The Value of the Past:
Minoan and Minoanizing Larnakes at the Knossos North Cemetery

Honours Thesis

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Larnax 107.214 from the Knossos North Cemetery (from Coldstream & Catling, 1996, fig. 114).
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Abstract

The main focus of this thesis is the collection of at least seventeen larnakes or clay coffins found at the Knossos North Cemetery site on Crete. The site was uncovered as a result of one period of salvage excavations in 1978 that revealed an expansive necropolis of material dating from all periods between the Subminoan and Late Orientalising periods or approximately 1100BC to 600BC. The presence of larnakes was of particular interest as they have historically been considered a prototypical Minoan shape restricted to the Bronze Age on Crete. Sixteen of the larnakes proved to be examples of Early Iron Age people reusing and recontextualising Bronze Age larnakes at least two hundred years after their manufacture while the other is the only known example of a Geometric style copy of a larnax shape. This thesis, by a comparison of the intended contexts for the larnakes in Late Bronze Age burials, with their burial contexts at the Knossos North Cemetery shows that the use of the larnakes differed greatly between the two and therefore it would seem likely that their meaning did as well. On closer inspection larnakes were most popular on Crete between 1500-1200BC when the evidence suggests that Crete was undergoing a period of political and social turmoil, possibly as the result of an influx of outsiders. The iconography on larnakes suggests a mixture of both new and old techniques and images on the same vessels to signify links to both tradition and innovation all at once. The KNC larnakes, along with a small number of other Minoan finds and influences at the site, suggest the people of later generations were once again using the larnakes to suggest strong links to the local past alongside more contemporary burial practices. In both cases, larnakes were used to strengthen and legitimate status, for the small, possibly family, groups represented in the tombs.
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**Chronologies**

### Bronze Age (BA)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Traditional Chronology Dates B.C.</th>
<th>High Chronology Dates B.C.</th>
<th>Crete</th>
<th>Greek Peninsula</th>
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<td></td>
<td>EM I</td>
<td>EH I</td>
<td>Grotta-Pelos Group</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>EM IIA</td>
<td>EH II</td>
<td>Keros-Syros Group</td>
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<td>EM IIB</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kastri Group</td>
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<td></td>
<td>EM III</td>
<td>EH III</td>
<td>Phylakopi I Group</td>
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| 2000–1625                         | 2000–1725                    | MM IA | MH             | Mc              |
|                                   |                             | MM IB |                |                 |
|                                   |                             | MM IIA|                |                 |
|                                   |                             | MM IIB|                |                 |
|                                   |                             | MM IIIA|               |                 |
|                                   |                             | MM IIIIB|              |                 |

| 1625–1525                         | 1725–1625                    | LM IA | LH I            | LC IA           |
|                                   |                             | LM IB | LH II           | LC IB           |
|                                   |                             | LM II | LH IIB          | LC II           |
|                                   |                             | LM IIIA|              | LC IIIA         |
|                                   |                             | LM IIIB|             | LC IIIB         |
|                                   |                             | LM IIIIC|            | LC IIIIC        |

| 1525–1540                         | 1625–1500                    |                   |                 |
|                                   | 1450–1425                    |                   |                 |
|                                   | 1425–1300                    |                   |                 |
|                                   | 1300–1200                    |                   |                 |
|                                   | 1200–1125                    |                   |                 |

**Early Iron Age (EIA)**

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<td>Middle Protogeometric</td>
<td>MPG</td>
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*Early Iron Age Chronology (after Brock, 1957, p. XV)*.

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1. The above abbreviations will be used for this thesis as well as LBA (Late Bronze Age) for all of the LM periods.

For expanded development of Bronze Age chronologies see Appendix 1 figs. 1 & 2.
1. Introduction

Crete has long been known for its Bronze Age past. Even in Classical Greece, mythical stories about Crete’s BA past including the rule of King Minos, Theseus and the Bull, Daedalus and the Labyrinth and Idomeneus and the island’s hundred cities, were associated with Crete’s physical landscape and cultural identity. It was this past that Arthur Evans was looking for and expected to find in the early twentieth century landscape and thus ensured that Crete’s identity would continue to be dominated by its Bronze Age heritage.

There is no doubt that the ‘Minoans’, as they have come to be known, left their mark on Crete. Evidence of this is not only in the stories and traditions but also on the physical landscape and archaeological remains. The monumentality of BA architecture has meant that its visibility and mere presence has given it continuing impact in the lives of later generations, even before the spread of the Homeric epics and Classical mythologies.

The EIA in Crete is a particularly interesting period in which to look at relationships with the past, as it encompasses the centuries immediately following the BA. As a liminal period, it is crucial to the assessment of whether cultural practices had been retained, rediscovered or reinterpreted. EIA manifestations of this BA impact have been a particular interest of Prent, who has identified later interactions with, as well as continued use of, sanctuaries and palatial ruins all across Crete. However, during the same period, this impact can also be seen in other forms of material culture, in other contexts and on a much smaller scale.

The Knossos North Cemetery site is one of the most intriguing when it comes to questions of cultural continuity and relationships with the BA past. The site covers the period between the BA and IA, even continuing down to the beginning of the Classical period. This suggests that it would represent some amount of

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2 Alcock has described the Cretan of historic times as being "ensnared within the abiding influence of tradition" (2002, 100).
4 The site will after be referred to by the abbreviation KNC.
continuity from the BA, however, before the so-called ‘Sub-Minoan’ period it was a virgin site that did not extend back to the Palatial periods. This raises questions about who it was that established the cemetery and whether the site represented cultural continuity.

These questions are made harder by the excavation conditions and therefore data recorded at the Knossos North Cemetery. The excavation took place during one six-month period, as a rescue excavation under extremely difficult circumstances. While the methods and results may have been imperfect, the publication of the site has helped to transform our understanding of, not only life at Knossos during the EIA but also, of settlement patterns across Crete and ongoing regional trade throughout the Mediterranean. During a period, when it appeared that the Cretans were running for the hills from threat of invasion, natural disaster or internal instability, we have evidence of the establishment of a new cemetery site of a substantial size that remained in continuous use on low-lying ground near the sea from the earliest Post-Palatial times to at least the Orientalizing period of the 7th and 6th centuries. This could hardly be called a snapshot of a ‘Dark Age’.

While the earliest tombs at the KNC were dated to the SM period, the earliest finds were dated to centuries before the first tombs were dug. A small number of objects were manufactured in the BA, similar examples of which had previously only been found in BA contexts. The most significant of this group was a collection of sixteen larnakes, or burial chests, of types that were widely used during the earliest Post-Palatial periods (1425-1125BC) throughout Crete. As well as these Minoan larnakes, the only known EIA imitation of a larnax was also found. These seventeen larnakes raise a host of questions about whether they were part of a continuing burial ritual or whether their meaning and use changed between manufacture and final deposition.

This thesis will attempt to explore these questions of continuity raised by the finds at the KNC by focusing on the presence of these seventeen larnakes. The emphasis will be on the contexts in which the larnakes were found including analysis of the tombs, objects and human remains of the EIA and whether these aspects are consistent with BA traditions of larnax burial or are instead rediscovered and reinterpreted with a new meaning.
2. Literature Review

I. Introduction

In the history of Greek archaeological scholarship, Crete has sometimes fallen through the cracks. In Greek archaeological scholarship, Crete has sometimes fallen through the cracks. It is geographically the furthest island from the mainland but has also been considered the furthest stylistically when seen from an art historical perspective. The history of Cretan scholarship has to a certain extent always been guided by its perceived relationship to the culture of mainland Greece and this has significantly impacted the excavation history on the island. The ideological importance placed on Crete’s Bronze Age past has been hugely influential in determining the range of material that has been first, excavated and second, retained for further study.

II. Sir Arthur Evans and the Civilised Cretans

It is hard to approach any aspect of archaeology in Crete, and especially at Knossos, without at some point encountering the influence of Sir Arthur Evans. Even the use of the term ‘Minoan’ is a product of his imagining. As Finley once said of Evans “no man has ever dominated an archaeological field as completely”. Between 1900 and 1931, Evans acquired and then excavated the site of the Palatial remains at Knossos and their surrounds. He published his finds in the encyclopedic volumes of The Palace of Minos (1935) and further publications including The Prehistoric Tombs at Knossos (1905), detailing burials found on the outskirts of the Palace area, and Scripta Minoa (1909), a record of the inscriptions found at the site.

Evans was already nearly fifty by the time he began his excavations at Knossos and, as the son of a distinguished antiquarian and Keeper of the Ashmolean

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5 For example see Antonaccio, 1995, 2. This also seems to have been the case in ancient times. Whitley has demonstrated that “Crete lies outside the standard narrative of Archaic Greece” (2001, 243) and Erikson has shown that ancient authors such as Plato and Pindar also seem to refer to Crete as isolated but emphasises that they were mentioned at all. (2010, 6-19)
6 Alcock has described the Minoan civilisation as “the only great civilisation created in the twentieth century” (2002, 100).
7 Finley, 1968, 13.
Museum, he had studied archaeological materials and ancient civilizations all his life. This meant that Evans arrived at Knossos with preconceived ideas about culture, primitive societies and archaeological methods that coloured not just his own interpretations of the site but also the history of Cretan archaeological research for at least the first half of the twentieth century.

Evans believed strongly in the concept of social evolution, a theory based on the same principles as Darwin’s theory of evolutionary biology. Social evolution took those Darwinian principles of survival of the fittest and evolutionary progression and applied them to the growth and decline of people and civilisations. Like Thomsen’s three-age system, social evolutionism was a useful way in which to objectively categorise and organise the large amounts of data that was the result of the increased interest in antiquarianism and archaeological excavation during the nineteenth century.

We can still see the remnants of Evans’ model of social evolution in his three stage chronological sequence, which is still used as the basis of most scholars’ dating systems for Cretan BA material today. Evans saw in the material at Knossos the outline of evolutionary development with change being successive, gradual and organic. This is reflected in his designated periods of Early, Middle and Late Minoan, representing the growth, maturity and decline, he saw as consistent across all civilisations.

Evans was strongly influenced by the intellectual atmosphere of his time, particularly in the sciences, and he saw in social evolution a more scientific approach to the discipline of archaeology using the most modern theories and methods available at the time. He had developed these ideas as early as 1884, in his inaugural lecture as Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum:

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8 For in-depth studies of Evans and his legacy see MacNeal, 1973, MacEnroe, 1995, MacGillivray, 200 & Zois, 1996.
10 Evolutionist ideas were widespread in Victorian intellectual thought, as were racial and racist stereotypes, and while Evans excavated at Knossos in the twentieth century his ideological background was very much a product of the late Victorian era. For more see Hamilakis, 2002, MacGillivray, 2000 & Luck, 2000.
11 Prent, 2005, 54.
The separation of our Archaeological and anthropological specimens... is in some respect a retrograde measure. I will go further, and say that to carry out such a division according to any exact definition of either Science, is an impossible measure. The two studies overlap. The same object – to illustrate the laws of Evolution as applied to human arts – is largely shared by both... the central truth of Archaeological as of all other Science.\textsuperscript{13}

Evans, with the help of his assistant and site supervisor Duncan Mackenzie\textsuperscript{14}, was one of the first people to see the need and benefits of applying scientific methods and techniques to archaeological excavation and analysis. Evans foresaw that as science progressed throughout the twentieth century so would its use in archaeological investigations.

It was a combination on Evans’ already existent ideology and his subsequent interpretation of Knossos that has shaped the history of scholarship in Greek archaeology. At Knossos, Evans in his own words believed he had found “the starting point and the earliest stage in the highway of European civilisation”. In his realization that he had found a culture completely different from and older than Schliemann’s discoveries of Mycenaean Greece, Evans believed he had found the primary stage in the Greek evolution towards its Classical Zenith.\textsuperscript{15} In the artistic style and monumental architecture Evans saw the beginnings of culture; the results were a nature loving, peaceful people in contrast to the warlike warriors of the Mycenaean mainland. He was the first to attempt to attach an ethnic label to the Bronze Age Cretans. As Hamilakis has noted, central to Evans’ worldview was that the Cretans were an essentially ‘indigenous’ civilisation, who had not migrated from elsewhere, making them ‘fundamentally European in nature’.\textsuperscript{16}

\textsuperscript{13} Evans, 1884, cited by Hamilakis, 2002, 5-6.
\textsuperscript{14} Renfrew (in Mackenzie & Renfrew, 1963) and Momigliano (1996) both commend the methodical, systematic approach evident in Mackenzie’s notebooks, leading Renfrew to consider him ‘one of the first scientific workers in the Aegean’.
\textsuperscript{15} Fitton believes Evans claimed a Minoan origin “for just about everything that happened in the Greek lands from the BA to the Classical period.” (1995, 75) See also Prent (2005, 67).
\textsuperscript{16} Hamilakis, 2002, 6. She goes on to assert that Evans saw the Cretans as forerunners to the thalassocracy of the British Empire, spreading civilisation across the seas. See also Hagg &
It was this worldview of the Cretans and culture, that Prent believes accounts for the stress on two concepts in Evans' work, the unity or homogeneity of 'Minoan' civilisation and its continuity during the BA and into later periods.\textsuperscript{17} Therefore, I believe it is no coincidence that these two concepts have dominated much of the subsequent literature about BA Crete.

Evans' assessment of the BA Cretans has also affected the archaeological material and excavated sites available to us for further study. Kanta, for example, believes that the ongoing debate about the final date of destruction at the Palace has been a consequence of Evans' disregard for the later stages in the BA sequence and his failure to publish the LMIII strata\textsuperscript{18}. Like his reconstruction of parts of the palace, the removal of strata without proper recording\textsuperscript{1} is a difficult process to undo. It has also been said that Evans' depiction of the BA culture of Crete is also why the majority of sites excavated on Crete for a long time were 'Minoan' in nature. It has only been in the last few decades that the excavation of so-called 'Dark Age' sites, in particular, and later periods has become a priority.

III. Early Iron Age

i. Illuminating the Dark Ages

Scholars, as early as Schweitzer and Demargne\textsuperscript{19}, have lamented the lack of controlled excavations of Early Iron Age sites on Crete. As a result of the lack of excavations, there was a noticeable lack of publications focusing on the period in the years before the 1960s and 1970s. Much of the scholarship of the intervening period was concerned with the preoccupation of some Classicists with finding Homer in the archaeological record with creative titles such as \textit{Mycenae to Homer} and \textit{Homer and Mycenae}\textsuperscript{20}. This search only intensified with the decipherment of the Linear B script by Michael Ventris in 1952.\textsuperscript{21}

\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{17} Prent, 2005, 64.
\textsuperscript{18} Kanta, 1980, 1.
\textsuperscript{19} Schweitzer, 1917; Demargne, 1947.
\textsuperscript{20} Webster, 1958; Nilsson, 1933
\textsuperscript{21} For a reevaluation of Minoan and Mycenaeans in the light of the decipherment see Palmer, 1965.
The decipherment showed that while the Linear B text was a form of Greek, which suggested some amount of continuity from the BA past especially in religion\(^{22}\), it was describing a socio-economic system that differed greatly to the Homeric model of the BA past.\(^{23}\) This then seemed to turn the attention of scholars to the intervening period of the EIA that had only previously been considered a "Dark Age" between two celebrated zeniths of civilisation. It now became the source of many later Greek traditions and institutions and was discussed in the search for the origins of concepts such as the polis.

The general shift in archaeology during the 1960s and 1970s, now referred to as the 'New Archaeology', significantly impacted the types of studies and excavations that were the norm in Cretan archaeology. The New Archaeology's focus on scientific analysis and reconstructing societies as a whole from the complete range of the material remains lent itself to the study of the scarce EIA remains as opposed to the study of high art and literature, which comprised the traditional canon for Classicists. In regards to Greece in the EIA, the work of Binford on 'big men societies' was particularly influential and was applied by Whitley to describe the societies that appeared in DA Greece.\(^{24}\)

Volumes with the EIA as their sole focus were published for what was really the first time with Desborough's *The Last Mycenaean and their Successors* and *The Greek Dark Ages* and Snodgrass' *The Dark of Greece: An Archaeological Survey of the Eleventh to the Eighth Centuries BC*\(^{25}\) providing the first attempts to bring together the ever growing corpus of material, much of which had only been discovered in the search for earlier or later periods. While the EIA was beginning to attract the attention of scholars it was usually not for its own merit.

Desborough summed up the prevailing impression of the EIA and the reasoning for why it was considered dark.

> From the point of view of material culture, the Greek Dark Ages have little to offer or excite. There are indeed achievements,

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\(^{22}\) See Prent, 2005; Pakkanen, 2000.

\(^{23}\) Prent, 2005, 6.


considerable in relation to the times themselves, but not to be compared with those of the Mycenaeans before or of the Archaic and Classical Greeks later. The main interest lies elsewhere.\textsuperscript{26}

The importance of the EIA was only seen in its relationship to its past and future.\textsuperscript{27}

The excavations at sites such as Lefkandi on Euboea and Nichoria in Messenia, as well as the KNC, have invigorated the study of the EIA in Greece. As the number of sites and amount of evidence continue to increase, some of the previously held notions of the 'darkness' in Greece are proving to be untrue. Webster's assertion that Greece lost contact with the rest of Mediterranean for a long time\textsuperscript{28} is proving to be untrue on the basis of the almost continuous series of imports at the KNC and Lefkandi.\textsuperscript{29} The generally held belief that the lack of evidence from the period was due to severe depopulation\textsuperscript{30} may also need to be reassessed as the focus of excavation shifts away from the many excavated BA sites and onto the increasing number of identified EIA sites.\textsuperscript{31}

\textbf{ii. Taking Refuge}

Pendlebury began another important trend in the scholarship of Dark Age sites on Crete with the excavations at Carpi.\textsuperscript{32} This was the first example of what became known as refuge sites, which were settled in the years following the collapse of the palaces in remote, easily defensible locations. Pendlebury saw this as single event or phase that represented some kind of invasion or outside threat to the island.\textsuperscript{33} Since the excavations at Carpi, as the number of excavated 'Dark Age' sites has

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{26} Desborough, 1972, 12.
\item \textsuperscript{27} The material as well was often only uncovered in the search for BA remains. Prent, 2005, 83.
\item \textsuperscript{28} Webster, 1958, 136.
\item \textsuperscript{29} For a full list of imports on Crete dated to 1100-600BC see Jones, 2000.
\item \textsuperscript{30} Hood & Smyth, 1981,11-12.
\item \textsuperscript{31} Dickinson (2006, 174) believes that the relatively elaborate nature of the burials at the KNC could represent just an aristocratic proportion of the population rather than the entire social group.
\item \textsuperscript{32} The site was excavated in 1937 and 1939, see Pendlebury, Pendlebury & Money-Coutts, 1938.
\item \textsuperscript{33} Pendlebury, 1963; see also Desborough, 1972, 76.
\end{itemize}
grown in number, this theory of an island-wide exodus away from the coast and established sites has been revised. Kanta notes, in her extensive study of the LMIII period, that the pattern of abandonment is not identical everywhere. The evidence across the island also shows variations in the chronologies at different sites so that in some places the movement of people does not seem to occur in one event but rather over a number of generations, a rate that varies from site to site. The site at the centre of this thesis, the KNC, is a good example of another trend, seen particularly in the region of Central Crete, of the continuation of habitation at well established sites, where there is no evidence of movement away from the coasts or efforts at constructing defenses. It has been suggested that perhaps any threats faced by peoples on the island that might come from within rather than foreign invaders.

**IV. Ethnic Identities**

Another long running theme in the literature of Cretan and Knossian studies is the ethnicity of the ancient inhabitants. As mentioned above Evans portrayed the Minoans as the beginning of European Civilisation. Throughout the Palatial periods they were considered pure and indigenous; however, as the quality of the material culture began to decline so must have the ethnicity of the people. The LM period and the layers of destruction have long been at the centre of a debate about whether there was invasion of foreigners to Crete. The traditional view has long been that an invasion of Dorian Greeks from the mainland forced the native inhabitants inland to the refuge sites. Another commonly held theory is that the Mycenaeans gained control of the Palaces either before their first stage of destruction at the beginning of

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34 Kanta, 1980.  
35 Prent, 2005, 110.  
36 The label of 'Minoan' being added to dating sequences applies a very strong ethnic inference, especially in separating the Cretans from the Mainland Mycenaeans. The alternative term 'Helladic' for mainland sequences is seen as less ethnically specific. See Momigliano, 2007, 5.  
37 Some scholars have since taken issue with the derogatory nature of the term 'Subminoan' for suggesting ethnic inferiority to the predecessors.  
38 See Pendlebury, 1963.
LMII or before their final destruction, which at Knossos was sometime towards the end of the LMII period or beginning of LMIII.39

The appearance of features in the archaeology that have long been considered Mycenaean have by many scholars been assumed to be evidence of a Mycenaean ruling class during the LMIII period. These features include the use of chamber tombs and shaft graves, the deposition of weapons in graves, the burial of infants below floors and stylistic formalisation in wall painting and pottery decoration. The discovery of Linear B script at both Knossos and Chain and the subsequent discovery of its relationship to Greek also throw into question the ethnicity of the people who were previously using Linear A script in the EM and MM periods.40

Various theories have been put forward to explain this perceived presence of Mycenaeans in Crete. While an invasion was the first reaction to the change in customs this has since been scaled back with the realisation that not all aspects of Cretan life were Mycenaeanised and disagreement amongst scholars over whether some customs were Cretan or imported.41 This is interesting discussion particularly in relation to the increased use of larnakes in the LMIII period and thus will be revisited in the following chapter.42

The invasion theory has since been scaled back to either a less dramatic and forceful takeover of power or a more gradual integration of Mycenaeans into the local population. There may also have been some form of social benefits as a result of the locals appearing more closely associated with the Mycenaeans after the decline of the central palace authorities.

39 Popham (1974) believes the beginning of LMII, whereas Niemeier (1982) believes the beginning of LMIII.
40 The script seemingly has no Indo-European roots. Prent (2005, 122) has highlighted this as an area in need of further study.
41 As Preston (1999, 133) has noted practices may not necessarily simply originate from one source and it may be almost impossible to reach a definitive conclusion. Preston (1999) and Perna (2011) both note that while a lot of attention in the literature has been paid to the changes in Cretan customs hardly any has been devoted to the customs that continued.
42 For a thorough analysis of ethnic identities in Ancient Greece see Hall, 1997.
The situation that is now presented by the Post-Palatial remains Prent believes "in general exhibits such increasing regionalism as to be suggestive of political fragmentation." This, being the major noticeable difference in the archaeology of the LM period, seems to make the labeling of chronologies as Palatial or post-Palatial a more logical choice, as it highlights the physical changes without the ethnic connotations suggested by 'Minoan' and 'Mycenaean'.

V. Burial Theory

Theories in the interpretation of burial goods have also changed over the last century of Cretan archaeology. The major change is in what messages burial goods are intended to convey and who is intending to convey them. This is attributing a more dynamic and active role to mortuary practices, suggesting they can modify the social order, rather than the more static, traditional view of burial representing the individual in the grave and their life.

Preston has attempted a re-evaluation of the LMIII mortuary practices using, what she considers, post-processual methods to highlight the "symbolic value of the relationships between the community of the living and the community of the dead and their ideological implications." This kind of interpretation has been applied to a wide range of archaeological contexts, in Greece and beyond, that the mortuary record is not a clear statement about the individuals interred but rather an advertisement by the living and for the living in an active social system. The burial goods, the methods of interment and the burial rituals, that unfortunately we cannot recreate in full, would all have presented ways for individuals, family groups and communities to assert, reinforce, challenge and renegotiate social identities.

45 Miller, 2011, 6.
46 Preston, 1999, 120.
47 See also Miller, 2011; Perna, 2011.
48 Preston, 134.
The literature has unfortunately struggled to deal with the added challenges offered when we have no intact burials due to the frequent reuse of tombs, which is a practice that is extremely common at the KNC.

**VI. Memory Studies**

**i. Social Memories in Archaeology**

A new type of approach to archaeological investigation has emerged over the last two decades and it has been extremely influential in determining the direction of this thesis. This approach has evolved out of the cognitive field of memory studies and focuses on the memories and therefore meanings that are attached to the physical world. Yoffee has termed this approach as IML studies for identity, memory and landscape studies, inferring that all three aspects cannot be studied independently but rather as interdependent concepts.49

Central to IML studies is the idea of 'social memories', developed by the French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs in his work between the world wars.50 He saw social memory as the product of a society's ability to create a common past, whether historical or not, for its present that would then influence an individual's own perceptions of the world.51 He drew on the work of the philosophers Foucault and Durkheim, to create a dynamic model of memory that differed from previous warehouse-like storage models of dating back to the Roman orator Cicero. Halbwachs separated history from memory and facts from perception and envisaged individuals as nothing more than a crossroads of collective memories.52

The past became a way to study the present in which it was conceived and how it shaped a society's vision for its future.

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49 Yoffee, 2007, 2.
50 Halbwachs’s work did not make an immediate impact and ideas of 'social memories' did not gain ground the last quarter of the century. Van Dyke and Alcock have attributed this to "the self-reflective frame of mind that characterised the end of the millennium" (2003, 2).
51 Memory is necessarily formed by a combination of remembering and forgetting and often what is forgotten is just as informative about a society as what is remembered. See Van Dyke & Alcock, 2003, 2; Yoffee, 2002, 6.
52 Jonker, 1995, 17.
Halbwach's model revolved around one critical element, which it shared with archaeology, the importance of a material framework in the construction of memories and identities. He called this the cadre material and this was where memories were stored and passed on by association. Halbwachs recognised the strength of space and material objects in conveying memories and a sense of identity, which he saw in the Holy Land and archaeologists are now recognising in a wide range of contexts.

The introduction of memory studies into archaeology came as a result of the growing interest in landscape archaeology. Landscape archaeology involves a multidisciplinary approach to relationships between places, both manmade and natural, and people and how this relationship affects social interaction by creating a "sense of space". The study of memory through places is a logical approach considering it is the physical space and landscape that are the constant connection between past, present and future societies.

The study of memory is also extremely important in materiality studies by acknowledging that the value of an object comes from its associations and relationships rather than any intrinsic characteristics. Lyon Crawford refers to the study of an 'object's biography', which is the accumulation of different meanings over time, and accepting that the value of an object could have changed over time.

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53 Halbwachs, 1941.
54 Landscape and memory studies can bring together the work of architects, architectural historians, landscape architects, sociologists, historians, anthropologists, psychologists, literary theorists and students of oral tradition. Hutton, 1993, 1; Meskell, 2007, 253.
56 Archaeology, although well suited to the field, has come to the party quite late. Collections of works focusing on the relationship between archaeology and memory have really only appeared in the new millennium. See Van Dyke and Alcock, 2003; Boric, 2010; Yoffee, 2007; Georgiadis & Gallou, 2009.
58 Miller, 2011, 5. This is particularly true of objects associated with ritual activities and beliefs, such as in burials that are now hidden from us.
ii. Greek Nostalgia

The study of Greek memories of the BA past has become a particularly popular topic of discussion in recent publications of Greek Archaeology. The bringing together of memory studies with the search for the origins of Homer and Classical mythologies is a combination that makes perfect sense considering the Greeks believed they inhabited the same landscape as the heroes and gods of legend.\(^{59}\) Much of Greek culture in the Classical period including political, religious and social systems, were considered to have had roots in BA culture and remnants of this culture were dotted throughout the landscape as ruins. Boardman has attempted to bring together all the instances of Classical Greeks interacting with their past in his book the Archaeology of Nostalgia.\(^{60}\) He looks at not just literary sources but also material sources with BA connections such as the imitation of BA objects or the retention of objects as heirlooms from earlier periods.

Other scholars such as Antonaccio have documented the occurrences of hero or ancestor cults at BA tombs\(^{61}\), which in turn has led to a broader discussion about whether the meaning and use of these sites were continuous and what kind of value did the BA past have in later societies.\(^{62}\) Examples of the rehabilitation and reuse of BA sites have been noted throughout the Greek world, sometimes in relation to a specific hero and sometimes not, however, the one thing that seems important to their meaning is that they were already old by the time of the Classical period.\(^{63}\)

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\(^{59}\) As Boardman has noted for Classical Greeks “ancestors were always better, bigger and stronger men. A sense of progress and yearning for betterment also carried with it a certain fear of failure, and often a sense that the past might have been golden and worth recapturing.” (2002, 18)

\(^{60}\) We know that the Greeks literally thought their past was golden according to the first age of men in Hesiod’s Works and Days, in which we find the line “Would that I were not then among the fifth men, but either dead earlier or born later!” (170, translated by West, M. L, 1988). See also Morris, I., 1988.

\(^{61}\) Boardman, 2002.

\(^{62}\) Antonaccio, 1995.

\(^{63}\) Dickinson, 2006.

\(^{63}\) See also the work of Hiller, 1983a & b; Kullman, 1999; Lambrinoudakis, 1988. To my knowledge no site has been found to show evidence of continuous worship from the BA through into the historical period. Prent (2003, 97) found no evidence of such a site on Crete.
A very important site in relation to this thesis is the EIA cemetery at Lefkandi on Euboea.\textsuperscript{64} As the corpus of EIA material and interest in the period has grown, the more clear it has become that culture in Greece did not disappear after the BA and that some societies flourished during the period and that wealth and social distinction are visible in the archaeological record. Of great interest is the appearance of a Cypriot bronze vessel and a Babylonian gold necklace\textsuperscript{65} in an EIA context centuries later than their manufacture. The objects seem to represent an attempt to distinguish the related burials within the community by drawing on the value of those objects, part of which would be the social value of links to the past.

iii. Cretan Memories

When it comes to the study of Crete’s relationship to its past, Prent’s work has been invaluable in connecting the EIA Greeks to the BA landscape.\textsuperscript{66} Her main focus has been on religious and cult activity, which is the one major area that the Linear B texts have proven continuation from BA to Classical times, in the retention of specific gods and cults. Prent has compiled all the available evidence of religious worship across Crete throughout the EIA and found that while continuity of activity is not present throughout the whole period at one particular site, the meaning of BA ruins had been reinterpreted and practices had been reinvented to adapt to the perceptions of the contemporary society.

The best example investigated closely by Prent is the function of EIA Palatial ruin cults in differentiating social groups by exclusion and privilege. The deposits at BA palatial ruins of EIA contexts across Crete shared similarities. All the deposits contained a high proportion of metallic objects, the vast majority of which were bronze. These items would have been extremely valuable in the EIA and most had warrior-like connotations like weapons and armour. Prent’s explanation for this

\textsuperscript{64} See Catling, 1993; Popham 1987.
\textsuperscript{66} Prent, 2003; 2005.
is that these ruin cults were meeting places where competitive displays of wealth were enacted, which helped to establish regional aristocratic and religious identities. These cults were purposefully exclusive and the deposits did not seem to include the large amounts simple domestic pottery that was present at other cult sites.

The important link Prent makes in her work is that between these EIA worshippers and the BA setting there is a gap of at least 150 years between the last BA uses of the sites and EIA reuse at all of the Palatial sites. There is also no known continuation of written language on Crete so any practices and cultural meanings would have been the result other forms of memory formation such as oral traditions or simply interaction with the physical remains.

For the site of Knossos after the BA, the ruins of the Palatial complex must always be considered as part of the landscape and also identity of the later inhabitants, as it would have provided such an obvious and dominant focal point in the surrounding area. D’Agata has attempted to document the long history of interaction with the Palace after the BA in her article *The many lives of a ruin: history and metahistory of the Palace at Minos*. She describes the palace as an ‘active ruin’ on the edge of later settlements, which was not re-inhabited due to the development of its legendary heritage. This reverence for the past was not shown at other Palatial sites and therefore like in all aspects of Cretan archaeology regional and site based analyses are necessary to capture the multitude of variances across the island.

Day and Wilson have also approached the site of Knossos as a landscape of memory; however, they have so far focused entirely on the earlier Prepalatial and Protopalatial periods and the ‘sacred landscape’ that led to the establishment of the Palace in its eventual location. Unfortunately, a comprehensive study on the EIA Knossos inhabitants’ relationship to the BA past is yet to be undertaken, however, I believe a close examination of the reuse of LM larnakes at the KNC is an excellent

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67 Prent, 2003, 89.
69 Day & Wilson, 2002.
starting point and can provide some important insights into the EIA community buried at the KNC.

**VII. The Transition Between Cultures: Bronze Age to Iron Age**

Before the excavation at the KNC, very little had been known about the liminal period when the BA became the EIA during the twelfth and eleventh centuries. At Knossos this material covered the end of the LMIII period and the so-called SM. Certainly no excavations had previously been undertaken, which focused primarily on these periods.\(^{70}\) Therefore the KNC site has been invaluable in providing us with a wealth of material spanning this previously unexplored gap in the evidence and providing proof of a continual population in the Knossos area between the BA and IA.

**i. The Knossos North Cemetery**

The KNC was excavated by the British School at Athens between March and November of 1978 in one season under extremely difficult circumstances. It was undertaken as a rescue excavation to record and recover any ancient remains at the site before construction began on the University of Heraklion's new Medical Faculty.

The excavators were under extreme pressure due to time restraints, difficulty digging in the soil at the site and also the confused nature and sheer amount of finds that were uncovered. Bulldozers and dynamite were needed, to the horror of the archaeologists, in order to help clear the 250m x 250m site of olive tree roots as quickly as could be achieved before the identification and excavation of hundreds of tombs could even begin.\(^{71}\) All the while the contractors were on hand waiting for areas to be cleared as they began construction on the foundation trenches of the Medical Faculty while the excavators were still discovering more tombs. The pace must have been frantic and exhausting.

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\(^{70}\) The material at Fortetsa seems to only extend as far back as PG or tenth century material.

\(^{71}\) For an overview of the excavations and conditions see Coldstream & Catling, 1996, 53.
however the finds were exceptional and we are very lucky to have any record of the site.

Nearly three hundred tombs were identified and at least ninety-two of which were dated to the EIA. These tombs, considered to be the most significant, were published by Catling and Coldstream in *Knossos North Cemetery: Early Greek Tombs (1996)*. Along with the tombs from the Medical Faculty site, sixteen other EIA tombs, just to the North and excavated in 1975, were also published under the subtitle of the Tekke Site. Other material at the site included H and R inhumations, an early Basilican church and a German bunker complex from the Second World War. These were not included in the publication.

The cemetery is currently the largest EIA necropolis known to us in, not only Crete, but also all of Greece. It is also the only site to show continuous use from before the beginning of the IA, around the end of the 12th century BC, until the LO period, towards the end of the 7th century BC. Therefore, it was in continuous use throughout the period that had become known as the 'Dark Ages' stretching back to the BA past.

The site has helped to dispel a few myths about the darkness of the period. A near-continuous sequence of imports from the mainland and the Near East shows that Crete never lost contact with the outside world and while few Cretan objects seem to have been exported during this time, the Cretans continued to acquire items of value from sources off the island.

The number of finds, and in particular the number of objects that would have been of some worth in the EIA, suggest a level of wealth, as well as detectable variations in wealth, that had not been expected for the period.

Despite a long history of disturbance as well as tough excavation conditions at the site, the KNC has provided us with an invaluable insight into the 'Dark Age' of Greece, which can be interpreted through an understanding of the broader Cretan and EIA scholarship, as well as

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73 Jones has identified at least 800 imported objects on Crete dated between 1100-700BC compared to only 153 suspected Cretan artefacts overseas. For full list see Jones, 200.
74 Dickinson, 2006, 177.
current theories relating burial practices, social memory and Greece's relationship to its BA past.
3. Methodology

Introduction

This thesis will look at the EIA burial contexts in which larnakes were found at the KNC and compare these to the contexts and suspected social value of larnakes in the LMIII period at Knossos in order to determine whether firstly, the practices change and secondly, their meanings do. First the typological focus of the larnax will be established followed by the contextual focus of the Knossos area in the LM period and then problems with the evidence will be highlighted. Finally, the corpus of larnakes at the KNC will be discussed in detail in terms of being BA vessels and in EIA contexts.

Typological Focus: the Larnax

Larnax is the name given to any clay burial containers found in BA contexts on Crete.\(^{75}\) There are two main types that are found all over Crete: the chest larnax and the bathtub larnax. Sometimes the term is also used to describe BA pithos burials\(^{76}\), however, there are no examples of these at the KNC cemetery so these will not be discussed in this thesis. Some examples were made out of materials other than clay while still resembling a typical larnax shape\(^{77}\). Most larnakes are made of thick coarse clay and would have required a significant amount of effort to construct.\(^{78}\) They usually have holes in the base, which have been explained as provision for the liquids of the body to drain away, thereby speeding up the decomposition process. Bodies were placed in the base of a larnax on their back with the knees bent upwards towards the chest (fig. 3). Often a small number of

\(^{75}\) Unfortunately, we do not know the ancient Greek term for larnax. They were first brought to scholars’ attention in Orsi’s (1890) publication on the origin of the chest larnax.  
\(^{76}\) Betancourt (1985) groups these various vessels together.  
\(^{77}\) The most famous being the Agía Triáda sarcophagus, which was made of stone covered in a lime plaster. See Burke, 2005; Long, 1974.  
\(^{78}\) Baxevani (1995, n. 7) cites examples of larnakes with mending clay on their inner sides at Armenoi and Mouliana.
grave goods were also deposited in the larnax like vases or a string of beads and sometimes weapons.79

**Contextual Focus: The Knossos Area**

The Knossos area is defined as the sites within approximately two kilometres from the Palace. The Palace is the obvious focal point in the surrounding valley and while ancient remains exist beyond the Northern most sites considered in this study, at Ayoios Ioannis, their location is considered more likely to be associated with the ancient port at Katasamba than the Palace population. The most Southern site included in this thesis is at Upper Gysades. See figures 14 and 15 for an overview of the area for the two relevant periods.

A diachronic outline of the topographical context in comparative social and cultural terms will be given with a focus particularly on the burial remains and practices, which is dictated as much by the evidence as by the subject of this thesis. The burials of the LMII-LMIII periods (1500-1125BC) in the Knossos area will be included in the analysis as the LMII period is when we start to see noticeable changes in the burial practices with which the larnakes become associated with in the LMIII period.

**The Nature of the Evidence**

At the KNC there is a need for awareness of the particular analytical difficulties that the evidence presents. The problems in the dating and chronologies encountered with any Cretan pottery sequences must be acknowledged and at times accepted before productive analysis can proceed. The complexity and chronological confusion of the material at the KNC caused by many centuries of continuous use and disturbance make the task all the more difficult. The excavation conditions at the site, while they should make us grateful to have any evidence at all from the KNC, mean that we must be prepared to accept and tolerate slight imperfections in the data.

79 Vermeule, 1965, 123.
Data & Discussion

A brief summary of the larnakes, taken from the full catalogue of material published in volume one of *The Knossos North Cemetery: Early Greek Tombs* has been compiled and will be followed by a discussion of the tombs, larnakes, chronologies and other Minoanizing elements of the cemetery in order to determine whether the uses and/or meaning of larnakes within the social contexts changed from the twelfth century to the tenth. The intention is to view these objects as symbols or purveyors of messages within an active social system and therefore better understand their presence in the KNC.
4. Larnakes

I. Introduction

To properly illustrate how the meaning and use of larnakes either changed or continued between the LBA and the EIA it is important to understand the coffins in the context in which they were originally produced. They have historically been seen as stereotypically Cretan vessels however, their forms were not standardised and were not widely common in Crete until very late in the 'Minoan' series.

II. Types

i. Chest Type

The most common type found in Crete is the chest type (see figs. 4 & 5 for complete examples). These are rectangular in shape and usually have four feet and a gabled lid. Their average dimensions are 40-70cm in height, 90-100cm in length and 30-50cm in length. They usually have multiple sets of handles that could be arranged in any number of ways. The long sides can have raised borders to create two sunken panels that often have pictorial decoration on them. This feature is strong evidence that chest type larnakes were based on wooden constructions. They can be decorated with painted designs or left plain and can sometimes be adorned with rivets reminiscent of wooden chests molded in clay. The rims and lids sometimes had holes, seemingly so that the lid could be attached with rope. Chest type larnakes have only been found in burial contexts.

ii. Bathtub Type

The bathtub type has curved sides to form an oval-shaped cross-section (see fig. 6 for complete example). The sides usually taper towards the base. They do

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not usually have feet, lids or sunken side panels. The lack of side panels meant that any decoration on the bathtub type usually consisted of abstract patterns or naturalistic motifs rather than central pictures or figures. None have been found depicting human figures.\textsuperscript{82} Bathtub type larnakes have been found in domestic as well as burial contexts.\textsuperscript{83}

**III. Origins**

The larnax has long been considered a native custom, unique to BA Crete. Its period of greatest popularity, however, occurs very late in the BA sequence in the LMIII period, during the 13th and 14th centuries BC.\textsuperscript{84} While early predecessors to the LM types have been found in EM and MM contexts, their original inspirations and any later adaptations that led to the LM designs are the subject of a continuing and lively debate amongst scholars. The main sources that have been suggested as contributors to the design of LM larnakes will be discussed below. Most of the discussion relates to the design of the chest type larnax, which reflects how much attention has been devoted to this shape in the scholarship and how little has been devoted to the discussion of the admittedly rarer bathtub type.

**i. Egypt**

Sir Arthur Evans was the first to suggest Egypt as the primary inspiration for the chest larnax type. He dismissed Orsi’s earlier theory that chest larnakes represented BA houses.\textsuperscript{85} Evans saw the link to Egypt as a simple borrowing of a cultural practice. He states matter-of-factly that larnakes are "little more than translations into painted clay of the wooden chests that played an important part in the furniture of contemporary Egyptian houses."\textsuperscript{86} He also goes on to identify the naturalistic motifs common to LM larnakes as 'typical Nilotic'.\textsuperscript{87}

\textsuperscript{82} Baxevani, 1995, 28.
\textsuperscript{83} On Crete, such as in the Queen’s megaron at Knossos, and on the mainland, such as the Great bath at Pylons.
\textsuperscript{84} Particularly, LIIIA/B (1425-1200BC).
\textsuperscript{85} Orsi, 1890, 209. This theory has subsequently been all but abandoned in the literature.
\textsuperscript{86} Evans, 1905, 8. See also Pendlebury, 1963; Bosanquet, 1902. Bosanquet argues that "their frequent occurrence in NE Crete, on the highway of navigation between Knossos and Egypt, bears
The most obvious difference between the Egyptian chests and larnakes is that the Egyptian chests were not coffins but rather pieces of household furniture originally made to store linens. These then became common as part of the burial goods placed into tombs along with the interments in sarcophagi (e.g. fig. 7 from Tutankhamun’s tomb).

Watrous, in particular, has taken up this argument for Egyptian influence on larnakes by listing all the known examples of Egyptian funerary chests of the XVIIIth dynasty tombs, which were contemporary with the beginning of the LM period in Crete during the 15th and 14th centuries BC. He cites thirteen examples from only three separate tombs (including figs. 7 & 8). The similarities with the Cretan larnakes that he notes include the size, the colours and types of decoration, and the fact that one of the chests, from Tutankhamun’s tomb, is provided with four carrying poles, which was imitated on a clay larnax from Agios Myron in Crete.

I think, while strong arguments can be made for the influence of Egyptian art on Cretan painted larnakes in the appearance of motifs such as rosettes, papyrus, and zig-zags, it is also certainly true that generally the decoration of larnakes fitted in with the styles and motifs of wider contemporary BA pottery as a whole and that the better argument to be made is that Egyptian art had an influence on Cretan pottery in general rather than in regards to the specific vessel type.

I also find it difficult to see how "literal copies" could have been the result of contact with an object type of so few examples. While there is evidence of increased trade with Egypt during this period, as seen in the number of imports found, there is no evidence of any Cretan contact with Egyptian funerary chests.

out this very probable supposition is certainly no longer true. Further excavations have meant that larnakes are now considered virtually ubiquitous in LM cemeteries throughout all regions of Crete. Rutkowski (1968, 223) counts 500 larnakes at over 140 sites.

87 Evans, 1905, 9. Linking his ‘Minoan’ culture to another great civilisation in Egypt fit with Evans’ framework of evolutionary social development. See also Evans, The Palace at Knossos in its Egyptian Relations, Progress of Egyptology, 1900.

88 Rutkowski (1968, 220) notes that when the chest larnax was in use on Crete there were "no sarcophagi with upper framework standing on feet" in Egypt.


90 Kanta, 1980, Pl. 7 No. 1.

91 Evans, 1900, 63.

92 Watrous, 1991, 288, n. 3.
The possibility of Egyptian wooden funerary chests influencing LM chest larnakes is really altogether redundant when trying to explain the earliest appearances of larnax shapes on Crete, which predate those Egyptian examples and share little resemblance.

**ii. Native Customs**

While the Egyptian chests do resemble the shape of LM larnakes, they resemble the earliest larnakes found on Crete a lot less. The earliest examples have been dated to the EM period, prior to 2000BC, when they appear to be seldom used.\(^93\) The two areas in which they appear are at Pyrgos in Central Crete and at Sphoungaras and Pachyammos in Eastern Crete.

At Pyrgos, twenty clay EM larnakes were found in a cave with only two in tact. They were elongated in shape with short rounded ends (Fig. 9, no. 1). Rutkowski believes that the shapes suggest they were copies of shapes originally made from tree trunks and could have been a unique local invention.\(^94\) In E Crete what appear to be larnax sherds were found in a burial context dating from the EM period however, larnakes became more much more common in the region during the MM period. The MM (2000-1725BC) examples (Fig. 9 nos. 3-7) are oval and have features more reminiscent of clay vessels than wooden ones such as ceramic lids, handles and knobs.\(^95\) Alongside these early clay larnakes, clay pithoi and jars of domestic types were also used as funerary receptacles (Fig. 9, no. 2).\(^96\)

The oval shapes of these early larnakes are more reminiscent of the later bathtub type than the chest type. The bathtub has always been considered a shape native to Crete and bathtub larnakes have always been assumed to come from the use of bathtubs in domestic settings. The relationship between the bathtub shapes used in domestic contexts and those found in burial contexts is very difficult to understand because the LM bathtubs are virtually indistinguishable between the various contexts. This seems to be a case of an

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\(^93\) Clay oval coffins with lids appear from the first to third dynasty at Ur and in the Sarginid period, but there is no apparent chronological or geographical link. Rutkowski, 1968, 220 & 222.

\(^94\) Rutkowski, 1968, 220.

\(^95\) Rutkowski, 1968, 220.

\(^96\) See also Betancourt, 1985.
object type developing two uses rather than the development of variations dependent upon use.

With the bathtubs being used in domestic settings during the MM period\textsuperscript{97}, when the early oval larnakes came into use, it is likely that the bathtub shape continued to be associated with burials while simultaneously the chest type developed with influence from a type of wooden object.

iii. Wooden Biers and/or Coffins

An undisputed element of the LM chest larnax design is some kind of wooden predecessor. The raised borders creating the sunken panels are almost definitely features that have been adapted from wooden construction methods. The side panels were not present on the earlier MM clay larnakes on Crete and therefore scholars have begun looking for evidence of wooden objects in LM contexts that may have influenced and altered the shape of later larnakes.

Early excavators in Greece unfortunately were not very good at identifying the remains of decayed wood and other organic materials in the archaeological record. Often it is the result of much later analyses of early excavation records that wood is assumed to have been present due to references of dark patches in surrounding soil\textsuperscript{98}. Even for modern excavations it is often difficult to identify the presence of wood and even more difficult to interpret what the wooden object was, what it looked like and what it was used for.

Hood, Rutkowski and Pini have all identified the presence of wooden coffins in some of the LMII burials in the area of Knossos. The earliest examples could possibly be dated to as early as the LMIB period (1625-1500BC)\textsuperscript{99}. All together fifteen examples have been identified throughout the area\textsuperscript{100}. While the presence of wood has been confirmed at these sites, all three of these scholars acknowledge that without complete examples we cannot assume their shape,

\textsuperscript{97} Both on Crete, e.g. at Knossos, and on the mainland, e.g. at Pylos.
\textsuperscript{98} This has been the case at Mycenae for the third shaft grave, where Long and Åkerström (1978) have noted references to a dark patch of soil in Schliemann’s excavation records and interpreted that as some form of wooden sepulchral furniture.
\textsuperscript{99} Hagg & Sieurin, 1982, 180.
\textsuperscript{100} Hagg & Sieurin, 1982, 181.
design or use, but that the presence of wood near bodies suggests either coffins or possibly biers.

There is no proof that these 'coffins' resembled the LM chest type larnakes. However, they do show evidence of a wooden form of burial furniture in use during the century or so leading up to the appearance of the chest type larnax (LMIB-LMII, c. 1500BC). Hood, Rutkowski and Pini all agree that these wooden 'coffins' seem to be a 'Minoan' phenomenon that developed locally towards the end of the LMI period, just as the oval clay larnakes had developed locally in East Crete during the EM period. Hagg and Silurian however, believe that just because there are more examples of wooden sepulchral furniture on Crete than the mainland does not necessarily mean that it originated there.

iv. Mycenaean/Mainland Examples

Clay larnakes are of the utmost rarity on the Greek mainland. Fewer than a dozen have been recorded during excavations of Mycenaean sites, all belonging to the thirteenth and twelfth centuries. Vermeule has noted another thirteen that have no definite provenance but are thought to have come from the necropolis of Tanagra in Boeotia. This has led to the assumption that these few examples are a sign of Cretan influence on Mycenaean art and society. It is therefore interesting to note that the chest type larnakes appear during a time on Crete when Mycenaean influences are considered to be particularly strong, and perhaps even the result of Mycenaean rule.

While I tend to agree with the current trend in thinking on the matter, that just because Mycenaean elements are present does not mean Mycenaean overlords were exerting control, I think there is a range of motivations behind the changes in burial practices that were not present during the Palatial period. The Mycenaean features such as rock-cut chamber tombs, a higher proportion of weapons and armour in burials, and Linear B script do all appear sometime in the LMII (1500-1425BC) period, at a time that is debatably before or after the final destruction of the palace and I think Dickinson has asked the appropriate

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101 Rutkowski, 1968, 223.
102 Hagg & Sieurin, 1982.
103 Vermeule, 1965.
question in regards to these changes,” what made this influence acceptable now and not before?”

The sensible conclusion I think is necessarily rather more tentative but also more likely than an invasion hypothesis. As Catling has discussed in regards to possible Mycenaean rule on Cyprus, why would Mycenaeans discard some aspects of their material culture and keep up a busy production of others? Also as Hooker points out the Cretan pottery sequences continue unbroken throughout the period suggesting a mixture of both continuing and new practices occurring together and that perhaps there was some value participating in both. As Pena has noted "the codes of representation of power acted by the Mycenaean elites have been a model for the entire Aegean", so there is always the possibility of locals replicating powerful outsiders’ practices voluntarily rather than as a result of force.

This is related to understanding larnakes in the Post-Palatial phases by viewing them in their broader context. The larnakes only become popular during this period of cultural and ethnic confusion and as such could have been the result of a mixture of traditions. Hagg and Silurian have put forward the theory that wooden coffins, while thought to be rare on the mainland, occurred earlier in Mycenaean contexts and were introduced to Crete. This theory is based mainly on the work of Åkerström, who has identified the possible presence of wood in Mycenaean graves as coffins or biers. One particular example is the third shaft grave at Mycenae (LHI/LMIA, 1725-1625BC), where Åkerström believes four bronze castings were the feet of a bier or coffin. There is also evidence of Cretan workmanship in the shaft graves suggesting trade and communication with Crete. Most significant is that the graves have been dated to at least a

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105 Catling, 1964, 49.
106 Hooker, 1969, 65. While local shapes are continuous, such as the brazier (Miller, 2011, 4), Popham (1965, 335) believes early LMIIC material does have a new, strong Mycenaean influence. Both continuity and change can be argued.
107 Perna, 2011, 151. See also Catling (1960) and his interpretation of Mycenaean elements in Cyprus.
110 Also supported by Long, 1974.
111 Hagg & Sieurin (1982, 183) still attribute the idea of putting the dead in a movable container to EM Cretans.
hundred years before the earliest appearance of wooden 'coffins' in Crete (see fig. 10).

This scenario does involve an awful lot of what-ifs to instill any confidence but I think it is a good line of questioning to attempt to relate LM larnakes to the other burial practices with which they were related in the late BA, to form a better picture of the people and society who were using them, just as this thesis is attempting to do for the EIA.

**IV. Decoration and Iconography**

Larnakes are considered one of the richest sources of LMIII (post 1425BC) pictorial art.\(^{112}\) It is usually by the stylistic dating of a larnax's decoration that a date is attached.\(^{113}\) It has been noted that the non-figural painted decoration on LM larnakes closely resembles that of the contemporary Palace Style pottery. As in most Cretan BA pottery, the most common motifs are abstract designs, such as spirals, wavy lines, tri-curved arches and rosettes, and naturalistic motifs, such as flowers, trees, birds and marine creatures.

Chest larnakes can also feature complex pictorial scenes, which sometimes include human figures, whereas bathtub larnakes usually feature aquatic motifs and none have been found with human figures. The watery scenes on bathtub types are thought to be a result of their other use as domestic baths and slight differences in chosen decoration are thought to be the only way to identify their intended context.

**i. Style**

The style of LM larnax decoration is thought to more closely resemble the techniques and style of contemporary pottery decoration rather than the more complex visual wall painting.\(^{114}\) Pictorial scenes occur on only one level.\(^{115}\)

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\(^{113}\) For example the design of the Agia Triada Sarcophagus has been dated to LMIIIA2, see Burke, 2005, 418; Long, 1974.
\(^{114}\) Watrous, 1991.
\(^{115}\) Baxevani, 1995, 28.
Human and animal figures are usually simply sketched in silhouette and realistic
details of facial features and species differentiation are often not included.\textsuperscript{116} Certain features seem abbreviated and unnaturalistic, seeming to rely on symbols rather than on narrative scenes. This has led Watrous to the conclusion that larnakes were probably often painted by the same ceramicists who painted Palace Style jars and not often by fresco painters, whose work was often far more detailed.\textsuperscript{117} The most famous exception to this is the Agia Triada sarcophagus (Figs. 12 & 13), the design of which is far more complex and seems to depict a narrative scene. The painting technique was also unusual in that the stone sarcophagus was covered in plaster onto which the paint was applied, in a process similar to fresco painting. Due to its uniqueness and artistic skill, the Agia Triada sarcophagus has dominated discussions about larnax decoration at the expense of any wider ranging study of art on clay larnakes across Crete.

Kanta and Rutkowski have noted that larnakes found at different sites are similar enough to be attributed to the same hand.\textsuperscript{118} Kanta’s explanation for this is that they were made by travelling craftsmen, which seems much more likely than the transportation of such cumbersome objects over large distances. While Kanta was able to identify regional variations across Crete, she concluded that most larnakes shared common tendencies in motifs and that communication across the island was strong enough to share tastes and practices.\textsuperscript{119}

\textbf{ii. Meaning}

The meaning of the motifs depicted on larnakes is considered somewhat ambiguous, since they appear consistent with those on other LM domestic pottery. It is important to remember that larnakes, given their size, would have been a very conspicuous part of the burial process and as such would’ve been “charged symbolically” to communicate ideas to the living about the dead.\textsuperscript{120} Preston emphasizes the close physical association that coffins have with the body, which makes them the “material and emotional focus of the mortuary

\textsuperscript{116} See fig. 11 for example of animal and human figural art on chest larnax from Maroulas.
\textsuperscript{117} Watrous, 1991, 303.
\textsuperscript{118} Kanta, 1980, 205; Rutkowski, 1996, 132.
\textsuperscript{119} Kanta, 1980.
\textsuperscript{120} Preston, 1999, 178.
ritual”¹²¹. This then means they the perfect medium with which to communicate ideas about death, life, identity and ideology. The confusing thing about the decoration of LM larnakes is trying to determine whether the designs were chosen simply as aesthetically pleasing schema or as semiotically charged icons.¹²²

There is no doubt that some motifs such as papyrus flowers and rosettes are Egyptian in origin. They are featured across many forms of 'Minoan' art and therefore, do not suggest a meaning specific to the burial process or context in which larnakes were used. Watrous has made a case for larnax designs mirroring Egyptian depictions of the journey to the afterlife, with modifications made to incorporate Cretan ideas and rituals however, this raises questions of whether a specific meaning requires the use of specific motifs.

Morris has argued that motifs on larnakes can have specific meanings in burial contexts that are not separate but related to their appearance on other domestic vessels. Morris sees the strength of visual symbols as being the fact that they are polysemic and can have a co-existing multiplicity of meanings.¹²³ In this way, it is the context that affects the response. He uses this model to argue that bathtubs type larnakes, depicting the watery nature of their domestic use, should not be excluded from the interpretation of depicting concepts of burial or death and that it would make sense for islanders to imagine a journey to the afterlife being across a sea.¹²⁴

Perhaps, for the Cretans in the LBA, their ideas of death were related to their ideas of an ideal life. The meaning of specific motifs and the Agia Triada sarcophagus in particular will be considered in chapter 7 below, in relation to the KNC larnakes.

¹²¹ Preston, 1999, 178.
¹²² Betancourt (1985) believes the repetition of symbols implies religious connotations.
¹²³ Morris, 1995, 192.
¹²⁴ Watrous had previously left bathtub larnakes out of his argument for religious symbolism because they lack the "cult imagery and figural scenes common on larnakes" (1991, 303). See also Rutkowski, 1968, 226.
4. The Knossos Area

I. Introduction

Figures 14 and 15 show the changes in the settlement pattern and cemetery sites known in the Knossos region between the LBA and EIA. Unfortunately, the modern port city of Heraklion is forever encroaching upon the area North of the Palace and has severely limited archaeologists' access and excavation strategies to gain further information about the archaeological evidence. There are a few areas that are of particular interest to this study; therefore, a brief outline of the burial sites used during each period will be given.

II. Late Bronze Age

The LM period at Knossos is defined by the two destruction phases of the Palace, arguably at the end of LMI (c. 1500BC) and the end of LMII/beginning of LMIII (c. 1425). There is however no full-scale destruction of the Palace and the majority of the structures remained standing. After both destruction phases the burial practices and settlement patterns at the site change significantly with evidence of increasing regionalism, which has been interpreted as the result of political fragmentation.

The LMII (1500-1425BC) period is characterised by a diversion in burial customs. A number of new burial practices become common across the various Knossian cemeteries. Most noticeable are the construction of chamber tombs with long dromoi, an increase in the number of grave goods and a higher proportion of military related objects. Inhumation was the most common

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125 See fig. 16.
126 Hood & Smyth (1981) note only some buildings along the south road and the South House by the Palace suffered damaged.
128 There are only approximately 20 tombs of secure or likely LMII date known in the area (Preston, 1999, 132) however, the tombs are spread over a much wider area than earlier periods (Hood & Smyth, 1981).
129 Hood & Coldstream (1968, 205) also assert that the wearing of large bronze pins on each shoulder (as noted at AI) was brought into the Greek world at this time as the only known
method of burial. Chamber tombs, shaft-graves and pit-caves all occurred together, often at the same cemeteries. An older tradition of communal tombs is replaced with single graves or tombs with only a small number of burials in each.\textsuperscript{130} Inhumation was the most common method of burial.

After the final destruction of the Palace (c. 1425BC), we have very little evidence of domestic settlement in the area and yet numerous burial sites are used for the first time.\textsuperscript{131} As shown by figs. 3 and 4, we have a lot more evidence of death than life during both the LBA and EIA periods.

It is in fact the many burial sites in the area, which provide us with the most evidence of life at Post-Palatial Knossos, and are of course most relevant to any discussion of larnakes. During the LM period (1425-1125BC), new burial grounds are used for the first time including major centres at Zafer Papua, Sellopoulo and Ayios Ioannis and others continue to be used such at Upper Gypsades and Mavro Spelio.\textsuperscript{132} The sites are spread around the Palace site to the North, East and South and do not focus on one particular area.\textsuperscript{133}

Inhumation was the most common method of burial.

\textbf{i. Burial Sites}

\textit{Zapher Papoura}

This cemetery was excavated and published by Evans.\textsuperscript{134} Consisting of a hundred tombs, mostly chamber tombs but some shaft graves, it was found during a search for the tombs of the Palatial rulers, however, Evans was disappointed when he determined the site to be from the later LMIII period (at least after 1425BC). Seven tombs contained G sherds. At least forty larnakes were found at the site.\textsuperscript{135}
**Upper Gypsades**

A site excavated in 1954 and published in 1958 by Hood, Huxley and Sandars, of 18 tombs dating from LMIIIA1-LMIIIB1 (c. 1425-1200BC). At least 16 larnakes were found in chambers and one shaft grave.

**Kephala Ridge (Hogarth’s Tombs)**

Hogarth discovered a series of 'Minoan' chamber tombs along the Kephala Ridge that seemed to have been cleared out and reused due to the presence of EIA pottery starting during PG (earliest 970BC) up until LG/EO c. 700BC. Located just 500m from central area of KNC.

**Ayios Ioannis**

Some LMII (1500-1425BC) warrior-graves have been excavated in this area as well as some G tombs and reused chamber tombs.

**Mavro Spelio**

This was a cemetery to the E of the Palace that was established in MM (2000-1725BC) times, continued in LMIII (1425-1125BC) and some chamber tombs were reused during G (820-770BC) times. Larnakes were found in 12 tombs; however, the number of individual examples is unknown due to the extremely fragmentary nature of the evidence.

**Sellopoulo**

LMII - LMIII (1500-1125BC) cemetery at which Popham & Catling have identified links between these burial practices and those in the Mycenae-Dendra-Asine area on the mainland.

The differences in burial customs at the various LBA cemeteries have been attributed to the presence of various small social groups in the area. The different periods of use have been thought to show that local Cretans were interred at the older cemeteries (Mavro Spelio and Upper Gypsades) and

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136 Payne interpreted this reuse as "the arrival of a new strain in the population." 1927, 229
137 See Payne 1927; Hogarth, 1900; Coldstream, 2002.
139 Popham & Catling, 1974, 253.
Mycenaens were interred at those cemeteries newly established in the LMIII period (Zafer Papoura, Ayios Ioannis and Sellopoulo).\textsuperscript{140}

### III. Early Iron Age

Some time in the twelfth and eleventh centuries, in the period between LMIIIC (1125BC) and (970BC) EPG known as the SM, all of the major BA burials grounds fall out of use and new sites emerge. The two new major centres for burials are the KNC and Fortetsa.

Catling has noted the difficulty that the excavators of the KNC faced in dating the earliest material at the site. Stylistically there are parallels between the material considered SM at the site and the latest material at LMIII sites.\textsuperscript{141} Catling defends this decision to call the material SM stating that the term "acknowledges the break at Knossos symbolized by the beginning of this long-lived burial ground".\textsuperscript{142} So, while the terms used purposefully suggest a clear break between the LBA sites and the KNC, this was probably not the case and there was probably a period of overlap of use. This makes the KNC a unique opportunity for archaeologists to chronologically identify the changes in burial customs across the whole EIA period at a single site, as the other major cemetery at Fortetsa is not used until PG times (970BC at the earliest).

By the beginning of the first millennium BC, the Palace had fallen in disuse, apart from a few deposits of potsherds\textsuperscript{143}, and there is no evidence of habitation within the structure or in the immediate area around it\textsuperscript{144}. There have been a small number of finds in the area of the Stratigraphic Museum, west of the Palace, that suggest domestic habitation in the EIA. Hood believes that this area as the location of the settlement would have made sense, as it would have located the population one kilometre from their burial grounds at the KNC and

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\textsuperscript{140} See Miller, 2011, 4.
\textsuperscript{141} See Catling in The Subminoan Pottery in Coldstream & Catling, 1996, 309.
\textsuperscript{142} Catling, 1996, Ch. 5, 295.
\textsuperscript{143} Evans, cited in Prent, 2003, 82. Evans found G sherds 1m higher than LBA strata and an EIA votive deposit in the SW corner of the Central Court that included terracotta figurines, G krater, and tens of drinking cups from PG to Hellenistic. Also a possible cult building erected in the W wing. D’Agata believes the Palace area formed "as sort of sacred island at the margin of the urban context." (2010, 58)
\textsuperscript{144} There is evidence to suggest that the Palace became a sanctuary area, see Hood & Smyth, 1981; Prent, 2005.
Fortetsa, roughly the same distance that the LM cemetery Zafer Papoura was located away from the contemporary settlement centre at the Palace.\textsuperscript{145} Evidence of LBA/EIA settlements may still be found in future excavations but currently the available evidence means that we are forced to view these people through mainly their treatment and perception of death.

Determining the pattern of cemetery sites is highly dependent upon whether many of the chamber tombs with EIA remains were in fact BA constructions. Individual tombs or small tomb groups do seem scattered around the landscape, particularly North of the KNC, leading some to conclude that the population was similarly scattered in small settlements. However, if most of these tombs are of LBA construction and reused then the EIA interments would have been dependent upon the discoveries of existing tombs.\textsuperscript{146} The size of the KNC and Fortetsa cemeteries suggests a somewhat more centralised population than that of the LBA. Inhumation loses favour in the EIA and is surpassed by cremation as the most popular form of interment.\textsuperscript{147} Cremated remains in vessels, which were then placed in chamber tombs, become the norm.

\textbf{i. Burial Sites}

\textit{Fortetsa}

Excavated by Payne and Blakeway in 1933 and published by Brock in 1967. It was a complex of 21 chamber tombs, with pottery ranging from PG to LO (950 to 630BC). Two larnakes were found at the site.\textsuperscript{148}

\textit{KNC}

At least 92 EIA tombs excavated with at least 16 larnakes found. In use continuously from SM (11th c.) until LG (end of 7th c.).

\textit{Kephala Ridge}

Four G tombs excavated by Payne and Evans.

\textsuperscript{145} Hood & Smyth, 1981. p. 16-18.
\textsuperscript{146} Boardman, 1960, 143.
\textsuperscript{147} Perna (2011, 153) notes that the gradual transition from inhumation to cremation means that cremation probably had no roots in a different ethnic group but that it slowly assumed an ideological value.
\textsuperscript{148} The excavators at the KNC saw enough similarities with the material from Fortetsa that they adopted Brock's chronology. See Chronologies.
There are scattered examples of LM tholos tombs being reused in SM times (1125-970BC) at Khianale and Isopata.\textsuperscript{149} It is also likely that LM chamber tombs were cleared and reused in G (c. 820-770BC) times such as at Ayios Ioannis, Gypsades, Mavro Spelio, and Khianale. These are shown on fig. 17, which also illustrates that the KNC was the only site in use throughout the EIA (1100-600BC). The practice of reuse will be considered at the KNC in Chapter 7 below.

The shear size and length of the continuous period of use at the KNC makes this site unique in the area. It also suggests a centralisation of population and power in the EIA as opposed to the LBA.

\textsuperscript{149} Perna, 2011, 140.
6. Problems of Evidence

I. Introduction

There is a range of issues that must first be acknowledged before any analysis of the material from the KNC can be attempted. The discussion of the material is affected by problems with the interpretation of materials common across all areas of Crete as well as others specific to the area of Knossos and the cemetery site itself. The three main areas to be mindful of are the dating of the material, post-depositional disturbances and methods of excavation and recording.

II. Chronologies

The dating of most material from the EIA in Greece, and the Cretan BA for that matter, relies on identifying stylistic attributes to form relative chronologies. This was the way that Evans first made sense of the material at the Palace at Knossos, by identifying artistic development backed by stratigraphy\textsuperscript{150}, and his basic chronology for 'Minoan' material has since been applied across Crete. This has been problematic for many other sites on Crete, as many who subsequently excavated sites in other regions have observed considerable regional variability and non-uniform development across the island. Many have drawn attention to the sites in East Crete in particular; even suggesting a separate culture could be identified in the region and given the label Eteo-Cretan.\textsuperscript{151}

In view of the inherent risk of applying any stylistic dating system equally across all sites it is perhaps best to look at the closest geographically to determine the most accurate sequencing. The excavators at the KNC did rely on the nearby evidence from less than a kilometre away at Fortetsa and the chronologies established by Brock for the site in his publication *Fortetsa: Early Greek Tombs near Knossos*, this was probably partly by default considering the scarcity of contemporary burial sites that have been excavated on Crete. The lack

\textsuperscript{150} Although Pendlebury has emphasised that at Knossos "absolutely pure strata are rare." (1963, xxvii)

\textsuperscript{151} Whitley, 1998.
of material from this period, and in particular stratigraphic material, is problematic when determining the accuracy of sequencing\textsuperscript{152} however, Catling noted in 1960 that the greater focus being given to EIA sites is helping to increase the number of sites and finds available to us with which to compare material in the future\textsuperscript{153}. The EIA sequences will continue to be refined with evidence from continuing and new excavations.

With the presence of the larnakes at the site, the excavators also had to draw on the stylistic chronologies established for the dating of BA finds. The greater scholarly focus on this period has meant that a century of scholarship has debated and refined the sequences. Momigliano\textsuperscript{154} has clearly tabulated the results, particularly the additions by Warren, Popham and Hood.\textsuperscript{155}

The problems in differentiating between stylistic periods and determining whether differences even exist are ongoing obstacles when dealing with any stylistic sequencing on Crete. The problems that are particularly important to this thesis are related to the dating of material belonging to end of the BA sequence (LM) and beginning of the EIA (SM) approximately the twelfth and eleventh centuries BC. This liminal period covers what is considered to be the time of manufacture of the larnakes in question, as well as the first use of the cemetery site. It is also crucial in any discussion of continuity of Cretan BA culture.

Kanta has outlined the problems of finding divisions between these periods in her study of the LMIII period. She found it impossible to draw sharp dividing lines between the sub-divisions of the period.\textsuperscript{156} Therefore, while the excavators at the KNC have gone to the effort of narrowly dating individual larnakes based on stylistic indicators of their design, it seems, especially since they have been found out of their original context, that we should not place too much

\textsuperscript{152} The lack of stratigraphy at burial sites means that finding the contemporary domestic settlement could help enormously in refining EIA sequences. The jumbled remains caused first by reuse at the KNC have made it difficult to identify successive stages of use.

\textsuperscript{153} Catling, 1960, 109.

\textsuperscript{154} See fig. 1.

\textsuperscript{155} For LMIII alterations see Desborough (1964) Popham (1965, 1967 &1977) and Warren (1999). For debates and explanations surrounding the stylistic dating of 'Minoan' and Mycenaean material discussed at length see also Furumark (1941) and Astrom.

\textsuperscript{156} Kanta, 1980. Her focus was originally intended to be LMIIIIB material but the lack of definition between stages meant she was forced to expand her study to include all of the LMIII material.
importance or confidence in this narrow and overly precise determination of chronology.

The so-called SM material at the KNC was identified by the excavators as being crucial in any interpretations of who first established the site.\textsuperscript{157} Applying the name of SM can suggest a separation from the material and population of the LM period whereas on closer inspection there has been no definitive differentiation made between the two groups of evidence. While D’Agata has identified two stages of LMIIC and two of SM\textsuperscript{158}, Hallager has pointed out that at no site has a deposit of SM material been found with a deposit of LMIIC material and that in fact the two groups share enough similarities to be considered contemporary rather than consecutive styles.\textsuperscript{159} Catling has acknowledged how this confusion affected the dating in regards to the SM material at the KNC stating that "the series starts with material which, on its own, might well be classed as LMIIC."\textsuperscript{160} Since it is largely the pottery styles that have informed both Brock and the excavators at the KNC about the possible calendar dates of the periods, this confusion makes it extremely difficult for us to be sure of the gap between the manufacture and deposition of the larnakes.

The designation of numerical dates, in BA and EIA Crete, is often avoided by scholars or given secondary importance to stylistic comparisons. Momigliano has tried to address this by using chronological dates to place Crete within its wider regional setting of the Eastern Mediterranean. This avoidance is often symptomatic of the larger problem in Greek archaeology of treating Crete as separate to the mainland or not even addressing the island as part of Greece. By giving attention to imports in particular and attaching numerical dates, we can better understand Crete’s role and significance in regional networks within Greece and the Mediterranean.

The application of numerical dates to Cretan finds is entirely dependent upon associations with imported objects. At BA sites Egyptian finds, especially those that are inscribed, are most common and also most useful in connecting Cretan

\textsuperscript{157} Catling, 1996, Ch. 5.
\textsuperscript{158} D’Agata, 2007.
\textsuperscript{159} Hallager, 2010. 153. He also identifies that at Knossos, where there is evidence of continuous habitation, no late LMIIC material has been found and in fact SM material is found directly on top of the earliest LMIIC.
\textsuperscript{160} Catling, 1996, Ch. 5, 296.
finds with dates in the Egyptian dynastic calendar. The one glaring problem with
dating in association with imports is that while we may be able to accurately
date the imported finds we cannot be sure of when they were imported or when
they were deposited in the archaeological record. The presence of the antique
imported objects buried in the Toumba building at Lefkandi\textsuperscript{161} are a good
example of how imported objects can seem to increase in value many centuries
after their manufacture and how their age could be a reason for their later
import or deposition.

The KNC belongs to a period, during which it was previously thought that Crete
had lost all contact with the external world. The KNC has disproven this
definitively, with an almost continuous sequence of Near Eastern imports across
the duration of use at the site (see Appendix 4). The most conspicuous feature of
the imported material is the shear number of Attic vessels that have been
extremely helpful in drawing the KNC into the trading and social networks
apparent between Greek sites, such as Athens and Lefkandi, in the EIA.

Despite the challenges of evidence relating to chronology, the evidence makes
it clear that Crete was not a backwater and thus any apparent retention of or
renewal of elements of BA culture must be viewed as conscious rather than more
conservatism. *

\textbf{III. Post-Depositon Disturbances}

The long history of reuse at the KNC has taken its toll on the EIA remains. While
this period is of most interest to this thesis, the KNC is a useful source of
evidence for the history of the Knossos area right up until the Second World War.
The main sources of disruption for the tombs considered in this thesis appear to
be later Hellenistic inhumation burials, tomb robbing and intrusions from later
chamber tombs. A summary of the disruptions in each of the larnax tombs is
given in below in Table 1.

These disruptions have affected the study of every one of the larnakes as none
have been undisturbed or unbroken and it seems that none had all of their
original contents inside. It is also very difficult to determine the exact number of

individual larnakes found when we only have numerous fragments that cannot be directly connected.

Another problem when trying to determine the use of larnakes, is that none of the larnakes contained preserved human remains. Some were associated with nearby fragments of bone but as Boardman has observed the local soil is not conducive to the preservation of organic material and bone.\textsuperscript{162}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tomb</th>
<th>Disturbances</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>Stomion blocks moved by robbers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>A late cutting run across dromos at right angles, with its N edge 140 from stomion and S edge unknown. Its fill contained finds from all periods including R glass.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Larnax had been rifled, possibly HL diggers of nearby T. 62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>T. 138 dug at right angles so that the chamber partly overlay T. 60’s dromos. Robbing pit 192 x 190 close to the stomion. A bronze coin in the dromos suggests HL grave destroyed by robbing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>Superficial damage from Hellenistic inhumations in the dromos the tomb remained largely untouched from final use. Chamber roof had collapsed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>Church debris and nothing in situ suggests later disturbance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>Small R peribolos T. 156 partly cut into fill. ER T. 167 also partly dug into fill. Possible robber pit on the E side, which extended to the floor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>Ts. 104 and 134 were cut so close to each other that the W side of T. 104’s chamber cut the E side of T. 134. HL cremation grave also cut into N side, destroying part of grave offerings and archaic vase suggests earlier disturbance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>In the dromos, on the edge of niche 3, a HL bottle (107.2) suggests a destroyed HL inhumation. Signs of pillaging throughout the tomb.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113</td>
<td>Plundered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132</td>
<td>The tomb had been robbed from above by removal of the front of the roof and the dromos fill to the W end of the niche. LR fragments.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134</td>
<td>HL finds and bones suggest there may have been a HL inhumation roughly overlying the partition wall.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>292</td>
<td>Robber cutting above chamber, of which Niche 1 was part.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>294</td>
<td>Medical Faculty trench caused considerable damage to the chamber and dromos. Evidence of robber activity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>Erosion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 1: Disturbances in tombs containing larnakes at the KNC**

IV. Methods of Excavation and Recording

The excavations were carried out under extremely difficult and stressful circumstances.\textsuperscript{163} While we are very fortunate to have any record of such an informative and expansive site we must accept that, with so many tombs and

\textsuperscript{162} Boardman, 1960, 144.

\textsuperscript{163} For a brief overview of the excavations see Catling & Coldstream, 1996, 54.
finds to catalogue in such a short space of time, perhaps the level of detail and accuracy of the recording process may have been compromised. It is certainly very difficult to determine the location of some of the larnax fragments in relation to other objects and stratigraphies in tombs from the publication, particularly those with a large number of finds such as Ts. 75 and 104. It is also apparent that there was much confusion post-excavation as to the stratigraphies and tombs to which certain finds belonged. The reassociation of some finds with different tombs such as those from T. 18 with T. 31 show that perhaps more time could have been useful in determining depositional processes and limitations before the removal of evidence from context. The direct relationships between finds are particularly important at this site to understand the various stages of reuse in tombs.

The use of mechanical processes to excavate top layers of soil due to time limitations contributed to the already disturbed nature of some of the tombs. Moreover, modern structures also limited the extent of the excavation of individual tombs, such as in the case of T. Q, and continue to interfere with our understanding of the whole site. 164 This is also a major obstacle to any future excavations in the area N of the Palace at Knossos due to the encroachment of the modern city of Heraklion (see Fig. 16).

V. Access to Evidence

Unfortunately, for this thesis I was not able to travel to Crete to gain access to the material in question, therefore, I have had to rely on the limited evidence given in the publication Knossos North Cemetery: Early Greek Tombs. This was problematic as most of the larnax fragments were not pictured in either the figures or plates and were described only very briefly. This was particularly problematic for the decoration on two larnakes (292.239 and 294.63), which were described as depicting stylized fish and then compared with the G style fish on 104.118, however they were regrettably not pictured.

164 Catling (Conclusion in Coldstream & Catling, 1996) believes that there is a possibility that further excavations will reveal the KNC was part of much larger complex extending E across the ridge, including Hogarth’s tombs, to the site at Zafer Papoura.
7. The Minoan and Minoanizing Larnakes in Early Iron Age Cemeteries of Knossos

I. Introduction

Against the background of all of the above, a brief overview of the larnakes recovered at the KNC will be given below, followed by a discussion of their contexts, within both the KNC site and the wider larnax tradition in the Knossos area. Also outlined will be other references to the BA past identified at the KNC.

II. Summary of Larnakes at the Knossos North Cemetery

A summary of the larnakes and their tombs is given here in Table 2. For their location within the site see figs. 18-23, for tomb plans see figs. 24-37 and for the full catalogue of those tombs refer to Appendix 2.

Table 2: Larnakes at the KNC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tomb/Finding no.</th>
<th>Larnakes</th>
<th>Decoration</th>
<th>No./Type of Burials</th>
<th>Tomb Layout</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Q.116 Fig. 38</td>
<td>H. 76. L. 130 Chest Fragments of gabled lid</td>
<td>Decoration: brown-black paint, papyrus flowers, spirals, circles enclosing crosses</td>
<td>Burnt bone and charcoal in fill around larnax, separate burnt bone in chamber</td>
<td>Chamber with larnax in niche, dromos not excavated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.15</td>
<td>15. H: c. 84. L: c. 34. W: c. 34. Chest Fragments: one long and one short side missing Gritty orange clay, thick cream slip.</td>
<td>Unadorned</td>
<td>Burnt bone 'very probably' part of larnax interment, pithos burial, two inhumations</td>
<td>Chamber, no niches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Information</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.11</td>
<td>Chest Fragments: pieces of body Gritty orange clay, grey core, traces of cream wash. Unadorned Unburnt tibia Larnax interment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60.3</td>
<td>Chest Fragments: body Gritty orange clay, grey core, cream slip Unadorned Unburnt bone on top of kouskouros Chamber, no niches</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75.225</td>
<td>Chest Fragments: one foot, one strap handle Gritty buff clay, many brown, white and grey inclusions, cream slip Unadorned Rectangular chamber, 2 niches</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85.1</td>
<td>Chest Fragments: half of long side with two legs, pieces from base Gritty orange-buff clay, red-black paint. Possible foot from different larnax H: c. 65 L: c. 96 Bars and lines, quatrefoils, spirals, wavy lines. None Rectangular shaft</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98.19</td>
<td>Chest Fragments: part of upper edge, one foot Gritty orange clay, yellow slip Unadorned Possible pithos burial, three isolated skulls Rectangular chamber, shared dromos with other rectangular chamber</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103.2</td>
<td>Chest Fragments: most from base Deep orange, gritty clay, cream slip Unadorned None Larnax interment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code</td>
<td>Chest</td>
<td>Fragments</td>
<td>Fish, chevrons, arcs, hatched meander, zigzag, robed figure over altar?, fish</td>
<td>No remains, multiple likely pithos burials</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104.118</td>
<td>Chest</td>
<td>Fragments: one corner with foot, most of width of one short side</td>
<td>Fish, chevrons, arcs, hatched meander, zigzag, robed figure over altar?, fish</td>
<td>No remains, multiple likely pithos burials</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cream slip, inner surface rough</td>
<td>Fish, chevrons, arcs, hatched meander, zigzag, robed figure over altar?, fish</td>
<td>No remains, multiple likely pithos burials</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107.214</td>
<td>H. 66.5. L. 114. W. 50. Chest Fragments of gabled lid with animal protome</td>
<td>Red, black, brown, wavy lines, dancing female figures, bird, flower, waves, spiral trees</td>
<td>Red, black, brown, wavy lines, dancing female figures, bird, flower, waves, spiral trees</td>
<td>Cremated bone, pieces of bone associated with larnax (not specified burnt/unburnt) Forty cremations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107.215</td>
<td>Fragments, chest</td>
<td>Unadorned</td>
<td>Unadorned</td>
<td>Cremated bone, pieces of bone associated with larnax (not specified burnt/unburnt) Forty cremations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113.1</td>
<td>H. 0.71 W. 0.40. Fragments: whole of one short side, small parts of long sides</td>
<td>Unadorned</td>
<td>Unadorned</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 42</td>
<td></td>
<td>Unadorned, coarse brown clay</td>
<td>Unadorned</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132.38</td>
<td>I. L: 38. Bathtub Fragments: base curved at one end</td>
<td>Unadorned</td>
<td>Burnt wood but unburnt bone associated with larnax II</td>
<td>Rectangular chamber, 1 niche</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gritty orange clay</td>
<td>Unadorned</td>
<td>Burnt wood but unburnt bone associated with larnax II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>II. rim from another larnax, gentle curve inside</td>
<td>Gritty grey clay, dark red paint</td>
<td>Unadorned</td>
<td>Burnt wood but unburnt bone associated with larnax II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134.77</td>
<td>H: c. 53. L: c. 84. W: c. 34. Chest Fragments: most of one long and one short side</td>
<td>Unadorned</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gritty orange clay, thick cream slip</td>
<td>Unadorned</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The larnakes themselves were in such fragmentary states that there are very few details about them which we can be certain of. Those include the dimensions of some, the larnax type and whether they were decorated or not. Only six were decorated, all with abstract designs, one with human figures and three with fish. All of the larnaxes were dated to the LMIIIA period (1425-1300BC) and only those with more complex designs could be more precisely dated to the LMIIIA2. All of the known dimensions of these larnakes fall into the averages outlined by Pini and Long. The there are very few characteristics that are consistent across the KNC larnakes and their burial contexts and these shall be discussed below.

### III. Location/Chronology within Site

In fig. 18, the locations of the larnakes within the site have been highlighted on the site map. This gives a good overview of geographical spread of the larnakes across the site. They do not seem to be concentrated in a particular area and

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occur in each of the main groupings of tombs including one in the Tekke plot on the Northern border of the site.

A very important point to note when looking at which tombs contained LM larnakes is that there were no larnakes found in any of the SM tombs, the ones determined to have been the earliest at the site (c. 1100-980BC). The SM tombs were determined to be:

Pit-caves - Ts. 98, 186, 200, 208
Shaft-graves - Ts. 149, 153, 160, 282

Of these SM tombs 98, 40, 207, F/67:5 were reused in later times and yet no larnakes were associated with these. This is important to note when dealing with questions of continuity that while we have LBA larnakes at the site, they do not seem to be related to what were possibly LBA tombs, dug at a time when larnakes were being used at other LMIII sites.

IV. Tomb Types and Burial Practice Across Site

When the first tombs at the KNC cemetery were dug, both inhumation and cremation were practiced. The SM tombs were of three types: chamber tombs, shaft-graves, and pit-caves. As the use of the cemetery continued, cremation became more common until it was the dominant burial custom. This increase in cremation burials can be seen throughout Crete.166

The use of shaft and pit-graves fell out of favour with the increase of cremations, making chamber tombs by far the most common tomb type at the site.

Most of the chamber tombs seem to have first been used (and it has been assumed constructed) in PG and EG periods of the ninth century. After the ninth century, it appears that generally new tombs were not constructed and that the practice of reusing tombs and the digging of niches in dromoi became the most common method of interment, which was made easier by the compact nature of

cremation burials. This meant that cremations could be placed in niches and did not require the extra space of new chambers in which to be placed.

**V. Tomb Types with Larnakes**

**i. Chamber tombs with dromos and niches: Ts. Q, 75, 104, 107, 132, 292, 294**

This is the most common tomb type at the KNC and also the most common in which larnakes were found. In basic form these tombs replicated the chamber tombs that became popular in Crete in the LM periods, including the so-called ‘Warrior-graves’ of LMII (1500-1425BC). The appearance of these chamber tombs with dromoi is regularly cited as one of the indications of a new Mycenaean presence in the Knossos area and perhaps of a Mycenaean ruling dynasty at the end of the Palatial period.

**ii. Reuse of LM Chamber Tombs**

Excavators of other Knossos burial sites believed that all of the chamber tombs in the area were of LM construction and those that contained EIA remains had been rediscovered and reused. Boardman, in particular, has argued that the continued construction of chamber tombs did not make sense for a population that were now cremating their dead.167 He also believed that it did not make sense for the later Knossians to build new tombs when they already had the convenient option of reusing existing tombs. Yet the evidence since 1960 including from the KNC, suggests that this explanation is too simplistic and it certainly does not deal with the glaring omission of any traces of LM remains in many of the tombs with PG (ninth century) pottery.

Brock believed that due to a lack of LM material at Fortetsa, the majority of tombs were of PG construction in imitation of BA traditions. The two exceptions to his theory were tombs VII and P, the two tombs associated with LM larnakes, which he decided must have been LM constructions due to the very presence of the larnakes. This seems like a bit of a leap considering the larnakes were the only LM finds at the whole Fortetsa site and they are certainly transportable

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167 Boardman, 1960, 143.
objects. However, I suppose he was applying his theory consistently right across the site. Brock also only ever referred to the larnakes as being 'associated' with the tombs rather than exploring the possibility that they were purposefully placed there adjoining the dromoi in the PG period.

It is a difficult question because one answer cannot be applied consistently across all chamber tombs with EIA remains in the Knossos area. We do know that some tombs certainly were reused, particularly in SM and G times, due to the large amount of materials left behind from the earlier burials. Boardman believes that a clay model from Arkhanes depicts the event of the discovery of a BA tomb. The model (see fig. 50) resembles a typical Cretan hut urn but Boardman believes the addition of human figures and a dog on the roof add the "narrative dimension" of men discovering a tomb. Unfortunately, I am not sure this explanation satisfactorily explains the presence of a goddess in the chamber.

Cavanagh has gone to the greatest lengths thus far to answer this question decisively for the KNC. By conducting a statistical analysis based on the dimensions of a selection of tombs from all over the Knossos area, which have previously been thought to have been reused LBA tombs as well as some of known LBA date, Cavanagh has been able to distinguish two distinct groups. The first consists of exclusively tombs with EIA pottery and the second of tombs datable to the BA of which 10 contained EIA pottery.

Cavanagh, in conclusion to this analysis, believes that these tombs of the first group were built to resemble the BA examples of the second group. However, the dimensions and quality of the construction differed consistently between the two periods, with the KNC/F chambers being half as small, the jambs not as well carved and the entrances to the chambers shorter.

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168 Reused with SM material: Kephala tholos tomb, Hutchison, 1956. Reused with G material: Hogarth’s Tombs (Hogarth, 1900; Coldstream, 2002). Cavanagh & Mee (1978) have identified earlier examples of similar practices on the mainland.
169 Boardman, 2002.
170 Some scholars do believe in BA Crete a goddess was the one to accompany the dead across a sea to an afterlife and as such was closely associated with death, so perhaps the men were rediscovering this BA belief in the tombs as well.
172 Catling, 1996, Ch. 17, KNC, p. 658.
These results have been very helpful in differentiating the EIA chamber tombs from other chamber tombs in the Knossos area, which have long been thought to be LM tombs that were reused in the Geometric period. Cavanagh has been able to show structural differences between tombs that were reused at AI, MS, and amongst Hogarth’s tombs and those of EIA construction.

Cavanagh also supports this analysis the very strong argument that these tombs were almost certainly EIA constructions because there were barely any remnants of LM finds in the tombs and that it would be very unlikely that every BA tomb would have been found and cleared.\(^{173}\) His first point is true to an extent in that most of the tombs did not contain any Minoan finds, however, some did. Aside, from the larnakes, which I think can be dismissed as remnants considering their placement seems deliberate, especially in dromos niches, the excavators have labeled some finds as possibly Minoan such as a Serpentine block (75.65), a Serpentine vase (292.1a) and an obsidian prismatic blade (107.76). There was also a MM sealstone and a MMI pithos (both 2000-1725BC), both were undoubtedly BA objects. Therefore, while the number of BA finds is not as significant as at other suspected reused tombs, I think Catling’s second argument, that it is unlikely all of the Minoan tombs would have been discovered and reused in the EIA, is the much more convincing one. Knowledge of the LBA burials would’ve relied on either oral traditions passed on through generations or the placement of some kind of grave markers, which certainly could have existed, but the separation of the LM period and the PG by at least two centuries (1125-980BC) makes their survival quite unlikely.

I think the tombs excavated at KNC all seem likely to be EIA constructions making the site a virgin site before the SM burials, keeping in mind that the excavators were not able to establish the parameters of the whole cemetery and that perhaps there are LBA tombs that we have no discovered.

**Niches**

A feature that does not appear often in LM chamber tombs at Knossos is the addition of numerous niches in the walls of the dromoi to house burials. These have all been added subsequent to those in the chambers and are consistently

\(^{173}\) Ibid, p. 639.
dated to later periods across the site. These are of particular interest, since this is where most of the larnax remains have been found at the site and where all of those from chamber tombs have been located.

T. I at Upper Gypsades is the only example at LM Knossos cemeteries that has a niche cut into the dromos, however, this tomb does not contain any larnakes. There was an inhumation burial in the niche but this is the only example of this arrangement.\footnote{There was however traces of a wooden coffin or bier in the chamber, which was decorated with blue paint and seemed to have legs. Dimensions: 1.5m x 0.5m. See Hood, Huxley, Sandars, 1959, 198.}

**ii. Larnax interments: Ts. 31, 103, 113**

These three larnakes are particularly striking. The practice of burying a larnax straight into the ground, with very few grave goods is not something that has been found at LM sites and yet it occurs three times at the KNC. There are some examples of larnakes being found in LM shaft-graves, such as T. 34 at Zafer Papoura, T. XII at UP and Ts. XI and XX at MS, however, these LM examples are much more substantial burials with stone slabs covers and it seems more care and effort would have been required in their construction.\footnote{See figs. 58.} These three burials seem to be examples of burials being placed simply into larnax-shaped holes in the ground with a selection of grave goods. They all seem to be in close association with other nearby tombs; however, they are distinctly separate from these. The excavators were able to identify undug areas between tombs easily due to the presence of the local white kouskouros bedrock.

**iii. Tomb 85**

This tomb does not neatly fit in any tomb type. It is probably most similar to the larnax interments having not been connected to a large tomb and a succession of burials; however, this was a much larger cutting in the kouskouros, in which the excavators identified ‘two’ compartments, which they believe could have housed two larnakes. The placement of two parallel larnakes has been
identified in a shaft-grave T. XII at Upper Gypsades.\textsuperscript{176} Two larnakes have also been found in shaft-grave T. XI at Mavro Spelio, however, the placement of one of the larnakes was in a niche off the shaft.

\textbf{iv. Irregular Chamber Burials: T. 98}

Tomb 98 has a strange layout for the KNC site. However, it is in some ways similar to many of the chamber tombs at the MS site, where dromoi are shared between multiple chambers.\textsuperscript{177} Mavro Spelio, Ts. IV, V, VII, IX, XVII all have at least two chambers sharing a single dromos and all of these tombs contained larnakes placed in the chamber. T. 98, similarly, shares its dromos with Ts. 168 and 106 and the larnax fragments were found in the chamber of T. 98. That makes T. 98 the only larnax at KNC in which the larnax is placed in the chamber of a tomb, as in most LM burials, rather than the dromos, as in most KNC burials.

\textbf{VI. Larnakes}

Most of the larnakes share similarities in their design and construction. All but one are chest larnakes and most are made of the same gritty orange clay, with a cream slip and stylistically have been dated to roughly the same period of LMIIIA-B\textsuperscript{178}, except the example in T. 104. I think it can be argued that due to the consistencies across the examples that they were produced by a single workshop, however, further testing of the composition of the clay could be useful in determining whether the clay was sourced from a single area. Unfortunately, due to the fragmentary nature of the larnakes it is difficult to reach more specific comparisons of design due to the lack of diagnostic elements represented in the fragments, for example only for the examples Ts. Q, 107 and 294 was there any evidence of the gabled lids that would normally be expected to be found with chest larnakes and the pieces of these were too small to make any definitive statements of design. The piece from T. 107 is the most interesting as it is clearly an animal protome positioned so that the animal’s spine is the

\textsuperscript{176} See. fig. 59.
\textsuperscript{177} See fig. 60.
\textsuperscript{178} For stylistic dating of LBA pottery see Furumark, 1941; Warren; Popham, 1984.
gabled top edge. This feature has been seen on other larnakes at Agios Nikolaos but we do not have sufficient evidence from the other larnakes at the site to determine whether this was unique to that larnax. The piece is also too fragmentary to determine the type of animal.

i. Decoration

There were six larnakes found with painted decoration. To discuss their designs and compare them to other Cretan LM larnakes in general it is useful to divide the motifs into the categories Watrous has identified as the most common types of motifs depicted on larnakes; abstract designs, ritual figures (human and animal) and objects, and animals and plants sacred to a divinity.\(^{179}\) Five of the painted larnakes depicted abstract designs commonly seen on LM larnakes, such as wavy lines, spirals, and tri-curved arches. These would be considered stereotypical ‘Minoan’ designs on any pottery of the BA.

ii. Decoration of Larnax 104.118

The abstract designs, particularly the cross-hatching, on the foot of a larnax from T. 104, however, are in a distinctively G style that Coldstream has dated to between PGB and EG (850–800 BC).\(^{180}\) Twostylized cuttlefish had also been ‘geometricised’ in supposed comparison to cuttlefish depicted on the larnakes from Ts. 292 and 294, which unfortunately were not pictured in the publication.

This is the only example of a larnax being manufactured in the EIA period in imitation of earlier types and gives strong weight to the argument that these larnakes were aspirational objects, which had worth in the tombs of the EIA.

\(^{179}\) Watrous, 1991, p. 289. Watrous also identifies a fourth group, representations of the afterworld, however, this is a very subjective assessment and largely redundant since he also believes the other three groups are representations of the afterworld.

\(^{180}\) The Protogeometric and Geometric Pottery in Catling and Coldstream, 1996, 393.
iii. Iconography of Larnax 107.214

The decoration on one of the larnakes found in T. 107 is unique. It is only one of four larnakes found in the Knossos area that portrays human figures, and the figures possess a level of detail that is very rare for a larnax design. The larnax shows two female figures on one of the long sides (side B), both with flounced skirts and facing towards the right. The figure on the left is flanked by a flower and has her hand raised to her forehead in a gesture that is typical of adoration. The figure on the right has both her hands in the air and a bird above her head. Retorted spirals border both figures.

The short sides depict a fragmentary figure (side A), possibly holding shield and spear, and a stylised plant or tree (side C). The other long side depicts more retorted spiral patterns (side D).

Morgan has analysed the decoration on this larnax thoroughly and has reached some fascinating conclusions. She is seemingly correct in identifying an ordered sequence to the panels, which is highlighted by the direction the figures are facing, towards the right, and the simplicity of designs on the long side D, meant to direct attention to the figured sides. This leaves the order as the figure with the shield first, following by the two female figures, which are then facing the tree on the other short side.¹⁸¹ Figs. show some similar scenes that Morgan has used to illustrate that these were familiar motifs arranged in a familiar way. Her examples interestingly are taken from both Cretan and Mycenaean sources.

Morgan believes that stylistically the closest comparison to this larnax is the Agia Triada Sarcophagus.¹⁸² The level of detail in particular does suggest that a fresco painter instead of a pot painter could have painted it. Compare the figures from this larnax to those in fig. , which represent other examples of larnax designs with human figures. The care taken and the complex nature of the design suggest a more valuable or perhaps more prized possession.

The comparison to the Agia Triada sarcophagus is very useful for analysis, as so much literature has been dedicated to interpreting this unique larnax. Watrous has argued for a strong Egyptian influence in the processional scenes on the long

¹⁸¹ Often a short side on a larnax is the visual focus.
¹⁸² Morgan (1987) identifies similarities in the style of the figures (171) and in the use of retorted spirals around the border (190).
sides of the sarcophagus. He has compared these to tomb paintings from Egypt of the bringing of gifts to the afterlife.\footnote{Watrous, 1991.}

More recently Burke has emphasised the possible Mycenaean elements of the design. These include the method of construction consisting of fresco plaster on a limestone chest, the subject of the scene not being an allusion to a terrestrial or marine scene, the retorted spirals being more common on Tanagra larnakes and the Mycenaean design of the figures’ clothes and the chariots.\footnote{Burke, 2005, 417-18.}

Burke’s argument for Mycenaean influence in very convincing particularly since it is made with the context of the Agia Triada settlement in mind. Burke notes how the architecture contemporary with the design of the chest (LMIIIA2, 1370-1360BC) was also changing to reflect Mycenaean tastes, but Mycenaean tastes with distinctively Minoan elements.\footnote{A Minoan ritual is featured with the figures carrying "archaic looking polychrome vessels, similar to kamares ware."(Burke, 2005, 414) Burke, 2005, 418.} He extends this interpretation to the Agia Triada sarcophagus to suggest that the larnax is purposefully hybridized version of a Cretan form depicting a Cretan ritual but realised in a Mycenaean style.\footnote{Burke, 2005, 418.} If this were the result of a newly arrived group of Mycenaean rulers then this sarcophagus would have been used as a subtle way of creating links between the foreign present and the local past.

Morgan’s numerous comparisons between the KNC larnax from T. 107, the Agia Triada sarcophagus, and examples of Mycenaean art, only strengthen Burke’s argument for the importance of larnakes in forging new identities in LM Crete.

\section*{VII. Dating by Association}

Most of the larnakes were found in close association with vessels dated stylistically to the G and O periods (ninth and eighth centuries BC). Moreover, they were not found in those tombs that are thought to have been the earliest at the site. No larnakes were found with any significant deposits of SM vessels, which suggests a definite break at least three or four centuries between the possibly latest date of manufacture to the earliest possible placement in the tombs.
There is no definite evidence of the construction of new chamber tombs after the PG period or the end of the ninth century. All the tombs with pottery later than this as their earliest deposits were very heavily damaged or plundered and therefore, their date of construction could not be determined.\textsuperscript{187} This aligns with the evidence at Fortetsa where Brock also noted that new tombs were not built after the end of the PG period.\textsuperscript{188}

In most tombs, the confusion of the pottery finds have made it difficult to associate more specific dates to the larnakes, however, it is clear that no larnakes were used before the second half of the ninth century.

\textbf{VIII. Imports}

Jones has compiled a list of all the imports found on Crete dated to between 1100-700 B.C.\textsuperscript{189} Imports are generally considered to be indicators of high status in burial contexts and particularly for EIA tombs, as it is usually assumed that during this period international communications were minimal. At the KNC, he has listed 92 imports from the approximately 92 EIA tombs. Those imports were found in 30 of the tombs; therefore approximately a third of EIA tombs had imports. Those 30 tombs included nine of the fifteen tombs that contained larnakes, including all of the chamber tombs in which larnakes were found. Two-thirds of the tombs with larnakes had imports, which is significantly higher than the average for the site. While it cannot be said that the larnakes always occurred in the same tombs as imports, in the majority of cases they did.

\textbf{IX. Human Remains}

Unfortunately, the human remains at the site were generally in a poor state of preservation. In none of the larnakes at the site was there anything like a full skeleton preserved. In most cases of LM larnax burials, the bodies were placed in the chests with their knees drawn and once interred were left to decompose. Unfortunately, we do not evidence of this practice of inhumation and

\textsuperscript{187} Ts. 14, 44, 57, 61, 82, 86, 105, 221, F/67: 9, 15.
\textsuperscript{188} Brock, 1967, 4.
\textsuperscript{189} Jones, 2000.
decompositions at KNC, however, that does not necessarily mean that the practice did not occur.

In most of the KNC tombs, the material was too disturbed to accurately locate the nature and position of individual burials, particularly in the case of inhumations. In the chapter in the KNC publication on the human bones, Musgrave is able to conduct on study on the human remains, however, only the cremations in burial containers like pithoi provided enough data for analysis.\textsuperscript{190} It likely these survived in better condition due to the enclosed nature of the cremation vessels, however, the larnakes were most likely also deposited with lids and as closed vessels. Unfortunately, for all of the larnakes rifling and disruptions were noted and that while human remains were found often in the vicinity there were only small fragments, which could not always be definitively assigned to the larnakes.

The lack of human remains throughout the cemetery also makes it difficult to confirm Coldstream’s theory of the larnakes being used for the burial of children.\textsuperscript{191} We have no skeletal remains complete enough to put an age on an individual. This also makes it very difficult for us to determine whether the burial practices for the individuals in the larnakes differed from that in the LM periods. One difference that can be noted is that some of the larnakes were found in close association with both burnt and unburnt bones, such as in Ts. 132 and 294. Since we cannot place these remains directly in the larnakes, we cannot confidently say that cremated remains were placed in the coffins. We can say, however, that cremations had never previously been associated with larnax burials.

Scholars have interpreted the fact that larnakes were made with holes in the base, as proof that the bodies were deposited in the larnakes shortly after death and allowed to decompose organically after being interred. However, with the appearance of cremation in the EIA and its increasing frequency at the KNC over time, I think it is a distinct possibility that the new practice of cremating a body before deposition may have been combined with the earlier practice of burial within larnakes.

\textsuperscript{191} Coldstream, 1998.
Ch. 7: Larnakes in the Early Iron Age

It is also possible that interment and then cremation were used in the same larnakes since burnt and unburnt bones have been found in close association with the coffins. We know from the many niches added to dromoi that tombs at the site were reopened so that more burials could be added and therefore perhaps, it is possible that cremated remains were later added to interments in the larnakes.

X. Other Minoan Finds/influences

A small number of other finds at the site have been tentatively dated to M (2000-1725BC) times, however, only two can be definitively dated.\textsuperscript{192} The first object is a sealstone, of design dated to MMIII-LMI (eighteenth century BC), that depicts a Cretan goat being attacked by a lion (Fig. 54). This stone was obviously considered an object of some worth in the EIA, as it had been set into a new gold setting, with twisted wire and granulation, of a technique the excavators attributed to the “Tekke School” of approx. 800BC. This sealstone was also found in the same tomb as one of the undecorated LM larnakes. These two ‘Minoan’ objects, however, would have been produced centuries apart and would be unusual to find the same tomb at any cemetery, let alone an EIA one.

The other find was a MMI (c. 2000-1800BC) pithos (132.9) found in another of the tombs containing a larnax. The excavators have used this vessel as a way to explain the previously unaccounted for sudden revival of the straight-sided pithos shape in the Knossos area since the BA\textsuperscript{193}, when they had been used as urns for some of Crete’s earliest cremations.\textsuperscript{194}

Possible influences of BA art have also been identified at the KNC. The first is found on an EIA example of the revived Minoan pottery shape, the straight-sided pithos, and has been dubbed the Tree Painter’s Goddess Pithos (107. 114, see fig. 55). Many of the elements featured in this design are similar to those depicted on the larnax 207.214 (discussed above) but ‘geometricised’, such as the ‘goddess’

\textsuperscript{192} The remains of a BA boar’s tusk helmet were also found in T. 201 and would have been an antique at time of deposition however, the other remains of T. 201 suggest a SM date at least two centuries earlier than the deposition of the larnakes.
\textsuperscript{193} See Coldstream (\textit{The Protogeometric and Geometric Pottery}, 314 in Coldstream & Catling, 1996); Brock (1958, 147).
\textsuperscript{194} Kanta, 1980, 281.
or female figure, the birds and the spiral trees.\textsuperscript{195} The likelihood of the larnax inspiring the later painter is greatly increased by the fact that the two objects appear in the same tomb and therefore, perhaps were associated with the social group represented in the tomb. If this was the case then we have an example of EIA potters copying a BA shape (G larnax 104.118) and an example of an EIA painter imitating BA art.\textsuperscript{196}

These presence of these objects and the larnakes, as well as the construction of large chamber tombs all occur during or after the ninth century when the population appears to increase and urn cremation becomes the standard burial practice.\textsuperscript{197}

\textbf{XI. Fortetsa}

It is very important to note the proximity of the KNC to the cemetery at Fortetsa. The sites are less than one kilometer apart and its use was contemporary with the KNC during the EIA. The first tombs at Fortetsa appear in the PG period and the last in the G so the chronological range is slightly narrower, however, the excavators saw enough correlations between the material at the two sites to use the same dating system and diagnostic elements for the pottery.\textsuperscript{198}

At Fortetsa we see the same tomb type of EIA chamber tombs built in the style of LM tombs, however, at this site the design is used exclusively. Of the twenty-two tombs excavated they were all chamber tombs. Some tombs also showed the practice of adding niches to dromoi as seen at the KNC as well as the same increase in cremation burials.

There were two larnakes found at the site and they were in very similar contexts to those found at the KNC. They appear to have been added to niches in the dromoi of what appear to be PG (970-820BC) chamber tombs (Ts. VII and P). Unfortunately, due to the separation in time and personnel between excavation

\textsuperscript{195} Coldstream, \textit{The Protogeometric and Geometric Pottery}, 393 in Coldstream & Catling, 1996.\textsuperscript{196} For an in-depth analysis of BA influences in EIA art see Coldstream, 1998, in which he also discusses the revival of the octopus as a motif at the end of the eighth century. This has previously been noted by Hutchison & Boardman (1954) at Khianale before seven more depictions were found at the KNC. Coldstream has attributed all to a single workshop.\textsuperscript{197} KNC, 718.\textsuperscript{198} KNC, p. xiv.
and publication of the material, not many details are known about the larnakes. Brock seemingly did not give much weight to ideas of links to the past or the possibility of continuity of culture instead believing that what little was related to the past was most likely reintroduced from Cyprus.\(^{199}\)

This conclusion was understandable before the discovery of the KNC, as there was an obvious chronological gap between the last LM burials and the opening of the cemetery at F. Now we have evidence of a continuing population in the Knossos area and a much larger site that shares many similarities with F that stretched back to the LBA. It also seems that we have a larger group of people practicing similar funerary rites including the addition of larnakes into the niches of dromoi, suggesting a larger population even more homogenous in culture than their LBA predecessors.

### XII. Other EIA Burials

Most of the other EIA burials in the Knossos region cannot be assigned to a cemetery complex, whether this is due to lack of excavation of surrounding areas or simply isolated smaller groups of burials is yet to be seen. It is also difficult to gain a more complete picture of the Knossos area, particularly the Kephala ridgeline of cemeteries to the North of the Palace, due to structures currently existing in the area as part of the encroaching suburbs of the modern city of Heraklion.

Most of the other EIA burials in the area belong to the group of LM chamber tombs that have been reused during G times. These include the tombs dug by Payne along the Kephala Ridge\(^{200}\), three examples at MS\(^{201}\) and one at Khianale, however, only one other tomb at Khianale contained larnax fragments. Unfortunately, no other details were given in the published report of the Khianale tomb about the larnax fragments except that they were found with G pottery sherds. It is possible that larnakes were originally placed in more of these tombs in LM times but none were retained for the subsequent burials.

\(^{200}\) Payne, 1927.
\(^{201}\) Forsdyke, 1926.
The scattered nature of these tombs is difficult to interpret. Coldstream has wondered whether the tombs along the Kephala ridge a part of an extended burial ground including the KNC. The same ridge extends East to Zafer Papoura, and could perhaps be the centre of a much long standing tradition at Knossos to bury the dead along the Northern boundaries of the site.
9. Conclusions

The use of LBA larnakes in EIA contexts is a phenomenon that, based on current evidence, appears to be unique to the Knossos area. Traditionally, the larnax has been considered an entirely Minoan shape due to the limited contexts in which it had previously been found. However, the discoveries of larnakes at EIA sites at the KNC and Fortetsa, as well as the corpus of Mycenaean style larnakes from Tanagra on the mainland, have shown that the larnax also had value outside of Palatial Crete.

On closer inspection, despite clay predecessors of the chest larnax shape being dated to the EM periods (before 2000 BC) and bathtubs being popular domestic furniture in MM-LM Palace complexes, the height of the larnax's popularity was not reached until after the authority of the Palaces diminished (after 1490 BC). This has meant that for much of the history of Cretan archaeology larnakes have fallen outside the period considered of greatest importance and most worthy of attention by excavators and scholars. The beautifully decorated and nearly ubiquitous larnakes of LMIII burials do not belong to a island-wide homogenous culture of peace loving people imagined by Evans but rather a seemingly complex time of change and disruption that shows the adoption of new practices possibly signaling the arrival of newcomers to the island.

The larnakes appear alongside practices often considered Mycenaean that became common in Crete during the LMII period (1500-1425 BC) in so-called warrior-graves. These practices included burial in chamber tombs with long dromoi, a high-proportion of military related grave goods and feasting equipment. These changes at Knossos are associated with the period after a first phase of destruction at the Palace site towards the end of LMI (1490 BC) and continue after the final destruction phase thought to be towards the end of LMII (c. 1425 BC).

The use of larnakes reaches its peak after this final end of centralised authority at the Palaces at a time when the identity of the Knossians is still very much a continuing topic of debate.
As Dickinson has neatly articulated, the most important question to ask of the LBA on Crete is: what made these changes acceptable now and not before? There were obviously social benefits at that time that made these practices more desirable and valued than before. Unfortunately we must accept any definitive conclusion based on the ethnicity of those occupying the Knossos area at the time as it is impossible to determine from the archaeological record, as archaeological cultures do not equal genetic groups. However, we can say that new practices and diversification of burial rites suggest both the lack of a central authority and a change in the makeup and expectations of social groupings.

Earlier designs of larnakes do appear on Crete well before the LMIIIA (1425-1300BC) examples. Clay versions with rounded ends have been found in burial contexts dated to the EMII and III (before 2000BC) periods and have been seen as local inventions. These most resemble the curved-sided bathtub types of later periods. The bathtub type has always been underrepresented in the literature due to its less frequent occurrence and the assumption that they were simply domestic bathtubs transferred to burial contexts. I think this dual use is particularly interesting and even more so if the same designs were considered appropriate for bathing and death.

On the other hand, the origin of the chest type larnax of the LM periods has been extensively debated with a number of possible sources identified. The most durable has been the suggestion of early archaeologists that the chest larnakes were modeled on Egyptian wooden funerary chests. While it is fairly certain that the designs of chest types larnakes were modeled on wooden objects, we do not have any evidence of Cretans coming into contact with these funerary chests that we have so few contemporary examples of from Egypt. It is certainly true that Crete had contact with Egypt through trade prior to the appearance of the chest larnax and that Egyptian motifs were borrowed in Cretan pot painting and then used in larnax decoration, however, this does not provide us with an explanation as to why the chest type larnakes were adopted as enthusiastically as they were in the LMIII period (1425-1125BC).

The absence of obvious Cretan wooden antecedents is not necessarily evidence of the absence of their existence due to the general limitation of wood survivals from BA Crete. Although a possible source has been found in the archaeological
record of the LMII burials at Knossos. Hood, and Rutkowski\textsuperscript{202} have identified the presence of what appear to wooden burial furniture, either biers or coffins, in warrior-graves at Knossos. Unfortunately, due to disintegration of the wood in the local soil leaving only dark marks in the soil and occasional attachments, we cannot know the shape or designs of these wooden objects and whether they resembled chest type larnakes. We do know that they were approximately the same size as the average size of chest larnakes and that they do appear in the Knossos area around the same time that the previously mentioned new practices do.

These pieces of wooden burial furniture could explain both the popularity of the larnax in the following years but also the alterations in the previously rounded local clay larnakes that did not have feet or lids. There is also the distinct possibility that wooden biers/coffins were used on the mainland before their appearance on Crete.\textsuperscript{203}

Burke’s interpretation of Mycenaean elements mixing with local Cretan elements in both the architecture at Agia Triada and the Agia Triada sarcophagus is very convincing by attempting to explain the design of the larnax within the larger context of the site as a whole. He notes that the ritual activity depicted is Minoan in nature while the figures are depicted wearing Mycenaean dress alongside Mycenaean chariots. Morgan has similarly interpreted the larnax 107.214 from KNC in such a way, showing that the Minoan style of design is used to depict a scene that shares strong resemblances to scenes in Mycenaean art, which show female figures making similar gestures moving towards a tree and figures holding shields that have no known comparisons in Cretan art. It is also rare in general for human figures to be depicted on larnakes as the overwhelming majority of them depict naturalistic, and particularly marine, motifs typical of Minoan art.

While we cannot declare the presence of ethnically different rulers or settlers on Crete in the LM period, we can say that practices and artistic elements previously popular on mainland Greece become popular on Crete during this time. Larnax burials in newly standardised forms also become popular. These

\textsuperscript{202} Hood, 1959; Rutkowski, 1968.
\textsuperscript{203} See Hagg & Sieurin, 1982.
patterns raise important questions in regards to the presence of larnakes found at the KNC and what they meant to Knossians many centuries after their manufacture.

There is certainly a break between the use of larnakes in the LMIII period (end c. 1125) and the deposition of them in EIA tombs (after 980BC). While the first use of the KNC most likely overlapped with the LMIIC period and the earlier LBA burial grounds, there were no larnakes found in these tombs and the earliest graves goods found in tombs with the larnakes were no earlier than the PG period (after 980BC). This leaves a gap of around 200 years between the last BA tombs of the twelfth century and the larnakes’ earliest possible contexts of the ninth century.

A gap is also apparent in the way in which the larnakes were used. By looking at the contexts in which these larnakes were found we can see that the EIA inhabitants’ practices were not consistent with the usual BA practices and that the practice of larnax burial was rediscovered and reinterpreted rather than continued. At BA burial sites in the Knoss area at Zafer Papoura and Upper Gypsades, the larnakes were found mainly in chamber tombs and shafts-graves. In chamber tombs they were always placed in the chambers, often parallel alignment if there were multiple larnakes, and they appeared to be the main focus of the tombs. In comparison, at the KNC and Fortetsa, the larnakes were only ever added as later burials in niches off the dromoi of chamber tombs. They were always one of many stages of use of the tombs and never the original and central burial.

At the KNC, three larnakes were placed directly into burials in the ground with no other effort apparent in the construction of the graves. They seemed to be associated with nearby chamber tombs but with definitive evidence of separation, so it is unclear what relationship these burials had with those nearby. The BA burials most similar to these were shaft-graves however, the few examples of these with larnakes at BA sites show effort was taken to dig graves much larger than the size of the larnakes and that limestone slabs were assembled on top of the burials in an attempt to either mark them out or protect them. They definitely appear to have been made as separate tombs that stand apart from others nearby, unlike the larnax interments at the KNC.
The unusual practice of simply placing larnakes with a few grave goods near a chamber tomb could be evidence of nearby tombs groups running out of room for dromoi niches and could represent another way of associating an individual with the group buried nearby.

It is also very interesting to point out that while larnakes of the LMIII period were not associated with what were seemingly the richest tombs at the sites, the larnax tombs at the KNC were found with a higher proportion of imports than tombs with larnakes, which is generally considered to be a measure of wealth, especially in EIA communities.

The evidence suggests that these larnakes had some value within the social group that is buried at the KNC and Fortetsa. These tombs, which were reopened numerous times, would've been conspicuous demonstrations of ideology and identity for the living population. Unfortunately, due to the lack of human remains in the EIA larnakes, it is impossible to tell what role the larnakes may have played in the funerary ritual and the deposition of remains but in general the coffin or burial container is obviously closely associated with the body and therefore central to the burial process.

The presence of these LM larnakes suggest that, while it was not a dominant practice at the KNC, some people saw value in associating their dead with objects from a distant past. The resetting of a Minoan sealstone also exhibits the effort taken to reuse the past. The interesting question is what past were they associating with and in what way was it relevant to their present. The recent trend in archaeology of memory studies, which explores concepts of identity, memory and landscape as inextricably linked, can help us to better understand the memory process and therefore meaning of the larnakes in a later context.

We know that the Palace of Knossos was still visible in Roman times and therefore would have continued to be a presence in the landscape of the area and in the lives inhabitants of later periods, just as it does today. We also have

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204 Hood, Huxley & Sandars believed the larnakes were usually associated with the poorest LBA tombs. (1958-9, 205)
205 Preston’s (1999,178) extended point here, that "the coffin is the material and emotional focus of the mortuary ritual" is extremely relevant when assigning meaning and determining the importance of these larnakes. The emotional and central role of the coffin overrides Hood & Smyth’s (1981, 14) assumption that reuse "seems to imply some dislocation involving a lack of respect for the dead of former times".
extensive evidence of later interactions of Greeks with BA monuments, as compiled by many scholars in recent years, and the effects that this had on Classical identities. BA remains, particularly the monumental architecture, would have drawn the focus of local communities whether or not they were direct descendents of the BA inhabitants with actual connections to the past.207

The impact of the past on constructing a present identity can be seen in any society. The past can be used to establish values and ideals that also determine how a society imagines its future. Yet a past does not necessarily have to equate to history. A society creates a collective past that can be real or imagined, in fact a society can create any number of pasts real or imagined, that all combine to define social identity. Maurice Halbwachs understood how a society’s past could be identified in the archaeological record and that is by recognising the importance of places and objects in transmitting memory. It is after all the places and objects that outlast living or individual memory. Therefore, by identifying traces of the past or representations of the past in the archaeology of societies we can better understand the identities, past, present and future, of people and communities.

At the KNC we have evidence of multiple links to the past made by the EIA population. Apart from the LM larnakes, we have the G (800-735BC) imitation of a larnax shape, the continuing construction of chamber tombs, a MM (2000-1725BC) sealstone in a ninth century setting, a MM pithos, and the resurrection of the straight-sided pithos shape as a cremation urn. These things all show a desire to be associated with a local past, as these were all BA practices or objects that were present in the Knossos area.

At the KNC there is a clear break in the larnax tradition and therefore there must have been some reason for the revival of larnakes as a burial custom, or by borrowing Dickinson’s question and applying it to this context, why is this practice acceptable now and not before? As many have noted in the study of social memory, that it is during times of transition or during social or political upheaval that it became of greater importance for groups to negotiate and

207 Meskell (1999, 44) has made the important point that "disjuncture need not be negative or contradictory, and variability need not be smoothed over for the sake of a mistaken unity that may lend spurious weight to a convincing argument", highlighting the fact that memory is the study of identities rather than history.
display their status and identity, both within the community and to outsiders.\textsuperscript{208} The often-ambiguous nature of the past means that it can be manipulated and framed in ways that are most relevant and advantageous in the present.

The key to understanding the presence of the larnakes is in seeing them in regards to other changes at the site that also occur from the ninth century onwards. The most important change is the apparent increase in the population, or at least in the number of individuals buried at the site. An increase in numbers means an increase in competition and therefore a greater need for individuals or groups to distinguish themselves within society and therefore the communal burial grounds. For those groups represented in the tombs with larnakes one method of distinguishing themselves was to portray a link to the local past and/or ancestors. These groups, who could possibly have been families, may have used the past to legitimate and strengthen positions of power or influence within the community. This could have been in a similar way to how Roman aristocratic families claimed links to heroic Greeks and even gods from many centuries earlier by tinkering with family trees.\textsuperscript{209} The appearance of the larnakes often alongside imports could also point to these groups representing part of the aristocratic family networks that have been identified in the EIA at sites like Athens and Lefkandi.\textsuperscript{210} It is clear that there were strong trade relations between the people of the KNC and the rest of Greece, particularly Athens.

This conclusion is consistent with the work of Prent, particularly regarding the EIA Palatial ruin cults.\textsuperscript{211} She believes the groups who were using BA palatial ruins in the EIA for cultic activity were aristocratic elites,\textsuperscript{212} who were creating relationships with the past as a way of forming exclusive, smaller groups for social distinction. In the evidence she has identified "a certain pragmatism and

\textsuperscript{208} Lyon Crawford, 2002, 26.

\textsuperscript{209} Van Dyke and Alcock have described memories can "symbolically smooth over ruptures, creating the appearance of a seamless social whole,"(2003, 3) or in the case of the larnakes a seamless link to the past.

\textsuperscript{210} Coldstream (Conclusion in Coldstream & Catling, 1996) notes that, unlike at Lefkandi, there is no evidence of burials belonging to foreigners so there was unlikely to be intermarriage between the communities and those buried at the KNC.

\textsuperscript{211} Prent, 2003.

\textsuperscript{212} This was based on the large proportion of bronze and other valuable objects at the Palatial sites and the lack of plain pottery deposits found at other EIA cult sites.
purposefulness on the part of those pursuing the association with the past”\textsuperscript{213}, which I think can also be said of the placement of larnakes at the KNC.

The break between first and second use and the changes in the burial contexts show that the larnakes did not form a direct line of inherited tradition but were rather of an imagined or constructed past three centuries later, which became more valuable to express at a time of greater competition between social groups. It is also important to acknowledge that the larnakes were used alongside specifically EIA practices, such as cremation burials and placement of remains in niches, to form a mixture of old and new, of conservative and contemporary elements.\textsuperscript{214}

This mixture of past and present, of traditional and introduced, is seen both in the design of larnakes of the LM period, as well as in their reuse in the EIA. In the LBA traditional shapes were adapted to express new practices and possibly the appearance of new inhabitants to legitimate identity within the community, whereas at the KNC and Fortetsa, vessels from the past were removed from their original contexts and were used in new ways for PG and G contexts, to legitimate the connection of social groups with ancestors and the traditional centre of power at Knossos in the BA. While the inhabitants of EIA Knossos may not have been venerating Minos and the figures of later myth, it is obvious that the imposing remains of the Palace and BA culture at Knossos was already a strong influence on the identities of groups in the area only a two to three centuries after their final phase of destruction.

While the larnakes were being used in different ways in the BA and EIA at Knossos, in both cases they were used as a means of establishing and conveying identity within an active social system by mixing traditional and contemporary elements.

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item \textsuperscript{213}Prent, 2003, 91.
\item \textsuperscript{214}As Boardman and others have noted, "in settled societies an interest in the past seems almost a prerequisite for an interest in the future and in the concept of progress."(2002, 183)
\end{itemize}
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I. Further Study

The trend of interest in EIA sites in Greece has led to an increase in excavations and attention given to material of the period. Material that was found in the search for Minoan remains and dismissed by early scholars is now being assessed on its merit and regarded as crucial to the development of later Cretan poleis. The KNC has helped to show that the Dark Age in Crete was not so dark and that there is evidence of wealth, prestige and social hierarchy that differs greatly from the BA evidence. The EIA at Crete and Knossos is still a period that requires further study and is deserving of the increased attention.

The most significant gap in our knowledge of the group buried at the KNC is the lack of settlement material so we have very little evidence of how these people lived and a disproportionate amount of how they approached death. While the study of burial remains must take into account their role in the living society, it is still a ritually constructed environment that is more likely to reflect desired public appearance rather than reality.

Further excavation in the area around the KNC is needed before any definite conclusions can be made about the site because in all likelihood the cemetery extended beyond the limits of the 1978 excavation. Unfortunately, excavation in the area N of Knossos is dependent upon construction projects taking place that give archaeologists access to the foundations of modern buildings. The construction project of the Medical Faculty at the KNC cemetery site determined where the excavators could dig their trenches, which determined the material that was uncovered. In the future a similar situation is going to be the most likely way of gaining access to more of the land in the area.

A positive aspect about studying the concept of memory in the archaeological record is that new material and excavation is not necessarily required. Identifying how identity and memory are represented in the material record is a new approach that can be taken to already studied objects that attempts to understand them in their context chronologically and within an active social

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215 Catling is optimistic that “there seems good reason to hope that a more balanced outlook on both Crete and Greece is coming into being” (1960, 109).
system. By acknowledging that all people have an impression of their past, we can begin to look for ways in which this is attached to physical environment and possessions.

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217 This approach could be particularly advantageous to Classical archaeology as "a break from older preoccupations with finding "types" of societies in the archaeological record" (Yoffee, 2007, 3).