the bones were removed for secondary burial. Another pit in the roofing debris to the SW of Grave 31 may be associated with this one.⁵²⁰

Associated Human Remains:

Burial 1: Adult, aged 20-40. Female.

Total: 1 burial

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

None

Associated Objects:

None

⁵²⁰ For information regarding this grave, see Day et al. 2023, 192-193.

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Some Unidentified

Grave 32

Deposit type:

Funerary

Description:

Primary cremation

Location/Associated Architecture:

Grave 32 is a stone-lined burial enclosure located W/SW of Building G, the LM IIIC shrine. It is a shallow deposit without the usual concentrations of pottery or cremations in anatomical order. Some of the material from this grave appears to have been dumped into Grave 25.⁵²¹

Associated Human Remains:

Burial 1: Adult, aged 20-40. Female.

Burial 2: Adult, aged 40-60. Female.

Burial 3: Infant. Sex unknown.

Total: 3 burials

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

2 cups (1 with signs of burning, LG)

1 bowl (signs of burning, undated)

1 juglet (LG)

1 hydria (LG)

1 lekanis (signs of burning, EA)

1 aryballos (signs of burning (EA/A)

2 pyxides (both with signs of burning, (LG)

1 pyxis (LG/EA)

1 lid (signs of burning, LG/EA)

Total: 11 vessels

Associated Objects:

1 bronze fibula (LG)

1 bead, possibly glass (undated)

Total: 2 objects

⁵²¹ For information regarding this grave, see Day et al. 2023, 193-197.

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Sheep
Goat
Pig

Grave 34

Deposit type:

Funerary

Description:

Primary cremation

Location/Associated Architecture:

Grave 34 is a stone-lined enclosure burial in room O4 of Building O. The grave uses existing walls from the LM IIIC building on the east and south, but erosion resulted in the loss of the western boundary wall and there were few artifacts remaining when the grave was excavated.⁵²²

Associated Human Remains:

Burial 1: Adult, aged 20-40. Female.

Burial 2: Juvenile. Sex unknown.

Total: 2 burials

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

1 cup (LG)
1 cup (signs of burning, undated)
1 lekythos (LG)
1 closed vessel (LM IIIC)
1 closed vessel (undated)

Total: 5 vessels

Associated Objects:

1 terracotta spindle whorl (LM IIIC, reworked)

Total: 1 object

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Ovicaprid
Some Unidentified

⁵²² For information regarding this grave, see Day et al. 2023, 198-200.

Grave 35

Deposit type:

Funerary

Description:

Primary inhumation

Location/Associated Architecture:

Grave 35 is a scatter of bones found next to Grave 15 and above the LM IIIC house wall that forms the east boundary of Grave 28 in the courtyard of Building I. This grave may be related to Grave 15. There was no ashy soil or signs of burning.⁵²³

Associated Human Remains:

Burial 1: Adult, aged 20-40. Sex unknown.

Total: 1 burial

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

None

Associated Objects:

None

Floral and Faunal Remains:

None noted

Grave 36

Deposit type:

Funerary

Description:

Primary cremation

Location/Associated Architecture:

Grave 36 is a stone-lined burial enclosure located in Room D2 of Building D. The grave was disturbed by a modern terrace. Carbonized beams were found running across the grave. The enclosure makes use of existing house walls from Building D for its north and east boundaries. A small juglet was found set in between the stones in the top of the house wall to the south and east

⁵²³ For information regarding this grave, see Day et al. 2023, 200-201.

of the grave and may have been a deliberate offering placed there after the burials. This is uncertain.⁵²⁴

Associated Human Remains:

Burial 1: Infant. Sex unknown.
Burial 2: Infant. Sex unknown.
Burial 3: Adult, aged 20-40. Sex unknown.
Burial 4: Adolescent. Sex unknown.
Burial 5: Juvenile. Sex unknown.
Burial 6: Adult, aged 20-40. Sex unknown.
Burial 7: Adult, aged 40-60. Male.

Total: 7 burials

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

3 cups (all with signs of burning, LG)
1 skyphos (signs of burning, G)
3 skyphoi (all with signs of burning, LG)
1 juglet (signs of burning, G)
1 juglet (LG)
1 jar (PG/G)
2 jars (both with signs of burning, LG)
1 lekythos (LG)
1 kalathos (signs of burning, PG/G)
1 kalathos (signs of burning, PG-LG)
2 trays (both with signs of burning, LG)
1 pithos (LM IIIC)

Total: 18 vessels

Associated Objects:

3 iron pins (undated)
1 bone bead (undated)
1 glass bead (undated)
1 stone bead (undated)
5 terracotta beads (undated)
1 stone tool (whetstone, undated)

Total: 12 objects

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Some Unidentified
Pig
Marine Shell

⁵²⁴ For information regarding this grave, see Day et al. 2023, 201-208.

Deposit type:

Funerary

Description:

Stray material from an unexcavated grave

Location/Associated Architecture:

The grave from which the material labeled “Grave 37” originated was never located. The material labeled as “Grave 37” consists of a cranial fragment and fragments of Geometric monochrome cups that fell from the still unexcavated grave, which likely sits to the west of where the material was found in the southwest corner of Room B7 of Building B.⁵²⁵

Associated Human Remains:

Burial 1: Adult, aged 20-40. Sex unknown.

Total: 1 burial

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

2 cups (LG)

Total: 2 vessels

Associated Objects:

None

Floral and Faunal Remains:

None noted

Summary of Visitation to Upland Settlements

The episodes of visitation to upland settlements that lasted from late LM IIIC to the early Archaic period, which are covered in this chapter, hold specific aspects of practice in common. Distinct similarities in the chronology of visitation, in the kinds of deposition being made, in the typology and function of vessels and objects being deposited, and in the spatial focus of those

⁵²⁵ For information regarding this grave, see Day et al. 2023, 208.

deposits highlight the likelihood that these instances of post-abandonment visitation were not isolated incidents, but part of a much larger trend in ritual practice—one which may have served to tie communities together and to assist in the maintenance of deep connections with a very specific post-collapse past in the centuries following the abandonment of the majority of LM IIIC upland settlements.

The majority of the sites detailed in this chapter—Azoria, Halasmenos, and Vronda—can all be shown to follow the same chronology of post-abandonment ritual behavior. All three sites were targeted for visitation during two distinct periods. The first of these periods lasted from the very late LM IIIC/SM period into the PG, and the second, which, in all cases, followed either a distinct drop-off or complete cessation of practice, lasted from the LG period in the EA. The evidence from Vasiliki Kephala and from Karphi is less clear in its chronology. At Vasiliki Kephala, only one period of visitation, during the PG period, seems to have taken place. The only prehistoric material found to post-date the LM IIIC site were two PG vessels which were uncovered deposited together in association with Building Epsilon. While the form that this deposit takes and the manner of its deposition speak in favor of the inclusion of Vasiliki Kephala in this catalog as a target of post-abandonment visitation, the incomplete excavation of the site prevents a complete understanding of its chronological history. Evidence for continued inhabitation in later periods may yet be found, which may change our understanding of the PG deposit cataloged here. Similarly, evidence for a second period of post-abandonment ritual at the site, which might be predicted based on the evidence from this and the following chapter of this dissertation, may yet come to light. Based on the current evidence, however, only one period of visitation—in the PG period—can be hypothesized.

The evidence from Karphi is similarly difficult to categorize in regard to the chronology of its post-abandonment deposits. As detailed earlier in the chapter, the chronology of the site as a whole is debated, with the result that, while several very late LM IIIC vessels may well have been placed within the settlement after its abandonment, only those found in association with later vessels that more definitively post-date the site—those which are SM or later—can be included in this catalog. Adding to these difficulties is the wide date-range given to a deposit of cooking pots located in Building MG, 250 meters from the settlement proper. These vessels may date anywhere from the PG to the EA period, making it difficult to say, definitively, that visitation at the site of Karphi followed the same chronology as Azoria, Halasmenos, and Vronda, though it seems likely that this was the case. It can be said with some confidence that these cooking pots post-date the post-abandonment deposits found within the settlement proper, however, indicating, at least, that two periods of visitation did occur at the site of Karphi, though the exact date of this second period of visitation cannot be confirmed.

Additional difficulties to creating an averaged chronological timeline for visitation to all upland settlements based on the date of the vessels and objects found deposited after the abandonment of the sites are the large number of undated objects from Vronda, and the incomplete catalog of vessels and objects from Azoria. As discussed in the introduction to this chapter, uneven excavation and publication is a major impediment to a true quantitative analysis of the material covered in this and the following chapters. Taking into account the quantitative data that is available, a general timeline of post-abandonment visitation can be created, however. This can be found in Fig. 4.33, which shows that the cataloged material associated with post-abandonment deposits at LM IIIC upland settlements, taken as a whole, indicates two distinct periods of practice. The first of these began in late LM IIIC/SM and reached its high point in the

PG period, after which a notable drop-off in practice is apparent. The second, much more intense period of visitation peaked in the LG period before dropping off from the EA into the Archaic periods.

Episodes of visitation to upland settlements have several characteristics in common aside from their chronology. One of these characteristics, again, links Azoria, Halasmenos, and Vronda together. This is the deposition, in at least one period of visitation, of the bodies of the dead. At Halasmenos and, likely, Azoria, deposition of the dead occurred only in the first period of visitation, while at Vronda both periods of deposition primarily involved burials. The arguments for and against the inclusion of the Azoria tholos tomb as a post-abandonment deposit are detailed above. The high “cost” associated with burying the dead at abandoned upland settlements, in terms of both labor and affect, will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6. While no burials were found within the settlement at Karphi, the tombs at Ta Mnemata, where the residents of Karphi were buried, were reopened to receive new burials after the abandonment of the site. As this represents a slightly different phenomenon, details of these burials have not been given in this chapter. The presence of burials at Vasiliki Kephala is an open question pending further excavation.

The tholos tomb at Halasmenos included only a small amount of human bone, a stirrup jar, a jug, a tray, and a bronze ring. The tomb at Azoria included eight burials, six adults and two juveniles, a larger number of pouring and drinking vessels, two spindle whorls, and, again, a bronze ring. A complete inventory of the tholos is not yet available, so additional vessels and objects may yet be revealed to have been a part of this assemblage. The burials at Vronda consisted of tholoi in the earlier period of visitation and predominantly primary cremation burials in the second period of visitation. Burial goods were similar in both periods and similar to those

found in the tholoi at Halasmenos and Azoria, with one significant difference. While all of the burials at all sites typically included depositions of pouring and drinking vessels, tools, and personal adornments, the Vronda burials also contained iron weapons, which likely belonged to the deceased during life. This is a circumstance that will be discussed more fully in Chapter 6.

Another aspect which ties a number of the post-abandonment deposits at upland settlements together is the existence of feasting assemblages, several of which were found in purpose-built structures constructed after the abandonment of the site. A structure dedicated to feasting was constructed at Halasmenos in the LG period, and at least two similar structures dedicated to the same purpose were constructed at Azoria in the same period. At Karphi, a number of later cooking pots were found in Building MG1. While this building was not constructed after the abandonment of the site, it was likely used in the same way that the specially constructed buildings at Halasmenos and Azoria were—as a feasting venue. While a purpose-built structure for feasting was not constructed on the site of Vronda after its abandonment, a small number of cooking vessels were present in the assemblages, suggesting that some feasting was taking place, likely in association with burial rites. A purpose-built structure dedicated to feasting has not been found, to date, at Vasiliki Kephala, but the small PG assemblage placed in association with Building Epsilon contained a tripod cooking pot.

A small number of votive figurines were found in post-abandonment contexts in the upland settlements detailed in this chapter. The majority of these had a spatial relationship with votive deposits that predated abandonment, suggesting that an effort was being made by later visitors to connect with the previous use of the site. At Azoria, a number of bull figurines were found in Protoarchaic Building 2 in association with ash and feasting debris. This building shares a wall with the earlier LM IIIC bench shrine. An additional votive figurine was found in Room

B1200 at Azoria, which also made use of an earlier LM IIIC wall, though the function of this earlier LM IIIC structure is unclear. At Halasmenos, a ceramic bull figurine and, possibly, a male figurine of lead and copper with traces of silver, were placed in association with an earlier ritual deposit in Room 4 of Building A1. Ash and feasting debris were also uncovered in this area, along with a tripod cooking pot, a krater, a deep bowl, and a cup. The vessels associated with this deposit are similar in nature to a number of “krater deposits” that were uncovered, primarily in areas of fill, at Azoria. The nature of these “krater deposits” is not yet fully understood, but Donald Haggis, who excavated the site, has suggested that these were deposits meant to ritually close the abandoned buildings before the site was restructured and reinhabited in the 7th century.

Figure 4.34 details the breakdown of vessels in post-abandonment deposits at upland settlements by function. The vast majority of these vessels, 47%, were associated with drinking activities, and these are represented primarily by cups at 73%, skyphoi at 19%, and bowls at 6% (Fig. 4.35). No other vessel type was represented by more than one example, with the exception of mugs, where two examples were found, both at Vronda and both dating to the LG period. Storage and transport vessels follow in predominance at 20% of the total ceramic assemblage. Amongst these vessels, amphorae are most common at 19% of the total grouping, followed by jars at 18%, and aryballoi at 14% (Fig. 4.36). Kalathoi, pyxides, and pithoi are represented at 11%, 10%, and 9% respectively, and stirrup jars and lekythoi were both represented at 7% of the total assemblage. 3% of the storage vessels at upland settlements were hydria. Pouring and mixing vessels (kraters) are also represented at 11% and 5% respectively. Pouring vessels were primarily jugs (51%) and oinochoe (21%), though juglets were also well represented (18%) (Fig. 4.37). A small number of flasks and askoi were also found.

As discussed above, cooking vessels were found in the post-abandonment deposits at every upland settlement discussed in this chapter. A complete quantitative accounting of the data concerning these assemblages cannot be given as a large number of fragmentary coarseware cooking pots from the “pyre deposit” in the courtyard of Protoarchaic Building 1 at Azoria has not yet been cataloged. The data that is available has been summarized in Fig. 4.38. 60% of the cataloged cookware uncovered in post-abandonment deposits at upland settlements were cooking pots. This is followed by basins at 17% and trays at 15%. Ladles, mortars, strainers, and dishes were present, but in much smaller quantities. The presence of cooking vessels in post-abandonment deposits at all upland settlements noted here highlights the importance of cooking and feasting as a consistent part of post-abandonment ritual at this category of site. With the exception of Vasiliki Kephala, which, as previously discussed, suffers from incomplete excavation, all other upland settlements detailed in this chapter contained multiple deposits of feasting debris, including ash and burnt animal bone.

No objects post-dating the use of the site have been uncovered at Vasiliki Kephala, and the objects at Karphi have not yet been sufficiently well studied to allow for a detailed analysis of those which may have been included as part of post-abandonment deposits. Of the remaining sites—Azoria, Halasmenos, and Vronda—the largest assemblage of objects comes from Vronda, which heavily skews the distribution of objects by object function towards the typology of objects found at that site. This may change as the catalog of objects from Azoria becomes more complete. Currently, Fig. 4.39 shows that 39% of all objects uncovered in post-abandonment deposits at upland settlements were weapons, 28% personal adornments, and 21% tools. These are precisely the categories of object found in post-abandonment burial assemblages, of which Vronda had the largest number. Only 4% of the objects represented were votive in nature, and

these votives came from Azoria and Halasmenos. Armor was not present in any assemblage at any site detailed here.

Spatial focus is another aspect of post-abandonment visitation that all sites detailed in this chapter held in common. Without exception, the spatial target of visitation of all deposits detailed here were the buildings of the LM IIIC settlements themselves. At Azoria, LM IIIC walls were targeted as foci for the construction of later additions to the site, including the LM IIIC tholos tomb and all of the special-function buildings constructed in the 8th to 7th centuries. The 7th century krater deposits also appear to have been placed in rooms that contained LM IIIC walls. Reference to the post-collapse past can also be found in the reuse of material culture dating to this period in later contexts. The post-abandonment assemblage in Room A3200 of Protoarchaic Building 2 included both LG/EA bull figurines and LM IIIC deep bowls, and in Room B1200, EA vessels were accompanied by an LM IIIC/SM/PG animal figurine. At Halasmenos, a space used for ritual activities in the original settlement was targeted for continued ritual practice during the first phase of visitation, and a special-function building dedicated to feasting was constructed on top of the remains of what was likely an LM IIIC communal feasting building in the second phase. A third deposit, the PG tholos tomb, was placed within an LM IIIC space dedicated to food preparation. This last deposit was the only one at the site which did not echo the original function of the space.

At Karphi, the settlement itself was the clear focus of later deposits of vessels, though it is unclear how the deposits relate to the original function of the targeted buildings. LM IIIC Building MG1, 250 meters away from the settlement proper, also received a post-abandonment deposit which is clearly related to feasting. The initial interpretation of the excavators suggests that this building originally served as a setting for specialized activities, and it is possible that the

later activities undertaken here echo the building's original function, though this cannot be proven at this time. At Vasiliki Kephala, the target of visitation was the post-collapse shrine where similar vessels to those which were later deposited were found. At Vronda, the earlier period of visitation was characterized by the construction of tholoi in close proximity to the settlement, one of which actually intersected the wall of LM IIIC Building L. During the later period of visitation, the spatial focus on the settlement is even more clear, as burials were placed within and amongst the rooms and walls of the settlement itself.

As shown in this chapter, episodes of post-abandonment visitation to upland settlements that were both established and abandoned in LM IIIC held certain characteristics in common. Chronologically, they follow a similar timeline, with a first period of practice occurring in the very late LM IIIC/SM and peaking in the PG period, and a second, more intense period of practice peaking, in most cases, in the LG period before falling off completely into the Archaic. The practices undertaken at these ruined sites also appear to include consistent attributes, including the ritual deposition of the dead—in tholoi in the earlier period of visitation and in burial enclosures in the later period—and feasting practices, often in special-function buildings constructed on the abandoned site. The function and typology of the vessels being deposited is consistent across sites, and reveals a heavy emphasis on drinking, pouring, and feasting activities, some of which appear to have been related to funerary practice, and others of which appear to have included communal feasting unrelated to burial rites. Above all, each episode of post-abandonment visitation to upland settlements shows a clear spatial focus on the buildings of the abandoned settlement. At times, as at Halasmenos, it is possible to show that an understanding of the function that certain spaces served before the site's abandonment was

retained in later periods. At other sites, this is less clear. In all cases, however, the clear focus of interest is the post-collapse past.

Figures

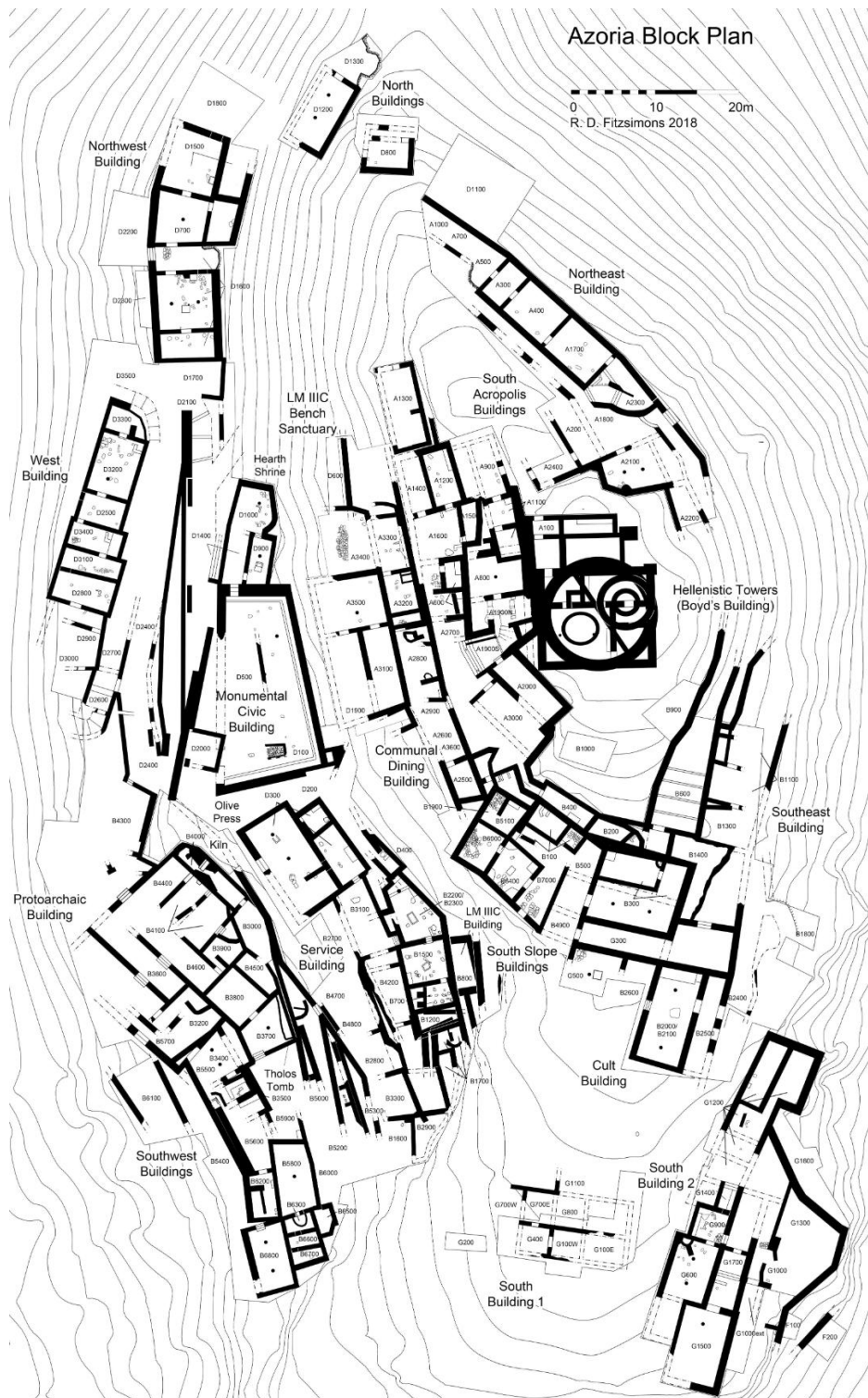


Figure 4.1 Site of Azoria

<https://azoria.unc.edu/wp-content/uploads/sites/18909/2019/01/Azoria-Reconstructed-Block-Plan-2018.jpg>

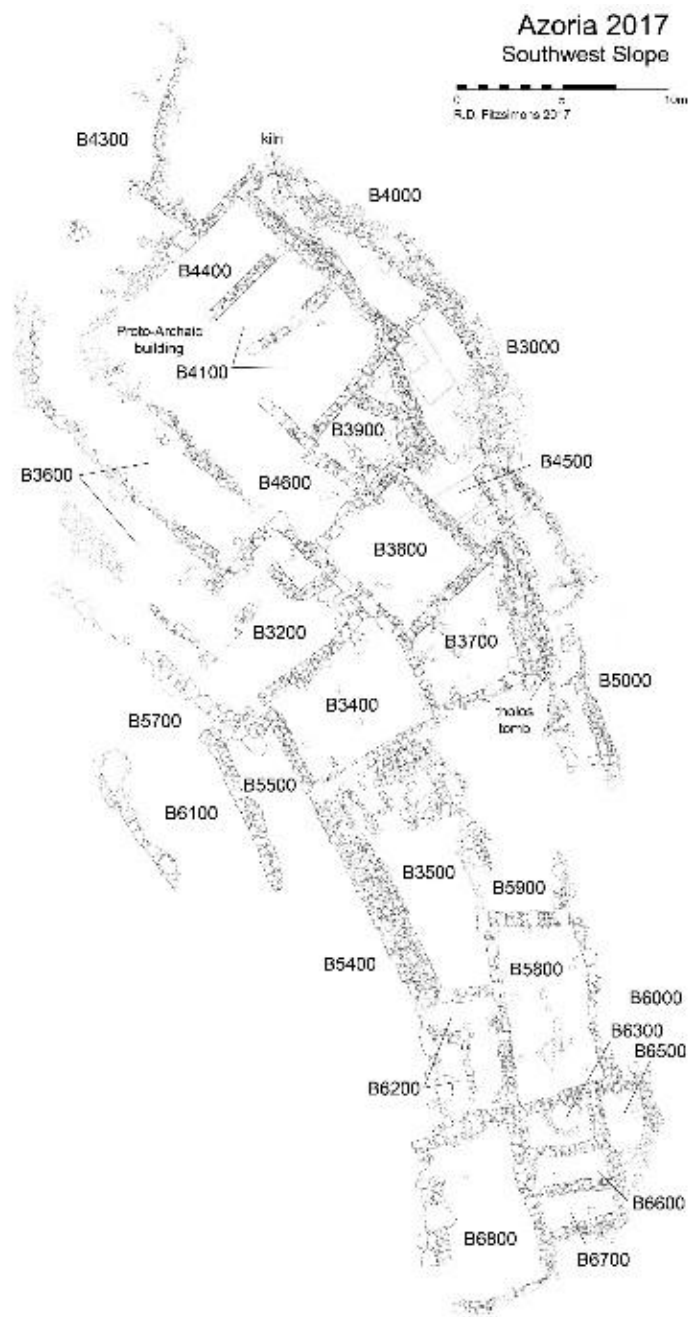


Figure 4.2 Protoarchaic Building 1 with Tholos Tomb

Image courtesy of Donald Haggis



Figure 4.3 Location of ProtoArchaic Buildings at Azoria

Adapted from image courtesy of Donald Haggis



Figure 4.4 Location of Krater and Other Deposits at Azoria

Adapted from <https://azoria.unc.edu/wp-content/uploads/sites/18909/2019/01/Azoria-Reconstructed-Block-Plan-2018.jpg>

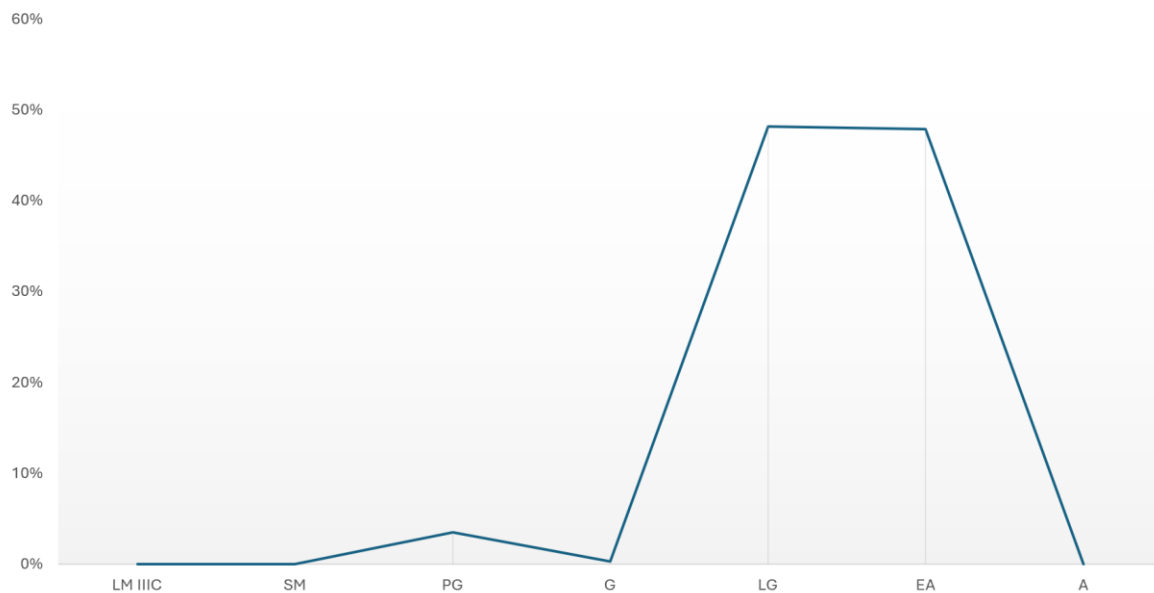


Figure 4.5 Temporal Distribution of Vessels, Azoria

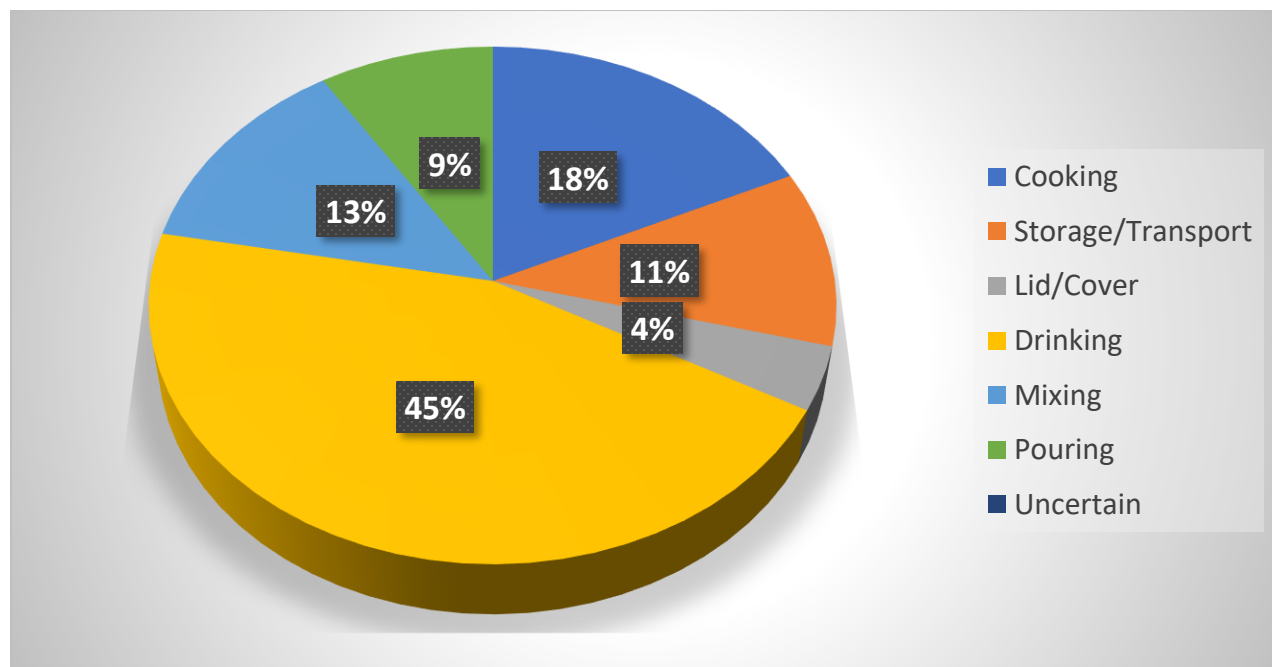


Figure 4.6 Distribution of Vessels by Function, All Periods, Azoria

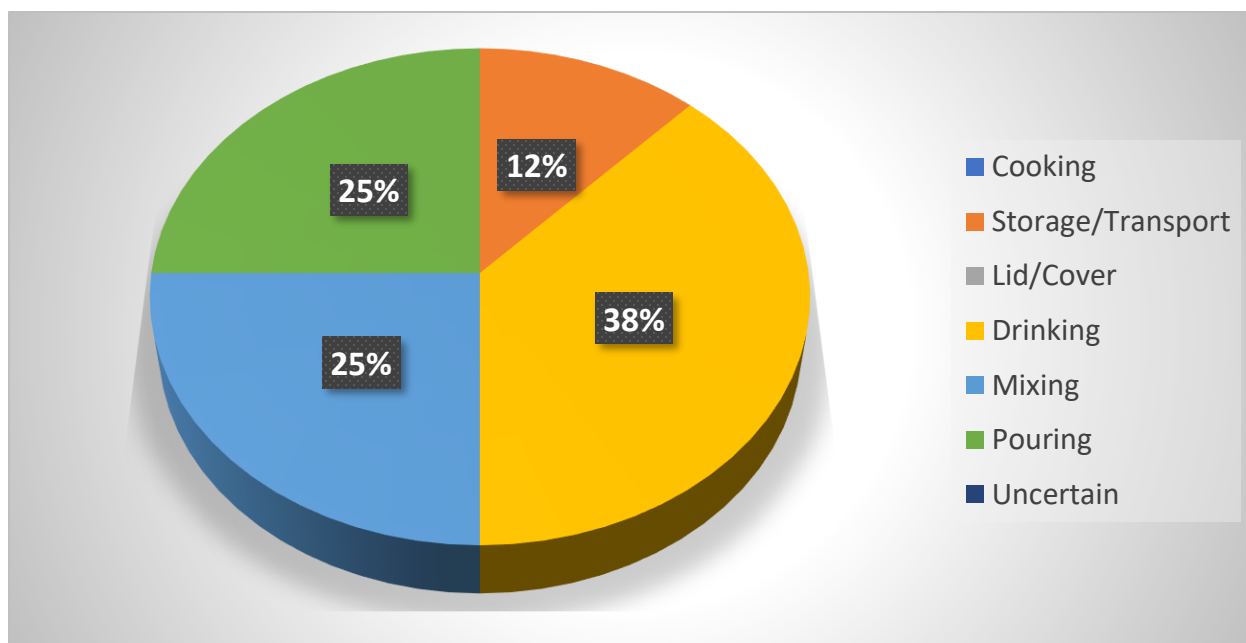


Figure 4.7 Distribution of Vessels by Function, LM IIIC-PG, Azoria

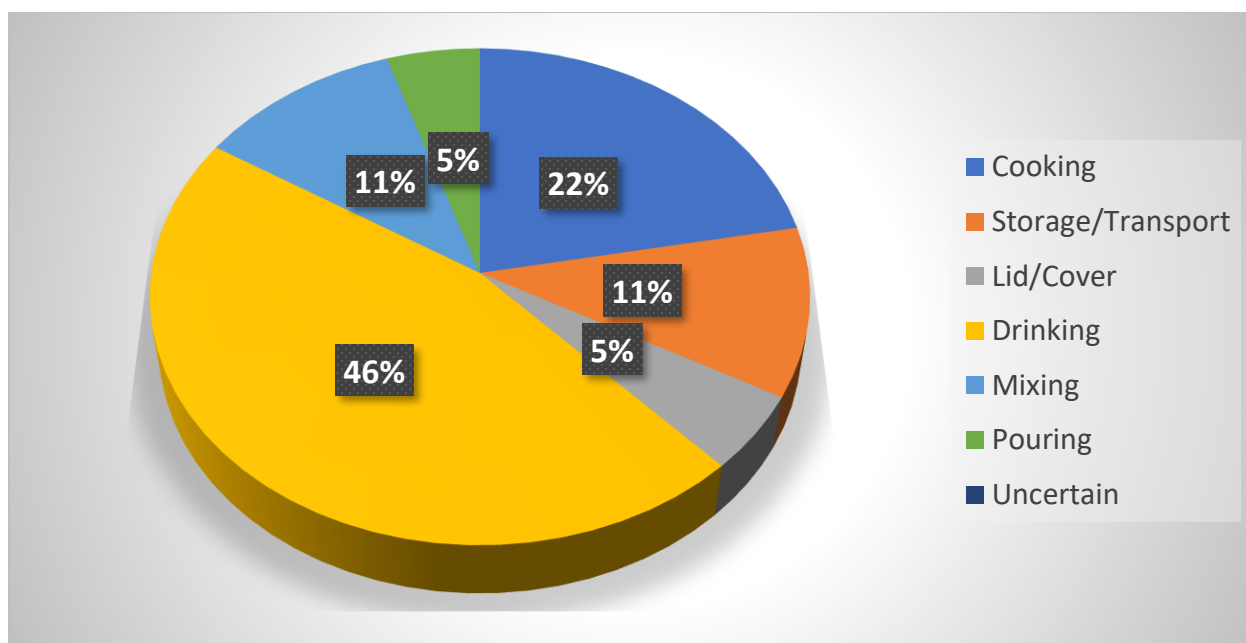


Figure 4.8 Distribution of Vessels by Function, LG/EA, Azoria

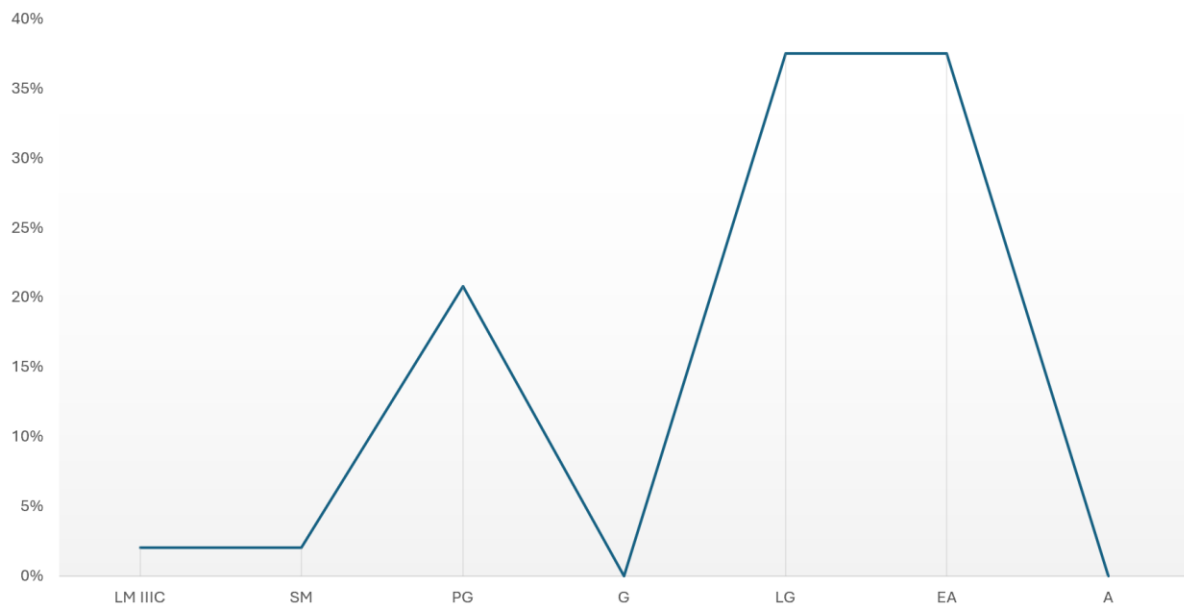


Figure 4.9 Temporal Distribution of Objects, Azoria

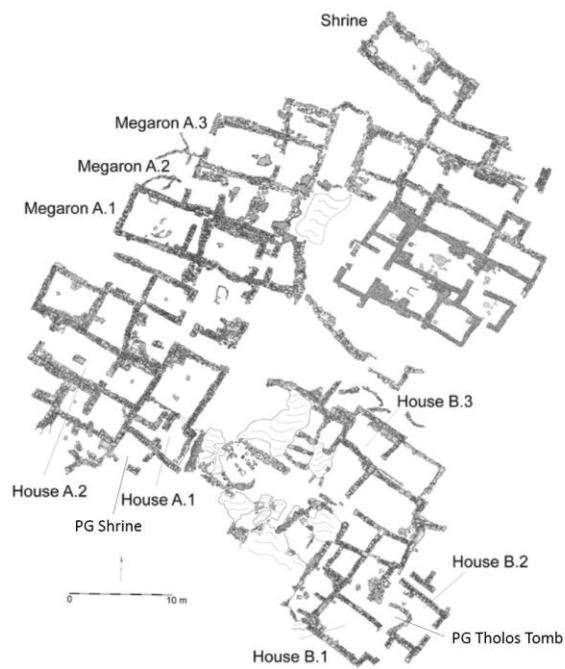


Figure 4.10 Location of PG deposits at Halasmenos

Adapted from <https://instapstudycenter.net/archaeological-projects/ascsa-projects/chalasmenos/>



Figure 4.11 LG Building at Halasmenos

(Tsipopoulou 2004, Figure 3)

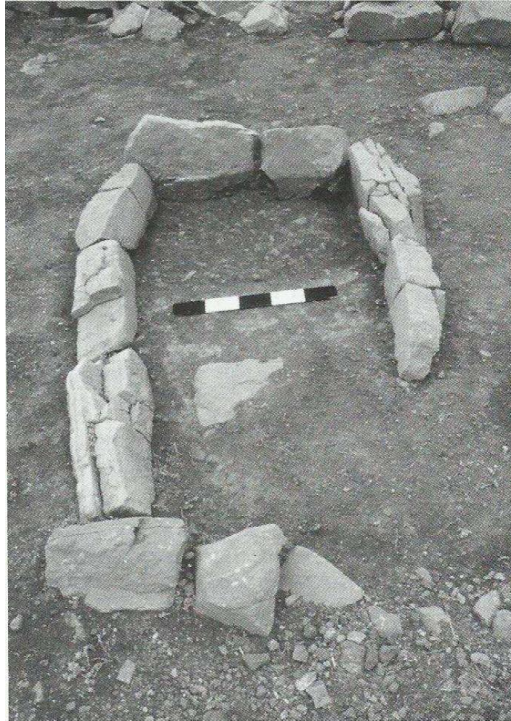


Figure 4.12 LG Eschara at Halasmenos
(Tsipopoulou 2004, Figure 4)

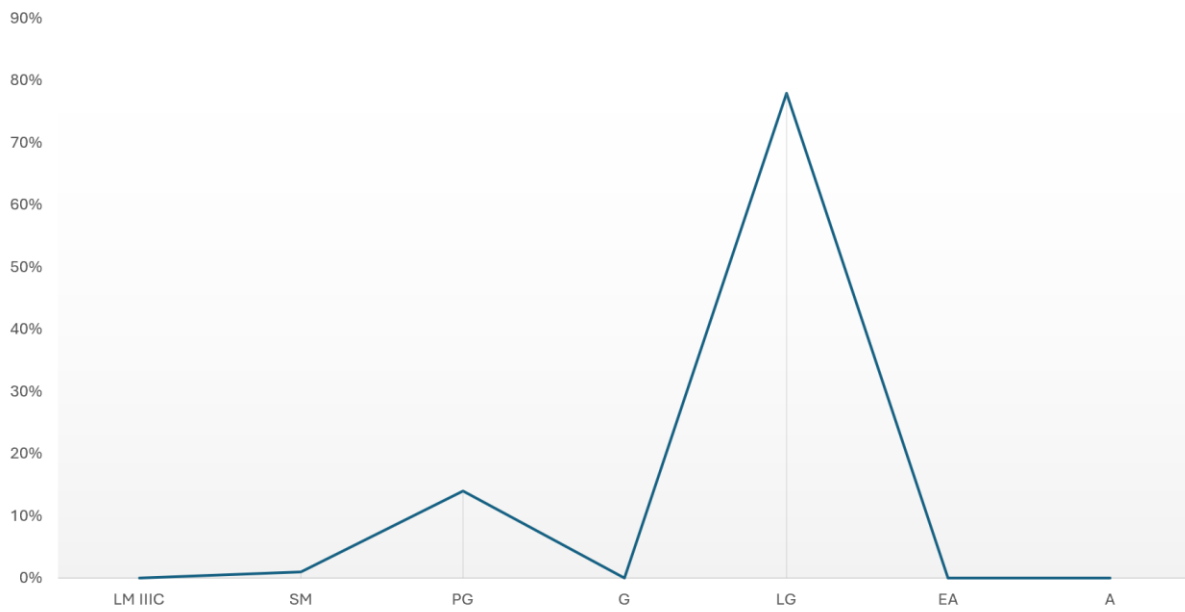


Figure 4.13 Temporal Distribution of Vessels, Halasmenos

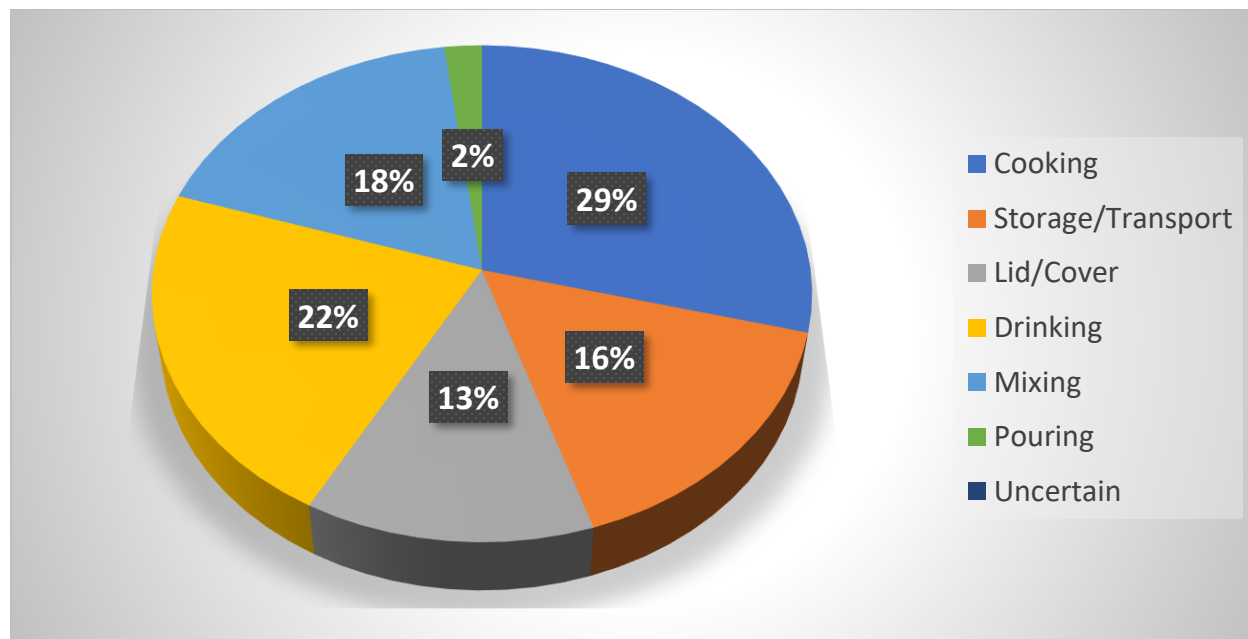


Figure 4.14 Distribution of Vessels by Function, Halasmenos

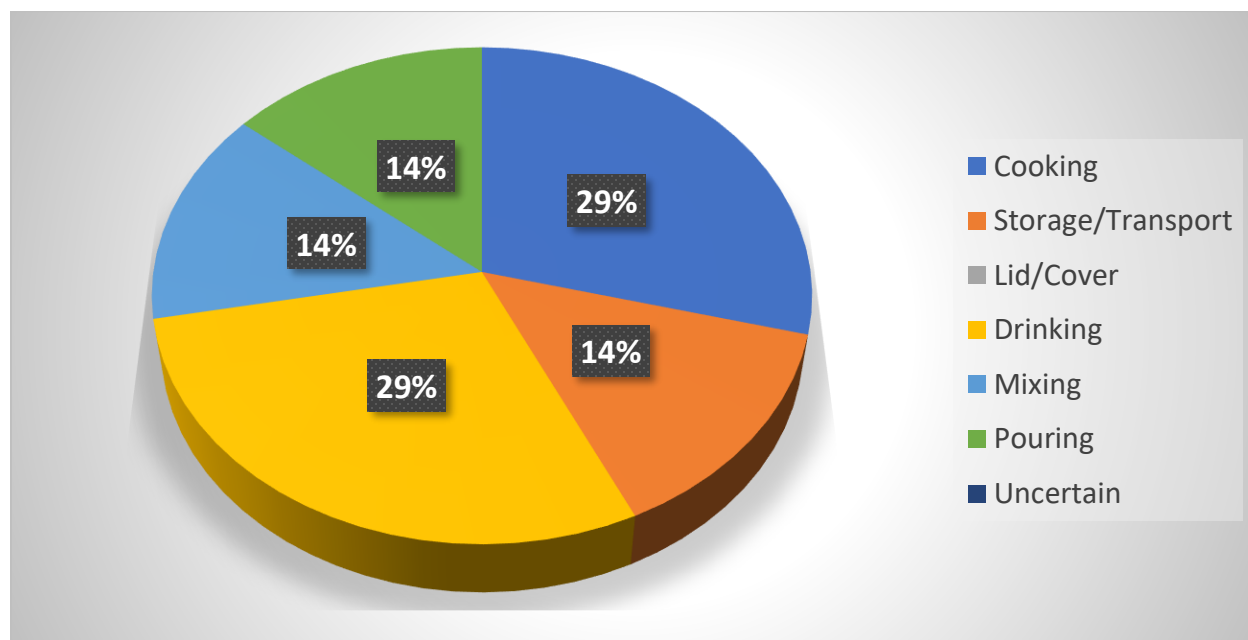


Figure 4.15 Distribution of Vessels by Function, SM-PG, Halasmenos

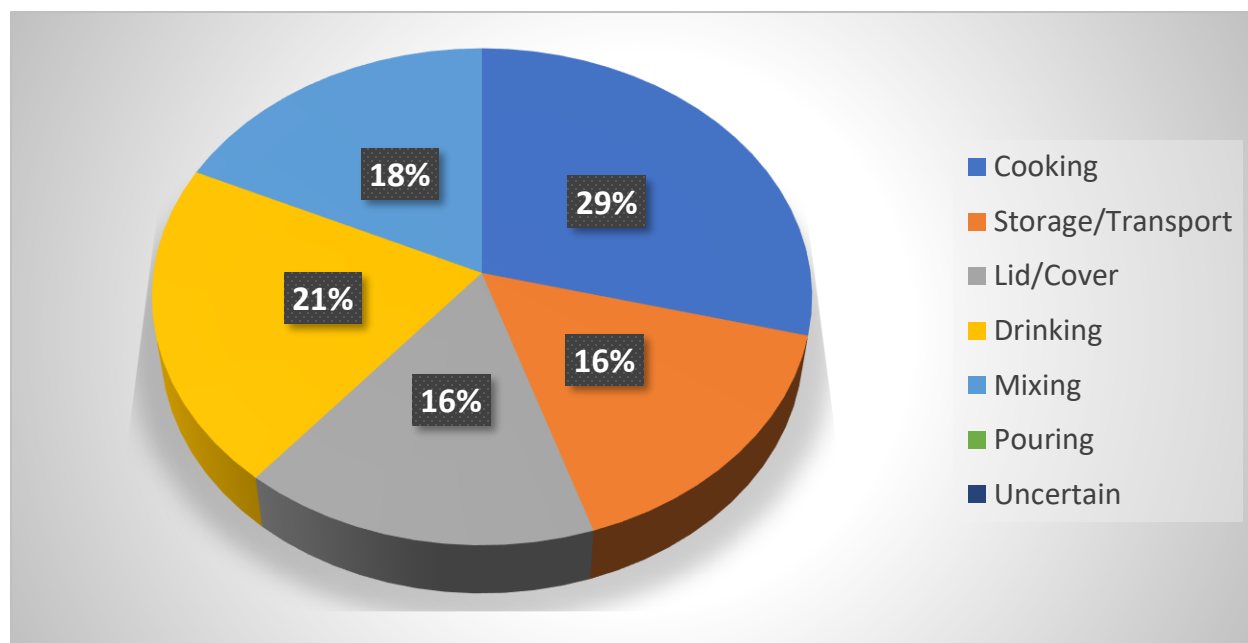


Figure 4.16 Distribution of Vessels by Function, LG, Halasmenos

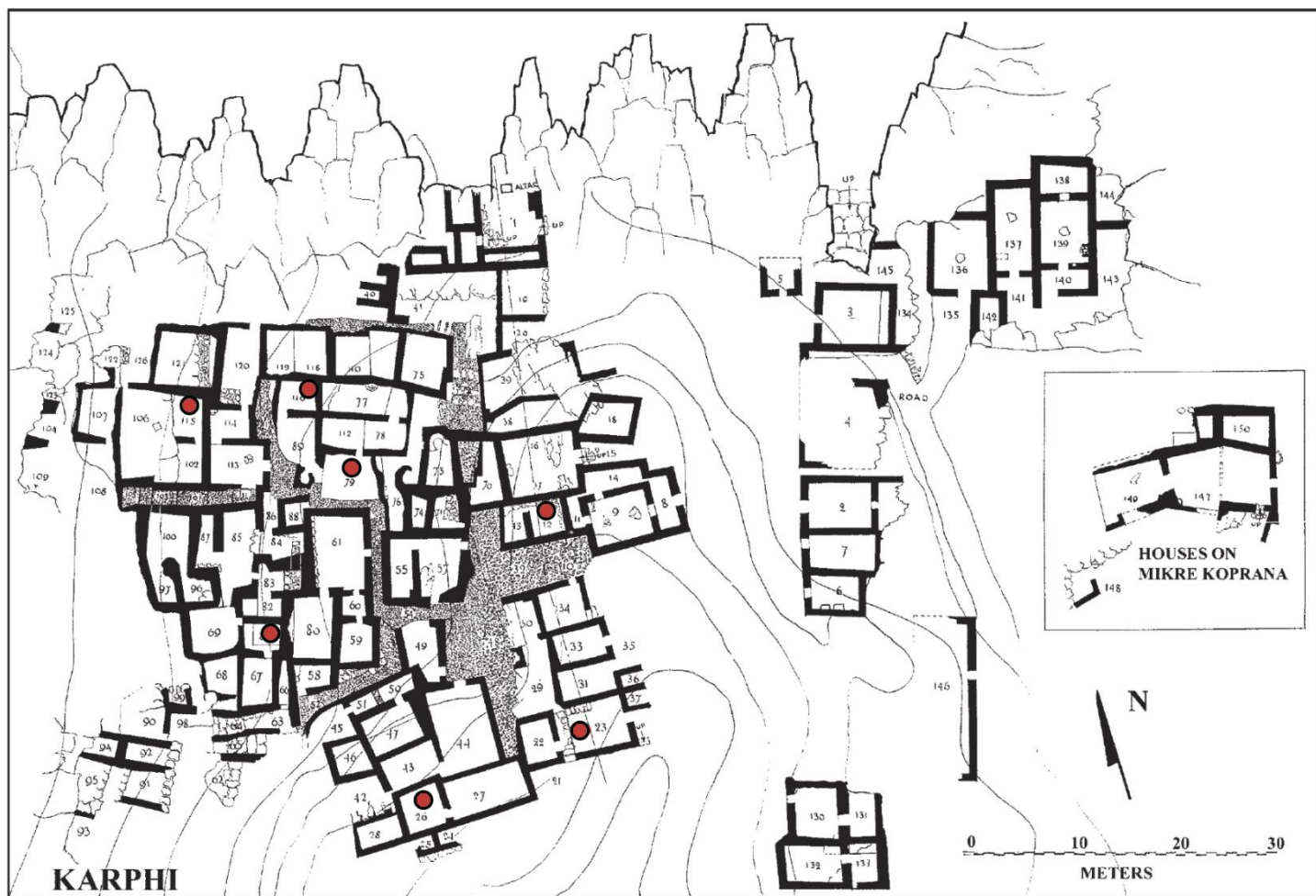


Figure 4.17 Location of Post-Abandonment Deposits at Karphi

(Adapted from Day 2011, Figure 27.1)

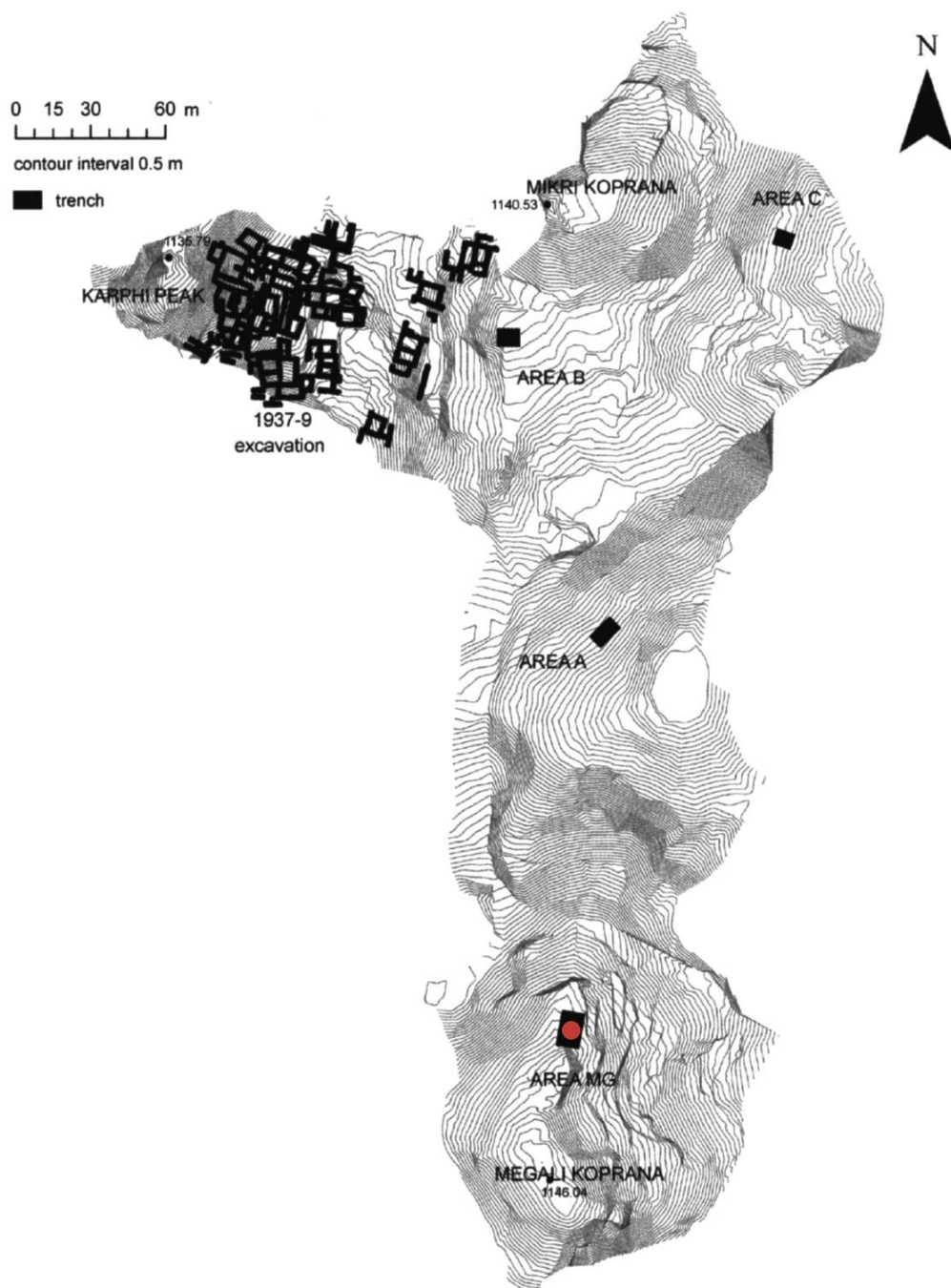


Figure 4.18 Location of Deposit from MG1, Karphi

(Adapted from Wallace 2012, Figure 1)

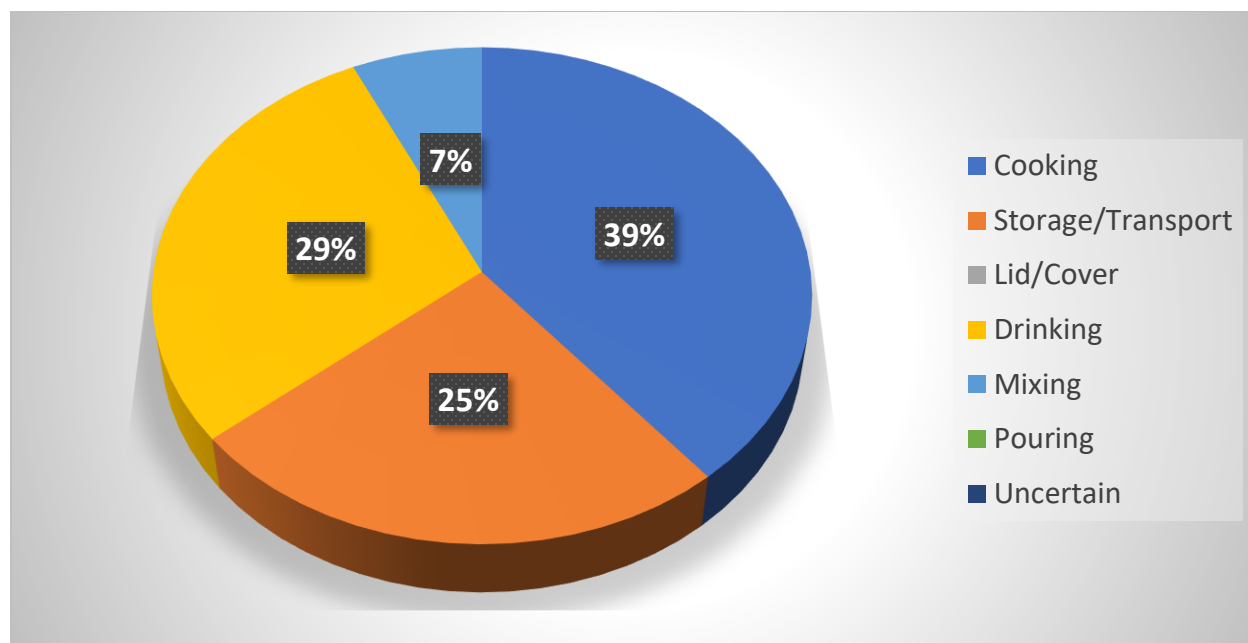


Figure 4.19 Distribution of Vessels by Function, Karphi (all)

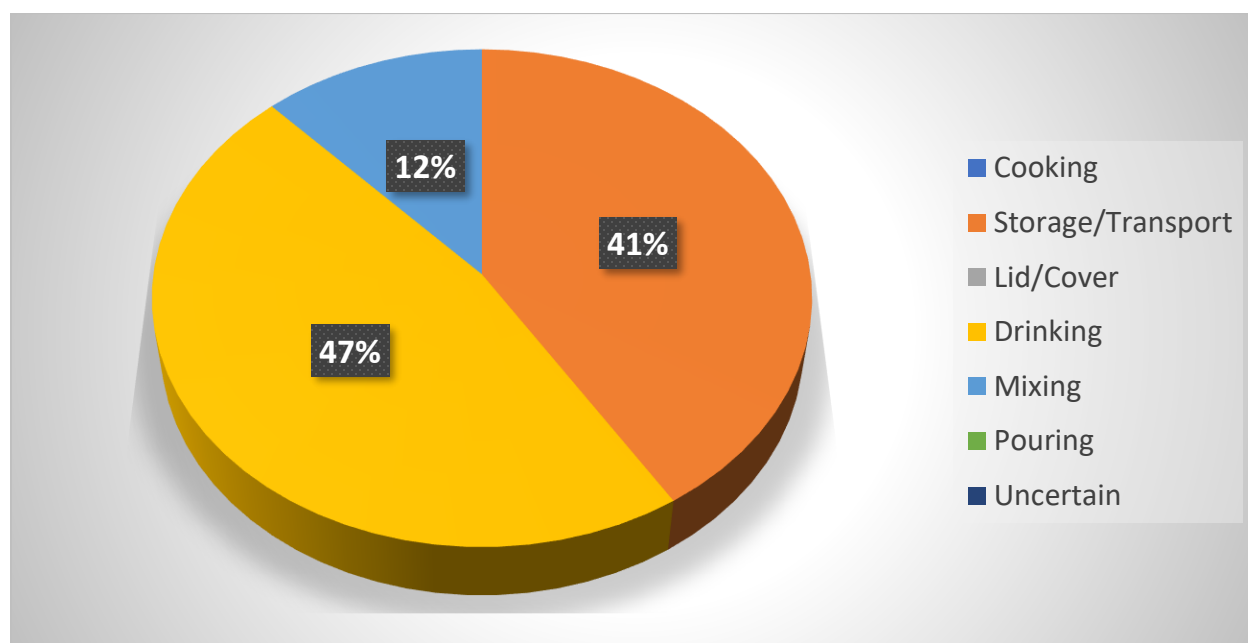


Figure 4.20 Distribution of Vessels by Function, Karphi (Settlement Proper)

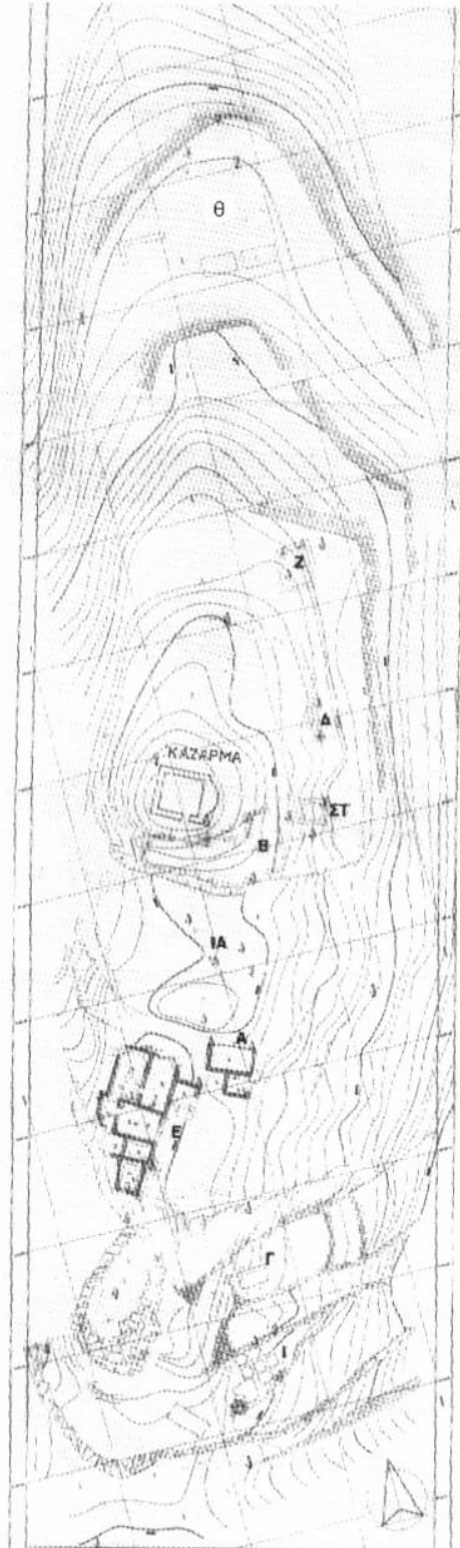


Figure 4.21 Plan of Vasiliki Kephala

(Eliopoulos 1998, Figure 5)

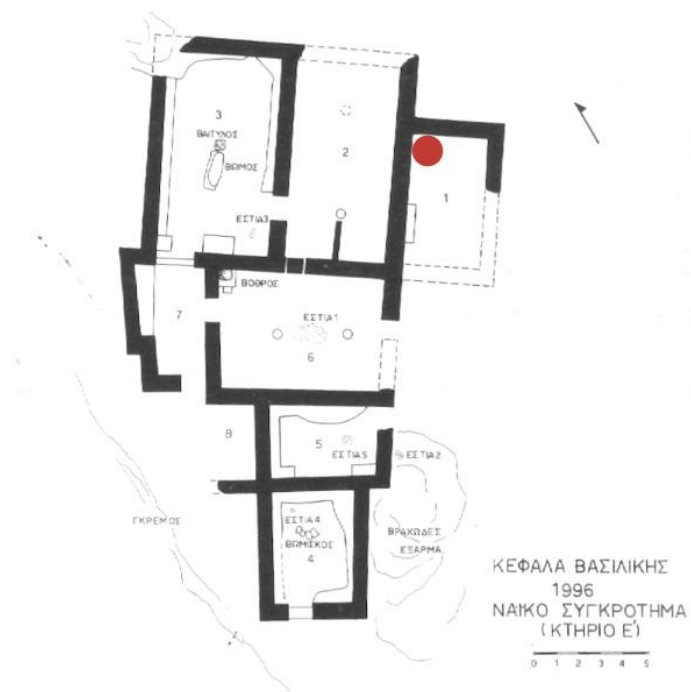


Figure 4.22 Location of PG deposit at Vasiliki Kephala

(Adapted from Eliopoulos 1998, Figure 9)

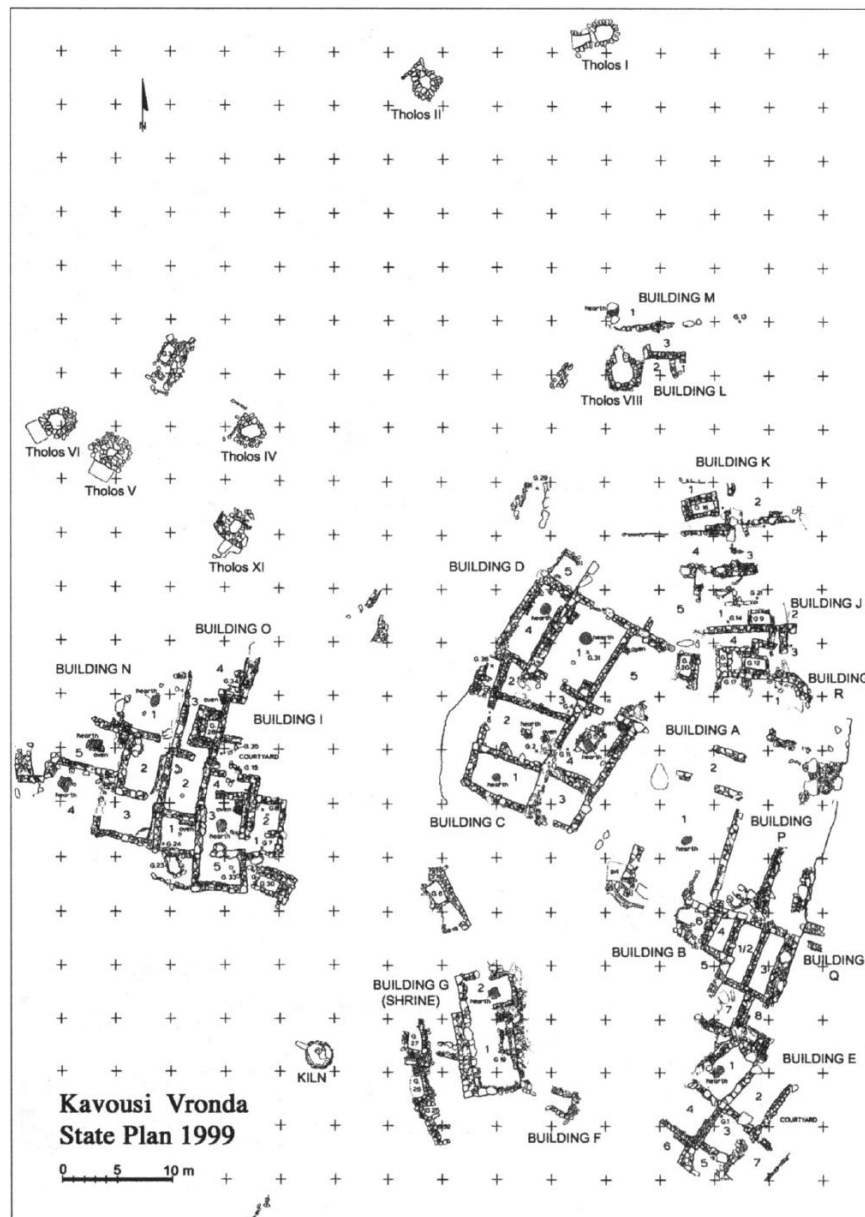
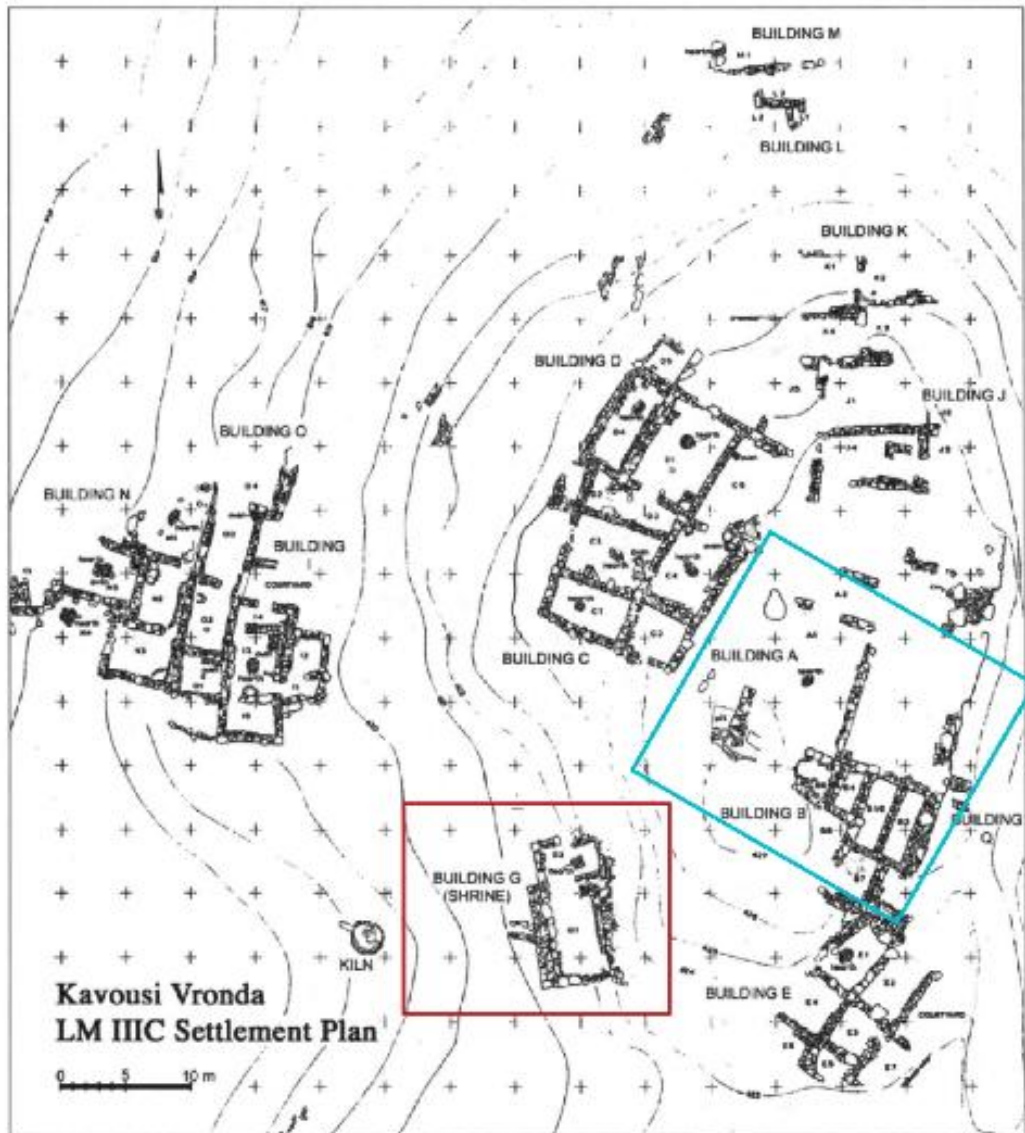


Figure 4.23 Plan of Vronda

(Glowacki 2002, Figure 22)



- Building G
- Building A/B

Figure 4.24 Building G and Building AB

(Adapted from Glowacki 2002, Figure 22)

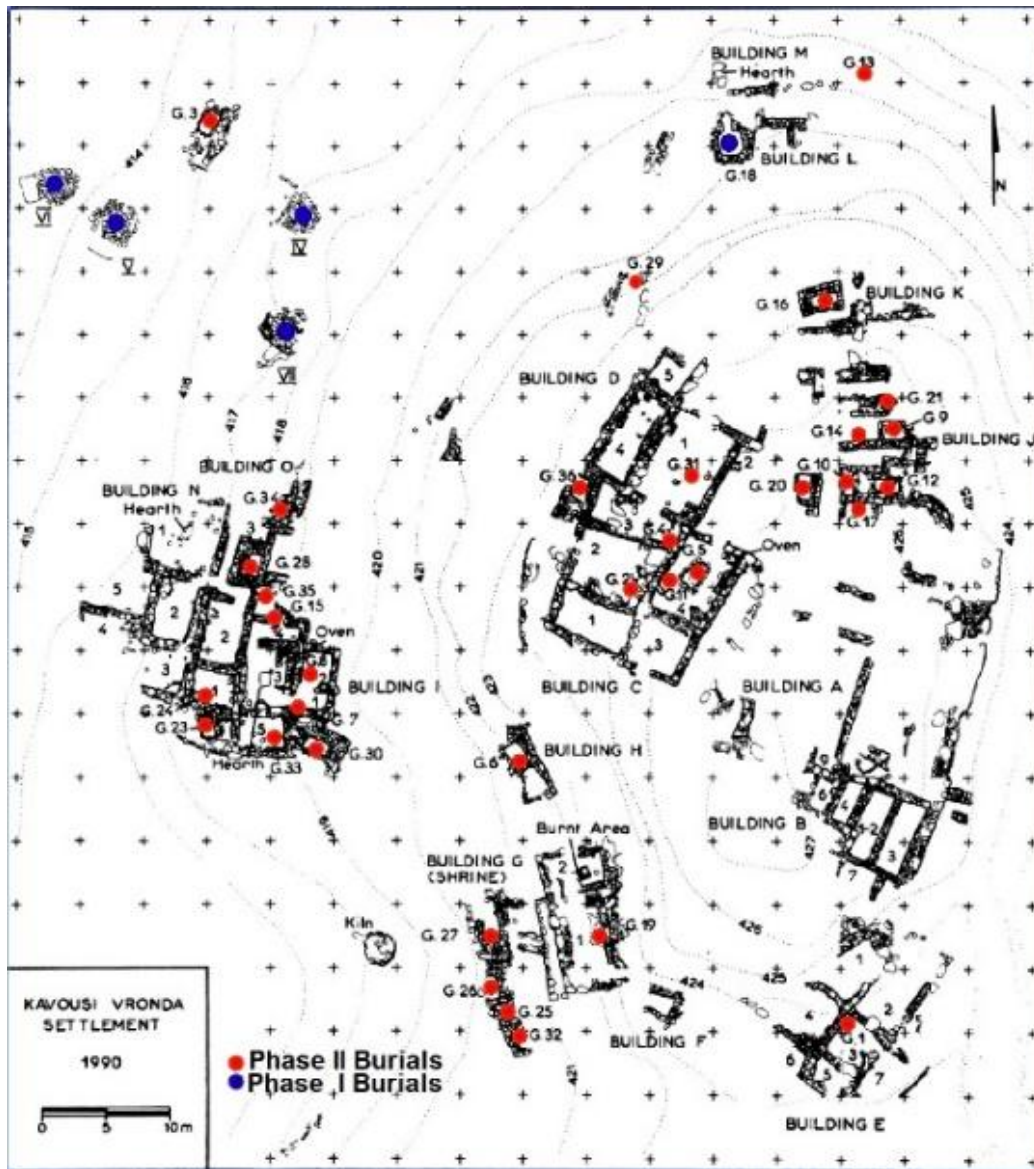


Figure 4.25 Location of Post-Abandonment Deposits at Vronta

(Adapted from Glowacki 2022, Figure 22)

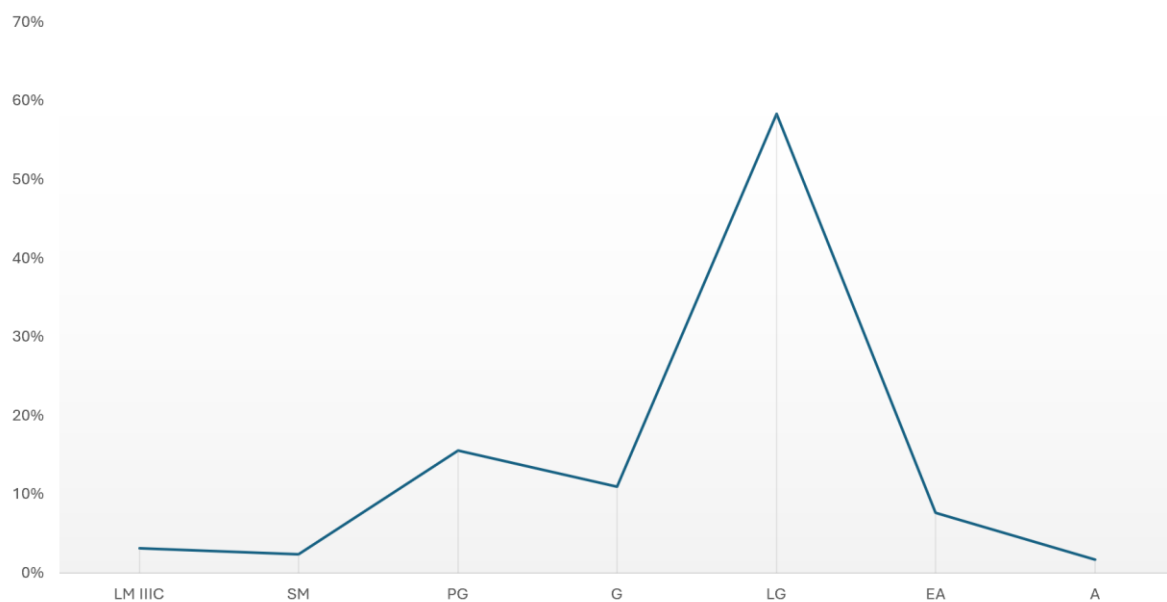


Figure 4.26 Temporal Distribution of Vessels, Vronda

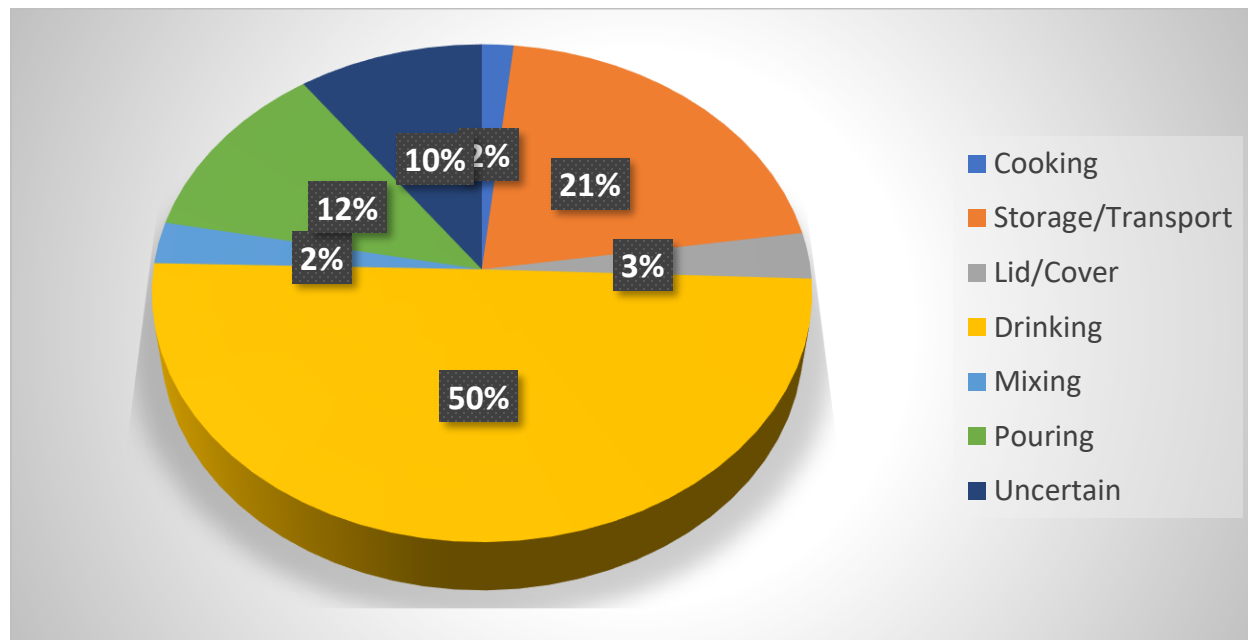


Figure 4.27 Distribution of Vessels by Function, Vronda

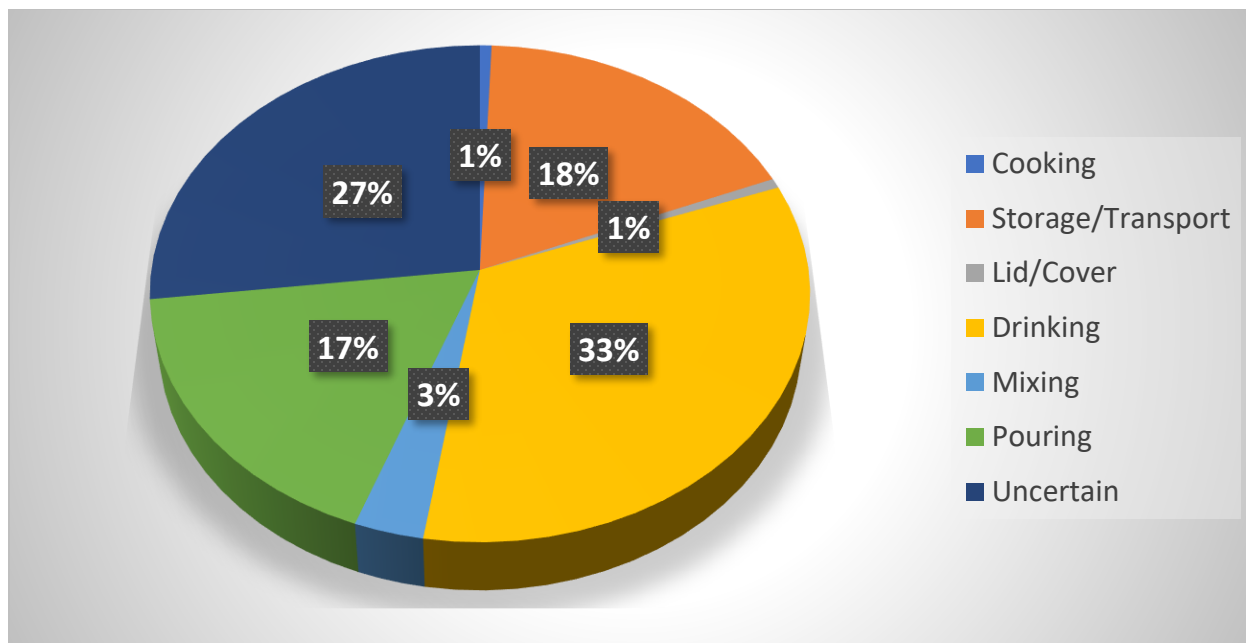


Figure 4.28 Distribution of Vessels, LM IIIC-PG, Vronda

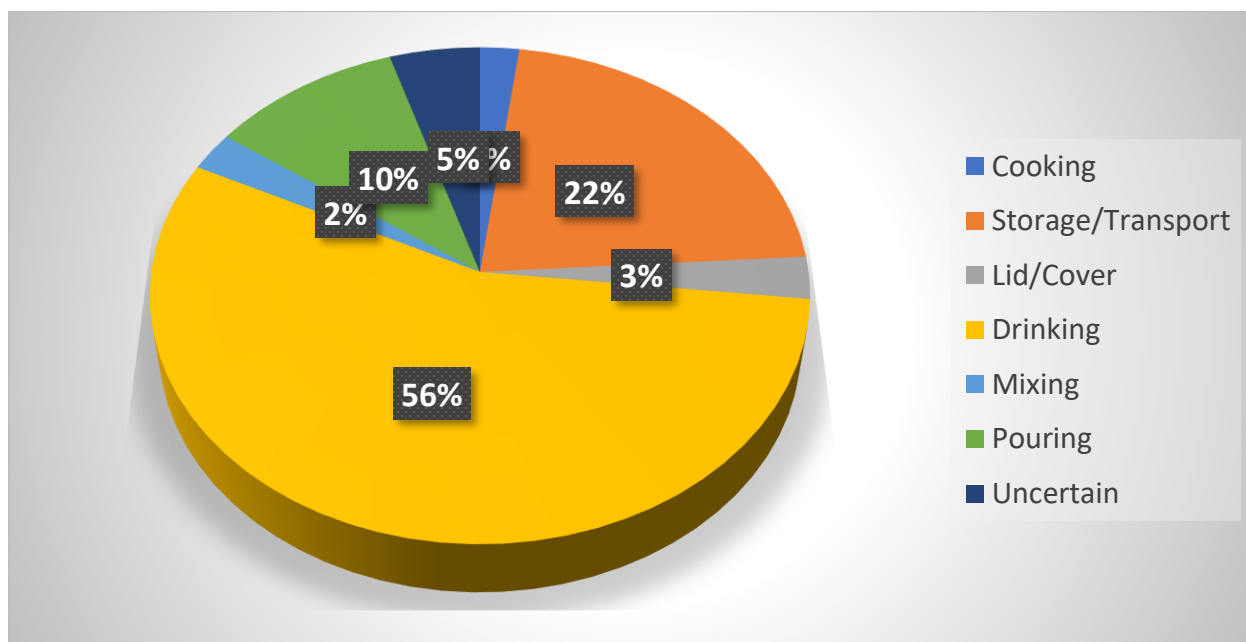


Figure 4.29 Distribution of Vessels by Function, LG/EA, Vronda

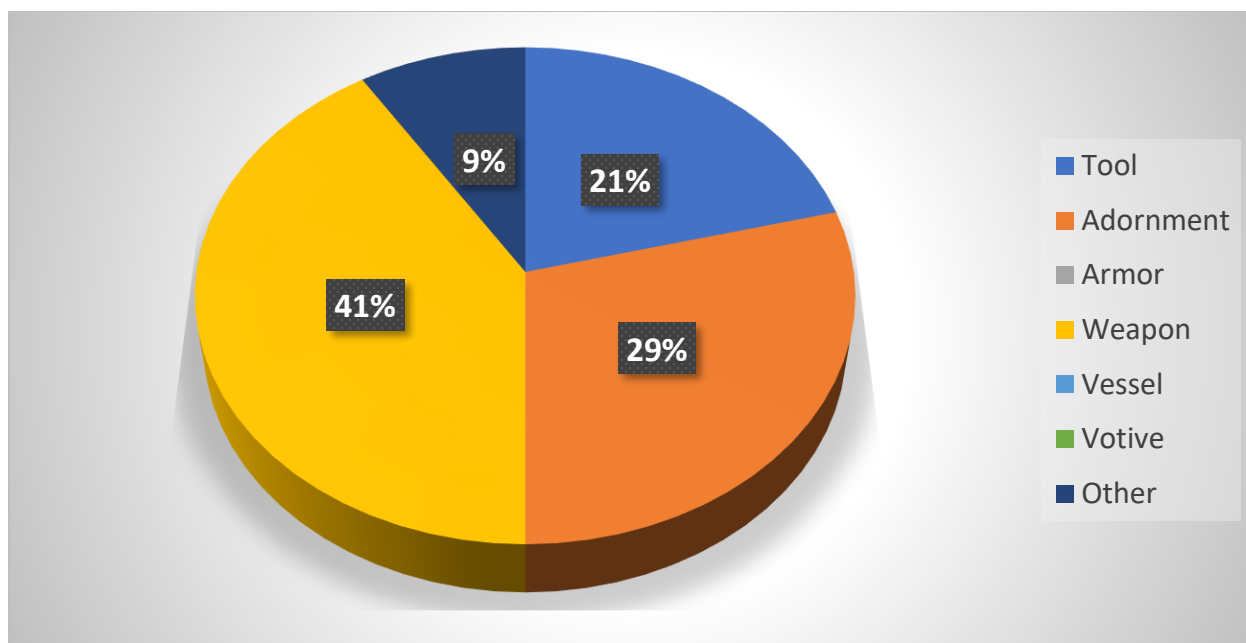


Figure 4.30 Distribution of Objects by Function, Vronda

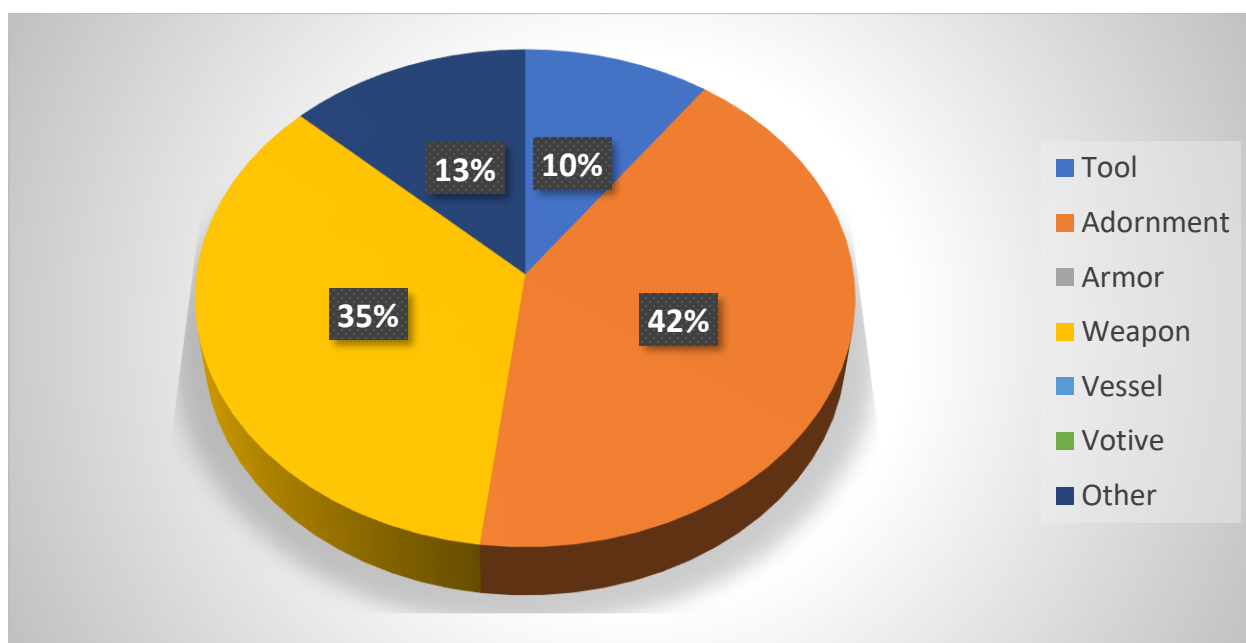


Figure 4.31 Distribution of Objects by Function, Tholoi, Vronda

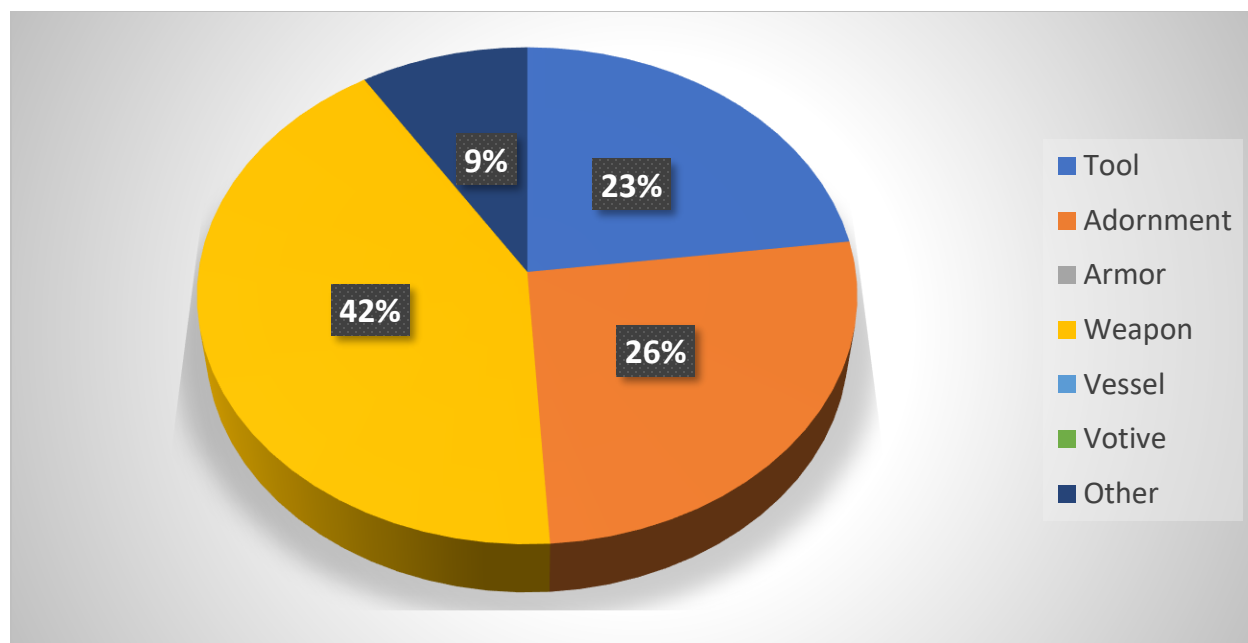


Figure 4.32 Distribution of Objects by Function, Enclosure Burials, Vronda

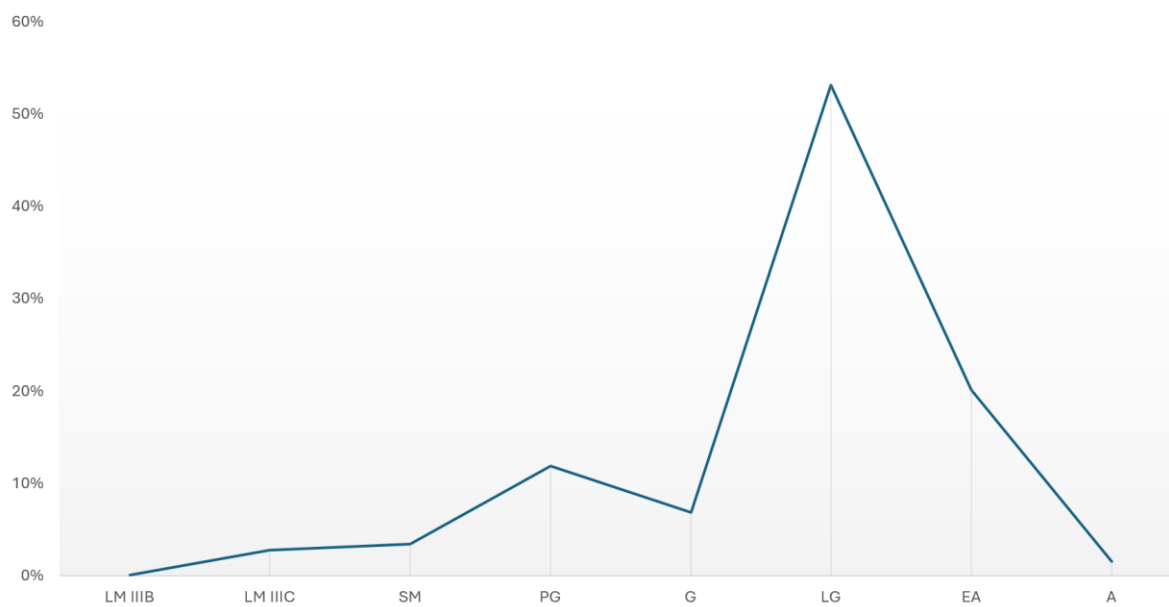


Figure 4.33 Average Chronology of All Deposits at Upland Sites

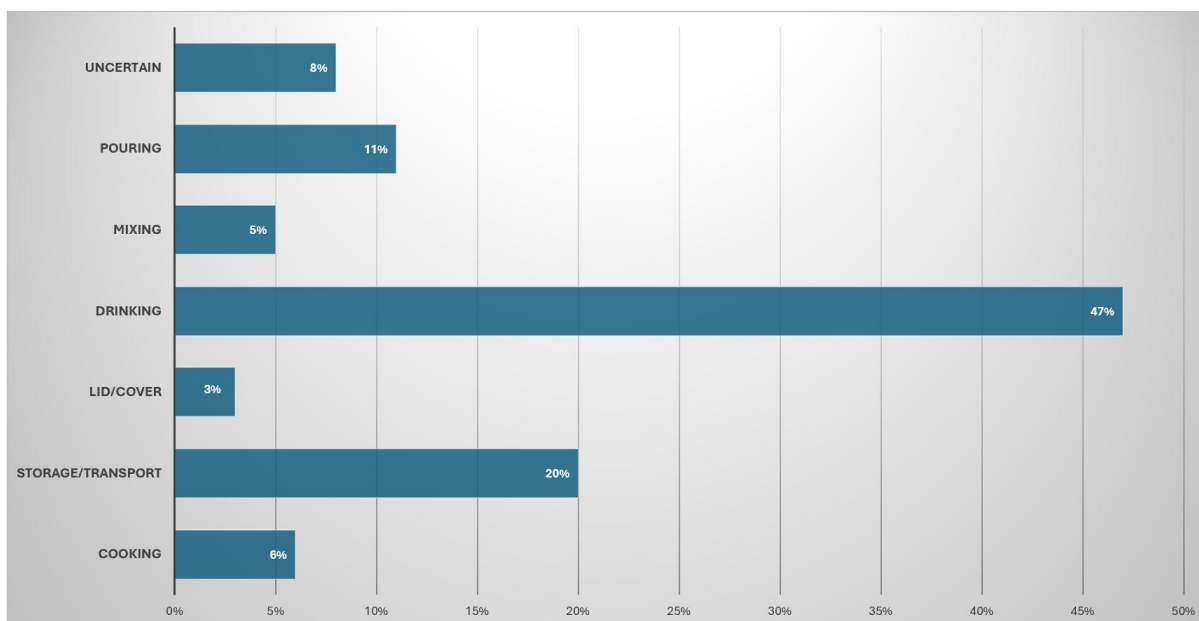


Figure 4.34 Vessels by Function, Combined Average, Upland Settlements

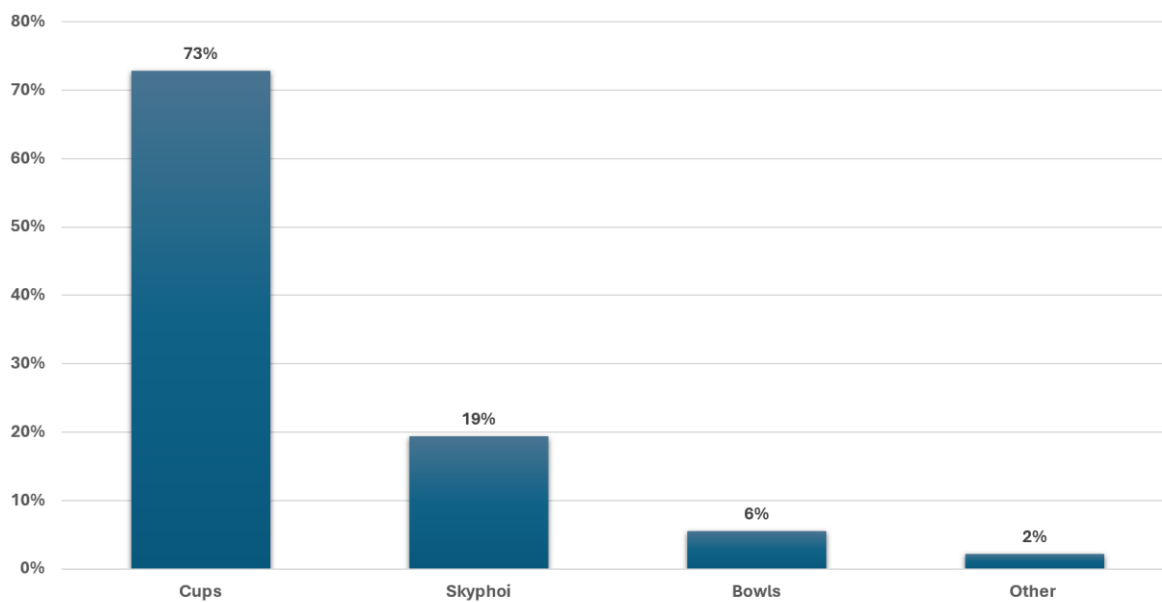


Figure 4.35 Distribution of Vessels by Vessel Type, Upland Settlements

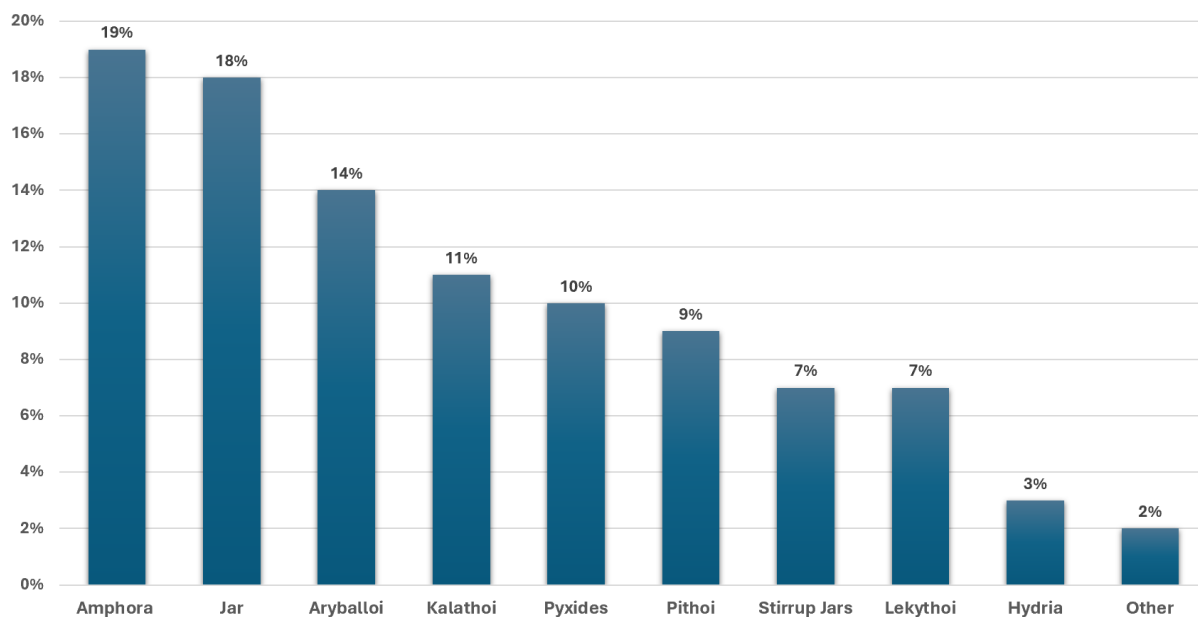


Figure 4.36 Distribution of Storage Vessels by Vessel Type, Upland Settlements

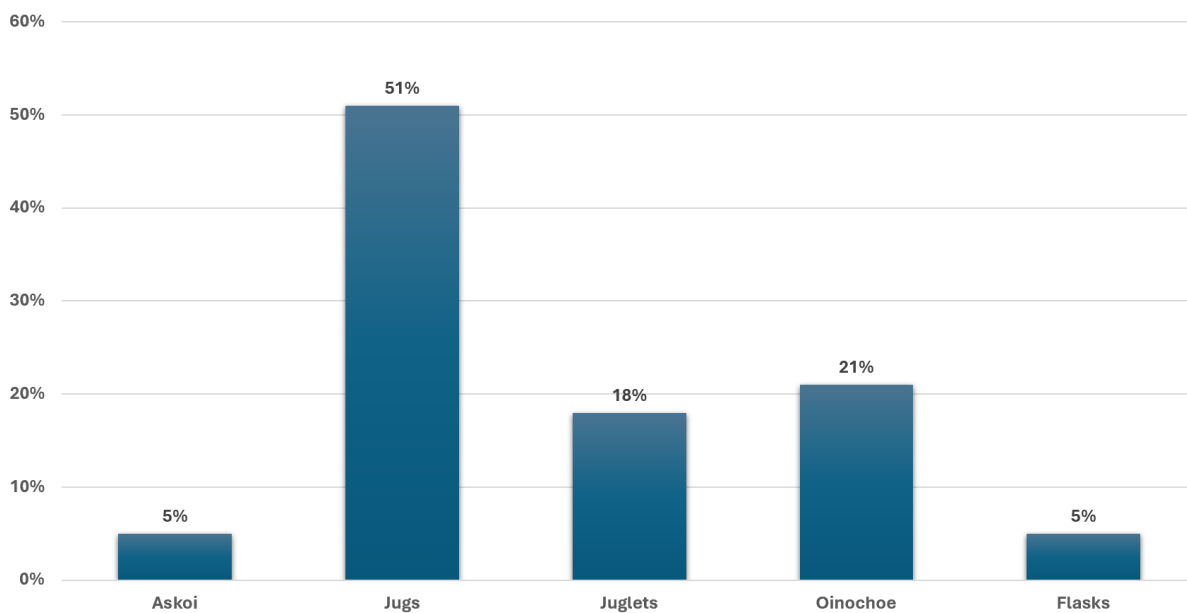


Figure 4.37 Distribution of Pouring Vessels by Vessel Type, Upland Settlements

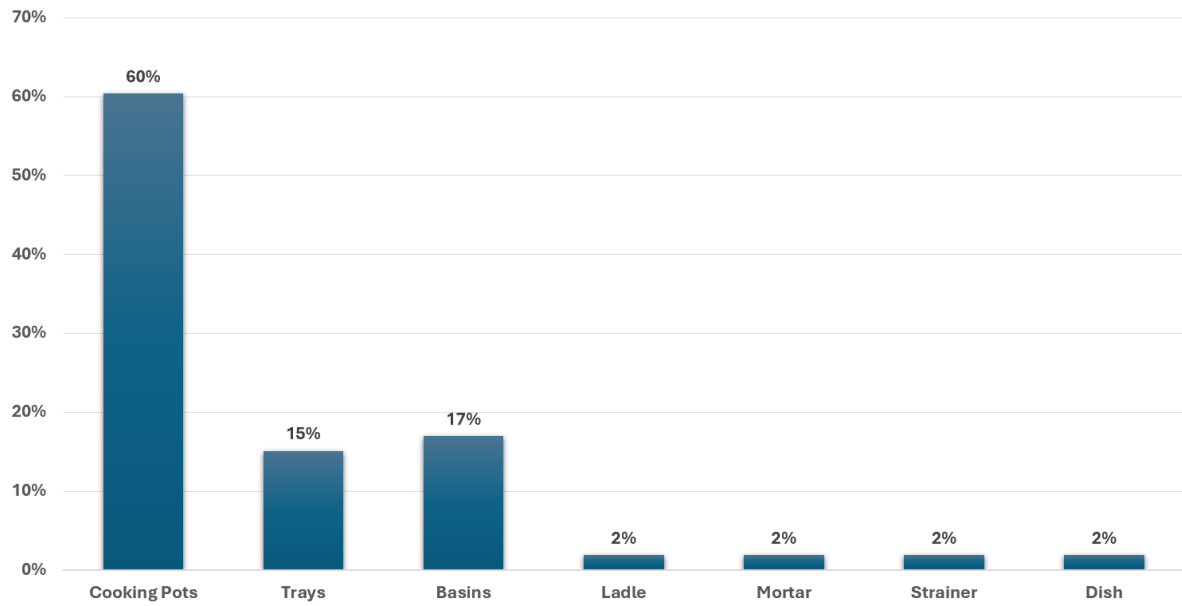


Figure 4.38 Distribution of Cooking Vessels by Vessel Type, Upland Settlements

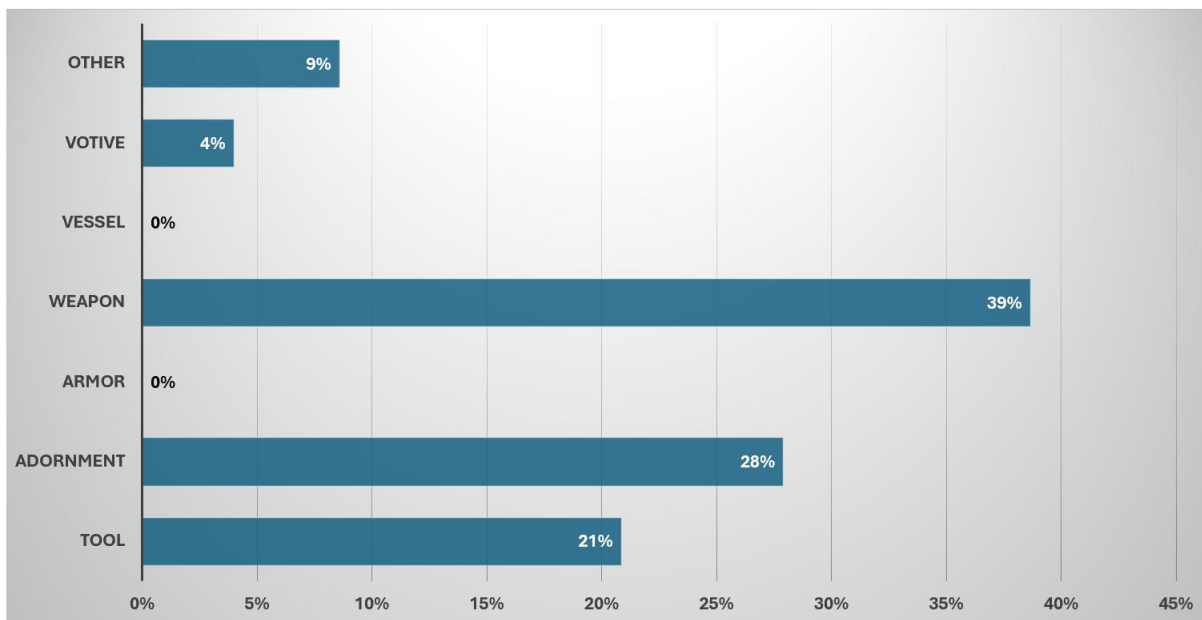


Figure 4.39 Distribution of Objects by Object Function, Upland Settlements

CHAPTER 5 POST-ABANDONMENT VISITATION TO LOWLAND MONUMENTAL SITES

As introduced in Chapter 1, upland settlements were not the only category of place to have been abandoned in the wake of the “collapse” period, nor were they the only genre of site to have attracted attention during the periods of social transformation discussed in Chapter 3. The pressures exerted by these social changes appear to have been ubiquitous across the island, reaching across all regions and impacting multiple and disparate identities. The rites taking place at upland settlements cannot, therefore, be understood in isolation, but must be studied alongside those taking place at a second category of abandoned place. These were the lowland sites that had become a focus of renewed construction and interest in the late Final to Postpalatial periods, and which, by LM IIIB, also lay abandoned. These sites, all of which boasted large buildings of reused ashlar masonry constructed in the late Final Palatial to Postpalatial periods, had a profoundly different character to upland settlements, where the buildings were of modest size and were constructed of the rough fieldstone that is ubiquitous in the landscape of Crete.

Of the sites that fall into this category, eight have yielded concrete evidence for post-abandonment visitation occurring between LM IIIC and the Archaic period. Only seven—Amnisos, Haghia Triada, Knossos, Kommos, Mochlos, Palaikastro, and Phaistos—are included in the following catalog. As in Chapter 4, a brief description of each site and the phases of revisitation that are apparent at each will be given, followed by summaries articulating the chronology of the deposits, the vessels and objects within those deposits, and information regarding the distribution of vessels and objects by function, and by material. Where possible, a detailed catalog entry for each deposit is given following these summaries. As was true for the

upland sites cataloged in Chapter 4, differences in excavation and recording methods, differences in the size and state of preservation of the deposits, as well as differences in the availability of the data, are challenges that interfere with the production of a homogenous catalog. As a result of these challenges, in some cases known but less well-studied deposits are discussed under “Phases of Visitation”, while no detailed catalog of the deposit contents is given. Such is the case with some of the deposits at Kommos and one large feasting deposit at Mochlos. Episodes of tomb cult known to have taken place at Knossos and at Mochlos concurrently with post-abandonment visitation are also discussed under “Phases of Visitation,” but, as these deposits represent a different phenomenon, no detailed description of the deposit contents is given.

An eighth potential case study, Tylissos, falls into this category of site, and shows evidence for the same kind of cult activity that is evidenced in the material record associated with the other sites listed here. It has been excluded, however, on the basis of incomplete excavation and publication. The history of this site is currently not clear enough to define the deposits in question definitively as “post-abandonment” deposits. Although it appears clear that two periods of cult activity occurred at this site—one in LM IIIC and one in the 7th century—excavation and study at Tylissos has been insufficient to allow for a complete understanding of the periods of inhabitation and date of abandonment, and the finds themselves have not been completely cataloged. While it appears to be an intriguing example that fits many of the patterns which will be discussed in this chapter, it cannot be included here for these reasons.

Amnisos

Site Location: 35°19'52"N, 25°12'25"E

Site Category: Bronze Age Monumental Site

Periods of Inhabitation: MM IIIA/B, LM IA, LM IIIA/B

Brief Site Description

Limited excavation necessarily curtails what can be said about the site of Amnisos.⁵²⁶ Archaeological and literary sources suggest that a close relationship existed between Knossos and this port site in the Minoan period, and its strategic location along the coastline may explain why the site became a target, as Malia and Sissi did, for reoccupation in the Final Palatial. Very little of the site has been excavated, but of the architecture that has been unearthed, the earliest structure is the Villa of the Lillies, the first phase of which dates to MM IIIA. The villa appears to have been destroyed by an earthquake in MM IIIB, and to have been rebuilt in LM IA. A second destruction occurred in that same period. Subsequent to this second destruction, the site of Amnisos appears to have lain abandoned for a period of time before its reoccupation in LM II-IIIB, with LM II being only sporadically represented.⁵²⁷ Following LM IIIB, or possibly the very early LM IIIC, the site was, again, abandoned. It was at this time that its ruins became a focus of cult practices which extended from LM IIIC through the Roman period, with apparent gaps in practice between LM IIIC/SM and 900 BCE⁵²⁸, and likely again between the Hellenistic and the Roman periods.⁵²⁹

⁵²⁶ Prent 2005, 335.

⁵²⁷ Kanta 1980, 38.

⁵²⁸ Schafer 1992, 182.

⁵²⁹ Marinatos 1933, 97.

Post-abandonment visitation at Amnisos is reflected in two deposits. The first of these is an ash altar, evidencing multiple temporal phases of use, which later inscriptions at the site associate with Zeus Thanatos. The second is a small deposit of pithoi made in a small room in an abandoned LM IIIB house.

Ash Altar

The ash altar at Amnisos is evidenced by a layer of black and greasy soil localized in front of a monumental ashlar wall, with two podia, of over 44m in length (Fig. 5.1).⁵³⁰ Architectural study indicates that this wall was originally constructed in MM IIIB and that it was later expanded in LM IB.⁵³¹ Marinatos suggested that it originally belonged to an important MM structure, but as the wall was never fully excavated, both the nature and the original function of this structure remain unknown. The architectural remains may, in fact, be representative of a platform, rather than a building.⁵³² Marinatos noted that the wall had been excavated and cleaned, presumably by those who reoccupied the site in the Final-Palatial period.⁵³³ He uncovered a small dump in the vicinity which contained sherds of MM pottery, bull figurines and part of a terracotta kernos, which he associated with the LM II-III clearing of the area.⁵³⁴ The

⁵³⁰ Prent 2005, 333; Driessen and MacDonald 1997, 135; Marinatos 1933;1934;1935.

⁵³¹ Driessen and MacDonald 1997, 135.

⁵³² Prent 2005, 528.

⁵³³ Marinatos 1933, 96.

⁵³⁴ Marinatos 1934, 248. (Ausgrabungen und Funde auf Kreta, AA:245-54.)

votive character of these finds suggested to Marinatos that Amnisos was already a focus of cult in the MM period, and that the later periods of visitation represented a continuous memory of the sacred nature of the site.⁵³⁵ Above the south podium of the Minoan wall, an LM III wall constructed of reused ashlar blocks formed an additional backdrop to the rites taking place at the site.⁵³⁶

The ash altar itself was indicated by a layer of black and greasy soil, about 70cm thick in the middle and tapering towards the ends of the wall, which contained animal bones, pottery, and objects scorched by fire. The rites associated with this altar appeared to the excavator to date back to at least the 8th century BCE, but late LM IIIC and SM pottery and votive objects were found beneath the ash, suggesting that rites, perhaps of a slightly different character, were already taking place in the area in the early days of the site's abandonment.⁵³⁷ The excavated material appears to reflect a gap in practice occurring between LM IIIC/SM and around 900 BCE.⁵³⁸ A second layer underlying the ash deposit contained PG, G, and EA material, indicating a return to cult practice after a hiatus of about 100 years. Marinatos found no internal stratigraphy within the ash layer itself and so dated the deposit broadly to the Archaic period. Material appears to have accumulated steadily from this point until the Hellenistic period, when another phase of abandonment appears to be indicated by a layer of clean sand.⁵³⁹ The Roman period saw the construction of new buildings and the continuation of cult in the area of the ash altar.

⁵³⁵ Marinatos 1933, 100;

⁵³⁶ Driessen and MacDonald 1997, 135.

⁵³⁷ Kanta 1980, 38; Prent 2005, 529; Schafer 1992, 182.

⁵³⁸ Schafer 1992, 182.

⁵³⁹ Marinatos 1933, 97.

Area F

Area F lies 400m to the west of the sanctuary and represents an area of LM IIIB buildings. One amongst these was a house of the megaron-type typical of Final Palatial reoccupation of abandoned LM I sites, constructed of reused ashlar blocks. Across an open courtyard from this house were found two small auxiliary rooms. In the southern most of these a large, tilted pithos was set up “as if it were a burial,” with two small upright wide-mouthed pithoi next to it (Fig. 5.2).⁵⁴⁰ These vessels were dated to the 7th century. Prent notes that these three pithoi, placed carefully together, are the only signs of habitation dating to that period.⁵⁴¹ Comparison with other post-abandonment deposits, such as the one recently discovered in the settlement near Phaistos, suggests that, rather than a sign of habitation, the pithoi in Area F represent a post-abandonment deposit.

Chronology of Deposits

Of the two deposits that are indicative of post-abandonment visitation to Amnisos, one—the ash altar—is multi-temporal in nature. Interaction with this area of the site is indicated from LM IIIC onward. Only artifacts that pertain to the period under examination are mentioned in the deposit contents listed below, but as noted above, use of the ash altar continued from the abandonment of the site in LM IIIB/IIIC into the Roman period. Two temporal peaks can be seen

⁵⁴⁰ Schafer 1992, 189.

⁵⁴¹ Prent 2005, 333.

in the chronology of the artifacts that are representative of the period under study. These peaks occurred in the PG and the LG/EA periods, with the LG/EA periods far more strongly represented, indicating an intensification of practice occurring at this time. It was in this period that the second deposit—the deposit from Area F—was placed.

Chronology of Vessels

Of the vessels that were identified in the post-abandonment deposits at Amnisos, 12% belong to the PG period and 60% to the LG/EA period. A sharp drop-off in practice is noticeable after each of these peaks (Fig. 5.3).

Distribution of Vessels by Function

Half of the vessels under consideration—13 of the 26—have functions related to storage and transport, represented primarily by amphorae and pithoi (Fig. 5.3). This is followed in frequency by drinking vessels—7 of the 26—which are predominately represented by skyphoi. The remaining vessels are 3 kraters, a lid, and 2 closed vessels of uncertain function. Cooking and pouring vessels are completely absent from the assemblage. The number of drinking vessels present in the deposits related to the ash altar may indicate that rites involving the consumption of liquid may have been taking place there. The LG/EA deposit from Area F consists entirely of pithoi.

Chronology of Objects

The temporal distribution of the objects from the ash altar is similar to that of the vessels from the same area. 17% of these objects belong to the PG period and 64% to the LG/EA period (Fig. 5.4). Again, each temporal peak is followed by a sharp drop off in objects, presumably representing a sharp drop-off in practice. No objects were found with the pithoi deposited in Area F.

Distribution of Objects by Function and Material

Of the 21 objects found in association with the ash altar, 16 were overtly votive in nature. These votives were primarily figurines, both animal and human, but also included a tripod and two tripod stands, wagon wheels, a stone mask, and others. Two additional objects—a bronze bowl and a bronze shield—were not included in this count, but likely also served as votives. The majority of the votive objects were bronze, including half of the figurines. Other materials included terracotta and bone. One personal adornment, a bronze pendant, was also documented. No significant difference in material or function is notable between the two periods of visitation, but the prevalence of bronze appears to have increased in the later period of visitation (Figs. 5.5 and 5.6).

Spatial Focus of the Deposits

The spatial focus of the ash altar is the MM IIIB/LM IB monumental ashlar wall that lies to its east, which was backed by a second monumental wall made of reused ashlar dating to LM IIIB. The deposit from Area F was placed in association with an LM IIIB building.

Deposit Contents

Out of context deposit, area of the altar

Deposit type:

Ritual

Description:

This material comes from the cleaning of the area in 1984, and from a box marked "Sept. 1938" a year in which only the area of the ash altar was under excavation, or were listed under "Amnisos, Saint of Zeus"

Location/Associated Architecture:

The area of the ash altar at Amnisos is located in front of a monumental wall which dates to the MM period and LM IB. An LM III wall formed an additional backdrop to the rites taking place at the altar.

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

None

Associated Objects:

2 bronze male figurines (PG/EG)
1 bronze bull figurine (EA)
1 bronze tripod (PG/EG)
1 bronze tripod stand (PG)
1 bronze bowl (LG)

1 bronze wheel (LG)
1 bronze double axe (LM IIIC/SM/PG)
1 bronze shield (LG/EA/A)
1 stone “mask” (LG/EA)

Total: 10 objects

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Unknown

Deposit from the black layer of the ash altar

Deposit type:

Ritual

Description:

This material appears to come from the black, greasy layer associated with the ash altar. All objects come from boxes in the Heraklion museum labeled “Amnisos, black layer 1935.”

Location/Associated Architecture:

The area of the ash altar at Amnisos is located in front of a monumental wall which dates to the MM period and LM IB. An LM III wall formed an additional backdrop to the rites taking place at the altar.

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

1 skyphos (LM IIIB/LM IIIC)
1 skyphos (LM IIIC)
1 skyphos (SM/PG)
3 skyphoi (LG)
2 amphoras (SM/PG)
1 amphora (EG/MG)
1 amphora (LG)
1 amphora (LG/EA)
1 krater (PG)
1 krater (EG/MG)
1 krater (LG)
1 closed vessel (MG/LG)

1 closed vessel (LG)
1 pithos (LG/EA)

Total: 17 vessels

Associated Objects:

1 terracotta bull's head (MG/LG)
1 terracotta horse's head (LG/EA)
1 terracotta bull's leg (LG/EA)
1 terracotta wheel (LG/EA)
1 bronze pendant (LG/EA/A)
1 bronze attachment (LG/EA/A)
1 bronze tripod stand (LG/EA/A)

Total: 7 objects

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Unknown

Upper sanctuary layer deposit

Deposit type:

Ritual

Description:

This material comes from a box in the Heraklion museum with the inscription "Amnisos 1936, upper sanctuary layer."

Location/Associated Architecture:

It is presumed that this material comes from the area of the ash altar. The area of the ash altar at Amnisos is located in front of a monumental wall which dates to the MM period and LM IB. An LM III wall formed an additional backdrop to the rites taking place at the altar.

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

2 amphoras (LG)
1 kotyle (LG)
1 pithos (LG)
1 lid (LG/EA/A)

Total: 5 vessels

Associated Objects:

None

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Unknown

Other Objects

Deposit type:

Ritual

Description:

This material consists of objects mentioned by Marinatos as coming from the ash altar.

Location/Associated Architecture:

The area of the ash altar at Amnisos is located in front of a monumental wall which dates to the MM period and LM IB. An LM III wall formed an additional backdrop to the rites taking place at the altar.

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

None

Associated Objects:

1 terracotta "idol" with upraised arms (PG)

1 terracotta bird (LG/EA)

1 bone eye, life-size (LG/EA)

Bone eyes for insertion, plural but no exact number given (LG/EA)

Total: 5+ objects

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Unknown

Deposit from Area F

Deposit type:

Undetermined

Description:

Deposit of vessels

Location/Associated Architecture:

This deposit was located in the southernmost of the two rooms near large Room A in Area F. Here, a tilted pithos was set up as if it were a burial, and two small upright wide mouthed pithoi were placed next to the tilted one. This area of the settlement was abandoned during the LM IIIB phase.

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

3 pithoi (LG/EA/A)

Total: 3 vessels

Associated Objects:

None

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Unknown

Haghia Triada

Site Location: 35°03'32"N, 24°47'34"E

Site Category: Bronze Age Monumental Site

Periods of Inhabitation: FN, EM-LM IB, LM IIIA1-B

Brief Site Description

As with many of the sites listed here, an inconsistent excavation and publication record limits what can be said about the long history of Haghia Triada. The site was likely first settled in the Final Neolithic, and it appears to have been a prosperous settlement throughout the Early Minoan period and beyond. The Neopalatial “Royal Villa”, built at the end of the Middle Minoan period, is suggestive of the site’s importance. The Villa likely had a function similar to

other court-centered buildings like Phaistos and Knossos, although the “palace” at Haghia Triada was smaller and lacked lustral basins. The presence of multiple large-scale storage areas, imported material, and a significant collection of sealings and linear A tablets suggest that the collection and storage of produce was an important part of this building’s function, and, by extension, that Aghia Triada played an important role in the broader economy until its destruction in LM IB.⁵⁴²

Following a lengthy period of abandonment, Haghia Triada again became a site of significance in LM III, likely returning to its former importance as an economic center, this time functioning as a critical part of the Knossian Final Palatial economy.⁵⁴³ The importance of the site grew as Knossian decline began to result in political fragmentation and the growth of power at regional centers that had once served as second or third tier economic sites (See Chapter 3). This is evidenced by an elaborate building campaign that was carried out in LM IIIA1-2, when, amongst other buildings, Megaron ABCDE, Building H, two monumental stoa, and two corridor-style buildings—the North-West Building and Building P were constructed on the previously abandoned site. While McEnroe and Hayden have both argued for the hybrid character of this architecture, emphasizing its reliance on both Minoan and Mycenaean prototypes, Preziosi and Cucuzza both emphasize the strong Mycenaean cultural influence on the buildings at the site.⁵⁴⁴ The architecture constructed at the core of Haghia Triada in this period had a “public” or administrative character, with several large buildings geared towards storage, which appears to

⁵⁴² La Rosa 1992, 70-77.

⁵⁴³ Merousis 2002, 164.

⁵⁴⁴ Cucuzza 1997, 74.

substantiate the growth of economic power and significance that Haghia Triada experienced as the power of Knossos began to wane.⁵⁴⁵

Despite the importance of Haghia Triada as an economic center, it does not appear to have had a large residential quarter. Less than 10% of the architecture on the site can be identified as domestic.⁵⁴⁶ It is perhaps for this reason that Haghia Triada did not become a nexus of nucleation for the surrounding population when conditions began to deteriorate towards the end of LM IIIB and into LM IIIC. Instead, the site was abandoned late in LM IIIB.⁵⁴⁷

Phases of Revisitation

Post-abandonment visitation at the site of Haghia Triada occurred in three phases, all of which were focused on the same general area—the Piazzale Dei Sacelli (Fig. 5.23). The first phase of visitation began in LM IIIC-SM, and the second began in the later part of the PG period, after a significant gap in practice. Cult activity at the site during this phase lasted through the early Archaic period, after which another gap in practice is apparent. The last phase of visitation occurred during the Hellenistic period, and thus lies beyond the scope of this dissertation.

⁵⁴⁵ Cucuzza 1997, 73-84.

⁵⁴⁶ Privitera 2011, 267.

⁵⁴⁷ Cucuzza 1997, 75; Langhor 2020, 90.

The votive material which constitutes the majority of the post-abandonment depositions at Haghia Triada was first uncovered by Federico Halbherr and Roberto Paribeni who excavated the Haghia Triada hill at the beginning of the 20th century. During their excavations, they uncovered a large assemblage of votives, spread across a large area of the slope that lay to the East of Ayios Georgios chapel. It was Halbherr and Paribeni who gave this area of the site, which incorporates a paved esplanade, a "kiosk", and a Hellenistic altar, the name *Piazzale dei Sacelli*.⁵⁴⁸ In this area, in LM IIIC-SM, an open-air sanctuary was established, centered on the paved area of the square where the majority of the offerings were placed. In the later period of visitation, lasting from LG-EA, the spatial extent of the deposit expanded to include the area along the exterior of the north wall of Stoa FG (Fig. 5.7).

Ash Deposit

Lying 6m to the south of the east wall of Stoa FG, aligned with the rear room of the stoa and oriented towards Megaron ABCDE, a large pit was uncovered, measuring around 3.3m by 1.5m in diameter (Fig. 5.7). This pit was filled with ash, burned animal bones, fragments of terracotta kernoi, and other votive material. This deposit dates to the second period of visitation, LG/EA.⁵⁴⁹

⁵⁴⁸ D'agata 1997, 85.

⁵⁴⁹ Banti 1941-43, 68-69; D'agata 1998, 19; 1999, 245.

Unknown Context

D'agata, in her 1999 volume on the material from the Piazzale dei Sacelli mentioned the discovery during the first excavation at Haghia Triada of three PG vessels—a krater, a skyphos, and a cup. Unfortunately, the context of these vessels is not known.

Chronology of Deposits

Post-abandonment practice at Haghia Triada occurred in multiple phases, with the first beginning in the late LM IIIC to early SM periods. Following this phase of visitation, there was a gap in practice that lasted from the 10th to the mid-9th centuries. Visitation began again in the late PG period and gradually increased until it reached a peak in the LG period. The EA and A period saw a gradual decline in practice. A third phase of visitation, beginning in the Hellenistic period, is not covered in this dissertation.

Chronology of Vessels

Of the 11 vessels associated with post-abandonment visitation occurring at Haghia Triada that are cataloged in this dissertation, 3 date to the LM IIIC/SM period, four to the PG period, one to the

G period, and 2 to the EA/A periods (Fig. 5.8). Vessels were far outnumbered by votive objects, which were the primary focus of cult occurring in the abandoned site.

Distribution of Vessels by Function

Five out of the 11 vessels represented in the post-abandonment deposits at Haghia Triada were pouring vessels. 3 of these were rhyta which likely had a ritual function. A ritual function can also be assigned to two “multiple vessels”. The remainder of the vessels were a skyphos and a cup (drinking vessels), a krater (mixing vessel), and an open vessel of uncertain function. The contexts of the PG skyphos, cup, and krater are unknown and it is unclear if they were found together or in different areas of the site, but the general scarcity of drinking vessels on the site suggests that drinking and feasting rituals were not a structured part of the cult activity taking place at Haghia Triada after its abandonment (Fig. 5.9).⁵⁵⁰

Chronology of Objects

The 388 objects which were deposited in the Piazzale dei Sacelli after LM IIIB represent significant post-abandonment interaction at the site of Haghia Triada. The earliest of these objects date to the LM IIIC period. These early depositions were followed by an increase in the quantity of votives being deposited in the SM period, but this early phase of visitation ended in a

⁵⁵⁰ Prent 1999, 234.

gap in practice that stretched into the late PG. At that point, practice resumed and gradually increased until it reached its peak in the LG period. Visitation continued after this point, decreasing gradually into the Archaic, which is represented by only 18 objects (Fig. 5.10). A two-century gap separates the Early Iron Age visitation to Haghia Triada from the Hellenistic period of cult activity at the site.⁵⁵¹

Distribution of Objects by Function and Material

All of the objects deposited in the Piazzale dei Sacelli after Haghia Triada was abandoned in LM IIIB were votive in nature. Clay and bronze were the only materials substantially represented, with clay being the most common, at 75%, and bronze being less common, but still prevalent, at 25%. Gold foil was present on a single bronze figurine of a bull, which dated to LM IIIC/SM. Though the majority of the votives were crafted from clay, their quality and the complexity of their manufacture was very high.⁵⁵² This quality of the clay objects appears to decline into the SM period, however, before practice at the site temporarily ceases. In the second phase of visitation, bronze is much more substantially represented (Fig. 5.11).

⁵⁵¹ Prent 1999, 248.

⁵⁵² Prent 1999, 236.

The area of the Piazzale dei Sacelli was always an open space. In the Neopalatial period it stood in front of the “Royal Villa”, which appears to have shared many of the functions of Minoan palace sites like Knossos and Phaistos. Like most of the palatial structures on the island, this villa was destroyed in LM IB, but in LM IIIA2, when the ruined site of Haghia Triada was reinhabited, Megaron ABCD was built on its ruins and Stoa FG was built in the near vicinity (Fig. 5.12). The clear spatial focus of the votive deposits in the Piazzale dei Sacelli are the ruins of Megaron ABCD and Stoa FG. As is the case with visitation to several monumental sites, the degree to which the earlier history of Haghia Triada was conflated with the LM III building program in the minds of the visitors is unclear. The clear architectural focus of the visitation was buildings dating to LM III, however.

Deposit Contents

Piazzale dei Sacelli

Deposit type:

Votive

Description:

Votive offerings deposited in the area of the Piazzale dei Sacelli

Location/Associated Architecture:

The deposit was located on the paved area of the Piazzale dei Sacelli. The excavator doesn't note individual find spots of the artifacts, so they have all been included in one deposit.

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

3 ryhta (LM IIIC/SM)
1 askos (PG)
1 jug (PG)
1 open vessel (G)
2 multiple vessels (EA/A)

Total: 8 vessels

Associated Objects:

5 ceramic fragments of bovine figurines (LM IIIC)
18 ceramic fragments of bovine figurines (LM IIIC/SM)
9 ceramic fragments of bovine figurines (SM)
2 ceramic fragments of bovine figurines (PG/G)
10 ceramic fragments of bovine figurines (PG-A)
2 ceramic fragments of bovine figurines (G)
3 ceramic fragments of bovine figurines (EA)
1 ceramic fragment of a bovine figurine (A)
3 ceramic fragments of bovine figurines (undated)

2 ceramic bovine figurines (LM IIIC)
7 ceramic bovine figurines (LM IIIC/SM)
9 ceramic bovine figurines (G)
7 ceramic bovine figurines (LG)
3 ceramic bovine figurines (undated)

1 ceramic fragment of a bovine protome (LM IIC/SM)

1 ceramic bovine protome (EA)
2 ceramic bovine protomes (EA/A)
1 ceramic bovine protome (undated)

4 ceramic fragments of animal figurines (LM IIIC/SM)
1 ceramic fragment of an animal figurine (SM)
1 ceramic fragment of an animal figurine (G-A)

1 ceramic bull figurine (SM)

1 ceramic fragment of a horse figurine (LM IIIC)
4 ceramic fragments of horse figurines (LM IIIC/SM)
1 ceramic fragment of a horse figurine (PG-A)
1 ceramic fragment of a horse figurine (LG-A)

4 ceramic horse figurines (LM IIIC/SM)
3 ceramic horse figurines (SM)

1 ceramic fragment of a horse figurine on wheels (PG)
 1 ceramic horse figurine on wheels (LG)

1 ceramic fragment of a ram figurine (LM IIIC/SM)
 1 ceramic fragment of a ram figurine (PG-A)
 1 ceramic fragment of a ram figurine (LG)
 1 ceramic fragment of a ram figurine (LG-A)

1 ceramic bird figurine (LM IIIC/SM)
 6 ceramic bird figurines (SM)
 1 ceramic bird figurine (PG)
 2 ceramic bird figurines (G)
 4 ceramic bird figurines (EA/A)

3 ceramic bird protomes (LG)

34 ceramic fragments of fantastic animal figurines (LM IIIC/SM)
 1 ceramic fragment of a fantastic animal figurine (undated)

1 ceramic fantastic animal figurine (LM IIIC/SM)

1 ceramic fragment of a human figurine (LM IIIC/SM)
 5 ceramic fragments of human figurines (PG)
 1 ceramic fragment of a human figurine (PG/G)
 6 ceramic fragments of human figurines (PG-A)
 15 ceramic fragments of human figurines (LG)
 1 ceramic fragment of a human figurine (EA)

2 ceramic human figurines (LM IIIC/SM)
 3 ceramic human figurines (PG-LG)
 11 ceramic human figurines (PG-A)
 6 ceramic human figurines (G/LG)
 2 ceramic human figurines (LG)
 4 ceramic human figurines (EA/A)

1 ceramic fragment of a female figurine (PG-A)
 1 ceramic fragment of a female figurine (EA)
 1 ceramic fragment of a female figurine (EA/A)

1 ceramic female figurine (PG/G)
 1 ceramic female figurine (PG-LG)
 3 ceramic female figurines (EA)

2 ceramic male figurines (PG/G)
 2 ceramic male figurines (PG-LG)

10 ceramic male figurines (PG-A)
 1 ceramic male figurine (G)
 3 ceramic male figurines (LG)
 1 ceramic male figurine (LG/EA)
 6 ceramic male figurines (EA)
 1 ceramic male figurine (EA/A)

17 ceramic fragments of horns of consecration (LM IIIC/SM)
 1 ceramic fragment of horns of consecration (undated)

6 ceramic horns of consecration (LM IIIC/SM)

1 ceramic fragment of a double axe (LM IIIC/SM)
 1 ceramic double axe (LM IIIC/SM)

1 ceramic fragment of a stanchion (LM IIIC/SM)

1 ceramic boat (LG)

3 ceramic wheels (PG-A)
 1 ceramic wheel (LG)

1 ceramic hub of a wheeled vehicle (G)
 2 ceramic hubs of wheeled vehicles (LG)

1 bronze bovine figurine (LM IIIC/SM)
 5 bronze bovine figurines (PG)
 25 bronze bovine figurines (G)
 3 bronze bovine figurines (G-EA)
 15 bronze bovine figurines (LG)
 7 bronze bovine figurines (EA)
 11 bronze bovine figurines undated)

2 bronze bull figurines (LM IIIC/SM)

1 bronze figurine of a cow nursing a calf (LG)

1 bronze animal figurine (LG)
 1 bronze animal figurine (undated)

1 bronze fragment of a human figurine (EA)

1 bronze human figurine (PG)
 2 bronze human figurines (PG-A)
 1 bronze human figurine (G/LG)
 1 bronze human figurine (EA)

1 bronze fragment of a male figurine (EA)

2 bronze male figurines (PG)

1 bronze male figurine (G)

2 bronze male figurines (LG)

1 bronze male figurine (EA/A)

1 bronze female figurine (EA/A)

1 bronze ram figurine (G)

2 bronze ram figurines (G-EA)

3 bronze ram figurines (LG-EA)

1 bronze horse figurine (LG-A)

1 bronze fantastic animal figurine (LG)

2 bronze wheels (LG)

Total: 388 objects

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Unknown

Ash Pit

Deposit type:

Ritual

Description:

A deposit of an object.

Location/Associated Architecture:

This deposit was an elliptical pit, 3.3m x 1.5m, max diameter in the N-S direction, which was found approximately 6m from the east wall of the portico FG2. It was full of ashes, coals, and the crushed and burned bones of small animals. The sacrificial layer varied in depth from 0.5m in the north to 0.2 m in the south. Some of the votives listed in the Piazzale dei Sacelli deposit were found among the bones, but it is unclear which ones belong to this context. Fragments of the kernos detailed below came from this ash pit.

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

None

Associated Objects:

1 terracotta kernos (undated)

Total: 1 objects

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Sheep and goat.

Deposit with unknown context

Deposit type:

Ritual

Description:

A deposit of three vessels. The context is unknown, and it is unclear if they were found together or separately. It is also unclear where they were found in relation to the other votives.

Location/Associated Architecture:

Unknown

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

1 skyphos (undated)

1 krater (PG)

1 cup (PG)

Total: 3 vessels

Associated Objects:

None

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Unknown

Knossos

Site Location: 35°17'52"N, 25°09'47"E

Site Category: Monumental Bronze Age Site

Periods of Inhabitation:

Settlement: EN-Roman

Brief Site Description

Knossos has the longest inhabitation history of any site on the island. The palace site sits atop a tell that testifies to the great antiquity and importance of the area, which was inhabited for over 3000 years—from as early as the aceramic Neolithic—before the first precursor to the palace was built in EM III. The EM settlement of Knossos did not exceed the size of the Neolithic site by any great amount, but in the MM period the settlement rapidly expanded.⁵⁵³ According to Evans, at its greatest extent the settlement at Knossos likely covered close to 1,125,000 square meters, 40,000 of which belonged to the palace itself, and had a population of close to 100,000.⁵⁵⁴ Knossos continued to expand until the end of LM IB, when a wave of destructions swept the island. Unlike many of its contemporaries, Knossos was not destroyed at this time, though the settlement was greatly reduced in size. Rather, as discussed in Chapter 3, the new cultural influences that are seen on the island beginning around 1450 BC appear to have radiated out from central Crete, with Knossos at the core of this cultural revolution.⁵⁵⁵ The site remained an important economic and administrative center until the final destruction of the

⁵⁵³ Hood and Smythe 1981, 8.

⁵⁵⁴ Evans 1928, 559, 564.

⁵⁵⁵ Wiener 2022, 97.

palace in LM IIIA2, after which the surrounding settlement shrank once again, though it would remain continuously inhabited through the Roman period and beyond.⁵⁵⁶

Phases of revisitation

The abandoned palace of Knossos and its immediate environs was the site of at least two distinct phases of visitation during the period under investigation, one lasting from LM IIIC-SM, and the second beginning in the late PG and apparently extending well into the Hellenistic period and later. The first of these episodes of visitation took place, not within the palace proper, but in the so-called Spring Chamber Shrine—an underground chamber appended to a monumental structure about 70m to the south of the main palatial building. After a gap in practice, the focus of visitation moved to the Central Court at the very heart of the palatial structure, apparently beginning in the late PG to G periods. At the same time that this later period of visitation was taking place, a number of distinct phenomena related to reuse of tombs and funerary material in the nearby North Cemetery also arose. As tomb cult represents a different phenomenon, the finds associated with this deposit are not detailed in this dissertation, but relevant aspects of the assemblage will be discussed here and in the following chapter.

⁵⁵⁶ Hood and Smythe 1981, 12.

This structure in which the Spring Chamber Shrine was uncovered, which Evans named the “Caravanserai,” was located near the Minoan roadway that ran to the South of the palace (Fig. 5.13). Comprised of a pavilion decorated with a frieze of painted partridges, basement rooms and passages containing corn bins and paved flooring suitable for the keeping of animals, and a room that housed a stone basin, presumed to be for the washing of feet, it was assumed that the “Caravanserai” was a fountain house, or place of reception for travelers arriving at the palace.⁵⁵⁷ An elaborate water system fed this building, and facilitated the carrying of waste water away from it.⁵⁵⁸ While the structure appears to date to the MM III-LM I period, the room immediately to the east of the stone basin yielded a number of clay bathtubs that dated to LM II, indicating that the building was in use during the Final Palatial period, possibly even into LM IIIB.⁵⁵⁹

Immediately to the west of the room containing these baths, the so-called Spring Chamber Shrine was uncovered (Fig. 5.14). This was a subterranean chamber with a central basin, that could be approached from the front court of the large building to the east via a series of three descending steps. The rear wall of the basin contained a niche, probably designed to hold a lamp, and small benches to either side at a somewhat lower level.⁵⁶⁰ Evans dated the chamber itself to the beginning of the Late Minoan period. At the entrance to this chamber, a collection of steatite lamps and a stone bowl were found which, although belonging to a chronologically later stratum, were dated by Evans to LM I. Evans did not consider these vessels to represent a

⁵⁵⁷ Evans 1928, 103-140.

⁵⁵⁸ Evans 1928, 119.

⁵⁵⁹ Evans 1928, 128.

⁵⁶⁰ Evans 1928, 123-128.

deliberate deposit of heirloom objects in a later context, but instead suggested that these items had “fallen from above”.⁵⁶¹ The uncertainty surrounding the context makes it most prudent to abstain from including this part of the deposit in the catalog.

The Spring-chamber, itself, was “chock full” with a votive deposit consisting of offering vessels, sometimes including their carbonized contents, which appeared to Evans “identical” to those found at the entrance, but which appeared to post-date them by around two centuries.⁵⁶² Also found with this assemblage was an LM IIIB hut urn which contained a Goddess with Upraised arms. The votive vessels themselves consisted of plain shallow bowls, often containing the remnants of food offerings, a few incense burners, and painted vessels of various types including stirrup jars, small amphorae, oinochoai, two handled bowls, handleless bowls, and kraters. A figurine of a sphinx was also discovered. Evans dated all of these objects to no later than 1000 BCE. Some of the earliest objects, including the hut urn, likely dated to around 1200.⁵⁶³ This seems to indicate that the Spring Chamber shrine was a focus of post-abandonment visitation from LM IIIC into the SM period.

Central Courtyard Deposit

Visitation and ritual centered on the Spring Chamber shrine seems to have come to an end around 1000 BCE. Relics of the post-palatial period are conspicuous by their absence in the palace proper, although Evans mentions that some vessels from this period were found on the SE

⁵⁶¹ Evans 1928, 123.

⁵⁶² Evans 1928, 128.

⁵⁶³ Evans 1928, 128-138.

borders of the site in the early days of the excavation. Evans believed that the palace itself lay derelict until an Early Greek Temple was established between the Propylaeum and the Central Court.⁵⁶⁴ The date of this structure is unclear, though Evans notes an area of sherd debris extending to within 3m of the east wall of the temple which contained coins from Aegina. Two of these coins were dated by Evans to the seventh century, a second to the middle of the sixth century, and a third to around 480 BCE.⁵⁶⁵ These coins were reexamined and redated, based on current numismatic research, and it was found that all belonged to the 5th century or later, placing this temple beyond the temporal range of the current investigation.⁵⁶⁶

Evans equated this Hellenistic temple with the “House of Rhea” mentioned by Diodoros Siculus as still being visible on the site of Knossos in his day.⁵⁶⁷ Fragments of Hellenistic stemmed cups were found in the southwest corner of the central courtyard which lay immediately to the east of this later construction (Fig. 5.15).⁵⁶⁸ Predating these, however, was a small collection of PG and G sherds. Although these are not mentioned in Evans’ monumental summary of the excavation, Hartley studied them for her 1930 publication, “Early Greek Vases from Crete.” These earlier pottery fragments consisted primarily of PG and G black one-handled cups, two skyphoi, and a Geometric Krater. A small terracotta animal figurine and a fragment of a small bowl with a rolled clay handle were also part of this assemblage.⁵⁶⁹

This collection of PG-G fragments, and the LG figurine included in the deposit, have been interpreted as evidence for an open-air cult, predating the Hellenistic temple and its associated

⁵⁶⁴ Evans 1928, 346.

⁵⁶⁵ Evans 1928, 5-7.

⁵⁶⁶ Coldstream 2000, 287.

⁵⁶⁷ Evans 1928, 7.

⁵⁶⁸ Evans 1928, 7; Hartley 1930, 2.

⁵⁶⁹ Hartley 1930, 92-93; Coldstream 2000, 286.

activities, taking place at the very center of the abandoned monumental administrative complex.⁵⁷⁰ It is impossible to state what the relationship was, if any, between these votive offerings and those from the Spring-Chamber shrine, as the assemblage from the central court provides very few iconographic clues as to the nature of the cult being performed.⁵⁷¹ Prent suggests that these fragmentary vessels should be associated with an area of “darker soil full of wood ashes and bones, possibly of a sacrificial nature,” which Evans mentions in an earlier report of 1900, and that this may indicate that the rituals taking place in the PG-G period would have involved animal sacrifice and/or feasting events.⁵⁷²

Whatever the nature of the post-abandonment activities taking place here, it is clear that impressive sections of the administrative structure were still standing at this time. Evans mentions that fragments of the Minoan bull fresco from the northern entrance passage were found at the same level as the geometric settlement which existed 20m to the north of the building’s boundary. His conclusion was that the fresco could not have been destroyed before this period, therefore this and other still vibrantly present reminders of the structures’ monumental significance would have formed the backdrop to the events occurring in the ruined complex at this time.⁵⁷³

Reuse of LM IIIB Tombs in North Cemetery

Although tomb cult is not the focus of this dissertation, details of the interventions made in the nearby North Cemetery offer additional insight into the potential focus of interest for those

⁵⁷⁰ Prent 2003, 83; 2005, 516-17.

⁵⁷¹ Prent 2005, 516.

⁵⁷² Prent 2003, 416; Evans 1900, 17.

⁵⁷³ Evans 1930, 171; Prent 2003, 83.

visiting the abandoned site in the PG-G periods. Beginning at a date corresponding to the instances of cult occurring in the Central Court of the palace of Knossos, a small number of LM IIIB tombs in the North Cemetery were cleared out and reused for the deposition of cremated remains belonging to a small number of family groupings. As new chamber tombs were also being constructed in this period, the choice to reuse these earlier tombs appears to have been deliberate. Additionally, these instances of reuse appear to have had some connection with status as these were amongst the richest burials in the cemetery. This phenomenon was accompanied by two other trends: the reuse of Minoan larnakes dating to LM IIIA-B, and the imitation of elements of Late Minoan design in PGB pottery being deposited in the cemetery.⁵⁷⁴ All three of these trends testify to an increasing reverence for the LM III past amongst the burial population generally, and it has been suggested that the reuse of the LM IIIB tombs by a small subset of elite families may be connected with the cult practices occurring in the Central Court.⁵⁷⁵

Chronology of Deposits

As stated above, visitation to Knossos after the abandonment of the palace occurred in two phases, separated by a gap that lasted from the early SM period to the late PG period. The first of these, visitation to the Spring Chamber Shrine, lasted from the late LM IIIC into the early SM periods. The second, visitation to the Central Courtyard of the palace, began in the late PG. It

⁵⁷⁴ Coldstream 1998, 58-60.

⁵⁷⁵ Prent 2004, 91.

is unclear how long this phase of visitation lasted, but the deposit cataloged by Hartley included one LG figurine. A Hellenistic temple was later built in the same area as the earlier deposit.

Chronology of Vessels

The chronology of the vessels found in association with post-abandonment deposits at Knossos follows the chronology of the deposits. A greater number of LM IIIC/SM vessels are represented because the size of the deposit at the Spring Chamber Shrine was far larger than the handful of PG-G vessels cataloged from the Central Courtyard (Fig. 5.16).

Distribution of Vessels by Function

The majority of the 45 vessels that are known to have been deposited after the abandonment of the site—76% or 34 vessels—were drinking/serving vessels (Fig. 5.17). This appears consistent across both deposits. In the Spring Chamber Shrine, 27 out of 37 vessels, or 73%, fell into this category, and in the Central Courtyard deposit, seven out of eight, or 88% (Figs. 5.18 and 5.19). Of the drinking/serving vessels in the Spring Chamber Shrine deposit, 21 were bowls, and many of these contained the carbonized remains of food offerings. While bowls can serve as both drinking and serving vessels it is clear that in this deposit they functioned as vessels of offering. Only one bowl was present in the Central Courtyard Deposit. The remainder of the drinking/serving vessels were cups and skyphoi, which are more clearly associated with

drinking. The presence of a single mixing vessel, a krater, strengthens this association. Pouring and storage vessels are absent from the Central Courtyard deposit but are represented in the Spring Chamber Shrine deposit at two vessels (5%) and four vessels (11%) respectively. The remaining four vessels, or 11%, of the deposit in the Shrine were kraters, or mixing vessels.

Chronology of Objects

The total number of objects represented in the post-abandonment deposits at Knossos are few in number—a total of nine for both deposits. Eight of these belong to the Spring Chamber Shrine deposit, the majority of which date to the LM IIIC/SM period (Fig. 5.20). A single object—a ceramic hut urn containing a goddess with upraised arms—dates to LM IIIB. The only object found in the Central Courtyard deposit was a fragmentary animal figurine that dates to the LG period.

Distribution of Objects by Function and Material

The objects belonging to the above-mentioned deposits are primarily votive or ritual in nature. Four of the nine objects were votive figurines, three of which came from the Spring Chamber Shrine and one from the Central Courtyard deposit. The LM IIIB hut-urn from the

Shrine may have come from a domestic religious context.⁵⁷⁶ The remaining four objects from the Shrine were incense burners. All of the objects in both deposits were crafted from clay.

Spatial Focus of the Deposits

The spatial focus at Knossos varied between periods. The earlier period of visitation was focused on the Spring Chamber from the LM I fountain house or “Caravanseraï”. While this structure may have been built in LM I, its last use was in LM II-III B. The second period of visitation was focused on the Central Courtyard of the abandoned palace, which was in use until LM IIIA2-III B.

Deposit Contents

Spring Chamber Shrine Deposit

Deposit type:

Ritual

Description:

A deposit of vessels and objects

Location/Associated Architecture:

This deposit was located within the Spring Chamber, part of the building which Evans called the Caravansarai, which dates from MMIII-LM I and lies to the South of Knossos Palace. No detailed catalog of the assemblage exists. The vessels and objects listed here were either pictured in Volume II of *The Palace of Minos at Knossos* or mentioned in the text. The list for this deposit may, therefore, be incomplete.

⁵⁷⁶ Prent 2006, 233.

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

3 cups (LM IIIC/SM)
21 bowls (LM IIIC/SM)
3 skyphoi (LM IIIC/SM)
1 oinochoe (LM IIIC/SM)
1 askos (LM IIIC/SM)
4 kraters (LM IIIC/SM)
1 stirrup jar (LM IIIC/SM)
1 kalathos (LM IIIC/SM)
1 amphora (LM IIIC/SM)
1 jar (SM)

Total: 37 vessels

Associated Objects:

1 ceramic hut urn (LM IIIB)
4 incense burners (LM IIIC/SM)
1 ceramic figure of a sphinx (SM)
1 ceramic head of an animal (LM IIIC/SM)
1 ceramic figure of an animal (undated)

Total: 8 objects

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Unknown

Central Courtyard Deposit

Deposit type:

Ritual

Description:

A deposit of vessels and one object

Location/Associated Architecture:

This deposit was located in the Central Courtyard of the Palace of Knossos.

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

2 cups (PG)
2 cups (G)
1 bowl (PG/G)
2 skyphoi (PG/G)
1 krater (G)

Total: 8 vessels

Associated Objects:

1 ceramic animal figurine (LG)

Total: 1 object

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Unknown

Kommos

Site Location: 35°00'47"N, 24°45'38"E

Site Category: Monumental Bronze Age Site

Periods of Inhabitation: FN-EM (sparse), MM IB-LM IB, LM II-LM IIIB

Brief Site Description

The area where the harbor site of Kommos would eventually be established shows some scant evidence for occupation in the Final Neolithic and for Early Minoan domestic structures, but evidence for extensive settlement is not apparent until MM IB. Occupation was, thereafter, continuous until the site was destroyed, as so many others were, in LM IB. At that point Kommos was largely abandoned, although there is some indication that the ruins of the site were being used domestically, or by squatters, in LM II. As at Haghia Triada, LM IIIA2-B saw a period of renewed interest in the earlier ruins, and an extensive building program was carried out

at that time (Fig. 5.21). Building N and Building P were both constructed on the ruins of monumental Building T, a MM-LMI structure whose façade contained the largest blocks of ashlar known to have been used during the Minoan BA, and the longest ashlar wall of any bronze age building on Crete. It is notable, however, that much of this façade was either removed or covered over in LM III. Both later buildings reused ashlar blocks and other materials from Building T, and Building P, in turn, became the largest LM IIIB building on the island.⁵⁷⁷

The amount and variety of imported pottery found at the site of Kommos is indicative of its status as an important harbor town, likely affiliated with the palace at Phaistos.⁵⁷⁸ The degree of foreign contact was particularly intense in the Final Palatial period, as evidenced by the presence of imported wares from Cyprus, Egypt, Syria-Palestine, and Sardinia in these levels of the site.⁵⁷⁹ Phoenician contact is apparent at Kommos, not only in the pottery assemblages associated with the later period of inhabitation, but in the Tripillar shrine associated with the post-abandonment use of the site.⁵⁸⁰

Phases of Revisitation

The occupation of Kommos came to an end in LM IIIB when the settlement was abandoned as populations began to nucleate at other sites. Post-abandonment visitation began in the SM period, with the construction of a ritual building, Temple A, in the areas of Neopalatial

⁵⁷⁷ Shaw and Shaw 2000, 26; Shaw 2006, 41-50.

⁵⁷⁸ Shaw 1992, 148 (aerial atlas of crete pgs 148-153)

⁵⁷⁹ Shaw 2006, 57.

⁵⁸⁰ Shaw 1989.

Building T, and LM IIIA2-B Buildings N, and P. This earlier Temple had two phases. Contemporary with Temple A, a PG/EPG hearth and bench were constructed in the ruins of LM IIIA2-B building P, in the western part of gallery P3. Temple A was replaced by Temple B, which was built on top of it, around 800 BCE. The Phoenician Tripillar shrine, mentioned above, is associated with the first of the three phases of Temple B. Contemporary with the construction of Temple B, Building Z was constructed in the same gallery of Building P where the earlier hearth and bench were located, but further to the east. This structure appears to have been used for cooking and feasting activities. An outdoor area associated with this building was also used for food-preparation. Post-abandonment ritual activity continued into the 7th century at Kommos. After this, interest in the sanctuary that had been established in the ruins of the site waned for a period of roughly 200 years, until it was renewed in the Classical period with the construction of Temple C, atop the ruins of the earlier temples. A description of Temple C, lying as it does beyond the temporal scope of this project, will not be included here.

The material from the site of Kommos is complicated. Very few of the deposits associated with post-abandonment visitation at the site are in context and not all of them are fully published. Many are “dumps” that were the result of the periodic removal of earlier votive material from the temple. As the associated material dates to the period of interest, all deposits of the appropriate periods have been included here, with as much information as is available concerning the original context as possible. In the interest of thoroughness, known architectural features dating to the period in question are mentioned here, even when no specific material associated with these features has been published. See Fig. 5.22 for the location of all deposits listed here.

Temple A, Floor 1 (33C/82)

Temple A was built over the stoa of monumental Neopalatial building T, in close proximity to Buildings N and P, both of which were also constructed within the ruins of Building T. As Temple A lies beneath both Temple B and Temple C, only a limited area of this temple could be exposed for excavation. This was done by lifting up the stone floor slabs of the later temple and excavating beneath them. This exposed a narrow stone bench along the north wall of the temple and a sill of small stones delimiting the building's eastern side. The excavators noted that the pottery was sparse and badly fragmented, but that it appeared to date the earliest temple to the 11th century BCE.⁵⁸¹ The material appears to be representative of votive offerings and possibly drinking and feasting events, though no hearth related to Temple A has been discovered.⁵⁸²

Temple A, Floor 2, Within the Cella (33C/81)

The material from the second floor level of Temple A speaks to a dramatic increase in ritual activity between the first phase of the ritual building and the second. The material indicates that the second phase of the temple began in the early PG period, possibly in the later 10th century.⁵⁸³

⁵⁸¹ Shaw and Shaw 2000, 212-214.

⁵⁸² Shaw and Shaw 2000, 11.

⁵⁸³ Shaw and Shaw 2000, 214-216.

Temple A, Just Outside of the Doorway (33C/85)

This deposit was discovered just outside of the doorway of the temple and appears to be contemporary with Floor 2 of Temple A.⁵⁸⁴

Temple A, Courtyard of Wall 2 (63A/54, 55, 57, 65, 67, 68, 70-72)

During the construction of Temple B, workers effectively sealed the deposits from Temple A in the courtyard with their working chips, making the association of the material below this layer with Temple A clear. This deposit can be even more closely dated based on joins between the vessels found here and those found in the Temple A, floor 2 deposit.⁵⁸⁵

Temple A, Courtyard of the Ceramic Horse (63A/26, 49, 50, 51)

Another use surface associated with Temple A, Floor 2.⁵⁸⁶

⁵⁸⁴ Shaw and Shaw 2000, 216-217.

⁵⁸⁵ Shaw and Shaw 2000, 217-218.

⁵⁸⁶ Shaw and Shaw 2000, 218-219.

Protogeometric Accumulation (34A2:34, 36, 37, 40-48)

What the excavators have labeled a “Protogeometric Accumulation” appears to be a gradual build-up of material, which can be divided into three phases. Cross joins between the earliest stage and the courtyard of Wall 2 deposit indicate that material began to be deposited here in the same phase as Temple A, floor 2. Later material was layered on top of this.⁵⁸⁷

Protogeometric Dump 1 (42A/68, 70-76)

This PG dump was deposited against the north face of the north wall of Building T and was probably made up of discarded offerings connected with the latest use of the earliest temple. It is unclear if this was a gradual accumulation of material or a simultaneous deposition.⁵⁸⁸

Protogeometric Dump 2 (47A/36-41, 45, 51, 52, 56, 58, 61, 75)

This PG dump was excavated above a Minoan road in the near vicinity, and shares cross joins with Protogeometric Dump 1 and a very few with Temple A, Floor 2. This was likely a one period dump.⁵⁸⁹

⁵⁸⁷ Shaw and Shaw 2000, 220-222.

⁵⁸⁸ Shaw and Shaw 2000, 222-224.

⁵⁸⁹ Shaw and Shaw 2000, 225-227.

Protogeometric Material from General Strews (Various)

This is material without context, from the general strews associated with the site, but dated to the PG period.⁵⁹⁰

Temple A, Strews (various)

This is material without context, from strews associated with all phases of Temple A.⁵⁹¹

Temple B, Earliest Courtyard (51A/14, 30, and 31)

This is material associated with the burnt surface of the first courtyard of Temple B. This deposit held both PG and G material. There were substantial amounts of intrusive later material which suggested some later disturbance in this area. Material belonging to the Temple A period was also a part of this deposit.⁵⁹²

⁵⁹⁰ Shaw and Shaw 2000, 227-228.

⁵⁹¹ Shaw and Shaw 2000, 228-229.

⁵⁹² Shaw and Shaw 2000, 229-230.

Temple B, Earliest Courtyard, general (50A)

This material came from the extreme southwest corner of the temenos. This was a substantial amount of later 9th century sherds which likely represent the period of the second temple, although much Geometric and Orientalizing material was also noted in this area.⁵⁹³ No specific vessels were itemized for this deposit, therefore none of this material is represented in the database, but the deposit is mentioned here as dating to the period in question.

Temple B, Earliest Courtyard (63A/24)

This material was associated with the first Temple B surface in Trench 63 A which contained substantial numbers of PG fragments and vessels useful for dating the first phase of Temple B.⁵⁹⁴

Temple B, Foundation(33C/79, 80)

This material represents the earliest found within Temple B. The excavators felt it was probably a deposit of sherds from Temple A upon which the later temple was built. The deposit allowed for the dating of the construction of Temple B toward the end of the 9th century, or, at the

⁵⁹³ Shaw and Shaw 2000, 230.

⁵⁹⁴ Shaw and Shaw 2000, 231.

latest, the early 8th century. There appears to have been no gap in the use of the site between the two temples.⁵⁹⁵

Temple B, Floor 1 (33C/58, 60, 64, 76, 78)

More of Temple B could be visualized during excavation than was possible with Temple A, but not all of the building's interior could be exposed due to features of later Temple C which could not be removed. The building is known to have had a bench and a central pillar, which was found to be in alignment with a hearth. Within this hearth were found fragments of votive offerings. Two deposits are associated with Floor 1 of Temple B.⁵⁹⁶

Temple B, Floor 1 (29A1/84, 87)

This deposit contained additional material from the first floor of Temple B—a deep ashy deposit above a hard-packed clay surface. It is this layer to which the Phoenician Tripillar shrine belongs. The material from this assemblage dates firmly to the middle or second half of the 8th century BCE.⁵⁹⁷

⁵⁹⁵ Shaw and Shaw 2000, 231-232.

⁵⁹⁶ Shaw and Shaw 2000, 20, 232-233.

⁵⁹⁷ Shaw and Shaw 2000, 233-234.

U-Shaped structure, Temple B phase 1

At the same time, or shortly after, the construction of Temple B, a U-shaped structure consisting of three slabs standing on edge was placed in the court in front it. It is unclear what the purpose of this structure was, and no finds are reported as being directly associated with it.⁵⁹⁸

Temple B, Floor 2 (33C/55, 72, 73, 77)

The floor deposit for the second floor of Temple B dated to the Geometric and Orientalizing periods and one of its characteristic features was the quantity of East Greek imported material.⁵⁹⁹ A new hearth replaced the original one in this period, but the Tripillar shrine continued to receive offerings.⁶⁰⁰

Temple B, Floor 3 (33C/54, 68, 70, 71)

The floor deposit for the third floor of Temple B dates to the 7th century BCE. This floor level rise was, again, associated with a new hearth. In this phase a second hearth was placed around the upper portions of the Tripillar shrine, meaning that the shrine was no longer visible at this time.

⁵⁹⁸ Shaw and Shaw 2000, 25.

⁵⁹⁹ Shaw and Shaw 2000, 234-235.

⁶⁰⁰ Shaw and Shaw 2000, 35.

Temple B, Phase 3, low platforms

During the same period as Temple B, floor 3, a low platform comprised of a single line of slabs was installed to the southeast of the Temple. Slightly later, a second platform was constructed south of altar U to replace the first one which had been covered over by that time. There were no finds associated with these platforms that provide a clue as to their use, but the excavators suggest that they may have been used as bases for placing objects, cooking vessels, or pottery, or perhaps that they functioned as low seats.⁶⁰¹

Temple B, Upper levels (33C/52, 53, 66)

This deposit was associated with scattered blocks of stone and a large quantity of drinking cups which possibly represent feasting activities or ritual meals. Some storage and cooking ware was present in the assemblage as well. It was noted that the deposit from within the temple at this period was not as rich as the dump just outside the temple.⁶⁰²

Temple B, Early Orientalizing Occupation (33C/68, 72)

The early Orientalizing material from within the Temple.

⁶⁰¹ Shaw and Shaw 2000, 27.

⁶⁰² Shaw and Shaw 2000, 236.

Temple B, Cella (Various)

This assemblage was found within the cella of Temple B, but in contexts that were, according to the excavator, ambiguous or insecure. Only the most interesting finds were included as part of the deposit, which means this assemblage is not available in its entirety.⁶⁰³

Altar U, Construction (42A/34, 38-40)

Altar U was constructed during the second phase of Temple B, just to the east of the temple. The material dates to the LG/EA period—the later eighth century BCE. Several vessels and two fragmented animal figurines were found in association with this altar as well as almost 38 kg of burnt cattle and caprid bones, presumably from sacrifices taking place before ritual meals.⁶⁰⁴ During phase 3 of Temple B a platform of slabs was constructed to the west of the altar, possibly to aid in sacrificial activities.⁶⁰⁵

⁶⁰³ Shaw and Shaw 2000, 238.

⁶⁰⁴ Shaw and Shaw 2000, 28, 239.

⁶⁰⁵ Shaw and Shaw 2000, 28.

Double Hearth, northeast of Temple B

A double hearth was uncovered to the northeast of Temple B. Its double form is unprecedented at the site, but its construction of slabs set on edge is echoed in hearth 4 of Temple B and in both earlier and later U-shaped structures mentioned above and below. The western compartment of the hearth held ash containing pig and fish bones, while the eastern compartment contained no ash. Numerous limpets were found alongside it, however. A number of knives were found near this hearth.⁶⁰⁶

Temple B, Material not in discrete deposits (various)

This is a selection of transport amphora dated to the period of Temple B that came from the site as a whole but were not located in discrete deposits. Not all of the material found has been included, which means, again, that the catalog of later material from the site is likely incomplete.⁶⁰⁷

Temple B, end (42A/15, 25)

This material lay just outside of the doorway of Temple B and it appears to have been a rich dump of pottery vessels. Many of the pieces survived virtually intact, which led the

⁶⁰⁶ Shaw and Shaw 2000, 27.

⁶⁰⁷ Shaw and Shaw 2000, 241-245.

excavators to hypothesize that the deposit represented a final clearing out of the temple at the point of desertion. The deposit is temporally mixed, suggesting that some of these vases stood in the temple for some time before being removed. The most advanced forms suggest that the end of this period of use should be placed around 600 BCE, slightly later than the focus of this dissertation. These vessels are, nevertheless, included as part of the assemblage.

Building V (54A1-58-61, 64)

Building V was built in the 7th century and was actively used during the second and third phases of Temple B. The building consisted of three east-west platforms stepping down slope. It is possible that there were benches along part of its east and west walls, and a number of drinking cups were found near the western bench. This may have been a tent platform associated with sanctuary ritual. It was also used as an area for working iron. Quantities of iron detritus were recovered near the benches, associated with a rubble platform in the building's northern border, and in other areas of the sanctuary. A shaft smelting furnace was found to the south of the building. Slag is not very apparent, and the excavators thus hypothesize that metal working was not a long-term activity at the site and does not appear to have been connected with the nature of the sanctuary ritual.⁶⁰⁸

⁶⁰⁸ Shaw and Shaw 2000, 29-30.

Western Part of Gallery P3

Building P, as mentioned above, was constructed of reused ashlar in LM IIIA2. In the PG/EG period, one of the long galleries of the ruined building, Gallery P3, began to be used on its western end. In this area, a hearth made of slabs and a possible bench were found. The finds from this area are not published, and this should be an area of future research (Fig.).⁶⁰⁹ It is possible that finds from beneath Building Z, further to the east in the same gallery and dating to the same period as this deposit, were associated with the use of this space. These vessels can be found in the catalog below in the Building Z deposit.

Building Z

In the eastern part of the same gallery of Building P, P3, a Middle to Late Geometric building was constructed using the remains of the fallen walls of Building P. A rough wall was built alongside the north wall of P3 and then a north-south wall was built on the east. A hard-packed floor was constructed using pebbles from the nearby beach. A large, reused stone, set into the ground, may have served as the threshold for an entrance to the north, though this was found significantly above the level of the floor. The material accumulation on the floor included fragments of cooking and drinking vessels, animal bones, and limpet shells. Ten pebbles were also found, which were interpreted by the excavators as fishing weights. Multiple lenses of burning, particularly in the center of the room, were noted and were probably the result of

⁶⁰⁹ Shaw and Shaw 1993, 13-14.

cooking fires. Slightly above floor level, four iron spearheads were found placed in the center of the building. The building may have collapsed in the 8th century. By the 7th century it had been razed to the ground, but the area continued to be used for cooking and food preparation in the Archaic period.⁶¹⁰

Geometric Occupation Layer (36B/18, 20-22)

This material was originally thought to be a dump from Temple B, but was later found to be associated with Geometric Building Z.

Area East of Building Z

Slightly above the earlier Geometric level was an outdoor area with numerous burnt surfaces, similar pottery, and a pebble similar to those found in Z. The area was less rich in faunal remains and this was interpreted as an indication that it was used for food preparation rather than for eating.⁶¹¹

⁶¹⁰ Shaw and Shaw 1993, 25-26.

⁶¹¹ Shaw and Shaw 1993, 177.

7th Century Enclosures Below Building Q

Building Q is a Late Archaic structure built on top of the remains of the Minoan central court of Neopalatial Building T and within the ruins of Building P. While the building itself lies outside the temporal scope of this dissertation, it appears that Building Q was constructed on top of two earlier 7th century U-shaped enclosures, similar to the one erected in the court in front of Temple B at the same time as that building's construction. Two roughly parallel lines of small stones with evidence of burning were found in connection with these enclosures. To the immediate south of these lines was a circular bed of unburnt cobbles, and, even further to the south, a slab surface. Up to eight, total, of these U-shaped structures were found at Kommos—the two below building Q, three west and southwest of Temple B, and one built on top of the wall of Building Q after its destruction. The location of the remaining two is not clear from Shaw's report. Most appear to date from phases two and three of Temple B.

The function of these structures is unclear, although one was found with faint traces of burning, and another with a concentration of ash. Limpets and bones were found in connection with a third. It is possible that these were small hearths. No material assemblages were published as associated with these structures.

Krater Deposit in North House (House N)

House N, a LM I-III house in the hilltop settlement above the later sanctuary, had a single PG krater deposited within its walls.⁶¹²

Iron and Bronze Tools and Weapons from Various Contexts

The Kommos publication included a section on miscellaneous finds, many of which could not be matched with any specific deposit listed here. Because they date to the period in question and were found on the ruined site, I have included those which could not be matched with a deposit in this section. What is known about the context of each object is listed under this heading in “Deposit Contents.”

Chronology of Deposits

The complexity of the site and the manner in which the deposits were published make establishing a complete chronology for the post-abandonment rituals taking place at the site of Kommos difficult. What seems to be clear, however, is that there was fairly continuous visitation and cult occurring, without attendant continuous occupation, from the 11th century into the 7th century. After this period, there appears to have been a gap in practice of roughly 200 years

⁶¹² Shaw 1981, 213.

before cult began again with the establishment of Temple C. This pattern of use differs significantly from what is seen at other sites of post-abandonment visitation on the island. Where most sites saw a gap in practice occurring in the Early and Middle Geometric periods, and a sharp upswing in practice from the Late Geometric into the early Archaic period, Kommos was visited continuously, throughout the period under study with the most intense period of use occurring in the Protogeometric. The Late Geometric, in fact, represents somewhat of a low point in terms of the number of vessels, specifically, dating to this period. This atypical chronology, as well as other differences that will be discussed in the sections below, suggest that what was happening at the site of Kommos may represent a somewhat different phenomenon than what we see in other parts of the island.

Chronology of Vessels

As in all cases, because the histories of deposition are complex, and the publication records incomplete, one can, at best, make generalized conclusions about what was occurring at Kommos based on the material assemblages that are left to us. Absolute numbers of remaining sherds can give us only a general approximation of use. At Kommos, the chronology of the ceramic assemblage appears to suggest that, after a relatively slow start to the cult activities at the site, which began in the very late LM IIIC into the SM period, there was a significant increase in visitation in the Protogeometric period (Fig. 5.23). To this point, Kommos follows the same chronological trend that is seen at other sites of post-abandonment visitation. Following the Protogeometric period, however, there appears to have been a gradual decrease in visitation,

reaching a low point in the Late Geometric period where, at almost all other sites, post-abandonment assemblages show not only a renewal of interest, but an intensification in practice. A second peak in ritual activity at the site occurred in the early Archaic period, but the number of vessels represented in the assemblage dating to this period is only 95, compared with 178 for the Protogeometric. The gap in practice that appears consistently in the Early and Middle Geometric period in post-abandonment deposits across the island did not occur at Kommos.

Another point of importance in relation to the chronology of the vessels is related to the fact that Kommos is the only one of the sites recorded in this dissertation to have a significant number of imported vessels represented in the ceramic assemblage. The percentage of imported vessels is relatively high in all periods, but there is a marked increase in the early Archaic to Archaic periods when the percentage of imported vessels jumps from 17% to 25% (Fig. 5.24). The presence of significant numbers of imports is in keeping with the status of Kommos as an important port where foreign influence is obvious, not only in the ceramic assemblages, but in other aspects of the cult taking place at the site. The Tripillar Shrine, which belonged to the period of Temple B, is related to Phoenician forms of worship, and two figurines of Egyptian deities were found placed in association with this shrine. Phoenician presence, in particular, is very apparent as early as the Floor 2 assemblages from Temple A and, to a lesser degree, in the Floor 2 assemblages from Temple B.⁶¹³ The deposits associated with Temple B also show significant influence from mainland Greece, particularly from the East. While the establishment of Temple A in the ruins of the Bronze Age site of Kommos may have originated as a local phenomenon, it is likely that the significant differences apparent in the chronology and form of worship were, to some degree, the result of outside influence. Kommos must be, therefore, be

⁶¹³ Gilboa et al. 2015.

considered to be representative of a somewhat different phenomenon than the other sites of visitation listed here.

Distribution of Vessels by Function

Of the 532 vessels represented by the ceramic assemblage at Kommos, 219 (41%) are drinking vessels. 148 (28%) are storage and transport vessels, and mixing and pouring vessels are about equally represented at 64 (12%) and 57 (11%) vessels respectively. Cooking vessels make up only 4% of the assemblage (Fig. 5.25). This pattern in distribution of vessel function appears to have remained fairly consistent over time, even as the intensity of visitation to the site changed, with the exception being the Late Geometric period when practice at the site was at its ebb. Storage and transport vessels dating to this period make up 38% of the assemblage. The percentage of the assemblage representing drinking vessels holds steady at 42%, but mixing and pouring vessels show a marked decrease, at 2% and 8% respectively (Fig. 5.26).

Chronology of Objects

40 out of the 154 objects recovered from the site of Kommos are undated, making the overall chronological distribution of objects somewhat difficult to assess. Of those which were dated by the excavators, 55 date to the PG period, 11 to the Early and Middle Geometric Periods, 15 to the Late Geometric period, 30 to the early Archaic period, and 3 to the Archaic (Fig. 5.27).

This chronological distribution roughly maps on to the chronological distribution of the vessels on the site. The highest number of objects belong to the Protogeometric period when cult practice at the site was most intense. This is followed by a decrease in the Early to Middle Geometric periods. Where the vessels suggest that the LG was a low point in cult practice at the site, however, the objects initially appear to show a slight increase from the Early to Middle Geometric into the Late Geometric. This discrepancy is likely a result of the way in which the objects were recorded, however. The Late Geometric assemblage includes a number of beads which were each counted as individual objects while some may, in fact, belong grouped together. When beads made of the same material, and belonging to the same context, are grouped together, the number of individual objects dating to the LG drops below the number seen in the Early to Middle Geometric. This low point in practice is followed by a second, but less intense, peak in practice in the EA.

Distribution of Objects by Function and Material

The objects from Kommos fall into a wide variety of categories and are crafted from a much wider variety of materials, including luxury and imported materials, than at any other site discussed in this dissertation (Figs. 5.28 and 5.29). The assemblages at Kommos are the only post-abandonment deposits to have included gold, silver, and faience, another marker of significant difference between this site and the others under study. The category of object most strongly represented at Kommos are votive figurines. These were almost exclusively animal figurines, with clay wheels also represented. Most were made from clay, but about 10% of the

votive assemblage was crafted from bronze, including the only human figurine. Two faience votives, one of the Egyptian Goddess Sekhmet or Bastet and one of the Egyptian God Nefertem, were found in association with the Tripillar Shrine of Temple B. Adornments are also well represented, but the majority of these objects are individual beads, some of which, as mentioned above, likely belong grouped together. Rings and clothing ornaments are also present, though in much smaller numbers. Tools are less well represented and are predominantly made from stone, though iron, bronze, bone, and clay tools are also present in the assemblage. A relatively large number of weapons were also found—30 in total, 12 of which were iron knives—from a variety of contexts around the site.

Spatial Focus of the Deposits

The spatial focus of the deposits at Kommos, as at all sites where monumental ashlar masonry appears to have been the focus of interest, is a complicated question. The excavators place emphasis on the fact that Temples A, B, and C were all built over the stoa of monumental Building T, which dates to MM-LM I, and that Temple A utilized one of its walls in its construction. Much of the façade of Building T had already been removed by the time of the Temple's construction, however, and the ashlar blocks removed from it were used in the construction of buildings dating to LM III which have a much closer spatial association with the Temple and to other post-abandonment deposits at the site. A good portion of the Temple appears to sit within the area of LM III Building N, and it is situated in close proximity to LM III Building P, the largest LM III building on the island of Crete. It is more likely, therefore, that the

spatial focus of the Temple, specifically, was LM IIIB Buildings N and P. Other deposits have a clearer LM IIIB focus. The 7th century enclosures found beneath Building Q, the deposit in gallery P3, and Building Z were all located within the ruins of LM III Building P. A Protogeometric krater that was deposited in LM I-III House N is difficult to place in terms of its spatial focus, but the last use of that area of the site was in LM III.

Deposit Contents

Temple A, Floor 1

Deposit type:

Ritual

Description:

Vessels and objects associated with floor 1 of Temple A

Location/Associated Architecture:

Built over the stoa of Monumental Building T, which dates to LM I.

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

6 skyphoi (SM)
1 bowl (LM IIIC)
3 bowl (SM)
1 krater (PG)
1 pithos (undated)

Total: 12 vessels

Associated Objects:

1 bronze arrowhead (undated)

1 obsidian flake (undated)

Total: 2 objects

Floral and Faunal Remains:

The faunal material associated with all the floors of Temple A included 1427 bones of sheep/goat, pig, and cattle with 8.8% of these (125 bones) burnt. There were also one tine from a deer antler, bones of one forelimb from a hare, 95 fish bones, and 1015 marine invertebrates with 11 burnt.

Temple A, Floor 2 in cella

Deposit type:

Ritual

Description:

Vessels and objects associated with floor 2 of Temple A, specifically from the area of the cella.

Location/Associated Architecture:

Built over the stoa of Monumental Building T, which dates to LM I.

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

1 cup (SM/PG)

1 skyphos (SM/PG)

1 krater (SM/PG)

1 lid (SM/PG)

Total: 4 vessels

Associated Objects:

1 ceramic wheel (PG/MG)

1 ceramic fragment of a bull figurine (PG/MG)

1 ceramic fragment of a bull figurine (PG)

2 faience beads (PG)

1 orange carnelian bead (undated)

1 faience bowl (PG)
1 faience bowl (undated)

Total: 8 objects

Floral and Faunal Remains:

The faunal material associated with all the floors of Temple A included 1427 bones of sheep/goat, pig, and cattle with 8.8% of these (125 bones) burnt. There were also one tine from a deer antler, bones of one forelimb from a hare, 95 fish bones, and 1015 marine invertebrates with 11 burnt.

Temple A, just outside doorway

Deposit type:

Ritual

Description:

Vessels and objects uncovered just outside the doorway to Temple A. This deposit is contemporary with Temple A, floor 2.

Location/Associated Architecture:

Built over the stoa of Monumental Building T, which dates to LM I.

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

4 cups (PG)
5 skyphoi (PG)
1 krater (PG)
1 hydria (PG)
2 amphora (PG)

Total: 13 vessels

Associated Objects:

1 ceramic fragment of a bull figurine (PG/MG)
1 glass bead (PG)
14 faience beads (PG)

Total: 16 objects

Floral and Faunal Remains:

The faunal material associated with all the floors of Temple A included 1427 bones of sheep/goat, pig, and cattle with 8.8% of these (125 bones) burnt. There were also one tine from a deer antler, bones of one forelimb from a hare, 95 fish bones, and 1015 marine invertebrates with 11 burnt.

Temple A, Courtyard of Wall 2

Deposit type:

Ritual

Description:

Vessels and objects uncovered in the courtyard outside Temple A. There are two phases of use associated with Temple A Floor 2 distinguishable. This is the earlier phase.

Location/Associated Architecture:

This deposit was located southwest of Temple A.

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

1 cup (PG)
4 skyphoi (PG)
1 jug (PG)
1 juglet (PG)
2 hydria (PG)
4 kraters (PG)
1 basin (PG)

Total: 14 vessels

Associated Objects:

1 ceramic bull figurine (PG)
1 ceramic wheel (PG)
1 ceramic fragment of a bull figurine (PG)
1 ceramic bull's horn (PG)
1 ceramic fragment of a bull's horn (PG)
1 ceramic fragment of an animal figurine (PG)
1 ceramic fragment of an animal figurine (PG/G)

1 bronze male figurine (PG)
1 bronze bull figurine (PG)
1 bronze ram figurine (PG)

Total: 10 objects

Floral and Faunal Remains:

The faunal material associated with this area included 268 bones of sheep/goat and cattle with 13 burnt.

Temple A, Courtyard of the Ceramic Horse

Deposit type:

Ritual

Description:

Vessels and objects uncovered in the courtyard outside Temple A. There are two phases of use associated with Temple A Floor 2 distinguishable. This is the later phase.

Location/Associated Architecture:

This deposit was located southwest of Temple A.

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

2 cups (PG)
6 skyphoi (PG)
1 skyphos (G/LG)
1 jug (PG)
5 kraters (PG)
2 amphora (PG)
2 hydria (PG)

Total: 19 vessels

Associated Objects:

1 ceramic fragment of a bull figurine (G)
1 ceramic fragment of a horse figurine (PG/G)
1 ceramic wheel (PG-A)

Total: 3 objects

Floral and Faunal Remains:

The faunal material associated with this area included 268 bones of sheep/goat and cattle with 13 burnt.

Temple A, Protogeometric Accumulation

Deposit type:

Ritual

Description:

This deposit is a PG dump of material which built up gradually. The material can be divided into three phases, though none are completely discrete. Cross joins between this deposit and the courtyard deposit near Wall 2 indicates the material began to be deposited early in the history of Temple A Floor 2.

Location/Associated Architecture:

This deposit was located southwest of Temple A.

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

1 cup (SM/PG)
1 cup (PG)
5 skyphoi (PG)
1 bowl PG
1 jug (PG)
1 jar (PG)
5 kraters (PG)
1 amphora (SM/PG)
10 amphoras (PG)

Total: 26 vessels

Associated Objects:

3 ceramic bull figurines (PG)
1 ceramic fragment of a bull figurine (PG)
1 ceramic horse figurine (PG)
1 ceramic team of horse figurines (undated)
1 ceramic fragment of a quadruped figurine (PG)
1 bronze ring (PG)

1 ceramic bead (PG)
1 faience bowl (undated)

Total: 10 objects

Floral and Faunal Remains:

The faunal remains from this area included 374 sheep/goat and cattle bones with 5 burnt and 192 marine shells with 21 burnt.

Temple A, Protogeometric Dump

Deposit type:

Ritual

Description:

This deposit represents discarded offerings connected with the latest use of the earliest temple. It is unclear if this was a gradual or simultaneous deposition.

Location/Associated Architecture:

Deposited against the north face of the north wall of Minoan Building T

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

9 cups (PG)
2 cups (G)
2 skyphoi (PG)
1 skyphos (G)
1 kantharos (PG)
1 oinochoe (G)
3 jugs (PG)
1 jug (PG/G)
1 juglet (PG)
5 amphorae (PG)
1 hydria (PG)
1 closed vessel (PG)
2 closed vessels (PG/G)
1 cooking pot (PG)

Total: 31 vessels

Associated Objects:

2 ceramic bull figurines (PG)
1 ceramic bull figurine (undated)

Total: 3 objects

Floral and Faunal Remains:

The faunal remains associated with this area included 26 bones goat/sheep and cattle bones with 4 burnt and 22 marine shells with 1 burnt.

Temple A, Protogeometric Dump 2

Deposit type:

Ritual

Description:

This deposit represents a rich PG dump in which joins with Temple A Floor 2 pottery were found. This was likely a one period dump.

Location/Associated Architecture:

Excavated from above the Minoan road.

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

5 cups (PG)
1 cup (G)
3 skyphoi (PG)
1 oinochoe (PG)
5 jugs (PG)
1 jug (G)
1 juglet (PG)
1 krater (SM)
4 kraters (PG)
1 krateriskos (PG)
5 amphoras (PG)

Total: 28 vessels

Associated Objects:

2 ceramic bull figurines (PG)
1 ceramic horse figurine (PG)
2 ceramic fragments of horse figurines (PG)
1 ceramic fragment of an animal figurine (PG)
4 ceramic wheels (PG)
1 ceramic wheel (undated)
1 bronze ornament (PG)
2 faience bowl (undated)

Total: 14 objects

Floral and Faunal Remains:

The faunal remains from this area included 527 sheep/goat, cattle, and pig bones with 57 burnt. There were also 1 *Canis* metacarpus, 6 bird bones, and 93 marine invertebrates with 2 burnt.

Temple A, Protogeometric General Strews

Deposit type:

Ritual

Description:

This material was gathered together by the excavators and defined only as “protogeometric material from general strews, various.”

Location/Associated Architecture:

No specific location attributed, and likely from multiple parts of the site associated with Temple A.

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

1 cup (PG)
1 skyphos (PG)
1 jug (PG)
1 juglet (PG)
1 juglet (G)
1 amphora (G)
1 closed vessel (G)
1 lekythos (PG)

1 pithos (PG)

Total: 9 vessels

Associated Objects:

None

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Unclear

Temple A, Strews

Deposit type:

Ritual

Description:

This material was gathered together by the excavators and defined only as strews of pottery concurrent with the time period of Temple A.

Location/Associated Architecture:

No specific location attributed, and likely from multiple parts of the site associated with Temple A.

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

1 cup (PG)

1 cup (G)

3 skyphoi (PG)

1 juglet (G)

4 kraters (PG)

3 amphoras (PG)

1 basin (PG)

1 cooking pot (PG)

Total: 15 vessels

Associated Objects:

None

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Unclear

Temple B, Earliest Courtyard

Deposit type:

Ritual

Description:

This material comes from a burnt surface in the courtyard outside of the temple at the level of Temple B. The deposit was rich in PG pottery, some of which could be shown to belong to the Temple A period. The excavators suggested these were possibly survivor fragments in the later phase.

Location/Associated Architecture:

Courtyard outside of Temple A/B

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

1 cup (PG)
1 skyphos (PG)
1 juglet (PG)
1 jar (PG)
1 pyxis (PG)

Total: 5 vessels

Associated Objects:

1 ceramic wheel (PG)
1 ceramic fragment of an animal figurine (PG)
1 ceramic fragment of an animal figurine (undated)

Total: 3 objects

Floral and Faunal Remains:

The faunal remains from this area included 137 sheep/goat and cattle bones with 2 burnt. There were also 1 unidentified bird bone, a fish vertebra, and 25 marine shells.

Deposit type:

Ritual

Description:

This deposit represents the earliest layer within Temple B. It is most probabaly merely a general redeposition of sherds from Temple A upon which the later temple was built. This deposit includes the area under the rectangular hearth.

Location/Associated Architecture:

Temple A/B was built over the stoa of Monumental Building T, which dates to LM I.

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

4 cups (PG)
3 cups (G)
4 skyphoi (PG)
1 krater (PG)
1 hydria (PG)
1 pyxis (PG)
1 kalathos (PG)
1 ladle (G)

Total: 17 vessels

Associated Objects:

1 needle (undated)
2 faience bowls (undated)

Total: 3 objects

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Unclear

Deposit type:

Ritual

Description:

This deposit represents the earliest level above the first Temple B surface in Trench 63 A of the courtyard.

Location/Associated Architecture:

Courtyard in front of Temple A/B

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

1 krater (PG)

1 amphora (PG)

1 amphora (G)

Total: 3 vessels

Associated Objects:

None

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Unclear

Temple B, Floor 1, Deposit 16

Deposit type:

Ritual

Description:

This is a deep ashy deposit that was uncovered above a hard packed clay surface upon which stood the Tripillar Shrine. The dating of the pottery suggests that this floor may have been used for almost a century.

Location/Associated Architecture:

Temple A/B was built over the stoa of Monumental Building T, which dates to LM I.

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

1 cup (G)

4 cups (LG)
1 hydria (LG)
1 lid (G)

Total: 7 vessels

Associated Objects:

1 ceramic fragment of a vehicle model (LG)
1 ceramic fragment of an animal figurine (EA/A)

Total: 2 objects

Floral and Faunal Remains:

The faunal material associated with the area of the floor of Temple B in phases one and 2 included 1529 sheep/goat and cattle bones with 225 burnt. There were also the humerus of a hare, 10 bird bones, 41 fish bones, with 1 burnt spine, and 963 marine invertebrates with 12 burnt. Hearth 1 associated with Floor 1 of Temple B included 78 sheep/goat bones with 46 burnt, 3 bird bones, 9 fish bones, and 9 marine invertebrates with 1 burnt.

Temple B, Floor 2

Deposit type:

Ritual

Description:

This deposit represents a second-floor phase within the hearth. Much imported material characterizes this floor.

Location/Associated Architecture:

Temple A/B was built over the stoa of Monumental Building T, which dates to LM I.

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

1 cup (LG)
4 cups (LG/EA)
1 krater (G)
1 amphora (LG/EA)
3 aryballoi (LG/EA)

Total: 10 vessels

Associated Objects:

1 ceramic wheel (PG/G/LG/EA)
1 ceramic snake (EA/A)
1 ceramic fragment of an animal figurine (G/LG)
1 ceramic fragment of an animal figurine (G/LG/EA)
1 ceramic fragment of an animal figurine (LG/EA)
1 ceramic fragment of an animal figurine (EA)
1 ceramic bovine figurine (EA)
1 ceramic bovine or horse figurine (EA)
1 bronze bull figurine (LG)
1 bronze horse figurine (LG/EA)
1 faience Sekhmet/Bastet figurine (LG/EA)
1 faience Nefertum figurine (LG/EA)
2 gold foil fragments (EA)
2 bronze ornaments (EA)
4 glass beads (EA)
8 faience beads (LG/EA)
1 bronze shield (undated)
2 iron knives (undated)
1 iron arrowhead (undated)
1 iron spearhead (undated)

Total: 33 objects

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Hearth 2 included 190 grams of burnt sheep/goat bones, 183 fish bones with 38 burnt, and 262 marine invertebrates with 51 burnt.

Temple B, Floor 3

Deposit type:

Ritual

Description:

This deposit represents the third floor level of Temple B.

Location/Associated Architecture:

Temple A/B was built over the stoa of Monumental Building T, which dates to LM I.

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

2 cups (EA)
1 skyphos (EA)
2 aryballoi (EA)
1 dish (EA)
1 lid (EA)

Total: 7 vessels

Associated Objects:

1 ceramic fragment of a bull figurine (EA/A)
1 ceramic fragment of an animal figurine (EA)
1 silver ring (EA)
1 bronze ring (EA)
1 faience scarab (EA)
1 clay loom weight (EA)
1 iron horse bit (undated)
2 lead line weights (undated)

Total: 9 objects

Floral and Faunal Remains:

The lower hearth and floor around the Tripillar Shrine included 203 sheep/goat bones with 111 burnt, 2 unburnt bones of a hare, 25 fish bones with 3 burnt, and 75 marine invertebrates with 2 burnt. An additional ritual deposit associated with the Tripillar shrine included 380 grams of sheep/goat and cattle bones with 320 grams burnt. There were also 5 bones from a hare, an eggshell fragment, 248 fish bones with 1 burnt spine and 606 marine invertebrates with 9 burnt. Hearth 3 included 150 burnt sheep/goat and cattle bones, all burnt. There were also 1 unburnt *Alectoris* bone, 42 fish bones with 1 burnt, 30 marine invertebrates with 4 burnt, and 1 *Anguilla*. Hearth 4 included 825 grams of sheep/goat and pig bones with 90.9% of these burnt. There were also 428 fish bones with 278 burnt, 448 marine invertebrates with 122 burnt, 1 *Alectoris*, burnt, and other eggshells.

Temple B, Upper Levels

Deposit type:

Ritual

Description:

This deposit represents the upper level in Temple B, which was associated with scattered blocks of stone.

Location/Associated Architecture:

Temple A/B was built over the stoa of Monumental Building T, which dates to LM I.

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

1 cup (EA)

1 skyphos (EA)

Total: 2 vessels

Associated Objects:

1 ceramic fragment of an animal figurine (EA)

1 faience scarab (EA)

1 stone pebble (undated)

2 stone spheres (undated)

Total: 5 objects

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Unclear

Temple B, Early Orientalizing Occupation

Deposit type:

Ritual

Description:

The excavators describe this deposit as representing Early Orientalizing occupation within Temple B.

Location/Associated Architecture:

Temple A/B was built over the stoa of Monumental Building T, which dates to LM I.

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

2 cups (EA)

1 cup (A)

1 bowl (EA)

2 oinochoe (EA)
1 jug (EA)
3 aryballoi (EA)
1 necked vessel (EA)
1 basin (EA)
1 ladle (EA)
1 cooking pot (EA)

Total: 14 vessels

Associated Objects:

None

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Unclear

Temple B, Cella

Deposit type:

Ritual

Description:

This deposit represents fragments and complete vessel profiles from within the cella of Temple B, but in contexts that were ambiguous or insecure. The excavator included only a selection of the most interesting finds. This deposit, is therefore, incomplete.

Location/Associated Architecture:

Temple A/B was built over the stoa of Monumental Building T, which dates to LM I.

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

1 cup (EA)
1 flask (EA)
1 krater (A)

Total: 3 vessels

Associated Objects:

None

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Unclear

Temple B, Geometric Occupation Dump

Deposit type:

Ritual

Description:

The soil of this deposit was dark and contained burnt material and many limpets. Uncontaminated by 7th century material, it is a single period dump dating to the eighth century, more specifically late in the MG or early in the LG.

Location/Associated Architecture:

This deposit was located far to the southwest of Temple B, in association with Building P and Building Z.

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

2 cups (G)
1 skyphos (G)
1 kantharos (G/LG)
3 kraters (G)
1 jar (G)
1 hydria (LG)
1 amphora (G/LG)

Total: 10 vessels

Associated Objects:

None

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Unclear

Deposit type:

Ritual

Description:

This deposit comes from the area of Altar U.

Location/Associated Architecture:

Altar U stands in the area in front of Temple B. Temple A/B was built over the stoa of Monumental Building T, which dates to LM I.

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

1 cup (EA)

1 skyphos (LG/EA)

1 aryballos (LG/EA)

Total: 3 vessels

Associated Objects:

2 ceramic bull figurines (LG/EA)

Total: 2

Floral and Faunal Remains:

The faunal remains associated with this area included 37.950 grams of sheep/goat and cattle bones, 99.9% of which were burnt. There were also 2 fish bones, unburnt, and 22 marine invertebrates with 5 burnt.

Deposit type:

Ritual

Description:

This deposit comes from Building V. This building was apparently used for metalworking, and was abandoned at the same time as Temple B. Two floors are preserved, the primary floor and an upper floor.

Location/Associated Architecture:

Temple A/B was built over the stoa of Monumental Building T, which dates to LM I.

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

4 cups (EA)
1 skyphos (EA)
1 bowl (EA)
1 Protocorinthian kotyle (EA)
1 pyxis (EA)

Total: 8 vessels

Associated Objects:

None

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Unclear

Minoan House N

Deposit type:

Ritual

Description:

This is a krater deposit coming from Minoan House N

Location/Associated Architecture:

Located in LM I-III Minoan House N, in the hilltop settlement above the sanctuary.

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

1 krater (PG)

Total: 1 vessel

Associated Objects:

None

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Unclear

Temple B, End

Deposit type:

Ritual

Description:

This is a deposit from just outside the doorway of Temple B. The deposit likely represents a final clearing out of the temple at the point of desertion. Not all vases are contemporary, and therefore some must have stood in the temple for some time before they were deposited.

Location/Associated Architecture:

This deposit was located just outside the doorway of Temple B.

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

13 cups (A)

3 skyphoi (A)

7 bowls (A)

2 Corinthian kotyles (A)

1 kantharos (A)

5 jugs (A)

1 hydria (A)

3 aryballoi (A)

7 amphoras (A)

1 cook pot (A)

1 attic banded ware, uncertain shape (A)

Total: 44 vessel

Associated Objects:

1 quern (undated)
2 pebbles (undated)
1 chunk of stone, percussion flaked (undated)
1 anvil (?, undated)

Total: 5 objects

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Unclear

Temple B, Latest Pottery

Deposit type:

Ritual

Description:

This deposit is an out of context collection of the latest pottery from Temple B which the excavators assume date to the same time as the desertion or destruction of the Temple and its associated structures. The date is assumed to be around 600 BCE.

Location/Associated Architecture:

No context.

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

2 oinochoe (A)
1 alabastron (undated)
1 aryballos (undated)
2 amphora (A)

Total: 6 vessel

Associated Objects:

None

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Unclear

Deposit type:

Ritual

Description:

Location/Associated Architecture:

Building Z was built into Gallery P3 of LM IIIB Building P (ship sheds). Debris from the collapsed Minoan walls was collected and reused to build a rough wall alongside the north wall of P3, but higher than P's floor. A N/S wall was built on the east about 0.5m above the original LM IIIB floor. Beach pebbles were brought in to form a hard packed floor. The building was likely roofed. A large reused block in the north of the building may have served as a threshold. The material within suggests domestic use. The building may have collapsed during the late 8th century and was razed to its present level in the early 7th century when the area was used for food preparation by people visiting the sanctuary.

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

10 cups (G)
2 cups (LG)
1 skyphos (PG)
10 skyphoi (G)
3 skyphoi (G/LG)
1 skyphos (LG)
1 skyphos (undated)
7 oinochoe (G)
3 oinochoe (G/LG)
3 kantharoi (G)
1 kantharos (LG)
4 jugs (G)
3 jugs (G/LG)
1 jug (LG)
1 jug (LG/EA)
1 juglet (G)
1 flask (PG-EA)
5 kraters (PG)
21 kraters (G)
1 krater (LG)
1 krater (A)
3 amphoras (PG)
1 amphora (PG/G)
4 amphoras (G)

20 amphoras (G/LG)
3 amphoras (LG)
1 amphora (LG/EA)
1 amphora (EA)
1 amphora (PG-EA)
1 amphoriskos (G/LG)
2 hydria (LG)
1 aryballos (G)
1 jar (G)
1 kalathos (G/LG)
1 cooking pot (PG)
3 cooking pots (G)
1 closed vessel (PG)
1 closed vessel (LG)
1 open vessel (G)
4 uncertain (G)
2 uncertain (G/LG)
2 uncertain (LG)
1 other (EA)

Total: 137 vessels

Associated Objects:

1 schist whet stone (undated)
10 pebbles, possibly weights (undated)
1 stone pestle (undated)
1 stone mortar (undated)
1 pierced stone weight (undated)
1 iron arrowhead (G-LG)
4 iron spearheads (G-LG)

Total: 19 objects

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Unclear

Temple B, Material not in Discrete Deposits

Deposit type:

Ritual

Description:

This “deposit” is a representative selection from the collection of transport amphorae from the site which date to the period of Temple B, but few of which were found in close proximity to the Temple. These are out of context vessels from around the site and not all material is included.

Location/Associated Architecture:

No context.

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

1 cup (EA)
3 cups (EA/A)
1 cup (A)
3 cups (undated)
2 skyphi (LG)
1 skyphos (LG/EA)
5 skyphoi (EA)
3 skyphoi (EA/A)
3 bowls (EA/A)
1 bowl (A)
7 kotyles (LG)
2 kotyles (EA/A)
1 krater (A)
3 jugs (EA/A)
1 juglet (EA)
1 lekythos (EA/A)
1 aryballos (LG)
3 aryballoi (EA)
2 aryballoi (EA/A)
1 aryballos (A)
1 jar (EA/A)
1 amphora (EA)
15 amphoras (EA/A)
2 amphora (undated)
1 pithos (EA/A)
1 lekane (EA/A)
1 tray (EA/A)
1 vase with plastic decoration (undated)

Total: 68 vessels

Associated Objects:

None

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Unclear

Iron and Bronze Tools and Weapons from Various Contexts

Deposit type:

Miscellaneous

Description:

Listed in this deposit are those miscellaneous tools and weapons, found throughout the ruined site, which have been published as belonging to the time period in question, but which could not be matched with any specific deposit listed here. What is known about the date and context of the find is listed below.

Location/Associated Architecture:

No context.

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

None

Associated Objects:

- 1 bronze spearhead (Temple A, Phase A1, found north of the temple)
- 1 iron knife (Temple A Phase A1, found south of the temple in a dump)
- 1 bronze arrowhead (Temple A, Phase A2, found just outside the temple on its small court)
- 1 iron knife (Temple B, Phase 2, found east of the temple in an 8th/7th BCE context)
- 1 bronze dagger (Temple B, Phase 2, found south of the temple)
- 4 iron knives (Temple B, phase 2, found northeast of the temple, near the double hearth)
- 1 iron knife (Temple B, Phase 3, found south of the temple)
- 1 iron knife (Temple B, Phase 3, found east of the temple)
- 1 iron knife (Temple B, Phase 3, found southwest of the temple)
- 1 iron knife (Temple B, Phase 3, found west of the temple)
- 1 iron knife (Temple B, Phase 3, found in upper fill of Building Q, room 37)
- 1 iron dagger (Temple B, Phase 3, found south of Building V, far east of the temple)
- 1 iron sickle (Temple B, Phase 3, found far east of the temple)
- 1 iron spearhead (Temple B, Phase 3, found southeast of the temple)
- 1 iron knife blade/spearhead (Temple B, Phase 3, found west of the temple)
- 1 iron spearhead (Temple B, Phase 3, found southwest of the temple)

1 iron arrowhead (Temple B, Phase 3, found southwest of the temple)
1 iron arrowhead (Temple B, Phase 3, found in Building Q, Room 37)
1 iron chisel (Temple B, Phase 3, found southwest of the temple)
1 iron axe or wedge (Temple B, Phase 3, found east of the temple)
1 iron hammer or double-adze (Temple B, Phase 3, found west of the temple)
1 iron saw blade or knife in several pieces (Temple B, Phase 3, found in Building Q, Room 31)

Total: 25 objects

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Unclear

Mochlos

Site Location: 35°11'11"N, 25°54'22"E

Site Category: Monumental Bronze Age Site

Periods of Inhabitation: EM-LM IIIB, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine

Brief Site Description

Mochlos, now a small islet just off the coast of Crete, was connected to the larger island by a narrow isthmus in prehistory. This unique geographical position offered Mochlos a double port which could ensure safe harbor in most weather conditions, and due to this fact, it became an important center of trade, with contacts throughout the Aegean and the Near East. The site was continuously occupied from the Prepalatial through the Neopalatial periods, although it experienced several episodes of destruction, including severe damage caused by the Thera eruption. Of particular relevance to later post-abandonment reuse of the site, however, is the fact of the site's destruction and abandonment in LM IB, and its reoccupation in LM II-III B. During this period, a number of houses were constructed on the site with a character that differed

significantly from the earlier town.⁶¹⁴ As at other monumental centers in the eastern part of the island and elsewhere, these houses were placed out of alignment with the previous town plan but made use of the ashlar masonry from the ruined buildings of the earlier site.⁶¹⁵ At the end of LM IIIB, these buildings, along with the contemporary cemetery established in nearby Limenaria, were also abandoned.

Phases of Revisitation

Mochlos represents an anomaly in East Crete, where monumental Bronze Age sites like Gournia and the palace at Zakros were completely ignored as foci for post-abandonment visitation following the desertion of the coast around 1200 BCE. Additionally, while most of the sites recorded in this dissertation appear to have received multiple episodes of revisitation, often separated by gaps in practice, Mochlos appears to have been a focus of interest in only one period, lasting from the Late Geometric to the early Archaic.

Post-abandonment visitation at the site takes several forms, including the deposition of drinking and dining ware, the construction of a special-function building at the top of the site overlooking the ruins wherein feasting events appear to have been held, and an instance of tomb cult in the nearby Limenaria cemetery. As tomb cult represents a different phenomenon, the finds associated with this deposit are not detailed in this dissertation, but relevant aspects of the assemblage will be discussed here and in the following chapter.

⁶¹⁴ Brogan, Smith, and Soles 2002, 98-100.

⁶¹⁵ Haggis 2020, 1069.

Trench 6700

In Trench 6700, which lies in an open area between LM IIIA/B House B and LM IIIB/A House A, a deposit of drinking vessels was uncovered in the fill between the site's Hellenistic architecture and earlier Minoan road and the tumbled ashlar masonry associated with the LM IB destruction of Building B2 (Fig. 5.30). The deposit was placed between the western wall of the cook shed of House B, and the eastern façade—also the entrance—of House A. The northern wall of House A was a reused Minoan wall that was originally the north wall of the pillar crypt of Building B2. The eastern end of this wall, where the entrance to House A was located, was faced with ashlar quoins.⁶¹⁶

Trench 037/4700

A number of fragments of EA skyphoi were found in Trench 037/4700, in the yard of LM IIIA/B House Delta (Fig. 5.30). These were found in an area of fill, located directly above an area of ashlar tumble. The excavation dump of Richard Seager lay above this locus, but in the area in which the sherds were found, the excavators had removed the dump and reached the original ground level, which lay at approximately the same depth as the floor level of room 1 of

⁶¹⁶ Soles 2008, 111-112.

House Δ. This area of the yard was bounded on either side by walls made of reused ashlar masonry.⁶¹⁷

Tomb 27

Although tomb cult is not the focus of this dissertation, details of the interventions made in Tomb 27 of the LM III Limenaria Cemetery associated with the settlement of Mochlos offer additional insight into the potential focus of interest for those visiting the abandoned site in the LG-EA periods. The tomb was reopened in the 7th century, and the original pithos burial was exposed. The visitors then removed the body from the pithos and filled the burial vessel with soil. After this had been accomplished, an EA Hydria and a Creto-cypriot aryballos of the same period were placed on top of it. Any other objects dating to the period of the burial which may have been present were removed with the exception of a single kylix imported from the mainland which dated to LM IIIA2. This kylix was placed next to the pithos. The chamber was then filled with soil, and an altar was placed above the tomb. On either side of this altar were placed a second Creto-Cypriot aryballos and a skyphos.⁶¹⁸

⁶¹⁷ Soles 2008, 83.

⁶¹⁸ Smith 2010, 161-162; Soles 2008, 179-180.

At the very top of the island, overlooking the ruined settlement, a 7th century room and a number of disarticulated walls dating to the same period were uncovered beneath a Hellenistic building. The material from the excavation is still under study, but a limited amount of information can be offered here. Of primary interest is Room A, a long space with a low hearth in its center. High quality pottery was found in this space, including a collection of fine drinking cups, several banded hydrias, and an imported Corinthian oinochoe. The assemblage also included mortars, cooking pots, and fragments of transport amphorae. The excavator noted both the exceptionally fine quality of the vessels, which denoted elite feasting activities, and the similarity of Room A to the LG building that was constructed in the ruined settlement of Halasmenos. The presence of the Corinthian oinochoe is of particular interest, as these vessels appear to have been connected with elite dining. Their presence on Crete is rare and almost entirely restricted to assemblages associated with sanctuaries or burial contexts in the center of the island.⁶¹⁹ As the inventory is unclear, these objects have not been entered into the database, but they are taken into account in the analysis.

Chronology of Deposits

All of the post-abandonment deposits associated with the site of Mochlos date to the LG/EA period.

⁶¹⁹ Vogeikoff-Brogan 2012; 2020.

Chronology of Vessels

Of the 18 cataloged vessels found deposited at the site after its abandonment in LM IIIB, 16 date to the LG/EA period. The remainder are earlier vessels, dating to LM II/IIIA/B, that were found in the stratigraphically later deposits (Fig. 5.31).

Distribution of Vessels by Function

The vast majority of the vessels, 72% or 13 of the 18 found, were drinking vessels, predominately skyphoi. 16% were storage and transport vessels, including two hydria and an aryballos. The remaining vessels were one lid, or cover, and one krater, or mixing vessel (Fig. 5.32).

Chronology of Objects

No objects were found in post-abandonment deposits at Mochlos.

No objects were found in post-abandonment deposits at Mochlos.

Spatial Focus of the Deposits

As at other sites in central Crete, the fact that later LM II/III architecture built atop the ruins of an LM IB destruction layer was often constructed of reused ashlar masonry from earlier buildings appears to confuse the question of spatial focus. It is difficult to determine if it was the earlier or later buildings that were thought deserving of attention, or if it was, perhaps, the ashlar masonry itself. In the case of Mochlos, the two deposits found within the settlement proper were both placed in association with LM III architecture that included reused ashlar blocks, but also in association with tumbled ashlar masonry. The inclusion of LM II/IIIA/B pottery in the deposit found in Trench 037/4700 suggests that it was this later period that was of interest to the visitors. This supposition receives some support from the tomb cult dating to the same period which was undertaken in the LM IIIB Limenaria cemetery near Mochlos. Here, also, an earlier drinking vessel was retained, presumably from Tomb 27, and left as part of the ritual deposit.

Deposit Contents

Deposit from the Yard Outside House D/ Trench 037/4700

Deposit type:

Undetermined

Description:

Fragments of drinking vessels

Location/Associated Architecture:

This deposit was located in the yard of LM IIIA/B House Delta. The fragments were found in an area of fill, located directly above an area of ashlar tumble, and this area of the yard was bounded on either side by walls made of reused ashlar

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

6 skyphoi (EA)

Total: 6 vessels

Associated Objects:

None

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Unknown

Deposit from Trench 6700

Deposit type:

Undetermined

Description:

Deposit of vessels

Location/Associated Architecture:

This deposit was found in an area of fill that covered the ashlar tumble from LM IB Building B2. It was located between the west wall of the cook shed belonging to LM IIIA/B House B and the front façade of LM IIIA/B House A, part of which was faced with ashlar quoins.

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

1 cup (LG)
2 cups (LG/EA)
1 skyphos (LG)
1 skyphos (EA)
1 bowl (LM IIIB)
1 bowl (EA)
1 krater (LM II-IIIB)
1 kalathos (PG/G)
2 hydria (EA)
1 aryballos (EA)
1 lid (LG/EA)

Total: 13 vessels

Associated Objects:

None

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Unknown

Palaikastro

Site Location: 35°11'43"N, 26°16'32"E

Site Category: Bronze Age Monumental Site

Periods of Inhabitation: FN, EM IIA-LM IB,

A handful of Final Neolithic sherds provide evidence that the area of Palaikastro was occupied early in the history of the island. This occupation appears to have been continuous from EM IIA through LM IIIB, despite a series of destructions which necessitated the periodic rebuilding of the site. By the Neopalatial period, Palaikastro had developed into a monumental urban center, with a sophisticated plan featuring wide streets and defined town blocks. Despite this, the presence of buildings with ashlar masonry façades, and the discovery of Linear A tablets at the site, a palace has yet to be uncovered at Palaikastro. At the end of the Neopalatial period, the site was once again destroyed, most likely through human agency, but it was, again, immediately reoccupied, and much of the city was rebuilt along earlier lines.⁶²⁰ This is a circumstance that stands in marked contrast with other sites in the East that experienced similar destructions at the end of LM IB (See Chapter 3). Many of these monumental urban centers—such as Mochlos and Gournia—were left abandoned for up to several generations before they were reoccupied, and reoccupation tended to take place on the outskirts of the town, completely ignoring earlier town plans and infrastructure. This was the case at Palaikastro as well, with the exception of House Chi, which may imply a degree of continuity of population at Palaikastro that is not apparent at any other monumental site in the Eastern part of the island. The site was again destroyed in LM IIIA2, around the time that the palace of Knossos fell, but was, once again, rebuilt. Its final destruction occurred in early LM IIIB when the city was destroyed, apparently by earthquake, and the city was completely abandoned.⁶²¹

⁶²⁰ Knappett and Cunningham 2022, 339; Macgillivray et al. 2002.

⁶²¹ Macgillivray et al. 2002; Bosanquet 1939, 66.

An anomaly in terms of its reoccupation after the widespread LM IB destructions, Palaikastro also presents as somewhat of an anomaly amongst the episodes of post-abandonment visitation that are discernable in the archaeological record of Crete between 1100 and 630 BCE. Aside from Mochlos, Palaikastro is the only monumental urban site on the eastern half of the island to have become the focus of post-abandonment ritual. While the ritual behaviors at Mochlos and Palaikastro have very few points of concurrence, there is one important area in which they coincide, and that is that both sites appear to have received visitation in only one phase pertinent to the topic of this study—the Late Geometric through the early Archaic period. The abandoned site of Palaikastro is also known from later literary sources as the location of the cult of Diktean Zeus. Here, in the 6th century BCE, a Temple was established which became a focus of cult until the 2nd century AD. Worship did not begin spontaneously at this site in the Archaic period, however. It had a precursor in the form of an ash altar where, beginning in the 8th century BCE and stretching into the middle of the 6th century BCE, votives were offered and rituals which included drinking and feasting were carried out. While continuity of cult between the ash altar and the later Temple is unclear, it appears that ritual activity at the abandoned site of Palaikastro continued, more or less continuously, for over 1000 years.

The Ash Altar at Palaikastro, which incorporated small parts of area Chi and area Pi, extending over the Main Road of the abandoned settlement, was excavated by R.C. Bosanquet in the early 20th century (Fig. 5.33). It was found to consist of a large bed of grey wood ash, about 25 cm in depth and stretching to a length of at least 3m. Amidst and alongside of this ash altar, and also found deposited in the streets between the nearby LBA buildings, were found bronze votives and other objects.⁶²² No purpose-built architecture was associated with this 8th-6th century worship, although the pattern of deposition makes clear that the ruins of the earlier site were still standing when cult began here, 300 years after the site's final abandonment. Although cult activity appears to have been limited to this area of the site, other sporadic finds dating to this period were uncovered in other parts of the settlement, suggesting interest in and exploration of the abandoned site more broadly.⁶²³ These individual deposits are cataloged below. In no episode of post-abandonment visitation addressed in this study is the origin of the visitors clear, but at Palaikastro, especially, the question of origination is an interesting one. No signs of habitation have been found in the valley of Palaikastro which date to the period between 800-550 BCE, suggesting that the visitors must have travelled a great distance to visit the site.⁶²⁴ The high intrinsic value of the required travel is also matched by the high extrinsic value of the votives, rich in bronzes, which are unlike any other post-abandonment deposit found in East Crete. In all ways, the ash altar at Palaikastro is anomalous for the region. As the Temple, itself, lies outside the temporal limit of this dissertation, none of the finds associated with this structure are detailed

⁶²² Bosanquet 1904, 300.

⁶²³ Bosanquet 1904, 300; Prent 2005, 350-51.

⁶²⁴ Macgillivray et al. 2002.

here, but it is worth noting that some of the rites associated with the ash altar—including the continued deposition of drinking vessels—appear to have remained unchanged, even as the architectural setting for them changed.⁶²⁵ The significance of this, and of the other unique characteristics of post-abandonment ritual at Palaikastro, will be discussed more fully in the following chapter.

Chronology of Deposits

As stated above, Palaikastro was a focus of post-abandonment visitation only in the 7th century. All of the deposits listed below date primarily to the LG/EA/A periods, with only a single anomalous vessel and a handful of possibly slightly earlier objects apparent.

Chronology of Vessels

As at Haghia Triada, the number of objects found at Palaikastro far outnumbers the vessels which were found in post-abandonment deposits at the site. All but one of the 15 vessels uncovered in the deposits listed here dated to the LG period. The only anomaly was an Archaic pithos found in Area X.

⁶²⁵ Macgillivray et al. 2002.

Distribution of Vessels by Function

Drinking and pouring vessels predominate in these assemblages, at 40% (six vessels) and 46% (seven vessels) respectively (Fig. 5.34). The remaining two pottery vessels are a storage vessel—the Archaic pithos—and a lid. The large number of pouring vessels comes from a single deposit in Road E, which contained 7 jugs. Four of the six deposits included at least one cup, and it seems likely, therefore, that drinking or activities involving liquid, were a part of these post-abandonment depositions.

Chronology of Objects

Of the 103 objects found in post-abandonment deposits at Palaikastro, the vast majority—73—belong to the LG/EA period, with the EA represented slightly more strongly (Fig. 5.35). A small handful of objects—around 5—may date to slightly earlier in the Geometric period. 24 objects have been assigned a date in the Archaic. Overall, an increase in deposition is noted from the LG into the EA with a notable drop off in the Archaic period.

Distribution of Objects by Function and Material

The objects represented at Palaikastro are unlike any found in the other post-abandonment deposits on the eastern side of Crete. The closest parallel assemblages are found at

Phaistos, both in Room OO, which will be discussed below, and in the area of the later Hellenistic Temple, though the lack of a complete inventory of the objects from this deposit makes an accurate comparison difficult. The Ash Altar at Amnisos is also a close parallel. The post-abandonment deposits at Palaikastro are dominated by ceramic lamps and torch holders, which represent 56% of all documented objects. The remainder of the deposits, with the exception of a single moulded terracotta relief of a lion, are comprised of objects made of bronze, the majority of which were likely votive in nature. 17% of the objects in post-abandonment deposits were bronze figurines or tripods, while 19% were elements of bronze armor—18 bronze shields, 12 of which were miniature, and 2 helmets. Two bronze pins and two bronze fibulae were also found in post-abandonment contexts on the site. The remaining objects are a bronze mirror or patera handle, a bronze hydria handle, and a bronze spoon. Bronze is more prevalent in the Palaikastro deposits than at any other site under consideration, and all but one of these bronze objects, the bronze spoon, were found in association with the ash altar in Area X of the site.

Spatial Focus of the Deposits

The ash altar at Palaikastro was constructed in the area of House Chi, a monumental building which was constructed in LM II. This is the context in which the majority of the objects deposited at the site after its abandonment were uncovered, and it must be assumed that the ruins of this structure, which was still standing at the time of the depositions, were the spatial focus of

the votive rites indicated by the assemblage. Other small deposits were found throughout the site, within the ruins. It is unclear if these smaller deposits had a specific spatial focus.

Deposit Contents

"Temple Field", Area X

Deposit type:

Ritual

Description:

Deposit of votives and ceramic objects

Location/Associated Architecture:

The "Temple Field" was placed in association with LM II House Chi.

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

1 cup (LG)

1 pithos (A)

Total: 2 vessels

Associated Objects:

12 ceramic torch holders (LG-A)

3 ceramic torch holders (A)

40 ceramic lamps (LG-A)

3 ceramic lamps (A)

10 bronze tripods (G/LG)

5 bronze shields (EA)

12 bronze miniature shields (LG/EA)

1 bronze helmet (LG/EA)

1 bronze helmet (A)

1 bronze animal figurine (LG/EA)

1 bronze bull figurine (LG/EA)

1 bronze fragment of a bull figurine (LG/EA)

1 bronze male figurine (LG/EA)

1 bronze male figurine (EA)
1 bronze female figurine (LG/EA)
1 bronze miniature female figurine (LG/EA)
2 bronze pins (LG/EA)
2 bronze fibulae (LG/EA)
1 bronze mirror or patera handle (LG/EA)
1 bronze hydria handle (EA)

Total: 100 objects

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Unknown

Deposit in E14

Deposit type:

Undetermined

Description:

Deposit of drinking vessels

Location/Associated Architecture:

Found in Room 14 of Block E

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

3 cups (LG)

Total: 3 vessels

Associated Objects:

None

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Unknown

Deposit in Road E

Deposit type:

Ritual

Description:

Deposit of drinking and pouring vessels

Location/Associated Architecture:

Uncovered in Road E.

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

1 cup (LG)

7 jugs (LG)

Total: 8 vessels

Associated Objects:

None

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Unknown

Deposit in Δ45

Deposit type:

Undetermined

Description:

Assorted objects

Location/Associated Architecture:

This deposit was located in Room 45 of Block Δ.

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

1 lid (LG)

Total: 1 vessels

Associated Objects:

1 bronze spoon (LG)

Total: 1 object

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Unknown

Deposit in Π 101

Deposit type:

Undetermined

Description:

Deposit of a single vessel

Location/Associated Architecture:

This deposit was located in Room 101 of Block Π

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

1 cup (LG)

Total: 1 vessels

Associated Objects:

None

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Unknown

Deposit type:

Undetermined

Description:

Assorted objects

Location/Associated Architecture:

This deposit was located in Room 45 of Block Δ.

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

None

Associated Objects:

1 moulded terracotta with decoration of a low relief lion (A)

Total: 1 object

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Unknown

Phaistos

Site Location: 35°03'04"N, 24°48'52"E

Site Category: Monumental Bronze Age Site

Periods of Inhabitation: FN, EM, MM, LM, PG, G, A, CL, H, R

Brief Site Description

Like Knossos, the site of Phaistos was established in the Final Neolithic period. The site was continuously inhabited through the Early Minoan period and into the Middle Minoan when

the first palace at Phaistos was constructed. This palace had a life of about 300 years (1800-1500 BCE) before its destruction at the end of MM II. The presence of Linear A tablets and thousands of sealings dating to this Old Palace period highlights the economic and administrative power and importance of the site at that time. In the beginning of the Late Minoan period, a New Palace was constructed on the ruins of the Old Palace, reusing the Central Court. The New Palace, like so many other sites mentioned in this text, was destroyed again in LM IB. LM II pottery is present at the site, but no architectural remains have been documented from this period and it appears that there was a gap in occupation lasting from the end of LM II until LM IIIB, possibly due to the fact that Hagia Triada was in ascendance at that time. A LM IIIB-C settlement was located to the west of the “theatral area” of the palace, and domestic structures dating to this period were also uncovered to the southwest of the palace. Also belonging to the LM IIIB period is a stepped altar and a pithos which were found in the northwest corner of the Central Court. From LM IIIB the site was continuously occupied into at least the Roman period, though remains dating to the Archaic period appear to be somewhat rare.⁶²⁶

Phases of Revisitation

Episodes of revisitation are difficult to discuss for the Palace of Phaistos because of incomplete publication. Nevertheless, it seems that the same two periods of interest in abandoned places of memory that are noted elsewhere were also the periods in which post-abandonment deposits were made at both the abandoned palace and the settlement of Phaistos. The first of

⁶²⁶ La Rosa 1992b, 232-238; Privitera 2011, 265.

these, which was found in the abandoned palace, dates to LM IIIC. The second targeted both the settlement to the west of the “theatral area” of the palace and an area to the southwest of the palace. These deposits appear to date to the LG/EA period, when there appears to have been a brief hiatus in inhabitation. A fourth deposit, in area 48 of the palace may also belong to this period, but as the dating is unclear and the contents were never inventoried, it has not been included here.

LM IIIC deposit in the Central Courtyard

Pernier published a group of LM IIIC votive objects in 1902 as coming from the ruins of the BA palace, but, as Prent notes in her 2005 volume on Cretan cults and sanctuaries, the provenance of these finds, and whether or not they came from a single deposit, is unclear from Pernier’s publication of the material. D’agata, in her 1999 volume on the Piazzale dei Sacelli deposits at Haghia Triada states that the objects came from the NW corner of Courtyard 40, which is the Central Courtyard (Fig. 5.36). The content of the assemblage is also unclear, but any objects which were mentioned by Pernier in his publication or by Banti in his 1949 *Athenaeum* article have been included as part of this deposit. This inventory is undoubtedly incomplete, but the character of the assemblage appears to be similar to what is found at Haghia Triada and at Kommos in the same period.⁶²⁷

⁶²⁷ Banti 1949, 319; D’agata 1999, 41; Pernier 1902, fig. 47, fig. 54; Prent 2005, 136-137.

A second post-abandonment deposit, dating to the 8th-7th centuries, very recently came to light in the LM IIIB-C settlement to the west of the “theatral area”, specifically in Room OO (Figs. 5.36 and 5.37). This appears to have been a room of monumental size, with at least one of the walls constructed of large ashlar blocks, some of which may have been reused from the Neopalatial period. The room also had an enormous 160 cm threshold. The deposit was found placed in the NE corner of the room in the debris from the partial collapse of the building. Single fragments from two large pithoi covered a large, fragmented terracotta lid that had been placed over a collection of bronze armor. The entire deposition was placed within a very large pithos with a diameter of almost 120 cm. The base of the pithos was missing, but it and the rest of the deposit had been placed on a large rectangular slab arranged on a platform made of small stones and covered with white plaster.

To the south of the pithos were found a series of vessels, a miniature shield, and two single-edged knives. To the west of the pithos a clay lamp, a monochrome aryballos and a phallic stone object were uncovered. To the south of these was an insitu pithos, one fragment of which was used to cover the deposit of armor. Beneath one of the collapsed walls of this pithos, two additional jugs were found. The excavation of this room is still in progress, and it is possible that additional material will come to light.⁶²⁸

⁶²⁸ Caloi 2023, 479-482.

Pernier mentions that many pieces of earlier 9th to 7th century votive bronze objects were found near the later Hellenistic temple (Fig. 5.38). No complete inventory of this material exists, but he notes that the largest fragments appear to belong to shields and cauldrons. Many of these fragments appear to have been embossed with figures. He mentions specifically embossed decoration in the form of grazing hinds, the legs of sphinxes, and a nude female figure with arms raised “in the manner of Mycenaean idols.” As the inventory is unclear, these objects have not been entered into the database, but they are taken into account in the analysis.⁶²⁹

Chronology of Deposits

As is witnessed at the majority of the sites discussed in this dissertation, Phaistos appears to have seen two periods of post-abandonment visitation. The first of these belongs to the LM IIIC period, shortly after the site was abandoned, and the second belongs to the LG/EA periods. Though the lack of a complete catalog of the objects found in the deposit to the Southwest of the abandoned palace makes it difficult to make conclusive statements, it appears from the available evidence that there was a gap in post-abandonment practice at the site that lasted from the end of LM IIIC to the beginning of the LG period.

⁶²⁹ Pernier 1902, 18.

Chronology of Vessels

The pottery vessels listed here as being associated with the post-abandonment depositions at the site date to the LG/EA periods, though, again, the lack of a complete inventory of the later material at Phaistos makes it difficult to state conclusively that vessels belonging to the first period of visitation, LM IIIC, were not present.

Distribution of Vessels by Function

Vessels were found only in association with the deposit in the ruins of Room OO, which was found in the settlement to the west of the “theatral area” of the palace. Of the 13 sites cataloged in this dissertation, Phaistos is the only site which did not include drinking vessels as a part of the post-abandonment assemblages, though this understanding is, again, affected by the excavation and publication record at the site. Room OO remains partially unexcavated, and it is certainly possible that additional pottery may come to light. For the present, however, the assemblage of ceramic vessels from this room includes primarily storage vessels at 73%, or 8 out of 11 vessels. The remaining vessels were two jugs and a single lid.

Chronology of Objects

The majority of the objects found in post-abandonment deposits at Phaistos that are cataloged here date to LM IIIC and come from the central courtyard of the abandoned palace.

The remainder of the objects date to LG/EA and were uncovered in Room OO of the settlement and the area to the southwest of the palace that would later house a Hellenistic Temple. Room 48 of the palace is also said to have held an assemblage dating to this later period, but neither the objects from the southwest of the palace nor from area 48 are included here due to the poor understanding of these assemblages that results from incomplete excavation and publication.

Distribution of Objects by Function and Material

The majority of the objects found in post-abandonment deposits at Phaistos were likely votive in nature. All of the objects from the LM IIIC deposit in the central courtyard of the palace were terracotta animal figurines, which probably served a votive function. The objects from Room OO included a terracotta miniature votive shield but also a terracotta lamp, a stone phallic object, parts of a bronze shield and helmet, a bronze belt or piece of armor, and two daggers made of iron. These objects may also have been votive, although they are categorized as other, armor and weapons in the database. Overall, the assemblages as a whole are made up of 60% ceramic objects, 20% bronze, 13% iron, and 7% stone (Fig. 5.40). As is seen at other monumental sites in the center of the island, however, such as Amnisos and Haghia Triada, the prevalence of bronze increases at the site in the later period of visitation.

Spatial Focus of the Deposits

There are two spatial foci for the deposits at Phaistos. The first of these is the palace, itself, which was the focus of the deposits located in area 48, the Central Courtyard, and also, likely, the deposit found to the southwest of the palace, which appears to have targeted a monumental retaining wall associated with the palatial structure (Fig. 5.36 and 5.38). It should be noted, however, that there was a LM IIIB altar in the northwest corner of the palace's central courtyard, and it was this corner of the courtyard that was targeted by visitors in LM IIIC. It is possible that the spatial focus of this particular deposit was this LM IIIB altar, rather than the courtyard itself. The second spatial focus is the LM IIIB/C settlement to the west of the "theatral" area.

Deposit Contents

Courtyard 40

Deposit type:

Votive

Description:

A deposit of figurines

Location/Associated Architecture:

This is a poorly documented deposit that was found in the NW corner of courtyard 40.

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

None

Associated Objects:

2 ceramic bull figurines (LM IIIC)
1 ceramic quadruped figurine (LM IIIC)
1 ceramic quadruped figurine carrying jugs on its back (LM IIIC)
1 ceramic fragment of a horse figurine (LM IIIC)
2 ceramic fragments of bird figurines (LM IIIC)

Total: 7 objects

Floral and Faunal Remains:

Unknown

Room OO

Deposit type:

Votive

Description:

A deposit of vessels, armor, and weapons

Location/Associated Architecture:

This deposit was located in Room OO of the LM IIIB/C settlement west of the “theatral area” of the palace. This area is still under excavation.

Associated Human Remains:

None

Associated Ceramic Vessels:

2 jugs (LG/EA)
5 aryballoi (LG/EA)
3 pithoi (LG/EA)
1 lid (LG/EA)

Total: 11 vessels

Associated Objects:

1 bronze shield boss (LG/EA)
1 bronze cheek pieces of a helmet (LG/EA)
1 bronze belt or armor (LG/EA)
1 terracotta miniature shield (LG/EA)

2 metal daggers (LG/EA)
1 terracotta lamp (LG/EA)
1 stone phallic object (LG/EA)

Total: 8 objects

Summary of Visitation to Bronze Age Lowland Monumental Sites

The episodes of visitation to abandoned upland settlements lasting from LM IIIC to the Archaic period that were discussed in Chapter 4 largely held specific aspects of practice in common. The same can be said for the episodes of visitation to abandoned lowland monumental sites taking place during the same period, which were discussed in this chapter. Similarities in the chronology of the visitation, in the kinds of vessels and objects being deposited, in the manner of their deposition, and, thus, likely in the rites being observed make it clear that these instances of visitation were part of a larger phenomenon associated with this specific category of place.

The sites discussed in this chapter must be broken into three groups in order to fully understand the chronological patterning of post-abandonment visitation occurring at this category of site. The majority of the sites—Amnisos, Haghia Triada, Knossos, and Phaistos—follow the same chronological pattern of visitation. Rites began in LM IIIC and lasted into the SM period before dropping off until the 9th century. At this point, there was a rekindling of practice that intensified until it peaked in the LG into the EA periods before dropping off again in the Archaic period. Though lying outside of the chronological scope of this dissertation, it is significant that this concurrence in the temporal distribution of the deposits at all four sites continued into the Hellenistic period when, after a second gap in practice, all four once again became popular places of ritual activity.

Kommos follows its own temporal pattern of visitation, though initial post-abandonment practice at the site began at the same time as Amnisos, Hagia Triada, Knossos, and Phaistos, likely as part of the same regional trend. Rather than a decline in interest occurring after the SM period, however, Kommos saw continuous cult activity taking place from the 11th into the 7th centuries with the largest peak in practice occurring in the PG period when the presence of imported vessels at the site suddenly increased. Differences in the chronology of visitation are likely due to the foreign influence that, as noted in the pages above, characterized the post-abandonment assemblages at this site from the PG forward. This influence appears to have been the result of trade, rather than of settlement in the area. The LG, which represents the peak of practice at almost all other sites presented in Chapters 4 and 5, represents, instead, a low point in practice at Kommos. At this point in time, 25% of the vessels found in post-abandonment deposits at the port site were foreign imports, suggesting that local influence may have been diluted at Kommos. The Phoenician Tripillar shrine belonging to Temple B was still active in this period, and it was also in this period that the Egyptian faience figurines were placed between the pillars of this shrine. Figure 5.41 makes apparent the inverse relationship between the high and low points of practice at Kommos compared to all other sites in Chapter 5. The simplest explanation for this discrepancy is that practices occurring at Kommos were at least partially subject to outside influences rather than only to local trends.

The remaining two lowland monumental sites, Mochlos and Palaikastro, are anomalous in two ways. The first of these anomalies relates to some aspects of the chronology of their post-abandonment deposits, and the second to their physical locations. Both sites reached their peak in practice at the same time as Amnisos, Hagia Triada, Knossos, and Phaistos, but both sites received visitation in only one period—from the LG into the EA period. The deposits at Mochlos

peaked slightly later in the EA, while those at Palaikastro reached their high point in the LG. The absence of an earlier phase of visitation may be tied to the physical location of the sites, both of which are located in coastal East Crete rather than in lowland Central Crete, where the majority of the sites detailed in this chapter are found. Regional differences in practice and possible explanations for the anomalous nature of these two sites will be discussed in the following chapter. Overall, post-abandonment practice at the category of site discussed in Chapter 5 is fairly consistent in its chronology, with the exception of the port site of Kommos. The chronology of the deposits shows a peak in practice in the LM IIIC to SM periods, followed by a decline in visitation, and then a second, more intense peak in practice in the LG/EA periods (Fig. 5.42).

Episodes of visitation at monumental lowland sites have several characteristics in common aside from their chronology. The most obvious of these is the deposition of votive objects. Votives were found at only two of the sites discussed in Chapter 4. In both cases, these votives were either found in areas associated with ritual practice in the pre-abandonment period, suggesting that the placement of these votives may have been an attempt to connect with the previous use of specific areas of the site, or they were heirloom objects placed in a later context. By contrast, votive offerings were a component, and most often the primary component, of all post-abandonment deposits at lowland monumental sites with the exception of Mochlos where the deposits consisted entirely of vessels. Though efforts have been made to tie these episodes of votive deposition with pre-abandonment ritual activity at many of the sites listed here, there are

no instances in which a case for continuous ritual activity can be made. The placement of votives appears indicative of new behaviors that took place in association with the ruins of the sites.⁶³⁰

Table 5.1 gives a rough quantitative breakdown of the number of each type of votive object represented in post-abandonment deposits at each lowland monumental site, and Figure 5.44 shows combined quantities of each type of votive for all sites. As discussed previously, the fragmentary nature of the deposits and incomplete publication precludes a level of quantitative detail that would lend itself to reliable analysis of these data. At Phaistos, for example, it is known that shields, tripods, and tripod stands were a part of the assemblage associated with the deposit to the SW of the palace, but as no detailed inventory exists it is not possible to include these as part of a total enumeration. Additionally, in many cases it is not always clear if specific objects were intended as votive offerings or, instead, served a functional purpose in the rites taking place. A large quantity of lamps from the deposits at Palaikastro were likely votive but may also have served a functional purpose. A smaller number of iron knives from Kommos and Phaistos are similarly difficult to classify.

Despite the difficulties inherent to providing quantitative information for fragmentary data it can be definitively stated that the placement of votives, typically in large numbers, was a consistent aspect of post-abandonment ritual across all lowland monumental sites represented here with the exception of Mochlos. This behavior was consistent across periods of visitation, with the only variation being a general increase in the number of votives being deposited between periods at sites where two periods of visitation are noted, and an increase in the number of bronze votives being deposited in later periods at many sites. This is a circumstance which

⁶³⁰ Prent 2005, 510.

will be discussed more fully in the following chapter. The exceptions to this trend are Knossos, where no bronze objects were noted and where only a single votive figurine can be assigned to the later period of visitation, and the anomalous site of Kommos, where, as already discussed, the peak of ritual practice, and thus of votive deposition, occurred in the PG period.

A variety of votive offerings in post-abandonment contexts are found at all sites, as indicated in Table 5.1 and Figure 5.43, but some variation between sites is notable. Palaikastro, Phaistos, and Amnisos have a much greater prevalence of votive armor, including shields and helmets, and bronze tripods and tripod stands, where Haghia Triada has a much greater prevalence of animal, fantastic animal, and human figurines. The quality of the votives is, generally, exceptionally high, even in earlier periods where ceramic votives outnumber those of bronze. Again, this is a circumstance which will be discussed more fully in the following chapter.

Ash altars were present at all but one lowland monumental site, and they are generally more common in the later period of visitation. Ash altars were present in the later period of visitation at Amnisos, Haghia Triada, Palaikastro, and possibly at Knossos, and hearths with burnt material were present at Kommos. At all of these sites, with the possible exception of Palaikastro, where this is not explicitly stated in the excavation reports, these areas of burnt soil and ash were mixed with burnt animal bones indicating that these were areas associated with burnt sacrificial offerings and/or feasting events. Unlike the upland sites discussed in the previous chapter, where cooking vessels were found in post-abandonment deposits at all of the sites, of the lowland monumental sites only Kommos and Mochlos yielded vessels associated with cooking. A lack of cooking vessels does not necessarily imply that feasting did not take place at lowland sites, but it is possible that the nature of these meals or perhaps the rites associated with these episodes of feasting were different at upland vs. lowland sites.

Figure 5.44 details the breakdown of vessels in post-abandonment deposits at lowland monumental sites by function. The vast majority of these vessels, 43%, were associated with drinking activities, and these are represented primarily by cups at 41%, skyphoi at 36%, and bowls at 15% (Fig. 5.45). Kotyles and kantharoi were also present in lesser numbers at 4% and 3% respectively. Storage and transport vessels follow at 27% of the total ceramic assemblage. Amongst these vessels, amphorae are most strongly represented at 58% of the total assemblage, followed by aryballoi at 15% (Fig. 5.46). Pithoi and hydria are also present at 7% and 8% respectively. Jars, kalathoi, pixides, lekythoi, and stirrup jars are also found amongst the vessels, but in much smaller numbers. Pouring and mixing vessels (kraters) are also represented, both at 11%. Pouring vessels were primarily jugs (58%) and oinochoai (21%), though juglets were also well represented (13%) (Fig. 5.47). A small number of askoi, flasks, and significantly, rhyta, were also found. The rhyta—vessels specifically associated with ritual pouring of liquids in the Late Bronze Age—were limited to the site of Haghia Triada and all date to the earliest phase of visitation, LM IIIC/SM.

As mentioned previously, cooking vessels are not present in significant numbers at any site, though a small number were found at Kommos and Mochlos. The majority of those found at Kommos were located in deposits related to Building Z which contained faunal remains and hearth material suggestive of a space associated with meal preparation. At Mochlos, the only deposit that included cooking vessels was that associated with the special-purpose building on the hill above the ruined site where the assemblage is suggestive of feasting rites. Overall, analysis of the ceramic assemblages associated with the lowland monumental sites detailed in this chapter suggests that the pouring and likely consumption of liquids was a primary post-abandonment activity at all lowland sites detailed here, but that cooking was far less common. As

stated previously, a lack of cooking vessels does not necessarily imply that feasting did not take place at lowland sites, but it is possible that the nature of these meals or perhaps the rites associated with these episodes of feasting were different at upland vs. lowland sites.

Spatial focus is another aspect of post-abandonment visitation that all sites detailed in this chapter held in common. This chapter is dedicated to visitation to lowland sites of “urban” character that, in all cases, had monumental buildings constructed of ashlar masonry. In almost every instance it is this ashlar masonry which appears to have been the spatial focus of post-abandonment rites taking place at these sites. Previous scholars, most notably Mieke Prent, have suggested that the ritual focus on ashlar masonry indicates that these visitors had an interest in the “Bronze Age” history of the sites.⁶³¹ It is critical to nuance this statement, as the “Bronze Age” history of these sites encapsulated multiple cultural moments which were not as likely to be considered a homogenous whole to those with a closer temporal association with these different pasts. It is important to note that each of the sites that were visited in the Early Iron Age were reoccupied and reconstructed in the late Final to Post Palatial periods after the widespread LM IB destructions that impacted the entirety of the island. In many cases, construction efforts in the LM III period were facilitated by the reuse of ashlar blocks from destroyed Neopalatial buildings. While the Neopalatial ashlar masonry was, in almost all cases, taken from public monumental buildings, at times this masonry was repurposed to build what appear to have been domestic structures. The research in this chapter appears to indicate that it was not destroyed Neopalatial structures that were the spatial focus of visitation, but rather the LM II-III buildings built with reused ashlar masonry, both domestic and otherwise, that were the focus of interest.

⁶³¹ Prent 2003.

As the summaries for Chapter's 4 and 5 show, both upland sites and lowland monumental centers were visited throughout the period under investigation. However, observed visitation practices consistently differed between these respective types of sites. These differences are apparent in the contents of the deposits, in the rites that produced these deposits, in the extrinsic value of the materials that were deposited, and in the places within the respective type of sites targeted for visitation. Despite these differences, the timing of visitation at upland settlements and lowland monumental centers was consistent in terms of the periods of time when they were frequently visited and the times in which they were not. The following chapter will discuss these differences in more detail, and Chapter 7 will attempt to elucidate the motivations behind island-wide trends in post-abandonment visitation occurring during the Early Iron Age, and to understand the underlying factors that affected the specific form that post-abandonment practice would take in different regions.

Figures

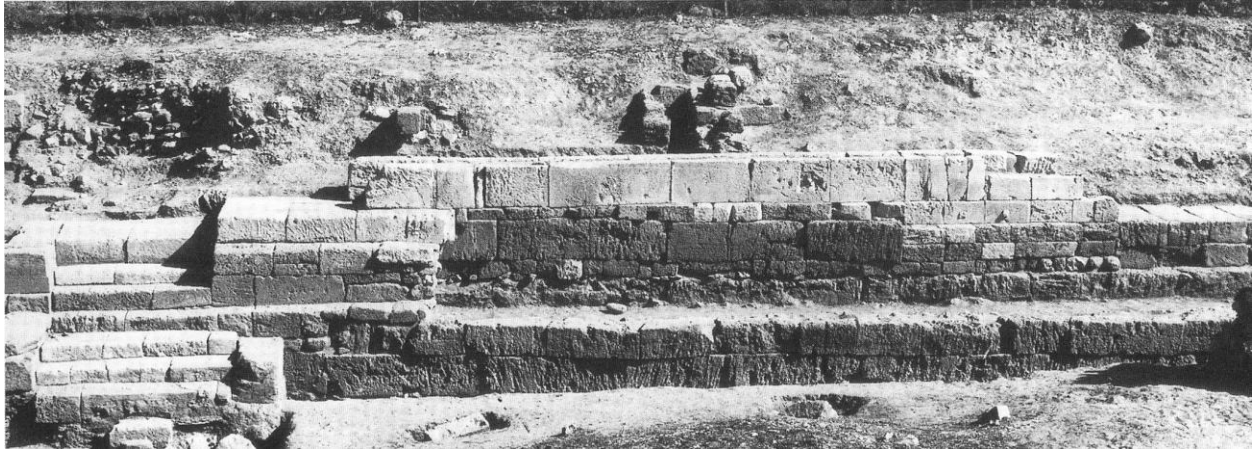


Figure 5.1 Monumental wall and Ash Altar at Amnisos

(Schafer 1992, Plate 34)

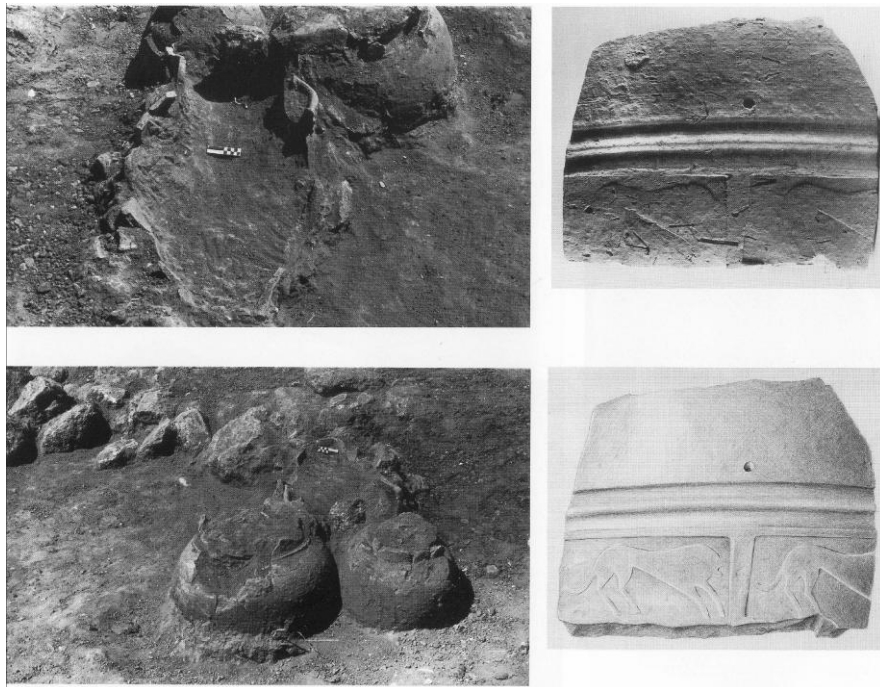


Figure 5.2 7th century post-abandonment deposit, Area F, Amnisos

(Schafer 1992, Plate 48)

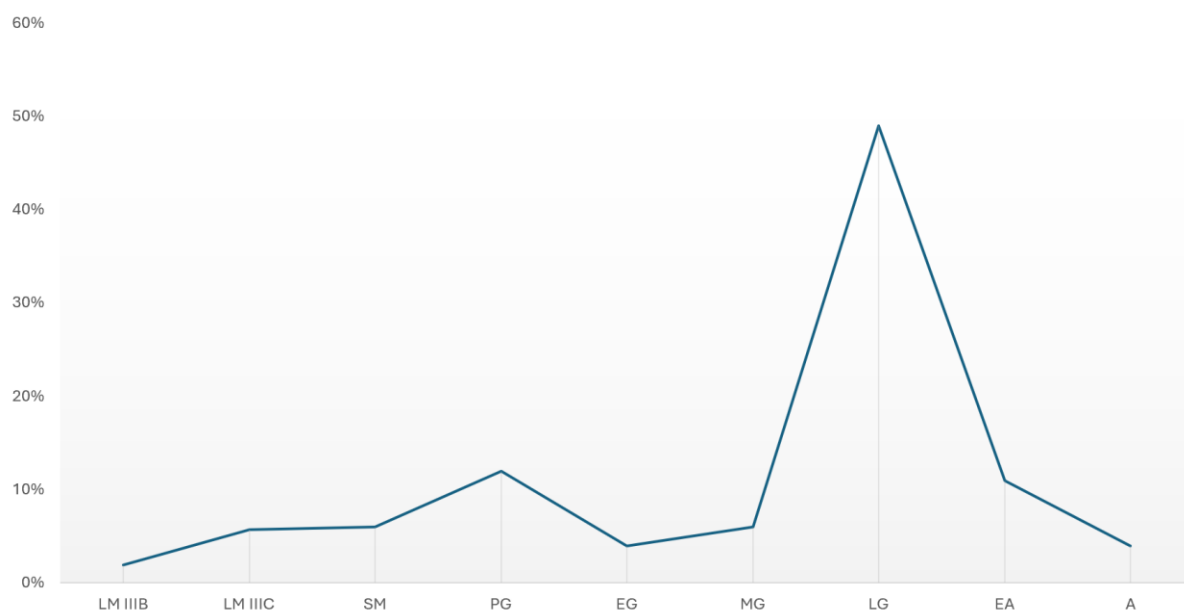


Figure 5.3 Temporal Distribution of Vessels, Amnisos

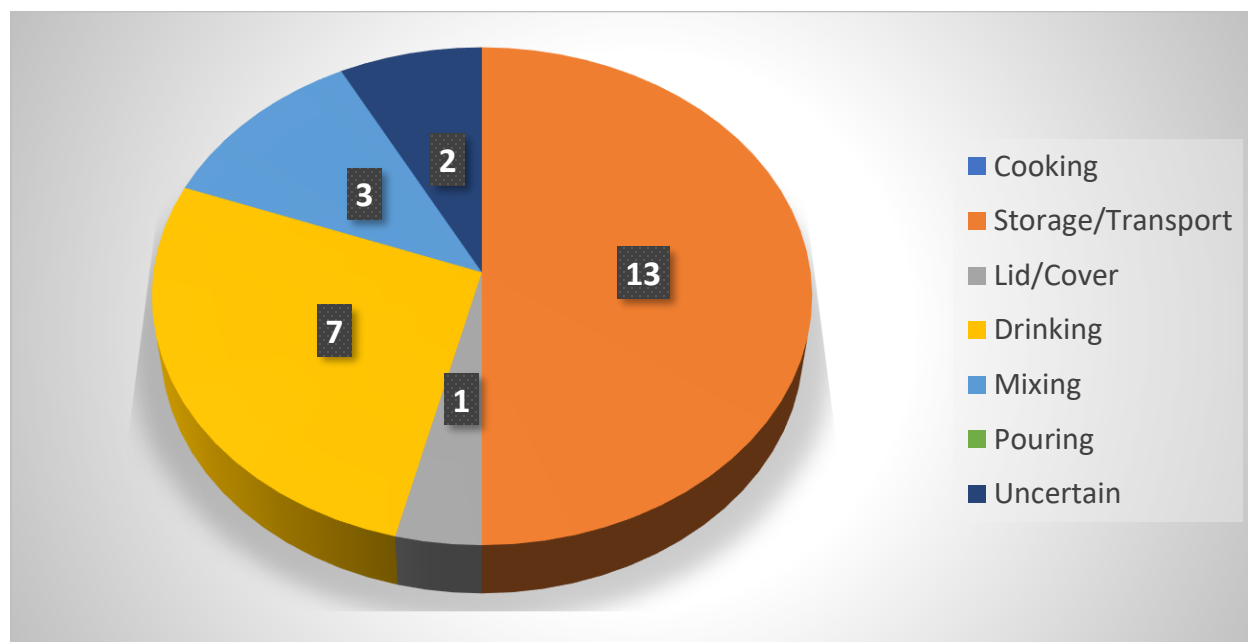


Figure 5.4 Distribution of Vessels by Function, Amnisos

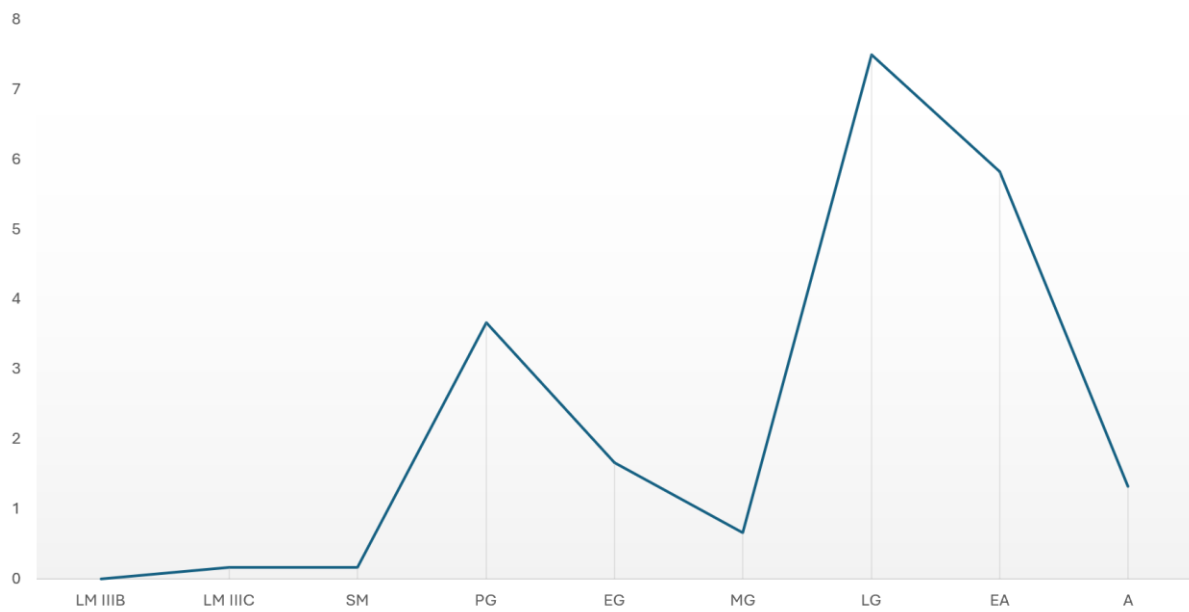


Figure 5.5 Temporal Distribution of Objects, Amnisos

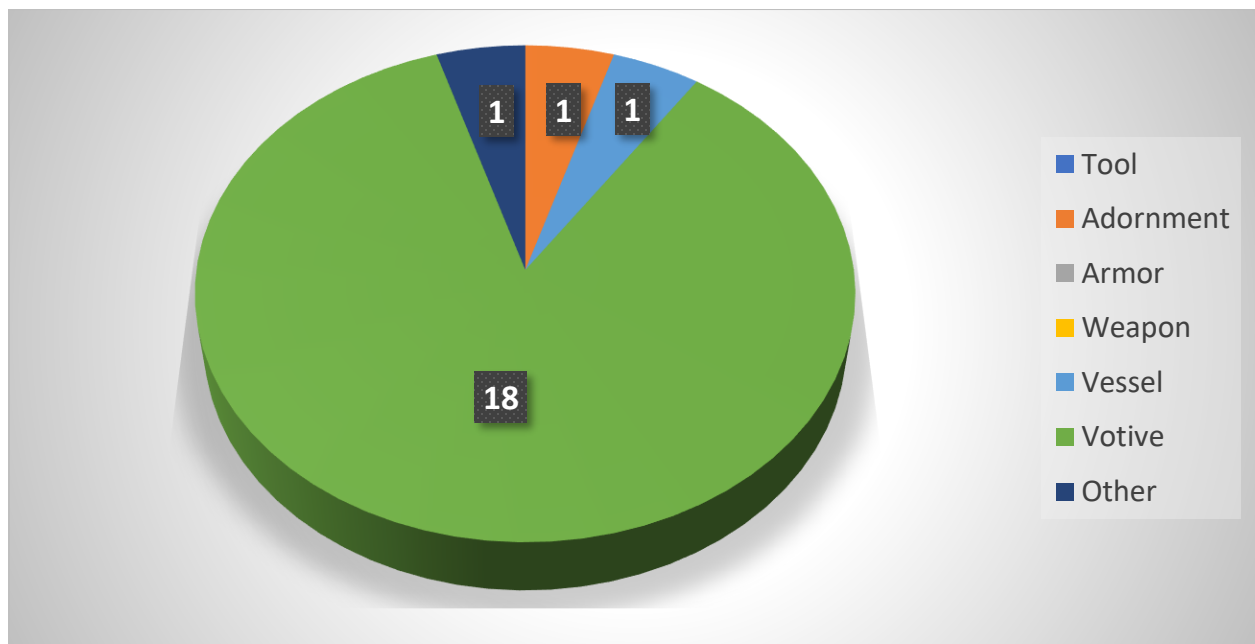


Figure 5.6 Distribution of Objects by Function, Amnisos

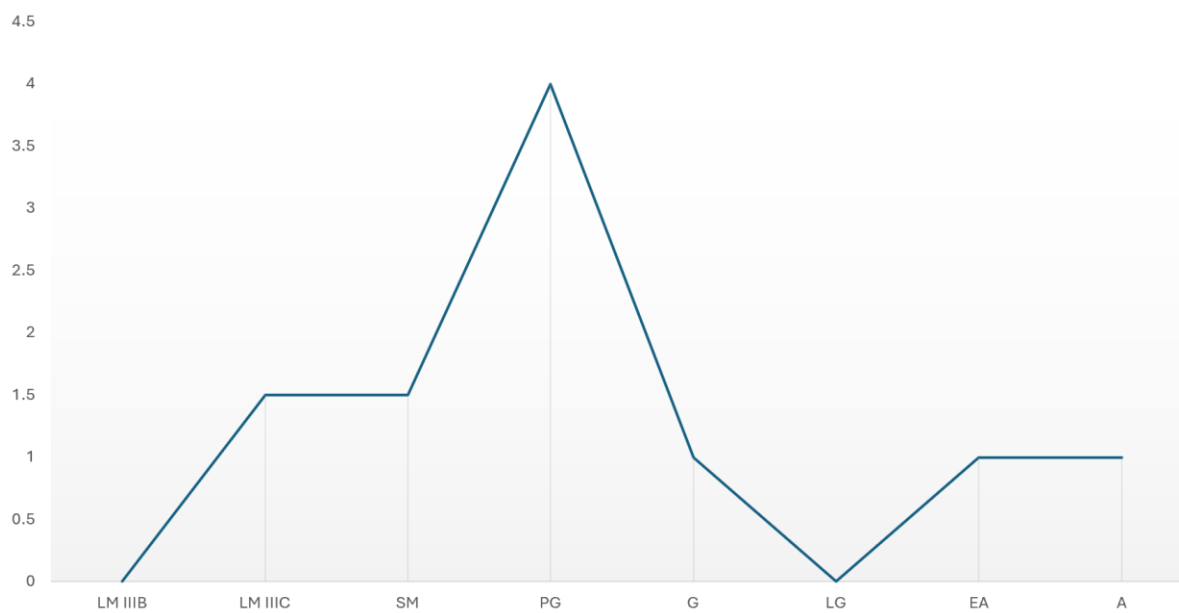


Figure 5.8 Temporal Distribution of Vessels, Haghia Triada

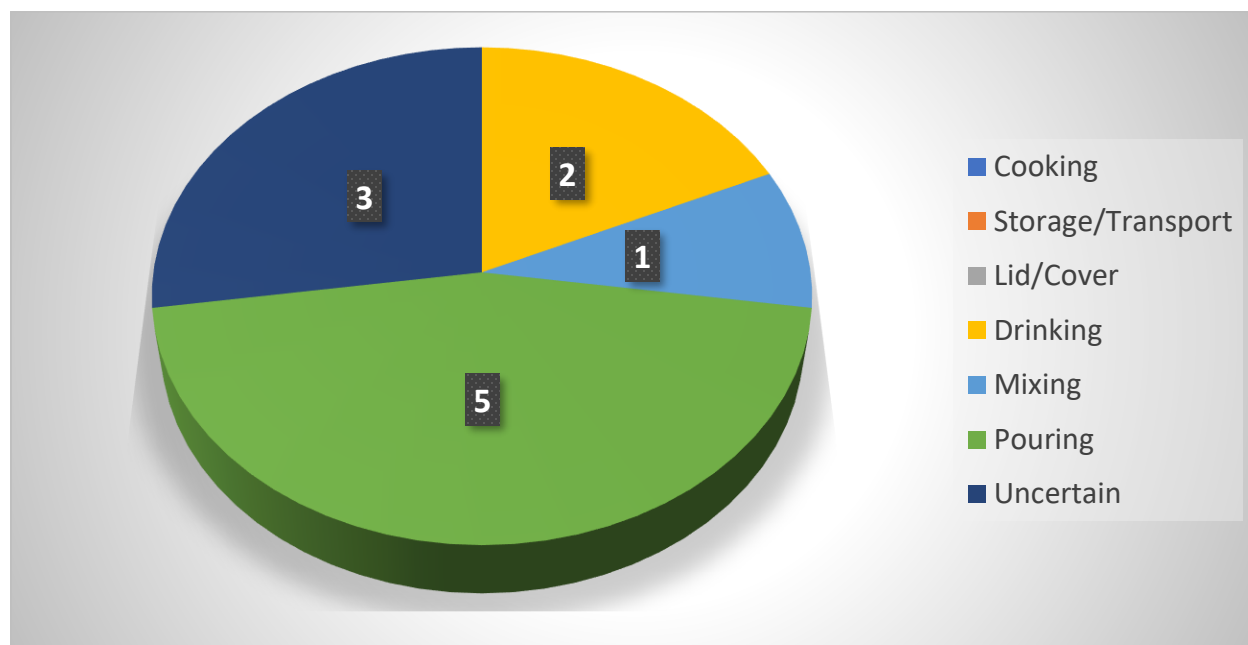


Figure 5.9 Distribution of Vessels by Function, Amnisos

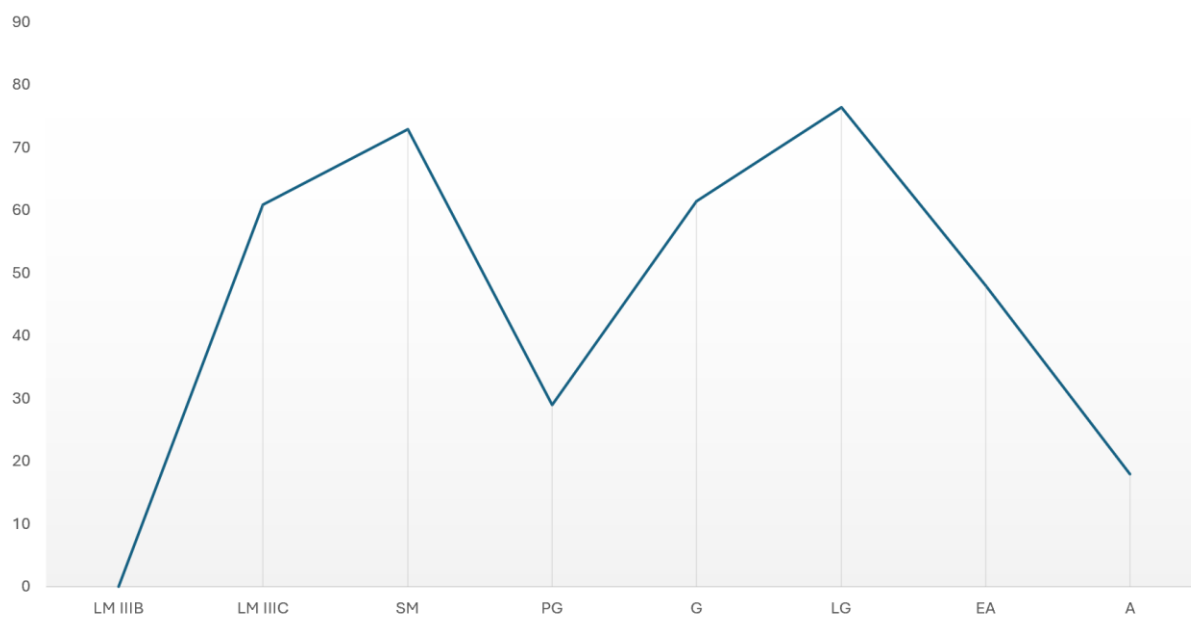


Figure 5.10 Temporal Distribution of Objects, Hagia Triada

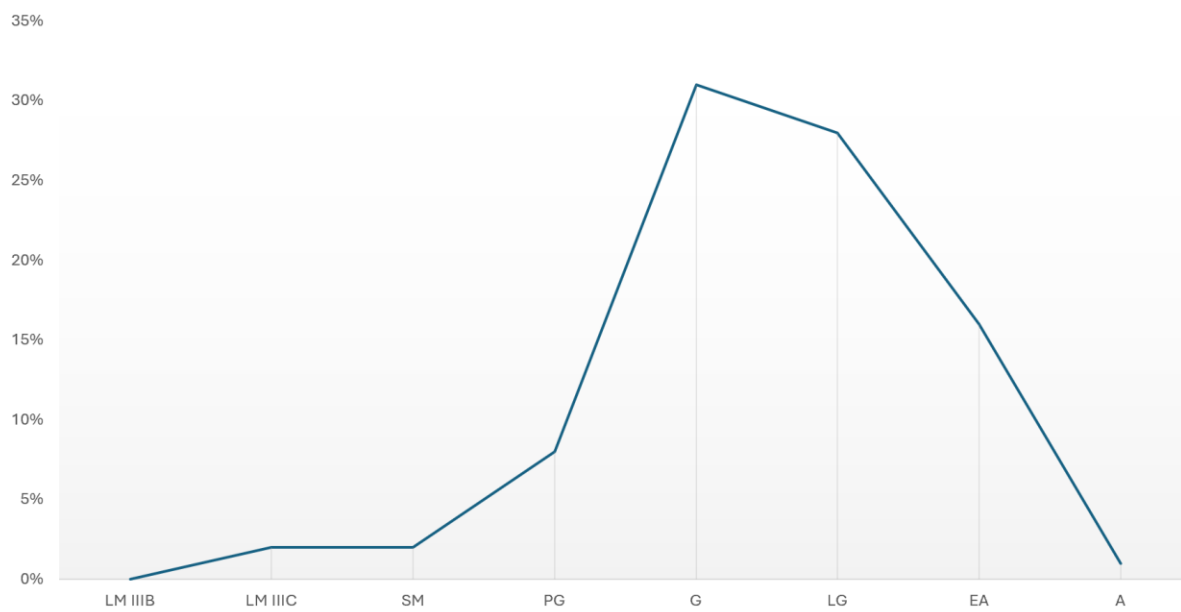


Figure 5.11 Temporal Distribution of Bronze Objects, Hagia Triada

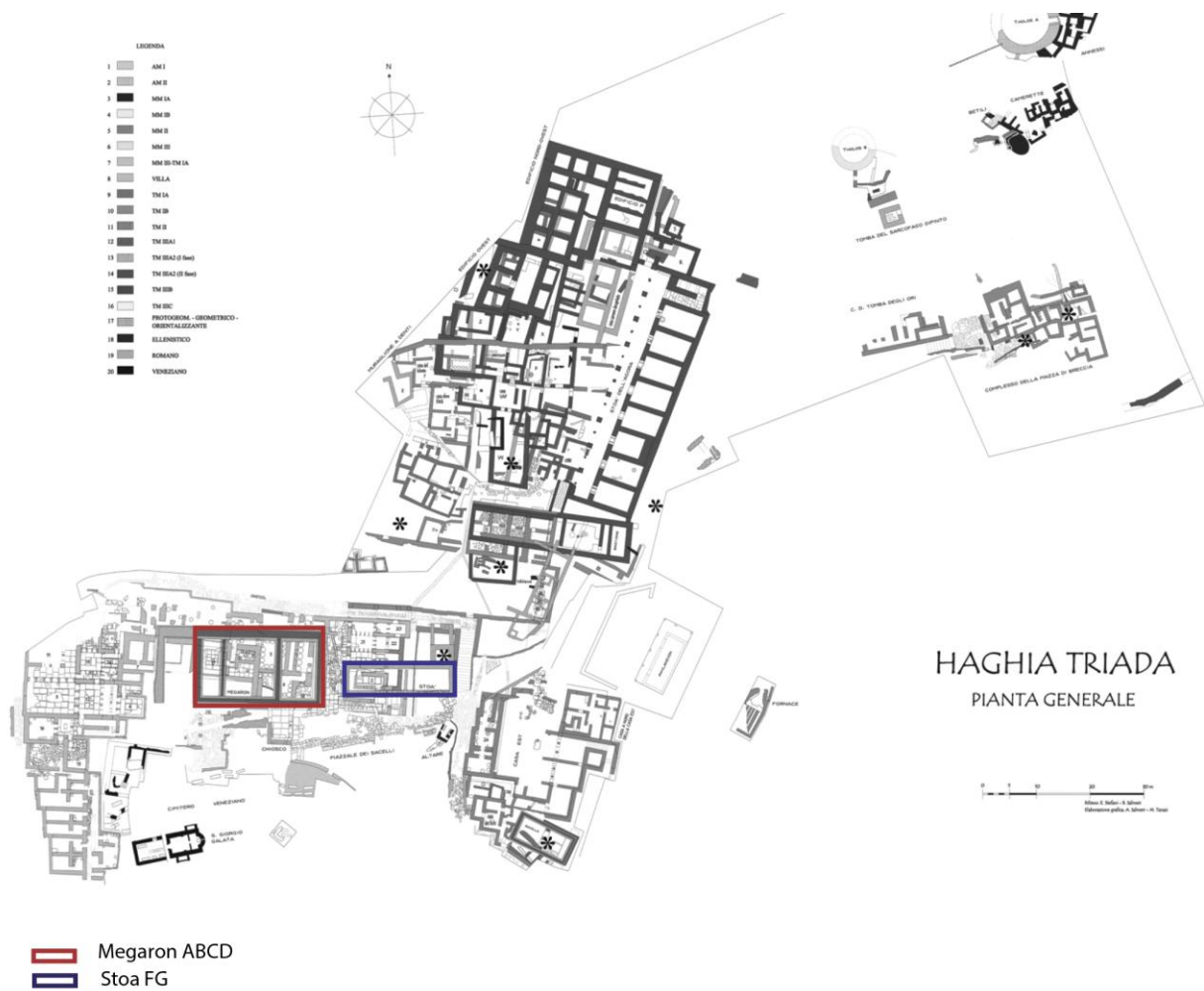


Figure 5.12 Plan of Hagia Triada Showing Location of Megaron ABCD and Stoa FG

Adapted from:

<https://whitelevy.fas.harvard.edu/hagia-triada-iv-protopalatial-levels-excavations-1977-2012>

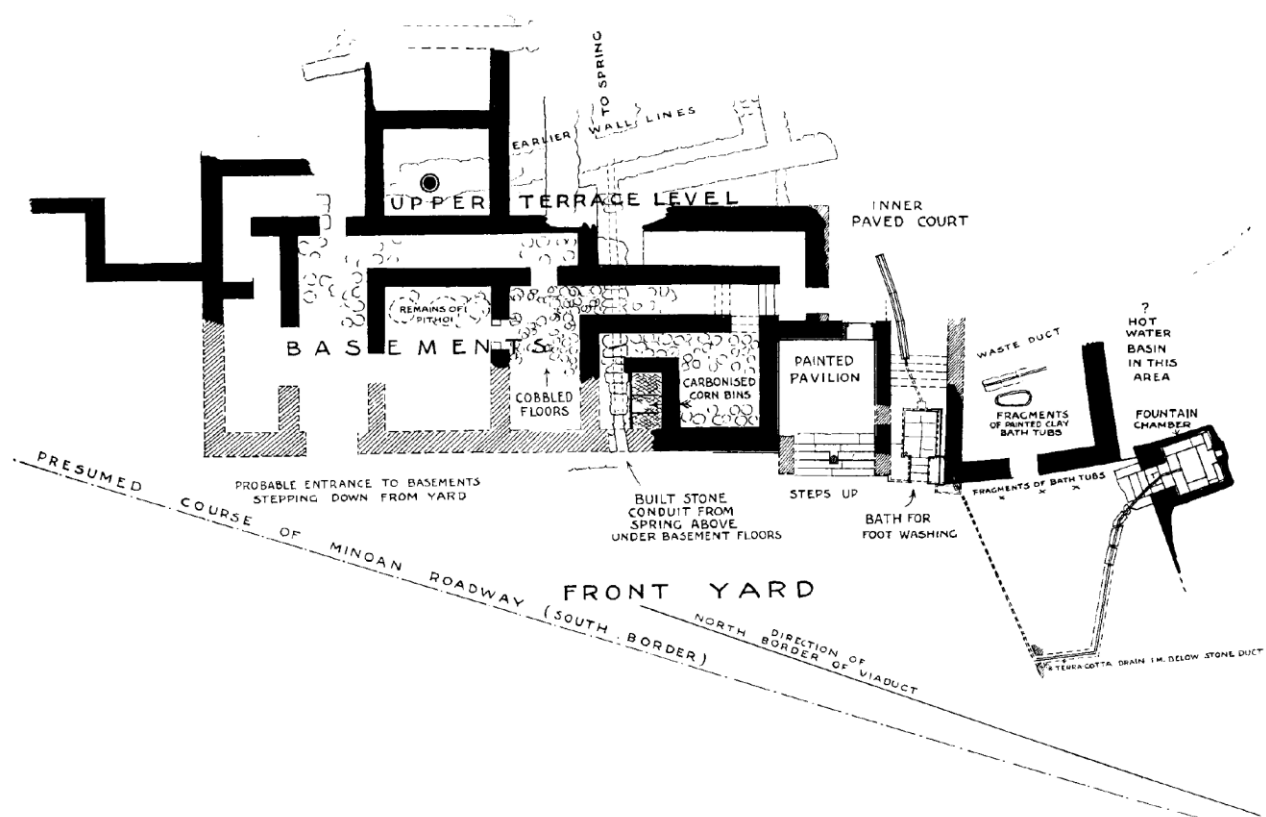


Figure 5.13 Plan of "Caravanserai", Knossos

(Evans 1928, Figure 48)



Figure 5.14 Spring Chamber Shrine, Knossos

(Evans 1928, Figure 61)

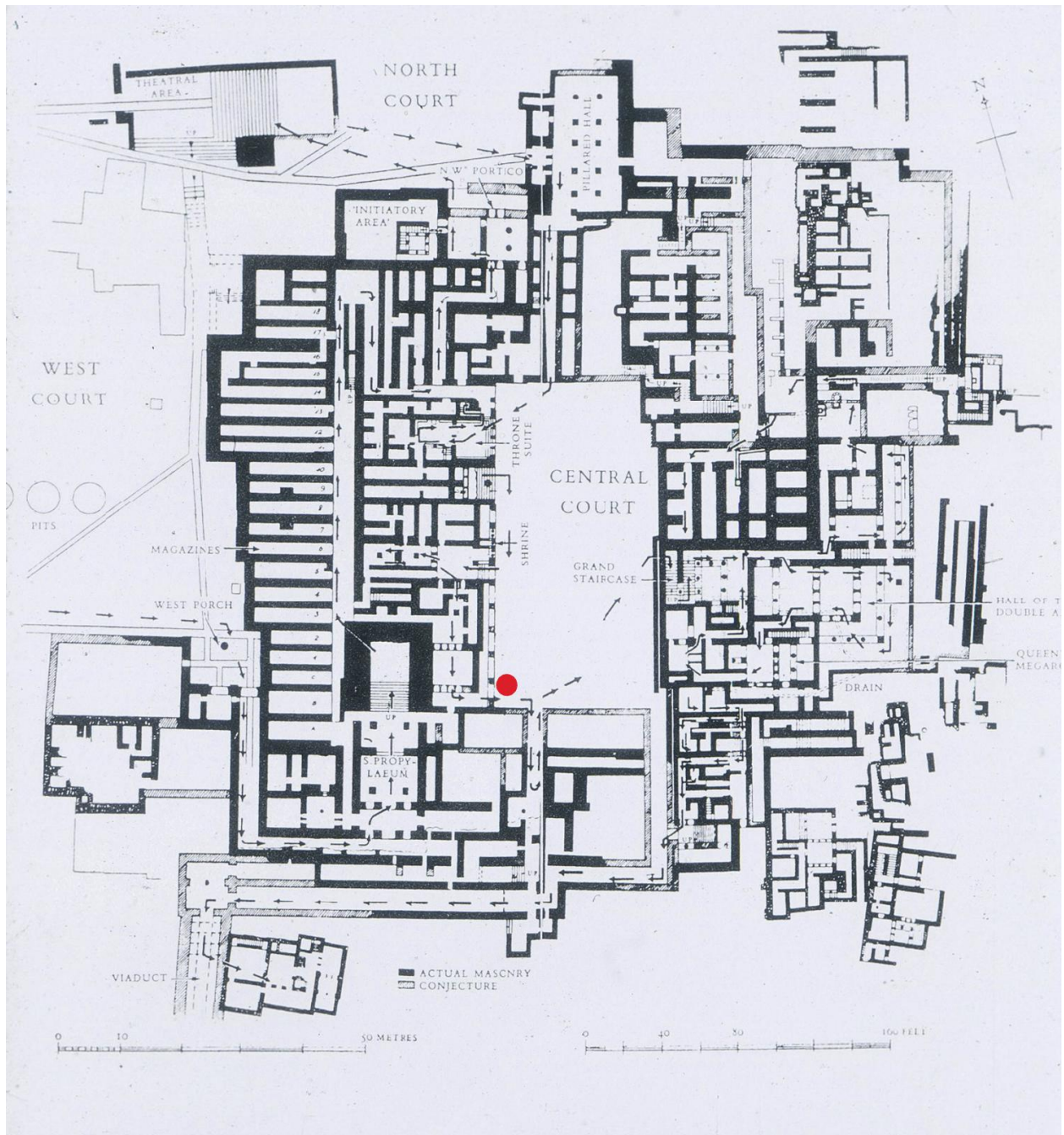


Figure 5.15 Plan of the Palace of Knossos with location of PG-G deposit marked

Adapted from: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/community.13922450>

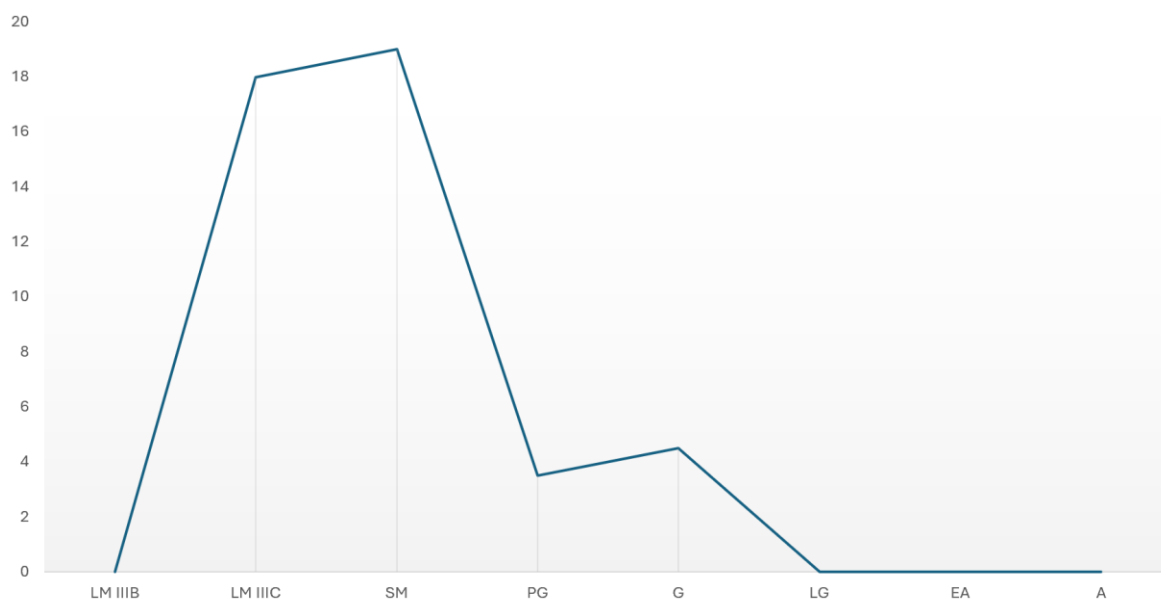


Figure 5.16 Temporal Distribution of Vessels, Knossos

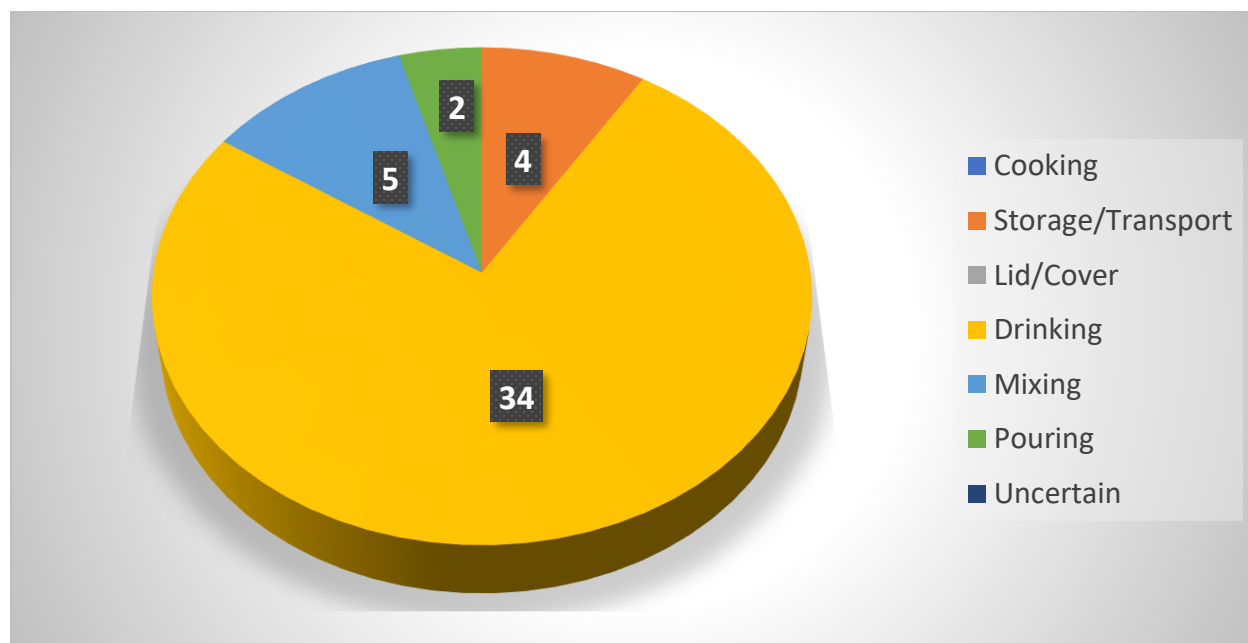


Figure 5.17 Distribution of Vessels by Function, All Deposits, Knossos

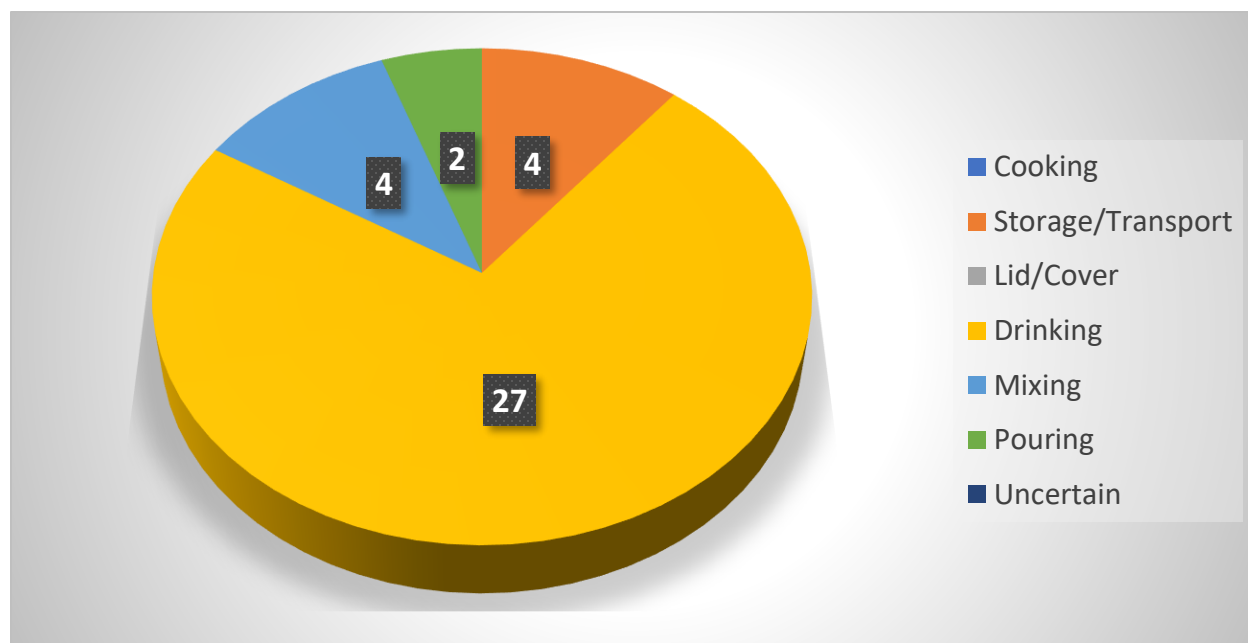


Figure 5.18 Distribution of Vessels by Function, Spring Chamber Shrine, Knossos

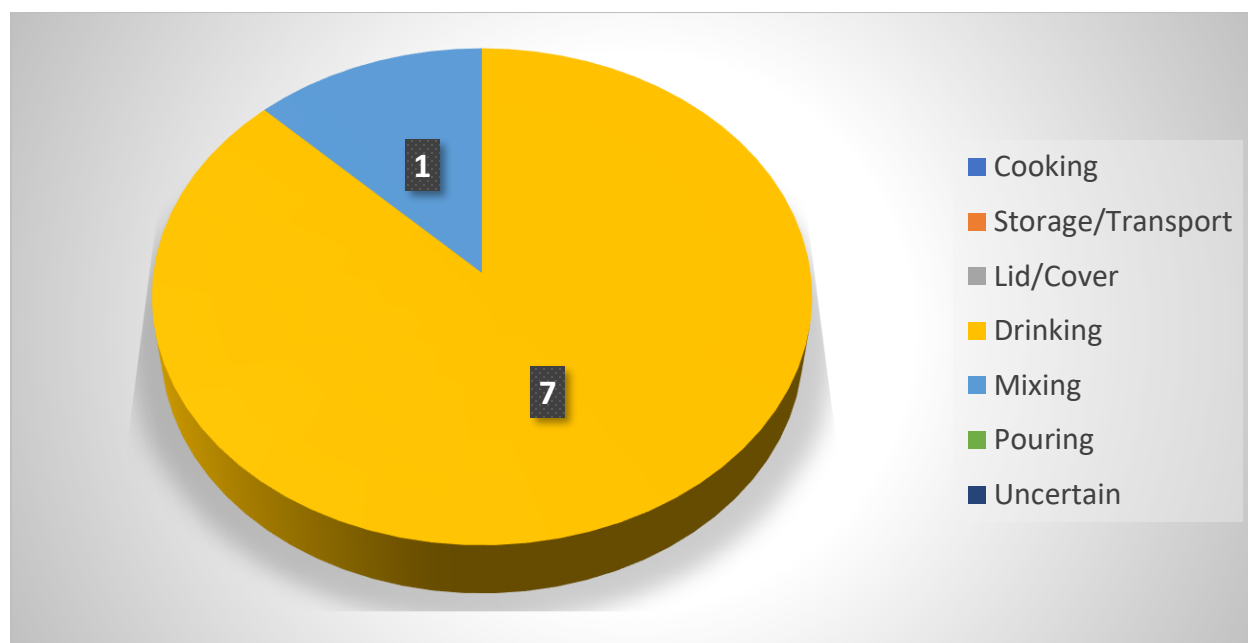


Figure 5.19 Distribution of Vessels by Function, Central Courtyard PG-LG, Knossos

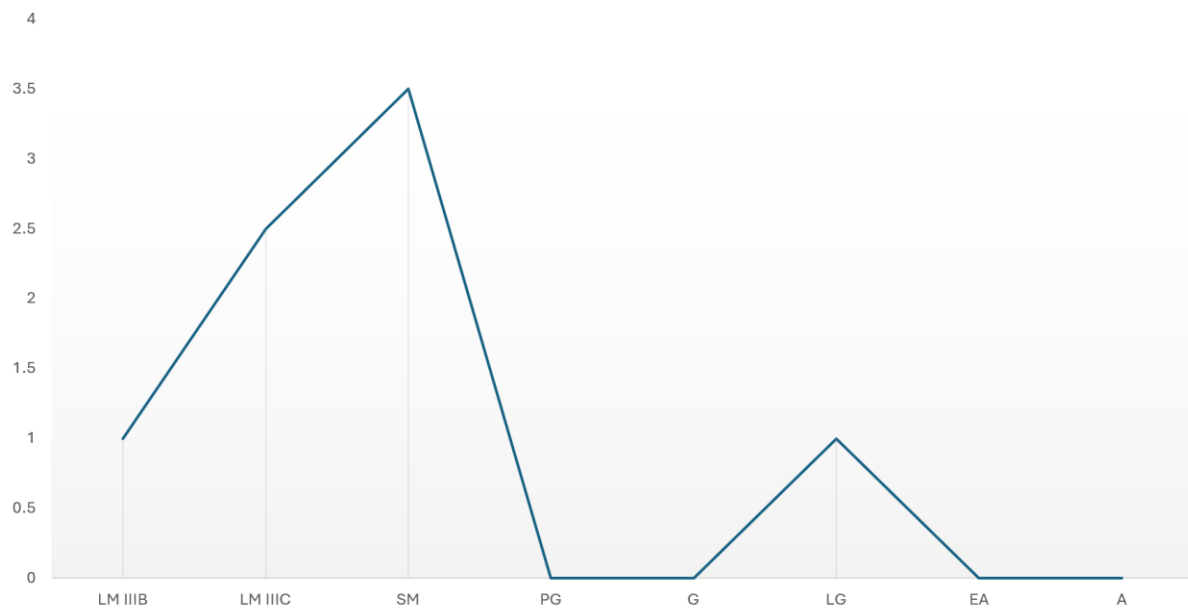


Figure 5.20 Temporal Distribution of Objects, Knossos

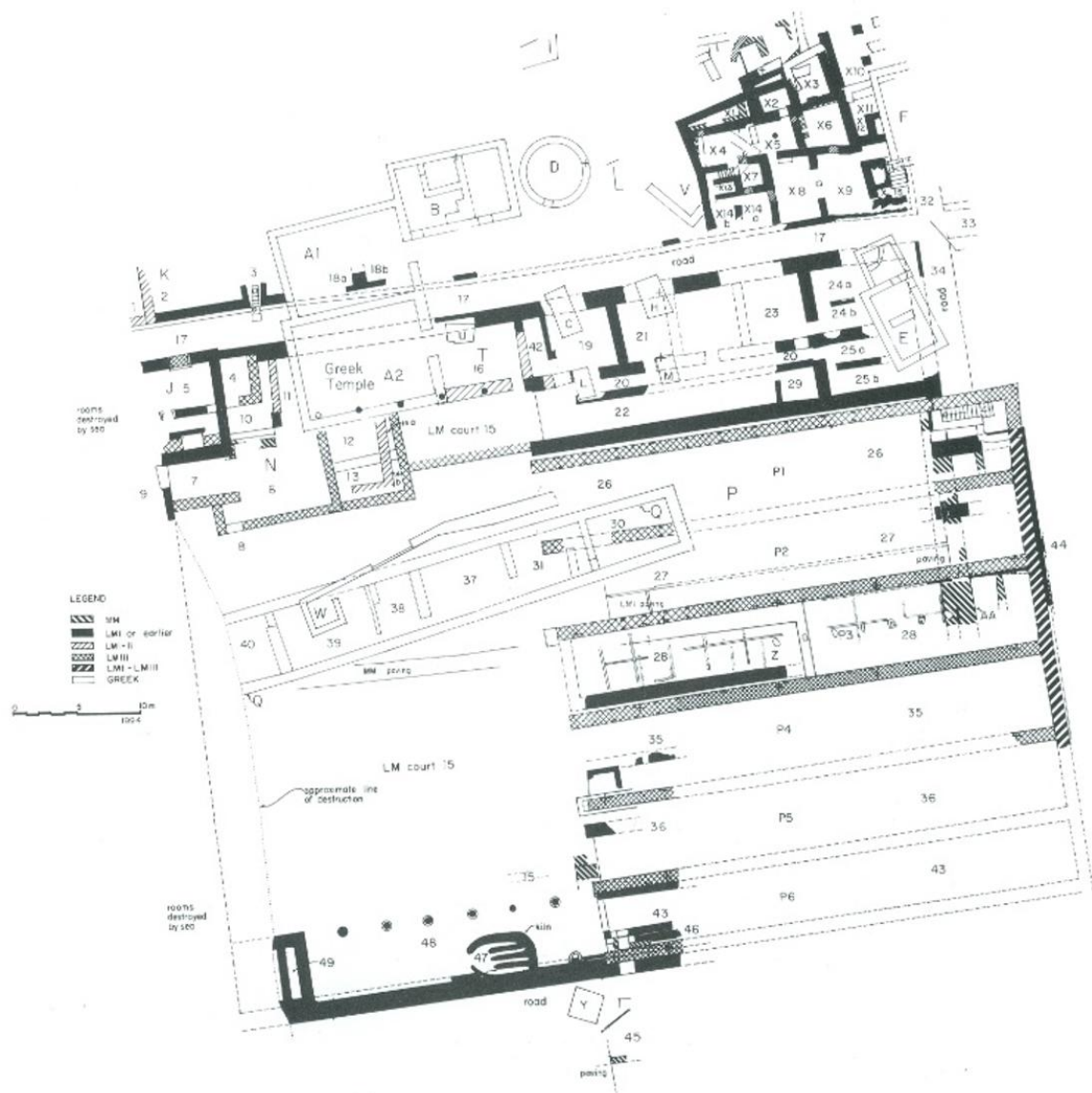


Figure 5.21 Phased plan of Kommos

(Shaw and Shaw 2000, Plate 1.6)



Plate 1.6. Southern Area, period plan, with spaces numbered.

- 1 Temple A
- 2 Courtyard of Wall 2
- 3 Protogeometric Accumulation
- 4 Protogeometric Dump
- 5 Protogeometric Dump 2
- 6 Temple B, Earliest Courtyard
- 7 Temple B
- 8 Altar U
- 9 Building V
- 10 Western part of Gallery P3
- 11 Building Z
- 12 Area East of Building Z
- 13 Building Q

Figure 5.22 Location of Post-Abandonment Deposits, Kommos

(Adapted from Shaw and Shaw 2000, Plate 1.6)

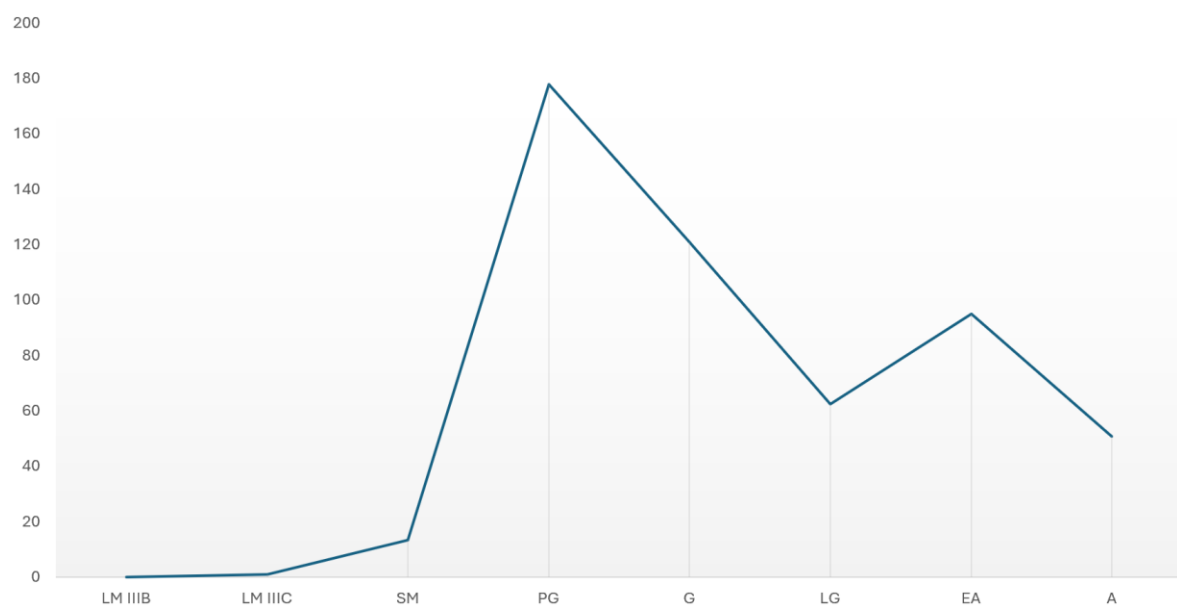


Figure 5.23 Temporal Distribution of Vessels, Kommos

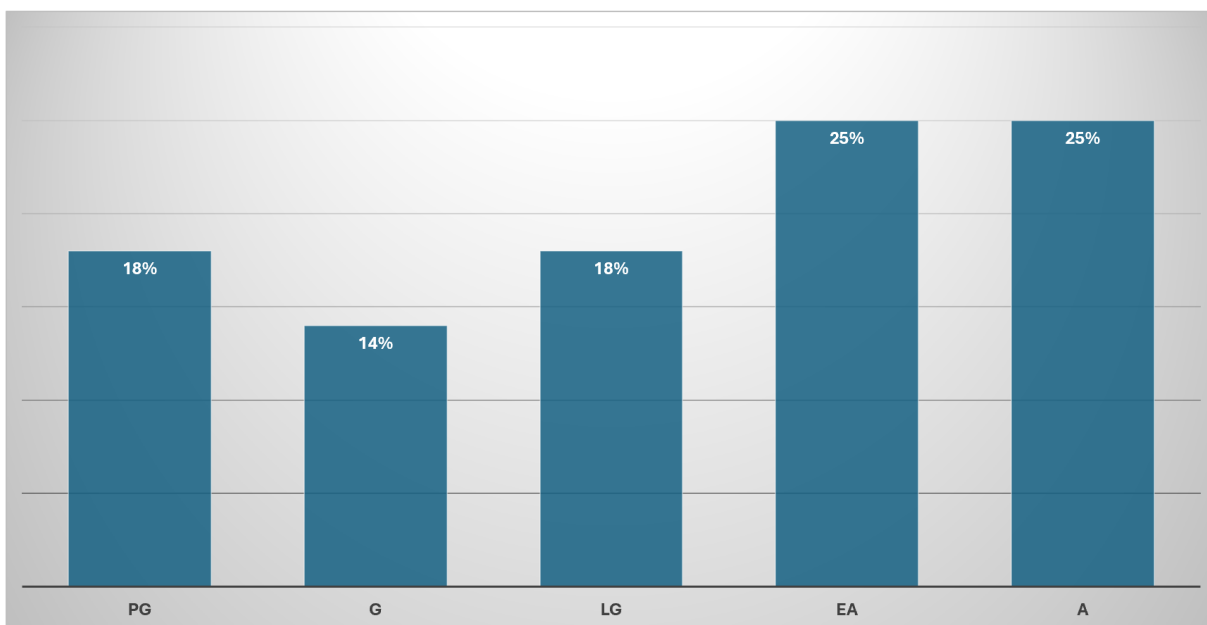


Figure 5.24 Percentage of Imported Vessels by Period, Kommos

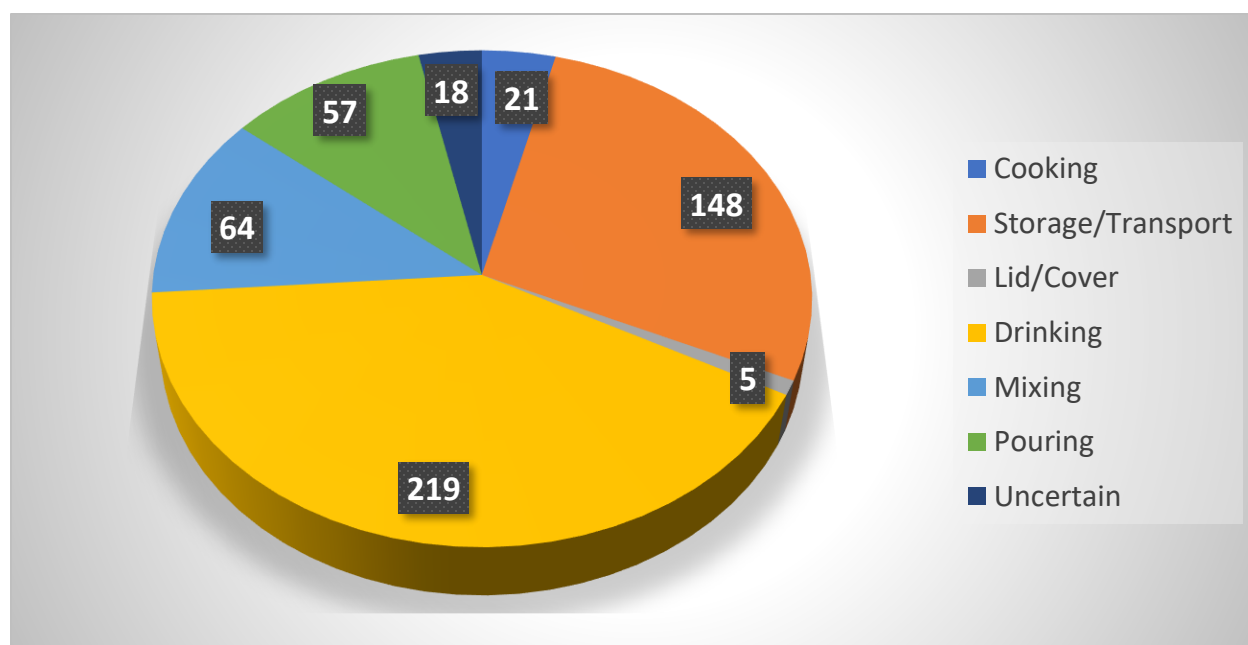


Figure 5.25 Distribution of Vessels by Function, All Deposits, Kommos

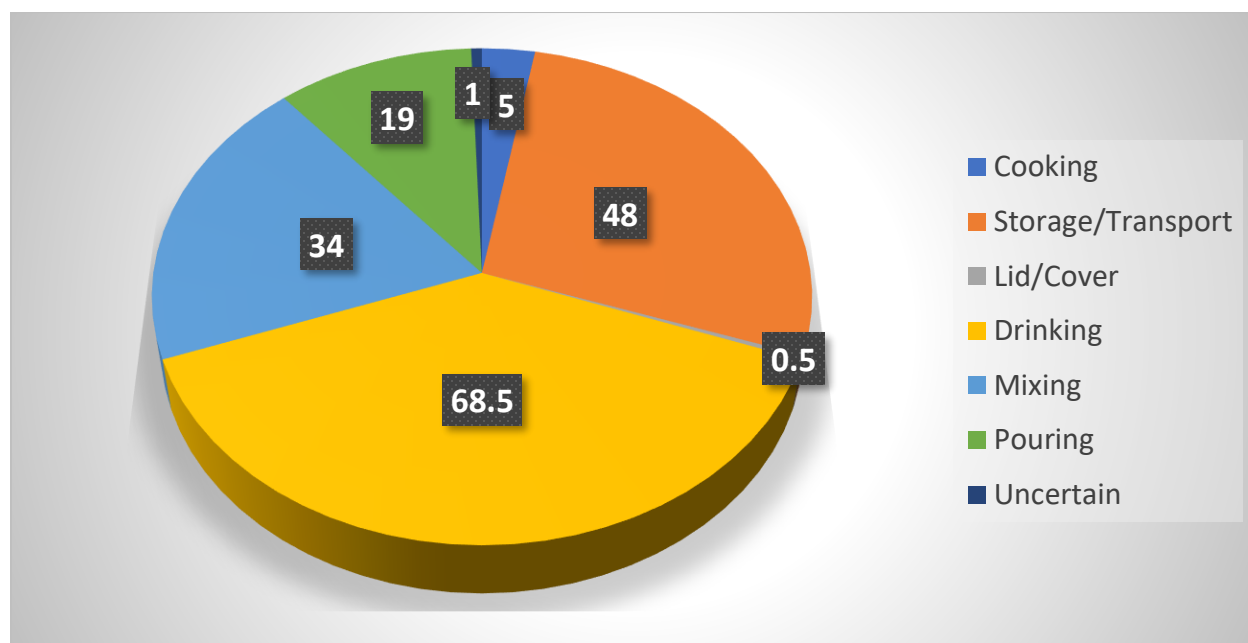


Figure 5.26 Distribution of Vessels by Function, LG, Kommos

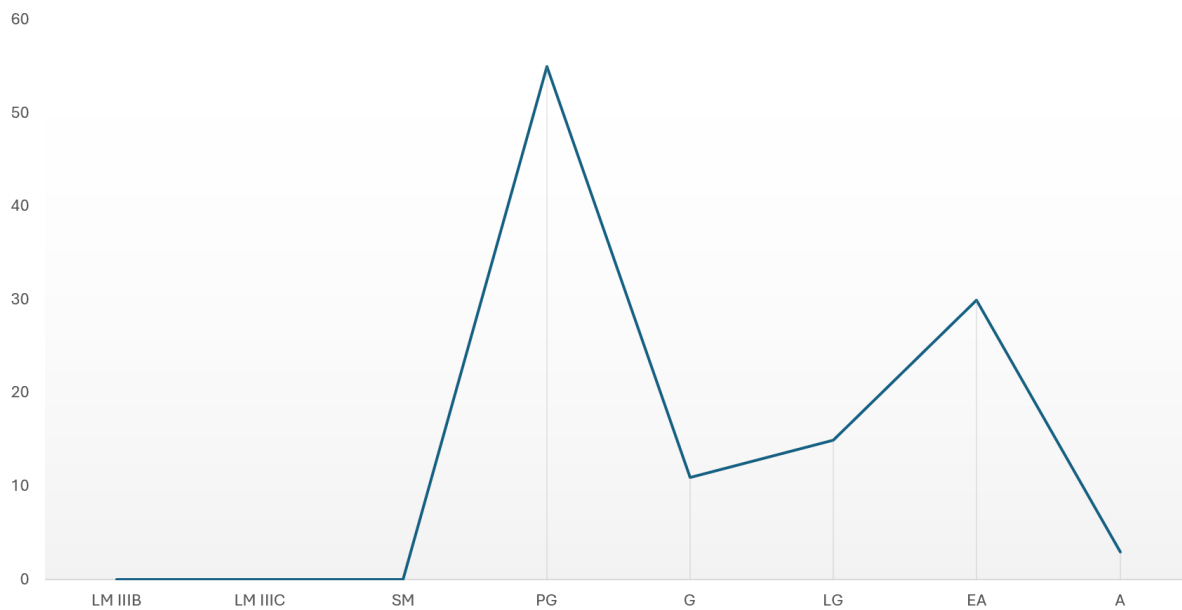


Figure 5.27 Temporal Distribution of Objects, Kommos

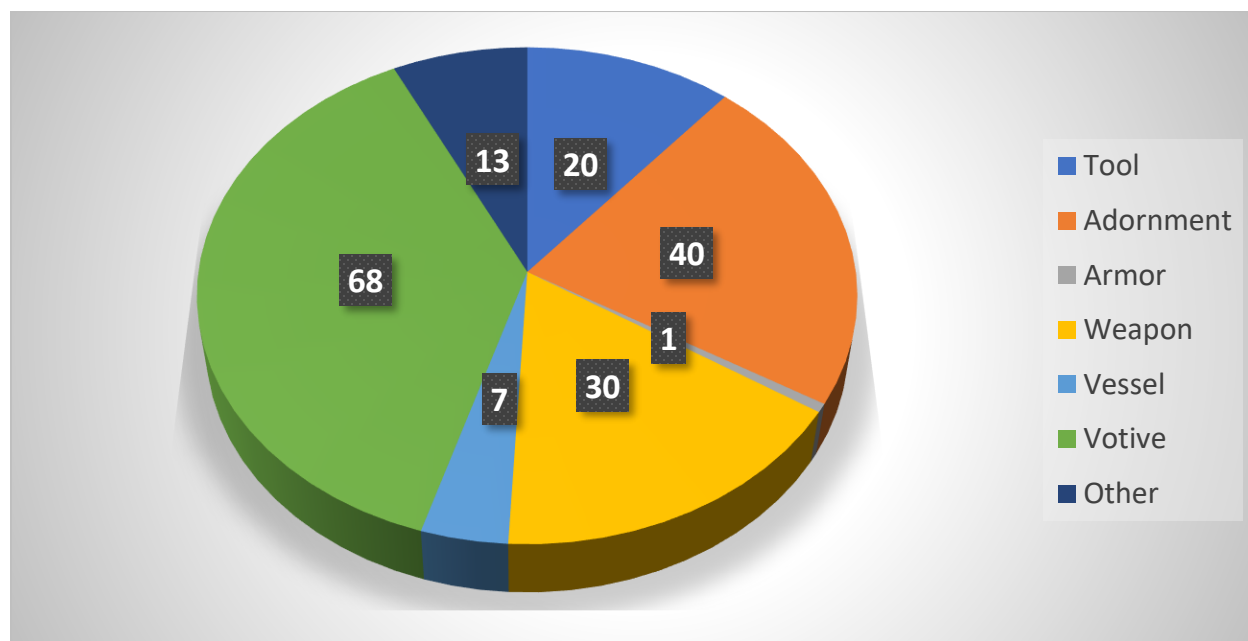


Figure 5.28 Distribution of Objects by Function, Kommos

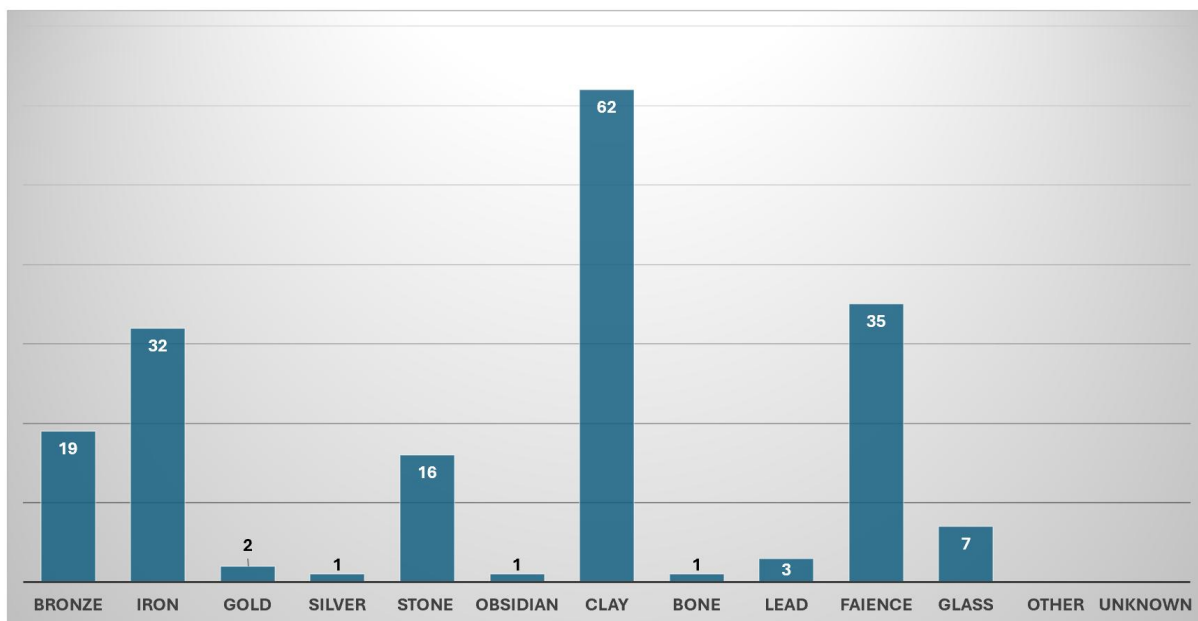


Figure 5.29 Distribution of Objects by Material, Kommos

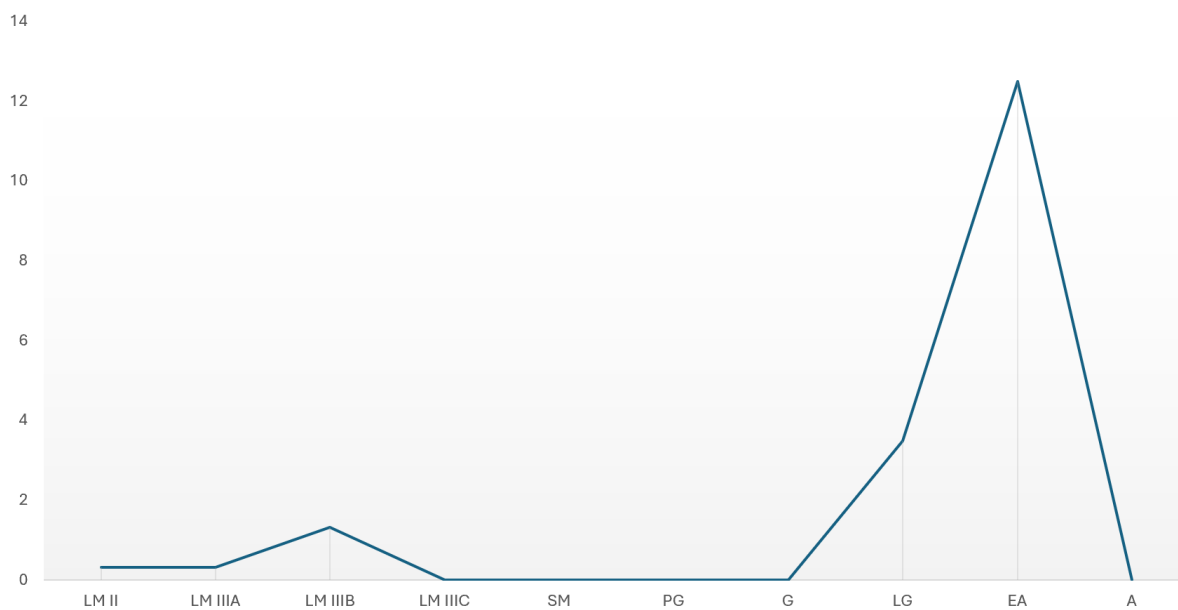


Figure 5.31 Temporal Distribution of Vessels, Mochlos

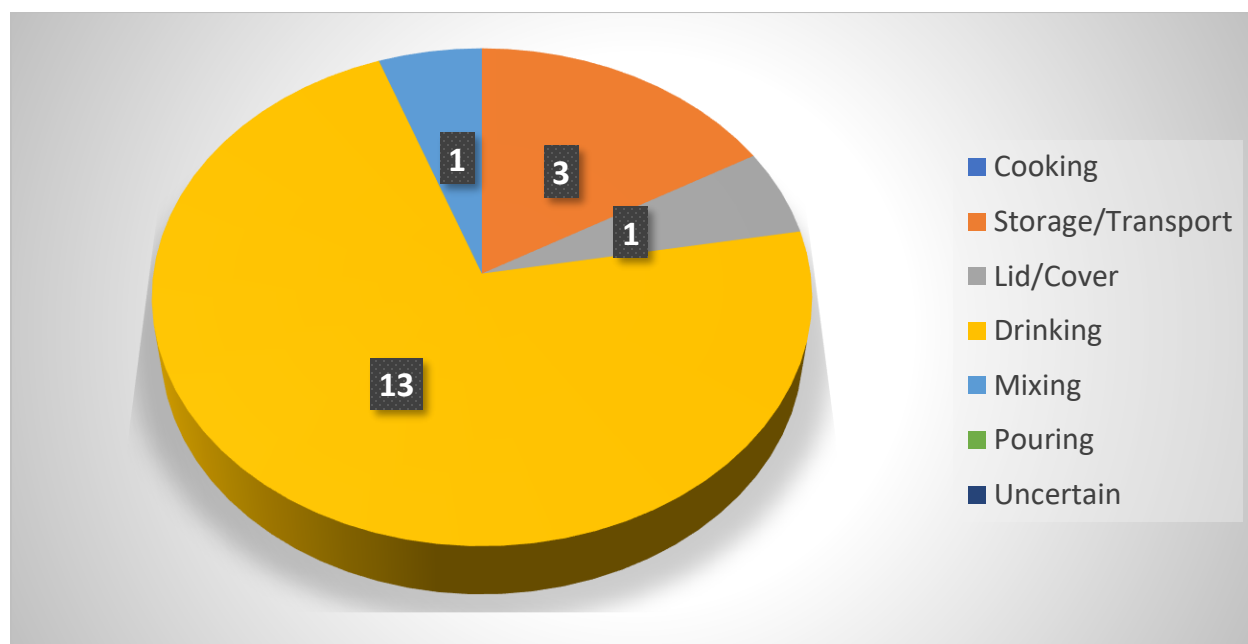


Figure 5.32 Distribution of Vessels by Function, Mochlos

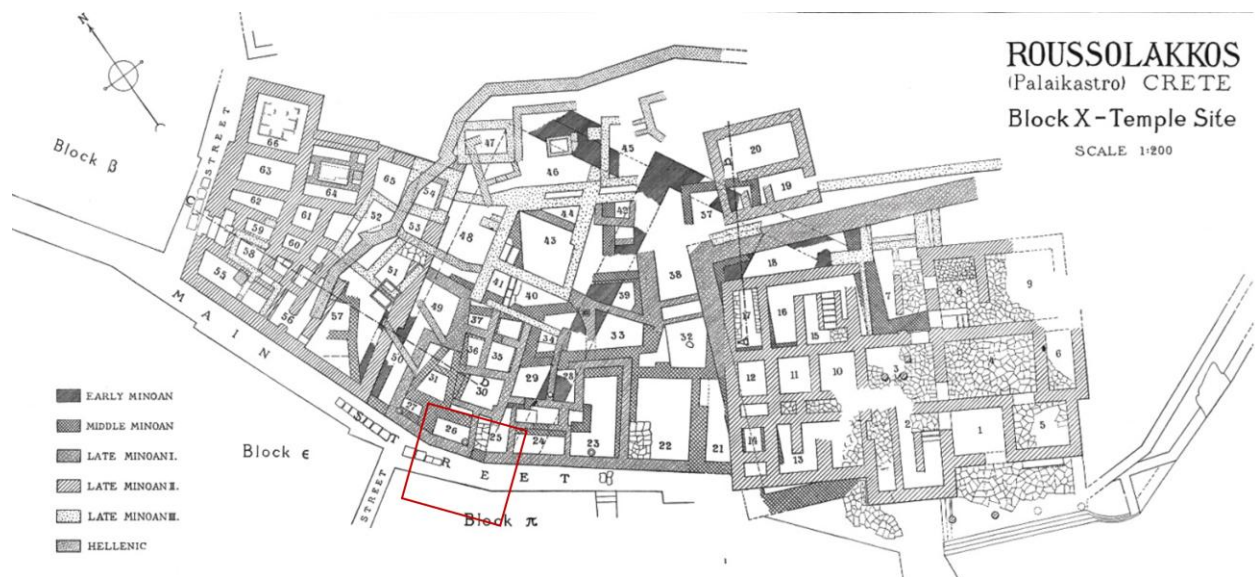


Figure 5.33 Ash Altar, Palaikastro

(Bosanquet 1904, Pl. X)

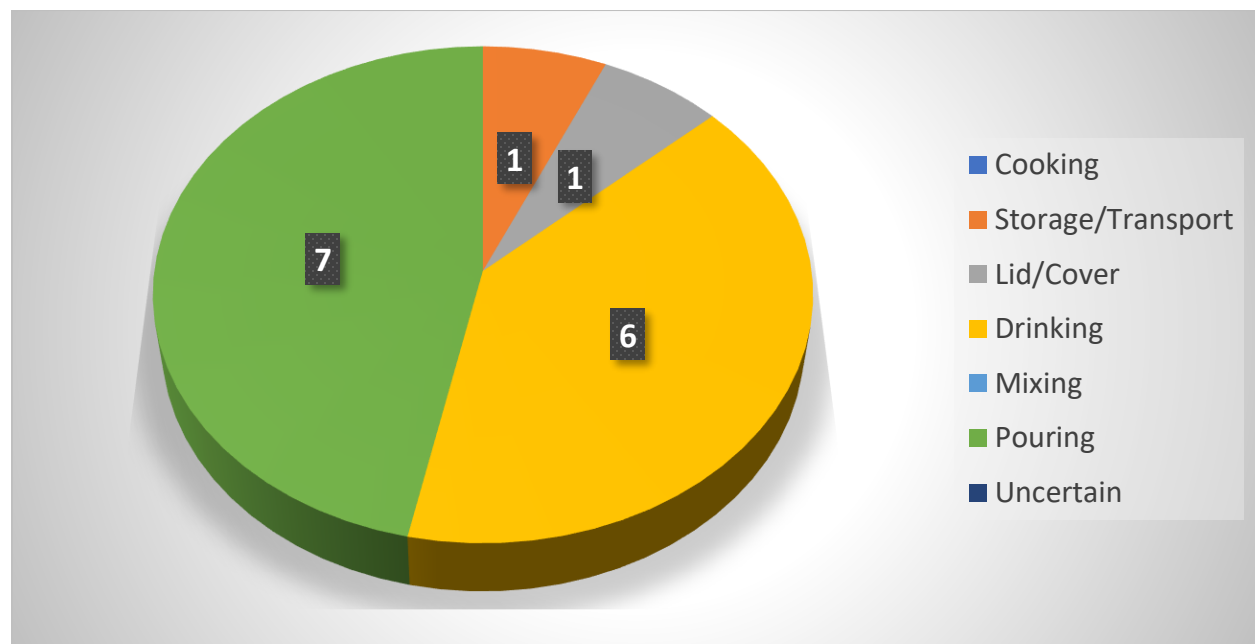


Figure 5.34 Distribution of Vessels by Function, Palaikastro

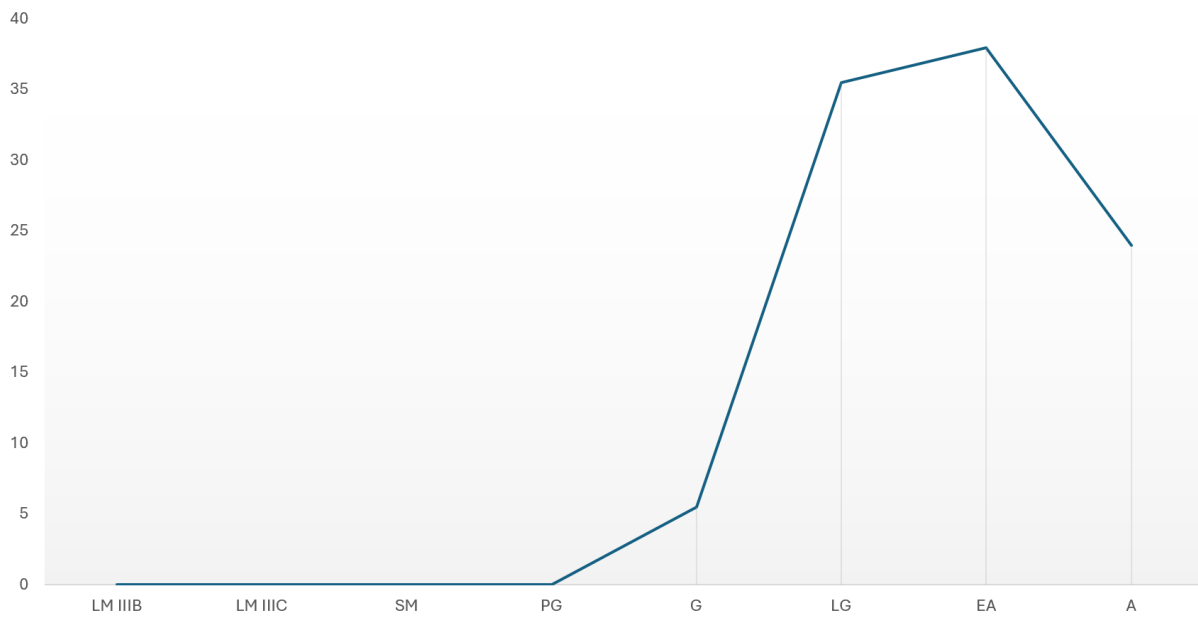


Figure 5.35 Temporal Distribution of Objects, Palaikastro

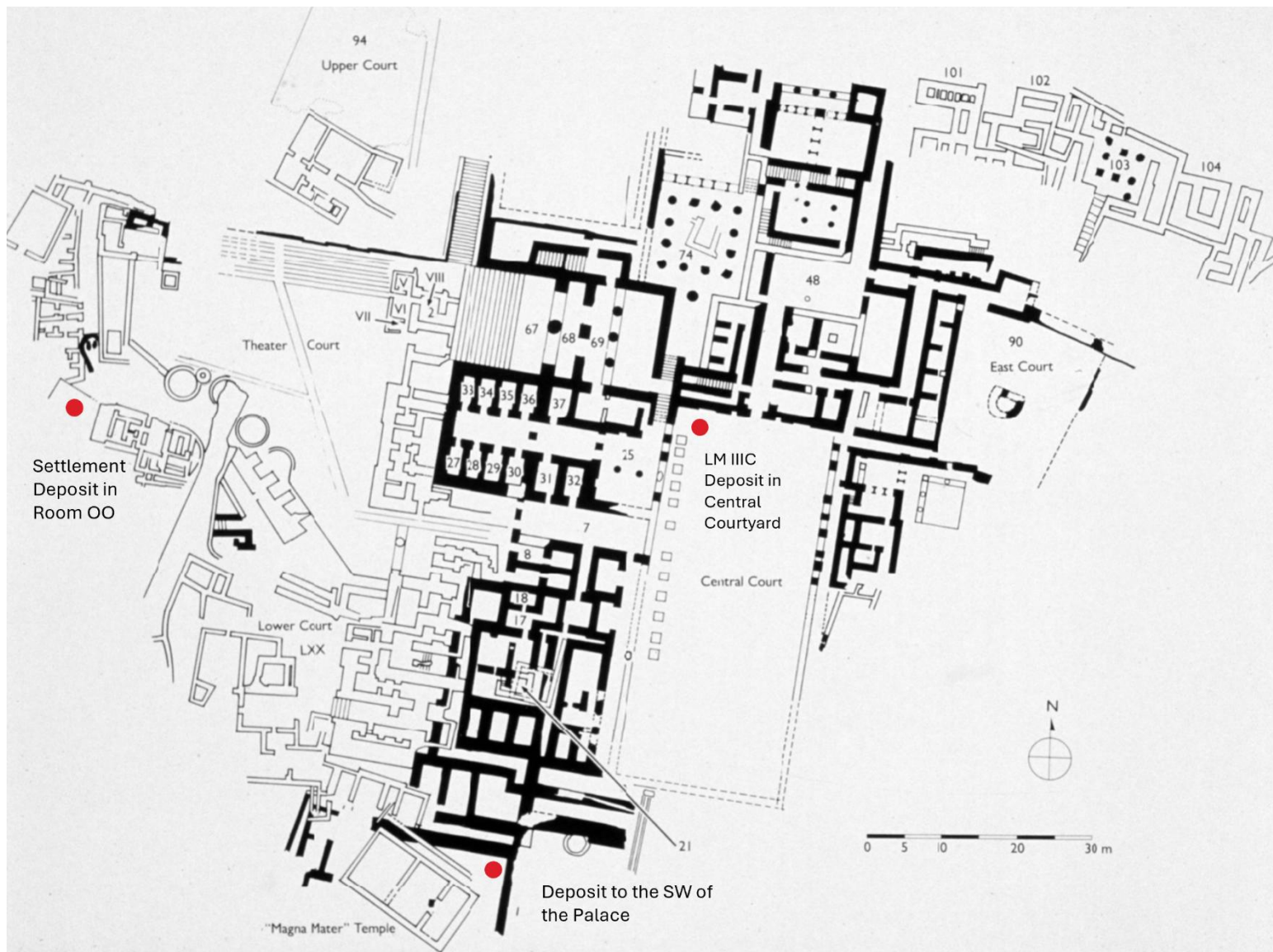


Figure 5.36 Plan of Phaistos Palace with Post-Abandonment deposit shown

(Adapted from: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/community.12200424>)



Figure 5.37 7th century Deposit in Room OO at Phaistos

(Caloi 2023, Figure 27)



Figure 5.38 Location of Post-Abandonment Deposit SW of Palace

(Pernier and Vanti 1951, Fig. 83)

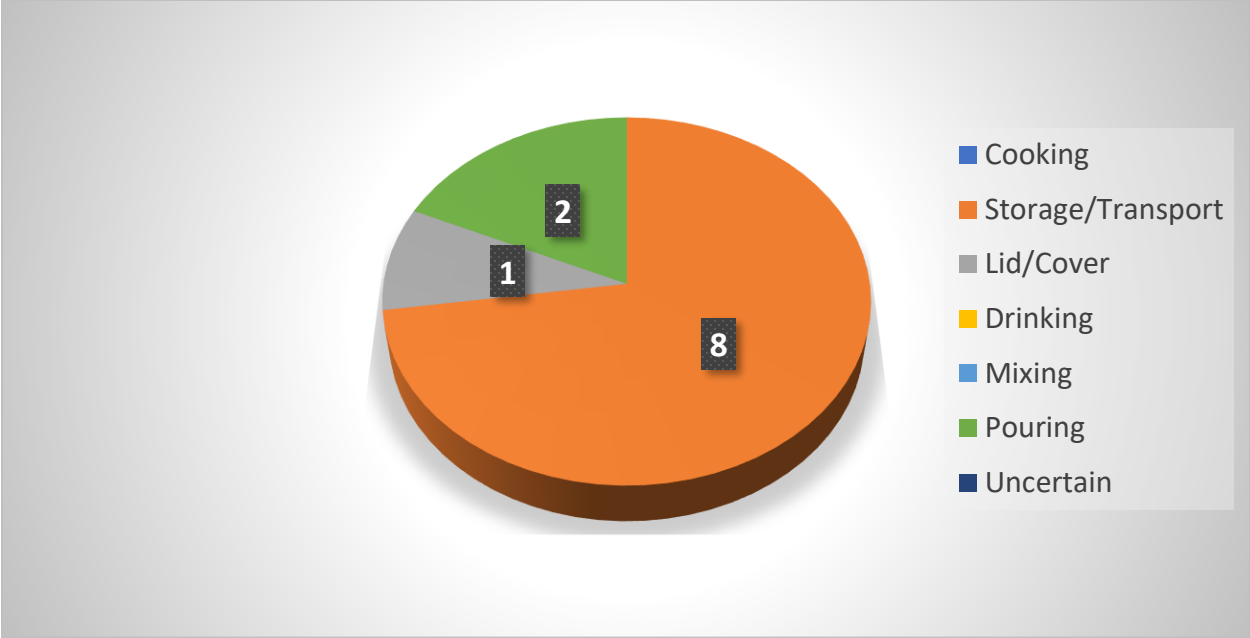


Figure 5.39 Distribution of Vessels by Function, Phaistos

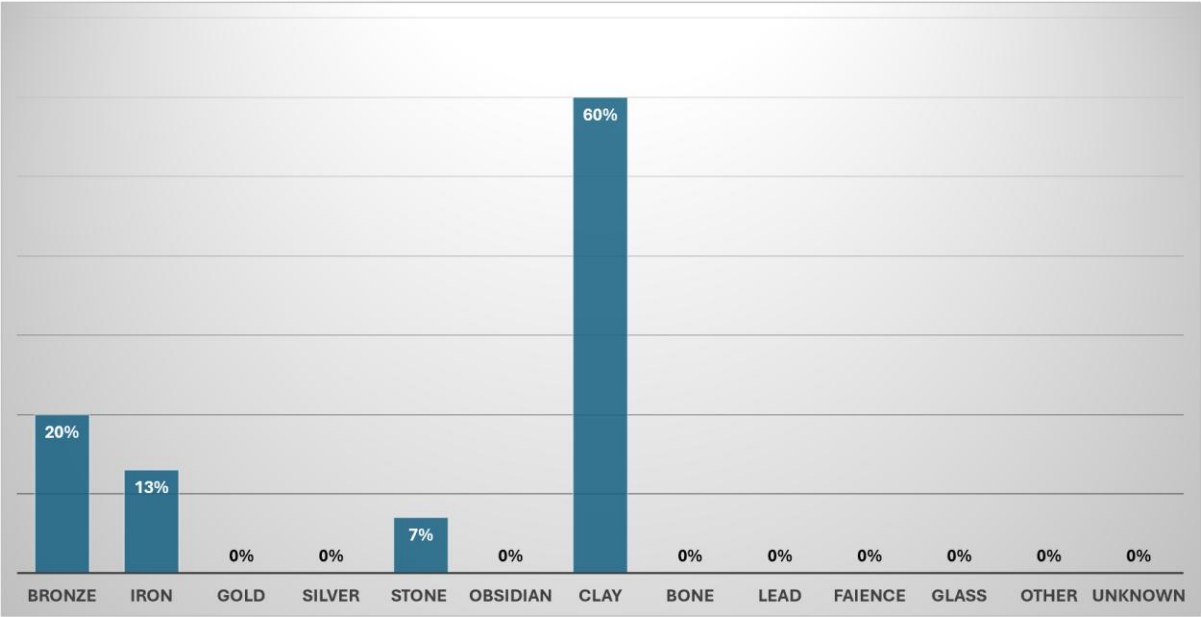


Figure 5.40 Distribution of Objects by Material, Phaistos

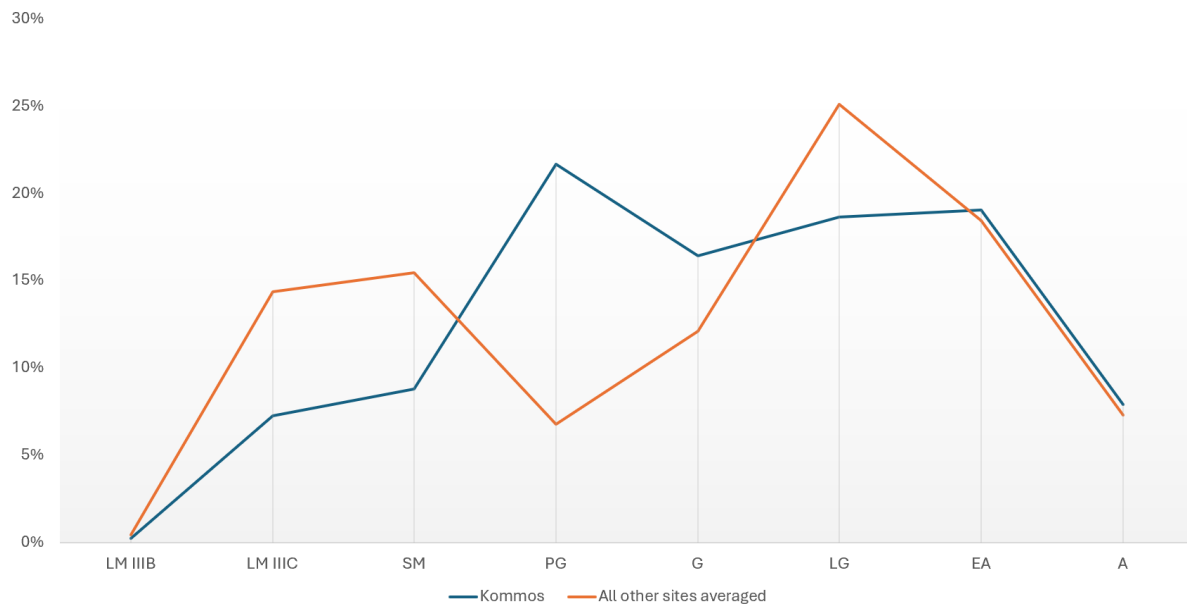


Figure 5.41 Chronology of Deposits at Lowland Monumental Sites

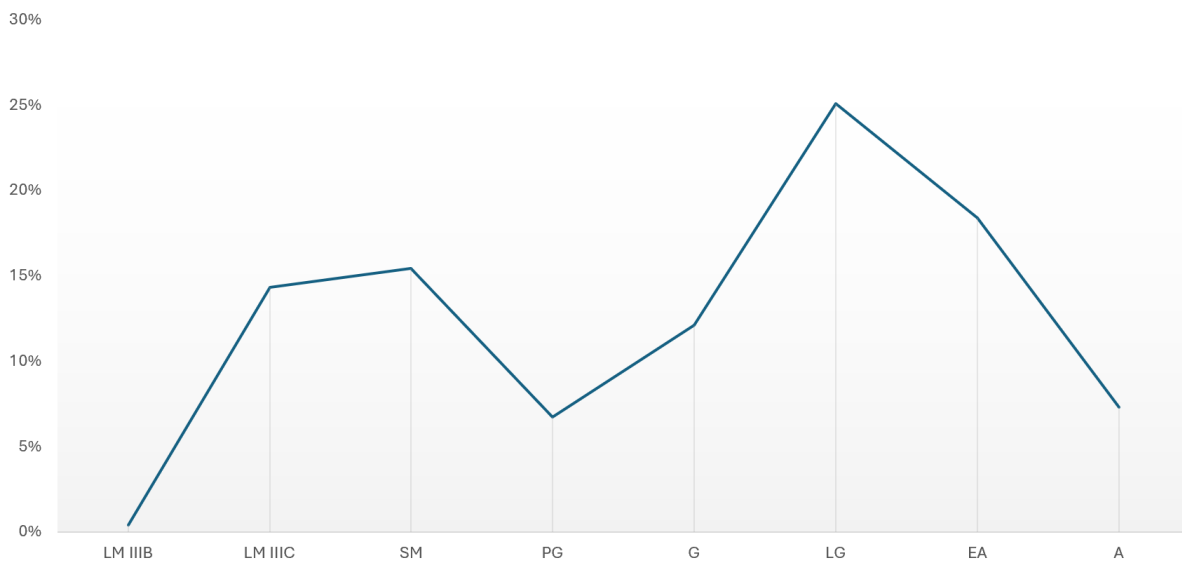


Figure 5.42 Average Chronology of All Deposits at Lowland Monumental Sites without Kommos

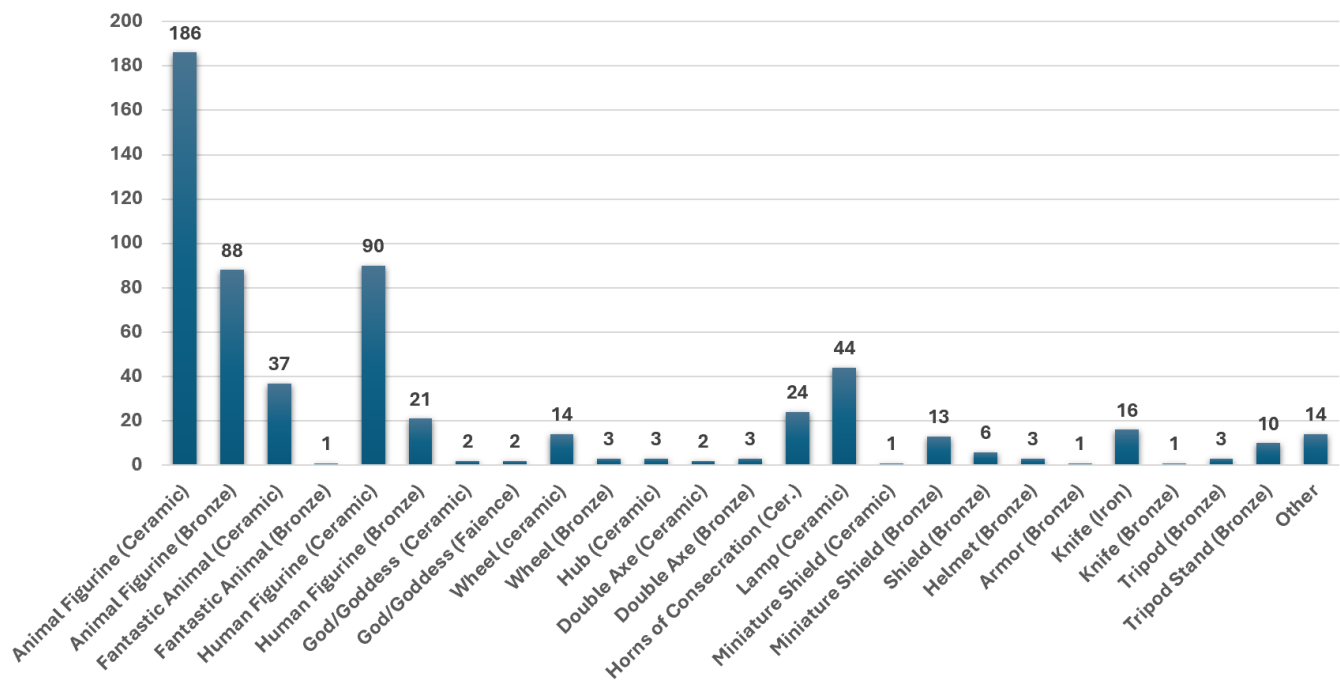


Figure 5.43 Distribution of Votives by Type, All Lowland Monumental Sites

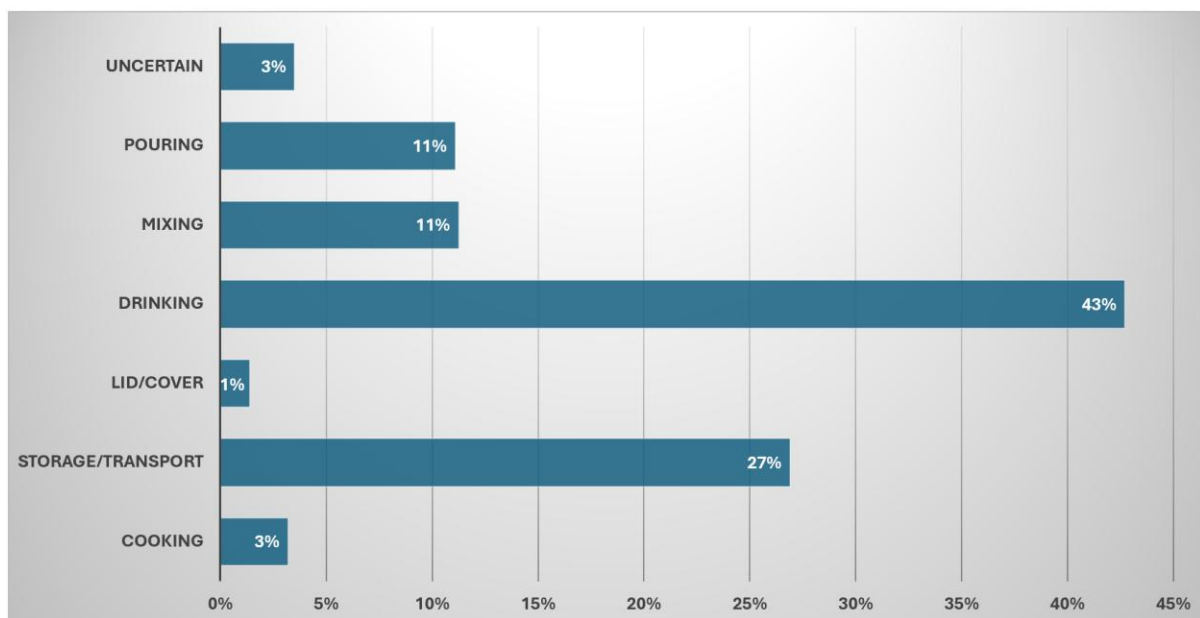


Figure 5.44 Vessels by Function, Combined Average, Lowland Monumental Sites

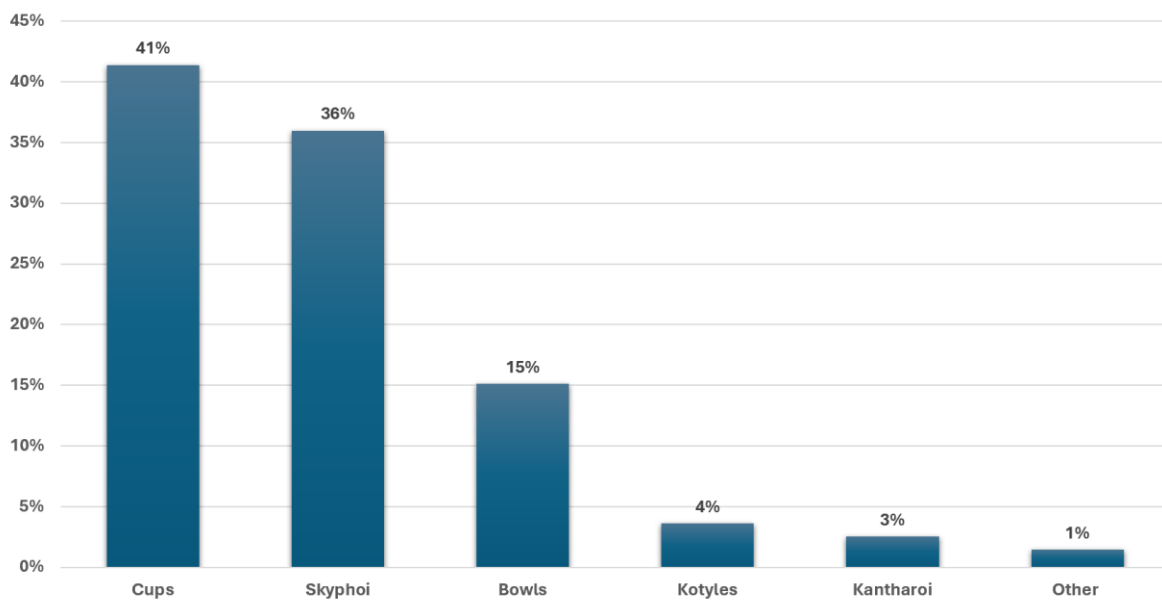


Figure 5.45 Distribution of Drinking Vessels by Vessel Type, Lowland Monumental Sites

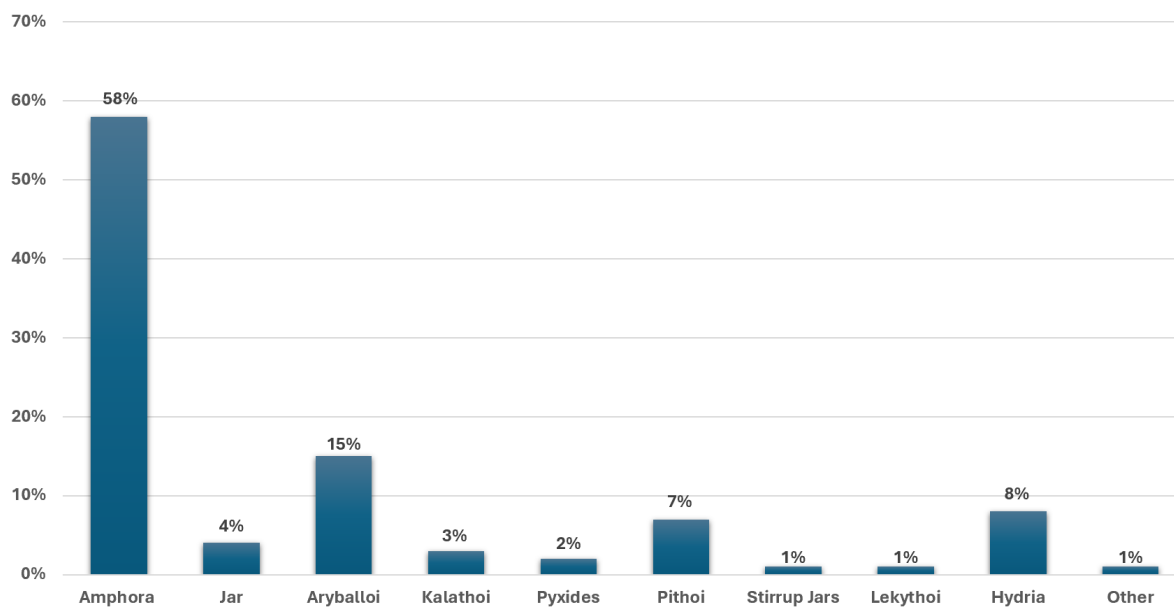


Figure 5.46 Distribution of Storage Vessels by Vessel Type, Lowland Monumental Sites

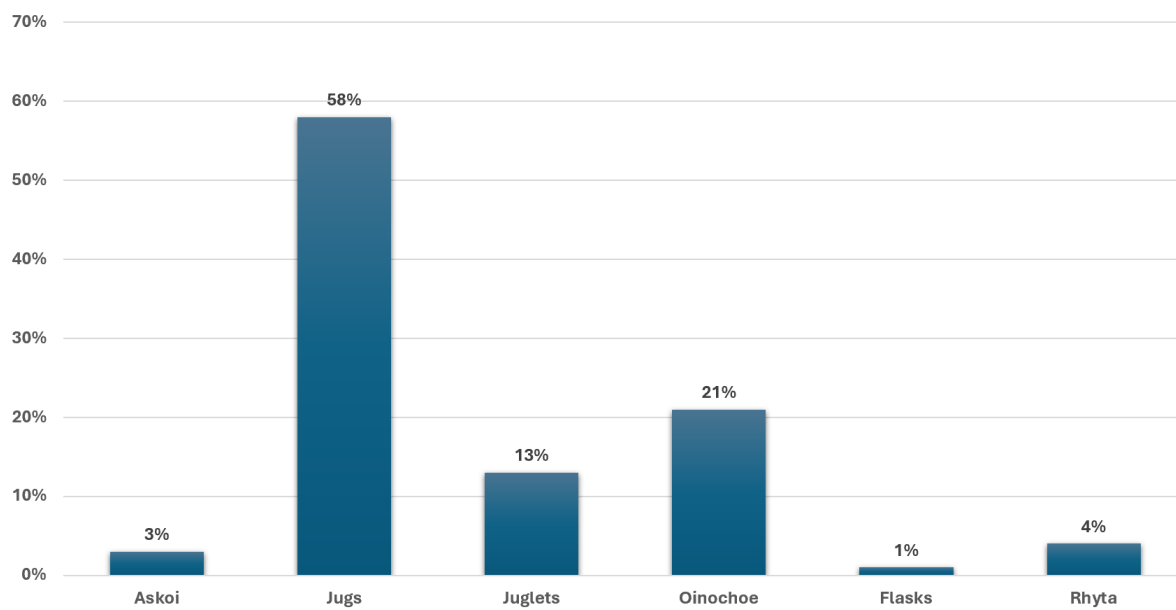


Figure 5.47 Distribution of Pouring Vessels by Vessel Type, Lowland Monumental Sites

Table 5.1 Votives at Lowland Monumental Sites by Type

Object	Amnisos	Haghia Traida	Knossos	Kommos	Mochlos	Palaikastro	Phaistos
Animal Figurine (Ceramic)	4	124	3	48			7
Animal Figurine (Bronze)	1	79		5		3	
Fantastic Animal Figurine (Ceramic)		36	1				
Fantastic Animal Figurine (Bronze)		1					
Human Figurine (Ceramic)		90					
Human Figurine (Bronze)	2	14		1		4	
God/Goddess Figurine (Ceramic)	1		1				
God/Goddess Figurine (Faience)				2			
Wheel (ceramic)		4		10			
Wheel (Bronze)	1	2					
Hub (Ceramic)		3					
Double Axe (Ceramic)		2					
Double Axe (Bronze)	1	2					
Horns of Consecration (Ceramic)		24					
Lamp (Ceramic)						43	1
Miniature Shield (Ceramic)							1
Miniature Shield (Bronze)	1					12	
Shield (Bronze)				1		5	Present
Helmet (Bronze)						2	1
Armor (Bronze)							1
Knife (Iron)				14			2
Knife (Bronze)				1			
Tripod (Bronze)	1					2	Present
Tripod Stand (Bronze)	2					8	Present
Other	4	8		1			1

CHAPTER 6 REGIONAL DIFFERENCES IN THE MATERIAL EVIDENCE

As revealed in Chapters 4 and 5, while all episodes of post-abandonment visitation on the island of Crete taking place during the Early Iron Age held certain important aspects in common, the post-abandonment deposits found at upland sites differ significantly from those found at lowland monumental sites in the materials which these deposits contain, in their spatial patterning, and in their intrinsic versus extrinsic value. The analysis of the similarities and dissimilarities in the material evidence associated with these site-types is the focus of this chapter. Such an analysis is important in three respects. First, these physical traces and their variation are the only means we have of understanding the practices that were conducted at these sites—what and who they involved, what they entailed, and what they may have represented to those participating. Second, as discussed in chapter two, these physical traces would have impacted the way succeeding generations of visitors perceived these places. The revisitation and reinterpretation of spaces of memory through time is “bounded and conditioned”⁶³² by what is already materially present at the site. As, at most sites, two periods of visitation are noted, the fact that these locations held material traces of previous practice likely had an impact on the way that later visitors perceived the sites and their histories, and, thus, upon the form that their own rites took. There is a high degree of concurrence amongst the majority of individual examples of visitation to each site-type in each phase of practice, with many aspects of the rites taking place appearing to have been held in common across both temporal periods of visitation. While intergenerational transmission of memory likely played a role in these elements of continuity, these memories would have been supplemented and reinforced by the material left on the site by

⁶³² McAnany and Hodder 2009, 11.

earlier visitors. Similarities and differences, both between site types and between periods of visitation, are, thus, an important aspect of the data to consider.

The third and last point of importance to address is that the material differences in these deposits appear to be reflective, not only of variation in the rites taking place at each category of site, but also of variances in the social ideology being underscored by these rites. As discussed in Chapter 2, shared identities are bound together when individual members of a given community engage in shared practice.⁶³³ The ways in which these visitors chose to ritually embody their connection to the past, and the material remnants of those acts, therefore, say fundamental things about the way the visitors perceived the identity of the community to which they belonged and their relationship to and place within that community.

The following discussion will be broken into three sections. The first will deal with differences in the material assemblages. The second will address the differences in spatial patterning that are apparent in the placement of the deposits in question. The third and final section will discuss what the material evidence reveals about the rites taking place at each of the two site-typologies, and the differences in the intrinsic versus extrinsic value of these rites.

Comparing the Deposits

The first point of importance to be raised regarding the differences in the material assemblages deposited at each site-type is to reinforce that the difference in spatial focus—

⁶³³ Cole 2004, 92.

upland vs. lowland sites—appears to have occurred along regional lines. This is particularly true of the first phase of visitation. Figure 6.1 contains a map of all of the sites targeted for post-abandonment visitation in the first period of practice. This map shows a clear regional division in the sites being singled out for post-abandonment ritual. Upland sites became a target for visitation only in the east during this phase of practice, while lowland monumental sites were a focus of interest only in the center of the island. This changes, somewhat, in the second phase of practice. Figure 6.2, which shows all sites of visitation targeted in Phase 2, reveals that two lowland monumental sites in the eastern part of the island, Mochlos and Palaikastro, received post-abandonment visitation at this time. These two sites are anomalous in a number of other ways, and this will be discussed at a later point.

Regional differences in spatial focus are matched by regional differences in the contents of the assemblages, reflecting the fact that the rites being practiced at each category of site appear to have been notably different. As discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, practice at upland sites was primarily focused on the deposition of human remains, with associated burial rites, in the first phase of visitation, and, in the second phase of visitation, feasting practices held in special-function buildings constructed within abandoned settlements for this purpose. In contrast, post-abandonment visitation practices at monumental lowland sites centered on the deposition of votive offerings in both phases with the addition, in the later phase, of burnt sacrifices on ash altars. The result of this regional divide in practice, particularly in the first phase of visitation, is that some forms of material are seen in the post-abandonment assemblages found in the east of the island, which are not seen, or seen only rarely, in the center, and vice versa.

The most obvious difference in the assemblages between east and center is that human remains were never deposited in post-abandonment contexts in the center of the island, or at any

lowland monumental site. Figures 6.3 and 6.4 highlight the fact that human remains in these deposits are found only in upland settlements, which, as shown in Figure 6.5, were sites of interest only in the east. We can only speculate as to why this may have been the case. As the first period of visitation at most sites likely took place within living memory of their abandonment, it is possible that these settlements were the previous dwelling places of the dead who were buried here, or the remembered dwelling places of earlier ancestors. The residential context, on its own, was not a universal motivator for this specific type of practice, however. There are a number of instances where residential areas at lowland monumental sites were targeted, for example Area F at Amnisos, the LM IIIB/C settlement at Phaistos, and the LM IIIA/B houses at Mochlos. None of the deposits associated with lowland domestic spaces were mortuary in nature.⁶³⁴ We must presume, therefore, that there was a fundamental difference in the way these spaces were being perceived and related to by visitors in each region of the island. The practice of burial amongst the ruins suggests a closer sense of personal identification with the specific legacy embodied within upland settlements on the part of the visitors than we see at lowland monumental sites, and, perhaps, a greater desire to maintain long-term affective connections with these places of memory. Evidence for post-funerary ritual, particularly at Vronta and Azoria, suggests that both the sites and the dead themselves became long-term targets for visitation, likely by specific kinship groups, as these were multiple-burials, rather than by specific individuals, as can be speculated for the votive offerings at lowland monumental sites, particularly in the later period of visitation.

⁶³⁴ It is interesting that at Amnisos the excavators noted that the pithos placed in the ruins of an LM IIIB house was set up “as though it were a burial”. Schafer 1992, 189.

The burial goods and funerary rites associated with these interments form another, related, point of material difference between east and center. While a handful of iron weapons, personal adornments, and tools were found in post-abandonment deposits in the center of the island, the vast majority of these categories of material are found in the east at upland settlements as shown in Figures 6.5-6.7. The presence of these objects is overwhelmingly concentrated at the site of Vronda, particularly in the second phase of visitation when Vronda is the only site in the study that continues to receive burials. As shown in Figure 6.8, iron objects—predominantly weapons—are found primarily in the east, and mainly at this one site.

Vronda is an important example to discuss in more detail regarding the material associated with its assemblages, and it will be used as a case study for upland settlements throughout this chapter. The continuation of certain aspects of post-abandonment practice across phases of visitation are particularly noteworthy at Vronda, as is the fact that the alteration of the site by earlier visitors appears to have contributed to the form that later acts of visitation took. The interment of human remains was the primary ritual activity at this site, both in the earlier phase of visitation, which began in very late LM IIIC, reached a peak in the PG period, and then dropped off significantly in the G period, and in the second phase of visitation, during which post-abandonment practice at the site reached its apex in the LG period before dropping off completely from the EA into the Archaic periods. There is notable continuity through both phases, both in the fundamental form that ritual practice at the site took, and in the materials that were associated with these ritual depositions. The deposition of human remains, with their associated burial goods of personal adornments, iron weapons, and tools, and the placement of vessels associated with funerary and post-funerary rites, remained the same. Critically, so did the lack of social hierarchy apparent in the burials.

These similarities in practice were likely the result, not only of elements of cultural continuity, but of purposeful references to the social ideology embodied both within the settlement, itself, and within the first phase of burials—an ideology which appears to have had a heterarchical ethos based on the similarity in the size and quality of the tholoi, and on the uniformity of the burial assemblages. It is clear that the presence on the site of the earlier burials was noted, and that there was some desire to interact, not only with the past associated with the life of the settlement, but with the past embodied within this first period of visitation. Some vessels dating to the second phase of visitation were found placed amongst the earlier graves, and heirloom vessels dating to the period of these first interments were found amongst the grave goods belonging to the later dead. Whether these vessels were brought by the visitors or removed from the earlier graves and moved to a different context is unknown, but the desire to create or maintain an ideological connection to these earlier visitors, through interactions with the earlier material alterations of the site, is clear. This is a circumstance which is echoed at other upland settlements such as Azoria, where heirloom objects dating to the first phase of visitation were found in post-abandonment deposits dating to the second phase of visitation, and the tholos tomb that was targeted in the first-phase was reopened to receive later vessels.

These aspects of ritual continuity at the site of Vronda are accompanied by a striking difference between phases in the specificities of the rites being performed. The first phase of interments were primary inhumations in small tholoi placed, predominantly, on the edges of the settlement. The second phase of visitation involved a clear shift in funerary practice, with inhumations in tholoi replaced by primary cremations in “bone enclosures” that were placed within and amongst the buildings themselves. Despite this fundamental difference in the funerary rites, one critical aspect of practice remained the same, and this was the necessity of transporting

the body to the site, across very difficult terrain. That this was understood to be an essential part of the ritual taking place is underscored by the fact that primary cremations were rare on the island at this, and any other time.⁶³⁵ While the most practical, and more culturally consistent, choice would have been to cremate the body near the place of death and to transport the cremated remains to be deposited at the abandoned site, the choice was made, instead, to carry the body, the burial goods, the funerary equipment, and, possibly, the fuel necessary for the cremation, across at least one kilometer—the distance to the nearest active settlement—through a landscape with strong variations in elevation. This would have been extremely difficult, sensorially affective, and likely emotionally charged, as would have been the funerary rites themselves—particularly the cremations which would have required 5-7 hours to complete, and which would have been visible from a long distance away. The intrinsic and affective “costs” involved in both maintaining continuity in this particular aspect of the rite—the transportation of the body—and affecting change in the burial typology would, therefore, have been very high. The significance of rituals with high intrinsic costs was briefly discussed in Chapter 2 and will be addressed in more detail below.

As is seen at many of the sites discussed in this study, the second phase of visitation at Vronda is representative of a phenomenon which is revealed only through comparison of the material assemblages across phases, and that is that second phase visitations, in almost all cases, represent an intensification of the rites from the earlier period of practice. At Vronda, this is apparent in many aspects—in the far greater amount of material being deposited in the second phase, in the much closer spatial association of these practices to the LM IIIC settlement, itself, and in the intensification of costs in terms of labor and affectivity involved in the switch from

⁶³⁵ Day 2016, 210; Day 2007, 747; Liston 1993, 44; Liston 2007, 57, 60.

inhumation to primary cremation. At other upland settlements, like Azoria and Halasmenos, intensification is also seen in the construction of permanent purpose-built structures intended to facilitate the post-abandonment rites taking place at these sites. Crucially, the intensification of practice occurring in the second phase of visitation is not a regional or typological trend but can be seen across the entirety of the island as a response to the final period of social transformation, which ultimately resulted in the advent of the polis system. Whereas at Vronda this response was manifested in an increase in the deposition of human remains and an intensification in the affective and laborious nature of the rites, in the center of the island intensification was displayed through an increase in the number and, most importantly, the extrinsic value of the votive offerings that form the backbone of practice at lowland monumental sites. This is true of Amnisos, Phaistos, and, particularly, of Haghia Triada.⁶³⁶

To use that example, the site of Haghia Triada, which was abandoned in LM IIIB, first became a place of ritual activity in the LM IIIC/SM period when votives were placed on the Piazzale dei Sacelli in the vicinity of monumental Megaron ABCD and monumental Stoa FG. In the first phase of visitation, 122 of the datable votives were crafted from clay and 11 were made from bronze, for a total of 133 votive objects deposited on the site. Bronze in this period represented 8.2% of the total assemblage. In the second phase of visitation, which peaked in the LG period, 139 of the datable votives were crafted from clay and 73 were made from bronze, for a total of 212 votive objects—an increase in votive deposition of 59%. In this second phase of visitation, bronze objects represented 34% of the total assemblage—a huge increase over the first phase. Despite this intensification of practice, seen both in the increasing number of votives and

⁶³⁶ The exception to this trend is Kommos, which, as previously noted, follows a different chronological pattern than that seen at other sites of ritual visitation, likely due to the presence of foreign influence at the site.

the increase in their overall value, continuity is apparent in the continued deposition of votives and the maintenance of the same spatial focus. Again, while cultural continuity and intergenerational transmission of memory likely played a role in these aspects of similarity between phases of visitation, the physical appearance of the site, modified by earlier visitors, undoubtedly contributed to and strengthened the determination and desire to continue to perform rites in the same way. There are no sites wherein the placement of votives represented the fundamental characteristic of ritual behavior taking place in the first phase of visitation where this practice was not renewed in the second phase of visitation. The continuity of certain aspects of ritual activity coinciding with an increase in the varying “costs” associated with these rites—intrinsic on the one hand at sites like Vronda and extrinsic on the other at sites like Haghia Triada—is of vital importance and this will be dealt with further at a later point.

As previously stated, the focus on the placement of votive offerings in post-abandonment contexts was, like the deposition of human remains, a largely regional trend. Figure 6.9 highlights that the presence of votives such as those found at Haghia Triada was concentrated at the monumental lowland sites in the center of the island, particularly in the first phase of visitation. This trend continued into the second phase. A very small number of examples of votive objects was uncovered in upland settlements in the east, but these were found either in areas that were associated with similar ritual offerings before the abandonment of the site, as seen in the PG Shrine at Halamenos, or they were heirloom objects placed into later ritual deposits, as seen in the deposit in Room B1200 at Azoria. The impetus behind the placement of these votives, thus, appears to have been somewhat different to that which motivated the placement of the votives being offered in the lowland monumental sites in the center of the island, where this was the primary focus of post-abandonment ritual practice. While, in both

regions, votive offerings were placed in association with abandoned architectural elements, those in the center of the island did not target earlier cult areas, nor do these deposits appear to have included heirloom objects.

Differences in the number of votive objects being deposited in post-abandonment contexts in upland settlements compared with those found deposited in lowland monumental sites predictably coincides with a difference in the variety of votive forms. Table 5.1 in Chapter 5 reveals considerable variability in the kinds of votives found at lowland monumental sites. Votive types are limited, in upland settlements, to animal figurines and a single example of a human figurine, from the PG Shrine at Halasmenos, which may very well pre-date the abandonment of the site. This human figurine is the only votive object in the study from an upland settlement that is made from a metal, in this case lead, the remainder of the known upland votives being crafted from clay. While the vast difference in quantity makes a study of the comparative value of these votive objects difficult, it seems, from the available evidence, that bronze votives were deposited only at lowland monumental sites (Fig. 6.10). Additionally, there appears to have been a pronounced difference in the quality of even the ceramic votives. Figure 6.11 shows the LM IIIC/SM/PG animal figurine from Room B1200 at Azoria in juxtaposition with an animal figurine of similar date from Haghia Triada. The examples from Haghia Triada are more finely crafted from a higher quality clay, though a temporary decrease in votive quality was seen towards the end of the SM period at this site, likely reflective of the decrease in ostentatious display that, at first, accompanied the movement towards nucleated settlements.

Figure 6.12, which depicts the distribution of votive objects across the island in Phase 2, shows clearly that, while the presence of votives in upland settlements remained generally low across both phases of visitation, one of the anomalous lowland monumental sites that were

targeted in the east only during the later period of visitation yielded a significant number of these objects. The post-abandonment deposits at Palaikastro, in the far east of the island, were, in their character, much closer to those found at lowland monumental sites in the center of the island. The “Temple Field” deposit from Area X contained bronze armor in the form of shields and helmets, bronze tripod cauldrons and stands, and bronze human and animal figurines—objects revelatory of a completely different form of practice than is seen at other sites of post-abandonment ritual in the east. This difference in practice is revealed, not only in the kinds of vessels and objects being deposited, but in the pronounced difference in their quality and extrinsic value, and, ultimately, in the underlying social identity and ideology that these practices were serving to strengthen. Rather than the community-based ethos reflected in other post-abandonment deposits in the east, the assemblages at Palaikastro speak to practices centered around elite competition. Bronze tripods and shields were amongst the most valuable and conspicuous offerings that could be made in votive contexts, and they have traditionally been viewed as having aristocratic or even militaristic connotations—connotations completely lacking in the material from the post-abandonment deposits at upland settlements in the same region, but present in several of these deposits in the central region.⁶³⁷ As shown in Figures 6.10 and 6.13, bronze votives and armor are objects found only in the center of the island with the singular exception of Palaikastro, and Palaikastro has more objects in these categories than any other site (See Chapter 5, Table 5.1). The ideology underlying the practices at Palaikastro and other lowland monumental sites in the center of the island—an ethos reflected in the high extrinsic value of the objects being deposited—appears, therefore to have been the same, and to have been focused on individual expression and elite competition and display.

⁶³⁷ Prent 2003, 88.

The anomalous nature of the post-abandonment visitation taking place at Palaikastro—in terms of the category of site that it represents, the forms of practice being performed, and the extrinsic value of the objects being deposited—is difficult to explain. Both Bosanquet and Prent have suggested that ritual practice at this site may, in fact, have been the result of a rare example of ritual continuity between the pre- and post-collapse periods.⁶³⁸ Bosanquet identified Palaikastro with the city described by Diodorus as having been founded by Zeus, and a hymn to Dictaeon Zeus was the only inscription found at the Hellenistic temple site which was later built in the same area as the “Temple Field” deposit.⁶³⁹ Palaikastro did likely have strong ties to the earlier peak sanctuary of Petsofas, where four stone offering tables with Linear A inscriptions referencing JA-DI-KE-TE-TE were found,⁶⁴⁰ but, overall the identification of the EIA cult at Palaikastro with an earlier cult of Dictaeon Zeus is a supposition based almost entirely on later textual evidence, and the archaeological evidence is insufficient to support this argument as conclusive. Additionally, while the identification of this site with a previous cult to Cretan-born Zeus might explain the decision to target Palaikastro as a site of ritual, it does not explain the anomalous nature of the deposits.

Prent explains the high value of the votives placed near the ash altar of Palaikastro by hypothesizing that this site became a regional sanctuary that primarily functioned as a meeting place for elite members from different communities which “may have helped to create or reinforce a common, regional identity typical for the far east of Crete.”⁶⁴¹ The wealthy Kastro burials referenced above and in Chapter 3, as well as the much earlier presence of a rather poorly furnished warrior burial near Palaikastro, may suggest that an elite identity subscribing to a

⁶³⁸ Bosanquet 1939; Prent 2003, 95.

⁶³⁹ Bosanquet 1904, 298; 1939, 62.

⁶⁴⁰ Crowther 1988, 42.

⁶⁴¹ Prent 2005, 537, 545.

similar ideology that characterized the deposits at abandoned sites in the center of the island survived in the east, though such an identity can hardly be said to have been typical for the region. Papasavvas suggests, instead, that local communities making use of the sanctuary at Palaikastro were seeking to “upgrade” this sanctuary through the use of cult behaviors adopted from elites in other areas of the island.⁶⁴² The location of the site is a point of difficulty when defining which communities may have considered this sanctuary to be “local” however. The abandoned site of Palaikastro, unlike other sites of post-abandonment practice in the east, such as Vronda and Azoria (Fig. 6.14), was not located near any active settlement during the LG-EA periods (Fig. 6.15). It was, however, in close proximity to the sea. Such was also the case with the second lowland monumental site on the east side of the island that was targeted during the second phase of visitation (Fig. 6.16). At Mochlos, as will be discussed, there is some reason to believe that the visitors to the site may have come from elsewhere and, given the atypical presentation of the post-abandonment deposits at the site of Palaikastro, it may be worth considering extra-regional visitors as an explanation for these anomalous deposits as well.

Though the site falls into the same atypical category as Palaikastro, the deposits at Mochlos have a completely different character from those found at the previously described site. The post-abandonment assemblages take a number of forms, but none of these deposits contained votive objects. Rather post-abandonment interaction with the area consisted of an episode of tomb cult that targeted the nearby cemetery of Limenaria, two deposits of vessels that were similar in character to the krater deposits found at Azoria, both of which were found placed within the ruins of the abandoned settlement, and a feasting structure with a hearth and an assemblage of drinking, storage, and cooking vessels placed on the top of present-day Mochlos

⁶⁴² Papasavvas 2012, 134.

island overlooking the abandoned town. This structure shares some similarities in plan to the special-function buildings constructed during the 8th and 7th centuries at Halasmenos and Azoria.

While the practices associated with these deposits appear to be consistent with those found at relatively nearby upland settlements, their spatial focus, the fact that the site became a focus of interest only in the later period of visitation, and the very high quality of the vessels are all atypical for the region. The assemblage from the feasting structure on the top of the hill is particularly anomalous. While the deposit has yet to be fully cataloged, the excavator has compared the assemblage to others from Gortyn, Prinias, the Unexplored Mansion at Knossos, and the North Cemetery at Knossos—all sites located in the center of the island.⁶⁴³ Additionally, she noted the presence of a number of imported vessels, one of which was a Proto-Corinthian oinochoe, a vessel often associated with elite dining activities.⁶⁴⁴ While Corinthian imports dating to this period are found in the center of the island in cemeteries and sanctuaries, their presence in the east was extremely limited.⁶⁴⁵ Another aspect of the post-abandonment interactions with the site that coincides more closely with practices in the center of the island was the choice to target an earlier elite burial for tomb cult—a practice also noted in the Knossos North Cemetery in association with possible drinking rituals taking place in the Central Courtyard of the abandoned palace as will be discussed below.

Taken altogether, the post-abandonment activities occurring at the site of Mochlos are an odd amalgamation of traditions that do not coincide with practices taking place at any other site. It is possible, though by no means certain, that the similarity of these assemblages to those associated with ritual practices taking place at abandoned upland settlements is misleading. The

⁶⁴³ Vogeikoff-Brogan 2020.

⁶⁴⁴ Vogeikoff-Brogan 2020.

⁶⁴⁵ Vogeikoff-Brogan 2012, 166-168.

special-function building atop the island bears a closer resemblance, architecturally, to Temples A and B at the site of Prinias (see Figure 3.28, Chapter 3) than to the feasting structures at Azoria and Halasmenos (See Figures 4.3 and 4.10, Chapter 4). Additionally, the two deposits of vessels that are comparable to the Krater Deposits from Azoria do not appear to have served the same function. The Krater Deposits were placed in the collapse layers of 8th to 7th century buildings as a precursor to the late 7th century restructuring of the site. Both of the deposits within the ruined settlement of Mochlos were placed in outdoor areas, in close association with structures dating to the LM III restructuring of the site—a spatial focus which is shared with the post-abandonment deposits from the center of the island. This is a circumstance which will be discussed below. It is possible that Vogeikoff-Brogan's hypothesis that the visitors to Mochlos responsible for the construction of the feasting structure and the deposition of vessels, both in the ruined site and at the Limenaria cemetery, came from elsewhere is correct. Even if this was so, however, there are differences in practice at Mochlos that still cannot be explained based on the current evidence.

The last aspect of difference which should be discussed in terms of the materials associated with these post-abandonment deposits is the difference in ceramic assemblages between lowland monumental sites and upland settlements. Overall, the ceramic contents of the assemblages appears to be remarkably similar, though it should be noted that, on average, ceramic vessels are more prevalent at upland settlements than they are at lowland sites where—outside of Kommos, an outlier that yielded 532 vessels—the average number of vessels per site was only 21. Even without being able to closely quantify the minimum number of vessels in the pyre deposit at Azoria, which yielded over 7000 sherds, the average number of vessels at upland settlements—excluding the outlier of Vronda that yielded 635 vessels—was 30% higher, at an average of 30 vessels per site. Drinking vessels predominate at both categories of place, though a

much greater variety of vessel types is found at lowland monumental sites. Cups are the primary form of drinking vessel in all areas, followed by skyphoi, which are, however, represented in much greater quantities at lowland sites. A single example of a kantharos was found at the upland settlement of Vronda, but, otherwise, both kantharoi and kotylai are limited to deposits made at the lowland monumental sites of Amnisos and Kommos.

Storage and transport vessels follow drinking vessels in their prevalence, with amphorae predominating across the island. These represent a far greater percentage of the total assemblage associated with lowland monumental sites, however—58% for lowland sites to 19% for upland sites. Other common storage vessels at upland sites include jars, aryballoi, kalathoi, and pyxides, with pithoi, stirrup jars, lekythoi, and hydriae each making up less than 10% of the assemblage. At lowland monumental sites, aryballoi follow amphorae in prevalence, but at a much lower rate of 15%, with all other storage vessel typologies making up less than 10% of the deposits. Pouring vessels are equally common in both areas of the island and at both categories of site, and the most common vessel types across both regions are jugs followed by oinochoai, juglets, askoi, and flasks, though flasks are represented more prominently in the east. Rhyta are a vessel type found only in the center of the island, however, and only at the site of Haghia Triada in the earliest phase of visitation. Mixing vessels, almost exclusively kraters, are more than twice as common at lowland sites.

The relative presence or absence of cooking vessels is perhaps the greatest signifier of difference in the rites taking place at each category of place related to ceramic assemblages. Cooking vessels were found in post-abandonment deposits at every upland settlement but were noticeably lacking in the majority of lowland monumental sites. The only exceptions to this trend were Kommos and Mochlos, both of which differ significantly from other lowland sites in their

chronology and assemblages. At Kommos, vessels associated with food preparation were found in a single deposit in an area slightly away from the ritual center of the site. At Mochlos, cooking vessels were found in an assemblage associated with a special-purpose building seemingly dedicated to drinking and feasting rituals—one similar to those which are found at a number of upland settlements including Halasmenos, Azoria, and Karphi. Outside of these two sites, both of which were atypical in a number of other ways, cooking vessels were entirely limited to upland settlements. It should be noted that the focus on feasting evidenced by assemblages of cooking vessels and the construction of special-function buildings in the ruins of abandoned upland sites is a phenomenon that belongs primarily to the second phase of practice in the east, although some cooking vessels were found in first-phase deposits as well. There was a greater focus on the deposition of human remains in the first phase of practice in the east, with associated funerary and/or post-funerary rituals involving the pouring and, presumably, the consumption of liquids.

Overall, comparison of the material assemblages at upland settlements versus lowland monumental sites reveals a significant difference in post-abandonment practices between the two. At lowland monumental sites, with the single exception of Mochlos, ritual behavior was centered on the deposition of individual votive objects of high extrinsic value, many of which, particularly in later periods, were focused on the articulation and strengthening of elite values and institutions.⁶⁴⁶ These practices stand in marked contrast to those taking place at upland settlements, which involved the deposition of human remains, with associated funerary and post-funerary rites, and feasting in special-function buildings constructed in the ruins of the abandoned sites. The rites indicated by the post-abandonment assemblages at these settlements

⁶⁴⁶ Prent 2005, 627.

are of low to moderate extrinsic value, but their deposition involved a high intrinsic cost, suggesting a greater focus on corporate belonging—a supposition that will be discussed in greater depth below.

While differing in content and intention, many aspects of the ceramic assemblages deposited at both categories of site were held in common. Other aspects of commonality in the materiality of the deposits included instances of significant continuity held between both phases of visitation at many individual sites, likely facilitated both by intergenerational transmission of memory and the physical alteration of the site by earlier visitors, and a shared intensification of ritual depositions in the second phase of visitation at both types of site, likely incited by the period of intense social transformation that led to the establishment of the polis system on the island. Another point of similarity, which will be discussed below, is that, at each category of site, the spatial focus of the deposits reveals an interest in, and a desire to be associated with, a specific period of the site's inhabitation—the period immediately following the collapse of the Knossian palatial administration.

Differences in the Spatial Distribution of Post-Abandonment Deposits

The most basic functions of architecture are, first, to shelter and, second, to divide and to control space. How space is allocated within any given site determines the way in which that site functions, dictating what is and isn't possible, both from the point of view of use, and from the point of view of human interaction.⁶⁴⁷ How the meanings encoded within space change after

⁶⁴⁷ Hillier 1984.

abandonment—how space becomes physically altered through both natural processes of decay and through anthropogenic interference, and how understandings concerning it change through the loss or corruption of historical knowledge—is, therefore, a subject of key importance when considering post-abandonment visitation. Three assumptions are made in the following pages concerning the spatial focus of post-abandonment deposits. The first is that the perceived nature of a site of memory—what is known to the visitors about its original function and history—along with the affordances that the site offers in terms of topography, landscape, and existing material on and around it, will impact the way in which visitors interact with it. The second is that the areas of a site that are targeted by visitors are likely to be those most closely associated with the understanding of the past driving the visitation—whether that understanding reflects retained knowledge concerning the site or a constructed narrative surrounding it. The last is that both the spatial patterning of visitation, and the form that post-abandonment practices take, will reflect the visitor’s relationship to the legacy that they believe to be embodied within the site. The nature of the deposits under discussion and the specific social ideologies which they may have reflected have already been discussed. The purpose of this section is to highlight that the spatial focus of these deposits contributed to the reification of these same ideologies.

Our ability to analyze the spatial patterning of post-abandonment visitation to both upland settlements and lowland monumental sites is hampered by our own limited knowledge as well as by site preservation. It is not always possible for us to tie individual contexts to their original pre-abandonment function, particularly where later restructuring of the site, specifically at Azoria, has obscured the evidence for this. As such, it is often difficult to determine the degree to which post-abandonment deposits reflect a familiarity with the original function of any given space as opposed to a general understanding of the remembered past embodied within these spaces or even an

attribution of an imagined significance to them on the part of visitors. In truth, there are only a small handful of deposits where the spatial focus of the post-abandonment assemblage and its contents appear to imply a direct knowledge of or assumption about the particular use to which a given space was put before the site's abandonment. The majority of these examples, as might be expected, belong to the earliest phase of visitation, which post-dated the abandonment of the sites by only a few decades, and all are found in post-abandonment deposits at upland settlements. In the first phase of visitation at Halasmenos, an earlier ritual space—Room 4 of House A.1—was targeted with an assemblage that closely resembled the objects found in the original space. These included figurines and drinking vessels. Similarly, at Karphi, a number of rooms with ritual functions, including K115, K116, and K79, were targeted for post-abandonment deposits that included drinking vessels. Finally, at Vasiliki Kephala, a deposit of a single skyphos and a cooking pot were placed in close spatial association with the LM IIIC bench shrine, echoing the kinds of vessels that were found within it.

Three examples where the function of the later deposit appears to map on to the original function of the space that it targeted belong to the second phase of visitation. The first of these is Protoarchaic Building 2 at Azoria, which contained votive offerings and heirloom drinking vessels, and was connected, through the addition of a later wall, to the only remaining wall of the settlement's bench sanctuary. The second is the LG feasting building at Halasmenos. This structure was constructed on the ruins of Megaron A1, which is believed to have served as a communal dining area during the life of the settlement. Finally, an assemblage of later cooking pots was found within building MG1 at Karphi—a special-function building which may have served as a venue for feasting during the life of the settlement. While it is impossible to say whether these later-phase deposits reflected a remembered understanding of the way space was used at these particular

settlements or merely close observation of the material assemblages remaining on the site, the critical point is that an effort appears to have been made to create a functional tie between later post-abandonment rituals and the earlier use of certain spaces. This implies a sense of close identification, or a desire to create a close association, between the visitors and the original inhabitants of the site.

Where it is not possible to show that the spatial focus of a deposit was centered on a specific and known pre-abandonment spatial function at upland settlements, it is still clear that the post-abandonment assemblages associated with these sites were spatially focused on the remnants of the upland settlements themselves and, thus, on a specifically post-collapse past. The burials at Vronda, as already discussed, were physically integrated into the LM IIIC settlement, particularly in the later phase of visitation where the burial enclosures were placed within and amongst the houses and shrine. While the character of the rites did not map on to the original domestic use of the vast majority of these buildings, the dead inhabited the space in the same way that the living had—in family groupings—and the community-centered ethos that characterized the settlement is echoed in the generally uniform character of the burial assemblages. At Azoria, settlement walls were incorporated into the 8th and 7th century special-function buildings that were constructed on the site, and it is the rooms that contained these earlier walls that received Krater Deposits before the late 7th century restructuring of the settlement. At Halasmenos, in addition to the deposits already discussed, a tholos tomb was inserted within the walls of house B.2. All of these deposits imply, if not historical knowledge concerning these sites, an understanding of the past embodied within these settlements as somehow reflective of something that the visitors not only valued but wished to be continually associated with.

Examples of spatial continuity are not found at lowland monumental sites. As discussed in the summary at the end of Chapter 5, while attempts to tie these votive deposits to previous areas of cult have been made, none have been successful. There are no instances in which a pre-abandonment ritual focus can be assigned to a spatial context targeted by post-abandonment practices in lowland monumental sites.⁶⁴⁸ Nevertheless, the spatial focus of these deposits was deliberate and most often targeted towards specific architectural structures—in particular, those constructed from monumental ashlar masonry. This focus on ashlar masonry has led to false conclusions concerning the temporal focus of interest belonging to these post-abandonment assemblages, which has, to this point, been generalized as an interest in the “Bronze Age” past. As stated earlier, it is necessary to nuance this assumption, as the “Bronze Age” history of these sites encapsulated multiple cultural moments that were unlikely to have been considered as a homogenous whole by those with a closer temporal association.

While the ashlar masonry in question was original to the Neopalatial structures that had once stood on these sites, in all cases, the targeted ashlar had been reused in later buildings—more specifically in buildings or structures constructed almost exclusively after the fall of Knossos. While the specific function of the buildings in question do not, for the most part, appear to have influenced the location or composition of the post-abandonment deposits placed in their vicinity, the cultural period in which the buildings were constructed—the specific temporal horizon associated with them—does appear to have been a focus of interest. Even though these visitors clearly did not share the same notions of chronological periods that we, as archaeologists, have imposed upon the past, they do appear to have had an ability to distinguish, whether on the basis of style or historical knowledge, between places associated with different

⁶⁴⁸ Prent 2005, 510.

temporal periods in the past. Even where older architecture, which we understand to have dated to LM I, remained visible, the later buildings belonging to the post-collapse era—in other words, to the most recent use of the site—were the clear focus of post-abandonment attention.

At Amnisos, both areas of visitation—the ash altar and the deposit in Area F—were placed in association with post-collapse architecture. The ash altar, itself, was located, as noted by Prent,⁶⁴⁹ in front of a long stretch of an earlier wall—but specifically in front of an area that was backed by a second monumental wall that was constructed from reused ashlar in the Postpalatial period (Fig. 6.17 and 6.18). Similarly, the deposit from Area F was associated with a post-collapse house of megaron-type, which was constructed from reused ashlar blocks. At Kommos, the majority of deposits were placed near Postpalatial Buildings N and P, also constructed of reused ashlar masonry (See Figure 5.21, Chapter 5), and a single krater was deposited in House N where the latest occupation layers were of similar date. Of the three deposits at Phaistos, one was located in the post-collapse settlement in front of a wall of reused ashlar, and another was placed within the central courtyard in close association with a post-collapse altar. In fact, all of the deposits at lowland monumental sites, with the possible exception of the deposit to the southwest of the palace at Phaistos, and the assemblages from Knossos, can be shown to have had overt spatial connections with the Postpalatial past. As is the case in upland settlements, the spatial distribution of these deposits, when taken in combination with their contents, implies an understanding of the past embodied within this category of site that is reflective of a particular social ideology with which the visitors connected themselves—in

⁶⁴⁹ Prent 2003, 84.

this case, an ideology associated with the period of elite competition that accompanied and resulted from the breakdown of the palatial administration.

Where the spatial focus is less overt, as in the case of Knossos, ritual behaviors in other contexts suggest a similar temporal focus for the post-abandonment practices under study. During the second phase of visitation, at the same time that drinking rites were being conducted in the Central Court of the palace, a small number of tombs in the North Cemetery, established after the destruction of the palace, were cleared out and reused for the deposition of cremated remains belonging to what appears to have been a handful of elite family groups. The reuse of Minoan larnakes post-dating the destruction is also evidenced at North Cemetery in the same period.⁶⁵⁰ Tomb cult in association with post-abandonment visitation to a lowland monumental site is also seen at Mochlos where a tomb of similar date was reopened and ritually staged at the same time that drinking rituals were being performed in open air contexts in close association with architecture in the abandoned settlement which belonged to the same temporal horizon. The simultaneity of these trends—the spatial focus on post-collapse architecture for post-abandonment visitation in lowland monumental sites and the reuse of post-collapse tombs in certain of the cemeteries associated with these sites—testifies to an increasing reverence for and desire to be connected with a specifically post-collapse past and the elite competition associated with that specific period in time.

As shown by the evidence given above, the ideologies being reinforced through the spatial focus of post-abandonment assemblages at the sites under discussion were the same as those that have been shown to have been embodied within the material contents of the deposits, themselves.

⁶⁵⁰ Coldstream 1998, 58-60.

In upland settlements, this was an identity associated with a specifically post-collapse past as shown through the focus on architecture constructed as a response to this period of social transformation, and the evidence for seemingly conscious reference to the pre-abandonment function of some areas of the sites. At lowland monumental sites, the spatial target was just as clearly a specifically post-collapse past, and not the generalized “Bronze Age” past that has been hypothesized by Prent and others. This distinction is a very important one to make, as it ties post-abandonment practices at the sites in question not to some imagined past, but to a specific post-collapse identity associated with a period of intense social competition and elite display. This is a distinction that will be made even more clear in the next section of this chapter which discusses the significance of the evident differences in the intrinsic vs extrinsic value of the rites being carried out at each category of site.

On the Topic of Value: The Social Significance of Differences in the Intrinsic vs. Extrinsic Value of Post-Abandonment Rites

As introduced earlier, one of the most fundamental roles of ritual is to create and reinforce a common sense of belonging and identity, particularly in the wake of social transformation when the need to solidify emic definitions of group identity is strongest. Not all ritual activities are created equally in terms of their ability to produce social cohesion, however. As discussed in Chapter 2, anthropological research has shown that the relative cost, and the *kind* of cost, that differing rituals bear has an impact on both the level and the type of social cohesion

that they create.⁶⁵¹ Where rituals with a high extrinsic value may contribute to social stability through the continued reinforcement of social hierarchies, those with a higher cost in terms of affectivity or extreme effort tend towards cooperative effects, serving to strengthen corporate identities and amplify prosocial attitudes and behaviors. Post-abandonment visitation on the island of Crete during the Early Iron Age involved both forms of ritual “cost”, intrinsic and extrinsic. The expenditure of each type of cost appears to have varied by the type of site being targeted, and these differences in cost appear to have coincided with a significant difference in the social ideology being underscored by the practices being undertaken at each relative category of site.

It is clear, when examining the practices associated with post-abandonment visitation on Crete at this time, that all forms of post-abandonment ritual bore a high “cost,” whether this cost was intrinsic or extrinsic. It is equally clear, however, that multiple concepts of value were at play in determining what “cost” was appropriate or necessary for the practice of these rites. Value is a cultural construct, defined by the context in which it is created, and at the heart of any cultural context are the social mechanisms that regulate what has meaning.⁶⁵² In other words, what has “value” is determined within the context of social relationships.⁶⁵³ Exchange-value, labor-value, and what I will call affect-value of both objects and behaviors are all evident in post-abandonment practices, but the manner in which these concepts of value were deployed varied based on the social relationships that were being reinforced through their use.

⁶⁵¹ Atran and Norenzayan 2004; Cronk 1994; Durkheim 1995; Rappaport 1999; Sosis and Alcorta 2003; Xygalatas et al. 2013.

⁶⁵² Papadopoulos and Urton 2012, 1.

⁶⁵³ Appadurai 1986, 3.

Materials with a high exchange-value are the easiest of these differing “costs” to identify in the archaeological record. Despite the intermittent instability of the period under discussion, the inventories offered in the previous two chapters make clear that bronze, gold, silver, and faience—all materials with a high exchange-value within the socioeconomic context of the ancient Mediterranean—are attested in post-abandonment assemblages deposited at some of the sites in question. As alluded to above, and as shown in Tables 6.1 and 6.2, however, there is a pronounced tendency towards the inclusion of objects crafted from these materials only at lowland monumental sites where votive practices formed the backbone of post-abandonment ritual behavior. The only exception to this is the upland site of Vronda, which will be discussed below. Bronze is by far the best-represented amongst the high-value materials presented here, with gold, silver, and faience objects found only in small numbers, and almost exclusively in post-abandonment assemblages at the site of Kommos.

Papasavvas, in his discussion on Cretan society in the Early Iron Age, points out that bronze was prized in this period due, not only to its expense, but to its symbolic, as opposed to its functional, value. Other precious materials played a less important role in conspicuous display due to their rarity and to the difficulty involved in acquiring them. In his words, bronze and its ostentatious visibility became “institutionalized” in this period as a status symbol and as a marker of social recognition amongst competing elites. The need to engage in this competitive behavior appears to have intensified over time, as the prevalence of bronze in post-abandonment deposits appears to have increased at almost all lowland monumental sites between the first and second phases of visitation, a circumstance that appears directly related to increasing pressures towards social change occurring in the 8th to 7th centuries BCE. The deposition of high-value votives at abandoned lowland monumental sites, therefore, reflects an increasingly “ritualized

individualism” that is entirely absent in the deposits found at upland settlements—which in all cases appear to be focused on kinship groups—but that is mirrored, as discussed earlier, in the elaborate burial rites taking place concurrently in central Crete.⁶⁵⁴ The competitive consumption displayed in both of these social behaviors, once again, served to reinforce a social ideology with close parallels to the “elite warrior” identity belonging to the earlier Final and Postpalatial periods. This was an identity referenced only by post-abandonment practices at lowland monumental sites, which had a high extrinsic cost, centering as they did on the deposition of objects with a high exchange value.

Vronda, as an upland settlement, appears at first glance to be somewhat of an outlier in terms of the inclusion of bronze objects in post-abandonment deposits at the site, with more bronze objects, in terms of absolute numbers, found here than at almost any of the lowland monumental sites. The context of the deposition of these objects is very different, however. As noted above, the primary post-abandonment ritual activity occurring at Vronda was the deposition of human remains, first in small tholoi, and subsequently in rough stone “bone enclosures.” The vast majority of bronze objects found at Vronda were small and simple rings, pins, and, mainly, fibulae that were likely worn by the deceased at the moment of interment. Similar small bronze personal adornments were also found in the tholoi of Halasmenos and Azoria, but the sheer number of burials at Vronda raises the quantity of bronze objects at this site proportionally. Outside of these personal adornments, only two bronze tools and a few fragments of bronze sheeting were included as burial goods at the site.

⁶⁵⁴ Papasavvas 2012, 138-143.

The presence of a significant number of bronze objects as well as the much larger number of iron weapons and tools included in the Vronda burials is an indicator that the group responsible for these burials was by no means impoverished. These objects were, undoubtedly, possessed of exchange value. The occurrence of small bronze adornments does not equate to the conspicuous display of much larger bronze votives at lowland monumental sites, however, nor do the iron weapons included in the majority of the Vronda graves mirror those in the “warrior” burials found predominantly in central Crete. The elaborate weapons and armor found in these warrior burials and dedicated at sanctuaries, including those at abandoned lowland monumental sites, were made of bronze rather than iron, which was a functional rather than a prestige metal,⁶⁵⁵ and the iron tools and weapons included in the Vronda burials, like the personal adornments, were likely those used by the deceased during life. Given this fact, it is significant that no one grave appears to have contained a greater number of bronze or iron objects than any other. Generally, the greater the number of burials, the larger the number of grave goods included in the interment. Despite an obvious access to resources, the character of the Vronda graves indicates an overall lack of social hierarchy and a lack of interest in the competitive display of high-value goods that characterizes the post-abandonment deposits at the majority of lowland monumental sites.

The Vronda burials did have a high intrinsic cost in terms of both labor-value and affect value, however—and these intrinsic costs appear to have increased, as the extrinsic value of the deposits at lowland monumental sites increased, over time. This is apparent in both the amount of labor that was necessary to accomplish these burials and their associated rites, and in the affective nature of the practices taking place. In general, the labor required to visit abandoned

⁶⁵⁵ Papasavvas 2012, 138.

upland settlements was inevitably high, as much of the labor cost involved was the direct result of their positions in the landscape—positions that tended, by definition, to be at a high elevation, taking advantage of terrain that was difficult, and typically being sited in areas which, as stated in Chapter 1, Nowicki has defined as “defensible.”⁶⁵⁶ This was clearly not the case with lowland monumental sites.

If one were to assume that visitors to the abandoned sites under discussion came from the nearest occupied settlement, then the average distance that visitors had to travel to reach these sites was the same for both upland settlements and lowland monumental sites—around 2.5 kilometers. The difficulty of the terrain that it was necessary to traverse was far greater for visitors to upland sites, however. Figure 6.19 graphs the easiest, or the least cost, path from the settlement of Knossos to the palace of Knossos, where post-abandonment practice took place in the Central Courtyard in the second phase of visitation. As shown in this figure, the route that visitors would have travelled had a distance of about 600 m, with a maximum elevation change of around 60 m over that distance. By contrast, the least cost path to Vronta from Kastro, the nearest occupied settlement in both phases of visitation, has a distance of about 900 m with an elevation change of over 300 m (Fig. 6.20). This difference is even more obvious when we look at sites that required visitors to travel a much further distance. When considering commensal practices taking place at the upland site of Halasmenos during the second phase of visitation, one must consider that the nearest occupied site was likely still Kastro—which lies at a distance of over 10 kms away with an elevation change of over 600 m (Fig. 6.21). Visitation to the lowland monumental site of Haghia Triada from the settlement of Phaistos, on the other hand, while still one of the more labor intensive journeys associated with post-abandonment practices taking

⁶⁵⁶ Nowicki 2000.

place in the center of the island, required travel across a distance of 4.5 km, with an elevation change over that distance of no more than 85 m (Fig. 6.22).

Aside from the difference in the relative difficulty of accessing the sites, the differences in the rites being performed at upland versus lowland sites required different levels of effort from those participating. Rites in lowland monumental sites typically necessitated only the movement of votive offerings and a small number of ceramic vessels. In later periods, when ash altars made their appearance, the transportation of animals to be sacrificed and fuel might also have been required. At Halasmenos, however, cooking pots, large pithoi, the goods they contained, and the tools and materials needed for the construction of the special-function building in which feasting events would be held all needed to be transported over the difficult terrain already discussed. This more excessive expenditure of labor is mirrored in the post-abandonment practices evidenced in the archaeological record at Vronta. Practices here would have required the movement of both the bodies of the deceased, the burial goods to be placed with them, and the vessels necessary to perform the funerary rites. As detailed above, carrying the corpse over difficult terrain was presumably an essential part of the rites, even when, in the second phase of visitation, these bodies were destined to be cremated. Rather than the decrease in labor “cost” that could have been achieved by cremating the body prior to transport, visitors to Vronta in this later period chose primary cremation as their mode of interment, an uncommon funerary rite on the island of Crete and elsewhere at this time. This involved not only the transportation of the dead but also the collection and hauling of enough fuel to keep a funerary pyre burning for 5-7 hours.⁶⁵⁷

⁶⁵⁷ Rose et al. 2020, 380.

The affect-value associated with the bodies of the dead is, in most cultures, extremely high and thus a difference in the affective nature of the rites is also notable between Knossos and Vronta, and between upland and lowland sites, generally.⁶⁵⁸ As discussed in Chapter 2, the power of ritual arises, at least in part, directly from its affectivity—from its ability to stimulate the senses and to generate emotion. All of the rites that are indicated in the archaeological record, at both categories of site, would have had power from this point of view. Ritual activities at both sites required the movement of bodies from spaces associated with the present to spaces associated with the past. They would have entailed sensorial interactions with the decaying site, with the material evidence of previous ritual activity, and, almost certainly, with other visitors. Though we cannot recover the more specific aspects of these ritual activities, we know from the archaeological record that, at both categories of site, these ritual interactions likely involved the consumption of liquids. In the later phases they also involved the roasting or burning of animal flesh, and, at upland settlements at least, the consumption of ritual meals in communal settings. The sensations associated with these activities would have provided the raw-material for meaning making, for remembrance, and for the construction of identity at both site-types.⁶⁵⁹

While all ritual contexts that require embodied practice have affective and mnemonic power, however, this power would have been exponentially amplified in mortuary contexts, such as those seen at Vronta, Azoria, and Halasmenos. In these settings, as Hamilakis points out, the emotions and sensory stimuli generated by ritual become “combined with those generated by the embodied experience of death.”⁶⁶⁰ The sensorial experience of carrying the deceased over difficult terrain before depositing the body at the abandoned site, with all of the attendant rituals

⁶⁵⁸ Papadopoulos and Urton 2012, 26-27.

⁶⁵⁹ Cole 2004, 99.

⁶⁶⁰ Hamilakis 1998, 117.

that this required, would have been an unusually powerful experience—and the preparation for and participation in the cremation rite in the later phase at Vronda would have had an even stronger affective and emotional impact.⁶⁶¹ Even the exchange-value of the bronze adornments and iron weapons found in the Vronda graves becomes transformed, in a mortuary context, to affect-value. The personal nature of the metal objects deposited with the Vronda burials represent, not conspicuous consumption or display, but objects gathered in "a last effort to counter the disintegration of identity and the loss of memory during the very process that dissolves the newly dead."⁶⁶² Nowhere is this effort more clear than in Grave 9 where a feeding bottle was deposited in association with the remains of an infant. The deposition of human remains taking place at the majority of the upland settlements cataloged in this dissertation, therefore, represents a significantly greater intrinsic cost to the rites than is seen at lowland monumental sites. Not only this, but the emotional and affective intensity of these rites, occurring as they did in a close relationship with death, would have provided a space for, and even necessitated, the affirmation and reification of both close familial relationships and the social identities that underlay them.⁶⁶³

The power to cement and to reify social relationships was also inherent to the communal feasting rites that are evidenced in the second-phase deposits at Halasmenos, Azoria, and Karphi. Food and drink, as basic and continual human needs, are highly charged symbolic media that, in commensal settings, are particularly effective in the establishment and maintenance of multiple categories of relationship. While much attention has been paid to feasting as a mechanism for the acquisition of power and the establishment of social hierarchy, as previously discussed in

⁶⁶¹ Perna 2011, 150.

⁶⁶² Voutsaki 2012, 184.

⁶⁶³ Murphy 2019.

connection with earlier Mycenaean feasting, feasting events could also serve as "mechanisms of social solidarity that serve(d) to establish a sense of community."⁶⁶⁴ Such was the case with the later Cretan *andreion*, a dining institution associated with the polis which appears to have fostered social bonds that obviated the need for top-down hierarchical control, ultimately allowing for the establishment of citizen-states.⁶⁶⁵ The similarity of the special-function buildings within which upland feasting rituals were carried out to the later *andreia* has been pointed to by multiple scholars.⁶⁶⁶ The lack of evidence for social hierarchy in the deposits associated with these dining buildings suggests that the roots of this later archaic institution, as Tsipopoulou insists, may very well be found in these buildings.

As detailed above, the relative “cost” of the rites evidenced in the post-abandonment deposits associated with upland settlements and lowland monumental sites differed significantly in terms of both the extrinsic and intrinsic investment that they represented. While the rituals taking place at both categories of site served as a powerful means of reaffirming social identity and creating social cohesion, the difference in emphasis on the kind of value being underscored by these rites resulted in a difference in the kind of social cohesion that these rituals created. Individualized votive depositions of high extrinsic value made at lowland monumental sites served to reinforce a social system associated with a pronounced social hierarchy—one that was both manifested in and strengthened through elite consumption and display. The more labor-intensive and affective rites associated with kinship-based funerary ritual and commensal dining activities at upland settlements instead placed an emphasis on communal relationships and social bonding.

⁶⁶⁴ Dietler 1996, 89-91.

⁶⁶⁵ Whitley 2018, 127, 144.

⁶⁶⁶ Haggis 2011, 519; Tsipopoulou 2009, 133.

Conclusion

The arc of sociopolitical change that is evident between the fall of Knossos in LM IIIA2 through the beginnings of the development of the Cretan polis system in the late 7th century BCE was not the inevitable outcome of prevailing circumstances. As the preceding pages of this dissertation make clear, neither the circumstances themselves, nor the social responses attendant to these circumstances were ubiquitous across the island. Socio-political development on Crete must, therefore, be seen as the result of processes of agentive choice that involved active competition between various identities and their prevailing belief systems. Significant differences in the deposits associated with post-abandonment rites taking place at upland settlements and lowland monumental sites on the island of Crete during the Early Iron Age—differences in the form that they took, in the content of their associated deposits, in their spatial focus, and in the value or “cost” associated with them—suggest that ritual activities taking place at abandoned categories of place were at least one of the stages on which this competition was being actively played out.

It is significant that, from an anthropological perspective, social groups who participate in ritual activities that effectively produce group-beneficial or community-minded beliefs and are productive of more community-centered identities, tend, ultimately, to outcompete groups whose rituals do not increase in-group cooperation and solidarity.⁶⁶⁷ Such appears to have been the case on the island of Crete, where, starting in the 6th century, the highly individualized votive dedications being made at sanctuaries were replaced by offerings dedicated, instead, by corporate

⁶⁶⁷ Heinrich 2009, 254.

bodies of citizens as the newly formed Cretan states began to regulate cult.⁶⁶⁸ This movement towards greater social cooperation would be accompanied by a turn towards austerity that is evident in many aspects of the material record, particularly in the development of the *andreion* mentioned above—a form of cooperative dining that de-emphasized social difference and emphasized corporate belonging.⁶⁶⁹ The movement towards austerity and the emphasis on community-building reflected in these later assemblages was not without ritual precedent, however. It was prefigured in the assemblages associated with post-abandonment visitation to upland settlements.⁶⁷⁰ The question of whether or not these practices can be considered directly implicated in long-term sociopolitical developments taking place on the island will be taken up in the following chapter.

⁶⁶⁸ Papasavvas 2012, 143.

⁶⁶⁹ Erickson 2010, 307; Erickson 2023; Whitley 2009b, 290; Haggis 2014, 36.

⁶⁷⁰ The site where this can be seen most clearly in the archaeological record is Azoria, where the late 7th century development of the site into a “proto-polis” included the addition of communal dining buildings. These buildings were literally constructed on the past—on structures associated with communal dining in post-abandonment settings. See Haggis 2014.

Figures



Figure 6.1 Post-Abandonment Visitation in Phase One



Figure 6.2 Post-Abandonment Visitation in Phase Two



Figure 6.3 Presence of Human Remains Phase One



Figure 6.4 Presence of Human Remains Phase Two



Figure 6.5 Distribution of Iron Weapons



Figure 6.6 Distribution of Personal Adornments



Figure 6.7 Distribution of Tools



Figure 6.8 Distribution of Iron Objects



Figure 6.9 Distribution of Votives in Phase One



Figure 6.10 Distribution of Bronze Votives

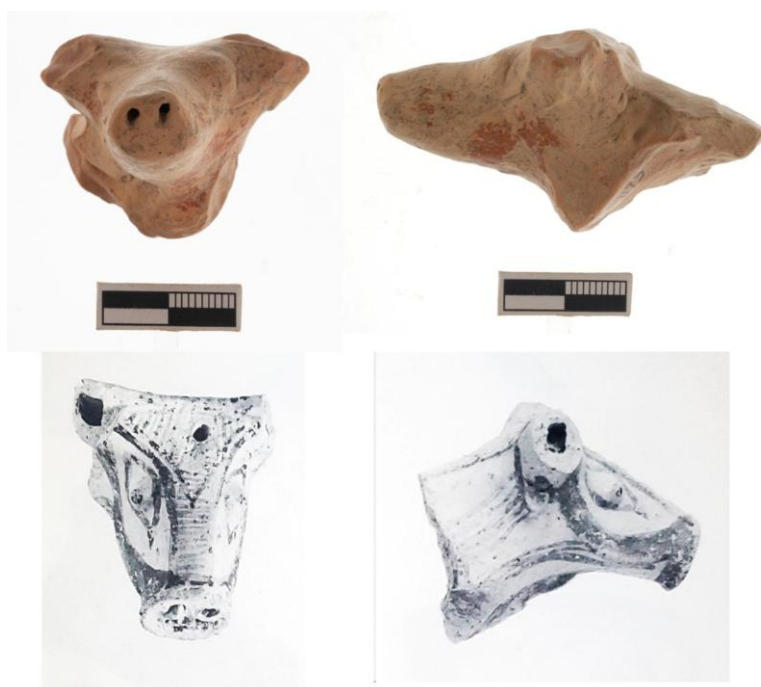


Figure 6.11 Top: LM IIIC/SM/PG Figurine from Azoria, Image Courtesy of Donald Haggis Bottom: LM IIIC/SM Figurine from Haghia Triada (D'agata 1999, Pl. XX)



Figure 6.12 Distribution of Votives in Phase 2



Figure 6.13 Distribution of Votive Armor



Figure 6.14 Location of Nearest Active Settlements to Azoria and Vronda During LG-EA

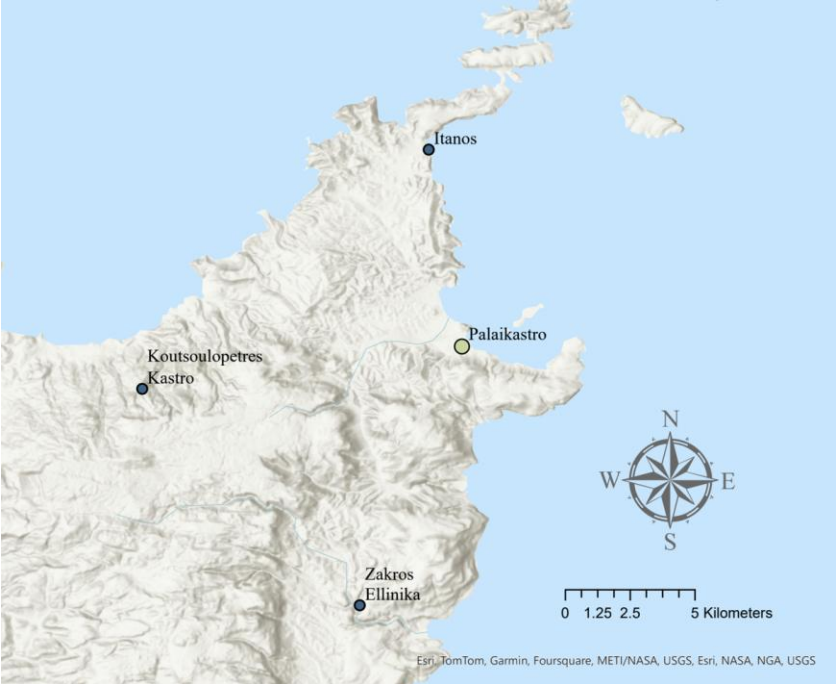


Figure 6.15 Location of Nearest Active Settlements to Palaikastro During LG-EA



Figure 6.16 Location of Nearest Active Settlements to Mochlos During LG-EA

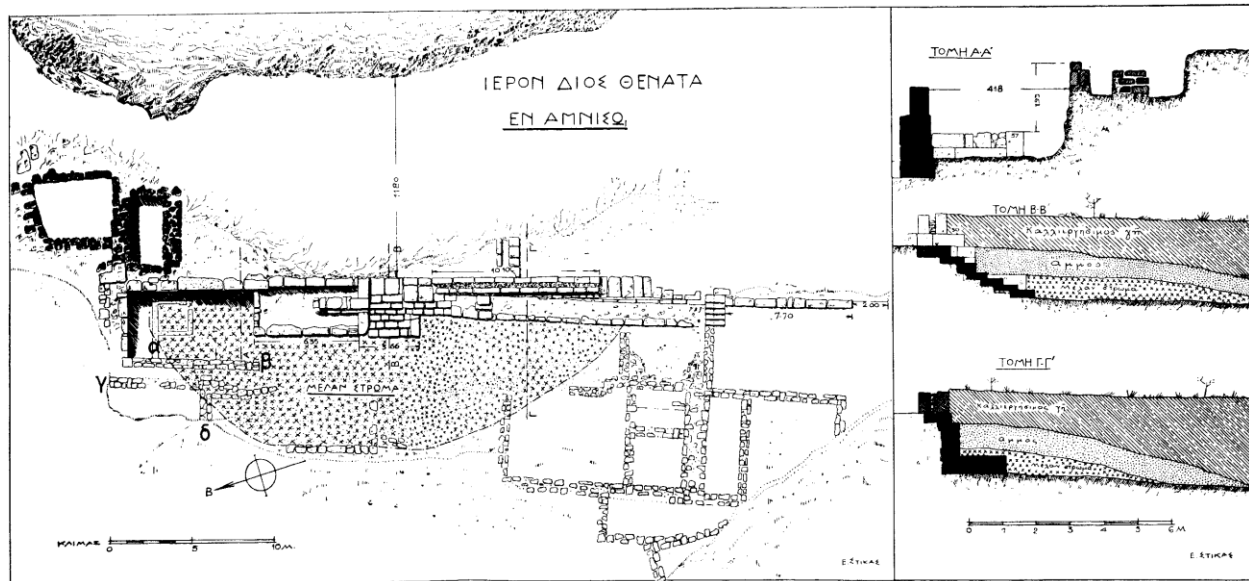


Figure 6.17 Ash Altar at Amnisos

(Schafer 1992, Pl. 29)

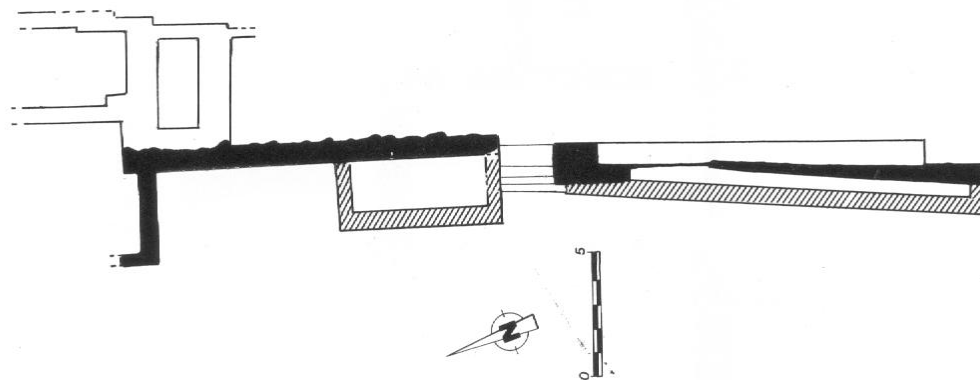


Figure 6.18 Reused Ashlar Wall Behind the Ash Altar at Amnisos

(Driessen and MacDonald 1997, Fig. 7.13)

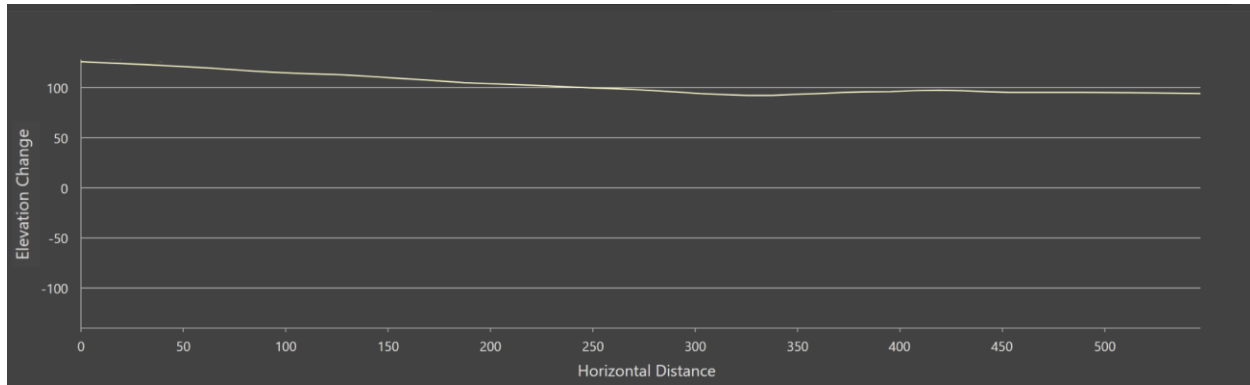


Figure 6.19 Least Cost Path from Knossos Settlement to Knossos Palace

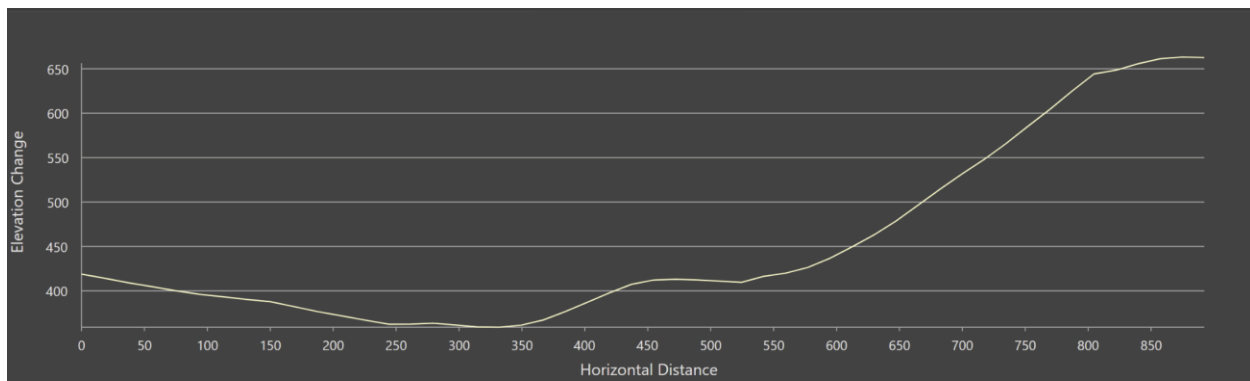


Figure 6.20 Least Cost Path From Vronda to Kastro

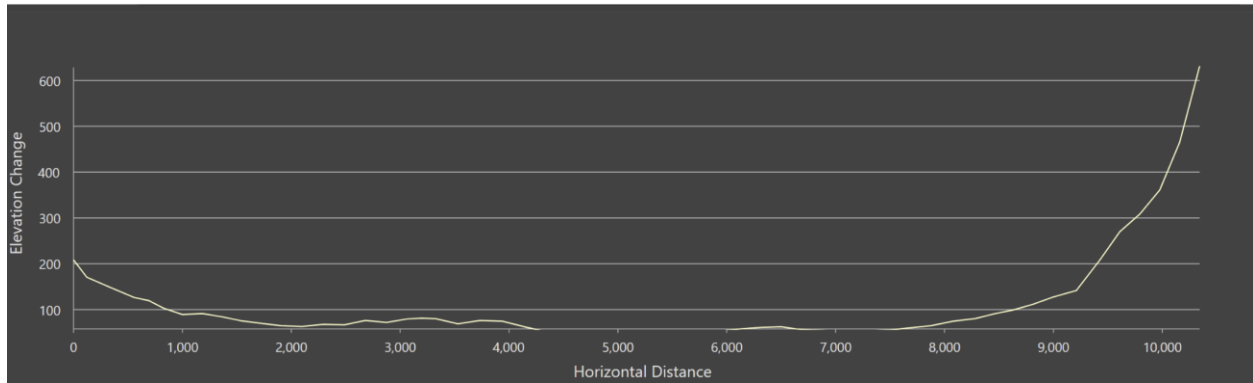


Figure 6.21 Least Cost Path from Halasmenos to Kastro

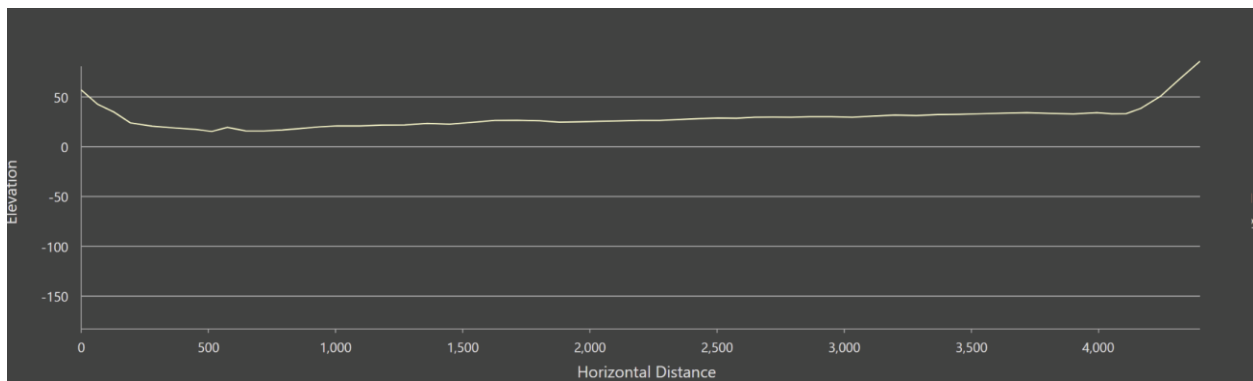


Figure 6.22 Least Cost Path from Haghia Triada to Phaistos

Table 6.1 Number of High-value Objects from Post-abandonment Deposits at Upland Settlements

	<u>AZORIA</u>	<u>HALASMENOS</u>	<u>KARPHI</u>	<u>V. KEPHALA</u>	<u>VRONDA</u>	TOTAL
Bronze	2	2	0	0	61	65
Gold	0	0	0	0	0	0
Silver	0	0	0	1	0	0
Faience	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	2	2	0	0	61	65

Table 6.2 Number of High-value Objects from Post-abandonment Deposits at Lowland Monumental Sites

	<u>AMNISOS</u>	<u>HAGHIA TRIADA</u>	<u>KNOSSOS</u>	<u>KOMMOS</u>	<u>MOCHLOS</u>	<u>PALAIKASTRO</u>	<u>PHAISTOS</u>	TOTAL
Bronze	12	96	0	16	0	44	3	171
Gold	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	3
Silver	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Faience	0	0	0	35	0	0	0	35
Total	12	96	0	54	0	0	0	210

CHAPTER 7 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Thus far, this dissertation has introduced the theoretical background necessary for understanding episodes of post-abandonment visitation on the island of Crete during the Early Iron Age (Chapter 2), provided the necessary historical and archaeological background for understanding the multiple horizons of significant social change that occurred on the island immediately before and during this time (Chapter 3), detailed the finds associated with each known episode of post-abandonment visitation to each of the two categories of place under discussion—upland settlements and lowland monumental sites (Chapters 4 and 5)—and compared the material evidence pertaining to the post-abandonment deposits associated with these two categories of place (Chapter 6). It has been made clear that strong regional variation in post-abandonment practice—revealed in pronounced differences in the places chosen for visitation and in the form that post-abandonment assemblages take—is apparent in this evidence, and these differences have been shown to reflect a profound regional distinction in the social ideologies being underscored by these rites.

This final chapter will discuss the evidence already given using the theoretical model described in Chapter 2, with the goal of elucidating why these specific site-types were chosen, and why such regional distinctions in practice may have existed. The basic questions which this framework allows us to ask are these: are the episodes of memory practice that we see taking place at both upland settlements and lowland monumental sites during the Early Iron Age related in some way to the need to solidify or reinforce the identities that arose in the wake of the LBA-EIA transition? Did these practices rise and fall in response to further periods of social transformation or “threat” and, if so, can we view these practices as implicated in long-term social change? This concluding discussion will show that a strong chronological relationship

existed between the periods of social transformation detailed in Chapter 3 and the initiation and renewal of post-abandonment rites; that the abandoned sites of interest to Early Iron Age Cretans were associated specifically with post-collapse identities; and that these post-collapse identities were regionally distinct as the result of regionally differential degrees of uptake in the new cultural influences that entered the island after the LM IB destructions. It will also suggest that we can, indeed, view post-abandonment ritual activities taking place at upland settlements and lowland monumental sites as implicated in long-term social change.

As discussed earlier, a theoretical perspective is critical to understanding the social significance of the practices that have been detailed in the preceding pages, their timing, the form they take, and the role they may have played in sociopolitical development between the end of the Bronze Age and the beginning of the Archaic period. Chapter 2 attempted to offer this theoretical perspective, firstly, by discussing the theoretical underpinnings of some of the more important aspects of post-abandonment visitation. These included the concepts of social memory and identity, the importance of place, the power of ritual practice, and the means by which social identities are projected into the future through the intergenerational transmission of memory. One of the more vital observations offered by that chapter was the understanding that tensions between different perceptions of the past and the meaning accorded to it not only existed in the ancient world but resulted in different approaches to the commemoration of that past and in the identity that it was structured to represent. It was put forward that nuance and difference rather than homogeneity should be expected in the material evidence for these processes, and nuance and difference are, indeed, apparent in the assemblages discussed in Chapters 4, 5, and 6.

Chapter 2 also proposed a new theoretical framework by combining observations concerning the creation and abandonment of genres of place with a body of theory from the field

of sociology—social trauma theory. This framework was intended to serve as a means of understanding episodes of post-abandonment visitation that are grounded in periods of extreme social change—several of which were shown in Chapter 3 to have impacted the island of Crete during the Early Iron Age. This model, a visual reference for which can be found in Figure 2.3 of Chapter 2, suggests that times of extreme social change may give rise to both the creation and abandonment of specific site-types. It also suggests, based on modern analogy, that we might expect a period of narrative silence or reflection to follow the abandonment of places of significance, which may last as long as 1-2 generations. After enough time has passed, these places of meaning may become mnemonically embedded with specific identities, histories, or narratives. They may, at this point, become important aids in the process of interpreting the past and solidifying the meanings surrounding it. The model goes on to suggest that memory practices performed at these sites may serve as a powerful tool for strengthening community identities in the midst of social change, that they may remain active as long as the identity in question remains under threat, and that they may then decline or fall out of use. Should a new threat to this identity arise, however, the model predicts that practices at these representative sites may be revived in order to reconnect with the period in the past which they represent—a moment that remains fundamental to the social identity of the community in question.

The following section will apply the proposed model outlined above to the evidence offered in Chapters 3 ,4 ,5, and 6. The application of the model will begin by underscoring the reasons why upland settlements and lowland monumental sites should be understood as specific genres of place, which both came into being and were abandoned in response to moments of social change. This explanation will be followed by a detailed discussion regarding the chronology of both the creation and the abandonment of these differing site-types. The

chronological relationship between the periods of social transformation discussed in Chapter 3 and the material evidence for post-abandonment visitation to upland settlements and lowland monumental sites offered in Chapters 4, 5, and 6 will then be explored in relation to the model. The conclusion of this discussion will be followed by a coda to the dissertation as a whole, enumerating the key findings from this study and identifying areas for further research.

Upland Settlements and Lowland Monumental Sites as Genres of Place and Chronologies of Site Creation and Abandonment

Based on the criteria laid out in Chapter 2, both upland settlements and lowland monumental sites can be described as specific types or genres of place. Both examples were constructed to serve an explicit, relatively wide-spread societal need, as evidenced by the fact that multiple examples of each are evident in the archaeological record. Each had a lifespan during which it met that need, and each, ultimately, outlived the need for which it was created. The end result of this process was large-scale abandonment—abandonment, not of a single example of these sites, but of the majority of those which fell into these genres of place. As highlighted in Figure 2.3, this pattern is revelatory of two periods of social transformation—the impetus that initiated the creation of upland settlements and these particular lowland monumental sites, and the impetus that resulted in their abandonment.

We can, with some ease, view the creation of upland settlements as a direct material response to a period of extreme change, when poorly understood circumstances pushed settlement away from the coastlines, primarily in East Crete, and up into higher elevation sites.

The majority of these sites served an important function for only about 3-4 generations until either the exigencies that drove their creation receded or new, more pressing social factors arose. In response to this second moment of social impetus, settlement shifted again, this time to slightly lower elevation sites with easier access to land and water resources and more room to expand. The end result of this second period of settlement shift, which began in late LM IIIC, was the abandonment of over half of the existing upland settlements, creating the potential for this now abandoned genre of place to become symbolic of a very specific period of response to social transformation.

The second genre of place—lowland monumental sites—has a more palimpsestic history. These were originally Neopalatial centers that were either completely or partially destroyed at the end of LM IB. Each of these sites was subsequently partially reconstructed in the late Final to Postpalatial Periods, in LM IIIA2-LM IIIB, with monumental public and/or private buildings constructed of reused ashlar masonry. The majority of these sites were abandoned by the end of LM IIIB—an indication that the social factors which had driven their reconstruction were no longer pressing or had been replaced by stronger societal requirements. Again, these sites had the potential to serve as a symbol of a very brief window of time and a very specific social response. In both instances, social change both drove the creation of these genres of place and prompted their abandonment, and once deserted, both site-types became available as mnemonic resources that could be materially connected with these specific moments in the past and, importantly, with a specific social identity or ideology that underscored their creation. Understanding both upland settlements and lowland monumental sites as genres of place with specific chronological relationships to periods of social transformation allows us to begin to discuss the model outlined in Chapter 2.

One import of this model is that it provides us with a means of understanding the chronological relationships that exist between periods of social change, the creation and abandonment of specific site-types, and memory practices that involve a return to these abandoned sites. Chapter 3 began with the acknowledgement that a series of social disarticulations had already occurred on Crete before the events that we traditionally view as the Bronze Age “collapse” began. A period of intense change at the end of LM IB heralded the arrival on the island of a new social ideology—one which radiated out from Knossos in the center of the island to impact all regions, albeit to varying degrees.⁶⁷¹ We have seen that the degree to which each region accepted and incorporated this ideology, and the extent to which each region became incorporated into the Knossian economic system, had a marked impact on the de facto response of that region to indications of growing instability that appear to have begun with the fall of Knossos in LM IIIA2/IIIB. Differing responses to these initial signs of instability resulted in varying chronologies and patterns of site creation and abandonment in different regions of the island.

In the East, it appears likely that the fall of Knossos and the subsequent breakdown of palatial infrastructure almost coincided with the beginning of the abandonment of all coastal sites in this part of the island and the creation of upland settlements. As discussed in Chapter 3, the dissolution of what appear to have been limited ties to palatial infrastructure in the East contributed to settlement shift and left surviving populations to fall back on long-standing support systems centered on extended kinship groups and local networks of production, trade, and exchange. This resulted in the return to a largely kinship-based social system which, as we

⁶⁷¹ Hatzaki and Kotsonas 2020, 1032. See also Preston 2008, 316.

have seen, is materially embodied within the upland settlements that were established at this time.

In the center of the island, however, the fall of Knossos heralded, not a desertion of, but a rise in power in second- and third-order lowland monumental sites—such as Kommos, Haghia Triada, and Amnisos. Integration with mainland ideologies and the palatial economic system appears to have supplanted preexisting social and economic systems to a much greater degree in this region, and the decentralization of economic control resulting from the fall of Knossos led to the development of a diffuse network of loosely defined political units, leveraging the remnants of the Knossian system, and operating out of these previously lower-order sites.⁶⁷² It was at this time that many of these sites saw a surge in the construction of the monumental architecture that would later become a focus for post-abandonment practice. Simultaneously, these centers saw a noticeable increase in the uptake of ostentatious burial practices and in the performance of ritual activities focused on the establishment and maintenance of social and political power by influential individuals or kinship groups attempting to step into the vacuum of power left by the fall of the palace.⁶⁷³ The diffusion and deployment of elite strategies of consumption and display at these lower-order sites—one still deeply connected with the elite ideology that emerged on the island after the LM IB destructions—is indicative of increased social competition within a politically unstable environment. These practices delayed the results of growing instability on the island, but, by the end of LM IIIB, these sites, and the moment of elite competition that they embodied, also lay abandoned.

⁶⁷² Gaignerot-Driessen 2018, 727; Langohr 2020, 91; Nowicki 2000, 239.

⁶⁷³ Preston 2008, 316-318.

This abandonment occurred as much as a century after the abandonment of the majority of lowland monumental sites in the East (Fig. 7.1).⁶⁷⁴ By late LM IIIC, the majority of the population in the center of the island, aside from those who had established upland settlements in this area (See pg. 84-85), had coalesced into the nucleated settlements discussed in Chapter 3. It was not until this period, over a century after the abandonment of the majority of lowland monumental sites in the center of the island, and a century and a half to two centuries after the beginning of lowland site abandonment in the east, that over 50% of the upland settlements in the east were abandoned in favor of slightly lower elevation sites with easier access to water and arable land, and greater room for expansion.

Differences in the chronology of site abandonment across the island predictably resulted in differences in the chronology of the first phase of post-abandonment visitation. The model described above and in Chapter 2 suggests that a period of desertion lasting about 1-2 generations may follow initial site abandonment, and that post-abandonment memory practices would begin only after this period had passed. Modern parallels suggest that this span of time would be a period of reflection on the past and its meaning. Based on the model, one would expect that the post-abandonment practices that are the topic of this dissertation would begin in the eastern half of the island, targeting the lowland monumental sites which were abandoned earliest, in early LM IIIB. We would expect to see these practices begin after a brief temporal gap, by mid to late LM IIIB. A century later, beginning in about LM IIIC, one would expect to see the beginning of visitation to the same category of site in the center of the island. Finally, one would expect to see post-abandonment practices initiated at upland settlements a century after

⁶⁷⁴ This includes the palaces at Phaistos and Knossos, but the settlements associated with these previous palatial centers remained active from LM IIIB and into the Roman period.

that, in the very late LM IIIC/SM to PG periods. It is of vital importance to my argument that the archaeological evidence does not show this to have been the case.

The model offered in Chapter 2 does not apply to what we see happening with post-abandonment visitation on the island of Crete unless one takes an essential aspect of social trauma theory into account. Social trauma theory, as put forward by Hamburger⁶⁷⁵ and others, centers on the idea that, following an impact event, shattered experiential frameworks must be reconstituted in such a way that they preserve vital elements of deeply held identities while at the same time adapting to the exigencies of new circumstances. Part of this reconstitution is the creation of meaning around the period of social transformation itself—coming to terms with the significance of the past—in this case as embodied within specific places in the landscape—and incorporating it into a newly reformed social identity that can be reified through memorializing practices such as those under discussion.⁶⁷⁶ Practices such as post-abandonment visitation, if driven by the need to reconstitute or reinforce experiential frameworks shattered by social trauma, occur only where processes of meaning-making following site abandonment yield a narrative that associates this site-type with a critical part of those frameworks. If the significance which a category of place holds in the social imagination does not reflect an idea or an ideology important to the visitors, the site-type will not be marked with additional significance through memory practice.

As discussed in Chapter 2, both what a community of people actively chooses to remember or exerts its agency to forget, and how it actively chooses to ritually embody those processes of memory formation, say fundamental things about the way it perceives its own

⁶⁷⁵ Hamburger et al. 2021

⁶⁷⁶ Assmann 2021, 27; Hamburger 2021, 5; Simko 202, 55; Sztompka 2004, 160.

identity.⁶⁷⁷ By the late LM IIIC period, residents of the eastern half of the island had access to *two* genres of abandoned site—the lowland monumental sites abandoned since LM IIIB, and the upland settlements abandoned in late LM IIIC. East Cretan’s *chose* to privilege one genre of place over the other when enacting these rites. This was not an incidental, but a purposeful choice. Not every category of abandoned site attracted visitation at this time. Peak sanctuaries, as an example, appear to have been ignored, showing that other responses to abandoned categories of place are possible, including dismissal or possibly even social taboo.⁶⁷⁸ It is significant, therefore, that there is no material evidence to show that people interacted with the majority of lowland monumental sites in the east—like Gournia and Zakros—in any way after their abandonment. The only two monumental sites that ever became a focus of interest in this region were Mochlos and Palaikastro, and there is no evidence for visitation to these sites between their abandonment in LM IIIB and the second phase of visitation, discussed below, which began in the 8th to 7th centuries. This is despite the fact that these monumental centers were the sites that were abandoned earliest during the transition period.

While it is possible that this site-type was ignored because lowland areas in the east were considered unsafe at this time, the presence of marine shell at many upland settlements suggests that, while considered unsuitable for habitation, coastal areas were still accessible. Additionally, a lack of new cemeteries in upland areas before LM IIIC suggests that it was possible for early residents of upland settlements to return to lowland cemeteries to bury their dead.⁶⁷⁹ The most likely scenario, therefore, is that lowland monumental sites in the east were ignored because the

⁶⁷⁷ Connerton 2006, 320; Crawford 2007, 27; Cubitt 2007, 224; Hoelscher and Alderman 2004, 348.

⁶⁷⁸ Gaignerot-Driessen 2019.

⁶⁷⁹ Nowicki 2000, 234.

past encapsulated within this particular category of place did not serve to reify the identity of surviving communities in the eastern part of the island.

This was not the case in the center of the island, where the first phase of post-abandonment visitation began at lowland monumental sites as predicted—in LMIIIC. Figure 7.2 shows the timeline of abandonment of categories of place in both regions juxtaposed against the timeline of post-abandonment visitation. The period of reflection predicted by the model is seen both in the first phase of visitation to lowland monumental sites in the center of the island, and the first phase of visitation to upland settlements in the east of the island. As anticipated by the differences in the chronologies of abandonment, taking the active choice of site-type into account, the first phase of visitation in the east post-dates the first phase of visitation in the center of the island.

It is of importance that, in both cases, it was the sites that were created or that developed and grew in prominence following the collapse of the palatial system of administration that were the ones targeted for later ritual visitation. This suggests that the social response to this moment of collapse, as embodied within these site-types, became a fundamental aspect of a restructured identity in both regions of the island, and that it was a desire to remain connected to this particular post-collapse identity and the social ideologies associated with it that provoked the memory practices that are apparent in the archaeological record at each category of site. The differences in chronology in the first phase of post-abandonment visitation are due to the differences in the chronology of the creation and abandonment of these very different site types, which embody vastly different social identities. In the east, the identity encapsulated within upland settlements appears to have been kinship-based and grounded in an ideology of community-centered cooperation. In the center of the island, the identity linked with lowland

monumental sites was one associated with a period of social competition and elite consumption and display.

Social Transformation in the Material Record and its Chronological Relationship to the First Phase of Post-Abandonment Visitation

The above section dealt primarily with the first question that the theoretical framework given in Chapter 2 allows us to ask of the evidence—are the episodes of memory practice that we see taking place at both upland settlements and lowland monumental sites during the Early Iron Age related in some way to the need to solidify or reinforce the identities that arose in the wake of the LBA-EIA transition? The evidence offered above suggests that they were. The second question which the theoretical framework encourages us to ask is whether or not post-abandonment practices on the island rose and fell in response to further periods of social transformation or “threat.” If so, we can assume that it was likely that these practices played an important role in long-term processes of social development by serving to reinforce critical social ideologies in moments of increasing pressures towards change. In both the east and the central part of the island, the first phase of post-abandonment visitation to these post-collapse sites did, indeed, correspond with a further moment of social transformation that is visible in the material record—one which made the need to reconnect with post-collapse identities desirable or even necessary.

The timing of this increasing social pressure was slightly different in each region of the island and, as discussed above, these variations are the result of the divergent strategies deployed

by the different social groups under discussion in the wake of collapse. In the center of the island, the period of reflection that followed the abandonment of LM IIIB lowland monumental centers was a period, not only of settlement shift, but of decline in ostentatious display as conditions became more unstable, and populations were driven to nucleate at the most sustainable urban centers.⁶⁸⁰ As discussed in Chapter 3, it is possible that this temporary movement away from the social competition that had defined the LM IIIB lowland monumental centers was reflective of a change in social strategy, necessitated by the need to encourage social cohesion amongst the populations of newly formed nucleated settlements.⁶⁸¹

This was a trend that was short-lived, however. Once the nucleated settlements in the center of the island were firmly established, the trend away from competitive display reversed itself, while, at the same time, the past became a critical and strategic point of reference in the struggle to determine which social identities and ideologies would serve as the foundation for the next sociopolitical phase in this region of the island. In late LM IIIC-SM, elite warrior graves made a reappearance at the nucleated settlements of Knossos and Prinias, and many elite LM III tholoi and chamber tombs—such as those at Isopata, Kephala, Nea Alikarnassos, and Knossos—were reopened to receive new burials.⁶⁸² Originally constructed as conspicuous markers of social status, the reuse of elite LM III funerary architecture as a symbol of power connected with an elite past signifies the reemergence of the same social competition that is reflected in the contemporaneous choice to initiate memory practices at the lowland monumental sites, abandoned in LM IIIB, that were representative of this same moment of elite competitive display.

⁶⁸⁰ Papadopoulou 2017, 152.

⁶⁸¹ Borgna 2003, 171.

⁶⁸² Perna 2011, 141.

As made clear above, in the eastern part of the island the initiation of post-abandonment memory practices at sites representative of a post-collapse identity began slightly later. Nevertheless, they also occurred in conjunction with a period of social transformation. Settlement was, again, shifting in this region, this time towards the remaining LM IIIC upland settlements that were situated in locations that facilitated expansion and population growth.⁶⁸³ The increasingly stable conditions that, in all areas of the island, allowed for the more efficient exploitation of agricultural and human labor resources, increased production, and the ability to sustain larger populations, also led to the accumulation of surplus and an increase in craft specialization, both in eastern and central Crete.⁶⁸⁴

Whereas in the center of the island, the waning of crisis conditions and increasing economic complexity led to a return to the social competition that characterized this region in the wake of the collapse, in the east a movement towards greater social competition was the exception rather than the rule. Imported goods remained rare, and pottery styles remained conservative.⁶⁸⁵ The majority of sites continued to adhere to earlier burial practices, which continued to show the same lack of social diversity that was apparent in the mortuary landscape of the earlier LM IIIC.⁶⁸⁶ The presence of pockets of notably different mortuary behavior, such as the elite burials associated with the site of Kavousi Kastro, which contained luxury materials and imported goods, indicates that the largely homogenous social structure associated with the majority of nucleated settlements may have been an active choice—a supposition strengthened by the fact that extra-urban sanctuaries focused on the reification of a rising elite identity, like the Idaean Cave and Kato Syme, are a category of site that appeared only in the center of the island

⁶⁸³ Gaignerot-Driessen 2017, 515; Nowicki 2000, 241; Wallace 2006, 641; 2010, 234.

⁶⁸⁴ Wallace 2006, 645; Pollard 2023, 267

⁶⁸⁵ Tsopopoulou 2005, 556.

⁶⁸⁶ Eaby 2011, 181.

during this period.⁶⁸⁷ Increasing economic complexity undoubtedly put pressure on existing social structures that had arisen in the post-collapse period within much smaller, community-centered upland settlements. The active reinforcement of this kinship-based, communal identity would have been a vital necessity to those wishing to maintain this identity in the face of increasing social pressure. It was at this moment that post-abandonment visitation to LM IIIC upland settlements was initiated.

Figure 7.3 shows each of the moments of social transformation discussed thus far—the development of the Knossian palatial administration following the LM IB destructions, the “collapse” period stretching from LM IIIB through late LM IIIC showing slightly different chronologies in the east and center of the island, and a post-collapse period of social change that lasted from late LM IIIC/SM and into the PG period—juxtaposed against the timeline of site abandonments and the first phase of post-abandonment visitation in both regions of the island under discussion. As can be seen from this figure, a pronounced relationship exists between the abandonment of categories of place and moments where other aspects of social change begin to be apparent in the material record. These social changes also correspond with the initiation and maintenance of post-abandonment practice at both categories of site, following a period of reflection, as predicted by the model.

As seen in Figure 2.3, the model also suggests that the post-abandonment visitation apparent in the material record at these abandoned site-types may have been initiated as part of a concerted period of meaning-making and interpretation, aimed at the solidification of an identity that is, in some way, reinforced by the past perceived to be embodied within these sites. Once

⁶⁸⁷ Prent 2005, 645.

this identity is firmly established or reestablished, however, one can expect the waning of post-abandonment practice, unless and until a new moment of social transformation should arise, wherein these identities might once again come under pressure. At this point, post-abandonment practice, the knowledge of which may have been retained through intergenerational transmission of memory and/or through site-formation processes resulting from earlier periods of practice, may see a revival.

Such is, in fact, the case with post-abandonment practice in both regions of the island under study. In the center of the island, practice decreased sharply into the PG period as the sociopolitical organization and social identity associated with nucleated settlements became more secure. In the east, a similar decrease in activity was seen, but at a slightly later period as might be anticipated based on the slightly offset timeline of site abandonment. This decrease in practice is seen leading into the G period. At the very end of the G period, leading into the LG to EA, however, both site-types saw a *simultaneous* resumption of practice, and at both genres of place this resumption represented an intensification in the rites taking place at these abandoned sites. Based on this evidence, one might predict that this renewal of practice occurred in response to a “threat” or a new moment of social transformation, which might be reflected in the archaeological record in the form of fundamental material changes in the areas of funerary, ritual, settlement, and economic activity. This is true in both areas of the island under discussion, which see a less strictly regional differentiation in social change in this period than is noticeable in earlier periods of transformation, accounting for the simultaneity of the resurgence in ritual practices at both categories of abandoned site.

Social Transformation in the Material Record and its Chronological Relationship to the Second Phase of Post-Abandonment Visitation

In both Eastern and Central Crete, the periods from the LG to the EA saw, not only the resumption of post-abandonment rites at abandoned sites of memory, but the growth and restructuring of the urban environment, the creation of civic centers, the increasing codification of communal building types, and an increased articulation of public and sacred space as a more concerted movement towards the polis system began (See pg. 122-126).⁶⁸⁸ Increasing integration with wider networks of Mediterranean trade was also seen island-wide in this period, though this is particularly true of Knossos, which yields evidence for imports from the widest range of origins.⁶⁸⁹ Material culture became more Hellenized from this point on, though receptivity to mainland pottery styles appears to have been far more limited in the east and west until later in the EA period.⁶⁹⁰ Changes in burial typology were seen in both the east, where cremations in “bone enclosures” appeared, and in the center of the island, where there was an increase in cemeteries dedicated to pit and pithos burials and small chamber tombs in outlying areas, all typically poor in grave goods. However, burials found near nucleated sites in central Crete in LG are more variable in terms of both burial typology and the wealth of graves, suggesting an increase in social complexity associated with population growth.⁶⁹¹ This period also saw the appearance throughout the island of hearth temples, which combine elements related to both

⁶⁸⁸ Judson 2018, 6; Tsipopoulou 2005, 559.

⁶⁸⁹ Hatzaki and Kotsonas 2020, 1045; Prent 2005, 624.

⁶⁹⁰ Prent 2005, 624.

⁶⁹¹ Eaby 2011, 186, 189.

Eastern and Central Cretan sanctuary types and which some consider to be the most immediate precursor to the Cretan *andreion* associated with the polis (See pg. 133-134).⁶⁹²

Crucially, by the end of the EA period, already less distinct regional differences became even less noticeable, underscored by a notable movement towards greater austerity in the center of the island in areas where a previous increase in ostentatious burials and luxury dedications at extra-urban sites had characterized the beginning of this period of transformation.⁶⁹³ As pressures towards social integration intensified, a decrease in competitive consumption and ostentatious display in both the ritual and funerary sphere are notable, occurring concurrently with the emergence of monumental civic architecture.⁶⁹⁴ These changes correspond with the waning of the second phase of post-abandonment practices under discussion.

Figure 7.4 shows both phases of post-abandonment visitation on the island juxtaposed against the multiple periods of social transformation that were discussed in Chapter 3, and which have been reiterated here. Just as was the case with the first phase of visitation discussed above, the second phase of post-abandonment practice on the island began slightly before we can see the majority of these transformations begin to be reflected in the material record, and these practices were likely initiated as a direct response to mounting pressures towards social change. It is significant that, once again, the identities being reified by ritual practice at these still-abandoned sites were those associated with a post-collapse identity—an identity that was simultaneously being underscored by other memory-driven practices occurring in both regions of the island. On the eastern side of the island, this second phase of visitation corresponds with a resurgence of LM IIIC decorative motifs in pottery. Tsipopoulou has interpreted this return to

⁶⁹² Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 393-96; Prent 2007, 142.

⁶⁹³ Kotsonas 2002, 55-56; Pollard 2023, 292; Whitley 2001, 252.

⁶⁹⁴ Papasavvas 2012, 143.

earlier motifs as a purposeful revival, aimed at reinforcing a specifically East Cretan identity associated with a very specific moment in the past.⁶⁹⁵ In the center of the island, the resurgence of post-abandonment practice again corresponded with the socially restricted use of large tholoi that were spatially and ideologically connected with the LM III past, and in the continued reuse of LM III larnakes in the tombs of the Knossos North Cemetery and at other sites.⁶⁹⁶ In both regions of the island, however, as the movement towards social integration progressed, all of these practices, including post-abandonment visitation, began to drop off, indicating that the need to underscore and strengthen the specific and unique identities associated with LM IIIC upland settlements and LM IIIB lowland monumental sites was waning in the final move towards the solidification of the polis system.

The processes by which the specific form that the sociopolitical system which we associate with the Cretan polis evolved are unclear. It is likely, however, that the increasing homogeneity that is seen across the island towards the end of the LG and into the EA was the result of continual social negotiation and compromise occurring between different social groups and their associated ideologies in different regions. The replacement of highly individualized votive offerings at sanctuary sites with offerings made on behalf of corporate groups, and movements towards austerity in the funerary sphere, both of which occurred in the center of the island where an elite competitive ideology had been most prevalent in previous centuries, suggests that social models based on cooperative effort rather than elite dominance were coming to the fore in all areas of the island at this time. While elements of social hierarchy were maintained in the polis system, evidence for the competitive display and aggrandizing behaviors

⁶⁹⁵ Tsipopoulou 2005, 554.

⁶⁹⁶ Eaby 2011, 188; Coldstream 2000, 277.

associated with earlier practices in central Crete is lacking.⁶⁹⁷ This change is particularly evident in the development of the *andreion*—a form of cooperative dining associated with the polis that, unlike earlier Mycenaean-inspired feasting rites, de-emphasized social difference and emphasized corporate belonging, as evidenced by the uniform character of the associated assemblages.⁶⁹⁸

It is likely not coincidental that what may be our earliest examples of this communal form of dining can be found in post-abandonment contexts in the east, and that it is in this part of the island that we see the earliest evidence for the Cretan polis (See pg. 129).⁶⁹⁹ As discussed in the previous chapter, anthropological study has shown that social groups who participate in ritual activities that effectively produce group-beneficial or community-minded beliefs and are productive of more community-centered identities, tend, ultimately, to outcompete groups whose rituals do not increase in-group cooperation and solidarity.⁷⁰⁰ Whatever the process by which increasing homogeneity on the island was achieved, communal forms of practice of a similar type to those associated with post-abandonment rites at upland settlements appear to have played a far greater role in new sociopolitical systems than the more “elite” practices being performed at lowland monumental sites. As these new sociopolitical systems became more solidified, and as regionally differing social groups grew closer to a shared understanding of how members of a given community should relate themselves to one another, post-abandonment practices at both upland settlements and lowland monumental sites ceased entirely. Those occurring at upland

⁶⁹⁷ Small 2016.

⁶⁹⁸ Erickson 2010, 307; Erickson 2023; Whitley 2009b, 290; Haggis 2014, 36.

⁶⁹⁹ Haggis 2020, 1080.

⁷⁰⁰ Heinrich 2009, 254.

settlements were never renewed. Rites at several lowland monumental sites began again, however, in the Hellenistic period, only as the polis system began to wane.

The theoretical framework applied in the previous pages has allowed us to answer two basic questions. First, are the episodes of memory practice that we see taking place at both upland settlements and lowland monumental sites during the Early Iron Age related in some way to the need to solidify or reinforce the identities that arose in the wake of the LBA-EIA transition? Second, did these practices rise and fall in response to further periods of social transformation or “threat” and, if so, can we view these practices as implicated in long-term social change? The above discussion has shown that post-abandonment rites were both established and recommenced during crucial periods of social transformation on the island occurring between 1250 and the end of the Early Iron Age in 630 BCE. These rites served to renew and strengthen connections to specific social ideologies that remained embedded within genres of place associated with communities that were established in or grew out of the post-collapse period. As such, we can, with some confidence, suggest that these post-abandonment rites, and the post-collapse identities which they served to strengthen, played an important role in long-term social development on the island of Crete during the Early Iron Age.

Conclusion

The study set out in the foregoing pages of this dissertation was intended to offer a deeper understanding of the episodes of post-abandonment visitation occurring on the island of Crete during the Early Iron Age—to increase our knowledge concerning the form that these ritual

practices took, the reasons behind their initiation and periodic renewal, and the role that they may have played in processes of long-term sociopolitical change and development on the island. I approached this study with three specific goals in mind. The first of these was to document the material evidence associated with all known episodes of post-abandonment visitation occurring on the island of Crete between 1250 and 630 BCE. The second was to use this information to critically assess the assumption that these practices were an exclusively elite behavior aimed at the acquisition of power, authority, or status, and to apply greater nuance to the reading of these practices, generally. The third was to gain insight into their chronological relationship to and role in the periods of social transformation and change that appear to have initiated and to have framed both their development and their periodic renewal. I have argued that variations both in the genre of place targeted for these rites and in the rites themselves suggest that these practices were associated, not with a universal desire to connect with a monolithic elite identity associated with a “glorious” and homogenous Bronze Age past, as has been suggested, but with the development and maintenance of distinct post-collapse identities that differed significantly along ideological lines. I have argued, also, that the differences in social ideology which were reflected in ritual activities such as the post-abandonment practices associated with each of these genres of place are important for our understanding of later social developments on the island and how and why they emerged. The key findings of this dissertation are detailed below.

A number of key findings have resulted from this study. To begin with, the research offered in the preceding pages has offered greater clarity surrounding the chronology of episodes of post-abandonment visitation taking place on the island between 1250 and 630 BCE. We can now say that, on the island of Crete, post-abandonment visitation in the Early Iron Age took place, in two distinct phases. In the first phase of visitation, regional chronologies were determined by the timeline of abandonment of the targeted category of site. In the center of the island, where lowland monumental sites were abandoned in LM IIIB, the first phase of visitation began in LM IIIC to SM, following a period of silence lasting, as predicted by the provided theoretical model, for about 1-2 generations. In the east, where the upland settlements in question were not abandoned until LM IIIC, the first phase of visitation peaked in the PG period—again, one or two generations after the abandonment of the sites in question. A gap or severe decline in practice followed the first peak of practice at both site types, followed by a resumption of post-abandonment ritual that reached its apex, in both regions of the island, in the LG period before dropping off again into the EA, with the development of the polis system on the island.

Greater clarity concerning the post-abandonment rites themselves has also been offered through the information gathered in this study. It is now apparent that post-abandonment visitation at upland settlements centered primarily on the deposition of human remains in the first period of visitation, and on feasting rites, most often in purpose-built structures, in the second period of visitation. At lowland monumental sites, completely different post-abandonment practices are seen. At these places, practice centered primarily on the deposition of votive objects in both phases of visitation, with the addition of burnt sacrifices offered on ash altars in the

second phase of visitation. While drinking rites likely occurred at both categories of site, as evidenced by the presence of drinking, pouring, and mixing vessels in the associated deposits, at lowland monumental sites a lack of vessels associated with cooking and serving appears to suggest that, if feasting occurred at lowland monumental sites, these rites may have looked different than the feasting episodes taking place at upland sites. Cooking vessels are present in all assemblages related to both phases of post-abandonment practice at upland settlements, suggesting that both cooking and feasting were an integral part of the practices connected with these sites. At both categories of site, the second phase of visitation represented an intensification of practice. This intensification was indicated by an increase in the number of the associated deposits being made at abandoned places across the island. At lowland monumental sites, this intensification was also accompanied by an increase in the extrinsic value of votive deposits. At upland sites, intensification was instead reflected in an increase in the labor costs and affective power of the rites taking place.

An increased understanding of the material associated with these deposits and the chronologies of their deposition also allows us to give greater nuance to the interpretation placed on post-abandonment practices taking place on the island of Crete during the Early Iron Age. It is now possible to say with some certainty that not all instances of post-abandonment practice occurring on the island during this period were performed by the same people, in the same way, or with the same goal in mind. Post-abandonment visitation to each of the two categories of place approached in this dissertation involved different rites, underscored different identities, and served different purposes. While the form that visitation took at lowland monumental sites may be said to reflect a desire to legitimate or reify elite status and authority, as has been previously

suggested, visitation to upland settlements appears to have been centered, instead, on the reification of a community-centered identity.

These are manifestly the identities that were embodied within these site-types themselves, both of which were created as a response to social instability on the island in the wake of the collapse period. This suggests that the social response to this period of major change, as represented by these categories of place, became a fundamental aspect of a restructured identity in both central and east Crete, and that it was a desire to remain connected to these post-collapse identities that provoked the memory practices that are apparent in the archaeological record at each category of site. Another key finding is, therefore, that it was not a homogenous “Bronze Age” past that motivated post-abandonment practice on the island, but a desire to remain connected to identities which had been newly reconstituted in the wake of the time of intense social transformation which we call the Bronze Age “collapse.”

As predicted by the theoretical model provided in Chapter 2, the initiation, decline, and then reinstatement of post-abandonment practice in both phases of visitation were tied to periods of increasing social pressure and change. These eras of social transformation are also visible in the material record related to settlement patterns, economic patterns of consumption and exchange, mortuary practice, and ritual activity. The timing of post-abandonment rites, in juxtaposition with these episodes of social change, suggests that post-abandonment practice played a critical role in solidifying regionally distinct social identities and ideologies during periods when they found themselves under increased social pressure. A final key finding, therefore, is that post-abandonment practice taking place on Crete during the Early Iron Age can be seen to have been instrumental to long-term processes of social change on the island.

This study of post-abandonment rites on the island of Crete was limited to a specific temporal span—from 1250 BCE to 630 BCE. At all but one of the lowland monumental sites presented here—the site of Mochlos—it is known that post-abandonment practice was revived again in the Hellenistic period, in some cases, continuing—with some gaps in practice—into the Roman period. Expanding the temporal limitations of this study to include these later periods of visitation would allow for a greater understanding of how these rites were adapted and changed over time to meet current needs, and for a greater understanding of the relationship that these rites had, both to further periods of social change, and to the rites that had come before. Expanding the geographical focus of this study to include Mainland Greece and other parts of the Mediterranean would also be informative.

Additional research should also be done on upland settlements. The number of upland sites abandoned in LM IIIC which have been excavated is small, and the handful of case studies provided here reflect this limitation. It appears, however, that a large number of the excavated upland sites falling into this category show evidence for post-abandonment practice. It is very likely, therefore, that, as more of these sites are excavated more examples of post-abandonment visitation will be found, increasing our understanding of the form these episodes of visitation took and of the broader purpose which they may have served. As discussed in Chapter 2, widespread memory practices at specific categories of abandoned places reflect a wider cultural interest in and understanding of the past embodied within these places. The more examples of post-abandonment visitation at upland sites that are found, the more widespread the understanding of the past that adheres to these places can be considered to be. A clear direction

for further research, therefore, is the continued excavation and study of upland settlements abandoned in LM IIIC.

Figures

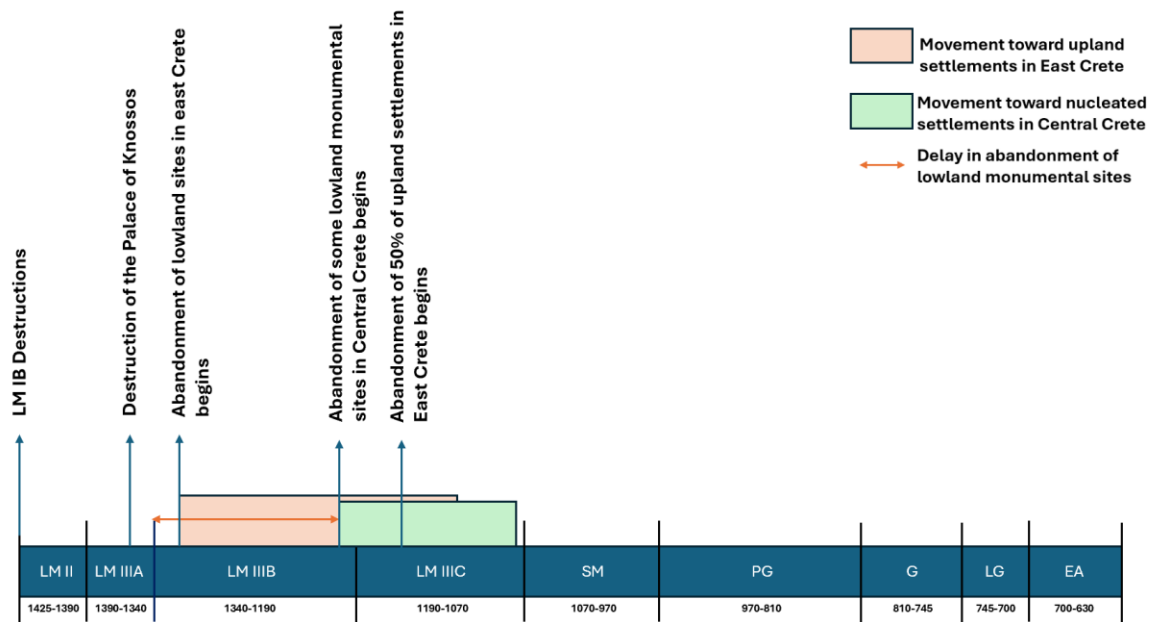


Figure 7.1 Timeline of Site Abandonment

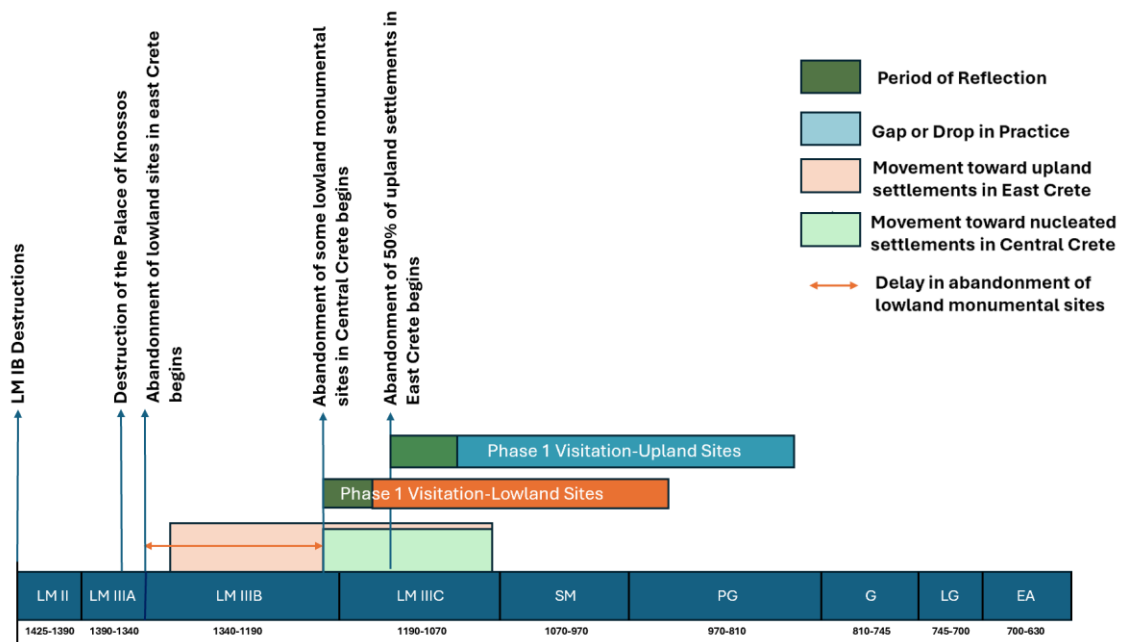


Figure 7.2 Timeline of Site Abandonment with First Phase of Post-abandonment Visitation

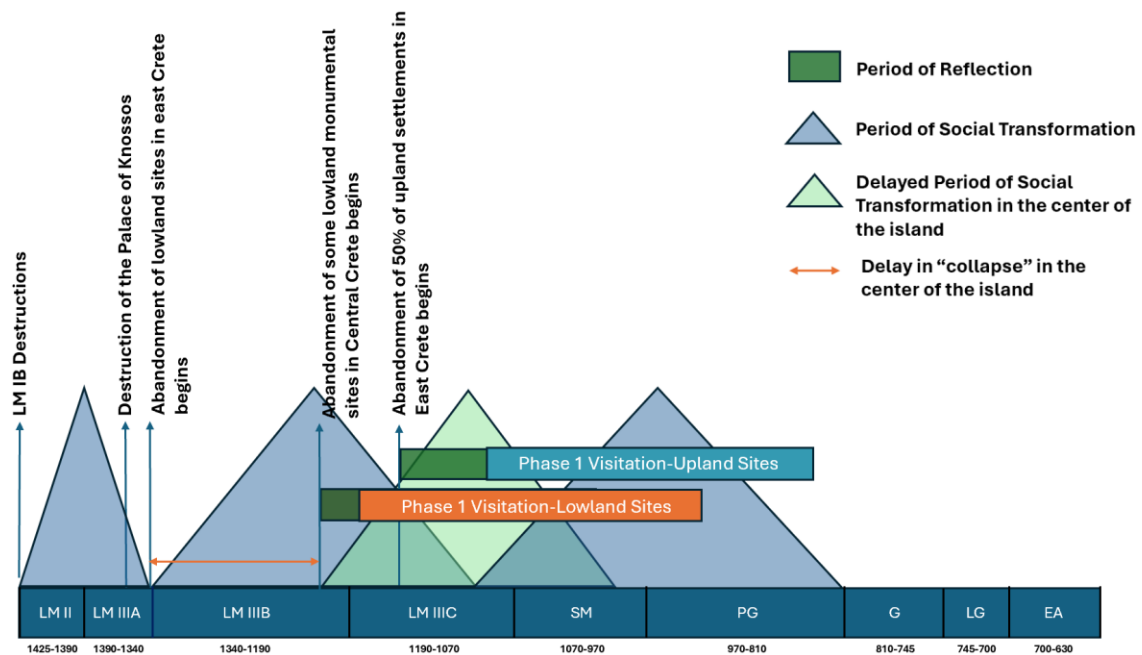


Figure 7.3 Periods of Social Change with First Phase of Post-abandonment Visitation

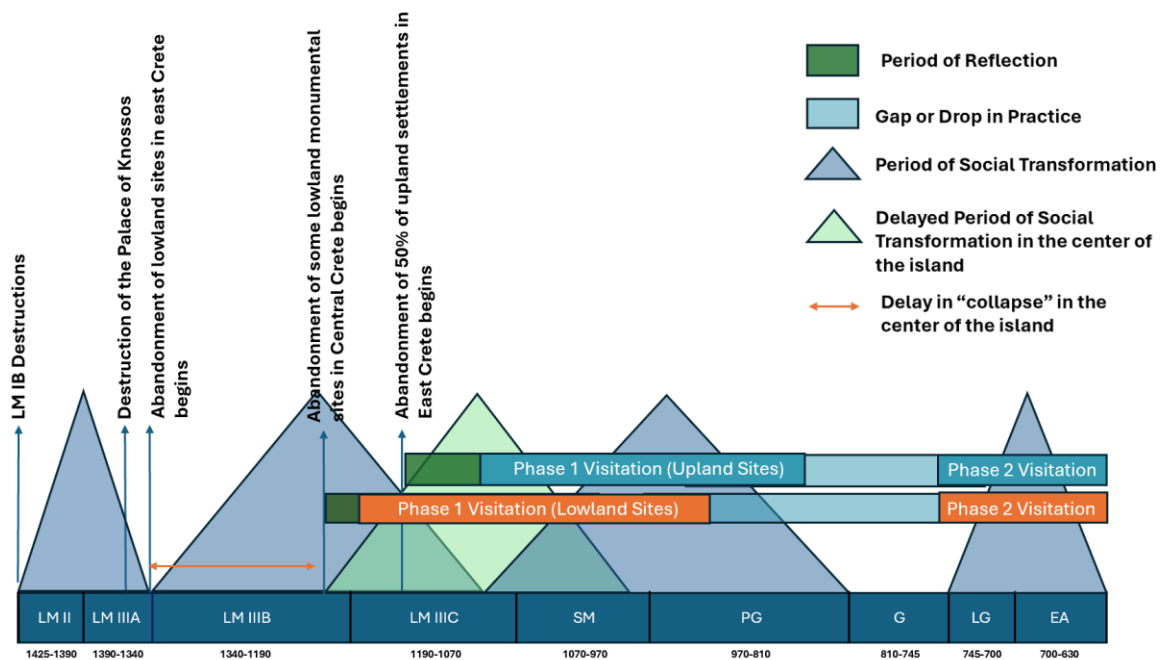


Figure 7.4 Periods of Social Change with All Phases of Post-abandonment Visitation

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