

# Addendum: 1998–1999

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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.<sup>545</sup> 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, Vasilike Ierapetras), while several surveys have been completed in remote

regions: in Ziros in southeast Crete, the Ayios Vasileios valley west of Amari, the southern island of Gavdos, and in the region around Sphakia.<sup>546</sup>

Publications of major sites are appearing with reassuring regularity, including new volumes in the *Kommos*, *Khania*, and *Pseira* series. A lavish two-volume publication, available in Greek and English, presents the sites at Archanes (Phourni, Tourkogeitonias, 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.<sup>547</sup> 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-

<sup>545</sup> 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:

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| <i>Aegean and Orient</i> | E.H. Cline and D. Harris-Cline eds., <i>The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium</i> (Aegaeum 18, Liège 1998).                                      |
| <i>Crète mycénienne</i>  | J. Driessen and A. Farnoux eds., <i>La Crète mycénienne</i> (BCH Suppl. 30, Paris 1997).  |
| <i>LM III Pottery</i>    | E. Hallager and B.P. Hallager eds., <i>Late Minoan III Pottery: Chronology and Terminology</i> (Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 1, Athens 1997). |
| <i>Urbanism</i>          | W.E. Aufrecht, N.A. Mirau, and S.W. Gauley eds., <i>Urbanism in Antiquity</i> (Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Suppl. 244, Sheffield 1997).        |

The following studies listed in RAP VII as forthcoming have since appeared: *Aegean and Orient*; n. 69: E.M. Hatzaki, "Was the Little Palace at Knossos the 'Little Palace' of Knossos?" in D. Evelyn, I.S. Lemos, and S. Sherratt eds., *Minotaur and Centaur* (BAR-IS 638, Oxford 1996) 34–45; n. 186: A. Van de Moortel's dissertation is now available from University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan, no. 9806356; n. 350: E.H. Cline, "Rich beyond the Dreams of Avaris," *BSA* 93 (1998) 199–219; n. 397: P. Rehak and R.R. Snihurawych, "Is Female to Male as Nature Is to Culture?" in *American Philological Association Abstracts of the 129th Annual Meeting* (New York 1997) 108; and n. 508: *Crète mycénienne*.

<sup>546</sup> Ziros: K. Branigan et al., "Prehistoric and Early His-

toric Settlement in the Ziros Region, Eastern Crete," *BSA* 93 (1998) 23–90. Ayios Vasileios valley: *AR* 1997–1998, 120–21. Gavdos: A. Kopaka, "Αρχαιολογική επιφανειακή έρευνα στην Γαύδο," *8th CretCong* (forthcoming). Sphakia: J. Moody, L. Nixon, S. Price, and O. Rackham, "Surveying Poleis and Larger Sites in Sphakia," in W.G. Cavanagh et al. eds., *Post-Minoan Crete* (London 1998) 87–95. See also L. Nixon, S. Price, W. Morris, and J. Moody, "Computers and Mapmaking," *Archeologia e calcolatori* 6 (1995) 159–72; and L. Nixon and S. Price, "The Sphakia Survey (Greece)," a video produced in 1995 by Education Technology Resources Centre (37 Wellington Square, Oxford OX1 2JF, United Kingdom; e-mail: etrc@etrc.ox.ac.uk).

<sup>547</sup> Petras: a stone-by-stone phase plan: *Κρητική Εστία* 5 (1994–1996) [1997] 344–58. Palaikastro: J.A. MacGillivray, L.H. Sackett, and J.M. Driessen, "Excavations at Palaikastro, 1994 and 1996," *BSA* 93 (1998) 221–68; MacGillivray, Driessen, and Sackett eds., *Palaikastro Kouros: A Minoan Chryselephantine Statuette and Its Aegean Bronze Age Context* (BSA Studies 6, forthcoming). Pseira: P.P. Betancourt and C. Davaras eds., *Pseira II: Building AC (the "Shrine") and Other Buildings in Area A* (Philadelphia 1998). Vasilike: five volumes and over 20 CD-ROMs in preparation (*AR* 1997–1998, 115–19). Kommos: at least two more volumes, *The Greek Sanctuaries* and *The Minoan Civic Center*, in preparation. Mochlos: vol. II.1, *Period III: The Neopalatial Settlement on the Coast*, and vol. III, *Period IV: The Mycenaean Settlement and Cemetery*, in preparation. Archanes: Y. Sakellarakis and E. Sapouna-Sakellarakis, *Archanes* (Athens 1997).

ety.<sup>548</sup> The *Aegaeum* 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. Karetsou, architect C. Palyvou), including wooden walkways to protect the pavements.<sup>549</sup> 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.<sup>550</sup> 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.<sup>551</sup> 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 dunnage gives a terminus ante quem non of 1305.<sup>552</sup>

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 Caphtorite," 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 Eshnunna (Tell Asmar)," which may also have conveyed lapis lazuli and other precious stones like carnelian and Cambay agate.<sup>553</sup>

#### 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 different, 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.<sup>554</sup>

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 m<sup>2</sup>) 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

<sup>548</sup> In *8th CretCong* (forthcoming), see, e.g., G. Cadogan, "Domestic Life at Minoan Myrtos-Pyrgos"; H. Deligianni Evfrosini, "Το Κρασί στη μινωική Κρήτη"; L.A. Hitchcock, "Of Barstools and Beehives"; J.P. Olivier, "Quelques reflets de la vie privée dans les écritures crétoises du I<sup>er</sup> millénaire?"; A. Papaevthymiou-Papanthimou, "Πρακτικές τελετουργικού καλλωπισμού στο προϊστορικό Αιγαίο"; E. Scafa, "Alcuni aspetti della vita privata in Creta micenea"; L.V. Watrous, "Daily Life in the Gournia Region of Crete: Economy and Society"; and P. Militello, "Organizzazione dello spazio e vita quotidiana nelle case TM I di Haghia Triada."

<sup>549</sup> *AR* 1997–1998, 111; S.P.M. Harrington, "Saving Knossos," *Archaeology* 52 (1999) 30–40.

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

<sup>551</sup> J. Phillips, "The 'New' Aegean Chronology: An Egypt-

tian Perspective," *BICS* 42 (1997–1998) 219–20; G. Walberg, "The Date and Origin of the Kamares Cup from Tell el-Dab'a," *Ägypten und Levante* 8 (1998) 107–108; and Manning (supra n. 19) 311–27.

<sup>552</sup> Date given in an on-line dendrochronology report: <http://www.arts.cornell.edu/dendro/97news/97adplet.html>; cf. Bass, in *Aegean and Orient* (supra n. 314) 184, and M. Wiener, "Discussion," in *Aegean and Orient* 190.

<sup>553</sup> N. Gale, message sent to the e-mail discussion list "Arch-Metals" on 25 March 1999 (no. 6FA1986.4C9@ph.ox.ac.uk); G. Dossin, "La route de l'étain en Mésopotamie au temps de Zimri-Lim," *RAssy* 64 (1970) 97–106; and P. Villard, "Comptes d'étain et d'argent," in G. Bardet et al., *Archives administratives de Mari I* (Archives royales de Mari 23, Paris 1984) 527–36.

<sup>554</sup> Burials: K. Branigan ed., *Cemetery and Society in the Aegean Bronze Age* (Sheffield 1998). Atsipades: *AR* 1997–1998, 122–23.

uncovered, and its relations with other communities in the area.<sup>555</sup>

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.”<sup>556</sup>

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 facade: 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 IIIB/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.<sup>557</sup> In the broader urban landscape, however, an impressive series of roads connects the rural farms to towns and 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.<sup>558</sup> Within this ur-

ban 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.<sup>559</sup> 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.<sup>560</sup>

An extremely important contribution to the discussion of Neopalatial Crete is the publication by Driessen and Macdonald of *The Troubled Island*.<sup>561</sup> 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

<sup>555</sup> Knossos: AR 1997–1998, 114. See also V. Fotou, “The Arsenal and Other Unpublished Buildings from Evans’s Excavations at Knossos,” and M. Panagiotaki, “Knossos: Recent Work in the Central Palace Sanctuary Area,” both in *8th CretCong* (forthcoming). Chania: AR 1997–1998, 123–24. Petras: M. Tsipopoulou, “Palace-centered Politics in Eastern Crete,” in *Urbanism* 263–77.

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

<sup>557</sup> See Hägg (supra n. 28): on the Minoan “Hall,” M.K. Pedersen, “Minoan Halls in Neopalatial Buildings,” 177; and A.C. Nordfeldt, “On Possible Minoan Halls in Art,” 179–84; and on terminology, C. Palyvou, “Session on the Functional Analysis of Architecture,” 155–56; W.-D. Niemeier, “The Origins of the Minoan ‘Villa’ System,” 15–19; V. Fotou, “Éléments d’analyse architecturale,” 33–50; P.P. Betancourt and N. Marinatos, “The Minoan Villa,” 91–98; and H. van Effenterre and M. van Effenterre, “Towards a

Study of Neopalatial ‘Villas,’” 9–13.

<sup>558</sup> M. Tsipopoulou and A. Papacostopoulou, “‘Villas’ and Villages in the Hinterland of Petras, Siteia,” in Hägg (supra n. 28) 203–14; Tsipopoulou (supra n. 555); and P.P. Betancourt, “Village Life in Minoan Crete,” *8th CretCong* (forthcoming). For mention of the Minoan Roads Research Programme, see AR 1997–1998, 120.

<sup>559</sup> 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.

<sup>560</sup> See, e.g., E. Fiandra, “Similarities and Differences in the Architectural Structures of the Palaces in Crete and Ugarit,” *SMEA* 39 (1997) 49–73.

<sup>561</sup> J. Driessen and C.F. Macdonald, *The Troubled Island: Minoan Crete before and after the Santorini Eruption* (Aegaeum 17, Liège 1997); see also J. Driessen, “An Archaeology of Crisis,” *BICS* 42 (1997–1998) 207–208.

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 Herakleion provides valuable evidence for the production of sealstones, beads, and other objects.<sup>562</sup> Other, specialized, forms of production have received attention including the objects deposited at specific types of sites like peak sanctuaries.<sup>563</sup> 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.<sup>564</sup> Cloth production, exchange, and the codification of social values in clothing are the subjects of dissertations now in preparation or recently completed.<sup>565</sup> Two important studies of bronze animal figurines include catalogues of those from throughout the island and those from Syme in particular. The human figurines, both in bronze and terracotta, yield information concerning gender.<sup>566</sup>

The number of gender studies has finally begun to increase noticeably; while some are synoptic, adhering to the broader issues of archaeological the-

ory, 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.<sup>567</sup>

The publication of *CHIC* has prompted further studies on Cretan Hieroglyphic, including a review that attempts to set out what is now known.<sup>568</sup> 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 Miletos 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

<sup>562</sup> To the discussion of ivory, add Rehak and Younger (supra n. 153) 229–56. On frescoes, add F. Blakolmer, “Minoan Wall-painting,” in *Techne* 95–105; and A.-L. Schalling, “The Wall-paintings and Plaster from the Greek-Swedish Excavations at Khania,” *8th CretCong* (forthcoming). Poros: N. Dimopoulou, “Workshops and Craftsmen in the Harbour-Town of Knossos at Poros-Katsambas,” in *Techne* 433–38.

<sup>563</sup> A. Banou, “Τα λίθινα αντικείμενα από το μινωικό ιερό χοροφής στον Αη-Γεώργη στο Βουνό Κυθήρων,” *8th CretCong* (forthcoming).

<sup>564</sup> General: Van de Moortel (supra n. 545); and R. Hampe and A. Winter, *Bei Töpfern und Töpferinnen in Kreta, Messenien und Zypern* (Mainz 1976). Fabrics: N. Cucuzza, “Una nota sul problema dell’identificazione delle officine ceramiche minoiche di età neopalaziale a Creta,” *SMEA* 39 (1997) 163–76; and, in *8th CretCong* (forthcoming): D.C. Haggis, “The Cultural and Economic Implications of Coarse Ware Ceramic Distribution in the North Isthmus of Ierapetra in the Bronze Age”; and J. Moody, “Dust to Dust and Rock to Rock.” Style: W. Müller, *Kretische Tongefäße mit Meeresdekor* (AF 19, Berlin 1997); and Müller, “An Unbroken LM IB Rhyton with Marine Decoration in the Giamalakis Collection at Heraklion,” *8th CretCong* (forthcoming). Exchange: P.M. Day, “Ceramic Exchange between Towns and Outlying Settlements in Neopalatial East Crete,” in Hägg (supra n. 28) 219–28.

<sup>565</sup> E.J.W. Barber, “Minoan Women and the Challenges of Weaving for Home, Trade, and Shrine,” in *Techne* 515–19; and B.R. Jones, *Minoan Women’s Clothes* (Diss. Institute of Fine Arts, New York Univ. 1998).

<sup>566</sup> W. Schurmann, *Das Heiligtum des Hermes und der Aphrodite in Syme Viannou II* (Athens 1996); and A. Pilali-Papasteriou, *Die bronzenen Tierfiguren aus Kreta* (Prähistorische Bronzefunde 1.3, Munich 1985). In J. Moore and E. Scott eds., *Invisible People and Processes* (London 1997): D. Kokkinidou and M. Nikolaidou, “Body Imagery in the

Aegean Neolithic,” 88–112; and L.A. Hitchcock, “Engendering Domination,” 113–30. See also A. Pilali-Papasteriou, *Μινωικά πήλινα ανθρωπόμορφα ειδώλια 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.

<sup>567</sup> Theory: the first three “Australian Women in Archaeology Conferences” are now available as a set: vol. I: H. du Cros and L. Smith eds., *Women in Archaeology* (Canberra 1993), see esp. L. Zarmotti, “Popular Archaeology and the Archaeologist as Hero,” 43–47 on Harriet Boyd; II: J. Balme and W. Beck eds., *Gendered Archaeology* (Canberra 1995); and III: M. Casey, D. Donlon, J. Hope, and S. Wellfare eds., *Redefining Archaeology* (Canberra 1998), see esp. P. Rehak, “The Construction of Gender in Late Bronze Age Aegean Art,” 191–98; and L. Meskell, “That’s Capital M, Capital G,” 147–53 on the Minoan “Mother Goddess.” Social aspects: B. Olsen, “Women, Children and the Family in the Late Aegean Bronze Age,” *WorldArch* 29 (1998) 380–92; cf. A.M.G. Capomacchia, “Le donne di Creta: Una tradizione emarginante,” *8th CretCong* (forthcoming). Pottery production: Hampe and Winter (supra n. 564); and, in *Techne*, see A. Kalogirou, “Pottery Production and Craft Specialization in Neolithic Greece,” 11–18; E.S. Elster, “Construction and Use of the Early Bronze Age Burnt House at Sitagroi,” 19–36; J.K. Papadopoulos, “Innovations, Imitations and Ceramic Style,” 449–62; Barber (supra n. 565); K. Kopaka, “Women’s Arts—Men’s Crafts?” 521–32; and G. Nordquist, “Male Craft and Female Industry,” 533–38.

<sup>568</sup> *CHIC* (supra n. 270). Inscriptions: G. Owens, “A Possible ‘Cretan Hieroglyphic’ Inscription from Mount Ida (IDA Ya 332),” *Kadmos* 36 (1997) 171. Signs: F.C. Woudhuizen, “The Bee-Sign (Evans No. 86),” *Kadmos* 36 (1997) 97–110. Review by J.G. Younger, *Minos* 31–32 (1996–1997) 379–400.



by context to ca. 1200) and an incised LBA potsherd from Tel Haror.<sup>569</sup> 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.<sup>570</sup> 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,<sup>571</sup> 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 to be partially related), there may have been several separate languages or dialects.<sup>572</sup>

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, *wa-na-ka* and *qa-si-re-u* (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, *po-ti-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.<sup>573</sup> 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.<sup>574</sup>

Current trends in Neopalatial 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.<sup>575</sup>

<sup>569</sup> Akrotiri: A. Michailidou, "'Ostrakon' with Linear A Script from Akrotiri (Thera)," *Minos* 27–28 (1992–1993) 7–24; and G. Owens, "Further Comments on the Linear A Inscriptions from Thera," *Kadmos* 36 (1997) 172–73. Mileto: W.-D. Niemeier, "A Linear A Inscription from Miletus (MIL Zb1)," *Kadmos* 35 (1996) 87–99. Other sites: an incised pot from Amisos and a terracotta ram from Samsun, both in Turkey (*PM* IV.2, 768–69, figs. 759–60; H.T. Börsert, *Altanatolien* [Berlin 1942] 3, pl. 3.6); and on spindle whorls from Troy, L. Godart, "La scrittura di Troia," *RendLinc* 5 (1994) 457–60; and E.L. Brown, "Linear A on Trojan Spindlewhorls," in G. Schmeling and J.D. Mikalson eds., *Qui miscuit utile dulci: Festschrift Essays for Paul Lachlan MacKendrick* (Wauconda 1998) 51–68. Israel: M. Finkelberg, "Bronze Age Writing," in *Aegean and Orient* 265–72. Tel Haror: E.D. Oren, "Minoan Graffito from Tel Haror (Negev, Israel)," *Cretan Studies* 5 (1996) 91–118.

<sup>570</sup> C. Renfrew, "Word of Minos," *BICS* 42 (1997–1998) 225, and "Word of Minos: The Minoan Contribution to Mycenaean Greek and the Linguistic Geography of the Bronze Age Aegean," *CAJ* 8 (1998) 239–64; cf. M. Finkelberg, "Anatolian Languages and Indo-European Migrations to Greece," *CW* 91 (1997) 3–20.

<sup>571</sup> W. Blümel, P. Frei, and C. Marek eds., "Colloquium Caricum," *Kadmos* 37 (1998), entire volume.

<sup>572</sup> Y. Duhoux, "Pre-Hellenic Language(s) of Crete," *JIES* 26 (1998) 1–39.

<sup>573</sup> Tell el-Dab'a: Cline (supra n. 545); and N. Marinatos, "The Tell el-Dab'a Paintings," *Ägypten und Levante* 8 (1998) 83–99. Uluburun: C. Pulak, "The Uluburun Shipwreck," *IJNA* 27 (1998) 188–224; and P.T. Nicholson, C.M. Jackson, and K.M. Trott, "The Ulu Burun Glass Ingots,"

*JEA* 83 (1997) 143–53.

<sup>574</sup> C. Gillis, C. Risberg, and B. Sjöberg eds., *Trade and Production in Premonetary Greece: Production and the Craftsman* (SIMA-PB 143, Jonsered 1997). In *Aegean and Orient: Manning* (supra n. 19) 311–27; Rehak and Younger (supra n. 153) 229–56; Hankey and Leonard (supra n. 303) 29–37; Betancourt (supra n. 304) 5–11; Bass (supra n. 314) 183–91; Knapp (supra n. 321) 193–207; W.-D. Niemeier and B. Niemeier (supra n. 338) 69–97; Laffineur (supra n. 352) 53–67; Rehak (supra n. 496) 39–51; and E.J.W. Barber, "Aegean Ornaments and Designs in Egypt," 13–17; R.S. Merrillees, "Egypt and the Aegean," 49–58; A. Caubet, "'International Style' in the Aegean and the Levant," 105–13; J.L. Crowley, "Iconography and Interconnections," 171–81; C. Mee, "Anatolia and the Aegean in the Late Bronze Age," 137–48; S.P. Morris, "Daidalos and Kothar," 281–89; and A. Sherratt and S. Sherratt, "Small Worlds," 329–43.

<sup>575</sup> K.D.S. Lapatin, "Mysteries of the Snake Goddess," *BICS* 42 (1997–1998) 244–45; M. Panagiotaki, "Dating the Temple Repositories' Vases," *BSA* 93 (1998) 185–98; and the following by A. Pilali-Papasteriou: "Ιερά και αποθήκες στην ανακτορική Κρήτη," in *Ελλάπινη* (supra n. 13) 179–96; "Το θρανίο στα μυνωικά ιερά," *Ανθρωπολογικά* (Thessaloniki) 6 (1984) 15–29; and "Ανακτορικά ιερά της μυνωικής Κρήτης," in *Αμυγός* (Festschrift M. Andronikos, Thessaloniki 1986) 665–79. In *8th CretCong* (forthcoming): J. Ernstson, "The 'Temple Repositories' at Knossos"; R. Hägg, "Personal Religion in Minoan Crete"; S. Hood, "Religion in Bronze Age Crete"; V. La Rosa, "Preghiere fatte in casa: Altari mobili da un edificio di H. Triada"; A. Peatfield, "Minoan Religion for Ordinary People"; and P. Warren, "Shield and Goddess in Minoan Crete and the Aegean."

## 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.<sup>576</sup> The conference also featured some synoptic reports on Mycenaean activity at specific sites, including Archanes, 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 Chamailevri, 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.” Chrysokamino exhibits several phases of activity in LM IIIA, with a final phase in LM IIIA2 late/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.<sup>577</sup>

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.<sup>578</sup>

While some attention continues to be paid to tholoi and, to a certain extent, to the more humble pithos burials,<sup>579</sup> 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.<sup>580</sup> These studies lay the groundwork for a reinvestigation 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.

<sup>576</sup> See the following in *Crète mycénienne*: Process: E. Banou and G. Rethemiotakis, “Centre and Periphery,” 23–57. Preconditions: C.F. Macdonald, “The Prelude to Mycenaean Crete,” 267–73. Art, craft, religion: R. Hägg, “Religious Syncretism at Knossos and in Post-palatial Crete?” 163–68; S. Hiller, “Cretan Sanctuaries and Mycenaean Palatial Administration at Knossos,” 205–12; W.-D. Niemeier, “Cretan Glyptic Arts in LM I–III,” 297–311; J.-C. Poursat, “La fin des arts ‘palatiaux’ dans la Crète mycénienne,” 387–90; V. Stürmer, “Culture minoenne versus pouvoir mycénien,” 435–43; and I. Tournavitu, “Arts and Crafts,” 445–54 (see also A. Karetsou and N. Kourou, “Terracotta Wheelmade Bull Figurines from Central Crete,” in *Techne* 107–16; and H. Whittaker, *Mycenaean Cult Buildings*, Bergen 1997). Knossos and Crete: J. Driessen, “Le palais de Knossos au MR II–III,” 113–34; L. Godart and Y. Tzedakis, “Les royaumes mycéniens de Crète,” 153–61; H.W. Haskell, “Mycenaean at Knossos,” 187–93; and J.A. MacGillivray, “The Re-Occupation of Eastern Crete in the Late Minoan II–IIIA1/2 Periods,” 275–79.

<sup>577</sup> In *Crète mycénienne*: A. Farnoux, “Malia au Minoen récent II–IIIA1,” 135–47; E. Hallager, “Architecture of the LM II/III Settlement in Khania,” 175–85; H. Kallitsaki, “The Mycenaean Burial Evidence in Phourni, Archanes,” 213–27; J.W. Shaw and M.C. Shaw, “Mycenaean Kommos,” 423–34; and M. Andréadaki-Vlasaki, “La nécropole du Minoen récent III de la ville de La Canée,” 487–509. Chamailevri: AR 1997–1998, 114 and 123. Ayia Triada, in *Crète mycénienne*: N. Cucuzza, “The North Sector Buildings of Haghia Triada,” 73–84; and V. La Rosa, “Haghia Triada à l’époque mycénienne,” 249–66; and AR 1997–1998, 111. Chrysokamino: AR 1997–1998, 117. Farms: B. Hayden, “Evidence for ‘Megalithic Farmsteads’ of Late Minoan III through Early Iron Age Date,” in *Crète mycénienne*, 195–204.

<sup>578</sup> LM II: in *LM III Pottery*, J.A. MacGillivray, “Late Minoan II and III Pottery and Chronology at Palaikastro,” 193–202; and N.M. Prokopiou, “LM II Pottery from the Greek-Italian Excavations at Sybritos Amariou,” 371–94; see also E.B. French, “Ephyrean Goblets at Knossos,” in *Crète mycénienne* 149–52. LM III: in *LM III Pottery*, B.P. Hallager, “Terminology—The Late Minoan Goblet, Kylix and Footed Cup,” 15–47; and Hallager, “LM III Pottery Shapes and Their Nomenclature,” 407–17; P.P. Betancourt, E.S. Banou, and C.R. Floyd, “Provincial LM III at Psira, Crete,” 57–76; P.M. Warren, “Late Minoan III Pottery from the City of Knossos,” 157–84; M. Tsipopoulou, “Late Minoan III Reoccupation in the Area of the Palatial Building at Petras, Siteia,” 209–52; A. Farnoux, “Quartier Gamma at Malia Reconsidered,” 259–72; E. Borgna, “Some Observations on Deep Bowls and Kraters from the ‘Acropoli mediana’ at Phaistos,” 273–98; and G. Rethemiotakis, “Late Minoan III Pottery from Kastelli Pediada,” 305–26. See also D. Vallianou, “The Potters’ Quarter in LM III Gouves,” in *Techne* 333–44. Stirrup jars: P. Day, “Coarseware Stirrup Jars and Central Crete,” *BICS* 42 (1997–1998) 209. Linear B: M.-L.B. Gregersen, “Craftsmen in the Linear B Archives,” in Gillis et al. (supra n. 574) 43–55; and M.S. Speciale, “Designazioni e ideogrammi di mobili in lineare B,” *8th CretCong* (forthcoming).

<sup>579</sup> Pithos burials: I. Georgiou, “Παρατηρήσεις στο έθιμο της ταφής σε πήθους στη μυωική Κρήτη,” *8th CretCong* (forthcoming). Tholoi: P. Belli, “Architecture as Craftsmanship,” in *Techne* 251–56; and A. Kanta, “Late Bronze Age Tholos Tombs: Origin and Evolution,” in *Crète mycénienne* 229–47.

<sup>580</sup> N. Marinatos, “Minoan and Mycenaean Larnakes,” in *Crète mycénienne* 281–92; and G. Rethemiotakis, “Μινωϊκή λάρνακα από το Κλίμα Μεσαράς,” *ArchEph* 1995, 163–83.

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.<sup>581</sup> 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-wi-ko*, possibly a *ra-wa-ke-ta*, used his own seal (KSPI K4, a lentoid depicting a "collared bitch").<sup>582</sup>

Several papers presented at the "Aegean and Orient" and "Crète mycénienne" conferences focused on economic activity in the Final Palatial period, ranging from intra-Aegean trade to trade between the Aegean, the Levant, and Egypt.<sup>583</sup>

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

Work on Postpalatial Crete occurs in disparate areas. Individual village sites such as Chamalevri,

Chondros, Kavousi, Mallia, Phaistos, Praios 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.<sup>584</sup> In addition to papers given at the "LM III Pottery" conference, other studies have also focused on the ceramic chronology of LM IIIB—C.<sup>585</sup> Religion continues to be another major area of concern, with articles appearing on ritual dining and the character of Postpalatial shrines.<sup>586</sup> While MGUAs remain 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 MGUAs 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.<sup>587</sup>

Although general surveys of the transitional period between the Bronze Age and Iron Age are still lacking,<sup>588</sup> some work continues at specific sites, especially Kavousi;<sup>589</sup> a 1995 conference in

<sup>581</sup> "Session on Administration and Bureaucracy," in Hägg (supra n. 28) 215–17; E. Sikkenga ed., *Studies in Mycenaean Inscriptions and Dialect 1980–81* (Austin 1997); J. Chadwick et al., *Corpus of Mycenaean Inscriptions from Knossos III–IV* (Cambridge 1997, 1998); G. Bandini, "Proposta di raccordi fra tavolette della serie Ra di Cnosso," *SMEA* 39 (1997) 267–69; E. Hallager and M. Vlasaki, "New Linear B Tablets from Khania," in *Crète mycénienne* 169–74; and, in *Techné*, C.W. Shelmerdine, "Workshops and Record Keeping in the Mycenaean World," 387–95; and B. Burke, "The Organization of Textile Production on Bronze Age Crete," 413–22.

<sup>582</sup> In *Crète mycénienne*: M.R. Popham, "The Final Destruction of the Palace at Knossos," 378–85; L.V. Watrous and H. Blitzer, "Central Crete in LM II–IIIB1," 511–16; and J. Weingarten, "The Sealing Bureaucracy of Mycenaean Knossos," 517–35.

<sup>583</sup> In *Aegean and Orient*: A. Leonard, Jr., "Trade during the Late Helladic III Period," 99–104; and A.E. Killebrew, "Aegean and Aegean-style Material Culture in Canaan during the 14th–12th Centuries B.C.," 159–69. See also K. Demakopoulou, "Crete and the Argolid in the LM II/LH IIB to IIIA1 Periods," in *Crète mycénienne* 101–12; and E.H. Cline, "Amenhotep III, the Aegean, and Anatolia," in D. O'Connor and E.H. Cline eds., *Studies in the Reign of Amenhotep III* (Ann Arbor 1998).

<sup>584</sup> Chamalevri: *AR* 1997–1998, 123. Chondros: L. Platon, "Caractère, morphologie et datation de la bourgade postpalatiale de Képhali Chondrou Viannou," in *Crète mycénienne* 357–73. Kavousi: in *Crète mycénienne*, W.D.E. Coulson, "The Late Minoan IIIC Period on the Kastro at Kavousi," 59–72, and L. Preston Day, "Vronda," 391–406. Mallia: O. Pelon, "Le palais post-palatial à Malia," in *Crète mycénienne* 341–55. Phaistos: E. Fiandra, "Private Houses on the Slope South of the Palace of Phaistos," *8th CretCong* (forthcoming). Praios: *AR* 1997–1998, 119. In *8th CretCong* (forthcoming): Prinias: R. Giovanni, "Scavi e ricerche a Prinias dal 1992 al 1996." Sybritos: L. Rocchetti, "Σύβριτος/Θρόνος." T. Eliopoulos, "A Preliminary Report

on the Discovery of a Temple Complex of the Dark Ages at Kephala Vasilikis," in V. Karageorghis and N. Stampolidis eds., *Eastern Mediterranean: Cyprus–Dodecanese–Crete, 16th–6th Cent. B.C.* (Athens 1998) 301–13.

<sup>585</sup> In *LM III Pottery*: A. Kanta, "LM IIIB and LM IIIC Pottery Phases," 83–101; and M.S. Mook and W.D.E. Coulson, "The Late Minoan IIIC Pottery from the Kastro at Kavousi," 337–65; and G. Rethemiotakis, "A Chest-shaped Vessel and Other LM IIIC Pottery from Kastelli Pediaa," *Crète mycénienne* 407–21; E. Borgna, "Kitchen-ware from LM IIIC Phaistos," *SMEA* 39 (1997) 189–217; and J.B. Rutter, "The Short-Necked Amphora of the Post-palatial Messara," and D. Chatzi-Vallianou and O. Evthymiou, "Κεραμική από την ακρόπολη Σμαρίου," both in *8th CretCong* (forthcoming).

<sup>586</sup> E. Borna, "Food Preparation and Ritual Activity in LM IIIC Crete," and L.P. Day, K.T. Glowacki, and N.L. Klein, "Cooking and Dining in LM IIIC Vronda, Kavousi," both in *8th CretCong* (forthcoming); and A.-L. D'Agata, "The Shrines on the Piazzale dei Sacelli at Ayia Triadha," in *Crète mycénienne* 85–100; and D'Agata, "Changing Patterns in a Minoan and Post-Minoan Sanctuary," in Cavanagh et al. (supra n. 546) 19–26.

<sup>587</sup> V. Karageorghis, *The Coroplastic Art of Ancient Cyprus* 5 (Nicosia 1998) nos. 3–5.

<sup>588</sup> See, however, S. Deger-Jalkotzy, "The Last Mycenaeans and Their Successors Updated," in S. Gitin, A. Mazar, and E. Stern eds., *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition (Festschrift T. Dothan, Jerusalem 1998)* 114–23.

<sup>589</sup> Kavousi, in Cavanagh et al. (supra n. 546): W.D.E. Coulson, "The Early Iron Age on the Kastro at Kavousi in East Crete," 40–44; and M. Mook, "Early Iron Age Domestic Architecture," 45–57. Other sites, in *8th CretCong* (forthcoming): N. Cucuzza, "Funzione dei vani nel quartiere geometrico di Festòs"; E. Tsoukala and D. Chatzi-Vallianou, "Πανίδα και διατροφικές συνήθειες στην ακρόπολη Σμαρίου"; and A.S. Vasilakis, "Ανασκαφή πρωτογεωμετρικού οικισμού στη Γιά Βίγλα Πηγαϊδακίων–Πόμπιας Καινουργίου."

London focused on post-Minoan (i.e., post-Bronze Age) Crete.<sup>590</sup>

#### 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 cen-

tury now ending has taught us anything, it is that surprising developments are still in store for us.

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<sup>590</sup> Cavanagh et al. (*supra* n. 546) *passim*, and esp. J. Whitley, "From Minoans to Eteocretans," 27–39.