Little more than a year has elapsed since the original publication of our review of Neopalatial, Final Palatial, and Postpalatial Crete (RAP VII), and while there have been no major upheavals in our overview of Minoan archaeology, many new studies have appeared, including some that were listed earlier as forthcoming. This update, therefore, concentrates primarily on bibliographical additions and follows the basic outline of information presented above in RAP VII.

INTRODUCTION

As we reported earlier, the era of large-scale excavations on Crete by foreign schools seems to be drawing to a close as survey work increases. Many excavation projects are now in study session (e.g., Galatas, the Gournia Survey, Kavousi, Kommos, Palaikastro, Petras, Pseira, Syme Viannou, Vasiliki Ierapetras), while several surveys have been completed in remote regions: in Ziros in southeast Crete, the Ayios Vasilios valley west of Amari, the southern island of Gavdos, and in the region around Sphakia. Publications of major sites are appearing with reassuring regularity, including new volumes in the Kommos, Khaania, and Pseira series. A lavish two-volume publication, available in Greek and English, presents the sites at Archanes (Pithoni, Tourgoeitoanis, and Anemospilia); the format, a series of essays, will remind readers of Evans’s Palace of Minos, but the lack of indices, inventory numbers, dimensions, and scientific data will limit the books’ usefulness. The CMS has published new volumes of seals and sealings, and is planning its fifth septennial conference in September 1999 in Marburg, Germany. Although not yet published, the 8th Cretological Congress (September 1996) focused on Minoan domestic life, no doubt influenced by the shift in archaeology as a whole toward analyzing all levels of soci-

545 Many of our new observations in this addendum follow a visit to Crete in January 1999. In addition to the abbreviations used in RAP VII, the following are found below:


LM III Pottery E. Hallager and B.P. Hallager eds., Late Minoan III Pottery: Chronology and Terminology (Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 1, Athens 1997).


The Aegeum series continues to publish conference proceedings and specialized studies; one recent volume presents the conference on the Aegean and Orient that took place in Cincinnati (April 1997). In Athens, as of May 1999, Mark Cameron’s studies and reconstructions of the Knossos frescoes are being exhibited at the Goulandris Museum.

In preparation for “Knossos 2000,” the centenary celebration of Evans’s excavations, the palace has been given a new circulation pattern (director A. Karetou, architect C. Palyvou), including wooden walkways to protect the pavements. Plans are under way at several other sites to accommodate tourists: at Kommos viewing platforms will keep the visitor from areas threatened by sand, and an extensive roof will protect the temple area.

The problems with Minoan chronology for the Neopalatial period are not yet resolved. While more Aegean scholars seem to accept the low Aegean chronology, supported by colleagues in Egyptian archaeology, we continue to favor the high chronology, as does Manning. The date of the LM IA Thera eruption is still a linchpin in this debate. It is now clear that the volcanic tephra samples dated to 1628 cannot belong to the LM IA Thera eruption, but neither have samples been found that match the 1520/1500 date argued by supporters of the low chronology. A series of radiocarbon dates for LM IB destructions on Crete at sites like Mochlos cluster convincingly around 1490, implying a higher chronology for LM IA. For the Uluburun shipwreck, however, the last existing ring on a log of firewood or dung age gives a terminus ante quem non of 1305.

The controversy over the source(s) of tin used in the Aegean continues, but an extended trade route from the east now seems likely. Gale and others have noted that texts from Mari of the time of Zimri-Lim (early 18th century) mention tin being sent on westward “to Qatna, to Ugarit, to Laish/Dan, to Hazor and to a Caphthorite,” the last probably a Minoan. The tin may have been coming to Mari from deposits in the east, perhaps “by donkey caravan from Susa (Susiana) and Anshan (Elam) through Eshmunna (Tell Asmar),” which may also have conveyed lapis lazuli and other precious stones like carnelian and Cambay agate.

NEOPALATIAL CRETE (MM III–LM IB)

Our conviction remains unchanged that the roots of many Neopalatial developments must be sought in the Protopalatial period, whose social complexity can be seen reflected in burial practices and at peak sanctuaries. At Atsipades, for instance, there is evidence for differences, perhaps gendered, ritual activities in the separate areas of the sanctuary: in trench area B female figurines were concentrated in the center and male at the periphery, and all employed the arms-to-chest gesture, while those from trench areas C and D preferred the upraised-arms gesture.

New discoveries at individual sites help expand our picture of Neopalatial architecture and the landscape of communities. For example, at Knossos, near the Stratigraphic Museum, a paved LM I road has been found, apparently continuing the line of the Royal Road, and there are new studies of various areas in and about the palace. In the Splantzia neighborhood of Chania the LM I building with the frescoed lustral basin is part of a large (320 m²) architectural complex that reflects the extent and orientation of the Neopalatial city toward the sea. At Petras, work continues on the settlement surrounding the MM–LM I court-centered building, now almost completely


550 We thank P. Betancourt, M. Wiener, and S. Manning for their personal communications on the subject in April 1999.


uncovered, and its relations with other communities in the area.⁵⁵⁵

Some of the changes in late Neopalatial Crete may be attributable to the Thera eruption. For instance, the habitation sequence at Kavousi-Charkia, Rousses, is long (EM, MM II, MM III–LM IA, and LM IIIA/ B), but evidence for LM IB and II is missing; at Galatas the palace was destroyed by an earthquake “about the time of the eruption of Santorini.”⁵⁵⁶

Continuing excavation shows that the complex at Galatas covers at least 4 stremmata (ca. 0.4 ha) with four wings surrounding a well-paved central court (16 × 37 m) with an impressive north façade: large ashlar orthostats occur in a tripartite arrangement (cf. Phaistos) with a pillared stoa at the northwest entrance. The east wing was built and destroyed by fire within MM IIIA, then rebuilt at the MM IIIIB/LM IA transition; from the earlier phase come the earliest Neopalatial fresco fragments that can be dated stratigraphically. In the last phase, LM IA, squatters blocked doorways and constructed rough installations in several rooms and hallways, including a large fireplace in the pillar room.

The urbanization of Neopalatial Crete continues to be documented, with individual building complexes—the palaces and villas—still receiving most of the attention. The publication of the 1992 conference “The Function of the Minoan Villa” includes papers that discuss specific modular units like the Minoan “Hall,” while many others grapple with villa terminology without reaching consensus.⁵⁵⁷ In the broader urban landscape, however, an impressive series of roads connects the rural towns to cities in what is beginning to resemble the expected nucleated pattern. In eastern Crete a cluster of “villas” in the Zakros region is connected by a system of roads, towers, and industrial installations.⁵⁵⁸ Within this urban environment, documented to some extent for all but southwestern Crete, we should expect to see some aspects of architecture that are pan-Cretan and others that are regional; for instance, some mason’s marks, like the double ax and the branch, appear at all palatial sites, while others, like the trident at Phaistos, occur only at specific sites.⁵⁵⁹ Now that much is known about Minoan architecture and its tendency toward an urban landscape dotted with building complexes, scholars are once again investigating comparisons with the eastern Mediterranean and Near East.⁵⁶⁰

An extremely important contribution to the discussion of Neopalatial Crete is the publication by Driessen and Macdonald of The Troubled Island.⁵⁶¹ Contrary to established opinion, the authors argue that the LM IA period, rather than LM IB, marks the acme of the Neopalatial period. A detailed gazetteer of sites assembles an impressive list of architectural modifications at many sites between LM IA and IB, which according to the authors reflect societal change and political insecurity in the aftermath of the Thera eruption. The appearance of palatial elements in LM IB pottery, for instance, is read as an index of decline in other artistic media. The picture from the evidence is, however, extremely complex and susceptible to alternate interpretations. As we noted earlier, architectural changes can be seen throughout the island during the entire Neopalatial period. The borrowing of palatial elements by LM IB pottery could be interpreted as a trickle-down process through which these motifs were actually disseminated to a wider audience. Nevertheless, The Troubled Island is likely to engage the attention of Aegeanists for some time to come.

In our earlier report (RAP VII) we concentrated on providing a survey of major Neopalatial art forms


⁵⁵⁶ In AR 1997–1998: Kavousi-Charkia, 126; and Galatas, 112.


⁵⁵⁹ I. Begg, “An Archaeology of Palatial Mason’s Marks,” in Festschrift S.A. Immerwahr (in preparation); we are grateful to the author for permission to read this study in advance of publication.


and materials, but more work remains to be done on tools, techniques, and the organization and outfitting of workshops; a newly excavated workshop in the Poros area of Halkiion provides valuable evidence for the production of sealstones, beads, and other objects. Other, specialized, forms of production have received attention including the objects deposited at specific types of sites like peak sanctuaries. In the area of pottery production, general studies are balanced by work on specialized fabrics and style, and on trade networks within Crete and the Aegean. Cloth production, exchange, and the codification of social values in clothing are the subjects of dissertations now in preparation or recently completed. Two important studies of bronze animal figurines include catalogues of those from throughout the island and those from Syene in particular. The human figurines, both in bronze and terracotta, yield information concerning gender.

The number of gender studies has finally begun to increase noticeably; while some are synoptic, adhering to the broader issues of archaeological theory, others document more specific aspects. Some crafts, for instance, once thought to be the exclusive domain of men, like pottery production, were surely also practiced by women.

The publication of CHIC has prompted further studies on Cretan Hieroglyphic, including a review that attempts to set out what is now known. The CMS series on Minoan sealings now includes CMS II.7: Die Siegelabdrücke von Kato Zakros (Berlin 1998), and two further volumes, on sealings from Ayia Triada and elsewhere in the island and the Knossos sealings, are scheduled to appear shortly.

Linear A studies have moved in two new directions: the probable participation of Linear A in the development of linear scripts in the eastern Mediterranean has been explored, as has its evidence for the Minoan language. While new Linear A inscriptions have been excavated at Akrotiri in Thera and at Melos and have been claimed at Troy and elsewhere in Turkey, other linear inscriptions that bear distinct similarities to Linear A have been found in Israel: an inscribed stone bowl fragment from Lachish (dated Aenean Neolithic, 88–112; and L.A. Hitchcock, "Engendering Domination," 113–30. See also A. Pilali-Papasteriou, Μνημεία ανθρωπολογίας ευδόκα της συλλογής Μεταξά (Thessaloniki 1992); and Pilali-Papasteriou, "Social Evidence from the Interpretation of Middle Minoan Figurines," in I. Hodder ed., The Meanings of Things (London 1989) 97–102.

by context to ca. 1200) and an incised LBA potsherd from Tel Haror. These finds suggest that linear inscriptions in the Late Bronze Age may be more widespread than previously thought and that Linear A is probably involved in their development.

Renfrew has laid out a strong case for identifying the Minoan language as a development of Indo-Hittite. If the Cretan people came from southwest Anatolia, he argues, then their language should derive from southwest Anatolian languages and be related to Luvian or perhaps Carian, deriving ultimately from Indo-Hittite, which had branched off from a greater language system, the rest of which "moved on" (as it were) west to develop into the Indo-European languages, including Greek. Such a reconstruction suggests that a decipherment of Minoan is inevitable, but since several different writing systems were in use in MM Crete at more or less the same time (Hieroglyphic, Linear A, and the inscription on the Phaistos Disc to which that on the Arkalochori ax seems related), there may have been several separate languages or dialects.

Renfrew also suggests that many words identified as non-or pre-Greek, many of which occur in Linear B, were adopted from Minoan into early Greek during its development; two words for high male officials in Mycenaean Greek, wana-ka and qa-ri-a (the later Greek words for lord and king, "wanax" and "basileus"), are prime candidates, but they have not yet been identified in Linear A, nor can similarly high-ranking male officials be identified in Minoan art. By contrast, high-ranking Minoan women and goddesses can be identified in Minoan art, yet the relevant Mycenaean word, poi-ni-ja, is transparently Greek ("powerful female"); no masculine form of the word is attested in Mycenaean or classical Greek.

The excavations at Tell el-Dab'a, and studies of specific imports and exports, all document a fusion of cultures in the eastern Mediterranean, of which the later Uluburun shipwreck provides a freeze-frame picture. To explain how this fusion works Aegeanists have begun assembling theoretical models: two workshops at the Swedish School in Athens in 1994 and 1995 concentrated on the economic engines that drove this cultural mingling, and the "Aegean and Orient" conference in Cincinnati in 1997 presented a lively series of papers on a variety of cultural issues.

Current trends in Neopatralia religion include the study or restudy of specific buildings or deposits of material, individual objects or types of artifact, and the social aspects of religion and ritual on the common as well as elite level.
FINAL PALATIAL CRETE (LM II—IIIB EARLY)

In 1991 a conference on the mycenaeanization of Crete focused on several major issues: the process of mycenaeanization; the conditions in LM I—II that preceded the takeover; the subsequent differences in art and craft production and in religious expression; and the relative positions of Knossos and the rest of the island, including the patterns of destruction at Knossos itself. The conference also featured some synoptic reports on Mycenaean activity at specific sites, including Archaeoa, Chania, Kommos, and Mallia. At Knossos recent excavations have confirmed not only that outlying buildings were destroyed in LM II, but that the LM IIIA1/2 destruction of the palace finds another parallel at Chamos-
levri, Rethymnon. At Ayia Triada, Mycenaean building began at this time, early in LM IIIA2, and included the "Casa delle camere decapitate" and the famous "Tomb of the Painted Sarcophagus." Chrysokaminos exhibits several phases of activity in LM IIIA, with a final phase in LM IIIB contemporary with the final phase of palatial activity at Knossos. Farms in megalithic masonry, a hallmark of the Neopalatial period, continue into the Final Palatial period.

Minoan art in the Final Palatial period has yet to receive its own synoptic study, but specialized studies continue. The "LM III Pottery" conference held at the Danish Institute in Athens in 1994 presented papers that addressed the preceding LM II style, and pottery of LM IIIA—C in all aspects—terminology, shapes, fabrics, regional styles, and centers of production; further studies of stirrup jars detail their fabrics and places of manufacture; and some Linear B studies focus on crafts in the texts.

While some attention continues to be paid to tholoi and, to a certain extent, to the more humble pithos burials, the study of painted larnakes is picking up pace with the increasing display of examples in the Chania, Rethymnon, and Ayios Nikolaos museums, and with the ongoing publication of individual examples. These studies lay the groundwork for a re-investigation of the relationship between the Cretan and Tanagra larnakes and of the possible influence of painted larnakes on the rebirth of figural art in Crete following the Dark Age.

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For Linear B, bibliographies and studies continue to appear, presenting new tablets from Chania, joins among the Knossos tablets, and a broader diachronic understanding of the textile industry.\footnote{1} The archaeological background of the Knossos tablets and the “final” destruction of the palace both still receive emphasis, but a new study by Weingarten not only discusses how Knossian administrators used seals in general but how one administrator, A-nu-ut-ko, possibly a ra-wa-ke-ta, used his own seal (KSPI K4, a lentoid depicting a “collared bitch”).\footnote{2}

Several papers presented at the “ Aegean and Oriental” and “Crète mycéniennne” conferences focused on economic activity in the Final Palatial period, ranging from intra-Aegean trade to trade between the Aegean, the Levant, and Egypt.\footnote{3}

**POSTPALATIAL CRETE (LM IIIB LATE—SUBMINOAN)**

Work on Postpalatial Crete occurs in disparate areas. Individual village sites such as Chamalevi, Chondros, Kavoussi, Mallia, Phaistos, Prinias with its distinctive fabrics, Prinias, Sybritos, and especially the LM IIIC–Subminoan site at Kephala in the Isthmus of Ierapetra continue to shed important light on the architecture, society, and religious practices of this transitional period.\footnote{4} In addition to papers given at the “LM III Pottery” conference, other studies have also focused on the ceramic chronology of LM IIIB–C.\footnote{5} Religion continues to be another major area of concern, with articles appearing on ritual dining and the character of Postpalatial shrines.\footnote{6} While MG UbA remains the dominant religious statuette on Crete at the end of the Bronze Age, what they represent, person or divinity, is not clear; some Archaic wheelmade MG UbAs from Cyprus, if they continue the Bronze Age tradition, may shed some light on this problem since they wear signet rings on necklaces, implying persons, not divinities.\footnote{7}

Although general surveys of the transitional period between the Bronze Age and Iron Age are still lacking,\footnote{8} some work continues at specific sites, especially Kavoussi;\footnote{9} a 1995 conference in

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London focused on post-Minoan (i.e., post-Bronze Age) Crete.\textsuperscript{590}

CONCLUSION

It is clear that current research on Neopalatial, Final Palatial, and Postpalatial Crete is not static; important questions are being asked of the evidence, for which the answers are forthcoming—some quickly, and some slowly. If Cretan archaeology of the century now ending has taught us anything, it is that surprising developments are still in store for us.

\textsuperscript{590} Cavanagh et al. (supra n. 546) passim, and esp. J. Whitley, "From Minoans to Eteocretans," 27–39.