

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-11204-8 - Ancient Crete: From Successful Collapse to Democracy's Alternatives,
Twelfth to Fifth Centuries BC
Saro Wallace
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

ANCIENT CRETE

FROM SUCCESSFUL COLLAPSE TO DEMOCRACY'S
ALTERNATIVES, TWELFTH TO FIFTH CENTURIES BC

'Ancient Greece', with its associations of city-states, democratic governance, and iconic material culture, can no longer be envisaged as a uniform geographical or historical entity. The Classical city-states of Crete differed considerably in culture, history, and governance from those of central Greece. In this book, Saro Wallace reaches back into Crete's prehistory, covering the latest Bronze Age through the Archaic periods, to find out why. She emphasizes the roles of landscape, external contacts, social identity construction, and historical consciousness in producing this difference, bringing together the wealth of new archaeological evidence available from the island with a variety of ancient text sources to produce a vivid and up-to-date picture of this momentous period in Crete's history.

Until 2009 Saro Wallace was Lecturer in Mediterranean Archaeology at the University of Reading, having previously held lectureships at the Universities of Bristol and Cardiff. A recipient of a Leverhulme Postdoctoral Research Fellowship and of regular grants from the British Academy and the Institute for Aegean Prehistory, she has published many papers and reviews in the field of Bronze to Iron Age Greece. She currently directs excavations at the Late Bronze–Early Iron Age mountain-top site of Karfi, Crete.

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-11204-8 - Ancient Crete: From Successful Collapse to Democracy's Alternatives,
Twelfth to Fifth Centuries BC
Saro Wallace
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-11204-8 - Ancient Crete: From Successful Collapse to Democracy's Alternatives,
Twelfth to Fifth Centuries BC
Saro Wallace
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

ANCIENT CRETE

FROM SUCCESSFUL COLLAPSE TO
DEMOCRACY'S ALTERNATIVES,
TWELFTH TO FIFTH CENTURIES BC

Saro Wallace



Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-11204-8 - Ancient Crete: From Successful Collapse to Democracy's Alternatives,
Twelfth to Fifth Centuries BC
Saro Wallace
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore,
São Paulo, Delhi, Dubai, Tokyo, Mexico City

Cambridge University Press
32 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10013-2473, USA
www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521112048

© Saro Wallace 2010

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception
and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,
no reproduction of any part may take place without the written
permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2010

Printed in the United States of America

A catalog record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication data

Wallace, Saro, 1973–
Ancient Crete : from successful collapse to democracy's alternatives,
12th–5th centuries BC / Saro Wallace.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-521-11204-8 (hbk.)
1. Crete (Greece) – History – To 67 B.C. 2. Crete (Greece) – Politics and
government. 3. City-states – Greece – Crete – History. 4. Democracy –
Greece – Crete – History. 5. Social change – Greece – Crete – History.
6. Landscape – Social aspects – Greece – Crete – History. 7. Group
identity – Greece – Crete – History. 8. Crete (Greece) – Social conditions.
9. Material culture – Greece – Crete – History. 10. Crete (Greece) –
Antiquities. I. Title.
DF261.C8W35 2010
939'.1801-dc22 2009033585

ISBN 978-0-521-11204-8 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or
accuracy of URLs for external or third-party Internet Web sites referred to in
this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such Web sites is,
or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

CONTENTS

List of tables and illustrations	page xiii
Abstract	xxiii
Acknowledgements	xxv
PART ONE: CRETE BETWEEN EAST AND WEST, STATE COLLAPSE AND STATE EMERGENCE	
1 <i>Introduction</i>	3
2 <i>Method and structure</i>	7
Data sources and data coverage	7
Defining the region	8
Structure of the book	9
Straddling a disciplinary boundary	11
Areas of previous scholarship built on directly	12
i. Modelling processes of social change: state collapse and state formation theory	12
ii. Economy	14
iii. Landscape and settlement studies	15
iv. Cultural history and identity construction	17
3 <i>Text perspectives</i>	18
A glance forward: images of the Archaic to Classical	
Cretan state from texts	18
Cretan difference	19
Limits of the data	20
4 <i>Chronology, terminology, and dating methods</i>	22
Defining the Early Iron Age	22
‘Subminoan’	23
‘Protogeometric’	24
‘Orientalising’/‘Archaic’	26
Pottery types used in dating	26
Absolute dates	28
5 <i>The Late Bronze Age Cretan landscape and its use</i>	30
Geology and drainage	30

vi	CONTENTS
Geomorphology	32
Vegetation and climate	33
Palaeoenvironmental/palaeoeconomic data for the LBA-EIA	35
i. Plants	35
ii. Animals	36
6 <i>The broader framework: strategies of landscape use by the LBA-EIA transition</i>	39
Economic organisation	39
Site patterning and social/economic interaction	42
i) Middle Minoan–Late Minoan I–II periods	42
ii) Late Minoan IIIA and IIIB periods	43
PART TWO: ‘POSITIVE’ COLLAPSE AND ITS EFFECTS, CIRCA 1200–1000 BC: THE RESTRUCTURING OF SPACE AND PLACE	
7 <i>Approaches to studying collapse: explanation and characterisation</i>	49
8 <i>Settlement pattern in Crete</i>	52
The changing use of space: introduction	52
Theorising settlement	53
The new settlement pattern from circa 1200 BC:	
the history of research	54
General characteristics of the new pattern and their significance	60
Continuing large low-lying settlements: short- and long-term developments	68
Very small rural sites	71
9 <i>Subsistence in the new settlement environment</i>	73
10 <i>Settlement change outside Crete: islands and peninsulas</i>	76
The earlier history of island settlement	76
Use of fortifications at island sites, and their significance	80
The east: Cyprus and the coastal Levant	86
11 <i>Mainland central Greece: settlement priorities during and after collapse</i>	88
Quality of evidence	88
Features of LBA settlement	89
Favoured topography after circa 1200 BC: selective continued use of existing sites	92
New defensible sites at the LBA-EIA transition	95
The importance of communications access	100
Conclusions on settlement patterns	103
12 <i>Constructing post-collapse society: inside Cretan settlements, circa 1200–1000 BC</i>	104
Evidence quality and comparisons between sites	104
Architecture: general features of the record and issues for discussion	105

Building differentiation: size and construction	113
Identifying building/room functions from finds	
assemblages and features: general comments	116
Cooking, dining, and storage	118
Cult within settlements	121
Production areas	125
13 <i>Focus on ceremonial and ritual practice</i>	
<i>within settlements</i>	127
Feasting places: houses or public spaces?	127
Possible specialised feasting buildings: distinguishing	
architectural features	129
Public feasting as post-collapse institution: a summary	130
Feasting venues: comparisons between Crete	
and other regions	131
Cult as settlement-level institution	132
Cult within settlements: comparisons with other regions	134
14 <i>Beyond settlements: the changing</i>	
<i>cultural landscape</i>	136
Open-air sanctuaries in Crete	136
Comparisons outside Crete	139
Changing worldviews and the new cultural landscape	141
Contact with the past	148
15 <i>Mortuary space and practice in Crete</i>	
<i>and other areas</i>	150
General changes in emphasis, 1200–1000 BC	150
Broad distribution patterns of cemeteries and tomb clusters	153
Differentiation in tomb form and burial rite: patterns	
within and between cemeteries	155
Detailed status mapping through grave goods and	
skeletal material: evidence quality	157
Observations on ranking: general patterns across the island	159
Evidence for ranking within cemeteries	161
16 <i>The structure of collapse in Crete</i>	164
PART THREE: AFTER THE FALL: CRETE’S INTERACTIONS WITH OTHER MEDITERRANEAN REGIONS IN THE TWELFTH TO EIGHTH CENTURIES BC	
17 <i>Introduction</i>	169
18 <i>Long-distance contacts before and after the</i>	
<i>collapse horizon, circa 1300–1000 BC</i>	171
Overview: the impact of changes in the Aegean	
circa 1200 BC	171
Crete’s trade interactions before and after circa 1200 BC	172
19 <i>The social role of exotica</i>	177
Identifying prestige goods	177
Understanding consumers	179

20 *Exchange structures inside post-collapse Crete* 187
Trade sites and networks 187
Production scale and context at island level 188
i) Ceramics 188
ii) Metals 191
Summary 194

21 *Lift-off: east Mediterranean trade and the central Aegean from the tenth century* 195
Trade as a stimulus to the rise of complexity 195
Responses in the central Aegean 195
Ceramic styles and cultural identity 198

22 *Nothing to declare? Crete in the tenth through eighth centuries* 201
Evidence for change 201
The export gap 205
Drivers of economic complexity? The nature of relations with ‘easterners’ and ‘the east’ 207
Conclusions 213

23 *Modes and routes of exchange within Crete in the later EIA*. 215
Class relations in trade 215
The changing spatial context of trade 216

24 *Crete’s membership in the ‘orientalising’ and colonial worlds from the seventh century* 218
Colonies and quasi-colonies 218
Connections with Egypt and the Dodecanese 219
Some comparisons with other Aegean regions 225
Conclusions 227

PART FOUR: ‘PROTO-POLEIS’? THE GROWTH OF SOCIAL COMPLEXITY IN CRETE FROM THE TENTH THROUGH THE SEVENTH CENTURIES

25 *Main sources of evidence discussed* 231

26 *Settlement patterns (1): the nucleation phenomenon*. 233
Introduction: what settlement pattern tells us 233
Nucleation and expansion: new priorities in settlement 234
Regional patterns 243
Experience of and attachment to landscape during and after nucleation 247
Continuity and expansion at gateway sites 249
Comparisons with other Aegean areas 249
Nucleation and the state-emergence process 251
Conclusions 252

27 *Settlement patterns (2): small sites, small-group identity, and trade* 254
Defining the ‘citadel’ site 254
Comparisons outside Crete 260

28	<i>Subsistence and land use in the expanding Cretan polities</i>	263
	Evidence for subsistence expansion	263
	Likely changes in landholding and the rise of land-based debt: Crete and other regions	265
29	<i>Inside settlements</i>	267
	Introduction	267
	Cult spaces	267
	Domestic space	271
	Feasting venues	278
	Civic zoning	282
	Fortification walls and interpolity conflict	283
	Production zones	284
30	<i>The mortuary record</i>	286
	Changes in mortuary practice in relation to state emergence	286
	Comparisons with central Greek practice: an overview	287
	The kin unit and changes in burial from PG onwards	288
	Burial group and burial form: contrasting traditions	
	between Cretan sites and regions	293
	Spatial organisation of cemeteries	296
	Goods, rites, and status: variation over time and space	299
	Wider comparisons	303
	Proving the point: the Knossian data	304
	i) Changes in size of burying group over time	304
	ii) Changes in tomb longevity over time	308
	iii) Changes in the number of tombs in use over time	310
	iv) Changes in the relative amount of wealth deposited in tombs over time	310
31	<i>The ritual landscape and the construction of political identity</i>	312
	Introduction: the changing ritual landscape	312
	Comparisons with the wider Aegean	313
	Small extra-settlement shrines	315
	Large regional/interregional shrines	316
	Trade sanctuaries and the island identity	318
	Symbolic reference to the past in the landscape: cult and other spheres	320
	i) Reference to natural places with historical associations	320
	ii) References to the cultural landscape of the collapse period	321
	iii) Ritual landscapes and reference to the past in the wider Aegean: comparisons	322
	Conclusions	324
	General conclusions on the PG-EA periods in Crete	325
32	<i>The early Archaic horizon: correlates of state consolidation in the archaeological record</i>	327
	Assessing the reality of the 'Archaic gap'	327

One aspect of change in the Archaic period: settlement pattern	330
i) Further nucleation at large sites	331
ii) The development of port sites	331
iii) The spread of new small village or farmhouse sites	332
iv) Relationships between cult sites and settlements	337
v) The <i>synoikismos</i> model and the archaeological reality	337
vi) Experiencing the new settlement pattern	338
33 <i>The polis as place and as concept in Crete</i>	339
34 <i>The value of ‘classic’ state formation models for PG-EA Crete, viewed in its Mediterranean context . . .</i>	343
Applying standard models	343
Top-down or bottom-up?	344
Diffusion	345
Economic appropriation	345
Physical coercion and warfare	346
Broad themes in the study of social change: how the Cretan case helps our understanding	347
PART FIVE: CONSTRUCTING DIFFERENCE: THE HISTORY, STRUCTURE, AND CONTEXT OF CRETAN STATES IN THE LATER ARCHAIC THROUGH CLASSICAL PERIODS	
35 <i>Introduction</i>	353
Problems in generalisation and comparison	354
The central Greek polis structure over time: tensions between tyranny/kingship and participative governance	355
36 <i>Special aspects of the Archaic to Classical Cretan polis.</i>	358
Political organisation	358
Conflict	358
Class and lineage relations	359
Trade and external relations	360
37 <i>Cretan identities in historical perspective</i>	363
State expansion and the accommodation of multiple-group identities	363
External perceptions of Cretan identities: evidence from the earliest texts	365
Later sources and the validity of colonisation models for Crete	368
‘Cretan-ness’	369
Exploring the Spartan link	370
i) The traditions	370
ii) Language connections and ‘Dorianism’	371
Crete’s ‘otherness’ and its economic correlates	373
Conclusions	374

CONTENTS		xi
38	<i>Serfdom and slavery in the construction of Late Archaic to Classical society: comparisons between Crete and other Aegean areas</i>	376
	Introduction	376
	Athens	377
	Crete	379
	Laconia and Messenia	380
	Structural links between serfdom and political conservatism	381
39	<i>The public feasting tradition and its political significance in Crete and other areas</i>	384
	The social role of feasting: a summary	384
	The character and use of feasting venues: evidence from texts and archaeology	385
	The common meal as political trait: Crete and Sparta compared	388
40	<i>A final comparison: democracy and its alternatives in the Aegean world</i>	391
	Introduction	391
	Economy, geopolitics, and democracy: Athens and the Delian League	392
	Sparta's outlook	394
	Democracy's links to conflict	394
	Long-term causes and effects of divergence from the democratic path	395
	Conclusions	397
	References	401
	Abbreviations	401
	Books and Articles	402
	Index	447

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-11204-8 - Ancient Crete: From Successful Collapse to Democracy's Alternatives,
Twelfth to Fifth Centuries BC
Saro Wallace
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

LIST OF TABLES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

TABLES

1. Chronological table	<i>page 28</i>
2. Faunal remains from twelfth- to eleventh-century Cretan sites	37
3. Quality of mortuary data from the Knossos North Cemetery	310

FIGURES

1. Diagnostic coarse ware of EIA date (pithos and cooking pot sherds) typical of the material used for dating in surface surveys	27
2. Map showing selected LM IIIA-B sites	31
3. The fertile north Cretan landscape around Knossos, showing the mountain of Jouktas to the south	40
4. Fertile coastal plain around Malia, from south, showing modern Malia settlement	40
5. Kavousi Kastro from southwest, showing settlement area on summit	56
6. Vrokastro from west, showing settlement area on summit	56
7. Palaikastro Kastri from southwest, showing settlement area on summit	57
8. Karfi site, from north	57
9. Map of twelfth- to eleventh-century sites in Crete	61
10. Elliniki Korifi, in the southeast Lasithi region, from south	62
11. Graph of site sizes (for all sites where reliable estimates can be made) in twelfth- to eleventh-century Crete	62
12. Map of Ierapetra isthmus and western Mirabello bay area, showing known settlement sites of twelfth- to eleventh-century date and some major settlements of the LM I-III B periods	63
13. Oreino valley, showing sites of Kastri and Ellenika, both founded in the twelfth century	64

14. Adrianos Fortetsa, in the northeast Lasithi region, from southeast, showing settlement location on the summit	64
15. Map of northern Lasithi region, showing sites of EIA date clustered around the Ambelos pass, the main route into the Lasithi plain from the north	65
16. Kritsa Castello from west, showing fortification wall	67
17. Fortification wall at Jouktas, from east	67
18. Approximate maximal size of Knossos settlement during the EIA	69
19. Kastrokefala, from west, showing settlement area on summit	69
20. Map of central Crete, showing known settlement sites of twelfth- to eleventh-century date and cult sites with EIA use	71
21. Map of Aegean island/peninsula sites of the EIA mentioned in the text	77
22. Grotta on Naxos, from north, showing the main known location of LH IIIC settlement	78
23. Summit of Xobourgo on Tinos, from southeast	79
24. Ayios Andreas, Sifnos, from south, showing settlement area on summit	79
25. Koukounaries and the Panormos bay on Paros, from west, showing settlement area on hill summit	80
26. Ginani Kastro site, Salamis, from northeast, showing settlement area on summit	80
27. View north to the Greek mainland (from the Ginani Asporachi site on Salamis) across an always-strategic shipping channel	81
28. Vrychos site, Samothraki, showing settlement area on summit	81
29. Plan of fortifications at Vrychos	82
30. Fortification wall at Vrychos, south side, from west	83
31. Gla Krimniotissa, Samothraki, from the Pacheia Ammos bay to its southwest, showing settlement area on summit	84
32. Gla Krimniotissa summit from slopes to its southwest	84
33. Torone: Lekythos peninsula from southwest	85
34. Koukos Sykia, from coast to east, showing settlement area on summit	85
35. Central Greece: map of EIA sites mentioned in the text	90
36. Kyparissia Kastro, from north, showing probable settlement area on hill summit	91
37. Ancient Elis from south, showing the multiperiod site spread over the whole hill summit	94
38. View of Samikon, from north, showing the likely LBA-EIA settlement area on the summit	94
39. View from Ancient Elis, looking west to Peneios river and the coast	95
40. Palaiokastro hill and the 'Cave of Nestor', Messenia, from the Koryphasion peninsula to their north	96

LIST OF TABLES AND ILLUSTRATIONS	XV
41. Teichos Dymaion from southeast, showing settlement area on summit	97
42. Galaxidi: Ayios Athanasios site from southeast	97
43. Remains of fortification wall around the summit of the Galaxidi Ayios Athanasios site, from northwest	98
44. Galaxidi sites, viewed from across the bay lying to their northeast	98
45. Kranidi Profitis Elias, from south, showing settlement area on summit	99
46. Fortification wall at Kranidi Profitis Elias, from east	99
47. Kato Melpia Krebeni site, from south, showing settlement area on summit	100
48. Mitrou, from west, showing settlement area	101
49. Kynos (Pyrgos Livenatou) from north, showing settlement area on summit	102
50. Current plan of architecture excavated at Kavousi Vronda	105
51. Current plan of architecture excavated at Monastiraki Chalasmeno	106
52. Reconstruction drawing of LM IIIC buildings at Monastiraki Katalimata, showing entry path to the site	107
53. Karfi settlement site immediately after excavation, from Karfi peak looking east	108
54. Full topographic plan of the excavated area at Karfi, 2002	108
55. Annotated original plan of excavated area at Karfi, with building sectors/features labelled according to their original designations	109
56. Elevation of west wall of a building in the western saddle of Karfi (rooms 113–20) showing shaped rubble construction	109
57. Growth over time of building complex I-O-N at Kavousi Vronda	110
58. Plan of excavated settlement area at Chondros Kefali	110
59. State plan of Karfi ‘Great House’ (rooms 8–17), 2002	111
60. State plan of Karfi ‘Priest’s House’ (rooms 58–80), 2002	112
61. Stepped street (units 101, 103, 105, 111) between buildings in Karfi’s western sector, from east	113
62. Graph comparing largest building sizes in the three most extensively excavated LM IIIC-SM settlements	114
63. Plan of the Quartier Nu complex, Malia	115
64. State plan of ‘Megarons’ complex (rooms 136–44), Karfi, 2002	116
65. Plan of building He, Gournia	118
66. Graph comparing sizes of largest rooms in the three most extensively excavated LM IIIC-SM settlements	118
67. Smari Profitis Elias: general topography	120
68. Smari Profitis Elias: detailed plan of main room in the central part of the Megarons complex	120

69. Large figurines of goddesses with upraised arms from the Temple at Karfi	123
70. Cult equipment from Kavousi Vronda	124
71. Plaque with human head from Karfi	124
72. Plan of room with potter's wheel find from Monastiraki Chalasmeno	125
73. Bovid cranium with horns from floor of Smari Megarons, suggesting that ritual activities took place in this structure	133
74. Vasiliki Kefala: plan of 'shrine' building	134
75. Wheelmade bull figurines from Patsos shrine	138
76. Clay human figurine with snake headdress from Patsos shrine, dating LM IIIC-PG	138
77. Kalapodi sanctuary location, from east	140
78. The Louloudaki ridge and Gonies to Flechtron, looking west from Karfi	142
79. View from Dreros east across the Mirabello bay, showing Cha gorge in the distance	143
80. View from above Loutraki Kandilioro, showing the site's strategic positioning, with outstanding views over approaches from the coast far to its south	143
81. View north from the Louloudaki ridge above Gonies to Flechtron along the main approach valleys	144
82. Looking west to Erganos Kefali and the main valley route into the Lasithi plain from the south	144
83. Monastiraki Katalimata and Chalasmeno from west	146
84. Tapes Epano and Kato Kastello sites from south, showing their relationship and their status as prominent landmarks from the surrounding countryside	146
85. Koutsounari Karfi from southeast	147
86. Stone axes found in the Karfi settlement	148
87. Plan of LM IIIC tholos tomb with contents at Chalasmeno	151
88. Plan and section of a typical small built tomb (Tomb V) at Kavousi Vronda	152
89. Cemetery of small built tombs at the Karfi ta Mnimata location	153
90. Plan and section of 'Chamber Tomb' I at Vrokastro	154
91. Examples of tomb forms at Knossos North Cemetery	156
92. Assemblages from Mouliana Tombs A and B	158
93. Gold jewellery from Knossos North Cemetery Tombs 40 and 200	159
94. Weapons assemblage from Tomb 186, Knossos North Cemetery	160
95. Deep bowls dating to the LM IIIB-C transition at Phaistos	174
96. Kraters dating to the IIIB-C transition at Phaistos	175
97. Early type of curved iron knife with bronze rivets from Gypsades grave VII	178

LIST OF TABLES AND ILLUSTRATIONS	xvii
98. Iron weapons and tools from Vrokastro tombs	178
99. Bronze objects including 'violin-bow' fibulae, rings, blades, axes, and arrowheads from Karfi	179
100. Bronze stand from Knossos North Cemetery Tomb 201	180
101. Bird askoi from tombs at Vrokastro and Kavousi Vronda	181
102. Lentoid flasks from tombs at Kavousi Vronda and Vrokastro	182
103. Clay tripod stand from Afrati	182
104. Possible fragments of mould for a tripod stand from Palaikastro	184
105. Bronze krater from tomb at Pandanassa Veni	185
106. Bronze tripod stand from Chamber Tomb 1, Vrokastro cemetery	185
107. Chest-shaped vessel from Kastelli Pediada	190
108. Kraters from the LM IIIB-C transition at Chania	191
109. LM IIIC pithoi from Kavousi Vronda settlement	192
110. LM IIIC pithos from Chania settlement	193
111. Easternising artefacts from the Lefkandi Toumba cemetery – faience flasks from Tomb 39	196
112. Eastern-type artefacts from Lefkandi Toumba cemetery – engraved bronze bowl of Levantine type from Tomb 55	196
113. Eighth-century imported Euboean skyphoi from Finocchito, Sicily	197
114. Phoenician bronze bowl from Knossos North Cemetery	198
115. Bronze jug from Idaean Cave	202
116. Bronze bowl with lotus-form handle from Tomb 9 at Ambelokipi, Knossos	202
117. Bronze quiver from Fortetsa cemetery, Knossos	203
118. Fragments of a Phoenician ivory figurine from the Idaean Cave	203
119. Gold pendant from the Tekke tomb, Knossos	204
120. Iron obeloi from Knossos North Cemetery	204
121. Globular juglet of Cypro-Phoenician type (imported) from Eleutherna, Orthe Petra cemetery	205
122. Globular juglet of Cypro-Phoenician type from Eleutherna, Orthe Petra cemetery	206
123. Imported Argive pottery from late eighth-century Chania	208
124. Imported Attic pottery from late eighth-century Chania	209
125. Reconstruction of tripillar shrine of Phoenician type, Kommos	209
126. PG kraters from Knossos North Cemetery, Tomb 48	210
127. PGB Orientalising cremation jar from Knossos North Cemetery	211
128. Nefertum figurine in faience from Knossos North Cemetery, Tomb 78	220
129. Sekhmet figurine in faience from Eleutherna, possibly of Cretan production	220

130.	Egyptianising plaques and figurines from the temple on the Gortyn Acropolis hill	221
131.	Clay plaques from the temple at Smari Profitis Elias	222
132.	Clay protomes from the temple at Smari Profitis Elias	223
133.	Monumental stone reliefs from Prinias Temple A	224
134.	Reconstructions of the positioning of the Prinias Temple A stone reliefs	225
135.	Egyptianising stone sculpture from the temple on the Gortyn Acropolis hill	226
136.	Alphabetical inscriptions on ceramics from Kommos	228
137.	Map of Cretan sites occupied in the PG-early Archaic periods	235
138.	Plan of the sherd scatter area at Ligortinos Kefala, showing approximate site size by the latest period of use	236
139.	Selection of surface pottery from Ligortinos Kefala, showing the chronological range of occupation	237
140.	Plan of the sherd scatter area at Krousonas Koupo, showing approximate site size by the latest period of use	238
141.	Selection of surface pottery from Krousonas Koupo, showing the chronological range of occupation	239
142.	Map of the Gortyn area, showing remains dating to different periods and indicating the site's expansion over the course of the EIA	240
143.	Map of the Phaistos area, showing excavated zones	241
144.	Ayios Giorgios Papoura viewed from Karfi, looking southwest	241
145.	Ligortinos Kefala from northwest, showing settlement area on summit	242
146.	Profitis Elias Rokka from east, showing settlement area on summit	242
147.	Krousonas Koupo from northeast, showing settlement area on summit	243
148.	Dreros from west, with the Mirabello bay beyond it to the east, showing settlement area on summit	243
149.	Pandanassa Veni from west	244
150.	Vrachasi Anavlochos from southeast, showing settlement area on summit	244
151.	Astritsi Kefala from east, showing settlement area on summit	245
152.	Kato Kasteliana from west, showing settlement area on summit	245
153.	Rotasi Korifi and Kefala from north, showing settlement areas on summits	246
154.	Emborio sites, Chios, looking west from the upper site to the lower promontory used in LH IIIC	251
155.	Chamaizi Liopetra from south, showing settlement area on summit	255

LIST OF TABLES AND ILLUSTRATIONS	xix
156. Smari Profitis Elias from northwest, showing settlement area on summit	255
157. Rokka Kissamou from south, showing probable EIA settlement area on summit	256
158. Keraton Vigla from west, showing settlement area on summit	256
159. Plan of the sherd scatter area at Keraton Vigla, showing approximate site size by the latest period of use	257
160. Selection of surface pottery from Keraton Vigla, showing the chronological range of occupation	258
161. Krasi Kastello from south, showing settlement area on summit	259
162. Zagora on Andros, from north, showing settlement area on summit	261
163. Minoa on Amorgos, from north, showing settlement area on summit	261
164. Settlement plan of Vrokastro, upper and lower sectors	268
165. Human figurine from Vrokastro Building 16–17	269
166. Plan of temple at Smari Profitis Elias	270
167. Plan of Dreros temple	271
168. Plan of Prinias Temple A	272
169. Plan of excavated areas at the Prinias settlement, showing location of Temples A and B	273
170. Plan of the settlement at Kavousi Kastro	274
171. Plan of the Azoria settlement after excavation in 2006	275
172. House at Zagora, extended before the abandonment of the settlement to include a former courtyard between two smaller houses	276
173. Plans of houses at Azoria	277
174. Plan of Geometric building complex at Phaistos	278
175. Reconstruction of the North-West Building at Kavousi Kastro	279
176. Plan of the andreion complex at Azoria (Azoria Project)	280
177. Plan of the Lato settlement by the Hellenistic period	283
178. Plan of Arkades Tomb L	289
179. Plan of Kounavi cemetery	291
180. Map of tomb/bone enclosure clusters at Vrokastro	292
181. Plan of the Arkades cemetery	293
182. Plan of Knossos North Cemetery, showing tombs suggested to be of LM III origin	294
183. Map of EIA cemetery locations in the Kavousi area	297
184. Locations of EIA tomb clusters around Knossos	298
185. Plan of tumulus burial and bone enclosures at Prinias	302
186. EIA Knossos: tombs with small groups of interments, as percentage of tombs with known interment numbers for each period	305

187. EIA Knossos: tombs with large groups of interments, as percentage of tombs with known interment numbers for each period	305
188. Knossos EIA tombs – start dates	306
189. Knossos EIA tombs – finish dates	306
190. EIA Knossos: tomb longevity from the SM period onward	306
191. Summary: numbers of tombs representing different ceramic periods at EIA Knossos	307
192. Mean, mode, and median numbers of pots per tomb for different ceramic periods, EIA Knossos	307
193. Summary: numbers of ceramics of different periods in tombs at EIA Knossos	308
194. Detail: numbers of ceramics of different periods in tombs at EIA Knossos	308
195. EIA Knossos: quantities of wealth items (including iron) in tombs of different start dates	309
196. EIA Knossos: quantities of wealth items in tombs of different start dates, with iron included for SM tombs but excluded for those of the PG and O periods	309
197. EIA Knossos: quantities of wealth items (excluding iron) in tombs of different start dates	309
198. Bronze human figurine from Psychro cave	317
199. Plan of Kato Simi sanctuary, showing features constructed in the G-A periods	318
200. Diagram of connections between trade, settlement, and subsistence economy in PG-A Crete	325
201. Significant Cretan settlement sites with EIA histories that were still in use in the late Archaic through Classical periods	329
202. Map showing the spread of small rural sites around Phaistos in the Orientalising and Archaic periods	334
203. Map showing the spread of small rural sites around Phaistos in the Classical period	335

COLOUR PLATES

1. Relief map of the area around Frati Kefali and Kefala	
2. Plot of arable land quality within a one-hour range of the Frati Kefali and Kefala settlements, showing the clustering of sites of most periods (from prehistory to the present) in the most historically productive and easily cultivable zones	
3. Relief map of the Tapes area	
4. Plot of arable land quality within a one-hour range of the Tapes Epáno and Kato Kastello settlements, showing the clustering of sites of most periods (from prehistory to the present) in the most historically productive and easily cultivable zones	

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-11204-8 - Ancient Crete: From Successful Collapse to Democracy's Alternatives,
Twelfth to Fifth Centuries BC
Saro Wallace
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

- 5. A) Relief map of the area around the site of Vrachasi Anavlochos; B) map showing hinterland quality in a one-hour walking zone around the site of Vrachasi Anavlochos, and the locations of possible satellite sites of EIA-Archaic date
 - 6. Relief map of the area around the sites of Profitis Elias Rokka and Korifi
 - 7. Plot of arable land quality within a one-hour range of the Profitis Elias Rokka and Korifi settlements, showing the clustering of sites of most periods (from prehistory to the present) in the most historically productive and easily cultivable zones
- Colour plates follow page 6.*

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-11204-8 - Ancient Crete: From Successful Collapse to Democracy's Alternatives,
Twelfth to Fifth Centuries BC
Saro Wallace
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-11204-8 - Ancient Crete: From Successful Collapse to Democracy's Alternatives,
Twelfth to Fifth Centuries BC

Saro Wallace

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

ABSTRACT

In today's politics democracy is often presented as a largely self-contained system, able to be introduced abruptly into a variety of social environments with predictable and permanent success. The idea that social collapse (whatever its origins) can be orchestrated and managed to the same end has also gained ground. Against this background, this book's investigation of how far the earliest consensualist states, those of Greece, developed out of specific, regional material and historical conditions following Bronze Age state collapse, and of the role played by cultural practice in structuring them, seems especially pertinent. Interest in regional variance between early Greek state forms has recently grown among archaeologists and text historians. The book is sited within this context: as a comparative regional study focused on Crete it counters teleological/evolutionary notions of a widespread, uniform trajectory of social change towards a single democratic 'light at the end of the tunnel' in early Greece. Between the horizons of east Mediterranean state collapse in the twelfth century and Greek democracy establishment by the fifth, Crete's course of social and political development diverges markedly from that of much of central Greece: democratic systems did not develop there. Analysis of the island in its broad Mediterranean context shows how regional and contingent factors interacted with larger-scale processes and structures to produce Crete's difference, as comparisons are drawn across the ancient world (Cyprus, Athens, the western Greek colonies, the *ethnos* states of north central Greece, Ionia, and Sparta). At island level, the project necessitates writing the first synthetic social archaeology of Crete in the Early Iron Age to late Archaic periods, drawing together a very large amount of good-quality archaeological evidence produced in the last twenty years and a broad range of older data of more variable quality. Archaic and Classical text sources are additionally examined, particularly to illuminate issues around cultural and political identities in Crete by the end of the period covered.

The issue of how far agency, self-consciousness, and choice determined contrasts between regional social systems is an important focus here. However, the book's main argument is that a series of important developments in *cultural* practice, ultimately rooted in the process of Bronze

Age state collapse, conditioned the way states emerged and developed in different Aegean regions. Crete's collapse is shown to have involved a unique degree of planned, preemptive cultural adjustment that, viewed together with macroeconomic and geopolitical factors, helps explain the remarkable degree of social stability in the island during the immediate post-collapse period. The book identifies a horizon of social complexity emerging in Crete in the tenth century BC – much earlier than in most other areas of Greece – showing it to have been closely tied into this earlier cultural history. This precocious development is argued to have played a strong role in producing an especially bounded, oligarchical small state in the island by the seventh century BC. In contrast, central Greek societies were characterized by extreme and long-term instability and tensions after the Bronze Age collapse, and experienced a different rate and scale of economic and political growth in the period prior to democracy's emergence. The book questions the notion of developmental 'progress' or 'success' and its association with democratic outcomes by suggesting that the early development of complex and stable social structures in Crete *limited* the dynamism of the island's participation in international trade and politics and ultimately helped discourage participative political structures from taking root there. Specific local constructions and conceptions of historical, cultural, and ethnic identity also had strong roles in structuring the state and were heavily manipulated to this end: the book concludes by showing how and why Cretan societies took on a status of ideological 'other' for other Greek communities, deeply affecting the way the Cretan states viewed themselves, were viewed, and operated in the perspective of Classical democracy.

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-11204-8 - Ancient Crete: From Successful Collapse to Democracy's Alternatives,
Twelfth to Fifth Centuries BC
Saro Wallace
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many organisations and institutions in the United Kingdom, the United States, and Greece have supported the research needed to write this book. I am grateful to them for supplying the resources that allowed me to work with primary data in the field and secondary sources in a range of libraries. I thank them, too, for funding vital time for slow reflection on and improvement of the work at the writing stage. The Institute for Aegean Prehistory, A. G. Leventis Foundation, British Academy, Leverhulme Trust, Greek Government State Scholarships Foundation, and Mediterranean Archaeological Trust have all contributed significant resources, including field research grants for the Karfi Project and the Roots of the Cretan Polis Ceramic Study Project (the results of which have contributed to this book). The British School at Athens offered small grants for a variety of purposes. I would like especially to note the generosity and efficiency of funding from the Institute for Aegean Prehistory and the Leverhulme Trust. The Samuel H. Kress Foundation generously funded the inclusion of the colour plates.

The British School at Athens offered excellent library research facilities between 2001 and 2004. My employment as a lecturer in Greek and Mediterranean archaeology at the Universities of Bristol, Cardiff, and Reading from 2004 onwards offered a salary to live on and access to some internal research grants and facilities that helped the book's production: I must particularly thank Sue Giles at Bristol, Howard Mason and Ian Dennis at Cardiff, and Margaret Mathews at Reading for help in scanning, correcting, and advising on some of the illustrations used here, as well as the holders of copyright illustrations who have allowed me to adapt and reproduce their images. The 24th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities of the National Archaeological Service in east Crete supported my recent work at Karfi, which has greatly informed this book, with permissions to work at the site.

Another important acknowledgement should go to the individual members of the scholarly community who listened to my ideas with patience, wisdom, and interest, using their own knowledge and experience to refine and improve them. Among them I count many close friends as well as colleagues. The constant moral support of Krzysztof Nowicki, and his incredibly detailed understanding of Crete's ancient landscapes, as well as his

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-11204-8 - Ancient Crete: From Successful Collapse to Democracy's Alternatives,
Twelfth to Fifth Centuries BC

Saro Wallace

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

permanent readiness to engage in highly informed and passionate debates on Aegean prehistory, had a special role in improving my work, for which I offer many thanks. Donald Haggis (whose work inspired my first studies of the Cretan economy in the Early Iron Age) has been a tireless critic, friend, and supporter of my work; so has Leslie Day. James Whitley is acknowledged here not only for the level of personal support and stimulating discussion he offered me in the years 2002–4, but also for the amount of original and creative thought he has given to the study of the Aegean Early Iron Age generally and the Early Iron Age of Crete in particular. Though I disagree with many of his positions here, if he had not put them forward in his characteristically polemical style, this field would be considerably poorer.

Among the other colleagues who have stimulated my thinking through personal discussion in a friendly and open way, I would like to mention Tom Brogan, Cyprian Broodbank, Jan Driessen, Birgitta Eder, Brice Erickson, Geraldine Gesell, Carl Knappett, Nota Kourou, Irene Lemos, Sandy MacGillivray, Nicoletta Momigliano, Margaret Mook, Cathy Morgan, Laura Preston, David Ridgway, Sue Sherratt, Lena Sjögren, Metaxia Tsipopoulou, and Todd Whitelaw, but there are many others who have helped me in this way, including all those who have kindly given me permission to reproduce their illustrations. I especially thank Chris Mee, who has offered steady and generous support in all my academic endeavours.

Another group of helpers has been the residents of Crete and many other parts of Greece, who have spent hours chatting about their history, environment, and ways of work; have refreshed me with their hospitality; and have shown me the way through their landscapes with such friendliness and humour. There are too many of them to name, but all have played a role in giving Greece the irrepressible spirit and zest that warm me whenever I visit. I would like to mention here only some very particular friends, the Kargiotakis family of Tzermiado in Lasithi. The regular group of staff and affiliates at the Institute for Aegean Prehistory (INSTAP) Study Centre for East Crete, who create a uniquely friendly, stimulating, and dynamic environment for all those working on Cretan archaeology, should be given special thanks, too.

The staff at Cambridge University Press in New York have been most enthusiastic, supportive, and efficient throughout, and I would like to thank warmly in particular Beatrice Rehl and Susan Thornton.

In the United Kingdom, Robin Turner's kind, steady, and quiet support during the early stages of my research career will always be remembered. I would also like to thank Simon Walton and Lada Jamnicky for the entertaining distractions that were so much needed during the various stages of writing. I have very much enjoyed writing this book and hope it will be used by both prehistorians and historians of Greece, who will wrestle further with the questions I have tried to address, and who constantly improve the base of data I have used. All errors, inadequacies, and misunderstandings in the text are my own.

Saro Wallace
Reading, UK
April 2009