

Beware of Greeks bearing gifts: Cretan archaeology and the Dorian invasion

Catharine Judson

Duke University
catharine.judson@duke.edu

Introduction¹

In the 19th and early 20th centuries AD, when systematic excavations began to reveal evidence for major shifts in material culture and political structures after the destructions of the Mycenaean palaces, archaeology appeared to demonstrate the historical reality of a Dorian migration, previously known only from much later textual sources. In subsequent excavations, a distinct ‘Dorian’ assemblage failed to materialize, and the realities of the Late Bronze Age–Early Iron Age transition proved to be more complex and regionally diverse than a simple migration model would explain. Additionally, the gradual rejection of culture-history as a theoretical paradigm in the mid-20th century made it more difficult for archaeologists and historians to deploy migrations as straightforward and unilinear explanations for material and linguistic change, or for the development of regional ethnic identities. Nevertheless, a minimally-modified historical narrative of Dorian migration continues to have valence in scholarship even as the surge in popularity of aDNA studies has helped to revive theoretical and scientific interest in tracing ancient mobility, at least in prehistory.² This article presents a regional case study exploring this phenomenon in archaeological scholarship about the Early Iron Age (EIA) on Crete (see Figure 1).

The narrative that EIA Crete was colonized by the Dorians was initially supported by later literary accounts of their arrival in successive waves from Thessaly and the Peloponnese (Hdt. 7.171; Strab. 10.4.6,15; Diod. Sic. 5.80); foundation traditions of cities like Lyktos and Gortyn (Pl. *Leg.* 4.708a; Arist. *Pol.* 1271b; Strab. 10.4.17; Paus. 8.53.4); and the passage in the *Odyssey* in which Odysseus describes the island as occupied by Achaeans, Eteocretans, Kydonians, Dorians, and Pelasgians (19.172–177); as well as by Archaic through Hellenistic Cretan inscriptions that mention Dorian tribal names and other institutions. Building on these textually-evidenced ancient migration traditions and Dorian ethnic markers, archaeologists from the late 19th century onwards identified material changes, including the establishment of ‘defensible’ settlements and the introduction of iron, Protogeometric-style pottery, and cremation burials, with the arrival and domination of the Dorians on Crete at some point between the 12th and 10th centuries BC. It has been clear since the mid-20th century, however, that these material changes did not have a single origin or mechanism of transmission and that the archaeological record of the Cretan EIA therefore could not support the arrival of a large-scale migratory group.³ Despite this, variations of the Dorian migration narrative continue to appear in scholarship about the period.

One of the difficulties of approaching this subject are the by-now almost mutually exclusive approaches taken to the Dorian question by different disciplinary factions – and therefore the very different disciplinary audiences likely to engage with this article’s argument. I focus at first on a framing of an historical Dorian migration more usually (at least today) espoused by philologists

¹ I thank all the colleagues and library staff who made it possible to access research materials when I started this project in the summer of 2020. I also thank all the members of the CReA-Patrimoine community at ULB who provided feedback on this project at various stages and the two anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments and critiques. This project received funding from the European Union’s Horizon 2020 research and innovation program under the Marie Skłodowska-Curie Grant Agreement No 801505.

² Cf. Kristiansen 2014; cf. Dickinson (2020) for a critique of Greek tradition in archaeological interpretation.

³ Cf. Wallace 2010: 365–67; 2018: 312–15.



Figure 1. Major sites mentioned in the text.

and some historians, as a historical question to be tested in the context of considering the Dorianness of Cretan political communities in the historical period. I also examine more recent conceptualizations of Dorianness in the EIA and later periods as a matter of ethnic identity, deliberately constructed and manipulated by those same developing political communities; this is the approach that most archaeologists and many historians today follow. These two framings of the current state of the Dorian migration question are contradictory and I could set up this article's subject as a simple case study in culture-historical versus postprocessual readings of the archaeological evidence. This is well-trodden ground, however, and not likely to be useful to either side of this divided disciplinary spectrum.

The goal of this article is not to reopen the question of whether a large-scale migration occurred in the EIA that matched later historical tradition. I summarize the archaeological material and past interpretations in the first section to demonstrate that there is agreement that there is no definitive archaeological evidence for such a population movement. Nor does this article set out to integrate the Archaic through Hellenistic historical record with the earlier archaeological record in order to discuss the possible construction of historical Cretan identities on and off the island during the preceding EIA.⁴ Rather, this article asks: in the face of a plethora of chronological and material inconsistencies between and within the historical traditions and the archaeological record, why do the Dorians and more generic immigrant Mainland Greeks continue to be referenced as simple explanatory forces in archaeological publications about the EIA on the island by both archaeologists and historians, despite the impossibility of attaching these labels to visible archaeological populations?⁵ It is tempting to dismiss this practice as an old-fashioned or traditionalist minority holdout, but I demonstrate the need to examine the assumptions behind its conventionality.

I argue that, in addition to some habitual conservatism around deep-seated historical narratives, the answer to this question lies in the

⁴ Cf. MacSweeney 2017.

⁵ The repetition of a Dorian migration narrative is not just an academic issue: signage in the Heraklion, Rethymno, and Chania archaeological museums states that Greek tribes of Dorians arrived on Crete at the beginning of the EIA, introduced new practices like cremation, and aligned Crete with the rest of the Greek world by introducing a new culture.

intersection of the labels commonly applied to populations in the EIA and of connected modern periodization practices. ‘Dorian’ as an ethnic label only acquires emic meaning on Crete starting in the Archaic period (demonstrated by such aspects as dialect, tribal affiliations, and cult practices). Before the appearance of epigraphic evidence for these shared traits, ‘Dorian’ cannot be applied to the effectively-prehistoric archaeological record in any meaningful ethnic sense. In the absence of contemporary texts to enlighten us about EIA ethnic identities, ‘Dorian’ has become as much a modern essentializing label as ‘Minoan’, and indeed more so because it does not act as a heuristic label for any EIA material assemblages or cultural practices. For the EIA, ‘Dorian’ has instead become broadly synonymous with ‘Greek’, itself an essentializing label when applied to this time period. Following this, I argue that the longevity of this migration tradition in archaeological scholarship of the later 20th and 21st centuries stems at least in part from a modern and under-interrogated historiographical desire to hellenize Crete at the beginning of the EIA, in order to separate the island from its non-Greek Minoan past. An accompanying entrenched sense of Crete as a peripheral and idiosyncratic region also remains rooted in a framework that assumes that the Greek Mainland was the primary driver of cultural (if not technological) innovation during this hellenization process. Assuming the presence of migratory (Dorian) Greeks as agents of change negates the need for a much messier and more theoretically-complex discussion of how we talk about and prescriptively label regional collective identities and materiality in the EIA, of the sort that has already been undertaken for earlier Mycenaean and Achaeon ‘invasions’ and expressions of identity in the Late Bronze Age as well as for the development of polis-based identities from the Archaic period onwards.⁶

The rise and fall of archaeologically-visible Dorians

The first part of this article summarizes the original arguments for the Dorian migration to Crete in archaeological scholarship and the ways in which its material correlates were deconstructed by the mid-20th century (if not always fully excised from later scholarship).⁷ The Dorian migration served to explain discontinuities in the archaeological record that do not belong to a single chronological horizon and rely on separate classes of evidence, demonstrating the historical fluidity of the Dorians and a tendency towards confirmation bias in matching archaeological evidence with favored historical narratives.

Minority chronological suggestions

There has been no serious attempt to identify Dorians anywhere in the LBA archaeological record on Crete, especially after the ‘discovery’ of the Minoans, despite the co-existence of Dorians and Achaeans on post-Trojan War Crete in the *Odyssey*.⁸ An alternative historical tradition in which a first wave of Dorians arrived on Crete before the Trojan War (e.g. Diod. Sic. 5.80) was not viewed as compatible with the realities of the archaeological record, even in the early 20th century.⁹

A major shift in the settlement pattern at the end of the Bronze Age was originally attributed to invaders pushing the Cretans up into ‘refugee’ settlements in the hills, leaving the newcomers in control of the lowlands of Central Crete. Pendlebury in particular attributed the foundation of Karphi to the Dorian invasion, c.1100 BC.¹⁰ This model did not gain much traction in the first half of the 20th century. It was briefly revived in the publication of the Western Mesara survey,

⁶ Mycenaean: e.g. Driessen and Farnoux 1997; Preston 2004; Nafplioti 2008; 2012. Achaeon: e.g. Wallace 2005: 222-25, 265; Tsipopoulou 2005a. Archaic onwards: e.g. Pilz and Seelentag 2014; Gaignerot-Driessen and Driessen 2014.

⁷ For a parallel summary of the Dorians and archaeology on the mainland: Hall (J) 1997: 114-28.

⁸ E.g. Pendlebury 1939: 260. But see Godart 1986: 193-95. For the argument that *Od.* 19.172-177 was a later interpolation: Beloch 1910: 220-21; Evans 1921: 12; Viviers 1996: 207.

⁹ Evans 1894: 357-60; Hawes (H) 1908: 5; Guizzi 1990.

¹⁰ Pendlebury *et al.* 1937/1938: 140-41. The establishment of Karphi is now dated to the LM IIIB-C transition, following a better understanding of the relevant ceramic chronologies for LM IIIC-PG: Day 2011a: 1-3, 325-28.

however, where the abandonment of most LM IIIB sites in the region and the construction of new settlements in the hills bordering the plain was associated with a Dorian incursion into the region.¹¹ The general interpretation of the establishment of a new settlement pattern during LM IIIB-C as a simple response to invaders (e.g. a ‘flight to the hills’ narrative) has been widely rejected, however.¹²

There was also a short-lived hypothesis, critiqued even in the 1920s and restricted to ceramic publications, that the sharp transition from Protogeometric to Geometric ceramic styles in the 8th century BC signaled the arrival of a new group on Crete.¹³ Subsequent excavation and publication of EIA sites demonstrated the gradual development of Geometric styles out of Protogeometric ones, however, without evidence for a rupture that could be attributed to new arrivals.¹⁴

Subminoan-Protogeometric Dorians

The Subminoan and Protogeometric periods proved by far to be the most popular choice in early archaeological scholarship for the arrival of the Dorians. The association of the Dorians with the adoption of new styles, technologies, and burial practices rather than with disruption or destruction, at least in Central Crete, explained what were viewed as positive innovations in the island’s culture.

Iron was originally thought to have been introduced to the Aegean by the Dorians via the Balkans and was associated with their military aggression as well as with technological advancement.¹⁵ Specific Dorian associations with iron after its initial appearance on the island at sites from the 12th-11th centuries BC were quickly rejected, however, with emphasis shifting to the usefulness of the technology rather than its military associations. For example, Pendlebury stated in the late 1930s that, while the inhabitants of Karphi learned about iron technology ‘from the invaders who had driven them out’ and that it was one of the material ways in which Crete was brought culturally and racially closer to the rest of the Aegean,¹⁶ ‘[i]ron would, of course, naturally be used as soon as it was introduced, and has no ethnological significance.’¹⁷ Even before the 1930s, however, there were already suggestions that iron technology might have been more gradually introduced to Crete from the Late Bronze Age onwards.¹⁸

By the mid-20th century, there was increasing agreement that Cyprus played a leading role in the introduction of iron technology to Crete, rather than the Balkans. Scholars like Desborough therefore began to use the presence of iron objects as a chronological marker for assigning a Protogeometric date to contexts without datable pottery in East Crete, rather than as an ethnic signifier.¹⁹ Iron thus became disassociated from the Dorians, although discussion of the exact mechanisms for the transfer of technological knowledge between Cyprus and Crete has remained limited.²⁰

The appearance of Protogeometric-style pottery was also originally associated with the arrival of the Dorians on Crete and acted as a marker for the subsequent gradual process of Doricization

¹¹ Watrous *et al.* 2004: 307-11. The impression of violence is lent by a comparison of the apparent depopulation of the region in LM IIIC to the bloody suppression of Cretan revolts by the Ottomans, directly echoing Pendlebury (1939: 303).

¹² The LM IIIB-C transition was characterized by gradual abandonments rather than by widespread destruction: e.g. Kanta 1980: 324-26; Langohr 2020: 91-92. For critique of the ‘flight to the hills’ model and the rejection of the ‘refuge(e) site’ label: Wallace 2010: 54-60; Gaignerot-Driessen 2016: 59-63.

¹³ Mackenzie 1906/1907: 441-43; Hall (E) 1914: 181; Payne 1927/1928: 229-30; Hartley 1930/1931: 104-5.

¹⁴ E.g. Brock 1957.

¹⁵ E.g. Hawes and Hawes 1922: 20-21.

¹⁶ A statement echoed by Willetts (1955, viii).

¹⁷ Pendlebury *et al.* 1937/1938: 139; Pendlebury 1939: 303.

¹⁸ Hawes (H) 1908: 13.

¹⁹ Desborough 1964: 191.

²⁰ Demargne 1947: 97, 328-30; Desborough 1964: 61, 70-71, 181; Hayden (O) 2020: 13-46.

outwards from northern Central Crete.²¹ Emphasis was quickly placed on new trade routes to explain the character and distribution of Protogeometric pottery on Crete, however, rather than on large-scale immigration. In addition to promoting new trade connections as mechanisms for stylistic transmission, Hartley in particular also pointed out a historical double standard in the Dorian narrative: the introduction of Orientalizing styles to Crete via Eastern Mediterranean trade routes was never attributed to non-Greek immigrants to the island in the same way as Protogeometric Greek styles were to colonizing Dorians.²² Such doubts did not become widespread for some time, however. Later in the same decade, Pendlebury still attributed the appearance of Protogeometric pottery to the Dorians and saw the dearth of Protogeometric-style pottery at Karphi not only as evidence of the community's limited interactions with Central Crete, but also of the fact that Protogeometric decoration was 'too alien to [the Karphiotes'] mentality to be accepted' into the local repertoire, reinforcing the contemporary picture of a racially-divided island.²³

Desborough fully dissociated Protogeometric pottery from the Dorians by linking the spread of the style in Central Crete to Attic imports found in tombs at Knossos and the subsequent adoption of Atticizing motifs and vessel shapes into the Cretan repertoire.²⁴ He argued that ceramic quality was a primary driving factor in the adoption of the new style, stating that 'the Protogeometric style was technically superior to the sub-Minoan pottery, and it was therefore natural that it should make an appeal to Cretan potters.'²⁵ Subsequently, the stylistic focus on EIA pottery shifted toward establishing detailed regional chronologies and typologies, with foreign influences in regional styles viewed almost entirely through the lens of trade. The agency of Cretan potters to adapt and incorporate these external styles into their local repertoires over the 10th and 9th centuries was increasingly accepted, but there is still a sense of Cretan Protogeometric pottery as a peripheral and idiosyncratic regional style (and one dependent on the central Aegean and, to a lesser extent, the Eastern Mediterranean for inspiration), particularly in areas where Atticizing tendencies are not as marked as in northern Central Crete.²⁶

The popularization of cremation in the Protogeometric period was also originally cited as a practice introduced to Crete by the Dorians. The association of inhumation with Bronze Age populations and cremation with Dorians by archaeologists made this burial custom a useful marker for tracking racial changes on the island in the early phases of archaeological exploration. Taramelli, for example, sought to excavate Lyktos in order to gain a stratigraphic understanding of the rate and nature of the change between the Mycenaean Bronze Age and the Dorian Iron Age by comparing the relative appearances of cremation and Geometric pottery at the site.²⁷ One of the effects of the subsequent shift in Cretan archaeology toward the earlier Bronze Age at the beginning of the 20th century, with the initiation of major excavations at Minoan sites like Knossos, was to reorient the framework of the LBA-EIA transition on Crete from a Mycenaean/Dorian dichotomy to a Minoan/Dorian one, with burial practices continuing to act as stand-ins for separate populations.²⁸

By the late 1940s and into the 1950s, cremation as a Dorian practice also began to lose traction in scholarship, as more cemetery contexts were excavated that contained a diversity of funerary practices, although adherence to the overall *historical* narrative of the Dorians continued. These

²¹ E.g. Orsi 1897: 263-65; Halbherr 1901; Taramelli 1901; Mariani 1901: 314.

²² Hartley (1930/1931: 104-5), echoed by Demargne (1947: 134).

²³ Pendlebury *et al.* 1937/1938: 137, 139. The lack of Protogeometric pottery at Karphi is now attributable to the site's abandonment at the end of LM IIIC. The use of "race" here reflects the language used until the mid-20th century to describe what we would now refer to variably as ethnic or cultural groups.

²⁴ Desborough 1952: 270-71; Brock 1957: 216. Attic imported pottery was never thought to indicate Attic immigration, except for the occasional marriage of Athenian women into elite Knossian families, suggested by Coldstream and Catling (1996: 716-17).

²⁵ Desborough 1964: 193.

²⁶ E.g. Tsipopoulou 2005b: 553-55.

²⁷ Taramelli 1901: 301.

²⁸ E.g. Mackenzie 1906/1907: 430. Absence of cremations at Karphi as evidence that the inhabitants were *non-Dorian*: Pendlebury 1937/1938: 138, 140-41. Using craniometry of modern Cretans to track the Dorian migration's route because all ancient Dorian skulls had been cremated: Hawes and Hawes 1922: 25. See Prent 2005: 612-13.

competing tendencies can be seen in Brock's publication of the Fortetsa tombs, for example, where he does not reject the possibility of a Dorian invasion after the Late Minoan period but notes that '[t]here is nothing about the Protogeometric culture at Knossos which can be pointed out as specifically Dorian. Cremation, like so many other supposed hallmarks, has been tried and found wanting.'²⁹

One of the challenges to the association of cremation with (Dorian) immigrants was the presence of cremation burials dating before Subminoan/Protogeometric, the majority of which are located in (non-Dorian) East Crete.³⁰ Early interpretation of these tombs followed predictable lines: Xanthoudides excavated mixed inhumations and cremations in Mouliana Tomb A (later dated to LM IIIC/SM), for example, which Mackenzie cited as evidence for the racial transition between Minoans and Hellenes.³¹ The subsequent excavation of additional LM IIIB-C cremations at sites including Atsipades, Liliana, Tylissos, Praisos, Krya Siteia, Kritsa, Vrokastro, Tourloti, Myrsini, Epáno Zakros, and Olous have prompted debates about the origin(s) and spread of cremation beyond simple ethnic explanations, however.³² The practice of cremation now appears to have been introduced to the Aegean from Anatolia, although, as with iron, the exact nature of its transmission to and on Crete is still unclear.³³

Non-migratory explanations for the adoption of cremation have thus found increasing support, as methodological and theoretical frameworks have shifted away from ethnic associations of the practice towards social explanations. The Kavousi Project, for example, explains the switch from inhumation to cremation in the 8th century, especially in the LG graves at Vronda, as a deliberate shift in the social and physical emphasis of burials from more elaborate tomb types to more visible funerary events.³⁴ This approach treats cremation as just one factor within a broader set of mortuary practices. Even for projects that espouse such approaches, however, publications still often include an explicit rejection of migration narratives as explanations for funerary changes, demonstrating the continued hold of the older narrative.³⁵

Despite this consensus, and unlike iron and Protogeometric pottery, cremation has retained its immigrant associations long past the mid-20th century. The excavators of the North Cemetery at Knossos pointed to the use of cremation in Subminoan tombs as part of their argument that the cemetery was established by newcomers, for example.³⁶ Even into the 21st century, this vision of separate burial practices having ethnic significance has not disappeared from scholarship about Central Crete, appearing in discussions of new burial practices at Arkades and in the Mesara.³⁷ Even in East Crete, Hayden has suggested that immigrant groups (including Dorians from Knossos) could have been responsible for the introduction of cremation and new tomb types at Vrokastro.³⁸ These examples are among the more explicit in highlighting the continued use of burial evidence to indicate the movement of migrant populations into communities in archaeological scholarship, even if the observations are often made in passing. Other publications continue to simply cite the introduction of cremation to a site or region in the EIA as evidence of newcomers.³⁹

²⁹ Brock 1957: 216-17.

³⁰ Demargne 1947: 96.

³¹ Xanthoudides 1904: 21-38; Mackenzie 1906/1907: 430. See Evans (1935: 376) for the 'ethnic' inconsistency between the cremation itself and the style of the krater accompanying it. For the current dating of the cremation burial: Eaby 2007: 76-77.

³² See Eaby (2007) and Ruppenstein (2013: 193-94) for full bibliography. Cf. Perna (K) 2011; Cultraro 2011. For the spread of cremation from East Crete: Desborough 1964: 178-79; Snodgrass 1971: 187-91; Whitley 2002: 228.

³³ Snodgrass 1971: 168-69, 189-90; Ruppenstein 2013. For the diversity of cremation practices across the LBA-EIA Aegean: Stampolidis (2001).

³⁴ Day 2011b: 749; cf. Hatzaki and Keswani 2012: 311. See also Whitley (2016: 284-85) on the rise of material entanglements, personhood, and KNC Tomb 201.

³⁵ E.g. Day 1997: 404.

³⁶ Catling 1996: 643, 649.

³⁷ Nowicki 2000: 245; Watrous *et al.* 2004: 311.

³⁸ Hayden (B) *et al.* 2004: 154-55.

³⁹ E.g. Kanta *et al.* 2020: 336.

The afterlives of EIA Dorians

This brief history of archaeological correlates for the Dorian migration to Crete reiterates the uncontroversial view that material markers for the collective arrival of a new population that we could call Dorian early in the EIA do not hold up to scrutiny (and have not realistically done so since the mid-20th century, despite the small-scale but persistent association of cremation with immigrants). Despite this longstanding and accepted deconstruction of the archaeological evidence, however, the broader historical narrative of a Dorian population on Crete that was established by migration and that acted as a straightforward mechanism for the original transmission of a Dorian identity from the Greek Mainland, has never been fully rejected in scholarship, nor have new archaeological models for understanding mobility in the EIA been developed that have effectively replaced it. Instead, in the face of newer approaches to collective identity and social structure that are driven by ongoing excavation at EIA sites across Crete, the older migration narrative retains a static existence in scholarship, often in highly paraphrased forms and in spite of a lack of material evidence (or even in the face of material evidence that demonstrates other, more complex, possible explanations).

There is a tendency for archaeologists and historians working within a polis-development-driven framework to try to superimpose textually-attested Dorians and especially Dorian institutions onto the EIA archaeological record, however, without much critical assessment of how to bridge the chronological and political discrepancies between EIA archaeological contexts and the later production of literary and epigraphic texts. This habit reinforces a deterministic narrative of progress over the EIA, towards recognizably Hellenic institutional forms in the Archaic period, that relies on essentializing and anachronistic cultural and ethnic categorizations. Such teleological perspectives in turn reinforce a sense of the archaeological record as being dependent on the later historical record for explication, highlighting an ongoing disciplinary fault line in approaches to the EIA.

In the remainder of the article, I therefore explore a constellation of identity categories that demonstrate how migration narratives continue to be repeated in highly-paraphrased ways in archaeological scholarship, focusing on the essentialization of the label ‘Dorian’ and the still-uneasy relationship between ancient history and archaeology in the construction of models of developing collective identities during the EIA. I argue, in particular, that the repetition and fossilization of the basic migration narrative in archaeological scholarship is possible because it supports the application of a deliberately generic sense of Greekness to a non-Greek Crete at the beginning of the EIA, which follows master narratives of Greek history and of discontinuities between the Bronze and Iron Ages.

Proving migration?

I do not dispute that migration was almost certainly happening continuously and at various scales between the Mainland and Crete over the entire LBA-EIA period. It is important to point out that there has been little interest in studying physical mobility to Crete from the Greek Mainland separate from the issue of ‘the Dorians’, however, and therefore in providing alternative models of population movements in the EIA.⁴⁰ Material proxies for migrants from the mainland have proved problematic and later foundation stories do not provide useful demographic information, even if we could take them at face value. No aDNA or strontium isotope studies have been carried out on EIA populations on Crete.⁴¹ aDNA would likely not provide much insight into mobility to Crete

⁴⁰ As opposed to short-term visitors, visible through such proxies as cups inscribed with names with non-Cretan letter forms at Kommos.

⁴¹ Such projects are almost nonexistent even in the rest of the EIA Aegean, in sharp contrast to their current popularity in Bronze Age studies. Panagiotopoulou *et al.* (2018) is a lone example, from Thessaly.

since Mainland genetic signatures were already present on Crete by the end of the LBA due to earlier waves of migration, but isotope analysis approaches might prove fruitful, at least about first generation arrivals within a given population, especially in contextualizing local/non-local origins with changing burial practices. Such approaches would provide more information about the scale, chronology, and demography of mobility to and within Crete, as well as degrees of integration with existing local populations. Any such studies would need to take a multi-period approach in order to track population changes from the LBA through at least the Archaic period, in order to avoid reinforcing disciplinary boundaries within the data. Any such project would also need to be clear about what it was testing: not ‘finding’ the Dorians once again but replacing them with contextually-situated migrants with a range of biographical experiences and social identities to be explored from the ground up.⁴² But until such work is carried out, we cannot comment on the scale(s) at which new populations physically arrived on Crete in the EIA or even in the early Archaic period.

The challenge of Dorian ethnicity

In the absence of such data, there thus remains an often-frustrating circularity in visions of the Dorians in the EIA: an ethnically Dorian population from the mainland must have been present in order for Crete to have become linguistically and institutionally Dorian by the Archaic period, regardless of archaeological visibility.⁴³ Thus, the assignment of some sort of Dorian identity to EIA sites and archaeological contexts in scholarship since the mid-20th century has relied on definitions of ethnicity transmitted through the movement of populations and thence a belief in a real shared lineage and kinship, i.e. a naturalized or biologically-based ethnic identity rather than a socially-constructed one. Such assignments of a Dorian ethnic identity rely on later attestations of Dorian identity markers at sites and a lack of interrogation into mechanisms promoting the development of ethnic consciousness.

This pattern can be traced through readings of foundation myths of individual Dorian cities applied directly to the EIA archaeological record, particularly those involving Spartan colonists. The historical association between Sparta and Crete was strong, attested not only in literary texts but also in epigraphic evidence for later shared (Dorian) institutions such as tribal names and the practice of a common mess.⁴⁴ Any similar relationship between Crete and Sparta projected back into the EIA in discussions of the archaeological record is highly anachronistic, however.

These foundation stories have sometimes been retrojected wholesale onto the EIA to bolster a Lakonian origin for Dorian settlers that cannot be corroborated by contemporary material evidence. One example is Watrous’s statement in his publication of Pendlebury’s excavations in the Lasithi Plateau that Karphi was settled in response to the foundation of Lyktos by invading Lakonians in the 12th century, citing Aristotle (*Pol.* 2.1271b).⁴⁵ Excavations of EIA material at Lyktos are currently ongoing and will hopefully shed light on the early occupation of the site, but (admittedly rare) statements like Watrous’s that explicitly connect this phase with Lakonian immigrants or the Dorian Peloponnese rely entirely on later historical tradition.⁴⁶

Gortyn provides a more nuanced example of the tensions between text and archaeology in summaries of the early history of the site. In the EIA, the region contained a cluster of small settlements, established in LM IIIC-PG, on the Agios Ioannis and Profitis Ilias acropoleis and possibly on the plain

⁴² The response of the popular press to the results of Lazaridis *et al.* (2017) demonstrates the challenges of separating aDNA results from historical narratives of ethnicity and descent. See Aldred (2021: 59-62) on the necessity of addressing the ‘how’ of mobility before the ‘why’.

⁴³ E.g. Chaniotis 2011: 426.

⁴⁴ Perlman 2000: 68-71; 2005; 2014; Hall (J) 2002: 84-85; Watrous *et al.* 2004: 342, 345; Anzalone 2011; Guizzi 2013.

⁴⁵ Watrous 1980: 282.

⁴⁶ See Kotsonas (2019) for the history of excavation at Lyktos.

under the agora of the later city, as well as at outlying sites near Vourvoulitis (Figure 2). According to later sources (e.g. Pl. *Leg.* 4.708a; Paus. 8.53.4-5; Konon (*FGrHist* 26) fr. 1.xxxvi), the polis of Gortyn was founded by immigrants of multiple ethnicities, of which Dorian Spartans were one group. One proposal for reconciling the archaeology and historical tradition has been that one or more of the EIA settlements was established by these immigrants.⁴⁷ There is no archaeological evidence, such as non-local ceramics or architectural styles, to indicate that non-locals founded these sites, however. Perlman rightly pointed out that absence of evidence is not evidence of absence and that Lakonians could have immigrated in the EIA without introducing Lakonian-style pottery, but she acknowledged that the gap between the texts and the EIA archaeology regarding settlement foundations remains a source of historiographical tension that is yet to be fully reconciled.

Even when looking at contact between the two regions via the over-simplistic metric of trade activity during the EIA, there is little to indicate a Lakonian connection strong enough to be responsible for cultural change across even Central Crete. Lakonian imports to Crete were rare before the end of the EIA, appearing in significant numbers only in the Archaic period, with the greatest number of imports and stylistic influences from other areas of the Aegean to Central Crete coming instead from Attica.⁴⁸

The adoption of Dorian traditions and institutions, especially those linked with Sparta, are now more typically read as creative mechanisms used in the local formation of collective identities and external political ties by developing poleis in the Archaic and Classical periods, in line with similar developments in other regions of the Aegean, rather than as an innate category that moved with earlier populations.⁴⁹ Archaeological approaches to identifying and modelling the development of collective identities, besides ethnicity, within socio-political communities across the EIA into the Archaic period have also become increasingly complex and nuanced.⁵⁰ Archaeologists working on the EIA are wary of ascribing specific ethnic meaning to material assemblages, however, which has had the effect of driving a disciplinary disconnect between how ethnic identity is defined and discussed between archaeological and historical viewpoints before the Archaic period.⁵¹

The challenge is perhaps in resisting the compulsion to *name* collective identities revealed by materialized group relationships in the EIA, since the availability of anachronistic ethnic and cultural labels is what seems to drive many of the regressive migration-oriented narratives.⁵² The result of describing EIA Crete, or even specific sites, as Dorian has often been to flatten the discussion of multiple intersecting layers of shared collective identities, that communities likely constructed over the period and to focus on one that reduces them to an externally imposed ethnic category without emic meaning. In the absence of nuance, conventionalized labels allow and almost invite the repetition of primordial migration traditions in scholarship and reinforce a sense of dependence on texts by archaeology for interpretation.

Elite identity and the Dorians

In addition to the dearth of securely-identified non-local individuals from the Greek mainland in Cretan cemeteries and the sometimes still very literal application of foundation myths in

⁴⁷ Perlman 2000: 70. Allegro 1991: 329; different population strata occupied different villages. Perna (R) 2012: 46-47; a possible significant component of the (aristocratic) population was allogenic.

⁴⁸ Coldstream and Eiring 2001: 77, 82; Erickson 2004; 2010: 229, 336-44; Wallace 2010: 361, 367. Only one possible Lakonian import is published from the North Cemetery: Coldstream and Catling 1996: 459 (34.36)). The upswing in Lakonian imports and the production of Lakonian-style pottery in the Archaic period, particularly kraters, has been linked with trade patterns and shared Spartan-Cretan performances of aristocratic austerity rather than with immigration: e.g. Erickson 2010: 281-91.

⁴⁹ E.g. Kotsonas 2002: 39-40; Wallace 2003: 271-72.

⁵⁰ E.g. Wallace 2010.

⁵¹ There is a robust and growing bibliography about Greek ethnic identities that integrates archaeological and textual evidence, but it typically focuses on the Archaic period and does not devote much attention to Crete: e.g. Hall (J) 1997; 2002; Malkin 2001. For the reorientation of investigation from ethnic identity to group identity in the LBA-EIA Aegean, see MacSweeney 2009.

⁵² Cf. Jones 1997: 26-9; Morgan 2003: 211.

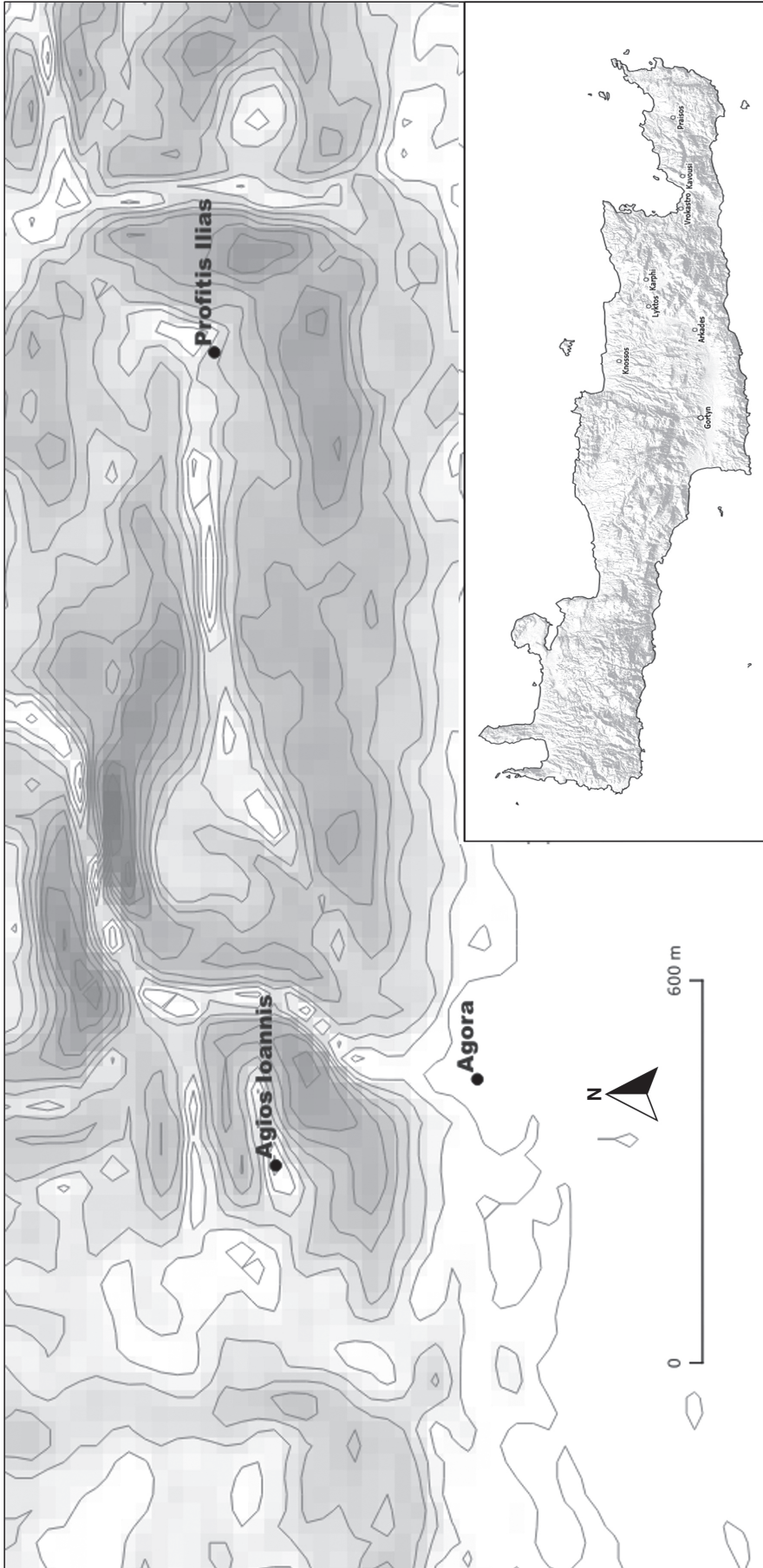


Figure 2. Gortyn region in the EIA.

discussions of Dorian ethnicity in the EIA, there is also a tendency in scholarship to replicate a later, textually-informed Archaic and Classical picture of a small Dorian aristocracy that controlled an underclass of serfs composed of the subjugated native population of the island, a picture that has never included the possibility of lower-class, non-elite Dorians on Crete.

The sense of elite quality associated with the Dorian label is in part a product of the relationship between the focus on Dorian aristocratic systems in historical studies of ancient Crete and the casting of the Dorians as a separate race from the Minoans in early 20th century scholarship. While the latter framework in particular was deconstructed post-WWII and replaced by discussions (or at least vocabulary) of ethnicity, the sense of hierarchy, both in terms of status and of cultural weight, between ‘Minoans’ and ‘Dorians’ or more generic ‘Greeks’ continued to appear in archaeological scholarship.⁵³

Even as increased excavations at EIA sites failed to detect Dorians in the archaeological record, the historical *plausibility* of a (Dorian) migration event that introduced new elites remained largely unchallenged in archaeological publications.⁵⁴ This is evident at continuously occupied sites like Knossos that do not have evidence of large-scale destructions or discontinuities that could be connected with the arrival of Dorian newcomers, but at which a Dorian identity was attested in the historical period.⁵⁵

In LM IIIB, the settlement to the west of the palace at Knossos shrank but was never abandoned (Figure 3). LM IIIC levels in the Stratigraphical Museum excavations revealed apsidal buildings, Mainland styles of pottery, and intramural child burials. These elements have been cited as evidence for occupation by pre-Dorian immigrants from the mainland.⁵⁶ In particular, the short-lived appearance of a new architectural type foreign to Crete is perhaps one of the best material indicators for the arrival of a new population at the site. This putative new population and its position within the rest of the local community is not discussed in scholarship about the post-LM IIIC phases of the site, however.

From SM/EPG, transitions between “Minoan” Knossos and “Dorian” Knossos have been identified in different spheres. The establishment of new cemeteries, and their deliberate distancing from contemporary Minoan burial grounds and practices, have been associated with immigrants. In his discussion of the SM cremations in the North Cemetery, Catling acknowledged that the contemporary Knossian population was heterogeneous and that individual wealthy warrior burials could have been well-traveled Cretans (e.g. T. 201), but he preferred to cast these wealthy SM tomb occupants collectively as the ‘new masters’ of the site, ‘who may have forced their leadership on the native population.’⁵⁷ While he did not assign specific ethnic labels to these Subminoan warriors, Catling’s stance is predicated on an acceptance of a historical (and explicitly Homeric) ethos of wealthy immigrant elites introducing new practices. In contrast to this new cemetery and funerary practice that marked new arrivals at the site, the ‘survivors from the Minoan past’ at Knossos were ‘confined to outlying burial grounds’ characterized by inhumation burials, indicating a perceived stratification in the power dynamics and funerary landscape of Subminoan Knossos between locals and immigrants.⁵⁸

⁵³ Racialized language of caste and superiority also did not disappear immediately in much-cited historical studies: e.g. Willetts 1955: 251; 1965: 33.

⁵⁴ E.g. Brock 1957: 217.

⁵⁵ See Hatzaki and Kotsonas 2020: 1036-37.

⁵⁶ Warren 1982/1983: 83; 2005: 102; Prent 2004: 414. Intramural infant burials were already present in LM II-III A: Popham 1984: 44. Cf. Nowicki 2000: 225-26.

⁵⁷ Catling 1996: 649. Coldstream and Catling (1996: 715) state that the cemetery was established by a new population, even if not all early burials were of immigrants.

⁵⁸ Coldstream and Catling 1996: 715. The association of SM inhumation burials on Ghypsades Hill with a remaining indigenous enclave of Minoans is echoed by Prent (2004: 416). Cf. Watrous *et al.* 2004: 311.

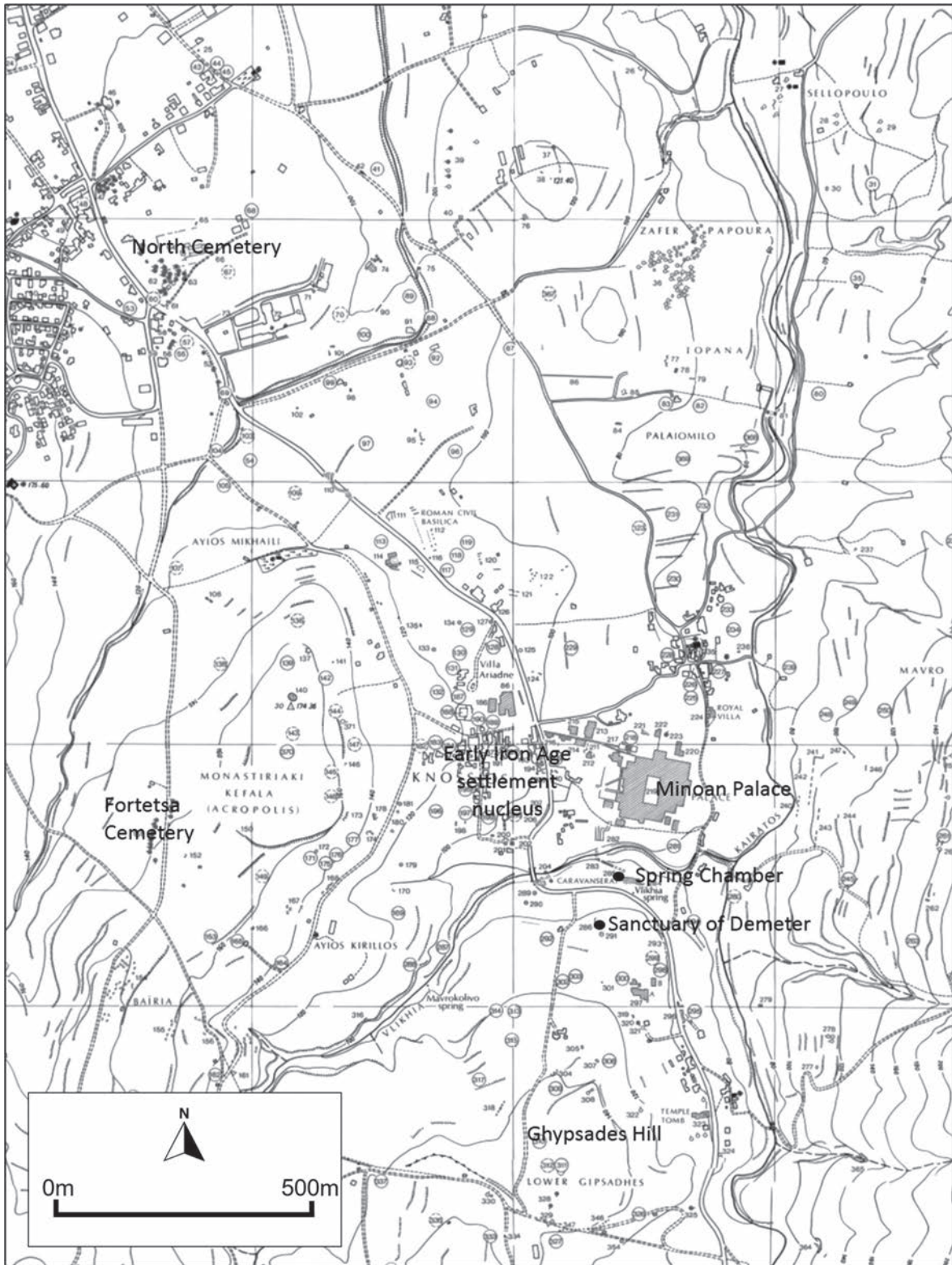


Figure 3. Knossos region (after Hood and Smyth 1981, reproduced with permission of the British School at Athens).

The reconstructed pattern of the replacement of Minoan practices with new Dorian ones, despite the existence of a mixed population, is also repeated in models of religious change at the site. The Spring Chamber, associated with Minoan cult practice and therefore with the indigenous Minoan population of the town, continued in use through the Subminoan period before being abandoned.

The earliest evidence of activity at the Sanctuary of Demeter, considered by excavators to be a Dorian successor of the Spring Chamber cult coopting the local nature goddess into a more Hellenic framework, only dates to the 9th-8th centuries BC.⁵⁹ Here, however, the large chronological gap of two or three centuries between the two cults (and between the establishment of the North Cemetery and the Sanctuary of Demeter) is difficult to explain in terms of new arrivals introducing panhellenic religious sensibilities to the community.⁶⁰

A simple dichotomy between old Minoan practices and new Dorian ones at the site, with an inflection point sometime in the late 11th or 10th centuries, therefore runs into obvious material and chronological problems, as Coldstream observed:

‘[t]he abrupt break in tomb usage, coupled with the non-Minoan features of SM pottery, may well indicate the arrival of the Dorians. If so, it must be acknowledged that the new-comers adopted the local Minoan burial customs, countenanced the revival of a Minoan vegetation cult in the Spring Chamber, and settled themselves alongside the indigenous Knossians in what had also been the main centre of LM IIC occupation.’⁶¹

This statement is symptomatic of larger patterns in archaeological scholarship that acknowledge the material contradictions in the broader vision of a Dorian arrival, but which sidestep additional concrete discussion of mechanisms by which a detectable new population might have assimilated into the Knossos community. Rather than digging into these archaeological inconsistencies in order to consider how to model cultural shifts at the site over the EIA, the excavators of the North Cemetery only connected the historical migration narrative with the particularities of the excavated context at the moment of the foundation of the cemetery. Since discussion of successive phases of the North Cemetery have focused on the development and expression of elite group identity within the community, the implicit assumption is therefore that the elites of the Protogeometric and Geometric community at Knossos were descendants of the original (Dorian) immigrants. The typical reconstruction of a Dorian Central Crete continues to rely, *ex silencio*, on the circular explanatory logic that EIA Dorians were elites because the aristocrats of the later historical period were identified as Dorians and, by extension, that there was a direct genetic lineage from one to the other.⁶²

One necessary way forward is to better define the label ‘elite’ from an archaeological standpoint. The EIA archaeological contexts through which the Dorian question has been pursued are wealthy contexts, perpetuating the stereotype of immigrant Dorians as inherently elite. Such archaeological contexts (e.g. KNC Tomb 200-201) also drive an individualizing biographical approach that distracts from discussions of social status as a collectively-defined identity. Another way forward would be to integrate different types of local genealogy construction built around archaeological and historical sources. In the late 9th century BC, Minoan larnakes were reused in the North Cemetery and a cult area was established in the ruins of the Minoan palace. These practices have been interpreted as strategies through which elite families legitimized and stabilized their claims to power in the community by creating fictive ancestral ties to the local past.⁶³ These actions could be creatively reconciled with later mythological genealogies connecting Knossian Dorians to Minos in order to investigate local constructions of identity through the creation of ancestors between the EIA and Classical periods.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ Coldstream 1973: 180-82.

⁶⁰ Prent 2004: 414-18; 2005: 262-63.

⁶¹ Coldstream 1984: 317. Cf. Evans 1909: 104; Coldstream 1991: 291; Lefèvre-Novaro 2014: 66.

⁶² E.g. Watrous *et al.* 2004: 317, 320-21, 333, 348. Perlman (2014) critiques this overly-simplistic picture of Cretan society. See Wallace 2018: 336-40.

⁶³ Coldstream 1998; Prent 2004: 417-18.

⁶⁴ Cf. Federico 2013; Kotsonas 2018.

Pre-Greeks and non-Greeks: Minoans and Eteocretans

In the absence of clear material correlates and of emic identifiers, EIA Dorians have also been defined in opposition to existing Minoan populations, the available ‘other’ on the island. These populations have been similarly reduced to generic units by the master migration narrative, and here the problem is also less to do with inconclusive archaeological evidence than with essentializing modern cultural labels.

The term ‘Minoan’ is homogenizing, both in its obscuring of regional variation on Crete and its reification of the cultural division between the Bronze and Iron Ages.⁶⁵ ‘Minoan’ is coterminous with the Bronze Age. The label is abandoned in scholarship after the Subminoan period, with the result that non-migrant inhabitants of the island become a blank slate in the EIA.⁶⁶ Although material evidence demonstrates that there was continuity of both physical population and cultural practices, no new label equivalent to ‘Dorian’ has been applied to the existing population of Central Crete. They become simply ‘native’ or ‘indigenous’ in post-Bronze Age scholarship.⁶⁷ In part, this reflects the assumed class relationship between Dorian aristocrats and (ex-)Minoan serfs. It also follows a common essentializing imperialist strategy of contrasting anonymous ‘natives’ with a labeled ruling group that has historically been reproduced in archaeological scholarship.⁶⁸ There has also been no engagement with modern theoretical approaches to indigeneity as part of this labelling practice.⁶⁹

Even in East Crete, the same basic problem of bridging the gap between material culture and historical narrative is visible in treatments of Eteocretans. Like the Dorians, they are a group best known from later sources (e.g. Strab. 10.4.6, 12; Diod. Sic. 5.64.1). One long-standing, if contested, assumption is that the historically-attested Eteocretans were a Minoan population that had resisted the Hellenizing influences of the Dorians more than communities further to the west, thus remaining sufficiently separate to warrant a distinct new ethnic label.⁷⁰ This assumed genetic continuity allows, among other things, for the (disputed) possibility that non-Greek inscriptions dating to the Archaic and Classical periods found at Praisos and other East Cretan sites record the Minoan language.⁷¹

Archaeological attempts to identify a discrete Eteocretan population or identity in the EIA have proven inconclusive, both locally and in contrast to Dorian Central Crete. The less-Atticized pottery of East Crete was originally thought to retain a general Minoan quality, but the use of curvilinear motifs is now treated as a regional stylistic marker rather than a cultural or ethnic one.⁷² More broadly, there is no real material distinction to be drawn even between ‘Eteocretan’ and ‘non-Eteocretan’ sites in the same region.⁷³

Our understanding of the historical Eteocretan ethnic identity is based on stories of shared descent and a distinctive linguistic identity, and approaches for at least the past few decades have emphasized the creative process by which Eteocretan communities constructed this shared

⁶⁵ Whitley 1998: 27; Tsipopoulou 2005a: 329.

⁶⁶ Cf. Nowicki 2000: 246-47.

⁶⁷ Glotz 1923: 446-47. Native: Orsi 1897: 265; Welch 1899/1900: 92; Mackenzie 1906/1907: 441; Hawes and Hawes 1922: 143, 154; Pendlebury *et al.* 1937-1938: 140-41; Willetts 1955: 47, 251; Desborough 1964: 178, 181; Watrous 1980: 282; Catling 1996: 649; Nowicki 2000: 19, 38-39, 224, 246; Watrous *et al.* 2004: 342; Coldstream 2008: 234. Indigenous: Evans 1921: 10; Pendlebury 1939: 289; Willetts 1955: 250-51; Coldstream 1984: 317; 1991: 291; Prent 2004: 416; 2005: 121-24, 208, 218-20, 549; Tsipopoulou 2005a: 304-6, 324; Erickson 2010: 324; Guizzi 2013: 334. Cf. Frieman and Hofmann 2019: 533.

⁶⁸ Given 1998: 6.

⁶⁹ There is, however, an increasing interest in modern indigenous archaeologies in Greece, e.g. Varouchakis (2017).

⁷⁰ Evans 1909: 105; Pendlebury 1939: 260; Alexiou 1950: 317; Willetts 1965: 27; Viviers 1996: 220; Whitley 1998; 2006; Tsipopoulou 2005a; Sjögren 2008: 58-60.

⁷¹ Duhoux 1982: 8, 14-16; cf. Gagarin and Perlman 2016: 47.

⁷² Tsipopoulou 2005b: 550; Coldstream 2008: 477.

⁷³ Whitley 1998.

identity.⁷⁴ The existence of a self-defined Eteocretan ethnicity seems to have been a product of the Archaic and Classical periods, however, rather than of the preceding EIA, paralleling recent arguments that the development of Dorian ethnic identities was bound up in the political formation of poleis.⁷⁵ Any attempt to retroject this identity back onto the EIA results in the same flattening of the Eteocretans as the Dorians in the absence of contemporary historical evidence, setting up a simple dichotomy between older conservative natives and innovative newcomers.

The coming of the Greeks

An amendment of the EIA Dorian migration narrative on Crete, in response to calls to reject the Dorian migration as a traceable historical event, has been to avoid any sort of ethnic labeling of putative immigrants, while retaining an otherwise identical chronological and thematic historical framework.⁷⁶ A more popular strategy, however, has been to replace ‘Dorians’ with ‘Greek-speakers’ who serve to introduce (Dorian) Greek and, by extension, Mainland Greek culture to Crete.⁷⁷ This approach typically ignores or elides the presence and linguistic legacy of Mycenaean Greek-speakers present on Crete in the Bronze Age.⁷⁸ It also subsumes complex and evolving collective identities into a generic linguistic one that cannot be accessed in the EIA record.

This historiographical pattern intersects with the deep-seated habit of labelling the EIA as ‘Greek’ or ‘Hellenic’, marking it as more than just chronologically distinct from the Bronze Age.⁷⁹ Such Hellenizing terminology can refer variably to style, culture, population, region, religion, or language from the 12th century BC onward, reinforcing an artificial sense of discontinuity between the two periods.⁸⁰

The narrower ‘early Greek’ or ‘early Greece’ is also used by archaeologists and historians to refer specifically to the EIA throughout the Aegean, although they occasionally extend it into the Protoarchaic or Archaic periods.⁸¹ ‘Early Greek’ (and its cognates in other publishing languages) has had a similarly broad range of stylistic, political, cultural, and chronological applications within this more abbreviated timeframe.⁸² The under-interrogated characterization of the EIA as ‘early Greek’ is highlighted in recent publications that interrogate the changing usage of ‘Dark Ages’ versus ‘Early Iron Age’ as periodizing terms, usefully building on earlier critiques of the disciplinary and epistemological divide between prehistory and Classical archaeology.⁸³ In these publications, however, the authors refer to ‘Early Greece’ as a chronological and conceptual category equivalent to the EIA without definition or interrogation of the conventionalized term.

On Crete, Coldstream offers a good example of the use of ‘early Greek’ as a chronological and cultural label. He used ‘Dorian’ and ‘Early Greek’ interchangeably in his early Knossian publications, but gravitated more toward the latter over time, in particular labeling Subminoan through Late Orientalizing ceramic phases (and accompanying stratigraphic levels) as ‘Early Greek’ and making

⁷⁴ Hall (J) 1997: 177-79.

⁷⁵ Viviers 1996; Perlman 2000; Wallace 2010: 371-72.

⁷⁶ E.g. Nowicki 2000: 246.

⁷⁷ E.g. Prent 2005: 112, 122-23, 208; Buell and Turner 2017: 82; Lefèvre-Novaro 2020: 1059.

⁷⁸ For differences between the Cretan dialect and mainland Doric dialects: Gagarin and Perlman 2016: 47. Dorians as introducers of the Dorian dialect: Watrous *et al.* 2004: 310-11; Lefèvre-Novaro 2014: 47, 61-62. Pre-Dorian LBA Greek speakers on Crete are seldom called Greeks except in early scholarship, e.g. Mackenzie (1906/1907: 440-41).

⁷⁹ Orsi 1897: 264; Hawes (H) 1908: 7; Levi 1927-1929: 537, 707; 1945: 2; Evans 1928: 7, 345; Pendlebury 1939: 16, 109, 273, 367; Willetts 1965: 34; Kotsonas 2002: 46. Whitelaw *et al.* 2019: 7.

⁸⁰ E.g., on religious practice: Pendlebury 1939: 318; D’Agata 2006: 339.

⁸¹ E.g. Whitley (2013: 409) uses it to refer to the Orientalizing period.

⁸² On Crete: E.g. Levi 1927-1929: 643; Payne 1927/1928; Hartley 1930/1931; Rizzo 1984: 49; Banou and Rethemiotakis 1997: 51; D’Agata 1997-2000: 59; 1999: 181-82; Kanta 2003: 182; Rethemiotakis and Englezou 2010: 191, 197; La Rosa 2013: 43-44. Recent definitions of ‘early Greece’ for the broader Aegean: Lemos and Kotsonas 2020, xxiii-xxiv; Knodell 2021, xiii.

⁸³ Kotsonas 2016: 241, 261; Murray 2018. Earlier debates: Morris (S) 1989: 47-49; Papadopoulos 1993: 194-97; Morris (I) 2000: 40-41, 74-76; Whitley 2002: 217-18; Kotsonas 2020: 78-89. Cf. Nowicki 2000: 106.

the explicit programmatic choice to label the EIA as a whole as ‘Greek’.⁸⁴ This periodic phrasing and a general lack of discussion of its use are symptomatic of the broader Hellenizing vision of post-Minoan Crete.⁸⁵

Labeling the culture of EIA Crete as ‘Greek’ or ‘early Greek’, with or without explicit reference to the supposed arrival of Greek-speaking immigrants, performs the same historiographical function as the Dorian invasion, even when the exact nature of that Greekness is not defined: it reifies discontinuities at the end of the Bronze Age and centers the external role of the broader Aegean in shaping Cretan culture.⁸⁶ The practice also establishes the EIA as a period that naturally anticipates the appearance of poleis that are institutionally idiosyncratic compared to the southern Mainland but that are still immediately legible as Greek. It allows for the investigation of *how* and *when* the process of polis development took place on Crete but inhibits asking *why* or *whether* the rise of the polis was inevitable on the island.

The additional advantage to calling (Central) Crete ‘Greek’ rather than ‘Dorian’ in more recent scholarship is that it sidesteps (rather than resolves) the problem of identifying anachronistic ethnic identities in the archaeological record and avoids criticism of adherence to an outdated migration model, by switching to an equally value-laden identity label. We interrogate these values less in broad historical narratives because of their integration into ingrained frameworks of thought, constructed as part of the modern project of European history.⁸⁷ At the same time, modern constructions of EIA ‘Greekness’ also continue to reinforce a center-periphery relationship between the southern Mainland and Crete.

The peripherality of Crete

Framing Crete as Greek creates a tension between its perceived peripherality and its integration into an Hellenic cultural sphere. Statements about Crete becoming closer to the rest of the Aegean during the EIA have tended towards generalization and often draw on the same material correlates as the Dorian migration narrative.⁸⁸ There has been a desire in scholarship from the early twentieth century onwards for Crete to be explicable as Greek, but also a sense of persistent difference or quasi-foreignness in areas like religion or in material culture such as tomb types and ceramic styles, where there are continuities from the (Minoan) Bronze Age.⁸⁹ Conservatism, both Minoan and Dorian, in post-Bronze Age Crete also remains an historical truism underpinning often-negative expectations of how the archaeological record compares to that of the Mainland.⁹⁰

The peripherality of EIA Crete is partially a factor of ancient perceptions captured by texts written by non-Cretan authors, but it is also driven by modern scholarly framing of regional differences in material culture.⁹¹ In synthetic Aegean-wide publications, treatments of Crete are characterized by partition and exclusion. In the seminal monographs of the 1970s about the EIA, for example, Crete is given less space than most mainland regions, of which Attica is typically granted the most attention.⁹² More recent synthetic publications exclude the island entirely or separate the

⁸⁴ Coldstream and Sackett 1978: 45; Coldstream 1984; 1992; Coldstream and MacDonald 1997: 196; Coldstream 2006: 581. Ceramic phasing: Coldstream 2001; Hatzaki *et al.* 2008: 235.

⁸⁵ ‘Post-Minoan’ is not neutral: Whitley 2006; Sjögren 2013: 91.

⁸⁶ Cf. Demargne 1947: 98. For critiques of ‘Greekness’ as phrasing and the lack of a concrete pan-Hellenic identity apparent in the EIA on the Mainland before the 8th century: Morgan 1993; 2003: 2-3. Wallace (2018: 309-10) prefers the term ‘Aegeans’ rather than ‘Greeks’ during the EIA, although this presents other definitional problems.

⁸⁷ See Sherratt 2005: 32.

⁸⁸ Pendlebury 1939: 289, 303; Willetts 1955, viii; Desborough 1972: 334-35.

⁸⁹ E.g. at Dreros: Marinatos 1936: 239; Coldstream 1977: 288. On the challenges of defining cult continuities and ‘Minoan’ versus ‘Panhellenic’ elements on Crete in the EIA: Prent 2005; Whitley 2009; Haysom 2011.

⁹⁰ Prent 2005: 4; Sjögren 2008: 45. On Cretan Dorian ancestral purity in evaluations of the primitiveness of Cretan institutions: Prent 2005: 89-91. The Dorianness claimed by modern Sphakiotes rests on their social isolation and conservatism as much as perceived genetic descent: Hawes 1909/1910: 262-63; Solomon 2007: 153-54.

⁹¹ Cf. Kotsonas 2016: 249-50.

⁹² Snodgrass 1971; Desborough 1972; Coldstream 1977. See also: Coldstream 2008.

discussion of protohistorical Crete from that of the rest of the post-Bronze Age Aegean because of its idiosyncrasies.⁹³

Post-Bronze Age Crete's perceived role in the 9th-7th centuries BC was to incubate new artistic influences from the Eastern Mediterranean, transmitting sculpture and metalworking techniques to the wider Aegean and pioneering Orientalizing styles.⁹⁴ Crete was thus constructed as a place for early outbursts of (Greek) artistic creativity, but its ties to its non-Greek Bronze Age past held it back from flourishing like the mainland did in later centuries.⁹⁵

The perception of Crete as uninventive without the aid of external influence was a direct product of Athenocentric artistic valuations from the earliest days of the exploration of the Cretan EIA. Cretan Protogeometric and Geometric pottery in particular did not live up to Attic standards in the eyes of art historians and archaeologists. Welch, for example, made the association between aesthetics and relative isolation clear by attributing the 'grotesqueness' of Cretan pottery to what 'we might expect from a people who were always outside the current of ordinary Greek life and politics.'⁹⁶ In ceramic-cultural terms, mainland immigrants were supposed to have introduced the 'Geometric spirit,' an artistic manifestation of the 'Greek spirit' that was apparently emerging on the Mainland, to Crete.⁹⁷ The 'Geometric spirit' was therefore intrinsically foreign to the island, which partially explained why the Cretan Geometric could never achieve its full potential.⁹⁸

Even in the 1920s, Payne challenged some assumptions behind the view of Cretan EIA pottery as second-rate, pointing out the still-poor publication record of Cretan vases; criticizing 'a tendency to regard as "Cretan" styles which are characteristic only of the more backward parts of Crete'; and arguing that Minoan and Oriental elements did not make Cretan pottery 'un-Greek.'⁹⁹ Nonetheless, throughout the first half of the 20th century, the Greek Mainland was still seen as playing a central role in hellenizing Crete, in part so that external artistic and cultural influences from elsewhere in the Mediterranean could be hellenized there in turn. Areas outside of Central Crete that were less visibly affected by the 'Geometric spirit', i.e. those that did not adopt Mainland styles wholeheartedly in the Protogeometric period, were marked as backwaters.¹⁰⁰ Demargne's differential regional processes of ceramic evolution demonstrates the longevity of this pattern. He argued that Bronze Age survivals faded out slowly in East Crete because of an ongoing Minoan cultural presence there, but saw a full break from the pre-Hellenic past in Central Crete, where all ceramic motifs that might evoke Bronze Age styles were in fact introduced from the Eastern Mediterranean.¹⁰¹ Positive creative influences, whether Greek or non-Greek, therefore came from elsewhere and anything reminiscent of the Bronze Age was coded as negatively stagnant in the face of such progress.

There was also an ongoing sense in scholarship that the native Cretans themselves were not interested in initiating cultural change, preferring to be self-sufficient and inward-looking both at the beginning and the end of the EIA. Desborough attributed this to relatively minimal disruptions at the end of the Bronze Age and to a Minoan population that followed deep-seated traditions into the EIA.¹⁰² He characterized this continuity as 'a sort of inertia,' rather than as a positive force, and

⁹³ E.g. Lemos 2002: 1; Small 2019. Such publications are increasingly balanced by such Crete-centric publications as Wallace (2010).

⁹⁴ Cf. Seelentag and Pilz 2014: 1. See Morris (S) (1995,150-94) for a survey of the transmission of practices and ideas from the Near East to the Aegean via Crete, which emphasizes the influence of Eastern Mediterranean models on later Greek forms.

⁹⁵ Demargne 1947: 102-3.

⁹⁶ Welch 1899/1900: 91-92.

⁹⁷ Mackenzie 1906/1907: 441-43; Hartley 1930/1931: 105.

⁹⁸ Droop 1905/1906: 60-62; Payne 1927/1928: 229-30; cf. Levi 1927-1929: 697; 1945: 1-2.

⁹⁹ Payne 1927/1928: 271-72. On the (now defunct) view of Late Geometric light on dark pottery as a Minoan revival: Payne 1927/1928: 281; Demargne 1947: 183; Alexiou 1950; Brock 1957: 189.

¹⁰⁰ Levi 1945: 5; Demargne 1947: 100; Desborough 1952: 270-71. There is now a full ceramic sequence from East Crete that includes a regional Protogeometric style: Mook 2004; Tsipopoulou 2005b.

¹⁰¹ Demargne 1947: 106-7.

¹⁰² Desborough 1972: 334-35, 350. See Bintliff 2019.

summed up the lack of innovation and extreme insularity of the island in the Archaic period by noting that ‘on the whole, one can discuss the affairs of the Aegean without reference to Crete.’¹⁰³

The characterization of post-Minoan Crete as a region held back by its own deep and tired history, except when acted upon by external influences, has more recently coalesced around debates over the ‘sixth-century gap’ and the material austerity of Archaic and Classical Crete.¹⁰⁴ Here, attention has historically focused on expected hallmarks of Archaic Greek material culture that largely disappeared by the mid-6th century or were never manifested on Crete until the Hellenistic period, including a black-figure pottery style, a school of large-scale stone sculpture, and peripteral temples.¹⁰⁵ The role of the southern Mainland as a baseline is clear, as these categories were also not consistently represented across the rest of the Greek world nor were they functionally necessary for participation in shared Greek traditions.

There have been increasing efforts in scholarship to emphasize the agency of Cretans in diverging from Mainland Greek norms, one example of which is the idea of Cretan exceptionalism.¹⁰⁶ This approach to the archaeological and historical records of EIA-Classical Crete places more emphasis on the high level of regional variability both on Crete and in the rest of the Aegean, reorienting the problem from one of a helpless Cretan stagnation to one of deliberate austerity in style and practice.¹⁰⁷ It thus counters over-simplified evolutionary narratives of Greek (art) history that require either the sidelining of Crete or the adoption of an artificial alignment of expectations with the rest of the Aegean. At the same time, discussions of deliberate and strategic austerity focus around historical, textually-attested links between Spartan and Cretan aristocratic conservatism that centripetally steer discussion of the EIA back towards elite identity and the predetermined acquisition of Lakonian ties.

This ongoing tension in scholarship between Crete as idiosyncratic periphery and Crete as creative island is the result of the opposing forces of archaeologically-visible regionalism across the Aegean during the EIA and a simultaneous desire to trace the origins of an emerging unifying Greekness of the sort that underpins European constructions of ‘Greek civilization’. In essence, the peripherality or relative ‘Greekness’ of Crete in the EIA, as traced through older value judgements placed on material culture traits and the ongoing use of ethnic or ethno-cultural labels, demonstrates that many culture-historical habits are still present in the construction of archaeological narratives. In particular, it assumes and therefore continues to recreate the implicit idea that there was an ancient center of ‘Greekness’ in the EIA and even in the Archaic period, against which Crete could be compared and found wanting or (more politic) idiosyncratic. Even the concept of exceptionalism requires a norm against which the exception is compared.

Conclusion

I have argued here that certain inherited assumptions about the Dorians and their more generic cognates continue to have a hold on the EIA on Crete. The history of this migration narrative in archaeological scholarship in particular demonstrates that an assumption of mobile populations as carriers of new practices and identities has not been wholly rejected, even after with the

¹⁰³ Desborough 1972: 335, 342, 350. ‘Inertia’ is a more positive attitude than earlier descriptions of the artistic production of Crete after the Orientalizing period as ‘a withered branch on the tree of Greek art’ and the 7th century as ‘the last flight of imagination of the old civilization of Crete before it settles into the darkness of its exhausted, lethargic sleep’: Levi 1945: 1, 18. Cf. Demargne 1947: 348. Part of the difficulty lies in the lack of securely-identified Cretan objects found outside of Crete to indicate trade or other outward mobility, although this situation is changing: Kotsonas 2009. Cretan imports and imitations on Sicily: Lo Porto 1974; de Barbarin and Sourisseau 2016: 209-16. Classical Cretan pottery in the Levant: Gilboa *et al.* 2017.

¹⁰⁴ Sixth-century gap debate: Coldstream and Huxley 1999; Kotsonas 2002; Erickson 2010: 296; 2014; Wallace 2010: 327-29; Brisart 2014; Haggis 2014; Pilz 2014; Gagarin and Perlman 2016: 30-31; Tsingarida and Viviers 2019: 233-38.

¹⁰⁵ Morris (S) 1995: 169; cf. Haysom 2011: 96-97. There are a small number of Archaic/Classical Doric column fragments from Knossos and Kydonia/Chania, unassociated with extant foundations: Hood and Smyth 1981: 18, 20, 45; Markoulaki 1997.

¹⁰⁶ Whitley 2004; Gagarin and Perlman 2016: 32-36.

¹⁰⁷ Whitley 2004: 438-41.

dismantling of older material correlates and the more robust model-building around topics of settlement structure, stylistic adoption, and collective identities that has emerged over the past few decades, but has instead become abstracted through casual repetition. The focus on the Dorian migration here – a topic with supposedly little serious valence in scholarship these days, but one that is still debated on and off by both detractors and partisans – is thus intended both to demonstrate that old habits die hard and to ask why this is so.

I argue that this is an essentially epistemological question, and one that needs to be addressed across the disciplinary spectrum. Because of major discontinuities in the archaeological record at sites between the EIA and the Archaic period, and because of the still-scanty excavation record for the 6th-4th centuries BC on Crete, the discussion of developing collective identities between the end of the Bronze Age and the emergence of poleis has something of an apples and oranges problem: the EIA is represented by archaeological evidence (and studied by archaeologists), while the Archaic and Classical periods are represented primarily by literary and epigraphic evidence (and studied by historians). The former evidence has traditionally been tested against the latter, but the opposite is seldom attempted. The question of Dorian identity in the EIA therefore continues to exist in the cracks provided by unresolved incompatibilities between the fragmentary archaeological record of LM IIIC-LG Crete and the migration and foundation traditions preserved in much later literary texts.

Beyond this issue of disciplinary boundaries and evidentiary authority, the broader and more amorphous epistemological stickiness lies in the available labels. The overarching purpose of this article, and one which I hope will resonate with a broad audience, which may otherwise be divided in its usual approach to the Dorians by disciplinary boundaries, has been to demonstrate the enduring tendency of weighted cultural labels to resist messy ancient pluralities for which we do not always have a definitional language.¹⁰⁸ As archaeologists (to speak for my own part of the disciplinary spectrum), we might not believe in literal migrant Dorians any longer, but neither do we collectively tend to dispute the Hellenicity of Crete in the EIA – and there is a direct line from the former to the latter in the history of archaeological scholarship that still endures. This line is often even more entrenched in text-driven historical studies of EIA-Archaic Crete. It therefore remains necessary to interrogate the teleological logic through which we anticipate the appearance of demonstrable ‘Greekness’ through language, ethnic affiliation, polis development, etc., especially in so-called peripheral areas of the Aegean. We might have disproven ‘the Dorian migration’ to Crete, but there is still conceptual and definitional work to be done around modern constructions of ‘Greekness’ applied to archaeological contexts and historical processes dating before the 8th century BC.

References

- Aldred, O. 2021. *The Archaeology of Movement*. New York: Routledge.
- Alexiou, S. 1950. Παραστάσεις πολύποδος επί Πρωτοελληνικών αγγείων εκ Κρήτης. *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 4: 294-318.
- Allegro, N. 1991. Gortina, l’abitato geometrico di Profitis Ilias, in D. Musti *et al.* (eds) *La Transizione dal Miceneo all’Alto Arcaismo. Dal palazzo alla città*: 321-30. Rome: Consiglio Nazionale Delle Ricerche.
- Anzalone, R.M. 2011. ἔσχατιή Γόρτυνος? Problematiche Archeologiche ed Epica Omerica nella Messarà della Prima Età del Ferro. *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene* 89: 147-85.
- Banou, E. and G. Rethemiotakis 1997. Centre and Periphery: New Evidence for the Relations Between Knossos and the Area of Viannos in the LM II-III A Periods, in J. Driessen and A. Farnoux (eds) *La Crète mycénienne*: 23-57. Athènes: Ecole française d’Athènes.
- Beloch, K.J. 1910. Origini cretesi. *Ausonia* 4: 219-37.
- Bintliff, J. 2019. Social theory and the Greek Iron Age, in B. Currás and I. Sastre (eds) *Alternative Iron Ages: Social Theory from Archaeological Analysis*: 309-21. New York: Routledge.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. MacSweeney 2017: 411-12

- Brisart, T. 2014. Isolation, Austerity and Fancy Pottery. Acquiring and Using Overseas Imported Fine Wares in 6th- and 5th-Century Eastern Crete, in O. Pilz and G. Seelentag (eds) *Cultural Practices and Material Culture in Archaic and Classical Crete*: 263-83. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Brock, J.K. 1957. *Fortetsa. Early Greek Tombs Near Knossos*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Buell, D.M. and L. Turner 2017. Collapse and Retraction, in L.V. Watrous *et al.* (eds) *The Galatas Survey: The Socio-Economic and Political Development of a Contested Territory in Central Crete during the Neolithic to Ottoman Periods*: 75-82. Philadelphia: INSTAP Academic Press.
- Catling, H. 1996. The Subminoan Pottery, in J.N. Coldstream and H. Catling (eds) *Knossos North Cemetery: Early Greek Tombs*: 295-310. London: British School at Athens.
- Chaniotis, A. 2011. Cultural Identity, ethnicity, and cultural transformation in Crete from the Dark Ages to the Archaic Period, in G. Rizza (ed.) *Identità Culturale, Etnicità, Processi di Trasformazione a Creta fra Dark Age e Arcaismo*: 421-32. Catania: Università di Catania, Centro di Archeologia Cretese.
- Coldstream, J.N. 1973. *Knossos: the sanctuary of Demeter*. London: British School at Athens.
- Coldstream, J.N. 1977. *Geometric Greece*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Coldstream, J.N. 1984. Dorian Knossos and Aristotle's Villages, in *Aux origines de l'hellénisme. La Crète et la Grèce*: 311-22. Paris: Centre Gustave Glotz.
- Coldstream, J.N. 1991. Knossos: An Urban Nucleus in the Dark Age, in D. Musti *et al.* (eds) *La Transizione dal Miceneo all'Alto Arcaismo. Dal palazzo alla città*: 287-99. Rome: Consiglio Nazionale Delle Ricerche.
- Coldstream, J.N. 1992. Early Hellenic Pottery, in H. Sackett (ed.) *Knossos, From Greek City to Roman Colony. Excavations at the Unexplored Mansion II*: 67-87. London: British School at Athens.
- Coldstream, J.N. 1998. Minos Redivivus: some nostalgic Knossians of the ninth century BC (a summary), in W. Cavanaugh *et al.* (eds) *Post-Minoan Crete*: 58-61. London: British School at Athens.
- Coldstream, J.N. 2001. The Early Greek Period: Subminoan to Late Orientalizing, in J.N. Coldstream, L.J. Eiring, and G. Forster (eds) *Knossos Pottery Handbook: Greek and Roman*: 21-76. London: British School at Athens.
- Coldstream, J.N. 2006. Knossos in Early Greek Times, in S. Deger-Jalkotzy and I. Lemos (eds) *Ancient Greece: From the Mycenaean Palaces to the Age of Homer*: 581-96. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Coldstream, J.N. 2008. *Greek Geometric Pottery. A Survey of Ten Styles and their Chronology*. 2nd ed. Exeter: Bristol Phoenix Press.
- Coldstream, J.N. and L.H. Sackett 1978. Knossos: Two Deposits of Orientalizing Pottery. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 73: 45-60.
- Coldstream, J.N. and H.W. Catling (eds) 1996. *Knossos North Cemetery. Early Greek Tombs*. London: The British School at Athens.
- Coldstream, J.N. and C. MacDonald. 1997. Knossos: Area of South-West Houses, Early Hellenic Occupation. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 92: 191-245.
- Coldstream, J.N. and G. Huxley 1999. Knossos: the Archaic Gap. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 94: 289-307.
- Coldstream, J.N. and L.J. Eiring 2001. The Late Archaic and Classical periods, in J.N. Coldstream, L.J. Eiring, and G. Forster (eds) *Knossos Pottery Handbook: Greek and Roman*: 77-90. London: British School at Athens.
- Cultraro, M. 2011. Il rituale funerario dell'incinerazione a Creta tra l'età del Bronzo Tardo e la prima età del Ferro, in G. Rizza (ed.) *Identità Culturale, Etnicità, Processi di Trasformazione a Creta fra Dark Age e Arcaismo*: 333-58. Catania: Università di Catania, Centro di Archeologia Cretese.
- D'Agata, A.-L. 1997-2000. Ritual and Rubbish in Dark Age Crete: the Settlement of Thronos/Kephala (Ancient Sybrita) and the Pre-Classical Roots of a Greek City. *Aegean Archaeology* 4: 45-59.
- D'Agata, A.-L. 1999. Defining a Pattern of Continuity During the Dark Ages in Central Western Crete. *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici* 41.2: 181-218.
- D'Agata, A.L. 2006. Cult activity on Crete in the Early Dark Age: Changes, continuities and the development of a 'Greek' cult system, in S. Deger-Jalkotzy and I. Lemos (eds) *Ancient Greece: From the Mycenaean Palaces to the Age of Homer*: 397-414. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Day, L.P. 1997. The Late Minoan IIIC Period at Vronda, Kavousi, in J. Driessen and A. Farnoux (eds) *La Crète mycénienne*: 391-406. Athènes: Ecole française d'Athènes.
- Day, L.P. 2011a. *The Pottery from Karphi: A Re-examination*. London: The British School at Athens.
- Day, L.P. 2011b. Appropriating the Past: Early Iron Age Mortuary Practices at Kavousi, Crete, in A. Mazarakis Ainian (ed.) *The "Dark Ages" Revisited*: 745-57. Volos: University of Thessaly Press.
- De Barbarin, L. and J.-Chr. Sourisseau 2016. Trafics orientaux en Méditerranée occidentale: quelques remarques sur la diffusion des styles céramiques dans le répertoire des cités grecques

- de Sicile orientale. *Cahiers du Centre d'Etudes Chypriotes* 16: 201-19.
- Demargne, P. 1947. *La Crète Dédalique*. Paris: E. de Boccard.
- Desborough, V.R.d'A. 1952. *Protogeometric Pottery*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Desborough, V.R.d'A. 1964. *The Last Mycenaean and their Successors*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Desborough, V.R.d'A. 1972. *The Greek Dark Ages*. London: Ernest Benn Limited.
- Dickinson, O. 2020. The irrelevance of Greek 'tradition', in G. Middleton (ed.) *Collapse and Transformation: the Late Bronze Age to Early Iron Age in the Aegean*: 153-59. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Driessen, J. and A. Farnoux 1997. *La Crète mycénienne: Actes de la table ronde internationale organisée par l'Ecole française d'Athènes, 26-28 mars 1991*. Athènes: Ecole française d'Athènes.
- Droop, J.P. 1905/1906. Some Geometric Pottery from Crete. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 12: 24-62.
- Duhoux, Y. 1982. *L'éétéocrétois: les textes, la langue*. Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben.
- Eaby, M. 2007. Mortuary Variability in Early Iron Age Cretan Burials. Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
- Erickson, B. 2004. Eleutherna and the Greek World, ca. 600-400 B.C, in L.P. Day, M.S. Mook, and J. Muhly (eds) *Crete Beyond the Palaces: Proceedings of the Crete 2000 Conference*: 199-212. Philadelphia: INSTAP Academic Press.
- Erickson, B. 2010. *Crete in Transition: Pottery Styles and Island History in the Archaic and Classical Periods*. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Erickson, B. 2014. Mind the Gap: Knossos and Cretan Archaeology of the 6th Century, in O. Pilz and G. Seelentag (eds) *Cultural Practices and Material Culture in Archaic and Classical Crete*: 67-90. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Evans, A. 1894. Primitive Pictographs and a Prae-Phoenician Script, from Crete and the Peloponnese. *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 14: 270-372.
- Evans, A. 1909. *Scripta Minoa: The Written Documents of Minoan Crete with Special Reference to the Archives of Knossos. The hieroglyphic and primitive linear classes with an account of the discovery of the pre-Phoenician scripts, their place in Minoan story and their Mediterranean relations*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Evans, A. 1921. *The Palace of Minos. A Comparative Account of the Successive Stages of the Early Cretan Civilization as Illustrated by the Discoveries at Knossos*. Vol. 1. London: MacMillan and Co., Limited.
- Evans, A. 1928. *The Palace of Minos. A Comparative Account of the Successive Stages of the Early Cretan Civilization as Illustrated by the Discoveries at Knossos*. Vol. 2. London: MacMillan and Co., Limited.
- Evans, A. 1935. *The Palace of Minos. A Comparative Account of the Successive Stages of the Early Cretan Civilization as Illustrated by the Discoveries at Knossos*. Vol. 4. London: MacMillan and Co., Limited.
- Federico, E. 2013. Rethinking the Minoan past. Two Archaic-Cretan ethnical retrospectives on primitive Crete, in W.-D. Niemeier, O. Pilz, and I. Kaiser (eds) *Kreta in der geometrischen und archaischen Zeit*: 19-30. Munich: Hirmer Verlag GmbH.
- Frieman, C. and D. Hofmann 2019. Present pasts in the archaeology of genetics, identity, and migration in Europe: a critical essay. *World Archaeology* 51.4: 528-45.
- Gagarin, M. and P. Perlman 2016. *The laws of Ancient Crete: c.650-400 BCE*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gaignerot-Driessen, F. 2016. *De l'occupation postpalatiale à la cité-état grecque: le cas du Mirambello (Crète)*. Peeters: Leuven-Liège.
- Gaignerot-Driessen, F. and J. Driessen (eds) 2014. *Cretan Cities: Formation and Transformation*. Louvain-la-Neuve: Presses universitaires de Louvain.
- Gilboa, A. et al. 2017. Cretan Pottery in the Levant in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.E. and Its Historical Implications. *American Journal of Archaeology* 121: 559-93.
- Given, M. 1998. Inventing the Eteocypriots: Imperialist Archaeology and the Manipulation of Ethnic Identity. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 11: 3-29.
- Glötz, G. 1923. *La Civilisation égéenne*. Paris: La Renaissance du Livre
- Godart, L. 1986. La caduta dei regni micenei a Creta e l'invasione dorica, in D. Musti (ed.) *Le Origini dei Greci: Dori e mondo egeo*: 173-200. Roma: Laterza.
- Guizzi, F. 1990. I Dori a Creta e la Guerra di Troia: le Varianti nella Tradizione. *Rivista di cultura classica e medioevale* 32: 19-27.
- Guizzi, F. 2013. Synoecisms in Archaic Crete, in W.-D. Niemeier, O. Pilz, and I. Kaiser (eds) *Kreta in der geometrischen und archaischen Zeit*: 331-40. Munich: Hirmer Verlag GmbH.
- Haggis, D. 2014. Excavations at Azoria and Stratigraphic Evidence for the Restructuring of Cretan Landscapes ca. 600 BCE: Models of Urbanization on Crete, in O. Pilz and G. Seelentag (eds) *Cultural Practices and Material Culture in Archaic and Classical Crete*: 11-39. Berlin: de Gruyter.

- Halbherr, F. 1901. Cretan Expedition XI. Three Cretan Necropoleis: Report on the Researches at Erganos, Panaghia, and Courtes. *American Journal of Archaeology* 5: 259-93.
- Hall, E. 1914. *Excavations in East Crete, Vrokastro*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.
- Hall, J. 1997. *Ethnic Identity in Greek antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hall, J. 2002. *Hellenicity: Between Ethnicity and Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Hartley, M. 1930/1931. Early Greek Vases from Crete. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 31: 56-114.
- Hatzaki, E. et al. 2008. Knossos, the Little Palace North Project, Part I: The Early Greek Periods. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 103: 223-73.
- Hatzaki, E. and P.S. Keswani 2012. Mortuary practices and ideology in Bronze Age-Early Iron Age Crete and Cyprus: comparative perspectives, in G. Cadogan (ed.) *Parallel Lives: Ancient Island Societies in Crete and Cyprus*: 307-13. London: The British School at Athens.
- Hatzaki, E. and A. Kotsonas 2020. Knossos and North Central Crete, in I. Lemos and A. Kotsonas (eds) *A Companion to the Archaeology of Early Greece and the Mediterranean*: 1029-54. Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Hawes, C. 1909/1910. Some Dorian Descendants? *Annual of the British School at Athens* 16: 258-80.
- Hawes, H.B. 1908. *Gournia, Vasiliki and Other Prehistoric Sites on the Isthmus of Hierapetra, Crete: Excavations of the Wells-Houston-Cramp Expeditions, 1901, 1903, 1904*. Philadelphia: American Exploration Society.
- Hawes, C. and H.B. Hawes 1922. *Crete, the Forerunner of Greece*. 4th ed. New York: Harper & Brothers.
- Hayden, B. et al. 2004. *Reports on the Vrokastro Area, Eastern Crete*. Vol. 2, *The Settlement History of the Vrokastro Area and Related Studies*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.
- Hayden, O. 2020. Networks of Knowledge: Metallurgical Technologies in Early Iron Age Cyprus and Crete. Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.
- Haysom, M. 2011. The Strangeness of Crete. Problems for the Protohistory of Greek Religion, in M. Haysom and J. Wallenstein (eds) *Current Approaches to Religion in Ancient Greece*: 95-109. Stockholm: Swedish Institute.
- Hood, M.S.F. and D. Smyth 1981. *Archaeological Survey of the Knossos Region*. 2nd ed. Athens: British School at Athens.
- Jones, S. 1997. *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present*. London: Routledge.
- Kanta, A. 1980. *The Late Minoan III Period in Crete: A Survey of Sites, Pottery and Their Distribution*. Göteborg: Paul Aströms Förlag.
- Kanta, A. 2003. Aristocrats - Traders - Emigrants - Settlers. Crete in the Closing Phases of the Bronze Age, in N. Stampolidis and V. Karageorghis (eds) *Πλόες. Interconnections in the Mediterranean 16th-6th c. BC*: 173-86. Athens: University of Crete and the A.G. Leventis Foundation.
- Kanta, A. et al. 2020. Movements of people from mainland Greece to Crete and Cyprus. The case of the fortified citadel of Orne in the framework of historical developments in the southeast Mediterranean, in N. Stampolidis and M. Giannopoulou (eds) *Eleutherna, Crete and the Outside World*: 329-37. Rethymno: University of Crete.
- Knodell, A. 2021. *Societies in Transition in Early Greece: An Archaeological History*. Oakland: University of California Press.
- Kotsonas, A. 2002. The Rise of the Polis in Central Crete. *Eulimene* 3: 37-74.
- Kotsonas, A. 2009. Central Greece and Crete in the Early Iron Age, in A. Mazarakis Ainian (ed.) *Proceedings of the international conference 2o Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας 2003-2005*: 1051-65. Volos: University of Thessaly.
- Kotsonas, A. 2016. Politics of Periodization and the Archaeology of Early Greece. *American Journal of Archaeology* 120: 239-70.
- Kotsonas, A. 2018. Homer, the archaeology of Crete and the 'Tomb of Meriones' at Knossos. *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 138: 1-35.
- Kotsonas, A. 2019. Politics, Research Agendas and Abortive Fieldwork Plans over Lyktos, Crete: A History of Archaeological Research. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 114: 399-443.
- Kotsonas, A. 2020. History of Research, in I. Lemos and A. Kotsonas (eds) *A Companion to the Archaeology of Early Greece and the Mediterranean*: 75-96. Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Kristiansen, K. 2014. Towards a New Paradigm? The Third Science Revolution and its Possible Consequences in Archaeology. *Current Swedish Archaeology* 22: 11-34.
- Langohr, C. 2020. Growth and turmoil in the thirteenth century in Crete, in G. Middleton (ed.) *Collapse and Transformation: the Late Bronze Age to Early Iron Age in the Aegean*: 87-96. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- La Rosa, V. 2013. A New Protogeometric Road in the Settlement of Phaistos, in W.-D. Niemeier, O. Pilz, and I. Kaiser (eds) *Kreta in der geometrischen und archaischen Zeit*: 43-57. Munich: Hirmer Verlag GmbH.

BEWARE OF GREEKS BEARING GIFTS: CRETAN ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE DORIAN INVASION

- Lazaridis, I. et al. 2017. Genetic origins of the Minoans and Mycenaeans. *Nature* 548: 214-18.
- Lefèvre-Novaro, D. 2014. *Du massif de l'Ida aux pentes du mont Diktè: peuples, territoires et communautés en Messara (Crète) du XIIIe au VIIe siècle av. J.-C.* Paris: De Boccard.
- Lefèvre-Novaro, D. 2020. The Messara, in I. Lemos and A. Kotsonas (eds) *A Companion to the Archaeology of Early Greece and the Mediterranean: 1055-65*. Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Lemos, I. 2002. *The Protogeometric Aegean: the archaeology of the late eleventh and tenth centuries BC*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lemos, I. and Kotsonas, A. (eds). 2020. *A Companion to the Archaeology of Early Greece and the Mediterranean*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Levi, D. 1927-1929. Arkades: Una Città Cretese all'Alba della Civiltà Ellenica. *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene* 10-12: 1-723.
- Levi, D. 1945. Early Hellenic Pottery of Crete. *Hesperia* 14: 1-32.
- Lo Porto, F.G. 1974. Vasi cretesi e pseudo cretesi in Italia, in G. Pugliese Carratelli and G. Rizza (eds) *Antichità Cretesi: Studi in onore di Doro Levi*: 173-88. Catania: Università di Catania.
- Mackenzie, D. 1906/1907. Cretan Palaces and the Aegean Civilization. III. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 13: 423-45.
- MacSweeney, N. 2009. Beyond ethnicity: The overlooked diversity of group identities. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 22: 101-26.
- MacSweeney, N. 2017. Separating Fact from Fiction in the Ionian Migration. *Hesperia* 86: 379-421.
- Malkin, I. (ed.) 2001. *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Mariani, L. 1901. Cretan Expedition XIII. The Vases of Erganos and Courtes. *American Journal of Archaeology* 5: 302-14.
- Marinatos, S. 1936. Le temple géométrique de Dréros. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 60: 214-85.
- Markoulaki, S. 1997. Οδός Μιχελιαδάκη 11- πάροδος Δημοκρατίας (οικόπεδο Παισιάκη-Μπενάκη). *Archaiologikon Deltion* 52: 1013-14.
- Mook, M.S. 2004. From Foundation to Abandonment: New Ceramic Phasing for the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age on the Kastro at Kavousi, in L.P. Day, M.S. Mook, and J. Muhly (eds) *Crete Beyond the Palaces: Proceedings of the Crete 2000 Conference*: 163-79. Philadelphia: INSTAP Academic Press.
- Morgan, C. 1993. The origins of pan-Hellenism, in N. Marinatos and R. Hägg (eds) *Greek Sanctuaries: New Approaches*: 14-33. London: Routledge.
- Morgan, C. 2003. *Early Greek States Beyond the Polis*. London: Routledge.
- Morris, I. 2000. *Archaeology as Cultural History: Words and Things in Iron Age Greece*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Morris, S. 1989. Daidalos and Kadmos: Classicism and 'Orientalism'. *Arethusa* 22: 39-54.
- Morris, S. 1995. *Daidalos and the Origins of Greek Art*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Murray, S. 2018. Lights and Darks: Data, Labeling, and Language in the History of Scholarship on Early Greece. *Hesperia* 87: 17-54.
- Nafplioti, A. 2008. "Mycenaean" political domination of Knossos following the Late Minoan IB destructions on Crete: negative evidence from strontium isotope ratio analysis (87Sr/86Sr). *Journal of Archaeological Science* 35: 2307-17.
- Nafplioti, A. 2012. Late Minoan IB destructions and cultural upheaval on Crete: A bioarchaeological perspective, in E. Kaiser et al. (eds) *Population Dynamics in Prehistory and Early History: New Approaches Using Stable Isotopes and Genetics*: 241-64. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Nowicki, K. 2000. *Defensible Sites in Crete, c.1200-800 B.C.* Liège/Austin: Université de Liège, Histoire de l'Art et Archéologie de la Grèce Antique/ University of Texas, Program in Aegean Scripts and Prehistory.
- Orsi, P. 1897. Note on a Mycenaean Vase and on Some Geometric Vases of the Syllagos of Candia. *American Journal of Archaeology* 1: 251-65.
- Panagiotopoulou, E. et al. 2018. Detecting Mobility in Early Iron Age Thessaly by Strontium Isotope Analysis. *European Journal of Archaeology* 21: 590-611.
- Papadopoulos, J. 1993. To Kill a Cemetery: The Athenian Kerameikos and the Early Iron Age in the Aegean. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 6: 175-206.
- Payne, H. 1927/1928. Early Greek Vases from Knossos. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 29: 224-98.
- Pendlebury, J.D.S. 1939. *The Archaeology of Crete*. London: Methuen & Co., Ltd.
- Pendlebury, J.D.S. et al. 1937/1938. Excavations in the Plain of Lasithi. III. Karphi: A City of Refuge of the Early Iron Age in Crete. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 36: 57-145.
- Perlman, P. 2000. Gortyn. The First Seven Hundred Years (Part I), in P. Flensted-Jensen, T.H. Nielsen, and L. Rubinstein (eds) *Polis & Politics. Studies in Ancient Greek History*: 59-89. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press.
- Perlman, P. 2005. Imagining Crete, in M.H. Hansen (ed.) *The Imaginary Polis*: 282-334. Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Danske Videnskaberne Selskab.

- Perlman, P. 2014. Reading and Writing Archaic Cretan Society, in O. Pilz and G. Seelentag (eds) *Cultural Practices and Material Culture in Archaic and Classical Crete*: 177-206. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Perna, K. 2011. The LM IIIC Burial Culture in Crete: A Socio-Economic Perspective, in J. Murphy (ed.) *Prehistoric Crete: Regional and Diachronic Studies on Mortuary Systems*: 119-64. Philadelphia: INSTAP Press.
- Perna, R. 2012. *L'Acropoli di Gortina. La Tavola "A" della Carta Archeologica della Città di Gortina*. Macerata: Università degli Studi di Macerata.
- Pilz, O. 2014. Narrative Art in Archaic Crete, in O. Pilz and G. Seelentag (eds) *Cultural Practices and Material Culture in Archaic and Classical Crete*: 243-61. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Pilz, O. and G. Seelentag (eds). 2014. *Cultural Practices and Material Culture in Archaic and Classical Crete*. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Popham, M. 1984. *The Minoan Unexplored Mansion at Knossos*. London: The British School at Athens.
- Prent, M. 2004. Cult activities at the Palace of Knossos from the end of the Bronze Age: continuity and change, in G. Cadogan *et al.* (eds) *Knossos: Palace, City, State*: 411-19. London: British School at Athens.
- Prent, M. 2005. *Cretan Sanctuaries and Cults*. Leiden: Brill.
- Preston, L. 2004. A Mortuary Perspective on Political Changes in Late Minoan II-III B Crete. *American Journal of Archaeology* 108: 321-48.
- Rethemiotakis, G. and M. Englezou 2010. *Το Γεωμετρικό Νεκροταφείο της Έλτυνας*. Heraklion: Υ.Π.Π.Ο.Τ., Αρχαιολογικό Ινστιτούτο Κρητολογικών Σπουδών.
- Rizzo, M. 1984. Gli scavi e le ricerche di età 'ellenica', in A. Di Vita *et al.* (eds) *Creta antica: cento anni di archeologia italiana (1884-1984)*: 43-46. Roma: De Luca.
- Ruppenstein, F. 2013. Cremation burials in Greece from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age: continuity or change?, in M. Lochner and F. Ruppenstein (eds) *Brandbestattungen von der mittleren Donau bis zur Ägäis zwischen 1300 und 750 v. Chr.*: 185-96. Wien: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press.
- Seelentag, G. and O. Pilz 2014. Introduction, in O. Pilz and G. Seelentag (eds) *Cultural Practices and Material Culture in Archaic and Classical Crete*: 1-9. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Sherratt, S. 2005. 'Ethnicities', 'ethnonyms' and archaeological labels. Whose ideologies and whose identities?, in J. Clarke (ed.) *Archaeological Perspectives on the Transmission and Transformation of Culture in the Eastern Mediterranean*: 25-38. Oxford: Oxbow.
- Sjögren, L. 2008. *Fragments of Archaic Crete: archaeological studies on time and space*. Uppsala: Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, Uppsala University.
- Sjögren, L. 2013. The Enduring Minoan Legacy: Coming to terms with Minoan culture after the Bronze Age, in A-L. Schallin (ed.) *Perspectives on Ancient Greece*: 89-101. Stockholm: Swedish Institute at Athens.
- Small, D. 2019. *Ancient Greece: Social Structure and Evolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Snodgrass, A. 1971. *The Dark Age of Greece: An Archaeological Survey of the Eleventh to the Eighth Centuries BC*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Solomon, E. 2007. 'Multiple Historicities' on the Island of Crete: The Significance of Minoan Archaeological Heritage in Everyday Life. Unpublished PhD dissertation, University College London.
- Stampolidis, N. Chr (ed.) 2001. *Καύσεις στην Εποχή του Χαλκού και την Πρώιμη Εποχή του Σιδήρου*. Athens: University of Crete at Rethymnon.
- Taramelli, A. 1901. Cretan Expedition XII. Notes on the Necropolis of Courtes. *American Journal of Archaeology* 5: 294-301.
- Tsingarida, A. and D. Viviers 2019. No More Gap, But New Social Practices: Evidence of Collective Funerary Rituals in Itanos during the 6th and 5th Centuries BC, in I. Lemos and A. Tsingarida (eds) *Beyond the Polis: Rituals, Rites, and Cults in Early and Archaic Greece (12th-6th Centuries BC)*: 213-46. Brussels: CREA-Patrimoine, ULB.
- Tsiporopoulou, M. 2005a. 'Mycenoans' at the Isthmus of Ierapetra: Some (Preliminary) Thoughts on the Foundation of the (Eteo)Cretan Cultural Identity, in A.-L. D'Agata and J. Moody (eds) *Ariadne's Threads: Connections Between Crete and the Greek Mainland in Late Minoan III (LM IIIA2 to LM IIIC)*: 303-33. Athens: Scuola archeologica italiana di Atene.
- Tsiporopoulou, M. 2005b. *Η ανατολική Κρήτη στην πρώιμη εποχή του σιδήρου*. Ηράκλειο: Αρχαιολογικό Ινστιτούτο Κρητολογικών Σπουδών.
- Varouchakis, V. 2017. Indigenous Archaeologies of Crete, 1878-1913. *Public Archaeology* 16: 42-66.
- Viviers, D. 1996. 'Vrais et faux Crétois'. Aspects de l'autochtonie en Crète orientale. *Topoi* 6: 205-20.
- Wallace, S. 2003. The perpetuated past: re-use or continuity in material culture and structuring of identity in Early Iron Age Crete. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 98: 251-77.
- Wallace, S. 2005. Last Chance to See? Karfi (Crete) in the Twenty-First Century: Presentation of New

- Architectural Data and Their Analysis in the Current Context of Research. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 100: 215-74.
- Wallace, S. 2010. *Ancient Crete: From Successful Collapse to Democracy's Alternatives, 12th-5th centuries BC*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wallace, S. 2018. *Travellers in Time: imagining movement in the ancient Aegean world*. New York: Routledge.
- Warren, P. 1982/1983. Knossos: Stratigraphical Museum Excavations, 1978-82. Part II. *Archaeological Reports* 29: 63-87.
- Warren, P. 2005. Response to Eleni Hatzaki, in A.-L. D'Agata and J. Moody (eds) *Ariadne's threads: connections between Crete and the Greek mainland in Late Minoan III (LM IIIA2 to LM IIIC)*: 97-103. Atene: Scuola archeologica italiana di Atene.
- Watrous, L.V. 1980. J.D.S. Pendlebury's Excavations in the Plain of Lasithi. The Iron Age Sites. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 75: 269-83.
- Watrous, L.V. et al. 2004. *The Plain of Phaistos: Cycles of Social Complexity in the Mesara Region of Crete*. Los Angeles: University of California, Cotsen Institute of Archaeology.
- Welch, F.B. 1899/1900. Knossos. Summary Report of the Excavations in 1900: III. Notes on the Pottery. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 6: 85-92.
- Whitelaw, T. et al. 2019. Long-term urban dynamics at Knossos: The Knossos Urban Landscape Project, 2005-16, in Πεπραγμένα IB' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου (*Proceedings of the 12th International Congress of Cretan Studies*). <https://12iccs.proceedings.gr/en/proceedings/category/39/35/796>.
- Whitley, J. 1998. From Minoans to Eteocretans: the Praisos Region 1200-500 BC, in W. Cavanaugh et al. (eds) *Post-Minoan Crete*: 27-39. London: British School at Athens.
- Whitley, J. 2002. Objects with Attitude: Biographical Facts and Fallacies in the Study of Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Warrior Graves. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 12: 217-32.
- Whitley, J. 2004. Style Wars: towards an explanation of Cretan exceptionalism, in G. Cadogan et al. (eds) *Knossos: Palace, City, State*: 433-42. London: The British School at Athens.
- Whitley, J. 2006. The Minoans - A Welsh Invention? A View from East Crete, in Y. Hamilakis and N. Momigliano (eds) *Archaeology and European Modernity: Producing and Consuming the 'Minoans'*: 55-67. Padova: Bottega d'Erasmus.
- Whitley, J. 2009. The Chimera of Continuity: What Would 'Continuity of Cult' Actually Demonstrate?, in A.-L. D'Agata and A. Van de Moortel (eds) *Archaeologies of Cult: essays on ritual and cult in Crete in honor of Geraldine C. Gesell*: 281-88. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Whitley, J. 2013. The Cretan Orientalizing. A comparative perspective, in W.-D. Niemeier, O. Pilz, and I. Kaiser (eds) *Kreta in der geometrischen und archaischen Zeit*: 409-26. Munich: Hirmer Verlag GmbH.
- Whitley, J. 2016. Burning people, breaking things: Material entanglements, the Bronze Age/Iron Age transition and the Homeric dividual, in M. Mina, S. Triandaphyllou, and Y. Papadatos (eds) *An Archaeology of Prehistoric Bodies and Embodied Identities in the Eastern Mediterranean*: 215-23. Oxford: Oxbow.
- Willetts, R.F. 1955. *Aristocratic society in ancient Crete*. London: Routledge and Paul.
- Willetts, R.F. 1965. *Ancient Crete: A social history from early times until the Roman occupation*. London: Routledge and K. Paul.
- Xanthoudides, S. 1904. Ἐκ Κρήτης. *Archaiologike Ephemeris*: 1-56.