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APHRATI AND KATO SYME

Pottery, Continuity, and Cult in Late Archaic and Classical Crete

ABSTRACT

The analysis of ceramics from Aphrati sheds valuable new light on the history of this Cretan settlement and on its relationship with a nearby rural sanctuary at Kato Syme in the Late Archaic and Classical periods. It has long been held that Aphrati was deserted from ca. 600 to 400 B.C. A pottery deposit from the domestic quarter, however, now supports occupation of the city during this period. A ceramic classification system is presented and the morphological development and absolute chronology of several key shapes at Aphrati and Kato Syme are plotted. Historical implications of the ceramic evidence are also explored.

To date, the most impressive finds of the historical Greek periods from Aphrati, the site of a polis in East Crete (Fig. 1), consist of grave goods from the Geometric and Orientalizing burial ground excavated by the Italians in the 1920s under the direction of Doro Levi.[1] On the basis of magnificent tomb furnishings, Levi inferred the existence of an important 7th-century settlement at Aphrati. With few exceptions, none of the material from Levi's excavations commands a date later than the 7th century. For this reason, Levi concluded that Aphrati suffered a major reversal after ca. 600 B.C.[2] Based on this conclusion, historians have presupposed a major disruption of cult at the nearby rural sanctuary at Kato Syme commensurate with the presumed break in occupation at Aphrati. Didier Viviers, following the preliminary conclusions of the sanctuary's excavator, Angeliki Lebessi, notes a progressive diminution of offerings at the sanctuary in the course of the 6th century. Viviers interprets this phenomenon as the effect of a widespread economic decline of the area, with

1. Levi 1927–1929, p. 528.

2. Levi 1927–1929, p. 528, followed by Boardman 1982, p. 227; Watrous 1982, p. 23; Huxley 1994, p. 128. The epigraphical record at Aphrati gives little indication of subsequent activity in the 6th or following century, with the exception of a 5th-century inscription, *IC* I v 4, which records a dedication made to Athena. Levi (1927–1929, pp. 22, 37) reports finding a stray Argive silver coin in the course of his excavations, dated by him to the third quarter of the 5th century. According to Hoffmann (1972, pp. 42–44), the latest examples of inscribed bronze armor from the Aphrati hoard, discussed below, date to ca. 600–575. Viviers (1994, pp. 241–244) briefly summarizes the archaeological discoveries at Aphrati.

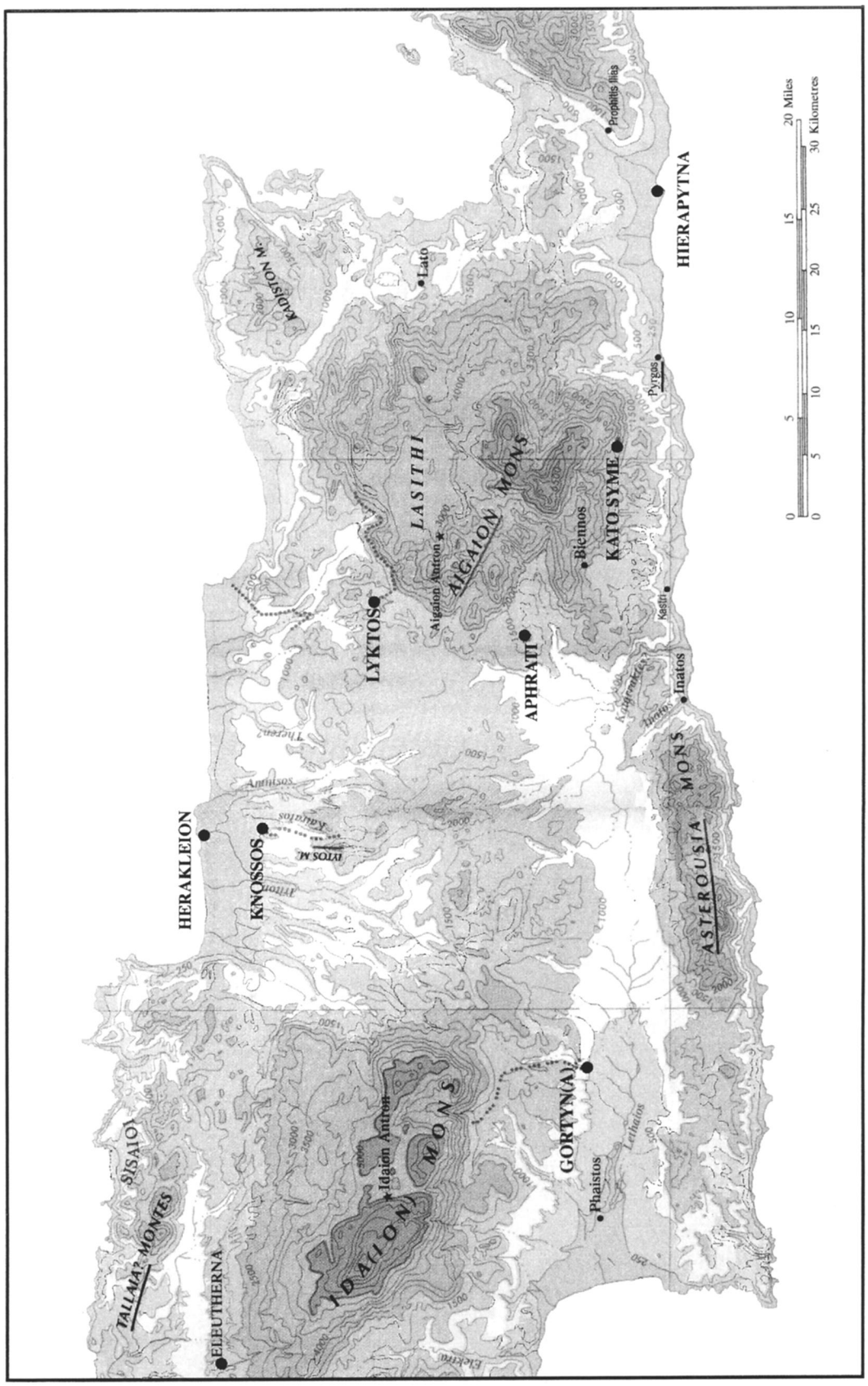

Figure 1. Map of Crete. After Talbert 2000, map 60

particularly severe repercussions for the sanctuary.[3] From Viviers' perspective, the root cause lies in a reorganization of the territories of Biennos and Dattalla in response to the growth of their powerful neighbor, Lyktos. Viviers attributes the supposed abandonment of Aphrati to Lyktian aggression. His reconstruction further holds that the sanctuary at Kato Syme fell out of use as a result of the political subjugation of Biennos and the absorption of its territory by Lyktos ca. 600 B.C.

When and how this process of territorial expansion came about, if indeed a "policy" of Lyktian aggression existed in the first place, remain matters of dispute.[4] The acknowledged difficulty of identifying and accurately dating the post-Minoan ceramics from Kato Syme has impeded previous efforts to assess the development of the sanctuary in the Archaic and Classical periods, and to clarify the history of settlement in this part of Crete. Whether the lacunae in the archaeological record reflect historical reality or a problem of archaeological perception is open to question. Specialists working at individual sites on Crete have noted breaks in the ceramic sequence between ca. 600 and 400 B.C., but have made no effort to assemble the ceramic evidence from across the island to form a comprehensive picture of local or regional developments.[5] Without established ceramic sequences, all other categories of archaeological evidence lack a chronological anchor.[6]

The present article is intended to establish a sequence of shapes and an absolute chronology for pottery at the sanctuary. The catalogue entries include all diagnostic examples from Kato Syme, and can therefore be regarded as a comprehensive publication of its Late Archaic and Classical pottery. My presentation of the finds from Kato Syme and Aphrati treats the pottery from both sites together in a chronological fashion. I propose a regional model of consumption according to which potters from Aphrati supplied the sanctuary at Kato Syme with a continuous series of drinking cups of a characteristic shape and pale brown fabric between ca. 600 and 400. A domestic deposit from Aphrati provides an invaluable chronological point of reference for this shared local ceramic tradition. Contrary to the accepted picture of Cretan decline, this collection of pottery demonstrates continuity of activity at both the sanctuary and settlement. I further argue that around 400, Lyktos, a rival polis, replaced Aphrati as the

3. Regarding the fate of the sanctuary in the 6th century, Viviers (1994, p. 256) concludes: "Le sanctuaire n'est pourtant pas laissé à l'abandon." The traditional identification of the site at Aphrati as ancient Arkades has recently been challenged by Viviers (1994, p. 257), who offers the alternative identification of Dattalla.

4. Chaniotis (1996, pp. 3–5, 13–16) regards the formation of powerful Cretan city-states with sizable territories as a creation of the Hellenistic age. Van Effenterre and Bougrat (1969, pp. 36–37) propose that the expansion of Lyktian territory to the south coast of Crete took place at the end of the 3rd century. Viviers (1994, pp. 252–259), Watrous (1982, pp. 22–24), and Haggis (1996, pp. 415, 419, n. 117) argue that the process began in the 6th century. Van Effenterre and Gondicas (1999, pp. 136–137) examine the evidence for political dependencies of Lyktos.

5. Kanta's (1991, p. 500) summary of the current state of knowledge of the Cretan ceramic record deserves repeating: "the 6th and 5th century B.C. pottery from Crete has not been published or studied and is virtually unknown." Knossos is something of an exception; see below, n. 127. Morris (1998, pp. 66–68) discusses the problem of pottery identification.

6. The results presented here stem from a more comprehensive study (Erickson 2000) of the island pottery styles ca. 600–400 B.C. I limit my discussion here to Aphrati and neighboring sites. While coins might be expected to provide a reliable chronological anchor, most Cretan poleis did not begin minting until the second half of the 5th century, if not later; see Le Rider 1966, pp. 173–174.

chief supplier of pottery at the sanctuary. In the final section I address the historical implications of my study by focusing upon Cretan cult practice as a reflection of territorial conflict, arguing for an expropriation of the frontier sanctuary by Lyktos ca. 400 B.C., a full two centuries later than the date advocated by Viviers.

EXCAVATION AND CONTEXTS

Aphrati

Evidence in support of continued occupation at Aphrati comes in the form of a pottery deposit from a house in the domestic quarter of the ancient city excavated by the Greek Archaeological Service (Fig. 1). Lebessi provides a plan of the building in the preliminary report of her excavations conducted in 1969.[7] The house's destruction sealed a layer of debris over the remains of one of its floors. Among the debris was recovered a host of intact high-necked cups, representatives of a previously unknown Classical Cretan ceramic tradition. The discovery of these cups in association with datable lamps (85–88), discussed below, places the destruction of the house within the narrow chronological limits of ca. 425 and 400 B.C. The size of this deposit, its remarkable preservation, and the presence of unusually good evidence for its date combine to make it a potential cornerstone of Cretan chronology in the 5th century.

Kato Syme

Excavations conducted by the Greek Archaeological Service under the direction of Lebessi in 1972 discovered on the remote southern flanks of Mt. Dikte near the modern village of Kato Syme a small open-air sanctuary dedicated jointly in the Hellenistic period to Aphrodite and Hermes (Fig. 1).[8] This identification is based upon secure epigraphical sources in conjunction with the character of the finds. The earliest signs of cult activity at Kato Syme date to the Middle Minoan IB period.[9] The sanctuary experienced its greatest popularity during the Late Minoan period, but the site retained its sacred character in later historical times. Indeed, Kato Syme housed one of the longest-lived cults known in the ancient Aegean world. The finds document a period of uninterrupted activity across the normally turbulent period of transition from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age. The Late Archaic and Classical periods present the last remaining obstacle to documenting full continuity at this Cretan cult center.

The physical layout of the sanctuary in the historical Greek periods consisted of a series of terraces that followed the natural contours of the hill. These terraces, in turn, supported an extensive open-air platform higher up the hill, equipped with a central altar and a large hearth. The sanctuary also included subsidiary buildings of uncertain function. The main focus of cult concerned sacrificial offerings and the ritual consumption of food and drink. These activities have left the most substantial traces in the

7. Lebessi (1973, p. 459, fig. 2, pl. 402:a–b) briefly describes the contents of the deposit and illustrates two lamps and a proto-Hadra hydria. Preliminary study of the finds suggested to her (p. 460) a 5th-century date for the deposit. Prior evidence for occupation between ca. 600 and the late-5th-century domestic deposit is discussed below, n. 17.

8. The successive archaeological campaigns, and their preliminary results, are summarized by Lebessi (1985).

9. Watrous (2001, pp. 217–218) surveys the early history of the sanctuary.

material record in the form of enormous deposits of burnt earth mixed with broken pottery and sacrificial debris. Stratified Late Minoan deposits were found at the deepest levels. The thinner strata above consisted of disturbed fill, an indiscriminate mixture of Minoan pottery with an assortment of Geometric, Archaic, and later material. A lamentable lack of "clean" deposits of homogeneous fill from the historical periods poses a special problem for the study of the post-Minoan phases of the sanctuary.

Among the most spectacular finds from the sanctuary in the historical periods are a large collection of Early Iron Age zoomorphic bronze figurines and a rich series of Orientalizing bronze cutout plaques. The bronze cutout plaques have generated considerable interest among art historians because of their fine execution, lively style, and range of subject matter. They depict the principal deities of the sanctuary or human worshippers bearing animals intended for sacrifice. A 7th-century date has been assigned to the majority of these Daedalic plaques on stylistic grounds. Production is thought to have subsided in the first quarter of the 6th century. For the remainder of the 6th century, the archaeological record indicates an almost total absence of metal artifacts. Fifth-century bronzes from the sanctuary remain equally elusive.[10]

THE POTTERY

The magnificence of these metal objects from the sanctuary has overshadowed study and publication of the pottery. This is unfortunate, since the ceramic evidence has the potential to correct the impression of declining activity or even abandonment of the sanctuary between 600 and 400 B.C., an impression generated principally by the ebb and flow of metal offerings. My study of the black-gloss pottery from Kato Syme is the first effort of its kind to recognize local ceramics of Late Archaic and Classical date, either from the sanctuary or from this region of Crete.[11] The pottery from Kato Syme, if the equation with a production center at Aphrati is correct, affords a substantially fuller glimpse of these periods of ceramic development than that provided by any discoveries made until now at the presumed center of production at Aphrati.

10. For the figurines from the sanctuary, see Schürmann 1996. For the cutout plaques, see Lebessi 1985. Published Late Archaic and Classical votives from the sanctuary include a 6th-century inscribed bronze handle (Lebessi 1975b, p. 191, pl. 193:c); a 6th-century bronze figurine of a goat (Lebessi 1977, p. 325, pl. 256:b); a bronze figurine of a youth with an inscribed base dated to the second quarter of the 5th century (Lebessi 1990, p. 276, pls. 133:b, 134:a); a 5th-century bronze plaque (Lebessi 1974, p. 197, pl. 185:a); and a 5th-century terracotta plaque (Lebessi 1977, p. 325, pl. 257:c).

11. The pottery from Kato Syme is housed at the Herakleion Archaeological Museum. My study concentrates upon a representative sample. The excavations of 1972 and 1973 proved to be the most fruitful years for the study of the post-Minoan periods, since these initial campaigns dealt with the removal of the upper levels of sacrificial debris. These upper levels contained a mixture of Minoan and later pottery. I examined all saved fine ware recovered during these two years of excavation. In addition, I selectively surveyed pottery from subsequent years of excavation, concentrating on boxes of previously sorted post-Minoan pottery. I was fortunate to have Athanasia Kanta as my guide in the storerooms of the Herakleion Museum, increasing my debt to her immeasurably.

Fabric Analysis and Provenience

Pottery specialists working on Crete have noted that ceramics vary considerably even between neighboring sites.[12] Consideration of fabric texture, hardness, inclusions, slip, gloss, and other variables assists archaeologists in determining fabric and ware groups. The consistency of fabric color in an assemblage is also relevant in attempting to differentiate fabrics and attribute undecorated pottery to its source.[13] The color of the fabric may vary as a result of the utilization of different clay sources, differences in the preparation and the firing of the clay, or a combination of these factors.[14] Furthermore, it is widely recognized that variations in fabric color may be due to postdepositional conditions unrelated to differences in the original material or variation in firing. For these reasons, the value of color as a means of characterizing fabrics has occasionally been questioned. The emphasis here upon color as a means of distinguishing Cretan fabrics and proposed production zones therefore requires explanation. As part of my program of dissertation research, I had the opportunity to examine large quantities of unpublished Late Archaic and Classical pottery from sites all over Crete, enabling me to identify ten regional production centers. In my estimation, fabric color varies considerably from one site to the next, even, somewhat surprisingly, in the case of neighboring sites. Personal experience has led me to consider color, alongside fabric texture, hardness, slip, and gloss, as an important factor in differentiating Cretan fabrics on a macroscopic level. My hypothesized ware groups and source attributions, however, will need to be tested against evidence from future fieldwork, ceramic petrography, and surveys of clay sources.

The characteristic fabric of the Late Archaic and Classical pottery at Kato Syme consists of a fine clay of a somewhat chalky consistency fired to a very pale brown color (Munsell 10YR 8/3).[15] The resemblance of this fabric to Corinthian fabric is often close. A poor dull gloss, black or occasionally streaky brown and prone to flaking, is another distinguishing feature of this group. The pottery exhibits a remarkable degree of internal consistency with respect to fabric texture, hardness, color, and gloss. There are reasons for thinking that the pottery used at Kato Syme was not manufactured at the sanctuary. Local manufacture of pottery seems somewhat unlikely, given the remote location of the sanctuary and the absence of excavated kilns, kiln wasters, or other signs of ceramic production such as pottery wheels. While negative evidence of this kind is hardly decisive—and thus the sanctuary remains a possible candidate for production—stylistic considerations discussed below suggest another possibility.

A more likely scenario posits a production center at a nearby settlement as the supplier of pottery to the sanctuary. Aphrati and Pyrgos stand out as the two most promising candidates for the place of manufacture on the basis of reported fabric color and consistency.[16] Both sites lie in close proximity to Kato Syme (Fig. 1), which suggests that a pale brown fabric was characteristic of the region. Fabric color thus has its limits in revealing exact provenance, even under apparently favorable conditions. Of the two suggested places of manufacture, Aphrati seems the more likely. While the Graeco-Roman settlement at Pyrgos remains unexcavated and its ceramic tradition poorly understood, at Aphrati a discernible local tradition exists which, although once thought to have consisted solely of

12. See Coldstream 1973b, pp. 46–47.

13. Complications arise in trying to determine the exact place of manufacture on the basis of fabric alone. Recognition of a "local" fabric need not imply the exclusive manufacture of pottery at a single site. Arnold (1985, pp. 58–59) argues on the basis of ethnographic evidence that neighboring communities as much as 12 to 18 km apart might exploit overlapping resource areas, including common clay beds, thereby increasing the likelihood of a single regional fabric.

14. Sinopoli 1991, pp. 12–13; Orton, Tyers, and Vince 1993, pp. 132–138.

15. This fabric contains very few inclusions visible to the naked eye. It is relatively soft and powdery. The color occasionally borders on reddish yellow (Munsell 7.5YR 7/6).

16. Eiring (2000, p. 54) characterizes the Hellenistic fabric of Pyrgos as "soft, powdery, and very pale." Another obvious candidate on the basis of geographic proximity to the sanctuary is the ancient polis Biennos. The standard pale brown fabric at Kato Syme seems to be identical in every respect to the predominate fabric of a series of remarkable polychrome vessels from Late Orientalizing tombs at Aphrati; see Levi 1927–1929, pp. 530–532.

the material from the Geometric and Orientalizing tombs, is now understood to have included a thin representation of 6th-century residual material. This material derives from a building southeast of the acropolis excavated by Lebessi.[17]

In addition, the later domestic deposit from Aphrati, mentioned above, documents production of high-necked drinking cups in the final quarter of the 5th century. These cups exhibit an identical form and fabric to those of contemporary pottery from Kato Syme. Peculiarities of this style, most prominently the penannular ring underfoot, are found in the local fabric at virtually no other Cretan site. The available evidence points to Aphrati as the source of the pale brown pottery at Kato Syme, although naturally Pyrgos cannot be wholly excluded as an alternative source of votives. Moreover, the possibility cannot be ruled out that Biennos or another as yet unexcavated site will produce pottery of closely similar style to that of the sanctuary. A decisive conclusion must await further exploration of the area and greater understanding of the local pottery styles.

Aphrati must have been the site of an important Classical polis, alternatively identified either as Arkades or Dattalla.[18] I suggest, on the grounds of a common fabric and the exact correspondence of forms, that Aphrati is likely to have been the supplier of pottery for the nearby sanctuary throughout the Late Archaic and Early Classical periods. A settlement with a long tradition of pottery manufacture is a more probable source of production than a remote mountain sanctuary. If it is the case that pottery production took place at Kato Syme, then the observed similarity between the sanctuary style and that of the settlement would raise the possibility that potters either from Aphrati or trained in the local school worked at the sanctuary. The model of consumption advanced here remains tentative pending future efforts to define clay and inclusion sources, kiln sites, and spatial and temporal distinctions. It is even conceivable, however unlikely, that Kato Syme supplied pottery to the settlement.

Around 400, or shortly thereafter (the chronology is discussed below), the predominant pale brown fabric at the sanctuary abruptly gave way to a new one, of an entirely different character and presumably a different origin. Replacing the pale brown fabric at the sanctuary is one with silver mica and a dark reddish-brown hue (Munsell 2.5YR 5/6 to 5YR 5/4). The primary distinguishing feature of this new fabric is its extreme coarseness, which makes it a rarity among the Classical Cretan fabrics employed in the production of drinking cups and other fine-ware shapes.[19] As a general rule, gritty fabric is more typical of cooking and coarse wares. Evidently

17. In the preliminary reports of her excavations, Lebessi (1970, p. 416, fig. 1, pls. 425–426; 1973, pp. 457, 459, figs. 1–2) describes the discovery of a large quadrangular building southeast of the acropolis hill, a building that she interprets as a shrine. The reports mention volumes of Geometric and Orientalizing finds along with a scatter of 6th-century material. I have not seen the pottery from this building. In addition, a tomb of presumed 6th-century date was discovered near Aphrati at Orthi Petra; see Lebessi 1983.

18. See above, n. 3.

19. A multiplicity of fabrics at a single site can be interpreted in various ways. A variety of fabrics is a conceivable outcome of a production center whose output included a range of coarse, cooking, and fine-ware shapes; see Stissi 1999, p. 87. Plog (1980, pp. 86–88) examines ethnographic evidence in support of the conclusion that potters choose different clays or tempering materials in the manufacture of vessels intended for different purposes. Yet at Kato Syme there is no indication that functional categories of pottery played a determining role in the character of the fabric. Gritty reddish-brown fabric suddenly became the preferred fabric for the whole range of Cretan shapes at the sanctuary, as typical of large coarse basins as of the finest drinking cups.

this new fabric was incapable of taking a fine colored slip. A fabric of apparently the same characteristics distinguishes Lyktos from all other Cretan production centers (Fig. 1). A coarse reddish-brown fabric with silver mica may well be a signature trait of Lyktian fine-ware production during the Classical and Early Hellenistic periods. The site of Lyktos remains largely unexplored, although a series of campaigns undertaken by the Greek Archaeological Service has brought to light Hellenistic phases of occupation.[20] The material from these excavations derives from a destruction deposit dated to the 3rd century B.C., a find plausibly connected with a documented destruction of Lyktos at the conclusion of the Lyktian War in 221. After examining this material, I concluded that the 4th-century pottery from Kato Syme issues from the same source as the later Lyktian wares.[21] Yet this identification cannot be confirmed by exact correspondence between ceramic forms from one site to the next, since the ceramic record at Lyktos remains a blank during much of the 6th, 5th, and 4th centuries. Lyktos provides yet another example of the need to clarify the local fabrics and pottery styles of the Classical Cretan production centers.

While the vast majority of the Late Archaic and Classical pottery from Kato Syme falls neatly under the general rubric of either pale brown or gritty reddish-brown fabric, notable exceptions occur, as in the case of a small cup characterized by a hemispherical bowl and a short upright rim (**110**), a common Cretan type that can be dated to ca. 500–480.[22] Another exception is a cup base with a splayed pedestal stand (**109**), whose proposed date of ca. 425–400 rests upon general stylistic grounds and specific parallels with cups from Gortyn. The fine pale red fabric (Munsell 2.5YR 6/8) seen in both examples suggests that they are Gortynian imports.[23] The cup base is coated with a lustrous black gloss of uncommonly high quality, another characteristic of Gortynian production in the Classical period.

Sixth-Century Pottery (1–27)

Oinochoe (1)

My presentation of the finds from Aphrati and Kato Syme follows a chronological arrangement (proceeding from closed to open shapes, large to small, within each period). I postpone a detailed discussion of the contents of the 5th-century domestic deposit at Aphrati until the appropriate place in the chronological sequence. An oinochoe from this deposit (Fig. 2) is treated here because it suggests a 6th-century date on the basis of style. This high-necked, broad-bottomed oinochoe is decorated with a separate tongue pattern on the shoulder and bottom. A 7th-century Corinthian prototype lies behind the production of this unusual Cretan shape.

Aphrati seems to have specialized in copies of Corinthian jugs, to judge from numerous examples of local manufacture from the 7th-century cemetery.[24] The oinochoe from the domestic deposit differs from these earlier examples in two respects. First, the decoration exhibits an apparent simplification of the 7th-century scheme. Most notable in this respect is

20. See Platon 1952, p. 480; 1957, p. 336; Alexiou 1969, p. 539. Lebessi (1975a, pp. 494–496, pls. 512–513) reports the discovery of Archaic pithoi in a Hellenistic destruction level. The excavated necropolis of Lyktos has yielded local and Attic pottery dated to the second half of the 4th century; see Lebessi 1980, p. 886, pl. 661. For imported Hellenistic black-gloss pottery from Lyktos, see Englezou 2000.

21. I extend my profound thanks to Maria Englezou of the Herakleion Archaeological Museum for permitting me to examine the Hellenistic material from Lyktos. She agrees with my identification of Lyktos as the probable source of the 4th-century pottery from Kato Syme. Here, reassuringly, we have the published observations of another pair of scholars who independently reached the same conclusion that gritty red fabric is a hallmark of Lyktian fine-ware production. Regarding the fabric of the pottery from the Hellenistic context at Lyktos, Callaghan and Jones (1985, pp. 14–15) remark, "the provinciality of its local ceramic industry is quite clear. The vast majority of its 'black-glazed' shapes are made of a red gritty clay and are covered with a thin dull wash. Some shapes, which would have been glazed at Knossos, are left plain."

22. Unpublished examples from Knossos, deposit *RR*:H (see Coldstream 1973b), provide a date of ca. 500–480 for the type.

23. My reasons for ascribing this light red fabric to a separate Cretan production center at Gortyn are discussed more fully in Erickson, in press.

24. Levi (1927–1929, p. 220, fig. 247) illustrates an example from his excavations of the Orientalizing cemetery at Aphrati.

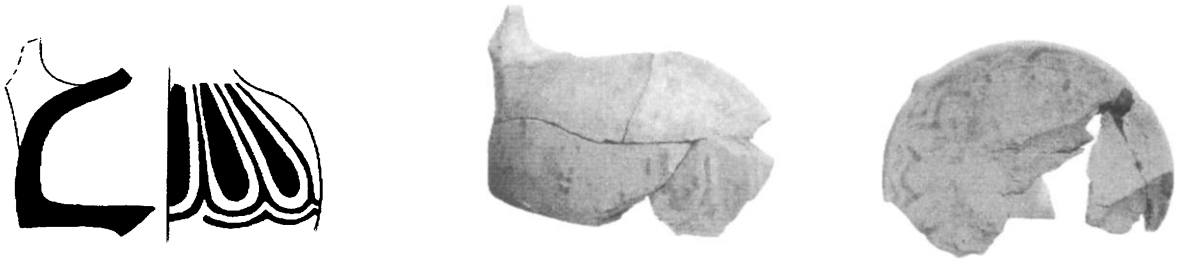

Figure 2. Oinochoe. Scale ca. 1:2

the tongue pattern, a secondary motif of 7th-century potters, which now occupies the entire shoulder of the oinochoe. In contrast, 7th-century pot painters from Aphrati favor narrow zones of decoration composed of smaller elements. Second, the base or stand indicated by the broken protrusion at the bottom of the jug probably reflects a 6th-century development, since this feature is absent from 7th-century jugs. The lack of anything resembling a series of 7th- or 6th-century jugs of this type complicates any attempt to date this vessel. All in all, the differences both in form and decoration between this oinochoe and its 7th-century predecessors are relatively minor, so I am reluctant to accept a date for it later than the first half of the 6th century.

1 Oinochoe, body Fig. 2

Aphrati. 1969.A5. High-necked, broad-bottomed oinochoe. Fragmentary neck and base. Diam. (max.) 9.4 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Decorated with a separate tongue pattern along the shoulder and bottom. First half of the 6th century(?).

Cups, Deep and Shallow Varieties (2–8)

The 6th-century ceramic repertoire at the sanctuary consists chiefly of cups, of which three types predominate. The first two types (Fig. 3) signal the strength of an independent local tradition, while the third category manifests direct borrowing from a mainland Greek source. The first type of cup is composed of a broad bowl with a wide opening at the mouth, whose short inset rim either flares or is outturned (**2–6**). The convex shoulder of preserved examples recommends reconstructing the cup as a deep shape. A second variety of cup, of equal ancestry at the sanctuary, exhibits a different profile defined by a narrower shoulder, depressed bodily proportions, and a hemispherical bowl (**7–8**). This cup is likewise equipped with a short outturned rim.

The dating of these two types of cup, both the deep and the shallow varieties, depends upon parallels with material from better-dated contexts elsewhere on Crete, at Knossos and Eleutherna, or from the Greek overseas colony at Tocra, Libya. One-handled Cretan mugs from Tocra exhibit a similar profile to the deeper of the two sanctuary shapes.[25] Since a reportedly pale brown fabric is characteristic of the exports from Tocra, a shared source with the supplier of the sanctuary at Kato Syme is a distinct possibility.[26] A cup of similar conception to the deeper variety from Kato Syme was produced locally at Eleutherna in the 6th century,[27] and a

25. See Boardman and Hayes 1973, pp. 37–38, no. 2104, fig. 16, pl. 20, ca. 575–550 B.C.

26. See Boardman and Hayes 1966, p. 78.

27. I owe a debt of gratitude to Nikolaos Stampolidis, the director of the excavations of the University of Crete at Orthi Petra, for inviting me to study the unpublished Late Archaic and Classical finds from his excavations (Eleutherna, Tomeas III). The 6th-century date for the parallel is based upon secure stratified deposits whose contents include datable imported Laconian pottery.

similar type of cup appears at Knossos by the end of the 6th century.[28] The evidence suggests a progression in the 6th century from a cup with a high flaring rim to a short one, either everted or upright, with hemispherical bodily proportions eventually giving way to a deeper, more voluminous form. It seems clear, judging from the streamlined proportions of a descendant of the cup at Kato Syme (**6**), that this class felt a later influence from the repertoire of the Classical Knossian low-necked cup or another similar source on its development.[29] The second type of cup at Kato Syme—the shallow variety with a hemispherical bowl (**7**, **8**)—is datable by reference to cups in late-7th- or early-6th-century deposits from Eleutherna.

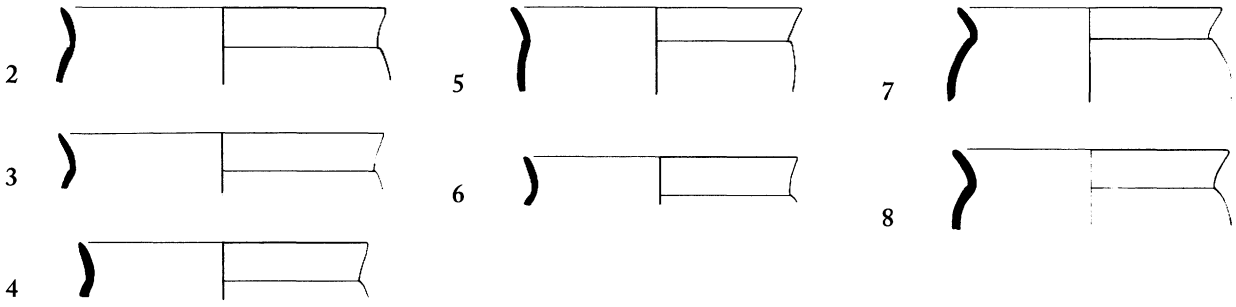

Figure 3. Cup rims. Scale 1:3

2 Deep cup, rim and shoulder — Fig. 3

Kato Syme (1977). Level 1, OM87. Diam. (rim) 13.1 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. 6th century.

3 Deep cup, rim and shoulder — Fig. 3

Kato Syme (1972). Level 2, OM5. Diam. (rim) 13.0 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. 6th century.

4 Deep cup, rim and shoulder — Fig. 3

Kato Syme (1972). Level 11, OM21. Diam. (rim) 11.6 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. 6th century.

5 Deep cup, rim and shoulder — Fig. 3

Kato Syme (1977). Level 2, OM35. Diam. (rim) 11.2 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. 6th century.

6 Deep cup, rim and shoulder — Fig. 3

Kato Syme (1972). Level 2, OM5. Diam. (rim) 11.0 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. 5th century.

7 Hemispherical cup, rim and shoulder — Fig. 3

Kato Syme (1972). Level 4, OM67. Diam. (rim) 11.4 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. 6th century.

8 Hemispherical cup, rim and shoulder — Fig. 3

Kato Syme (1972). Level 6, OM17. Diam 11.3 cm, of rim 11.1 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. 6th century.

28. The Knossian cup comes from an unpublished Classical well deposit from the Stratigraphical Museum Excavations (J/JN7.4987). On typological grounds, it ranks among the earliest pottery from the well. I am grateful to Peter Warren for permission to mention unpublished finds from his recent excavations and for giving so generously of his time.

29. The "Shrine of Glaukos" at Knossos provides the closest parallels for this shape; see Callaghan 1978, pp. 6–7, nos. 10–12, fig. 5, pl. 2.

Cups, Kotylai (9–18)

The third major variety of drinking cup at the sanctuary in the 6th century is a deep shape whose walls define a simple continuous curve that runs from base to rim (**9**). This local cup is closely modeled upon the form of a Corinthian drinking cup, the kotyle. An apparent Middle Corinthian prototype helps pinpoint the date of an intact example to ca. 575–550.[30] The base of this local cup has a distinctive profile underfoot formed by a vertical inset underneath where the flaring stand meets the bottom wall of the base. This unusual treatment of the foot results in a mirror image of the standard 6th-century "stepped" profile underfoot (see below). A large group of identical bases (Figs. 4–5) indicates extensive production of the cup in the middle and second half of the 6th century, provided that the date of the fragments lies near that of the intact cup (**10–18**). These bases show little uniformity in size, a factor that suggests a field of production encompassing cups, large and small, and jugs. This type of base is encountered elsewhere on Crete in the local fabric of Praisos.[31]

One of the bases from Kato Syme (**18**) bears painted decoration in the form of a row of dots in a reserved band on the outside edge of the foot. The rarity of painted decoration, figural or otherwise, in the Cretan repertoire of 600–400 attracts attention to this particular example. Its decoration represents an apparent simplification of the pictorial tradition of the Orientalizing Cretan pot painters, whose other 6th-century works include Cretan exports at Tocra and Cyrene decorated with simplified spiral and floral ornaments.[32] Since Aphrati was the seat of a major Orientalizing vase-painting tradition, the existence of 6th-century painted decoration at Kato Syme, even in a debased form, strengthens the proposed connection between Aphrati and the sanctuary.

9 Cup — Figs. 4–5

Kato Syme (1974). Level 11, orth. Delta, no. 21107. H. 8.2 cm; Diam. 13.0 cm, of rim 12.8 cm, of base 6.7 cm. Pale brown (7.5YR 5/4 to 10YR 6/3). Black gloss. Close copy of Middle Corinthian kotyle. Ca. 575–550.

10 Cup, base — Fig. 4

Kato Syme (1972). Level 15, OM19. Diam. (base) 7.1 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Middle or second half of the 6th century.

11 Cup, base — Fig. 4

Kato Syme (1973). Level 5, OM30D. Diam. (base) 7.1 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Middle or second half of the 6th century.

12 Cup, base — Fig. 4

Kato Syme (1973). Level 1, OM167. Diam. (base) 6.1 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Middle or second half of the 6th century.

13 Cup, base — Fig. 4

Kato Syme (1974). Level 5, OM33. Diam. (base) 6.8 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Middle or second half of the 6th century.

14 Cup, base — Fig. 4

Kato Syme (1975). Level 12, OM50. Diam. (base) 7.5 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Middle or second half of the 6th century.

30. For the Corinthian shape, see Payne 1931, p. 241. Amyx (1988, pp. 48–67) discusses absolute dating of Middle Corinthian pottery.

31. The base from the Praisos survey (1994, Site 506.3) remains unpublished. Whitley, Prent, and Thorne (1999) provide a preliminary report of the survey results. My thanks go to James Whitley for permission to mention this piece.

32. See Boardman and Hayes 1966, pp. 77–80, nos. 921–931, pls. 55–56; 1973, pp. 36–38, nos. 2101–2108, pl. 20. The same Cretan source has been posited for the exported 6th-century Cretan pottery from Cyrene, Libya; see Schaus 1985, p. 10.

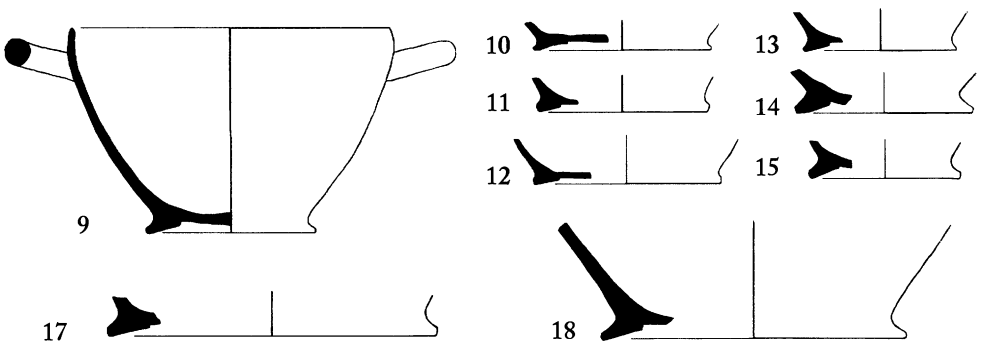

Figure 4. Kotylai. Scale 1:3

Figure 5. Kotylai

15 Cup, base Figs. 4–5

Kato Syme (1973). Level 7, orth. Epsilon. Diam. (base) 6.0 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Middle or second half of the 6th century.

16 Cup, base

Kato Syme (1974). Level 11, orth. Delta. Diam. (base) 7.1 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Middle or second half of the 6th century.

17 Jug, base Fig. 4

Kato Syme (1973). Level 6, OM110. Diam. (base) 12.5 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Middle or second half of the 6th century.

18 Jug, base and lower body Figs. 4–5

Kato Syme (1975). Level 3, OM-AB. Diam. (base) 12.1 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Decorated with dots along reserved outer edge. Middle or second half of the 6th century.

Cups, Base with "Stepped" Profile Underfoot (19–27)

A related type of 6th-century base, mentioned in passing above, consists of a disk foot with a "stepped" profile underfoot formed by a vertical inset where the root of the flaring foot meets a projecting concentric disk, or "medallion," below (Figs. 6–7). While the stepped foot boasts of a long tradition on Crete beginning in the 7th century, an articulated disk foot with a pronounced edge and a stepped profile underfoot is a combination of features that suggests a more advanced stage in the development of the Cretan cup base. At Knossos, P. J. Callaghan has tentatively dated this type to ca. 525–500 B.C.[33] On present evidence, it is not possible to distinguish Orientalizing cup bases of this type from possible 6th-century descendants manufactured before ca. 525, assuming that production of the base continued during the first half of the 6th century. While itself of uncertain date, the Knossian parallel provides an approximate guide for the dating of the local base at Kato Syme. Unfortunately, no intact example of the cup or different types of cup to which these bases belonged survives, either at Knossos or elsewhere on Crete. Even so, mainland inspiration in the cup's design can be inferred from the similarity of these bases and the related type from Kato Syme of demonstrable Corinthian origin (**9**), discussed above.

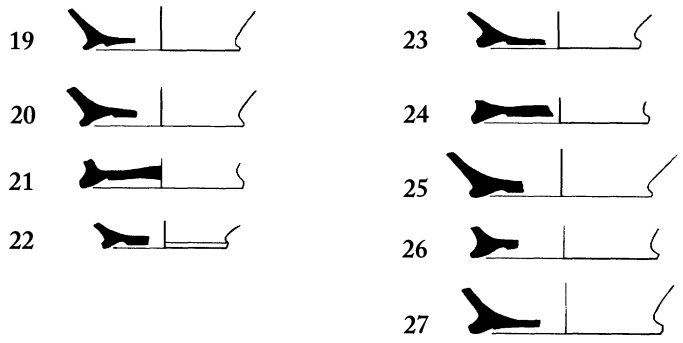

Figure 6. Cup bases. Scale 1:3

19 Cup, base Fig. 6

Kato Syme (1972). Level 8, OM46. Diam. (base) 5.0 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Second half of the 6th century.

20 Cup, base Fig. 6

Kato Syme (1972). Level 15, OM19. Diam. (base) 7.0 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Second half of the 6th century.

21 Cup, base Figs. 6–7

Kato Syme (1974). Level 10, OM42. Diam. (base) 6.7 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Second half of the 6th century.

22 Cup, base Fig. 6

Kato Syme (1973). Level 3, orth. 1, OM201. Diam. (base) 7.4 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Second half of the 6th century.

23 Cup, base Figs. 6–7

Kato Syme (1977). Level 10, OM231. Diam. (base) 6.4 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Reserved band on outer face. Second half of the 6th century.

33. Callaghan 1992, p. 92.

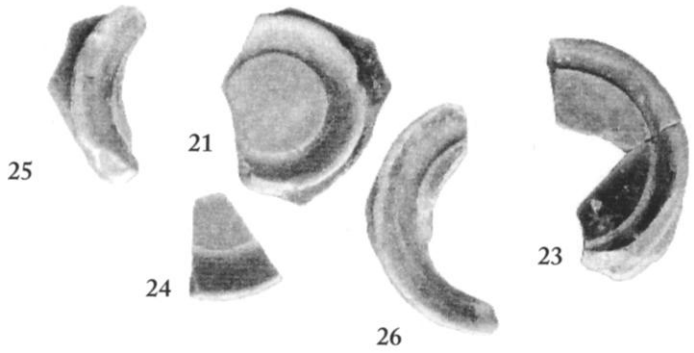

Figure 7. Cup bases

24 Cup, base Figs. 6–7

Kato Syme (1972). Level 18, OM107. Diam. (base) 7.7 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Second half of the 6th century.

25 Cup, base Figs. 6–7

Kato Syme (1973). Level 5, OM129. Diam. (base) 6.3 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Second half of the 6th century.

26 Cup, base Figs. 6–7

Kato Syme (1973). Level 2, OM16. Diam. (base) 6.5 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Second half of the 6th century.

27 Cup, base Fig. 6

Kato Syme (1973). Level 8, OM13. Diam. (base) 7.2 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Second half of the 6th century.

Fifth-Century Pottery (28–81)

Knowledge of the 5th-century ceramic record at Kato Syme relies to a great extent upon the fragmentary evidence of cup and jug bases. With the exception of a single group of intact Classical high-necked cups from the domestic deposit at Aphrati, fragmentary bases from Kato Syme form the sole basis for plotting the morphological development of a shared local sequence during the 5th century. Fortunately, connections with Knossos express themselves in clear ways in the local repertoire, a factor that facilitates a chronological arrangement of the material and helps in establishing absolute dates for the sequence. This method of dating assumes that Crete possessed the means of communication necessary to ensure the swift and steady promulgation of new styles, at least among major production centers. Whether innovations were disseminated first from Knossos, Aphrati, or some other prominent center is an open question. The influence of new styles may have taken longer to reach peripheral areas. Distance and geography presumably impeded the diffusion of new ceramic styles into remote areas, or in extreme cases developments may have completely bypassed conservative communities. Against these uncertainties, the domestic deposit from Aphrati provides independent chronological evidence for the dating of the local sequence around 400.

Jugs (28–38)

Some local bases of a distinctly different form and uniformly larger size than the remaining examples of cup bases from the sanctuary deserve

special comment (Figs. 8–9). This category of base ranks among the most distinctive creations of the indigenous potters. No exact parallels are known to me, although a comparable series of large bases has been recovered from surface survey in the neighboring Vrokastro and Gournia regions, east of Kato Syme. The fabric is intrinsically different from that of the Kato Syme bases, however, suggesting a separate production center.[34]

The large bases from Kato Syme have a uniform diameter of approximately 9 cm, representing an increase in size of roughly 50 percent over the standard cup varieties. A flaring foot with a pedestal stand forms the usual means of support. These larger bases probably belong to a series of generously proportioned cups or jugs, although the absence of intact examples at Kato Syme makes an exact determination of the shape impossible.[35] If their identification as the supports of large cups is valid, a simple deep shape, along the lines of an Attic skyphos or Corinthian kotyle, is a preferable reconstruction given the preserved curvature of the lower body. It should be noted, however, that an intact trefoil-mouthed jug from a 5th-century deposit at Aphrati (**37**) possesses a base of similar size and profile to one of the fragmentary examples from the sanctuary (**34**).[36] This comparison suggests that at least one of the bases from Kato Syme belonged to a jug.

The difficulty of determining a clear line of development for this series of bases is matched by the problem of ascertaining the absolute chronology of the sequence. With no independently dated archaeological contexts to shed light on the matter, and few exact parallels with other Cretan bases to serve as a guide, the dating remains tentative and subject to revision pending future discoveries. What may be the earliest examples of this type (e.g., **28**) share a feature in common with a group of standard cup bases manufactured in the middle and second half of the 6th century under heavy Corinthian influence (**9–18**). Both types exhibit a distinctive profile underfoot formed by a sharp vertical inset where the root of the flaring foot meets the bottom wall of the base. This peculiar treatment, discussed in greater detail above, creates a reverse impression of the standard 6th-century stepped profile. If this comparison is valid, it suggests that the oversized cup or jug was first conceived in the middle of the 6th century as a larger offshoot of the main group.[37]

34. Cretan black-gloss pottery from surveys of the Vrokastro and Gournia regions, an area of Crete encompassing the ancient territories of Hierapytna, Istron, and Oleros, remains unpublished. Thanks to the kindness of the directors of these projects, Barbara Hayden and L. V. Watrous respectively, I was granted permission to examine this body of material. Preliminary reports of the Vrokastro Survey appear in Hayden, Moody, and Rackham 1992; Hayden 1997. Watrous and Blitzer (1995) discuss the preliminary results of the Gournia survey.

35. None of the large bases from Kato Syme preserves gloss on the interior. This would suggest a reconstruction of these bases as the supports of jugs, although most examples are probably too heavily worn to preserve gloss.

36. The best parallels for this jug come from the Orientalizing cemetery at Aphrati; see Levi 1927–1929, pp. 190, 406, figs. 210, 525. A splaying pedestal base distinguishes the 5th-century jug from earlier examples. Lebessi (1983, p. 342) and Orlandos (1976, pp. 196–197) report the discovery of a trefoil-mouthed jug from a 6th-century tomb in the area of Aphrati. It suggests longer-lived local production of the shape than otherwise indicated.

37. The conclusion that the "oversized" cup or jug began as a variant of the standard group is hardly surprising, since examples of the "standard" group in reality show little uniformity in size, the maximum diameter of the base ranging from approximately 6 to 13 cm.

The main developmental tendency of the base in the second half of the 6th and the 5th century involves a proposed shift toward a less broad foot, with a higher stand and greater extension of the outer edge. One jug base (**32**) bears a resemblance to the bases of skyphoi produced in Attic workshops ca. 500 B.C.; this comparison offers welcome confirmation of a Late Archaic date, inferred on the basis of the vessel's position within an internal stylistic sequence.[38] Around the middle of the 5th century, or shortly thereafter, the local potters achieved a fuller integration of the base and stand by dispensing with the "stepped" profile underfoot and equipping the base with a new wedge-shaped stand that makes a less abrupt transition with the belly (**33–35**). Influence from the local repertoire of standard cup bases may be responsible for these changes. Finally, toward the end of the 5th century, a base less broad with a substantially higher foot, fully pedestal in form, appears (**38**).

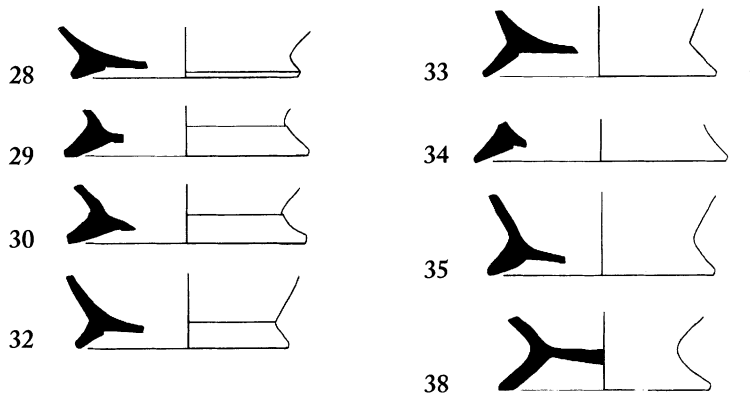

Figure 8. Jug bases. Scale 1:3

28 Jug, base Fig. 8

Kato Syme (1977). Level 10, OM231. Diam. (base) 9.1 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Ca. 550–500.

29 Jug, base Fig. 8

Kato Syme (1974). Level 3, OM51. Diam. (base) 9.7 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Ca. 525–500.

30 Jug, base Fig. 8

Kato Syme (1974). Level 5, OM4. Diam. (base) 9.5 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Ca. 525–500.

31 Jug, base

Kato Syme (1975). Level 3, OM124. Diam. (base) 10.2 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Ca. 500–475.

32 Jug, base Fig. 8

Kato Syme (1974). Level 2, OM50. Diam. (base) 8.5 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Ca. 500–475.

33 Jug, base Fig. 8

Kato Syme (1974). Level 5, orth. Omicron, OM4. Diam. (base) 9.3 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Ca. 500–475.

34 Jug, base Fig. 8

Kato Syme (1973). Level 7, orth. Epsilon. Diam. (base) 10.0 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Ca. 475–450.

35 Jug, base Fig. 8

Kato Syme (1974). Level 8, orth. Omicron, OM12. Diam. (base) 9.0 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Ca. 475–425.

38. As *Agora* XII, p. 257, no. 311, fig. 4, pl. 14. An export found at Itanos (1996.6052.17) stands at this point in the sequence. It comes from the recently excavated cemetery, from a level particularly rich in Late Archaic and Early Classical finds. Greco et al. (1996, p. 950; 1997, pp. 820–822; 1999, pp. 525–526) present a preliminary report of the excavations of the Archaic–Hellenistic necropolis at Itanos. I am grateful to Didier Viviers for permission to examine unpublished pottery from these recent excavations.

Figure 9. Jug. Scale 1:3

36 Jug, base

Kato Syme (1973). Orth. Delta, OM228. Diam. (base) 9.1 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Ca. 425–400.

37 Jug Fig. 9

Aphrati. 1969.18777. H. 19.4 cm; Diam. 16.0 cm, of rim 6.6 cm, of base 9.6 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Ca. 425–400.

38 Jug, base Fig. 8

Kato Syme (1975). Level 2, OM7. Diam. (base) 8.5 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Ca. 425–400.

Cups, Forerunners (39–45)

Several new types of bases appear at the sanctuary at the turn of the 6th and 5th centuries (Fig. 10). One new type of base, comprised of a low disk foot with a concave profile underneath, displays a distinctive articulated foot with a wedge-shaped edge (**39–41**).[39] It leads the way to a rich series of 5th-century cup bases presumably belonging to a local low-necked cup whose subsequent development is treated in greater detail below. Another contemporary variety of base exhibits a less strongly articulated foot (**42–45**), a primitive feature that fosters an initial impression of an early date; this notion is dispelled, however, by the sharp vertical facet of the edge of the foot, an indication of a later date. Parallels for both types exist at Knossos in a closed deposit dated ca. 500–480.[40]

39 Cup, base Fig. 10

Kato Syme (1972). Level 4, OM67. Diam. (base) 7.1 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Wedge-shaped edge. Ca. 500–475.

40 Cup, base Fig. 10

Kato Syme (1972). Level 6, OM18. Diam. (base) 6.2 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Articulated vertical foot with faceted wedge-shaped edge. Ca. 500–475.

41 Cup, base Fig. 10

Kato Syme (1974). Level 3, OM51. Diam. (base) 6.1 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Groove underfoot. Wedge-shaped edge. Ca. 500–475.

39. A similar type of base is found in the repertoire of Knossian low-necked cups; see Callaghan 1978, pp. 6–7, nos. 10–12, fig. 5, pl. 2.

40. Datable parallels come in the form of unpublished cup bases from Knossos, deposit *RR*:H.

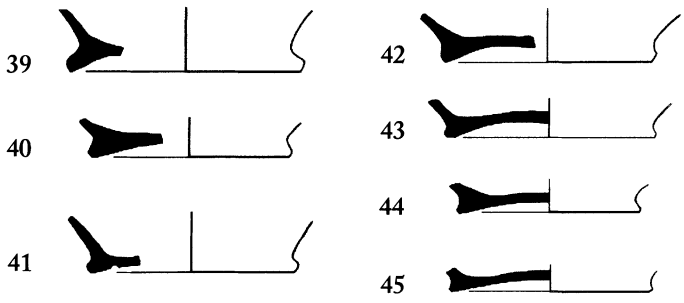

Figure 10. Cup bases. Scale ca. 1:2

42 Cup, base Fig. 10

Kato Syme (1975). Level 12, OM50. Diam. (base) 6.5 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Beveled outer edge. Ca. 500–475.

43 Cup, base Fig. 10

Kato Syme (1973). Level 9, OM47. Diam. (base) 6.5 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Beveled outer edge. Ca. 500–475.

44 Cup, base Fig. 10

Kato Syme (1972). Level 25, OM62. Diam. (base) 5.6 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Beveled outer edge. Ca. 500–475.

45 Cup, base Fig. 10

Kato Syme (1973). Level 9, OM47. Diam. (base) 6.2 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Rich red gloss. Beveled outer edge. Ca. 500–475.

High-Necked Cups (46–71)

Two fuller series of cup bases become available for tracking development in the 5th century (Figs. 11–12). These two main lines of development represent an apparent intensification of local production. They nicely illustrate the major characteristics of local production in the Classical period. Both types of base show a remarkably consistent pattern of morphological development, the individual stages of which can be precisely plotted thanks to parallels with cups from Knossos. Moreover, a chronological anchor exists in the form of a closed deposit of ca. 425–400 from Aphrati that contains intact high-necked cups whose form and fabric match those of the cup bases from Kato Syme. This evidence is of crucial importance, for it strengthens the contention that Aphrati is the likely source of the Cretan pottery at the sanctuary in the 5th century and, by extension, the source of the 6th-century pottery of the same pale brown fabric.

Distinguishing features of the high-necked cup include the following: a tall inset vertical rim, a single vertical handle, a sharp transition between the shoulder and rim, and a deep body with a narrow shoulder. Also characteristic of the cup is a base with a low disk foot and a concentric penannular groove below; the articulated foot displays a thick convex "rolled" outer edge and a "dropped floor" creating a hollow concavity inside. A prototype of the base occurs at the sanctuary ca. 500–475 in a broader configuration than later examples and lacking, at this early stage, the later trademark "dropped floor" and groove below (**46**). Judging from Knossian parallels, the introduction of these two features in the high-necked cup repertoire took place simultaneously a generation later in the second or third quarter of the 5th century (**47**).[41] Subsequent development of the type in the second half of the 5th century led to a narrower version of the

41. A groove underfoot is found on earlier bases dated on typological grounds to the 6th century, both at Kato Syme and Aphrati (Aphrati Survey Collection, Knossos Stratigraphical Museum), but the groove does not become a regular feature of local production until the 5th century.

base with greater extension of the outer edge (**48–49**). Later examples (ca. 425–400) also have a higher foot that meets the belly at an increasingly narrow point of attachment. Steady attenuation of the base comes to a swift conclusion at the end of the 5th century with the complete replacement of the low disk foot by a high conical support, whose hollow truncated cone adds greater emphasis to the "dropped floor" inside (**51**).[42]

A group of intact high-necked cups from Aphrati (**58–71**) stands at roughly the same point in time (ca. 425–400) within a shared local tradition (Figs. 14–16). These cups provide invaluable information about every aspect of this shape. The similarities between the examples from Aphrati and Kato Syme extend to minor details of potting, including a concentric groove underfoot of the same circumference (within a millimeter tolerance). The two cups shown in Figure 12, one of which comes from Aphrati (**60**), the other from Kato Syme (**51**), are surely contemporary and may even be by the same potter. These high-necked cups differ from a contemporary Knossian version of the shape in several key respects: a beveled shoulder marks the juncture with a deeply inset rim, and the profile of the body, whether tall and cylindrical or depressed and "baggy," is invariably of greater volume than that of the Knossian examples. Another minor difference is that the underside of the base receives either a full coat of gloss or is reserved; never is it decorated with irregular strokes of dilute gloss in the manner favored by Classical Knossian potters.[43] The penannular groove underfoot also distinguishes the local vessels. Finally, the cups from Aphrati possess a longer strap handle, which, unlike the handle of Knossian cups of this late date, attaches outside the rim.[44] One cup (**58**) differs from the others. It exhibits a stout profile with a smooth transition at the junction of the rim and shoulder. This cup possesses a broad low foot that lacks the elaboration of a "dropped floor" inside. These features suggest an earlier date for the cup, ca. 475–425.

Local production of high-necked cups remained largely free of Knossian influence. Yet manifest examples of Knossian influence appear from time to time at Kato Syme, as in the case of a pedestal base (**57**) in the local pale brown fabric (Fig. 13), which differs from other varieties in having a recessed central medallion underfoot and a fillet marking the junction between the base and belly. This combination of features recalls an unpublished base from Knossos.[45] This base, in addition to a fragmentary cup from Kato Syme whose cylindrical shoulder is closely similar to a cup from Knossos,[46] attests a sporadic but definite influence of the Knossian high-necked cup upon local production (Fig. 13). On this basis, we might postulate a sideline production by Aphrati potters emulating or unintentionally copying Knossian wares while the main output of cups is of distinctly local inspiration. The high-necked cup first appeared at Aphrati at approximately the same point in time (500–475) as at Knossos. Aphrati even exerted a reciprocal influence upon the Knossian field of production, to judge from the occasional appearance in the Knossian fabric of a variant high-necked cup distinguished by a base with a "rolled" edge, "dropped floor," and groove below.[47] The production of this variant cup at Knossos may reflect the activities of itinerant potters from Aphrati who worked at Knossos or indigenous Knossian potters intimately familiar with a neighboring style.[48]

42. A date of ca. 425–400 for the latest bases in this series rests upon their resemblance to the conical bases of Knossian high-necked cups at a comparable stage of development and the independent chronological control provided by a large deposit from Aphrati of 5th-century cups in the company of datable lamp forms.

43. Coldstream (1973b, p. 48) coined the term "smearing" for this Knossian decorative practice.

44. According to Callaghan (1978, p. 6), after ca. 475 Knossian potters begin attaching the handle inside the rim. The local cups from Aphrati bear a closer resemblance to a different shape at Knossos, the 5th-century kantharos; see Callaghan 1978, pp. 10–11, nos. 24–25, fig. 7. Like the Knossian kantharos, the high-necked cups from Aphrati exhibit a beveled shoulder molding and a foot with a "dropped floor" inside.

45. From the "Shrine of Glaukos," trench 42.

46. As Callaghan 1992, p. 93, no. 3, pls. 76, 105:c, dated ca. 400–375.

47. This variant type of base is discussed by Callaghan (1978, p. 8, no. 16), who identifies it as an earlier feature of Knossian cup production.

48. The presence of foreign artisans at Knossos would not be surprising. Perlman (1992, p. 202) calls attention to the provisions of a small number of Late Archaic and Early Classical inscriptions that refer to resident foreigners at Eleutherna, Lyktos, and Gortyn. She concludes that they probably emigrated from other Cretan cities.

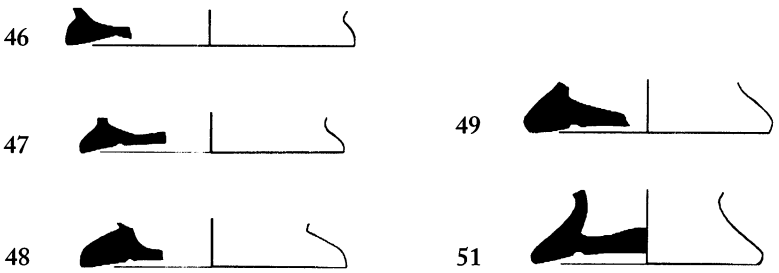

Figure 11. Cup bases. Scale ca. 1:2

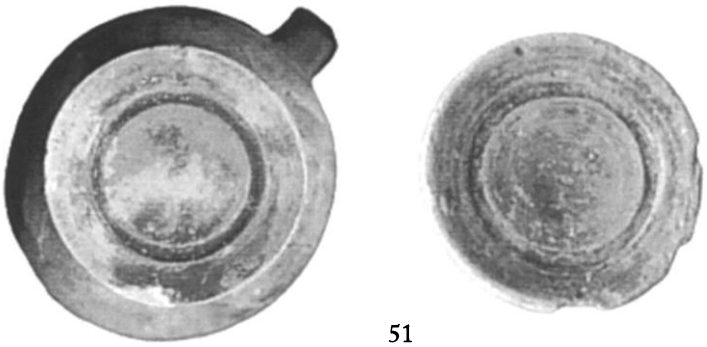

Figure 12. Cup bases

46 Cup, base Fig. 11

Kato Syme (1974). Level 4, OM18. Diam. (base) 8.8 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Prototype, ca. 500–475.

47 Cup, base Fig. 11

Kato Syme (1972). Level 6, OM15. Diam. (base) 8.0 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Unglazed. Penannular groove underfoot. Similar to Callaghan 1978, no.16, fig. 5, pl. 2. Ca. 450–425.

48 Cup, base Fig. 11

Kato Syme (1973). Level 2, OM4. Diam. (base) 8.1 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Penannular groove underfoot. Similar to an unpublished base from Knossos, deposit *SEX*: J/JN7.4982. Ca. 450–425.

49 Cup, base Fig. 11

Kato Syme (1973). Level 5, OM26. Diam. (base) 7.5 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Penannular groove underfoot. Ca. 450–425.

50 Cup, base

Kato Syme (1974). Level 7, OM26. Diam. (base) 7.4 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Ca. 425–400.

51 Cup, base Figs. 11–12

Kato Syme (1972). Level 12, OM7. Diam. (base) 7.1 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Penannular groove underfoot. Ca. 425–400.

52 Cup, base

Kato Syme (1975). Level 2, OM146; Diam. (base) 7.9 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Penannular groove underfoot. Ca. 425–400.

53 Cup, base

Kato Syme (1974). Level 10, OM42. Diam. (base) 7.4 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Penannular groove underfoot. Ca. 425–400.

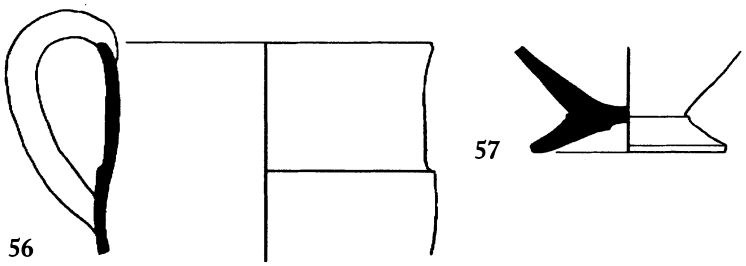

Figure 13. High-necked cups.
Scale ca. 1:2

54 Cup, rim

Kato Syme (1974). Level 11, orth. Delta. Diam. (rim) 11.1 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. 5th century.

55 Cup, base

Kato Syme (1974). Level 10, OM42. Diam. (base) 7.1 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Penannular groove underfoot. Ca. 425–400.

56 Cup, rim and shoulder Fig. 13

Kato Syme (1972). Level 5, OM172. Diam. 10.2 cm, of rim 10.0 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Cf. Callaghan 1992, p. 93, no. 3. Ca. 400–390.

57 Cup, base Fig. 13

Kato Syme (1977). Level 10, OM231. Diam. (base) 5.7 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Pedestal support. Similar to an unpublished base from Knossos, deposit *UM.*TR12.42. Ca. 425–400.

58 Cup Figs. 14–15

Aphrati. 1969.18769. H. 15.7 cm; Diam. 12.0 cm, of rim 9.8 cm, of base 7.6 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Ca. 475–425.

59 Cup Figs. 14–15

Aphrati. 1969.18759. H. 17.9 cm; Diam. 11.2 cm, of rim 9.9 cm, of base 7.9 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Penannular groove underfoot. Ca. 425–400.

60 Cup Figs. 12, 14–15

Aphrati. 1969.18760. H. 16.9 cm; Diam. 11.4 cm, of rim 9.2 cm, of base 7.9 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Penannular groove underfoot. Ca. 425–400.

61 Cup Figs. 14–15

Aphrati. 1969.18761. H. 17.1 cm; Diam. 11.3 cm, of rim 9.9 cm, of base 7.9 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Ca. 425–400.

62 Cup Figs. 14–15

Aphrati. 1969.18762. H. 16.5 cm; Diam. 11.0 cm, of rim 10.3 cm, of base 8.1 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Penannular groove underfoot. Ca. 425–400.

63 Cup Fig. 16

Aphrati. 1969.18763. H. 16.9 cm; Diam. 11.0 cm, of rim 10.2 cm, of base 8.0 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Penannular groove underfoot. Ca. 425–400.

64 Cup Figs. 14–15

Aphrati. 1969.18764. H. 17.7 cm; Diam. 10.5 cm, of rim 11.2 cm, of base 7.5 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Double penannular groove underfoot. Ca. 425–400.

65 Cup Fig. 16

Aphrati. 1969.18765. H. 15.8 cm; Diam. 11.2 cm, of rim 9.9 cm, of base 7.9 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Penannular groove underfoot. Ca. 425–400.

66 Cup Figs. 14–15

Aphrati. 1969.18766. H. 17.2 cm; Diam. 10.1 cm, of rim 10.0 cm, of base 7.6 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Penannular groove underfoot. Ca. 425–400.

67 Cup Figs. 14–15

Aphrati. 1969.18767. H. 14.8 cm; Diam. 10.6 cm, of rim 10.3 cm, of base 7.8 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Ca. 425–400.

68 Cup Figs. 14–15

Aphrati. 1969.18768. H. 17.5 cm; Diam. 10.9 cm, of rim 9.9 cm, of base 7.3 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Penannular groove underfoot. Ca. 425–400.

69 Cup or jug Fig. 16

Aphrati. 1969.A6. Diam. 10.9 cm, of base 8.3 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Ca. 425–400.

70 Cup, base

Aphrati. 1969.A5. Diam. (base) 7.6 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Penannular groove underfoot. Ca. 425–400.

71 Cup, base

Aphrati. 1969.A5. Diam. (base) 8.2 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Ca. 425–400.

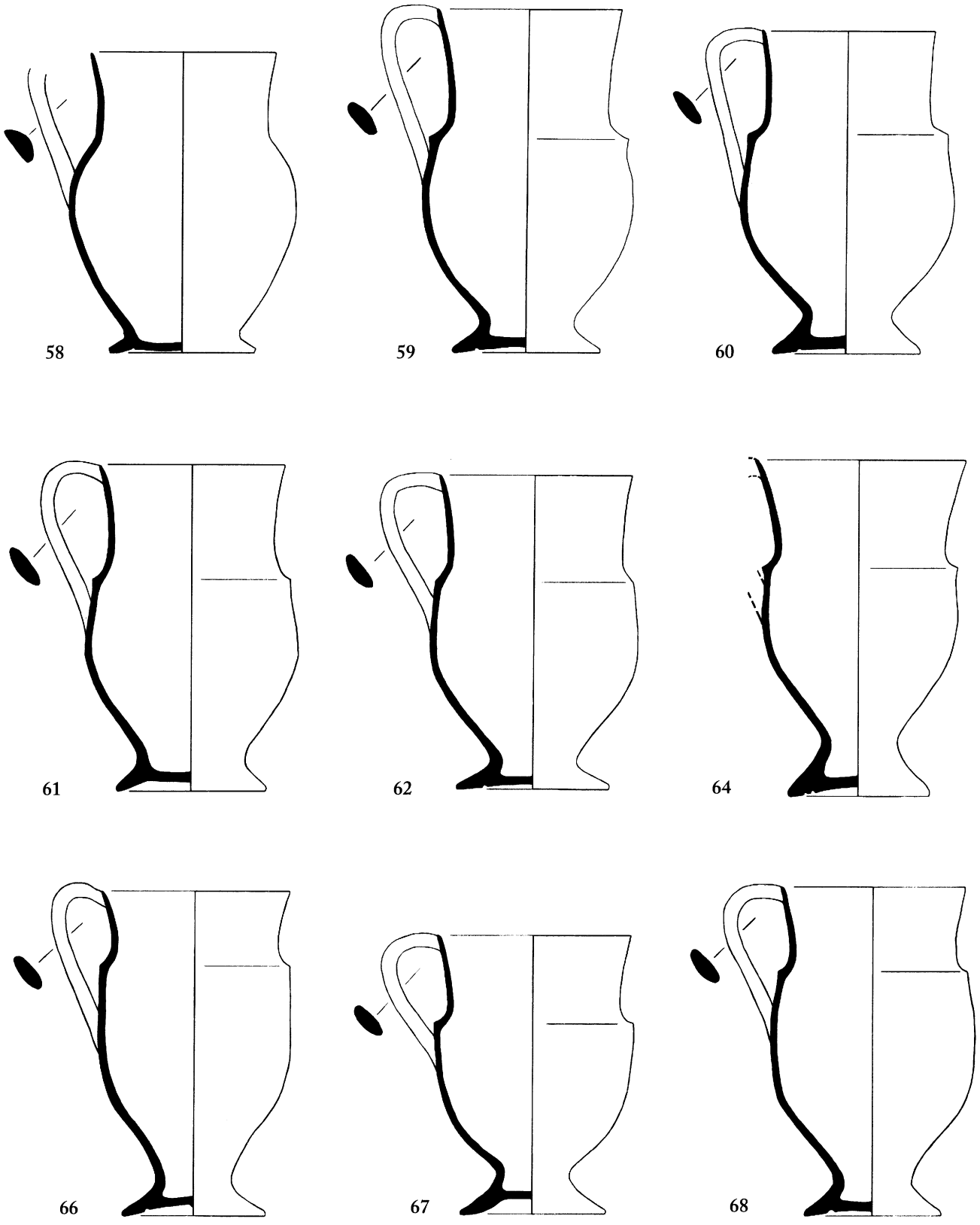

Figure 14. High-necked cups.
Scale 1:3

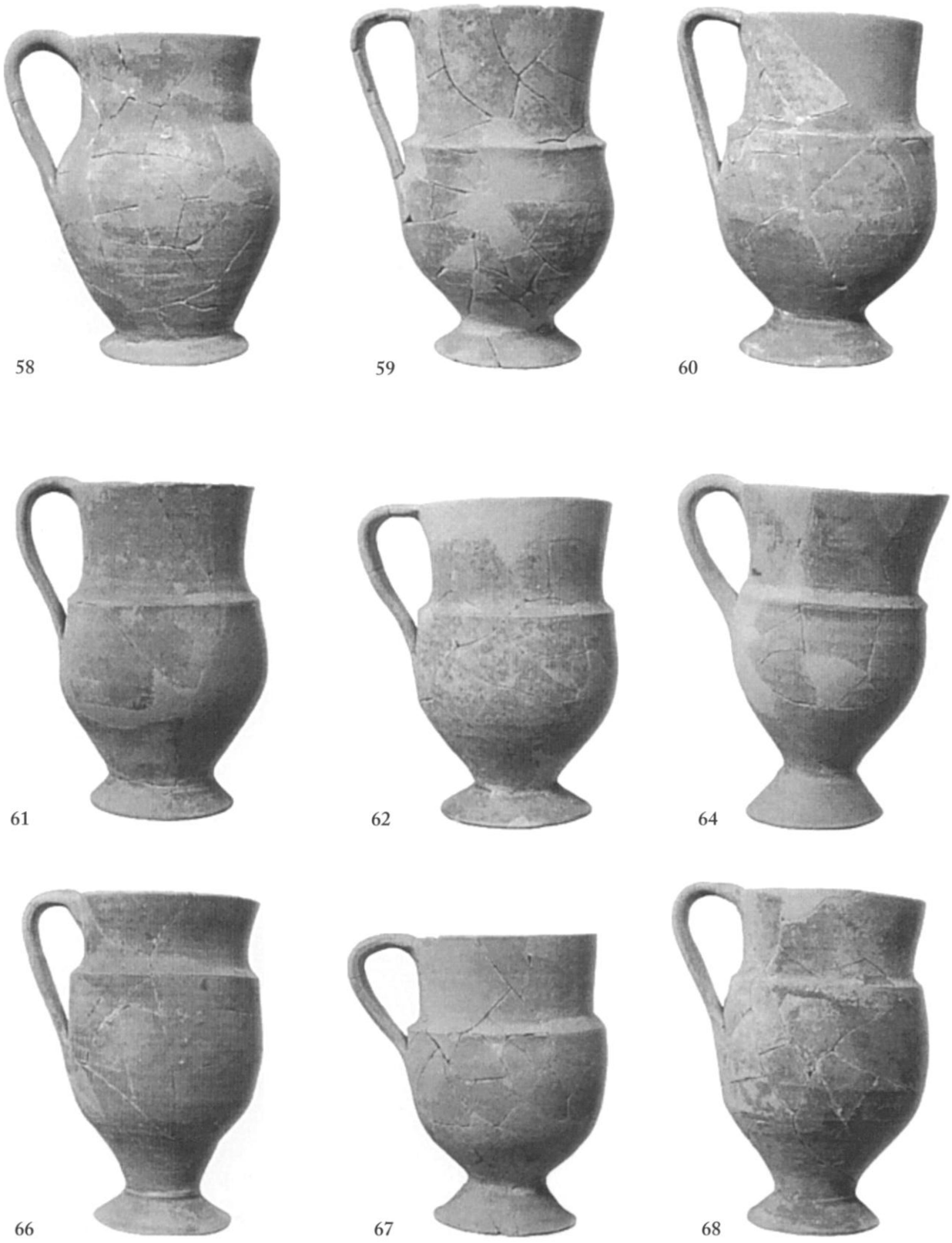

Figure 15. High-necked cups.
Scale 1:3

Figure 16. High-necked cups.
Scale 1:3

Low-Necked Cups (72–81)

A parallel process of development occurs in the case of a second major variety of 5th-century cup (Fig. 17). Its distinguishing features include a low disk foot with a wedge-shaped edge and a penannular groove underfoot (**72–80**). The presence of a groove underfoot links these bases with the previous class, and is a hallmark of 5th-century local production.[49] A comparison of these bases with similar examples from Knossos encourages reconstructing the local shape as a low-necked cup, but in the absence of intact examples either from the sanctuary or the presumed seat of production at Aphrati, the proposed identification requires further corroboration. A fragmentary rim (**6**) from the sanctuary may belong to a Classical low-necked cup, but again, this identification remains uncertain. More compelling evidence for the production of the low-necked cup at Aphrati is provided by a find from Knossos, a Cretan low-necked cup distinguishable from Knossian wares on the basis of its reportedly pale brown fabric.[50] It may be a product of Aphrati, although other possible sources for pale brown fabric, discussed above, complicate interpretation. Its base displays a wedge-shaped foot and groove underneath, characteristics of the Kato Syme–Aphrati Group. In addition, the squat shape and wedge-shaped support of a vessel from a 5th-century domestic deposit at Aphrati (**81**) suggest its reconstruction as a low-necked cup (Fig. 18), although the fragmentary condition of this pot forbids confident reconstruction of the shape.

The development of this local cup follows suit with respect to the high-necked cups, beginning with early "prototypes" that lack the distinguishing features of a groove underfoot and a "dropped floor" inside (**72–73**). The development of this series also culminates at the end of the 5th century in the formation of a high pedestal foot with a widely extended outer edge and a "dropped floor" inside (e.g., **80**). Close parallels with datable material from the Knossian Kiln Group (*KKG*) establish a date of ca. 400 B.C., or shortly thereafter, for the end of this series at the sanctuary.[51]

72 Cup, base Fig. 17

Kato Syme (1972). Level 6, OM18. Diam. (base) 7.0 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Prototype. Wedge-shaped edge. Ca. 500–475.

49. The addition of a groove underfoot creates a decorative ring comparable to the painted ones adorning the bottom of Attic and other mainland bases.

50. Callaghan (1978, p. 7) describes the fabric of no. 15 as "the pale fabric common in the south and west coast of Crete rather than the buff to red of the central coast."

51. See Homann-Wedeking 1950, p. 171, pl. 13:a(c). Coldstream (1999, p. 323, no. R29, fig. 2, pl. 31) illustrates a close parallel for **80** from *KKG*, dated to ca. 400–375.

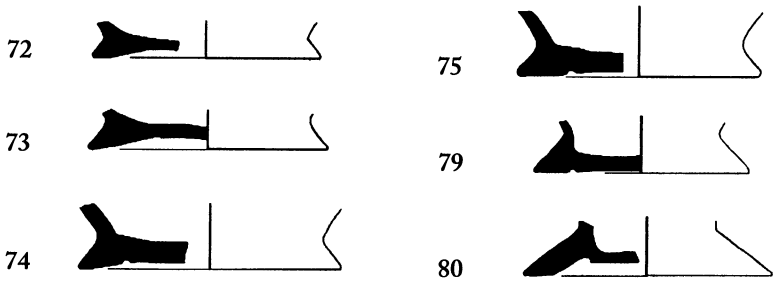

Figure 17. Cup bases. Scale ca. 1:2

Figure 18. Low-necked cup.
Scale ca. 1:2

73 Cup, base Fig. 17

Kato Syme (1972). Level 14, OM23. Diam. (base) 7.3 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Prototype. Wedge-shaped edge. Ca. 500–475.

74 Cup, base Fig. 17

Kato Syme (1972). Level 1, OM381. Diam. (base) 8.0 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Penannular groove underfoot. Ca. 475–450.

75 Cup, base Fig. 17

Kato Syme (1972). Level 1, OM381. Diam. (base) 7.6 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Penannular groove underfoot. Ca. 475–425.

76 Cup, base

Kato Syme (1974). Level 3, OM39. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Penannular groove underfoot. Ca. 475–450.

77 Cup, base

Kato Syme (1974). Level 3, OM45. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Penannular groove underfoot. Ca. 475–450.

78 Cup, base

Kato Syme (1973). Level 6, OM110. Diam. (base) 7.1 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Penannular groove underfoot. Ca. 450–425.

79 Cup, base Fig. 17

Kato Syme (1975). Level 5, OM90. Diam. (base) 6.6 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Penannular groove underfoot. Ca. 450–425.

80 Cup, base Fig. 17

Kato Syme (1975). Level 3, OM124. Diam. (base) 7.6 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. As Coldstream 1999, p. 323, no. R29, fig. 2, pl. 31. Ca. 400–390.

81 Cup Fig. 18

Aphrati. 1969.A5. Diam. 13.0 cm, of base 7.6 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Penannular groove underfoot. Ca. 475–425.

Late-5th-Century Pottery (82–90)

Bell Crater (82)

Notable among the finds from the 5th-century domestic deposit from Aphrati is a small bell crater of curiously conservative appearance (Fig. 19). This shape finds no exact parallel in the Classical Cretan repertoire. Knossos provides the closest comparison in the form of a large bell crater

Figure 19. Bell crater. Scale 1:3

of Protogeometric date.[52] Such craters are absent from the Geometric–Orientalizing cemetery at Aphrati, suggesting that the Classical version is either a revival of an earlier unattested shape or a new creation of Classical potters.[53] If the latter explanation is correct, the resemblance of the 5th-century bell crater to the Protogeometric Knossian shape may be fortuitous. The bell crater from Aphrati bears painted decoration on the wall in the form of a frieze of stacked triangles and a row of dots consigned to a separate field below, documenting the survival of the Orientalizing pot painting tradition at Aphrati well into the 5th century. The simplified, geometric decorative scheme enhances this vessel's conservative appearance. A date for the pot in the final quarter of the 5th century is suggested both by the profile of the foot—a high splaying stand comparable to the supports of 5th-century jugs—and by the date of the deposit.

82 Bell crater Fig. 19

Aphrati. 1969.18776. H. 18.8 cm; Diam. 13.2 cm, of rim 15.6 cm, of base 9.2 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Banded decoration with a row of dots and a series of stacked triangles in a separate reserved field. Final quarter of the 5th century.

52. Coldstream and Catling (1996, pp. 368–372) illustrate a selection of Protogeometric craters from the North Cemetery comparable in shape to **82**.

53. A crater preserved in a Protogeometric burial from Aphrati (see Levi 1927–1929, p. 176, fig. 196) bears a resemblance to and may be a distant relative of the Classical shape, although the comparison is not exact. Callaghan (1978, pp. 12–15, nos. 37–41, fig. 9, pl. 4:a) publishes 5th-century Knossian craters of a type similar to our example from Aphrati, suggesting more extensive Cretan production of craters in the Classical period.

Proto-Hadra Hydria (83)

Also from the 5th-century domestic deposit, a proto-Hadra hydria ranks Aphrati among select sites known to have produced a Classical precursor of the Hellenistic Hadra hydria, a popular export to Egypt in the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C.[54] Callaghan and Jones attribute these Hellenistic exports to a Cretan source on the basis of fabric, while they trace the ancestry of the type at Knossos back to the Archaic period.[55] Knossos and Phaistos have yielded evidence for the production of the shape in the 5th century.[56] Both sites later became centers for the manufacture of Cretan hadra hydriae in the Hellenistic period. The discovery of a 5th-century example from Aphrati demonstrates comparable local ancestry of the type and raises the question of a Hellenistic production center at Aphrati, although this suggestion is not supported by present evidence from the Hellenistic settlement. Moreover, the exact relationship between the Classical and Hellenistic types remains unclear.

83 Proto-Hadra hydria

Aphrati. 1969.A5. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Illustrated by Lebessi 1973, p. 460, pl. 402:b.

Banded decoration with curvilinear designs consigned to reserved field. Ca. 425–400.

Bowl (84)

From the same deposit comes a large bowl equipped with two horizontal cylindrical handles (Fig. 20). Other distinguishing features of the shape include a collared rim and a ring base. Like the bell crater and hydria discussed above, this bowl is the sole known representative of its type from Classical Aphrati. A 7th-century prototype for the bowl from an earlier deposit at Aphrati exhibits banded decoration, a deep body, and wide strap handles, marking a departure from its Classical counterpart.[57] Despite these minor differences, the proportions and dimensions of these two deep bowls are remarkably close, enabling one to posit a direct line of descent.[58]

54. Lebessi (1973, p. 460, pl. 402:b) publishes a photograph of this hydria. It is not illustrated here.

55. Callaghan and Jones 1985, p. 11, n. 47.

56. For Knossos, see Coldstream 1973b, p. 50, nos. 16–11, fig. 5; Callaghan 1978, p. 15, no. 42, pl. 4:c. In addition, a proto-Hadra hydria has come to light in a Classical well in the area of the Stratigraphical Museum, Knossos, from a context dated ca. 450–425. I thank Peter Warren for permission to mention this unpublished find. Chiara Portale brings to my attention a proto-Hadra hydria from the area of Chalara near Phaistos (Herakleion Archaeological Museum, no. 4475). It is a surface find dated to the 5th century on the basis of the Knossian parallels cited above.

57. See Lebessi 1973, p. 458, pl. 400:a.

58. A small shallow bowl from a late-5th- or 4th-century deposit at Knossos falls under the same general category; see Coldstream 1973a, p. 26, no. C12, fig. 14.

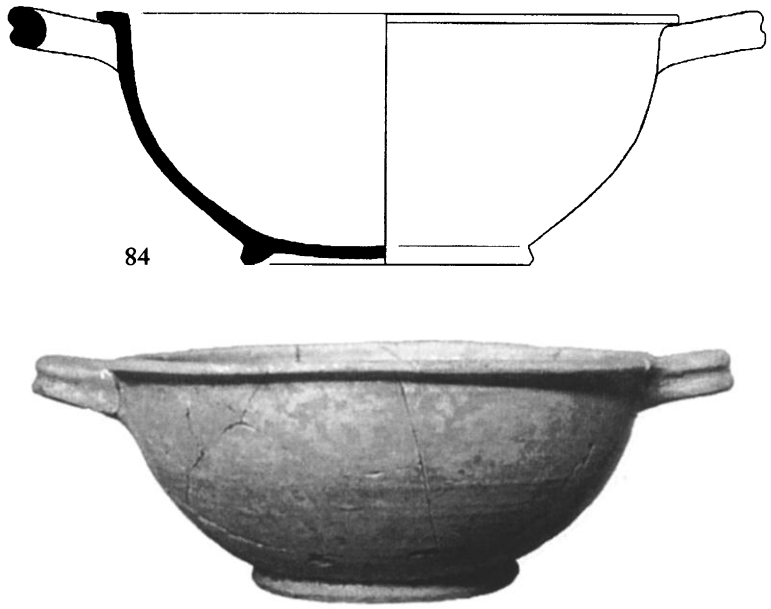

Figure 20. Bowl. Scale 1:3

84 Bowl Fig. 20

Aphrati. 1969.18774. H. 10.0 cm; Diam. 21.6 cm, of rim 23.2 cm, of base 11.6 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Ca. 425–400.

Lamps (85–88)

Four lamps from the domestic deposit at Aphrati (Figs. 21–22) provide the secure pegs upon which the late-5th-century date for the deposit hangs. An imported Knossian or Gortynian lamp (**85**) that copies an Attic form datable to the final quarter of the 5th century provides an invaluable chronological point of reference.[59] This Cretan equivalent of Howland's Type 21 is a lamp whose profile is defined by a continuous curve formed by a side wall joined seamlessly to a curving rim. This type enjoyed widespread popularity among the Cretan production centers in the middle and second half of the 5th century.[60] The other three lamps from Aphrati resemble Howland's Type 20, although the comparison is not exact. They exhibit a curved side wall and a ridge around the filling hole, features that ally them with an Attic predecessor of the standard 5th-century type. The Cretan version appears to have continued in production for a longer period of time than the Athenian shape, to judge from the evidence of the deposit at Aphrati.

The absence of lamps at Kato Syme is somewhat surprising in light of their popularity at other Classical Cretan cult centers. In the case of the sanctuary of Demeter at Knossos, Coldstream plausibly connects the lamps with the nocturnal ceremonies held in honor of Demeter mentioned by Diodorus Siculus (5.77.3).[61] An obvious practical use comes to mind in the case of lamps from a cave consecrated in the Classical period to Pan

59. As *Agora* IV, p. 47, no. 169, pls. 6, 34. The Attic parallel comes from well deposit M18:8. *Agora* XII, p. 395, offers a revised date of ca. 430–420 for this deposit and thus the lamp. My attribution of the Cretan lamp to a production center at Knossos or Gortyn is based upon consideration of the fabric.

60. The earliest datable examples on Crete derive from closed 5th-century deposits at Knossos; see Coldstream and Macdonald 1997, p. 227, no. K77, fig. 18; Callaghan 1992, p. 92, no. 8, pl. 75; Coldstream 1973a, pp. 24–25, nos. B10–11, fig. 14, pl. 11.

61. Coldstream 1973a, p. 186.

and the Nymphs at Lera in the territory of Kydonia.[62] No single explanation can do justice to the variety of ritual contexts in which lamps appear on Crete. The absence of lamps from an unequivocal cult context at Kato Syme may reflect cult or dedicatory practices out of step with other parts of the island.

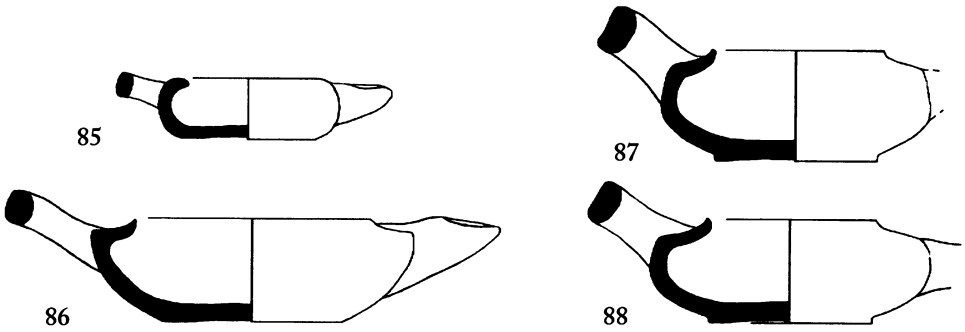

Figure 21. Lamps. Scale ca. 1:2

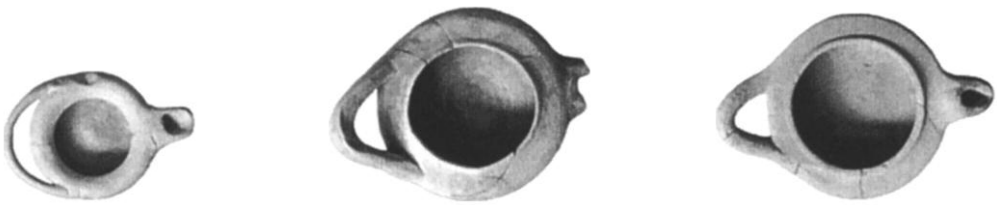

Figure 22. Lamps

85 Lamp Figs. 21–22

Aphrati. 1969.18773. H. 1.9 cm; Diam. 5.5 cm, of base 4.0 cm. Pale orange (7.5YR 7/6). Unglazed. Strap handle. Illustrated by Lebessi 1973, p. 460, pl. 402:a. Similar to *Agora* IV, p. 47, no. 169, pls. 6, 34. Ca. 430–420.

86 Lamp Fig. 21

Aphrati. 1969.A8.18770. H. 3.2 cm; Diam. 9.8 cm, of base 5.4 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Profile similar to Coldstream 1973a, p. 24, no. B9, fig. 14. Ca. 425–400.

87 Lamp Figs. 21–22

Aphrati. 1969.A12.18771. H. 3.4 cm; Diam. 8.2 cm, of base 5.0 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Raised base. Strap handle. Ca. 425–400.

88 Lamp Figs. 21–22

Aphrati. 1969.A11.18772. H. 3.3 cm; Diam. 8.1 cm, of base 5.0 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. Raised base. Strap handle. Illustrated by Lebessi 1973, p. 460, pl. 402:a. Ca. 425–400.

62. Guest-Papamanoli and Lambraki (1980, pp. 221–222, fig. 11, pl. 46) illustrate a selection of lamps from Lera.

Votive Miniatures (89–90)

Two votive miniatures from Kato Syme attest a definite role of pottery as a dedication at the sanctuary (Fig. 23). The first example (**89**) indicates local production of a jug shape attested at Knossos by a single unpublished example in a Late Archaic deposit (*RR*:H). This type is distinguished by a deep, rounded body and an inset flaring rim thickened at the lip to form an overhanging projection. The second example (**90**), a krateriskos, finds a close comparison in clay votives from the sanctuary of Demeter at Knossos.[63]

89 Votive miniature, rim and shoulder — Fig. 23

Kato Syme (1974). Level 40, OM37. Diam. 5.3 cm, of rim 5.1 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Black gloss. 6th or 5th century.

90 Krateriskos — Fig. 23

Kato Syme (1972). Level 4, bothros. H. 3.5 cm; Diam. 4.0 cm, of rim 4.3 cm, of base 2.6 cm. Pale brown (10YR 8/3). Unglazed. 5th century.

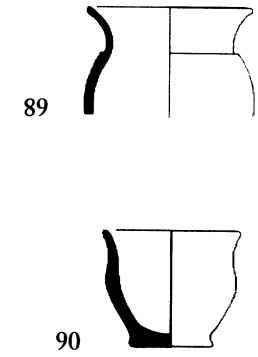

Figure 23. Votive miniatures.
Scale ca. 1:2

Fourth-Century Pottery (91–106)

At the turn of the 5th and 4th centuries a fundamental change in the character of the local ceramics marks an important turning point in the life of the sanctuary. An abrupt and almost complete replacement of the pale brown pottery presumably from Aphrati with pottery of a completely different character, and arguably from another production center, took place around 400 B.C., or shortly thereafter. Two strands of interlocking evidence—the timing of the pale brown fabric's virtual disappearance at Kato Syme and the swift introduction of new shapes in a gritty, reddish-brown fabric—document the change. Fortunately, this important event in the history of the sanctuary can be accurately dated on the basis of the internal typologies of the two production centers.

Stylistic analysis of three different series of Classical cup bases of pale brown fabric indicates that pottery from Aphrati comes to an abrupt and uniform end at the sanctuary in the final years of the 5th century. The latest examples of pale brown fabric include a cup base, discussed above (**57**), whose close approximation of a Knossian form yields a chronological range of ca. 425–400; another cup base (**80**) with demonstrable parallels in shape with the Knossian Kiln Group (*KKG*), ca. 400–390;[64] and a fragmentary high-necked cup (**56**) of identical construction to an example from a closed deposit at Knossos, *UM*:H5, dated to ca. 400–390.[65] It is reasonable to conclude from these parallels that the latest pottery used at the sanctuary before the pale brown fabric disappears dates to ca. 400–390.

The earliest appearance at the sanctuary of cups in the gritty reddish-brown fabric can be dated to the first quarter of the 4th century on the basis of parallels in shape with Knossian material (Figs. 25–26). For example, a new type of cup base at the sanctuary (**95**), whose distinguishing features include a high pedestal foot, a widely spreading edge, and a narrow point of attachment to the belly, mirrors developments first seen at Knossos in the early-4th-century deposit *KKG*.[66] Another type of base in

63. Krateriskoi preserved in a late-5th-century context from the sanctuary provide the closest parallel; see Coldstream 1973a, p. 25, nos. B14–15, pl. 11.

64. See Homann-Wedeking 1950, p. 171, pl.13:a(c), republished in Coldstream 1999, p. 323, no. R29, fig. 2, pl. 31.

65. Callaghan 1992, p. 93, no. 3, pls. 76, 105:c.

66. See Homann-Wedeking 1950, p. 171, fig. 4:a.

the new fabric (**97**) is characterized by a high pedestal stand. It finds an equally valid comparison in the early-4th-century ceramic repertoire at Knossos.[67] A third base, composed of a particularly massive pedestal foot, occurs in considerable quantities at the sanctuary (**99**). Its hollow truncated cone is accompanied by an exaggerated "dropped floor" inside. The ultimate source of inspiration for this type of base is found in the Attic repertoire of Classical kantharoi, but a more immediate influence springs from a Cretan source, given the fact that Attic bases similarly inspired Knossian production from ca. 375 to 350.

I suggested above that this gritty, reddish-brown, silver micaceous fabric was produced at Lyktos. While micaceous fabrics appear periodically in Classical Cretan contexts, particularly in the case of cooking and coarse wares, the use of gritty fabric for the production of fine wares is rare, and probably sets Lyktos apart from its neighbors. This hypothesis requires further support, either through further investigation of the site of Lyktos and delineation of its local pottery style or analysis of nearby clay beds and mineral sources. If the proposed Lyktian origin of the 4th-century material from Kato Syme is valid, this body of material supplements our knowledge of the ceramic output of ancient Lyktos in an important way. These exports compensate in part for a deficit in the record of settlement at Lyktos itself, where, owing to the limited scope of archaeological investigation, pottery from the 4th century and earlier historical periods remains largely unattested.

Pottery of possible Lyktian origin[68] turns up in other parts of Crete, as at an unpublished survey site in the vicinity of Hierapetra, tentatively identified by L. V. Watrous and Harriet Blitzer as ancient Larisa (Fig. 1).[69] In addition, an intact small Cretan cup with a low offset rim and hemispherical bowl, exported to Knossos and subsequently discarded in a 5th-century well, exhibits the same coarse, silver micaceous, reddish-brown fabric that I attribute to Lyktian production.[70] This cup is clearly an antecedent of Callaghan's "glazed cup with everted rim," a type otherwise known to exist at Lyktos and Knossos only in a Hellenistic manifestation.[71] From the new evidence of this Classical forerunner, it can be surmised that little or no change occurred in the cup's design from the 5th to the 3rd century. In addition, there is evidence in the domestic deposit at Aphrati (ca. 425–400) of three presumed Lyktian imports (Fig. 24): a small jug (**91**), lekane (**92**), and cup (**93**), each in the characteristic Lyktian fabric as defined here. This group ranks as the largest-known assemblage of 5th-century Lyktian pottery from the island. It also serves as an important reminder that scholars' neglect of post-Minoan Crete has led to gaps in the archaeological record at major sites, such as Lyktos, where preliminary excavation has shown the likelihood of producing rich Classical deposits.

On the sole basis of Lyktian exports, then, an otherwise unattested history of local ceramic production in the 5th and 4th centuries can now be appreciated (Figs. 24–26). The voluminous shoulder of the 5th-century Lyktian cup (**93**) found at Aphrati gives the impression of a conservative local tradition, although naturally one would wish for a greater number of examples on which to base such a conclusion. Lyktian cup production during

67. The parallel, not illustrated, comes from an unpublished early-4th-century deposit at Knossos, *SEX*: J/JN6. Thanks go to Peter Warren for allowing me to examine Classical material from his recent excavations.

68. My identification of Lyktos as the source of this pottery is based upon examination of the fabric or the correspondence in form with 4th-century material from Kato Syme (or both).

69. Gournia Survey, Site 106. Watrous and Blitzer (1995) give their reasons for identifying the site of Profitis Ilias with Larisa. Pottery of presumed Lyktian origin from Site 106 dates to the middle of the 4th century. Donald Haggis (pers. comm.) points out that this site lies in a phyllite-quartzite zone with rich sources of silver mica and biotite (gold mica). Local production of red micaceous fine-ware pottery cannot be ruled out.

70. This cup comes from an unpublished Classical well from the Stratigraphical Museum Excavations (J/JN7.4982) dated ca. 450–425.

71. Callaghan 1978, p. 18, nos. 56–57, fig. 10.

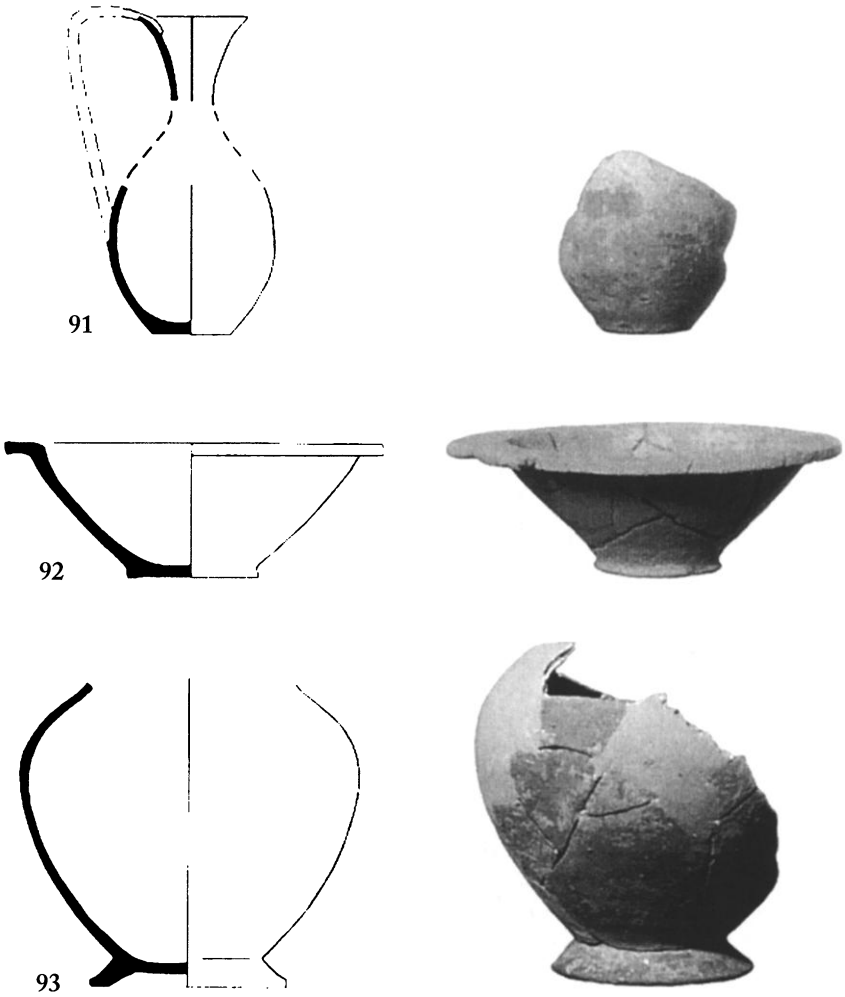

Figure 24. Lyktian pottery. Scale 1:3

the 4th century, it seems, remained largely derivative from Knossian, save for the one distinguishing feature of an inset notch at the junction of the base and belly in place of a fillet that normally marks the transition at Knossos. The small lekane (**92**) is a distinctively Lyktian shape. Comparable examples from Kato Syme and the sanctuary of Apollo at Aghia Pelaghia indicate wider distribution of these Lyktian products.[72] Similar bowls from Knossos in Knossian fabric confirm a chronological range of ca. 425–400 for the Lyktian example.[73]

72. A total of four lekanai—two from Kato Syme, one of which is published (Lebessi 1990, p. 268, pl. 127:e, dated erroneously to the Late Minoan IIIC or Protogeometric period), and two unpublished specimens from Aghia Pelaghia—have been identified.

73. The Lyktian bowl represents an intermediate stage of development, subsequent both to Callaghan 1992, p. 92, no. 6, pl. 75, from a deposit dated ca. 475–450 (my revised chronology), and Coldstream and MacDonald 1997, p. 224, no. 44, fig. 18, from a deposit dated ca. 475–450 (my revised chronology), but prior to Callaghan 1992, p. 101, no. 28, pl. 81, from a deposit dated to the last quarter of the 4th century.

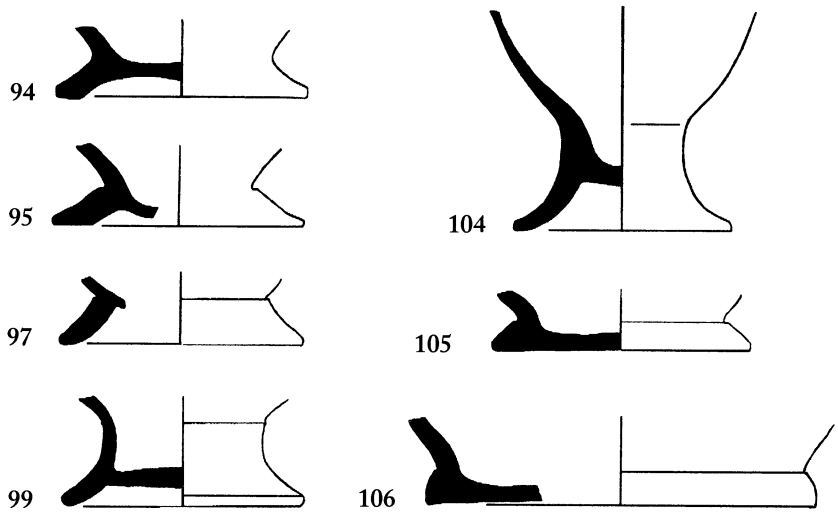

Figure 25. Lyktian cup and jug bases.
Scale ca. 1:2

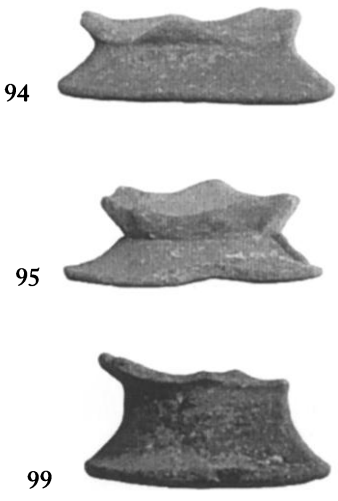

Figure 26. Lyktian cup bases

91 Jug, reconstructed profile Fig. 24

Aphrati. 1969.A5. Neck is missing. H. 12.7 cm; Diam. 6.8 cm, of rim 4.5 cm, of base 3.3 cm. Silver micaceous, reddish-brown fabric (2.5YR 5/6 to 5/8). Unglazed. Lyktian manufacture. Ca. 425–400.

92 Lekane Fig. 24

Aphrati. 1969.18779. H. 5.5 cm; Diam. 13.5 cm, of rim 15.5 cm, of base 5.4 cm. Silver micaceous, reddish-brown fabric (2.5YR 6/6). Unglazed. Lyktian manufacture. Ca. 425–400.

93 Cup, lower body Fig. 24

Aphrati. 1969.A5. Diam. 13.9 cm, of base 8.0 cm. Silver micaceous, reddish-brown fabric (2.5YR 5/6 to 6/6). Unglazed. Lyktian manufacture. Ca. 425–400.

94 Cup, base Figs. 25–26

Kato Syme (1972). OM94. Diam. (base) 7.4 cm. Silver micaceous, reddish-brown, gritty fabric (2.5YR 5/6 to 6/6). Unglazed. Lyktian manufacture. Ca. 400–375.

95 Cup, base Figs. 25–26

Kato Syme (1974). Level 5, OM4. Diam. (base) 7.4 cm. Silver micaceous, reddish-brown, gritty fabric (2.5YR 5/6 to 6/6). Unglazed. Lyktian manufacture. Similar to an unpublished base from Knossos, deposit *KKG*. Ca. 400–375.

96 Cup, base

Kato Syme (1973). Level 7, OM50. Diam. (base) 7.5 cm. Silver micaceous, reddish-brown, gritty fabric (2.5YR 5/6 to 6/6). Unglazed. Lyktian manufacture. Ca. 400–375.

97 Cup, base Fig. 25

Kato Syme (1972). Level 1, OM381. Diam. (base) 7.2 cm. Silver micaceous, reddish-brown, gritty fabric (2.5YR 5/6 to 6/6). Unglazed. Lyktian manufacture. Cf. Knossos deposit *KKG*. Ca. 400–375.

98 Cup, base

Kato Syme (1974). Level 7, OM26. Diam. (base) 7.6 cm. Silver micaceous, reddish-brown, gritty fabric (2.5YR 5/6 to 6/6). Unglazed. Lyktian manufacture. Inset notch at junction of base and belly. Ca. 400–375.

99 Cup, base Figs. 25–26

Kato Syme (1972). Level 10, OM6. Diam. (base) 7.1 cm. Silver micaceous, reddish-brown, gritty fabric (2.5YR 5/6 to 6/6). Unglazed. Lyktian manufacture. Similar to an unpublished base from Knossos, deposit K67:71, trench 13, level 31A. Ca. 375–325.

100 Cup, base

Kato Syme (1972). Level 13, OM1. Diam. (base) 7.5 cm. Silver micaceous, reddish-brown, gritty fabric (2.5YR 4/2). Unglazed. Lyktian manufacture. Ca. 375–325.

101 Cup, base

Kato Syme (1972). Level 15, OM19. Diam. (base) 7.7 cm. Silver micaceous, reddish-brown, gritty fabric (2.5YR 5/6 to 6/6). Unglazed. Lyktian manufacture. Ca. 375–325.

102 Cup, base

Kato Syme (1972). Level 15, OM19. Diam. (base) 7.7 cm. Silver micaceous, reddish-brown, gritty fabric (2.5YR 5/6 to 6/6). Unglazed. Lyktian manufacture. Pedestal base with flat resting surface. Ca. 375–325.

103 Cup, base

Kato Syme (1973). Level 11, OM180. Diam. (base) 8.0 cm. Silver micaceous, reddish-brown, gritty fabric (2.5YR 5/6 to 6/6). Unglazed. Lyktian manufacture. Ca. 375–325.

104 Cup, base Fig. 25

Kato Syme (1972). Level 10, OM6. Diam. (base) 6.7 cm. Silver micaceous, reddish-brown, gritty fabric (2.5YR 5/6 to 6/6). Brown wash. Unglazed. Lyktian manufacture. Pedestal base. Late 4th or 3rd century.

105 Cup, base Fig. 25

Kato Syme (1974). Level 8, OM12. Diam. (base) 7.9 cm. Silver micaceous, reddish-brown, gritty fabric (2.5YR 5/6 to 6/6). Unglazed. Lyktian manufacture. Ca. 375–325.

106 Jug, base Fig. 25

Kato Syme (1972). Level 36, OM81. Diam. (base) 12.1 cm. Silver micaceous, reddish-brown, gritty fabric (2.5YR 5/6 to 6/6). Unglazed. Lyktian manufacture. 4th or 3rd century.

Imports (107–110)

Imported pottery arrives at the sanctuary only in minute quantities during the 6th and 5th centuries (Fig. 27). Two Corinthian aryballoi (**107, 108**), preserved only in their top sections, constitute the only discernible imports of mainland Greek pottery during the entire period under consideration. The vast majority of the Late Archaic and Classical pottery at the sanctuary comes from a nearby production center presumably located at Aphrati. Gortynian products appear only on occasion. The extreme paucity of imports reinforces the local character of the sanctuary.

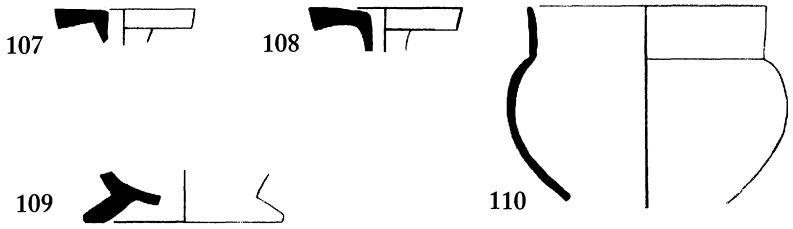

Figure 27. Imports. Scale ca. 1:2

107 Corinthian aryballos, rim Fig. 27

Kato Syme (1973). Level 2, OM84. Diam. (rim) 4.3 cm. Ca. 600–550.

108 Corinthian aryballos, rim Fig. 27

Kato Syme (1972). Level 15, OM20. Diam. (rim) 4.7 cm. Ca. 600–550.

109 Gortynian cup, base Fig. 27

Kato Syme (1973). Level 9, OM81. Diam. (base) 6.0 cm. Clean, light red fabric (2.5YR 5/6 to 6/8). Lustrous black gloss. Ca. 425–400.

110 Gortynian cup, rim to lower body Fig. 27

Kato Syme (1974). Levels 5–12, orth. Omicron–Delta. Diam. 8.6 cm, of rim 7.4 cm. Light red fabric (2.5YR 6/8 to 4/8). Black gloss. Ca. 500–480.

HISTORICAL IMPLICATIONS

The sanctuary at Kato Syme occupies an important place in recent discussions about ancient settlement and the territorial configuration of the Cretan poleis in the Late Archaic and Classical periods. On the basis of purportedly negative findings from Aphrati and Kato Syme, Viviers infers a process of Lyktian territorial expansion on a grand scale in the late 7th or early 6th century, involving the incorporation of territory belonging to Lyktos's neighbors to the south (Fig. 1).[74] According to this view, Lyktian success came at the expense of the neighboring communities and their cults. Viviers entertains the possibility that the "gaps" in the archaeological record of numerous Cretan poleis and sanctuaries reflect the abandonment or economic decline of smaller sites as stronger neighbors consolidated power by expanding their territory.[75] This explanation builds upon ideas advanced earlier by Watrous, whose study of settlement patterns on the Lasithi plateau documents an extinction of small hamlets and rural sanctuaries at the end of the 7th century. He interprets this evidence as a potential index of the territorial ambitions of Lyktos.[76] According to Watrous, the destruction of Arkades (identified with the ancient site at Aphrati and mentioned by a 4th-century author) was part of an earlier offensive by the Lyktians to expand their territory further south.[77]

Ceramic evidence from Kato Syme and Aphrati now challenges this reconstruction insofar as it is premised upon a supposed remission of activity at both places. Finds of black-gloss pottery, predominately drinking cups, document continuity at Kato Syme during much of the 6th and the whole of the 5th century. They demonstrate that the religious festivities at the site, in particular the venerable practice of ritual drinking, continued long after the practice of making bronze dedications had waned. This is not to say, however, that an expansion of Lyktian territory in the direction of Aphrati could not have taken place as early as the 6th century. For instance, a conceivably more benign policy of Lyktian expansion might have stopped short of the outright destruction or total economic eclipse of its southern neighbors. Aphrati may have become a political dependency of Lyktos in the Archaic period.

Not a shred of positive evidence unequivocally supports a 6th-century expansion of Lyktos to the south coast of Crete. While this is not the place for a full discussion of Lyktian territorial expansion, it is worth briefly considering the nature of the evidence upon which previous arguments have been based. A piece of evidence commonly adduced in support of a hostile takeover of Aphrati at the end of the 7th century, the supposedly Lyktian letter forms of the inscribed bronze armor found at Aphrati, has little foundation. Antony Raubitschek first proposed the idea that this cache of bronze armor, allegedly looted from Aphrati, was originally set up as Lyktian spoils of war in newly acquired territory.[78] Yet the sole basis for this intriguing suggestion, an inscribed omega with a double circle, is an orthographic detail that, as Raubitschek himself rightly cautions, may well be a regional characteristic of Archaic Cretan scripts, not a hallmark of Lyktos alone.[79] Given the remaining uncertainties about Archaic Cretan scripts, it is equally possible that the inscribed bronze armor found at

74. Viviers 1994, pp. 254–258.

75. Viviers 1994, p. 259.

76. Watrous 1982, pp. 84–86.

77. Watrous 1982, pp. 22–23. Seneca (*Q Nat.* 3.2.5) preserves Theophrastus's account of the destruction of Arkades. Guarducci (1935, p. 6) discusses the evidence.

78. Raubitschek's (in Hoffmann 1972, pp. 15–16) proposed Lyktian origin for the armor is followed by Boardman 1982, p. 227, and Huxley 1994, p. 129.

79. If the Archaic script of Aphrati were shown to employ another form of omega, the case of the armor's origins would be decided in favor of Lyktos. As it is, there exist no other Archaic inscriptions from Aphrati to form a basis for a decision. The Spensithios decree, which records a possible decision of the Dattallians, presumably one of the Cretan poleis in the area (although other interpretations are possible), employs an identical form of omega. Whether, as Viviers (1994, pp. 240–241) argues, Dattalla should be identified with the site of Aphrati, or, if Dattalla was a city at all, it occupied a different location, it stands to reason that the use of a double omega in another document outside Lyktos favors an interpretation of the letter form as a regional characteristic of Cretan script.

Aphrati originated there and commemorated one of the city's own victories over a defeated neighbor. As for the literary testimony, although Theophrastus in the 4th century refers to an earlier destruction of Arkades, he does not specifically attribute the destruction of the city to Lyktos, nor has the traditional identification of Arkades with Aphrati stood unchallenged.[80]

A stronger case can be made for Lyktian control of the Lasithi plain, tentatively suggested both by the commanding position of Lyktos along one of its natural arteries of communication and by the supposed abandonment of rural settlements on the plateau in the 6th century.[81] The acknowledged difficulty of recognizing 6th-century Cretan ceramics warrants extreme caution in the interpretation of these survey results.[82] Lyktian aggression has also been entertained as a possible explanation for the troubles plaguing Knossos in the 6th century, when for some time (ca. 600–525) Knossos seems to have been severely depopulated, if not completely abandoned.[83] If warfare is a valid explanation for the decline of Knossos, Lyktos is a possible culprit, but given the lack of decisive evidence it is best to refrain from making a final judgment. At any rate, hypothesized instances of Lyktian aggression against Knossos or settlements on the Lasithi plain around 600 need not imply a contemporary defeat of Aphrati and expansion of Lyktian territory to the south coast. The rise of Lyktian power may have proceeded at different stages in different areas. The evidence from each part of Crete should be allowed to speak for itself.

In considering the historical implications of the new ceramic evidence available from my study, I divide the discussion into four parts. In the first section, I trace an evolving dedicatory practice characterized by an increasing emphasis upon pottery and a declining use of bronzes at the sanctuary after ca. 600. Second, I address central questions raised by the study concerning the origin of the visitors, and by extension, the control of the sanctuary. Next, new evidence from Kato Syme is presented that points to a date of about 400 for Lyktian territorial expansion to the south coast of Crete. In the final section, I propose a historical context for Lyktian expansion in the aftermath of the Peloponnesian War.

80. For the literary testimony, see above, n. 77. Viviers' proposed identification of Aphrati as the site of ancient Dattalla removes the conjectured link between Theophrastus's testimony and the supposed abandonment of Aphrati.

81. See Watrous 1982, pp. 22–26. Spratt (1865, vol. 1, p. 112) noticed the advantages of Lyktos's position in terms of maintaining control over the Lasithi plateau.

82. I have not examined the material from the survey of Lasithi. Published examples include two cup bases of suspected 6th-century date: a base with an articulated foot and beveled edge (Watrous 1982, p. 82, no. 70, fig. 12, which he dates to the 5th century) and a second base with a plain foot and beveled edge (Watrous 1982, p. 82, no. 71, fig. 12, pl. 20:b, which he dates to the Classical period). The buff fabric and fine black gloss of both examples suggest a non-Lyktian source.

83. Hood and Smyth (1981, p. 19) and Coldstream and Huxley (1999, pp. 301–302) address the possibility of a Lyktian attack against Knossos. This suggestion is supported by indirect literary testimony. Pausanias (2.21.3) refers to a war between Sparta and Knossos, set in the time of the Cretan seer Epimenides. In connection with this, the employment of Lyktian archers by the Spartans in the conflicts of the Second Messenian War (Paus. 3.12.11) has been construed as evidence of a military alliance between Sparta and Lyktos in the 7th century.

Cult Patterns

From study of the sanctuary's two principal categories of bronze offerings, including the series of zoomorphic figurines and cutout plaques, it is clear that neither type played an appreciable role at the sanctuary after about 575. How, then, do we explain the decline of metal offerings given the persistence of pottery at the sanctuary? I consider two possible explanations for the pattern. First, the ebb and flow of metal offerings at Kato Syme can be interpreted within a context of evolving ritual practice. While the basic character of worship at Kato Syme, with its emphasis upon open-air burnt animal sacrifices and the attendant consumption of wine, probably never underwent substantial modification during the long life of the sanctuary,[84] the precise ways in which religious piety was expressed may have been influenced by changing fashions. An interlocking chronological pattern arises from a consideration of the corresponding decline and rise of the two categories of bronze offerings at the sanctuary. Zoomorphic bronze figurines predominate in the archaeological record from the 10th to the first half of the 7th century, after which they are almost completely absent.[85] The timing of their disappearance coincides with the introduction of the bronze cutout plaques, whose steady increase during the 7th century contrasts with the pattern of declining zoomorphic dedications. The bronze plaques, in turn, begin to dwindle in number during the first quarter of the 6th century, precisely when an economic decline is thought to have affected the sanctuary. A mere thirteen plaques from the sanctuary can be dated to the 6th century, as opposed to sixty-one examples in the 7th century.[86]

Against this backdrop of evolving dedicatory practice at the sanctuary, the special emphasis placed on pottery to the exclusion of all other categories of finds between ca. 575 and 400 takes on greater meaning. It may mark another substantial shift in the customs of the visitors, involving an almost complete substitution of pottery for metal goods and a new preference for utilitarian drinking equipment instead of symbolic offerings, although the lack of statistical data reduces the force of this argument. According to this view, to the extent that pottery served a dedicatory function at Kato Syme rather than a personal or utilitarian role, it substituted for the more costly metal votives of earlier periods. Votive miniatures attest unequivocally pottery's occasional role as a dedication at Kato Syme, while a more practical function best suits the evidence of plain cups presumably employed in ritual drinking.[87] Thus, the pottery forms a new continuum of material culture whose initial period of emphasis coincides with a decline in metal offerings.

Historical causes may lie behind this apparent shift in dedicatory practice. As Anthony Snodgrass emphasizes, the disappearance of small metal votive offerings at Greek sanctuaries at the end of the Archaic period is a panhellenic phenomenon. It marks a change in material culture that, in his view, reflects an evolving religious outlook, a new preference for what he calls "converted" offerings rather than "raw" ones.[88] At several mainland Greek sanctuaries, such as the Sanctuary of the Kabeiroi in Boeotia, excavators have noticed that metal offerings are largely replaced by terracotta substitutes and vases.[89] The sanctuary at Kato Syme represents another clear instance of the substitution of pottery for bronze offerings, although

84. As has been recently emphasized by Kanta's (1991) study of the Minoan and Iron Age ceramics.

85. See Schürmann 1996.

86. See Lebessi 1985, p. 222.

87. Morgan (1990, pp. 28–29), in her study of the pottery from Delphi and Olympia, emphasizes that it is not always easy to distinguish between a utilitarian and dedicatory function in the case of pottery left at ancient Greek sanctuaries.

88. Snodgrass 1989–1990.

89. See Schmaltz 1980, pp. 113, 164.

the discrepancy in date between the shift on the mainland (ca. 500) and the change at Kato Syme (ca. 600) arguably reflects somewhat different historical circumstances.

A modification of the cult with a greater impact upon the character of worship and the size of the gatherings may have occurred if Lebessi is correct in inferring from the scanty architectural remains a contraction in the size of the sanctuary during the periods under consideration.[90] If so, the architectural evidence may hint at a genuine downturn in the local economy, although this hypothesis posits an unsubstantiated link between the architectural elaboration of a remote rural sanctuary and the economic resources of the surrounding area. It is difficult enough to determine if the sanctuary becomes richer or poorer in absolute terms between 600 and 400; one might question whether it is even possible to connect a putative decline at the sanctuary with a recession of the "state" economy.

A second explanation for the change from bronze to pottery offerings at Kato Syme deserves consideration. Perhaps the decrease in metal offerings is connected with the availability of natural resources not readily obtainable on the island. Crete boasts of few known deposits of copper and none of tin.[91] Consequently, the island remained heavily dependent upon overseas sources to supply it with the raw materials necessary for bronzeworking. John Boardman, who recounts the achievements of the Orientalizing Cretan bronzeworkers, considers the paucity of 6th-century bronzework to be a reflection of economic and cultural decline.[92] Ernst Kirsten most fully developed the idea of Cretan isolation from the commercial, political, and military mainstream of ancient Greece.[93] His work has become the canonical view on the subject as epitomized by Gerald Cadogan's authoritative statement in *The Aerial Atlas of Ancient Crete*: "in the fifth century Crete seems to have been something of a backwater, on the whole undisturbed by the stirring events in mainland Greece and the rest of the Aegean."[94]

In an effort to explain the "inevitable Cretan terminus" in the archaeological record around 600, Sarah Morris revives an earlier commercial explanation for Crete's decline, first entertained by Pierre Demargne (who rejected it in favor of a general cultural failure); she attributes the troubles to a collapse of the Cretan economy precipitated by military conquests in Syria and the reconfiguration of Near Eastern trade routes.[95] It is doubtful that the economy was devastated to the extent that Morris claims, given

90. Lebessi 1985, p. 222.

91. In contrast, Crete is comparatively rich in deposits of iron. Morris (1992, p. 151) suggests that iron was central to Cretan commercial success in the Iron Age. Rackham and Moody (1996, pp. 14, 18) survey the mineral resources of the island.

92. Boardman 1961, pp. 141–146, 159; 1982, p. 230.

93. Kirsten 1942, pp. 10–24, 63–67.

94. Cadogan 1992, p. 39. Morrow (1960, p. 17) expresses a similar sentiment. The argument for commercial isolation finds apparent support in the archaeological record. A noteworthy absence of 6th-century imports is the tentative picture emerging from preliminary excavation reports. On the basis of a study of the ceramic record of Kommos, Johnston (1993, p. 377) concludes: "If the negative picture of sixth-century Crete remains after further sites on the island have been investigated and published, we will have to assume isolation from the new 'international' trading circuit."

95. Morris 1992, pp. 170–172. See also Demargne 1947, pp. 214–225. Dunbabin (1952, p. 195) takes issue with the contention that Cretan trade was diverted to other channels after Nebuchadnezzar's conquest of Syria. He points out (pp. 195–196) that there is little evidence for connections between Crete and Syria in the Orientalizing period. Yet Dunbabin fails to consider the possibility that developments in Syria had an indirect effect upon Cretan trade.

the evidence from local ceramic sequences that settlement continued in the larger Cretan poleis.[96] Moreover, it is inherently implausible that the local economies of the various Cretan cities, dependent as they all presumably were on an agricultural base, would have experienced such a devastating blow from losing access to Eastern markets. Indeed, a recent trend in scholarship is to doubt whether the gaps in the Cretan archaeological record directly reflect demographic or historical realities.[97]

Be that as it may, a reorientation of overseas trade patterns at the end of the 7th century has much to recommend it as an explanation for fluctuations in the availability of raw materials not available on Crete and the removal of Orientalizing exotica from local elite circulation. Prolonged isolation from overseas trade goods and raw materials may have, in turn, influenced local taste—the two explanations are not mutually exclusive—leading to an even greater emphasis upon local pottery at the expense of imported bronze. The interplay of several factors rather than a single cause might be expected to create a clearer pattern in the archaeological record.

Kato Syme and the Settlement at Aphrati

Another important question raised by the operation of cult at Kato Syme involves the identity of the worshippers. The Late Archaic and Classical pottery from the sanctuary is overwhelmingly local Cretan, and the majority of it apparently derives from a single production center. The predominant pale brown fabric at the sanctuary links the pottery to a production center at Aphrati, plausibly identified either as the ancient polis of Arkades or Dattalla.[98] The cumulative weight of this new evidence suggests that Aphrati was home to one of Crete's longest-lived production centers in the historical Greek period (ca. 800–400 B.C.). Moreover, contrary to previous opinion, the tradition of Orientalizing pot painting does not die out at Aphrati at the end of the 7th century.[99] A glimpse at pottery from the 5th-century deposit at Aphrati reveals a continuation of this tradition, employing a restricted repertoire of Orientalizing motifs (now limited to stacked triangles, rows of dots, tongue patterns, and lobes) accompanied by simplified execution and arrangement of the motifs.

96. See Erickson 2000.

97. Rizza (1967–1968, p. 298) anticipated current thinking about the problem of the 6th-century "gap"; regarding 6th-century Cretan terracotta workshops, he concludes that the apparent decline in production may be due to "la nostra conoscenza dei materiali." Callaghan (1992, p. 133) first entertained the possibility that the problem of the 6th-century gap stemmed from the difficulty of distinguishing Late Archaic ceramic styles from those of their Orientalizing counterparts. Prent (1997) hypothesizes "lingering styles" to explain the apparent absence of 6th-century pottery both at Knossos and within the wider Cretan context. Kontoleon (1970, pp. 86–87) attributes the apparent decline of Crete to a conservative Archaic society which, it is claimed, prevented the emergence of a true polis founded upon a citizen hoplite army. Cf. Whitley (1997, p. 659), who asserts that the failure of an aristocratic class to develop and commemorate its deeds, rather than demographic realities, lies behind the apparent decline of 6th-century Crete and its inability to leave a "lasting trace that the archaeologist or historian can recover." See also Morris 1998, p. 68.

98. Either identification will suit the proposed reconstruction of events. By virtue of its location, the ancient city at Aphrati would presumably have resisted Lyktian expansion to the south coast.

99. In his seminal study of the Orientalizing ceramic and bronze-working traditions at Aphrati, Levi (1945, p. 18) wistfully and poetically concludes that in the "ceramic products, as well as in contemporary bronze objects of the second half of the 7th century B.C., we see the last flight of imagination of the old civilization of Crete before it settles into the darkness of its exhausted, lethargic sleep."

The discovery of imported pottery at Tocra and Cyrene, apparently made of the same pale brown fabric as the Aphrati material, provides another indication of the vitality of the local Cretan tradition.[100] An identification of Aphrati as the source of this pottery also makes sense in terms of the island's geography, since Aphrati lies a short distance from the southern coast of Crete on a more or less direct line across the sea from Libya. Chemical analysis of the Cretan pottery found at Tocra has confirmed its central Cretan origin.[101] Moreover, the base of one of the exported drinking cups from Tocra matches the profile of fragmentary cup bases from Kato Syme.[102] The finds from Tocra and Cyrene constitute the only identified instances of Cretan pottery exported overseas in the 6th century; as such, they form a potential basis for assessing the strength of Cretan long-distance commercial ties in the Late Archaic period.[103]

My hypothesized ware groups and estimates of provenance lead to the conclusion that the vast majority of the pottery left at Kato Syme during the periods under consideration was manufactured by potters from Aphrati. Whether local potters set up stalls at festival time and sold their wares directly to visitors, as Catherine Morgan suggests may have been the case at Olympia and Isthmia,[104] or worshippers procured cult equipment at Aphrati and transported it themselves to the sanctuary, is difficult to say. While it might be argued that other Cretans obtained pottery from Aphrati for use at the sanctuary, why would they go to this trouble on such a consistent basis? Pottery from Aphrati did not circulate widely in Crete. On present evidence, only sporadic exchange of local pottery took place between neighboring communities. Thus, a special explanation would be needed to account for the overwhelming preponderance of pottery from Aphrati at Kato Syme between 600 and 400 if normal mechanisms of trade are assumed. A third possibility—the manufacture of pottery at the sanctuary itself—finds no support in the archaeological record, either directly in the form of excavated kilns or indirectly in the form of standardized equipment at the sanctuary.

For a variety of reasons, it seems safe to conclude that the preponderance of pale brown pottery at Kato Syme at this time reflects substantial activity at the sanctuary by visitors from Aphrati.[105] The only other visitors to the sanctuary whose presence can be detected in the surviving archaeo-

100. See Boardman and Hayes 1966, p. 78; Coldstream 1973b, p. 47, n. 23; Schaus 1985, p. 10.

101. See Coldstream 1973b, pp. 46–47.

102. Also worth mentioning in this context is the painted decoration of 6th- and 5th-century pottery from Kato Syme (**2, 18, 82**). Painted decoration is a rarity on pottery from Cretan production centers but commonplace among the Cretan finds from Tocra and Cyrene.

103. Unless, that is, these Cretan "exports" reflect not trade but the belongings of colonial Greek settlers who brought pottery and other personal belongings with them on the voyage. While there is no direct evidence of Cretan participation in the colonization of Tocra, Herodotos (4.161) informs us that the Cretans sent a contingent of settlers to Cyrenaica, another Libyan colony, in the second generation after its foundation, an event to be dated in the first half of the 6th century. Cretan pottery at Cyrene and Tocra may well indicate the presence of Cretan colonists; see Boardman 1980, pp. 122–125; Treister and Shelov-Kovedyayev 1989, p. 295.

104. Morgan 1990, p. 124.

105. Viviers (1994, p. 256) argues that the sanctuary at Kato Syme belonged within the territory of Biennos in the Archaic period. More work needs to be done to define the local ceramic tradition of that polis. On current evidence, pottery from Biennos cannot be identified at Kato Syme.

logical remains (**109, 110**) hail from Gortyn, one of the chief poleis of the neighboring Mesara plain (Fig. 1). A later Gortynian pilgrim left an inscribed Hellenistic dedication as a token of his visit.[106] On the strength of this later testimony it seems reasonable to connect individual finds of Late Archaic and Classical Gortynian pottery with earlier visits, but this interpretation is by no means mandatory.

The provisional historical picture presented here, dependent chiefly upon my study of the pottery, indicates a small rural sanctuary under the political control of the principal nearby polis, attracting visitors from further afield rarely, if at all. Epigraphical sources do little either to confirm or reject the hypothesized local origin of the worshippers at Kato Syme. The only contemporary epigraphic evidence for a specific presence at the sanctuary is an inscribed bronze handle of a 6th-century bowl, which records the signature of a craftsman from Dattalla.[107] If Viviers' proposed identification of Aphrati as the site of ancient Dattalla is correct, this piece of evidence might substantiate a link between Kato Syme and Aphrati, but since the signature belongs to an artisan, not a visitor, the case is considerably weakened. On the other hand, an intact Late Orientalizing ring vase from Kato Syme with demonstrable parallels in shape and decoration to funerary equipment at Aphrati provides compelling evidence for a visitor from Aphrati in the 7th century.[108] Moreover, excavations at Aphrati have yielded bronze cutout plaques identical in type to those left in large numbers at the sanctuary.[109] These finds raise the possibility that Aphrati, long acknowledged as the source of the rich hoard of 7th-century bronze armor, was the seat of an extensive bronzeworking industry, whose other products may have included the cutout plaques in vogue at the sanctuary.[110] On the whole, this evidence strengthens my hypothesis of 6th-century visitors from Aphrati by providing a possible precedent for the proposed later activity.

106. The Hellenistic dedications from Kato Syme await final publication. These inscriptions, the majority of which were scratched on the sides of pots or on pieces of tile, frequently record the ethnic and name of the dedicant, including visitors from Lyktos, Knossos, Tylissos, Hierapytna, Priansos, and Arkades. I express my thanks to Angeliki Lebessi for allowing me to examine this body of evidence.

107. For the inscription, see Lebessi 1975b, p. 191, pl. 193:g; Viviers 1994, p. 240.

108. See Kanta 1991, p. 501, fig. 38.

109. The bronze cutout plaques from Aphrati are illustrated by Levi 1927–1929, pp. 28, 30, figs. 8–9. Boardman (1961, pp. 46–49, 142) and Hoffmann (1972, pp. 32–33) discuss finds of similar bronze cutout plaques found elsewhere on Crete.

110. Hoffmann (1972, p. 30) notes that Knossos, Gortyn, and Aphrati are "clearly of central importance as major schools" for bronzeworking. Boardman (1961, p. 142; 1982, pp. 230–232) discusses the cache of bronze armor from Aphrati. Hoffmann (1972, pp. 32–33) noticed a stylistic affinity between the smaller body of plaques then in existence and the bronze armor from Aphrati. Kato Syme exhibits by far the greatest concentration of these plaques, but they appear sporadically at other Cretan sanctuaries, as for instance at the Diktaian Cave; see Boardman 1961, p. 142.

Territorial Expansion of Lyktos

One expected outcome of the conflicting territorial claims of rivaling Greek poleis is that their cults, and particularly the rural sanctuaries situated on their borders, might become contested areas and symbolic battlegrounds in the settlement of territorial disputes. François de Polignac has amassed an extensive body of evidence in support of his argument that rural cults played an important political function by serving as territorial markers in the context of the emerging Greek poleis of the 8th century B.C.[111] While de Polignac's reconstruction of ancient Greek cult practice has not gone unchallenged, it has proved to be a highly fruitful way of exploring the relationship between cult activity and the construction of civic identity in the early Greek poleis.[112] Angelos Chaniotis argues that Cretan cults served a similar purpose in the historical Greek period. Indeed, the capacity of Cretan cults to serve as markers of territory was not lost even upon Hellenistic participants, whose inscribed arbitrations of border disputes in the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. frequently mention sanctuaries at contested points along the frontier.[113] Chaniotis proposes that the sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite at Kato Syme itself became a territorial marker on the frontier between two powerful Hellenistic rivals, the poleis of Hierapytna and Lyktos.[114]

What role might the sanctuary at Kato Syme have played during earlier territorial disputes for which we have no epigraphic documentation? My study of the two Cretan production centers whose products are attested at Kato Syme reveals a fundamental change in the composition of Cretan pottery at the sanctuary ca. 400–390, when Lyktian shapes replaced pottery of the distinctive pale brown fabric of Aphrati. The change is abrupt and complete. One way of interpreting this evidence, given the proposed association of local pottery at the sanctuary with visitors from Aphrati, is to infer a cessation of pilgrimages from Aphrati after about 400 B.C., when the sanctuary may have been taken over by the Lyktians. A notice preserved by the ancient geographer Pseudo-Skylax furnishes a further piece of evidence pertaining to Lyktian expansion. In his geographic itinerary of the Cretan cities, Pseudo-Skylax describes Lyktos in the following manner: ἐν μεσογείᾳ δὲ Λύκτος, καὶ διήκει αὕτη ἀμφοτέρωθεν.[115] Pseudo-Skylax's testimony suggests that Lyktos gained territory on the south coast of Crete by the middle of the 4th century.[116]

111. See de Polignac 1995, pp. 33–41.

112. Critics point to a greater degree of regional variation in ancient Greek cult practice than admitted by de Polignac; see Carter 1994, pp. 180–183.

113. Chaniotis (1988) furnishes examples of Cretan cults that served as territorial markers as indicated by epigraphic, archaeological, and literary evidence.

114. Chaniotis (1988, p. 33) argues on the basis of the location of the sanctuary and the existence of ethnics that record the names of Hellenistic visitors from Lyktos and Hierapytna that Kato Syme became a contested frontier sanctuary in the Hellenistic period. Viviers (1994, p. 256, n. 157) reaches the same conclusion. The ceramic evidence supports the conclusion that the sanctuary at Kato Syme grew in popularity to become a regional cult center during the Hellenistic period. The Hellenistic pottery from Kato Syme has been assigned to Jonas Eiring for publication.

115. Pseudo-Skylax 47. Viviers (1994, p. 253) draws the same conclusion from this passage, namely that Lyktos won control over territory on the south coast of Crete. But he dates the event ca. 600, long before the earliest evidence, literary or otherwise, for Lyktian aggression.

116. Viviers (1994, p. 253, n. 138) discusses the dating of Pseudo-Skylax's itinerary.

If Lyktian encroachments precipitated a conflict with Aphrati, it is reasonable to infer that the important rural cult center at Kato Syme would have come under pressure. On the other hand, had Lyktos taken an interest in the sanctuary as early as 600 B.C., the date suggested by Viviers, its pottery might be expected to turn up at Kato Syme, if only in minute quantities.[117] As it is, there is no indication whatsoever of Lyktian visitors or Lyktian products reaching the sanctuary between 600 and 400. When Lyktian pottery suddenly appears at Kato Syme shortly after 400, it is completely without precedent. Moreover, it totally replaces the earlier pale brown pottery of Aphrati. The observed absence of Lyktian ceramics at Kato Syme before this date raises the possibility of the exclusion of Lyktos from the rites of Hermes and Aphrodite.

Another possibility warrants attention. The sudden appearance of Lyktian pottery at the sanctuary arguably represents a response to the growth of a rival polis, Hierapytna, whose conjectured expansion of territory into the hills above Biennos would have presented a threat to Lyktos. If Aphrati did fall under the political sway of Lyktos during the 6th century, as Viviers suggests, but continued to send visitors to the sanctuary until the end of the 5th century, then the change from pale brown to gritty red fabric would require a different interpretation. Rather than marking the point at which Lyktos established political authority over Aphrati, the change in ceramic composition at Kato Syme might imply a more advanced stage of Lyktian territorial expansion. Kato Syme may have first attracted Lyktian visitors as a counter to Hierapytnian expansion. The earlier absence of Lyktian pottery at Kato Syme, according to this view, signifies Lyktos's disinterest in its holdings on the south coast of Crete, a malaise broken by Hierapytnian pressure. Lyktian pottery found at Kato Syme after ca. 400 is thus seen as a valuable source for historical reconstruction, while the pottery from Aphrati dating between 600 and 400 is assumed to be unrelated to the political control of the sanctuary.

Both interpretations are based on assumptions about religious practice as a valid expression of political control, and they take for granted a correlation between the origin of the pottery and the people who left it at the sanctuary. It would bolster either case to be able to cite parallels for the relationship between pottery and the political control of sanctuaries, but unfortunately little comparative evidence has been collected from elsewhere in the Greek world. What little work has been done has focused primarily upon panhellenic sanctuaries where the presence of ceramics from a wide variety of sources complicates interpretation.[118] Morgan and Whitelaw identify Argive pottery at the Heraion during the 8th and 7th centuries B.C. as one manifestation of the emergence of Argive hegemony

117. The observed absence of Lyktian pottery before ca. 400 B.C. does not, of course, argue decisively against an earlier Lyktian presence at the sanctuary. Too little is still known about the social, cultural, and economic dimensions of pottery consumption in this case. For instance, if it could be shown that Lyktian wares did not possess social or symbolic value in the venue of public display before 400, the pottery would not be expected to turn up at Kato Syme. This issue requires further consideration.

118. A particular problem is how to interpret the absence of pottery at panhellenic sanctuaries from production centers whose citizens are known to have participated in the festival. For instance, Morgan (1990, p. 53) puzzles over the absence of Corinthian pottery at Olympia before ca. 675 B.C., a date long after the earliest attested Corinthian participation in the festival.

in the plain.[119] Insofar as the Argive Heraion was a rural sanctuary associated with a specific rite of passage, its position may be analogous to that of the sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite at Kato Syme.[120]

Given the paucity of examples of alleged political control of Greek sanctuaries and the lack of a theoretical foundation from which to assess the relationship between pottery and political control, a decision between the two proposed explanations for the change in pottery composition at Kato Syme requires further deliberation. A central question is whether or not the preponderance of pale brown pottery at Kato Syme connotes ownership of the sanctuary. Both hypotheses posit a political consequence to the appearance of Lyktian pottery, although the first interprets it within the compass of a territorial dispute between Aphrati and Lyktos, the second as part of a wider political confrontation between Lyktos and Hierapytna.

The first explanation seems preferable for several reasons. The second hypothesis fails to explain why the community of Aphrati stopped participating in the cult after 400 B.C. Cult practice provides a means of demonstrating a united front to an external foe. Lyktos would presumably have had an interest in garnering the support of its allies in the face of growing Hierapytnian pressure. In addition, the hypothesis of Hierapytnian expansion implies increased importance for Kato Syme in the 4th century, on the assumption that it became a regional cult center on the border between two powerful rivals. My impression of the evidence from Kato Syme, however, is that the 4th century marks a period of decline, characterized by fewer offerings (bronzes disappear completely at this time) and less utilitarian pottery. Judging from the total volume of pottery left at Kato Syme, visits occurred on a more sporadic basis in the 4th century.

In support of the alternative explanation of a conflict between Lyktos and Aphrati, additional signs of a change in ownership of Kato Syme in the 4th century buttress the idea of an enemy takeover of the sanctuary. The time-honored practice of making burnt offerings in the open air apparently fell out of favor.[121] On the strength of this evidence, it seems reasonable to conclude that a fundamental change in worship took place at Kato Syme in the early years of the 4th century. Another potential sign of discontinuity in this part of Crete is the destroyed house, discussed above, in the settlement record of Aphrati.[122] While the excavated remains give no indication of direct Lyktian involvement in the destruction of this house, the timing of the event in the final years of the 5th century coincides with the cessation of offerings from Aphrati at Kato Syme, thereby suggesting

119. Morgan and Whitelaw 1991, p. 84. There is a wealth of evidence to suggest that the Argive Heraion fell under the political sway of Argos in the Classical period. Argos instituted and controlled the cult, and a procession from Argos forged a physical link between city and sanctuary.

120. Argive expansion provides another possible example of the use of cult to legitimize territorial conquests. Archaeological evidence supports the tradition that Argos destroyed Asine ca. 710 B.C., although the Temple of Apollo at Asine apparently survived the destruction and continued to attract worshippers to the ruined city. According to Morgan (1990, p. 11), the maintenance of this principal cult of the defeated population suggests that "Argos reinforced its dominance by taking over the Apollo cult and incorporating it into the ritual system of the plain, and that the cult at Asine was maintained as a reminder of the new *status quo*." While plausible, this explanation lacks evidence in support of Argive control of the sanctuary.

121. See Lebessi 1985, p. 222.

122. For a preliminary report of the excavations, see Lebessi 1973.

a connection between the two. More work needs to be done to determine the extent of this destruction horizon: was it confined to a single house or the domestic quarters, or did it extend across the entire settlement?[123] Despite these remaining uncertainties, the existing archaeological evidence raises the possibility of a destruction of Aphrati by Lyktos accompanied by the replacement of cult activity at a principal shrine in the newly conquered territory with a Lyktian presence. Lyktian activity at Kato Syme perhaps served not only to legitimize territorial conquests and enforce the status quo with Aphrati, but also to stake a claim in the newly created border between Lyktos and Hierapytna.

Lyktos and the Greek World

The archaeological sources identify the end of the 5th century as a turning point in the history of Lyktos and Aphrati, a time of political and military upheaval. It is worth speculating about what might have triggered a potentially more aggressive policy of Lyktian territorial expansion around 400 B.C. The timing of these events, as determined by the study of the ceramic sequences of Aphrati and Lyktos, coincides with a major event in Greek history, the defeat of Athens at the end of the Peloponnesian War in 404 B.C. and the loss of its overseas empire. The eclipse of Athenian hegemony in the Aegean and the ascendancy of Sparta profoundly upset the balance of power in many parts of the Greek world, in manifold ways. The clearest documented instance of Sparta flexing its power on the Mediterranean stage in the immediate aftermath of the Peloponnesian War involved the toppling of the democratic constitutions of inimical Greek poleis in favor of oligarchic rule headed by pro-Spartan executive committees. Literary sources, chief among them Xenophon, emphasize Spartan involvement in the affairs of the Greek cities of Asia Minor upon the conclusion of the Peloponnesian War.

In the case of Lyktian expansion in 400–390, a combination of indirect evidence urges consideration of tacit Spartan approval or even direct military assistance on behalf of the Lyktians as a contributing factor. Greek tradition held that Lyktos was one of Sparta's colonial foundations, and regardless of the historical merits of the claim, there seems to have been definite substance to the relationship between Lyktos and Sparta in the Archaic and Classical periods.[124] Moreover, a later documented instance of Spartan military intervention on Crete on behalf of Lyktos in 343/2, the year in which Archidamos of Sparta led a force to Crete in support of

123. The epigraphic evidence from the site remains equivocal. After a long hiatus of approximately 200 years, inscriptions again appear at Aphrati in the middle of the 3rd century B.C.; see Guarducci 1935, pp. 6–28. Yet such a gap, even of this duration, is not unparalleled among the epigraphic records of Classical and Hellenistic Cretan poleis. Alexiou (1968, p. 406, pl. 435:a) illustrates an alabaster pyxis from a pithos burial from Aphrati. It is the sole evidence for 4th-century occupation at the site. If my proposed date for the pyxis in the final quarter of the 4th century is correct, the tomb may signify a Hellenistic recovery of the town.

124. Malkin (1994, pp. 78–80) examines the tradition of Spartan colonization. Coldstream and Huxley's (1999, p. 297) proposal that Sparta sided with Lyktos in a war against Knossos around 600 B.C. tends to support the tradition. Malkin (1994, p. 80) expresses reservations about the purported Spartan foundation of Lyktos. Since our main sources for this, Ephoros (*FGrHist* 70 F 147–149) and Aristotle (*Pol.* 1271b.28–29), wrote their accounts long after the events had taken place, it is easy to see how the tradition could have been manufactured to support Spartan military activity on Crete in the 4th century.

the Lyktians against Knossos,[125] raises the possibility of direct military intervention at an earlier unattested point in the island's history. To be sure, the earliest episodes of recorded Cretan history concern foreign military expeditions to the island. Herodotos (3.59) relates that the Samians and the Aeginetans fought for control over the colony of Kydonia in 519. In addition, Thucydides (2.85.5) reveals that the Athenians returned to Kydonia a century later to meddle in West Cretan affairs. Further study of the Cretan archaeological record has the potential to illuminate other possible instances of foreign military intervention.

The fates of Lyktos, Aphrati, and Kato Syme at the end of the 5th century call into question the long-held tenet of Classical Cretan history that prior to the great foreign military expeditions in the 340s B.C. the island was a backwater in the major currents of history, left to pursue, in G. L. Huxley's words, "a separate development in secure insularity."[126] The timing of a major territorial expansion of one of Crete's premier Classical poleis suggests otherwise. The major events of mainland Greek history may have helped shape the course of internal Cretan developments, although the precise ways in which these influences were felt on the island remain obscure.

CONCLUSION

Ceramic evidence from Aphrati and Kato Syme fills a substantial void in the publication record of post-Minoan Cretan archaeology. The Late Archaic and Classical periods have constituted an almost complete blank in the history of the island's ceramic development, owing to the lack of attention to post-Minoan sites and the absence of an established ceramic classification system and typology. Knossos stands apart as the only Classical Cretan site where archaeologists have attempted to formulate a partial chronological sequence, although efforts to narrow, let alone close, the 6th-century gap in the ceramic sequence have thus far met with limited success.[127] Now Aphrati may also take its place as a Classical Cretan production center, thereby allowing an analysis of ceramic forms within a second region. In addition, a continuous series of cups and jugs from Kato Syme spanning the years between 600 and 400 B.C. provides an important correction to the impression of an island-wide gap in ceramic production in the 6th century. The absence of identifiable archaeological evidence from Knossos between ca. 600 and 525 has previously led historians to conclude that most Cretan poleis suffered a demographic or cultural decline of unprecedented proportions.[128] New evidence for the continuous manufacture of pottery at a site in East Crete (probably Aphrati) indicates that this presumption of island-wide abandonment is inaccurate. Historical speculation regarding the cause of the supposed settlement gap or recession should await concrete evidence that comparable breaks exist elsewhere in the Cretan archaeological record.

The above formulation of a ceramic sequence for Aphrati and Kato Syme will serve as a partial framework for incorporating future discoveries, inviting new avenues of historical inquiry. Preliminary results suggest that the rural sanctuary at Kato Syme was linked at first to the ancient city

125. Diod. Sic. 16.62.3–4. Perlman (1992, p. 200, n. 39), Callaghan (1992, p. 134), and Huxley (1994, p. 132) discuss this passage.

126. Huxley 1994, p. 132.

127. Coldstream's (1973b) publication of a Late Archaic well deposit (*RR*:H) sheds valuable light on Cretan developments ca. 500–480 B.C. Callaghan (1978) complements his work by publishing a selection of 5th-century shapes from an unstratified deposit from the Classical "Shrine of Glaukos." By contrast, 6th-century Knossos is devoid of identifiable pottery, the only exception being a group of cup bases characterized by a "stepped" profile underfoot, a type dated by Callaghan (1992, p. 92) to ca. 525–500.

128. Coldstream and Huxley (1999, pp. 289–301) summarize the evidence from Knossos and examine possible explanations for the apparent 6th-century recession. They limit their discussion to Knossos and sites within its territory. Aphrati has figured prominently in earlier discussions of 6th-century Cretan decline. Brock (1957, p. 219), for instance, interprets the mortuary record at Knossos and Aphrati as a direct reflection of population levels in his concluding remarks in the publication of the Fortetsa cemetery, Knossos: "How can one account for the sudden eclipse at the end of the seventh century of the flourishing communities round Knossos? Arkades, further inland, remained prosperous a little longer, but by the sixth century the whole of Crete seems to have become affected by the same paralysis."

near Aphrati and then, from 400 B.C. onward, to the rising power of Lyktos. Subsequent Lyktian activity at Kato Syme served to legitimize territorial conquests and enforce the new political status quo with Aphrati.

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