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THE LATE BRONZE AGE TO EARLY IRON AGE IN THE AEGEAN

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Growth and turmoil in the thirteenth century in Crete

Charlotte Langohr

The background

Incubating the later collapse of the eastern Mediterranean societies, the thirteenth century BC has long been considered a period of decline on the island of Crete (Evans 1928, 551; Popham 1964, 8–9). The span between 1300 and 1200 BC broadly coincides with the Late Minoan IIIB (hereafter LM IIIB) phase of the Minoan civilisation. Due to a lack of stratigraphic evidence, the entire LM IIIB phase is primarily understood as a single historical period within the scale of the island, and based on current evidence, it likely covers about four generations of people. Seminal works (*e.g.* Kanta 1980; Hallager and Hallager 1997; Driessen and Farnoux 1997; D'Agata and Moody 2005) and a growing number of publications on a range of sites (for a recent update, see Karetsoy and Girella 2015, 222) have gradually illustrated the complexity of this period, while defining its various internal developments. A reappraisal of existing archaeological data in the light of new discoveries suggests *both* a time of regional prosperity and one of trouble, inferred from abundant evidence for the abandonment of sites. In several instances, these disruptions put an end to a continuous, century-long site occupation.

The period following the destruction of the last palace at Knossos in LM IIIA2 and the disappearance of its central authority and cultural hegemony witnessed two major phenomena. First, the resurgence of newly independent regional power centres throughout the island, and second, the continuation – or intensification – of commercial and cultural exchanges within Crete and with the Aegean. Both these trends – regionalism and interconnectivity – are reflected in the LM IIIB material culture, in particular the ceramic assemblages, within the different regions of the island (Hallager 2003, 261–265; 2011, 375–380). Moreover,

taking the broader Aegean context into account, the thirteenth century BC started with the full development of the Mycenaean palaces on the mainland and saw the flourishing of interregional contacts of an unprecedented intensity and diversity in the eastern Mediterranean (Rutter 1999; Pulak 2010; Ben Shlomo *et al.* 2011; Day *et al.* 2011). A sequential and regional approach to the signs of *collapse and transformation* within Crete throughout this century does not allow any generalisation in the identification and interpretation of these phenomena.

The sequence and extent of the Late Minoan IIIB occupation of Crete

An international workshop organised in 2013 specifically focused on the re-examination of the gradual and multi-faceted transformation of Cretan society throughout the thirteenth century BC, by concentrating on one aspect of its material culture: the pottery (Langohr 2017a). The starting point assumed that a thorough region by region reassessment of the LM IIIB ceramic sequence would facilitate a diachronic fine-tuning and a regional understanding of the ongoing socio-political conditions and upheavals that punctuated this century of history. Such an approach would allow us to explain the causality chain that led to the numerous abandonments of sites towards the end of the phase and, on the whole, the disappearance of a system of autonomous and interacting regional centres (Fig. 10.1). The reappraisal of old and new archaeological data has shown that, with the exception of Khania (western Crete) and Knossos (north-central Crete), there are no additional cases consisting of two well-stratified sub-phases (in a strict superimposed sense) in the occupation of a LM IIIB site, which would allow us to subdivide, and

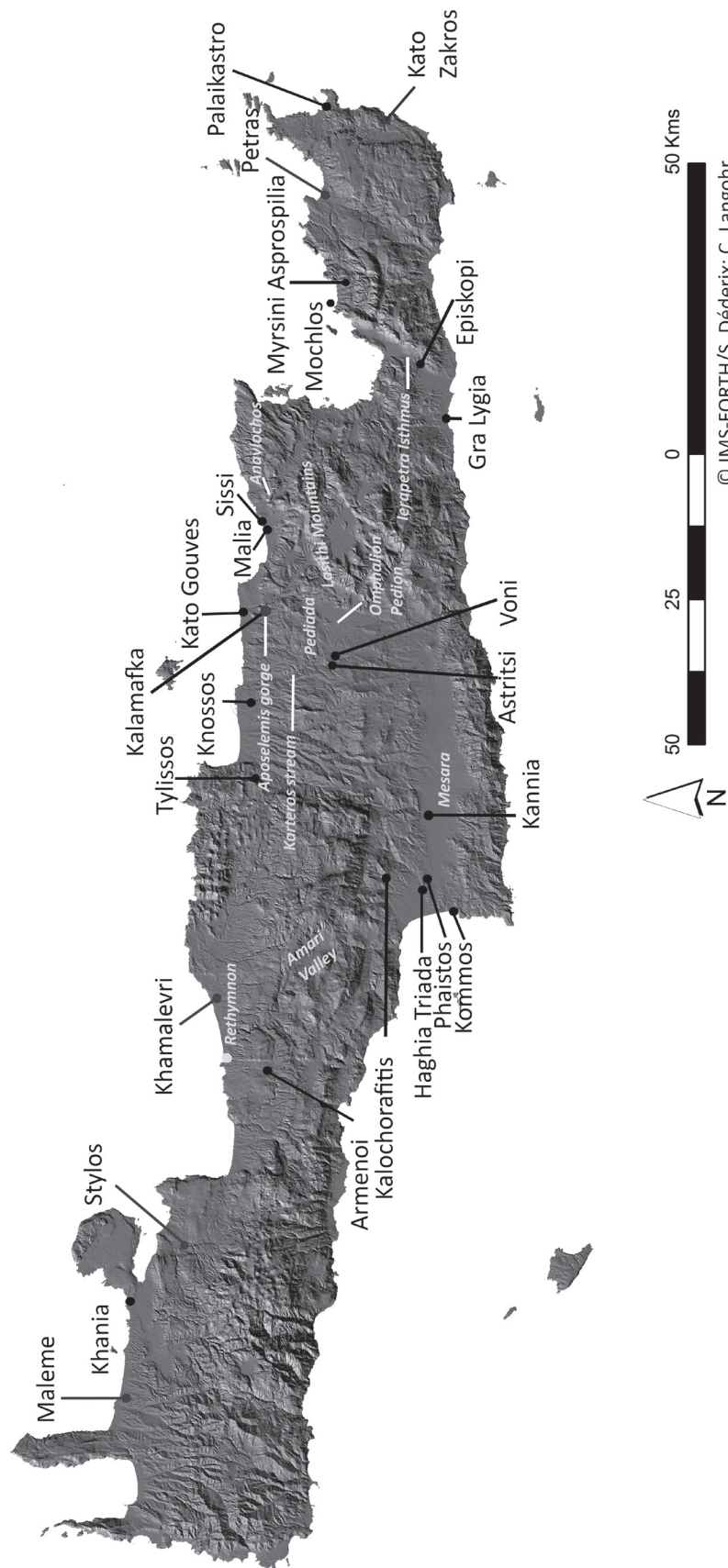


Fig. 10.1. Map of Crete with the main LM IIIB sites (©IMS-FORTH/S. Déderix, C. Langohr).

thus better comprehend this century-long phase. The virtual absence of any major wave of destruction on LM IIIB Crete can indeed be taken as the main explanation for the scanty and regionally inconsistent evidence for chronological distinctions within the ceramic assemblages. However, detailed analyses of local stratigraphic, architectural, ceramic and contextual data led to the distinction of successive stages within the LM IIIB occupation of several settlements, including Kato Gouves, Sissi, Phaistos, Kommos, Haghia Triada, and Palaikastro. At times these demarcations are also relevant at the regional scale (see the synthetic chronological table given at the end of Langohr 2017a). The local sequences of the main postpalatial settlements on Crete do reveal occupational sub-phases, often with a different length and nature. These distinct chains of events allow the consideration of a range of scenarios and responses regarding the troubled conditions of the thirteenth century BC in the Aegean (see below, point 3). Moreover, the abandonment of sites, particularly century-old settlements being pulled back from the coast and moved to mountainous settings, appears to belong to a *gradual* phenomenon, which extended over a longer period of time, throughout the LM IIIB phase, rather than crystallising at the transition of the thirteenth and twelfth centuries BC. Consequently, the *gradual* implementation of this profound transformation of settlement patterns on the island – which entirely redraws the Cretan landscape and characterises the twelfth century BC (see Wallace, this volume) – induced a differentiated end, and extent, for the LM IIIB occupation of the various sites and regions of Crete (see below, points 4 and 6).

Changes in settlement patterns and internal regional organisation in thirteenth-century BC Crete

Significant changes in long-established settlement patterns appear as soon as the first half of the thirteenth century BC, gradually re-structuring the Cretan landscape.

In eastern Crete, the major site of Palaikastro located on the east coast, which had been flourishing in LM IIIA2, was largely abandoned at the very beginning of the thirteenth century BC. This situation is rarely taken into account in our reconstruction of this area of the island during this period, yet it has a significant impact on our dating of other sites in eastern Crete and for our understanding of settlement patterns in the broader region (Cunningham 2017). A simultaneous abandonment of Kato Zakros has furthermore been put forward by recent research (Zoitopoulos 2017). The evidence for the Petras and Mochlos-Myrsini regions shows a slightly later change. The coastal settlement and cemetery of Mochlos were gradually deserted during the first half of the LM IIIB period and possibly went out of use entirely in the middle of the phase (Smith 2005). In its direct hinterland, however, the Myrsini cemetery reached its

peak of use during the LM IIIB period and continued into LM IIIC (Smith 2017). The area of Petras shows a similar development (Tsipopoulou 1997; 2005). Parallel to this, there are indicators to suggest relocations of the communities inhabiting eastern Crete towards inland hilly settings as early as the first part of LM IIIB, especially in the area of Praisos. There, preliminary survey data suggest an early change in the settlement patterns, which differs from later occupations of the high summits of Praisos and Kipia at the turn of the century (Whitley *et al.* 1999, esp. 236–237; see also Kanta 1980, 179).

The progressive abandonment of coastal zones in favour of inland hilly sites from as early as the LM IIIB phase is also observed in the Pediada region, in north-eastern Crete. The LM IIIB settlements are concentrated on the west edge of the Omphalion Pedion and on the most important route that runs along the Karteros stream (Paschalidis *et al.* 2017). This contrasts with the more widely distributed occupation pattern evidenced during earlier periods, especially in the area around Knossos and the coastal band (Panagiotakis 2003, 354, map 6). These areas appear largely abandoned in the LM IIIB (Paschalidis *et al.* 2017) with the exception of Kato Gouves where a major LM IIIA2–IIIB potters workshop was newly founded (Chatzi-Vallianou 2017) and of Poros where shipsheds were still active until the LM IIIB Middle (Vasilakis 2010). Settlement nucleation and displacement in favour of fertile regions dominating important routes within the interconnected landscape of LM IIIB Pediada may epitomise a broader, island-wide scenario. The production and distribution of agricultural goods on a large scale – probably focussing on olive oil and/or wine and embodied by the trade of transport stirrup jars from the region of Khania and Haghia Triada to LH IIIB Mainland palaces in particular (see below, point 5) – could partly explain this transformation of land occupation patterns in LM IIIB Crete.

Some coastal sites appear, however, to have known a major LM IIIB occupation phase lasting around two generations in the middle of the century. This is the case for settlements in north-eastern Crete, such as Sissi (Langohr 2017c), Malia (Driessen and Farnoux 1994), and Kato Gouves (Chatzi-Vallianou 2017). There, flourishing communities developed around large, multi-roomed buildings, engaged in artisanal and communal activities. Ceramic deposits from the main LM IIIB occupations of Building CD at Sissi, Quartier Nu at Malia and the Building Complexes A, B and C at Kato Gouves, all seem to indicate an extended one-period site. The repeated, short to longer-term visits to the remote site of Kalamaafka in the Aposelemis Valley may reveal the first signs of a movement towards mountainous, more hidden settings in this region from the mid-LM IIIB onwards (Kanta and Kontopodi 2017). Moreover, Sissi and Kato Gouves demonstrate similar developments: a first main phase of occupation of two to three generations that ends at

the beginning of the second half of the thirteenth century BC and a short-term and limited reoccupation of previous structures – perhaps after some hiatus – that took place towards the end of LM IIIB. During this later phase, both settlements show a distinct ceramic repertoire, witnessing new sources of inspiration, which emerges in the context of what may essentially be cultic activities – a shrine with snake tubes associated with a main hall. As such, this new occupation pattern may not be unrelated to the situation at Knossos, although Sissi and Kato Gouves are no longer occupied in the LM IIIC.

At Knossos, the first and longer LM IIIB horizon is characterised as a period which ends with a series of abandonments in the town, but shows no evidence for various stages of occupation within this horizon in the form of different contexts of discarded material captured stratigraphically (Hatzaki 2005). Indeed, the nature of the related assemblages does not help to characterise its duration and development as they mainly derive from the end of this occupational phase (Hatzaki 2017). Therefore, this longer LM IIIB Early occupation (roughly 80 years) at Knossos could be explained by short-term, largely unplanned and discontinuous reoccupations of the earlier LM IIIA palace and houses in general. In contrast, the desertion of the town towards the end of the century gave way to a settlement of a very different nature, spanning a short period of occupation – perhaps not more than a decade – and including a fairly different material culture, especially visible in the pottery repertoire. This short phase, as suggested by the paucity of LM IIIB Late assemblages from the Little Palace North in comparison to the plethora of LM IIIC discards in the same area (Hatzaki 2005), opens a new era and an entirely new settlement at Knossos, which continues in the LM IIIC (Warren 2005; 2007).

In the Mesara in south-central Crete, the organisation of the settlements appears to remain more stable throughout the LM IIIB phase. The flourishing centre of Haghia Triada maintained all the characteristics of a *Ville-Capitale* for most of the thirteenth century BC, with its enormous quantity of storage spaces for agricultural products in the *Stoà dell'Agorà* and other large buildings in the north sector of the site, exploiting the most fertile surrounding plain (Privitera 2014). The town was also the theatre for ceremonial events. Several of the buildings organised around the long portico, but also several units associated with the Megaron ABCD in the south area of the site, were decorated with fine wall paintings, and some of them were still refurbished during LM IIIB (Privitera 2015, esp. 80–81). It is worth noting that small structures were built during this phase to close off access from the north to the Agora and its surrounding structures. Cultic activities in the independent Sacello H complete the picture (Banti 1941–1943; Cucuzza 2003). This notable economic, ritual and ceremonial centre is finally abandoned at an

advanced stage of LM IIIB without any signs of violence (D'Agata 2017). The harbour of Haghia Triada at Kommos was booming during the transition from the LM IIIA2 to LM IIIB. This is shown by the intense interregional exchanges that necessitated a considerable extension to the monumental shipsheds (Shaw and Shaw 2006; Rutter 1999). Conditions appear to gradually deteriorate in the second half of LM IIIB, as the large Building N in the harbour area – which possibly accommodated administrative activities – was abandoned well before the end of the LM IIIB (Rutter 2017). Nearby Phaistos is often seen as an empty town in LM IIIB, while new ruling groups and regained local supremacy characterise its revival at the beginning of the twelfth century BC. A reappraisal of old data has, however, demonstrated the important LM IIIB roots of the later LM IIIC settlement (Borgna 2017). Further research would eventually offer a more complete picture of the power relations and dynamics at work in this region during the *entire* thirteenth century BC, and especially during its second half. As a case in point, the construction and destruction of cult rooms sheltering several figures with upraised arms within the remains of the neopalatial villa at Kannia at an advanced stage of the LM IIIB (Cucuzza 2017) reveal the important transformations that had occurred in the Mesara by this time.

Finally, in the far west, the situation is unique. The coastal settlement of Khania, highly prosperous throughout the thirteenth century BC, was the dominant centre of that region (see below, point 4). The fire destruction which struck the settlement at Khania Agia Aikaterini at the end of the first half of the thirteenth century BC – properly identified as the LM IIIB1 phase at that site – is followed by a rapid reconstruction and a clear continuity in site occupation, architecture and ceramic traditions (Hallager 2017). This LM IIIB2 substantial settlement ends with another fire destruction at the end of the phase but again, this did not introduce any important disruption, instead giving way to an immediate rebuilding. It is worth considering that this LM IIIB2 phase at Khania is longer and not synchronous with the short, LM IIIB Late reoccupation at major sites of north-central Crete (see above).

Growth and turmoil

Shortly before the transition from LM IIIA2 to LM IIIB, the site of Knossos lost its century-long role as the power centre and cultural arbiter of Cretan society. 'It may even be that the palace was not rebuilt because of popular dissatisfaction with its leadership in the fourteenth century BC' (Macdonald 2005, 235). The major change provoked by the final destruction of the palace at Knossos – one of the most lasting features throughout Minoan civilisation – did not, however, cause any direct breakdown or general decline within the different regions of the island. On the contrary,

each region progressively reinvented its independent organisation in an overall continuity with its own past (Langohr 2009). However, increasing yet dispersed signs of troubles and disruptions did appear throughout the thirteenth century BC, especially in the second half.

Most of the LM IIIB Cretan centres present strong evidence for the existence of vibrant communities, some successfully exploiting the agricultural resources of the island. A comprehensive analysis of the architectural remains, funerary practices and material culture demonstrate very active settlements, which reflect a respectable quality of daily life as well as frequent regional and interregional exchanges of goods and ideas (Kanta 1980; Langohr 2009). The noteworthy exceptions are Knossos, understood as ‘a city in a period of decline, a ghost of its former self’ (Hatzaki 2017) and Phaistos (Borgna 2017). Palaikastro and Mochlos in east Crete constitute a different case, as they were still blooming at the LM IIIA2/IIIB transition but were deserted at the beginning and in the course of the first half of LM IIIB (Cunningham 2017; Smith 2005).

Emblematic of significant growth during the thirteenth century BC is the settlement of Khania. A ‘shift towards the west’ has been suggested to explain the wealthy material culture evidenced in the region by this point, in particular the administration in Linear B (Hallager and Vlasaki 1997), the floruit of the Khaniot pottery Workshop (Hallager 2011), and the reactivation of large-scale funerary display with the two corbel-vaulted tombs at Maleme and Stylos (Preston 2004a). These indicate crucial economic and possibly political developments in this far western region. Yet, an ascendancy of the elites of the far west at the expense of other main regional centres only partially accords with the LM IIIB data. Architectural and mortuary ostentation was indeed most clearly embodied by LM IIIA2 practices in Crete (Haghia Triada, Phaistos-Kalyvia, Knossos, Archanes-Phourni) and decreased in the LM IIIB. However, a regional analysis of the rich archaeological records related to the funerary sphere and ceramic repertoire of thirteenth-century BC Crete demonstrates distinct cultural realities and social practices (Langohr 2009, esp. 220–227). Those do not agree with an extended political domination of Khania over the rest of the island, although its cultural influence is indisputable, seeing the wide distribution of its ceramic workshop’s products throughout the Cretan regions (Hallager 2011, 375–376).

The comprehensive reassessment of LM IIIB data indicates that Crete was largely spared from major destructive events during this long period of time, including the last decades of the century (Langohr 2017a). In contrast, the end of the LH IIIB period on the mainland is marked by major destructions in several large settlements. Signs of disruption and turmoil in Crete rather jibe with evidence for sudden, but prolonged, abandonment of century-old settlements.

The earliest evidence concerns east Crete, with the sites of Kato Zakros, Palaikastro, Petras or Mochlos (see above, point 3). The coastal region of Malia and Sissi, but also Kato Gouves, follows in the list. The evident prosperity of these communities of north-eastern Crete, before they suddenly fell off the map in the second half of the LM IIIB (Langohr 2017c), did not end in a definitive abandonment however. A short and limited reoccupation in a later stage of the phase is observed (see above). This scenario of sudden desertions of sites – apparently following an east–west orientation – and short reoccupations may actually best reveal the moving groups we are often looking for in the Aegean towards the end of the century (for a last update on this issue, Jung 2018). In particular, the ceramic material linked to this final phase of occupation at Sissi shows signs of both continuity with the earlier LM IIIB horizon and innovation with new shapes, possibly brought along or produced by some of its last inhabitants at the end of the thirteenth century BC – e.g. bell-shaped kraters, deep bowls with a deep profile and an articulated base, a unique large shallow bowl (Langohr 2017c, 235) or a collection of clay spools (Gaignerot-Driessen 2012, 73) (Fig. 10.2). Eventually, the final desertion of the north-east coast may be contemporary (and related) to the beginning of permanent settlements on inland hilltops, high up on the Anavlochos and Lasithi mountains (Gaignerot-Driessen 2017).

In the Mesara, both Haghia Triada and Kommos were abandoned in the last decades of the thirteenth century BC. The administrative and economic functions of Haghia Triada came to an end, as the site was deserted without any sign of destruction (D’Agata 2017), while neighbouring Phaistos simultaneously entered a period of renaissance (Borgna 2017). In this region, the drastic change in settlement patterns with the desertion of two century-old sites and the nucleation around Phaistos does not show any evident need for protection within a defensible new shelter. This significant rupture may rather have been provoked by the conjunction of environmental pressure and social disruption (Borgna 2017).

Further west, the situation appears to be different, in the sense that Cretan communities could have endured less disruptive events, as some major Minoan lowland towns continued to be inhabited at the turn of the century. In the west-central region, south of Rethymnon, the dataset essentially emerges from wealthy funerary sites or surveys (Langohr 2009, 139–158). The settlement of Khamalevri, only 2 km from the north coast, appears as densely inhabited in LM IIIB (Kakavella hill), with building remains and large pits chocked-full of LM IIIB pottery (Andreadaki-Vlasaki and Papadopoulou 2000; Blackman 2001, 140). At the beginning of the LM IIIC, the inhabitants of Khamalevri moved to a nearby hill, in no way more sheltered, where a new settlement is founded (Andreakadi-Vlasaki and

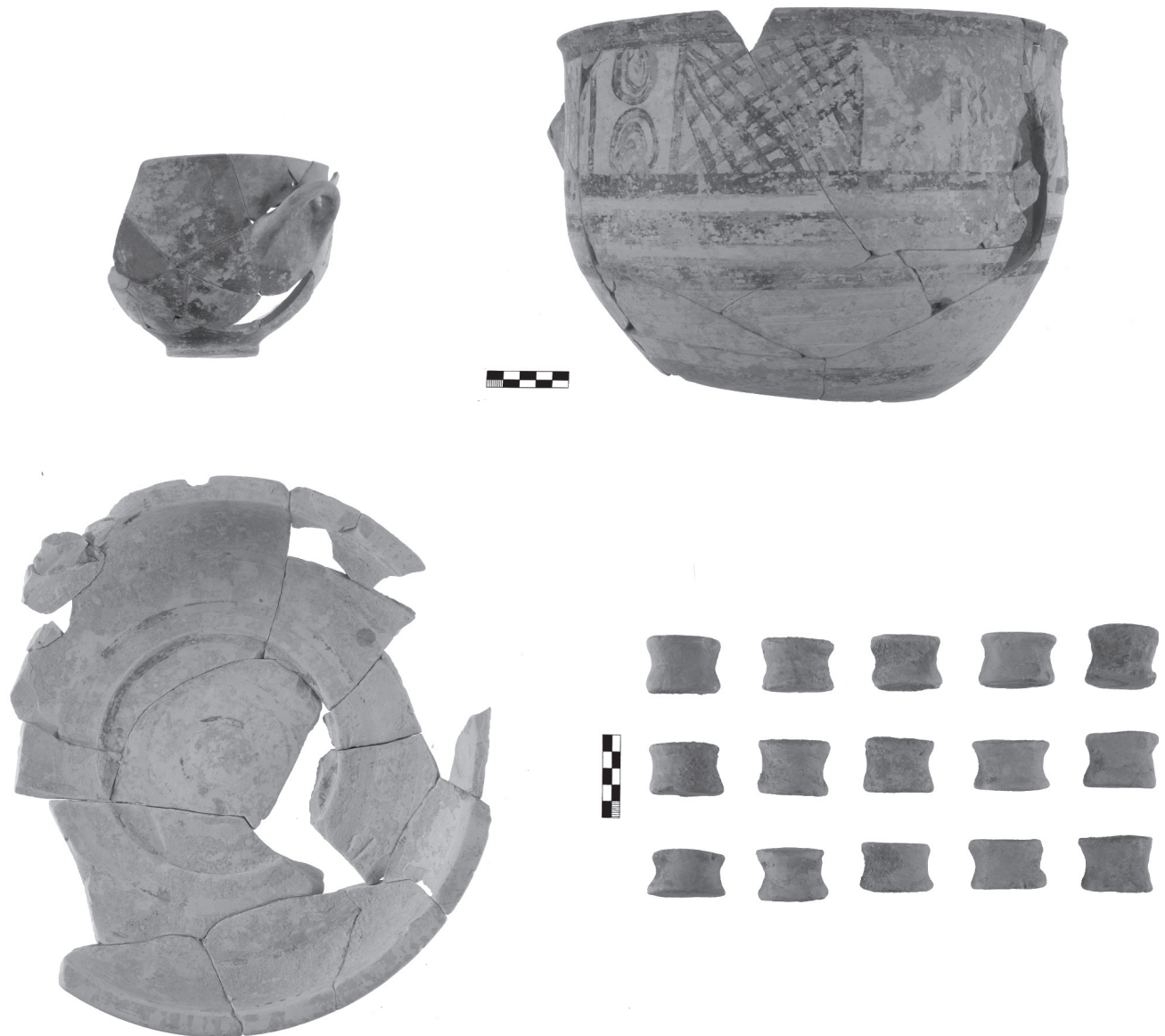


Fig. 10.2. Sissi, Building CD. LM IIIB Advanced contexts. New ceramic shapes. a. Bell bowl, b. bell-shaped krater, c. large shallow bowl, d. spools (©Sissi Project/C. Papanikolopoulos).

Papadopoulou 2005). This kind of large-scale relocation in a distinct neighbourhood of a site is reminiscent of the evidence at Knossos (Hatzaki 2017; Warren 2005). Other coastal or lowland settlements witnessed continuous occupation during the LM IIIB/C transition, in some cases coupled with destruction by fire (Khania (Hallager 2017), Tylissos (Kanta 1980, 9–13)). Particular to this LM IIIB2 occupation phase at Khania is the important evidence for dark grey handmade and burnished pottery with clear southern Italian origins (Hallager 1985). Locally produced, this class of pottery appeared together with local forms in the assemblages, suggesting that ‘resident foreigners were living in the houses of the local groups’ (Hallager 2017, 48). Khania and Knossos were finally deserted at an early

stage of LM IIIC, while Phaistos was occupied until LM IIIC Middle (Borgna 2001; 2003a).

Minoans and Mycenaeans in the thirteenth century BC

The export and import of transport stirrup jars offers the most visible evidence for interregional contacts within Crete and beyond during LM IIIB (Haskell *et al.* 2011; Day *et al.* 2011). A comprehensive analysis of their chronological and geographical distribution allows us to place the issue of the relationships between the main regional Cretan centres and the Mycenaean states within both a diachronic and synchronic framework. Only a small number of production

centres for these hundreds of transport stirrup jars recovered from major Cretan and Mycenaean sites – and to a lesser extent, from Western Anatolia and Cyprus – have been identified to date, essentially in western Crete and in the Mesara plain, while some more minor centres existed on the mainland. From these fertile Cretan lands, wine and/or olive oil was shipped out of the harbours of Khania and Kommos (Day *et al.* 2011; Ben Shlomo *et al.* 2011; Rutter 2017). The identification of additional production centres in central Crete requires further investigation, and, potentially, distinct south- and north-central production centres (Day *et al.* 2011, 85), including the Malia-Sissi region (Liard 2015; Langohr 2017c). These Cretan vessels, some bearing Linear B inscriptions, reached the sites of Mycenae and Thebes by the dozens, where they have been found in LH IIIB1 contexts, and provide the proof for close interactions between the powerful agents of Khania or Haghia Triada and the Mycenaean palaces-based elites, in a post-Knossian collapse context. The massive presence of transport stirrup jars from both west- and south-central Crete in LH IIIB2 Tiryns has recently called into question the synchronicity and nature of the relationships between Crete and the mainland during the second half of the thirteenth century BC (Kardamaki *et al.* 2016). It presupposes that vibrant economic centres were still active at least in these two regions of Crete at an advanced stage of LM IIIB. This is probable in the case of Khania but needs clarification concerning the Mesara, where the main LM IIIB centre, Haghia Triada, is abandoned in the last decades of the thirteenth century BC (see above, point 3). One scenario worth considering is that the end of LH IIIB2 on the mainland is not exactly contemporaneous with the end of LM IIIB on Crete, but rather that the LH IIIB2 phase ended before the end of LM IIIB. This would imply that the LH IIIB2 phase correlates to a few generations after the mid-stage of LM IIIB when Haghia Triada would still have constituted the major economic and political actor in south-central Crete. The presence of probable LH IIIC Early imported stirrup jars in LM IIIB Late contexts in Crete, such as at Sissi (Langohr 2017c, fig. 7.19e) and Kommos (Rutter 2017, fig. 8.4:C2424), and of a stirrup jar in a possible LH IIIC Early style at Kalamafka (Kanta and Kontopodi 2017, fig. 4.25a) (Fig. 10.3), may belong to a larger pattern which would support such a scenario, also mirroring the discovery of LM IIIB2/Late vessels in

both LH IIIB2 and LH IIIC Early contexts on the mainland (Hallager 2007).¹ The complex contextualisation of the circulation and use of the transport stirrup jars in and outside Crete highlights how more work in assessing our LH IIIB and LM IIIB datasets *together* could help us to isolate and synchronise relative chronological events which connected Crete and the mainland during the thirteenth century BC.

The end of the thirteenth century BC in Crete

The profound transformation of the settlement patterns in Crete, that culminated at the *end* of the LM IIIB phase, has generated several different interpretations. The occupation of hilltop or mountain settings is a distinct LM IIIC phenomenon, but it is now clearly established that this movement was initiated in the last decades of LM IIIB (Nowicki 2011; 2018; for the special case of Palaikastro Kastri, see Cunningham 2017). In the larger context of the eastern Mediterranean, this has been traditionally explained as the growing need for protection in remote, sometimes very defensible places, set back from the sea whence the threats came (Kanta 2001; Kanta and Kontopodi 2011; Nowicki 2000; 2001; 2011; Hitchcock and Maeir 2016) possibly in the form of repeated raids by marauders and/or migrants, the famous ‘Sea Peoples’. In Crete, as shown above, there is no sign of violent destructions of human origin at the end of the thirteenth century BC. Displacements and relocations of communities towards the hills and mountains do not, therefore, appear to be *systematically* linked to a wave of brutal events or even forced abandonments of coastal or lowland settlements. Moreover, it has been highlighted above how this process had already begun in an earlier stage of LM IIIB in certain regions. Finally, specific studies have examined how the disruptions in the structure of settlements could have been initiated, at least in part, by the ‘intensification of the mountain economy’ on the island (Borgna 2003b; 2017; see also Haggis 2001; Gaignerot-Driessen 2016, esp. 56–66). This last interpretive framework can better explain the situation that followed in the LM IIIC and later, which is characterised in the Cretan regions by increasing stability and growth.

This reappraisal of the LM IIIB data related to century-old settlements pulling back from the coast indicates that this phenomenon extended over a longer period of time than previously thought, throughout the thirteenth century BC, and appears to have broadly followed an east–west direction (see above, point 4). This gradual process was most possibly triggered by an increasing insecurity in the Aegean but maybe more deeply linked to crucial internal transformation that could be explained by environmental changes, a different exploitation of the landscape and exogenous dynamics of various nature. In sum, the drastic changes occurring at the end of the thirteenth century BC in Crete took place in a world already different (Cunningham 2017) but with little evidence, if any, for a violent episode,



Fig. 10.3. Possible LH IIIC Early imports in LM IIIB Advanced contexts from Sissi (a), Kommos (b) and Kalamafka (c) (a. ©Sissi Project/H. Joris; b. courtesy of J. Rutter and Kommos Excavations; c. courtesy of A. Kanta/D. Kontopodi).

contrary to what had characterised earlier periods of Minoan history (e.g. at the end of the first and second Palaces, Cadogan 2013; Driessen and Macdonald 1997).

Note

- 1 At the occasion of a recent workshop organised at the Institute for Oriental and European Archaeology at Vienna ('Synchronizing the Destructions of the Mycenaean Palaces' 8–9th November 2018) Jeremy Rutter has also assessed such a scenario. Among other things, he pinpointed a number of unusual pottery shapes that appear in LM IIIB2 contexts at Khania that are especially well paralleled in LH IIIC Early as opposed to LH IIIB2 contexts on the Mainland (e.g. pattern-decorated side-handled kalathos [FS 291] or a very shallow bowl that resembles what would be called a tray on the Mainland [FS 322]). I thank Jeremy Rutter for discussing this issue with me.

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