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Author(s): Laura Preston

Reviewed work(s):

Source: *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, Vol. 102 (2007), pp. 257-314

Published by: [British School at Athens](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30245252>

Accessed: 30/11/2011 10:34

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THE ISOPATA CEMETERY AT KNOSSOS¹

INTRODUCTION

THE INVESTIGATION in 1909–10 of a group of Bronze Age tombs at Isopata, Knossos, shed further light on an urban elite which had only recently been rediscovered through excavations of the nearby palace complex. These tombs provide a valuable insight into high status ideologies at this centre in the ‘Final Palatial’ period, a phase of dramatic cultural and political transformations for Knossos (c.1450–1370 BC; in ceramic terms, Late Minoan II–III A2 early). The existence of tombs on the Isopata plateau, about 3 km north of the palace and overlooking the harbour town of Poros,² had been known since the excavation in 1904 of the ‘Isopata Royal Tomb’ and an adjacent Late Minoan II chamber tomb.³ The new tomb group, now known as the ‘Isopata cemetery’, was found about 400 m to the north of these, through the chance discovery of a deposit of material (the ‘Isolated Deposit’) by a local inhabitant. This led to the excavation of two tombs (Tombs 1 and 1A) in 1909 and six more (Tombs 2 to

¹ I would like to thank the British School at Athens for permission to study and publish this material and for access to the BSA archives. The research was funded by the Institute of Archaeology at UCL, the British School at Athens, the University of Cambridge, and the Faculty of Classics at Cambridge. Conservation of the metal artefacts, and the drawing of small finds, were financed by INSTAP and carried out by Kathy Hall and Doug Faulmann respectively. The drawings of the ceramic artefacts were undertaken by me. I would like to thank Dr C. Broodbank, Dr A. Brysbaert, Dr D. Evely, Dr Ch. Fassoulas, Dr P. Halstead, Dr E. Hatzaki, Dr V. Isaakidou, Dr M. Panagiotaki, Professor T. Strasser, Professor P. Warren, and Professor T. Whitelaw for valuable support and advice during this project. Dr N. Dimopoulou kindly allowed me access to the Heraklion Museum catalogue of Isopata material, and Dr E. Sherratt gave extensive support in consulting the Evans Archive at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. I am grateful to the Ashmolean Museum for permission to consult the archives and to publish several of the figures in the present article, and to Dr Y. Galanakis for help in obtaining images. Finally, I wish to thank Professor T. Whitelaw, Dr C. Briault, Dr B. Molloy, Dr I. Morley, Dr Y. Galanakis and the anonymous referee for their valuable comments on drafts of this article.

Special abbreviations:

Aegean Seals = O. Krzyszkowska, *Aegean Seals: An Introduction* (BICS Supp. 85; London, 2005).

BMG = I. Pini, *Beiträge zur minoischen Gräberkunde* (Wiesbaden, 1968).

CMP = A. Furumark, *Chronology of Mycenaean Pottery* (Stockholm, 1941).

DB 09 = Isopata excavation notebook of D. Mackenzie for 1–27 June 1909 (Evans Archive, Ashmolean Museum); page numbers have been assigned by me.

DB 10 = ‘Knossos Tomb of Isopata 1910’ excavation notebook of D. Mackenzie (Evans Archive, Ashmolean Museum); page numbers have been assigned by me.

Karo = G. Karo, *Die Schachtgräber von Mykenai* (Munich, 1930).

Katsambas = S. Alexiou, *Υστερομινωικοί Τάφοι Λιμένος Κνωσού (Κατσαμβά)* (Athens, 1967).

MUM = M. Popham (ed), *The Minoan Unexplored Mansion at Knossos* (BSA Supplementary Volume 17; London, 1984).

PTK = A. Evans, *The Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos* (reprinted from *Archaeologia*, 59; London, 1906).

Preston 1999 = L. Preston, ‘Mortuary practices and the negotiation of social identities at LM II Knossos’, *BSA* 94 (1999), 131–43.

Preston 2004a = L. Preston, ‘A mortuary perspective on elites in Final and Post-Palatial Crete’, *AJA* 108 (2004), 321–48.

Preston 2004b = L. Preston, ‘Final Palatial Knossos and Post-Palatial Crete: a mortuary perspective on political dynamics’, in G. Cadogan, E. Hatzaki, and A. Vasilakis (eds), *Knossos: Palace, City, State* (Athens, 2004), 137–45.

Preston 2005 = L. Preston, ‘The Kephala Tholos at Knossos: a study in the reuse of the past’, *BSA* 100 (2005), 61–124.

TDA = A. Evans, *The Tomb of the Double Axes and Associated Group, and Pillar Rooms and Ritual Vessels of the ‘Little Palace’ at Knossos* (reprinted from *Archaeologia*, 65; London, 1914).

TR = M. Panagiotaki, *The Central Palace Sanctuary at Knossos* (BSA supp. 31; London, 1999).

² See M. S. F. Hood and D. Smyth, *Archaeological Survey of the Knossos Area* (BSA Supp. 14; London, 1981), 34 n. 1.

³ For the Isopata Royal Tomb, see *PTK* 136–72. For the LM II chamber tomb located a few metres to the south, see Fyfe’s report *ibid.* 561.

TABLE 1. Boxes of material in the Stratigraphical Museum assigned to Isopata

Box	Exterior label	Interior label(s)
1671	TI1 K09 Isopata area N of tombs 1 and 1a	<i>Label 1:</i> K09 1671 Isopata N of Tombs I and IA <i>Label 2:</i> K9 Isopata Finds from area N of Tombs I and IA [<i>on reverse:</i> ‘Contenait la tablette Lin B MSK 42 enlevée en Octobre 1960’]
1672	TI2 K10 Isopata tomb 2	K10 Isopata Tomb 2 1672 [<i>on reverse:</i> ‘Contenait les tabl. Lin B MSK 43–46 enlevés en oct 60’]
1673	TI2 K10 Isopata tomb 2	K10 Isopata Tomb 2 1673 [<i>on reverse:</i> ‘Contenait la “tablette” MSK47 enlevée en oct 60’]
1674	TI2? K10 Isopata tomb 3	K10 Isopata Tomb 3 1674 [<i>on reverse:</i> ‘Contenait la “tablette” Lin B MSK47. Enlevée en oct 60’]
1675	TI3 K10 Isopata. Tomb excavated by Nk. Sabarlis	K10 Isopata tomb Nik. Sabarlis 1675
1676	TI3 K10 Isopata?	—
1677	TI4 K10 Isopata tomb 4	K10 Isopata Tomb 4 1677
1678	TI4 K10 Isopata tomb 5	K10 Isopata Tomb 5 Ali Badirakis 1678
1679	TI4 K10 Isopata tomb 6	K10 Tomb 6 1679 K10 Isopata Tomb 6 Sadik Salakis
1680	TI4 K10 Isopata tomb 6	—
1681	TI K10 Isopata	—
1682	TI K10 Isopata	—

7) in 1910. Duncan Mackenzie directed the excavations, and the main records are his Day Books for these years; the cemetery was published by Arthur Evans in 1914.⁴ Most of the tombs are no longer visible, and it is unclear whether they have been destroyed or simply reburied.⁵ Unfortunately, no plan of the cemetery appears to have been made at the time of the excavation, so that the exact locations of the individual tombs are now difficult to establish, although the spatial relationships between some of them were recorded.

This article complements Evans’s (in many ways exemplary) publication by presenting artefacts, and information from Mackenzie’s excavation notebooks, which were not included in that original study. The majority of the published material is now held in Heraklion Museum; however, several boxes of (mostly unpublished) artefacts assigned to Isopata remain at the Stratigraphical Museum (henceforth SM) at Knossos (see TABLE 1). This latter dataset consists mainly of ceramic vessels, comprising about 1,150 sherds in total; 46% of this material

⁴ TDA.

⁵ In a report dated 21 Sept. 1947, detailing the condition of the archaeological remains in the Knossos area following the Second World War, R. W. Hutchinson wrote that ‘The Isopata Cemetery does not exist. It is impossible, without excavation, to discover whether the Tomb of the Double Axes has been destroyed or merely filled in’ (in the BSA archives: ‘Knossos Correspondence

1940–1949’, Folder ‘1947’). Hood, however, noted in the second Knossos Survey that Tomb 1 was still partially visible, ‘in the south-west corner of a field 150 m. north of the northern border of the map’ (Hood and Smyth (n. 2), 34; see also M. S. F. Hood and P. de Jong, *Archaeological Survey of the Knossos Area* (Oxford, 1959), 24 no. 166 for the identification of this tomb in the first Knossos Survey).

has been catalogued in the present study. Pre- and post-Bronze Age material, and non-diagnostic Bronze Age sherds have not been included; nor have the contents of Box 1676, owing to the uncertainty over their provenance.⁶ With regard to human remains, we have only a skull fragment in Box 1675; no other skeletal remains have been traceable (as discussed further below).⁷

The following study is structured in two parts. The first is a presentation of the SM data, addressing the issue of provenance at a general level and then setting out previously unpublished information for each tomb in turn. This material should be considered in conjunction with Evans's original publication, as information from that source is only partially replicated. The second part of the study discusses aspects of the interpretation and significance of the cemetery in the light of the dataset as a whole. Contextualizing the tombs within the broader funerary landscape at Knossos, it then argues that a consideration of mortuary *rituals*, as well as the final tomb assemblages and monuments, can potentially shed important light on decisions regarding status legitimation and self-presentation by the groups using these tombs, particularly through appeals to the past.

THE STRATIGRAPHICAL MUSEUM MATERIAL

In TABLE 2 are listed all artefacts assignable to specific tombs, both those published by Evans and those catalogued in the present study. For clarity, a distinction is drawn between these two datasets: the SM artefacts catalogued below have been assigned a numerical code (e.g. **2.1**, **2.2**, etc. for Tomb 2), which follows a different system from that employed by Evans for the artefacts he published (e.g. *2a*, *2b*, etc. for Tomb 2).

A NOTE ON PROVENANCE

Some mixing of the SM material has occurred over the century since the excavation of the tombs but, fortunately, this appears to be limited. The lack of comment on many of these objects in Mackenzie's notebooks does not in itself cast doubt upon the reliability of their attribution to Isopata. In general, the contents of the boxes are largely consistent with published material from this cemetery, in materials and vessel fabrics, shapes, and date. Ninety-two per cent of the ceramic material is fine ware, and the vast majority of the datable sherds belong to LM II or LM III A, and therefore presumably do derive from the tomb chambers at Isopata or from explorations around the tombs, including the dromos soundings. Moreover, there are several objects in the SM boxes that are probably or certainly the same as pieces published by Evans or illustrated in early photographs of the Isopata material (**ID.1**, **2** and **4**, **2.2–9**, **3.3**, **6.5** and **6.11**; see catalogue entries below). Both Mackenzie and Evans could be selective in their written records regarding this cemetery, and

⁶ The mixed material in this box included two finger-bones and an associated bronze spiral ring, and so presumably derives from a mortuary context. However, the pottery ranged from a body sherd of a LM II Palace Style jar, through LM III B–C kylix and bowl fragments, to post-Bronze Age material, and its provenance is unclear.

⁷ Heraklion Museum has no record of skeletal material from the Isopata cemetery among its holdings (I am grateful to Argyro Nafplioti for this information). A box

of material from an 'Isopata tomb' was studied by Charles Hawes in February 1910 at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; however, the associated labels record that the context was 'the S recess in the forehall', which indicates that these bones were from the Isopata Royal Tomb (see *PTK* 140–1) rather than the cemetery group discussed here. Hawes's report on these bones is held in the Ashmolean Museum archives.

Tomb	Artefacts published by Evans	Artefacts in the present catalogue
'Isolated Deposit'	1 large alabaster vessel 1 alabaster alabastron 1 small alabaster vessel 1 bronze knife 1 bronze spearhead 2 bronze swords	1 alabaster alabastron (ID.4) 1 sword/dagger handle (ID.1) 1 sword blade (ID.2) 1 knife/razor blade (ID.3)
1	5 gold rosette beads 5 gold lily beads >1 gold spiral bead 1 gold seal ring 1 chalcedony sealstone with gold casing 5 vessel sherds with 'Palace Style' decoration (including a stirrup jar) 2 braziers	
1A	1 gold pendant 4 gold beads 1 carnelian bead 3 bronze arrowheads 2 jugs 1 bridge-spouted jar	
2 ('Tomb of the Double Axes')	3 bronze double axes (<i>2a, g, g</i>) 2 gold-plated bronze studs (<i>2b</i>) 1 bronze razor (<i>2c</i>) 2 bronze knives (<i>2d-e</i>) c.20 bronze arrowheads (<i>2f</i>) 1 cornelian sealstone (<i>2h</i>) 2 gold argonaut beads (<i>2i</i>) 1 wood bead (<i>2j</i>) 1 amber disc in gold casing (<i>2k</i>) 1 amber bead (<i>2k, k</i>) 3 jugs (<i>2l, m, s</i>) 4 Palace Style jars (<i>2n, o, p, q</i>) 1 squat alabastron (<i>2r</i>) 1 kylix (<i>2t</i>) 1 ritual vessel (<i>2u</i>) 1 brazier (<i>2v</i>) 1 silver vessel handle (<i>2w</i>) Fragments of 1 bull-head rhyton (<i>2x</i>) 1 hone (<i>2y</i>)	1 definite and 1 possible bronze double axe (2.4, 5) 1 Palace Style jar (2.2) 1 brazier (2.3) 1 silver vessel handle (2.9) 3 schist inlays (2.6, 7, 8) 1 Palace Style jar (2.1)

3	1 bronze spearhead (3a) 2 bronze knives (3b, c) 1 bronze razor (3d) 1 bronze arrowhead (3e) 1 bronze mirror (3f) ----- 1 bronze mirror (3.3) 1 mace-head (3g) 1 squat alabastron (3h) 2 stone sealstones (3k, l) 2 or more glass beads (3m, n) 1 Palace Style jar/jug (3.1) 1 Palace Style jar (3.2)
4	2 Palace Style jars (4a, f) 3 squat alabastra (4b, c, d) 1 bronze pan (4e) 1 jug (4.1)
5 ('Tomb of the Polychrome Vases')	1 silver ring (5a) 2 squat alabastra (5b, c) 1 jug (5d) 4 ritual vessels (5e, f, g, h) 1 brazier (5k) 2 jugs (5.1, 2)
6	1 kernos (6a) 1 squat alabastron (6b) ----- 2 squat alabastra (6.5, 6) 1 ritual vessel (6c) 3 clay figurines (6d, e, f) 1 gold seal ring (6g) 3 gold spherical beads (6h) >1 glass oval bead (6k) 2 glass shell-shaped beads (6l, m) 1 bronze mirror (6n) ----- 1 bronze mirror (6.11) 1 bronze stud with gold plating (6o) 1 serpentine pyxis (6p) 1 serpentine pyxis lid (6q) 2 goblets (6.1, 2) 1 cup/goblet (6.3) 1 piriform jar (6.4) 1 'strainer' (6.7) 2 pyxides (6.8, 9) 1 possible lid (6.10)
7	1 ivory tube (7.15) 1 ivory handle (7.16) 2 rounded cups (7.1, 2) 2 Ephyraean goblets (7.3, 4) 2 possible Ephyraean goblets (7.5, 6) 1 goblet/kylix (7.7) 1 conical cup (7.8) 1 Palace Style jar/jug (7.9) 1 piriform jar/jug (7.10) 2 jugs (7.11, 12) 1 brazier (not catalogued) 1 clay loomweight (7.14)

A solid line indicates the definite identification of an artefact catalogued here with one also published by Evans; a dashed line indicates a possible identification.

below). Equally, several other artefacts from the cemetery that were included in the publication were not initially noted by Mackenzie; they were presumably added to the corpus for publication only after the post-excavation analysis (e.g. the two braziers in Tomb 1; *2kk*, *2t*, *2w*, *6b*, and *6f*).

On the other hand, however, notes on the reverse of the interior labels of Boxes 1671 to 1674 indicate that several Linear B tablets were found in and removed from the SM Isopata boxes in 1960 (see table 1; the interior labels in Boxes 1673 and 1674 presumably refer to the same tablet). These tablets, referred to on the labels as 'MSK' 42–7,⁸ were almost certainly intrusive, originating rather from excavations in and around the palace. A question has also been raised over whether the material in Box 1672 as a whole derives from Isopata; this is discussed below under Tomb 2. The material from Box 1672, plus other catalogued SM objects which are either not definitely from Isopata, or are not assignable to a specific tomb, are catalogued separately in the Appendix.⁹

THE 'ISOLATED DEPOSIT'¹⁰

This chance find of a group of artefacts may be the surviving assemblage of a chamber tomb that had been almost entirely eroded away, rather than a robber's cache, as suggested by Mackenzie and Evans. Mackenzie states that excavation at the spot revealed no tomb-cutting; however, just as Tombs 3, 6, and 7 were poorly preserved owing to erosion of the banks into which they were cut (see below), so the Isolated Deposit may belong to a tomb that had almost entirely weathered away.

The following artefacts in SM Box 1671 can plausibly be associated with this Deposit:

ID.1 (FIG. 1). Handle of sword /dagger. Bronze. Broken at both ends. L. (pres.) 7.7, W. 2.4, Th. 0.3–0.7. Flanged, without rivet holes. Cf. Acropolis Tomb,¹¹ New Hospital Site Tomb V (V.6),¹² Sellopoulo Tomb 4 (4.2)¹³ for swords; Zapher Papoura Tomb 95 (95e)¹⁴ and Mavro Spelio Tomb XVIII¹⁵ for daggers.

ID.2 (FIG. 1). Blade of sword. Bronze. Broken at both ends; original blade edge possibly preserved on one side. L. (pres.) 4.1, W. (pres.) 2.4, Th. (max.) 1.1. With central raised rib. Cf. the larger of the published swords from the Isolated Deposit.¹⁶

ID.3 (FIG. 1). Blade of knife/razor. Bronze. Broken at both ends; it is unclear whether the original blade edges are preserved. L. (pres.) 8.9, W. (pres.) 4.5, Th. (max.) 0.45.

ID.4 (FIG. 1). Tall alabastron. Alabaster. About one-fifth preserved: parts of base and body. H. (pres.) 10.3, D. (base) 6.6, (max.) 9.7. Egyptian import. This is part of the published alabastron from the Isolated Deposit;¹⁷ the other part of the vessel is held in Heraklion Museum (cat. No. HM 1583). Has faint pencil inscription on exterior, near base: 'B. Ταύφος 1909. η του δαχτυλιδιου ταύφος'.

The label of Box 1671 refers generally to the area north of Tomb 1, rather than to the Isolated Deposit specifically (see TABLE 1). The above artefacts are here attributed to the Deposit

⁸ Presumably 'Musée Stratigraphique, Knossos'.

⁹ In all catalogue entries in the main article and the Appendix, artefacts are made of clay unless otherwise indicated; all measurements are given in centimetres.

¹⁰ See *TDA* 2–5; Mackenzie's notes on this deposit are in *DB* 09, 1 and 3, and *DB* 10, 1.

¹¹ N. K. Sandars, 'Later Aegean Bronze Age swords', *AJA* 67 (1963), 117–53 at 146 and pl. 23.12.

¹² *Ibid.* at 270 FIG. 12, and 275.

¹³ M. Popham, E. Catling, and H. Catling, 'Sellopoulo tombs 3 and 4, two Late Minoan graves near Knossos', *BSA* 69 (1974), 195–257 at 226–9, FIG. 16.

¹⁴ *PTK* 84, FIG. 94.

¹⁵ Sandars (n. 11), 149–50 and pl. 25.30.

¹⁶ *TDA* 4 FIGS. 7, 8a.

¹⁷ *TDA* 3, FIG. 3; see also P. Warren, *Minoan Stone Vases* (Cambridge, 1969), 112, no. P 614.

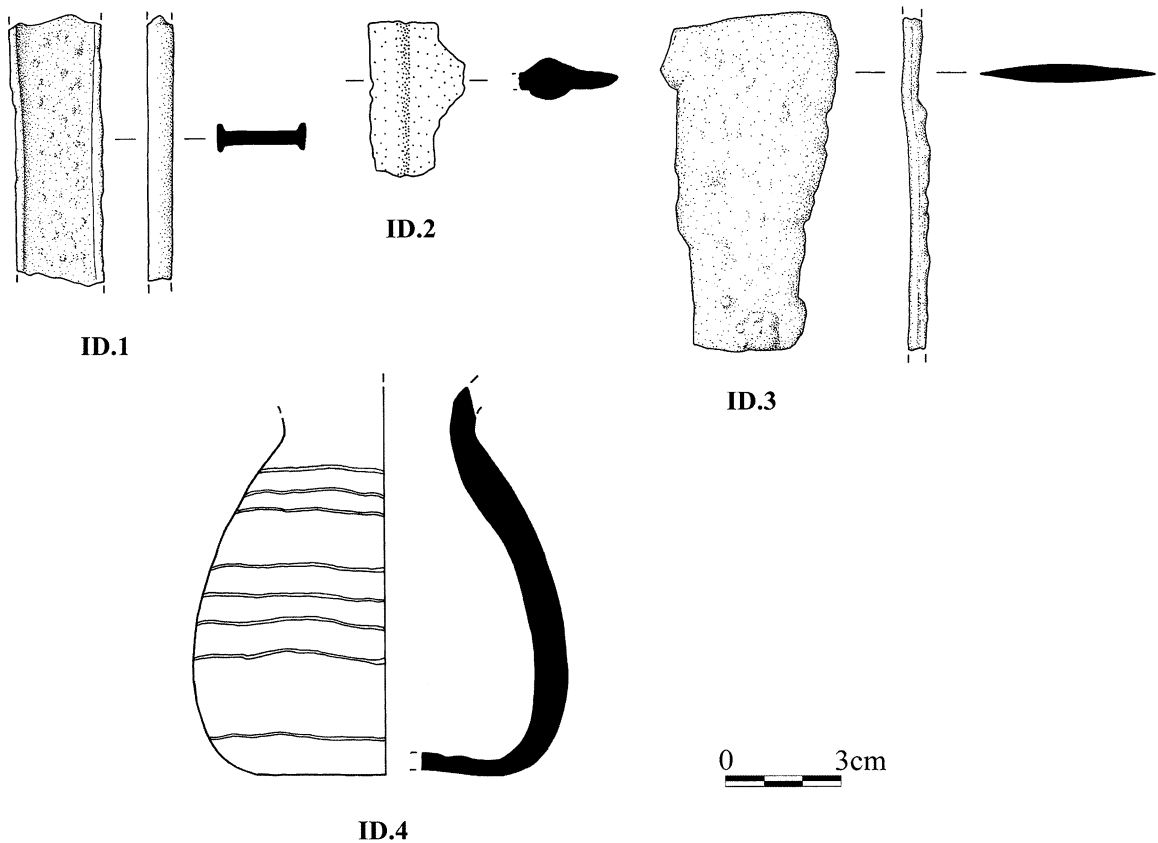


FIG. 1. Metal and stone artefacts from Box 1671 (1:2)

because **ID.4** is part of the stone alabastron published by Evans, while the weapon fragments **ID.1–3** are consistent with those described in the published and unpublished descriptions of the Deposit. The other objects in this box are not mentioned in the excavation notebooks; they may belong to this assemblage, but they could equally derive from the exploratory trenching which took place around this area after the Deposit was unearthed (as described by Mackenzie and Evans) and which resulted eventually in the discovery of Tomb 1.¹⁸ They have therefore been listed separately in the Appendix (artefacts **1671.1–8**). The shapes and date of the ceramic vessels (**1671.1–5**) are very consistent with published material from this cemetery, and they could derive from further, eroded tombs or above-ground funerary activities in the area.

¹⁸ Several uncatalogued Neolithic and Hellenistic/Roman sherds also in this box were probably retrieved during the exploratory trenching.



FIG. 2. View from the north of the dromos and chamber entrance of Tomb 1A (foreground), which cross-cuts the dromos of Tomb 1 (chamber in the background). Courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

TOMB 1¹⁹

This, the only corbel-vaulted tomb in the cemetery, was located 55.5 m south of the Isolated Deposit; it was oriented north–south, with the entrance on the north side of the chamber. The dromos was partially excavated, at least as far as the junction with the dromos of Tomb 1A (see FIG. 2; Mackenzie states that the excavators tried to trace the dromos to its very beginning, but without success). The tomb chamber was only partially preserved; it was excavated by tunnelling in, starting from the back wall of the chamber.

In FIG. 3 is shown Mackenzie's sketch of the artefact locations in the chamber, which were not included on the published plan.²⁰ Mackenzie believed that the tomb had been plundered, noting 'a few stray pot sherds belonging probably to vases that had formed part of the furnishings of the tomb but now so fragmentary and scattered as to make it quite clear that the tomb had been plundered'. Neither Mackenzie nor Evans makes any mention of any human remains, within the cist in the chamber floor or in any other part of the tomb. There is no SM material assigned to this tomb.

¹⁹ See *TDA* 6, 8–13; Mackenzie's notes on this tomb are in *DB* 09, 2, 4–10, and *DB* 10, 1–4.

²⁰ *TDA* pl. 1, opp. p. 6.

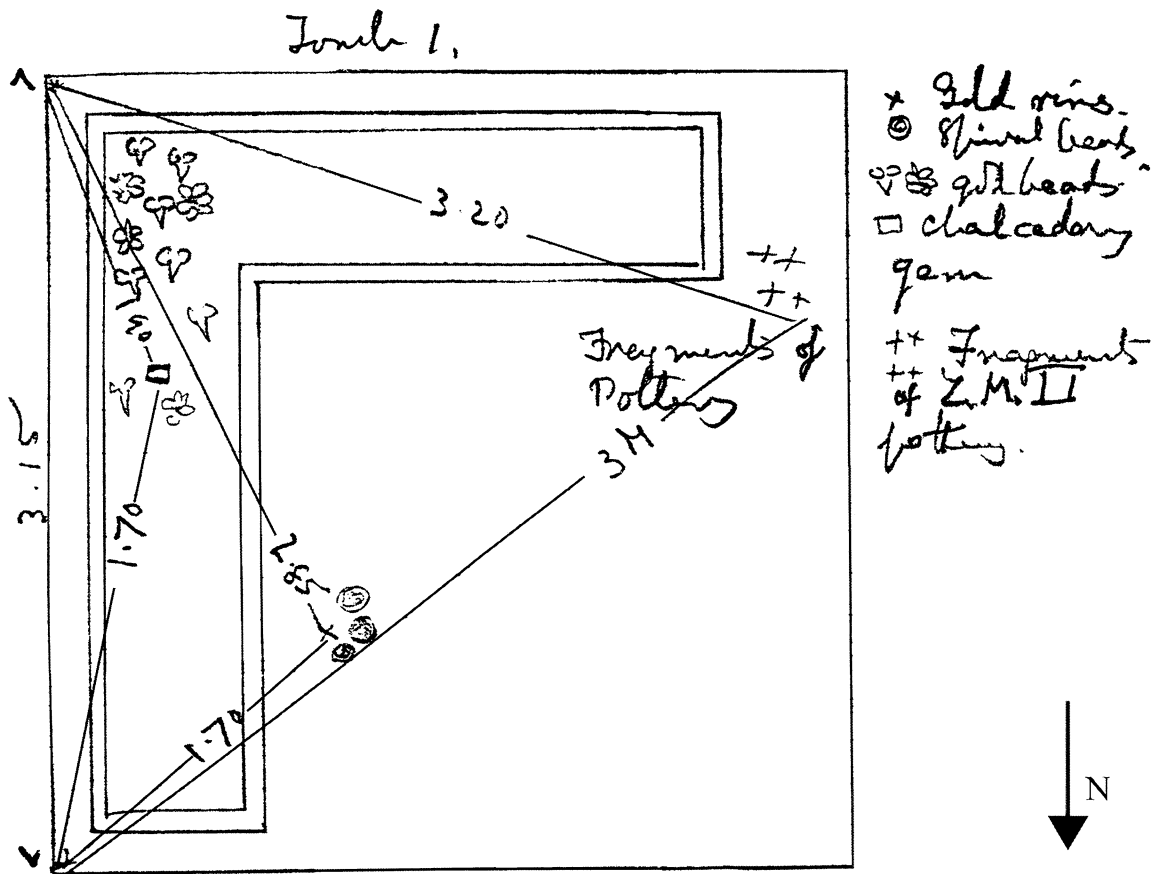


FIG. 3. Sketch by Mackenzie of the chamber of Tomb 1 (DB 09, 10). Measurements are in metres. The two braziers, not specifically referred to on this plan, were probably in the south-west corner of the chamber with the 'Fragments of LM II pottery'.

TOMB 1A²¹

This chamber tomb was oriented east-west, with the entrance on the east side of the chamber, about 7 m north of the entrance to Tomb 1. Its dromos was left unexcavated beyond the point where it cut across that of Tomb 1 (see FIG. 2). The roof of the tomb chamber had collapsed.

FIG. 4 shows Mackenzie's sketch of the artefact findspots in the chamber, which were not recorded on the published plan.²² Although Mackenzie thought that this tomb had also been plundered, he does not state the reason explicitly. His plan does indicate that one of the arrowheads was found 40 cm above floor level in the chamber entrance, but it is unclear from the excavation records whether it was built into the blocking wall, or whether it was suspended in later fill (indicating post-depositional disturbance of the tomb). No skeletal remains are

²¹ See TDA 6-7; Mackenzie's notes on this tomb are in DB 09, 2, 7-10, and DB 10, 1-4.

²² TDA 5 FIG. 9. Although Evans's description implies

that more than three bronze arrowheads were found, it seems that there were in fact only three in total: TDA 6; see also PM iv. 841.



FIG. 5. View of the entrance of Tomb 2 from the rear of the chamber.
Courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

However, a parallel for the deliberate insertion of objects during the primary blocking of a tomb entrance has subsequently been found at nearby Archanes Phourni.²⁴ There do remain, though, stronger arguments that Tomb 2 was indeed entered more than once. The first is the gap found by the excavators at the top of the entrance walling (above 1.5 m height); the second is that several of the artefacts were found broken and partially removed, including the silver cup fragment(s) (2w, see 2.9 below), the pieces of a bull-head rhyton (2x), and the rivets, which presumably derive from a weapon handle (2b). Third, one of Mackenzie's sketches shows that some of the schist inlays and one ear of the bull-head rhyton were actually found in the dromos, while other fragments were in the tomb chamber.²⁵

No human remains in the tomb were noted by Mackenzie or Evans. In a later publication,

²⁴ A bull's head was encased within the blocking wall sealing the side-chamber of Tholos Alpha, following a primary (and subsequently undisturbed) LM III A2 burial in the side-chamber; see Y. Sakellarakis and E. Sapouna-Sakellarakis, *Archanes: Minoan Crete in a New Light* (Athens, 1997), 264–5.

²⁵ *DB* 10, 9. As Evans noted in his catalogue of objects for this tomb, 'In the cases(s) of broken objects, the fragments of which were somewhat scattered, the position given is that occupied by the principal portion': *TDA* 58 n.1.

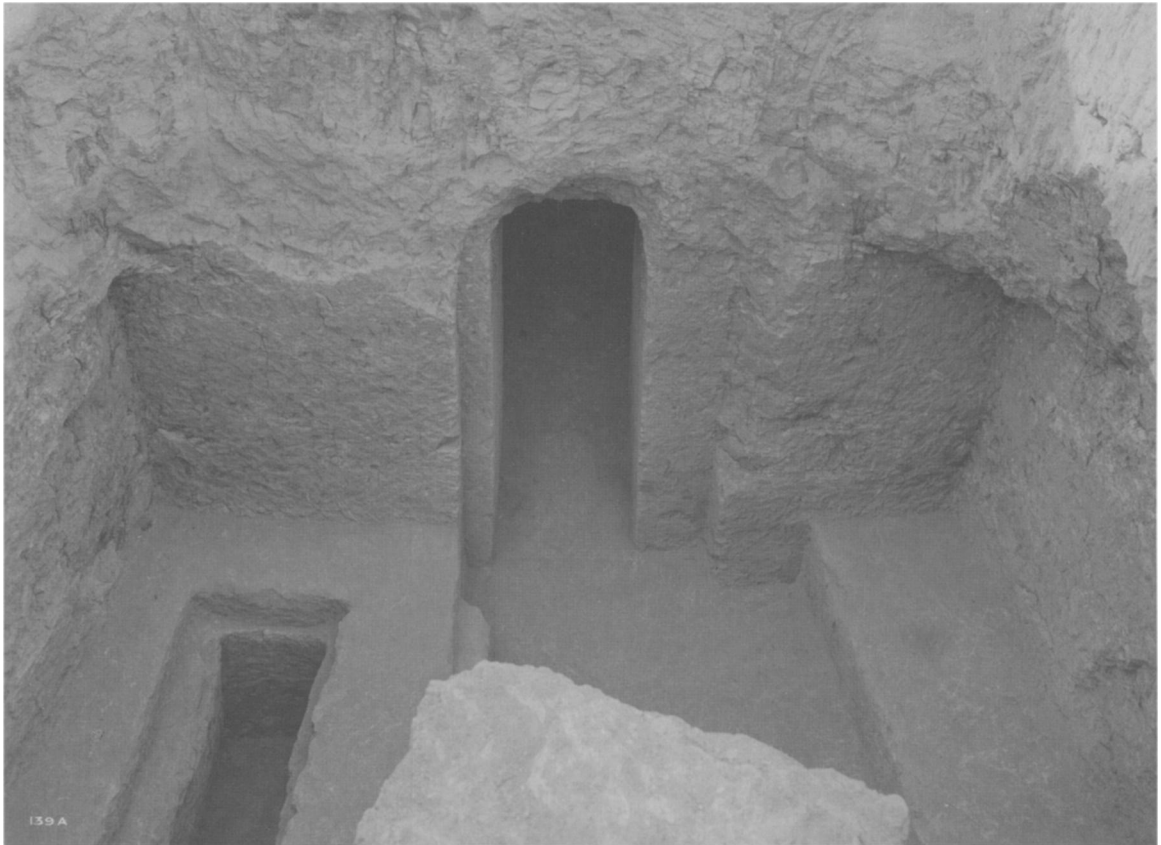


FIG. 6. View of the chamber of Tomb 2 from the modern surface level.
Courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

Evans does refer, in discussion of this tomb, to ‘the cist containing the remains of a departed warrior’, and to the putative sword (2*b*) having been ‘placed beside the remains of a princely warrior in his symbolically cut rock cist’.²⁶ However, Mackenzie’s excavation notes simply state that the cist ‘probably contained the principal burial’, and there is no indication that any skeletal remains were actually observed.

The following SM material, in Boxes 1673, 1674, and 1681, can be identified with this tomb:

2.1 (FIG. 7). Palace Style jar. Four joining body sherds. Th. 0.8–1.4. Coarse orange clay. Cream slip and brown-black decoration on the exterior: bands with sets of wavy vertical stripes, separated by a broad horizontal line. The sets consist of two thick stripes flanking three or four thin ones. The decoration is very similar to jug 2*l*, although it was

probably not part of that vessel.²⁷ Box 1673 (3 sherds) and Box 1674 (1 sherd).

2.2. Palace Style jar. Body sherd. Fine cream clay with orange-brown decoration on the exterior: vertical foliate bands in reserve. This is part of jar 2*o*.²⁸ Box 1681.

2.3 (FIG. 7). Brazier. Handle, with a small part of

²⁶ *PM* iv. 257 and 840 respectively.

²⁷ See *TDA* 46 FIG. 60, 58.

²⁸ See *TDA* 58, and 49 FIG. 64.

the bowl still attached. L. (pres.) 17.9. Coarse clay, grey at centre, orange at surface. Plain. This is presumably vessel 2*v*, the 'handle and part of the pan of clay brazier or chafing-dish',²⁹ of which no drawing was published by Evans. Box 1673.

2.4 (FIG. 8). Double axe. Bronze. Two non-joining fragments, possibly from the same artefact. Th. 0.1. Two such double axes are recorded in Evans's publication, under 2*g*,³⁰ and **2.4** may be one of these. Box 1673.

2.5 (FIG. 8). Double axe? Bronze. One fragment, with pierced hole. Th. 0.08. Box 1673.

2.6 (FIG. 8). Inlay. Schist. Complete. L. 1.7, W. 1.7, Th. 0.15–0.2. Quatrefoil, with curved profile. This is probably from the bull-head rhyton 2*v*; three such inlays are depicted in Evans's published reconstruction.³¹ For the use of quatrefoil motifs to represent dappling on bull-head rhyta, cf. the wall-painting in the Tomb of Mencheperresonb.³² Box 1673.

2.7 (FIG. 8). Inlay. Schist. Incomplete. Upper surface slightly damaged. L. 2.38, W. (at intact end) 1.0, Th. 0.1–0.2. Curved profile. Presumably also from the bull-head rhyton 2*v*, representing dappled colouring. Cf. the irregular patches outlined by incision on the stone bull-head rhyta from the Knossos Little Palace and Zakro Palace.³³ Box 1673.

2.8 (FIG. 8). Inlay. Schist. Incomplete. L. (pres.) 1.4, W. 1.2, Th. 0.15–0.2. Slightly curved profile. Presumably also from the bull-head rhyton 2*v*, representing dappled colouring. Box 1673.

2.9 Handle from a vessel. Silver. Partially preserved, broken at both ends. L. (pres.) 3.79, W. 2.72. This is probably the same as the handle 2*w* published by Evans (especially as it is not listed in the Heraklion Museum catalogue of material from Isopata). Another piece of silver³⁴ also in the same box may derive from the same vessel. Box 1673.

Most of the above objects are identifiable with artefacts included in Evans's publication of Tomb 2. A further vessel (a piriform jug) in the SM published by Popham has also been tentatively identified with vessel 2*s*.³⁵ The fact that parts of vessel **2.1** were found in Boxes 1673 and 1674 shows that some mixing has taken place (according to the SM card catalogue, the contents of Box 1674 were at one point stored in a metal tray inside Box 1673). As a result, we cannot be confident that the other material in Box 1673 is definitely from Tomb 2. Objects from this box which can be positively associated with Tomb 3 are catalogued under that tomb below. The remainder are listed in the Appendix; there is no mention of this material in Mackenzie's excavation notes for either tomb, but the spherical loomweights have parallels from the area of the Isolated Deposit, and tweezers were a common element of Final Palatial burial assemblages at Knossos.

Box 1672 is also labelled as deriving from Tomb 2, but doubts have been raised over the attribution of this material to Isopata at all. None of this material was recorded by Mackenzie in his excavation notebook, though as noted earlier, the same is true for a number of artefacts from Isopata that were subsequently included in Evans's publication and whose provenance must therefore be assumed to be genuine. Among the material from this box which has been catalogued (**1672.1–94** in the Appendix), the faience segmented inlays (**1672.49–56**) have parallels in Tomb 3 (3*n*). Moreover, Pendlebury's 1933 list of material relating to the Isopata

²⁹ TDA 59.

³⁰ TDA 53–4 and FIG. 71, 58. Heraklion Museum does have two double axes (cat. nos. 1751, 1752), though the latter is recorded as deriving from Tomb 3.

³¹ TDA 52–3, FIG. 70, 59.

³² S. Wachsmann, *Aegeans in the Theban Tombs* (Leuven, 1987), pl. 35 B no. 4.

³³ Little Palace: PM ii. 529 FIG. 332 *a*; Zakro: N. Platon, *Zakros: The Discovery of a Lost Palace* (New York, 1971), 2.

³⁴ Both pieces were identified as silver by K. Hall using the INSTAP portable Laser Induced Breakdown Spectroscopy Unit.

³⁵ M. Popham, 'Notes from Knossos, Part II', *BSA* 73 (1978), 179–87 at 183–4 no. 3, pl. 25 *c*. This is catalogued in the SM as SMP. 2066. It is recorded in the SM Book III SMP 1990–3118 as 'K.10 Tomb of the Double Axes (almost certain)'.

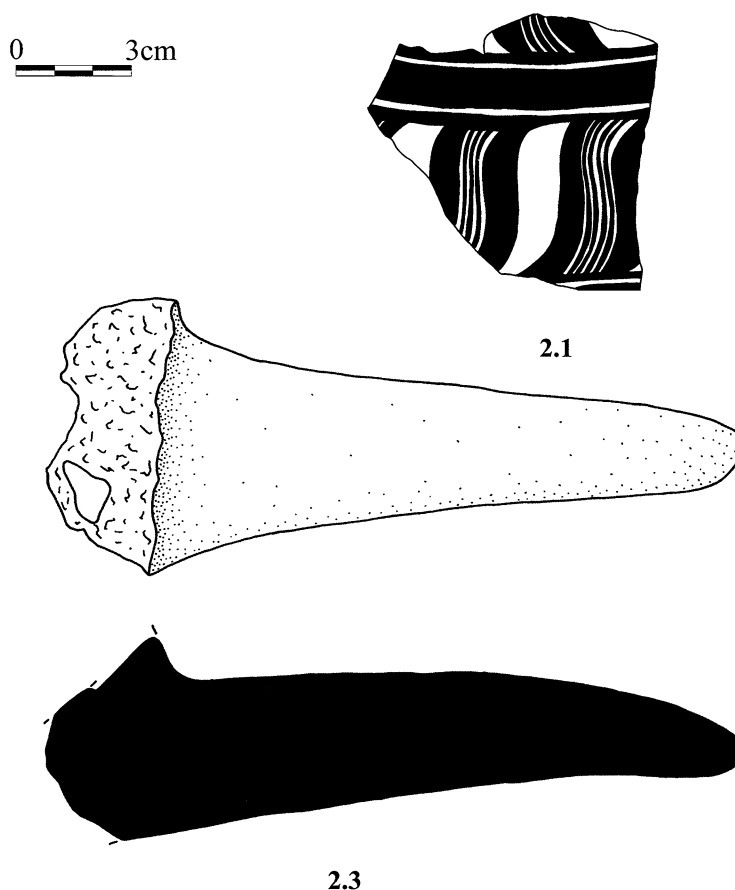


FIG. 7. Ceramics from Tomb 2 (1:2).

cemetery records two boxes relating to Tomb 2 and dated 1910, which are presumably Boxes 1672 and 1673.³⁶ No mention is made of disturbance to the Isopata boxes in the post-World War II occupation report to the British School at Athens regarding the SM material, though this does not preclude the possibility that some mixing did take place.³⁷

On the other hand, Marina Panagiotaki (pers. comm.) has suggested that the faience figure-of-eight shield (1672.60) may be one of the set of '4 + several' which Evans noted from the Temple Repositories,³⁸ of which five have been published; at least some of the material in this box may therefore derive from that deposit rather than from Isopata. There are indeed close similarities between shells (1672.86–94) and several inlays of ivory (1672.42) and

³⁶ J. Pendlebury, *A Guide to the Stratigraphical Museum* (London, 1933), 28.

³⁷ An unsigned report, but probably written by R. W. Hutchinson, dated May 1947. Held in the Knossos Logbook (BSA archive index no. KNO 1678).

³⁸ M. Panagiotaki, 'The Temple Repositories of Knossos: new information from the unpublished notes of Sir Arthur Evans', *BSA* 88 (1993), 49–91 at 63–5, FIG. 4 b; *TR* 90 nos. 193. 1–5. I am very grateful to Dr. Panagiotaki for her observations on the Box 1672 material.

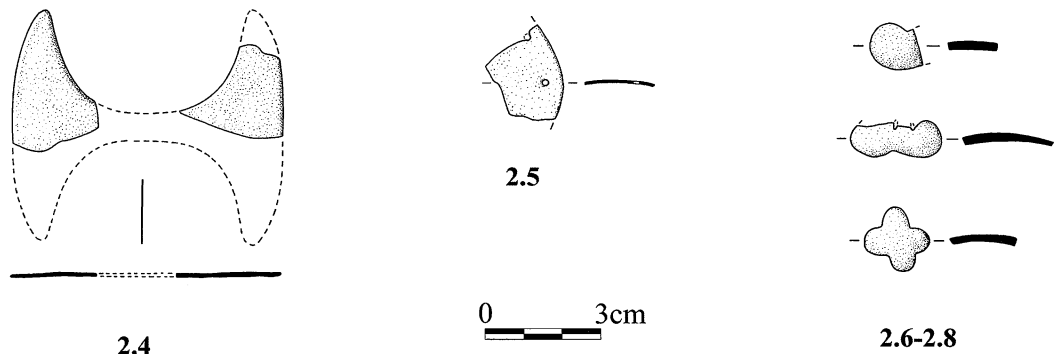


FIG. 8. Bronze and stone artefacts from Tomb 2 (1:2).

faience (1672.48–56, 58–60) here and artefacts identified as deriving from the Temple Repositories (see catalogue entries in the Appendix), although no mention is made in the Temple Repositories records of the faunal remains in Box 1672.³⁹ The ceramic material in Box 1672 is not helpful: 24 small sherds are present, dating from LM I B/II through to the Classical period. Overall, then, while there is no conclusive evidence that all the material in Box 1672 does not derive from Tomb 2, this attribution must be treated with caution.

The majority of the catalogued material from Box 1672 comprises inlays, in ivory (1672.36–42), faience (1672.48–61), glass (1672.63), shell (1672.65–6) and stone (1672.73–82). As noted in the individual entries, parallels exist for a number of these pieces, in the Temple Repositories, among material from the room above the Throne Room of the Knossos palace, in Mycenae Shaft Grave IV and in the ‘Draughtboard’ in the east wing of the palace at Knossos. For each of these parallels, it has been suggested that the inlays belonged to a gaming board,⁴⁰ and it is plausible to infer a similar function for many of the inlays from Box 1672 (at least, those with flat undersides); the presence of two types of ‘counter’ (1672.1–32) may further support this.

TOMB 3 (‘THE MACE-BEARER’S TOMB’)⁴¹

This chamber tomb, which was situated on the north edge of the Isopata plateau, was oriented north–south, with the entrance on the north side of the chamber. The dromos had largely been eroded away by the time of excavation, and Mackenzie states that the surviving part was ‘not explored’. The chamber was also severely affected by erosion, the south-east corner being the best preserved because it lay within the present-day slope.⁴² Mackenzie thought that this tomb had seen post-burial disturbance, interpreting the rough blocking of the doorway as evidence of the hurried work of plunderers. FIG. 9 shows his sketch of the artefact locations, including an ‘engraved gem, much decayed, and small white beads’ not on the published

³⁹ TR 118–9.

⁴⁰ TR 90, 104 for a number of the Temple Repositories faience inlays; PM iv, 928–30 for the Throne Room material. Karo 115–16 nos. 555–6, 568, 574–5, and PM i, 482–5, for Shaft Grave IV and PM i. 471–80 for the Knossos Palace ‘Draughtboard’.

⁴¹ See TDA 14–18; Mackenzie’s notes on this tomb are in DB 10, 10–12, 22–23.

⁴² Mackenzie writes that, ‘The tomb itself had the whole of its top gone and it was clear that the process of denudation only left us the bottom of the tomb’. (DB 10, 10).

plan⁴³ (and presumably representing artefacts 3*m* and 3*n*). Mackenzie mentions all the artefacts subsequently published by Evans, but his note of 'small white beads' suggests that more than one segmented bead (3*n*) was found. No human remains were noted from this tomb by Mackenzie or Evans.

The following material in SM Boxes 1673 and 1681 may also belong to this tomb:

3.1 (FIG. 10). Palace Style jar/jug. One-third preserved: parts of body and one handle. Fine pink-cream clay. Brown-black decoration on exterior: lower body has two thin bands with rock pattern above; main decoration a frieze of floral and abstract patterns; foliate band, quirks and row of large dots (interspersed with small) on upper body; the handle has a rocky border pattern down both edges, and zigzags down the centre. The published squat alabastron 3*h* is very similar in decoration and clay (see FIG. 11). Cf. also the LM II Palace Style Jars A2 and A4 from Katsambas Tomb A; the former displays a distinctive squared fin motif also present on **3.1**, while the latter has a similar undulating upper border of bands of dots and quirks.⁴⁴ LM II. Box 1681.

3.2 (FIG. 12). Palace Style jar. Two non-joining

body sherds. Th. 0.65–0.8. Fine creamy-pink clay. Fugitive black decoration on exterior: quatrefoil net, with petals infilled with a single line. Cf Palace Style jar sherds from Tomb 1,⁴⁵ though the infilling of the petals in those sherds consists of two thin lines. Cf. also the decoration of a LM II jug from the Unexplored Mansion.⁴⁶ LM II. Box 1673.

3.3 (FIG. 12). Mirror. Bronze. Incomplete. Nine joining fragments of the mirror plate. D. c.23, Th. (max.) 0.3. Three holes near the edge for handle attachment. During conservation, remains of wood were noted in one of the holes, possibly from a dowel attaching the handle to the mirror. This is probably the published mirror 3*f*. Box 1673.

Because of the possibility of mixing between Boxes 1673 and 1674 (see discussion of Tomb 2 above), the Post-Palatial cup/bowl fragment in Box 1675 (**1674.1**) may derive from either Tomb 2 or Tomb 3 and so has been catalogued separately, in the Appendix. The Palace Style jar sherds (**3.2**) from the same Box, however, can be confidently assigned to Tomb 3 because a further sherd from the same vessel is pictured in an early photograph of the Isopata material, labelled *I.3.l* (see FIG. 13, bottom right).⁴⁷ The mirror in Box 1673 (**3.3**) is also included because it is probably the same object as the published mirror 3*f*,⁴⁸ since Heraklion Museum does not have a mirror from this tomb (unfortunately, Evans provides no dimensions for 3*f*, against which to compare **3.3**).

Finally, the Palace Style jar/jug (**3.1**) should be considered. Its attribution to this tomb is not definite, as none of the material in Box 1681 is assigned to any specific tomb. However, this vessel shows very close similarities to the published squat alabastron 3*h* in clay and decoration (FIGS. 10, 11). These two vessels, which are highly distinctive among the Isopata corpus, may have been part of a funerary set for this tomb.

TOMB 4⁴⁹

This chamber tomb was located just to the north-east of Tomb 3, and was oriented in the same direction. Mackenzie's notebook indicates that the surviving part of the dromos (4.7 m long)

⁴³ TDA 14 FIG. 19.

⁴⁴ Katsambas, 41, 42, pl. 3 *b*, *d*.

⁴⁵ TDA 12 FIG. 17 *c-d*, 13.

⁴⁶ MUM pl. 94 *e*.

⁴⁷ This pictured sherd has not been located among the Isopata boxes in the SM collection.

⁴⁸ TDA 15.

⁴⁹ See TDA 18–20; Mackenzie's notes on this tomb are in DB 10, 13–15.

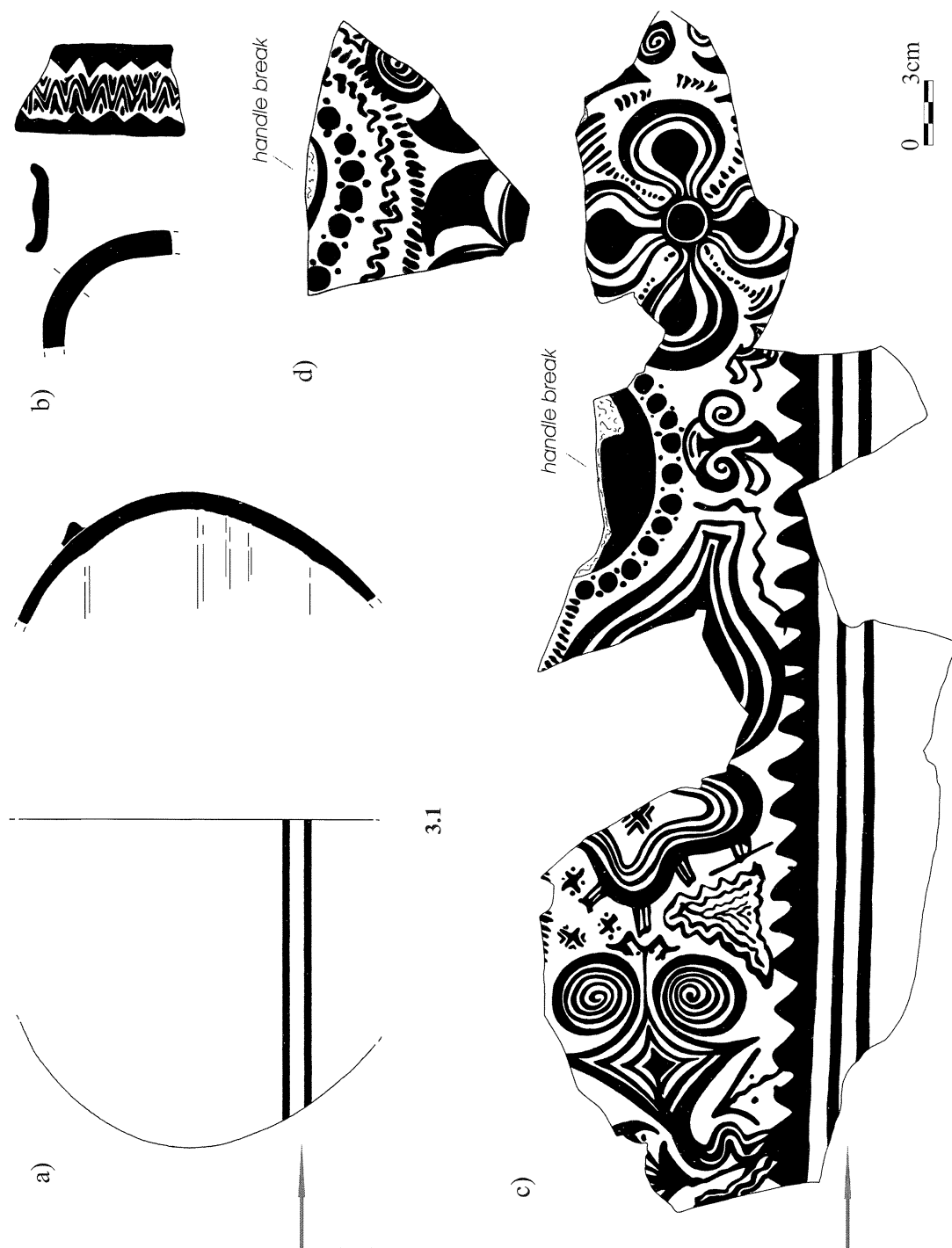


FIG. 10. Vessel 3.1: a) profile, b) handle upper face and profile, c) & d) exterior decoration of body (1:3).

was exposed, but that the rest had eroded away; the ceiling of the chamber had collapsed. He believed that this tomb had been plundered, although no explicit reason is given in the excavation notebook. FIG. 14 shows his sketch of the artefact locations, which is similar to the published version⁵⁰ except that the latter has omitted the label 'Fragments of vase' in the north-east corner of the chamber. Evans observes that no human remains were found in this tomb.⁵¹

The following vessel, in SM Box 1677, is assigned to this tomb:

4.1 (FIG. 15). Collared jug. Sherds from trough spout, rim, handle, upper and middle body. D. (rim) 17.5. Fine cream-green clay with black decoration on exterior: solid spout, zigzags around neck, foliate band below collar, running spiral with rosettes around main body, horizontal bands on upper face of handle. Raised collar at base of neck. Strap handle with a central raised ridge on the upper face. LM II/III A1. Box 1677. It is unclear whether the 'Fragments of vase' in Mackenzie's sketch refer to the published

amphora *4f* or the collared jug **4.1**. The SM card catalogue states that Box 1677 originally also had the sub-label 'Sherds from N end of tomb' (this additional description was subsequently omitted during relabelling of the boxes), and jug **4.1** was the only material in this box. The shoulder and neck decoration, of multiple zigzags and a foliate band, and the horizontal stripe on the handle, are similar to the motifs on the shoulder and handles of vessel *4a*.⁵²

TOMB 5 ('THE TOMB OF THE POLYCHROME VASES')⁵³

Mackenzie provides a relative location for this chamber tomb: the right-hand edge of the dromos at the point where it was first discovered (13 m from the chamber entrance) was 14.6 m south-west of the south-west corner of Tomb 3. The tomb was oriented east-west, with the entrance on the west side of the chamber. The dromos was not fully excavated, but was tapped in order to locate the entrance. The chamber ceiling had collapsed prior to the excavation, but the bench in the centre of the chamber was largely intact.

In FIG. 16 are shown the artefact findspots as recorded in one of Mackenzie's sketches of the tomb chamber. Mackenzie noted the presence of skull and leg bones near the bench, as subsequently also recorded in Evans's publication. In Mackenzie's opinion, the tomb had been plundered in the Geometric period, as the chamber entrance had no formal wall blocking—only 'debris'—and a 'Geometric vase' was found in the dromos fill near the entrance. He also suggested that the silting up of the chamber must have occurred after the plundering, as 'the disturbed contents of the tomb were found on the floor of the chamber underneath this deposit'. In his sketch, the 'ritual' vessel *5h* is located in fill 80 cm above the floor at the chamber entrance; Mackenzie also notes fragments in the dromos (here 10 cm above floor level), which he thought 'possibly' also belonged to this same vessel.⁵⁴ If so, this dispersal of sherds of *5h* would indicate disturbance of the tomb at some point after the original interments. Unfortunately, it is not clear whether the Geometric vessel was at the same level in the dromos fill as the Bronze Age sherds, which might corroborate Mackenzie's and Evans's theory that the disturbance of the tomb chamber dates to this period.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ TDA 19 FIG. 27.

⁵¹ TDA 19.

⁵² TDA 20 FIG. 28.

⁵³ See TDA 21–30; Mackenzie's notes on this tomb are in DB 10, 16–21, 30–3.

⁵⁴ DB 10, 18.

⁵⁵ Mackenzie does state that the ritual vessel sherds were found '1 m further on and about 1 m further down' from the Geometric vase (DB 10, 16), but as the dromos was presumably sloping down towards the tomb entrance, the differential depth does not preclude their deposition being contemporary.



FIG. 11. The squat alabastron 3h from Tomb 3. Reproduced from *TDA* plate 2.
Courtesy of the Society of Antiquaries.

The following vessels in SM Box 1678 are assigned to this tomb:

5.1 (FIG. 17). High-spouted jug. Sherds from rim, lower neck, handle, body, and base. D. (base) 10.4, D. (max.) 18.2. Fine buff clay with black decoration on exterior: band of quirks interspersed with dots around neck, band on collar, band of curved stripes below collar, main

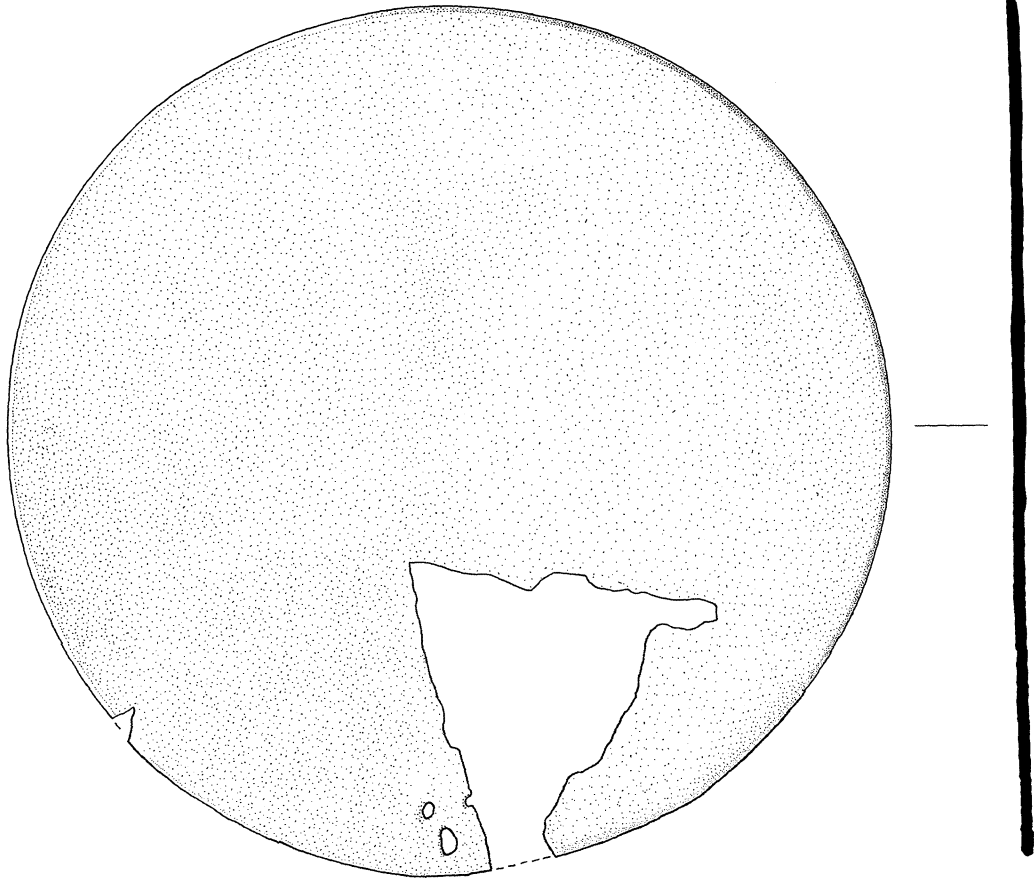
decoration of papyri with rosettes, five bands around lower body; upper face of handle has central vertical line flanked by two rocky borders. Raised collar. Strap handle with central ridge on upper face. LM II. Box 1678.

5.2 (FIG. 18). High-spouted jug. Sherds from neck,



0 3cm

3.2



3.3

FIG. 12. Ceramic and bronze artefacts from Tomb 3 (1:2).

part of handle and body. Max D. 33.6. Fine pink clay with small brown inclusions. Orange decoration: interior has band at rim; exterior has solid spout, three bands, and a band of sacral ivy around the neck, a band around the collar, a band

of spirals below the collar, main decoration of papyri, and at least three bands near the base; chevrons running down the upper face of the handle. Raised collar. Strap handle with central ridge on upper face. LM II. Box 1678.

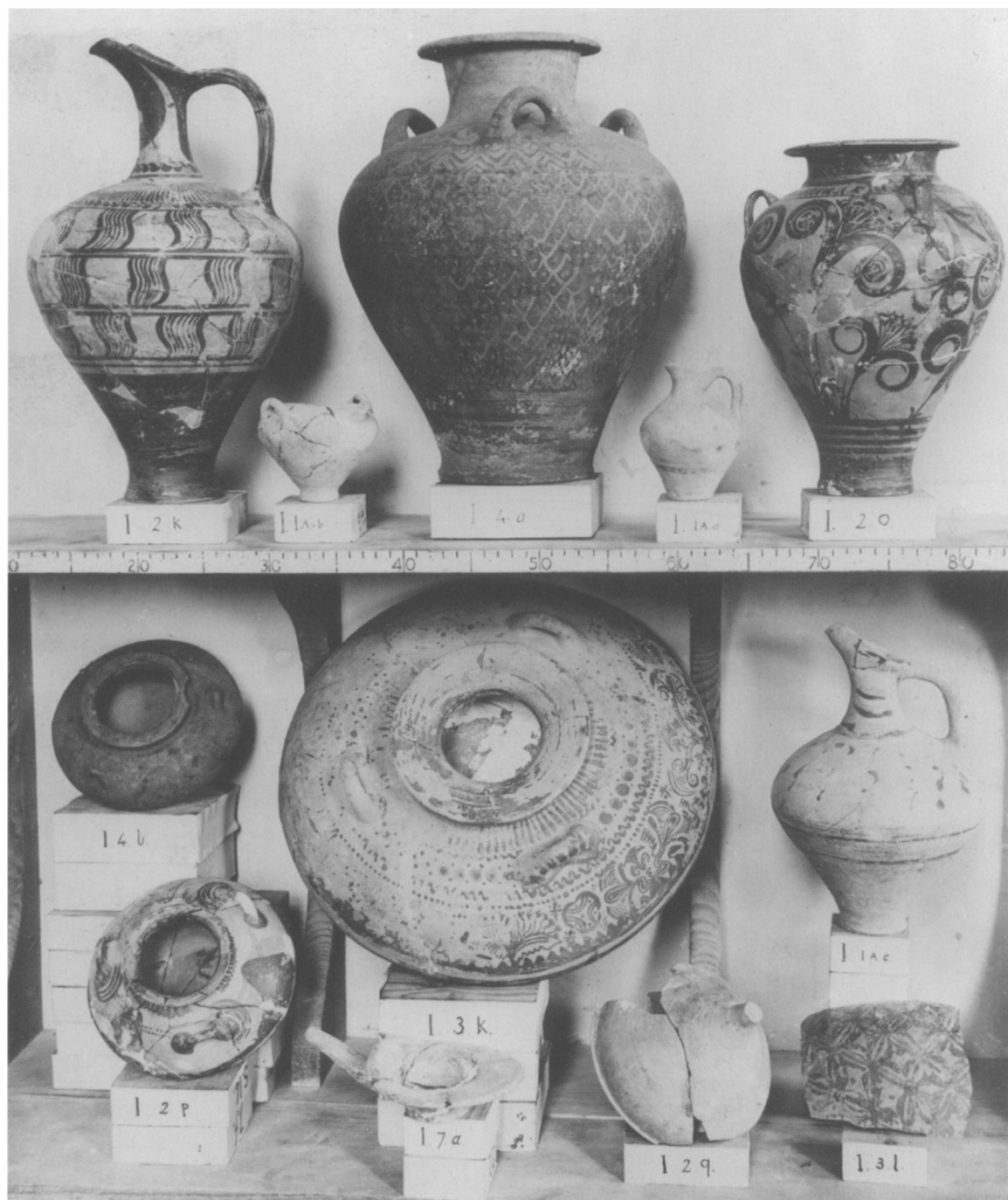


FIG. 13. Early photograph of the Isopata material. Courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

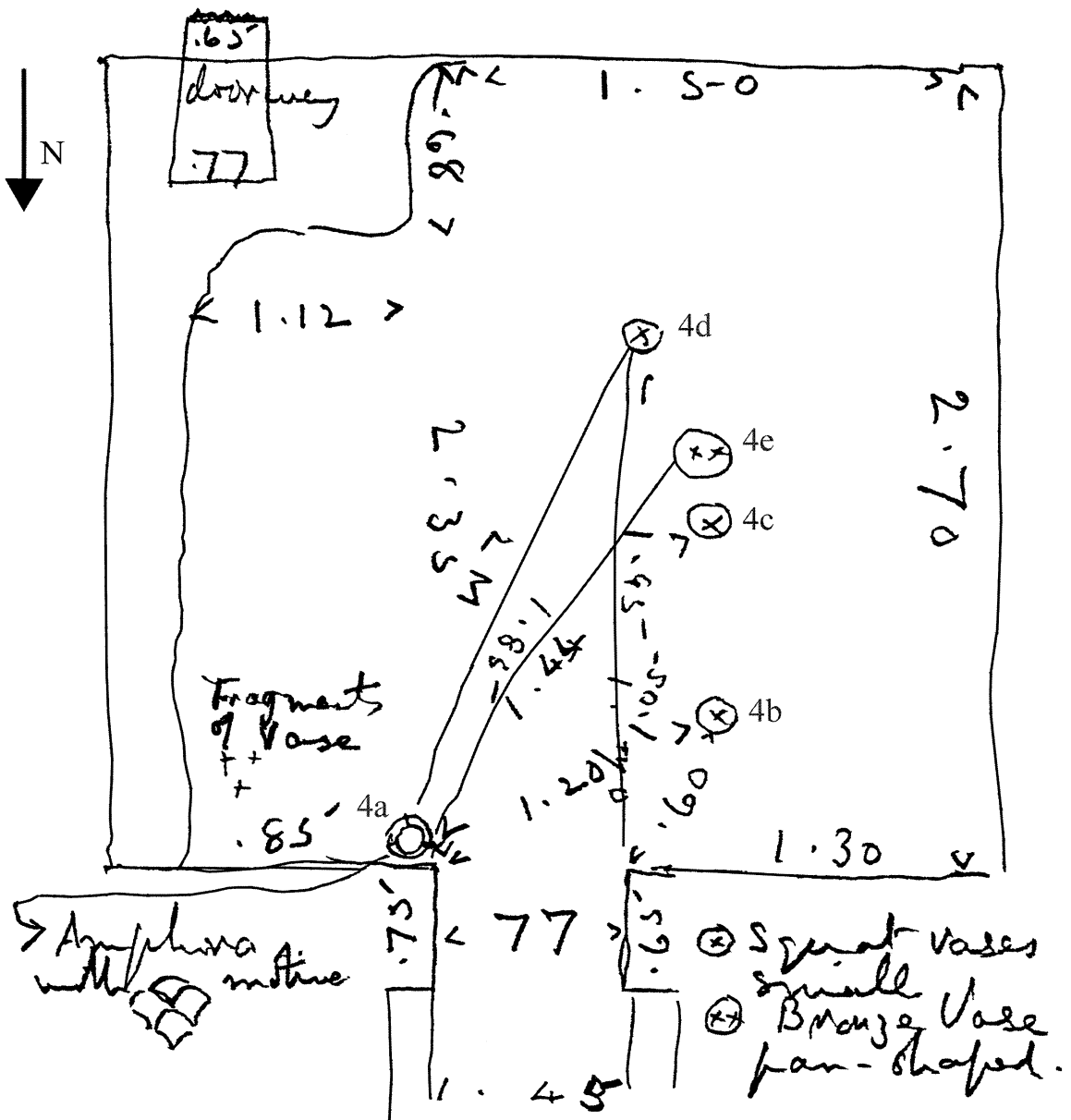


FIG. 14. Sketch by Mackenzie of the chamber of Tomb 4 (DB 10, 14). Measurements are in metres. Evans' catalogue numbers of artefacts are added in grey.

Mackenzie's excavation notes do not mention decorated pottery from this tomb, apart from the vessels with black coating and/or blue and red powdery decoration which were subsequently included in Evans's publication. The jugs 5.1 and 5.2 are, however, consistent in style with other material from this cemetery.

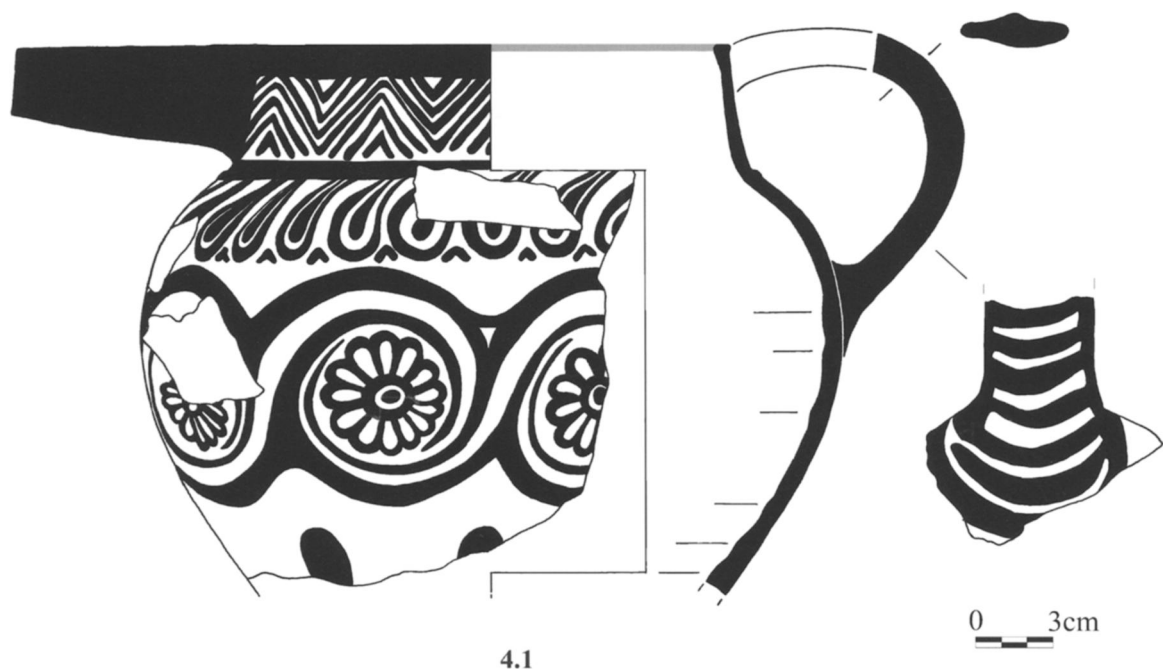


FIG. 15. Bridge-spouted jug from Tomb 4 (1:3).

TOMB 6⁵⁶

This chamber tomb was located south-east of Tomb 2, and was oriented east-west, with the entrance on the east side of the chamber. The dromos was apparently not excavated. The chamber floor was found only 2.5 m below the modern surface, owing to erosion, but enough was preserved to show the existence of a central buttress similar to that in Tomb 2. The incomplete nature of some of the artefacts (e.g. the 'ritual' vessel 6*c*), the scattered distribution of the stone pyxis fragments 6*p*, and the location of the mirror 6*n* just outside the entrance, all suggest that this tomb had been disturbed after the original burial activities.

The small clay figurines, catalogued by Evans as 6*d*, 6*e*, and 6*f*,⁵⁷ may originally have been attached to one or both of the rims of the kernos 6*a*; a parallel is provided in Katsambas Tomb A,⁵⁸ and it is notable that both rims on kernos 6*a* are heavily reconstructed (see FIG. 19). The beads 6*l* and 6*m* were not noted by Mackenzie, but were subsequently included in the publication.

The following material in SM Boxes 1679 and 1680 is associated with this tomb:

6.1 (FIG. 20). Goblet. Sherds from rim, handles, stem and base. H. c.10, D. (rim) 13, (base) 5.5. Fine buff clay. Brown decoration: interior solid; exterior has dots on upper face of rim; handles

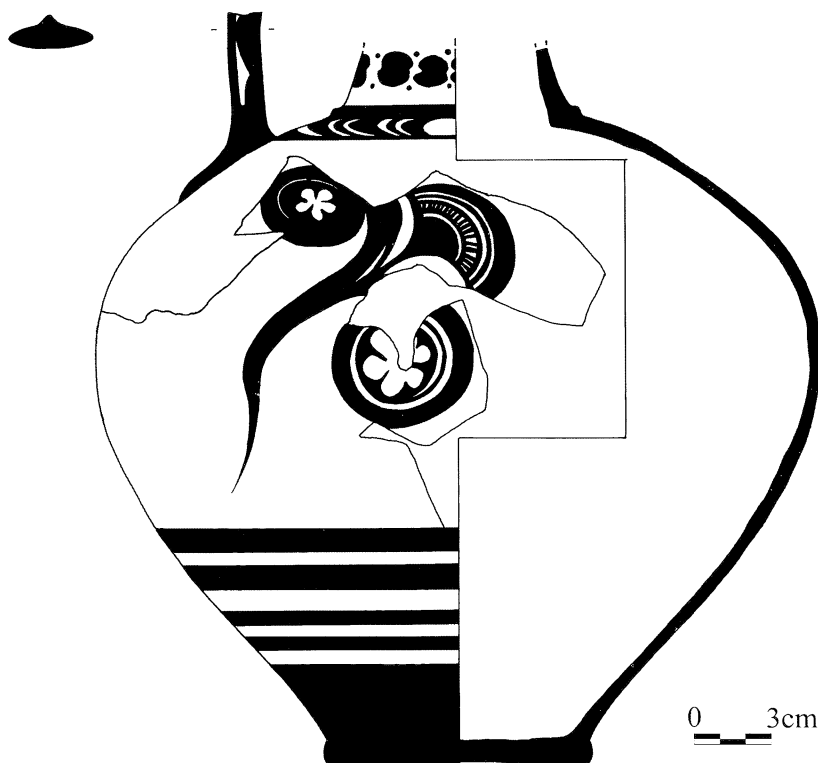
have solid upper face and band at base. Strap handles. LM II. Box 1680.

6.2 (FIG. 20). Goblet. Lower bowl and stem. Fine creamy clay. Very fugitive red decoration: interior

⁵⁶ See *TDA* 30–3; Mackenzie's notes on this tomb are in *DB* 10, 34–5.

⁵⁷ *TDA* 31 FIGS. 44 and 45, p.33.

⁵⁸ *Katsambas*, pls. 7 *a–b*, 9 *a*.



5.1

FIG. 17. High-spouted jug from Tomb 5 (1:3).

solid; exterior has solid area at base of stem (possibly extending onto the foot). LM II/III A1. Box 1679.

6.3 (FIG. 20). Cup/goblet. Rim fragment. D. (rim) c.11. Fine buff clay. Brown-black decoration: interior solid; exterior has dots around rim and stippling on body below. LM II. Box 1680.

6.4 (FIG. 20). Piriform jar. Sherds from upper and lower body and one handle. Fine pink-cream clay. Cream slip and black decoration on exterior: band at base of collar with row of quirks below, main decoration flowers and spirals, and at least two bands on lower body; handle solid on upper face (extending slightly onto body). LM II/III A. Box 1680.

6.5 (FIG. 20). Squat alabastron. Sherds from base,

body and 2 handles. D. (base) 12.5, (max.) 18. Fine cream clay. Black decoration on exterior: five concentric circles on base; two bands on lower body, main decoration rock pattern, thin band just below neck; handles solid (extending slightly onto the body). This may be the published vessel *6b*.⁵⁹ LM II/III. Boxes 1679 and 1680.

6.6 (FIG. 20). Squat alabastron. Sherds from base, body, rim, and two handles. H. 6.4, D. (rim) 7.8, (base) 18.2. Fine buff clay. Very fugitive black decoration on exterior: three concentric circles on base; band around base of body; decoration on upper part of body and rim not discernible. LM II/III. Box 1679.

6.7 (FIG. 20). 'Strainer'. Sherds from base and lower body. H. (pres.) 9.1, D. (base) 5. Fine cream

⁵⁹ TDA 32-3.



5.2

FIG. 18. High-spouted jug from Tomb 5 (1:3).

clay. Very fugitive black decoration on exterior: ten bands at regular intervals from base upwards. Edges of two holes preserved in the interior flat surface. LM II/III A1. Box 1679.

6.8 (FIG. 20). Pyxis. Sherd from upper body, with one vertical handle. D. (max.) *c.*10. Fine buff clay. Orange decoration on exterior: band around collar with row of small dots below, main decoration V-pattern; handle solid on upper face and part of lower face (extending slightly onto the body). LM II/III A. Box 1680.

6.9 (FIG. 20). Pyxis. Sherds from rim, body, and

one handle. D. (rim) 4.5, (max.) 8.3. Fine cream-green clay. Very fugitive black linear decoration on exterior: pattern not discernible. LM II/III. Box 1680.

6.10 (FIG. 20). Lid? One-third preserved. H. 3.7, D. (base) 7.3. Fine cream-green clay. Black decoration on exterior: six bands, of varying widths, from base to tip. LM II/III A. Box 1680.

6.11 (FIG. 21). Mirror. Bronze. Two-thirds complete, and crumpled. D. *c.*16, Th. 0.15. This may correspond to the published mirror *6n*. The latter was stated by Evans to have a diameter of

c.8 cm, but this is an unusually small diameter for a mirror; if this was actually the radius measurement, the diameter of 16 cm would be compatible with 6.11. There is no catalogue entry for a mirror from this tomb at Heraklion Museum, which also suggests that it is still held at the SM. Box 168o.

Box 168o also contained several pieces of hardened clay which had formerly adhered to part of a 'ritual' vessel of the type found in Tombs 2 and 5, as well as in the present tomb (vessel 6c). The pieces bear traces of the blue, black, and red pigment (see FIG. 22) which bear close resemblance to the decoration of the curved handles and the protruding band below the rim of vessel 5e.⁶⁰ If this clay genuinely does derive from Tomb 6, it was probably introduced to the chamber as part of the gradual silting discussed by Evans; these specific fragments were presumably retained after the excavation because of the pigment traces adhering to them from contact with vessel 6c (although only the base of this vessel was noted in the excavation itself).

TOMB 7⁶¹

This chamber tomb is not mentioned at all in Evans's publication of the cemetery. Mackenzie noted it only briefly in his Day Book, simply stating that it was located to the east of Tomb 6, that its excavator was N. Sabarlis, and that the floor was found only 0.35–0.4 m below the modern surface. FIG. 23 shows Mackenzie's sketch of the chamber measurements, which indicates that the entrance was located at the centre of the east side. The dromos seems not to have been explored, if it was preserved at all.

A brazier was recovered from this tomb, although it has not been located among the SM material: it is pictured in an early photograph of Isopata material (FIG. 13, bottom centre no. I.7.a). The following artefacts in SM Box 1675 are associated with this tomb:

7.1 (FIG. 24). Rounded cup. Three-fifths preserved. H. 7.6, D. (rim) 13.1, (base) 4. Fine buff soft clay. Red monochrome on interior and exterior (except base). One handle, with round section. Cf. cup N55 from the Unexplored Mansion.⁶² LM II.

7.2 (FIG. 24). Rounded cup. Sherds from rim, body, base, and part of handle. H. 7.8, D. (rim) 12.8, (base) 4.5. Fine brown soft clay. Red-brown monochrome on exterior and interior. Very similar to 7.1. LM II.

7.3 (FIG. 24). Ephyraean goblet. Parts of upper body, rim, and one handle. D. (rim) 11. Fine creamy-green, very soft clay. Black fugitive decoration: exterior has band of quirks around rim and two iris crosses encircled by dots; interior

has a band below rim and two near base. Strap handles. Cf. parallels from the Unexplored Mansion and New Hospital Site Tomb 1.⁶³ LM II.

7.4 (FIG. 24). Ephyraean goblet. Parts of rim, upper body, stem, base, and one handle. H. c.11.4, D. (rim) 11.1. Fine buff soft clay. Black decoration on exterior: rosette motif on each side. Strap handles. LM II.

7.5 (FIG. 24). Ephyraean goblet? Parts of rim, body, stem, and base. H. c.9, D. (rim) 12, (base) 5.85. Fine cream-pink clay. Plain (but this may be because we are missing the sides with the Ephyraean motifs). LM II.

7.6 (FIG. 24). Ephyraean goblet? Parts of rim, upper body, stem, base, and one handle. H. c.8.5,

⁶⁰ TDA pl. 4.

⁶¹ Mackenzie's notes on this tomb are in DB 10, 24–5.

³⁴ ⁶² MUM 75 and pl. 160.

⁶³ MUM 48 L 63, 74 N 47, pl. 150. 6–7; M. S. F. Hood and P. de Jong, 'Late Minoan warrior-graves from Ayios Ioannis and the New Hospital Site at Knossos', BSA 47 (1952), 243–77 at 262 no. I. 2, and 263 FIG. 9.

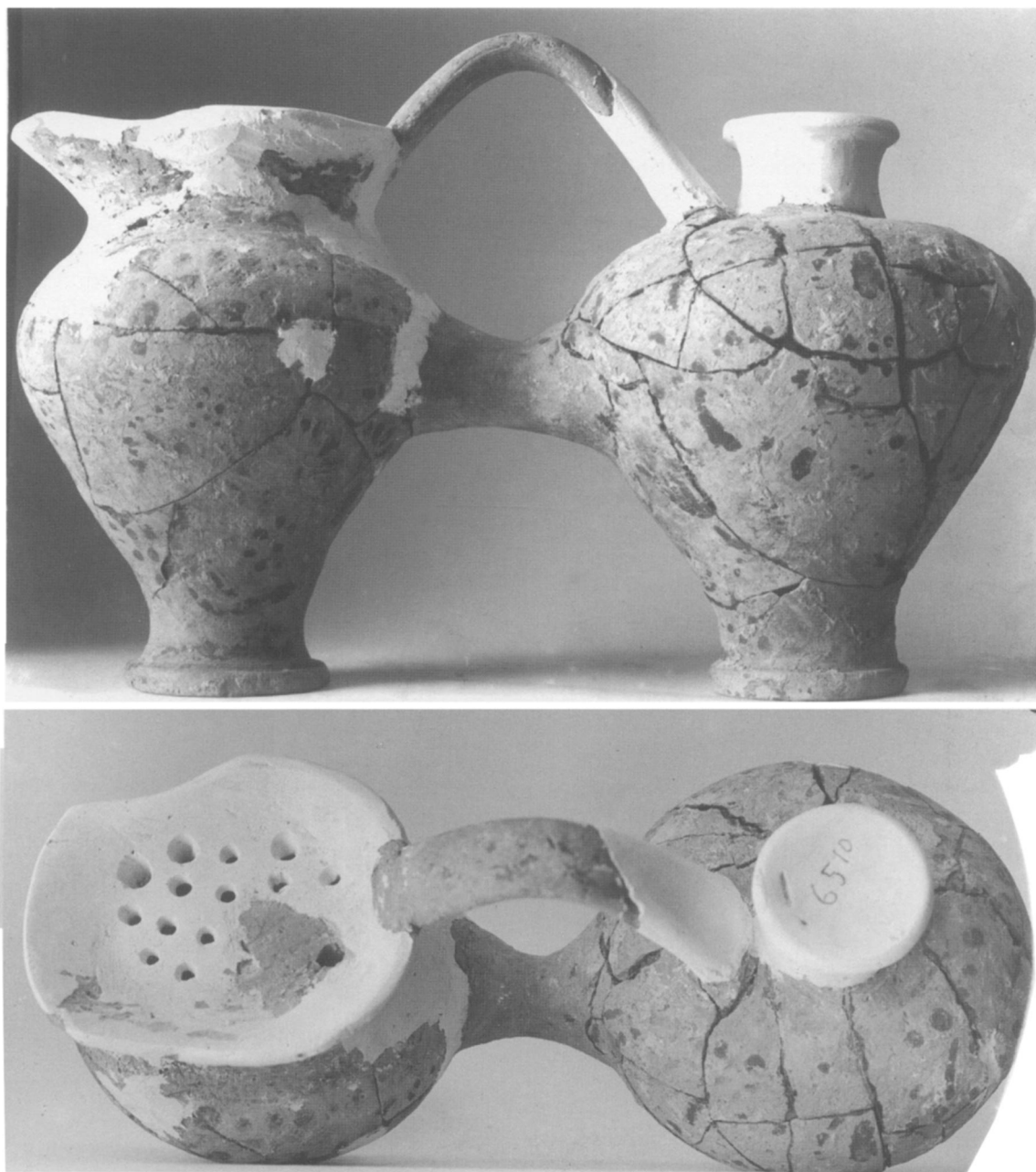


FIG. 19. Kernos 6a after reconstruction. Courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

D. (rim) *c.* 11.4, (base) 5.7. Fine orangy-pink clay. Plain (but this may be because we are missing the sides with the Ephyraean motifs). Strap handles. LM II.

7.7 (FIG. 24). Goblet/kylix. Parts of upper body and one handle. D. (rim) 15.6 cm. Fine pink-buff clay, very hard fired. Plain. Strap handles. LM II/III A1.

7.8 (FIG. 24). Conical cup. Half preserved. H. 3.3, D. (rim) *c.* 7.5, (base) (max.) *c.* 5. Fine pink-brown clay. Plain. Base edges turned up. LM.

7.9 (FIG. 25). Palace Style jar/jug. Base and lower part of body. H. (pres.) 15.7, D. (base) 11.5. Fine cream-buff clay, hard-fired. Black paint: spatter marks on interior; exterior has band at base and arcade pattern containing rosettes on lower body. LM II?

7.10 (FIG. 25). Piriform jar/jug. Parts of base and lower body. H. (pres.) 10, D. (base) 6. Fine creamy-pink soft clay. Very fugitive brown paint on exterior: band at base, three figure-of-eight shields around the main body, each with a circle of dots and a central chevron within the lower half of the shield. LM II/III A.

7.11 (FIG. 25). High-spouted jug. Neck and handle. Fine creamy-pink soft clay. Brown decoration: rim band on interior; exterior has rim

band, a band in the middle and at the base of the neck, and a monochrome handle. Handle has raised central ridge and a skeuomorphic rivet where it joins the rim. LM II/III A1.

7.12 (FIG. 25). Jug. Parts of upper body, neck, rim, handle, lower body, and base. H. (est.) *c.* 28. Fine buff soft clay. Very fugitive red-black decoration: rim band on interior; exterior decoration not discernible. Raised collar at base of neck. LM II/III A.

7.13 (FIG. 26). Loomweight, disc-shaped. Almost complete. L. (pres.) 9.9, W. (max.) 10.3, Th. (max.) 2.8. Coarse, pink-brown clay. Plain.

7.14 (FIG. 26). Tube (unknown function). Ivory. Slightly damaged at both ends. L. 6.1, D. 1, (hole) 0.3. Cylindrical, hollow. Five zigzag bands incised around exterior; both ends of tube carved in the shape of corresponding zigzags.

7.15 (FIG. 26). Inlay of a handle. Bone. One end complete, the other broken. L. (pres.) 5.8, W. 2.15, Th. 0.2, D. of holes 0.3. Flat, polished upper surface with three holes (two complete) for rivets. Underside has striations and is slightly convex along the centre near the complete end. The upper surface is highly polished, as though to imitate the appearance of ivory.⁶⁴ Box 1675.

Box 1675 is labelled as belonging to the tomb excavated by Nikos Sabarlis, which corresponds with the details provided by Mackenzie for Tomb 7. All the artefacts catalogued above were fragmentary and required reconstruction; there was little evidence of post-excavation repair. These vessels do not represent the entire corpus of sherds from the box; the remaining material derives almost entirely from fine-ware open and closed shapes of similar fabrics to the vessels catalogued here, though profiles could not be reconstructed. This box also contained a small piece of human skull.

DISCUSSION

DATING THE USE OF THE CEMETERY

The new material from the Isopata cemetery presented above mainly comprises ceramic material, helping to refine our understanding of the date of this cemetery's use. Various dates, from the Neopalatial to the Post-Palatial, have been ascribed to the individual tombs by different scholars since Evans, but it is proposed here that the cemetery's use falls within the

⁶⁴ For this observation I am indebted to Dr V. Isaakidou.

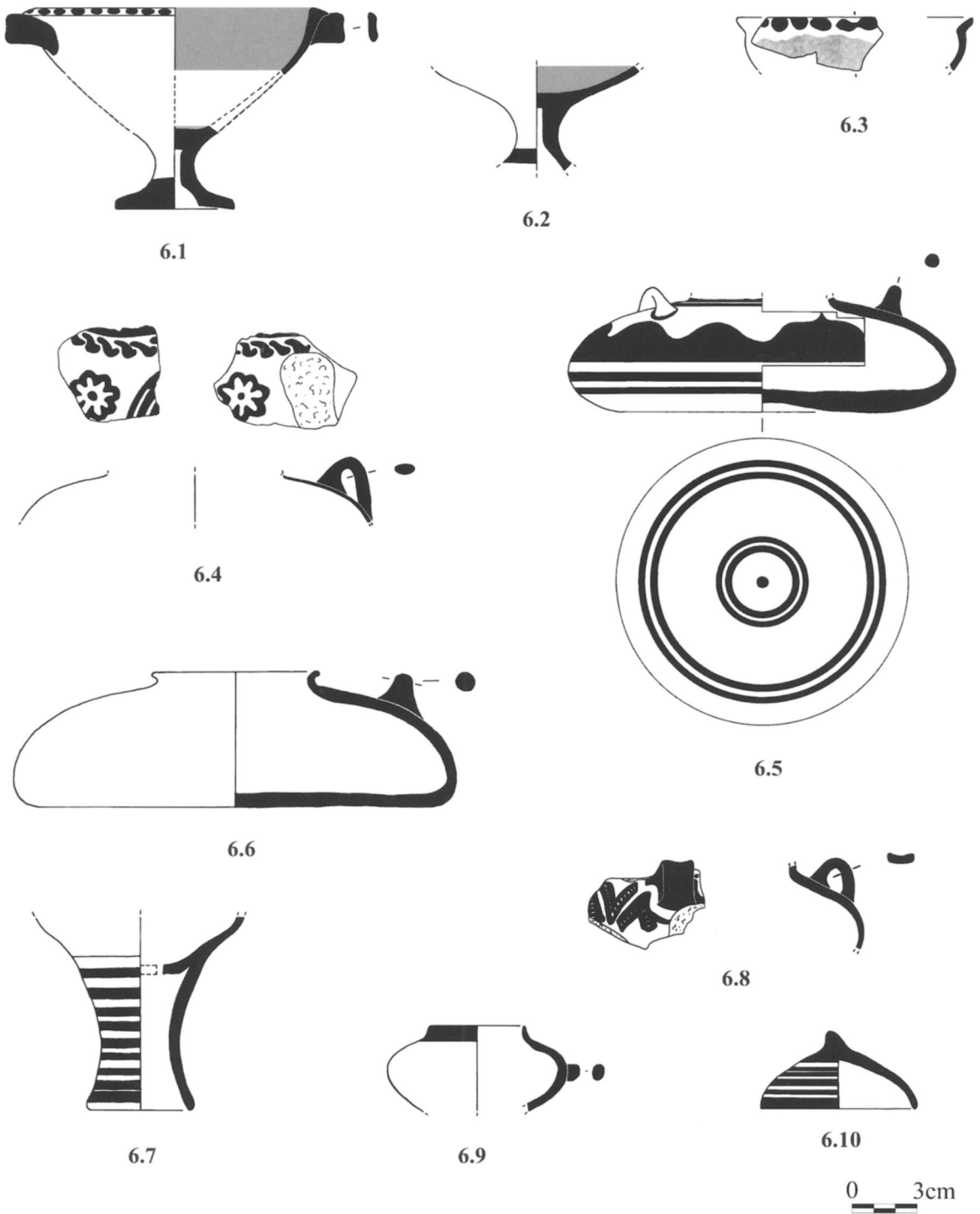
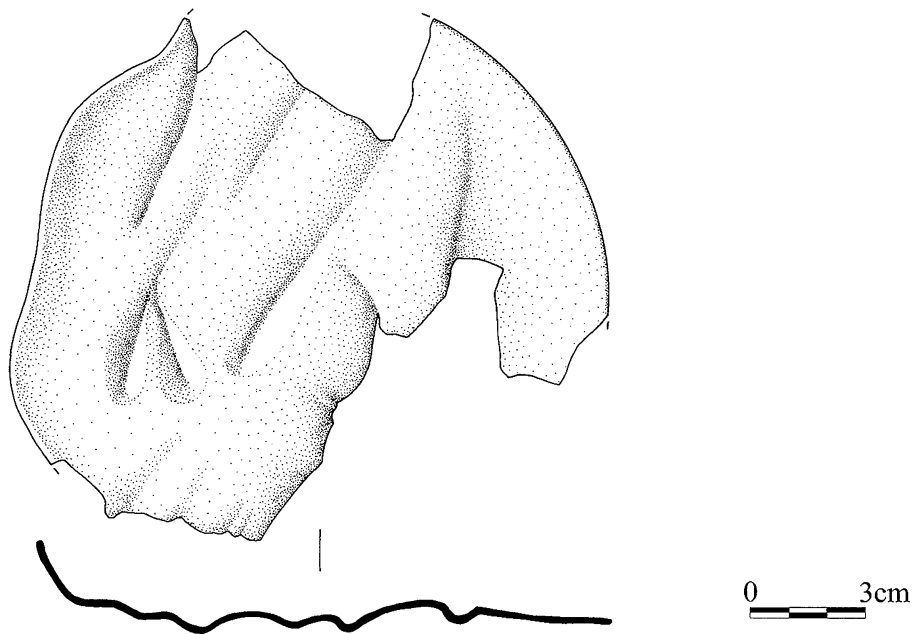


FIG. 20. Ceramics from Tomb 6 (1:3).



6.11

FIG. 21. Bronze mirror from Tomb 6 (1:2).

Final Palatial period. In Tomb 1, the motifs on the ceramic sherds are compatible with LM II.⁶⁵ A date of LM III A1 or III A2 early is here proposed for Tomb 1A (the bridge-spouted jar is a shape very rarely found after LM II).⁶⁶ Evans states that this tomb was constructed later than Tomb 1 (presumably on the basis of the stratigraphy of the intersecting dromoi), and at a time when the existence of the latter's dromos had been forgotten. However, given the short time lapse between the construction of the two tombs suggested by the above dating, and on the assumption that Tomb 1 would still have been visible (with its corbel-vaulted chamber protruding above ground level as a mound, and perhaps the dromos still uncovered), it is

⁶⁵ Although Popham and Furumark have proposed a LM III A date (Popham *et al.* (n. 13), 217–9, 223 J8; Furumark, *MP* 173 n. 10). See also W.-D. Niemeier, 'Probleme der Datierung von Siegeln nach Kontexten', in id. (ed.), *Studien zur minoischen und helladischen Glyptik* (Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel, Beiheft 1; Berlin, 1981), 91–103 at 98–9; and I. Pini, 'Chronological problems of some Late Minoan signet rings', *Temple University Aegean Seminar*, 8 (1983), 39–49, regarding the difficulties of dating this tomb using the glyptic evidence. Krzyszkowska proposes that the gold ring in Tomb 1 is a LM I heirloom (*Aegean Seals*, 127, 194). LM II parallels for the floral net decoration of the sherds d and e illustrated in *TDA* 12, fig 17, are illustrated in *MUM*, pls. 153. 4, 154. 4. The iris cross motif, on the

top of the stirrup jar (*TDA* FIG. 17, sherd a) is also a canonical LM II design (see *MUM* pl. 167 nos. 94–98).

⁶⁶ *TDA* 7 FIG. 11. For bridge-spouted jars, see *MUM* 168–9. See also J. MacGillivray, H. Sackett, J. Driessen, C. MacDonald, and D. Smyth, 'Excavations at Palaikastro, 1987', *BSA* 83 (1988), 259–82 at 272; also C. MacDonald's comment in response to J. MacGillivray, 'Late Minoan II and III pottery and chronology at Palaikastro: an introduction', in E. and B. Hallager (eds), *Late Minoan III Pottery: Chronology and Terminology* (Monograph of the Danish Institute at Athens 1; Aarhus, 1997), 193–207 at 206. Krzyszkowska also advocates a LM III A1 date for the tomb on the basis of the ceramics (*Aegean Seals*, 203 n. 35).

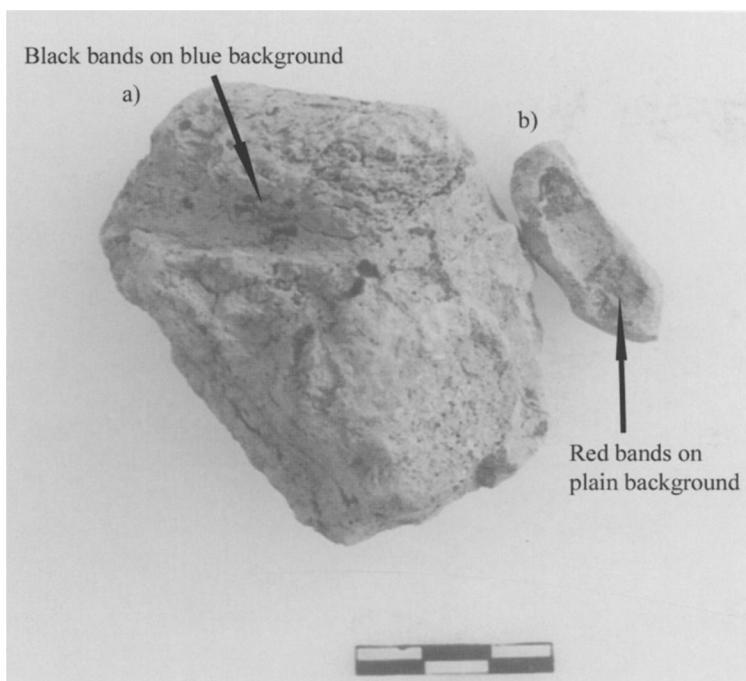


FIG. 22. Pieces of hardened clay from Box 1680, bearing impressions of a 'ritual' vessel. For a), compare the raised band beneath the rim of vessel 5*e*; for b), compare the curved handles of vessel 5*e*.

more likely that the siting of Tomb 1A was chosen to make deliberate reference to the earlier structure, claiming association with its occupants through this proximity.

Tomb 2 contained ceramics of LM II and perhaps LM III A1 date, and its use may therefore have spanned both phases.⁶⁷ For Tomb 3, Evans initially proposed a LM III A date (followed by Furumark and Pini⁶⁸) on the basis of the squat alabastron's 'decadent' decoration, although later he suggested that LM II would also be possible.⁶⁹ The squat alabastron is noteworthy for its decorative experimentation, but the presence of the iris cross (on both the upper body and the base) gives preference to a LM II date, and the same date is proposed above for the remarkably similar vessel 3.2.

Furumark dates the published assemblage of Tomb 4 to LM III A2,⁷⁰ but the ceramics are stylistically also compatible with LM III A1; the jug 4.1 in particular is more likely to be LM III A1 in both decoration and fabric. In Tomb 5, the 'ritual' vessels may actually be curated Neopalatial artefacts, given their parallels at Agia Triada,⁷¹ but the jugs 5.1 and 5.2 are

⁶⁷ Evans assigned the jug 2*m* to LM II (*PM* iv. 353, FIG. 297 *c*), having noted both LM I B and LM II parallels for the jug 2*l* (*PM* iv. 309). Furumark dated most of the pottery from this tomb to LM III A1 (*CMP* 104), while Pini dates the assemblage to LM II–III A1 (*BMG* 84). Popham, finally, dates the jug identified as 2*s* as LM III A, although 'more on grounds of context ... than because of any marked stylistic change' (M. Popham, 'Late Minoan pottery, a summary', *BSA* 62 (1967), 337–51 at 345 and

pl. 84 *b*). The Palace Style jars 2*n*, 2*o* and 2*q* are stylistically consistent with a LM II dating.

⁶⁸ *CMP*, 104; *BMG*, 84.

⁶⁹ In *PM* iv. 356, Evans states that 'Chronologically it [the squat alabastron] may actually come within the limits of the Palace period', which corresponds with the phase that we currently term LM II.

⁷⁰ *CMP* 105.

⁷¹ *TDA* 27–30.

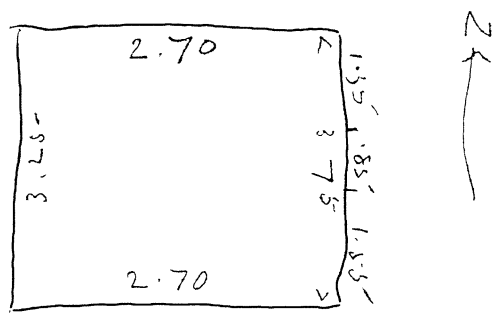


FIG. 23. Sketch by Mackenzie of the chamber of Tomb 7 (*DB 10, 25*). Measurements are in metres.

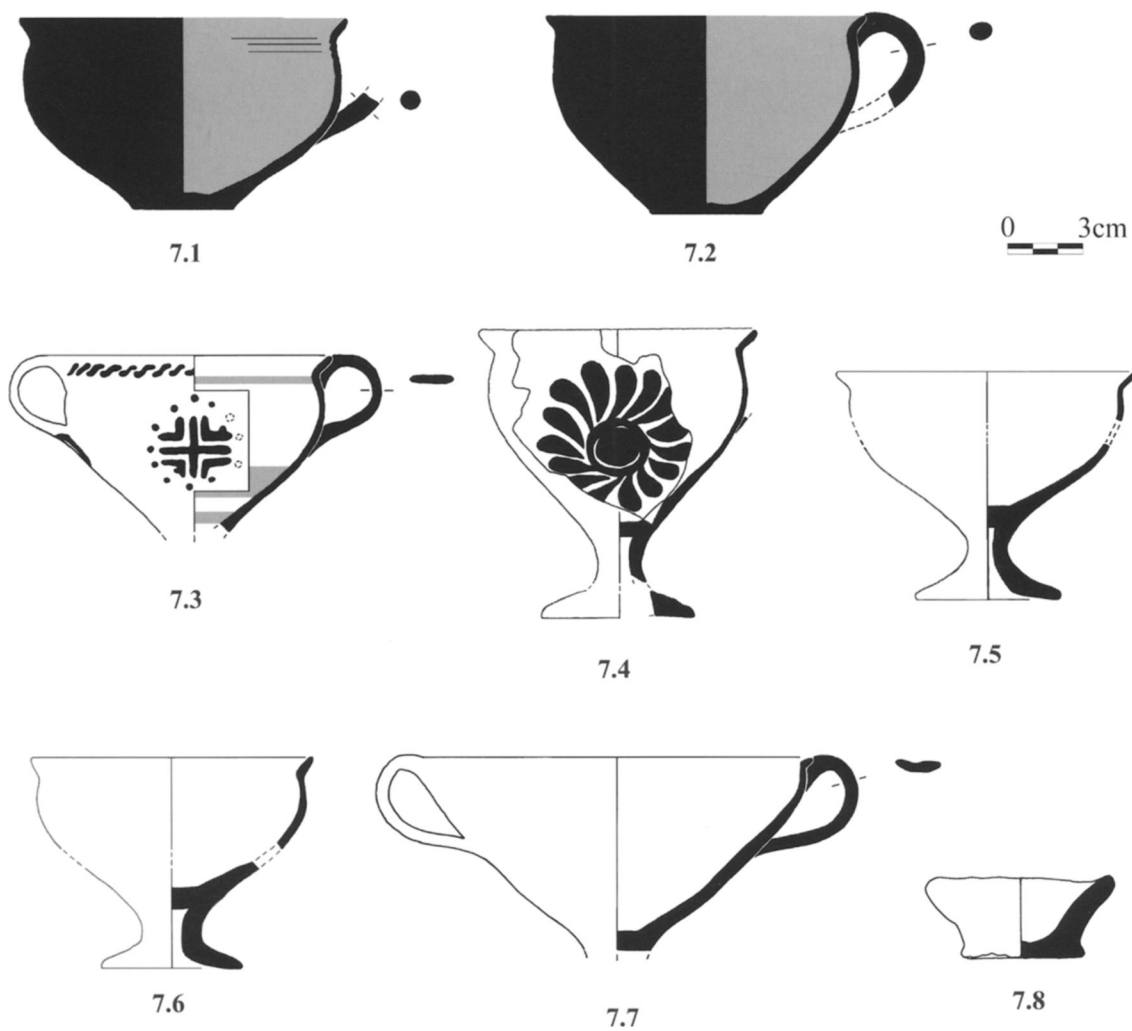
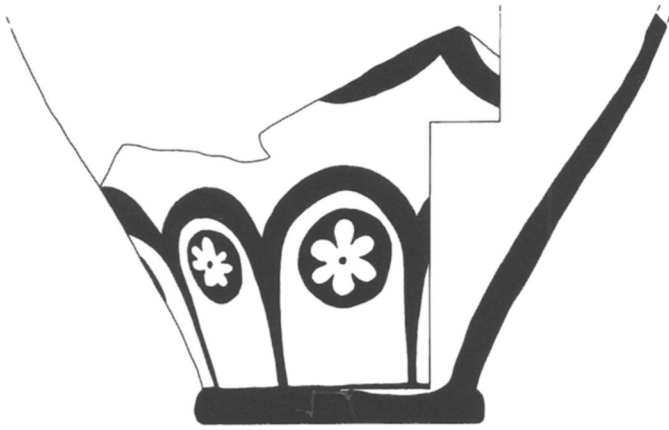


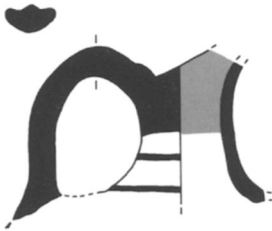
FIG. 24. Ceramics from Tomb 7 (1:3).



7.9

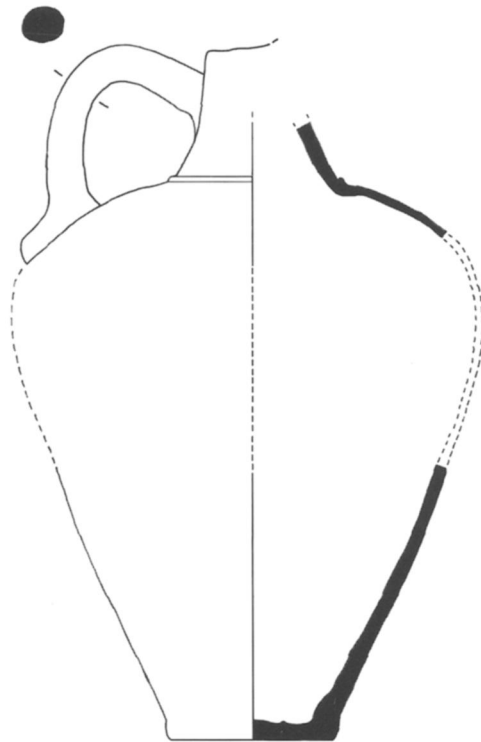


7.10



7.11

0 3cm



7.12

FIG. 25. Ceramics from Tomb 7 (1:3).

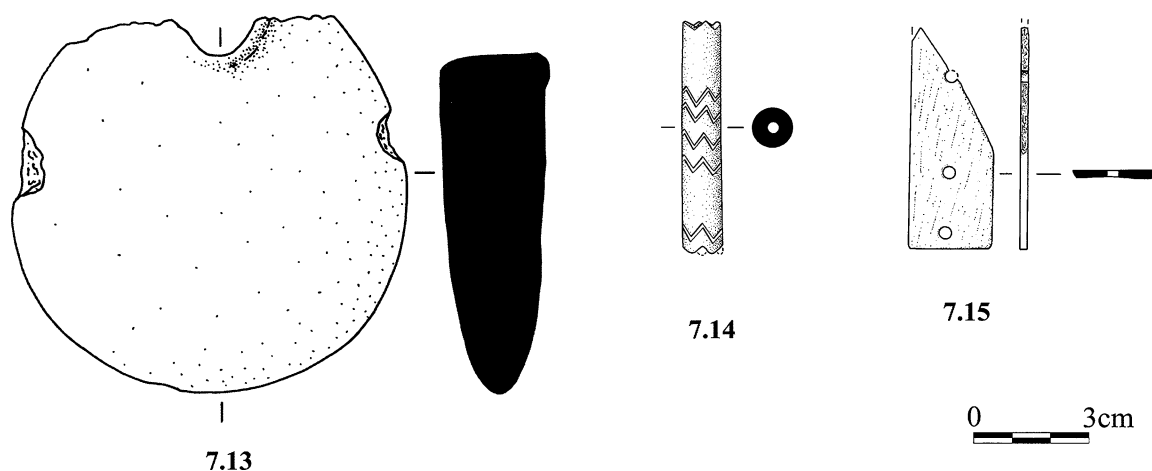


FIG. 26. Ceramic, ivory and bone artefacts from Box 1675 (1:2).

stylistically compatible with LM II.⁷² Tomb 6 has previously been dated to LM III A₂,⁷³ presumably on the basis of the kernos 6*a*, the only vessel illustrated in Evans's publication (the 'ritual' vessel 6*c* may, again, be a curated Neopalatial artefact). A date of LM II or III A₁ is equally applicable, however (a Final Palatial parallel from Katsambas is cited above, in the discussion of Tomb 6); the other ceramics catalogued above for this tomb are assigned to LM II or III A (with a preference for III A₁ where more precise dating within the III A phase is possible). For Tomb 7, none of the ceramic vessels catalogued above need be later than LM II in date.

The Isolated Deposit, finally, is slightly more problematic owing to the absence of published ceramics. Evans proposed a LM I, or even a MM III date, for the deposit on the basis of the bronzes and the shell-inlaid stone vessel, which he later revised to MM III A.⁷⁴ Mackenzie recorded in his notebook that this deposit was 'approximately of LM II date', though the reasons for this dating are unclear, especially as he assigned the shell-inlaid vessel to MM III, and he made no mention of ceramics. As noted above in the discussion of the deposit, the LM II sherds in Box 1671 may derive from this context or other tombs in the vicinity, but either way, the published Deposit material is consistent with the rest of the cemetery in artefact types, including the presence of curated Neopalatial objects; a Final Palatial date would therefore be plausible for this deposit also.

Overall, then, this cemetery saw a relatively brief window of use, covering only two to three human generations. A few Post-Palatial (LM III A₂/B) sherds are present among the SM material—for example, the cup/bowl 1674.1 from Tomb 2 or Tomb 3—and these may reflect mortuary or plundering activities. However, no Post-Palatial objects were recorded by Mackenzie or Evans, and the paucity of the material in the SM suggests that any activity at the cemetery in this period was limited.

⁷² This is also the date given by Evans and Pini: *PM* ii. 881 and *BMG* 84 no. xxi. 5 respectively.

⁷³ *BMG* 84 no. xxi. 6. See also *MP*, 171.

⁷⁴ *PM* iv. 845–7.

THE ISOPATA CEMETERY WITHIN THE MORTUARY AND POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

The Isopata cemetery is just one of a number of Final Palatial burial grounds known at Knossos, extending from the Gypsades hill south of the palace up the linear axis of the valley to the harbour town of Poros (FIG. 27).⁷⁵ Isopata is not the largest of these cemeteries, as Zapher Papoura covers a more extensive area and contains more tombs.⁷⁶ Nevertheless, it is still of substantial size, especially with the incorporation of Tomb 7 (the exclusion of which from Evans's publication was probably due to its poor architectural preservation and the paucity of valuable materials recovered from it; it cannot have been on the basis of the tomb's size, however, as it has a similar chamber area to Tombs 1A, 3, and 4). Moreover, just as at other contemporary burial sites at Knossos, it is possible that still further tombs await discovery at Isopata. The trial trenching methods used by Mackenzie and his team to locate the known tombs appear to have been very focused, principally following steep banks, on the assumption that the chambers were cut into slopes, although Evans also notes that shafts were sunk at spots where underground cavities were indicated by the vegetation.⁷⁷ Beyond the immediate vicinity of the known tombs, there is also an area of roughly 400 m along the plateau between the Isopata cemetery and the Isopata Royal Tomb which may also have been used for funerary purposes, although it has never been investigated.⁷⁸ A potential implication of this is that the Royal Tomb actually formed part of the same mortuary complex as the Isopata cemetery; however, this cannot be assumed and in the present analysis the two sites are considered separately.

To what extent, then, was the Isopata cemetery typical of Final Palatial funerary practices at Knossos? And what can it tell us about political and cultural developments at Knossos in this period? Aspects of these questions have been discussed by the present author elsewhere,⁷⁹ and a brief summary of some of those arguments is needed here. It has been proposed that one feature that all the Final Palatial tomb users shared was a concern with status display, not least because of the wealth of the assemblages in each cemetery (particularly in the deposition of metal artefacts). Following the destruction horizon that had occurred across Crete in the mid-fifteenth century BC (marking the end of the preceding Neopalatial period), the Knossian elite was now politically dominant on the island, controlling much of central and western Crete, and these tombs probably represent components of that elite.⁸⁰

⁷⁵ Most of the Final Palatial tombs beyond the Isopata cemetery which are considered in the present discussion are listed in Preston 2004a, 332 table 2. To these should be added the deposit in the Temple Tomb pillar crypt (PM iv. 1001–11), the Kephala Tholos (R. W. Hutchinson, 'A tholos tomb on the Kephala', *BSA* 51 (1956), 74–80; Preston 2005) and Katsambas tombs A–F and Z–H (*Katsambas*).

⁷⁶ See *PTK*.

⁷⁷ *DB* 09, 1–3, *DB* 10, 10, 13, 16; *TDA* 2.

⁷⁸ Correspondence in the BSA archives shows that Dr Claude Schaeffer, the excavator of Ugarit from the 1920s to the 1960s, intended to carry out excavations near the Isopata Royal Tomb to search for more tombs in 1939–40 and 1950, although this project never took place. Several letters in the BSA archives dating between 26 Apr. and 7 July 1939 concern Schaeffer's application, and the School's agreement, to carry out this excavation in 1939–40. Negotiations seem then to have lapsed, before being

revived in 1949 for a proposed 1950 excavation; the reasons why the excavation did not finally take place are unclear. The letters are stored in 'Knossos Correspondence 1930–1939': 1939 folder (correspondence between Hutchinson and Young); 'Knossos Correspondence 1940–1949': folder 1939–50, relating to Schaeffer's Isopata dig (1939 correspondence between Schaeffer, Myres, the School Director and Secretary, Hutchinson, and Dunbabin; 1949 correspondence between Cook and Schaeffer).

⁷⁹ Preston 1999; ead. 2004a, 2004b.

⁸⁰ For an overview of the Final Palatial period on Crete, see P. Rehak and J. Younger, 'Review of Aegean prehistory VII: Neopalatial, Final Palatial, and Postpalatial Crete', in T. Cullen (ed.), *Aegean Prehistory: A Review* (Boston, 2001), 383–473 (though note that these authors extend the Final Palatial period to LM III B, in contrast to the present study, which places its end in LM III A2 early).

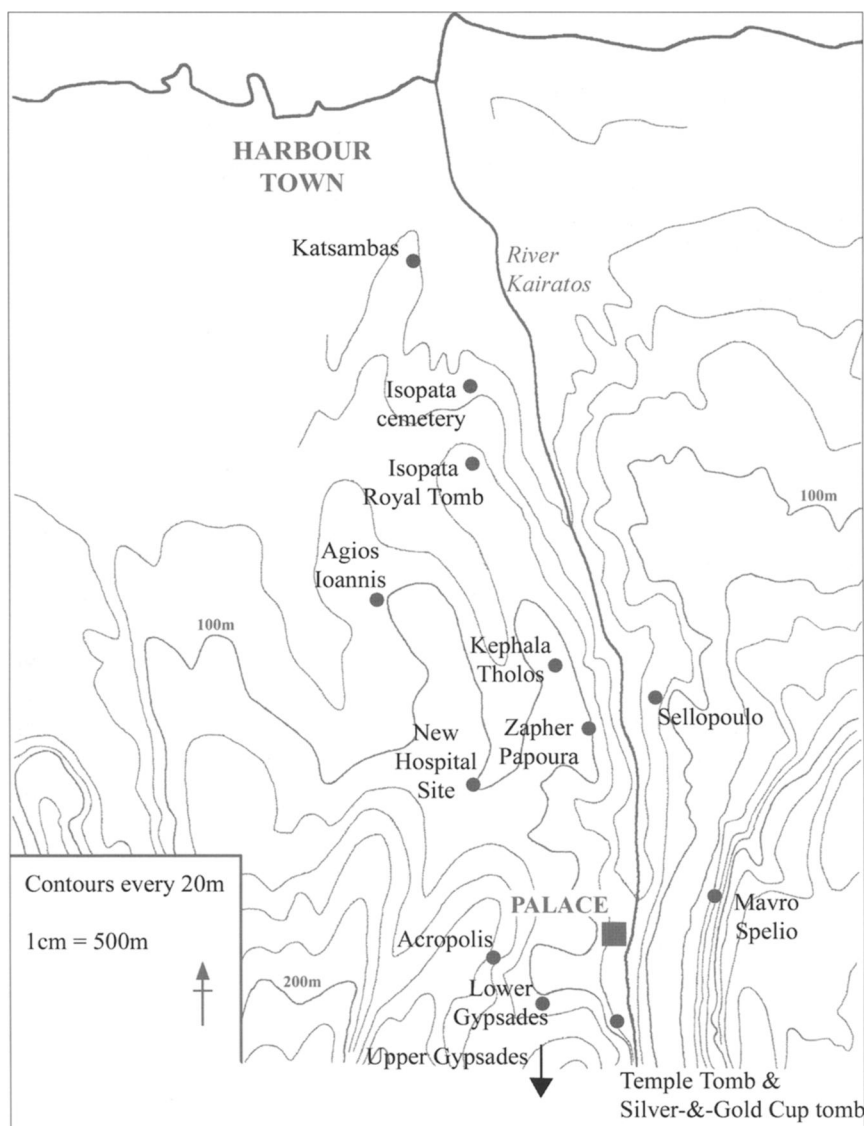


FIG. 27. Map of Final Palatial cemeteries at Knossos.

Culturally, this period also saw significant borrowings at Knossos of mainland-derived high status symbolism, to the extent that a Mycenaean invasion, and takeover of this centre, have often been proposed to explain both the political and cultural transformations witnessed on Crete in the fifteenth century. All the tombs show mainland influence to some extent in architectural design and/or assemblage choices (particularly the popularity of 'warrior burials');⁸¹ on this basis some scholars have attributed some or all of them to this postulated

⁸¹ See e.g. J. Driessen and C. Macdonald, 'Some military aspects of the Aegean in the late fifteenth and early fourteenth centuries BC', *BSA* 79 (1984), 49-74 and

I. Kilian-Dirlmeier, 'Noch einmal zu den "Kriegergräbern" von Knossos', *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz*, 32 (1985), 196-7.

intrusive elite. However, because some of the tombs—particularly those on the Isopata plateau—also display high status symbolism characteristic of Neopalatial Cretan elites, as well as Egyptian and Ugaritic influences, with often highly individualistic results, they defy any straightforward ethnic labelling.⁸² Instead, burials can provide insights into the Knossian elite from different perspective, if we consider the cultural eclecticism of some of the tombs as experiments with authority symbols, part of a process of elite ideological transformation at Knossos in which high status identities were being actively and opportunistically reworked in response to the political crisis horizon that had marked the end of the Neopalatial period.

Pursuing these arguments, the present discussion will consider some of the axes of ostentation deployed in the tombs, to examine the relationship between Isopata and the other cemeteries more closely.

Architectural display

The Isopata cemetery is collectively prominent in the sizes and elaboration of the tomb structures by comparison with most other Knossian burial grounds, as well as occupying a conspicuous position in the landscape, overlooking the harbour at Poros. Specific features of architectural elaboration within several of the tombs (including benches, buttresses, cists, and embellished entrances) have been highlighted elsewhere.⁸³ In overall tomb sizes, there are 41 Final Palatial tombs at Knossos for which we have published dimensions. Fifteen of these are shaft graves and pit-caves, which have floor areas generally under 3 m²; these smallest tomb types are most commonly found at Zapher Papoura; they are not represented at all at Isopata. At the other end of the scale, the most extravagant tomb type in effort expenditure on manufacture is the corbel-vaulted tomb, given that its construction required both extractive and additive processes, carving a subterranean dromos and chamber, quarrying and dressing stone and constructing a corbelled vault for the chamber. Only three such tombs are definitely attested at Final Palatial Knossos, including Isopata Tomb 1. This tomb is at the lower end of the scale in its chamber size,⁸⁴ but it has been observed elsewhere that the elaboration of its forehall and dromos is disproportionate to the small chamber area, by comparison with the Royal Tomb and Kephala Tholos, and this may have been intended to aggrandize the appearance of the tomb in the longer term, for viewers who would not have witnessed the chamber interior itself.⁸⁵ Finally, the predominant tomb type at Knossos is the chamber tomb; the 23 examples for which dimensions are known have chamber areas of between 1 and 44 m², and the Isopata chamber tombs all rank at the upper end of this scale, with Tombs 2, 5, and 6 particularly outstanding (FIG. 28). Of the other cemeteries represented in this figure, only Kastambas has tombs which rival any of the Isopata cemetery in size.

The interest in tomb size and elaboration at the Isopata cemetery implies a generally greater degree of labour mobilization and skills for tomb construction here than at most other cemetery sites, as well as ensuring subsequent long-term prominence in the landscape at least for the corbel-vaulted Tomb 1, whose mound would have been visible above ground-level. The only other tombs at Knossos comparable with Isopata in this concern with

⁸² Preston 1999.

⁸³ Preston 2004b, 330 table 1 for Tombs 1, 2 and 5. Isopata Tomb 6 can also be added to this list, with its buttress projection imitating that of Tomb 2.

⁸⁴ Its chamber area was 10.2 m², as opposed to 48 for the Royal Tomb, and 24 for the Kephala Tholos.

⁸⁵ Preston 2005, Table 1 and 72 n. 42.

architectural elaboration are the corbel-vaulted Royal Tomb and Kephala Tholos, and several tombs in the Katsambas cemetery.

Assemblage composition

In assemblage choices, the Isopata cemetery shares close similarities with other Knossian tomb groups in many respects. Many of the artefacts found in the Isopata tombs belong to generic types characteristic of Knossian burial assemblages more generally—namely ‘warrior’ accoutrements (swords, spearheads, arrowheads, knives), grooming equipment (razors, mirrors, tweezers), items of adornment (necklaces, rings, seals), stone and metal vessels, and ceramic drinking and pouring shapes, jars, squat alabastra, and braziers. The extensive overlaps between cemeteries in the occurrence of these artefacts,⁸⁶ many of which were part of a ‘warrior package’, have been discussed by Alberti and Kilian-Dirlmeier.⁸⁷ Many of these were prestige artefacts, and were presumably an aspect of status display in the funerals. Although the potential for ostentation was more ephemeral than that provided by tomb structures which formed permanent conspicuous monuments in the landscape (and the audience which saw the assemblages through participation in the burial was probably more restricted), their impact was nevertheless significant, especially if they were actively used in the funerary rituals (as discussed below) before being sacrificed to the tomb as a gesture of disposable wealth.

One method of analysing levels of assemblage ostentation which has been investigated in other Middle–Late Bronze Age Aegean contexts has been to calculate the range of different material types represented,⁸⁸ and such an analysis could equally be applied to Final Palatial Knossos. Unfortunately, there are two potentially distorting factors to consider. One is the strong evidence for post-burial disturbance in the Isopata tombs, as discussed above, a problem which is also common in some other Final Palatial cemeteries, whether through robbing or later tomb use (the Royal Tomb, Kephala Tholos, and Mavro Spelio cemetery seem to be particularly affected⁸⁹); this certainly involved the removal of parts of some artefacts, and may have involved the removal of other objects entirely. Second, we have almost no information regarding the numbers of interments at Isopata, in contrast to a number of other cemeteries, where body counts are generally possible. This means that material diversity counts cannot be carried out for individual assemblages, but must be based on whole tombs. Given these caveats, the material diversity scored for Final Palatial tombs are presented in FIG. 29. This shows some correlation with levels of architectural expenditure (particularly for Isopata Tomb 2, Katsambas B and H, the Kephala Tholos and the Royal Tomb).⁹⁰ The Isopata

⁸⁶ Cf. P. Treherne, ‘The warrior’s beauty: the masculine body and self-identity in Bronze-Age Europe’, *Journal of European Archaeology*, 3 (1995), 105–44.

⁸⁷ L. Alberti, ‘The Late Minoan II–III A warrior graves at Knossos’, in G. Cadogan, E. Hatzaki, and A. Vasilakis (eds), *Knossos: Palace, City, State* (Athens, 2004), 127–36; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1985 (n. 81).

⁸⁸ This method was employed for Late Bronze Age Mycenaean burials by S. Voutsaki, ‘Society and Culture in the Mycenaean World: An Analysis of Mortuary Practices in the Argolid, Thessaly and Dodecanese’ (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge: 1993); it has also been applied to Post-Palatial Crete (Preston 2004a, 338–42).

⁸⁹ This should also be highlighted particularly for the Ayios Ioannis tomb, the Gold and Silver Cup Tomb, Katsambas I, and Sellopoulo 3.

⁹⁰ The Royal Tomb, Kephala Tholos, and Katsambas H are included in this analysis, although all have Post-Palatial use also and it is not certain that later objects have not been incorporated in these counts. However, for the Royal Tomb only objects which Evans thought belonged to the earliest burials have been included (*PTK* 144–61); in the Kephala Tholos, all but two of the materials represented (ivory and schist) were found in the lowest levels of the chamber fill or in the shaft graves themselves (see Preston 2005, 79–80, 112–13).

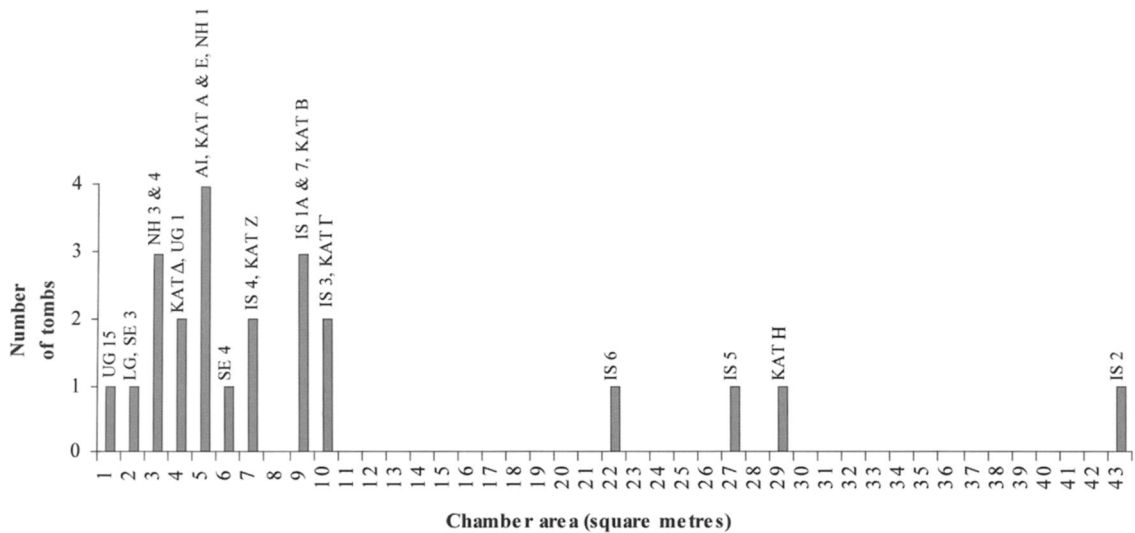


FIG. 28. Floor areas of Final Palatial chamber tombs. AI = Ayios Ioannis, IS = Isopata, KAT = Katsambas, LG = Lower Gypsades, NH = New Hospital Site, SE = Sellopoulo, UG = Upper Gypsades, ZP = Zapher Papoura.

tombs do not collectively rank highly according to this analysis, rather falling at various points across the spectrum, but Tomb 2 is conspicuous among the Knossian tombs overall, despite the evidence (discussed above) for disruption to its assemblage.

Two other aspects of assemblage display are also considered here. One is the presence of 'exotica' (that is, artefacts which were probably imported in their finished form from beyond the Aegean world, more specifically the eastern Mediterranean or northern Europe). The results (TABLE 3) indicate that the exotica, while relatively rare, were not confined to specific cemeteries (as noted above for some other aspects of tomb assemblages). The tombs containing exotica tend to rank highly in material diversity scores (cf. FIG. 29, particularly the Royal Tomb, Isopata Tomb 2, Katsambas B and H, and Sellopoulo 4), indicating that there was a close link between these two strategies for wealth display. Again, the Isopata cemetery is not collectively prominent, but two of the tombs do feature exotica.

The final comparative analysis is of artefact sizes. This is based on the hypothesis that for some artefacts, their size was directly and consciously associated with display potential, because they were made from valuable, imported raw materials (e.g. gold or bronze objects) or because they were containers for valued commodities (e.g. squat alabastra and Palace Style jars). Following this rationale, several artefact types which occur both at Isopata and in other Final Palatial Knossian cemeteries are tabulated in FIGS. 30 and 31 according to one of their principal dimensions. Among these categories, Isopata (specifically Tombs 1, 2, 3, and 5) produced some of the largest examples; but equally, artefacts of more common dimensions also derive from the same and other tombs in this cemetery. It is also noteworthy that the Kephala Tholos, Royal Tomb and Katsambas cemeteries compare with Isopata in interest in large-scale ceramic vessels (FIG. 30); a concern with size is not as apparent in the metal weaponry, grooming artefacts and jewellery considered here, but given the disturbance of the Royal Tomb and Kephala Tomb at least, it is not unlikely that the buriers also competed in

TABLE 3. Exotica present in Final Palatial assemblages at Knossos

For tomb codes see FIGS 28 and 29. Tombs named in parentheses have Post-Palatial use also (see n. 90).

Tomb	No. of artefacts	Artefact types
(RT)	13	1 porphyry, 1 diorite and 11 alabaster vessels
IS ID	3	3 alabaster vessels
IS 2	3	3 amber beads
KAT B	3	1 diorite and 2 alabaster vessels
LG	2	2 scarabs
SE 4	2	2 scarabs
GSC	1	1 alabaster vessel
(KAT H)	1	1 diorite vessel
TT	1	1 alabaster vessel
ZP 66	1	1 cylinder seal
ZP 76	1	1 pilgrim flask

this way (the preferential survival of the large ceramic vessels simply being due to their lesser value to tomb-plunderers).

In summary, the Isopata cemetery has a complex relationship with other Final Palatial burial grounds at Knossos in many aspects of the assemblage choices being made, and it was an integral part of the general high status mortuary landscape which these burial grounds created. It would clearly be hazardous to treat the surviving assemblages of the Isopata tombs as entirely representative of their original contents, but it is likely that some tombs were more prominent than others in the resources being sacrificed to the grave (Tomb 2 being obviously outstanding in a number of respects).

However, the Isopata cemetery is *collectively* distinguishable from most other cemeteries in architectural expenditure (the aspect of tombs least affected by looting), and there are hints that more than one tomb here hosted burials whose assemblage was unusually extravagant in one way or another (for example, the exotica in the Isolated Deposit, the dimensions of the gold seal ring in Tomb 1, the dimensions of the squat alabastron, mirror, and spearhead in Tomb 3, and the dimensions of the squat alabastron in Tomb 5). The combination of these architectural and assemblage factors suggests that as a whole, the Isopata cemetery was at the upper end of the range of status display being practised at Knossos through tomb burial. Moreover, it shared this pre-eminent position with three neighbouring sites particularly: the analyses above indicate a particularly close relationship with the Royal Tomb, Kephala Tholos and several of the tombs in the Katsambas cemetery (especially tombs B, Z, and H), in those strategies for display (across both architectural and assemblage choices) which are least susceptible to distortion through plundering activities.

Mortuary ritual: from artefacts to action

There is one respect, however, in which the Isopata cemetery stands out more prominently against all the other burial sites at Knossos: that is, in the frequency of the appeals being made to Neopalatial Cretan high status symbols. Artefacts which were either curated from the

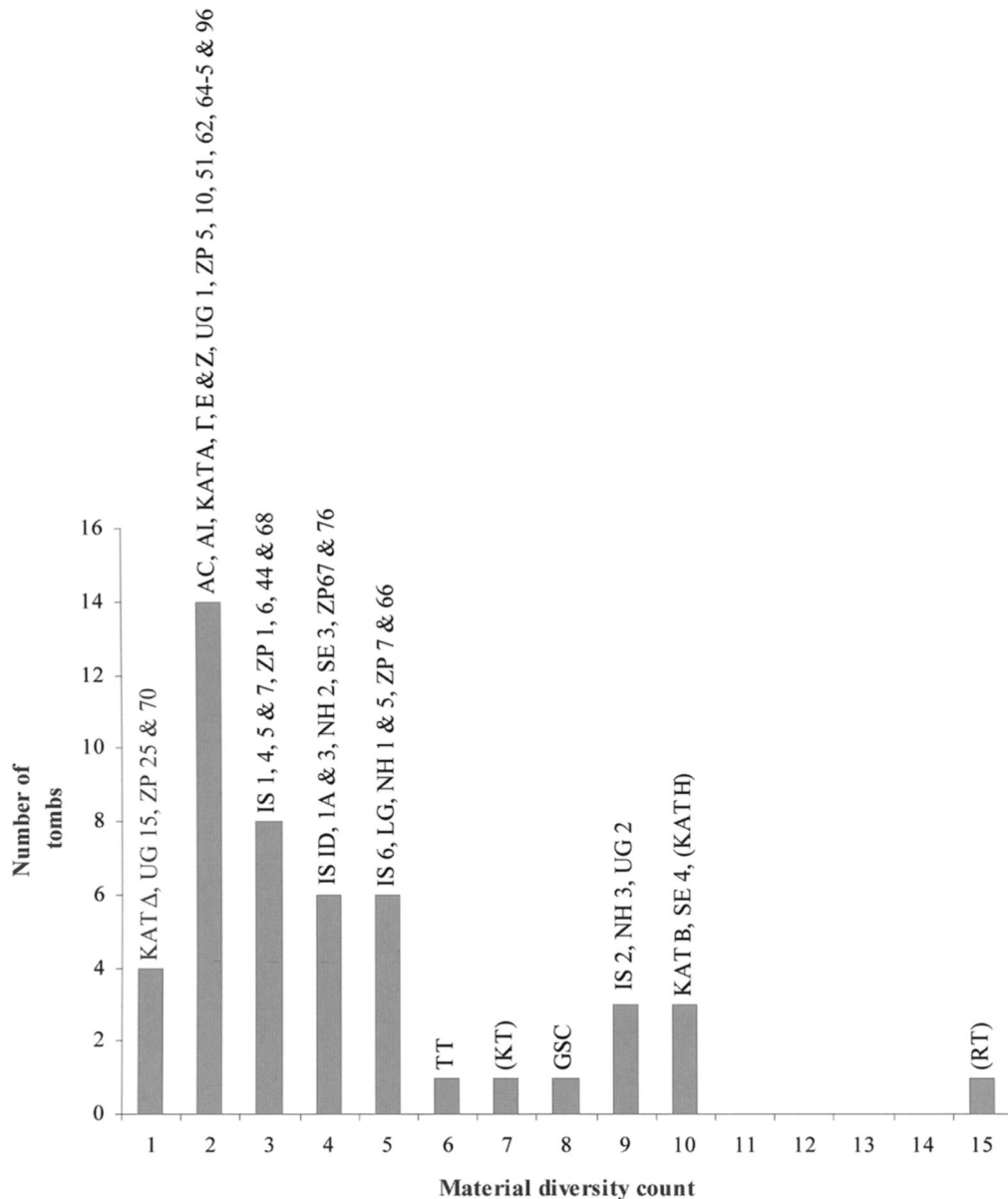


FIG. 29. Material diversity counts in Final Palatial tombs. GSC = Gold & Silver Cup Tomb, KT = Kephala Tholos, RT = Royal Tomb, TT = Temple Tomb. For other tomb codes, see FIG. 28. Tombs named in brackets have Post-palatial use also.

Neopalatial period, or were reminiscent of artefact types more typical of that period, are present in the assemblages of six of the tombs: the inlaid limestone bridge-spouted jar in the Isolated Deposit, the gold seal-ring in Tomb 1, the three double axes (*2a*, *g*, *g*), 'ritual' vessel (*2n*) and bull head rhyton (*2x*) in Tomb 2, the mace-head (*3g*) in Tomb 3, the 'ritual' vessels

(5e–h) in Tomb 5, and the ‘ritual’ vessel (6c) in Tomb 6.⁹¹ This artefactual dataset is supplemented by the architectural references to Neopalatial precedents in Tomb 2’s double-axe-shaped cist, the buttress reminiscent of a pillar crypt and the column carved on the buttress face,⁹² as well as the similar ‘pillar crypt’ buttress façade in Tomb 6 and the mason mark inside the burial cist in Tomb 1.⁹³

This theme can also be explored more closely, if one moves beyond these symbols to consider the funerary ritual itself. All the artefacts found in the Isopata tombs (as indeed in other Final Palatial burials at Knossos) should be seen as residues of funerary ritual: it is likely that different elements of these ‘assemblages’ represent different stages, and different human actions, within the funerary process: for example, the lighting of the tomb (the braziers), drinking (the cups and goblets, although consumption does not appear to have been a large-scale activity at the tombs),⁹⁴ the ‘dressing’ and arrangement of the corpse (the squat alabaster, jewellery, mirrors, razors, and tweezers), and placing of the deceased’s possessions, gifts from the mourners, and/or objects for use in an afterlife. This consideration could equally be applied to the Neopalatial ritual paraphernalia that are particularly conspicuous at Isopata, as Evans himself advocated in his original publication of the cemetery.⁹⁵ In Tomb 2, for example, both the architectural and artefactual features could be considered not simply as passive references to a bygone era, architectural features recognized merely through their background presence in the burial environment, and artefacts simply deposited as prestige items with the dead. Instead, the carving of these architectural features may have been seen as an act of transformation, turning the burial chamber into a religious space where the double axes, ‘ritual’ vessels, and bull-head rhyton could actually have been used in ceremonies relating, at least in part, to the Neopalatial high status rituals within which they had traditionally functioned. In other words, the very rituals within which these symbols had traditionally been used may have been re-enacted in the tombs. The link between status and religious authority in Neopalatial Crete has been discussed extensively elsewhere; in particular, access to certain aspects of the supernatural sphere appears to have been controlled in that period by elites through appropriation of ritual space (at peak sanctuaries and caves especially),⁹⁶ the performance of rites and even, perhaps, the physical representation and embodiment of supernatural beings by certain individuals.⁹⁷ The *active* use of religious paraphernalia in rituals associated with the Isopata tombs would have been a forceful means of invoking awe through association with this past, recalling Neopalatial elite rituals more emphatically by actually repeating the actions of these predecessors,⁹⁸ and legitimating the status of this burying group through their continuing observance of similar rites.

⁹¹ Neopalatial artefacts do occur elsewhere, though very infrequently, e.g. the gold seal ring in Sellopoulo Tomb 4 (*Aegean Seals*, 194 n. 8).

⁹² See Preston 1999, 136–7.

⁹³ TDA 9, 30. The Kephala Tholos and Royal Tomb also have mason marks.

⁹⁴ The cups and goblets catalogued above from Isopata, particularly from Tombs 6 and 7, add notably to the total corpus of such vessels known from the cemetery, bringing the total from 2 (both in Tomb 2) to 17. Such vessels may be residues of liquid consumption by participants within the funerary rituals, although if so, this seems not to have been a large-group activity, either here

or at other Final Palatial cemeteries, given the limited quantities present in individual tombs.

⁹⁵ TDA 53–6.

⁹⁶ As argued by A. Peatfield, ‘Palace and peak: the political and religious relationship between palaces and peak sanctuaries’, in R. Hägg and N. Marinatos (eds), *Function of the Minoan Palaces* (Stockholm, 1987), 89–93.

⁹⁷ e.g. W.-D. Niemeier, ‘On the function of the “Throne Room” in the palace at Knossos’, in Hägg–Marinatos (n. 95), 163–8.

⁹⁸ See P. Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge, 1989).

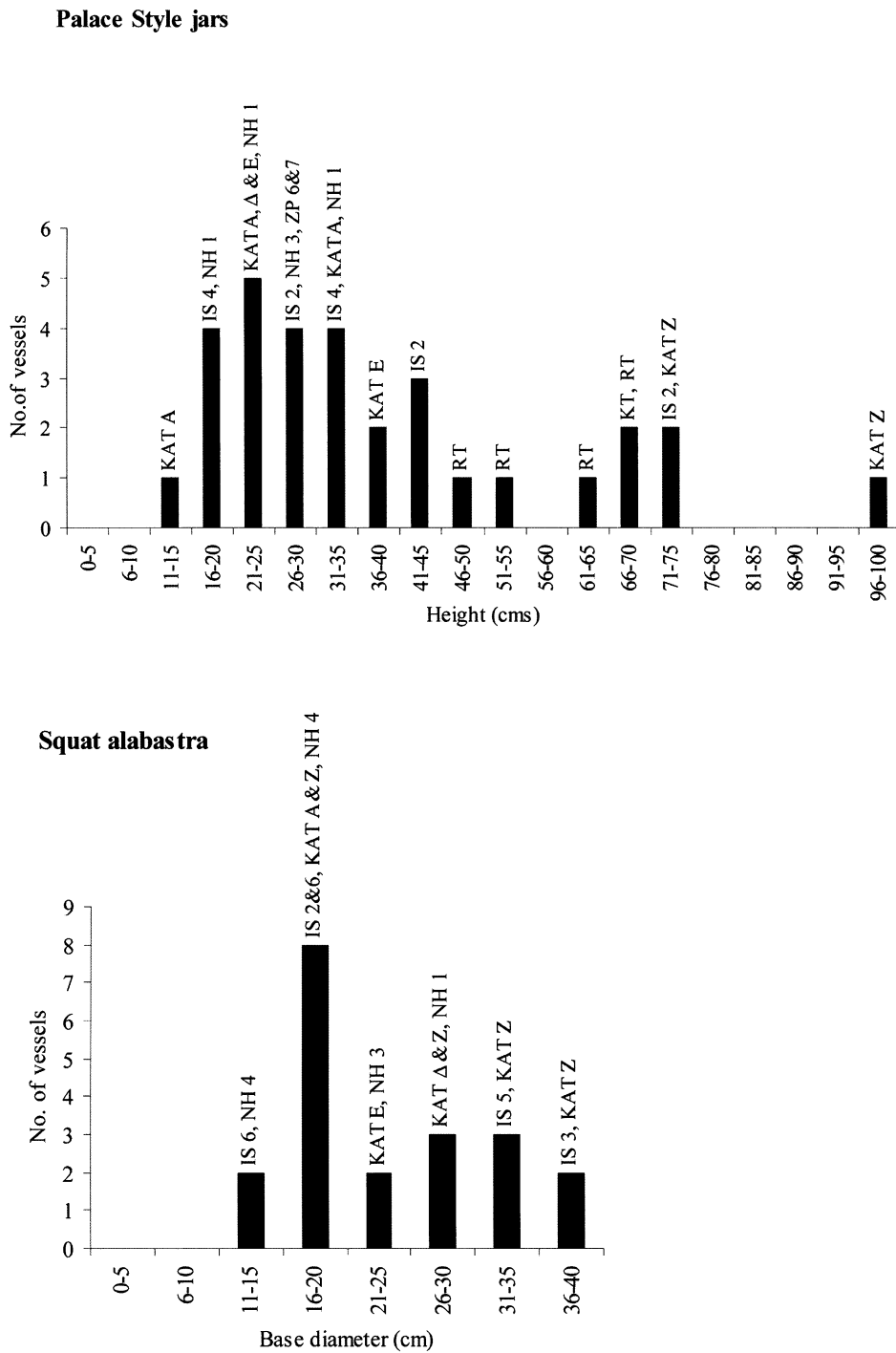


FIG. 30. Size comparisons of Final Palatial Palace Style jars and squat alabastra.

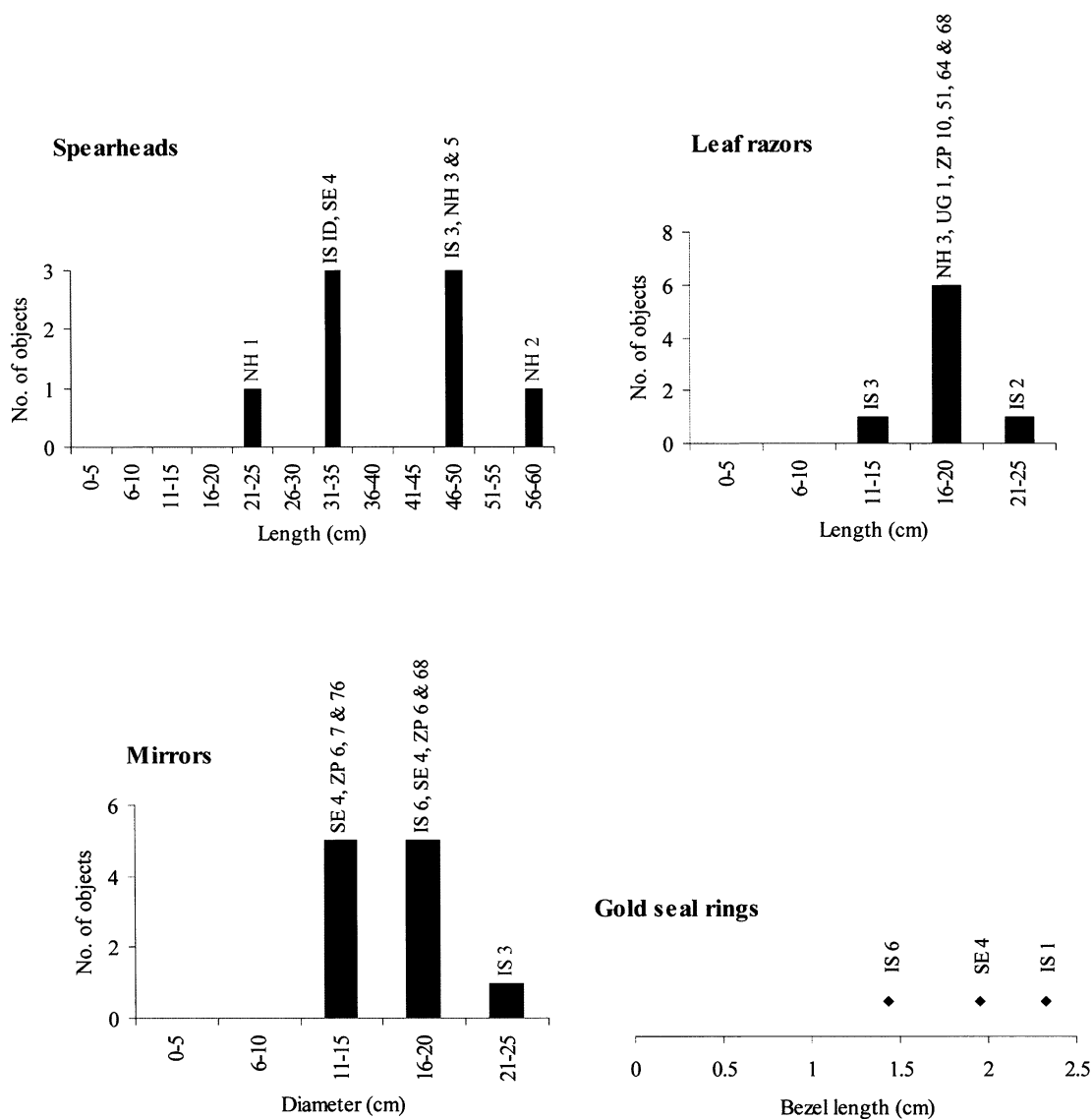


FIG. 31. Size comparisons of bronze spearheads, leaf razors and mirrors, and gold seal rings in Final Palatial assemblages.

It has been argued by Briault that even in the Neopalatial period, religious ritual symbols and objects could be used in a variety of locales, and their significance did not rely on performance within one particular type of setting.⁹⁹ The extent to which such rituals would have actually needed to be adapted to this mortuary context deserves consideration. On the

⁹⁹ C. Briault, 'Making mountains out of molehills in the Bronze Age Aegean: visibility, ritual kits, and the idea of a peak sanctuary', *World Archaeology*, 39. 1 (2007), 122-41.

one hand, there were undoubtedly elements of modification, since innovative, at least partially mainland-derived, symbols were also being deposited in the tombs.¹⁰⁰ However, it is not necessarily the case that a mortuary association *per se* for these rituals would have been new. Although we know relatively little of Neopalatial funerary practices, the Temple Tomb provides an interesting precedent for the presence of religious symbolism (including a pillar crypt) in a high status mortuary locale. Ritual performances at Isopata in which Neopalatial references were deployed would not, therefore, necessarily have seen extensive adaptations to their content, though their meaning would inevitably have seen some alteration in view of the adaptation of mainland-style influences in parts of the mortuary sphere.

A final observation that may be connected with mortuary rituals concerns the human remains themselves, which are absent from both Evans's publication and Mackenzie's excavation notebooks, apart from the inhumation in Tomb 5. The skull fragment now stored with the assemblage from Tomb 7 is our only other piece of data, and its absence from Mackenzie's records is unsurprising, given the brevity with which Tomb 7 as a whole was treated. It suggests that human remains were probably present in the tombs, but there is a significant contrast with the Zapher Papoura cemetery, which had been investigated only five years previously by the same principal excavators (Evans, Mackenzie, and the head foreman Antonios Gregoriou).¹⁰¹ In Evans's publication of that cemetery, 67 of the 100 tombs are described as having contained observable human remains (almost always as primary inhumations). The comparative lack of such primary inhumations at Isopata may simply be a result of later plundering activities disturbing the burials; however, the possibility that secondary manipulation of bodies took place as one element of funerary rituals in the tombs could also be considered.¹⁰²

CONCLUSIONS

Many aspects of the burial activities and the strategies for status display at Isopata are shared with other known Knossian cemeteries of the same period. In several of the above analyses, the Isopata tombs fall at various points along a continuum of levels of mortuary display seen at Knossos, but nevertheless it appears that these tombs are cumulatively prominent in their architectural effort expenditure and references to Neopalatial elite authority symbols, producing a remarkably diverse group of highly individualistic tombs. It has also been argued here that these appeals to indigenous precedents may have extended beyond merely displaying curated artefacts, and involved actual continuity or recreations of high-status ritual activities of a religious and/or mortuary nature. It is not possible to demonstrate whether or not the Isopata cemetery represents individuals within the highest elite levels at Knossos, but this is not unlikely, given that the burying groups had the material resources and social power to create such an ostentatious mortuary mark in the landscape. These tombs certainly provide one of our best windows onto the agents who were involved in transforming Knossian elite ideologies and practices in a period of intense political and cultural upheaval for Crete.

Faculty of Classics, Cambridge

LAURA PRESTON

¹⁰⁰ See Alberti (n. 87) at 132–4.

¹⁰¹ PTK 2, TDA 2.

¹⁰² Compare the paucity of primary interments at the cemetery of neighbouring Archanes in the preceding

Neopalatial period, despite clear evidence of mortuary-related rituals there: Y. Sakellarakis and E. Sapouna-Sakellarakis (n. 24), 220–1, 223–9.

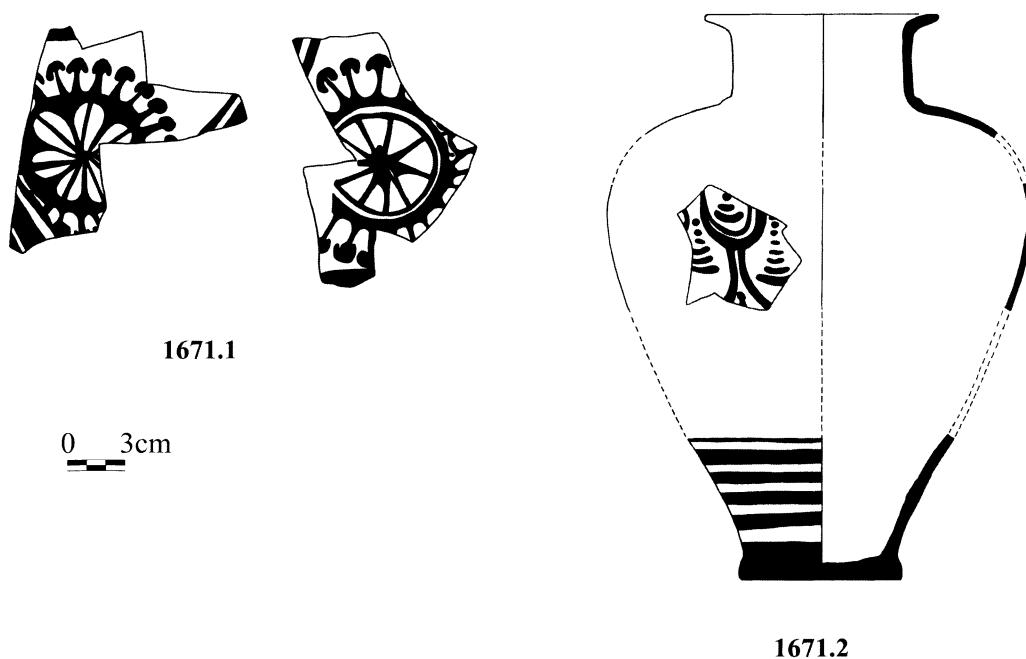


FIG. 32. Ceramics from Box 1671 (1:4).

APPENDIX

BOX 1671

1671.1 (FIG. 32). Closed vessel (Palace Style Jar?). Three parts of body (two illustrated). Semi-coarse, orange clay with numerous small black, grey and white inclusions. Very weathered on the interior. Cream slip and orange-brown decoration on the exterior: bands and rosettes. LM II. Area near the Isolated Deposit?

1671.2 (FIG. 32). Piriform jar. Part of base, lower body, upper body, and rim. D. (rim) *c.* 12, (base) 8.3; Fine creamy-green clay with fugitive black paint on exterior: six bands around lowest part of body; decoration around collar and rim unclear, but possibly solid black on the upper face and underside of the rim, a band at the top of the rim interior, and a band at the top of the collar on the exterior; festoon pattern with arcs on upper middle part of body. LM II. Area near the Isolated Deposit?

1671.3 (FIG. 33). Squat alabastron. Half preserved: parts of base, body, and rim (no

handles). H. 6.6, D. (rim) 10.1, (base) 18.4. Fine buff clay with cream slip on exterior and brown-black paint: spiral on base; crested rock pattern on body, thin band at base of neck, band on rim exterior and interior, solid circles on body where the handles affixed. LM II? Area near the Isolated Deposit?

1671.4 (FIG. 33). Goblet. Base and lower part of body only. H. (pres.) 4.9, D. (base) 5.7. Fine cream-green clay with very fugitive traces of black paint on interior (decoration unclear). LM II? Area near the Isolated Deposit?

1671.5 (FIG. 33). Goblet. Rim sherd with part of strap handle. Fine buff clay. Plain. LM II? Area near the Isolated Deposit?

1671.6 (FIG. 33). Loomweight, disc-shaped. Complete. L. (max.) 13.6, W. (max.) 11.1, Th. (max.) 2.4, D. (hole) 1.3. Coarse pink-cream clay with large inclusions. Plain. MM or LM. Area near the Isolated Deposit?

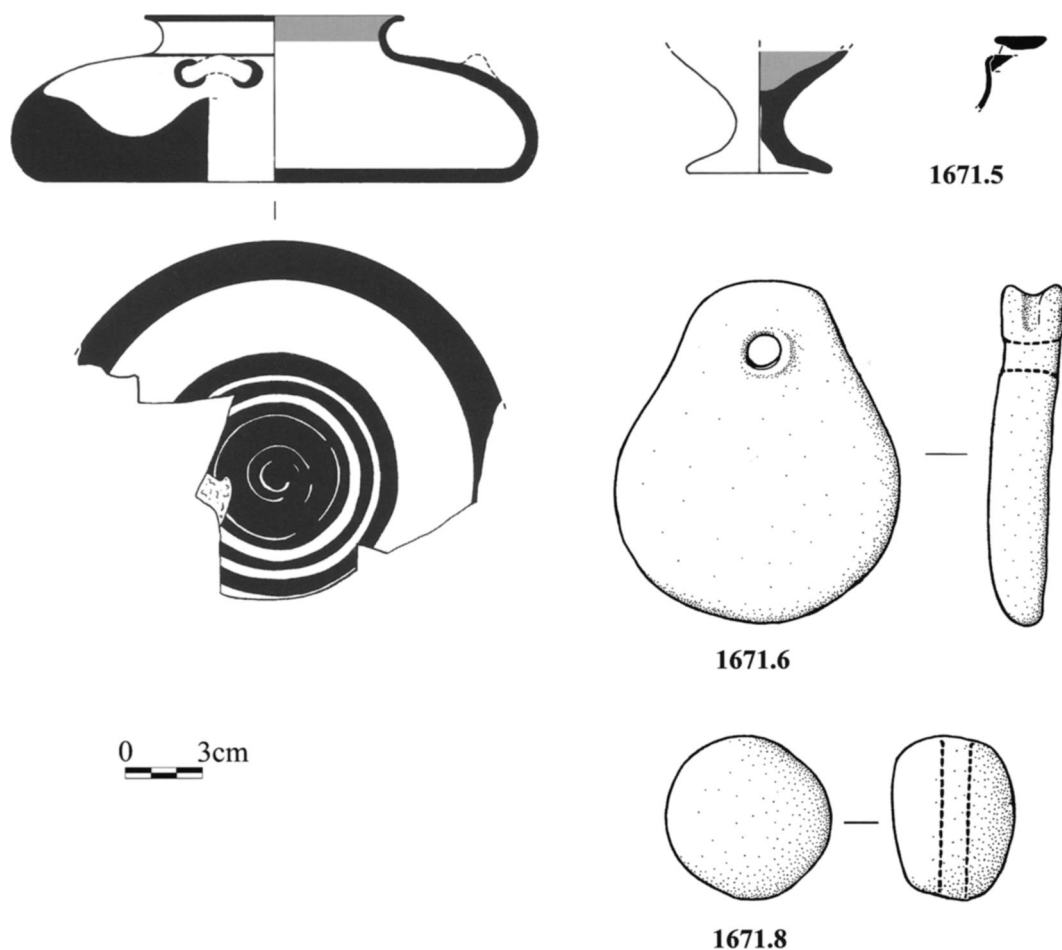


FIG. 33. Ceramics from Box 1671 (1:3).

1671.7. Loomweight, disc-shaped (similar form to 1671.6). Complete. L. (max.) 13.2, W. (max.) 10.3, D. (hole) 2. Coarse pink-cream clay with large inclusions. Plain. MM or LM. Area near the Isolated Deposit?

1671.8 (FIG. 33). Loomweight, spherical. Complete. L. (max.) 6.5, W. (max.) 6.4, D. (hole) 1.0. Coarse, pink-cream clay with large inclusions. Plain. MM or LM. Area near the Isolated Deposit?

BOX 1672

1672.1–18 (FIG. 34). Eighteen cylindrical ‘counters’. Complete. H. 0.4–1, D. 0.8–1.2. Fine buff clay. Plain. Possibly from a gaming set. Evans identified four ivory conical objects from a floor fill deposit near the Loomweight Deposit, in the East wing of the Knossos palace, as gaming

pieces,¹⁰³ though those are much larger than the present pieces (D. c.8 cm; however, they were not directly associated with any traces of a gaming board, so the identification is hypothetical. Katsambas Tomb H also produced four cones (two ivory, two stone, H. 2 cm, D. 1 cm), which Alexiou

¹⁰³ *PM* i. 477–8, FIG. 342.

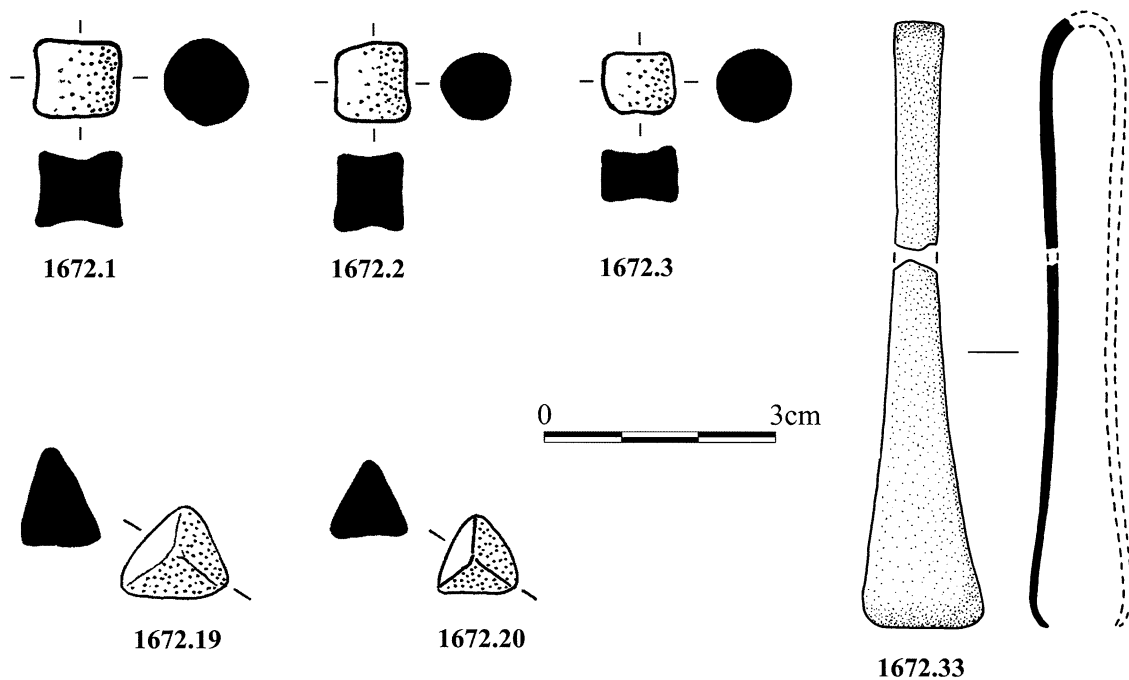


FIG. 34. Ceramic and bronze artefacts from Box 1672 (1:1).

described as chess pieces, found together with an astragalos.¹⁰⁴

1672.19–32 (FIG. 34). Fourteen pyramidal ‘counters’. Complete. H. 0.9–1.7. Fine buff clay. Plain. Possibly from a gaming set.

1672.33 (FIG. 34). Tweezers. Bronze. Two non-joining fragments. Estimated L. 8, W. (at ends) (max.) 1.5, Th. (at hinge) (max.) 0.2.

1672.34 (FIG. 35). Pinhead? Ivory. Broken at one end and chipped at the tip. ‘Bud’ shaped, tapering towards two raised bands. L. (pres.) 1.8, D. (max.) 0.5. Similar to the bone pomegranate bud from the Temple Repositories,¹⁰⁵ though the latter has a flat underside and was therefore presumably an inlay.

1672.35 (FIG. 35). Handle fitting. Elephant ivory. Broken at one end. L. (pres.) 5.2, W. 1.4, Th. (max.) 0.5. Flat underside, partially scored; upper surface polished and convex. One dowel hole for attachment to one side of the handle of a bronze implement.

1672.36 (FIG. 35). Linear inlay. Ivory. Broken at both ends. L. (pres.) (max.) 4.5, W. 2, Th. (max.) 0.7. Underside blackened and slightly concave along centre. Upper side convex, with diagonal grooves along length. Very worn along both edges.

1672.37 (FIG. 35). Linear, segmented inlay. Ivory. Broken at one end. L. (pres.) 2.3, W. 0.6, Th. (max.) 0.4. Flat, notched underside; convex upper surface, divided horizontally into eight segments. For parallels, cf. the ‘Royal Draught-Board’ from the North-East area of the Knossos Palace¹⁰⁶ and Mycenae Shaft Grave V,¹⁰⁷ though without the dowel holes in the undersides of the latter. No ivory parallels are recorded from the Temple Repositories, though they do have parallels for the faience versions in this box (see 1672.49–56).

1672.38 (FIG. 35). Rosette inlay. Ivory. Three-fifths preserved; very worn and chipped. D. (orig.) c.3.5, Th. (max.) 0.6. Underside flat and scored. Upper

¹⁰⁴ *Katsambas*, 57–8 nos. 36 and 47; pl. 28 a.

¹⁰⁵ *TR* 119 no. 286 c, and FIG. 28.

¹⁰⁶ *PM* i. 472–5, pl. v.

¹⁰⁷ *Karo* 145 no. 819, pl. cxlvi.

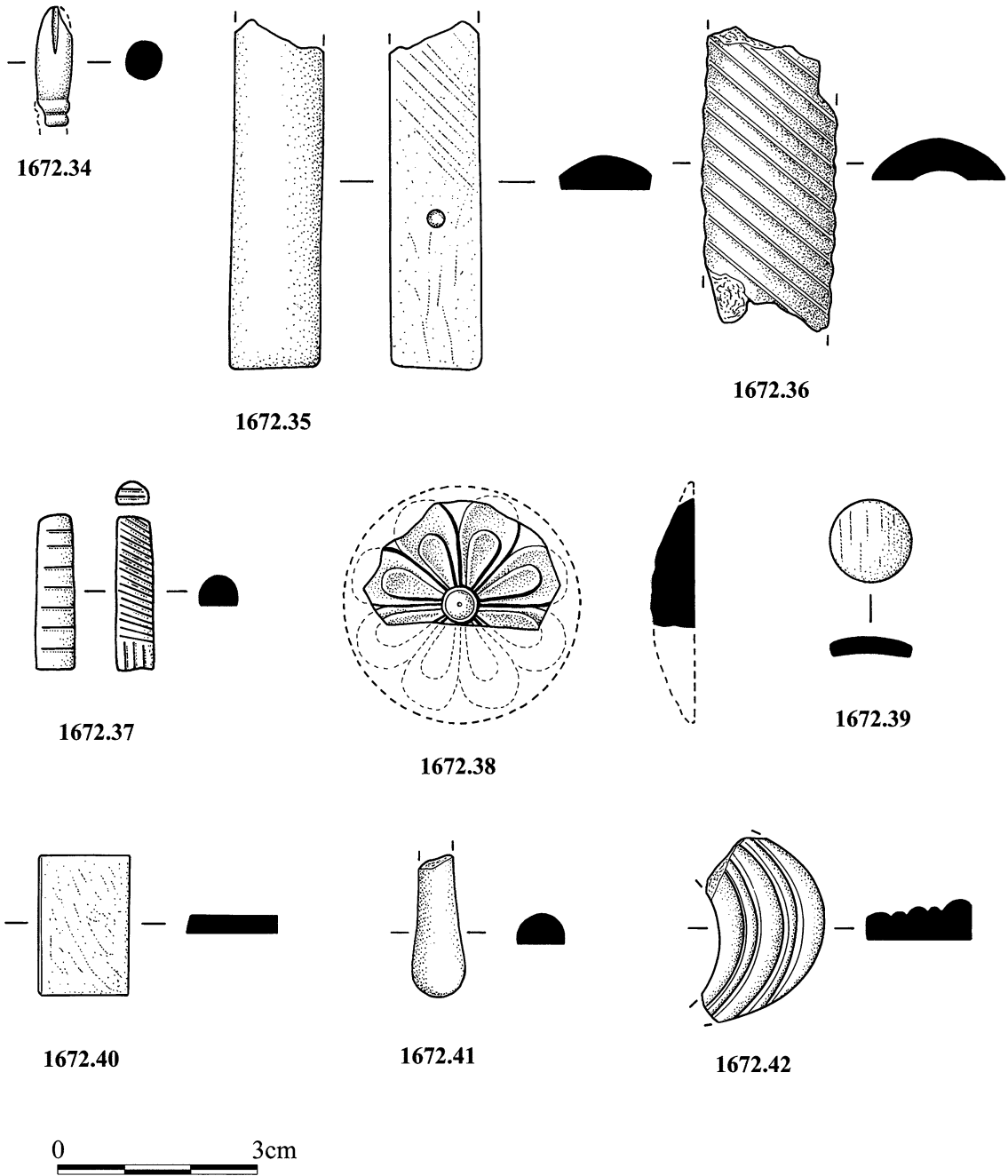


FIG. 35. Ivory artefacts from Box 1672 (1:1).

face convex, originally with eight double-petals. Unpierced.

1672.39 (FIG. 35). Disc inlay. Ivory. Complete. D. 1.2, Th. 0.2. Round disc, slightly convex on upper face and concave on lower face. Blackened; partially burnt?

1672.40 (FIG. 35). Rectangular inlay. Ivory. Complete. L. 2.1, W. 1.4, Th. 0.25. Both faces flat, with underside scored. Sides vertical, except one long edge, which tapers inwards towards the upper surface. Blackened; partially burnt?

1672.41 (FIG. 35). Drop-shaped inlay. Ivory. Broken at one end. L. (pres.) 2.1, W. (max.) 0.8, Th. (max.) 0.45. Underside flat, upper face convex. Blackened; partially burnt?

1672.42 (FIG. 35). Petal inlay. Ivory. Broken at both ends. L. (pres.) 2.8, W. (max.) 1.5, Th. (max.) 0.56. Blackened; burnt? Cf an ivory inlay from the Temple Repositories.¹⁰⁸ Evans notes that similar inlays in faience and crystal to the ivory example in the Temple Repositories had been found elsewhere in the Knossos palace. A similar inlay in faience was also found in the Temple Repositories.¹⁰⁹

1672.43 Bead. Egyptian blue frit. Complete. L. 0.5, D. 0.6, (hole) 0.1. Roughly spherical, with central pierced hole.

1672.44 Circular inlay. Egyptian blue frit. Complete. D. 1.4, Th. (max.) 0.3. Flat underside and convex upper face.

1672.45-7 (FIG. 36). Three beads. Faience. Complete. Th. 0.35, D. 0.9, (hole) 0.15. Grey cores. Remnants of blue surface glaze on 1672.45. Circular, flat beads with small central hole.

1672.48 Curved 'rod'. Faience. Broken at both ends. L. (pres.) 2.5, Th. (max.) 0.4. Roughly flattened on underside, convex upper face. Hard white core, white surface. Reminiscent of faience fragments representing animal horns, from the Temple Repositories, held in SM Box 1878.¹¹⁰

1672.49-56 (FIG. 36). Eight linear, segmented

inlays. Faience. Very worn, all possibly broken at both ends. L. 1.4-2.8, W. 0.6, Th. 0.4. Seven with soft white core, some with traces of blue glaze on surface; one with soft black core and black surface. Flat undersides; convex, horizontally segmented upper faces (four to ten segments). Numerous parallels from the Temple Repositories,¹¹¹ but none from the 'Royal Draught-Board'.

1672.57 (FIG. 36). Linear (undulating) inlay. Glazed material. Complete, and very well preserved. L. 9.1, W. 0.8-0.9, Th. (max.) 0.6. Hard cream core, with traces of a greyish glaze on parts of the upper surface. Overall form is of an undulating line. Convex upper face with groove running down the centre to create two bands; flat underside.

1672.58 (FIG. 36). Sub-triangular inlay. Faience. Almost complete?, with breaks at both the narrow and broad ends. L. (pres.) 3.2, preserved W. (max.) 2.2, Th. 0.5-0.55. Soft grey core. Upper surface decorated with two inlaid horizontal blue bands against the grey background. Flat underside and upper face; all intact surfaces very smooth. Bevelled edges, tapering inwards towards base. Cf. parallels from the Temple Repositories¹¹² and the inlay from the gaming board in Mycenae Shaft Grave IV.¹¹³ Cf. also **1672.59**.

1672.59 (FIG. 36). Inlay. Faience. Incomplete: broken on two sides and underside damaged. L. (pres.) 3.5, W. (pres.) 2.6, Th. 0.65. The complete corner is square. The upper and lower faces are flat; one preserved edge is vertical, the other bevelled (tapering towards the base). Grey, soft core with two white bands inlaid on upper face. Cf. a square-edged faience inlay from the Temple Repositories,¹¹⁴ and **1672.58**.

1672.60 (FIG. 36). Figure-of-eight shield inlay. Faience. Broken into three pieces but almost complete. L. 3.8, W. 2.4, Th. (of discs) 0.5, H. (max.) 2. Centrally raised figure-of-eight shield

¹⁰⁸ PM i. 496 and FIG. 354 b; TR 172 no. 290, 121 FIG. 28, pls. 19, 20 e.

¹⁰⁹ TR 158 no. 189, 88, 95 FIG. 24, pl. 11 e.

¹¹⁰ TR 156 no. 179, 85-6 and FIG. 20. This and several other objects held in three boxes labelled '1878' in the SM were identified with the Temple Repository material by Panagiotaki because of their close stylistic affinities (TR 74).

¹¹¹ PM i. 481 FIG. 344 b 1; TR 160-1 nos. 207-8, 95 FIG. 24, pls. 11 e, 16 b.

¹¹² PM i. 481, FIG. 344; TR 157-8 nos. 185, 186, 188, 88-9, FIG. 21, pls. 11 e, 13 a.

¹¹³ PM i. 482-3, FIG. 346; Karo 115 no. 556, pl. clii.

¹¹⁴ TR 157 no. 187, 88-9, FIG. 21, pls. 11 e and 13 d.

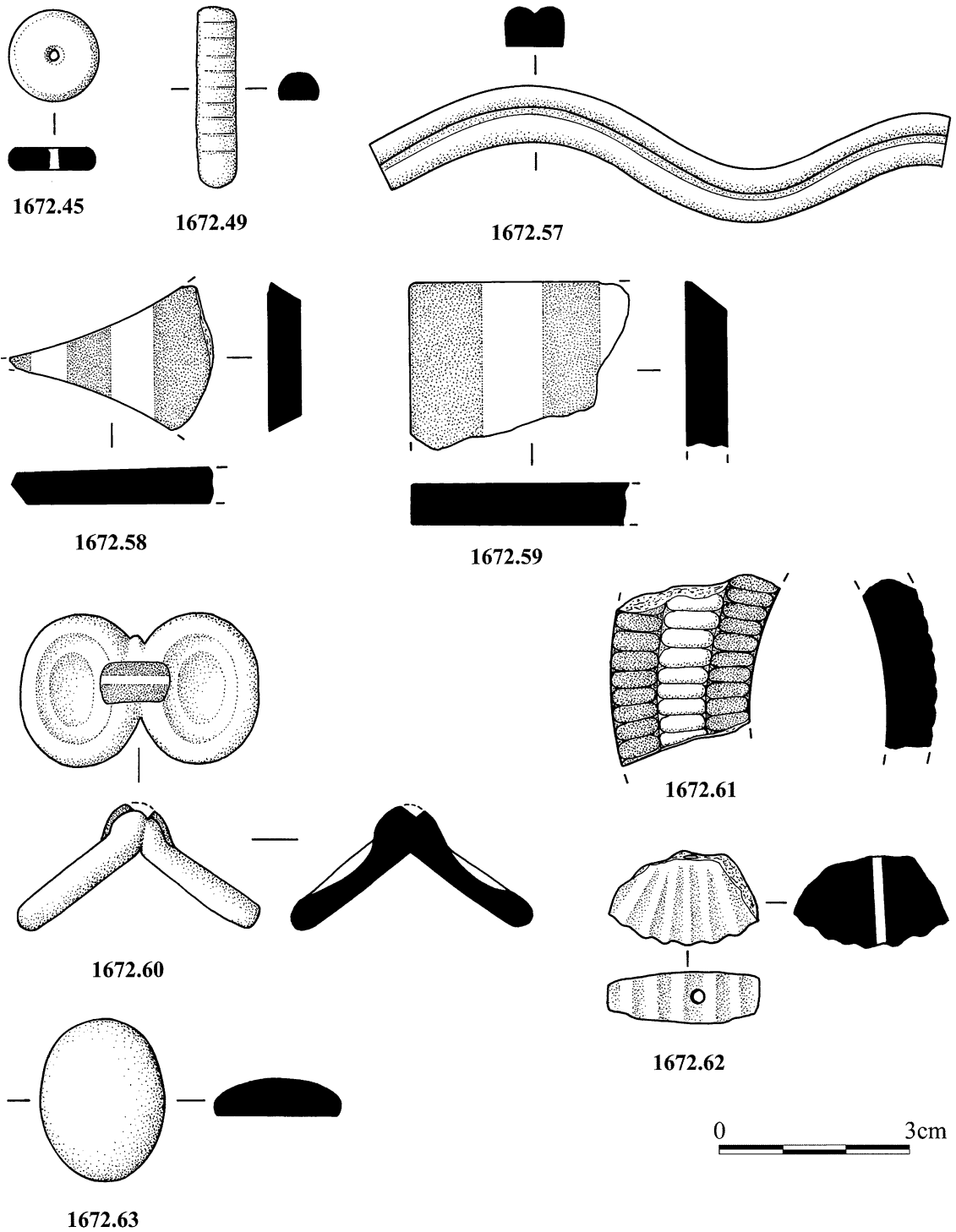


FIG. 36. Faience and glass artefacts from Box 1672 (1:1).

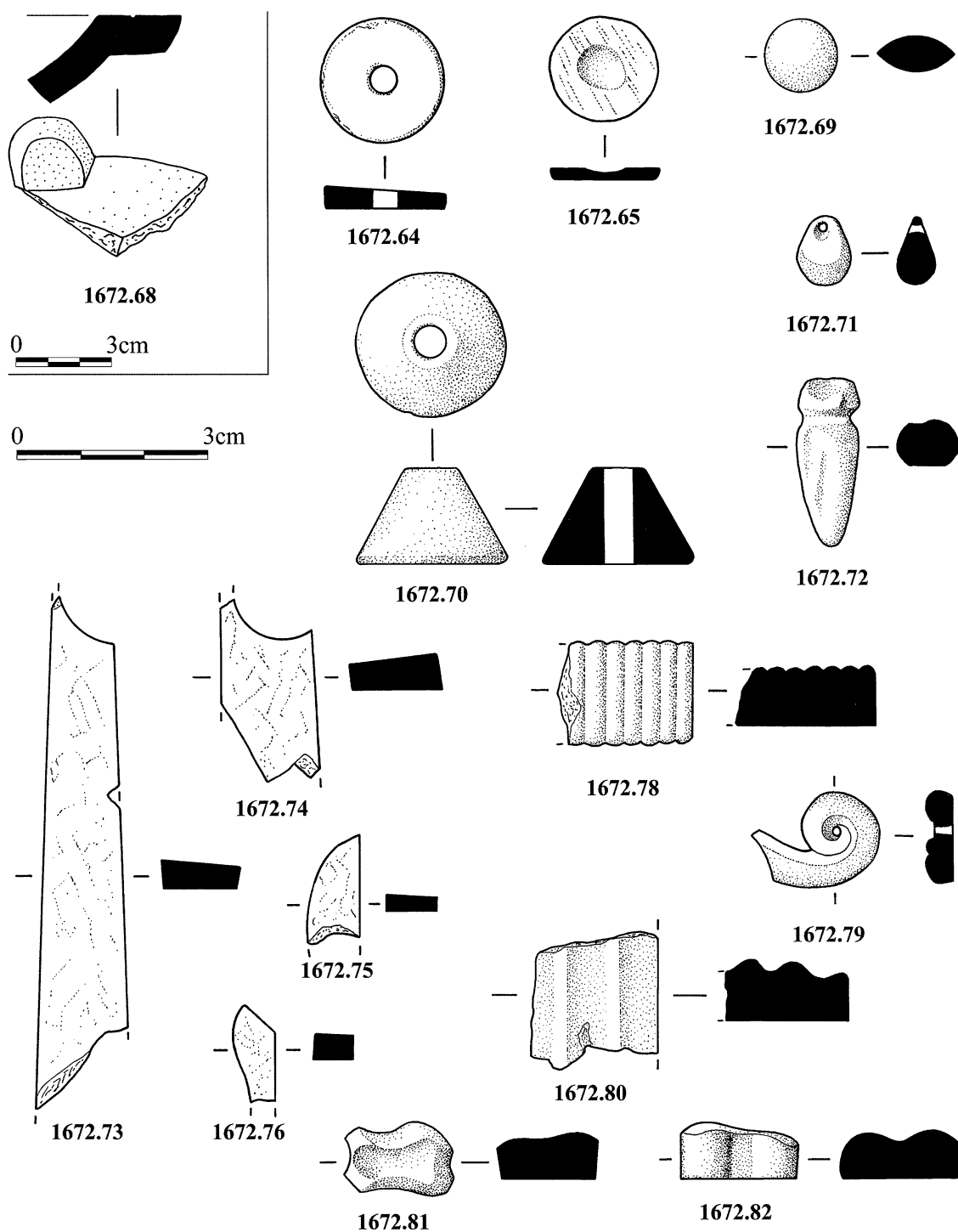


FIG. 37. Shell and stone artefacts from Box 1672 (1672.68 at 1:2; all others at 1:1).

formed by joining two discs with central depressions on their upper faces, and flat undersides. White, very soft faience. The upper face and edges of the discs originally had green-blue glaze; the join between the discs has two black bands framing a central white strip. The five examples from the Temple Repositories are practically identical in size, shape, and decoration.¹¹⁵

1672.61 (FIG. 36). Curved inlay? Faience. Incomplete, broken at both ends. L. (pres.) c.2.5, W. 2.1–2.3, Th. 0.8. Underside curves slightly along its length. Black, fairly hard core. Plain underside; upper face has two black bands running along its length and flanking a central inserted white band. Each of the three bands is segmented by horizontal grooves.

1672.62 (FIG. 36). Shell-shaped bead. Glass. One-third preserved. L. (pres.) 1.5, W. (pres.) 1.85, Th. (max.) 0.8, D. (hole) 0.19. Very worn and crumbly. White surface with traces of blue and brown; interior blue. Part of thickest edge preserved, with one string-hole running down length. Six striations preserved on each flat surface and on the edge. Cf. the thinner (unpierced) faience scrolls from the Temple Repositories.¹¹⁶

1672.63 (FIG. 36). Oval inlay. Glass. Complete but extensively cracked. L. 2.55, W. 1.95, Th. (max.) 0.55. Flat underside, convex upper face. White-blue outer surface.

1672.64 (FIG. 37). Circular bead. Shell. Slightly chipped on both faces; otherwise complete. Th. 0.22–0.35, D 1.9, (hole) 0.4. Both faces flat but not parallel, so thickness of bead varies. Single string hole running through centre of both faces.

1672.65–6 (FIG. 37). Two round inlays. Shell. Complete. D. 1.7, Th. 0.17. Upper faces flat. Cream-white shell. Undersides roughly flat with a concave depression in the centre.

1672.67 Sphere. Bryozoan. Complete. D. (max.) 0.85. Roughly spherical, greyish. Cf. two examples from the Protopalatial 'Vat Room Deposit' in the Knossos palace.¹¹⁷

1672.68 (FIG. 37). Vessel. White marble. Piece of rim with lug handle. Handle Th. 2.1, handle W. on upper surface 2.6. A circular groove marks the point on the upper face of the rim where the handle meets the rim. Probably a local product, and unfinished, as the faces have not been smoothed and still have toolmarks.

1672.69 (FIG. 37). Sealstone blank? Hard red veined stone. Complete. D. 1.1, Th. (max.) 0.55. Biconvex discoid. Both faces polished smooth.

1672.70 (FIG. 37). Conical whorl. Steatite. Complete. H. 1.5, D. (base) 2.4, (top) 0.8, (hole) 0.5. Black with specks of white.

1672.71 (FIG. 37). Drop-shaped bead. Green chalcedony. H. 1.1, W. (max.) 0.83, Th. (max.) 0.6, D. (hole) 0.1. Single hole at top of bead, where it is thinnest.

1672.72 (FIG. 37). Bead. Serpentinite. Complete. L. 2.1, W. (max.) 0.95, Th. (max.) 0.7. Pointed towards the base. Has a groove around the circumference near the top, for string.

1672.73 (FIG. 37). Linear inlay. Rock crystal. Incomplete (broken at both ends). Two joining fragments. L. (pres.) 8, W. 1–1.4, Th. 0.36–0.45. Upper and lower faces both flat but not quite parallel, so thickness varies. Edges on long sides slightly bevelled. Width narrows along the length of the inlay. Wider end completely broken; other end curving, presumably to fit around a circular inlay, then broken at the very end. Cf. the crystal bars of the Royal Draught-Board, framing the four large medallions at the top of the board,¹¹⁸ though those inlays framed a circle of larger diameter. No exact parallels have been recorded from the Temple Repositories (Evans notes only 'ribbed' crystal plaques), although flat plaques of 'petal' shape are attested there.¹¹⁹

1672.74 (FIG. 37). Linear inlay. Rock crystal. Incomplete (broken at both ends). L. (pres.) 2.9, W. 1.5, Th. 0.4–0.52. Upper and lower faces both flat but not quite parallel, so thickness varies. Edges on long sides slightly bevelled. One end completely broken; other end curving, presumably to fit around a circular inlay, then

¹¹⁵ TR 158 no. 193, 90–1, pls. 11 *e* and 14 *d*.

¹¹⁶ TR 81, 155 no. 157, pl. 11 *d*.

¹¹⁷ TR 66 nos. 123 *a–b*, 36 FIG. 14, 41, pl. 8 *f*.

¹¹⁸ PM i. 473, pl. v.

¹¹⁹ A. Evans, 'The palace of Knossos', *BSA* 9 (1903), 1–153 at 47; PM i. 470; TR 174 no. 308, 123–4. See also TR 123–5, 174 no. 307, pl. 22.

broken at the very end. See **1672.73** for comparisons.

1672.75 (FIG. 37). Linear inlay. Rock crystal. Incomplete (broken at one end). L. (pres.) 1.7, W. (max.) 0.8, Th. 0.21–0.25. Upper and lower faces both flat but not quite parallel, so thickness varies. Edges on long sides roughly vertical. At the complete end, one side curves inwards to form a point at the other.

1672.76 (FIG. 37). Linear inlay. Rock crystal. Incomplete (broken at one end). L. (pres.) 1.5, W. (max.) 0.65, Th. 0.36–0.4. Upper and lower faces both flat but not quite parallel, so thickness varies. Edges on long sides roughly vertical. At the complete end, one side curves inwards, while the other side cuts straight inwards, to form a point.

Ninety further rock crystal inlay fragments of similar type to **2.73–2.76** are also in Box 1672, but have not been catalogued. Mostly with flat upper and lower faces. Many have one or no complete edges preserved. Similar rock crystal inlays were found in Mycenae Shaft Grave IV.¹²⁰

1672.77 Round inlay. Rock crystal. Almost complete, though badly chipped around edges. D. 1.5.

1672.78 (FIG. 37). Linear segmented inlay. White, hard stone. Broken at one end. L. (pres.) 2.2, W. 1.6, Th. (max.) 0.9. Underside flat and scored.

BOX 1673

1673.1 (FIG. 38). Dish. Two-thirds preserved. H. 1.85, D. 26. Pink, coarse clay with black solid paint on every surface. Remains of glue on the exposed sections suggests that more was originally retained from the excavation (and indeed the vessel may have been complete), but the other piece(s) is now lost. D. 26; H. (rim) 1.9, (centre) 1.2. Cf. the LM II parallels from the Unexplored Mansion (*MUM* 39–40, 174–5, pl. 95 c). Tomb 2 or 3.

1673.2 (FIG. 38). Footed tray. Foot and part of tray with edges of two holes. H. 8.2, Th. (foot) 1.4, (tray) 1.2. Semi-coarse pink clay. Solid brown-black decoration on all surfaces, apart from plain patches on the underside of the tray. Tomb 2 or 3.

Upper face convex, with horizontal ribbing (seven segments present).

1672.79 (FIG. 37). Spiraliform inlay. Steatite. Broken at one end. L. (pres.) 2, W. 1.45, Th. (max.) 0.4. Spiral loop with a small hole pierced through centre. Underside flat, upper face has convex spiral bands.

1672.80 (FIG. 37). Linear inlay. Steatite? Broken on three sides. L. (pres.) 2.1, W. (pres.) 2.2, Th. (max.) 0.9. Underside flat. Three raised ridges running along the length of the upper face.

1672.81 (FIG. 37). Irregular inlay. Talc and serpentinite?, with mottled green appearance. Complete. L. 2.54, W. 1.1, Th. 0.7. Underside flat. Upper face has a concave depression in the centre.

1672.82 (FIG. 37). Irregular inlay. Banded marble. Complete. L. 1.8, W. 0.9, Th. (max.) 0.7. Underside flat. Two raised ridges on upper face.

1672.83 Fragment of an equid vestigial metapodial.

1672.84 Fragment of an ovicaprid mandible.

1672.85 Tooth of a male domesticated pig (broken at both ends).

1672.86–94 Nine pieces of shell, including four gastropods (*Lementina arenaria* L.).¹²¹ There are parallels from the Temple Repositories.¹²²

1673.3 (FIG. 38). Loomweight, spherical. Complete. L. 6.7, W. 7.3, D. (hole) 0.7. Coarse orange-pink clay with large inclusions. Plain. Two vertical grooves, on opposite sides. Tomb 2 or 3.

1673.4 Loomweight, spherical. Complete. L. 5.1, W. 5.7, D. (hole) 0.9. Coarse light brown clay. Plain. Tomb 2 or 3.

1673.5 (FIG. 39). Tweezers. Bronze. One end fragment only. Max W. 1.5, Th. (max.) 0.35. Tomb 2 or 3.

1673.6 (FIG. 39). Handle of knife/razor/mirror. Bronze. Part of handle with one rivet attached, and edge of hole for a second rivet visible at one end. Broken both ends. L. (pres.) 2.3, W. (pres.) 1.4, Th. (handle) 0.25, (with rivets) 1.1. During

¹²⁰ Karo 116 no. 574, pl. cliii.

¹²¹ L. Karali, *Shells in Aegean Prehistory* (BAR S761; Oxford, 1999), 130.

¹²² TR 128–9, 175 no. 311, pl. 17 back left.

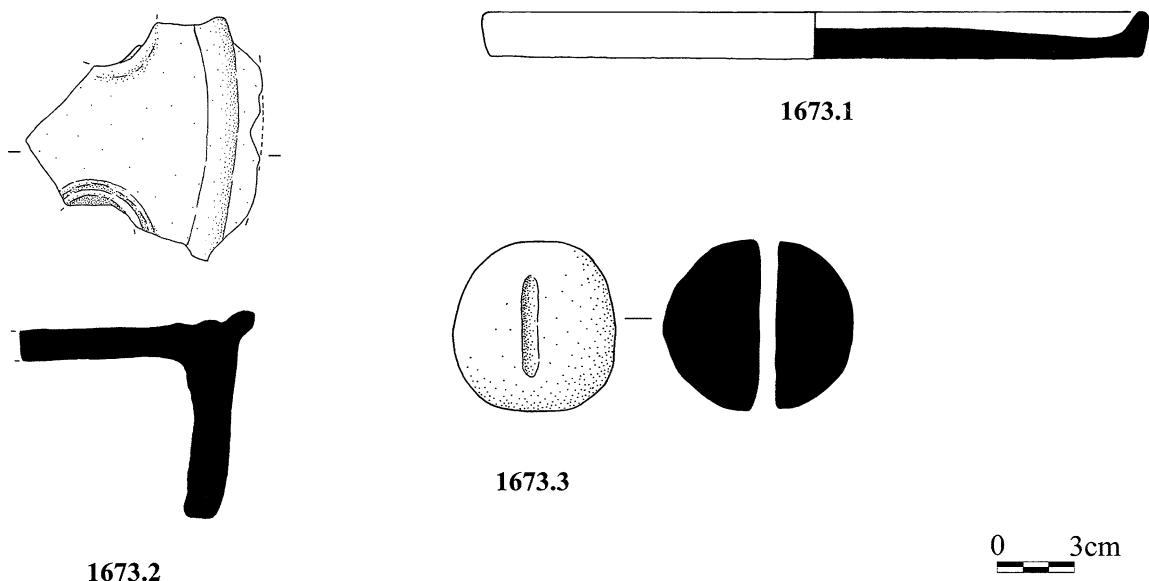


FIG. 38. Ceramics from Box 1673 (1:3).

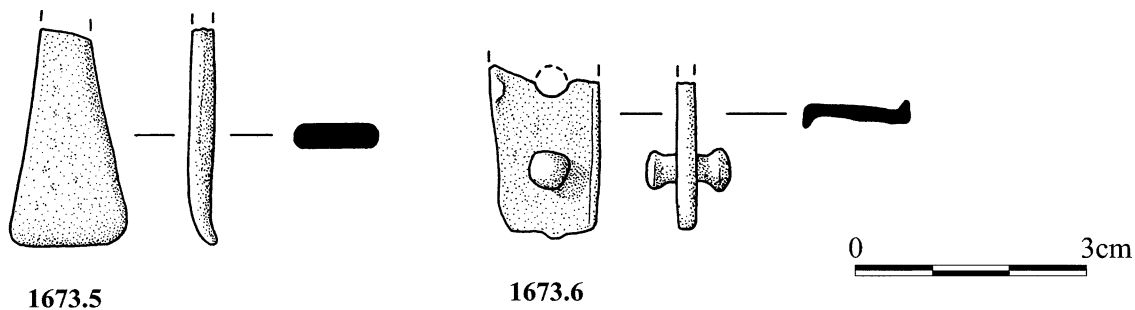


FIG. 39. Bronze artefacts from Box 1673 (1:1).

conservation, remains of wood were noted on one flat surface, presumably from the inlay which the rivets originally attached to this handle. Tomb 2 or 3.

About seventy further small fragments of thin bronze sheet, many without any intact edges, were

also stored in this box. Shapes not identifiable. Tomb 2 or 3.

1673.7 Bead. Faience. Complete. L. (along axis of hole) 0.35, W. 0.45, D. (hole) 0.1. Rounded, with single hole. Tomb 2 or 3.

BOX 1674

1674.1 (FIG. 40). Cup or bowl. Rim sherd. Fine brown clay with brown-black decoration: interior monochrome; exterior has rim band and

concentric arcs below. Cf. *MUM* Pl. 175 3. LM III A2.

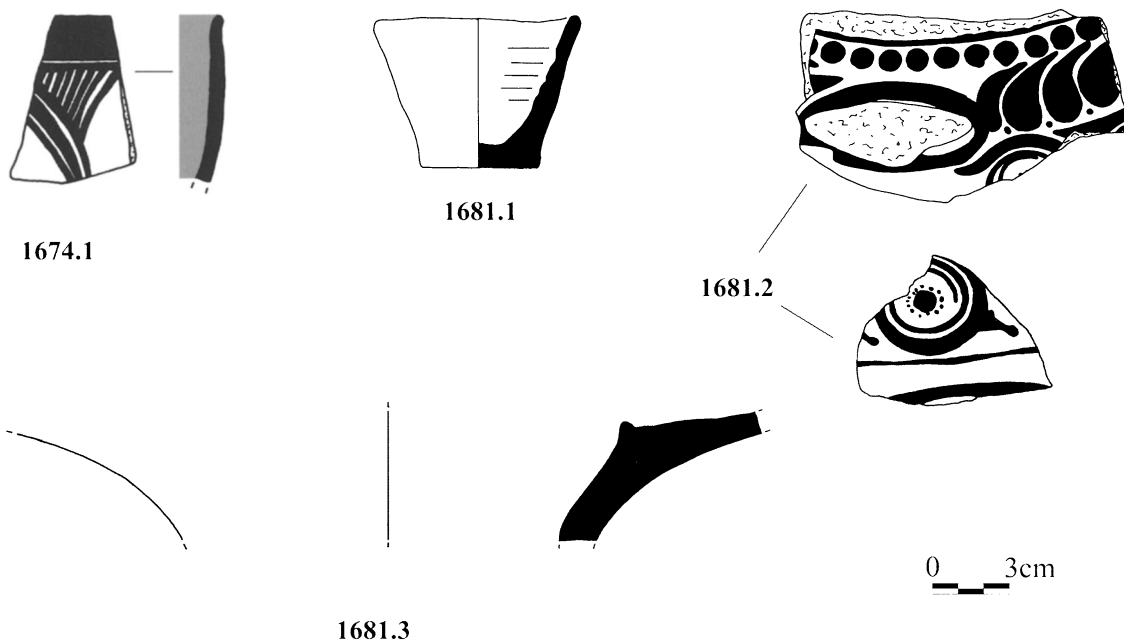


FIG. 40. Ceramics from Boxes 1674 and 1681 (1:3).

BOX 1681

1681.1 (FIG. 40). Conical cup. Complete. H. 6, D. (rim) 8, (base) 4.6. Fine buff clay. Plain. Uneven rim. LM II/III. Isopata (tomb unknown).

1681.2 (FIG. 40). Palace Style jar/jug. Two body sherds. Coarse orange-pink clay. Cream slip and orange-brown decoration on exterior: row of dots

below collar, foliate band with interspersed small dots, band of spirals below. LM II? Isopata (tomb unknown).

1681.3 (FIG. 40). Brazier. Fragments from body of bowl. Coarse orange clay. Plain. Isopata (tomb unknown).