AEGEAN DIFFUSIONS – DIFFUSIONS OF POWER

CULTURAL CONNECTIONS BETWEEN MINOAN CRETE AND PHARAONIC EGYPT

By

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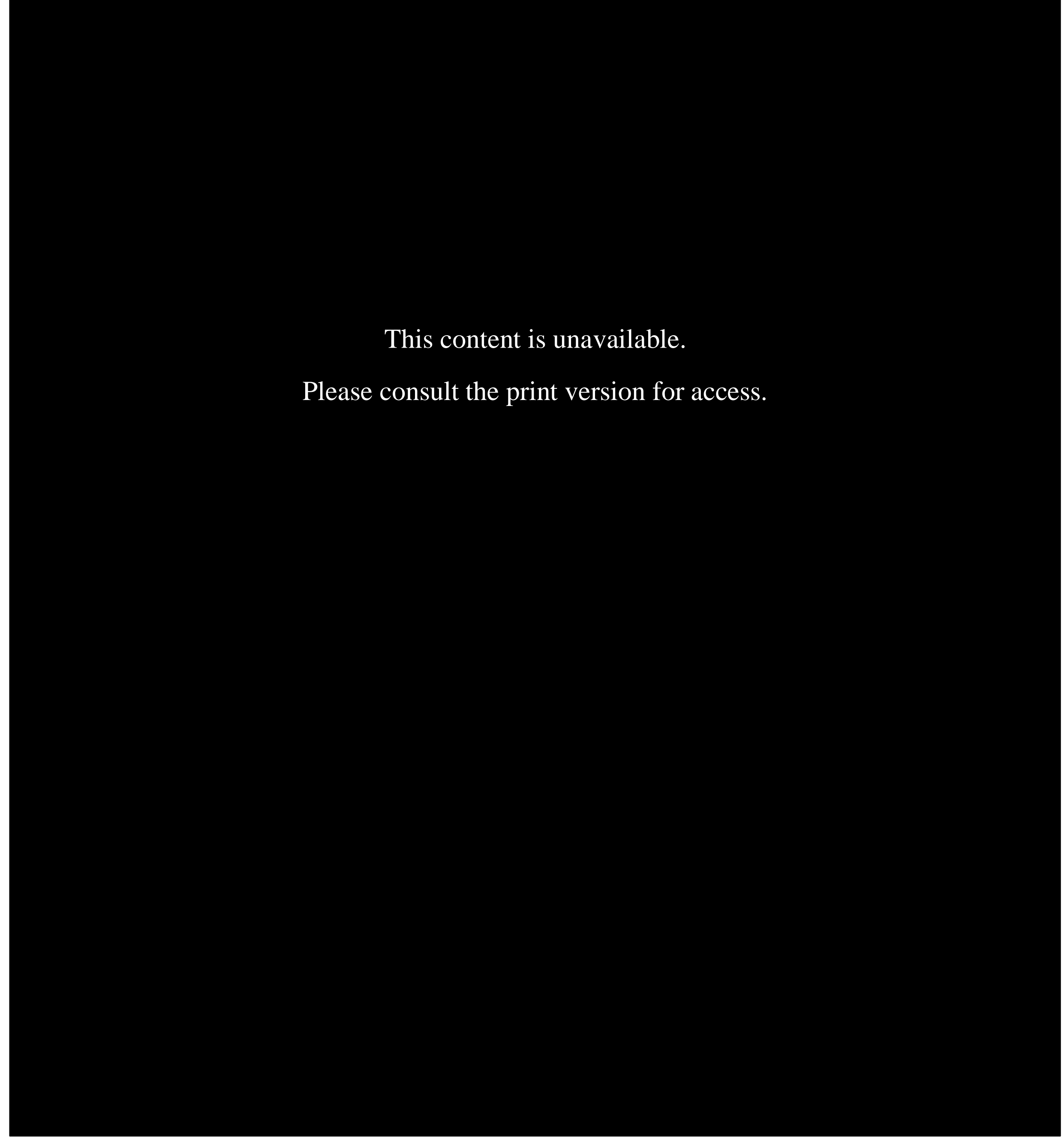

Frontispiece: Bull and Side-Leaper, Fresco Fragment (A 42 [F5]). 22.5 x 19 x 1.2 cm. c. 1530 BCE. Beige Frieze of the Taureador, Tell El-Dab'a/Avaris Palace F (Area H/I). As appears in M. Bietak, N. Marinatos & C. Palivou (Eds.) *Taureador Scenes: In Tell El-Dab'a (Avaris) and Knossos*. First. Vienna, AT: Vienna, AT: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, GmbH. (2007) p. 107

Aegean Diffusions – Diffusions of Power

Cultural Connections between Minoan Crete and Pharaonic Egypt

Vinko Thomas Te Paihere Kerr-Harris

Supervised by Dr Diana Burton.

For J. K. Deuling, D. Burton, and F. L. M. Welch

'Gnosia Minoae genuit vindemia Cretae
hoc tibi, quod mulsum pauperis esse solet.'

Martial, *Epigrams* 106: 'Passum'.

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Vinko Kerr-Harris
Wellington, 2019

[1] McDiarmid's infamous publication of 1815, *Striking and Picturesque Delineations of the Grand, Beautiful, Wonderful, and Interesting Scenery around Loch-Earn: A Description of the Beauties of Edinample and Lochearnhead*, is an apt exemplar of what this thesis would have resembled otherwise.

Abstract

The development of Minoan society has traditionally been considered by scholars to have been an insular phenomenon unique to the southern Aegean. Such assumptions, however, fail to acknowledge the wider context of the Bronze Age in the Eastern Mediterranean. Contact between the people of Crete and their contemporaries in Egypt and the Levant is well attested in the archaeological record, with a plethora of artefacts – imported and imitation – appearing on both sides of the Libyan Sea. Whilst investigations into the economic nature of these exchanges have been undertaken, little thought has been given to the cultural consequences of inter-regional contacts. This thesis examines the evolution of palatial society upon Crete and considers the extent to which interactions with comparatively more mature civilisations may have influenced the increasingly hierarchal trajectory of Minoan society, by re-evaluating the corpus of material culture and interconnectivity.

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Abbreviations

AAIA – Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens

AN – The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

ASCS – American School of Classical Studies at Athens

AJA – American Journal of Archaeology

ARCE – American Research Centre in Egypt

BAR – British Archaeological Review

BM – British Museum

BSA – British School at Athens

BSA-Sup – Supplement of the British School at Athens

DIA – Danish Institute at Athens

HM – Heraklion Archaeological Museum, Heraklion

HNAM – Hagia Nikolaos Archaeological Museum, Hagia Nikolaos

INSTAP – Institute for the Study of Aegean Pre-History

MET – Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

NAM – National Archaeological Museum, Athens

NIA – Norwegian Institute at Athens

OAW – Österreichische Akadamie der Wissenschaften

SIA – Swedish Institute at Athens

UC – Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, University College London Museums and Collections

1. Introduction

The enigmatic inhabitants of Crete, known to posterity as 'Minoans,' dominated the cultural landscape of the southern Aegean for some two thousand years, from the mid-third millennium BCE until the wave of systematic collapses that swept away many of the Bronze Age communities of the Eastern Mediterranean basin.[2] Their distinct cultural footprint, as expressed in the unique architectural, stylistic, and iconographic forms, was impressed upon both the physical and ritual landscape, and remained tangible (if somewhat discombobulated) even after the annexation of the Minoan hinterland by the Helladic peoples during the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries. The Minoans have been at various times interpreted in conflicting and often contradictory ways: as a homogenous and inimitable group unlike any other in the Aegean's long history of human occupation; as fetishized analogues of peoples referenced in later Classical mythology; as proto-Greeks or, in some instances, as amalgams of all these extrapolations.[3] Whilst the 'proto-Hellenic' designation may be appropriate when applied to the Helladic (Mycenaean) culture of the Peloponnese (Map 1), it is ill suited to the endemic pre-Mycenaean social context of Crete. If not unique, and not proto-Hellenic, how then should the Minoans be characterised? This thesis considers the development of Minoan society within the wider socio-cultural context of the Mediterranean Bronze Age, with a focus upon the consequences of inter-connectivity between Crete and Pharaonic Egypt. To what extent were the various phases of Minoan society exceptional – that is to say, particular to the Minoan hinterland of the southern Aegean – and to what extent may external precedents of the comparably more mature culture of Egypt have influenced what would become an increasingly stratified and centralised society north across the 'Great Green' of the Mediterranean?[4]

Interconnectivity between cultures, whether driven by commerce, geo-political proximity, or through encounters of sheer chance can be of enormous consequence to all parties involved. With encounter oftentimes comes exchange, the transfer – sometimes reciprocal – of things from one group or individual to another. Such exchanges are generally viewed in terms of economic transactions, with goods and services of varying value being traded (a practice which in pre-monetary contexts is likely to have consisted of bartering) in exchange for other items or benefits. But commerce and exchange, while complementary, are not synonymous phenomena. The less tangible 'social commodities' (e.g. ideas, ritual or administrative

[2] All dates referenced here forthwith are Before Common Era (BCE), unless stated otherwise.
[3] See 'Current Scholarship, Methodology & Chronology'.
[4] Kelder & Cline (2018) 24.

practices, technologies, and conceptualisations) might be substituted for, or exchanged alongside, physical articles passed between communities. In the modern globalised world, such socio-cultural transfers are often valued as much as the economic windfalls they underpin.[5] Contact has carried with it the potential for conflict, however, particularly when partnerships are exploited for strategic or political ends to the disadvantage of one party – perhaps best encapsulated in the modern day by the deployment of so-called 'soft power' policies by the People's Republic of China.[6] So too were similar currents at play in antiquity. The cyclical trade routes, which brought Afghan lapis lazuli to Thebes, Nubian gold to Anatolia, and Aegean wine to Mesopotamia, served as a complex web not just of trade, but as a nexus for communication and contact also.[7] High-level diplomacy between disparate 'brother-kings'[8] is well attested by the fourteenth century; the cuneiform archives at Amarna and Hattusa, for example, contain the personal correspondence between rulers from throughout the Eastern Mediterranean, evidence that not only goods, but also language, customs, and technology were flowing upon the currents of the so-called International Age in the mid-second millennium BCE.[9] Earlier proliferations of agricultural practices, industrial techniques, and iconographies – particularly those surrounding power and rule – are in the tersely worded diplomatic letters preserved in the late 18th Dynasty archives at Amarna in Egypt.[10]

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[5] An example of this can be found in the cultural strategy recently adopted by New Zealand's Wellington City Council. Older imperial events such as Guy Fawkes, traditionally marked by large fireworks displays, have been abandoned in favour of festivities that are more in-line with the city's orientation towards East Asia. The Lunar New Year is now observed with a festival and large public 'Sky Show' display https://chinesenewyear.co.nz/Media/chinese-new-year-festival-2019-year-of-the-pig (accessed 04/03/2019), https://wellington.govt.nz/~/media/your-council/plans-policies-and-bylaws/plans-and-policies/a-to-z/artsculture/files/artsculture-strategy.pdf?la=en (accessed 04/03/2019), http://www.chinaembassy.org.nz/eng/zxgxs/t1640994.htm (accessed 04/03/2019).

[6] Namely the 'Belt and Road' infrastructure initiatives (https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/may/14/china-xi-silk-road-vision-belt-and-road-claims-empire-building accessed 04/03/2019) and increased interference in the domestic policies of other nations (https://www.newsroom.co.nz/2018/11/27/338423/worldwide-calls-for-govt-to-speak-up-on-china accessed 04/03/2019, https://www.newsroom.co.nz/@pro/2019/03/01/466128/nz-publishers-feel-long-arm-of-chinese-censorship accessed 04/03/2019, and Brady (2017) https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/for_website_magicweaponsanne-mariesbradyseptember2017.pdf accessed 03/03/2019).

[7] See Cline, E. H (2015) p. 214-215 for a brief survey of imported Aegean goods in Egypt and the Levant c. 2,000-1300 BCE.

[8] 'Great King, King of Egypt, my brother, thus speaks Ashur-Uballit, king of Assyria, Great King, your brother […]' EA 16:1-2 *Letter from Ashur-Uballit to Napkhororia/Akhenaten* [trans. Dollinger]. Further reinforcement of the intra-familial style of diplomatic correspondence can be gleaned from an earlier document from Kadashman Enlil I to his peer, Amenhotep III: 'How is it possible that, having written to you in order to ask for the hand of your daughter – oh my brother […] Have you not been looking for a fraternal and amical relationship, when you suggested me – in writing – a marriage, on order to make us become closer? Why hasn't my brother sent me a wife?' EA 3 *Letter from Kadashman Enlil I, king of Babylon, to Amenhotep III* [Dollinger]

[9] The International Age refers to the half century of intensive contact and conflict between Near Eastern states between c. 1550-1200 BCE. Freeman (2014) 78-80.

[10] I.e. pottery techniques, milling, sealings, and the rearing of chicken-fowl for domestic purposes emanated from the Indus valley across the Levant, Egypt, Anatolia, and later, the Aegean.

The Minoans existed within this Bronze Age web of connectivity for some two millennia, from the mid-3000s BCE until the widespread cataclysms that swept away many of their contemporaries during the mid-twelfth century. Only Ramesside Egypt survived the onslaught of the so-called 'Sea Peoples',[11] a supposed mass-influx of displaced persons traditionally believed to have been triggered by the systematic collapse of late-Bronze Age societies in the Eastern Mediterranean. Though the validity of this event has been the subject of recent academic criticism,[12] Egyptian rulers of the 19th Dynasty earnestly believed that such a trial was endured, however, as attested in a Ramesside proclamation: 'Rejoice ye, O Egypt, to the height of heaven, for I am ruler of the South and North upon the throne of Atum. The gods have appointed me to be king over Egypt, to be victor, to expel them for her from the countries […] I have expelled your mourning, which was in your heart, and I shall not return, the tribute - - - their land, their detestation is the daily mention of my name, King Rameses III. I have covered Egypt; I have protected her by my vigilant might, since I assumed the rule of the kingdom ---- the might of my two arms, bringing terror among the Nine Bows.'[13] By the reign of Rameses III, however, the Minoan communities of Crete had fallen under the influence of the more-bellicose Helladic powers of the Greek mainland, the nucleus of which lay in the fortified centres that dotted the Bay of Argos such as Mycenae, Tiryns, and Pylos (Map 1). The gradual Helladic expansion into the Aegean was already well advanced by the middle of the second millennium. Still, the pace of annexation accelerated rapidly following the collapse of the Neopalatial economies on Crete, which were severely destabilised in the wake of the eruption of Thera (Santorini) sometime in LM IA/B.[14] By the time of the Mycenaean annexation, Minoan society had reached heights that would remain uneclipsed in the region until the Classical period. Distinct artistic and architectural styles developed within the nexus of Minoan palatial communities that would inform the stylistic canons of not only the subsequent Aegean inhabitants, but also of cultures throughout the Levant, Sinai, and Nile

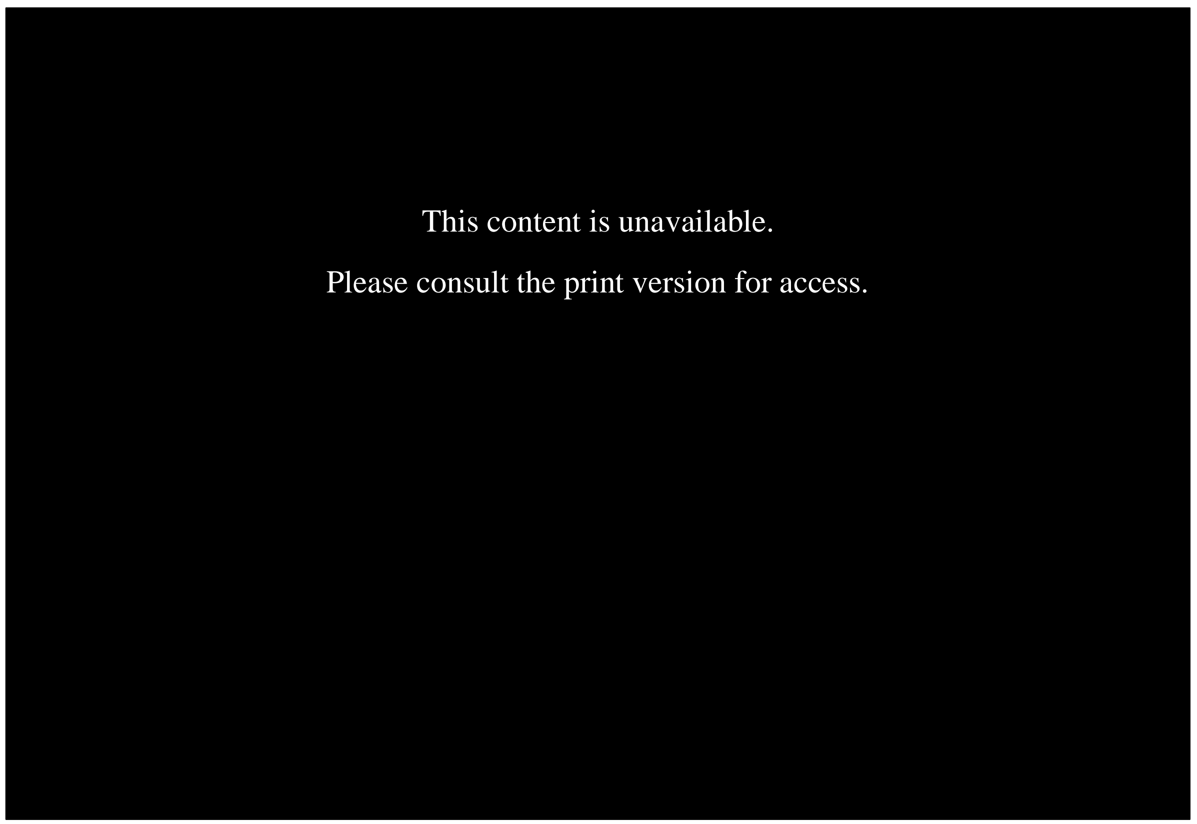
[11] It should be noted that not only the identity, but also the very existence of the sea peoples has come under increasing scrutiny by scholars. The traditional notion that these invaders from north and east originated in the Aegean is not conclusively supported by existing archaeological or epigraphic evidence, clearing the way for several alternative interpretations of the influx of migration. See Fischer & Bürg et al (2017) for a summary of current Sea Peoples scholarship).

[12] Freeman (2014) 78-80.

[13] 'Rameses' Song of Triumph' from the Great Inscription on the Second Pylon, Medinet Habu, § 67 [Trans. J. H. Breasted], as appears in *Ancient Records of Egypt: Historical Documents from the Earliest Times to the Persian Conquest, Volume III – Nineteenth Dynasty*. J. H. Breasted (Ed.). First/Digital. Chicago, USA: University of Chicago Press (1906/1990) pp. 39-40.

[14] The debate surrounding the absolute dating of the Thera eruption rages to this day. This debate is in some ways a microcosm of wider scholarly skirmishing around the chronological sequencing of the later Aegean Bronze Age as a whole. A succinct treatment of the Thera 'question' can be found in Manning (2012b), while a more thorough definition of the chronological battle lines is offered in Bietak (2000) and Manning (2014).

Delta (Map 2). Complex systems of administration emerged to service a diverse web of economy and industries, incorporating record keeping structures, the centralised control of labour, and the management of vast quantities of commodities, during the late-Protopalatial and would continue to be refined throughout the Palatial periods. A myriad of elaborate cultural practices, intra- and inter-regional, served as organic lynchpins reinforcing and expressing bonds between Crete's communities (see Map 3 for location of primary ritual and civic sites). The Minoans' conceptualisation of 'Minoan-ness' can only be speculated upon by modern archaeologists. There are, however, clear allusions to the nature of the sacred and profane, as understood by the inhabitants of Crete, that are articulated in both ritual spaces and ritual objects. The intent of this investigation is to examine the structural changes in Minoan society over the course of the Pre- to Neopalatial periods through the prism of interaction with cultures beyond the Aegean, specifically Middle to early New Kingdom Egypt. It will seek to scrutinize the development of Minoan material and ritual culture within the wider context of inter-connectivity during the East Mediterranean Bronze Age, and to consider the implications that these phenomena pose for our understanding of the increasingly hierarchal nature of Minoan society.



Map 1. Map of Crete and the Southern Aegean. Source: Shaw (2015) 2

Map 2. Eastern Mediterranean showing the locations of principal geographical areas. Annotations by author. Map data ©2019 GeoBasis-DE/BKG (©2009), Google, Inst. Geogr. Nacional, Mapa GISrael, ORION-ME https://www.google.com/maps/@36.6623442,24.557079,1899142m/data=!3m1!1e3?hl=en accessed 01/04/2019

Map 3. Map of Crete, showing key sites of the Minoan Bronze Age. Source: (Purchased) https://www.themaparchive.com/minoan-crete-c-1500-1250-bce.html accessed 03/04/2019

2. Current Scholarship, Methodology & Chronology

Minoan archaeology is as much a study of modern archaeological practice and late-Victorian politics as it is the study of Bronze Age Cretan remains. Whilst the later classical and earlier monumental sites of the Mediterranean had been the subject of intermittent scholarly inquiry since the fifteenth century of the modern era, it was not until the twilight of the Victorian empires that investigations into Aegean prehistory began in earnest. Tentative excavations at Mycenae were undertaken in the early 1840s by Kyriakos Psistakis before coming under the dubious auspices of Heinrich Schliemann in 1874.[15] Subsequent excavations were carried out by the considerably more adept A. J. B. Wace and W. Taylor, both luminaries of the British School at Athens. Upon Crete itself, a handful of exploratory digs had been undertaken by Minos Kalokairinos, Schliemann, and several unscrupulous antiques dealers. However, it was not until Sir Arthur Evans' securing of the rights to the Kephala Hill during 1888-89 that systematic excavations began, with the first campaign beginning in the summer of 1900. Since the inaugural campaign, examinations of Crete's early architectural landscape have grown in both scope and magnitude, revealing a complex web of ritual sanctuaries, cemeteries, settlements, and the ever-ubiquitous palatial complexes amongst other features. Indeed, as the archaeological corpus of the Cretan Bronze Age has grown, so too has the depth of our understanding of the societies that produced such a complex record. The initial interpretations of the Minoans as proto-Victorian thalassocracies ruled by wise and benevolent priest-kings proposed by Evans have been rejected as imaginings based less upon archaeological evidence than they are upon an institutionalised classical education and British imperialism. So too have the models of centralised redistributive economies proposed by Evans' immediate successors been dismissed as over-simplified assumptions that are inconsistent with the archaeological evidence. Since the late-1980s, a methodical reappraisal of the archaeological record, often through inter-disciplinary approaches, has led to a thorough revision of existing interpretations of Minoan culture.

The study of Minoan architecture, particularly regarding its functionality, has been rejuvenated by scholars such as Louise A. Hitchcock (2000) and John McEnroe (2010), who have questioned both the context of architecture and its role in the development of social identities respectively.[16] Geoffrey Soles and L. V. Watrous are among those who have

[15] After a failed attempt to secure access to the Kephala Hill site in Northern Crete, Schliemann would go on to oversee the Hissarlik (which Schliemann identified as the site of Homer's Troy) excavations upon the Dardanelle Strait in Anatolia.
[16] Hitchcock (2000) & McEnroe (2010).

published regional and site-specific surveys of the architectural and natural landscape, whilst Emily S. K. Anderson and others have endeavoured to examine material objects within a reconstructed ritual landscape.[17]

Indeed, ritual and the articulation of community identity during the various Bronze Age phases in the southern Aegean have emerged as focal points for research over the past two decades, prompting reanalysis of funerary practices and ritual venues.[18] An ongoing debate rages over the synchronisation of Late Minoan chronologies with other regions in the eastern Mediterranean basin, particularly around the dating of the Thera eruption and the placement of LM IA/B. Much work has been undertaken by Sturt Manning, an Aegean archaeologist, and the eminent Egyptologist Manfred Bietak. The arguments put forth by both scholars will be discussed in greater detail below, however for now it is sufficient to say that the opposing schools of thought are steadily, albeit slowly, converging upon a compromised framework that incorporates both datasets while also minimising their respective inconsistencies.

Excavations in the Nile Delta during the mid-1990s have provided a glut of new evidence indicating the scale of inter-regional trade, prompting both questions about and reappraisals of longstanding scholarly suppositions. The identification of the Hyksos capital of Avaris at Tell el-Dab'a revealed the existence of heavily Minoanised frescoes within the confines of a monumental palatial complex. Initially published by Bietak, who led the Austrian-sponsored excavation, the site indicated a strong, if enigmatic, connection between the Neopalatial Crete and those who administered the Delta's primary settlement.[19] Further surveys of the site led to revisions being made to the sequencing of Avaris' construction phases. The result was a startling hypothesis: The frescoes, contrary to initial presumptions, were *not* contemporaneous with the terminal years of the Fifteenth Dynasty, but were in fact executed *after* the site was sacked by Ahmose I.[20] Precisely why the inaugural ruler of an indigenous dynasty should choose to adorn their freshly reclaimed capital with exotic frescoes, immediately after having evicted a band of Asiatic interlopers is a question that shall be addressed in later chapters. Publication of the Avaris material prompted a reconsideration of Aegean wall painting, with volumes such as those produced by Morgan and Cameron (2005) and Palivou, Bietak, and Marinatos (2007), attempting to identify what might be termed a canon of 'Minoan' iconographic motifs. Egyptologists for their part turned with fresh attention

[17] Watrous *et al* (2012), Anderson (2016), Orengo & Knappett (2018) to name but a few.
[18] A notable example being Hamilakis (2014).
[19] Bietak (1995) 19.
[20] Bietak (1996) 76-80.

to the surviving depictions of the 'other' in Egypt, particularly the recurring *Keftiu* figure in Eighteenth Dynasty tomb decoration and the scattered literary references to the land 'beyond the Great Green' which have been identified as Minoans and Crete, respectively.[21] Several catalogues of Egyptian wares (both imported and inspired by) in the Aegean, such as that compiled by Jacqueline Phillips, have appeared since the early 2000s, along with several notable museum exhibitions. Chief amongst the latter are the Heraklion Archaeological Museum's *Crete – Egypt: Three Thousand Years of Cultural Contact*, which was run between 1999 and 2000, and the Getty Museum's recent *Beyond the Nile: Egypt and the Classical World* exhibition which debuted in 2018. Though not directly related to Minoan-Egyptian exchange, the *Minoans and Mycenaeans – Flavours of their Times* exhibit run jointly by the National Archaeological Museum in Athens and the British Museum featured chemical analysis which was to prove of great consequence to the question of technological exchange between the Aegean peoples and their neighbours to the south beyond the Libyan Sea.

As with any inquiry of the pre-historic Aegean, this investigation will focus upon the assemblage of remains that constitute Minoan material culture. Excavation and, more recently, scientific survey data will be considered in light of the considerable assemblage of interpretative secondary scholarship. Much of this scholarship is regionalised, concerned primarily with the function or meaning of spaces and objects within a single context (such as the Mesara *tholoi*), rather than considering the possible cultural implications for those groups that inhabited such spaces and made use of such objects. Whilst a number of previous studies have examined the exchange of physical commodities between Crete and Egypt, few have taken seriously any consideration of what may be defined as 'social' or 'cultural' commodities – the conveyance of technologies, social practices, iconographies, philosophies, and so forth.[22] The intent of this investigation is to examine the structural changes in Minoan society over the course of the Pre- to Neopalatial periods through the prism of interaction with cultures beyond the Aegean, specifically Middle to early New Kingdom Egypt. In practice, this means identifying objects (commodities) and contextualising them within specific functional, ritual, and social spaces. Minoan society at the close of the fifteenth century BCE was pointedly different from the disparate communities of the late third millennium BCE whose inhumation practices, such as the use of material objects as signifiers of personal status, presaged the

[21] Such as Flora Brook Anthony's compelling 2017 analysis.
[22] Perhaps in acknowledgement of this scholarly aperture, the curators of the J. Paul Getty Museum's landmark 2018 exhibition noted the prevalence of Egyptian religious iconography and practices on Crete from the Early Prepalatial period onwards: Spier, Potts & Cole (2018).

palatial economies. Increasing stratification of social hierarchies, the formalisation of ritual culture, and the centralisation of economic activity become fundamental mechanisms of the Cretan palatial culture. That such change should occur in tandem with the intensification of contact with pharaonic Egypt, by then a comparatively ancient culture, is surely more than mere coincidence.[23] The author of this thesis is well aware that correlation does not equal causation, and as such, this study seeks to avoid becoming merely a cross-comparative catalogue of Egyptian and Cretan exotica.[24] Rather, this study seeks to examine the relationship between object and context; how did items or concepts make their way from their place of origin to their place of excavation? What function or purpose did they serve, and has this function remained consistent across varied contexts? Who is making use of foreign items or concepts, and to what ends do they employ them? It is through the comparative analysis of items, systems, and contexts, that this thesis aims to identify the commonalities and dissonances between Crete and Egypt and by extension, identify aspects of Minoan society that are not as inimitably 'Minoan' as might previously have been assumed.

Studies of antiquity are, by their nature, inhibited by the availability and quality of extant primary material. In a landscape such as the southern Aegean, an area subjected to some five millennia of near-continuous human habitation in addition to numerous environmental and geological changes, the integrity of any exposed remains has been greatly compromised. Rising sea levels have obscured, and in some cases obliterated, coastal sites such as Palaikastro, Gournia, and Kommos. Indeed, changes in the natural landscape, while not necessarily directly contributing to the degradation of archaeological sites, have irrevocably altered what was once a 'Minoan landscape' into the arid Mediterranean island largely denuded of endemic forest and fauna that is recognisable as modern Crete.[25] The Minoan aesthetic, embodied in the finely worked cypress wood columns and thoughtfully executed frescoes and votives, is closely interwoven with the natural world – a world that, like the Minoan language, is utterly recondite to the modern observer. Not only must the scholar attempt to reconstruct physical remains, but also the environment in which they were conceived, constructed, and inhabited. Whilst nature and the passage of time have eroded remnants of the Bronze Age (the starkest example being the cataclysm of Thera and its inadvertent preservation of Akrotiri), the impact of successive

[23] Much of the iconographic, religious, and administrative foundations of 'pharaonic' rule had been in place since approximately 3000, with the land of the 'two kingdoms' being unified by the quasi-mythical kings of the Early Dynastic period. Pathch (2011) 136-158, 160-161.
[24] Such compendiums already exist; cf. Warren (1969), Karetsou *et al* (2000), Phillips (2008).
[25] The increasing aridity of the Mediterranean climate from the mid-fourth century onwards has been identified as one of the major contributing factors to the systematic collapse of the 'international age' societies, cf. Cline (2015) 142-147, 160-170.

waves of human occupation has been perhaps more damaging than ravages of the environment. Ground level remains, such as the ubiquitous *tholoi* of the Mesara, underwent multiple phases of use in their primary function as conspicuously located tombs, with evidence indicating that the interior chambers were periodically purged and levelled to make way for new inhumations. Following the collapse of the community networks that utilised the *tholos* as the lynchpin of their funerary practices, however, the tombs were subjected to countless lootings that continue into the present day. As a result, the material that does remain in situ is often difficult to stratify into chronological sequences, severely limiting the inferences that might be drawn from the materials. Larger, more substantial structures such as the problematically termed 'villas' and palatial complexes that dominate much of the Cretan landscape have been modified, reconstructed, pilfered, and otherwise obliterated – in many cases by the Minoans themselves.[26] The palatial complexes in particular were exploited for their cyclopean blocks of ashlar masonry by builders in the classical period and beyond. Indeed, even the very efforts of modern excavators themselves have inflicted irreparable damage, particularly to architectural remains. Early excavators such as Evans, though doing so with the best of intentions, subjected their sites to death-by-concrete in misguided attempts to reconstruct things according to revisionist perceptions of what ancient remains 'should' look like.[27]

A note must be made regarding the terminology that will appear in the following chapters. The study of the Aegean Bronze Age has, as any other field of scholarly endeavour, produced a complex culture of nomenclature. Much of the language used by early excavators continues to serve as the basis for the archaeological vernacular of the region. Terms such as 'Minoan' have become entrenched not only in academic discourse, but also in popular thought and culture. Whilst this term, championed first by Evans, acts as a convenient blanket designation for the pre-Classical communities of the southern Aegean's largest island, there exists no material or linguistic evidence upon which it can be affixed. Evans' fixation upon unearthing the Labyrinth of mythological fame resulted in his conflation of the vast building

[26] The construction of Neopalatial structures upon the foundations of their predecessors has obliterated much of the formative protopalatial complexes underneath. At sites such as Knossos, Phaistos, and the western quartiers of Malia, even the initial court-centric complexes themselves have extirpated earlier Neolithic and late-Prepalatial spaces (see Figures 4.1-4.3).

[27] Several volumes have been authored concerning Evans' vainglorious exploits at Knossos and their implications for modern archaeologists attempting to study the actuality of the site and its decorative adornments. This phenomenon is not unique to the Cretan Bronze Age: Heinrich Schliemann's butchery of Hisarlik is infamous even by the standards of the late-nineteenth century CE, while the earnest yet ad-hoc attempts to reconstruct the Athenian Parthenon by Nikolas Balanos in the late 1800s are still the focus of a major restoration project in 2018.

complex upon the Kephala Hill with the seat of the mythological king Minos.[28] The language of the Minoans is utterly alien today. No legible evidence was left, beyond the as-yet undecipherable Linear A and Cretan Hieroglyphic, which notes the term by which the inhabitants of pre-historic Crete defined themselves.[29] Whilst we may be able to identify the material and ritual means through which the Minoans articulated their identity, both to themselves and to others, it is impossible to know (beyond educated assumption) precisely *what* this identity was and what its significance was to the Minoans' comprehension of their own 'Minoan-ness.' In lieu of any reasonable alternative, therefore, this study will continue to employ the term 'Minoan' when referring to the communities which inhabited Crete from the final Neolithic through to the Mycenaean annexation and ultimate collapse of the Bronze Age societies throughout the Eastern Mediterranean in the twelfth century.

Chronology is often a contentious aspect of scholarly discourse for any period of antiquity, but few have proven to be as divisive as the Bronze Age Aegean. There are few, if any, absolutes, which can broker a satisfied consensus amongst those in the field. Events such as the cataclysmic eruption of Thera, which obliterated the Minoanised settlement of Akrotiri sometime during LM IA, have proven so contestable that entire volumes of scholarship have been compiled concerning the destruction sequencing.[30] Aegean chronology is therefore one of approximates, constituted by cycles of occupation and material remains. A tripartite division proposed initially by Evans, of the principal civilizations of Aegean prehistory has been adopted as the generally accepted framework within which the period is dated. The Cycladic, Minoan, and Helladic phases are divided into Early, Middle, and Late periods, each of which is further subdivided by numbered bands (i.e. Middle Minoan II, Late Helladic IA, etc.). The Bronze Age itself is bookended by the Neolithic and sub-Palatial periods. Broader sequences, usually characterised by administrative or occupation patterns,[31] are oftentimes imposed upon the basic triple matrix and may straddle one or more of the broad divisions (see Figure 1.1 below). Thus, the Pre-, Proto-, and Neopalatial phases span the EM II-MM IA, MM IB-MM III, and MM III-LM IB periods respectively. It is these Prepalatial and Palatial periods that are of particular relevance when examining the development of Minoan society. The emergence

[28] Muhly (2012) 1-9.

[29] Though there is some indication as to what contemporary communities may have called them, such as the Egyptians or Mycenaeans, such terms are also artificially imposed, regardless of whether they are reflective of a truth now lost to the passage of time. See 'Keftiu' above.

[30] S. W. Manning and M. Bietak, for instance, are at the forefront of the chronological debate. Both writers have provided multiple chronologies which are often (though not always) diametrically opposed. For a full treatment of the evidence and arguments, see: Manning (2014) and Bietak (2000).

[31] Which themselves are often defined by material phases, particularly pottery, cf. Shelmerdine (2008) 3-12.

of the palatial complexes in the early second millennium coincide with periods of relative social homogeny and economic expansion. Indeed, the palatial complexes may well be considered one of, if not the, defining features of Minoan culture and its subsequent legacy. Yet whilst the complexes themselves are easily identifiable, the sequencing of their (often-repeated) phases of construction and obliteration is difficult to date precisely. Cretan architects were masters of incorporation and adaptation, repurposing existing structures and spaces into later rebuilding attempts. At sites with an extended history of occupation, such as Knossos and Phaistos,[32] the various stages of building blur together or, at worst, have been lost through their incorporation into the foundations of later structures. As a result, Minoan chronology is characterised by much approximation and little certainty.

If the establishment of a single chronology is a delicate endeavour of subjective compromise, then the synchronisation of multiple chronologies across numerous regions is perhaps the academic equivalent of holding back waves with one's arms. While there is a consensus regarding the integration of the key Aegean chronologies, serious debate continues to surround the relative chronologies of the Aegean and Egypt. Two primary schools of opinion have emerged since the late-1990s, led principally by Sturt W. Manning and Manfred Bietak. Manning's critical reappraisals, first in 1999 and again in 2012, of the scientific corpus surrounding Thera have resulted in his dating the eruption to 1628 BCE.[33] This in effect reinforced the case for the so-called 'early' Aegean sequencing, with the late-Minoan phases being proposed as in Figure 1.1.[34] As for inter-regional synchronisation, Manning outlines his support for the validity of the later ('high') sequencing of Hyksos-early New Kingdom Egypt, arguing that not only does the standard sequencing approximate comfortably with the revised Aegean chronology, but that the available scientific data is inconsistent with the earlier ('low') chronology recently proposed for the Nile kingdoms.[35] Indeed, Manning's argument is encapsulated in his closing appendix from the 1999 study, the title of which is succinctly blunt: 'Why the standard chronologies are approximately correct, and why radical re-dating is therefore incorrect.'[36]

Bietak, however, contends that Manning's earlier attempts to reconcile Aegean and Egyptian chronologies with an LM IA/B (c. 1645 BCE) sequencing of the eruption of Thera

[32] For both of which there is evidence of continued habitation from the late Neolithic through to the Post-Palatial. McEnroe (2010) 11-12.
[33] Manning (2012) 335; Manning had earlier proposed a 'higher' eruption date of c. 1645 BCE, a date which was vehemently contested by Egyptologists and Levantine cf. Bietak (2003) in Bietak & Czerny (2007) 23-33.
[34] Manning (2012) 340.
[35] Manning (2012) 367-368, 418-419.
[36] Manning (2012) 415.

are incompatible with a well-established consensus that places the beginning of the Egyptian 18th Dynasty at approximately 1550 BCE. The founder of the New Kingdom's inaugural dynasty, Ahmose I, re-established Theban hegemony over Lower Egypt with the sacking of the Hyksos capital of Avaris. His expulsion of the Asiatic Hyksos from the Nile Delta was quickly followed by the destruction of the foreigner's final strongholds in Sinai and Southern Palestine. The Pharaonic lands were further consolidated by Ahmose's successors, who crushed the Kerma rulers that had sequestered control of Upper Egypt beyond the fourth cataract in the turmoil following the collapse of the Middle Kingdom's 12th and 13th Dynasties. Bietak goes further in his criticism of the initial 'high' eruption date of c. 1645 BCE, noting that such a date is not reflected in the distribution of the imported wares in the Cypriot and Egyptian sites. This, he states, would result in the placement of the LM IB period towards the beginning of the Hyksos hegemony some two hundred years prior to the ascent of the 18th Dynasty.[37] Indeed, much of the evidence from beyond Crete appears to validate both a lower Aegean chronology and lower placement of the destructive Theran episode. Manning's subsequent revision of his placement of the Thera eruption to c. 1628 BCE (discussed above) went some way to reconciling the two data sets by contracting the range of disparity to a matter of decades.[38]

The author of this thesis therefore proposes a compromise between the two chronological camps, which allows for a controlled level of discrepancy while simultaneously achieving an approximate synchronisation of the Aegean and Egypt. Indeed, a compromise is not only practical, but it may better reflect the archaeological reality of both regions. Chronological matrixes are, by their very nature, artificial constructs imposed by modern archaeologists upon the ancient past. Physical remains are unlikely ever to fit tidily within the confines of approximate, let alone absolute, delineations of time. The reality is that archaeology is a messy discipline, both literally and metaphorically. Study of the prehistoric Aegean is further clouded by a comparative lack of contemporary literary evidence. Egyptology, meanwhile, is afforded a degree of certainty thanks to the survival of epigraphic and literary-historical material, ranging from king lists to résumés of individuals' involvements in historic events. Even then, the reconstruction of dynastic histories, particularly in transient periods such as the First and Second Intermediate Periods, is still subject to some degree of conjecture and educated assumption. Indeed, both Bietak and Manning have conceded that many of the

[37] Bietak (2007) 24-27, 27-30.
[38] Manning (2014) 335.

assumptions accepted in both regions prior to the 1990s CE may in fact be misguided. Bietak for his part, has suggested that compelling evidence exists which suggests that the ascension of Ahmose I and his capture of the Hyksos capital at Avaris may in fact pre-date the architectural phase in which the Minoan frescoes appear. This in turns raises the intriguing possibility that the inaugural ruler of the 18th Dynasty may have presided over the decidedly non-Egyptian decoration of the New Kingdom's first capital.[39] Meanwhile, Manning has proposed a now generally accepted Neopalatial *Gotterdammerung* following the eruption of Thera. Whilst the event was undoubtedly cataclysmic for the settlement of Akrotiri, perched upon the reverse slope of the great caldera, the palatial communities on Crete's northern coast are unlikely to have been fatally affected by the environmental and structural disruption caused by the same event. The widespread destructive phase which is evidenced across the island, leading to the abandonment of many of the monumental complexes in early to mid-LM II is likely to have been the result of a large seismic event which may, or may not, have been a consequence of the period of volcanic activity in the central Aegean. This later, more-finite period of systematic disruption may well have coincided with the expansion of the increasingly assertive Helladic communities that were then ascendant in mainland Greece, particularly those centred around the Peloponnesian Argolid. It seems, therefore, that an overlapping 'long' Neopalatial period and similarly extended 18th Dynasty, with a mid-to-low dating of the Thera eruption, offers both the most logical and convincing synchronisation of the respective chronologies.

Minoan Phases	c. BCE
LM IA	1675± - 1600/1580
LM IB	1600/1580 - 1500/1490
LM II	1500/1490 - 1440/25
LM IIIA1	1440/25 - 1390/70

Table. 1.1 Early Sequencing of Neopalatial Aegean Chronology. After Manning (2012) 340

[39] Bietak (1995) 21, 23.

Table 1.2: Relative Chronologies of the Aegean Bronze Age, including Minoan Sub-Phases
After Manning (2010) 17 & 23; Manning (2014a) 335-336, 340; Manning (2014b) 96; Shelmerdine (2008) 3-4

Cycladic	c.BCE	Minoan	c.BCE	Helladic	c.BCE
Early Cycladic I	3100-3000	Early Minoan I	3100-3000	Early Helladic I	3000-2650
Kampos Phase	2900-2650	EM IB	2900-2650		
EC II (Keros-Syros Phase)	2650-2500	EM IIA	2650-2450/00	EH II	2650-2500
Kastri Phase	2500-2250	EM IIB	2450/00-2050	EH II/Lefkandi I	2500-2200
Kastri Phase - Phylakopi I	2400-2200	EM III	2200-2100/2050	EH III	2250-2100/2050
Middle Cycladic - Phylakopi I	2200 -	Middle Minoan IA	2100/50-1925/00	Middle Helladic	2100/2050
		MM IB	1925/00-1875-50		
		MM II	1875/50-1750/00		
		MM IIIA-B	1750/00-1700/1675	Late Helladic I	1700/1675-1635/00
Late Cycladic I	1700/1675-1625/00	Late Minoan IA	1750/00-1625/00	LH IIA	1635/00-1480/70
LC II	1625/00 -	LM IB	1625/00-1470/60		
		LM II	1470/60-1420/10	LH IIB	1480/70-1420/10
LC III	1420/00 -	LM IIIA1	1420/10-1390/70	LH IIIA1	1420/10-1390/70
		LM IIIA2	1390/70-1330/15	LH IIIA2	1390/70-1330/15
		LM IIIB	1330/15-1200/1190	LH IIIB	1330/15-1200/1190
		LM IIIC	1200/1190-1075/50	LH IIIC	1200/1190-1075/50

Key:

- Prepalatial
- Protopalatial
- Neopalatial
- Monopalatial
- Final Palatial

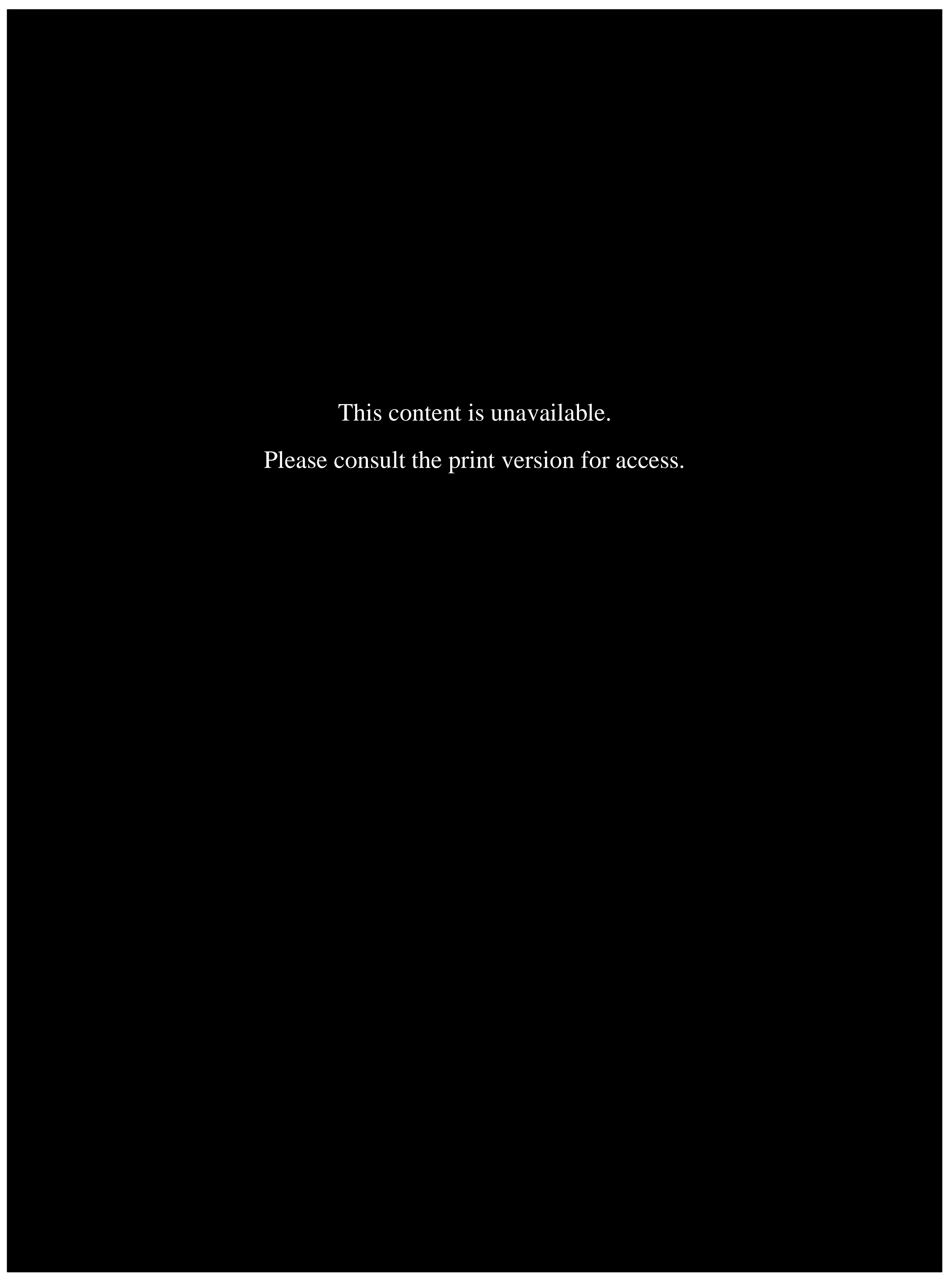


Table 1.3 ‘Chronological Chart’ from Phillips (2003: a) p.23 illustrating (in ascending order) the relative chronologies of Egypt, the Levant, and Crete to the Bronze Age collapse of c. 1100 BCE. Note that while there are some discrepancies between the various locales, the approximate sequencing between Figs. 1.1 and 1.2 are compatible to within a matter of decades.

3. Importing Death: Aegyptiaca, Ritual Landscapes & Status in Prepalatial Minoan Burial Culture

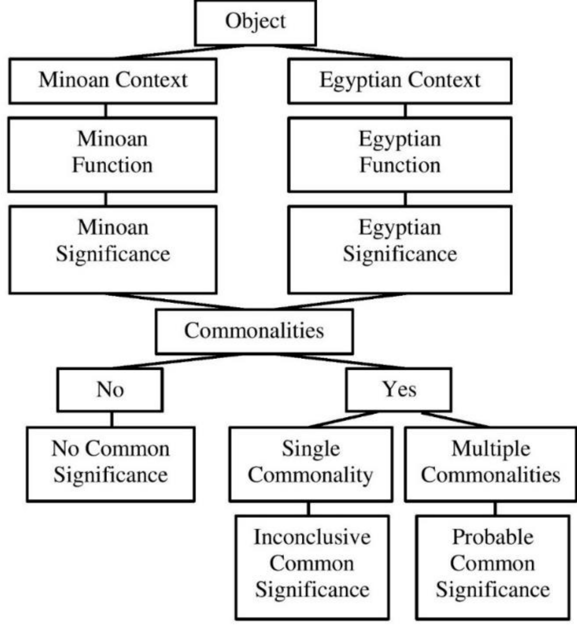
The way a community conceptualises and reacts to death as an experience shared by both the deceased and the living, often echo the fundamental elements that constitute the shared identity that binds the individual members of the community together in day-to-day life. Burial methods, inhumation techniques, tomb typologies and rituals of mourning are all means of expressing and solidifying underlying social bonds. Whilst the extent to which funerary culture reflects that of the everyday may be tenuous in some circumstances, the relationship is nevertheless a significant one that warrants consideration, particularly within the context of pre-literate societies or those bereft of contemporary textual evidence.[40] Whether they be, an Etruscan couple reclined atop a *larnax* as if at some eternal symposium, a fallen Athenian lying amongst the tumuli that dot the Archaic battlefield of Marathon, or bathed by the equinox sun in the Megalithic chambers of Northern Europe, the dead are treated by the communities they leave behind in conspicuous and culturally specific manners. The Prepalatial Minoans were no exception to such carefully considered treatments of their dead. Indeed, it is within the cemeteries of the EM II-MM IA period that an identifiably 'Minoan' material culture can first be distinguished. Continuity and change within mortuary practice throughout the Cretan Bronze Age, from region-specific tomb structures to assemblages in grave goods, reflect the shifting currents of Minoan society.

The significance of an object is not always inherent in the object itself but is often inferred from its function and context. Minoan Crete bereft of esoteric philosophical treatises of the sacred and profane, leaves the archaeologist to consider the relationship between object and context as the primary means to interpreting the cultural significance of an item or spatial environment. An example of how one might interrogate a ritual item is outlined below (Chart 1). The object must first be identified, then contextualised in both broad (such as social, historic, chronological) and exiguous (excavation, absolute chronological, and similar such limited) terms. What might its *function* have been, and might this function imply a deeper, more nuanced *significance* to its user?

[40] Aspects of funerary culture that have parallels in other ritual or secular contexts might be, for instance, amplified, exaggerated, or hyper-idealised – profane elevated to the sacred. It should also be noted that similar aspects or ritual practice across different contexts does not necessarily imply that they are undertaken with the same intent or function in each setting.

Chart 1. Schematic of methodological approach to the analysis of an object's ritual or cultural significance

The purpose of this study, however, is not to deliberate upon individual objects in isolation but to consider object types and their significance across diverse cultural contexts. A cross comparative approach and corresponding framework is therefore a necessity. Proposed below (Chart 2) is a variation of that outlined in Chart 1 amended to incorporate two or more variations of cultural and archaeological contexts. The application of this framework allows for the listing of commonalities and differences at each cultural-contextual stage. An object that appears in one set of environs but does not feature in any analogous circumstances within the alternative cultural setting is unlikely to possess any common intrinsic meaning across both cultures. Objects displaying numerous similarities in context and function across multiple social landscapes may be interpreted as being of same or similar significance in both societies.[41] Those objects displaying multiple commonalities that are indicative of shared cultural import in both Egypt and Crete are the primary mechanisms through which one may identify that, not only is contact being made, but also more importantly that cultural exchange – the transfer of social commodities, of ideas and concepts – is taking place.[42]



[41] It should be noted that a single commonality does not equate to a common significance in the same way as an object with multiple commonalities. Such limited correlations are inconclusive and should not be taken at face value.

[42] Warren (1995) 12 offers a four-tier matrix for defining the nature of exchange surrounding an object or idea as follows: 'a) Primarily exchanged or traded materials, 2) Political or Diplomatic Materials, 3) Symbolic material, d) Secondary material accompanying primary trade goods'.

Chart 2. Chart outlining the process followed in this thesis of comparative analysis of Aegyptiaca within Minoan Prepalatial and Protopalatial burial contexts. Note that a match of two or more commonalities (similarities in the context, function, or ritual significance) any given object is indicative of a common socio-ritual significance between both the Egyptian and Minoan cultural contexts.

By the close of the third millennium, the inhabitants of Crete had begun to articulate a nascent identity of the collective self through the treatment of their dead. Burial culture came to act as a reflection of that of the living, a medium in which the social bonds of communities could be established in perpetuity. Whilst the archaeological record for human habitation on the island stretches back to the Neolithic, there is little evidence to suggest any form of cohesive material culture that extended beyond a few hamlets in any given locale. Tools, industrial output, and architecture all were primarily related to serving functions that related directly to the pressing realities of sustenance farming.[43] By the beginning of the EM II period, however, a cohesive – if regionalised – pattern of settlement began to emerge across the island. Isolated but easily defended homesteads and semi-permanent domestic structures were accompanied, and later eclipsed, by hamlets comprising of a handful of familiar groups that clustered around arable coastal plains and valleys. The construction of grouped permanent dwellings, supported by rudimentary infrastructure and modest industrial outputs, suggest that the EM II-III period was one in which the autochthonous roots of Minoan communities were laid down. Such hamlets formed the nuclei from which proto-urban settlements and, eventually, the first palatial complexes would emerge during EM III-MM IA/B. With the permanence came stability and, in turn, the socio-economic capacity to dedicate time and resources to the treatment of those individuals who, while still playing a tangible role in the spiritual existence of the living no longer contributed materially to their communities – the dead.[44]

3.1 Burial Structures and Mortuary Practices.

As with many aspects of Cretan society, in both antiquity and modernity, Minoan burial culture was influenced by the island's topography. The landscape, dominated by a spine of mountains running east to west, is periodically intersected upon a north-south axis by the rib-like protrusions of sub-ranges. The landscape is one of stark contrasts; arid and inhospitable slopes prone to generous dustings of snow during the winter months are juxtaposed by fertile coastal plains and valleys. The climate is similarly bi-polar with long, dry summers bookended by spring tempests and chill winters that are considerably more pronounced at higher altitudes. It should be noted, however, that the Bronze Age climate of Crete was somewhat moister, with

[43] Dickinson (1994) 34-35, 37-38.
[44] Earlier inhumations appear to have most commonly been simple pit burials within proximity of settlements. See Dickinson (1994) 209-210, 215, Mee (2012) 277-282 & Soles (1992) 41-42.

a far denser coverage of flora and endemic tree species than is the case in the denuded landscape of which confronts modern visitors in the third millennium CE.[45] Settlements and, by extension, inhumations from the period were distributed in clusters throughout those arable regions that were best suited to producing the consistent crop yields necessary for the sustenance of even the most modest of populations. It is no surprise then that burial practices, and more specifically tomb typologies, should exhibit differing traits, reflecting the disjointedness of habitation patterns across the island's regions. A survey of regional burial structures and cemeteries during the transformative EM II-EM III period is necessary not only to allow for the identification of pan-regional – or 'Minoan' – traits in material culture, but also as a means through which to establish the culturally significant 'built' spaces within which the dead resided amongst grave assemblages and exotica.

Spanning southwards from Mount Ida to the Asterousia ranges bordering the Libyan Sea lies the plain of Mesara, a rolling alluvial basin spanning some 360 km² that offers some of the most fertile cultivatable soil on the island of Crete.[46] The area would emerge by the end of the third millennium as one of the agricultural hubs supporting the palatial economies. The most prominent court-centric complex in the region, Phaistos, is believed to have been established concurrently with – if not ahead of – the sprawling powerhouse of Knossos 42 km to the north east. A satellite settlement at Hagia Triada, which by the late-Neopalatial Period would come to eclipse Phaistos itself in economic activity and wealth, lay beyond an adjacent hill to the north west, while the substantial harbour-complex and town of Kommos lay to the west upon the shores of the *Ormos Mesaras*.[47] A dense, if somewhat disparate, network of settlements could be found in the area from the late Neolithic through to EM I/II periods. The adoption of permanent agricultural practices during this initial transitional period saw the Mesara settlements flourish and expand at a modest yet not-insignificant rate. Domestic structures consisting of multiple rooms and in some instances multiple levels were established upon low hilltops and or exposed areas providing good visibility of the surrounding

[45] This fact is a common theme throughout much of the eastern Mediterranean in the third and second millennia. Some scholars have proposed that change in climate dynamics, even by a modest increase or decrease in temperature and rainfall may have been enough to disrupt the agrarian systems that underpinned the economic and political apparatuses of the day, perhaps contributing the widespread phenomenon of societal collapses in the final decades of the twelfth century BCE. See Jung (2012) for a brief survey of the discourse.
[46] Watrous gives the precise land area as 362 km² (Watrous [2004b] 29), within which a hinterland of approximately 374 km² was dominated by the centre of Phaistos (Watrous et al [2004] 4-12).
[47] See Map 2.

landscape.[48] The use of caves and natural overhangs in the landscape for inhumations is evident in the region from as early as the Cretan Neolithic. By the 2600s, however, the funerary landscape of the Mesara basin would come to be dominated by a distinct and enigmatic structural form.

Dotting the southern and central reaches of Crete, nestled amongst scrub and half-buried by dry soil, can be found low walls of neatly fitted stone – the remnants of circular buildings. In some instances, these circular structures can be found grouped together as if imitating the houses of a small community, while others stand alone as solitary sentinels in an otherwise unmodified landscape.[49] Many have rectangular annexes, accessible only from the outside, adjoining them – others are nothing more than a circle interrupted only by a small access opening. These enigmatic remains are the archaeological vestiges of *tholoi*, the large beehive-like tombs ubiquitous to the region.[50] While not constructed to the same degree of monumentality as the later Helladic examples on the Greek mainland, they remain impressive examples communal architecture during the Cretan Prepalatial period.[51] Given the otherwise rectilinear, if eclectic, nature of Pre- and Palatial period architecture, the use of circular structures may seem an odd one. And whilst such a sentiment is a valid one, it should be noted that such forms were almost exclusively restricted to use within the context of cemeteries.[52] Nor was the distribution of such structures universal across Crete. It has already been remarked upon that most *tholoi* are located within the Mesara and central regions, there are exceptions to this trend, as evidenced by the construction of such buildings during the Neopalatial period at Archanes Phournoi and at Isotapia, Knossos.[53] The first *tholoi* enter the archaeological record during EM I/EM IIA and are initially utilised for small communal burials by the inhabitants of surrounding hamlets. Often located in isolation as an outlying satellite of an associated settlement, with few (if any) auxiliary buildings in proximity, *tholoi* stood as conspicuous

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[48] It should be noted that whilst Pre- and Protopalatial settlements were so often located upon easily defendable ground, few settlements seem to have been constructed with defensive architecture such as walls and ramparts bar a handful of earlier Cycladic-built hamlets upon the northern coast. McEnroe (2010) 34.

[49] See Figure 3.1 for an example of *tholoi* within their wider geographic context.

[50] *Tholos* (singular); *tholoi* (plural). Some scholars have also raised the possibility of *tholoi* having been constructed with 'flat roofs of perishable materials' Neer (2013) 25.

[51] The so-called 'Treasury of Atreus' at Mycenae, with its internal diameter of 14.5 meters, for instance, dwarfs that of the largest structure (*Tholos* II) at Lebena Gerokampos II, which has an interior circumference of barely 5 meters.

[52] Notable exceptions being the deep *Kouloures* pits located within the west courts of Phaistos and Knossos, and the battery of granaries in the southwestern sector of the complex at Malia (Figures 4.1-4.3).

[53] These later structures are more likely to have been constructed in imitation of the monumentalised Helladic burials in wake of the increasing influence of the mainland centres rather than a concerted attempt to resurrect the earlier Prepalatial precedents. Dickinson (1994) 223-228.

outposts visible from the homes of the living as solitary structures or as part of a cluster.[54] During the early-Prepalatial period, inhumations appear to have been undertaken by small, likely nuclear, groups of individuals of which the deceased was a member. Bodies would be laid within the *tholos* chamber – a dark, oppressive, and claustrophobic space accessed via a low lintel opening in the lower layers of the encircling stonewall.[55] Some trepidation around the presence of the dead is evident in the orientation of the tombs, the entrances of which are universally orientated away from surrounding settlements, the result being succinctly articulated by Mee '[the dead] would be less inclined to return. The fact that their entrances were carefully blocked highlights this desire to keep the dead in their place.'[56] Small personal trinkets – domestic pottery, loom weights, tools, perhaps even an item of jewellery or a seal stone– would be deposited alongside the body, individualising the recently deceased and leaving them distinguishable from the other inhabitants of the tomb for mourners. A meal would be shared in the shadow of the *tholos*, a 'last supper' of sorts, before the dead would be left to their rest in perpetuity.[57] So the cycle of use and death and deposition would continue for generations until EM IIB when, inexplicably, use of the *tholoi* cemeteries ceased. Why such an abrupt and clear break in occupation took place is uncertain.[58] What is certain, however, is that following a short discontinuation lasting approximately sixty to a hundred years, the southern *tholoi* cemeteries experienced an equally sudden renaissance. Yet the reoccupation of *tholoi* did not see a continuation of the same funerary practices as in the early Prepalatial phases. Tombs that had once been host to relatively egalitarian inhumations by small communities now became venues for conspicuous burials of individuals whose funerary rights were attended by large groups of mourners.[59] Indeed, the very form of the *tholos* would undergo some modification to better facilitate the changing nature of burials.

Whereas early *tholoi* stood as solitary structures or in small clusters of like buildings, the reoccupation of the cemeteries during the late Prepalatial period saw the intensification of both mortuary edifices and their use. The single primary chamber of the *tholos* quickly came to be insufficient to service the needs of growing populations and the increase in the demographics being inhumed within, even with the consolidation of remains as part of a two

[54] Figures 3.1-3.4 depict the funerary landscapes of Trypiti and Moni Odigitria and illustrate the isolation of many early-Prepalatial *tholos* cemeteries.
[55] Herrero (2014) 22-23, McEnroe (2010) 26-27, Mee (2012) 280.
[56] Mee (2012) 208.
[57] Hamilakis (2014) 135-136; McEnroe (2010) 227-28.
[58] Anderson (2016) 16-17 notes the definitive break during this period and offers a brief survey of potential causes; see also Herrero (2014) 60-61.
[59] Herrero (2012) 340-349; Herrero (2014) 60-64.

stage burial practice and the periodic purges of the tombs' contents.[60] Rectilinear annexes became common additions to the Mesara *tholoi* in EM IIB/III-MM IA. These varied in complexity from simple structures consisting of a single sub-divided chamber, such as the annex associated with *Tholos B* at Platanos (Figure 3.6),[61] to more elaborate configurations featuring multiple enclosures – such as that which adjoins the neighbouring *Tholos A* – or those designed to encompass multiple *tholoi,* as was erected at Lebena Gerokampos II.[62] Ossuary enclosures became increasingly common during the same period, with the increasing frequency of inhumations outstripping available space even in the larger complexes like those at Moni Odigitria (Figure 3.7). These additional spaces served a number of functions, but appear primarily to have been utilised as venues for the primary exposure of bodies immediately after death (before the remains were transferred to the *tholoi* proper), shrines, and storage areas for the ritual-funerary objects used by mourners.[63] As was the case in the 'house tomb' cemeteries of northern and eastern Crete, the presence of shrines and, by extension, ritual activity clearly took place within the shadow of the *tholoi* complexes. The consumption of a shared meal, likely at the time of inhumation, continued throughout the cemetery's time in use. However, where such consumption took place on a small, almost intimate, scale in the early phases of use, stratigraphic evidence suggests that ritual and consumption activity escalated during EM III-MM IA.[64] Drinking vessels and wide shallow bowls appear in far denser concentrations in the EM III strata than those correlating to the previous kin-orientated burial phases. Much of this assemblage was of the increasingly refined Vasiliki, Pyrgos, and Kamares ware styles that had begun to proliferate during EM IIB/III, complemented by coarser mass-produced vessels that had continued to be manufactured by artisans from EM I.[65] Such cavalcades of dining accessories were found distributed in patterns which suggest that vessels were being both stored *en mass* in the storage areas afforded by the annex enclosures, as well as being discarded haphazardly following their use.[66] That *tholoi* cemeteries were being utilised as venues for

[60] Branigan (2010b) 256-258, Hamilakis (2014) 138, Herrero (2014) 48-49; Murphy (2011b) 38-41.
[61] See Herrero (2014) 63-72 for a thorough reanalysis of the Platanos *tholoi.*
[62] The Lebena Gerokampos II structure encompasses two *tholoi* (II and IIa) and an additional four rooms (A, N, AN, and Δ) of which one (A) acts as a connecting corridor between the two primary chambers. Cf. Plan 3.11 in McEnroe (2010) 27.
[63] Due to the generally disturbed nature of the Early Minoan cemeteries, it is not always possible to ascertain the exact function, or even the contents, of mortuary annexes. Educated guesses can be made, however, based upon the extant material found *in situ* and from the orientation or accessibility of the individual compartments. Those facing outwards and which do not appear to have been sealed are likely to have facilitated the exposure of bodies during the initial phase of burial.
[64] Herrero (2014) 151154.
[65] Momigliano (2007), 84, 91.
[66] Betancourt (2011) 88-95, Borgna (2004) 262, Hamilakis (2014) 154-155.

ritualised mass-consumption events is further evidenced by the presence of non-human remains in close vicinity to the tombs. Bovid bones, as well as those of smaller mammals such as sheep, goats, and swine, exhibiting signs carbonisation and the tell-tale notches caused by butchering are prevalent in the more intensively used sites.[67] It is unlikely that consumption was restricted to meat, however, particularly given the considerable investment of labour, time, and resources involved in the rearing of larger pastoral animals, not to mention their ability to produce other items of importance such as wool fibres, dairy products, and locomotion.[68] Plant based foods, both cultivated and foraged, are deemed to have likely featured upon ritual menus in the late Prepalatial period, in addition to the ubiquitous social lubricant that was the lifeblood of communities throughout the Mediterranean – alcohol.[69]

Redevelopment of burial complexes and the staging of large-scale communal ritual events were supplemented by additional changes in the reoccupied Mesara cemeteries. The dead were increasingly individualised – or at least made conspicuous from one and other – using mortuary containers. *Pithoi* burials, common across Crete from the EM I until the Neopalatial, and the proliferation of *larnakes* – clay sarcophagi with or without feet, which underwent a resurgence following the Mycenaean incursions of LM II onwards – appeared in tombs in both the southern *tholoi* and in the house-type tombs of north and east Crete (see below).[70] Not only are the dead interred in the *tholoi* further differentiated from those of lesser status who were generally left in natural recesses or in buried *pithoi*, their status is enhanced by the use of burial vessels which create what might be termed a 'resting place within a resting place.' Grave goods too, underwent a discernible transformation between the twenty-fourth and twentieth centuries. While small personal trinkets had accompanied the dead into their final resting places since the Neolithic, the character and quality of burial assemblages in the late Prepalatial period increased considerably.[71] Fine ware pottery, metal items, jewellery, and even weapons became more prevalent, as did the presence of artefacts imported from abroad – stone wares, sealings, scarabs, material and exotica – and most significantly, locally produced items which sought to imitate those from abroad.[72] The nature and significance of these later groups of objects – the foreign and the imitating analogues – will be discussed in further detail later in this chapter, but it must be stressed at this juncture that the appearance of such items is one of

[67] Cromarty (2008) 18-20, 95-96.
[68] Tzedakis & Martlew (2008) ix.
[69] See McGovern (2008) 169-218 for an exegesis on a 'ritual' beverage; Hamilakis (1999) 59-50.
[70] Hamilakis (2014) 148-154; Herrero (2014) 55-56 & Mee (2012) 281-282.
[71] Herrero (2014) 50-56; Murphy (2011) 28-31, 37-38.
[72] See below, p. 33.

the most jarring contrasts, alongside the changes in the scale of ritual consumption and the proliferation of auxiliary structures, that sets the EM III-MM IA reoccupation of the southern *tholoi* so starkly apart from the nature of their initial usage during EM I-II. The dead of the Mesara and Asterousia were, like their kin across the mountains in Lasithi and Rethymno, among those community members who appear to have benefited most from the increasingly hierarchal trajectory of Minoan society.

The communities of Crete's northern coast observed their own varieties of burial practices distinct from the conspicuously visible aboveground *tholoi* of their southern brethren. Early inhumations of the Neolithic to EM I/IIA era were like those of other regions, comprised mainly of simple pit graves and the deposition of remains in geomorphic cavities such as caves and rock overhangs.[73] These, however, would give way to a more cohesive regimen of constructed subterranean funerary structures that emerged concurrently with the development of the *tholos* elsewhere on the island. A mixture of house tombs, cist graves, and, later, chamber tombs formed the mainstay of funerary structures, particularly in the Rethymno and Lasithi regions. Whilst there is considerable variation in tomb typologies between the various northern locales, there is a commonality to be found in the nature of their construction – generally being recessed into the earth or other geological features (though not strictly subterranean).[74] The northern proclivity for 'burial' (in the literal sense) may be the result of a Cycladic influence, as has been convincingly mooted by several scholars. The earlier had developed between 3100-2200 BCE in the Cycladic archipelago in the southern Aegean. Not only do the pre-existing Cycladic burial forms mirror those of their southern neighbours, but also their influence in the area has been substantiated through the occupation of permanent Cycladic coastal settlements and clear evidence of intensive trade contact. Indeed, some have posited the theory that the foothold on Crete that was established by the Cycladic peoples is evidence of 'colonization';[75] however, interpretation is not substantiated when considered within the wider archaeological and anthropological contexts – such as the conspicuous lack of defensive architecture in Minoan settlements of the period and a healthy system of reciprocal material exchange. Regardless of the nature of Cycladic-Minoan contact, the commonality of burials is clear. In the Cyclades, shallow cist graves were the established norm. The dead were inhumed individually in graves lined with slate stones and accompanied by items varying from the

[73] Herrero (2014) 66-69; Soles (1992) 114-115.
[74] When considered in comparison to the conspicuous mounds of the southern plateau discussed previously.
[75] Hamilakis (2014) 138-141, Herrero (2014) 94-95 & 96. Mee (2012) 281 re: 'colonization'.

personal, such as loom weights and flint tools, to those of considerable value such as the bronze 'Cycladic Frying Pan' (a misnomer given the items' likely function as mirrors) and the carefully worked anthropomorphic figurines that are synonymous with the islands.[76] The preservation of individual identities in death via the use of single inhumations and the capacity for the signification of wealth or standing through the provisioning of grave goods of varying values, offer a medium in which an individual's status within their community could be established in perpetuity. These aspects, in addition to the potential use of burials as a means for projecting social status, would subsequently emerge as key aspects of Minoan burials in the areas that were host to Cycladic communities.

At the easternmost cape of the Bay of Mirabello lies a small island 200 meters from the shore. The island, barely 290 meters across at its widest point, has steep banks on its eastern, northern and western shores. Its interior slopes gently southwards at a slight but consistent gradient terminating in a sandy beach. From a distance, the island's lopsided plateau gives the impression of a semi-submerged ship slowly sinking by the stern. Sharing its name with the modern settlement facing it across the narrow channel from the Cretan mainland, the island of Mochlos was once home to an affluent Bronze Age community of approximately 200 to 300 people.[77] The remains of a sizeable settlement lies just above the southern shoreline, its paved streets and generously proportioned houses meander up the northward incline. Mochlos' inhabitants appear to have enjoyed an affluent existence, benefiting from their island's location upon a major inter-regional trade passage, between the hubs of Knossos to the west, the small but economically powerful centres such as Gournia, Palaikastro, and Kato Zakros to the east, and the Cycladic Islands to the north. But there is another, equally conspicuous community that dwells upon the terraces of the steep western shore, their houses all uniformly rectangular and constructed from stone slabs recessed into the bedrock. These are the houses of Mochlos' dead – or rather, their 'house tombs.' These tombs are prototypical for those found elsewhere throughout the northern and central regions of Crete, forming a northern counterpoint to the southern *tholos*. Low doorways give access to interiors that are sometimes further subdivided into smaller rooms or niches.[78] Several individuals may be interred, along with assemblages of

[76] Hamilakis (2014) 138-141; Mee (2012) 277-288.
[77] Murphy (2011c) 30.
[78] This type of subdivision has led to some scholarly disagreement in the case of the Mochlos terrace cemeteries, where initial excavators generally identified each division as representing a single tomb, whereas later assessments have mooted the possibility that such division both within and between tombs may, in some instances, comprise a larger meta-tomb complex belonging to a single social group. Cf. Soles (1992) 32-33; Phillips (2008) 201.

material offerings, as is common practice throughout the wider region, within each partition. Forensic analysis of the human remains at Mochlos indicates that the 'inhabitants' of each tomb were of the same familial group, lending credence to initial assumptions that the tombs were retained by kinship groups across multiple generations.[79] Walls were generally of stone, with floors of either slabs or compacted earth.[80] Both the interior and exterior forms of such tombs closely resembled the domestic dwellings of the living within the proximity of which they were often situated. Cemeteries further imitated 'living' settlements in layout and planning. While the terraces of Mochlos are constrained by topographic considerations to an extended linear distribution along a narrow path, others such as those at Gournia and Hagia Triada are clustered together as small necropoleis with paved areas and paths.[81]

The terrace burials of Mochlos offer a study in microcosm of the social dynamics that played out in the settlements and cemeteries of northern and central Crete during the Prepalatial period. While the twenty-four house tombs identified on the West Terrace and South Slope are of a common form and dimension, considerable variation in material and refinement clearly distinguish some structures from others. Those three that constitute the Western Terrace group (Tombs IV, V, and VI) have unanimously been identified as being elite burials.[82] The tombs are dressed in carefully cut – and often naturally coloured – stone slabs that line both the interior and exterior walls. Several also have flagstone-paved floors and, as evidenced by the discernible wear surrounding postholes in the stone thresholds, doors of a heavy construction.[83] Low benches are interspaced in the paved area of this terrace are low benches that likely acted as shrines for use in both funerary and votive rituals. Recessed high up the western slope and facing seawards into the greater Mirabello Bay, this elite cluster of tombs are sheltered from the prevailing winds and isolated from the neighbouring tomb clusters to the immediate south. The tombs of the South Slope are scattered across several terraces, varying in elevation from 10-40 metres above the shoreline below. While these structures are of the same architectural form as those on the house tombs of the Western terrace, their construction is decidedly less lavish. Those occupying the highest topographical shelf and lying closest to the elite West Terrace complex (Tombs I-III and XX-XXII), feature dressed stone upon their exterior walls, suggesting to the casual observer that these tombs (and by extension their inhabitants) are equal

[79] Dickinson (1994) 215-217; Herrero (2014) 104 & Murphy (2011) 28-31.
[80] Soles (1992) 47-48, 54.
[81] Figures 4.5 & 4.5.
[82] Herrero (2014) 113-115; Murphy (2011c) 30.
[83] Murphy (2011c) 31-33; Soles (1992) 46-49, 51-57.

in status to their neighbours a few meters to the north. Closer inspection, however, reveals that the similarity is a superficial veneer. Interior walls are of undressed stone blocks and the floors are of beaten earth. That the builders of these tombs should choose to concentrate their resources upon those aspects of their tombs that face outwards suggests a desire to *project* their status through such a display of wealth. Conversely, the acquiescence of unadorned interiors would indicate the tomb's occupants were conscious of their lesser standing within Mochlos' *societatem memoriae* – but the desire to be elevated beyond one's place was one of great concern. Conspicuous demonstrations, regardless of how superficial they may be, is clearly only of importance when consumed by those witnessing the display rather than those performing it. Social advancement was, at least within the context of Prepalatial Mochlos, both desirable and at least partially achievable. The state of the remaining Southern Slope tombs further suggests that a fluid social dynamic was playing out in the Mochlos cemetery. Again, the same basic form is maintained; however, the proportions of the tombs become condensed while the quality of the construction materials used decreases significantly.[84] Their proximity to the collection of elite tombs is further even than that of the socially ambitious cluster of burials (Tombs I-III and XX-XXII), being separated not only by a greater horizontal distance, but also vertically, some 20 meters further down the slope.[85] What is more, access to the necropoleis above the western shore is gained by a single path that snakes its way up through each terrace before terminating in the sheltered clearing containing the elite burials. By following this meandering yet diligently planned way, one is forced to pass by each of the twenty-one lesser tombs before reaching the elevated yet considerably more private burial structures upon the Western Terrace, leaving visitors in no doubt as to the pre-eminence of those souls residing in Tombs I-III.[86] A litany of additional burials contemporary with the terrace house tombs are scattered across Mochlos. These, however, are predominantly a mixture of *pithoi* and pit burials, concentrated to the south in closer proximity to the primary settlement.[87] While more prevalent, such subterranean inhumations are less conspicuous than the carefully constructed tombs to the North West, serving only to emphasise the visibility of the latter.[88]

[84] Murphy (2011c) 28, 30, 31-33.
[85] Herrero (2014) 98-99, 103-104, 113-114; Murphy (2011c) 33-34.
[86] Murphy (2011c) 33-34; Soles (1992) 63.
[87] Soles (1992) 41.
[88] Indeed, whether the *pithoi* inhumations remained in memory for any more than a generation after the burial took place is questionable, particularly given the fact that these would become the primary burial form from the Protopalatial onwards and as a result were far greater in number. Hamilakis (2014) 139-141.

Westwards from Mochlos, across the Mirabello, lies Malia, one of the key court complexes of the Palatial Period. Malia, like Phaistos, was the site of smaller settlements prior to the construction of the complexes in c. MM IB. And like its counterpart in the Mesara, Malia was a focal point for communal ritual and industrial activities. Located fortuitously close to the northern coast, the community was thus able to capitalise upon the flow of commodities between Knossos and the centres of East Crete – similar to the strategy employed by the inhabitants of Mochlos. A considerable proto-urban settlement even in EM II-III/MM IA, the affluence of Malia precipitated, or perhaps facilitated, the development of a stratified community, with those individuals or groups who gained status likely from their control of access to material resources. A burial compound north of the palatial complex contains some of the earliest inhumations at the site dating to early EM II/III-MM IA. From what remains of this original Prepalatial era structure it would appear that it was a large, multi-roomed building of mudbrick structure reinforced by stone. Like the West Terrace grouping at Mochlos, the burials of Chrysolakkos I (as the initial structure has been christened) faced westwards, opening on to a paved court-like area.[89] Inhumations linked to this phase appear to be restricted to a handful of individuals, a marked contrast to the more numerous ossuary and cleft burials located in the same area which were likely to have been the '*cimetière de pauvre*',[90] continuing the trend of segregated burial forms according to status previously identified at Mochlos.

Coinciding with the development of the first court complex in MM IB was the construction of a much grander burial structure, Chrysolakkos II, which obliterated much of its predecessor. Whilst nominally a house tomb in form and function, Chrysolakkos II was truly monumental in scale. The remains of at least twenty-eight 'rooms' or partitioned spaces are identifiable within the confines of the 44 x 30 meter structure.[91] A colonnade flanked the eastern side of the structure, which opened onto a broad paved court and it is likely that a monumentalised entrance may have been incorporated into this wall, however due to the state of preservation (or lack thereof) in this area this must remain a point of conjecture. Two spaces within the interior of the Chrysolakkos II building are worthy of further consideration. Room *f*, located near the centre of the building, and a partially obliterated room adjoining the eastern exterior wall have been interpreted as shrine areas. Both are assumed to have been directly

[89] The paved area before the West Terrace tombs at Mochlos was much smaller due to the constricted geography of the site, whereas what remains of the court area Chrysolakkos I measures 40 meters along its eastern edge. See Figures 3.8-10.
[90] Soles (1992) 162 note 106 regarding 'Demargne'.
[91] Chrysolakkos II was in turn partially obliterated by the ravages of time and a subsequent third building phase. See also Mee (2012) 281.

accessible via openings in the eastern and western facades, suggesting that they remained openly accessible to members of the community. A recessed bench and circular structure embedded into the plastered floor of Room *f* are likely to have provided spaces for libations, votive depositions, and possibly the burning of a small ritual fire.[92] The eastern shrine also contained the remains of a circular device, perforated with holes, has been interpreted as a *kernos* similar to other examples found in similar but chronologically later contexts.[93] The placement of ritual shrines *within* the larger funerary structure contrasts to the outdoor shrines situated between tombs on the West Terrace at Mochlos. Whereas the elites of Mochlos sought to distinguish themselves from their cohabitants by exploiting building materials and the topography of the local landscape to – quite literally – elevate themselves, those elites who both commissioned and inhabited the monumental Chrysolakkos II structure exploited the very architecture of their tomb itself as a means of projecting status. That the general populace – whose 'burials' were oftentimes little more than the placement of a corpse in an exposed recess in the nearby landscape – would have been aware of the stark contrast in treatment between themselves in comparison to those members of the community entombed to live (metaphorically) within a grand 'house of the dead' is beyond dispute. The potential for social advancement, or the projection thereof, seen upon the South Slope at Mochlos is conspicuously absent not only from the Chrysolakkos complex, but also from the additional Malian necropoleis.[94]

30 km southwest of Malia and 5 km south of Knossos, at the junction of three valleys, lies the modern town of Archanes. At the centre of this modern settlement, amongst the asphalt intersections and concrete houses can be found the partially excavated remains of a Minoan 'Villa' complex. Believed by Evans to be the 'summer residence' of his fictitious Regent of Knossos, Archanes straddled one of the major thoroughfares between Crete's northern regions and the southern Mesara. Evidence for human habitation at the site extends to the early sub-Neolithic; however, the settlement grew in importance following the advent of the first palatial complexes, following a trajectory of affluence akin to that of Hagia Triada. Lying upon what might be termed a 'ritual axis' through central Crete that features not only Knossos, but also Mount Juktas and the significant Prepalatial site of Vathypetro, Archanes enjoyed a sustained period of wealth and significance that continued into even the Mycenaean dominated Final and

[92] Dickinson (1994) 219-220; Herrero (2014) 73-75, 104-107 & Soles (1992) 165-166, 168-171.
[93] Herrero (2014) 104-107 & Soles (1992) 165-166, 168-171.
[94] See both Herrero (2014) Chapter 5 & Soles (1992) ''Malia'.

Post-Palatial periods. The conspicuous marker of the site's importance is not located within the settlement itself, however, but rather upon a ridge situated between two intersecting valleys to the immediate north. It is here; in the cemetery of Archanes Phourni, that one of the densest and most sustained series of inhumations, even by Cretan standards, took place. Seventeen built funerary structures, including three *tholoi* are located within the confines of the cemetery dating to the pre-Mycenaean period, in addition to numerous individual inhumations scattered throughout the site from across various periods (see Figure 3.6).[95] Scattered among strata corresponding with EM II-MM IA in the Phourni burial enclosures were further examples of items that had become standard in Cretan grave assemblages. Present here too were items of Aegyptiaca – imported scarabs and fastidiously executed imitations of miniature stoneware vessels. One artefact stood out however, conspicuous even by the standards of Prepalatial exotica. An elongated terracotta hoop, affixed to a handle with beads suspended upon rods affixed between two curved arms, was discovered among the detritus of Burial Building 9.[96] The contraption, known as a sistrum, is a Minoan imitation of an instrument that was developed in Egypt where it featured prominently as a mainstay of both religious and secular merry-making.[97] The appearance of such an item in an early Cretan context may not seem at first glance to be anything more than a curiosity, a coincidence that could have materialised in any number of contexts that dotted the trade routes of the Mediterranean Bronze Age.[98] A more careful analysis, however, reveals a far deeper significance of the Phourni Sistrum that has repercussions for our understanding of the presence and use of Aegyptiaca within the cemeteries of Prepalatial Crete.

3.2 Grave Goods and Assemblages: Imported and Imitation.

For the significance of the Phourni Sistrum to be truly comprehended, it is necessary to discuss the context and function of funerary assemblages in Prepalatial Crete. Minoan burial culture, like that of other peoples throughout the contemporary Mediterranean, saw the dead accompanied into the hereafter by assemblages of grave goods, items of significance to the deceased, and likely also to the mourners who deposited them with the corpse and the small communities from which they hailed. Burial assemblages of the early Prepalatial period were approximate analogies to those of Pre-Dynastic Naqadan Egypt, though somewhat more

[95] Two additional *tholoi* and a separate 'Grave Enclosure' constructed during the Post Palatial/Mycenaean Period are located on the north-west and southern peripheries of the cemetery. Soles (1992) 129, notes at least twenty-four funerary structures on the site.
[96] Phillips (2008b) 35-36.
[97] Spier *et al* (2018) 39-40.
[98] An instance of Warren's contact modes 'a' and 'b' p. 20 (above).

elaborate than those of their Cycladic neighbours.[99] Domestic items – pottery vessels or utensils – were often present, as were tools or implements such as bone needles, loom weights, or flint shards. Some objects of more significant personal or social value might also be included; a votive figurine, an item of jewellery – perhaps a ring or necklace of beads, or more overt signifier of status such as a carved seal or an item from abroad, some exotica, a scarab.[100]

Before a discussion of mortuary accoutrements can begin in earnest, a note must be made regarding the state of such items in their archaeological context. Crete's prehistoric cemeteries have, as noted above, been subjected to disturbance in antiquity, sometimes by design and other times inadvertently. As at Malia, mortuary complexes were often repurposed or rebuilt, the new structures often obliterating their predecessors. Elsewhere, as in the case of the Mesara *tholoi*, the continued use of burial sites across multiple generations resulted in tombs being periodically purged and fumigated, upending any semblance of stratigraphic cohesion that might allow the chronological sequencing of tomb deposits – the remains of the dead pushed aside or transferred to specially purposed ossuaries. The ravages of time and the elements have also had their impact. The house tombs upon the South Slope at Mochlos have suffered erosion by the seaward winds sweeping in from the Mirabello, though their privileged neighbours upon the more remote terrace were offered some protection from the Aegean's unceasing campaign of attrition. Other sites, such as Phaistos, have fallen foul of the region's tectonic volatility, becoming levelled by tremors emanating from the many faults that riddle the island, undermining even the sturdiest of slopes. Many tombs, particularly those that are discernible at or above ground level, have fallen victim to the spades of unscrupulous looters and well-meaning but careless excavators (who in some instances were in fact one and the same).[101] The following discussion of grave goods is therefore handicapped to some extent as a result of this severely disrupted record. Nevertheless, approximate chronological sequencing is possible in most circumstances, while the presence and function of individual objects can be established through the consideration of the artefact within its physical and social contexts (see above, Figs. 3.1 and 3.2).

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[99] Romer (2013) 69-71, 78-21.

[100] In Naqadan II-III contexts, these items might be supplemented with an alabaster mace head or similar weapon-like object that would, during the nascent pharaonic states of the Early-Dynastic would become closely associated with the power of the ruler, an iconographic motif that endured to the time of the Ptolemies. Romer (2013) 82-83, 137-145; Smith (1998) 11-13. Note that the term 'signifier' to refer to objects that act as indicators of an idea or concept - see Barthes (1957) 133-140.

[101] The southern *tholoi* have suffered acutely from illicit excavations (see for instance the damage catalogued in the surveying of the Moni Odigitria cemetery), while the equally jarring – if well-intentioned – 'restorations' of Sir Arthur Evans have already been noted (see Chapter Two).

Items of significance in Cretan grave assemblages were of mixed origin. A significant portion were of local material and manufacture. Minoan craftsmen were adept in the production of fine ware pottery, developing a succession of exquisite types beginning with the highly burnished Myrtos-Pyrgos and mottled Vasiliki wares of EM I-II/III giving rise to a variety of dark-on-light and white-on-dark decorative patterns of the Pre- to Protopalatial transition.[102] Fine wares of the Protopalatial represented a new level of refinement, with the polychromatic elegance of Kamares ware, named for the ritual site in which the type was first identified, entering the archaeological record around MM I.[103] Refinement was not restricted to decorative motifs and experimental multi-chromatic slips, however. The aptly named 'Eggshell Ware' vessels (Figure 3.15) serve as an exemplar of a material being appreciated as a decoration in and of itself.[104] Elaborate forms, sometimes imitating objects more usually found in a different medium – such as metal or stone – were developed, leading to a proliferation in zoomorphic and anthropomorphic rhyta that, though appearing in Cycladic and Helladic contexts, remained a speciality of Minoan potters. Minoan panache for terracotta was perhaps as much a result of pragmatism given the island's natural endowments rather than an impulsive flair for terracotta. Crete, while boasting significant resources such as fertile alluvial soils, a variety of different clay types, and an impressive array of flora and fauna, is relatively impoverished in terms of mineral wealth. Precious metals such as gold and silver are scare in the Cretan landscape, while reserves of ores are negligible.[105] It is therefore of little surprise that Minoan pottery crafts often demonstrated skeuomorphic qualities, particularly regarding drinking vessels of the types commonly found in ritual contexts (such as goblets and conical cups for instance) which acted as visual analogues for more exclusive metal prototypes. Jewellery and personal adornments appear frequently in the archaeological record, further demonstrating an elegance of Cretan artisanship that belies the scarcity of metal stocks and the semi-precious stones seen throughout Egypt and the Near East.[106] Figurines and small sculptures also featured prominently in Minoan grave hoards. Much like the semi-functional *rhyta*, figurines of the Prepalatial phase were often of mixed medium and subject matter. Humanoid and animal forms were common, especially in the northern cemeteries, where figures of smooth white marble, ubiquitous with the Pelos

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[102] Day *et* al (2009) 22-29, Hallager (2012) 407-410; Hood (1994) 30-38, Neer (2013)29-30.
[103] Day *et* al (2006) 29-34; Walberg (1978) offers a thorough treatment of both stylistic and manufacturing aspects of Kamares ware.
[104] See Below.
[105] Broodbank (2015) 396-402; Burns (2012) 291-292; Dickinson (1994) 28-29 & Pulak (2012) 864-870.
[106] As above, note. 102.

and Syros phases of the Cyclades (c. EC I-III), found their way into Cretan burials either as heirlooms or as the fruits of more recent inter-regional exchange.[107]

Complementing locally produced grave goods from the southern Aegean are artefacts from further abroad. Crete's location within the complex trading networks that extended from the Eastern Mediterranean through Mesopotamia and into the Afghan Kush allowed its inhabitants access to a plethora of commodities ranging from raw materials, such precursor metals that were scarce in the Aegean, to finished goods such as jewellery, textiles, organic materials, and decorated vessels. [108] It is difficult to establish whether initial imports were the result of direct contact between Minoan communities and their brethren abroad, or whether Cretan consumers benefited from their position towards the end of the cyclical passage of traded goods that generally ran counter clockwise from Egypt, along the Levant and Anatolia before looping back to Cyprus and the Aegean. In the case of the latter scenario, the second or perhaps third-hand acquisition of goods via a proverbial 'middleman' would have divorced objects from their initial functions and significance within their original societal contexts. A Middle Kingdom scarab, for instance, may have made its way to Crete via Byblos and Tyre, where such items may have functioned as markers of wealth and power, rather than as a religious-ritual object. By the time the scarab had made its way to the harbour complex at Gournia on Crete's north eastern coast, it may have served little purpose beyond being mere exotica – a signifier of the owner's status and their control of or access to desirable tradeable resources. However, it is possible to establish the 'direct' exchange of artefacts between cultural contexts through the analysis of an item's find context and evidence to suggest the function of the item. Where there is demonstrable commonality between significance of an item across multiple contexts (the original 'producing' culture and the 'adopting' one) then the likelihood of direct exchange having taken place is greater than that of the object having passed through multiple intermediaries.[109] Recent reappraisals of the viability of interregional travel across the Libyan Sea further strengthens the case for ongoing and direct contact between Crete and the Pharaonic lands to the south.[110]

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[107] Hamilakis (2014) 133-135, 139-143.

[108] The production of bronze, an alloy of tin and copper relied upon materials that were scarce in the Minoan homeland. Initially these are likely to have been sourced from the Cyclades; however, demand would quickly have forced Minoan artisans to look abroad to Egypt, Cyprus, and Anatolia to procure such items. A discussion of the trade of precursor ingots is provided by Pulak (2012) 864-871; for general commodities: Burns (2012) 291-296.

[109] See above Charts 1 & 2.

[110] Wachsmann (1998) provides an authoritative account of Bronze Age seafaring, cf. Chapters 6, 13 & 14

By far the most identifiable items of Aegyptiaca to proliferate in the cemeteries of the Minoan Prepalatial period are finely worked miniature vessels. Cut from banded or coloured stone and often worked to the point of translucence, the small vessels imitate larger forms such as amphorae, cylindrical cups, and pithoi. Miniature vessels featured in Egyptian burial contexts from as early as the semi-mythological early dynasties, through the Middle Kingdom and into the mid-18th Dynasty.[111] As with most components of Egyptian funerary assemblages, such vessels were intended to act as substitutes for real-world items of use to the deceased in the hereafter. Multiple vessels would generally be interred with the deceased, some containing ointments or other such unguents. The quality (to say nothing of the quantity) of Egyptian grave assemblages generally correlated to the status or wealth of the individual with whom it was inhumed. Whilst decorative patterns underwent some degree of variation, reflecting a *mode de l'époque,* the basic forms and their function remained consistent. Those found in Cretan contexts were identified within burial contexts, or within the confines of a ritual-orientated area. In form, they are almost exclusively of the types popular from the 2nd through to the 6th Dynasties (c. 2900-2200/2150 BCE). Several examples, such as the exquisitely worked Moustache Cup (Figure 3.8) were found within the confines of the complex at Knossos.[112] Unfortunately, precise physical and chronological contexts of these items have not been recorded due to their hurried and amateurish excavation by Evans' predecessor Hogarth.[113] Nevertheless, the Knossos cup is unique among the myriad of vessel forms seen on Crete. There is a lightness, almost a translucence to the piece that exemplifies the Egyptian finesse for the medium. Found in similarly vague circumstances upon the Kephala Hill are two additional examples of imported Egyptian stoneware recovered from Prepalatial contexts. A Cylindrical Cup (Figure 3.9) constructed from subtly ringed alabaster, was also recovered by Hogarth from the northwest wing of the complex – an area associated with ritual activity from at least MM IB.[114] The same area yielded several other examples of Egyptian stoneware and

[111] Karetsou *et al* (2000) 32-39 & 42-45.
[112] Moustache Cup, Egyptian c. 3rd-4th Dynasty. Diorite. Knossos ('West area of Palace Complex'). Heraklion HM Λ 2170. Cf.. Karetsou *et al* (2000) 28.
[113] The Moustache Coup for example, is recorded as having come from the 'West area of the Palace' (Karetsou *et al* 2000, 28), which is of little help given the continued occupation of the site from the Neolithic to the Early Iron Age. If, however, the precedents set during the Pre- to Protopalatial transition at Phaistos and Malia are extended to the same phase at Knossos, then it is possible that this area was, if not a burial site, then one with ritual connotations.
[114] Cylindrical Cup, Egyptian, c. 5th-6th Dynasty. Alabaster, 7.8 x 5.8 cm. Knossos (Northwest Area), from Hogarth Excavation. Heraklion HM Λ 128. Cf.. Karetsou *et al* (2000) 41. Phillips (2008b, 155, 378) categorises this object as a 'cylinder jar' in 'travertine' with a broader date range of the 5th Dynasty-First Intermediate Period.

some pottery, though Evans failed to record these excavations comprehensively.[115] One notable example from this hoard is a 2nd Dynasty spheroid bowl of dark speckled gabbro.[116] Whilst somewhat squat and heavy in comparison to the aforementioned cups, the Spheroid Bowl is nevertheless pleasing to the eye, its lug-like handles accentuating a broad, flat rim (Figure 3.10). The form bears more than a passing resemblance to later Minoan produced vessels of similar shape and function (see below).

Though the presence of imported vases within Cretan contexts cannot be taken as evidence for anything more than the existence of trading contacts and a market for exotica within the Aegean, a phenomenon would emerge during EM II suggesting that Minoan interest in Egyptian stoneware was no mere appreciation for superficial aesthetics. Imbedded in the accoutrement of Crete's Prepalatial cemeteries are scattered collections of locally produced, yet unusual vessels. Their forms, while exhibiting identifiably Minoan characteristics are, in their most basic essence, foreign, as is their stature – the vessels are petite, measuring no more than ten centimetres in height and half that in width, miniature imitations of containers that are more recognisable when constructed to their usual scale. Unusual, too, is the medium. Stone, while not an unfamiliar fabric to the Minoans, was by no means a primary choice for the non-architectural crafts. As discussed previously, the mainstay of the Minoan vessel production throughout the Bronze Age was clay, with which artificers of the south Aegean would become so adept at manipulating that their products would – arguably – stand uneclipsed until the Red Figure revolution of the 6th and 5th centuries. Yet this assemblage of cups, bowls, and jars were cut from attractive stone types such as alabaster, steatite, and diorite. Indeed, some objects were fashioned from raw materials that were imported from beyond the Aegean.[117] What, then, are these vessels and why are they of any significance within the wider context of the late Prepalatial period? Part of the answer lies in the handful of objects unearthed by Hogarth and Evans during their excavations of the wings to the north and west of the palatial complex at Knossos. Miniaturised vessels were a key feature of elite Egyptian burials from the Early Dynastic period onward and, while a handful of imported examples have been identified within Crete, it is the imitations that are more numerous.[118] Aside from a handful of isolated instances,

[115] Phillips (2008b) 155.
[116] Spheroid Bowl, Egyptian, c. 2nd Dynasty. Speckled Gabbro. Knossos (Northwest Area), from Hogarth Excavation. Heraklion HM Λ 2092. Cf.. Karetsou *et al* (2000) 27 & Phillips (2008b) 100.
[117] Cf.. Karetsou *et al* (2000) 'Isotopia'.
[118] See Phillips (2008b) 377-384 'Concordances – Heraklion Archaeological Museum'.

the Egyptianizing appear exclusively within funerary contexts.[119] The inclusion of imported exotica in Cretan burial assemblages is likely to have functioned as a conspicuous marker of the status of the deceased – an item from abroad is likely to have been of great value by its very nature in that it is atypical and uncommon.

From EM IIB, Minoan stoneworkers began to produce their own analogues of miniature Egyptian vessels. The quality of these imitations is exquisite, with workmanship on par with, and occasionally eclipsing, that of the North African prototypes. Indeed, the locally produced vessels-in-miniature, manufactured between EM IIB and MM IA/B, would represent a high-water mark in Minoan stone crafts that would remain unrivalled throughout the Bronze Age. Some examples, such as the steatite vase from Tomb XIX at Mochlos (Figure 3.16a), were ingenious adaptations assimilating Egyptian forms with Minoan embellishments, resulting in vessels that were unique hybrids.[120] Common vessel forms include conical jars, cups, amphorae, and *pithoi* (Table 3.3, Figure 3.16). Several vessels recovered from a range of sites exhibit carving marks (generally within the interior of the vessel) like those seen in Egyptian produced vessels, indicating that similar manufacturing processes were being practiced on either side of the Mediterranean.[121] What is perhaps most curious about the Minoan-made imitations is the homogeneity of their find contexts. They, just like the Egyptian prototypes, were found exclusively within burial assemblages. Whilst there is a considerable degree of disturbance in the Prepalatial cemeteries, particularly those in the Mesara and Asterousia regions, the miniature vessels are found either within the confines of primary burial chambers or near the primary chamber and those auxiliary enclosures that served as ossuaries and spaces for secondary inhumations.[122] They are not, unlike the more common local pottery forms, found scattered and discarded around the periphery of cemeteries, nor are they located in annexes dedicated to the storage of ritual wares. The miniature vessels are the exclusive preserve of the dead. While their function was not identical across both Prepalatial Cretan and Early-Middle Kingdom Theban contexts, their effect as conspicuous markers of status was. Thus, the imitation vessels not only imitated the forms of their Egyptian prototypes, but also appeared in similar funerary contexts, acting as markers of means and status for the dead. The

[119] An exception being one item that was located within the Mochlos settlement, and a handful of scattered fragments that are recorded without context from Knossos. See Karetsou *et* al (2000) 31-45.
[120] Karetsou *et al* (2000) 40.
[121] Warren (1969) 157-165.
[122] Karetsou *et* al (2000) 31-45.

sheer volume of such Egyptianizing wares and the uniformity of their find contexts underscores the existence of a common significance.

The import of seals as administrative tools and personal identifiers to Crete began in the final centuries of the early Prepalatial period. Seals had long featured in the civic forums of the more mature civilisations in Egypt and Mesopotamia, where they were used to impress unique patterns into soft mediums such as damp clay marking the ownership and provenance of commodities.[123] Early seals were little more than common stones incised with geometric patterns.[124] Refinement quickly came to the medium, however, as more desirable materials (such as ivory, semi-precious stones, and metals such as gold and silver) came into vogue. Increasingly elaborate patterns came to adorn seal stones as craftspeople became more adept at working with detail in miniature, with some Near Eastern examples containing figural scenes in multiple registers on a single circular piece of soft ivory.[125] A variety of seal forms are present in Minoan contexts, ranging from those depicting single geometric patterns to more elaborate designs upon cylinder and trapezoidal seals. The importation of finished Egyptian seals seems to have been accompanied by the adoption of their function as administrative tools. Usage of seals as markers of ownership and the identity of individuals (that is, the identity of the possessor of the device) is demonstrable from EM IIA/B. Sealings – the impressions resulting from the use of a seal – are identifiable in areas associated with economic and storage activities within Pre- and early Protopalatial settlements. Phaistos, the sublayers below the western magazines at Knossos, and near *Quartier μ* at Malia attest to the regular use of seals in daily life and not exclusively as status markers in burials. By EM III, locally produced seals were proliferating in far greater numbers than those imported from abroad. Minoan craftspeople quickly developed a finesse for detailed work in miniature, their designs beginning as a blend of local and foreign styles. By the establishment of the Protopalatial complexes, however, Minoan seal decoration would develop into a unique iconographic vernacular that encompassed distinctly 'Minoan' motifs present in other media. Bulls and toreadors, griffins and lions, 'Masters of Animals' and 'Minoan Goddesses', kilted men in elaborate headdresses striking poses and salutes, became standard in the visual arts, but particularly so in frescoes, vessel decoration, and sculpture. Seals, a foreign technology, were among the first mediums in which 'Minoaness' was articulated.[126] Their use by selected individuals acted as mechanisms

[123] Weingarten (2012) 318-325.
[124] Anderson (2016) 49-52
[125] Anderson (2016) 81-94; Karetsou *et al* (2000) 302-333.
[126] For an excellent (if exhaustive) account of the development of Minoan Glyptic, see Anderson (2016).

through which ownership or custodianship of items could be declared, while also reinforcing the status of their owner. The impression of what are essentially idealised traits representing what is 'Minoan' into an object gave the possessor control not only over object, but also over image. By dictating what is expressed and how, those with access to the mediums in which identity was expressed could at once both legitimise their own power while simultaneously influencing the relationship between communal and individual identities to enhance their standing.

The reader's attention is now drawn back to the clay sistrum from Archanes Phourni. It has already been noted that the instrument was developed in Egypt, where it featured prominently in ritual performances. Whilst the presence of an imported example would be significant, the existence of a Minoan produced imitation is even more so as it indicates that the instrument was, by the Protopalatial transition of MM IA/B, familiar enough that local craftspeople were able to convincingly imitate and reproduce foreign implements. Five additional examples, corresponding to the same period, have been identified in the Lasithi region of East Crete, suggesting a much wider proliferation of sistra in Minoan society.[127] The use of sistra as ritual instruments in Crete, analogous with Egyptian use, is attested in the instrument's depiction on the 'Harvester Vase' from Hagia Triada. This rhyton, dating to the late Neopalatial Period, is decorated with a processional scene of figures lead by a longhaired cloak-wearing figure (Figure 3.18a). The processional followers stride forwards, their mouths agape as if they were chanting aloud a song or chant (Figure 3.18b). Carried upon their shoulders are long poles, perhaps staffs or winnowing fans for use in the threshing of wheat.[128] One figure, however, carries an altogether different object – an arch-type sistrum – aloft before them. While the purpose of this procession has been debated, the presence of the sistrum alongside the cloaked figure would suggest that the procession is at least partly ceremonial in nature. The long life of the instrument, particularly during periods of intensifying contact between the Neopalatial communities and the 18th Dynasty (see Chapter 5, below) lends credence to the assessments that favour the presence of an Egyptian influence informing the use of the technology on Crete.[129] When considered alongside the adoption of administrative technologies and similar usage of entire types of funerary goods, the presence of the Minoan-made sistrum in EM III/MM IA Archanes suggests the existence of a subtle, yet nonetheless

[127] Karetsou et al (2000) 265-267.
[128] Hood (1994) 145-146; Preziosi & Hitchcock (1999) 117-119; Spier *et al* (2018) 40-42.
[129] It should be noted that Phillips (2008a) 35-36,& 218 offers a dissenting view, arguing that the instrument was developed locally, independent of any external precedents.

noticeable Egyptian influence in both the material culture of the Prepalatial period and in the development of status markers of the same period.

3.3 Cemeteries, Status, and Ritual Landscapes as extensions of Social Landscapes.

Spatial surroundings beyond the confines of cemeteries also played a significant role in the articulation of socio-ritual structures in Minoan communities. Space formed the landscapes, both physical and metaphysical, that acted as the settings within which daily life was experienced. In many regions across the island, cemeteries – foci for communal ritual and the stages for the formation and expression of collective identities – were situated conspicuously upon isolated promontories, stark against the surrounding environs and visible to the settlements that they served. Thus, the dead remained present in the daily lives of the living through the very conspicuousness of their resting places. The Prepalatial *tholoi* of Typiti and Moni Odigitria are clearly directly visible from the nearby hamlets, in the case of the former the cemetery is at a lower elevation than the settlement, which looks out upon the isolated burial site (Figures 3.1 and 3.2). At Moni Odigitria, on the other hand, it is the cemeteries that are elevated above settlements, forming a complex network of interlocking *tholoi* and hamlets throughout the Hagiophatango Valley (Figure 3.3), each of which maintains a degree of perceptibility with its neighbour. Whilst little more than foundations remain visible today, the superstructures of the tombs, particularly of the larger *tholoi* complexes such as those at Chatzinas Liophyto or Platanos, would have cast prominent and unmistakable silhouettes upon the horizon. The northern house tombs of Mochlos, Gournia, and Malia were similarly situated in relation to their associated settlements. The Gournia complex would have been clearly visible to anyone making their way up to the town from the harbour complex below, while the monumental Chrysolakkos structure to the northwest of Malia was exposed to the inhabitants of the main settlements and its various *quartiers*. At Mochlos, the stratification of the tombs upon the West Terrace and South Slope served to distinguish the occupants of Tombs IV-VI from their fellow dead, which is most likely to have been an extension of a hierarchy in the community of the living.[130] The presence of fine wares amongst Prepalatial burial assemblages further reinforces changing attitudes of communities towards personhood and the internal divisions that were beginning to materialise in Prepalatial society.

If the abodes of the dead and those of the living co-existed within a unified plane, then both were dwarfed by the peak sanctuaries that punctuated the Cretan landscape. Perched atop

[130] Herrero (2014) 150-159; Murphy (2011c) 32-34 & Soles (1992) 241-242, 255-258.

foothills and prominent mountaintops, the Cretan peak sanctuaries had served as centres for ritual gatherings as early as the Neolithic and continued to be of importance throughout the Bronze Age and Classical periods. The genesis of these locations is obscure but a convincing hypothesis has been suggested whereby such locations, being elevated and offering a broad view of the landscape below, may have served a pragmatic as well as an esoteric function by allowing for the delineation of grazing pastures and setting of territorial boundaries between individuals or groups.[131] Such a dynamic would be consistent with conclusions drawn from recent reappraisals of late-Prepalatial usages of communal space at sites that would host the yet-to-be constructed palatial complexes. Aside from a common topographic setting, peak sanctuaries varied considerably in form throughout each region. From simple bench shrines and small walled enclosures to large artificially levelled plateaus supplemented by permanent structures. Sites that exhibit the greatest level of development are generally those associated with the Crete's major promontories. Mount Juktas, with its distinctive double-peaks, served as the primary ritual site for the hinterland around Knossos and boasted what may have been one of the most intensively used elevated ritual venues of the Minoan era. Development of the site was such that, by the reestablishment of the palatial complexes in MM IIIA/LM IA, sufficient infrastructure capable of servicing a modest but permanent community had been put in place. Drains, terraced retaining walls, and paved paths surrounded the ritual precinct, with stone storage structures containing consumptions-related and ritual wares in quantities that are suggestive of mass-attended communal events. Among the permanent structures identified in proximity to the precinct is a so-called 'Guest House', a two-storied building with rooms set aside for living, the storage of coarse ware vessels, and – most curiously – a large flagged space in which several well-used hearths were discovered in situ. The hearths, believed to have been in use at the time of the building's collapse, contained carbonised bones (mostly bovid) exhibiting fractures in line with methodical butchering. Animal proteins, particularly those of larger mammals, formed only a small part of the average Minoan dietary intake.[132] Given the amount of meat-related *mise en place* in the Juktas Guest House's 'kitchen,' the easy access to stores of dining ware, and its proximity to the sanctuary's ritual enclosure, it seems likely the

[131] Anderson (2016) 12-13.

[132] While meat was widely consumed during the Aegean Bronze Age, it was not enjoyed in the quantities familiar to followers of modern diets, as attested by the prevalence of chronic ailments resulting from long-term protein deficiency in the archaeo-forensic record. When meat was eaten, it is likely to have been from smaller animals – such as swine, fowl, and goats – which required lesser investment of time, labour, and resources than large animals such as bovids that were likely prized more for their ability to provide a form of locomotion than for its meat. See Triantaphyllou (2010) 236-244 & Riley (1999).

activities undertaken by visitors to the site were an exception to, rather than an extension of, the norms of daily life in the urban settlements.

Over the course of some seven hundred to seven hundred and fifty years, the disparate communities of Crete had germinated the seeds of a distinct cultural identity, rooted in a common set of mortuary-ritual practices. The transition from rudimentary domestic structures and sustenance farming to permanent settlements and fully-fledged agrarianism ushered in a period stability and a modest surplus in material output. Time and concern were now increasingly dedicated to considerations of existence beyond the immediate present – specifically the clear anxieties exhibited concerning the hereafter. The dead, like the living, came to exist within a carefully constructed environment, equal parts built and natural, sacred and profane, a mesh woven from settlements and cemeteries, sacred peaks and ritual sanctuaries. The dead and the living co-existed within aligned planes – ritual landscapes – which, during the transition from the Prepalatial to Protopalatial phases, were becoming increasingly divided. With a small demographic of the wider population emerging as elites who utilised material culture and burial ritual to solidify their privileged position.

4. Building Hierarchy, Consuming Status: Architecture, Consumption & the Cultivation of Social Elites in Palatial Crete

In the years between MM IA/B-II, Crete was gripped by a sweeping socio-economic revolution. In open spaces that had previously served as venues for communal ritual during EM II-MM IA emerged the sprawling complexes constructed of ashlar masonry. Monumental facades and carefully paved court areas were central components of the new architectural regime, as were shrines, storage magazines, and large pillared halls. These were the palatial complexes, the grand labyrinthine structures that had evoked the myths of Minos and his bastard son in the minds of Evans and other early excavators. The palatial complexes were the economic, political, and social powerhouses that underpinned the golden age of Minoan civilisation from the beginning to the mid-second millennium. Two distinct phases constitute this period. The Protopalatial, or 'Early Palatial,' Period began in MM IB with the construction of the first complexes emerging at Phaistos, and then at Knossos and Malia quickly thereafter.[133] A destructive episode – likely a large seismic event – brought about the collapse of the early complexes towards the end of MM IIIA.[134] Many of the structures were quickly rebuilt, however, directly upon the foundations of their predecessors, while newer sites such as Zakros, Gournia, and Palaikastro came to prominence during the brief vacuum. This brief renaissance, the Neopalatial, endured for some two to three hundred years before a further, far more devastating series of cataclysms saw the final destruction and abandonment of many sites and, following this, the arrival of the more belligerent Helladic states shortly thereafter. And yet, despite the radical advances in urbanisation, economic output, and administrative complexity, palatial elites continued to exploit many of the same mechanisms deployed in the Prepalatial period to consolidate their positions at the apex of what was rapidly becoming a rigidly stratified society.

4.1 Defining the Minoan Palatial Complex: A Brief Analysis

The term 'palatial complex' is, like much of the scholarly nomenclature relating to the Aegean Bronze Age, in some respects a misleading one. It inadvertently implies that the complexes are formulaic, constructed uniformly according to a single cohesive architectural program. While there are elements that are common across the various sites, there is an equally

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[133] Note that in the interest of conciseness and ease of comprehension, this chapter will focus primarily upon the complexes of Knossos, Phaistos, and Malia, with reference to the settlements of Neopalatial Gournia, Hagia Triada, and Kato Zakro for comparative purposes.

[134] See Chapter 2 (Tables 2.1-2.2) and Shaw (2015) 3-4 regarding the sequencing of palatial chronology.

wide degree of variation, like the loose patterns that represent 'regional' burial customs during the Prepalatial period.[135] Of the core architectural components of the present across each of the Minoan complexes, quintessential are the paved courts. These expansive, open-aired areas were the focal points of communal activity from the time of their establishment until their abandonment during the destructive episodes that marred the end of the Final Palatial. Initial excavators considered the courts, like the rest of the structural complexes which they served as extensions of, developed suddenly during MM IA/B. Recent appraisals, however, have suggested that the complexes were constructed to incorporate communal spaces that had pre-existed during the Prepalatial, an argument that is particularly convincing in the case of Phaistos.[136] Indeed, Phaistos, located upon a southward facing ridge in the central Mesara, was the earliest of the palatial complexes to emerge in MM IB, followed in quick succession by Knossos and Malia.[137] Each of these 'big three' complexes featured a rectangular Central Court around which facilities and wings of rooms would be constructed. Also, present were the more amorphic-paved areas known as West Courts, which sprawled before ashlar facades that marked the western extremities of the complexes proper. It was these external courts that served as the focal points for communal activity in the Protopalatial Period. Embedded within the paved surfaces were raised walkways, rising a few centimetres above the surrounding surface. The walkways intersected at key points, forming atrophic scalene triangles when viewed from above (Figures 4.1 and 4.2). Flanking the northern edge of the West Court at Phaistos was a terrace of low benches; recessed into a stone bank, a primitive grandstand of sorts that overlooked the court below (Figure 4.6 offers a view from atop the area). Known to modern scholars as the 'Theatral Area', these terraces are assumed to have in fact functioned as viewing platforms from which ritual processions and performances could be viewed.[138] A similar area existed at Knossos. However, the Kephala theatral area overlooked a junction marking the end of the Royal Road before the monumental North Entrance and the upper reaches of the West Court, rather than the court itself (Figure 4.1).

An additional feature of the West Courts are *koulouras* pits – large well-like cisterns constructed from stone partially submerged below ground level. There has been some debate as to the exact function of these cylindrical edifices, ranging from a long-accepted hypothesis

[135] Manning (2008) 106; McEnroe (2010) viii & Shaw (2015) 2-3. Hitchcock (2000) 13-22 & 42-47 uses an abundance of parentheses to indicate her scepticism of the 'Palace' related terminology.
[136] Anderson (2016) 25-32; Freeman (2014) 118-119 & Shaw (2015) 2-4.
[137] Shaw (2015) 2-4.
[138] Hitchcock (2000) 69-71; Shaw (2015) 17.

that they were granary-like storage structures to more measured reappraisals during recent decades likening them to drainage cisterns.[139] The former theory is an attractive one as it implies that the *koulourai* served both an economic function, namely mass storage for the considerable quantities of grain known to be being produced by Minoan agriculturalists, and a ritual one, positing that processions of people carrying the harvest crop would follow the raised pathways through the West Courts and past the *koulourai* where they would deposit their loads.[140] However, this interpretation ignores the realities of the archaeological evidence. The pits at Knossos and Phaistos are unlined, making them permeable to moisture and thus ill-suited to the storage of grain even in the short-term.[141] Nor do the *koulourai* at either site contain any traces of an internal supporting structure necessary to support an enclosing roof.[142] Compare these to the granary-complex at the south-west corner of Malia, where the structures are lined with lime wash, not recessed deeply into the ground, and which exhibit the remains of ceiling-supporting columns.[143] What is more, the orientation of the Knossos *koulouras* is not in line with that of the nearest raised path which runs upon a southwest to northeast axis. Rather, the pits are situated one-behind-the-other upon what is much closer to an east-west orientation, the easternmost structure being closest in proximity to the raised path and the west façade (Figure 4.1). Adjoining the West Courts of complexes dating to both the Proto- and Neopalatial are monumental facades constructed from ashlar blocks. These aptly names 'West Facades' dominated the horizon for those approaching the palatial complexes from the west, and in the case of Knossos looming over even those traversing the Royal Road towards the Kephala complexes' northern entrance. The original facades of the initial complexes are largely obscured by their Neopalatial successors. However, the initial wall of dressed ashlar at Phaistos is visible, having been retained as an external support for the levelled fill, which acted as a stylobate for the Neopalatial structure (Figure 4.6, centre).[144] At Knossos, too, traces of the original wall can be identified within the lower reaches of the later façade for which it acts as a base. The Knossos façade was covered in a plain lime wash fresco of deep red that has been partially restored (Figure 4.6, top). It is possible that similar decoration was applied at Phaistos and Malia; however, the quality of the Phaistos masonry is of such quality that it could well have been left exposed without compromising any of the structure's aesthetic merits. During

[139] It has also been suggested that the Phaistos *koulourai* housed sacred trees, like those present in some Egyptian centres, however, there is little evidence to support this. McEnroe (2010) 60 & Shaw (2015) 15-17.
[140] McEnroe (2010) 60 & Shaw (2015) 15-17.
[141] Cadogan (1980) 53-54.
[142] Christakis (2008) 49-50.
[143] Ibid.
[144] Shaw (2015) 81-86.

the Prepalatial period, ritual activity seems to have taken place in both the interior and exterior courts, transit between the two being possible via openings in the Western Facades.[145]

If western courts served to monumentalise the exteriors of Minoan palatial complexes, then central courts served as their architectural hearts. More defined than their western counterparts, central courts were almost universally rectangular in form, though a notable exception exists at Malia, where the western edge of the main court diverges from parameters that were otherwise parallel (Figure 4.5). At Knossos and Malia, the central courts are enclosed on four sides by the main wings of the complexes. Phaistos, meanwhile, is enclosed only upon three sides, the southeast corner having fallen victim to the forces of geology and gravity (see unshaded areas in Figure 4.2). A key characteristic of the central courts is their orientation, which is generally situated upon a north-south axis.[146] Given the topography of Crete, such an positioning will invariably result in an alignment that places the ocean and the mountainous spine of the island towards the north or the south, depending upon one's location.[147] The importance of peak sanctuaries as markers within the Minoan ritual landscape, as discussed in Chapter 3, is thus incorporated – quite literally – into the heart of the palatial complex. At Knossos, this orientation places the Aegean to the north and Juktas to the south;[148] at Phaistos, the double peaks of Ida loom upon the northern horizon, its shadow stretching southwards to the Libyan Sea; while at Malia the peak and cave sanctuaries atop Mt Dikti lie directly to the south. Indeed, if one stands at the centre of the above courts, the associated peak will be clearly visible (as demonstrated in Figure 4.6).

The various areas within the confines of the palatial complexes served a variety of functions, each with unique architectural traits. As the lynchpins of the Middle and Late Minoan economies, palatial complexes incorporated areas dedicated to the production, storage, and management of commodities. Storage magazines, consisting of an extended corridor giving access to a row of tightly arranged, narrow rooms, feature as the main repositories for both finished products and raw materials. In many rooms, *pithoi* – a type of large thick-walled vessels found in a variety of forms and capacities – have been found, sometimes recessed into

[145] This seems most likely at Phaistos where enough of the Protopalatial structure remains to allow the identification of a passage following a branch of one of the raised Theatral paths just south of the Neopalatial magazines (Figure 4.2).
[146] There is some degree of variation to this alignment however. Katos Zakros for instance, while nominally conforming to the basic orientation, lies upon an axis that is some 35-36° east of north cf.. McEnroe (2010) 84 Plan 8.6.
[147] See Maps 1 & 2.
[148] Note that the settlement and cemetery at Archanes lies just to the east of Juktas, within a few degrees of the alignment running through the Knossos court.

the floors of, magazines. Their imperviousness and generous capacity have led some to praise them as 'food storage containers par excellence'.[149] Additional storage vessels include a plethora of amphorae and pithamphorae, vats, and lined cists.[150] Other areas were given to the manufacture or processing of commodities such as textiles – marked by the distinctive presence of loom weights, ceramic production, and the smelting and working of metals. Quartier Mu at Malia provides an excellent case study in both the layout and function of palatial workshops, containing a hybrid settlement of domestic dwellings and small industries.[151] Present too amidst the sprawling complexes were shrines and ritual areas, such as the enigmatic 'Lustral Basins', halls, porticos, and residential wards.[152]

4.2 The Economic and Ritual Functions of Palatial Complexes

It has already been noted that there exists a considerable body of evidence to suggest the undertaking of coordinated craft production and large ritual affairs near what would become the first incarnation of the complex at Phaistos. Indeed, the primitive economies of Crete were becoming increasingly productive, as is attested through the increasing proliferation of locally manufactured fine wares and the importation of Aegyptiaca and other prestige goods from beyond the Aegean. The productivity of industries such as agriculture, ceramic production, and the production of other goods was such that formal administrative systems were developed as a necessity – aided in part by the importation and imitation of seals. Thus, there was a clearly an economic impetus underpinning the construction of such monumental projects. Storage of large quantities of goods appears to have been one of the primary functions of the court-complexes, with much of the ground floor of the west wing at Knossos consisting of storage magazines, with additional storages occupying the northeast corner of complex (Figure 4.1).[153] Phaistos, too, boasts a large magazine along the interior of the western façade (Figure 5.3), though this is considerably less extensive than seen at other sites.[154] Magazines at Malia can be identified on the ground floor of the west wing, along the eastern perimeter of the Central Court obscured by a colonnade, and to beyond the North Court, where an oblong building of some twenty-two meters in length has been identified as a double-storied magazine complex

[149] Christakis (2008) 12.
[150] Cadogan (1980) 36; Christakis (2008) 12, Hitchcock (2000) 127-131.
[151] See McEnroe (2010) 64-65 for a succinct summary of the domestic-cum-industrial site.
[152] Hitchcock (2000) 157-189.
[153] It should be noted that the precise extent of the northeast magazines is unknown owing to the displacement caused by the rebuilding campaigns MM IIIB and LM II/III.
[154] Additional magazines may have existed towards the south-eastern corner of the central court; however, this is unprovable because this area has been obliterated by extensive geomorphic subsidence.

(Figure 4.3).[155] Much has been said regarding the capacity of palatial stores and while an exact figure can never be known, conservative estimates have been proposed by Christakis for Knossos, Phaistos, and Malia of approximately 1,049-1,128 m², 219 m², and 1,400 m² respectively.[156] The ramifications of storage capacity upon Minoan ritual life will be discussed in further detail below. It is important at this juncture to remind the reader of the importance of storage and economic activity was in the functioning of the palatial centres.

The palatial complexes' role as ritual venues began from the very point of their inception. As has been noted, the areas upon which protopalatial foundations were established had already seen extensive use for communal activity. At Phaistos, the use of the west court coincides with the final abandonment of many near-by *tholoi* cemeteries, while the use of the Chrysolakkos complex continues for some time into the MM II-III period but without the previously seen intensity of use.[157] The courts at Knossos, meanwhile, were not only constructed directly over a pre-existing communal space, but upon a number of domestic dwellings that had clustered around its borders.[158] Ritual activity throughout the palatial period is likely to have been connected to economic activities, likely relating to the agrarian cycle.[159] The presence of both elevated walkways and terraced 'theatral' steps makes the likelihood of processional ceremonies being an integral part of ritual life all but certain, particularly when considered alongside the existence of frescoes appearing to depict just such activities in proximity.[160] There exists a consensus that the importance of the west courts diminished at the time of the destructive events of MM IIIA and the subsequent restructuring of the complexes during MM IIIB/LMIA.[161] The staging of primary ritual activities – mass-consumption events, assemblies, and performances – were consolidated within the central paved courts at approximately this time. Indeed, the very functions of the areas ringing the central courts were given to shrines, hypostyle and pillar halls, and ritual stores.[162] Concentrations of drinking wares were found near the central areas at each of the three primary sites. Additional ritual items such as *kernoi*, double-headed axes, and the famous 'Horns of Consecration' were also

[155] McEnroe (2010) 53.
[156] Christakis (200) 44-50. Christakis also provides approximate rations of storage-to-total area estimations for each palace as follows: (Knossos) 8.1-8.8%, (Phaistos) 3.1%, (Malia) 15.7% (pp. 47-48, 50).
[157] Soles (19992) 171-172.
[158] Anderson (2016) 25-32.
[159] Lupack (2012) 258-259, 251.
[160] These are the 'Processional' frescoes lining the corridors that ran along the southern façade at Knossos from the west court to the south entrance. Hood (2006) 54-56, 66-68 & McEnroe (2010) 124-126.
[161] Hitchcock (2000) 97.
[162] Not to mention the dubiously reconstructed 'Grand Staircase' at Malia and the 'Throne Room' and 'Temple Repositories' of Knossos.

deposited *en masse* in easily accessible stores. Mass-consumption events had been a hallmark of Minoan ritual practices since their inception before the communal tombs in the late Prepalatial period but had become almost completely consolidated within the central courts by the onset of the Neopalatial.[163] Coinciding with the relocation of 'feasting' was a change in the typology of drinking vessels. A stratigraphy of style, or rather of quality, is discernible in the palatial centres' ritual stores. Refined styles such as Kamares ware, which emerged in EM III, are supplemented by additional forms such as Barbotine Ware and the exquisite 'Floral Style' that emerged in the Neopalatial (Figure 4.17, *left*). However, such styles were now accompanied by much larger quantities of crude ware vessels. In some instances, crude wares would imitate a more desirable style and form, though even in such cases the overall quality was sub-optimal, having been mass-produced and with a minimum of unnecessary adornment (Figure 4.17 & 4.18). The intrinsic value of crude ware was not its quality or desirability, but rather in the fact that it afforded the user a legitimacy, a physical marker of being present at and participating in a large-scale ritual. At the opposite end of the spectrum were the fine wares and, depending upon one's importance or status, more conspicuous items. Prestige goods, those items that either impart status upon or act as markers for the status of the user, are now no longer the preserve of the dead. Social elites – or other individuals with access to such items – more regularly began to employ prestige goods to distinguish themselves from the general populace. Imported exotica and vessels of unusual material or form would be utilised in full view of assembled spectators. Indeed, the act of consumption could entail the consumption of the vessel itself, as appears to have been the case for *rhyta*. These ornate and often oversized vessels would be ceremonially broken following their use in a ritual rite – smashed upon the surface of the court below, its exact likeness never to been seen or used again. The formalisation – almost regimentation – of elitism within court-centred ritual practices indicated that hierarchies were truly becoming entrenched in palatial society.

4.3 Exploiting Palatial Forms: Palatial Elites and the Consolidation of Power

An additional architectural element facilitated the undertaking of ritual within the central courts – height. The contextualisation of the central court and those standing upon it was achieved by the incorporation of the wider landscape into the design of the neopalatial complexes. An example of this harmony between the 'built' and 'natural' landscape can be found in the monumental 'Horns of Consecration' that were installed upon the southern parapet

[163] It should be noted that peak sanctuaries also served as settings for mass-consumption events from EM III until the Final Palatial. See Jones (1999) 28-35.

of the central court at Knossos. This adornment aligned with the distant sanctuary upon Mt Juktas, grounding the viewer within both the court and the region's dominant geological feature.[164] A similar phenomenon was achieved at Phaistos, where Mt Ida functioned as both the point of orientation and the lens through which it could be viewed, the mountains twin peaks serving as a truly monumental version of the stone horns at Knossos (Figure 4.7 & 4.8).[165] Built heights became more formalised from MM IIIB, with the construction of open balconies and viewing rooms upon the upper stories surrounding the central courts. While much of the structural evidence for such elements has not survived, beyond the presence of stair wells and Evans' questionable reimagining of Knossos in cement, there exists an extensive body of evidence in the form of artistic representations. Prominent among them are the scenes depicted in the miniature faience 'House Tiles' and 'Grandstand Fresco' of Knossos and a fresco depicting a flotilla and urban settlement from Room 5 of the West House at Akrotiri/Thera.[166] The remains of a 'window of appearances' in the western façade and main court at Gournia (a site that is unusual for its retention of the monumental western approaches) has been identified as having served as an elevated stage upon which those leading the cult rituals would appear before the populace (Figures 4.9 & 4.10). The presence nearby of a ritual drain and Baetyl (Figure 4.11) served to underscore the importance of libation offerings.[167] An even more overt use of elevated ritual space can be found in the neopalatial complex at Malia. Situated at the northern end of the central court, lie the remains of a ground level pillar hall containing concentrations of fine ware dining utensils and staircase (marked as 'IX 2' in Figures 4.3 & 4.12).[168] The stairs provided access to an open-sided 'banqueting hall' atop the pillared room of IX 2, which looked over the court below. Attendees assembled below would thus have been captured at the least elevated point in an extended isosceles triangle of viewpoints. Should they face northwards, the occupants of the elevated hall would dominate their view, while a rotation of one hundred and eighty degrees to the south would have elicited a view of the distant peak of Mt Dikti.[169] The occupants of the elevated hall – invariably elites given the quality of the vessels found in the destruction layer below – would have thus been (quite literally) elevated above the general populace and closer to the plain of importance

[164] The feature in question is visible in Figure 4.16 (lower), though viewed from the north upon the approach to the complex's northern entrance. Hitchcock 2000) 99-100 and (2010) 166.
[165] Jones (1999) 36-38.
[166] See Palyvou (2005) for a summary of the representation of architectural element sin Minoan Frescoes. Also, Shaw (2015) 21-22.
[167] Soles (1991) 35-37.
[168] Hitchcock (2000) 186-187; Shaw (2015) 34-41.
[169] Figures 14.13 & 4.14 provide an indication as to the sense of scale and elevation of the banqueting hall to those standing upon the court below.

associated with the ritual peak. It was in such ways that spatial elements that had previously existed within the metaphysical Prepalatial landscapes were manipulated into a controllable environment. Indeed, this realignment of spatial axes was a fundamental element of a wider program of 'realignments' – architectural, ritual, and social – that served to further elevate an increasingly assertive elite.

The presence of a 'ritual' or 'sacred' landscape lying parallel with that of the 'profane' (real or physical) in Prepalatial Crete has previously been mooted in Chapter 3. Yet such esoteric plains were not abandoned with the early cemeteries. Rather, the axis upon which such landscapes rested were merely adjusted to align with an alternative set of ritual markers. Each of the prepalatial complexes were planned so that their central courts rested longitudinally upon a north-south axis, one pole of which would, depending upon the location of the site, be located upon a significant peak or cave sanctuary while the other would lie towards the sea. At Knossos, the peak of Mt Juktas lay to the south while to the north lay the harbour complex of Amnisos and the cave sanctuary of Eileithyia (Figure 4.1 & Map 2). Malia, situated upon the northern coast, looked southwards to Mt Dikti and Psychro Cave (Figure 4.3). From its location in the Mesara, the central court of Phaistos offers an exquisite view of the double peaked summit of Mt Ida (Figures 4.7 & 4.8).[170] Indeed, even the comparatively atypical Neopalatial settlements such as Hagia Triada and Gournia conform to the general pattern of orientation as best as the topographies of their locales allow.[171] The diminishing importance of the west court as a setting for ritual during the Neopalatial resulted in the concentration of cult activity within the confines of the central court. It is clear from the views profited by the architectural reworking of the far edges of these courts that the alignment of peak and palatial complex was intended to be obvious to even the most severely short-sighted of observers.[172]

The ability of palatial elites to define the parameters within which communal ritual took place enabled them to legitimise their status by degrees of association. In Prepalatial cemeteries they employed exotica and rare materials to distinguish themselves from their fellow community members, while in the Protopalatial this cultivated 'otherness' allowed elites to have a disproportionate influence over the control of economic goods thanks in part to their

[170] Note that the modern view of Ida now obscured by a wall of trees that have flourished along the site's perimeter fence (Figure 4.8).
[171] Hagia Triada is stretched along a series of terraces at the bottom of the northern slope of the Phaistos ridge, while Gournia clings to a steep promontory. See site plans (Figures 4.4 & 4.5), Shaw (2015) 63-34, 165-166 & Watrous *et al* (2012a) 6-16.
[172] See above regarding the carefully considered placement of the monumental Horns of Consecration upon the southern parapet of the Knossos court and Figures 4.7, 4.16.

early adoption of technologies that implied ownership.[173] The sudden destruction of the first palatial complexes offered an opportunity for the further consolidation of elite privilege in even more overt ways. The association of status with influence over economic and ritual activities, established in the lead up to MM IIIA was now made explicit. Continued use of prestige wares turned ritual events of mass-consumption into ritual events of conspicuous consumption – the disparity in the quality of fine and crude wares was undoubtedly just as clear in antiquity as it is today. What is more, those partaking in such conspicuous displays sought further distinction by, quite literally, elevating themselves above general populace who assembled in the central courts below, achieving what might well have been a 'apotheosis-via-alcohol-and-staircase' towards the omnipresent heights of Crete's sacred peaks. If hierarchy is a top-down structure, then the elites of the Minoan Palatial were truly sitting atop the summit.

[173] E.g. seals and scarabs.

5. Keftiu Abroad: The Presence of Minoans in New Kingdom Egypt

Thus far, the reader's focus has been drawn to the presence of Aegyptiaca within Minoan contexts. But what of the presence of Cretan objects in the lands of the Nile?[174] Contact and exchange require the participation of more than a single party. Trade is reliant upon the reciprocal exchange of commodities – for without reciprocity exchange would be no more than mere pillage and plunder. Our attention now turns to Egypt and the evidence for a Minoan presence on the southern shores of the Eastern Mediterranean. Egyptian society was already well established, indeed was mature, before any semblance of an identifiably 'Minoan' culture had begun to emerge in Crete. The physical machinations of Pharaonic culture, such as the iconographic formulae first articulated upon the Narmer Palette, were well entrenched in the ideology of the ruling and ritual apparatus of the Egyptian state by the 2nd and 3rd Dynasties.[175] Djoser's Pyramid loomed over Saqqara as the hamlets of the Mesara and Lasithi were transitioning from the rudiments of Neolithic agriculture to the substantive practices of the early Prepalatial period, while Khufu's monumental complex at Giza had been established by the time that the *tholoi* cemeteries were reoccupied in EM IIB/III.[176] It should be of little wonder then that the juvenile culture of Crete was more impressionable, and thus more susceptible to influence, than the established Egyptian proto-state. Initial evidence for the presence of Minoan commodities in Egypt is somewhat scant when compared to the abundance of Aegyptiaca in the Aegean. Scattered remains of ceramic vessels finished in the distinctive Vasiliki and Kamares styles have been identified in the necropoleis of Abydos and Thebes. Though there is little indication that their presence signifies any significance or meaning beyond the status gained through the possession of exotica.

These few fragments constitute the sum of Minoan products in Egypt until the Second Intermediate Period. There are several factors that provide some insight as to the relative disparity in the prevalence of imported items on either side of the Libyan Sea. Primary amongst these is the nature of the commodities produced in each region, and the 'markets' which existed for goods not acquirable locally. As noted previously Crete was not well endowed with mineral resources. While modest amounts of metal ores could be found on the island, this was insufficient to service the increasing demands of the palatial complex economies. The alloys

[174] Note that this chapter is intended to serve as a broad summary of the topic, rather than a thorough discussion and analysis. Please see below (Afterword).
[175] Anthony (2017) 1-6; Brewer (2012) 85-96; Romer (2013) 137-145 & Smith (1998) 11-13.
[176] Smith (1998) 50-21; Wilkinson (2008) 236. See also Romer (2013) Chapter 31 'The Perfect Pyramid' for a succinct summary of Khufu's monumental edifice.

necessary for the forging of bronze were imported from Cyprus, the Levant and Egypt.[177] Silver and especially gold were sourced from Egypt, which possessed by far the most extensive and accessible reserves of these most desirable metals.[178] Minoan proclivity for ceramics relegated stoneware items to a secondary art form, causing the well-crafted imported examples that arrived in the Prepalatial period to be conspicuous. Administrative technologies such as seals, already in an advance state of use from the Tigris to the Nile was readily adopted by Aegean communities that were undergoing rapid urbanisation and economic intensification. Egypt, for its part, already had in place complex systems for the provisioning and distribution of agricultural and industrial goods. The myriad of stone vessels, supplemented by an arsenal of domestically produced pottery, meant that there was little demand for additional wares that were little other than aesthetic curiosities. Crete, itself an agricultural powerhouse, was able to service the demands of domestic consumption while also producing a moderate surplus. And, like the rest of the Aegean, Crete was an Eden of viticulture. Minoan wine was exported throughout the region, finding its way as far as the borders of modern Iran. Egypt, however, was a land of hop-based brewing; the silt-rich banks of the Nile, while ideal for grain production, was entirely ill suited to the keeping of vines.[179] The strenuously stratified nature of Pharaonic society extended even into the realms of food and beverage. A hierarchy of beverages had evolved within which the dreggy yeast-fermented beer was the drink of the masses while the far more palatable, though no less potent, grape-derived alcohols were the preserve of the administrative and courtly elite.[180] If Egypt's elites had a demand for wine, then the palatial economies possessed the means to meet it. Thus, the commodity most likely to have been imported to Egypt from Pre- and Protopalatial Crete was a perishable one, transported in plain but sturdy amphorae common across the Mediterranean region, and thus is unlikely to survive the ravages of time and into the archaeological record. A further potential factor, identified by Phillips, should be noted. Phillips observes that, as yet, there has been no attempt to undertake a comprehensive survey of minor vessels in the necropoleis to the Middle and New Kingdoms.[181] This raises the possibility that further Minoan wares may be present in Egypt but are yet to be noticed or identified.

[177] Burns (2012) 291-292; Dickinson (1994) 28-29 & Pulak (2012) 864-870.
[178] Broodbank (2015) 396-402.
[179] Hamilakis (1999) 40; Kemp (1999) 120-125; Wilson (1988) 18-19, 27-32, 34.
[180] Hamilakis (1999) 40; Kemp (1999) 120-125.
[181] Phillips (2008a) 37-39.

Primary amongst Aegean imports to Egypt are items of refined aesthetic quality. The notion of 'art for art's sake' is a relatively modern one and as such is unlikely to have been a concept in early antiquity. That is not to say, however, that the inhabitants of the Bronze Age did not have an appreciative eye for the beautiful, but rather that objects were not consciously fabricated to serve no purpose beyond being *objets d'art*. The contents of Tomb 416 at Abydos – which has yielded a small but rich assemblage of elegant wares – are striking examples of artistry. Amongst the items found, most dating to the 12th Dynasty, are locally produced faience figurines, steatite vases (including a palette and grinder), and beaded necklaces.[182] On item stands out, not because it is of any lesser quality, but rather for its distinctly exotic aesthetic. A Kamares ware bridge-spouted jar (Figure 5.1), its two delicate handles sitting above the shoulder and petite spout set just below the rim, is decorated in black slip ubiquitous to the style.[183] The jug is adorned with palmettes of cream and deep red, while thin lines of white and a thicker red band dotted with white circles follow the contours of the vessel's walls. There is no indication as to whether the jug served a function during its owner's entombment, however, it should be noted that such ceramics were often used for libations in graveside rituals in Crete.[184] Regardless of this, the Kamares jug compliments, rather than clashes with, the wider assemblage. Indeed, when viewed within the context of the kohl pot, palette and grinder, necklaces, and lotus-handled mirror, the Minoan jug would be functionally at home in the private quarters of a well-to-do Egyptian. Other ceramic fine wares have been identified elsewhere, often in funerary contexts, but also within the settlements of the living.[185] Egyptian craftspeople also attempted to imitate Minoan form and style. Rhyta, particularly the more angular conical type, appear to have captured the Egyptian fascination. A conical rhyton in blue faience has been identified at Tuna el-Gebel, demonstrating not only a familiarity with a foreign form, but a desire to adopt it into a more familiar medium that had been prolific along the Nile since earliest antiquity.[186]

Imported and Aegeanising forms are also attested in metallurgy. An exchange of form and iconography is discernible in both jewellery and vessels. Egyptian influences, as has already been discussed in Chapter 3, had been present in the Aegean from at least EM II/III

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[182] These items now reside in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Spier *et al* (2018) 50-52.
[183] Kamares ware bridge-spouted jar, c. 1800-1750 BCE. Teracotta, 14 x 17.8 cm. TT 416, Abydos. Oxford, AN1896-1908 E.3295. See Kemp & Merrillees (1980) 118-119; Spier *et al* (2018) 50-51.
[184] Kemp & Merrillees (1980) 105-115; see also discussion, Chapter 3.
[185] Bietak (1995b) 19-23; Kemp & Merrillees (1980) 1, 176-117; Smith (1998) 115-118 & Spier *et al* (2018) 52-53.
[186] Spier *et al* (2018) 52-54, no. 41.

onwards. The gold earrings and diadems of Tomb II at Mochlos exhibit forms that would have been 'at home in Egypt and Mesopotamia,'[187] while the famed Bee Pendant of the Chrysolakkos complex at Malia may be connected to the Aigina Treasure and, by extension, Second Intermediate Period Egypt.[188] In Egypt, a large horde of silver wares and lapis jewellery from beneath the Temple of Montu at Luxor has been tentatively connected to the Aegean. Known as the Tôd Treasure, the impressive assemblage is believed to have been deposited during the reign of Amenemhat II (c. 1911-1877 BCE) and many of the silverwares within it are conspicuous for their designs. There are parallels between ceramic wares recovered from Prepalatial contexts at Knossos and several of the flat-bottomed cups of the Louvre-held Tôd collection, as well as the possibility of the intermediary transference of Aegean designs via the trading hub at Byblos in what is now modern Syria.[189] An additional instance of the presence of what may be interpreted as hybrid Minoan-Egyptian or Minoanising motifs in Egyptian metalworking is attested in a ceremonial axe head of the 18th Dynasty, which depicts a seated griffin set below a central scene of a ruler-figure seizing and smiting a captive.[190] Such examples demonstrate that a 'Minoan chic' was, by the establishment of the New Kingdom, making a modest impact in Egypt.

5.1 Knossos, Avaris & 'Minonaization'

In approximately 1550, the chaos that had splintered the land of Egypt following the collapse of the Middle Kingdom was brought to a conclusion. The Theban 17th Dynasty, which had maintained control of the region between the Nile Delta and the First Cataract, succeeded in wrestling control of Lower Egypt, forcing out the foreign Hyksos regime who had ruled for some two hundred years from a fortified site in the Delta's eastern reaches. This war of unifying liberation was begun by Kamose and was ended by his son, Ahmose I, who established himself as the inaugural ruler of the 18th Dynasty.[191] In the decades that followed, Ahmose's successors expanded the borders of the Pharaonic state southwards into Nubia and eastwards into Syria-Palestine, forming an empire whose influence dictated regional affairs until the great collapses of the 1200s.[192] Thus, the New Kingdom emerged contemporaneously with the later stages of

[187] Hood does, however, go on to note that a Syrian influence may be present in the Mochlos items. Hood (1994) 118-119.
[188] Fitton (2009b) 61-62.
[189] Burns (2012) 295; Collon (2009) 45; Fitton (2009b) 61-65; Karetsou *et* al (2000) 68-79 & Spier *et al* (2018) 45-46 nos. 12-14.
[190] Karetsou *et* al (2000) 80-81 & Spier *et al* (2018) 11-12.
[191] There is some debate as to whether Avaris (modern Tell el-Daba'a) was stormed prior to Kamose's early death, though it was Ahmose who finally pushed the Asiatic interlopers back across the Sinai.
[192] See Chapter 1 'Introduction'.

the Neopalatial Period on Crete.[193] It is during this Egyptian renaissance that the most striking evidence for the direct involvement of Minoans in the lower reaches of the Nile becomes truly tangible. In the mid-1990s CE, excavations of Tell el-Dab'a in the eastern Nile Delta began under the direction of the Austrian Archaeological Institute. Excavators quickly identified the remains of a significant settlement that was centred around a monumental fortified palace complex. The complex, which dominated the nearby river, was quickly identified as that Hyksos stronghold known in Ptolemaic times as Avaris.[194] Several palace and ritual buildings, many with multiple construction phases, resulted in a complex and at times convoluted site stratigraphy. Two adjoining buildings – Palaces G and F – constructed upon the foundations of a large platform dating to the terminal years of the Hyksos regime continued to be expanded and repurposed throughout the early New Kingdom. The palaces form a sub-complex, separated by a large rectangular pool and enclosed by perimeter walls. Palace G was the larger of the two structures and was divided into an 'official' area containing magazines and a large hall, and a smaller 'private' zone behind the storage areas. Palace F follows a similar layout to Palace G though on a condensed scale.[195] Access to the main areas of both structures was gained via ramps running along the north-west facing walls.

It was near these leading facades, amongst the detritus employed as fill to stabilise the foundations of the Tuthmoside reconstructions, that Bietak's team unearthed what might well be considered one of the most jarring archaeological discoveries of modern times. The highly fragmented remains of a series of lime-plaster frescoes that had once adorned the northern rampways prior to the renovations of Tuthmose III and Amenemhat III were decidedly un-Egyptian in all regards. Lime plaster, while not unknown in the region, was not a commonly employed medium. The striking colour palette of deep reds, light flesh tones, bright blues and crisp whites, was utterly unlike the polychromatic regimen usually employed in Pharaonic civic buildings.[196] Most unusual, however, were the subject and stylistic execution of the artworks. Acrobat-like figures in breechcloths, with booted feet and dark flowing hair are depicted vaulting over the backs of charging bulls (Figure 5.8). Both bulls and leapers are rendered with a startling fluidity, caught in a moment of violent yet elegantly choreographed movement. The arched backs of the human figures are very different from the rigid contrapposto seen in the

[193] See Chapter 2 for more information regarding the on-going debate concerning the synchronisation of Aegean and Egyptian chronologies for this period.
[194] See Bietak (1996) for account of site's discovery and identification.
[195] Bietak *et al* (2007) 1-38 offers an exhaustive discussion of the Hyksos and 18th Dynasty structures at Tell el-Dab'a.
[196] Bietak *et al* (2007) 68-69.

statuettes of the Middle Kingdom or the stiff-backed profiles that adorned the walls of Theban tombs contemporary with the frescoes (Figures 5.5-5.7).[197] What is more, the 'Taureadors' appear before a labyrinthine maze pattern, carefully ruled in white and black, separated from a deep-red upper register by a meandering band and bordered below by a frieze of rosettes.[198]

The iconographic content of the Avaris 'Taureador Fresco' evoke immediate comparison with the stylistic canon of Minoan Crete. The centrality of the bull in Minoan ritual life was equal to that of the double-axe and the 'Horns of Consecration'. Bulls appear in a myriad of forms and mediums: depicted in mid-charge upon numerous seal stones and signet rings, as small terracotta votive figurines, as the evocative zoomorphic 'Bull's-Head' rhyta (Figure 4.22), their carbonised bones amongst the remains of other sacrificial detritus that litter Cretan sanctuaries. Labyrinth or maze patterns are a common form of decorative adornment in Minoan architecture, appearing upon the plastered surfaces of rooms at Knossos and Phaistos, while rosettes and palmettes can be found both in frescoes and as decorations upon ceramic wares (Figure 5.1).[199] Natural landscapes were also a favourite subject matter for Minoan artists, with lush scenes appearing at Knossos, Hagia Triada, Akrotiri, and Amnisos.[200] Perhaps the most compelling common element, however, is that of the bull-leapers themselves. Again, this motif has multiple Aegean precedents, with representations appearing upon sealings, jewellery, and architectural adornments.[201] The key item of comparison for the Tell el-Dab'a/Avaris works is that of the 'Taureador' or 'Bull-Leaping' panels at Knossos (Figure 5.9). The Knossos panels exhibit similar motifs, with youthful figures, naked from the waste up in various stages of flight over oncoming bulls, in many instances acting as direct analogues to their southern counterparts (Figure 5.10). However, there are some notable differences between the two frescoes. Where the Egyptian scenes place the figures within a rocky landscape, adapted to mimic the local environment of the Delta, those at Knossos appear upon monochromatic backdrops of either mustards yellow or blue.[202] Bands of layered repeating colour border each of the Knossian scenes, breaking each panel into a separate image, linked to its neighbours stylistically. There is also painterliness to the figures rendered at Knossos –

[197] Take for instance the 13th Dynasty wooden *Ka*-statue of Hor that now resides in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo – see Smith (1998) 97 fig. 172.
[198] It should be noted that additional frescoes containing natural landscapes, wild animals, and a large pair of Aegean griffins (located within the main civic area of Palace G) were also located alongside the taureador scenes.
[199] Chapin (2012) 229; Morgan (2005b) 41.
[200] Chapin (2012) 223-227; Morgan (1988) 32-40.
[201] The precise nature and purpose of bull leaping remains unknown, however.
[202] It should also be noted that there is a slight variation in the colour of the bulls – those in the Avaris complex are mostly light with dark patches while those at Knossos are the opposite (see Figure 5.10).

their poses are no less dynamic, but their posture is more natural, conveying a sense of poise and balance that is altogether absent from the more rigid Avaris examples. Indeed, the figure on the right of Panel 3 appears to be tumbling in a haphazard manner – pelvis meeting the ground ahead of the limbs – as if the leaper's flight was abruptly terminated (Figure 5.9, bottom left). Conversely, the figures positioned to the right of the bulls in Panels 2 and 4 are shown executing landings that would not appear out of place in modern rhythm gymnastics or freediving. A final point of difference is that of chronology – the Knossos scenes have been dated to LM IB/II following a destructive event that saw the site undergo extensive remediation, while other Neopalatial sites on the island were abandoned all together.[203] This places the Knossos frescoes *after* their Egyptian counterparts, which Bietak has convincingly dated to the initial years of the reign of Ahmose I.[204] A hypothesis has been offered in remedy of this situation, suggesting that the Tell el-Dab'a frescoes may have been modelled after an earlier set of panels at Knossos which were lost sometime in MM IIIB-LM IA/B, the extant panels being created in their place.[205] While this theory would also help to address the contrast in naturalism between the two sites, there is insufficient evidence available regarding a pre-existing installation at Knossos to allow the theory to be further substantiated.

5.2 Keftiu on Tour? The Theban Tombs Tribute Bearing Aegeans

Further evidence of a Minoan presence in Egypt is to be found from the time of Ahmose's Tuthmoside successors. Among the Theban tombs of the 18th Dynasty are representations of non-Egyptian figures. Foreigners are divided into one of two generic scenes: foreigners bearing gifts in tribute and foreigners who have been subjected by force. While the representations of violent domination have been a part of Pharaonic projections of power since the time of Narmer (see above), the rapid territorial expansion of the Egyptian state during the New Kingdom (the boundaries would reach their greatest extent during the Ramesside 19th Dynasty) is likely to have given a new impetus to such scenes. Amid the litany of identifiable foreigner-types depicted in early 18th Dynasty tombs, one set of figures known as '*Keftiu'* stand apart from the more familiar assemblage of Nubians, Puntites and Levantines. *Keftiu* only appear in scenes depicting tribute or gift bearers, never amongst those of conquered peoples.[206] A long-running discourse has surrounded the identity of *Keftiu* figures; however, recent scholarship has strengthened the argument favouring the identification of the figures as

[203] Hood (2005) 79-80.
[204] Bietak (1996) 80-82.
[205] Morgan (1995) 40-41.
[206] Anthony (2017) 27-29.

Aegeans. [207] *Keftiu* are identifiable by both their attire and the goods they are depicted bearing. Aegeans are distinguished by their long flowing hair, breechcloths, and – most significantly – their foot ware. Anthony notes that Aegeans are the only people in the Theban tribute scenes to be depicted wearing shoes, which take the form of strapped sandals not dissimilar to those worn by the previously discussed toreadors.[208] Furthermore, the items borne by the *Keftiu* exhibit some identifiably Aegean forms. Large ornamental vessels, such as that held aloft in the Tomb of Rekhmire (Figure 5.7) are adorned with lilies, a staple of the Minoan aesthetic since the early Protopalatial but which also had strong ritual connotations in Egyptian funerary contexts.[209] Other objects, such as zoomorphic bull's and lion's head rhyta represented in tombs TT 89 and 91, have a significant presence in Minoan ritual practices and craft output.[210] Orthodox rhyta are also present alongside *Keftiu* in the Tombs of Senenmut and Rekhmire. In both instances, the rhyta appear to be of the conical or ovoid forms (Figures 4.21, 5.5 and 5.7) which primarily served a ritual function in Neopalatial and Final Palatial Crete.[211] However, it is likely that such items were desired merely for their aesthetic and exotic qualities in Egypt, a surmise supported by instances of Egyptian produced imitations discussed previously. Further contact was witnessed in the wake of the Mycenaean ascension in LM IB/II – the presence of objects dating to the reigns of Khyan and Tuthmose III at Knossos underscore an increasingly intimate level of contact and interaction (Figures 5.3-5.4).[212] The Theban paintings underscore not only an Egyptian awareness of the Minoans, but that the latter were familiar enough to warrant their differentiation as both *Keftiu* and as a people possessing enough economic influence as to be included among the tribute-bearers.

From the brief survey offered above it is clear that the Minoan presence in Egypt was by no means an insignificant one. Imported wares, particularly the aesthetically appealing ceramics such as Kamares ware, were sought after commodities in the Nile region from at least the early second millennium. It was not until the late Proto- to Neopalatial periods that a Minoan 'influence' akin to that exerted by Egypt upon Crete in EM II-MM IA becomes discernible in the archaeological record. The discovery of Minoan frescoes adorning a New

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[207] Anthony (2017) 27-29, 75-80 provides the most thorough analysis of the figures and this is further underpinned by the recent exhibitions staged the Heraklion Archaeological Museum and the Getty Museum (Karetsou *et al* 2000 & Spier *et al* 2018 respectively). Earlier summaries favouring the *Keftiu*-Aegean association are presented by Smith (1998) 138-140.

[208] See Figures 5.5, 5.6, 5.8-5.9. Anthony (2017) 27-28 fig.10 & Spier *et al* (2018) 54-55.

[209] Anthony (2017) 78.

[210] See Chapter 4 regarding rhyta. Anthony (2017) 75-76; Broodbank (202015) 403-404; Karetsou *et* al (2000) 84-92; Poursat (2008) 101-105.

[211] Spier *et al* (2018) 52-55.

[212] It should be noted that inter-regional trade from LM IB onwards was likely Mycenaean-led.

Kingdom palace complex is clear evidence for the likely presence of Cretan-trained artisans in the Nile Delta. Precisely why the inaugural pharaoh of a new dynasty such as Ahmose I should elect to decorate the exterior of his newly acquired part-time capital is beyond the scope of this thesis. It is sufficient to say, however, that cultural influence was at the very least reciprocal. As the stone artisans of the late Prepalatial attempted to imitate and Egyptianize local products, so too did Egyptian artisans from the Second Intermediate Period onwards seek to imitate and Minoanize their own works. The Aegean presence in the Delta was such that the iconography of power developed by *Keftiu* for use in their own lands was assimilated by a culture whose own artistic canon had been distilled over fifteen-hundred years earlier. Smith, commenting upon the eventual dominance of the Helladic culture from LM II, eloquently summarises the effects of Minoan-Egyptian contact on the pharaonic homeland: '[it] should not overshadow in our minds the impression which the Minoan spirit was making upon Egypt in Tuthmosid times.'[213]

[213] Smith (1998) 138.

6. Conclusion: Mutually Assured Construction – Forming Social Hierarchies through Foreign Precedents

The evolution of Cretan society during the third and second millennia BCE, from disparate communities sharing common mortuary practices to centrally administered economic powerhouses, was nothing short of startling when compared with the protracted developments of their more established neighbours in the eastern Mediterranean. And yet, it is this very trajectory that belies what a previous generation of scholars had considered to be the organic development of a people who were not only utterly unique, but whose genesis could not have taken place anywhere other than in the Aegean. While unquestionably enigmatic, the Minoans were not the benevolent thalassocracies conjured up by a British aristocrat-turned-archaeologist, nor were they the proto-Hellenic predecessors of the later Greek *poleis*. They were unique, and yet at the same time were as much a product of the socio-historical and geographic epoch in which they emerged. The Minoans' interactions with their contemporaries, particularly those in Pharaonic Egypt, were to be of subtle, yet enormous consequence upon the hierarchal trajectory of Cretan society.

Over the course of this exegesis, I have endeavoured to trace the development of Minoan society in parallel with the dynamics of inter-cultural exchange and regional connectivity. That is not to say that the underlying hypothesis of this thesis has been that the Minoan communities developed as a result of a concerted attempt to imitate the proto-states of Egypt and the Levant, or that these mature cultures had sought to directly influence events upon Crete in some sort of primitive cultural *diktat*. Far from it, in fact. The core focus of this project has been upon the ability of elite elements within Minoan society, across all its machinations, to exploit the opportunities offered by contact with their contemporaries outside of the Aegean. Chapter 3 demonstrated the manner in which the acquisition of exotica, whether by direct exchange or via intermediaries within the wider east Mediterranean trade networks, provided a means through which individuals could differentiate themselves from their peers. The proliferation of finely worked Egyptian stoneware during the Cretan Prepalatial, and the masterful attempts to produce locally made imitations, were seized upon by privileged demographics who amassed them for use within burial assemblages. The presence of Egyptianizing wares further emphasised the pre-existing privilege and status of elites in the settlements of Crete's northern coast. Their appearance in the *tholoi* cemeteries of the Mesara and Rethymno regions coincided with a marked change in the burial patterns of those regions.

Gone were the egalitarian inhumations of the scattered early Prepalatial communities; their intimate graveside rituals usurped by mass-consumption, the purging of interred remains, and the commemoration of individuals who were no longer anonymised in the amorphic memory of the 'passed'. Indeed, the importation of administrative technologies – seal stones – from Egypt during the same period further underscores a growing desire to lay claim to the ownership of commodities. The desire to establish, and by extension preserve, one's status may have long been present in Prepalatial Crete, but it was contact with the land southward beyond the Libyan Sea which provided the means to achieve such ends.

The development of the regional economies, which predicated the establishment of the first palatial complexes in Crete, provided Minoan elites not only with the means by which to further enhance their places at the apex of Palatial society, but also with the impetus to do so. As is demonstrated in Chapter 4, the consolidation of economic and ritual practices within the Prepalatial complexes allowed the Cretan communities to better harness their island's immense potential as an agrarian powerhouse. The harnessing and coordination of resources, both human and economic, required the development of specialised administrative systems, the seeds of which had been sewn with the adoption of sealing technologies during EM IIB/III. The centralisation of communal activity was consequentially followed by a literal 'movement to the centre.' Production, storage, and consumption could now be facilitated on a regional rather than a local scale. Consolidation inevitably led to some form of standardisation, and this was manifested in the form of mass-ritual events that initially took place in the broad western courts at Phaistos, Knossos, and Malia. A series of disasters sometime in MM IIIA caused widespread destruction to the initial palatial complexes. However, these were quickly re-established, but not without some architectural manipulation that further formalised – and regimented – both the Neoplaltial complexes and the activities that they served as venues for. The west courts were largely abandoned and relegated to serving as areas of secondary importance to the confined central courts. Access not only to the sensitive spaces dedicated to storage and economic activity, but also to the very courts themselves was restricted and regulated – magazines obscured behind colonnades and narrow corridors acting as choke-points; the courts serving as the axes in a landscape dominated by sacred peaks, caves, and the sea. Participants in ritual events now had to enter the complexes via monumental entranceways before making their way to the clearly delineated central areas towered over on all sides by the multi-storied wings that ran the length of the central courts. What is more, rituals, now increasingly taking the form of mass-consumption events and assemblies, became exercises in hierarchy. Elites,

consuming their ritual communion from conspicuous prestige vessels such as intricately decorated *rhyta*, did so from upon elevated platforms and halls, visible above those assembled below as they clutched their mass-produced crude ware cups and flasks, culminating perhaps in the casting down of a *rhyton* upon the paved area below – perhaps the ultimate act of conspicuous consumption.[214] Yet at their core, none of these practices was in any way unique to the Aegean. Conspicuous consumption, ritual processions, and the centralised administration of sprawling state apparatuses of early states were all phenomena that had been at work in the Nile Valley at least a millennium prior. The Minoan elites may not have mimicked their Pharaonic contemporaries in any conscious fashion, but they certainly made use of similar mechanisms of exploitation and control, the roots of which on Crete could be traced back to the watershed period of transition in the late Prepalatial period cemeteries.

The influence of foreign precedents was not felt solely upon Crete. A growing Minoan presence south of the Aegean began to leave a mark upon Egyptian society also. As discussed in Chapter 5, the Egyptians had long held an appreciation for the aesthetic qualities of Cretan ceramics. The importation of Kamares ware and floral style vessels is an indication of an apparent Egyptian interest in the acquisition of Cretan products. The inaugural ruler of the 18th Dynasty, Ahmose I, the conqueror of the Hyksos interlopers, would go so far as to decorate his newly acquired palace at Tell el-Dab'a with frescoes that would have looked quite at home at Knossos. Indeed, the Taureadors of Avaris, as they have become known, are likely to have been based upon now-lost prototypes from the Kephala Hill. Ahmose's successors of the Tuthmosid Period would include gift-bearing Aegeans as *Keftiu* amongst the tribute-paying peoples depicted upon the walls of the early 18th Dynasty tombs at Thebes. It is somewhat ironic then, that the clearest evidence for the direct assertion of influence upon a distant culture is to be found not upon the Kephala Hill, but in the very bosom of Egypt between the Delta and Thebes. Suffice it to say, given the evidence catalogued above, that the influence of cultural contact with Pharaonic Egypt upon the increasingly elite-dominated and hierarchical trajectory of Minoan society is as clear as the crisp morning view of Ida's double-horned peak from the court of Phaistos.

[214] The ritual breakage of *rhyta* has been mooted as a possible explanation for the almost universal obliteration of such vessels. See Rehak (1994) 'The Ritual Destruction of Minoan Art?' and (1995) 'The Use and Destruction of Minoan Bull's Head Rhyta'.

Afterword

A final note must be made at this juncture regarding the scope and limitations of the above study. Several factors, both within and beyond the control of the author, have influenced the final form of this thesis. Some passages, particularly those relating to the discussion of the Minoan presence and influence in New Kingdom Egypt (Chapter 5), were truncated in order to comply with the forty thousand-word limit applied to Masters Dissertations. However, the author hopes to conduct further research into this exciting yet under-serviced aspect of inter-regional relations in the Mediterranean Bronze Age in future. Other fields fell beyond the scope of this project, namely that of the writing systems of the Bronze Age Aegean and the extensive glyptic vernacular of Minoan seal stones, written scripts, and the intricacies of palatial administration. Pictured material has been curated selectively for similar reasons. The author has endeavoured to provide plates that are representative of a much larger corpus of archaeological material and has listed publications where further material can be accessed. Recent years have witnessed a deluge of scholarly publications relating to evidence for interregional contact in the Late Bronze Age which, while a boon for the discipline, is also a bane for individuals working within the field. Though an attempt has been made to keep abreast of the latest material, it has been simply beyond the logistical (let alone financial and psychological) ability of the author to acquire and consume all newly printed scholarship. It is for this reason that the decision was made to restrict the use of any material published after mid-2018 and thus the conclusions reached in these pages has been drawn only from data published up to and including the recent *Beyond the Nile* exhibition hosted by the J. Paul Getty Museum.[215] The author is confident that their findings will only be validated further as more and more archaeological data from the lands bordering the 'Great Green' is published.

[215] The catalogue for this exhibition (Spier, J., Potts, T. & Cole, S. E. (2018) Beyond the Nile: Egypt and the Classical World. First. Los Angeles, US: Getty Trust Publications, Ltd.) is the most recent publication featured in the bibliography.

Tables

Table 3.1 Distribution of Imported and Imitation Aegyptiaca Across Select Prepalatial Period Burial Sites. Data Compiled from Andreadaki-Vlazaki *et al* (2008), Karetsou *et al* (2000), Spier *et al* (2018) & Phillips (2008a, b).

Region (Crete)	**Site**	**Imported**	**Imitation (Local)**
Southern	Hagia Triada	7	8
	Lebena	3	3
	Marathokephalo	1	-
	Platanos	4	19
	Moni Odigitria	-	5
	Myrtos Pyrgos	-	1
	Pezoules Kephales	1	-
	Porti	-	1
Northern (Central)	Acharnes Phourni	2	1
	Aspri Petra	-	1
	Kastelli Pediadhos	1	-
	Knossos	28	-
	Maronia Siteias	1	-
	Mochlos	2	13
	Trapeza Cave	1	-
Eastern	Gerontomouri	-	5
	Palaikastro	-	3
	Pezoules Kephales	-	1
	Pseira	-	3
	Trapeza Cave	-	2
	Zakros	1	-

Table 3.2 Chronological Distribution of Selected Imported and Imitation Aegyptiaca in Prepalatial Burial and Ritual Sites. Data Compiled from Andreadaki-Vlazaki *et al* (2008), Karetsou *et al* (2000), Phillips (2008a, b), Spier *et al* (2018) & Warren (1969).

	EM I-IIA		**EM IIB-III/MM IA**		**EM III-MM IA**		**No Context**	
	Import	Imitation	Import	Imitation	Import	Imitation	Import	Imitation
Cups (Stone)	2		1	1	1	1	2	1
Cups (Ceramic)								
Figurines				2		1	1	
Jars (Stone)	3		6	3	2	7	2	5
Jars (Ceramic)								
Jewellery*	1				5	7		1
Jugs (Stone)							1	
Jugs (Ceramic)								
Metal Objects		4			5			
Miniature' Vessels**		2		23		25		4
Organic Material	1		2		3		1	
Scarabs					3	1		
Seals/Sealings		1		1	5	18		
Sistra						6		

* Includes metal and semi-precious stones/beads

**Includes all vessel types (cups, vases, jars, etc.)

Key:
Import
Imitation

Table 3.3 Catalogue Details of Minoan Produced Imitations of Egyptian Miniature Vases Identified within Tombs of the West Terrace and South Slope, Mochlos. Data Compile from Andreadaki-Vlazaki *et al* (2008); Karetsou *et al* (2000); Phillips (2008b); Warren (1969).

Object	Material	Provenence	Date	Find Site	Context	Notes	Collection Number
Miniature globular vase	Green Steatite	Minoan	EM II	Mochlos	Tomb VI	After contemporary Dynastic forms.	HM 1246
Small cylindrical pyxis	Greenish Steatite	Minoan	EM II-III	Mochlos	Tomb II	New form for Crete, likely influenced by foreign examples.	HM 1237
Miniature pithamphora	Steatite	Minoan	EM II	Mochlos	Mochlos settlement	After c. 6th-8th Dynasty Egyptian form	HM Λ 1234
Miniature jar	Steatite	Minoan	EM II	Mochlos	Tomb II	After c. 4th Dynasty Egyptian form	HM Λ 1236
Miniature vase	Steatite	Minoan	EM II	Mochlos	Tomb II	After c. 5th-12th Dynasty form	HM Λ 1238
Miniature vase	Steatite	Minoan	EM II	Mochlos	Tomb VI	After c. 5th-12th Dynasty form	HM Λ 1244
Miniature vase	Steatite	Minoan	EM II	Mochlos	Tomb XIX	After c. 1st-3rd Dynasty form, modified with Minoanising elements	HM Λ 1235
Miniature cup	Marble	Minoan	c. EM II-MM I	Mochlos	Cemetery, top layer of stonewa No precise tomb context	After c. 12th-18th Dynasty form, modified with Minoanising elements.	HM Λ 1294
Seal with two apes	Ivory (Hippopotamu	Minoan	c. EM IIA	Mochlos	West Tomb Complex (I-III)	Minoan form and construction with Egyptian flora	HM Σ-K 744
Bowl	Faience	Egyptian	c. EM IIA	Mochlos	Tomb VI	Fragmented beyond preservation. Likely an Egyptian import after 1st-5th Dynasty form	HM -
Cylander Jar	Dolomitic limestone	Minoan	c. EM III-MM I	Mochlos	Tomb X	After c. 4th-11th Dynasty form	HNM 10364
Beads	Faience	Minoan/Egyptian	EM II/1st-4th Dynasty	Mochlos	Tomb VI	Fragmented beyond restoration. Either Imported ready from Egypt or as a raw Meterial fabricated upon arrival.	HM -

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Image Plates

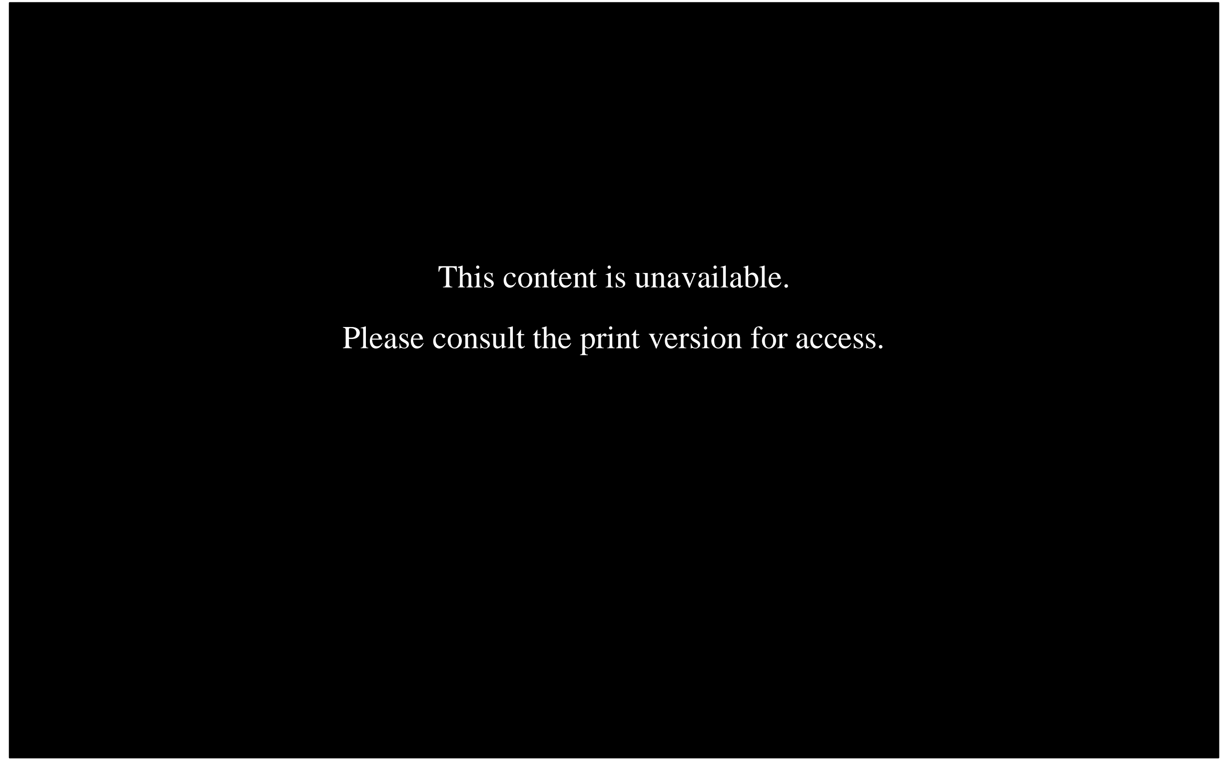

Figure 3.1 View of the Prepalatial settlement at Trypiti from the north, showing the isolated EM I/II *tholos* in the distance. Source: McEnroe (2010) 24.

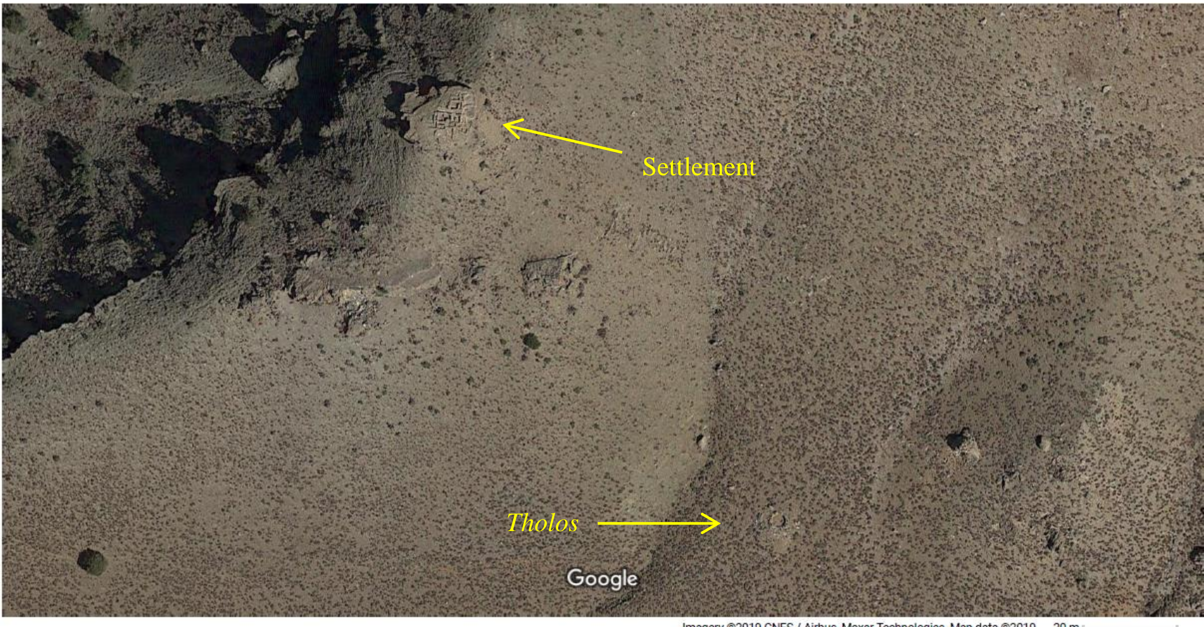

Figure 3.2 Satellite view of Trypiti and its associated *tholos* within the context of the wider environment. Annotations by Author. Map data ©2019 CNES / Airbus, Maxar Technologies https://www.google.co.nz/maps/place/Panagia+Church/@34.9374453,24.9876346,237m/data=!3m1!1e3!4m5!3m4!1s0x149ade1228e18903:0x7afc59e3b89cc0e6!8m2!3d34.9357722!4d24.9823374 accessed 20/08/2019.

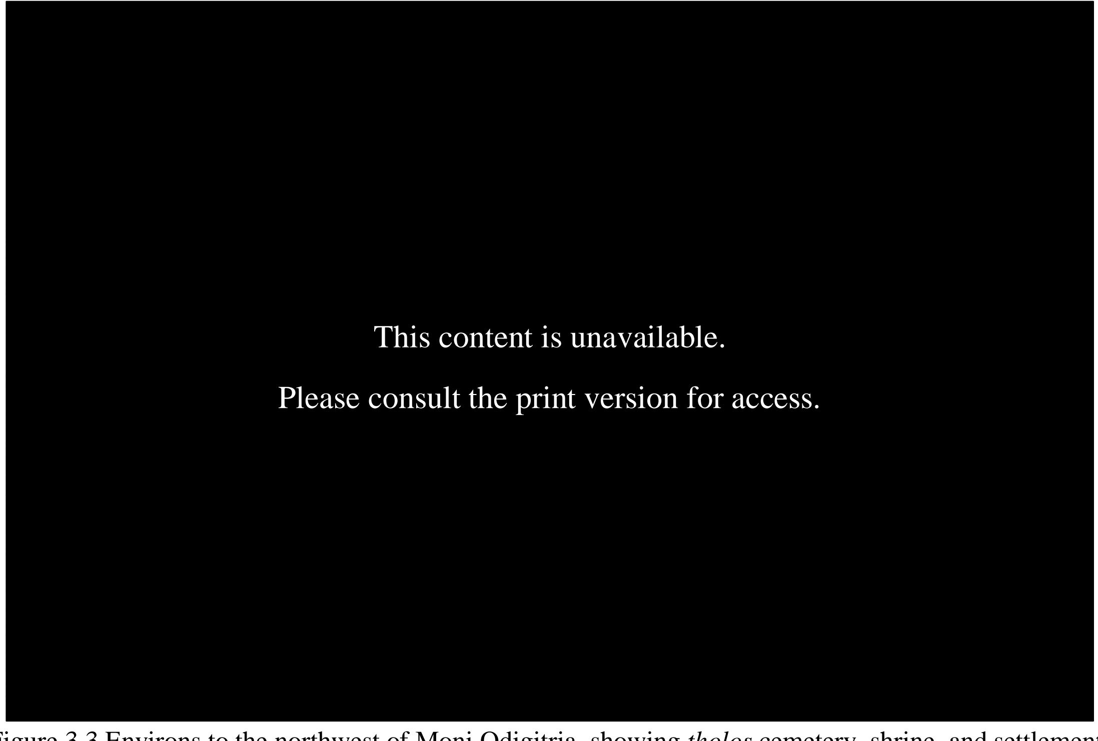

Figure 3.3 Environs to the northwest of Moni Odigitria, showing *tholos* cemetery, shrine, and settlement. Source: Vasilakis & Branigan (2010) Plate 1.

Figure 3.4 Plan of EM *tholoi* and ossuary complex at Chatzinas Liophyto/Moni Odigitria. Source: Vasilakis & Branigan (2010) Figure 14.

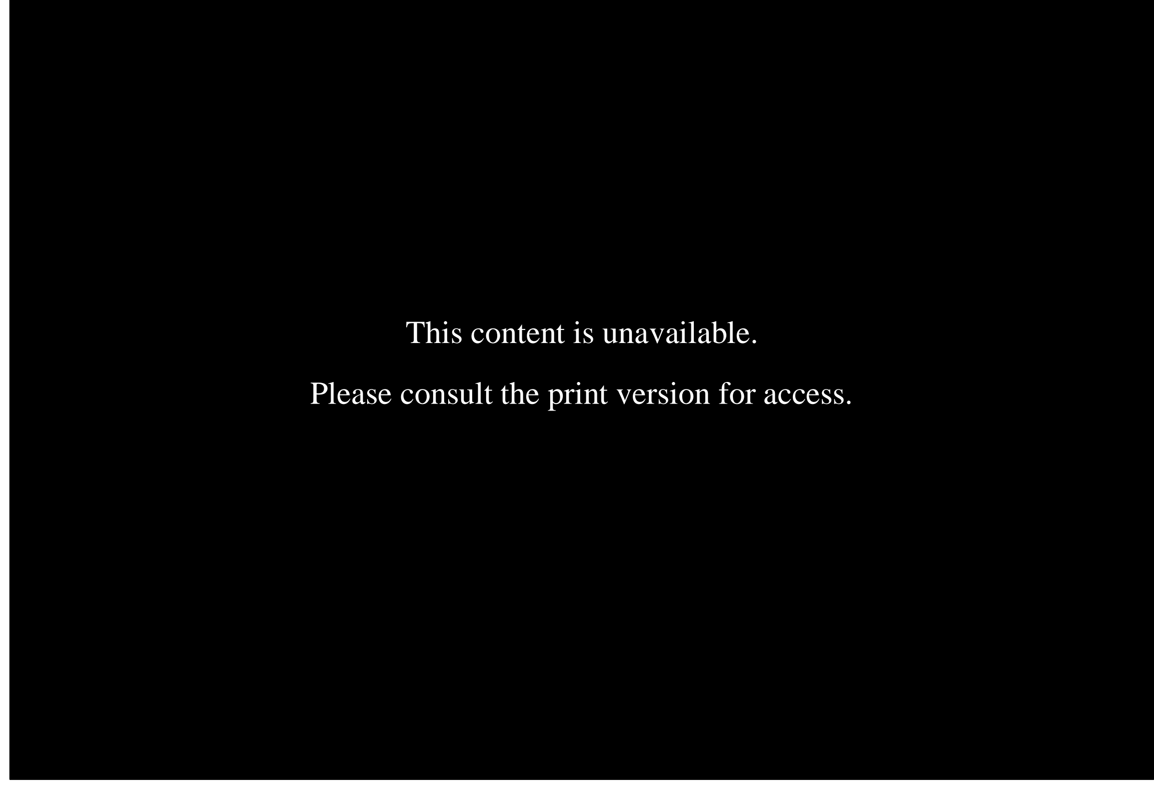

Figure 3.5 Plan of the mortuary complex at Platanos showing structures dating to EM II-MM I. Note that the primary chamber of '*Tholos* Alpha' is the only building that has been conclusively dated to MM II.[216] Note also the contrasting complexity of the annexed affixed to '*Tholos* Alpha' and '*Tholos* Beta.' Source: Herrero (2012) 64 Figureure 3.11.

[216] Herrero (2014) 63-66.

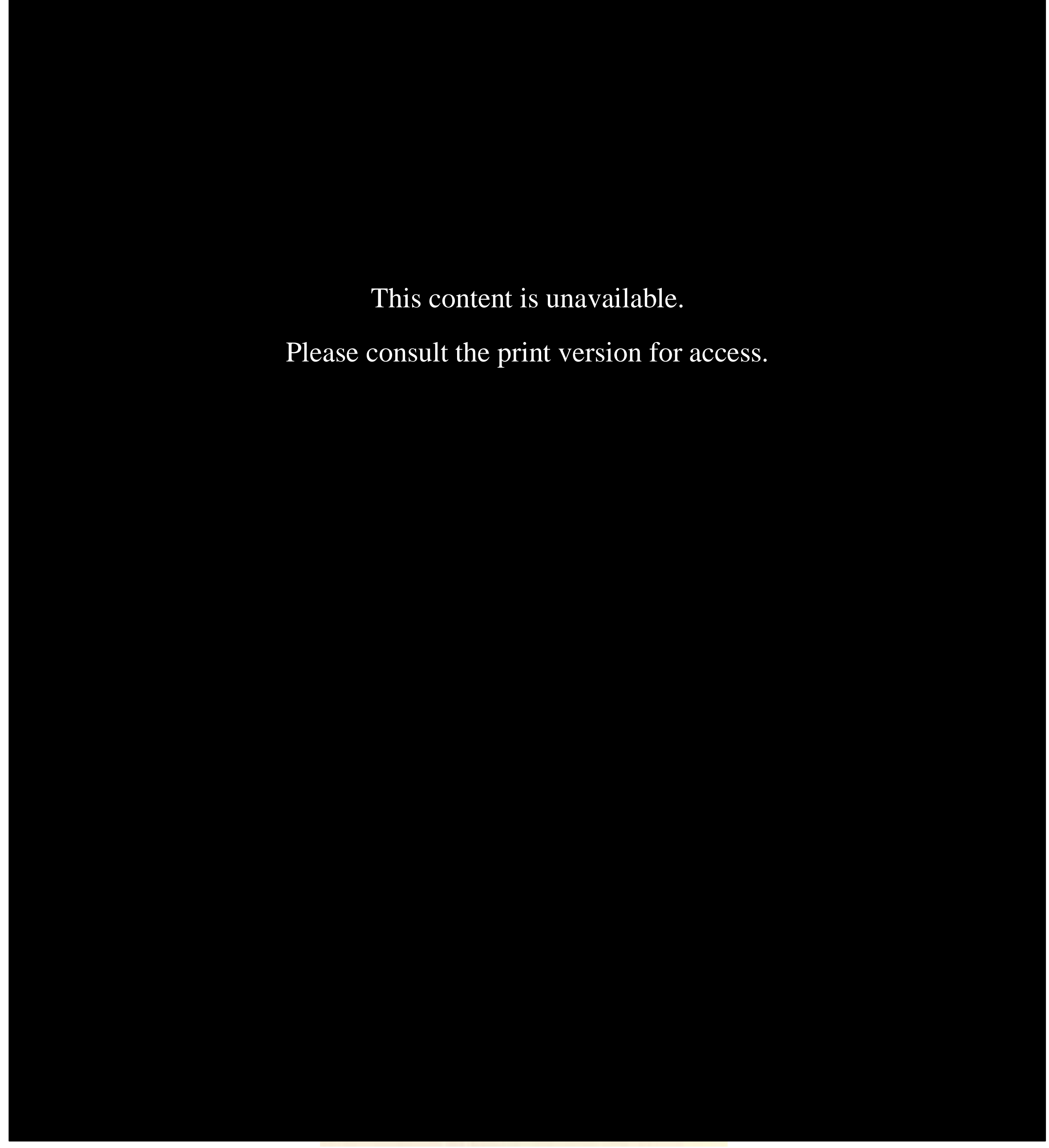

Figure 3.6 Plan of the cemetery at Archanes Phournoi showing funerary structures in relation to their chronological contexts. Note those structures illustrated in pink (Prepalatial) and orange (Protopalatial). Source: Sakellarakis (2002) 67.

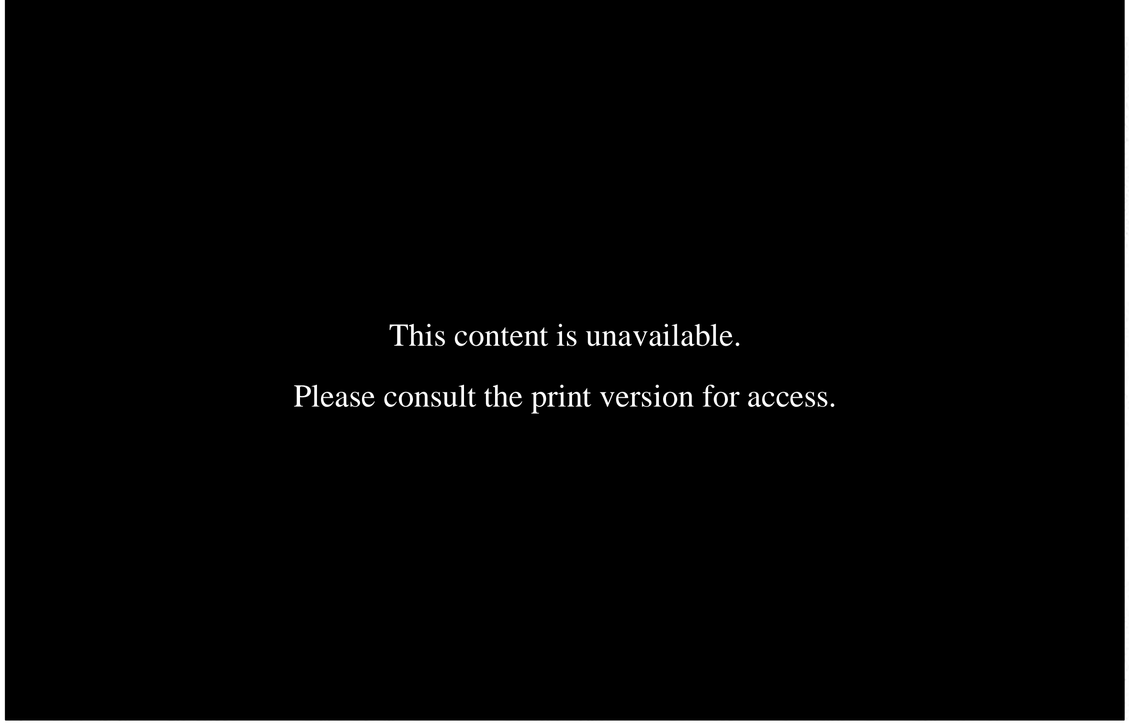

Figure 3.7 Remains of the monumental *tholoi* and late Prepalatial period ossuary, Moni Odigitria, at the time of excavation. Source: Vasilakis & Branigan (2010) Plate 24.

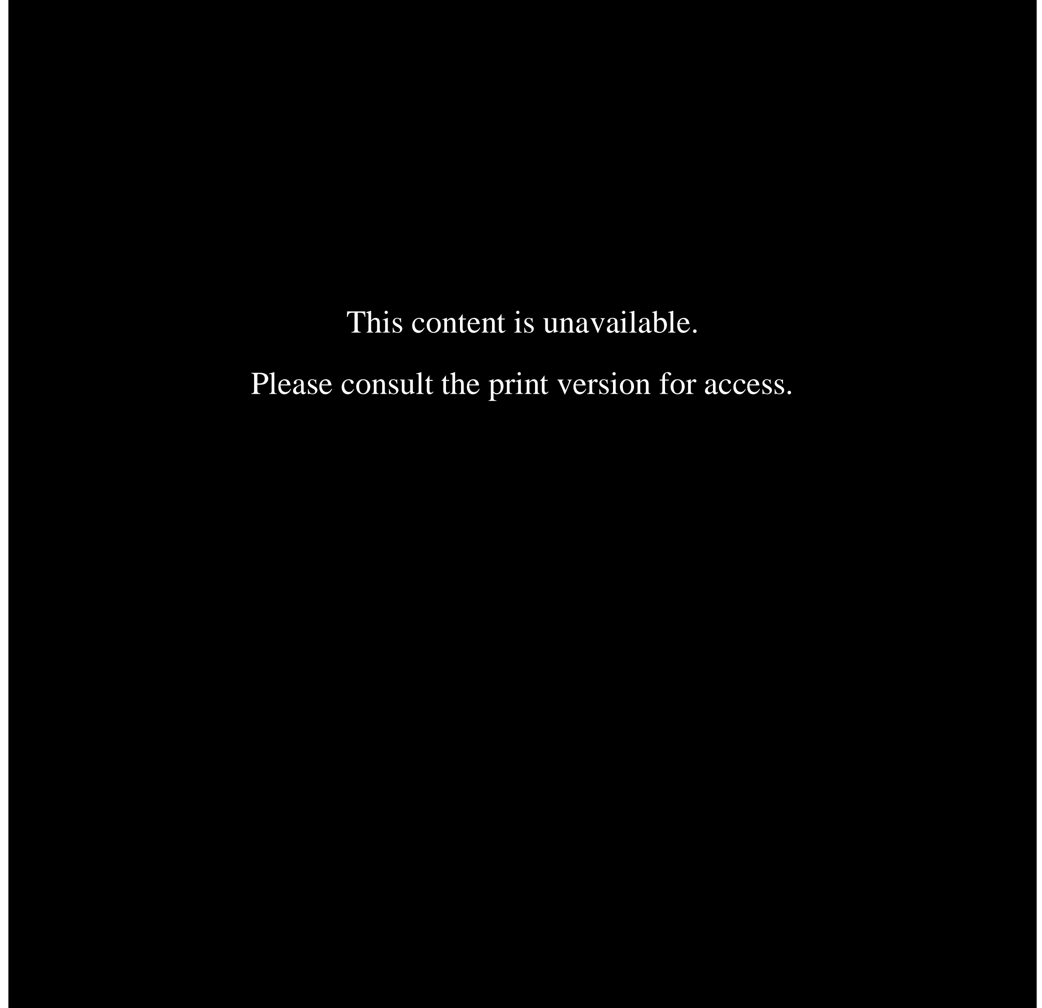

Figure 3.8 Plan of the house tombs on the West Terrace and South Slope, Mochlos. Note the range of elevations across the terraces. Source: Murphy (2011) 29.

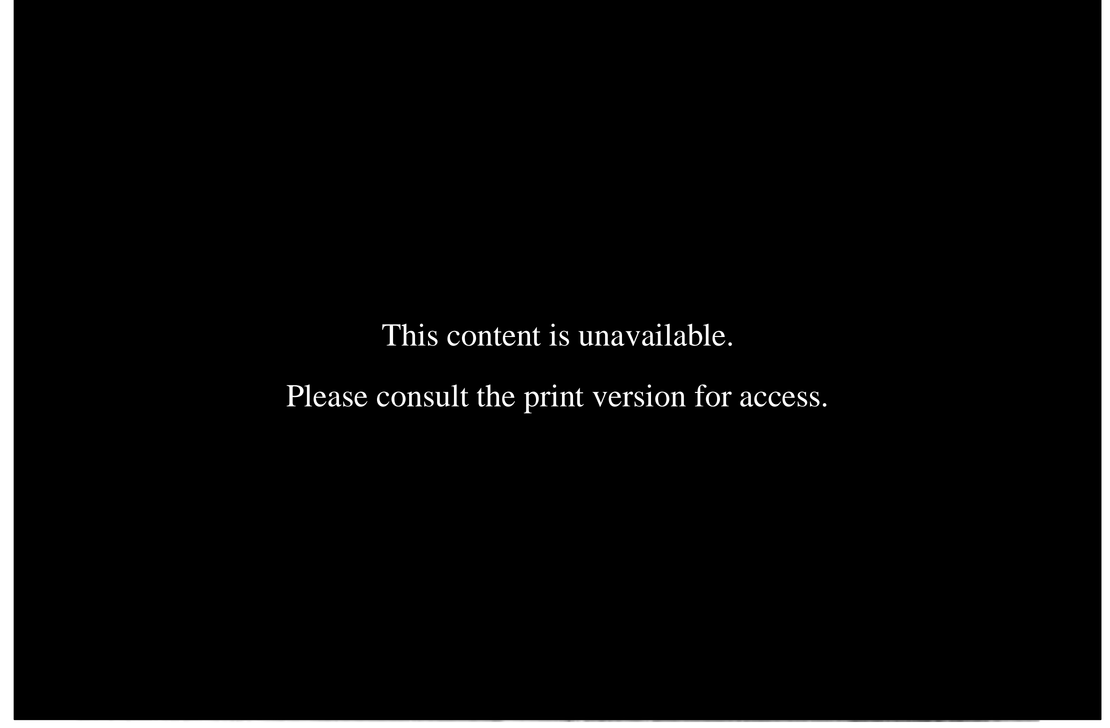

Figure 3.9 View of the West Terrace tombs, as seen from the southwards approach path. Source: Soles (1992) Plate 20a.

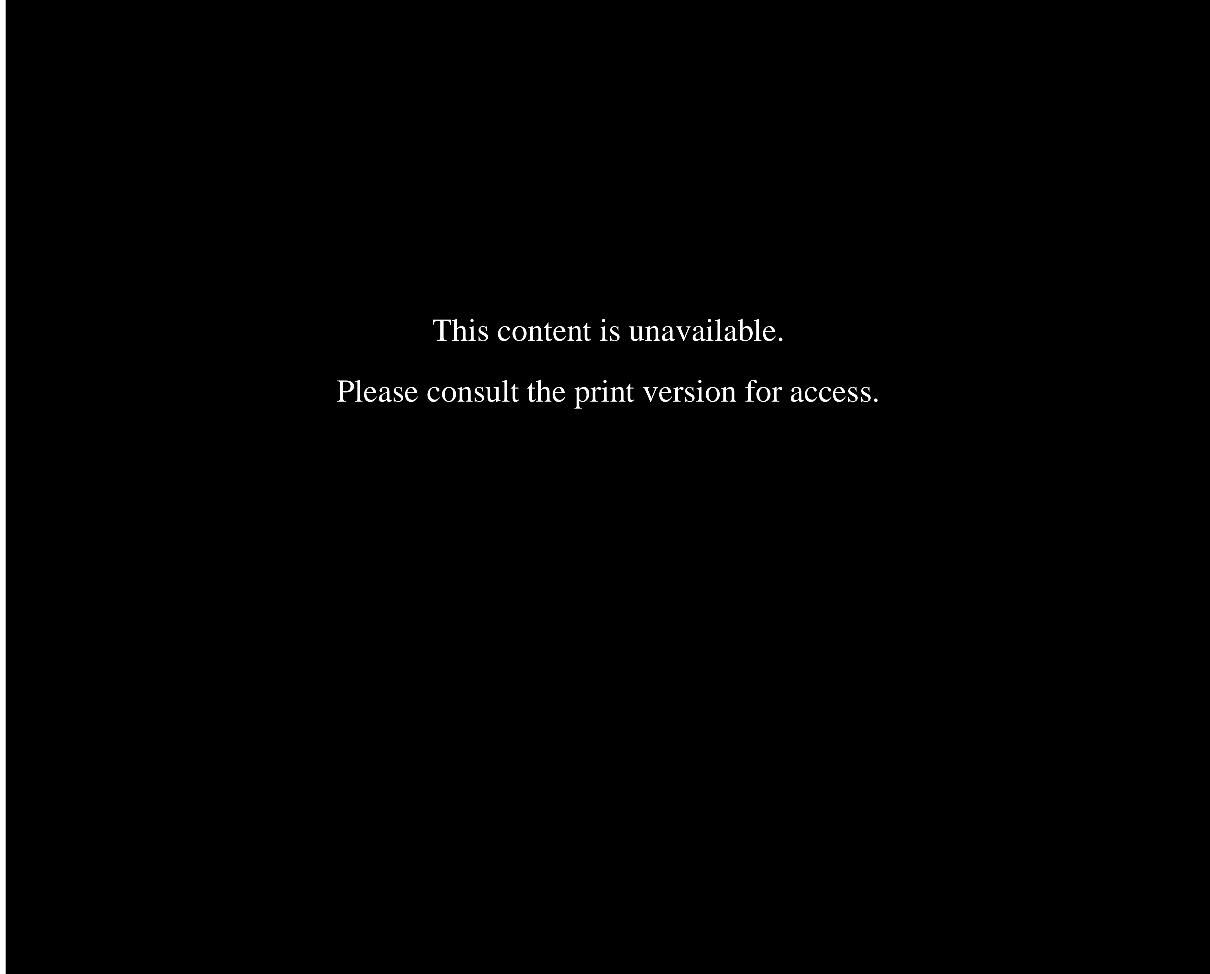

Figure 3.10 Plan of the so-called ‘Chrysolakkos’ monumental house tomb to the northwest of the palatial complex at Malia. Note the areas in which ritual shrines were identified by the excavators. Source: Herrero (2014) Figure 58A.

Figure 3.11 Examples of Minoan fine ware ceramics common from EM II through MM IA/B, *a*) Kamares ware cup, c. 1950-1850 BCE. Terracotta, 4.5 cm. Knossos. London, GR 1906.11-12.74 (Vases A 477); *b*) Kamares wear jug, c. MM IB-II/III. Terracotta, 27 cm. Gordium. Heraklion, HM 17.912; *c*) Vasiliki cup and spouted vessel, c. 2300-2000 BCE. Terracotta, 6 cm & 1a cm. Vasiliki. Heraklion, catalogue not recorded; *d*) Light on Dark Ware footed goblets and Dark on Light Ware tumbler, EM III-MM I. Teracotta. 6-8 x 6-8 cm. Knossos. Source: (*a)* https://library.artstor.org/asset/LESSING_ART_10311440201 accessed 20/08/2019; (*b)* https://library.artstor.org/asset/LESSING_ART_10311440201 accessed 20/08/2019; (*c)* https://library.artstor.org/asset/ARTSTOR_103_41822000409936 accessed 20/09/19; (*d)* Momigliano (2012) Supplementary CD-ROM.

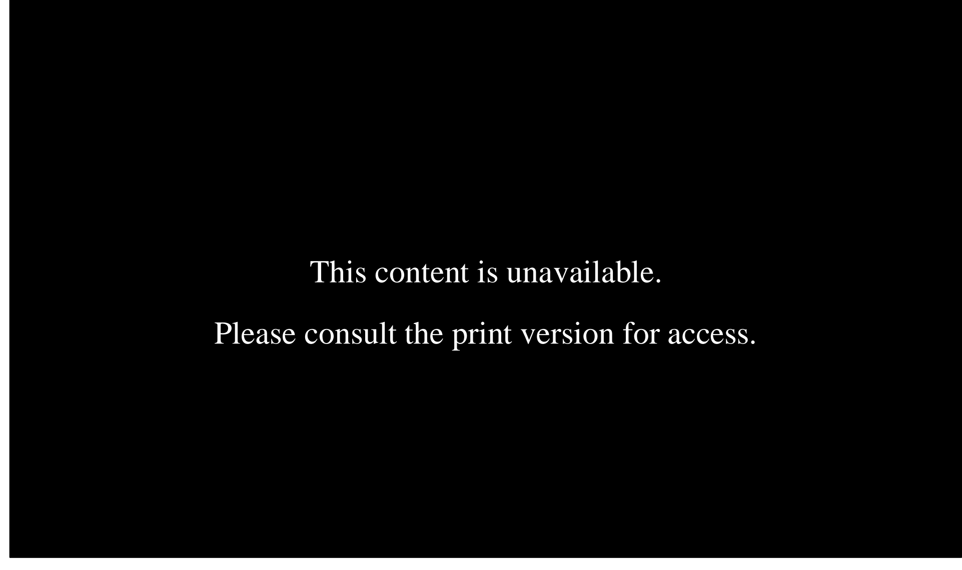

Figure 3.12 Egyptian ‘Moustache Cup’, c. $3^{rd}/4^{th}$ Dynasty (context unrecorded). Diorite, 9.4 cm. West palace area, Knossos. Heraklion HM Λ 2170. Note the quality of the workmanship, with the stone appearing to be almost translucent towards the rim. Source: Karetsou *et al* (2000) 28.

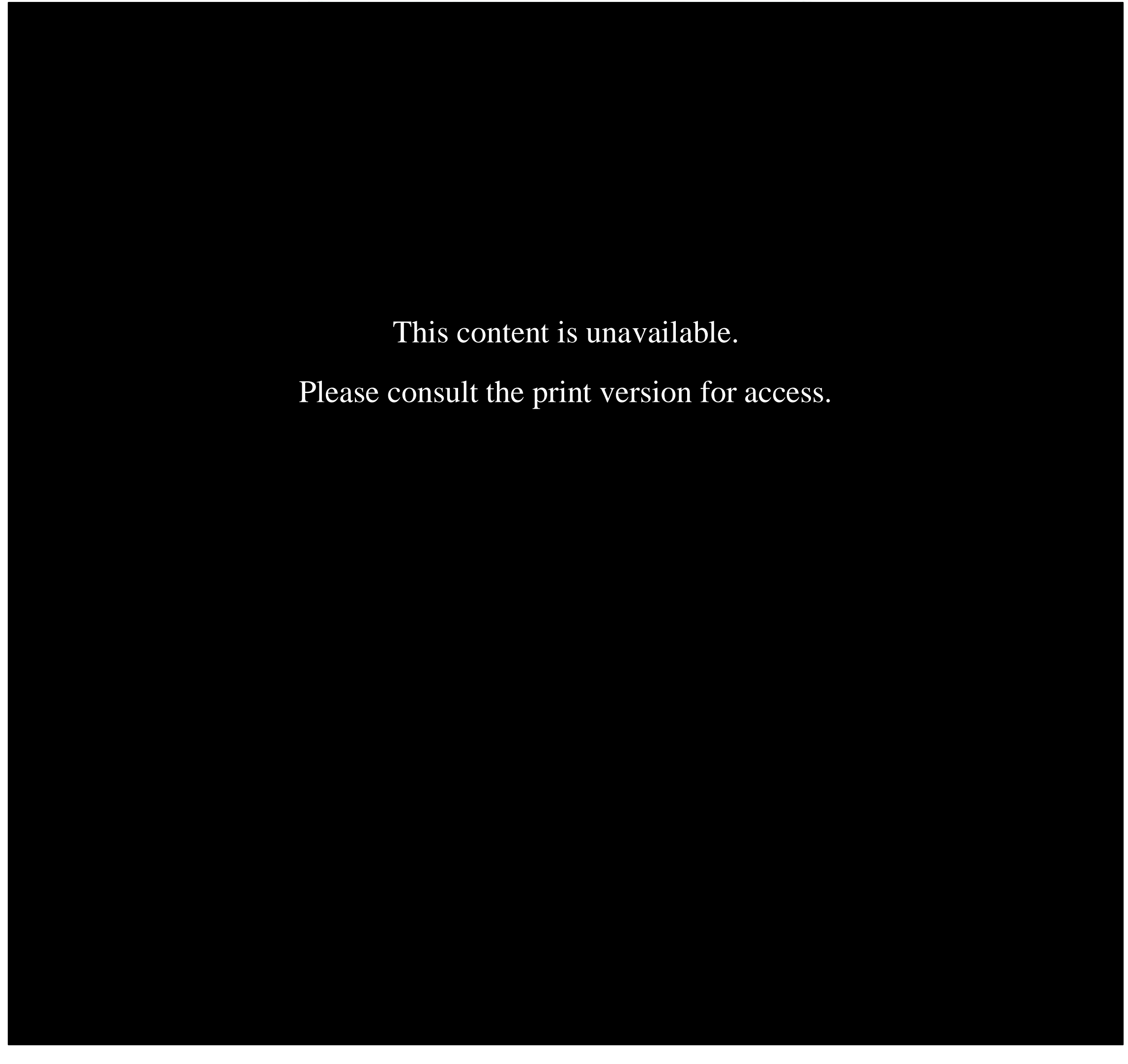

Figure 3.13 *Above:* Egyptian Cylindrical cup, 5th-6th Dynasty (context unrecorded, likely EM II-MM IB). Alabaster, 10 x 7.5 x 5.8 cm. Northwest area of palace, Knossos. HM Λ 128. *Below:* Schematic cross-section of same vessel. Source: Karetsou *et al* (2000) 41 (both).

Figure 3.14 Egyptian Spheroid Bowl, c. 2nd Dynasty (context unrecorded). Gabbro 31.5x31.5 cm. Northwest area, Knossos. Heraklion HM Λ 2092. This imported Egyptian 2nd Dynasty bowl was found during Hogarth's excavations at Knossos. It is likely that the vessel appeared in Crete during the late Prepalatial or early Protopalatial periods. Source: Karetsou *et al* (2000) 27.

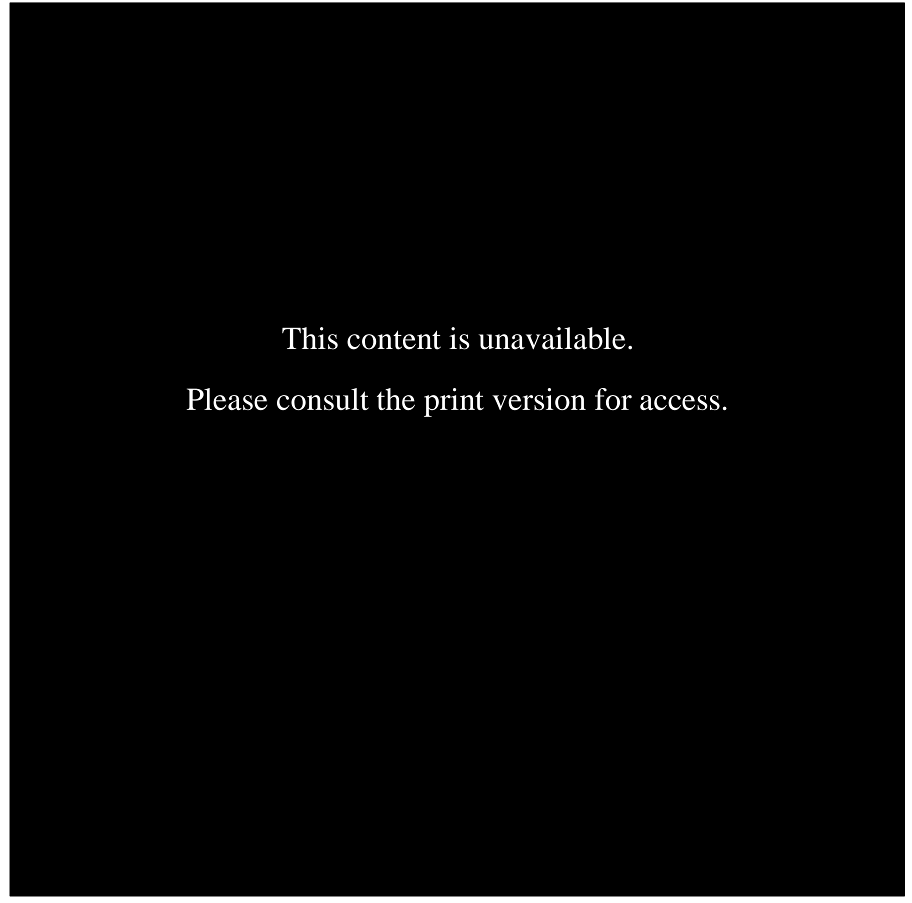

Figure 3.15 Ostrich Eggshells, unknown date (MM IB context). Fragmented organic material, assorted sizes. Vat Room, Knossos. Heraklion HM Λ 4359 & 4364. Fragmented ostrich eggshells, a decidedly Egyptian commodity, from the vicinity of the ritual area in the west wing at Knossos. Similar finds were made elsewhere in Crete in contexts approximating to the EM II-MM IA/B period. Source: Karetsou *et al* (20001) 30.

Figure 3.16 Selection of Prepalatial Minoan produced miniature vessels imitating Egyptian prototypes found within burial contexts. *a)*: Miniature vase, Minoan (after Egyptian 1st-3rd Dynasty form), EM II. Steatite, 9 x 5 x 3 cm. Tomb XIX, Mochlos. Heraklion. HM Λ 1235; *b*) Miniature vase, Minoan (after Egyptian 5th-12th Dynasty form), EM II. Steatite, 4.5 x 2.3 x 2.4 cm. Tomb V, Mochlos. Heraklion, HM Λ 1244; *c*) Miniature *pithos*, Minoan (after Egyptian 1st-3rd Dynasty form), EM III-MM I. Marble, 6 x 3.8 x 2.7 cm. *Tholos* A, Hagia Triada. Heraklion HM Λ 654; *d*) Miniature cup, Minoan (after Egyptian 12th-18th Dynasty form), EM III-MM I. Dolomitic marble, 5.3 x 4.3 x 3.6 cm. *Tholos* A, Hagia Triada. Heraklion, HM Λ 663; *e*) Miniature cup, Minoan (after Egyptian 12th-18th Dynasty form), EM II-MM I. Limestone, 3.7 x 3.25 x 2.7 cm. *Tholos* II, Porti. Heraklion, HM Λ 1057; *f*) Miniature jar, Minoan (after Egyptian 6th-12th Dynasty form), MM I. Limestone, 5.6 x 2.6 x 2.15 x 3.9 cm. Ossuary VII, Palaikastro. Heraklion, HM Λ 147; *g*) Zoomorphic Bowl, Minoan (after Egyptian 'Bids Nest' form), EM II-MM I. Limestone, 4.3 x 10.9 x 8.2 x 7.8 cm. *Tholos* A2, Platanos. Heraklion, HM Λ 1894. Source: Karetsou *et al* (2000) nos. 21, 13b, 19b, 25h, 25a, 12 & 20.

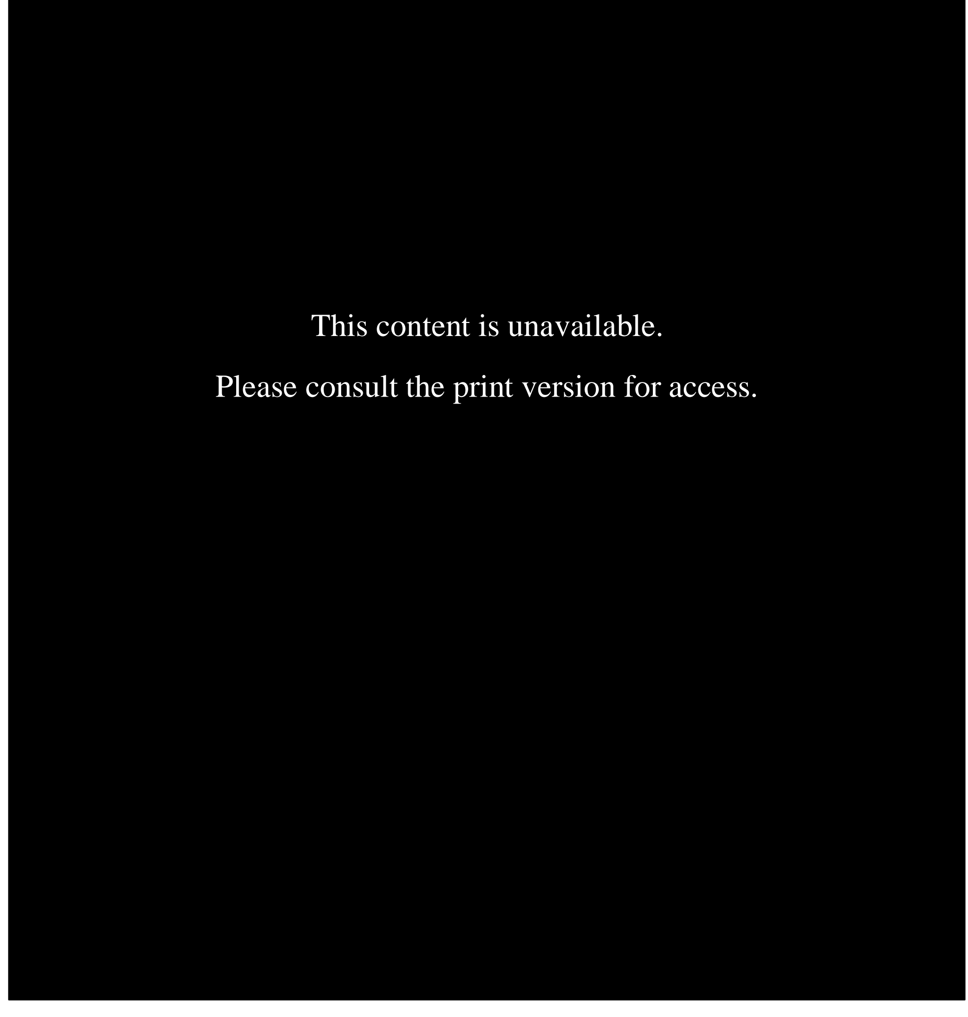

Figure 3.17 Minoan Sistrum, c. 2000-1900 BCE (EM III/MM IA). Terracotta 18x7.6 cm. Burial Building 9, Archanes Phourni. Heraklion, HM Π 27695. The instrument was developed in Egypt and appeared on Crete during c. EM III-MM IA. Five additional examples have since been recovered at Gerontomouri. Sistra continued to feature in Minoan ritual practices well into the Neopalatial Period, as attested in the 'Harvester Rhyton' (below). Source: Spier *et al* (2018) 39.

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Figure 3.18a Minoan Rhyton (‘Harvester Vase’), c. 1450 BCE (LM IA/B). Steatite 18x11.3 cm. Hagia Triada. HM AE 184. Source: Spier *et al* (2018) 41.

b

Figure 3.18b Detail of the ‘Harvester Vase’ showing the presence of a sistrum in the procession register. Source: Spier *et al* (2018) 42.

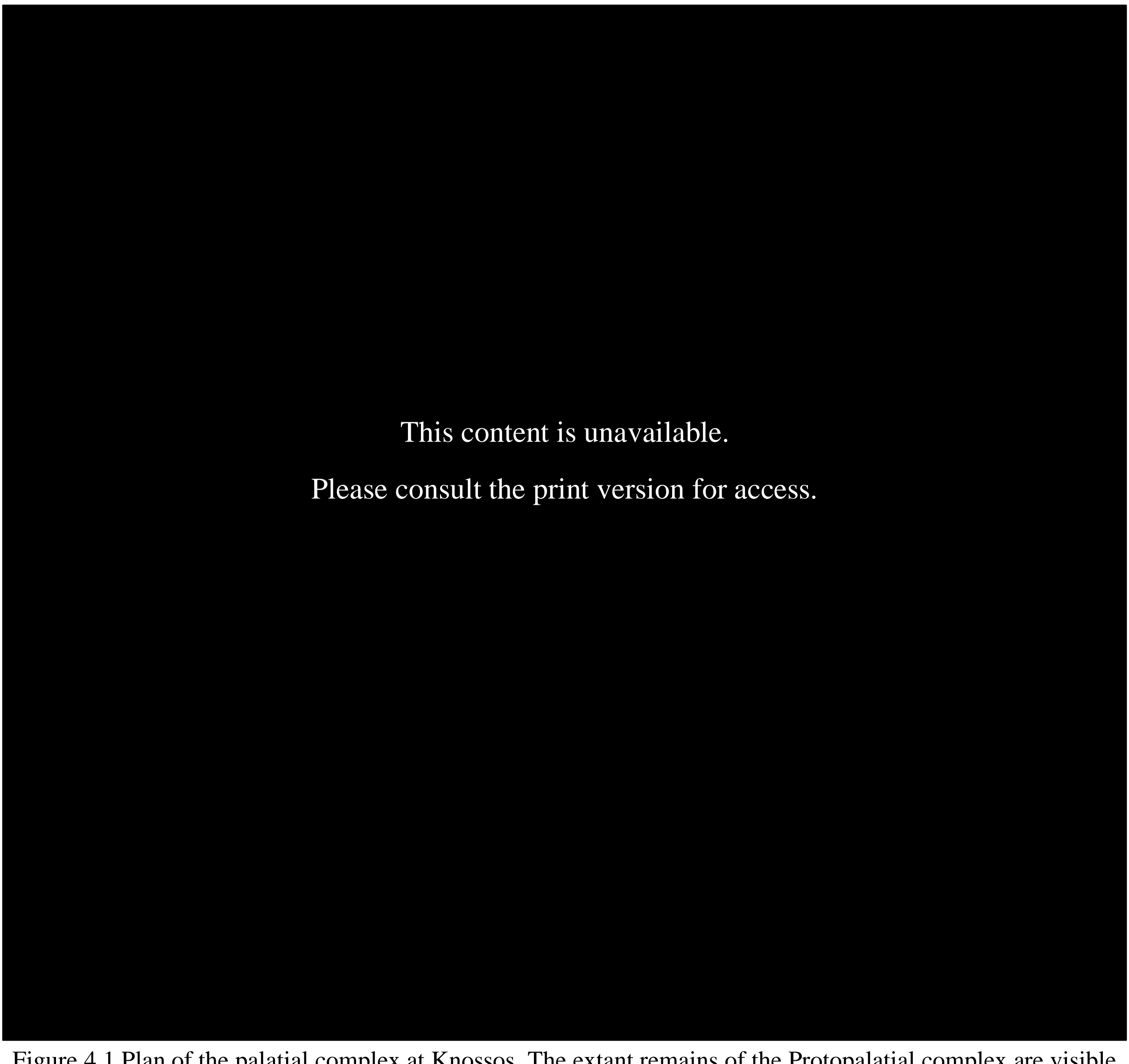

Figure 4.1 Plan of the palatial complex at Knossos. The extant remains of the Protopalatial complex are visible (non-bold) along the Western Façade. Source: Shaw (2015) 5.

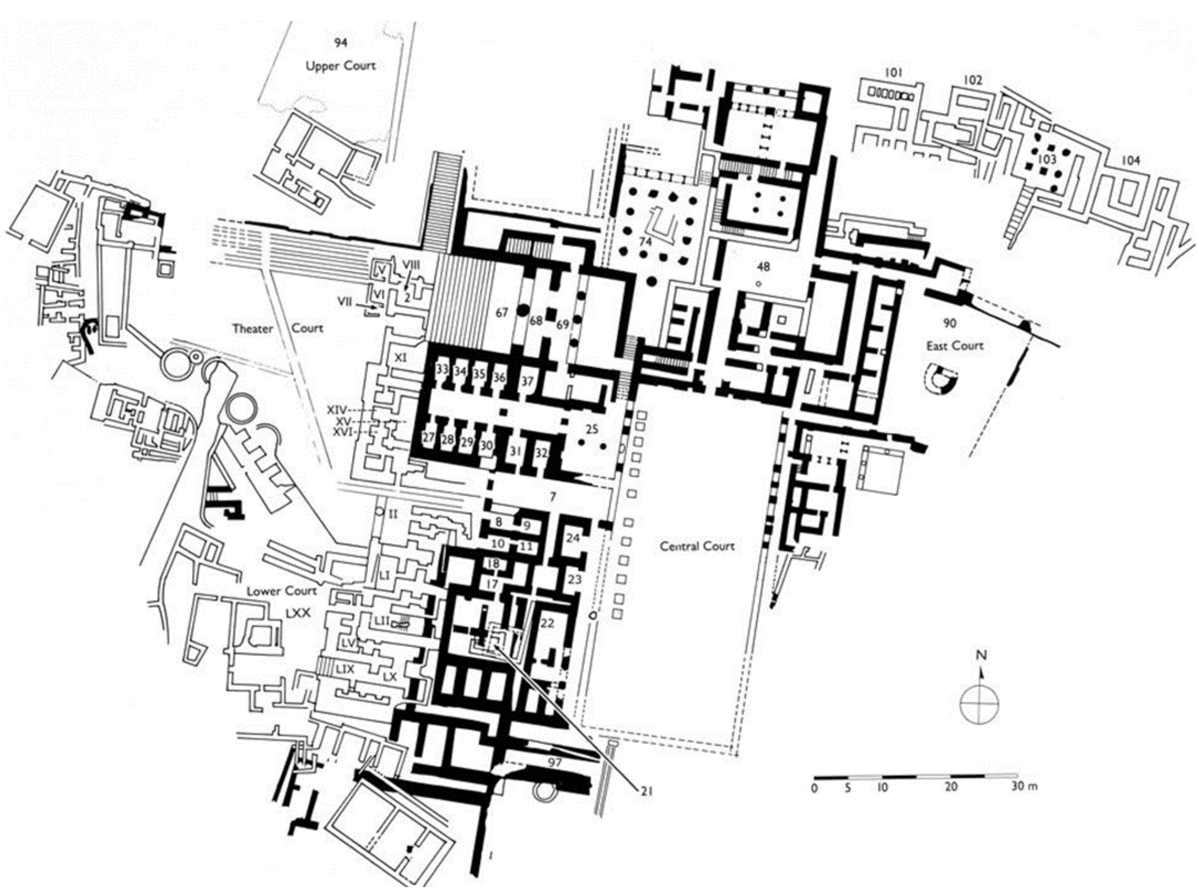

Figure 4.2 Plan of the palatial complex at Phaistos. Note the orientation of the central court in relation to the peak sanctuary atop Mt Ida to the north and the raised walkways intersecting the paves West Court. Source: ARTstor.

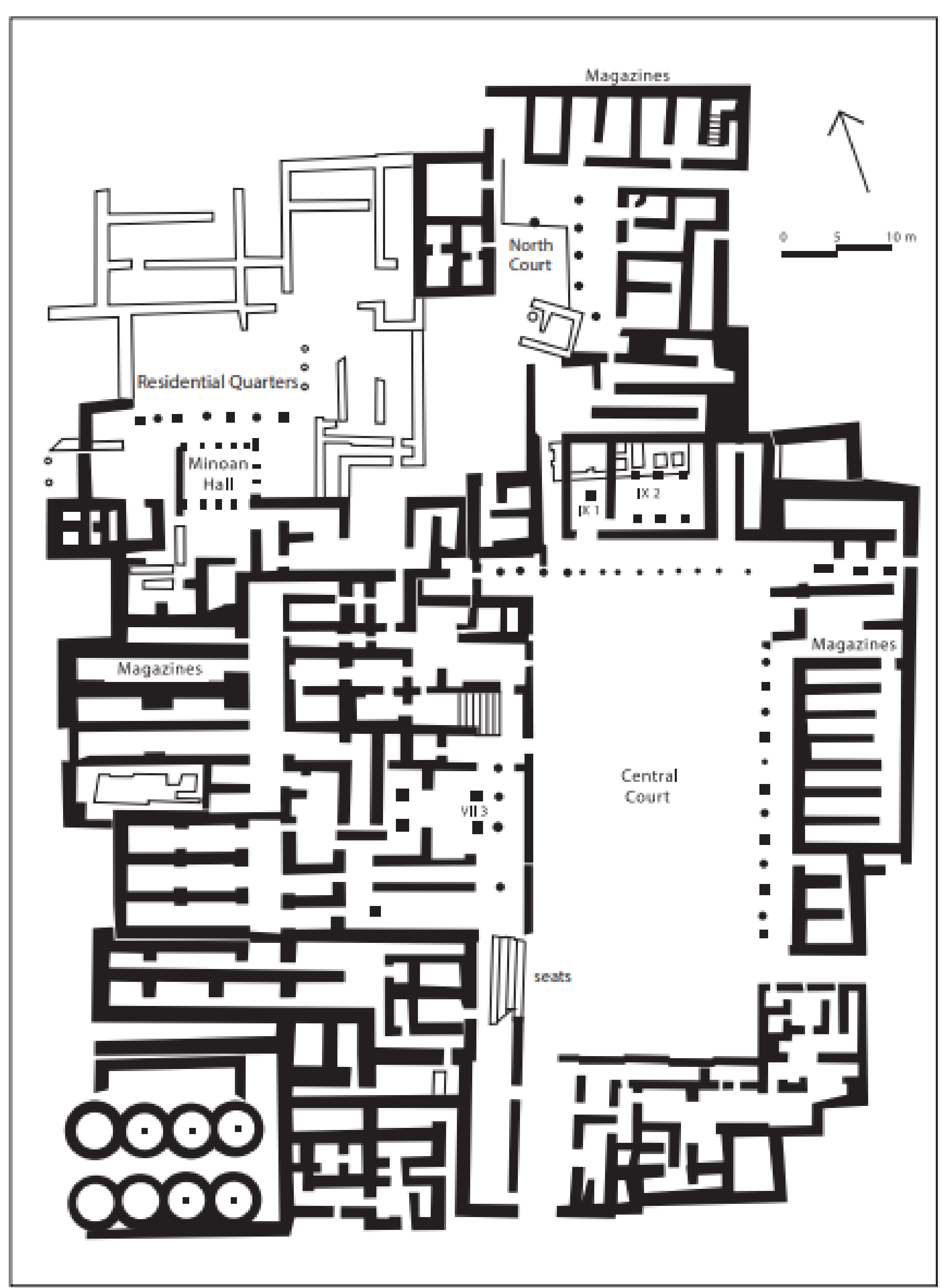

Figure 4.3 Plan of the palatial complex at Malia. Note the restrictive bottlenecks that control access to the east and west magazines. The open walled ‘dining hall’ at the northern end of the Central Court would have been accessible via a staircase to the right of the room labelled ‘X‘. Source: Shaw (2015) 7 after McEnroe (2010).

Figure 4.4 Plan of the Neopalatial settlement at Hagia Triada, located only a few kilometres northwest of the Phaistos complex. Source: http://www.minoancrete.com/agtriada_plan.jpg accessed 15/05/2019.

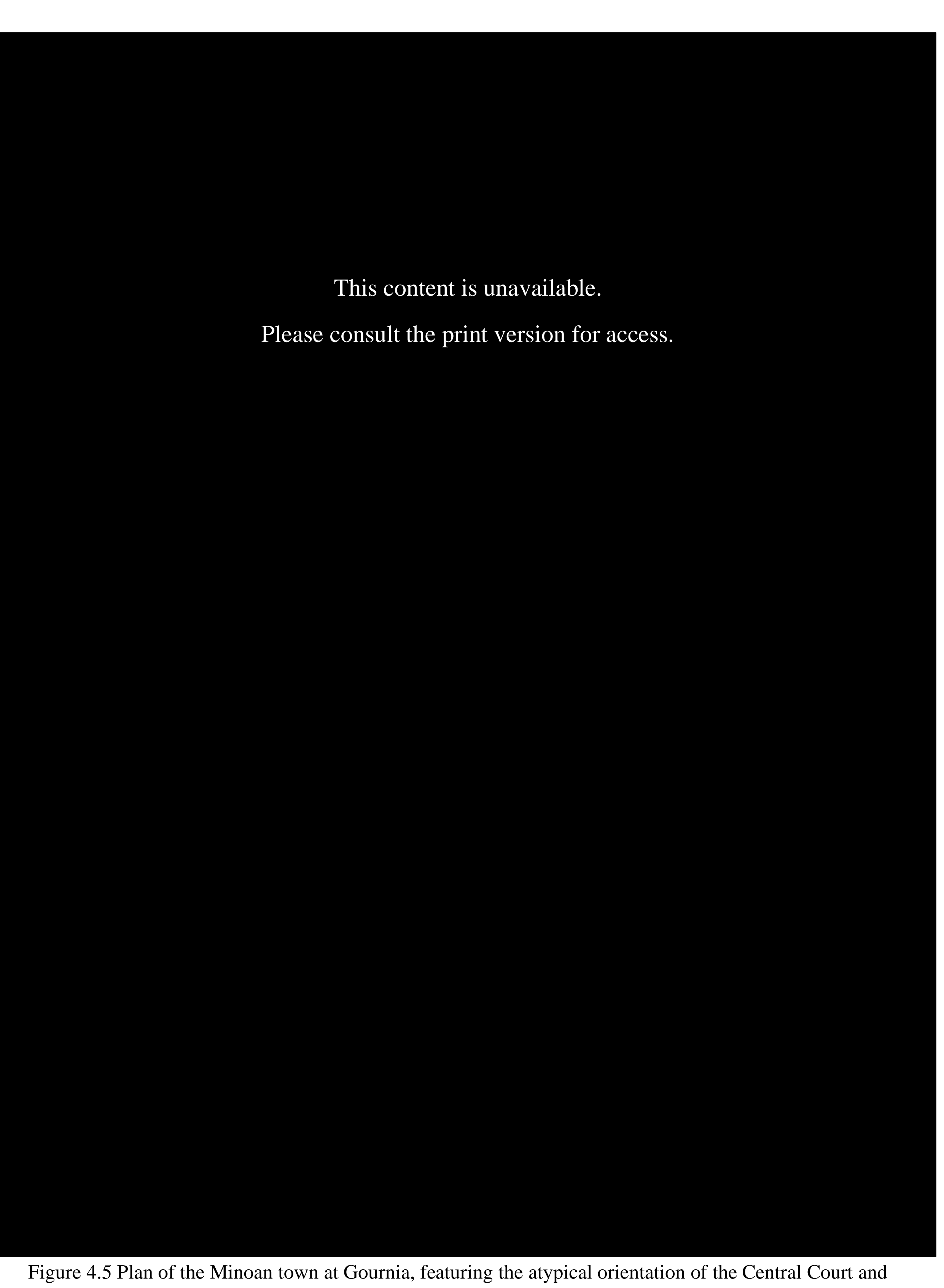
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Figure 4.5 Plan of the Minoan town at Gournia, featuring the atypical orientation of the Central Court and significant vessel deposits. Gournia would emerge as a prominent site following the rebuilding phases that marked the beginning of the Neopalatial Period, a trend that saw the settlements of East Crete increase in affluence and influence from MM IIIB onwards. Source: Watrous *et al* (2012) Map 31.

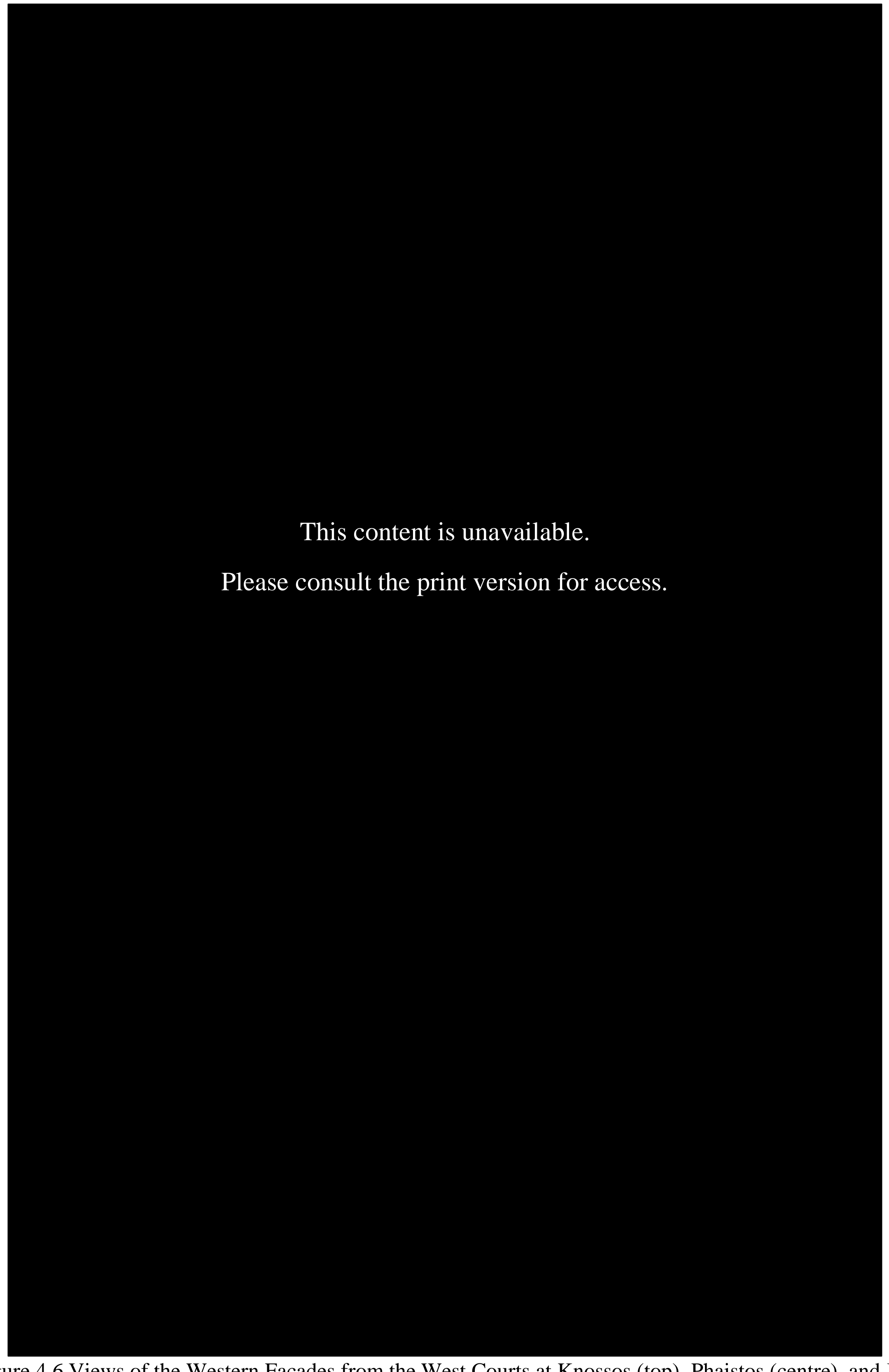

Figure 4.6 Views of the Western Facades from the West Courts at Knossos (top), Phaistos (centre), and Malia (bottom). Source: https://media-cdn.tripadvisor.com/media/photo-s/05/77/a3/05/the-palace-of-knossos.jpg. accessed 05/07/2019, https://brewminate.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/Phaistos03.jpg accessed 05/07/2019, and Shaw (2015) 16.

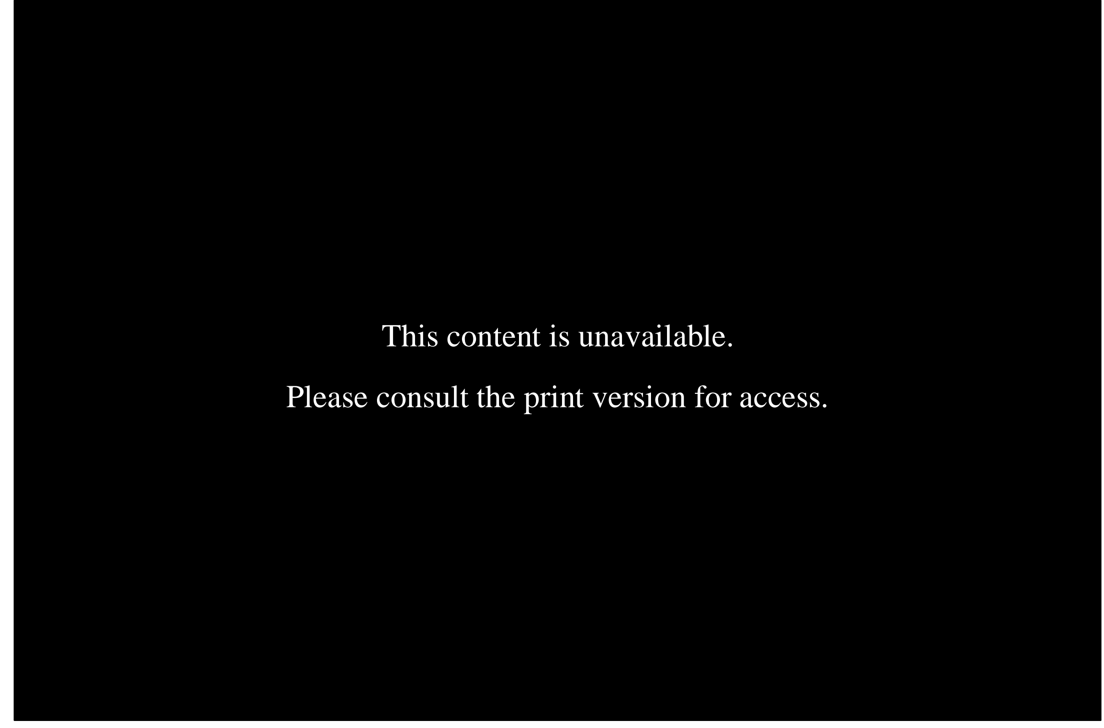

Figure 4.7 View from the Central Court at Phaistos facing northwards towards the sanctuary atop Mt Ida. The Central court is directly aligned with the peak. Source: https://static.wixstatic.com/media/6d61ab_14290547c2454fa38b5f712c58dc35e6.jpg/v1/fill/w_434,h_286,al_c,lg_1,q_80/6d61ab_14290547c2454fa38b5f712c58dc35e6.jpg accessed 05/07/2019.

Figure 4.8 View northwards from the Central Court, Phaistos. Mt Ida is obscured by the line of treed atop the north wing. Source: Author.

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Figure 4.9 The elevated platform overlooking the paved court at Gournia. Source: Soles (1991).

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Figure 4.10 One of the ‘Windows of Appearances’ at Neopalatial Gournia. Source: Soles (1991).

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Figure 4.11 The Baetyl (left) and ritual drain (right) nestled into the Western Façade, Gournia. Source: Soles (1991).

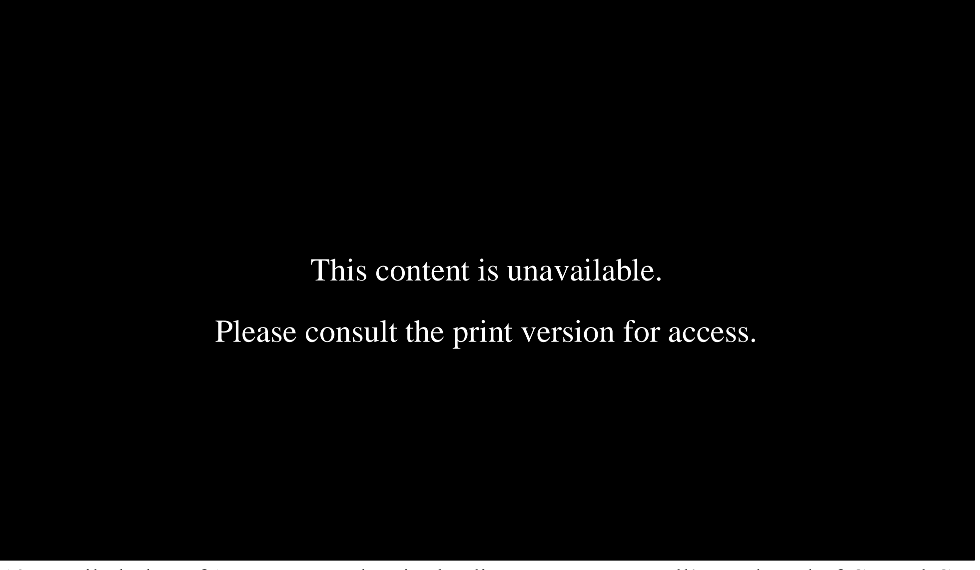

Figure 4.12 Detailed plan of ‘Room IX and stairs leading to Banquet Hall’, north end of Central Court, Malia.
Source: Shaw (2015) 35.

Figure 4.13 View of Room IX below the upper Banquet Hall at the northern end of the Central Court, Malia.
Source: Author.

Figure 4.14 View of Stairway IXa leading to upper Banquet Hall at the north end of the Central Court, Malia.
Source: Shaw (2015) 41.

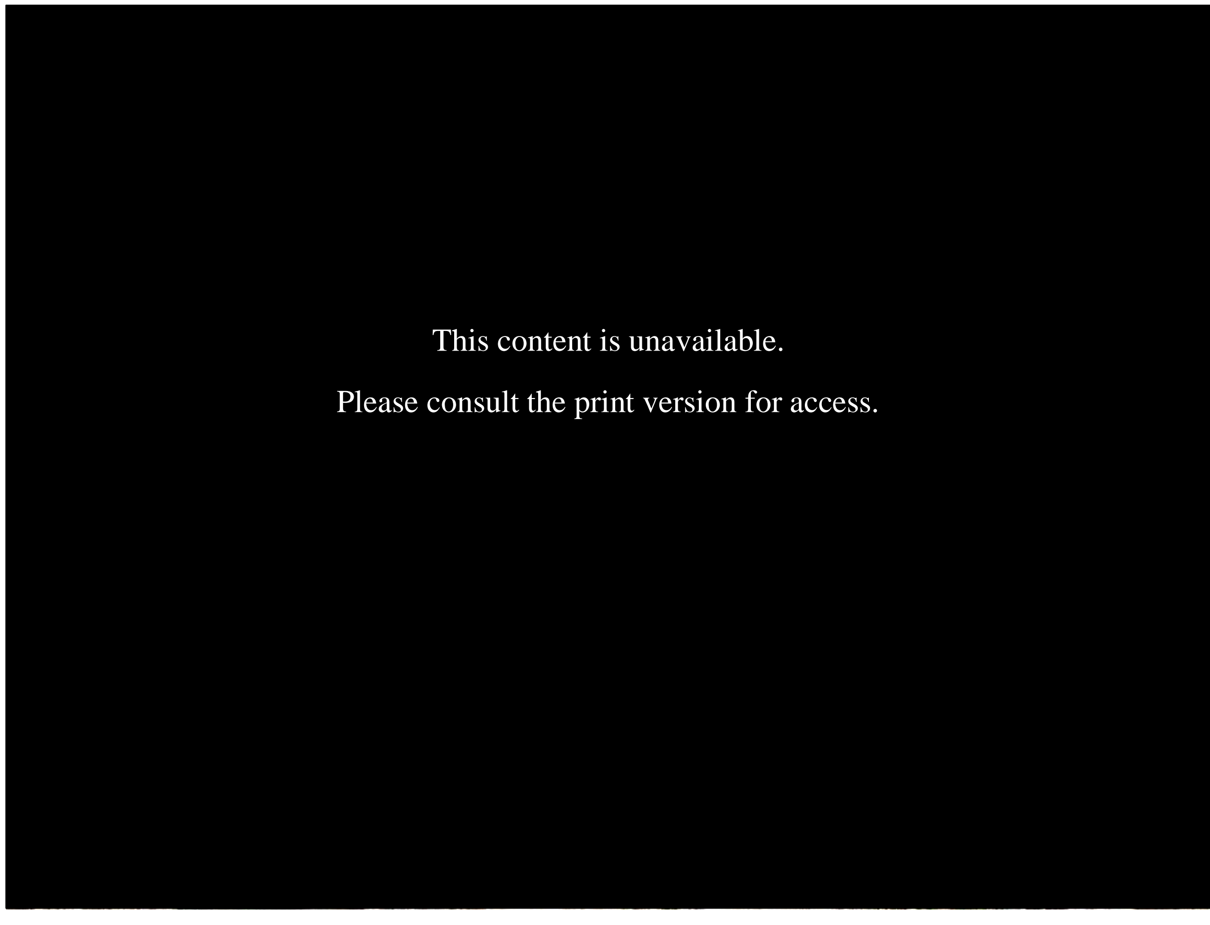

Figure 4.15 View of Building 4, Archanes Phourni. Dating to the late Neopalatial Period, Building 4 is an anomaly in the Bronze Age Aegean. However, it does have analogues in Egypt. Source: fhttp://www.minoancrete.com/phourni013b.jpg accessed 25/08/19.

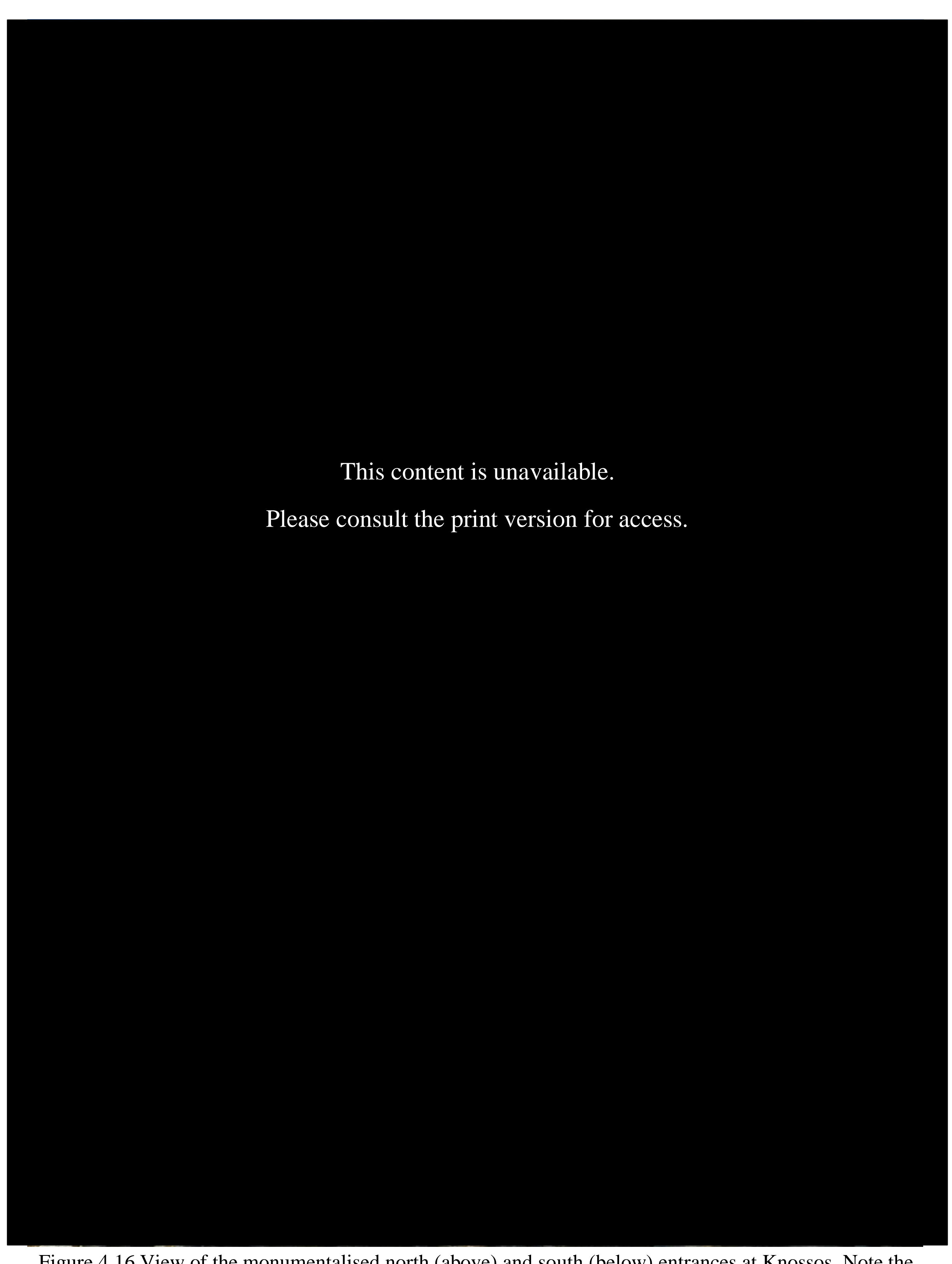

Figure 4.16 View of the monumentalised north (above) and south (below) entrances at Knossos. Note the effective manipulation of approach gradient and architectural height to impart a sense of awe in the viewer. Source: https://vasiahotels.gr/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/VasiaBlog00001-1280x800.jpg. accessed 05/07/2019, and alamy.com (Purchased) https://c8.alamy.com/comp/T2R3H6/knossos-horns-of-consecration-T2R3H6.jpg. accessed 05/07/2019.

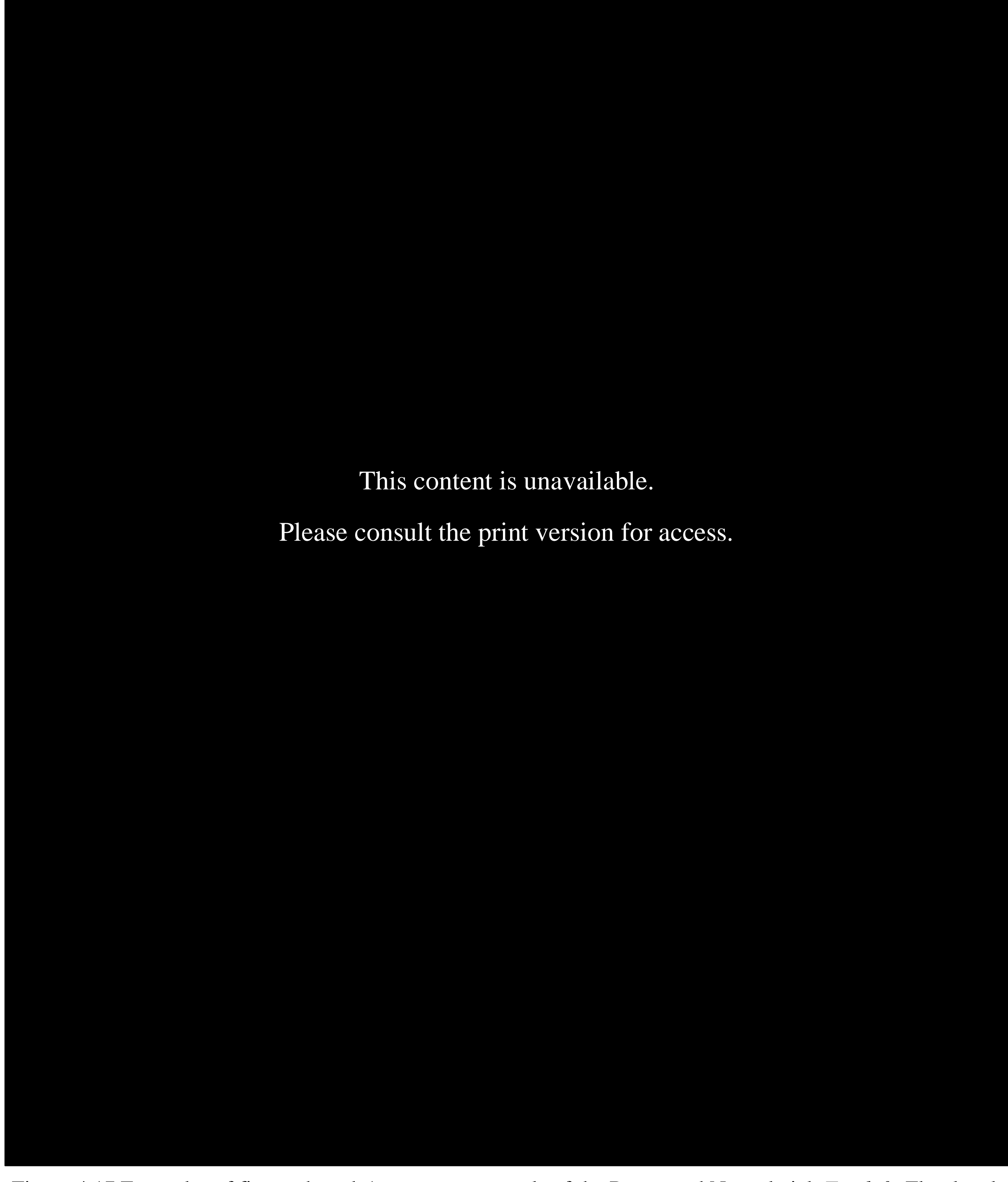

Figure 4.17 Examples of fine and crude/coarse ware vessels of the Proto- and Neopalatial. *Top left:* Floral style conical cup, c. LM IA (1600-1525/1500 BCE). Clay, 11.8 cm. Knossos. Heraklion, 3856; *top right:* Chalice, LM I (c. 1600-1450 BCE). Veined limestone, 22.5 x 9.8 x 5.9 cm. NW Royal Apartment (Portico), Hagia Triada. Heraklion, HM 338; *bottom:* Twenty Crude ware conical cups, LM IA (c. 1600 BCE). Terracotta, 3.9-3.4 x 7.6-6.7 x 3.9-3.35 cm. Ritual area, Nopighia. Kissamos KAM Π 765-784. Source (all): Andreadaki-Vlazaki *et al* (2008) 45, 262 & 269.

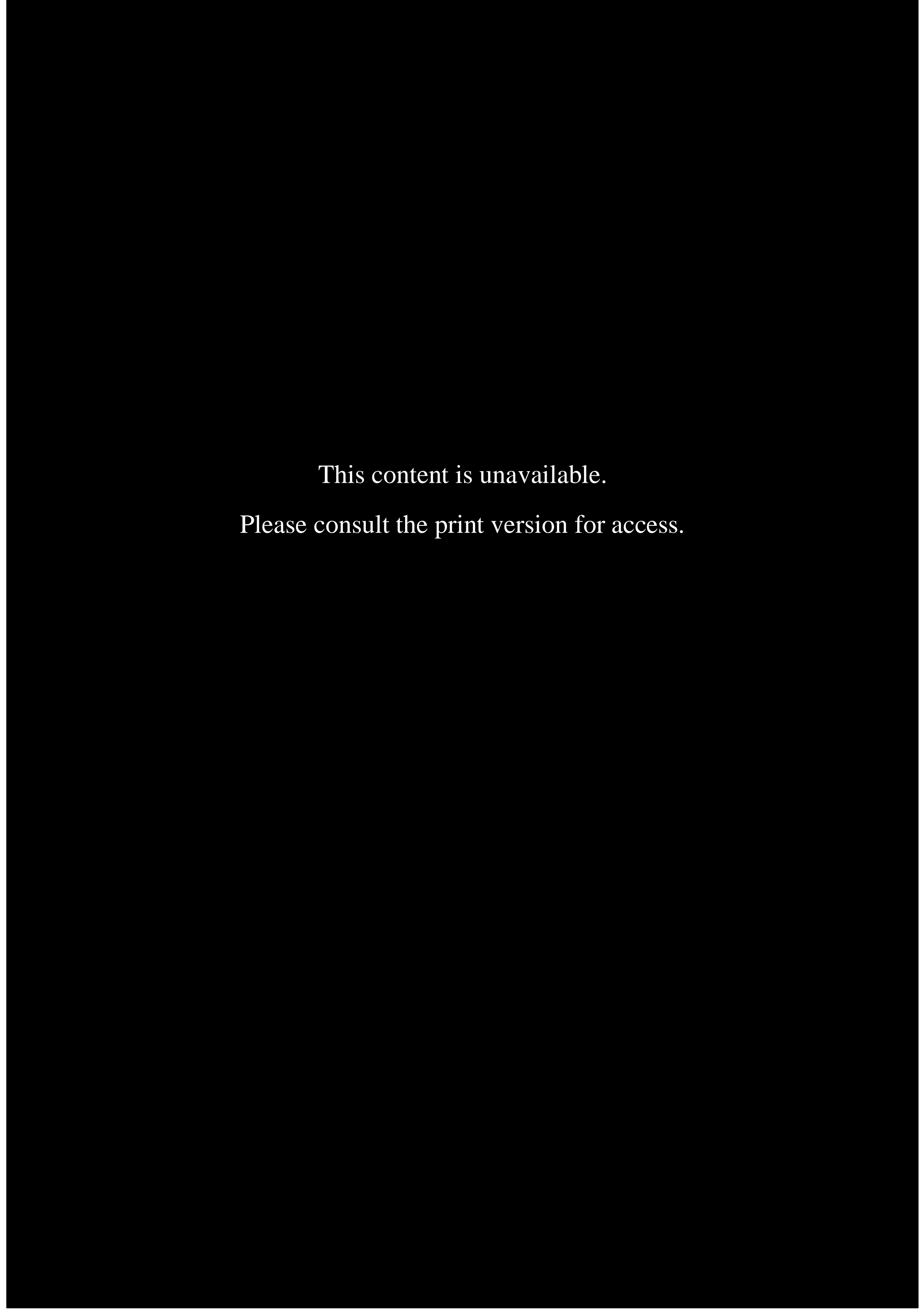

Figure 4.18 Coarse ware vessels of the type commonly found in abundance within the vicinity of ritual areas and Central Courts. *Top:* MM IIA crude ware cups (Type 1); *below*: MM IIA crude ware cups (Type 4); *lower:* MM IIB Monochrome and White Spotted crude juglets; *bottom*: MM IIA-B Crude bowls (Type 3). All ex-Knossos Central Court. Note the unmistakable contrast between these more numerous mass-produced items and the more refined artefacts illustrated in Figure 4.17. Source (all): Momigliano (2012) Supplementary CD-ROM.

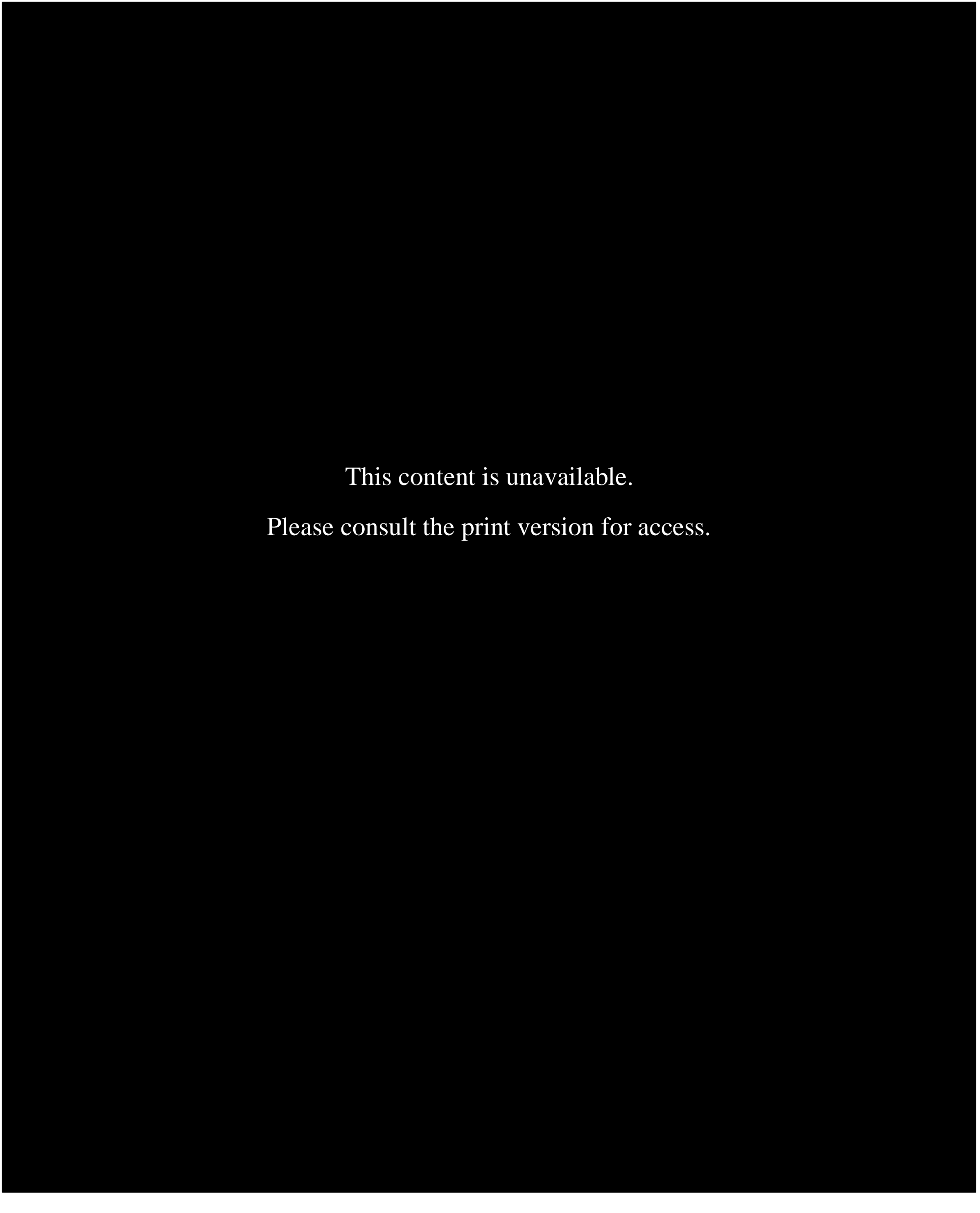

Figure 4.19 ‘Chieftain’s Cup’, LM IA/B (c. 1550-1450 BCE). Steatite, 11.5 x 7.7 cm. Royal Villa, Hagia Triada. Heraklion HM 341. Source: Andreadaki-Vlazaki *et al* (2008) 206.

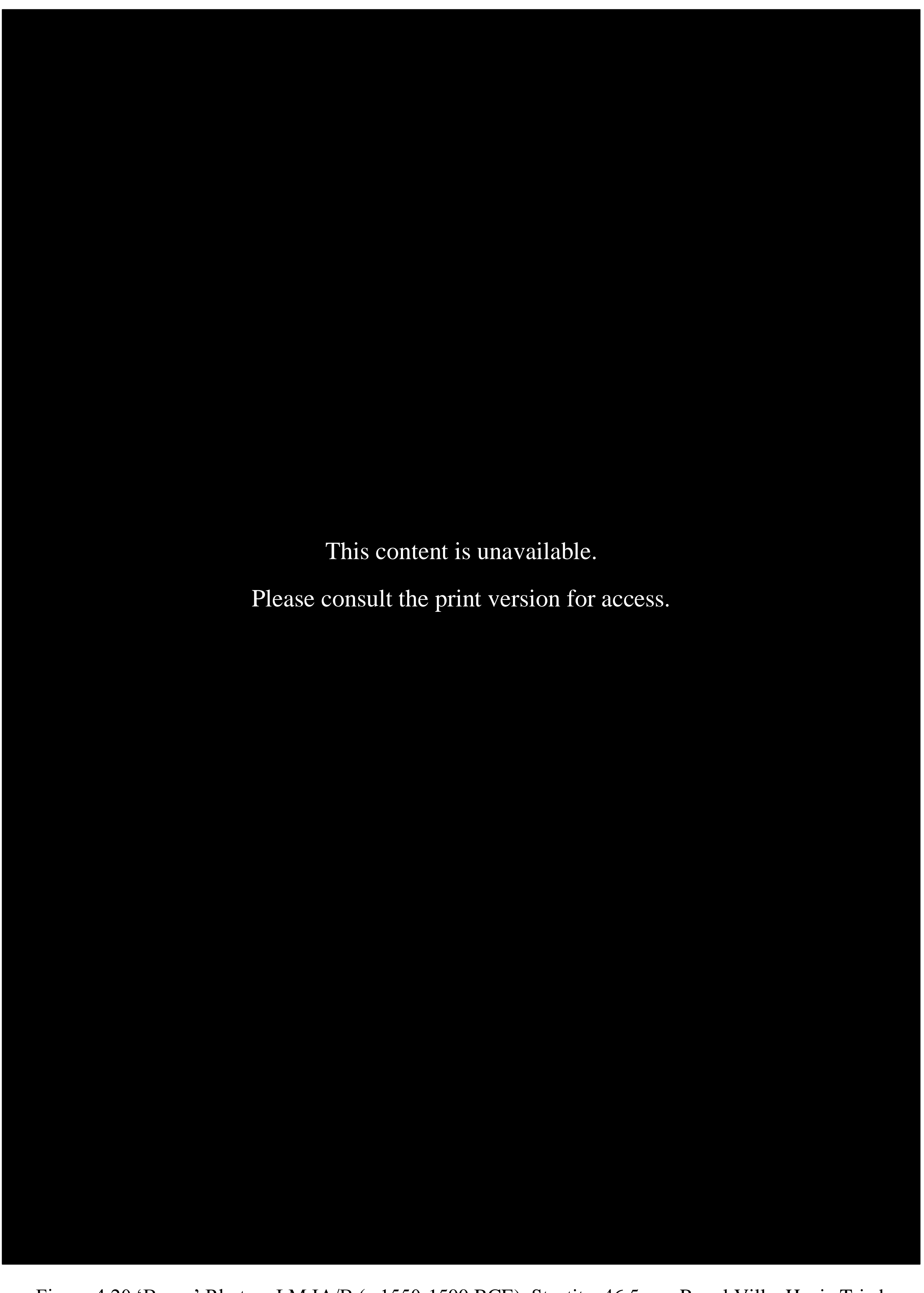

Figure 4.20 ‘Boxer’ Rhyton, LM IA/B (c.1550-1500 BCE). Steatite, 46.5 cm. Royal Villa, Hagia Triada. Heraklion, HM AE 498. Source: https://library.artstor.org/asset/ARTSTOR_103_41822000154490. Accessed 20/08/2019.

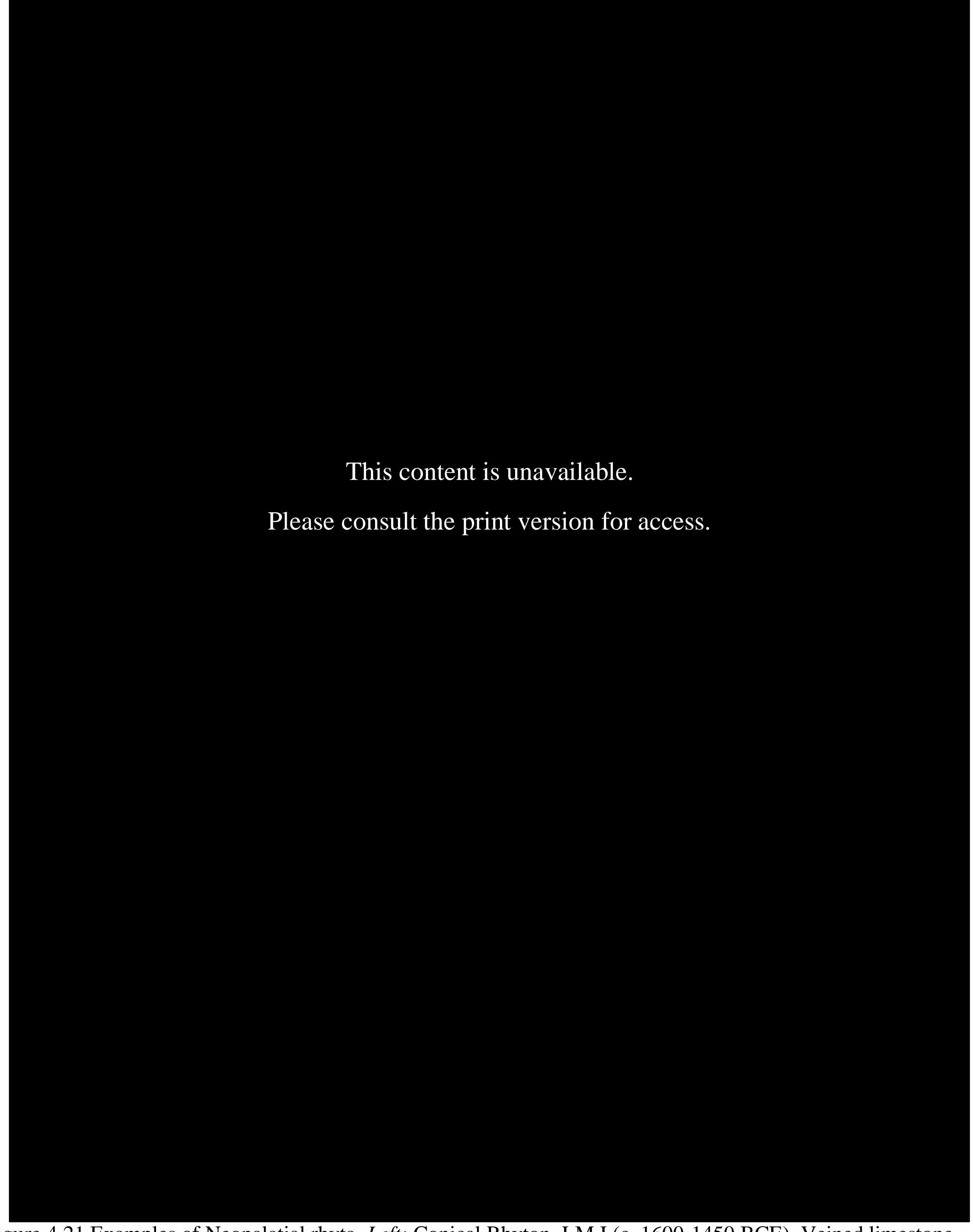

Figure 4.21 Examples of Neopalatial rhyta. *Left:* Conical Rhyton, LM I (c. 1600-1450 BCE). Veined limestone, 40.5 x 11.7 cm. Portico of NW Royal Apartments, Hagia Triada. Heraklion, HM 336; *right:* Ovoid Rhyton, LM I (c. 1600-1450 BCE). Egyptian alabaster, 39 cm. Burial Building 3, Archanes Phourni. Heraklion, HM 4031. Source: Andreadaki-Vlazaki *et al* (2008) 255 & 257.

Figure 4.22 Bull's-Head Rhyton, LM IA/B (c. 1550-1500 BCE). Steatite, Jasper, Nacre, 26 cm. Little Palace, Knossos. Heraklion, HM AE 1368. Source: http://odysseus.culture.gr/h/4/eh431.jsp?obj_id=7883&mm_id=3451 accessed 20/08/2019.

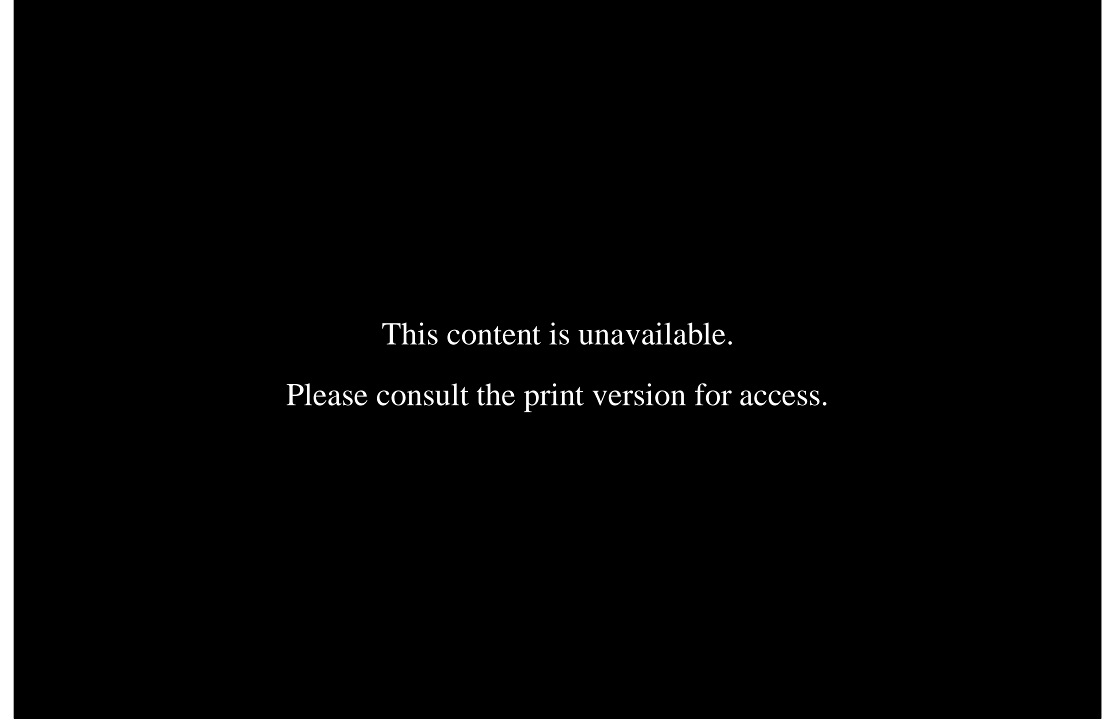

Figure 5.1 Kamares Ware bridge-spouted jar, from Tomb 416, Abydos (AN1896-1908 E.3295). Source: Spiers *et al* (2018) 51.

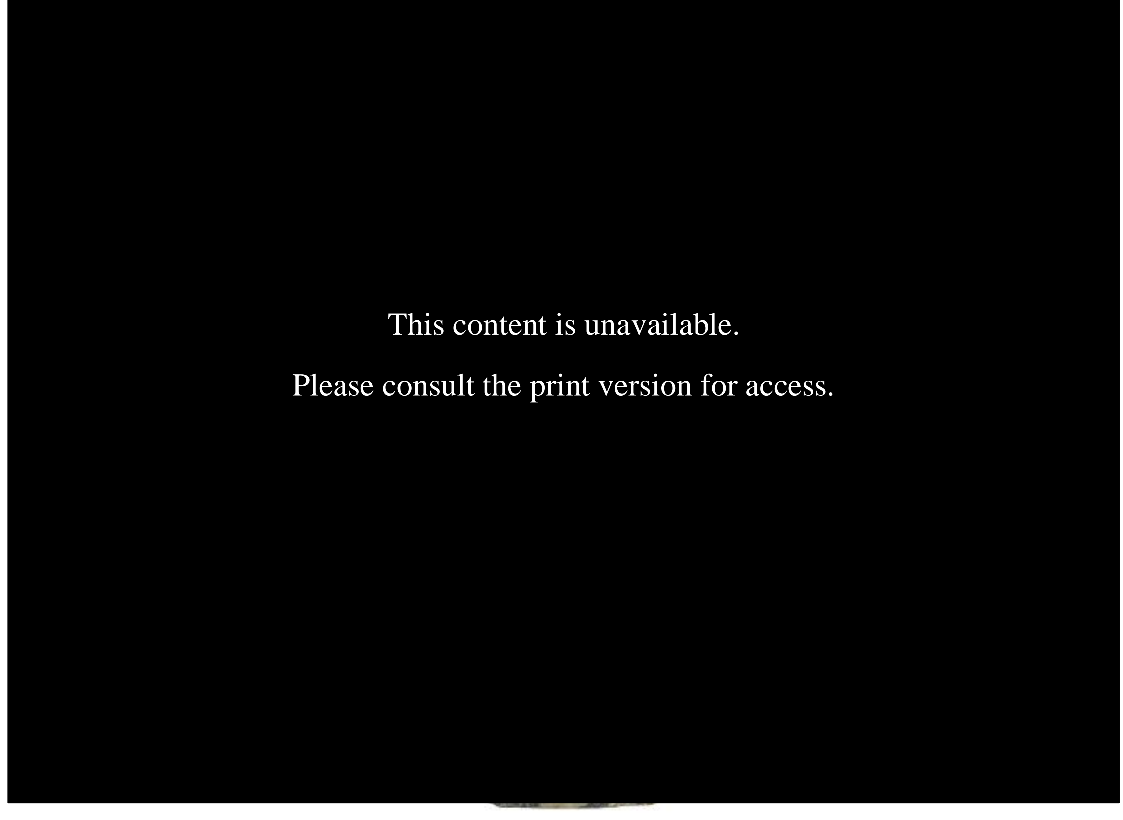

Figure 5.2 Statuette of User, 11th-13th Dynasty/c. 2055-1650 BCE. Central Court, Knossos (HAM Λ 95). Source: Spier *et al* (2018) 43.

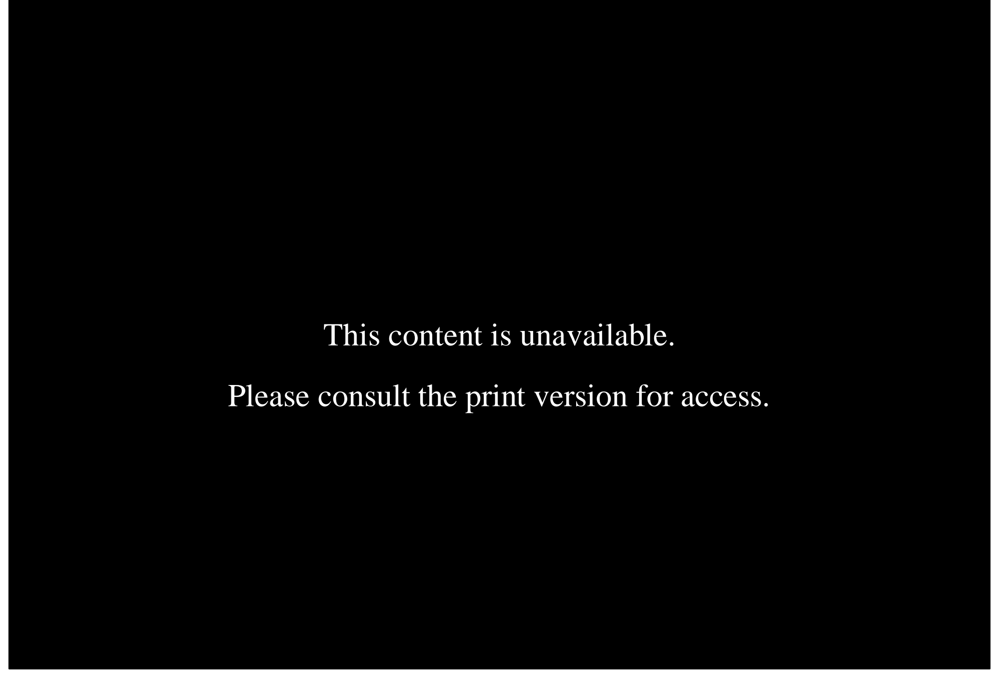

Figure 5.3 Lid with name of Pharaoh Khyan, 15th Dynasty/c. 1600 BCE. Central Palace Complex, Knossos (HAM Λ 263). Source: Karetsou *et al* (2000) 83.

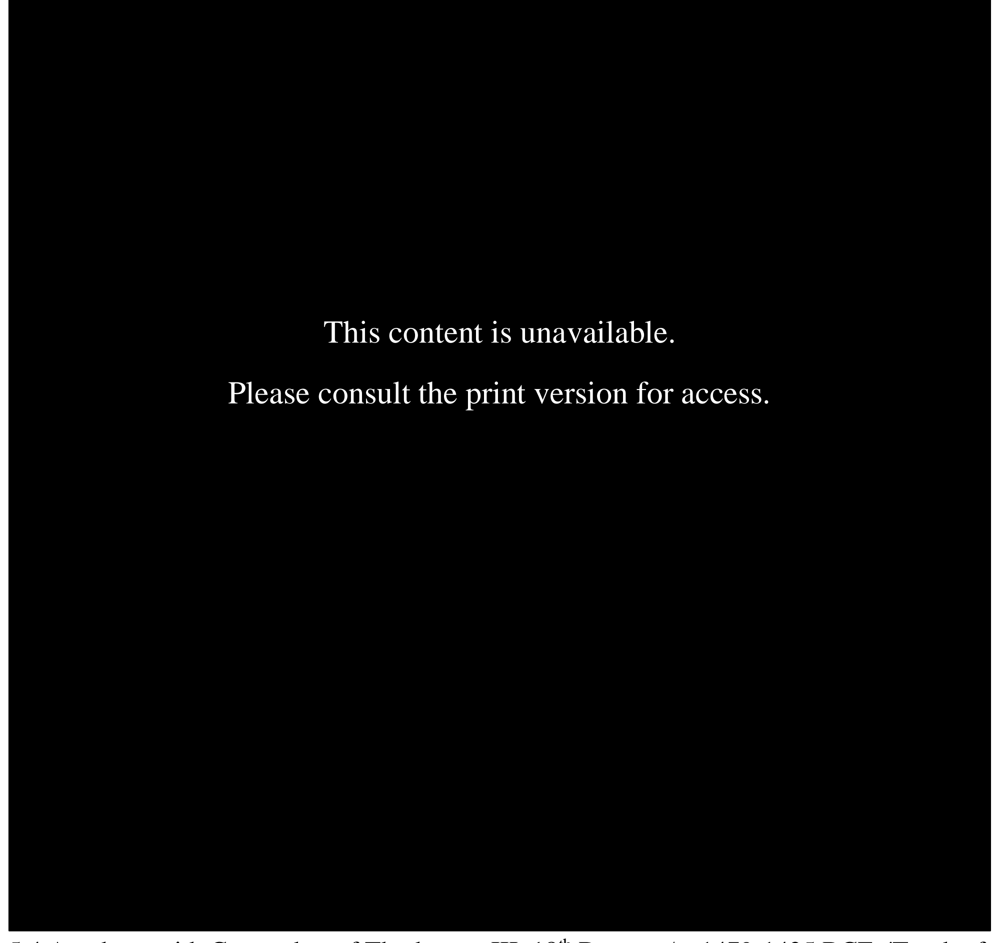

Figure 5.4 Amphora with Cartouches of Thuthmose III, 18th Dynasty/c. 1479-1425 BCE. 'Tomb of the Blue Bier’ (Tomb B), Katsambas (HAM Λ 2409). Spier *et* al (2018) 43.

Figure 5.5 'Keftiu' scene from the Tomb of Senenmut (TT 71). Source: Anthony (2016) Plate 9.

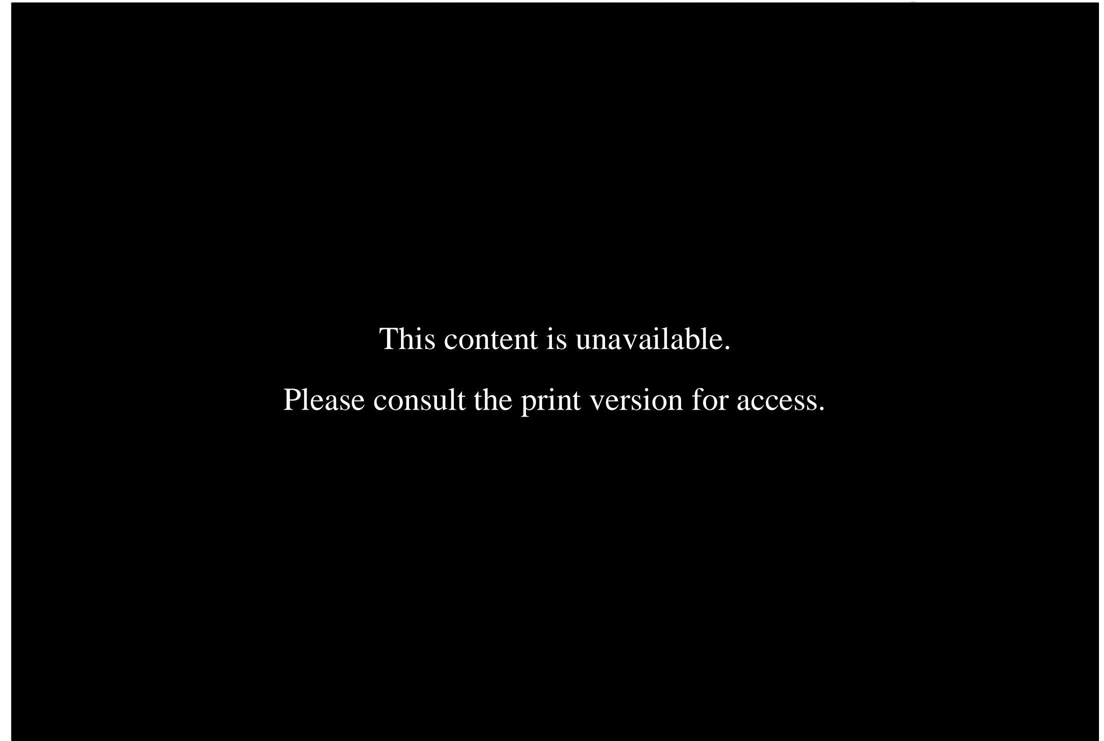

Figure 5.6 Fresco Detail 'Foreigners', 18th Dynasty/c. 1479-1425. Tomb of Menkheperraseneb, Thebes. Fascimilie, 1925 CE. Painted by Nina de Garis (MET 1930.30.4.55). Source: Spier *et al* (2018) 54.

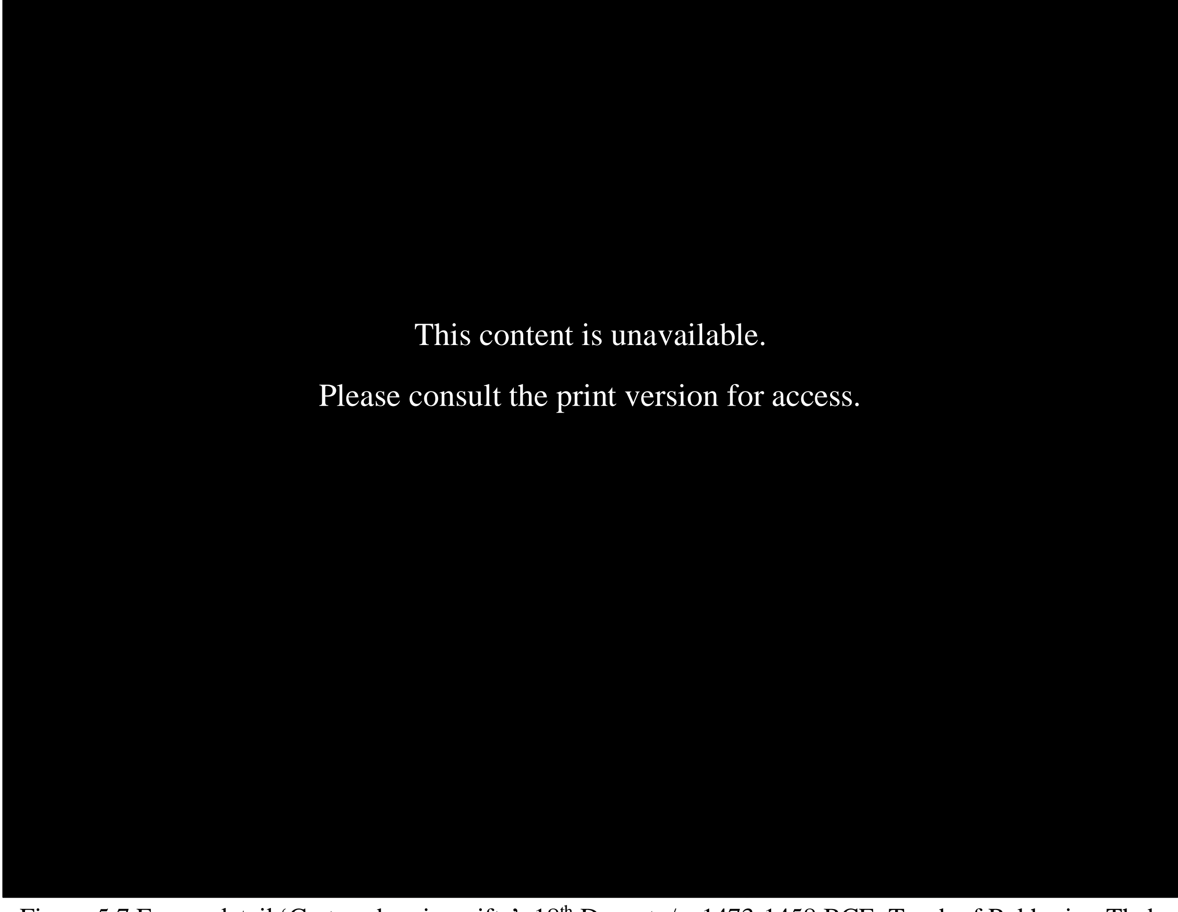

Figure 5.7 Fresco detail ‘Cretans bearing gifts’, 18th Dynasty/c. 1473-1458 BCE. Tomb of Rekhmire, Thebes. Facsimile, c.1923-24 CE. Painted by Nina de Garis (MET 1930.30.4.84). Source: Spier *et al* (2018) 55.

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Figure 5.8 Minoan Bull Leaping Fresco (composite digital reconstruction), 18th Dynasty/1479-1400 BCE. Palace District, Tel el-Dab'a/Avaris. Source: Bietak *et al* (2006) 58-59.

Figure 5.9 Clockwise from top left: Knossos Taureador Panel 1 (digital composite reconstruction); Knossos Taureador Panel 2 (digital composite reconstruction); Knossos Taureador Panel 3 (digital composite reconstruction), Knossos Taureador Panel 4 (digital composite reconstruction); Overleaf: Knossos Taureador Panel 5 (digital composite reconstruction).

Figure 5.9 Continued.

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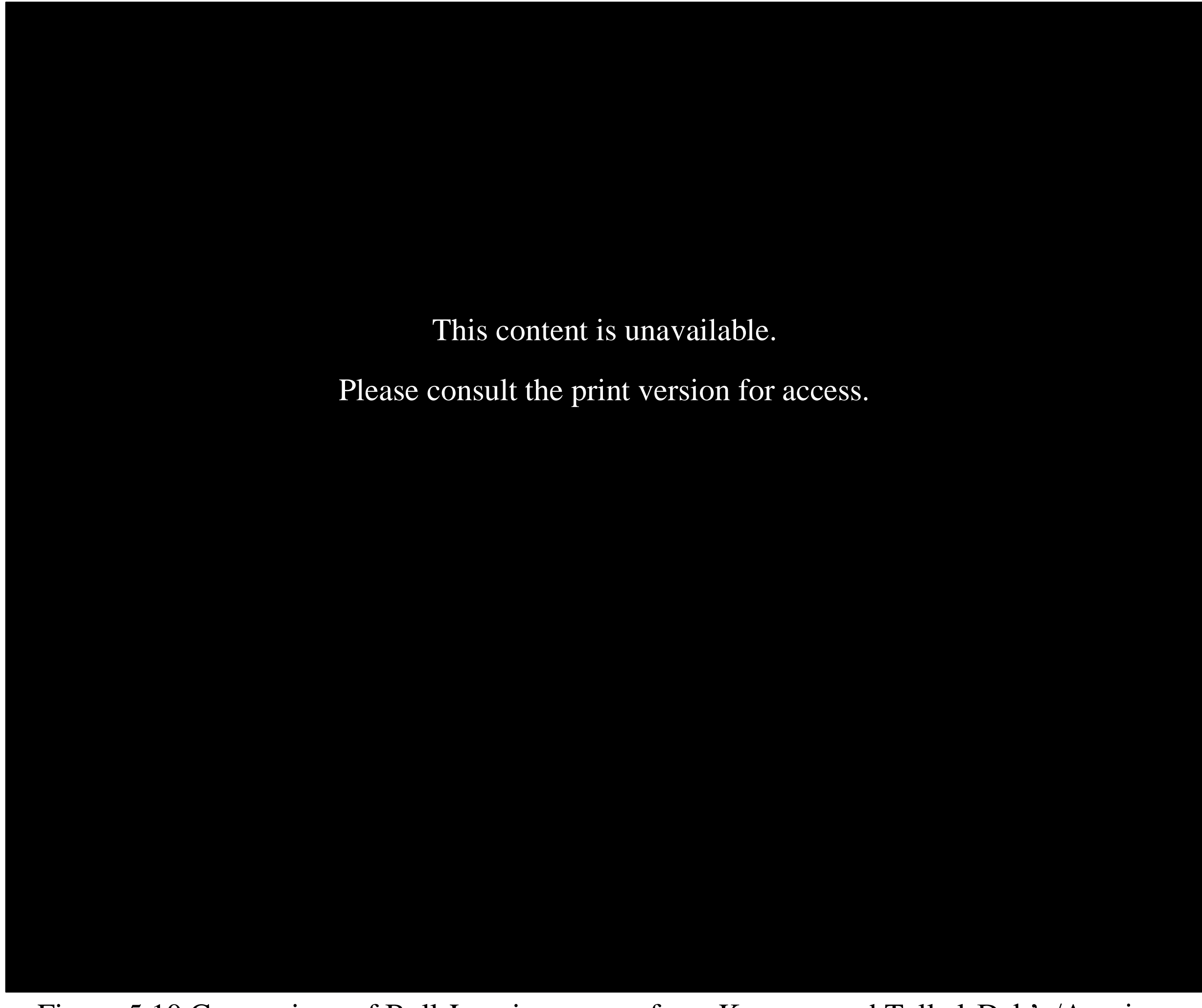

Figure 5.10 Comparison of Bull-Leaping scenes from Knossos and Tell el-Dab’a/Avaris.
Source: Bietak *et al* (2006) 129.