



Borders in first millennium BC Crete

INTERNATIONAL INTERDISCIPLINARY WORKSHOP
Athens (Italian and Belgian Schools at Athens) & online
20-21 January 2023

PROGRAM ABSTRACTS

Information: <https://www.ugent.be/lw/archeologie/en/news-events/events/borders-in-crete-2023>
Registration: <https://forms.gle/P9Xcw3n7NZXDWrrN8>

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ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

Prof. Roald Docter,
Ghent University

Giacomo Fadelli,
Ghent University,
University of Verona

Prof. Athena Tsingarida,
Université Libre de Bruxelles,
Belgian School at Athens

Quentin Drillat,
Ghent University

VENUES

20 January 2023

**Italian School of Archaeology
at Athens**

14 Odos Parthenonos, GR-117 42
Athens

21 January 2023

Belgian School at Athens

11 Makari, GR-117 42
Athens

Program

20-21 January 2023

PROGRAM

Friday 20 January - Venue: *Italian School of Archaeology at Athens*

13.45-14.00 **Emanuele Papi** (*Director, Italian School of Archaeology at Athens*)

Welcome words

14.00-14.30 **Quentin Drillat** (*Ghent University*),

Giacomo Fadelli (*Ghent University, University of Verona*)

Introduction

SESSION 1: TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATION

14.30-15.00 **Vyron Antoniadis** (*Institute of Historical Research, National Hellenic Research Foundation*)

Harbours, Roads, Satellite Data and the Borders of the Harbour at Heraklion

15.00-15.30 **Dominic Pollard** (*Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, New York University*)

Todd Whitelaw (*Institute of Archaeology, University College London*)

Settlement, Demography and Subsistence at First Millennium BCE Knossos
in its Central Cretan Context

15.30-16.30 **Conor Trainor** (*University of Warwick*)

Pots, Plots and Piety: The Urban Borders of Classical, Hellenistic
and Early Roman Knossos

Coffee break

17.00-17.30 **Nadia Coutsinas** (*CReA-Patrimoine, ULB*)

Borders in Eastern Crete in the Hellenistic period: the role of fortifications

17.30-18.00 **Didier Viviers** (*CReA-Patrimoine, ULB*)

Territorial and Political Dynamics: the Case of Itanos

KEYNOTE LECTURE

18.00-19.00 **Antonis Kotsonas** (*New York University*)

Borders, Territories, and Archaeological Regions in Ancient Crete

Conference dinner

PROGRAM

Saturday 21 January - Venue: *Belgian School at Athens*

9.15-9.30 **Athena Tsingarida** (*Director, Belgian School at Athens*)

Welcome words

SESSION 2: INTRA-SITE SPATIAL ORGANIZATION

9.30-10.00 **Antonella Pautasso** (*ISPC-CNR*) and **Salvatore Rizza** (*ISPC-CNR*)

Borders in spatial organization of private, communal and religious spaces
in first millennium B.C. Cretan settlements, starting from the Priniàs case

10.00-10.30 **Jacopo Bonetto** (*Università degli Studi di Padova*)

Anna Bertelli (*Ruhr-Universität Bochum*)

Borders and focal points in Gortyn at the beginning of the first millennium BC

SESSION 3: FUNERAL PRACTICES

10.30-11.00 **Manos Rapanakis** (*University of Crete*)

"About mourning": funeral practices in ancient Kamara from the Hellenistic
to the early Roman period

11.00-11.30 **Sarah M. Norvell** (*Princeton University*)

On Borders Physical and Metaphysical: Reassessing Tomb Cult on Crete

Coffee break

KEYNOTE LECTURE

12.00-13.00 **Angelos Chaniotis** (*Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton*)

Borders in post-Classical Crete: Contested, Disputed, Redrawn

Lunch break

SESSION 4: MATERIAL CULTURE

15.00-15.30 **Daniel Frank** (*University of Heidelberg*)
Katerina Kock (*German Archaeological Institute Athens*)
Terracotta figurines defining sacral borders in Classical Crete

15.30-16.00 **Eleonora Pappalardo** (*Università di Catania*)
Non-material borders in Iron Age Crete

SESSION 5: SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

16.00-16.30 **David B. Small** (*Lehigh University*)
Exclusionary Elites: A Different Polis Image, a Different Polis Border?

16.30-17.00 **Adam Paluchowski** (*University of Wrocław*)
Visible-Invisible Borders – an Epigraphic Study of Social Topography
in Cretan Cities

Coffee break

SESSION 6 : MONETARY BORDERS

17.30-18.00 **Federico Carbone** (*Università degli Studi di Salerno*)
Intra-island monetary borders: the articulation of weight standards
for the production and circulation of Cretan coins

18.00-18.30 **Alessandro Cavagna** (*Università degli Studi di Milano*)
Invisible borders: Presence and Use of Peloponnesian Coins in Crete

CONCLUSION

18.30-19.00 Concluding remarks

Abstracts

Harbours, Roads, Satellite Data and the Borders of the Harbour at Heraklion

During the Early Iron Age (EIA), Knossos was one of the most important cities of the Aegean, with an extensive settlement near the abandoned Bronze Age palace and at least one harbour situated at modern-day Heraklion. The people of Knossos buried their dead around the settlement, typically beyond its limits. Over the last century, studying the EIA tombs mainly located between the harbour and the settlement has been so crucial for understanding Knossos that it has led scholars to define the borders of the urban area on the basis of the spatial distribution of the cemeteries. This approach has

generated various discussions regarding the nature of the settlement, especially concerning the Aristotelian concept of the genesis of the Greek city. This paper focuses on the spatial relation between the EIA harbour and the Knossian funerary landscape using satellite data and GIS tools, such as Site Catchment and Least Cost Path analysis. It is suggested that monuments, structures and terrain morphology offer important insights regarding the size and function of the city and its harbour through the EIA.

Dominic Pollard (*Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, New York University*)

Todd Whitelaw (*Institute of Archaeology, University College London*)

Settlement, Demography and Subsistence at First Millennium BCE Knossos in its Central Cretan Context

This paper considers the role of Knossos in the emerging territorial dynamics of Central Crete during the first millennium BCE. One approach to modelling the minimal territorial extent of an ancient community is through estimation of its population, and the quantities of land necessary to meet their basic subsistence needs. However, making such estimates for Crete in the first millennium BCE is hampered by the relative dearth of sites for which a diachronic history of settlement size (and, by extension, population) can be reconstructed. However, the intensive survey of Knossos allows reconstruction

of the spatial extent of the settlement from the Neolithic period to the present day, making Knossos an important exception to this general picture. In this paper, we consider the LM IIIC-Hellenistic periods at Knossos, and attempt to work outwards from the surface sherd patterns, to estimations of site and population size, to simulations of minimum agricultural catchments. The archaeological data, though comparatively rich, are not without their problems, and the effects of preservation and recovery biases will be addressed, along with the methodological issues involved in estimating popula-

tion sizes from surface remains. Though the evidence from other sites in central Crete is patchier, we will place developments at Knossos in their wider regional context, and outline some scenarios for the timing and manner by which the agricultural needs of settlements in this re-

gion may have resulted in inter-community tensions, with implications for discussions of territoriality and political consolidation, and how these developed through the first millennium BCE.

Conor Trainor (*University of Warwick*)

Pots, Plots and Piety: The Urban Borders of Classical, Hellenistic and Early Roman Knossos

Most urban areas today are ringed by sprawling districts of warehouses, factories, and other infrastructure of commercial or logistical character. While these areas are rarely the most attractive parts of cities, they tend to fulfil a suite of critical roles related to economy and connectivity, without which modern cities could not function. The edges of Classical cities often served an even broader set of functions, and can provide us with evidence for considering aspects of urban economies, such as production, processing and packaging. In addition to this, cult activity often took place at city edges. The people of ancient Greek and Roman cities also very often buried their dead close in close proximity to urban areas, but rarely if ever inside the bounds of a city. This paper presents and explores the borders of urban Knossos during the Classical-Early Roman periods. It will consider how

the urban area can be identified and demarcated and will highlight some potential problems with this. It will then examine the range of activities from production and packaging, to ritual and burial that took place around the edges of the urban area. In particular we will look at the southern border of urban Knossos, and will consider the extent to which growth and decline in this area may help us to contextualise larger political and social changes over time. Knossos has been the subject of excavations for well over a century and has been the subject of the Knossos Urban Landscape Project, a systematic and intensive diachronic study of the valley's surface. This combination of spatial awareness from the survey and chronological precision from the excavations makes Knossos an ideal case for this type of discussion.

Borders in Eastern Crete in the Hellenistic period: the role of fortifications

The question of the borders of cities is a major topic that requires a multidisciplinary study, taking into account not only the geographical characteristics of the terrain but also the historical sources and the archaeological remains, or even the ancient road network, as far as this is known. When they exist, boundary delimitations are generally included in the text of a treaty between two cities. Elements serving as markers are either geological, geographical or cultural. They mostly refer to the orography and hydrography. But in some very rare cases, human constructions are mentioned, i.e. shrines or sacred enclosures, guardhouses and other structures

which can be identified by archaeological surveys. For Crete, we are lucky to have kept six tracks, more or less complete. Apart from the supposed border preserved in the 5th century treaty between Knossos and Tylissos, the Cretan boundaries are all dated from the Hellenistic period, from the 2nd or the beginning of the 1st century BC. We will here mostly focus on the boundaries of the two east Cretan cities of Lato and Itanos, whose trace is completely preserved and has been the object of specific studies. Archaeological research in the region sheds new light on the long known texts.

Antonella Pautasso (*Dirigente di Ricerca ISPC-CNR, sede di Catania*)

Salvatore Rizza (*Ricercatore ISPC-CNR, sede di Catania*)

Borders in spatial organization of private, communal and religious spaces in first millennium B.C. Cretan settlements, starting from the Priniàs case

The study of the Protoarchaic complex located on the southern slope of the Patela of Priniàs, which has come to an end and will soon be published in the Monographs of the SAIA, has made it possible to address certain aspects of the spatial organization of the settlement during the first millennium B.C. The present contribution intends to deepen and submit for discussion some points that emerged in the course of the research and were only partially addressed in the volume's conclusions. In particular, starting from the case study of Priniàs, the contribution intends to consider the relationship between structures and urban context in the spe-

cific case of buildings with a communal and religious function, highlighting how the presence or absence of borders may constitute an essential element in the interpretation of certain buildings. The perspective offered by Priniàs will also be related to other significant examples in the Cretan context, some also of later date, in an attempt to delineate few constants in the relationship between structure and urban space that could be read in relation to the function of the different buildings.

Borders and focal points in Gortyn at the beginning of the first millennium BC

In the lively debate on the process of formation of the polis on the island of Crete, the case of Gortyn has occupied a position of particular importance to date based on the literal and epigraphical sources. Looking from an archaeological viewpoint, there is scarce evidence mostly due to an urban context dominated by Roman ruins and a data set that is not always complete or easy to read. During the recent archaeological investigations in the sanctuary of Apollo Pythios in Gortyn, materials of surprisingly early chronology have been recovered

which now allow us to attempt new and more complete readings on the origin, evolution and meaning of the sanctuary complex. These new results, supplemented by a comprehensive review of all the data on the first phases of the area, put in light a new possible view of the formation of the outline of the rising polis. The set of available data challenges the established ideas on the spatial organisation of the early communities of Gortyn and permits the different models regarding the limits and the formation of the early polis to be re-discussed.

Manos Rapanakis (*University of Crete*)

"About mourning": funeral practices in ancient Kamara from the Hellenistic to the early Roman period

This project is an effort to address the issue of the spatial organization of burial ensembles, funeral practices and the emerging social differentiation in the cemeteries of ancient Kamara, throughout the Hellenistic and early Roman era on the west coast of Mirabello Bay. Based on the excavated data that have emerged and taking into account the elements of geomorphology in the topographic dispersion of the cemeteries in the modern city of Agios Nikolaos, this dissertation mainly examines the location and organization of the cemeteries of Kazarma, Stavros and Potamos¹ in relation to the settlement, the typology of the tombs and the burial gifts. In order to manage the large number of burial sets of this study, a quantitative and statistical approach of

the material is considered, which does not aim at removing the burial data from their contexts, nor from the society that produced them. For this purpose, tables and graphs have been used in order to outline the burial variability, as well as any trends regarding the burial practice. Prior to the issuance of general concluding remarks, a reconstruction of the burial rite will take place and issues of interpretation concerning the social position of the dead and their perceptions of the Afterlife will be highlighted. Our aim is to understand the social identity of the dead on the island of Crete, through data that so far remain unnoticed, as the disintegration of the cemeteries of Kamara probably reflects different forms of population and social organization.

On Borders Physical and Metaphysical: Reassessing Tomb Cult on Crete

Tomb cult, a form of ancestor cult sited at ancient tombs, has been credited with playing a crucial role in the development of communal identities and the definition of physical borders in some regions of the Greek mainland (Antonaccio 1995). In Crete, however, this phenomenon was initially thought not to have been attested, due to either the island's long-lived practice of multiple burial (cf. Coldstream 1976) or its closed social structure that limited intra-elite competition (cf. Snodgrass 1980). Nearly twenty years ago, Lefèvre-Novaro identified six initial instances of tomb cult on Crete (Lefèvre-Novaro 2004). Today, following recent excavation and publication campaigns, the number of instances that have been tentatively identified as tomb cult on Crete approaches 30. In this paper, I revisit the evidence for this phe-

nomenon and apply more rigorous criteria for its identification. Based on the limited evidence for continued engagement with ancient tombs that attracted offerings in later periods, I argue that several instances currently identified as tomb cult on Crete represent one-time depositions made by individuals acting in a private capacity rather than assertions of territorial claims advanced by emerging communities. Instead, I suggest that these instances of later limited engagement with ancient tombs may have sprung from their perception as affective, liminal spaces. On this view, the engagement with these tombs served not to mark physical borders between emerging communities, but rather the metaphysical borders between the world of the living and that of the dead.

Daniel Frank (*University of Heidelberg*)

Katerina Kock (*German Archaeological Institute Athens*)

Terracotta figurines defining sacral borders in Classical Crete

During the Classical period, different figurine types dedicated in sanctuaries were rarely exchanged between different city-states in Crete, a phenomenon that might be caused by the hostile relations of competing poleis. In the 5th century BC, the influence on coroplastic workshops came from the Greek mainland (Athens, Corinth) and the Ionian islands like Rhodes. At the end of the 5th and beginning of the 4th century BC, the extensive trade contacts ex-

tend the repertoire of motifs including types from Boeotia and the west coast of Asia Minor. Therefore, one might assume, that artistic and maybe religious ideas behind specific types of figurines are partly borrowed. The lack of artistic independence of votives does not seem unusual if one considers that during the Late Archaic and Classical periods, the pottery workshops on Crete predominantly produced pottery without decoration. According to the dif-

ferent types of figurines on Crete, the island can be understood as a melting pot of eclectic religious objects from Eastern and Western Greek traditions. The implementation of new motifs seems to take place simultaneously with the recovery from austerity in the 5th cen-

tury BC. This paper aims to present how specific motifs in sanctuaries and in the funerary landscape define borders within Crete. Furthermore, they emphasize a particular outreach of city-states to different regions of the Greek Mainland, islands, and Asia Minor.

Eleonora Pappalardo (*Università di Catania*)

Non-material borders in Iron Age Crete

Studies on borders are usually concerned with material and physical features. Their definition allows discourses about centre and periphery, frontiers and marginality, internal and external. In this paper we will focus on non-material borders, trying to engage a discourse on presence or absence, abundance or scarcity of precise classes of materials. In particular, we will concern with external imports in Iron Age Cretan sites, and we try to establish boundaries on the

base of precise local choices. Starting from the published evidence on external imports in the island, we will update information also on the base of the recent studies carried out in Prinias, in central Crete, and draw a new distribution map in this sense. A network analysis based on imports' distribution will be arranged and, in the meantime, a systematic association object/context will be presented.

David B. Small (*Professor of Archaeology, Emeritus Lehigh University*)

Exclusionary Elites: A Different Polis Image, a Different Polis Border?

I have argued (Small 2010; 2019a 2019b) that a distinction of Iron Age Cretan polities was that their elites employed social exclusion more than social ostentation in social negotiations. Did this different type of polity image correlate with a type of border presence which was not similar to that of polities on the Greek mainland and elsewhere? Already, a deficit of non-urban sanctuaries, and a distinct Cretan function for these sanctuaries indicates that there might be some important connection between the par-

ticular Cretan polis image and the presence of that image in border regions. In this presentation I will compare the Cretan examples to polities in other parts of Greece. My goal is to isolate and examine the structural ties between polis image and border identity in Crete and elsewhere, and through this comparative method to identify elements of polis structure which affect various border identities.

Visible-Invisible Borders – an Epigraphic Study of Social Topography in Cretan Cities

The paper will focus more on “the distinction of who” than “what belonged to the group” in Cretan cities. As it is clear that every city was a highly compartmentalized spatial entity compounded of many functionally differential areas where many distinct groups of local population were related to and (re)produced such a functional mapping, the borders should be understood in a literal or material as well as figurative or social manner. The key category of evidence will be inscriptions read against a background of archaeological data and – as far as it is feasible – narrative sources. The starting point will be Gortyn, given its voluminous epigraphic corpus located in a well excavated topography. Nevertheless other minor sites unevenly distributed through the island will be also taken into account, it means Axos, Eleutherna and

Lytos – they are intended to provide us with a kind of comparative case studies. The issue will be approached from a functional perspective in order to see, firstly, the whole complexity of social fabric and, secondly, how it really worked in relation to spatial compartments of the city. For instance, a man of unfree status (δοῦλος) is either a slave whose life seems to be confined to a district due to his servile tasks, in other words servile function, or a free individual when transgressing socio-spatial borders, this time due to his “citizen-procreating” tasks/function in the house of a free woman (the Gortyn Code coll. VI,55– VII,4). In this sense the borders were never rigid, on the contrary, they were still re-configured according to still changing social functions.

Federico Carbone (*Università degli Studi di Salerno*)

Intra-island monetary borders: the articulation of weight standards for the production and circulation of Cretan coins

The monetary relations between the Cretan cities allow us to distinguish certain elements of commonality or difference in the economic policy adopted by the local poleis. Some particularities of these relations can be identified by the choices of weight standards adopted in the production of coinage by the individual mints. By interpreting these characteristics, now possible thanks to the analysis of the coinage of the major cities, it is possible to define the existence

(or non-existence) of 'monetary frontiers' that allow us to detail the economic dynamics that must have existed between the various cities and the role that supra-poleic organisations have played in the production and circulation of coins. This analysis is based on the comparison of data on the coin production of the mints of Gortyna, Kydonia, Hierapytna, Phaistos and Polyrrhenia, analysing the period of greatest characterisation, i.e. that between the 4th and

3rd centuries BC. On this occasion, it will be possible to contextualise this phenomenon within the production of Cretan coinage, roughly between the mid-5th and early 1st century BC. This will make it possible to reconsider a

part of the monetary articulation of the island, hitherto considered as marginal and passive in relation to the economic dynamics of the rest of the central Mediterranean.

Alessandro Cavagna (*Università degli Studi di Milano*)

Invisible borders: Presence and Use of Peloponnesian Coins in Crete

Only 150 miles separate the Crete island from the Peloponnese. These two areas were directly connected through a maritime route, which was extensively exploited during the classical and hellenistic time. Evidence of established overseas connections are highlighted by the circulation of coins. In fact, recent excavations, as well as past surveys, carried out at various sites in the island provided evidence of a significant

presence of Peloponnesian coins in Crete dating between the 4th and 2nd centuries B.C., and encompassing mostly issues of Corinth, Argos, Sikyon and the Achaean League. The aim of this paper is to illustrate the presence of such series in Crete and their possible repercussions on the local monetary circulation