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Minoan colonies. Terms and features in an archaeological identification

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Abstract

This study tries to interpret the Minoan material culture to identify what a Minoan colony is in modern research and to apply them to the Minoan colony of Kastri on Kythera. A comparison between Thera and Rhodes with Kythera follows to discern if they can be considered a colony. First the sites will be presented, and then the archaeological evidence is presented in a way to see if it fits the interpretation of a colony.

Abstract

Denna studie försöker tolka Minoisk materiell kultur för att identifiera vad en Minoisk koloni är i modern forskning och sedan applicera det på den Minoiska kolonin Kastri på Kythera. En jämförelse mellan Thera och Rhodos med Kythera för att se om dessa platser också kan tolkas som kolonier. Först kommer platserna att presenteras och sedan kommer det arkeologiska materialet att presenteras på ett sätt som gör det möjligt att se om dessa platser kan tolkas som kolonier.

Keywords: Minoan, colony, material culture, Kastri, Akrotiri, Trianda/Ialysos.

Content

1. Introduction.....	4
1.1 Purpose.....	4
1.2 Method & Theoretical framework.....	5
1.3 Limitations	6
1.4 Source material & critique	6
2. Historical background.....	7
2.1 Colonialism	7
2.2 Other terms.....	8
3. Site presentation.....	9
3.1 Kastri on Kythera	9
3.2 Akrotiri on Thera.....	10
3.3 Trianda/ Ialysos on Rhodes	11
4. Minoan and/or Minoanizing material culture	12
4.1 Pottery	12
4.2 Architecture and frescos.....	13
4.3 Sanctuaries & Prestigious goods	15
4.4 Seals, Sealings & Linear A	17
5. Discussion.....	19
6. Summary	21
7. Bibliography	22
8. Figures.....	24

1. Introduction

The nature of Minoan expansion in the Aegean during the Middle and the beginning of the Late Bronze age (ca. 2000-1600 BCE) was complex. Facets of Minoan culture spread to settlements in the Cyclades, Dodecanese, west coast of Anatolia and Mainland Greece. Several different terms and explanatory models have been used to describe the various degrees of Minoan presence in these areas but only one settlement, Kastri on Kythera, is considered by most scholars as a colony with permanent residents from Crete.

Several settlements in the regions mentioned above have been excavated throughout the 20th century, often with subsequent surveys and excavations all the way to the present time. Two large seminars about the Minoan expansion have been held, one in 1984 and the other in 2009 (*The Minoan Thalassocracy: Myth and Reality* and *The Minoans in the Central, Eastern and Northern Aegean – New Evidence, Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens* 8) . Despite all this research a definite conclusion has not been reached concerning other Minoan colonies. Scholars have developed different terms in addition to colony which includes the Minoan Thalassocracy (rule by sea) and minoanization. The first describes an empire and the latter a cultural adaptation.

A closer study of the term colony is something I think is necessary given that the term have been used when studying settlements in the Aegean. If an explanation is given to why Kastri is a colony one can apply the same criteria to other sites and see if it fits.

The Minoan material culture is quite broad and interesting, it is not that different from the indigenous populations in terms of form and types, but in decoration and some technological traits it is, which makes the level of influence from the Minoans to the other settlements very apparent in almost all levels of material culture. And that is one of the most interesting things about a study about colonies, does this level of influence mean that the settlement was a Minoan colony.

1.1 Purpose

During the Middle and beginning of the Late Bronze Age (ca 2000-1600 BCE) ideas and people from Crete spread all over the Aegean which include the Cyclades, Dodecanese, the west coast of Anatolia and the Greek mainland. Many of the settlements on these sites which include Phylakopi on Melos, Ayia Irini on Kea (Schofield 1982: *The Western Cyclades and Crete: A special relationship*), Seraglio on Kos, Miletos and Iasos on the Anatolian west coast (Davis 1982: *The earliest Minoans in the south-east Aegean: A Reconsideration of the Evidence*) already had an indigenous population, which made many of the Minoan remains found at these sites written off as representing trading links rather than colonies (Davis 2008:188).

A few of the above mentioned sites that have Minoan remains can almost instantly be written off as colonies and can be interpreted as being trading links, given that the archaeological evidence that is available can't prove the opposite. However a few of the remaining sites available can be the subject of a debate concerning Minoan presence. A few sites not mentioned could have sufficient evidence to prove that they were colonies. The sites that

could be part of this are Akrotiri on Thera in the Cyclades and Trianda/Ialysos on Rhodes in the Dodecanese. Both sites show a repertoire of material culture sufficient for a closer study and because an alleged colony already exists, a comparison could help interpret the Minoan presence.

Scholars who consider the Minoan presence in the Aegean as nothing more than a cultural diffusion tends to think that the Minoans were considered culturally superior and others wanted to emulate parts of their culture. This writes the sites off as colonies and they can then be termed as just being minoanized. How do Aegean prehistorians who use the label to describe Minoan presence outside Crete during the Bronze Age define a colony? Are the Greek trading colonies in the 8th century BCE the same as the English colonies in the 1800th century CE? A discussion about the term colony is essential to a study about colonies and without one the study could be undermined easily.

The questions that this study will try to answer are:

- What is the definition of a Minoan colony and what would be its archaeological correlate or signature in the Bronze Age Aegean?
- Why is Kastri on Kythera considered an apparent Minoan colony whilst other similar settlements sites are still discussed?

1.2 Method & Theoretical framework

The study will problematize the use of the term colony in Aegean prehistory by looking at how it has been used, why it has been used in that specific way and then try to define the term and apply it to the site of Kastri on Kythera and explain why it is a colony. With this in mind the study will then compare the sites of Akrotiri on Thera and Trianda/Ialysos on Rhodes with Kastri to see if either of them can be considered a colony. The archeological evidence will be studied qualitatively when it comes to the ceramics in particular but also the other material culture available, which will be problematized and discussed in the text. A table will be used to get the reader a sense of the amount of material available (see table 1).

The archaeologist Peter van Dommelen (1997:306) refer to the term colonialism as “the presence of a group of foreign people in a region distant from their place of origin and the existence of asymmetrical socio-economic relationships between the indigenous population and the colonizers in terms of political domination and economic exploitation” is this relationship manifested in material culture and subject to archaeological investigation? Archaeologist Michael Rowlands (1998:327) says that “domination and resistance are expressed through material culture at different levels. From the refusal or acceptance of certain object to households, or to the explicit actions of display in religious ceremonies and rituals”. The advantage of archaeology to history is that you can recover expressions of resistance and domination that would be invisible or at least overlooked in written sources. Given that the text are written by and for someone that perhaps find certain things uninteresting to write about or focus is elsewhere, objects do have a story but usually are silent and need to be interpreted and can perhaps be so beyond texts. The purpose of a founding a colony, ergo why settle here, is another good archaeological approach to the study of colonies. Given that if one figures out what the colonizers want, for instance natural

resources like metals, you can look for certain items and buildings perhaps workshops or the like and also look at the geographical position of the settlement to the closest place to get the resource you want.

The use of postcolonial theory is a good application to this study because it looks at both natives and colonizers in a colony, problematize the concept of culture and present material culture in a different yet informative way. A summary of postcolonial theory is that it tries to understand and describe power relations between the colonizers and the indigenous population and the shaping of culture within the colonial context. This has led to the term hybridization. It means that a social, economic or ethnic group within the colony creates a distinct identity with respect to the ruling colonial culture (Johansson 2009:27). Power relations can be expressed through a lot of different mediums e.g. domination and resistance which includes material culture for instance the refusal or acceptance of certain object to households, or to the actions of display in religious rituals (Rowlands 1998:327).

1.3 Limitations

The study limits the Minoan expansion in the Aegean to just three places; Kastri on Kythera, Akrotiri on Thera and Trianda/ Ialysos on Rhodes. The reason for the last two sites is because they have the material that makes a discussion and study possible and looking north from Crete all three sites gives an almost 180° spread of the Minoan expansion (see fig1)., I think it could be interesting to see if one direction is more special than any other and it spreads the study geographically as not to study a smaller area were contact between the Islands might be greater. Concerning the empirical evidence, all the available archaeological material will not be presented instead certain aspects of it will be highlighted after its importance compared to the rest of the material. For instance there won't be any graves included.

1.4 Source material & critique

The material surrounding colonialism is chosen because of its relevance to the study concerning the view of both the colonizers and the colonized being looked upon. The articles by Peter van Dommelen (1997) and Michael Rowlands (1998) also incorporate archaeology in the study of colonialism. One problem of this approach namely post-colonialism is that not all the settlements have an indigenous population during the time period in question or it is quite invisible. Another thing to bring up are the specific items or artifacts that would confirm a colony might not be present at the site but a lot of other things are which causes the study to deviate from the theoretical framework e.g. Peak sanctuaries (see part 4.3) and Linear A/Sealings (see part 4.4).

I will make use of the available source material that exists from Kastri, Akrotiri and Trianda/Ialysos in three specialized studies: Robin Hägg and Nanno Marinatos *The Minoan Thalassocracy: Myth and Reality* (1984), Erik Hallager *et al The Minoans in the Central, Eastern and Northern Aegean – New Evidence* (2009) and two handbooks of the Aegean Bronze Age to help with dates, general descriptions etc: Cynthia W. Shelmerdine *The Cambridge companion to the Aegean bronze age* (2008) & Eric Cline *The Oxford Handbook of the Bronze Age Aegean* (2010). These books are broad and cover a large area and subject matters, but given that the Minoan expansion in the Aegean is the main focus and the sites that are going to be studied are covered in the books I have chosen to use them. Articles in other publications which study the same settlements usually follow the same pattern and will

also be used to add more thickness to the sites, given that they tend to specialize on a specific approach or method. The problems with these sources are mainly material presentation or in the case of the Minoan Thalassocracy (see part 2.2) which comes off as a bit self-fulfilling in that it appears that the term or concept of a Thalassocracy is true and now they just have to prove it, instead of does the conclusions support the concept.

2. Historical background

2.1 Colonialism

Colonialism is a vast subject in classical archaeology. It has been a big area of study almost since the beginning of the archaeological field. Perhaps the most studied are the Greek colonies in the western Mediterranean from the 8th to the 5th centuries BCE, for example in Italy and France; most famous perhaps is Syracuse on Sicily. During the historical periods, the Greeks tended to colonize the northern coast of the Mediterranean while the southern coast was colonized by the Phoenicians a group of people from today's Lebanon and Syria whose most famous colony is Carthage in today's Tunisia. Moving forward in time to the Greek colonization of Anatolia, whose most famous colony perhaps is Pergamon, the origin of the city is not exactly known. Lastly the Romanization of the Roman provinces, which stretched from England to North Africa and Spain to Turkey. The subject of colonialism as shown is very studied and different types of colonies have been created. The Greek and Phoenician colonies for instance are generally considered to be agriculture colonies, with the typical removing of the indigenous population when necessary. Whilst the Roman provinces are straight up command and conquer which were then often given over to Roman veterans and their families for agriculture purposes (van Dommelen 1997:307).

The term colonialism during the 19th and -20th centuries was focused on territorial expansion and foreign settlement and closely related to imperialism. The two sides in the colony (the colonizers and colonized) were also considered separate sides with distinct and with separate material cultures. Furthermore the indigenous population was normally viewed as passive and often considered uncivilized. This goes hand in hand with the view of the colonial powers that most if not all the archeologist came from, and often was history and archaeology used to support one's own colonial undertakings. France for example claimed that they were the successors to Roman colonies in North Africa. Being as most of the colonial powers claimed they were, more civilized or culturally superior to the indigenous population, colonialism became something good and another argument in their favor (van Dommelen 1997:307-308). The impact this view point had on the study of classical colonies is apparent since it puts modern and ancient colonialism to mean the same thing, something I would disagree with as the term should always be specified and contextualized in each case. A normal view of colonialism during this period was the dualist conception of colonialism. This represents colonialism as a confrontation between two distinct homogenous groups. This traces back to the idea that culture is an already clear cut and well defined whole. This makes colonialism a fight between two groups with a clear victor and creates the antagonistic view presented above. But of course the use of analogies from modern views and actual colonies at the time can be applied to classical colonies and deepen the understandings of it (van Dommelen 1997:308). The term itself, colonialism, was actually avoided and more focus was given to

the term colonization which puts more emphasis on movement of people and goods rather than colonial situations of people and goods (Rowlands 1998:327).

2.2 Other terms

Besides colonialism, several other terms have been used to describe Minoan influence in the Aegean, e.g. the “Minoan thalassocracy” and “minoanization”. Thalassocracy means rule of sea and is an old term to explain the Minoan expansion during its golden age. Scholars have for a long time tried to prove its existence but are still nowadays hesitant to use the term. One of its strongest supporters is the ancient author Thucydides who wrote of the legendary king Minos and his empire (Thuc 1.4). A symposium about the Minoan thalassocracy was held in 1984 at the Swedish Institute at Athens where scholars debated its existence. The result was diffuse and a final definition concerning the Minoan Thalassocracy was not presented (Hägg & Marinatos 1984: 7, 221). The term minoanization means a site with a heterogeneous selection of material culture and craftsmanship’s adaptation on sites outside of Crete that have a direct or indirect origin on Crete. As a follow-up to the 1984 conference, a second symposium about the Minoan expansion was held in 2009 where new archaeological materials, models and methods were presented (Hallager *et al* 2009: 7, 11, 263-266). Both these seminars and subsequent books use a different term for Minoan expansion in the Aegean and avoid the term colonialism. If or when the discussion arrives at colonies the term colonization is used and the indigenous population becomes invisible given that all focus is put on Minoan material culture. This is a problem that occurs given the focus is mainly on the Minoan material culture and the search for it.

Minoanization is the preferred term that scholars use when they describe Minoan influence outside Crete. There are several reasons for this, most of them are about anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism and scholars explained the Minoan presence through imitation and borrowing of Cretan culture by the local elite and the people (Wiener 2013:149). An explanatory model which has been used to explain the phenomenon is called the “Versailles effect”. During the 18th century a lot of European capital cities started to mimic the French court in areas such as art, fashion, jewelry etc. The French didn’t send away any craftsmen, had a big emigration, conquered more land in Europe or invested economically in other countries. It was just a culture imitation. A more recent Versailles effect called the “Coco-colonization”, which make use of the Americanization of the world after the Second World War, has also been used to explain the Minoan influence (Wiener 2013:150).

3. Site presentation



Fig. 1. A map of the settlements that have been mentioned and the ones that will be presented.
https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/d/de/Greece_location_map.svg

3.1 Katri on Kythera

The archaeological evidence on the site of Katri show that human presence on the island has a long history dating back to the Final Neolithic. The pottery initially shows strongest affinities with the Peloponnese. In the Early Bronze Age (EBA) Minoan locally produced pottery is starting to become more present and deposits show that this continues until the initial Late Bronze Age (LBA). A lot of different technological traits, decorations and shapes, as well as imported Cretan pottery, are almost exclusive at the beginning of the Middle Minoan IA (MM IA). During this time period (MM IA) there existed a transitional phase where both indigenous pottery styles and Minoan coexisted for a short period to then become completely Minoan in all aspects at the end of the Middle Bronze Age (MBA)(Lindblom *et al* 2012:226). The ceramics from Late Minoan IA (LM IA) are exclusively of Minoan character that includes both locally produced pottery as well as imported pottery, both of a fine quality and ordinary cookware. Indeed most artifacts that have been found in Katri are Minoan. These include prestigious goods like precious metal objects, stone vases, jewelry, seals and a loom weight with a linear A inscription on it (Branigan 1981:32).

The main Minoan architecture features are three houses from the early LM IB period and they are called the West, South and North house. They are interpreted as being normal provincial houses, not villas or palaces complexes, and contained four, six and two rooms respectively with additional storerooms accessed from the outside. The houses were built right next to and partly on a MM III-LM IA rubbish pile given the finds in some of the rooms and subsequent excavations outside the houses. This also resulted in the finding of a MM

drainage system running right next to the West house. The North and South house also have a drainage system running next to them which they shared (Simpson & Lazenby 1972:52-58).

Several researchers have concluded that Ayios Georgios on the mountain Vouno, approximately 4 km from Kastro is the site of a Minoan peak sanctuary. The sanctuary has the characteristics of a peak sanctuary; availability, proximity, general prominence, and visibility. The finds that were found are again typical of Minoan peak sanctuaries and the researchers put a lot of emphasis on a black steatite ladle with the Linear A inscription "da-ma-te" (which probably translates as Demeter), given that such inscriptions are always found on peak sanctuaries in Crete (Sakellarakis 1996:82-84). The most typical finds at a peak sanctuary are figurines of clay and more rarely in bronze. Clay figurines of anthropomorphic design were found and although they were very fragmented a few shapes could be determined, a torso, a head with a headband, small and large fragmented pieces. An unusual animal figurine in bronze was found, a scorpion, on Crete this has yet to be found as a figurine they have only been discovered on seals. Four additional scorpion figurines were found, these ones made out of clay. The most spectacular thing about this sanctuary is the discovery of an additional 82 bronze figurines, many of them fragmentary but a few have been identified. On Crete only 18 figurines have been found and on this sanctuary, votive offerings in bronze depicting human limbs are among the figurines something that has only been found in clay on Crete (Sakellarakis 1996:83-84).

3.2 Akrotiri on Thera

During the MBA the Island of Thera was predominately Cycladic in its pottery although in small amounts imported ceramics from Crete were present as well. During the New Palace period (MM III-LM IA) the amount of imitated, locally produced and imported Minoan ceramics of different technological traits, decorations and shapes increased exponentially. A lot of the pottery before MM III was handmade but with the Minoan presence the technology changed to most of the pottery being wheelmade, not only everyday ceramics which usually never changes but also fine wares, vases etc. Because the settlement of Akrotiri was buried in a volcanic eruption, it becomes difficult to excavate and thus only parts of the site have been excavated. This amounts to roughly ten houses, which have been thoroughly examined and a few of them contain Minoan architectural features like the polythyron style of construction e.g. pier-and-door partitions and Minoan art in the style of frescos. A few houses even though they follow this Minoan style of building usually kept their original foundation (Davis 2008:190-191).

The excavators have labeled two of the houses, the West House and Xeste 3. These large mansions are new to Akrotiri and fit well into the villas found on Crete constructed during the same time period. The reason why they are considered almost the same as the villas on Crete is because of their similarity in architecture and the high number of frescos found within them. Xeste 3 contains more frescos than any other building in Akrotiri and many of them have Minoan features, such as landscape, nature and human motifs. Alongside this, many religious motifs have been found, for instance horns of consecration. What has also been found is what scholars have named a *lustral basin* (purpose is unknown), these are also found in the palaces and villas on Crete (Davis 2008:191-193; Preziosi & Hitchcock 1999:124-126).

A peak sanctuary have not been found on Thera but there is sufficient evidence to make an argument of Minoan religious activities in Akrotiri e.g. horns of consecration, tables of offering, libation jugs, rhyta, handleless cups, shells, animal-shaped rhyta, stone offering vessels, red pigment etc, are all present and expected to be found in Minoan cult activities (Hägg & Marinatos 1984:175-176). Add on to this the amount of religious iconography in the houses.

With the Minoan presence the use of the Linear A script and sealing have become apparent. Most scholars tend to agree on the use of Linear A as a script for record keeping of inventory closely related to the administrative bureaucracy of the palaces on Crete. Examples of Linear A inscriptions have been found on pottery, clay tablets and a cache of clay sealings impressed by a seal (Davis 2008:193).

3.3 Trianda/ Ialysos on Rhodes

The site of Ialysos have produced imported Minoan ceramics dated to the MM IB/MM II period, although most of the ceramics found were of a local wheelmade production not related to the Minoan style. In Trianda many sherds from the transitional MM III-LM IA period have been found alongside the majority of ceramics which is locally produced. Similar to other Minoan/Minoanizing settlements in the Aegean, the plain conical cup is the most common vessel in this period at Trianda. They are often found in huge quantities, sometimes several hundred. Pithoi, jars, jugs, cups, peg-top and bowls are found decorated with dark brown, reddish spirals, reed pattern, ripple pattern and some nature motifs such as flowers most of them imitating Minoan decorations (Marketou 1998:41, 46, 50).

A few hundred meters south of the acropolis at Ialysos a settlement with six buildings were found. The excavators dated them to the MBA and one of the houses had Minoan features e.g. red and white painted plastered walls and an altar with stone vases next to it and a special mudbrick construction of the walls (Marketou 2009:78-79).

During most of the MBA the evidence for a Minoan presence in Trianda is weak, only a few imported goods from Crete exist. But just like at other sites the MM III-LM IA phase brought with it increasing Minoan presence in the form of material culture. The settlement of Trianda was hit by an earthquake and it was during its rebuilding that a lot of Minoan architectural features appear. These include the polythyron style of construction and walls built of ashlar masonry, and it is in these houses that frescos have been found comparable with Thera and Crete depicting naturalistic motifs and similar color spectrums. On the acropolis on Ialysos a lot of different Minoan artifacts were found which include, imported and locally produced ceramics, loom weights, braziers, stone vases and bowls etc (Marketou 2009:91; Marketou 1998:59; Davis 2008:198).

At the mountain Phileremos archaeologists have found what they interpret as a Minoan peak sanctuary. The Minoan finds are scanty but were found close together in an area called the floor of beaten earth. There were also finds from subsequent time periods stretching to the Classical period. Among the votive finds that were found on the floor of beaten earth are four stone vases dated to MM II, two bronze figurines depicting a man and a woman and locally

produced ceramics which includes carinated cups, high-sprouted jugs, bridge-spouted jars and cylindrical jars (Benzi 1984:97-102; Marketou 2009:74-75.).

4. Minoan and/or Minoanizing material culture

The reason for the different categories of finds is because it is what's available. The pottery is more than likely the biggest category not only in this study but, all studies, which means a lot of importance is put on it. It is debatable whether or not it deserves the amount of attention it gets but because the deposits of pottery usually are so massive it gets a prominent place. Concerning table 1, each category is to be view within its own category and not to be compared with any other.

Archaeological remains	Imported Minoan pottery	Imitated Minoan pottery	Architecture with Minoan features	Frescos	Sanctuaries	Prestigious goods	Seals/ Sealings	Linear A
Kastri	X	X	x	-	X	x	x	x
Akrotiri	X	X	X	X	-	x	X	X
Trianda/Ialysos	x	X	x	x	x	x	-	-

Table 1. The different categories of material culture that will be presented, the large X mean large/many and the small x mean small/little.

4.1 Pottery

The different Minoan vessel forms remained almost unchanged during the MBA to the LM IA period. However within each different vessel form changes took place which makes it easier to date and in this case to see the extent of the contact between Crete and other places in the Aegean. The changes are of course within the restriction of the vessel type and therefore most of the changes were just longer/shorter neck or base, spouts, rims, handles etc (Walberg 1992:49). The amounts of vessel types and their individual changes are too many to write here, so a presentation of the most common types and their use will follow: A *Pithos* (fig 2) is a large storage container used for bulk storage, primarily for fluids and grains. It stands high as a man with a base for standing on the ground, sides are convexed or concaved, it has a large mouth with a lip, lid for the mouth sealed when used for shipping, the size of the vessel meant that it had handles so that people could lift it, were usually decorated with Light-on-Dark (LoD) or Dark-on-Light (DoL) (Walberg 1992:49). An *Amphora's* (fig 3) main use was the same as the pithos, a storage jar for liquids and grain although this one was substantially smaller it opened up the possibility for more decoration and was a frequent vessel for the so called "kamares ware"(Fig 6) whose decoration varied immensely for instance abstract motifs such as spirals and loops in white, red, yellow and orange on black background (Walberg 1992:80). *Conical cups*, or if one generalizes the term, handleless cups, come in a variety of different sizes and rim shapes and this in turn determines what the cup was used for. This includes for instance, drinking, eating or for offerings. The decorations in the MM I period when they start to appear is very elegant and almost every single cup were decorated but with the appearance of the wheel the production of the cups went up and the amount of decorated conical cups went down. This has led to a point were dating a cup that is not decorated is almost impossible (Gillis 1990:132-133). *Drinking and eating pottery* (fig 4) come in different types of shapes and sizes e.g. bowls, cups, goblets, jars, pans etc. the *Tripod cooking pot/dish* will be put in this category because of its function its decoration is absent or plain coated. The rest of the decoration of the drinking and eating pottery varies between

them, some are plain coated whilst other are more elaborately decorated (Papagiannopoulou 1991:16-18, 20). *Rhyta* (fig 5) which is a libation vessel most commonly used for rituals. The shape can vary from a globular body to a long straight sided body that ends in a point, examples have been found of rhyton in metal on Crete. The decorations are very elegant, both in kamares ware and ordinary Cretan design (Walberg 1992:53).

On its own ceramics does not tell a whole lot, given that much trade was conducted with pottery to transfer the goods. The amount of pottery that is found can improve its importance, that is, if much of the pottery is not for storage and trade but used in other areas perhaps the influence is much greater than just trade. The qualitative aspect can interpret the different types of vessels that are found and their importance, alongside the decoration which also adds on a level of importance especially if the vessel is made locally and then decorated after the Minoan style. A wider shapes spectrum found outside of Crete, can be interpreted as more areas of use and to an extent increase the probability that the users identified themselves as Minoans.

Kastri have all of the different types of vessels that have been presented above, indeed everything at Kastri after MM I is of a Minoan character both the locally produced and the imported ceramics. There are varying amounts of the different types, for instance the amphora is rare at Kastri yet common on Crete (Papagiannopoulou 1991:20). Overall the ceramics at Kastri show overwhelmingly in favor of a Cretan colony, both in quantity and quality from the MBA to the LM IA period (Branigan 1981:32).

Akrotiri shows a pattern similar to a few other settlements in the Aegean when it comes to the ceramics, although a bit later than a few other settlements. But during the late MBA (MM IIIA) almost all of their pottery traditions get replaced with Minoan ones. The Theran potters keep some of their drinking and eating vessels shapes but at the same time they borrow cup types from Crete and replace their big closed vessels with Minoan equivalents such as Pithos and amphoras (Papagiannopoulou 1991:63).

Rhodes is the same as the other settlements in the Aegean with the strongest Minoan presence in the LM IA period which is best displayed in the pottery. Most of the pottery is locally produced with Minoan influence. The Minoan imported ceramics are scarce and do not quantitatively add a lot of evidence (Marketou 1998:50).

The three settlements portray a similar pattern, that, locally produced minoanizing ceramics outnumber the imported Minoan ceramics both when it comes to everyday pottery and fine wares. This shows that not only did the indigenous population change their technological traits, decorations and shapes but perhaps preferred the Minoan vessel types to their own. For what reason this change occurred is highly speculative, but I would like to stress that I think this most likely did not result from the indigenous population being forced to changes, because it seems quite strange to force someone to change their eating and drinking vessels, something which usually tends to not change (Davis 2008:190). Perhaps this is an early example of the Versailles effect.

4.2 Architecture and frescos

Minoan architecture features at the sites are present. The characteristics of Minoan house and villa architecture include rooms organized around a square hall with corner doorways and a lot of corridors and stairs. Construction techniques were of drywall masonry and ashlar

masonry. Ashlar blocks had a finished face but were typically cut back in a V shapes so as to fill the joints with gravel and clay, some of the blocks have what is called a masons mark, engraving of a symbol of uncertain significance. Terraced platforms and terracing into the slope of a hill is also a Minoan building technique (Hitchcock 2010:189, 192). Another building technique is the Minoan hall (polythyron) which makes the already mazelike house appears even more mazelike. It is composed of several rectangular rooms separated by a row of columns and a set of square piers. The piers support double doors that fold back into shallow recesses which allow light and ventilation. These pier-and-door partitions separate a hall into two, the main hall and the forehall. A unique Minoan architectural feature is the small room known as a lustral basin. A small room sunken below the floor level and reached by a small flight of stairs. There is still a debate about their function but some sort of ritual cleansing is the interpretation of them (Hitchcock 2010:193-194).

Architecture is a good indicator for Minoan presence one can interpret the remains as houses for Minoans living abroad, but the fact remains that perhaps the houses were built for the local elite. If this however is not the case, this is probably the best indicator for the Versailles effect, not only to have the appearance of a Minoan house but actually having been built in the Minoan construction technique. The most probable however is that these houses were built by Minoans for Minoans.

Kastri doesn't have a lot of these architectural features except the three houses from the LM IB period that were built into the slope of a hill on terraces (Simpson & Lazenby 1972:52-58). The rest of the settlement have only produced wall foundations and of course the sanctuary (see 4.3) (Coldstream & Huxley 1972:71-72; Sakellarakis 1996:82-83). Overall Kastri is not the best place to argue for a Minoan colony based on the architecture.

Akrotiri is the best place to argue for a Minoan colony based on architectural evidence. Almost all of the houses are built or have been rebuilt to look like Minoan ones using the Minoan fashion of ashlar masonry, pier-and-door partitions. There is also a lustral basin in house Xeste 3, arguably a very strong indicator (Davis 2008:191-193; Preziosi & Hitchcock 1999:124-126). With the abundance of frescos, which all of the houses have (see below), Akrotiri appears more and more like a Minoan colony.

Trianda/Ialysos have Minoan architecture in the same form as Akrotiri, houses built with ashlar masonry, the polythyron style of construction, pier-and-door partitions etc. It was after an earthquake that the settlement of Trianda got rebuilt and it was in this reconstruction phase that parts of the town got a lot of minoanized buildings (Marketou 2009:91). This is sufficient evidence to argue that a Minoan population might have been present.

The three settlements show use of Minoan architectural features and construction techniques, however not all show the same amount, Kastri of all places shows the least amount. The site has been settled after the Minoans and subsequent abandonment and rebuilding would have destroyed a lot of the initial houses. At the other two sites, it could be argued that a Minoan population was present, unless this again could be a prime example of the Versailles effect.

Minoan frescos are found not only on Crete but on islands in the Aegean, with includes Akrotiri (fig 7) and Ialysos. Fresco painting is a mural art used to decorate walls inside palaces and villas. The wall the fresco is painted on was stuccoed (plastered) on the wall about a centimeter thick over a backing of clay and coarser plaster up to ten centimeter thick.

The wooden framing for doors and windows sometimes with a stone socle closest to the floor dictated where the placement of the painting would be (Immerwahr 1990:11). The pigments (the paint) used for the paintings are applied by a kind of *fresco secco* technique which means that the color pigments were mixed with an organic binding material and/or lime and then painted on the dry plaster but in the case of Akrotiri, wet plaster which makes some of the colors penetrate the surface more. The other technique that was used is the *buon fresco* which uses water-based colors and then paints on wet plaster (Immerwahr 1990:14).

The presence of frescos at some of the sites is a good indicator for a Minoan population. Given that all of the frescos that have been found are in houses, the importance of frescos gets the same value as architecture. More than likely the frescos were painted by Minoans for Minoans, if not, this is another indication of the Versailles effect. Same as with the architecture, the frescos could have been painted for local elite.

Kastri have no frescos or evidence of them, however as with the architecture the abandonment and the resettlement of the site along with a few thousand years of natural erosion preserved frescos would not seem likely.

Akrotiri on the other hand shows the best place for preserved Minoan frescos which can be precisely dated to the LM IA period, most if not all of the motifs are of a Minoan design and because almost all of the houses have frescos the Minoan colony seems not too distant (Immerwahr 1990:39).

One of the Minoan houses at Ialysos had two rooms that were plastered in white and red which is comparable to Phastos and Malia concerning offerings and ritual (Marketou 2009:79). Two more houses have been found with frescos one with red lilies on a white ground and the other with similar floral motifs both dated to LM IA (Immerwahr 1990:4, 47). Rhodes doesn't have a lot of convincing evidence for a Minoan colony but one cannot disregard the possibility of Minoans' presence but its level of influence is however debatable.

Only one of the sites shows genuine Minoan presence with Rhodes coming in on a second place with some presence of frescos and Kastri not having any. I do not think it would be difficult to argue why only one of these sites has preserved frescos but the lack of evidence is a concern and problematic if one was to argue for a Minoan colony with this kind of material.

4.3 Sanctuaries & Prestigious goods

Peak sanctuaries is a completely Minoan religious feature and are situated on mountains, not the highest point, but on a place that could overlook the region and also be seen from the settlement it served. The sanctuaries on Crete which there are a total of nine in use during the MM III-LM IA period have rudimentary buildings of dry-stone that are open to the sky, the structures vary from having one to four rooms at the different sanctuaries, all in all most sites tend to have no architecture left (Peatfield 1994:22). The most common finds in a peak sanctuary is clay figurines and sometimes in bronze (fig 8). These depict animals, human votaries and human body parts such as hands, feet etc. the richer the sanctuary is the more prestigious goods are found these include stone vessels, linear A inscriptions, jewelry, seals, double axes etc. In Crete there are a total of eight active peak sanctuaries during the MM III-LM IA period (Lupack 2010:252).

Peak sanctuaries are good indicators for Minoan presence because of their unique Minoan religious feature. The existence of a peak sanctuary outside of Crete, I would dare to say,

means the presence of a Minoan population given that the Cyclades do not have any peak sanctuaries that we know of. However the importance of a specific religion in this time period and what it actually meant to be a follower of it is unknown and will stay so given the lack of textual evidence.

At Kastri archaeologists have found a peak sanctuary a few kilometers north of the main settlement. There were no buildings left, but pieces of mortar were found that might be associated with wall plaster. The main reason why this place was interpreted as a peak sanctuary is the finds, especially the votive offerings. These include a black steatite ladle with a Linear A inscription and a number of figurines which is the most common find (Sakellarakis 1996:83-84). There is, however, a few peculiarities with this sanctuary, such as the abundance of bronze offerings and the lack of a few typical offerings found on other sanctuaries, such as terracotta figurines and a few animal and fruit figurines (Sakellarakis 1996:88).

Akrotiri does not have a peak sanctuary the reason might be that the island of Thera used to be part of a larger island that got destroyed in a volcanic eruption that split the original island in three which Thera is part of and they are all situated around the rim of the volcano (www.ne.se). There are household cult activities however which have a lot of Minoan parallels (Hägg & Marinatos 1984:175-176).

Ialysos have a peak sanctuary according to some scholars namely Mario Benzi and the evidence he used to support this conclusion was of a floor of beaten earth on which votive offerings were found. These include some locally produced Minoan pottery dated to MM II and four imported Minoan stone vases dated to the MBA (Benzi 1984:100). Two bronze figurines and a marble loom weight both dated to LM IA were also found on the floor of beaten earth (Marketou 2009:74-75). This evidence is very scanty and the argument for a peak sanctuary is very hard to confirm based on these finds. The site of the acropolis at Ialysos have been settled from the MBA all the way to the Byzantine period this will obviously destroy a lot of remains that might have been present but overall I don't think a peak sanctuary have existed.

One of the most important aspects about sanctuaries is the visibility to it from the settlement it served. At Kastri one can see the settlement from the peak sanctuary but not from Trianda to the Acropolis on Ialysos where the alleged sanctuary is situated. Indeed none of the main characteristics of a peak sanctuary where visibility and proximity is key, is present but along with the finds which are scanty but none the less present would suggest that this was a peak sanctuary. The sanctuary at Ialysos might have been just for the settlement on the acropolis and the surrounding area but given the size of Trianda and the other Minoan features that are present there, it seems strange that this was not for the main settlement at Trianda and the Minoans living there.

Prestigious goods consists of mostly stone vessels/artifacts (fig 9-10) and artifacts in precious metals, which does not include bronze because it was reused because of its high value. The stone artifacts includes obsidian blades which are very popular in the Bronze Age for their cutting edge, most, if not all of the obsidian comes from Melos, however craftsmen at the sites made the rocks into blades (Coldstream & Huxley 1972:205, 217-218). The other precious metal is silver and gold and was mostly used in jewelry, small vessels and the religious symbol of the double axes (Younger & Rehak 2008:155). The stone vessels consist

of a few different types. The most common votive stone artifacts are a ladle and libation table both acting as a pouring vessel. The other types are stone vases, the Minoans first used chisels and hammers which kept the vases quite small but then the drill was introduced which made the works have a higher quality and a lot more fines, different materials and coloring could be introduced almost to the degree of complexity of pottery (Evely 2010:397-398).

Almost all of the prestigious goods tends to be Minoan imports and therefore becomes a very good indicator for at least a Versailles effect, on the other hand is this sufficient evidence for an indicator of Minoans actually living abroad.

Kastri have produced quite a lot of obsidian blades to the degree that archaeologists have speculated that an actual workshop was present given that alongside the blades obsidian cores were also found. One silver cup and one gold bead have been found, it isn't much but it shows that some prosperity was present. The stone vases that have been found are imports mostly from Crete but examples from Egypt and the Cyclades exist as well (Coldstream & Huxley 1972:217-218). The ladle is strictly Minoan and in the same excavation fragments of Minoan stone vases were found (Davis: 2014:38).

Akrotiri have like Kastri a lot of stone vases both imported from Crete and locally produced. Also what has been found are metal vessels, stone and bronze tools again locally produced and imported from Crete. Not only have imports from Crete been found but also imports from Egypt, the East and Mesopotamia. Which shows a broad trading network, which is how Akrotiri became a very rich town during the Bronze Age (Dumas 2010:757). Overall Akrotiri shows a large repertoire of artifacts in precious metals and stone both Imported from Crete and other regions and locally produced imitations of Minoan styles.

Ialysos/Trianda have not produced a lot of prestigious goods besides the four stone vases and the bronze figurines a few stone lamps have been found (Marketou 2010:782). Not a lot to go on but perhaps given the value of the artifacts people took it with them when they left.

Prestigious goods are hard to define a value of on the basis of a specific culture. That meaning does this mean that people who emigrate to another region takes with them these artifacts or does the indigenous population import them and does the artifacts become a part of a Versailles effect. At Kastri there appears to only be Minoans present ergo the imported prestigious goods becomes another indicator for a Minoan colony. In Akrotiri it seems alongside all of the other imported and locally produced things the prestigious goods are another indicator for perhaps a Minoan colony, but given that there are imports from other parts of the Bronze Age world prestigious goods maybe just a Versailles effect. Rhodes produces not as much material as the other sites but it is present and would be interpreted just the same.

4.4 Seals, Sealings & Linear A

Seals are small standard shapes cut into stones or precious metal, polished pierced and then engraved with a figure, a pattern or an inscription. Usually pressed into clay or wax to leave an impression of the seal called sealing. The function of a seal is to identify the seal owner but they can also be used as jewelry. Sometimes they could indicate the seal owners rank or a specific social group and they were used to secure property (Weingarten 2010:317). Seals and sealings in the MM III-LM IA period continued the traditions of the previous periods and the

engravings improved, adding more details in the artwork. Glyptic motifs which are images of animals and humans often with a landscape very closely related to frescos, these seals come in just three shapes, cushion, lentoid (eye shape) and amygdaloid (almond shape) (fig 11), the latter is a new shape to this time period, why just these three shapes is perhaps because of the new bureaucracy that standardized the seals. Naturalistic glyptic are motifs mostly of animals but humans tend to be more represented on gold rings. The animals are portrayed in varying positions such as galloping or jumping etc. the humans are shown bull leaping, hunting, chariot driving etc (Weingarten 2010:322).

Seals and sealings are not really a good indicator of Minoan presence in the same way as some of the other categories because the seals are used to indicate ownership over something, usually trading wares and therefore it more displays the palaces role in trading rather than an active Minoan population at some of the sites.

Kastri on have not produced seals or sealings which is strange given the amount of other Minoan artifacts and material culture present.

Akrotiri however have produced some 70 sealings of Cretan origin, they are more than likely from Knossos given the clay the seals were impressed in which is a brown-reddish color that does not exist on Thera but it does exist at Knossos (Karnava 2010: 87). A few of the sealings were actually traced back to Crete to the site of Hagia Triada where the seal was used to seal clay documents (Karnava 2010:91)

Ialysos/Trianda has not produced any seals or sealings.

The lack of sealing is not really strange given the material it was impressed upon, clay and wax, when one needs to impress a new seal in the material one simply erases the old one by rubbing it off. And I would argue that most of these sealings were not consciously left, and I think the material shows that given the lack of sealings at Kastri and Ialysos which were not abruptly abandoned. The lack of actual seals is not either strange given their sentimental value and actual political value. Overall seals and sealings show more the contact between two or more places rather than present population.

Linear A (fig 12) is the written language of the Minoans, it was first used in the MM IIB alongside Cretan hieroglyphic it is unclear which is the oldest but Cretan hieroglyphic has been proposed both by its discoverer Arthur Evans (Evans 1909:18,38) and by later scholars as well. It got abandoned in the MM III period where Linear A became the single script used by the Minoans (Tomas 2010:340-341). The reason for their arrival and use is probably as a result of an expanding economy and a consequent need for an administrative system. it remains however still undeciphered but given its administrative use and help from Linear B (used by the Mycenaean's on the main land of Greece) certain words and phrases have been deciphered but the main bulk of documents that it appears on are unknown (Tomas 2010:340-341). As mentioned most of the objects that have Linear A and Cretan hieroglyphic are administrative documents, Linear A also appear on nonadministrative objects mostly surrounding cult which might have actual sentences unlike the documents which mostly lists trade wares (Tomas 2010:344).

Just like the seals and sealings, Linear A shows mostly trading contact between the palaces and the sites, which is what Linear A is mostly used for. I don't think it's an indicator for

political power but it could perhaps be an indicator for someone living outside of Crete on the receiving end of trading.

Kastri have produced two objects with Linear A, a stone ladle with the inscription *da-ma-te* which is reminiscent of Demeter (Sakellarakis 1996:84) and a clay weight with the inscription *gra-e* (<http://people.ku.edu/~jyounger/LinearA/misc texts.html>).

Akrotiri have 14 total fragments inscribed with Linear A, six tablets in varying sizes and eight pots, jugs and pithos have an inscription (<http://people.ku.edu/~jyounger/LinearA/misc texts.html>).

Ialysos have not produced any Linear A objects or documents, but just like the seals and sealings Linear A is used on clay.

The sites produces very little evidence for Linear A, at Kastri its mostly surrounding cult, at Akrotiri there are both administrative texts and cult inscriptions and Ialysos have not produced any as of yet. The reason for the lack of objects inscribed is the same as with seals and sealings, Linear A was used on clay and the writer of a tablet would just wipe off the existing text when it wasn't needed any more and write the new text on the new surface. Another reason for the lack of objects is again that it was used on clay, which has to be burned or at least sundried in order for it to last through the ages. This opens up the possibility that there might have existed administrative documents at Kastri and Ialysos.

5. Discussion

The reason why Kastri on Kythera is considered the only apparent Minoan colony in the Aegean is because of the overwhelming Minoan character of all of the finds. Most notably the pottery, which is entirely, both the locally produced and the imported in the Minoan style, decoration and technologic traits e.g. wheelmade from the MBA until the LM IB period. The few architectural remains that exist are also minoanized which includes the LM IB houses, the drains and a few walls and as mentioned in part 4.2 the abandonment and subsequent rebuilding in later periods does destroy a lot of remains but a Minoan settlement was still there given the remains that can be seen. All of the other artifacts and objects are also Minoan in character if not imported from Crete and then add on a peak sanctuary a very distinctive Minoan religious feature that used to only exist on Crete and you got yourself a colony(see table 1). The lack of an indigenous population and a presence from basically anyone else makes a postcolonial approach quite difficult given that it studies the meeting and the aftermath of the settling of the colonists and the creation of a new material culture. As mentioned in part 3.1 there used to be an indigenous population, most likely from the main land of Greece, which coexisted with the Minoans for a period of a few hundred years, after that it drastically changes and becomes entirely Minoan in the MM IA period, which correlates with the increasing economic and administrative development on Crete that eventually in the MM IB period turned in to the first palaces (Manning 2008:111).

Akrotiri on Thera have been in the Cycladic sphere of culture until the MM III period when the Minoans came. This is when a lot of pottery styles, decorations and technological traits changes. The local pottery got switch out for Minoan types and basically completely took over not only storing and transport vessels but kitchen ceramics and everyday wares as wells as fine wares. The interesting part here is that a few Cycladic pottery vessels stayed and was used alongside the Minoan ones, which can be interpreted, that a large part of the indigenous

population stayed and an influx of Minoans from Crete settled in Akrotiri bringing with them their pottery technics. The architecture and frescos that are present show that perhaps the Minoans that might have lived there brought with them their building and painting technics, given the overwhelming Minoan character of the layout of the houses and how they are built and the motifs of the frescos. The existence of sealings and Linear A sort of confirms this because of what they were used for, administrative and cult practices, which might incline the existence of Minoans at Akrotiri who knew how to read the inscriptions. The prestigious goods and the lack of a peak sanctuary (see part 4.3) do however raise concern given that a lot of the artifacts are imported from all over the place, Egypt, Mesopotamia, Crete, etc. There is however presence of Minoan religious artifacts and a lustral basin which most agree are religious in nature which shows that the Minoans that might have lived there also took with them their religion. To say that Akrotiri is definitely a Minoan colony is not possible because it differs so much from Kastri which is as mentioned above completely Minoan in its material culture, I think this is the reason why Akrotiri is not defined as a Minoan Colony, even though there is a strong Minoan presence and substantial Minoan material culture.

Ialysos/Trianda on Rhodes belonged to the Dodecanese and the Anatolian west coast culture sphere and largely still used the same material culture during the time period MM III-LM IA under study. The locally produced pottery has Minoan influences but not on the level of Akrotiri or Kastri but the quantity is similar and the imported pottery does not reach the level of the other sites. The architecture and the little evidence of frescos shows a Minoan character in the use of Minoan building technics and layout similar to Akrotiri, evidence of frescos is scarce but present with the same colors as at Akrotiri and on Crete. Other artifacts are also quite scarce but present, for instance four imported Minoan stone vases which is a very compelling find. The complete lack of Linear A, Seals and sealings does however raise concern given that the other sites do have a few objects. Alongside the architecture and pottery which are good indicators for a Minoan population it seems strange that none have been found. There might have existed a peak sanctuary the evidence surrounding it seems a bit scarce but given the abandonment and subsequent rebuilding on top of the alleged sanctuary it would not leave a lot of remains. In summary it could be interpreted that a Minoan population did actually live there, but the evidence is not sufficient enough to support a Minoan colony like the one at Kastri and just like Akrotiri the mishmash of material culture which is both Rhodesian and Minoan in character the settlement have been not been interpreted as an Minoan colony.

All the archaeological evidence can be interpreted either as a definite Minoan presence at Thera and Rhodes, it can be interpreted as being part of a Versailles effect or a mix of both, which is the safest and most logical interpretation, given that the ides and interpretation of colonies are a quite modern thing. The English and French colonies in the era of colonial powers was more to exploit the natives and to steal their natural resources, unlike the Minoans, as the archaeological evidence appears to point towards integration with the native population at the settlements. We don't know if the Therans or the Rhodesians considered themselves culturally, religious or ethnically different from the Minoans, the concept of a distinct culture as well as nationalistically different, is quite a new thing. All this makes the interpretation of Minoan presence hard and it will always be left with a lot of questions.

6. Summary

Scholars tend to agree on only one Minoan colony, Kastri on Kythera. The reason why Kastri is considered a colony is because of the overwhelming Minoan character of almost all of the archaeological finds, from the EM II period to the LM IB period. This also includes a peak sanctuary something which is considered distinctively Minoan. The purpose of this study was to identify why Kastri was considered the only apparent Minoan colony and why other settlements in the Aegean was still being discussed and also what a Minoan colony was and what its characteristics were.

The settlements that were part of this study include Akrotiri on Thera and Trianda/Ialysos on Rhodes alongside Kastri. A presentation of the different settlements showed similar archaeological evidence from Akrotiri and Trianda as from Kastri. The material culture at the settlements were then presented and discussed, they were divided into eight categories: pottery both imported from Crete and locally produced Minoan imitation, architecture and frescos, sanctuaries and prestigious goods and lastly seals/sealings and Linear A.

The conclusion of the study was that Kastri will still remain as the only definite Minoan colony. The reason for this is because Kastri only has Minoan material culture. The other settlements still have an indigenous population and continue to have their own material culture alongside the Minoan. The Minoan presence at Thera and Rhodes can be interpreted as either a Versailles effect or a Minoan population that lived abroad, who brought with them their material culture which includes technological traits.

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8. Figures

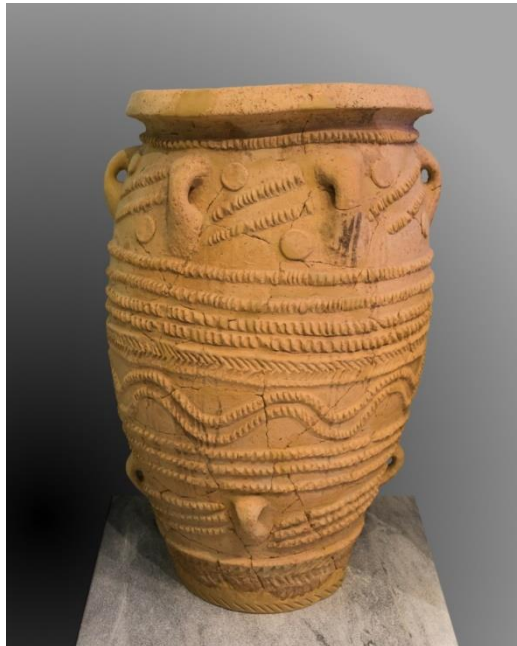


Fig 2. Minoan Pithos.
https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/7/7c/Clay_minoan_pithos_for_wine.jpg.



Fig 3. Amphora.
https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/6/6a/Amphore_%C3%A0_vin.JPG.



Fig 4. Tripod tray, with a variety of eating and drinking vessels, including conical cups.
https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/1/17/Tripod_tray_with_a_variety_of_miniature_vessels_archmus_Heraklion.jpg.



Fig 5. Minoan Rhyton.
https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/c/c6/Minoan_rhyton%2C_calcite%2C_1700-1450_BC%2C_BM%2C_GR_1874.8-5.121%2C_142769.jpg



Fig 6. Kamares ware.
https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/c/c8/Kamaresvase_2_mod.jpg



Fig 7. The Saffron gatherer fresco from the West house at Akrotiri, Thera.
https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/b/b8/Saffron_gatherersSantorini-3.jpg.



Fig 8. Minoan stone and bronze figurines.
https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/b/b3/Minoische_Adoranten_02.jpg



Fig 9. Minoan stone amfora.
https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/d/da/Ritualamphore_01.jpg.



Fig 10. Minoan stone vase.
https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/e/eb/Minoan_stone_vases%2C_Mochlos_cemetery%2C_2600-1900_BC%2C_AMH%2C_144604.jpg.



Fig 11. Minoan stone seals, amygdaloid and a lentoid shape.
https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/2/2b/Minoan_-_Sealstone_of_Two_Bulls_Reclining_-_Walters_42402.jpg.
https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/8/83/Octopus_lentoid_Met_26.31.240.jpg.

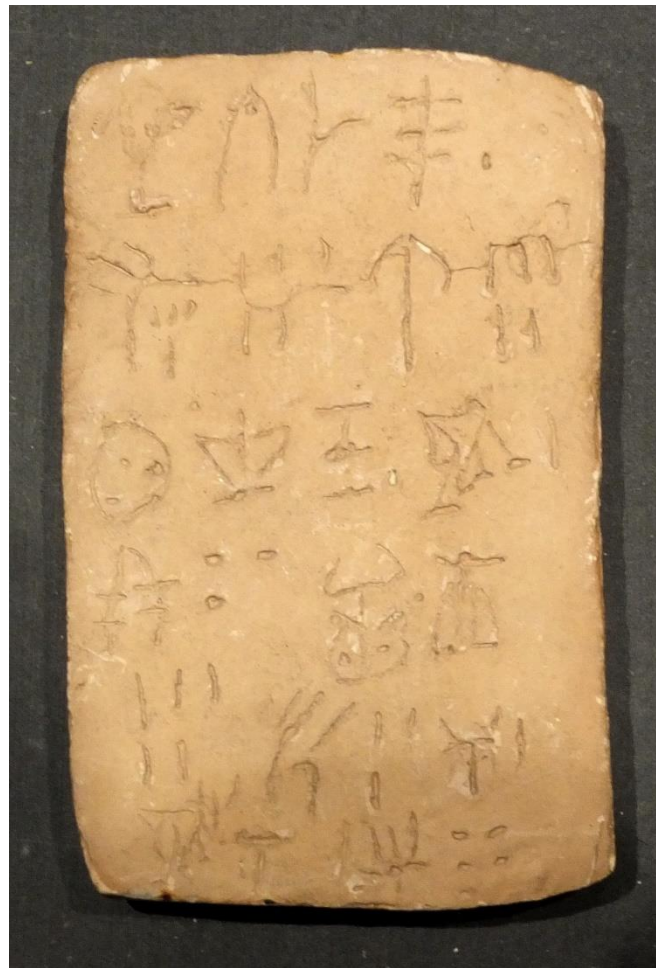


Fig 12. Clay tablet inscribed with Linear A.
https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/d/d7/Tablette_en_lin%C3%A9aire_A_%28copie%29.jpg.