



## UvA-DARE (Digital Academic Repository)

### Foreign Identity and Ceramic Production in Early Iron Age Crete

Kotsonas, A.

**Publication date**

2011

**Document Version**

Final published version

**Published in**

Identità culturale, etnicità, processi di formazione a Creta fra Dark Age e Arcaismo: per i centi anni dello scavo di Priniàs, 1906-2006: convegno di studi (Atene 9-12 novembre 2006)

[Link to publication](#)

**Citation for published version (APA):**

Kotsonas, A. (2011). Foreign Identity and Ceramic Production in Early Iron Age Crete. In G. Rizza (Ed.), *Identità culturale, etnicità, processi di formazione a Creta fra Dark Age e Arcaismo: per i centi anni dello scavo di Priniàs, 1906-2006: convegno di studi (Atene 9-12 novembre 2006)* (pp. 133-155). Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, IBAM, Sede di Catania.

**General rights**

It is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), other than for strictly personal, individual use, unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

**Disclaimer/Complaints regulations**

If you believe that digital publication of certain material infringes any of your rights or (privacy) interests, please let the Library know, stating your reasons. In case of a legitimate complaint, the Library will make the material inaccessible and/or remove it from the website. Please Ask the Library: <https://uba.uva.nl/en/contact>, or a letter to: Library of the University of Amsterdam, Secretariat, Singel 425, 1012 WP Amsterdam, The Netherlands. You will be contacted as soon as possible.



CNR - Istituto per i Beni  
Archeologici e Monumentali



Università di Catania  
Centro di Archeologia Cretese



Scuola Archeologica  
Italiana di Atene

# Identità culturale, etnicità, processi di trasformazione a Creta fra *Dark Age* e Arcaismo



*a cura di*

**GIOVANNI RIZZA**

IDENTITÀ CULTURALE, ETNICITÀ,  
PROCESSI DI TRASFORMAZIONE A CRETA  
FRA *DARK AGE* E ARCAISMO

*Per i cento anni dello scavo di Priniàs  
1906-2006*

*Convegno di Studi  
(Atene 9-12 novembre 2006)*

*a cura di*  
GIOVANNI RIZZA

# Foreign Identity and Ceramic Production in Early Iron Age Crete\*

ANTONIOS KOTSONAS

## Introduction

Crete of the early first millennium B.C. is a flourishing field of study. This was most forcefully confirmed in 2006, which commenced with a conference on 'Crete of the Geometric and Archaic period', hosted by the German Institute in Athens,<sup>1</sup> and closed with a similar

---

\* I am delighted to contribute to a conference that celebrates the centenary of excavations at Priniàs. This is because not only I greatly admire the setting of the Patela, but also hold that publication will eventually establish Priniàs as the type-site for Crete of the end of the second and the early first millennium B.C. The paper draws from my unpublished PhD thesis (KOTSONAS 2005), which discusses a large corpus of clay vases from Eleutherna, dating to the 9<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> century B.C. I am deeply grateful to Professor N.C. Stampolidis for inviting me to study this material and to Dr. I.S. Lemos for supervising my work, which was generously funded by the J.F. Costopoulos Foundation, the University of Edinburgh and the N.P. Goulandris Foundation. I owe much of my acquaintance with Cypriot prototypes of Creto-Cypriot ceramics to a study-trip in Cyprus, funded by the Council for British Research in the Levant, as well as to a visit in the Stratigraphic Museum at Knossos, which was greatly facilitated by the curator, Dr. D. Evely. I am also thankful to Professor J.N. Coldstream for his criticism on the relevant section of my thesis, as well as to Dr. M. Caskey and Professor N. Kourou for their important comments and criticism on the oral presentation of this paper. Professor Kourou is also to be thanked for providing a copy of Coldstream forthcoming. Thanks are also due to Professor Stampolidis for his comments and suggestions. The bibliography cited stops at 2006. I also explore the issue of foreign potters/painters (referred to simply as 'potters' in the rest of this article) working in Early Iron Age Crete in A. KOTSONAS, *The Archaeology of tomb A1K1 of Orithi Petra in Eleutherna: The Early Iron Age Pottery*, Athens, 2008, pp. 65-78.

<sup>1</sup> The conference, held in 27-29 January 2006, was called

one, represented by the volume at hand, on the island's 'Dark Age', held in the Italian School of Archaeology at Athens.<sup>2</sup> Interestingly, the latter actually occurred exactly eleven years after another conference on largely the same subject, organised in London by the British School at Athens and titled 'Post-Minoan Crete'.<sup>3</sup> It is notable that, although all three mostly cover the island's 12<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> centuries,<sup>4</sup> they called the period by different names. I personally hold, however, that the last two names (Dark Age, Post-Minoan) carry pejorative connotations<sup>5</sup> that do no justice to the flourish of the island's culture at the time, while the first excludes – if taken literally – the period before the application of Geometric ornaments on ceramics. I therefore prefer to call the period in question the Early Iron Age.<sup>6</sup>

A conference discussing cultural identity and ethnicity is particularly fitting to the context

---

*Crete in the Geometric and Archaic Period*; its proceedings are to be published as *Kreta in der geometrischen und archaischen Zeit. Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Athen*, W.-D. Niemeier, I. Kaiser and O. Pilz (eds.).

<sup>2</sup> The conference, held in 9-12 November 2006, was called *Identità culturale, etnicità, processi di formazione a Creta fra Dark Age e Arcaismo*.

<sup>3</sup> CAVANAGH - CURTIS 1998. The conference was held in London, in 10-11 November 1995. Although the volume published was subtitled *Proceedings of the First Colloquium on Post-Minoan Crete*, no second colloquium was held thereafter.

<sup>4</sup> All remaining dates are B.C.

<sup>5</sup> For problems with the term 'Dark Age' see DICKINSON 2006, pp. 1-9. For roughly similar problems with the term 'Post-Minoan' see WHITLEY 1998, p. 611.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. DICKINSON 2006, p. 7.

of Early Iron Age Crete. The theme has preoccupied literary references to the island, since Homer's description of Crete as the home of diverse people.<sup>7</sup> In fact, the presence of foreigners, particularly Phoenicians, on Crete was accepted in scholarship<sup>8</sup> before archaeology had furnished any corroborative evidence at all, in a period that is viewed by some as the heyday of anti-Semitism in Classical studies.<sup>9</sup> This is most peculiar given that Crete has yielded no written documents providing information on foreigners, particularly craftsmen, residing on the island during the Early Iron Age. Such documents do exist for the Near East and – to a much lesser extent – the Aegean of the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age,<sup>10</sup> but pose their own problems of interpretation and have led to contradicting views. Some scholars maintain that craftsmen would only travel in response to requests of high-ranking individuals or communities,<sup>11</sup> while others accept that they were also free to travel on their own volition.<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, it is not always easy to distinguish between forced and deliberate craftsmen mobility.<sup>13</sup> In the light of the limited quantity, as well as the questionable quality and applicability of the written testimonies available, the present discussion is largely limited to the relevant archaeological finds.

The earliest argument for the association between foreign styles and the presence of foreigners in Early Iron Age Crete is found in the monograph on the finds from the Idaean Cave that was published by Halbherr and Orsi in 1888.<sup>14</sup> They connected the manufacture of the

bronze vessels found in the cave with resident Phoenicians.<sup>15</sup> The conclusion of the two scholars is hardly acknowledged in recent literature, which credits Kunze or Dunbabin with the earliest discussion of the issue.<sup>16</sup> Later, in the mid-20th century, discussions regarding the presence of foreigners in Early Iron Age Crete became very common. Arguments for Phoenician and North Syrian craftsmen manufacturing ivories<sup>17</sup> and gold jewellery,<sup>18</sup> as well as for Near Eastern traders and non-specialists,<sup>19</sup> were raised. By acknowledging the possibility that foreign bronze-workers, goldsmiths and ivory-workers were active in Crete of the period, scholars actually identify the island (especially the central part of it) as the most cosmopolitan Aegean region in terms of artefact production.

Against such a background, one is surprised to realize that the relevant discussion largely overlooks the case of pottery. Only in 1984<sup>20</sup> did potters join the list of foreign craftsmen allegedly working in Early Iron Age Crete. In the last fifteen years that arguments for foreign potters working in Crete of the period have multiplied.<sup>21</sup> Nonetheless, the relevant suggestions have hitherto remained independent of each other and attract little or no attention in relevant scholarship. They are, for example, hardly mentioned in two recent reviews of ceramic correspondences

<sup>7</sup> *Odyssey* 19.172-177. Cf. HALL 1997, pp. 177-179.

<sup>8</sup> CURTIUS 1868, pp. 70-71.

<sup>9</sup> BERNAL 1987.

<sup>10</sup> References on the issue are collected in HOFFMAN 1997, p. 153, footnote 1. Add MUHLY 2005.

<sup>11</sup> ZACCAGNINI 1983; MUHLY 2005.

<sup>12</sup> BURKERT 1992, pp. 23-25.

<sup>13</sup> PAPADOPOULOS 1997.

<sup>14</sup> HALBHERR - ORSI 1888, pp. 207-215. Discussions over the origins of the craftsmen that stimulated the production of the Idaean bronzes culminated in recent years: HOFFMAN 1997, pp. 160-165.

<sup>15</sup> Admittedly, however, they considered those Phoenicians not as newly arrived immigrants, but as descendants of people from the Near East that settled in the island before the arrival of the Dorians. Cf. CURTIUS 1868, pp. 70-71.

<sup>16</sup> As done, for example, in HOFFMAN 1997, pp. 162, 164; MUHLY 2005, p. 685.

<sup>17</sup> HOFFMAN 1997, pp. 156-160.

<sup>18</sup> HOFFMAN 1997, pp. 191-245; KOTSONAS 2006.

<sup>19</sup> HOFFMAN 1997; STAMPOLIDIS - KARETSOU 1998; STAMPOLIDIS - KOTSONAS 2006.

<sup>20</sup> COLDSTREAM 1984 (the second case discussed in the present paper).

<sup>21</sup> KOUROU 1994, pp. 278-279 and KOUROU 2004, p. 81 (the third case of the present paper); COLDSTREAM 2000 (my first case); STAMPOLIDIS 2004a, p. 246, number 275 (my fourth case). The last reference is to a catalogue entry that summarises a view of mine explored at length in my unpublished PhD thesis (KOTSONAS 2005, pp. 76-77, 86-92), where all cases of foreign potters residing in Early Iron Age Crete are discussed (KOTSONAS 2005, pp. 76-81).



between Greeks and non-Greeks in the Early Iron Age Mediterranean.<sup>22</sup> Moreover, potters hardly figure in Hoffman's important monograph on immigrant craftsmen in Early Iron Age Crete,<sup>23</sup> or other publications on the connections between Crete and the Aegean or the Eastern Mediterranean.<sup>24</sup> Similarly, a publication that furnishes evidence for the mobility of Cretan potters within the island<sup>25</sup> has received no attention. Overlooking or underestimating the evidence of pottery is, however, highly questionable, given that this is the most well-represented and copiously published class of material remains in the Aegean of the period.

Another bias that affects much of the relevant scholarship regards its persistent focus on foreigners, craftsmen and other, that came to Crete from the Near East, rather than the Aegean. The volume and variety of cultural interactions manifested between the island and the rest of the southern Aegean<sup>26</sup> suggests, however, that the bias in question can henceforth not be sustained. Aegean ceramic styles in particular proved influential to the pottery of some Cretan sites or sub-regions. For example, Knossian Early Protogeometric - Middle Protogeometric pottery is much indebted to Attic Protogeometric<sup>27</sup> and Knossian Middle Geometric displays an overwhelming influence from the Attic Geometric style.<sup>28</sup> Further, the Late Geometric pottery of Khania heavily draws from Corinthian and Argive

Late Geometric,<sup>29</sup> while East Cretan Late Geometric pottery owes much to concurrent Cycladic styles.<sup>30</sup> I therefore see particular merit in introducing a discussion on potters that migrated to Early Iron Age Crete from both the Near East and the Aegean. In treating the issue, I do not wish to dive into art-historical questions, but explore inquiries regarding artefact production, dissemination and consumption.<sup>31</sup> This will in turn – and on a different, future occasion – allow for a reconstruction of economic and social mechanisms and shed important light in the society and culture of the Aegean in the Early Iron Age.

#### *Mobility of potters: evidence and interpretations*

Craftsmen mobility is agreed to form an important interpretative tool in studies of processes of transmission of material traits.<sup>32</sup> Unfortunately, however, its archaeological correlates largely remain unexplored by ethnoarchaeology.<sup>33</sup> Similarly, there is little correspondence between scholarship on the mobility of potters in the Classical Greek world<sup>34</sup> and relevant reviews on traditional Aegean pottery making.<sup>35</sup> Studies proposing the mobility of potters in ancient Greece often face more shortcomings. They, for example, hardly assess the argument for the arrival of such individuals against the diachronic permeability of the local ceramic tradition(s) to foreign styles. Should those tradition(s), however, display a long history of copying and borrowing from abroad, the argument for foreign potters is considerably weakened and alternative

<sup>22</sup> BOARDMAN 2004; COLDSTREAM 2006. Coldstream only mentions the Cretan copies of Cypriot Black on Red.

<sup>23</sup> HOFFMAN 1997. Although clearly aware of Coldstream's suggestion for an immigrant potter (COLDSTREAM 1984, p. 137), Hoffman only cares to repeat – not discuss – it in a footnote (HOFFMAN 1997, p. 178, footnote 98). This is most disappointing for a monograph on immigrants in Early Iron Age Crete.

<sup>24</sup> MORRIS 1992; STAMPOLIDIS - KARETSOU 1998; D.W. JONES 2000; STAMPOLIDIS 2003.

<sup>25</sup> HAMPE 1967-1968.

<sup>26</sup> BOARDMAN 1961, pp. 152-157; D.W. JONES 2000, pp. 83-142; KOTSONAS forthcoming b.

<sup>27</sup> COLDSTREAM 1996, pp. 414-415; COLDSTREAM 2001, p. 65.

<sup>28</sup> COLDSTREAM 1968, pp. 242-244; COLDSTREAM 1996, p. 418; COLDSTREAM 2001, p. 69.

<sup>29</sup> ANDREADAKI-VLASAKI 1997, pp. 238-239.

<sup>30</sup> TSIPOPOULOU 2005, pp. 539-540.

<sup>31</sup> The potentials of such methodological inquiries have been advertised by several scholars and are laid out in KOTSONAS 2005.

<sup>32</sup> CLINE 1995, pp. 265-270, 275-276; PAPADOPOULOS 1997; HOFFMAN 1997, p. 8.

<sup>33</sup> DAVID - KRAMMER 2001, p. 356.

<sup>34</sup> PAPADOPOULOS 1997, pp. 454-455 with references. Add: CRIELAARD 1999, pp. 55-57; PAPADOPOULOS - SMITHSON 2002, pp. 190-191.

<sup>35</sup> PAPADOPOULOS 1997, pp. 454-455 with references. Add: LEONTIDIS 1996; PSAROPOULOU 1996.

interpretations come forward.<sup>36</sup> Scholars have further rightly criticised the occasional treatment of the mobility of potters as an all-embracing concept of convenience applied to a range of 'difficult' cases of stylistic dissemination.<sup>37</sup> The concept is questionable when applied largely in response to unsuccessful attempts to chart routes of artistic transmission by other, more popular means, like actual imports.<sup>38</sup> Such an attitude is explicit in Dunbabin's interpretation of the so-called 'Idaean cave type shields', which was published half a century ago.<sup>39</sup> It also pervades, however, recent scholarship, including studies concerned with Aegean ceramics of the Early Iron Age. It is, for example, apparent in the way the arguments for the immigration of Naxian potters to Knossos around 700 (see below)<sup>40</sup> and the involvement of Cypriot potters in the production of Cypriot type, Black on Red pottery in 8th century Cos<sup>41</sup> are phrased.

On these grounds, I emphasise that arguments for the mobility of potters should rely on positive – rather than negative – evidence. Those arguments should also take into account wider archaeological and social anthropological debates,<sup>42</sup> problems inherent in straightforwardly equating objects, particularly pots, with people<sup>43</sup> and complexities involved in inferring ethnicity from artistic style.<sup>44</sup> The relevant discussions

have demonstrated that ethnic identity cannot persuasively be determined solely on the basis of artefact style and are increasingly emphasizing that identifications of such identity or, at least, cultural training should rely on assessments of the artefact's production techniques.<sup>45</sup> In fact, it has lately been argued – with reference to pottery – that 'technical details of craft-practice are surely no less indicative of ethnic identity than the standard characteristics of language, armour and dress cited in a variety of circumstances by ancient authors'.<sup>46</sup>

There is, I uphold, particular merit in adopting a methodological approach that lays emphasis on technical aspects. Correspondences in technique are a way out of never-ending debates over the interpretation of stylistic resemblance and are further acknowledged a key importance in the identification of the work of foreign craftsmen.<sup>47</sup> My emphasis on technical aspects is obviously not to discard stylistic and wider archaeological analyses, but to advertise a way to overcome their ambiguities and limitations. The latter clearly emerge in two recent publications by Boardman<sup>48</sup> and Coldstream,<sup>49</sup> who – independently of each other – pursue such analyses on largely the same cases of ceramic correspondences in the Early Iron Age Mediterranean, but come up with markedly different conclusions.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>36</sup> MORGAN 1999, pp. 224, 228-229 (with reference to Miletus).

<sup>37</sup> See the contribution of Franciosi, which largely refers to potters, in the discussion recorded in CÉBEILLAC-GERVASONI 1982, pp. 195-196.

<sup>38</sup> HOFFMAN 1997, pp. 8, 153-155.

<sup>39</sup> DUNBABIN 1957, pp. 40-41.

<sup>40</sup> KOUROU 1994, pp. 278-279.

<sup>41</sup> BOUROGIANNIS 2000, p. 19.

<sup>42</sup> See the commendable discussion in HOFFMAN 1997 for the mobility of craftsmen other than potters.

<sup>43</sup> Modern scholars rightly challenge former assumptions on 'pots and people' and produce more sophisticated interpretations on the dissemination of ceramics. On the other hand, the criticism is occasionally taken to extremes, as suggested in: RIDGWAY 2004, pp. 24-26; BOARDMAN 2004, pp. 149-150; DICKINSON 2006, pp. 200-201.

<sup>44</sup> HOFFMAN 1997, pp. 10-14; HALL 1997, pp. 111-142 (see the debate over this monograph in *CAJ* 8.2, 1998,

pp. 265-283, as well as *Ancient West and East* 4.2, 2005, pp. 409-459); JONES S. 1997, pp. 106-127; DAVID - KRAMMER 2001, pp. 189-224.

<sup>45</sup> HOFFMAN 1997, pp. 16-17; DAVID - KRAMMER 2001, pp. 145-157.

<sup>46</sup> RIDGWAY 2004, p. 26.

<sup>47</sup> Arguments based on the transmission of techniques are not altogether missing from early scholarly works that do not engage in archaeological theory (references are collected in HOFFMAN 1997, p. 17). This is particularly so in the case of the appearance of re-appearance of some production techniques, particularly in metalworking, in the Aegean of the Early Iron Age, which is often attributed to person-to-person contact between a foreign master and a local pupil.

<sup>48</sup> BOARDMAN 2004.

<sup>49</sup> COLDSTREAM 2006.

<sup>50</sup> The limitations of the two analyses prove most pronounced in the case of the Phoenician Red slip plates produced in Pithekoussai. Coldstream finds it 'hard to resist

The limitations embedded in assessments that rely solely on style and the broader archaeological background are also illustrated in the case of a Late Archaic ceramic workshop on the island of Thasos. The workshop was originally supposed to have been run by Parian potters, on the grounds of the Cycladic style of some of its output and the testimonies for the Parian colonisation of Thasos.<sup>51</sup> In later discussions, however, the potters are no longer identified as Parians, probably due to a reappraisal of the secondary differences between the Cycladic prototypes and the Thasian products, the chronological gap between the establishment of the Parian colony and the foundation of the workshop, as well as the evidence that the majority of the pottery produced concurrently in the same installation imitated Attic styles.<sup>52</sup> This last evidence suggests that the workshop's styles say more about local demand and the potters's skill to comply with it, rather than about the origins of the staff employed. In any case, these few examples, drawn from recent scholarship, suggest that, notwithstanding the need for assessing all classes of evidence available and treating each case on its merits,<sup>53</sup> discussions of the mobility of potters, urgently require consistent methodological approaches that lay emphasis on ceramic technique and technology.

According to the approach pursued here, secure identifications of potters working away from home should rely on evidence suggesting transmission of technical skills (fabric, firing techniques, surface treatment) and tools (kilns, potter's wheel, brushes) of some sophistication.

This has most satisfactorily been achieved in the case of Miletus of the early second millennium, where large numbers of locally produced copies of Minoan pottery (largely including domestic wares) were found together with kilns and a potter's wheel of distinctively Minoan type.<sup>54</sup> The case of Miletus is, however, exceptional and archaeologists, especially of the Early Iron Age, normally only rely on scrutiny of the actual material for drawing invaluable hints on technical aspects.<sup>55</sup> As early as 1959, Boardman offered an exemplary application of this method with reference to some Greek style, late 8<sup>th</sup> century skyphoi found at Al Mina.<sup>56</sup> Beside the style, Boardman studied the fabric, slip and paints of those vases, as well as use of the potter's tools to argue for the presence of Greek potters at the site. This range of technical aspects, I argue, should receive particular attention in any relevant discussion. This perhaps sounds as self-evident, but is commonly – if only surprisingly – underrated in some treatments of the material discussed below.

Information on ceramic technique and technology also draws largely from archaeological science. True, scientific analyses are largely still developing and databases are only slowly growing. Further, only relatively recently has any consensus over the suitability of techniques for particular tasks been reached and have laboratories been systematically relating their outputs and the outputs of different techniques.<sup>57</sup> Applications of archaeological science on Cretan Early Iron Age pottery are rare (considerably rarer than on Bronze Age)<sup>58</sup> and only

---

the conclusion' that they were produced by resident Phoenician potters (COLDSTREAM 2006, p. 49), but Boardman claims 'there seems nothing decisive' over the origins of the manufacturers (BOARDMAN 2004, p. 155). None of the two experts elaborates on his view and the reader is left in despair. Had this material attracted a scientific analysis of the kind employed for Greek imports and their locally produced copies (see below) or, at least, an in-depth study of its technical peculiarities, interpretations would have been more secure.

<sup>51</sup> BLONDÉ - PERREAULT - PÉRISTÉRI 1992 (particularly p. 40).

<sup>52</sup> PERREAULT 1999a; PERREAULT 1999b.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. BOARDMAN 2004, p. 149.

---

<sup>54</sup> NIEMEIER 2006, pp. 3, 6.

<sup>55</sup> For a collection of references to scientific and other studies concerned with the technology of Greek Early Iron Age pottery see: CRIELAARD 1999, pp. 54-55; MORGAN 1999, pp. 222-225.

<sup>56</sup> BOARDMAN 1959, pp. 163-166. Later research has questioned the localisation of production at Al Mina: BOARDMAN 2004, p. 152; COLDSTREAM 2006, p. 52.

<sup>57</sup> JONES - BUXEDA I GARRIGÓS 2004, p. 109; ASHTON - HUGHES 2005.

<sup>58</sup> Some references to chemical and petrographic studies on Cretan Bronze Age pottery are collected in: TOMLINSON - KILIKOGLU 1998, p. 385, footnote 5; MORGAN 1999, p. 221.



involve chemical analyses of pottery from Knossos<sup>59</sup> and – to a lesser extent – Khania<sup>60</sup> and East Crete,<sup>61</sup> as well as petrographic analyses of pottery from Eleutherna,<sup>62</sup> Knossos and Sybrita.<sup>63</sup> A project employing gas chromatography for the identification of the contents of vases found in the cemetery of Eleutherna<sup>64</sup> is also in preparation and will eventually throw important light on the contents of unguent vases, like the Cretan copies of Cypriot Black on Red discussed below. Ideally, vases like those of the first two cases described below should be included in a project that would combine gas chromatography with petrography and other provenance studies.<sup>65</sup> Appraisals like the present one would also largely benefit by the application of methods like Mössbauer spectroscopy, which shed light upon firing techniques.<sup>66</sup> This method has, for example, suggested the immigration of Euboean potters to the Euboean colony of Pithekoussai by establishing that the firing techniques of Euboean style pottery produced at the site,<sup>67</sup> as well as in the Etruscan site of Veii<sup>68</sup> were similar to those regularly found on pottery from Lefkandi and other sites in the homeland.<sup>69</sup> It has further credited those potters with the production of some

Corinthian style pottery at Pithekoussai.<sup>70</sup> On the other hand, Corinthianizing ceramics produced at the site have also been attributed to immigrant Corinthian potters on the basis of style.<sup>71</sup> Nevertheless, the slip that is applied on them does not conform with Corinthian potting traditions<sup>72</sup> and the attribution finds no solid support in scientific analyses.<sup>73</sup>

To sum up, the identification of craftsmen mobility on the basis of finished products is an issue that involves important methodological complexities and one or more interpretative steps removed from the physical evidence.<sup>74</sup> Traditional approaches relying on style and the wider historical context face particular limitations and often furnish highly debatable results. On the other hand, the methodology advertised here draws from such approaches, but lays particular emphasis on determining the transmission of techniques on the basis of artefact analysis and the applications of archaeological science.

#### *Foreign potters in early Iron Age Crete*

The following analysis treats in a rough chronological sequence four possible cases of foreign craftsmen engaged in ceramic production in Early Iron Age Crete.<sup>75</sup> These regard groups of vases of diverse shape and decoration, produced in various locations of the island. Two more cases can currently not be properly assessed since they have only been raised with reference to individual vases. One of them regards an imitation of Cypriot Bichrome *oinochoai* produced in Knos-

<sup>59</sup> LIDDY 1996; TOMLINSON - KILIKOGLU 1998.

<sup>60</sup> JONES R. E. 1997.

<sup>61</sup> Analysis by Jones R. in TSIPOPOULOU 2005, pp. 543-546.

<sup>62</sup> E. NODAROU, *Appendix: Petrographic analysis of selected Early Iron Age pottery from Eleutherna*, in KOTSONAS, *The Archaeology of tomb AIKI of Orthi Petra* cit., pp. 345-362.

<sup>63</sup> Developing project run by Dr. M.-C. Boileau, Professor A.-L. D'Agata, Dr. J. Whitley.

<sup>64</sup> The project is directed by Professor N. Stampolidis.

<sup>65</sup> Cf., for example, KNAPPETT, KILIKOGLU, STEELE and STERN 2005.

<sup>66</sup> For the range of methods available see JONES - BUXEDA I GARRIGÓS 2004, pp. 86-88.

<sup>67</sup> DERIU - BUCHNER - RIDGWAY 1986; RIDGWAY 2004, p. 26.

<sup>68</sup> RIDGWAY - DERIU - BOITANI 1985; RIDGWAY 2004, pp. 25-26.

<sup>69</sup> For a recent word of caution on the application of this technique and the archaeological inferences cited see JONES - BUXEDA I GARRIGÓS 2004, pp. 93-94.

<sup>70</sup> DERIU - BUCHNER - RIDGWAY 1986, p. 113; RIDGWAY 2004, p. 23.

<sup>71</sup> WILLIAMS 1986, p. 296.

<sup>72</sup> I am not convinced by the interpretations offered in WILLIAMS 1986, p. 296. The creamy (or yellowish-white) slip is, to my view, intended to add to the Corinthianizing look of the vase, by covering the distinct local grey-red fabric. The slip may in fact consist of Corinthian clay (NEEFT 1987, p. 59).

<sup>73</sup> RIDGWAY - DERIU - BOITANI 1985, p. 139; DERIU - BUCHNER - RIDGWAY 1986, pp. 99-100; JONES - BUXEDA I GARRIGÓS 2004, pp. 89-91.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. HOFFMAN 1997, pp. 9, 16.

<sup>75</sup> Some views of mine on the first two cases discussed below are laid out in KOTSONAS forthcoming a.

sos<sup>76</sup> and the other, which is tentative, an amphora with Cycladic affinities that was found in Eleutherna.<sup>77</sup>

#### *The case of a Cypriot potter active in East Crete*

The case regards the production of a homogeneous class of Cretan small, slow-pouring juglets, which are made in coarse red micaceous fabric and date from around 1000 to 800 (fig. 1).<sup>78</sup> Vases of this class regularly carry incised vertical ribs (fig. 1a), or less commonly, grooves (fig. 1b) on the body. A few vessels of other shapes that show similar fabric and carry ribs on the body are also associated with that class and the ensemble has been identified as a ware.<sup>79</sup> Coldstream demonstrated that the Cretan juglets copy Cypriot Black Slip examples of the Early Iron Age (fig. 2), which in turn, follow earlier Cypriot Base Ring prototypes of the Late Bronze Age (fig. 3).<sup>80</sup> The ribs on the body of the earliest, Cypriot Base Ring vases are taken to imitate the capsule of *papaver somniferum* and advertise their content, which was liquid opium.<sup>81</sup>

Coldstream argued that the Cretan vases were produced by an immigrant Cypriot potter working in East Crete.<sup>82</sup> I have elsewhere questioned both the involvement of a Cypriot potter and the localization of production in East Crete on the basis of evidence on the production and dissemination of the ware.<sup>83</sup> I here avoid repeating myself

and only return to the issue of the foreign potter. Coldstream identified the involvement of the potter in the substitution of ribs for grooves (fig. 1), which was aimed at reviving a more accurate depiction of the poppy capsule and advertise the contents of the vase, which was supposedly opium.<sup>84</sup> Nevertheless, our understanding of the relative sequence of those vases is unsatisfactory, as Coldstream himself has demonstrated. True, a couple of vases with grooves have securely been dated to the early 10<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>85</sup> A third example with grooves, however, dates no earlier than the late 9<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>86</sup> This date applies to most of the vases that display ribs, but up to three examples may be as early as the 10<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>87</sup> To conclude, no clear-cut change from grooves to ribs can currently be demonstrated. Furthermore, the role of the Cypriot potter is questionable. Cypriot potters had abandoned ribs in favour of grooves roughly half a century before the appearance of the earliest Cretan pieces.<sup>88</sup> Furthermore, had Cretans wished to advertise the content assumed (opium), they could have thought of ribs without the aid of foreign potters. Lastly, the wide, temporal and spatial distribution of the Cretan ware<sup>89</sup> argues against the decisive role of any single potter of whatever origins.

Technical aspects further challenge the involvement of a Cypriot potter. The production of the Cretan class in coarse fabric is unmatched on the concurrent Cypriot Black Slip prototypes (fig. 2). Moreover, the Cretan examples, exclud-

<sup>76</sup> COLDSTREAM 1984, p. 137.

<sup>77</sup> STAMPOLIDIS 2004a, p. 247, number 376. The reference is to a catalogue entry that summarises a view of mine explored at length in my unpublished PhD thesis (KOTSONAS 2005, pp. 77-78, 99-102, 119), where two more vases associated with the amphora in question, are discussed.

<sup>78</sup> COLDSTREAM 2000. Also: COLDSTREAM 1979, pp. 257-258; COLDSTREAM 1996, pp. 346-347, type E; COLDSTREAM 1998, p. 256; COLDSTREAM 2003, p. 384.

<sup>79</sup> KOTSONAS forthcoming a. The article cites all relevant scholarship in detail; add now KARAGEORGHIS 2006, pp. 81-82 (note that Karageorghis offers an implausibly early date for some west Cretan flasks).

<sup>80</sup> See footnote 78.

<sup>81</sup> COLDSTREAM 1979, pp. 258-259.

<sup>82</sup> COLDSTREAM 2000. Contra KOTSONAS forthcoming a.

<sup>83</sup> KOTSONAS forthcoming a.

<sup>84</sup> COLDSTREAM 2000, p. 467.

<sup>85</sup> Knossos: BROCK 1957, p. 14, number 92 (see also COLDSTREAM 2000, p. 468, fig. 2, tomb no. VI). Pantanassa: TEGOU 2001, pp. 129, 143, number 6.

<sup>86</sup> BROCK 1957, p. 51, number 509 (see also COLDSTREAM 2000, p. 468, fig. 2, tomb no. X). Two more unpublished examples are displayed in STAMPOLIDIS - KARETSOU 1998, p. 160, numbers 123, 125. The late 9<sup>th</sup> - early 8<sup>th</sup> century date cited should be treated as highly tentative before the publication of their contexts.

<sup>87</sup> COLDSTREAM 2000, p. 468, fig. 2.

<sup>88</sup> COLDSTREAM 1979, pp. 257-258; COLDSTREAM 2000, p. 468.

<sup>89</sup> KOTSONAS 2005, pp. 78-79; KOTSONAS forthcoming a.



Fig. 1. a-b. - Cretan copies of Cypriot Black Slip juglets (Reproduced from STAMPOLIDIS - KARETSOU 1998, pp. 160, 162, nn. 124, 129. Courtesy of Professor N.C. Stampolidis).



Fig. 2. - Cypriot Black Slip juglet of the Early Iron Age (Reproduced from STAMPOLIDIS - KARETSOU 1998, p. 147, n. 98. Courtesy of Professor N.C. Stampolidis).



Fig. 3. - Cypriot Base Ring juglets of the Late Bronze Age (Reproduced from STAMPOLIDIS - KARETSOU 1998, n. 111. Courtesy of Professor N.C. Stampolidis).

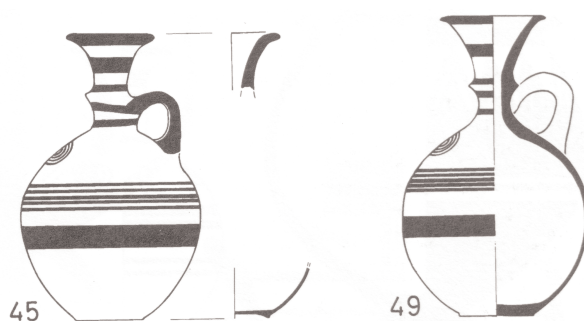


Fig. 4. - Cypriot Black on Red *lekythia* imported to Knossos: *Knossos North Cemetery* nn. 285.45 and 285.49 (Courtesy of the British School at Athens).

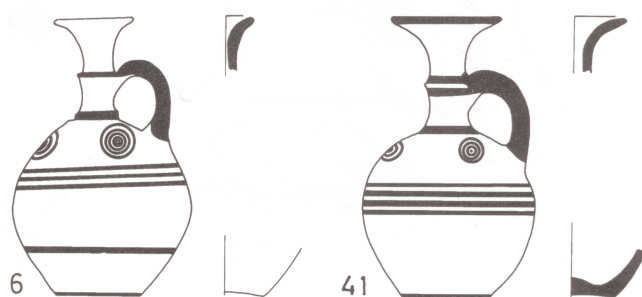


Fig. 5. - Knossian close copies of Cypriot Black on Red *lekythia*: *Knossos North Cemetery* nn. 218.6 and 218.41 (Courtesy of the British School at Athens).

ing a single piece that is probably the earliest,<sup>90</sup> do not reproduce the black slip, which gave the Cypriot examples in question their name. Lastly, the Cretan vases do not reproduce the bucchero technique of the Cypriot Late Bronze Age examples (fig. 3).<sup>91</sup> Had a Cypriot potter produced the Cretan vases, he would not have completely abandoned the techniques to which he was accustomed. I therefore conclude that it is highly unlikely that a foreign, Cypriot potter would change his cultural training to such an extent and towards such a direction. The Cretan examples could therefore not have been produced by a Cypriot craftsmen.

Actual Cypriot imports could have generated the Cretan ware. Admittedly, no Cypriot Black Slip import has hitherto been identified in Crete. The discovery, however, of the closest Cretan copy of that Cypriot ware in a context dating to a period (circa 1000)<sup>92</sup> that has hitherto produced relatively limited finds throughout Crete underlines the hazards of excavation. On the other hand, an earlier Cypriot Base Ring, handmade vessel of similar shape has been located in a 14<sup>th</sup> century context at Kommos.<sup>93</sup> This vase is typical of its class in being made in coarse fabric and carrying ribs. One should, however, avoid readily attributing the production of the Cretan Early Iron Age series to Cypriot Base Ring imports in the light of the chronological gap that stands in between. Besides, juglets of the latter class are handmade and carry a round mouth, as opposed to the Cretan wheel-made vases that are equipped with a trefoil lip. The two classes do share the coarse fabric; it is possible, however, that the use of coarse fabric for the Cretan vases is due to the ceramic tradition of the island's site or sites that played an important role in the earliest production of the ware. I have elsewhere hypothesised that Lyktos could have been on of these sites, judging by the

qualities of the main local fabric and the central position the site occupies in the distribution of vases assigned to the Cretan ware.<sup>94</sup>

In conclusion, the suggestion for the involvement of a Cypriot potter in the production of the Cretan ware in question is considered doubtful. It remains highly unlikely that such a potter would change his output to the extent supposed. The production of the Cretan ware was perhaps stimulated by imports, even if the latter are currently missing. This, however, cannot easily be reconciled with the fact that the Cretan vases draw from both Late Bronze (Base Ring) and Early Iron (Black Slip) Age Cypriot prototypes. Despite the relevant uncertainties, one can confidently resist the assumed involvement of a Cypriot potter.

#### *The case of one or more Cypriot potters working in Knossos*

In the last decades of the late 9<sup>th</sup> century, Crete witnessed the introduction of a second ware from Cyprus, the Black on Red.<sup>95</sup> The importation of the ware included *lekythia* (fig. 4) and *oinochoai*,<sup>96</sup> while local production involved *lekythia*, *aryballoi* and *oinochoai*.<sup>97</sup> Interestingly, some Cretan, mostly Knossian, vessels often imitate not only the shape and decoration, but also the fine fabric and polished surface of the Cypriot prototypes.<sup>98</sup> It is therefore no surprise that Payne, who first studied some of the Cretan copies, was much confused and considered them

<sup>90</sup> TEGOU 2001, pp. 129, 143, number 6: found in a tomb at Pantanassa, dating to around 1000.

<sup>91</sup> COLDSTREAM 1979, p. 258; COLDSTREAM 2000, pp. 464-466.

<sup>92</sup> TEGOU 2001, pp. 129, 143, number 6.

<sup>93</sup> RUTTER - VAN DE MOORTEL 2006, pp. 528, 586, 657, number 56e/10.

<sup>94</sup> KOTSONAS forthcoming a.

<sup>95</sup> COLDSTREAM 1984, p. 132; COLDSTREAM 2001, p. 42. For further references see below.

<sup>96</sup> Knossos: COLDSTREAM 1984, pp. 123-131; COLDSTREAM 1996, pp. 406-408. Eleutherna: STAMPOLIDIS 2004a, pp. 256-257, numbers 294-295; KOTSONAS 2005, pp. 719-721.

<sup>97</sup> KOTSONAS 2005, pp. 157-158, 166-170, 178-180. Also: COLDSTREAM 1984; TSIPOPOULOU 1985.

<sup>98</sup> COLDSTREAM 1984, p. 132; COLDSTREAM 1996, p. 353, type Cii; TSIPOPOULOU 1985, p. 44. The reference to prototypes is to be treated with caution. Coldstream has prudently clarified – with reference to *lekythia* – that the fabric, technique and decoration of Cypriot imports found in Knossos is not entirely uniform (COLDSTREAM 1984, p. 131).



imported.<sup>99</sup> On the other hand, scientific studies on examples from both Knossos<sup>100</sup> and East Crete<sup>101</sup> have confirmed local production. Furthermore, Coldstream has established a set of criteria for distinguishing the Cypriot imports from the Knossian close and free copies.<sup>102</sup>

The striking similarity of some Knossian copies, particularly *lekythia* (fig. 5), to Cypriot originals has reasonably been taken to suggest more than the mere copying of the casual Cypriot imports that were arriving at the time.<sup>103</sup> Coldstream briefly explored the possibility of Cypriot potters producing some of the close copies of Cypriot *lekythia*, but concluded that they are more likely 'to have been made by Cretan potters than by immigrants'.<sup>104</sup> In the case of an *oinochoe*, however, Coldstream noted that it 'must have been made by immigrant potters trained in the Cypro-Levantine tradition'.<sup>105</sup> Although Coldstream, discussed the Knossian copies of Cypriot Black on Red on several occasions, he never returned to the possibility of foreign potters he had readily dismissed. He has long favoured instead that Cretan potters manufactured the vases to order for the bottling of unguents produced by a small factory manned by immigrant Phoenicians,<sup>106</sup> an interpretation that has lately been challenged by quite a few scholars,<sup>107</sup> including myself.<sup>108</sup> Leaving aside the relevant criticism, I wish to focus on the possible attribution of the Knossian close copies of Cypriot Black on Red *lekythia*, which date to the 8<sup>th</sup> century, to one or more Cypriot potters residing at the site.

I maintain that the possibility attracted less attention than it deserves by Coldstream, but I am most surprised that the scholar's critics have largely failed to notice or explore its potentials.<sup>109</sup> I personally find some merit in the idea of immigrant potters, especially in the case of the aforementioned *oinochoe*. This fragmentary piece is not only the closest and earliest,<sup>110</sup> but also the most sophisticated Knossian copy of Cypriot Black on Red *oinochoai*. It is only the difference in fabric that sets it apart from the originals. Coldstream's attribution of the vase to a Cypriot potter is also supported by the complexities involved in rendering its decorative scheme. The latter comprises diverse groups of concentric circles of varying number, which were in all probability rendered by more than one pivoted multiple brush. The use of different brushes of this kind for the decoration of a single vase is not uncommon on Cypriot pottery of the Early Iron Age, but rare on Greek ceramics.<sup>111</sup> My personal study of almost 1000 vases from Eleutherna has confirmed that the use of two (let alone more) such brushes for the decoration of a single vase is highly exceptional.<sup>112</sup> I therefore doubt whether a Knossian potter could closely imitate such a Cypriot vase, especially without much earlier experimentation.<sup>113</sup>

Having established the probability that a Cypriot potter produced versions of Black on Red *oinochoai* in Knossos, I wish to revisit the local production of *lekythia* of the same ware. The production of such *lekythia* commenced just

<sup>99</sup> PAYNE 1927-1928, p. 256, numbers 119-122.

<sup>100</sup> LIDDY 1996, pp. 473, 476, 487.

<sup>101</sup> TSIPOPOULOU 1985, p. 44; TSIPOPOULOU 2005, p. 545.

<sup>102</sup> See, mostly, COLDSTREAM 1984.

<sup>103</sup> COLDSTREAM 1984, pp. 123-131; COLDSTREAM 1996, pp. 406-408.

<sup>104</sup> COLDSTREAM 1984, p. 137.

<sup>105</sup> COLDSTREAM 1984, p. 137.

<sup>106</sup> COLDSTREAM 1979, pp. 261-262; COLDSTREAM 1984, p. 137; COLDSTREAM 1996, p. 354; COLDSTREAM 1998, pp. 256-257; COLDSTREAM 2003, pp. 272, 402.

<sup>107</sup> JONES D.W. 1993; HOFFMAN 1997, pp. 176-185; SCHREIBER 2003, pp. 293-306.

<sup>108</sup> KOTSONAS 2005, pp. 78-81; KOTSONAS forthcoming a.

<sup>109</sup> Hoffman's brief reference (HOFFMAN 1997, p. 178, footnote 98) is most disappointing for a monograph on immigrants in Early Iron Age Crete.

<sup>110</sup> COLDSTREAM 1984, pp. 128, 137, number 15; COLDSTREAM 1998, p. 347, number 60.22. Cf. other, later Knossian *oinochoai* that follow Creto-Cypriot prototypes: BROCK 1957, p. 156, type III.ii-iii; MOIGNARD 1996, p. 436, type Di.

<sup>111</sup> PAPADOPOULOS - VEDDER - SCHREIBER 1998, p. 545, footnote 67.

<sup>112</sup> KOTSONAS 2005, p. 69, footnote 362.

<sup>113</sup> The dozens of Knossian 8<sup>th</sup> century tombs excavated so far have furnished no evidence for such experimentation (in the form of free or unsuccessful copies).



before 800<sup>114</sup> and involved close,<sup>115</sup> free<sup>116</sup> and imaginative<sup>117</sup> examples. Coldstream's original attribution of the Knossian copies of Cypriot Black on Red *lekythia* to local potters was convincingly argued on the basis of the unpolished surface of nearly all *lekythia* known at the time (1978-1979) from early excavations, mostly those at the cemetery of Fortetsa.<sup>118</sup> Maintaining this attribution untouched is, however, questionable after the Knossos North Cemetery excavations,<sup>119</sup> which, in Coldstream's words, brought to light 'almost exact local copies, closer to the originals than any of the Creto-Cypriot class in F [Fortetsa]'.<sup>120</sup> I would argue that some of those exact copies (fig. 5) should perhaps be attributed to Cypriot hands, albeit not necessarily to those that produced the aforementioned *oinochoe*. Before the discovery of the Knossos North Cemetery, Coldstream had understandably taken the lack of polishing on the surface of the Fortetsa vases as suggestive of their manufacture by local potters. He had further contrasted this evidence, with that of Rhodes, where the technique and surface treatment argued – in his view – in favour of potters from the east.<sup>121</sup> Coldstream, however, maintained his suggestion even after the discovery of local examples, the fabric and surface treatment of which closely resemble those of Cypriot originals.<sup>122</sup> He defended his

case by pointing out that those characteristics were known to Knossian potters from around the mid-9<sup>th</sup> century, just before the introduction of the Creto-Cypriot vases; they are found on a class of plain *aryballoi*, which display an orange polished surface.<sup>123</sup> The connection between those *aryballoi* and the Creto-Cypriot vases should be qualified, however. The earliest known Knossian plain *aryballoi*, which are the only that pre-date the production of the *lekythia* under discussion, are handmade, display no orange polished surface and are suspected to be Corinthian imports.<sup>124</sup> Corinthian influence further pervades the entire class and is identifiable in the habit of polishing the surface<sup>125</sup> and probably in the orange colour of this surface as well.<sup>126</sup> This line of argument dissociates the *aryballoi* from the *lekythia* and re-introduces the issue of the Cypriot potter(s), which had in the past been dismissed.

My suggestion for one or more Cypriot potters producing versions of Cypriot Black on Red *lekythia* in Knossos does not regard all vases classified by Coldstream as close copies. I tend to exclude the few that are uncommonly oversized.<sup>127</sup> The 'maladroit, lumpy and degenerate appearance'<sup>128</sup> of others is not determining for my purposes, since similar shortcomings are identified on Cypriot prototypes imported to Knossos.<sup>129</sup>

<sup>114</sup> COLDSTREAM 1984, p. 132.

<sup>115</sup> COLDSTREAM 1996, p. 353, type Cii; COLDSTREAM 1984, pp. 131-133, numbers 38-52.

<sup>116</sup> COLDSTREAM 1996, p. 354, type Ciii; COLDSTREAM 1984, pp. 133-134, numbers 53-61.

<sup>117</sup> COLDSTREAM 1996, p. 353, type Ci; COLDSTREAM 1984, pp. 134-135, numbers 62-68.

<sup>118</sup> COLDSTREAM 1979, pp. 261-262.

<sup>119</sup> COLDSTREAM - CATLING 1996.

<sup>120</sup> COLDSTREAM 1996, p. 419. Coldstream's interpretation is not as unchanging as it is usually taken to be. In COLDSTREAM 1979, pp. 261-262, the unguent factory is associated with the free copies of Cypriot Black on Red that were only known at the time. From COLDSTREAM 1984, p. 137 onwards, however, only the close copies are associated with that enterprise. This interpretative adjustment is nowhere explicitly referred to.

<sup>121</sup> COLDSTREAM 1979, pp. 261-262, footnote 35.

<sup>122</sup> COLDSTREAM 1984, p. 137.

<sup>123</sup> COLDSTREAM 1996, p. 357, type B.

<sup>124</sup> COLDSTREAM 1996, p. 357. My study of a large ceramic corpus from Eleutherna confirms that wheel-made, polished versions were produced already in the late 9<sup>th</sup> century (KOTSONAS 2005, pp. 175-177), but show no preference for an orange surface.

<sup>125</sup> COLDSTREAM 2001, p. 44.

<sup>126</sup> Note that the fabric of a Corinthian prototype imported to Knossos is orange-red (personal inspection; no reference to the fabric of the vase is cited in COLDSTREAM - CATLING 1996). Furthermore, the surface colour of the entire Knossian class, which is described as 'pale' (COLDSTREAM 1996, p. 357, type B. I confirm the 'pale' look of those vases), was probably aimed at imitating Corinthian fabrics.

<sup>127</sup> COLDSTREAM 1984, p. 132, numbers 42-43; COLDSTREAM 1996, p. 353, numbers 283.83, 218.84.

<sup>128</sup> COLDSTREAM 1984, p. 132. Note, however, that similar problems do occur on a few Cypriot prototypes imported to Knossos (COLDSTREAM 1984, p. 131).

<sup>129</sup> COLDSTREAM 1984, p. 131. Schreiber has hypothe-

Those vases described as ‘exact copies’<sup>130</sup> and the others that ‘even reproduce the deep orange [surface] of the originals’<sup>131</sup> can, however, reasonably be attributed to Cypriot potters(s). This is particularly because lending the Knossian fabric a colour similar to that of the Cypriot originals has been shown to depend on control of the firing conditions.<sup>132</sup> This control is, however, identifiable in only a small portion of the Knossian corpus of copies of Cypriot Black on Red, confirming that the Knossian potters were not accustomed to it. This evidence suggests that it was probably one or more Cypriot potters residing in Knossos, rather than their local colleagues, that managed to successfully master a series of techniques concerning the treatment of the fabric, as well as the quality of the shape and decoration, and produce those few exact copies of Cypriot Black on Red *lekythia*.<sup>133</sup> To conclude, it appears that one or more Cypriot potters specialising in the production of the Black on Red ware of their native island probably exercised their craft in Knossos for some time in the first half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century.

#### *The case of a Naxian potter working in Knossos*

This case is actually a twofold one, since it involves two different scenaria for the migration

---

sised that those vases may be local products rather than Cypriot imports (SCHREIBER 2003, p. 295), but is apparently unaware of the chemical analysis, to which one of those vases (*Knossos North Cemetery* number 292.48) was submitted, that confirmed its Cypriot origins (LIDDY 1996, p. 492)

<sup>130</sup> COLDSTREAM 1984, p. 131.

<sup>131</sup> COLDSTREAM 1984, p. 132; COLDSTREAM 1996, p. 353.

<sup>132</sup> COLDSTREAM 1984, p. 134.

<sup>133</sup> The line or band that is rendered around the base of most Knossian copies, but is missing from the Cypriot prototypes (COLDSTREAM 1984, p. 132; COLDSTREAM 1996, p. 353) could be cited against my argument. The ubiquitous addition of that ornament perhaps adheres to a notion of appropriateness or is influenced by the local Protogeometric tradition, according to which bands normally adorn the lower part or base of slow-pouring vessels. In any case, it was evidently determined by Cretan preference and one can envisage the foreign potter(s) taking it on.

of a Naxian potter to 8<sup>th</sup> century Knossos. The first is based on a homogeneous group of four neck-handled amphorae found in a Knossian tomb at Fortetsa (fig. 6).<sup>134</sup> Brock, who first studied them, found it hard to decide whether they are Naxian imports or Cretan imitations, but mentioned that the fabric looked Cretan.<sup>135</sup> His uncertainty actually survives up to the present day.<sup>136</sup> On the other hand, Coldstream confirmed that the vases are of local fabric, grouped them with other, similar vessels (none of which was fully published), placed them within the sequence of local neck-handled amphorae and assigned them a Late Geometric-advanced date.<sup>137</sup> Coldstream’s view was not taken into account in two alternative interpretations put forward by Kourou. She originally considered the vases as Naxian imports,<sup>138</sup> but later attributed them to a potter, that was trained in Naxos and migrated to Knossos at around 700.<sup>139</sup> According to the later view, the vases are of Naxian style, but of Knossian fabric and technique. Kourou<sup>140</sup> argued that the close resemblance of the Cretan vases to Naxian prototypes represented in Delos Group Bb<sup>141</sup> (fig. 7a-b) could not have been achieved by mere copying of imports and noted that no such imports had hitherto been identified in Knossos or the rest of Crete. This last remark remains valid despite the extensive corpus of material, especially that from the Knossos North Cemetery,<sup>142</sup> published ever since.

Kourou’s suggestion was challenged by Coldstream in a latest article of his.<sup>143</sup> Coldstream argues that both the shape and the zigzag decoration of the Fortetsa amphorae were at

---

<sup>134</sup> BROCK 1957, pp. 62-63, numbers 652, 673, 680, 681.

<sup>135</sup> BROCK 1957, p. 62 (see also pp. 60, 190).

<sup>136</sup> JONES 2000, p. 219.

<sup>137</sup> COLDSTREAM 1968, p. 250; COLDSTREAM 1996, p. 335 (with reference to one of the four amphorae).

<sup>138</sup> KOUROU 1984, p. 111, footnote 47.

<sup>139</sup> KOUROU 1994, pp. 278-279.

<sup>140</sup> KOUROU 1994, pp. 278-279.

<sup>141</sup> DUGAS - RHOMAIOS 1934, pp. 73-75.

<sup>142</sup> COLDSTREAM 1996; MOIGNARD 1996.

<sup>143</sup> COLDSTREAM forthcoming.

home in Knossos from the early 8<sup>th</sup> century, considerably earlier than the date of the vases.<sup>144</sup> He further argued that the association of the vases with a closely datable urn favours a mid-8<sup>th</sup> century date (Middle-Late Geometric transition), considerably earlier than that assumed by Kourou. Lastly, he noted that the disappearance of Naxian ceramics from Knossos of the mid-8<sup>th</sup> - 7<sup>th</sup> centuries implies no salient appreciation for the Cycladic island's ceramic output.

Although I personally share much of Coldstream's skepticism against the idea of the Naxian potter, I identify some drawbacks in his criticism. First comes the issue of chronology. The time-span of the context of the four amphorae is not narrow at all. They were found in a niche cut by the dromos of a chamber tomb 'almost certainly' in the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century; the niche housed three urns assigned to the earlier half of that century and several small vessels, including some lids dating to its last quarter.<sup>145</sup> Context therefore does not exclude Kourou's view. Moreover, Coldstream's Middle-Late Geometric date is in some discrepancy with the relative chronology he had earlier proposed for one of the amphorae in question.<sup>146</sup>

A second issue regards decoration. Although the massed zigzags of the amphorae do conform to a non-Atticizing current that is identifiable on some Knossian Geometric pottery; this pottery only covers particular shapes and types and does not involve amphorae or related vessels.<sup>147</sup> This pottery is characterised by a peculiar 'thick creamy slip', unlike the rest of the Knossian ceramics. Interestingly, Brock identified a slip that

he described as 'rather lustrous creamy white' on one of the amphorae in question.<sup>148</sup> Unfortunately, I have not personally examined the amphorae to confirm whether their slip is the one found on the non-Atticizing Knossian pottery and resolve the issue of the Naxian potter in a definite manner. That slip does not, however, seem similar to the various slips used by Naxian workshops, including the one used by the workshop of the Delos group Bb amphorae.<sup>149</sup> An amphora from Archanes (fig. 8),<sup>150</sup> which is very similar to the Fortetsa amphorae, also argues against the suggestion for a Naxian potter. This vase, however, is decorated in white on dark. The use of this technique to an extent peculiar to Crete leaves no doubt that the vase is local and offers another hint at the local pedigree of the Fortetsa amphorae.<sup>151</sup>

Despite the criticism, the concept of the Naxian potter proves unpredictably flexible. In his abovementioned article, Coldstream adapts Kourou's suggestion to argue for the migration of a Naxian potter in Knossos of the early or advanced – not the late – 8<sup>th</sup> century (Middle Geometric period). Coldstream reckons that the foreign potter contributed to the local Atticizing style of the first half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, which involved close imitations of Attic prototypes not only in shape and decoration, but even in fabric and technique.<sup>152</sup> He also connects the potter with the production of cups with reserved panels of multiple zig-zags, a vessel type which had long disappeared from Athens, but was still manufactured in Naxos (and also in the Argolid).<sup>153</sup> The

<sup>144</sup> COLDSTREAM forthcoming associates the shape of the four amphorae with a type that is well-represented in the Knossos North Cemetery (COLDSTREAM 1996, p. 335, type E) and the decoration with a class of Knossian Geometric vases, mostly lids and oinochoai (see footnote 147 below).

<sup>145</sup> BROCK 1957, pp. 60 (for the reference); 61-63, numbers 642-681 (for the vases found in the niche).

<sup>146</sup> COLDSTREAM 1996, p. 335.

<sup>147</sup> COLDSTREAM 1996, p. 355, type Dii *lekythoi*; p. 364, type Bi lids; pp. 355; 375, miniature *krater* number 125.6; p. 418; COLDSTREAM 2001, pp. 35, 42, 68.

<sup>148</sup> BROCK 1957, p. 62, number 652.

<sup>149</sup> For Naxian slip see: DUGAS - RHOMAIOS 1934, p. 73; KOUROU 1984, p. 110; KOUROU 1999, pp. 88-89. Naxian vases of Delos group Bb are characterised by a thick light slip, yellowish white or brownish, that comes off very easily.

<sup>150</sup> SAKELLARAKIS 1986, pp. 30-31, π 24349.

<sup>151</sup> Note that Kourou identifies the technique of the Fortetsa amphorae as Cretan (KOUROU 1994, p. 278).

<sup>152</sup> Coldstream refers to LIDDY 1996, pp. 471, 490, Group B.

<sup>153</sup> COLDSTREAM 1996, pp. 388-389, type Ei. Note that nipples flank the zigzag panel of Cycladic cups, but are often located within the panel of Attic examples (KOUROU 1999, p. 61). The Knossian example adhere to the former scheme.



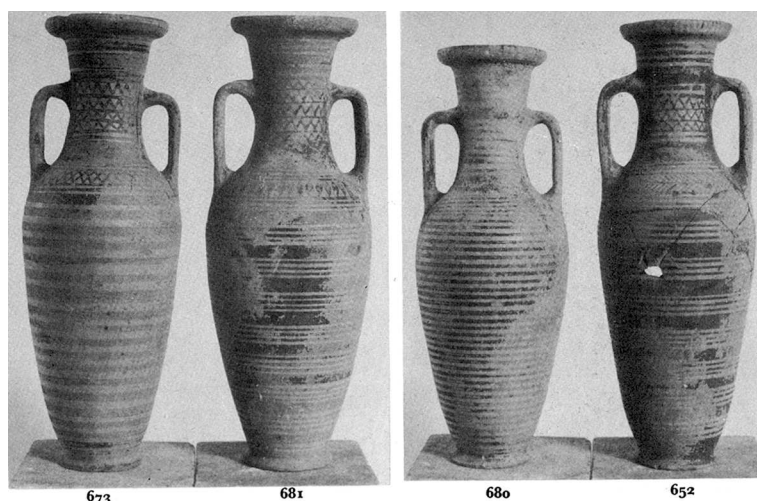


Fig. 6. - Amphorae from Fortetsa, Knossos: nn. 673, 681, 680, 652 (Courtesy of the British School at Athens).



a



b

Fig. 7. a-b. Amphorae from Delos group Bb (nn. 4, 5), assigned to Naxos (Courtesy of the École française d'Athènes. The photograph of 7a is by P. Devambe).

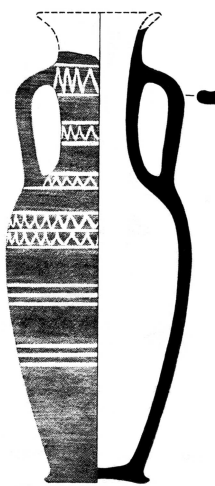


Fig. 8. - Amphora from Archanes (Reproduced from SAKELLARAKIS 1986, p. 31. Courtesy of Professor I. Sakellarakis).



Fig. 9. - Amphora assigned to the 'Eleutherna bird workshop' (Courtesy of Professor N.C. Stampolidis).



a



b

Fig. 10. a-b - Amphorae from Delos group Ab (nn. 8, 12), assigned to Paros (Courtesy of the École française d'Athènes).

Knossians were, however, importing Cycladic cups of this type<sup>154</sup> and one should not exclude that importation generated local production. Besides, the association of the Knossian Atticizing style of the first half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century with a Naxian potter is not well argued. Local imitation could have been stimulated by the influx of Attic and Cycladic imports, which peaks at the time.<sup>155</sup> After all, Knossian potters had proved competent imitators of Attic and Cycladic Atticizing ceramic styles since the Early Protogeometric - Middle Protogeometric period.<sup>156</sup> I therefore regard Coldstream's view as unconvincing.

To conclude, I reckon that the proposed involvement of a Naxian potter in the Knossian ceramic production of the 8<sup>th</sup> century is improbable. Although stimulating, the suggestions of Kourou and Coldstream remain highly questionable.

*The case of one or more Parian potters working in Eleutherna*

The most convincing evidence for the identification of foreign potters in Early Iron Age Crete is, to my view, furnished by a homogeneous group of unpublished vases from Eleutherna (fig. 9), which I have elsewhere assigned to the 'Eleutherna bird workshop' and dated to the early 7<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>157</sup> This involves seven amphorae found in chamber tomb A1K1 of the cemetery of Eleutherna<sup>158</sup> and an eighth, similar piece without provenance kept in the Museum of Rethymnon.<sup>159</sup> The group raises a wide range of issues on ceramic production, dissemination

and consumption that cannot possibly be fully laid out here and will be thoroughly examined on a future occasion. The present discussion is limited to the evidence and arguments supporting the attribution of the vases to one or more foreign potters.

A macroscopic examination of the amphorae found in Eleutherna suggested that their fabric was not uniform.<sup>160</sup> This was lately confirmed by the preliminary results of a project of petrographic analysis mentioned above.<sup>161</sup> These results suggested that the fabric of most of the amphorae is actually the prevailing local fabric. Local production is therefore established. On the other hand, the second fabric, identified on one vase from Eleutherna and the Rethymnon amphora, finds no match in the local repertory.

Stylistically, the group is highly homogeneous.<sup>162</sup> The style of the amphorae is, however, entirely foreign to Eleutherna and finds no close match elsewhere. Some of the vases carry vertical handles on the shoulder and others horizontal ones. The first shape finds no parallel in Eleutherna or the rest of Crete and is only known in the Cyclades at the time concerned (early 7<sup>th</sup> century).<sup>163</sup> The closest parallels are found in Delos group Ab (fig. 10a),<sup>164</sup> which also involves amphorae with horizontal handles on the shoulder<sup>165</sup> (fig. 10b) and is attributed to Paros.<sup>166</sup>

Strong Cycladic affinities are also manifested in the decoration of the 'Eleutherna bird workshop'. Although no Cycladic amphora that closely matches the vases from Eleutherna can be identified in the published record, this is not surprising given the current state of research.

<sup>154</sup> COLDSTREAM 1996, p. 404, number 283.96.

<sup>155</sup> COLDSTREAM 1990; COLDSTREAM 1996, pp. 393-402, 404-405. For a full record of Attic and Cycladic imports in Knossos and the rest of Crete see KOTSONAS 2005, pp. 247-251.

<sup>156</sup> See footnote 27 above.

<sup>157</sup> See the following footnote.

<sup>158</sup> KOTSONAS 2005, pp. 76-77, 86-92; STAMPOLIDIS 2004a, p. 246, number 275. For the tomb see STAMPOLIDIS 2004b, pp. 122-125. I take the opportunity to express my gratitude to Professor Stampolidis for entrusting me with the study and publication of pottery from the site.

<sup>159</sup> STAMPOLIDIS 2004a, p. 150, number 7.

<sup>160</sup> KOTSONAS 2005, pp. 77, 88.

<sup>161</sup> See footnote 62.

<sup>162</sup> Minor discrepancies do occur and allow for the reconstruction of the relative sequence, which is confirmed by context (KOTSONAS 2005, pp. 87-88).

<sup>163</sup> KOTSONAS 2005, pp. 86, 89-90.

<sup>164</sup> DUGAS - RHOMAIOS 1934, pp. 29-30, numbers 6, 8.

<sup>165</sup> DUGAS - RHOMAIOS 1934, pp. 29-30, numbers 1-3, 7.

<sup>166</sup> See, for example: COLDSTREAM 1968, pp. 176-177.



Metopes with birds are popular on Cycladic pottery of the time,<sup>167</sup> even if none of the Cycladic examples closely matches the scheme displayed on the amphorae from Eleutherna. Secondary ornaments of the latter are also paralleled on Cycladic pottery. Furthermore, the correspondences in the number of linear ornaments found on the vases of the 'Eleutherna bird workshop' are unmatched on local pottery, but widely occur on Cycladic ceramics, particularly the Linear Island Style (or 'Euboean') amphorae exhibited in the Museum of Thera.

It therefore appears that both shape and the decoration of the amphorae assigned to the 'Eleutherna bird workshop' are of Cycladic, particularly Parian, pedigree. Nonetheless, most of the amphorae are made in Eleuthernian fabric. Although peculiar, the fabric of the two remaining pieces shows no affinities with Cycladic ones and must tentatively also be identified as Cretan. The pair perhaps represents the experimentation of the workshop's staff with different clays or its relocation in another, neighbouring site.

I believe that in this case it was craftsmen mobility that generated the stylistic resemblance and attribute the local production of the amphorae to one or more potters from the Cyclades that settled at Eleutherna. The attribution is supported by the use of a multiple brush for the rendering of linear ornaments. The application of such a tool is otherwise unknown on Eleuthernian pottery, but is commonly found on Cycladic wares. Another indication supporting the hypothesis of one or more foreign potters is provided by the painted, dotted X that lies below the handle of some of the amphorae. Potter's marks or other related marks are missing from Eleuthernian pottery of the late 8<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries. In this light, one could not convincingly attribute the Cycladic influence described to an imitation of the Cycladic imports that were arriving in Eleutherna at the time and include a Delos group Ab

amphora.<sup>168</sup> Local imitation of such imports cannot satisfactorily explain the thoroughly Cycladic style of the amphorae, given that the Eleuthernian potters generally disregarded Aegean ceramic influences throughout the Early Iron Age.<sup>169</sup> It is therefore unlikely that those potters would manufacture vessels closely conforming to an elaborate style that was alien to local traditions and far more demanding than what they normally produced. On these grounds, I conclude that both stylistic and technical evidence favour the assumption that the amphorae discussed were produced by one or more Parian potters residing in Eleutherna.

#### *Questions on the character of the mobility of potters*

An inquiry into the conditions that mobilised potters and the circumstances that allowed for their settling in the host communities is essential for gaining an insight in aspects of Aegean society and culture during the Early Iron Age. I intend to address the inquiry into the second and fourth case discussed, in which the advent of a foreign potter to Crete was credited with considerable degree of probability. On the other hand, I exclude references to the first and third cases treated because of their highly questionable reliability. I shall emphasise that the ensuing discussion cannot possibly furnish any incontestable answers due to the limitations posed by the nature of the primary evidence. It is therefore only intended to raise problems that are often avoided in relevant scholarship and point out probable interpretations.

The particular causes that mobilised the potters discussed and other traveling craftsmen cannot be identified solely on the basis of their finished products. Archaeologists have therefore sought to broadly distinguish whether such individuals were free or forced to move,<sup>170</sup> even if

<sup>167</sup> DUGAS - RHOMAIOS 1934, pp. 62-63, group Ae, number 72; 79-80, group Bb, numbers 38-39.

<sup>168</sup> KOTSONAS 2005, pp. 249-252.

<sup>169</sup> KOTSONAS 2005, pp. 264-265.

<sup>170</sup> CLINE 1995, pp. 278-279; PAPADOPOULOS 1997, p. 451; CRIELAARD 1999, pp. 56-57.

such distinctions occasionally prove rigid.<sup>171</sup> Specialists of the relevant Near Eastern literature of the second and first millennium agree that craftsmen were generally not ‘free-lancers’ moving in search for customers and consider that their mobility was imposed by rulers or states and their misfortunes.<sup>172</sup> Nevertheless, the political geography of the Early Iron Age Aegean is quite different to that of the Near East, whether in the Bronze or the Early Iron Age. On the other hand, free craftsmen mobility of the kind known from later to modern periods is unlikely for Early Iron Age Greece.<sup>173</sup> Further, Homer does not include potters in his list of itinerant specialists<sup>174</sup> and one finds it hard to imagine that such people figured among the specialists that elites of early Greek states asked their peers in neighbouring regions to provide. There are other possible causes of forced movement, including captivity or enslavement, but none can positively be related to the cases discussed.

The mobility of potters faces constraints that do not necessarily apply to cases of other craftsmen. First is the conditions of availability and accessibility of the raw material and second are seasons and the agricultural cycle. The latter probably had a grave effect upon ceramic production in antiquity, even if a relatively small number of potters might have remained unaffected.<sup>175</sup> The traveling potters of the modern Cretan villages of Thrapsano<sup>176</sup> and Margarites,<sup>177</sup> for example, only left their village during the summer months. This raises questions on the character and duration of the ‘visit’ of the potters discussed above to Eleutherna and Knossos. Although large-

ly overlooked in relevant scholarship,<sup>178</sup> the issue is instrumental for distinguishing between itinerant (or travelling) and immigrant (or sedentary) individuals. Such distinctions are clearly hard to draw, but there is ground for reasonable speculation, especially in the case of the amphorae assigned to the ‘Eleutherna bird workshop’. The ‘stratigraphy’ of chamber tomb A1K1,<sup>179</sup> in which those vases were found, suggests that their deposition covers a time span that cannot be reduced to a few years.<sup>180</sup> It can therefore be reasonably assumed that their manufacturer(s) either settled in Eleutherna for a period of considerable length or were regularly visiting the site. On the other hand, those potter(s) could have also worked in another site in the district, judging by the fabric of one of the vases from Eleutherna and the amphora at Rethymno that finds no match on local ceramics.<sup>181</sup> Relying on this evidence and taking into account that vases of this style were – to our current knowledge – not produced outside the Cyclades, the potter(s) in question seem to have settled for long at Eleutherna. Interestingly, Cycladic potters were also residing in Athens at around 700.<sup>182</sup>

Assessing the character of the assumed ‘visit’ paid by the Cypriot potter(s) to Knossos is harder. When viewed against the entire ceramic corpus known from Early Iron Age Knossos or the record of free copies of the Cypriot ware, the actual numbers of *lekythia* that closely imitate Cypriot Black on Red prototypes seem too small to allow for any suggestion for permanent residence.<sup>183</sup> On the other hand, their contexts show

<sup>171</sup> PAPADOPOULOS 1997, pp. 460-461.

<sup>172</sup> ZACCAGNINI 1983; MUHLY 2005; HITCHCOCK 2005.

<sup>173</sup> Contrast the view that potters travelled to join established ceramic industries as apprentices and then moved elsewhere to set up shops (PAPADOPOULOS 1997, p. 455).

<sup>174</sup> CRIELAARD 1999, p. 55.

<sup>175</sup> ARAFAT - MORGAN 1989, pp. 326, 328.

<sup>176</sup> VOYATZOGLOU 1974, p. 18.

<sup>177</sup> LEONTIDIS 1996, p. 72.

<sup>178</sup> A notable exception is found in CLINE 1995, pp. 277-278. Expatriate potters are mostly, even if implicitly, considered as immigrants (see, for example, CRIELAARD 1999, pp. 55-56).

<sup>179</sup> KOTSONAS 2005, pp. 86-92. For the tomb see STAMPOLIDIS 2004b, pp. 122-125.

<sup>180</sup> KOTSONAS 2005, p. 351.

<sup>181</sup> There are, however, alternative interpretations of this discrepancy, including the experimentation of the foreign potters with different clays.

<sup>182</sup> PAPADOPOULOS - SMITHSON 2002, p. 191.

<sup>183</sup> COLDSTREAM 1984, pp. 131-132, numbers 38-52; COLDSTREAM 1996, p. 353, type Cii.

considerable chronological range, from the middle to the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>184</sup> One is therefore tempted to explore the possibility of one or more itinerant potters visiting Knossos along with other sites in the Eastern Mediterranean (including Rhodes, Cos and the coastal strip ranging from Cilicia to Al Mina), where local imitations of Black on Red were also produced.<sup>185</sup> Nevertheless, the Knossian examples are superior in quality than all other Aegean imitations and can be distinguished from their Cilician and North Syrian parallels on the basis of fabric and surface treatment, as well as the choice and application of decorative motifs.<sup>186</sup> The suggestion for itinerant potters can therefore not be sustained.

The reception of the foreign potters probably depended on an awareness of the foreign style of their products, as well as on the appeal those products exercised. An awareness of distinctions between regional styles in pottery and metalwork is documented in later, 5<sup>th</sup> century literary sources,<sup>187</sup> but can also be identified, if only indirectly, in Early Iron Age Crete. This identification<sup>188</sup> relies on a class of Knossian and other Cretan vessels of the late 9<sup>th</sup> century, which carry Atticizing ornaments on the one side and Cretan patterns on the other.<sup>189</sup> On the other hand, the appeal of the vases attributed to the foreign potters is assumed on the basis of the Cretan demand for elaborate, local and imported, ceramic styles to serve the expression of material statements in the necropolises of Eleutherna<sup>190</sup> and Knossos.<sup>191</sup> The appeal is further suggested by the influx of pottery originating from

the home-regions of the potters. Accordingly, Eleutherna attracted a number of late 8<sup>th</sup> - early 7<sup>th</sup> century imports, including amphorae, from Paros<sup>192</sup> and Knossos imported 8<sup>th</sup> century Black on Red *lekythia* from Cyprus.<sup>193</sup> On these grounds, I reckon that the arrival of the potters in question is unlikely to have been fortuitous.

Important inferences on the integration of the potters in the Cretan communities can be drawn from the non random distribution of their products in the two necropolises, a considerable section of which has hitherto been excavated. All amphorae from Eleutherna attributed to the Parian potter(s) were found in tomb A1K1 and had served as urns. Such vases hitherto remain unknown, however, in the rest of the extensive necropolis.<sup>194</sup> Judging by its good state of preservation, the related amphora kept at the Rethymnon museum must also come from a tomb, the location of which, however, remains indeterminate. A patterned distribution is also identifiable in the case of the Knossian *lekythia* attributed to Cypriot potter(s). Almost half of the examples known come from tomb 218,<sup>195</sup> which also produced nearly half of the free copies of Cypriot Black on Red examples,<sup>196</sup> but no Cypriot original. On these grounds, the social groups buried in Eleutherna tomb A1K1 and Knossos tomb 218 appear to have had a particular preference for the vases discussed and a privileged, albeit not exclusive, connection with their makers.<sup>197</sup> Connections of this sort would have been essential for the integration of the foreign potters in the society and economy of the host communities. The attachment of craftsmen to particular social groups was probably not an iso-

<sup>184</sup> COLDSTREAM 1984, pp. 132-133.

<sup>185</sup> SCHREIBER 2003, pp. 277-280. For Cos add BOUROGIANNIS 2000.

<sup>186</sup> For the peculiarities of the Cilician and North Syrian vases see SCHREIBER 2003, pp. 277-280.

<sup>187</sup> ANTONACCIO 2003, pp. 62-65.

<sup>188</sup> CRIELAARD 1999, p. 53.

<sup>189</sup> For the Knossian 'bilingual' vases see mostly COLDSTREAM 1996, pp. 337-338. For the sporadic occurrence of such vases elsewhere in Crete see KOTSONAS 2005, pp. 108-109.

<sup>190</sup> KOTSONAS 2005, pp. 267-303.

<sup>191</sup> WHITLEY 1986, pp. 251-353 2005, pp. 249-252.

<sup>192</sup> KOTSONAS 2005, pp. 249-252.

<sup>193</sup> COLDSTREAM 1984, pp. 128-131; COLDSTREAM 1996, pp. 407-408.

<sup>194</sup> KOTSONAS 2006, pp. 281-282, 294, 299-300, 309-310.

<sup>195</sup> COLDSTREAM 1984, pp. 131-132; COLDSTREAM 1996, pp. 353-354, type Cii.

<sup>196</sup> COLDSTREAM 1984, pp. 131-132; COLDSTREAM 1996, p. 354, type Ciii.

<sup>197</sup> Cf. CRIELAARD 1999, p. 57.

lated phenomenon and has also been argued with reference to a gold workshop active in 8<sup>th</sup> century Knossos.<sup>198</sup>

To sum up, the causes that mobilised the foreign potters discussed remain indeterminate. Those individuals cannot be positively identified as itinerants, but can reasonably be assumed to have settled in Crete for a period of some length. Lastly, it appears that specific social groups patronised those potters and probably also held a role in the potters' reception by the Cretan communities.

### Conclusions

Craftsmen mobility has preoccupied Aegean Early Iron Age scholarship and has repeatedly been addressed with reference to the archaeology of Crete. Such mobility is, however, persistently identified with the arrival of individuals from the East. Scholarship on Crete of the period further largely overlooks or underestimates arguments raised in favour of the mobility of potters. Drawing from scholarly works of the last twenty-five years, however, I have here collected references to six cases of foreign potters assumed to have been active in Early Iron Age Crete and explored four of them at length.

The analysis has confirmed the complexities involved in determining the craftsman's ethnic identity on the basis of finished products. It has further underlined the limitations embedded in inferences drawn solely from artefact style and the wider historical context and has laid emphasis on the study of production techniques for the identification of potters working away from home. Applications of archaeological science may well furnish compelling evidence on the origins of techniques involved in ceramic production and the modes of transmission of technical skills. Important information on the issue can, however, also be deduced by scrutiny over the actual material, including its fabric, shape and decoration. By pursuing inquiries along these lines, one can infer the ethnic identity, or, at least, the cultural train-

ing of the makers of pottery on a plausible basis. It must, on the other hand, be acknowledged that some of the interpretative steps involved in phrasing such inferences remain vulnerable to criticism, particularly as long as they find no support in literary evidence.

The methodological framework described was applied to four cases of foreign potters assumed to have worked in Early Iron Age Crete. Only in two of those cases, however, was the assumption credited with a considerable degree of probability. Accordingly, it was argued that one or more Cypriot potters produced copies of Cypriot Black on Red pouring vessels in 8<sup>th</sup> century Knossos, while one or more potters from Paros manufactured amphorae of Cycladic style in early 7<sup>th</sup> century Eleutherna. This evidence conforms with broader Cretan attitudes towards clay vessels and ceramic influences from overseas: Cretans of the Early Iron Age show a strong taste for Aegean, mostly Attic and Cycladic, storage vessels both through imports<sup>199</sup> and local imitations.<sup>200</sup> On the other hand, Cypriot pouring vessels were copiously imported in Crete,<sup>201</sup> stimulating a long series of local copies.<sup>202</sup>

Several uncertainties remain over the condition of the mobility of the potters discussed. The causes that stimulated it cannot be identified. Further, the duration of the Cypriot(s)'s residence in Knossos cannot confidently be estimated. On the other hand, the Parian(s) seem to have settled at Eleutherna for a considerable time-span. It appears that, in both cases, the foreign potters were primarily – albeit not exclusively – connected with particular social groups in the host communities. In any case, these arguments suggest that there is much scope for assessing the role of foreign craftsmen and their products within particular Cretan communities. They further confirm the cosmopolitan character of Crete during the late 9<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> centuries.

<sup>198</sup> KOTSONAS 2006.

<sup>199</sup> See mostly: COLDSTREAM 1996, pp. 393-402, 404-405.

<sup>200</sup> See mostly: COLDSTREAM 1996, pp. 332-334.

<sup>201</sup> See mostly: COLDSTREAM 1996, pp. 407-408.

<sup>202</sup> See mostly: COLDSTREAM 1996, pp. 353-355; MOIGNARD 1996, pp. 440-441, 446.



## BIBLIOGRAPHIC REFERENCES

- ANDREADAKI-VLASAKI 1997 = M. ANDREADAKI-VLASAKI, *The Geometric period. The pottery*, in E. HALLAGER - B.P. HALLAGER (eds.), *The Greek-Swedish Excavations at the Agia Aikaterini Square Kastelli, Khania 1970-1987, vol. I:1-2, From the Geometric to the Modern Greek period*, Stockholm 1997, pp. 229-240.
- ANTONACCIO 2003 = C. ANTONACCIO, *Hybridity and the Cultures within Greek Culture*, in C. DOUGHERTY - L. KURKE (eds.), *The Cultures within Ancient Greek Culture. Contact, Conflict, Collaboration*, Cambridge 2003, pp. 57-74.
- ARAFAT - MORGAN 1989 = K. ARAFAT - C. MORGAN, *Pots and Potters in Athens and Corinth. A review*, in *OJA* 8, 1989, pp. 311-346.
- ASHTON - HUGHES 2005 = S.-A. ASHTON - M. HUGHES, *Large, Late and Local? Scientific Analysis of Pottery Types from Al Mina*, in A. VILLING (ed.), *The Greeks in the East*, London 2005, pp. 93-103.
- BERNAL 1987 = M. BERNAL, *Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization. Volume I: The Fabrication of Ancient Greece 1785-1985*, London 1987.
- BLONDÉ - PERREAULT - PÉRISTÉRI 1992 = F. BLONDÉ - J. Y. PERREAULT - C. PÉRISTÉRI, *Un atelier de potier archaïque à Phari (Thasos)*, in F. BLONDÉ - J.Y. PERREAULT (eds.), *Les ateliers de potier dans le monde grec aux époques géométrique, archaïque et classique (BCH suppl. 23)*, Paris 1992, pp. 11-40.
- BOARDMAN 1959 = J. BOARDMAN, *Greek potters at Al Mina?*, in *AnatSt* 9, 1959, pp. 163-169.
- BOARDMAN 1961 = J. BOARDMAN, *The Cretan Collection in Oxford. The Dictaeon Cave and Iron Age Crete*, Oxford 1961.
- BOARDMAN 2004 = J. BOARDMAN, *Copies of pottery: by and for whom?*, in K. LOMAS (ed.), *Greek Identity in the Western Mediterranean. Papers in honour of Brian Shefton*, Leiden - Boston 2004, pp. 149-162.
- BOUROGIANNIS 2000 = G. BOUROGIANNIS, *The Black-on-Red pottery found in Cos: form pots to trade or immigrants*, in *AnnArchStorAnt* 7, 2000, pp. 9-23.
- BROCK 1957 = J.K. BROCK, *Fortetsa. Early Greek Tombs near Knossos*, Cambridge 1957.
- BURKERT 1992 = W. BURKERT, *The Orientalizing Revolution. Near Eastern Influence on Greek Culture in the Early Archaic Age*, Cambridge 1992.
- CAVANAGH - CURTIS 1998 = W.G. CAVANAGH - M. CURTIS (eds.), *Post-Minoan Crete. Proceedings of the First Colloquium on Post-Minoan Crete held by the British School at Athens and the Institute of Archaeology, University College London, 10-11 November 1995 (BSA Studies 2)*, London 1998.
- CÉBEILLAC-GERVASONI 1982 = M. CÉBEILLAC-GERVASONI, *Discussions et chronique des travaux*, in *La céramique grecque ou de tradition grecque au VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle en Italie centrale et méridionale (Cahiers du centre Jean Bérard III)*, Naples 1982, pp. 187-222.
- CLINE 1995 = E.H. CLINE, *Tinker, tailor, soldier, sailor: Minoan and Mycenaean abroad*, in R. LAFFINEUR - W.D. NIEMEIER (eds.), *Politeia, Society and State in the Aegean Bronze Age, Proceedings of the 5<sup>th</sup> International Aegean Conference, Heidelberg 10-13 April 1994*, Liège - Austin 1995, pp. 265-287.
- COLDSTREAM 1968 = J. N. COLDSTREAM, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, London 1968.
- COLDSTREAM 1979 = J.N. COLDSTREAM, *Some Cypriote traits in Cretan Pottery, c. 950-700 B.C.*, in V. KARAGEORGHIS (ed.), *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium "The relations between Cyprus and Crete, ca 2000 - 500 B.C.", Nicosia 16<sup>th</sup> April - 22<sup>nd</sup> April 1978*, Nicosia 1979, pp. 257-263.
- COLDSTREAM 1984 = J.N. COLDSTREAM, *Cypriaca and Cretocypriaca from the North Cemetery of Knossos*, in *RDAC* 1984, pp. 122-137.
- COLDSTREAM 1990 = J.N. COLDSTREAM, *Cycladic and Euboean Imports in the North Cemetery of Knossos*, in J.P. DESCEUDRES (ed.), *Ευμουσία. Ceramic and Iconographic Studies in Honour of Alexander Cambitoglou (Mediterranean Archaeology Suppl. 1)*, Sydney 1990, pp. 25-30.
- COLDSTREAM 1996 = J.N. COLDSTREAM, *The Protogeometric and Geometric pottery*, in J.N. COLDSTREAM - H.W. CATLING (eds.), *Knossos North Cemetery. Early Greek Tombs, vol. II (BSA Suppl. 28)*, London 1996, pp. 314-420.
- COLDSTREAM 1998 = J.N. COLDSTREAM, *Crete and the Dodecanese: Alternative Eastern Approaches to the Greek World during the Geometric Period*, in V. KARAGEORGHIS - N.C. STAMPOLIDIS (eds.), *Eastern Mediterranean. Cyprus - Dodecanese - Crete 16<sup>th</sup> - 6<sup>th</sup> cent. B.C., Proceedings of the International Symposium held at Rethymon - Crete in May 1997*, Athens 1998, pp. 255-263.
- COLDSTREAM 2000 = J.N. COLDSTREAM, *A Strange Prelude to the Cypriot Unguent Trade in Crete*, in G.K. IOANNIDIS - S.A. HATZISTILLIS (eds.), *Πρακτικά του Γ' Διεθνούς Κυπριολογικού Συνεδρίου, Λευκωσία 16-20 Απριλίου 1996, Α', Λευκωσία 2000*, pp. 463-469.
- COLDSTREAM 2001 = J.N. COLDSTREAM, *The Early Greek period*, in J.N. COLDSTREAM - L.J. EIRING (eds.), *Knossos Pottery Handbook. Greek and Roman (BSA studies 7)*, London 2001, pp. 23-76.
- COLDSTREAM 2003 = J.N. COLDSTREAM, *Geometric Greece, 900-700 BC*, London - New York 2003 (1977).
- COLDSTREAM 2006 = N. COLDSTREAM, *Other peoples' pots. Ceramic borrowing between the early Greeks and Levantines, in various Mediterranean contexts*, in E. HERRING, I. LEMOS, F. LO SCHIAVO, L. VAGNETTI, R. WHITEHOUSE, J. WILKINS (eds.), *Across Frontiers. Etruscans, Greeks, Phoenicians and Cypriots. Studies in honour of David Ridgway and Francesca Romana Serra Ridgway (Accordia Specialist Studies on the Mediterranean 6)*, London 2006, pp. 49-55.
- COLDSTREAM forthcoming = N. COLDSTREAM, *In the wake of Ariadne: Connexions between Naxos and Crete, 1000-*



- 600 B.C., in E. SIMANTONI-BOURNIAS, A. LEMOS, L. MENDONI, N. KOUROU (eds.), *AMYMONA ΕΡΓΑ. Volume in honour of V. Labrinoudakis*, Athens 2007.
- COLDSTREAM - CATLING 1996 = J.N. COLDSTREAM - H.W. CATLING (eds.), *Knossos North Cemetery. Early Greek Tombs*, vol. I-IV (*BSA Suppl.* 28), London 1996.
- CRIELAARD 1999 = J.P. CRIELAARD, *Production, circulation and consumption of Early Iron Age Greek pottery (eleventh to seventh centuries BC)*, in J.P. CRIELAARD - V. STISSI - G.J. VAN WIJNGAARDEN (eds.), *The complex past of pottery. Production, circulation and consumption of Mycenaean and Greek pottery (sixteenth to early fifth centuries BC)*, *Proceedings of the ARCHON international conference, held in Amsterdam, 8-9 November 1996*, Amsterdam 1999, pp. 49-81.
- CURTIUS 1868 = E. CURTIUS, *The History of Greece I*, London 1868.
- DAVID - KRAMER 2001 = N. DAVID - C. KRAMER, *Ethno-archaeology in Action*, Cambridge 2001.
- DERIU - BUCHNER - RIDGWAY 1986 = A. DERIU - G. BUCHNER - D. RIDGWAY, *Provenance and Firing Techniques of Geometric Pottery from Pithekoussai: a Mössbauer Investigation*, in *AION* 8, 1986, pp. 99-116.
- DICKINSON 2006 = O. DICKINSON, *The Aegean from Bronze Age to Iron Age*, Oxford - New York 2006.
- DUGAS - RHOMAIOS 1934 = C. DUGAS - C. RHOMAIOS, *Délos XV. Les vases Préhelléniques et Géométriques*, Paris 1934.
- DUNBABIN 1957 = T.J. DUNBABIN, *Greeks and their eastern neighbours*, London 1957.
- HALBHERR - ORSI 1888 = F. HALBHERR - P. ORSI, *Antichità dell'antro di Zeus Ideo e di altre località in Creta*, Firenze 1888.
- HALL 1997 = J.M. HALL, *Ethnic identity in Greek antiquity*, Cambridge 1997.
- HAMPE 1967-1968 = R. HAMPE, *Eine kretische Töpferscheibe des 7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, in *Χαριστήριον εις Αναστάσιον Κ. Οπλάνδου*, vol. 4, Athens 1967-1968, pp. 178-183.
- HITCHCOCK 2005 = L.A. HITCHCOCK, "Who will personally invite a foreigner unless he is a craftsman?": Exploring interconnections in Aegean and Levantine architecture, in R. LAFFINEUR - E. GRECO (eds.), *Emporia: Aegeans in the Central and Eastern Mediterranean*, *Proceedings of the 10th International Aegean Conference, Italian School of Archaeology in Athens, 14-18 April 2004 (Aegaeum 25)*, Liège-Austin 2005, pp. 691-699.
- HOFFMAN 1997 = H. HOFFMAN, *Imports and Immigrants. Near Eastern Contacts with Iron Age Crete*, Michigan 1997.
- JONES D.W. 1993 = D.W. JONES, *Phoenician unguent factories in Dark Age Greece: Social Approaches to Evaluating the Archaeological Evidence*, in *OJA* 12, 1993, pp. 293-302.
- JONES D.W. 2000 = D.W. JONES, *External Relations of Early Iron Age Crete, 1100-600 B.C.*, Philadelphia 2000.
- JONES R.E. 1997 = R.E. JONES, *Chemical characterisation of geometric pottery from Khania*, in E. HALLAGER - B.P. HALLAGER (eds.), *The Greek-Swedish Excavations at the Agia Aikaterini Square Kastelli, Khania 1970-1987, vol. I:1-2, From the Geometric to the Modern Greek period*, Stockholm 1997, pp. 272-281.
- JONES R. - BUXEDA I GARRIGÓS 2004 = R. JONES - J. BUXEDA I GARRIGÓS, *The identity of Early Greek pottery in Italy and Spain: an archaeometric perspective*, in K. LOMAS (ed.), *Greek Identity in the Western Mediterranean. Papers in honour of Brian Shefton*, Leiden - Boston 2004, pp. 86-114.
- JONES S. 1997 = S. JONES, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity*, London - New York 1997.
- KARAGEORGHIS 2006 = V. KARAGEORGHIS, 'Cypriote' styles beyond Cyprus from the Late Bronze Age to the end of the Archaic period, in E. HERRING, I. LEMOS, F. LO SCHIAVO, L. VAGNETTI, R. WHITEHOUSE and J. WILKINS (eds.), *Across Frontiers. Etruscans, Greeks, Phoenicians and Cypriots. Studies in honour of David Ridgway and Francesca Romana Serra Ridgway (Accordia Specialist Studies on the Mediterranean 6)*, London 2006, pp. 77-87.
- KNAPPETT, KILIKOGLU, STEELE, STERN 2005 = C. KNAPPETT, V. KILIKOGLU, V. STEELE, B. STERN, *The circulation and consumption of Red Lustrous Wheelmade ware: petrographic, chemical and residue analysis*, in *AnatSt* 55, 2005, pp. 25-59.
- KOTSONAS 2005 = A. KOTSONAS, *Ceramic Styles in Iron Age Crete: Production, Dissemination and Consumption. A study of Pottery from the Iron Age Necropolis of Orthi Petra in Eleutherna*, Unpublished PhD thesis submitted to the University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh 2005.
- KOTSONAS 2006 = A. KOTSONAS, *Wealth and Status in Iron Age Knossos*, in *OJA* 25, 2006, pp. 149-172.
- KOTSONAS forthcoming a = A. KOTSONAS, *Orientalizing Ceramic Styles and Wares in Early Iron Age Crete*, in W.-D. NIEMEIER - I. KAISER - O. PILZ (eds.), *Kreta in der geometrischen und archaischen Zeit. Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Athen 27.-29. Januar 2006*, forthcoming.
- KOTSONAS forthcoming b = A. KOTSONAS, *Central Greece and Crete in the Early Iron Age*, in A. MAZARAKIS-AINIAN (ed.), *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας, Πρακτικά 2ης επιστημονικής συνάντησης*, forthcoming.
- KOUROU 1984 = N. KOUROU, *Local Naxian workshops and the import-export pottery trade of the island in the Geometric period*, in H.A.G. BRIJDER (ed.), *Ancient Greek and Related Pottery. Proceedings of the International Vase Symposium in Amsterdam, 12-15 April 1984*, Amsterdam 1984, pp. 107-112.
- KOUROU 1994 = N. KOUROU, *Η ναξιακή παρουσία στο Αιγαίο και την Μεσόγειο κατά τη Γεωμετρική εποχή*, in I.K. PROMPONAS - S.E. PSARRAS (eds.), *Πρακτικά του Α΄ Πανελληνίου Συνεδρίου με θέμα «Η Νάξος δια μέσου των αιώνων, Φιλότι 3-6 Σεπτεμβρίου 1992, Αθήνα, 1994*, pp. 263-220.

- KOUROU 1999 = N. KOUROU, *Ανασκαφές Νάξου. Το νότιο νεκροταφείο της Νάξου κατά τη γεωμετρική περίοδο*, Αθήνα 1999.
- KOUROU 2004 = N. KOUROU, *Cycladic Naxian Late Geometric Pottery and History*, in M.C. LENTINI (ed.), *Le due città di Naxos, Atti del Seminario di Studi, Giardini Naxos 29 - 31 Ottobre 2000*, Firenze - Milano 2004, pp. 77-85.
- LEONTIDIS 1996 = A. LEONTIDIS, *Αγγειοπλαστικά κέντρα και περιδεύοντες τεχνίτες. Η περίπτωση των Μαργαριτών Μυλοποτάμου Ρεθύμνης*, in E. GAVRILAKI (ed.), *Κεραμικά Εργαστήρια στην Κρήτη από την Αρχαιότητα ως Σήμερα. Πρακτικά Ημερίδας, Μαργαρίτες, 30 Σεπτεμβρίου 1995, Ρέθυμνο 1996*, pp. 69-77.
- LIDDY 1996 = D.J. LIDDY, *Chapter 8, A chemical study of decorated Iron Age pottery from the Knossos North Cemetery*, in J.N. COLDSTREAM - H.W. CATLING (eds.), *Knossos North Cemetery. Early Greek Tombs vol. II (BSA Suppl. 28)*, London 1996, pp. 465-514.
- MOIGNARD 1996 = E. MOIGNARD, *Chapter 7, The Orientalizing pottery*, in J.N. COLDSTREAM - H.W. CATLING (eds.), *Knossos North Cemetery. Early Greek Tombs vol. II (BSA Suppl. vol. 28)*, London 1996, pp. 421-462.
- MORGAN 1999 = C. MORGAN, *Some thoughts on the production and consumption of Early Iron Age pottery in the Aegean*, in J.P. CRIELAARD - V. STISSI - G.J. VAN WIJNGAARDEN (eds.), *The complex past of pottery. Production, circulation and consumption of Mycenaean and Greek pottery (sixteenth to early fifth centuries BC)*, *Proceedings of the ARCHON international conference, held in Amsterdam, 8-9 November 1996*, Amsterdam 1999, pp. 213-259.
- MORRIS 1992 = S. MORRIS, *Daidalos and the origins of Greek art*, Princeton 1992.
- MUHLI 2005 = J. MUHLI, *Traveling craftsmen: Love 'em or Leave 'em*, in R. LAFFINEUR - E. GRECO (eds.), *Emporia. Aegeans in the Central and Eastern Mediterranean, Proceedings of the 10th International Aegean Conference, Italian School of Archaeology in Athens, 14-18 April 2004 (Aegaeum 25)*, Liège-Austin 2005, pp. 685-690.
- NEEFT 1987 = C.W. NEEFT, *Protocorinthian Subgeometric Aryballoi*, Amsterdam 1987.
- NIEMEIER 2006 = W.-D. NIEMEIER, *Minoans, Mycenaean, Hittites and Ionians in Western Asia Minor: New Excavations in Bronze Age Miletus-Millawanda*, in A. VILLING (ed.), *The Greeks in the East*, London 2005, pp. 1-36.
- PAPADOPOULOS 1997 = J.K. PAPADOPOULOS, *Innovations, Imitations and Ceramic Style: Modes of Production and Modes of Dissemination*, in R. LAFFINEUR - P.P. BETANCOURT (eds.), *TEXNH. Craftsmen, Craftswomen and Craftsmanship in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the 6th International Aegean Conference, Philadelphia, Temple University, 18-21 April 1996 (Aegaeum 16)*, vol. II, Liège-Austin 1997, pp. 449-462.
- PAPADOPOULOS - SMITHSON 2002 = J.K. PAPADOPOULOS - E.L. SMITHSON, *The cultural biography of a Cycladic Geometric Amphora. Islanders in Athens and the Prehistory of Metals*, in *Hesperia* 71, 2002, pp. 149-199.
- PAPADOPOULOS - VEDDER - SCHREIBER 1998 = J.K. PAPADOPOULOS - J.F. VEDDER - T. SCHREIBER, *Drawing Circles: Experimental Archaeology and the Pivoted Multiple Brush*, in *AJA* 102, 1998, pp. 507-529.
- PAYNE 1927-1928 = H.G.G. PAYNE, *Early Greek Vases from Knossos*, in *BSA* 29, 1927-1928, pp. 224-298.
- PERREAULT 1999a = J.V. PERREAULT, *Production et distribution à l'époque archaïque: le cas d'un atelier de potier de Thasos*, in J.P. CRIELAARD - V. STISSI - G.J. VAN WIJNGAARDEN (eds.), *The complex past of pottery. Production, circulation and consumption of Mycenaean and Greek pottery (sixteenth to early fifth centuries BC)*, *Proceedings of the ARCHON international conference, held in Amsterdam, 8-9 November 1996*, Amsterdam 1999, pp. 291-301.
- PERREAULT 1999b = J.V. PERREAULT, *Céramique et échanges. La production de «coupes/cratères à décor subgéométrique» et de «coupes à points» thasiennes et le commerce thasien en mer noire*, in C. KOUKOULI-CRUSANTHAKH - A. MULLER - S. PAPADOPOULOS (eds.), *Thasos. Matières premières et technologie de la préhistoire à nos jours*, Paris 1999, pp. 253-260.
- PSAROPOULOU 1996 = M. PSAROPOULOU, *Τα κεραμικά εργαστήρια των τελευταίων 100 χρόνων στην Κρήτη*, in E. GAVRILAKI (ed.), *Κεραμικά Εργαστήρια στην Κρήτη από την Αρχαιότητα ως Σήμερα. Πρακτικά Ημερίδας, Μαργαρίτες, 30 Σεπτεμβρίου 1995, Ρέθυμνο 1996*, pp. 101-138.
- RIDGWAY 2004 = D. RIDGWAY, *Euboeans and others along the Tyrrhenian seaboard in the 8th century B.C.*, in K. LOMAS (ed.), *Greek Identity in the Western Mediterranean. Papers in honour of Brian Shefton*, Leiden - Boston 2004, pp. 15-33.
- RIDGWAY - DERIU - BOITANI 1985 = D. RIDGWAY - A. DERIU - F. BOITANI, *Provenance and Firing Techniques of Geometric Pottery from Veii: a Mössbauer Investigation*, in *BSA* 80, 1985, pp. 139-150.
- RUTTER - VAN DE MOORTEL 2006 = J.B. RUTTER - A. VAN DE MOORTEL, *Minoan Pottery from the Southern Area*, in J. W. SHAW - M.C. SHAW (eds.), *Kommos V. The Monumental Minoan Buildings at Kommos*, Princeton - Oxford 2006, pp. 261-275.
- SAKELLARAKIS 1986 = J. SAKELLARAKIS, *Πρωτογεωμετρική - Γεωμετρική κεραμική από τις Αρχόνες*, in *CretChron* 26 (1986), pp. 7-50.
- SCHREIBER 2003 = N. SCHREIBER, *The Cypro-Phoenician Pottery of the Iron Age*, Leiden - Boston 2003.
- STAMPOLIDIS 2003 = N.C. STAMPOLIDIS (ed.), *Sea Routes... From Sidon to Huelva. Interconnections in the Mediterranean, 16th - 6th c. BC.*, Athens 2003.
- STAMPOLIDIS 2004a = N. STAMPOLIDIS (ed.), *Eleutherna. Polis - Acropolis - Necropolis*, Athens 2004.
- STAMPOLIDIS 2004b = N.C. STAMPOLIDIS, *The Geometric - Archaic necropolis at Orthi Petra. West excavation sector III - The cemeteries of the Graeco-Roman and Early Byzantine periods*, in STAMPOLIDIS 2004a, pp. 116-143.

- STAMPOLIDIS - KARETSOU 1998 = N. STAMPOLIDIS - A. KARETSOU (eds.), *Ανατολική Μεσόγειος. Κύπρος - Δωδεκάνησα - Κρήτη, 16<sup>ος</sup>-6<sup>ος</sup> αι. π.Χ.*, Ηράκλειο 1998.
- STAMPOLIDIS - KOTSONAS 2006 = N.C. STAMPOLIDIS - A. KOTSONAS, *Phoenicians in Crete*, in S. DEGER-JALKOTZY - I.S. LEMOS (eds.), *Ancient Greece from the Mycenaean palaces to the Age of Homer (Edinburgh Leventis Studies 3)*, Edinburgh 2006, pp. 337-360.
- TEGOU 2001 = E. TEGOU, *Θολωτός τάφος της πρώιμης εποχής του Σιδήρου στην Παντάνασσα Αμαρίου Ν. Ρεθύμνης*, in N.C. STAMPOLIDIS (ed.), *Πρακτικά του Συμποσίου "Καύσεις στην Εποχή του Χαλκού και την Πρώιμη Εποχή του Σιδήρου"*, Ρόδος 29 Απριλίου - 2 Μαΐου 1999, Αθήνα 2001, 121-153.
- TOMLINSON - KILIKOGLU 1998 = J.E. TOMLINSON - V. KILIKOGLU, *Neutron Activation Analysis from the Early Orientalizing kiln at Knossos*, in *BSA* 93, 1998, pp. 385-388.
- ΤΣΙΡΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ 1985 = Μ. ΤΣΙΡΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, *Κυπριακά στοιχεία στη Γεωμετρική και Ανατολίζουσα κεραμική της Ανατολικής Κρήτης*, in *Κυπριακή Αρχαιολογία - Archaeologia Cypria* 1, 1985, pp. 33-49.
- ΤΣΙΡΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ 2005 = Μ. ΤΣΙΡΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, *Η Ανατολική Κρήτη στην Πρώιμη Εποχή του Σιδήρου*, Ηράκλειο 2005.
- VOYATZOGLOU 1974 = Μ. VOYATZOGLOU, *The Jar Makers of Thrapsano in Crete*, in *Expedition* 16.2, 1974, pp. 18-24.
- WHITLEY 1986 = J. WHITLEY, *Burial and Society in Dark Age Greece: social, stylistic and mortuary change in the two communities of Athens and Knossos between 1100 and 700 BC*, Unpublished PhD thesis submitted to Cambridge University, Cambridge 1986.
- WHITLEY 1998 = J. WHITLEY, *Knossos without Minos*, in *AJA* 102, 1998 pp. 611-613.
- WILLIAMS 1986 = D. WILLIAMS, *Greek potters and their descendants in Campania and Southern Etruria, c. 720-630 BC*, in J. SWADDLING (ed.), *Italian Iron Age Artefacts in the British Museum. Paper of the Sixth British Museum Classical Colloquium*, London 1986, pp. 295-304.
- ZACCAGNINI 1983 = C. ZACCAGNINI, *Patterns of mobility among ancient Near Eastern craftsmen*, in *JNES* 42, 1983, pp. 245-264.

