

Late Minoan III Pottery Chronology and Terminology

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Late Minoan III Reoccupation in the Area of the Palatial Building at Petras, Siteia*

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Introduction

The image of LM III occupation in the Siteia Bay area, fragmentary and uncertain until the mid-1980's, has gained in clarity during the last decade. Prior to 1985, our knowledge was based on a series of chamber tombs, accidentally discovered through building or agricultural activities, mainly in three areas: within the town of Siteia, in the valley of Piskokephalo, and on the Papoura hill in the wider area of Petras. Further to the south, occasional discoveries, examined within the context of rescue excavations, brought to light isolated tombs, or even cemeteries, either of rock-cut chambers, or small tholoi, and in a few instances, burial caves, at the sites of Kimouriotis, Sklavoi, Agios Spyridon, Praisos, Agios Georgios, Sfakia, and Stavromenos. Frequently, the excavators – Nikolaos Platon, Costis Davaras, Iannis Sakellarakis – note the remains of settlements associated with the tombs, yet to date, none have been the subject of investigation.¹ Moreover, the work of Platon in the Akhladia area, six kilometres into the Siteia hinterlands, revealed the existence of a large Mycenaean tholos tomb, as well as the remains of a settlement and a potter's kiln. Having partially excavated the tomb, Platon assigned these three sites to LM III.² The investigation of the tholos was recently completed by a Greek-Italian team directed by Lucia Vagnetti and the author. It was possible to date its construction to LM IIIA:1. It remained in use until LM IIIB.³

In 1984, the systematic study of prehistoric settlement patterns in the Siteia Bay area was initiated. Within the context of a long-term project,

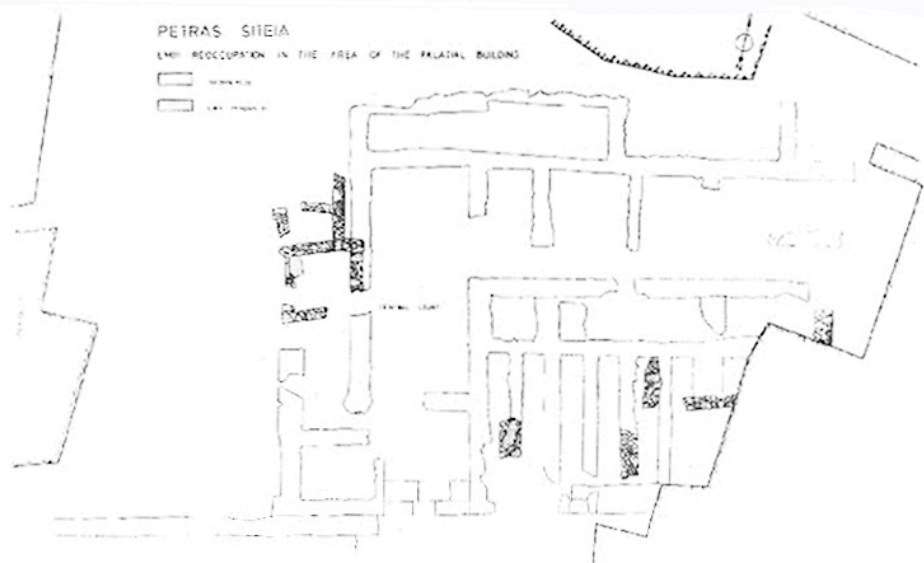
*The author is grateful to Erik and Birgitta Hallager and Søren Dietz for the invitation to contribute to the symposium; to The Institute for Aegean Prehistory for generous and continuous support of the "Minoan Occupation and Settlement Patterns in the Area of the Siteia Bay" project since 1987; to Dr Lucia Vagnetti for many useful discussions and suggestions; and to Dr Michael Wedde for his generous help in the preparation of the present text. Photographs were taken by the author. Drawings are by Mr Iosif Psikarakis, Dr Wedde, and the author, the maps by Ms Maria Klontza. All illustrations were printed by Mr Georgios Maravelias.

¹Cf. Tsipopoulou 1995 for a complete bibliography relative to research on the LM III period in the Siteia Bay area.

²Platon 1952a.

³Tsipopoulou & Vagnetti 1995.

Fig. 2. LM III reoccupation in the area of the palatial building at Petras (1987-1993).



The 1986 survey in the wider area of Petras located the remains of a rather extensive LM III settlement on Hill II. A LM IIIA seal with the representation of a wounded agrimi was found there.⁸ The excavation of Hill I since 1985 has produced evidence for a LM IIIA and B presence at the main locus, but until 1992 no architectural remains had been uncovered.

Since 1987, a large central building of palatial character has been the subject of excavation on the plateau of Hill I: large storage areas, a central court, Hieroglyphic and Linear A inscriptions, sophisticated architectural features indicate an administrative function. It was destroyed by fire in LM IB (Fig. 1).⁹ In various areas of the complex, LM III rooms – the subject of the present paper – have been uncovered (Fig. 2).

The East House is situated to the immediate east of the Central Court (Fig. 3). It consists of three small rooms, without right angles, built of

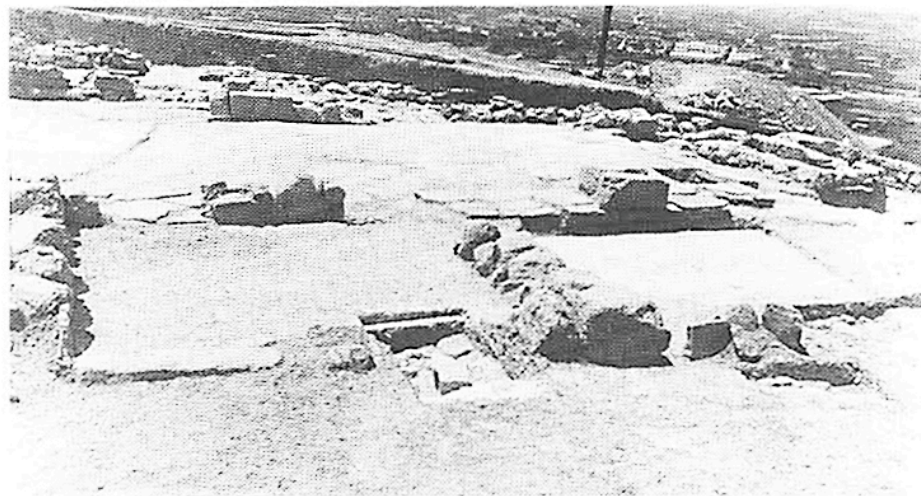


Fig. 3. LM III East House from East.

⁸Tsipopoulou 1990.

⁹Tsipopoulou & Papacostopoulou 1992.

small and medium-sized stones, measuring 3.5 x 6.5 m. in all. Entry was effected from the east, that is, from the seaward side, through two doorways with stone thresholds. The orientation of this building, partially founded on the remains of the east wall of the Neopalatial Central Court (Fig. 4), is slightly different from that of the latter. Earlier walls are not otherwise used since the eastern limit of the LM IB Central Court consists of a single course of slabs supporting a *stoa* formed by alternating columns and pillars. LM III sherds were also recovered from the Central Court, probably because this open space remained in use into the later period.

The second area with evidence for a LM III reoccupation is that of the multiple parallel rectangular spaces in the northwestern sector of the central building, immediately behind the north façade. It is likely that a second house existed here, although its plan cannot be reconstituted from the sparse remains.¹⁰ It was extensively disturbed by Byzantine burials. The construction technique resembles that of the East House, but the walls are thicker, being founded on substantial earlier remains standing to a height of more than one metre. By necessity, the West House adopts the general orientation of the palatial construction (Fig. 1).

The West House, though of incomplete plan, offered a floor with a thick layer of burnt remains and vessels in situ. Of particular interest is the fragment of a larnax decorated with a double axe between horns of consecration (Fig. 5). It had been employed as a flagstone, placed with the decoration – which can be assigned to the workshop mentioned above – facing downwards.¹¹

The vases found on the floor are mainly one-handled and handleless cups, as well as a footed cup, and fragments of pithoi with incised decoration. The destruction is dated to early LM IIIB. Subsequent to the fire, the entire area of Petras Hill I does not appear to have been settled again until the 12th Cent. A.D., at which time a cemetery was established on the large plateau. 33 Byzantine graves have been excavated. In fact, ten years of research on the site, including the survey, have produced only a few LM IIIC sherds, of which the most characteristic comes from a cup or deep bowl with a fringed decoration (Fig. 30).

Further LM III building activity was attested to during the 1994 campaign, which aimed at completing the plan of the central building. The most interesting discovery made is a two metre deep cutting into the bedrock on the eastern flank of the plateau, an area previously known through Prepalatial activities. It produced a number of LM IIIA:2 vases of which five have been mended to date: a stirrup jar decorated with Mycenaean flowers, imported from the mainland (Fig. 14k), a jug with blob decoration of the type known from Myrsini and Palaikastro, and also two amphorae with dribble decoration (Fig. 20a-b), and a semiglobular bowl of Palaikastrian clay. Further work in 1995 did not clarify the function of this feature.

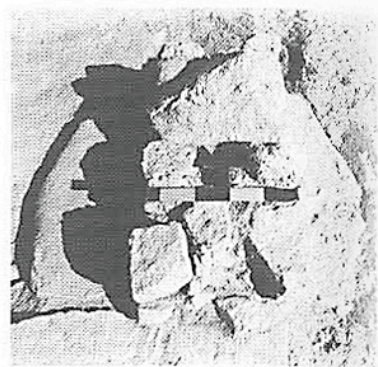


Fig. 4. East House. LM III wall founded on the East wall of the Neopalatial Central Court.

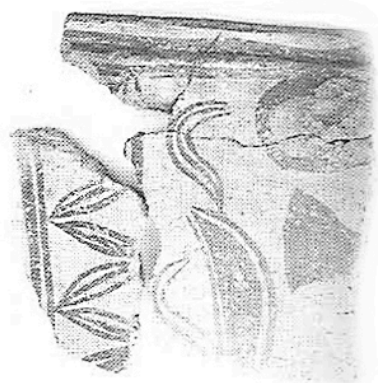


Fig. 5. Fragment of larnax from West House.

¹⁰The 1994 campaign revealed that the western-most wall, the south end of which emerges out of the baulk in Fig. 2, attains a total length of six metres.

¹¹See also Tsiopoulou & Vagnetti 1995b, fig. 102, for a reconstruction of the decoration.

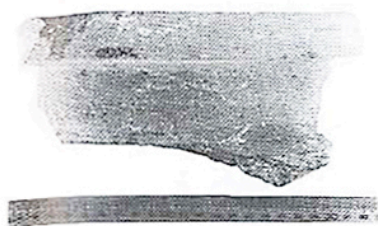


Fig. 6. Fragment of LM III pithos.

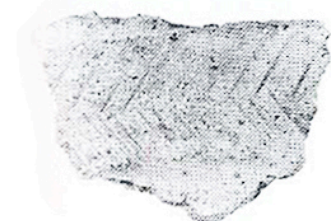


Fig. 7. Fragment of LM III pithos.



Fig. 8. Fragment of LM III pithos.



Fig. 9. Fragment of LM III pithos.



Fig. 10. Fragment of LM III pithos.

The present paper will review a representative selection of vases and sherds, proceeding from large coarse to small fine ware shapes, noting parallels from various sites. These comparisons do not attempt to establish purported interconnections between Petras and distant Cretan sites, but rather serve to create a chronological framework within which to place the material studied here.¹² Due to the restricted nature of human presence at Petras in LM III, particularly in comparison to Neopalatial times, the present purpose cannot be to elucidate typological details or finetune the regional chronology, but, based on the broadly agreed upon time frames, to attempt to gain an understanding of how this period at Petras relates to the general situation in Eastern Crete.

The terminology employed is that widely accepted by scholars before the symposium, and does not take into account the refinements proposed by B. Pálsson-Hallager and various discussants at the meeting.

Analysis of shapes

Pithoi (Figs. 6-13)

Fragments of pithoi came to light in both LM III buildings. On the burnt early LM IIIB floor of the West House numerous sherds from a single pithos, yet to be restored, were found. The pithoi are ovoid in shape, with a thick, outcurving rim, either elliptical in section, or rounded and placed on a short neck. The diameter attains 40 cm. at the rim, 40-50 on the widest part of the body. The handles, extant in one instance, are vertical and placed below the rim. A second series of handles lower down on the body can be reconstructed with some certainty.

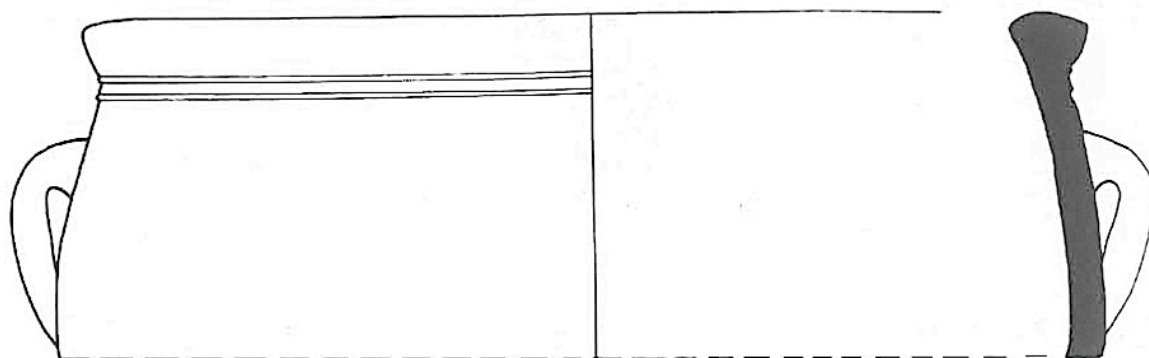
The clay of the LM III Petras pithoi is coarse, brown or reddish, with many inclusions. Decoration consists of raised bands with incised net patterns, herring bones, and, in one case, an X-motif. Different patterns occur on the same vessel. A single, medium-sized pithos is monochrome. (Exceptionally, the photographs of pithoi constitute a general selection of fabrics and decorations.)

Unfortunately, earlier publications of pithoi rarely include drawings allowing comparison of profiles. It is, nonetheless, certain that the Petras specimens belong to types common to LM IIIA and B in Eastern Crete. 91.265.6 has a parallel for the rim profile from Palaikastro, dated to IIIA:2-B.¹³ A specimen from the 1994 campaign by the author, in collaboration with William Coulson, at the IIC settlement of Khalasmenos in the Isthmus of Ierapetra confirms the Postpalatial date. The second type, 92.106.1, finds comparanda from Quartier E at Malia.¹⁴ Incised decorati-

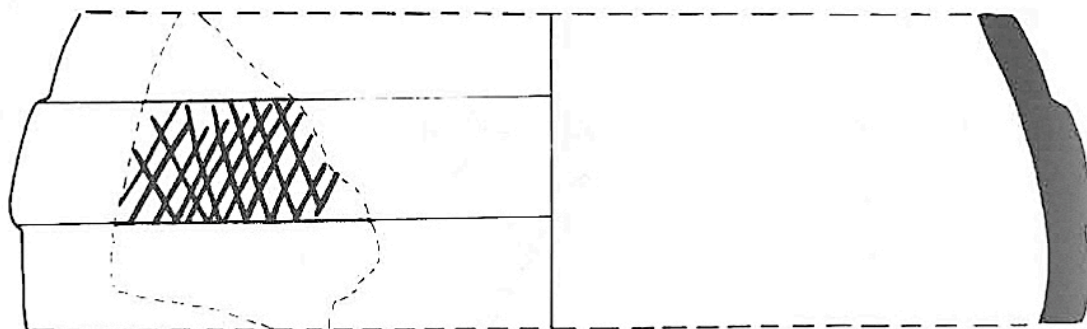
¹²Reference to the figures and photographs included here appear in the heading for each type; reference to the photographs are repeated in the text, to the drawings generally not. In the text and the drawings each specimen is identified by an excavation number, being the year, the pottery bag, and the sherd selected for further study - thus: 91.265.6 - or the year, and the small find number - thus: 92.512.

¹³MacGillivray et al. 1992, fig. 21 no. 5.

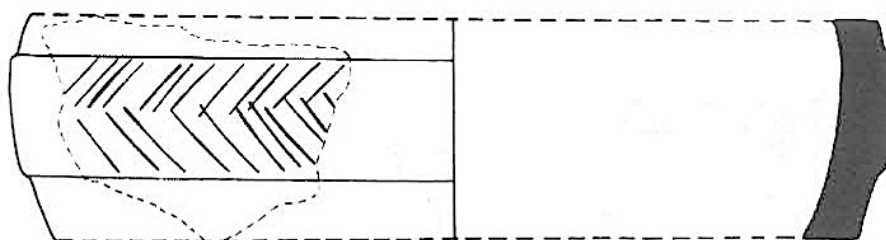
¹⁴Pelon 1970, pls. XXV.6a, b, XXVII.1a, XLII.2a.



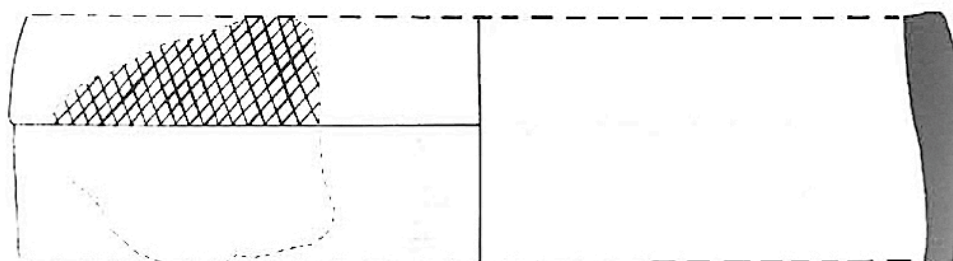
92.106.1



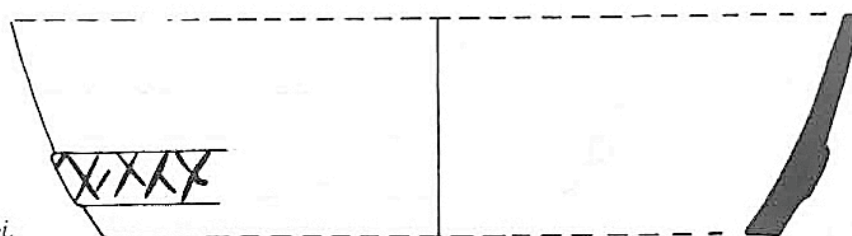
92.56.1



92.106.4



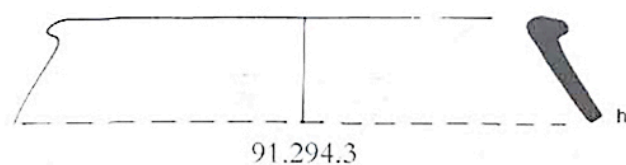
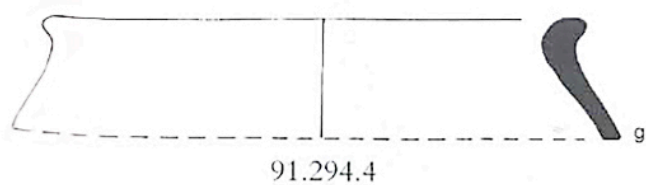
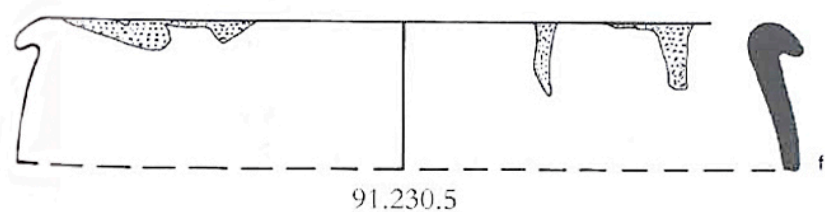
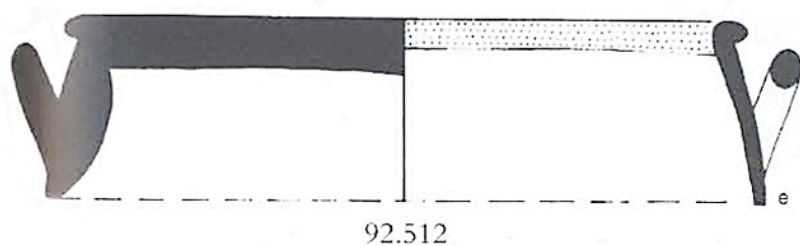
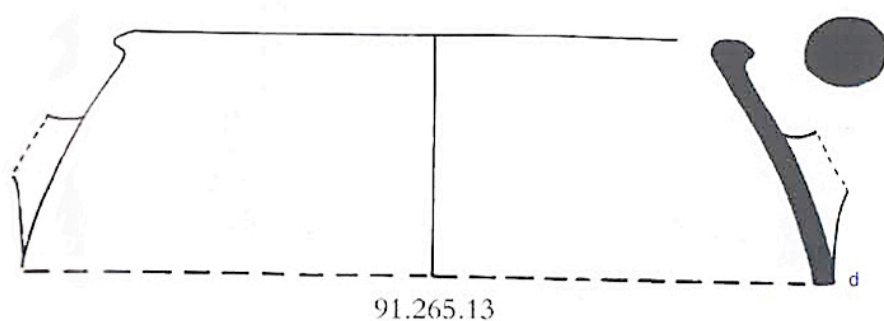
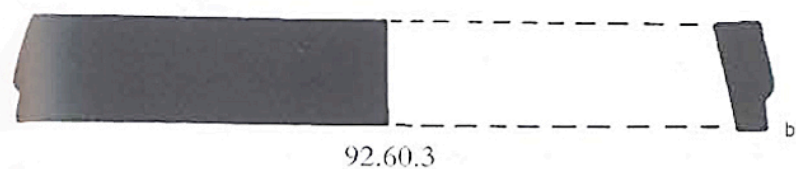
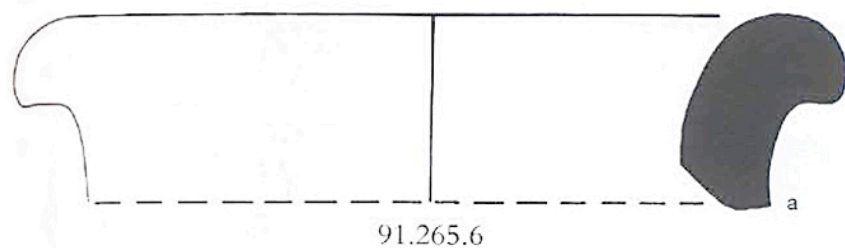
91.235.1



92.84.1

Fig. 11. Pithoi.

Fig. 12. *a-c*: Pithoi; *d-h*: Pithoid jars.



on on raised bands is standard for pithoi in Eastern Crete throughout the LM III period.¹⁵ A similar scheme is also known from Central Crete, as illustrated by a small pithos from the “kitchen” at Knossos-Makritikhos, which combines two incised motifs, herring bones and a net pattern.¹⁶ Further LM IIIA-B parallels come from Quartier E.¹⁷

Pithoid Jars (Fig. 12d-h)

The five sherds discussed here are characteristic rim fragments of these types of vases. Pithoid jars were found in both the LM III buildings at Petras, 91.265.13, 91.294.4 and 91.294.3 coming from the West House, 92.512 and 91.230.5 from the East House. All are dated to LM IIIA:2 to IIIB.

Due to the fragmentary nature of the material, firm statements concerning the shape of the body cannot be made. It is, however, clear that these vases continue LM I types, having similar profiles. Where preserved, the handles are horizontal, circular in section, and placed below the rim. Judging from the extant sherds, the LM III pithoid jars differ from their predecessors in two significant aspects. The body is more often globular, whereas the Neopalatial vessels are ovoid or piriform. The fabric is generally finer and better fired. Three examples, 92.512, 91.230.5, and 91.294.3, are made from the characteristic orange clay of Palaikastro. The first two have reddish paint on the rim and the handle-attachment. The remaining two are made of brown, coarser clay with grey core, well-known from Neopalatial pithoid jars.

91.230.5 appears to belong to a type with cylindrical-ovoid body and rather wide mouth, such as those from the palace at Knossos, although with a different rim.¹⁸ 92.512 resembles the rim of a somewhat wider LM IIIA:2 basin from Kommos.¹⁹ This could suggest that the Petras sherd belongs to a shallower pithoid jar. 91.294.4 is also similar to a LM IIIA:2 to IIIB specimen from Kommos.²⁰

Tripod cooking pots (Fig. 14a-c)

No single complete LM III tripod cooking pot has been discovered to date at Petras. The three feet included here, all from the West House, are made from rather coarse orange Palaikastro clay. Two have the characteristic LM III circular section known from sites all over Crete, such as at Kommos,²¹ while the third has an almost triangular section, continuing an earlier Neopalatial tradition.



Fig. 13. Fragment of LM III pithos.

¹⁵Cf. unpublished IIIA and B specimens from the Mokhlos cemetery, Siteia Museum.

¹⁶Hood & De Jong 1958-1959, 188, fig. 8, no. 16.

¹⁷Pelon 1970, pl. XXV.6c, d, f.

¹⁸Popham 1964, 19, fig. 5, pl. 2.

¹⁹Watrous 1992, 40, fig. 30, no. 697.

²⁰Watrous 1992, 71, fig. 44, no. 1188.

²¹Watrous 1992, 95, fig. 62, no. 1654; 78, fig. 50, no. 1346, both IIIB.

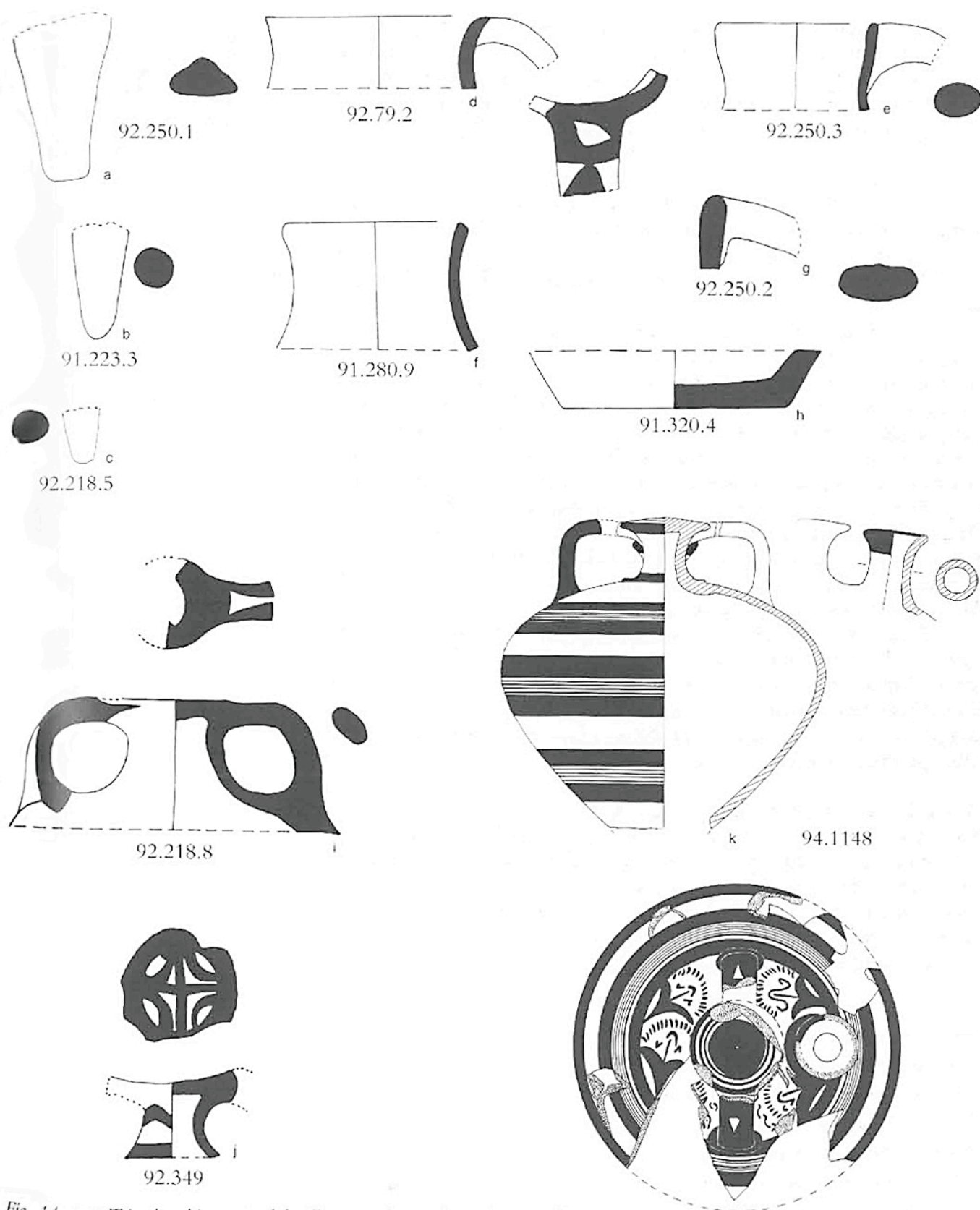


Fig. 14. a-c: Tripod cooking-pots; d-h: Coarse undecorated amphorae and jugs; i-j: Stirrup jars; k: Stirrup jar 94.1148.

Coarse undecorated amphorae and jugs (Fig. 14d-h)

Fragments of coarse undecorated vessels, either one- or two-handled, have been found in both houses. The vases to which the sherds belong must have attained around 40 cm. in height, standing on a rather wide base of some 20 cm., and having a rim diameter of 10-15 cm. Usually they have a tall wide neck of concave profile and slightly outcurving rim. It should be noted that trefoil-mouthed jugs are absent from the material of the two LM III houses, although they appeared elsewhere at Petras, in unstratified contexts. The handles of both the amphorae and the jugs are either circular or elliptical in section.

Again, the fabric is the familiar Palaikastro orange-brownish medium to coarse. The vessels are self-slipped. In a single case there is a carelessly painted decoration on the rim and handle.

All the examples illustrated here come from the West House, and were burnt in the fire which caused the abandonment of the building in early LM IIIB.

Related jugs, both with trefoil and round mouth, have been found at Viannos-Kephali Chondrou, dated to LM IIIA:2.²² Analogous is a jug from Knossos with the normal vertical handle and an additional small horizontal handle on the belly.²³ Smaller-sized jugs with similar rim and neck profile, usually decorated, comparable to 91.280.9, are known from Episkopi.²⁴ For this sherd, which in the absence of handle attachments could be either an amphora or a jug, a further early LM IIIB parallel can be cited from Knossos.²⁵ The band handle of 92.79.2 finds an undecorated parallel from Tomb B at Episkopi-Kephala.²⁶ The rare Cretan hydriae have a similar rim profile, as illustrated by the vase from the tomb at Apostoloi.²⁷

Related coarse ware vases are present in the Palaikastro material, both undecorated and with dribble decoration. Only slight differences in profile to the Neopalatial specimens are noted, with the exception of the round mouth which replaces the oval-mouthed variant. One example was thought, based on the quality of clay and firing, to belong to the post-Bronze Age period by the earlier excavators. The find context, in association with three LM IIIA vases with blob decoration, dates it to the same period.²⁸

Stirrup jars (Figs. 14i-k, 15-16)

Sherds from stirrup jars are rare at Petras, not only in the two houses, but

²²Platon 1957b, pl. 69α, first from right, β, first row, second from left.

²³Popham 1964, 19, fig. 4.

²⁴Xanthoudides 1920-1921, 161, fig. 9, second from right.

²⁵Hood & De Jong 1958-1959, 186, fig. 5, pl. 45f.

²⁶Platon 1952c, fig. 3, upper row, second from left.

²⁷Gavrilakis 1993, 37, photo 6, fig. 5.

²⁸Bosanquet & Dawkins 1923, 112-113, fig. 97.



Fig. 15. Stirrup jar 92.218.8.

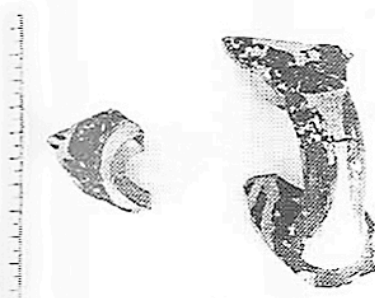


Fig. 16. Stirrup jar 92.218.8.



Fig. 17. Krater 91.317.4.

generally in any LM III context, including the surface finds from the survey. The two East House examples illustrated here belong to mid-sized vessels of medium orange Palaikastro clay with a grey core, a yellowish slip, and reddish-brown decoration (Figs. 15–16). They are dated to LM IIIA:2.

The 1994 season modified this picture by producing an almost complete specimen, 94.1148, dated to IIIA:2 (Fig. 14k). It is made of fine buff clay and has a buff lustrous slip and dark brown lustrous paint. The shoulder zone is decorated with five Mycenaean flowers, the body with three sets of thick bands enclosing thin lines. This last feature is very rare from Crete, and points, together with the clay and the type of flowers, to a mainland origin.²⁹

Kraters (Figs. 17, 18a–f)

Both LM III types of kraters, amphoroid and bell, are present at Petras. The examples in the drawings derive from the West House and the area to the west of it, and belong to the LM IIIB period. With one exception, they are made of the rather fine orange Palaikastro clay, usually with a grey core, and lustrous yellowish slip. The paint is orange or reddish, turning to brown, and likewise lustrous.

The exception is constituted by 91.144.2, a bell krater decorated with metopes containing two different types of rosettes. The clay is buff, very fine, the slip cream, the paint lustrous brownish-black. This is probably an import, from Knossos or mainland Greece.

Bell kraters are reported from Knossos and Khania, two sites under strong Mycenaean influence.³⁰ The metopal decoration of the two Petras examples is characteristic for the period. The imported vase 91.144.2 has a twin, both in terms of shape and decoration, rosettes in metopes, in an advanced LM IIIB krater from the palace of Knossos.³¹ A near relative from Karteros is also decorated with two types of rosettes, not in a metopal arrangement, but in the more Minoan continuous zone.³² Also late in the period is the second bell krater, 91.317.4, with a decoration announcing the Close Style in a manner akin to deep bowls and pyxides at Palaikastro-Kastri (Fig. 17).³³

The Petras amphoroid kraters are typical for early LM IIIB. They have handles with vertical grooves, a wide mouth with an horizontal outcurving rim, necks decorated with wavy bands, and octopus tentacles on the belly, features already present in an advanced stage of IIIA.³⁴ Octopi, complete or reduced to tentacles, constitute the most common decorati-

²⁹Cf. Kanta 1980, fig. 20 no. 10 for a parallel from Vatheianos Kampos.

³⁰Kanta 1980, 272–273.

³¹Popham 1964, pl. 8.

³²Marinatos 1927–1928, 80, fig. 5, pl. 1.

³³Sackett & Popham 1965, figs. 9z, 10j.

³⁴Kanta 1980, 273–276.

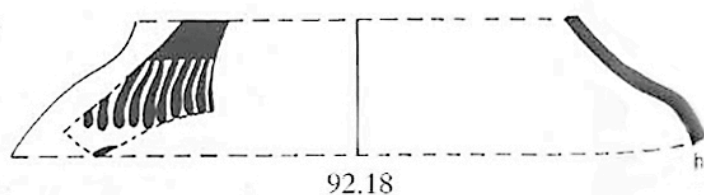
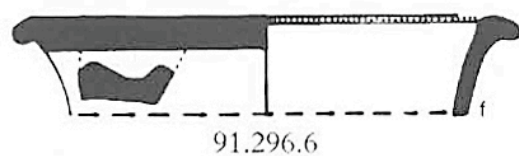
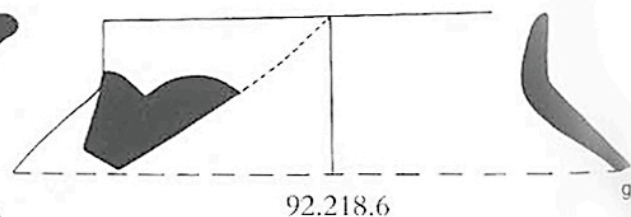
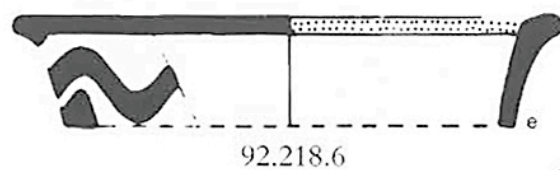
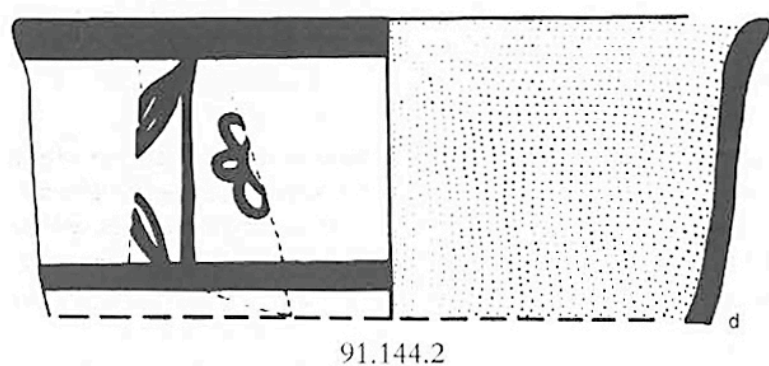
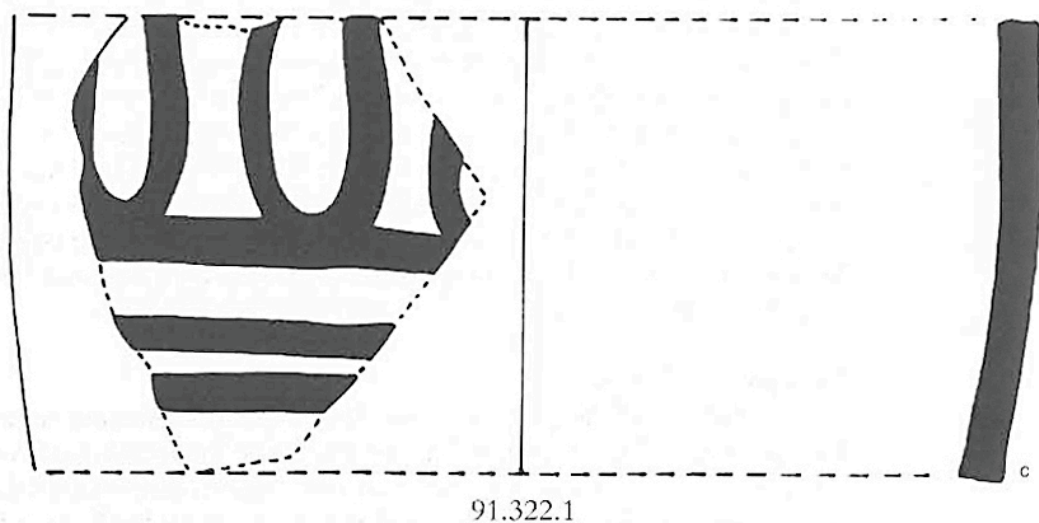
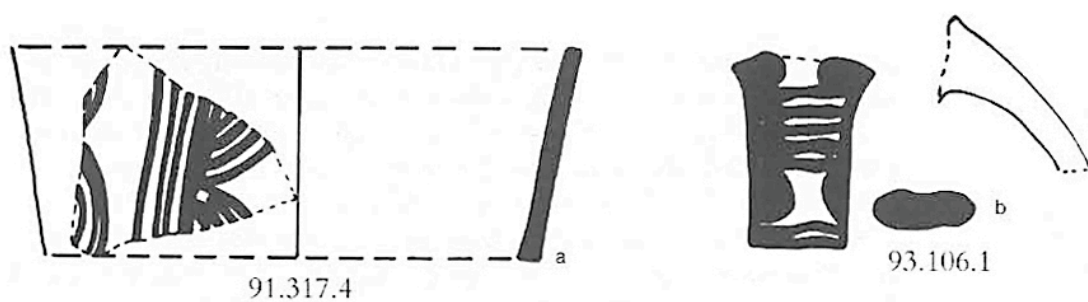


Fig. 18. a-f: Kraters; g-h: Pinform jar and pyxis.

on of amphoroid kraters. The wavy lines on the neck are also canonical, as illustrated by many parallels from Palaikastro,³⁵ Quartier E,³⁶ and Akhladia.³⁷ Moreover, IIIA amphoroid kraters from Knossos³⁸ and Karpathos, the latter imported from Palaikastro,³⁹ are similarly painted. The decoration of 91.296.6 is similar to that of a krater from Ligortyno.⁴⁰

Although the octopus decoration is also well-known from large stirrup jars of the same period, it is clear that the sherd 91.322.1 does not belong to a closed vessel. Kraters with octopi or tentacles appear in the Central Cretan material, as illustrated by a LM IIIB parallel from Episkopi.⁴¹ The vase from Milatos, a possible Palaikastrian production, parallels the Petras sherd right down to the triple horizontal lines below the tentacle.⁴² It is interesting to note that the octopus is also featured on many LM IIIB larnakes, chest- and tub-shaped, that of Episkopi found together with octopus kraters. This observation is significant due to the apparent close connection between the subject matter and organization of the decoration on containers which offer large surfaces, chiefly kraters and larnakes. In the Siteia Bay area, at least, the octopus, or its tentacles, constitutes the main theme of most larnakes.⁴³

Piriform Jar (Fig. 18h)

A single instance of this shape has been identified with certainty, coming from the area of the East House. It is dated to LM IIIA, probably not very late in the period, on the basis of its common and characteristic foliate band on the shoulder. It was imported from Palaikastro. The shape of the band, very frequent on piriform jars, also on alabastra and jugs,⁴⁴ as well as the fact that at the lower edge of the sherd there appears a further motif, probably continuous arches, suggests an early LM IIIA:2 date.

Pyxis (Fig. 18g)

A single rim and shoulder fragment of a pyxis is present in the West House material, belonging to a vessel with an ovoid to cylindrical body. It may be compared to a complete vase from the Akhladia tholos which has an angular shoulder profile.⁴⁵ The Petras pyxis is of Palaikastro clay, with a yellowish slip and brown lustrous paint. The motif on the shoul-

³⁵Bosanquet & Dawkins 1923, 108, fig. 90.

³⁶Pelon 1970, 119-121, pl. XXIII.3-5, no. 231.

³⁷Vagnetti & Tsipopoulou 1995, 115, figs. 87.4a, 91.

³⁸Popham et al 1984, pl. 107d, upper right.

³⁹Charitonides 1961-1962, 36, pl. 12, upper row, left.

⁴⁰Mavriyannaki 1974, pl. 20.

⁴¹Xanthoudides 1920-1921, 160, fig. 8.

⁴²Evans 1906, 95-96, fig. 105.

⁴³Tsipoulou & Vagnetti 1995b.

⁴⁴Bosanquet & Dawkins 1923, 79, fig. 63.1, 2 from Palaikastro.

⁴⁵Vagnetti & Tsipopoulou 1995, 115, figs. 87.4, 91.

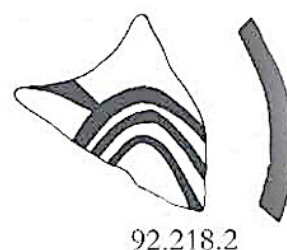
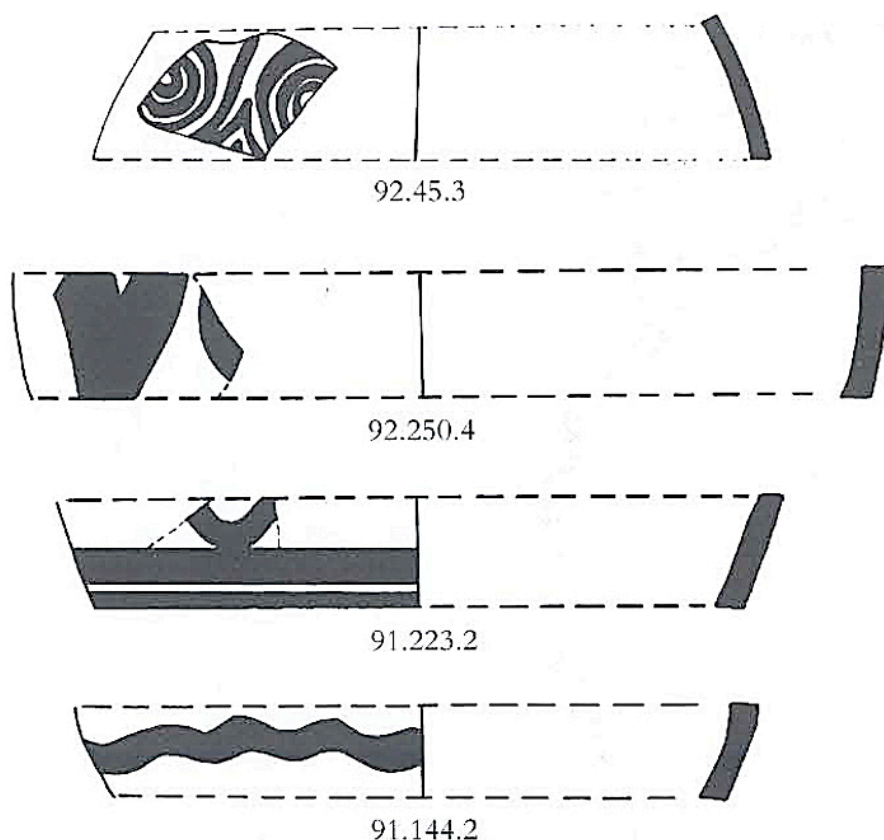


Fig. 19. Large closed decorated vessels.

der is probably a wide wavy band. Analogous vases are known from Palaikastro, both from the Aspa cemetery and from the houses in the area.⁴⁶

Related – but larger – vessels, essentially pithoids with a rim diameter of 28–30 cm., are likewise found at Palaikastro.⁴⁷ Moreover, an undecorated LM IIIA:2 to IIIB pyxis from the recent Palaikastrian campaigns has a rim and shoulder profile comparable to the Petras example.⁴⁸ LM II to IIIA pithoid jars from Quartier E may also be mentioned.⁴⁹

LM IIIB pyxides, generally smaller in size, are occasionally equipped with a tubular spout, as on an example from Gazi,⁵⁰ although here the high rim curves inwards and the shoulder is angular in profile.

The Petras sherd could also belong to a strainer pyxis, a chiefly Neopalatial shape that remained in production into LM IIIA in Eastern Crete, as indicated by parallels from Palaikastro⁵¹ and Myrsini.⁵²

⁴⁶Bosanquet & Dawkins 1923, 95–96, fig. 79.

⁴⁷Bosanquet & Dawkins 1923, pl. XXIII, especially c.

⁴⁸MacGillivray et al. 1992, fig. 20, no. 7.

⁴⁹Pelon 1970, 90, pl. XIX.4, no. 127.

⁵⁰Alexiou 1972, 88, pl. 40.

⁵¹Bosanquet & Dawkins 1923, 101–102, fig. 85a, h. 21.

⁵²Siteia Museum, unpublished.



Fig. 20. a: Amphora with dribble decoration, 94.1043; b: Amphora with dribble decoration, 94.1548.

Large closed decorated vessels (Figs. 19-20, 22)

Body sherds from large closed decorated vessels, jugs, amphorae, or perhaps also stirrup jars, have come to light from various areas of the excavation on the main plateau at Petras. The chief finds are from the Central Court, immediately to the west of the East House, but also north/north west of the north facade of the palatial building, where, in LM I, there existed an open court covered with plaster and flagstones. The West House

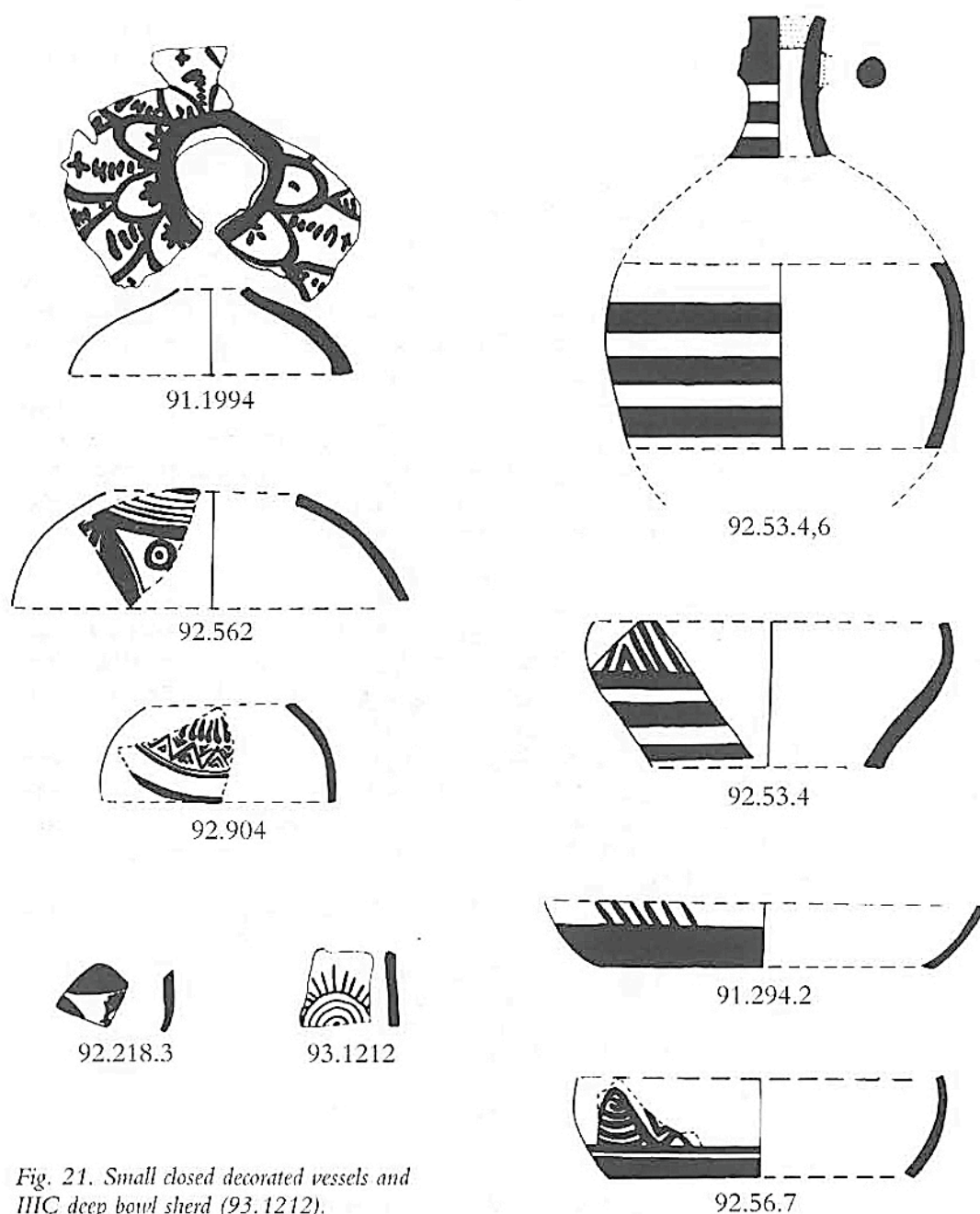


Fig. 21. Small closed decorated vessels and IIC deep bowl sherd (93.1212).



Fig. 22. Sherd from large closed vessel with spiral decoration 92.45.3.



Fig. 23. Sherds from juglet 91.1994.

is situated to its immediate south. It is thus probable that both these courts were reused in the LM III reoccupation.

Two sherds, of medium Palaikastro clay, 91.223.2 and 91.144.2, are burnt and appear to date to the early LM IIIB destruction. The other sherds, of yellowish medium clay, self-slipped and decorated with a lustrous reddish to brown paint, bear no traces of burning. They were found in the area around the East House. Their decoration leads to a LM IIIA:2 date. The continuous spiral of 92.45.3 finds a very close parallel in a sherd from a large jug or amphora from Palaikastro, of the same yellowish clay (Fig. 22).⁵³

The 1994 campaign added three more or less complete specimens of this category, two amphorae with dribble decoration (Fig. 20a-b) and a jug with blobs, all made of Palaikastro clay with reddish-brown paint. They belong to very common East Cretan types.

Flask, horizontal type (Fig. 21)

Of interest, mainly due to the rarity of its shape, is the flask 92.53.4 and 6 from the East House, a Palaikastrian import as indicated by the fine orange clay with grey core, lustrous yellowish slip, and orange to brown paint. The shape is Mycenaean,⁵⁴ dated on the mainland to LH IIIA:2 early and late.⁵⁵ A complete specimen with ring base and a stylized floral decoration on the shoulder comes from Block Ξ at Palaikastro.⁵⁶ Due to the frequent eastern origin of flasks, the earlier excavators compared it to the pottery of Tell El Amarna, although they recognized that the clay and technique were similar to those of stirrup jars from the Palaikastro cemetery. A comparable vase from Knossos was thought to be a Cypriote import by Evans.

The technique of the Petras specimen, coupled with the exact parallel from Palaikastro allows no doubt as to its origin.

Juglets (Figs. 21, 23-24)

Numerous decorated shoulder and body sherds of juglets have been found in both areas of reoccupation. All are Palaikastrian imports, those from the East House dated to early and late IIIA:2, those of the West House to early LM IIIB.

The two most completely preserved examples, in terms of decoration, 91.1994 (Fig. 23) and 92.904, from juglets with narrow neck and depressed globular body, should be placed very high in the LM IIIA:2 period, near the border to the IIIA:1 phase. Thus, they may belong to the earliest LM III sherds at Petras.

For 91.1994 very close parallels are known from Palaikastro⁵⁷ and

⁵³Bosanquet & Dawkins 1923, 82, fig. 65.6.

⁵⁴Furumark 1972, FS 190, 616.

⁵⁵Mountjoy 1986, 81, fig. 96.

⁵⁶Bosanquet & Dawkins 1923, 109-110, fig. 94.

⁵⁷Bosanquet & Dawkins 1923, 79, fig. 63.1, with a bell-shaped mouth.

Gournia.⁵⁸ For 92.904, also common, a sherd dated to LM IIIA “not late in the phase” offers a good comparandum both in terms of shape and decor.⁵⁹ The type also appears at Gournia.⁶⁰ The Goudies chamber tomb has produced several examples, some decorated with a foliate band on the shoulder which does not compare exactly with the Petras individual.⁶¹ A further parallel can be cited from the Karteros tomb.⁶² Similar LM IIIA juglets come from Ligortyno.⁶³ The motif is also known from open shapes, such as on a semiglobular cup from Malia.⁶⁴

The profile of the shoulder of the juglet 92.562 finds a comparandum at Palaikastro,⁶⁵ placed in the LM IIIA:1 period, but the decor of the Petras vessel could suggest a somewhat later date, early IIIA:2. The small sherd 92.218.3, is probably dated to LM IIIA on the basis of the decoration. Of the remaining juglet sherds illustrated here, 92.53.4 and 92.56.7 (Fig. 24) belong to the IIIA:2 type with piriform body, while the spherical vessel 91.294.2 finds its place in IIIB.

Deep bowls (Figs. 25–28)

Sherds of deep bowls are fairly common in the context of the two LM III houses at Petras. Three different types of clay can be distinguished. The majority, 91.268.3 (Fig. 25), 91.66.1 (Fig. 26), 91.524, 91.326.3 and 91.161.5, are of a fine buff fabric, with a burnished self-slipped surface and dark brown paint, reminiscent of corresponding Central Cretan vessels. Three individuals, 91.154.6, 92.218.7 and 92.56.4 (Fig. 28), are thrown in the well-known fine orange Palaikastro clay, with lustrous orange slip and orange-brownish lustrous paint. The clay of 90.34.3 is fine yellowish, covered with dark brown paint. All the above examples are monochrome inside. The decoration of the exterior surface is organised in zones bordered by two bands of varying thickness. Some of the deep bowls attain a diameter of up to 20 cm., approaching in size the bell kraters. The Petras deep bowls are dated to LM IIIA:2 and B.

Of LM IIIA:2 date is 91.524, with LM IIIA:1 to A:2 parallels from Kommos in terms of the rim.⁶⁶ A similar decoration is found on an example from Malia.⁶⁷

91.326.3 with a whorl shell design, FM 23, is dated to LM IIIA:2 to IIIB. The motif is Mycenaean: representative LH IIIA:2 parallels can be



Fig. 24. Sherd from juglet 92.56.7.

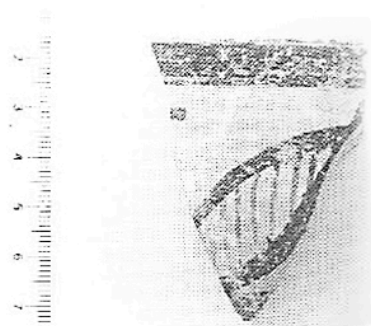


Fig. 25. Rim sherd from deep bowl 91.268.3.



Fig. 26. Rim sherd from deep bowl 91.66.1.

⁵⁸Boyd-Hawes et al. 1914, pl. X.21.

⁵⁹Sackett & Popham 1970, 234, fig. 23, left.

⁶⁰Boyd-Hawes et al. 1914, pls. 19, 20.

⁶¹Laviosa 1970, figs. 13, 22c, d, f, g, i.

⁶²Marinatos 1927–1928, 72, pl. 1, no. 8.

⁶³Mavriyannaki 1974, 56, pl. 24.

⁶⁴Pelon 1970, pl. XXI.2k.

⁶⁵MacGillivray et al. 1992, 140, fig. 17, no. 6.

⁶⁶Watrous 1992, 56, fig. 33 no. 787, pl. 18, and fig. 39 no. 971, pl. 23.

⁶⁷Pelon 1970, pls. XXV.4a and XXV.5b.

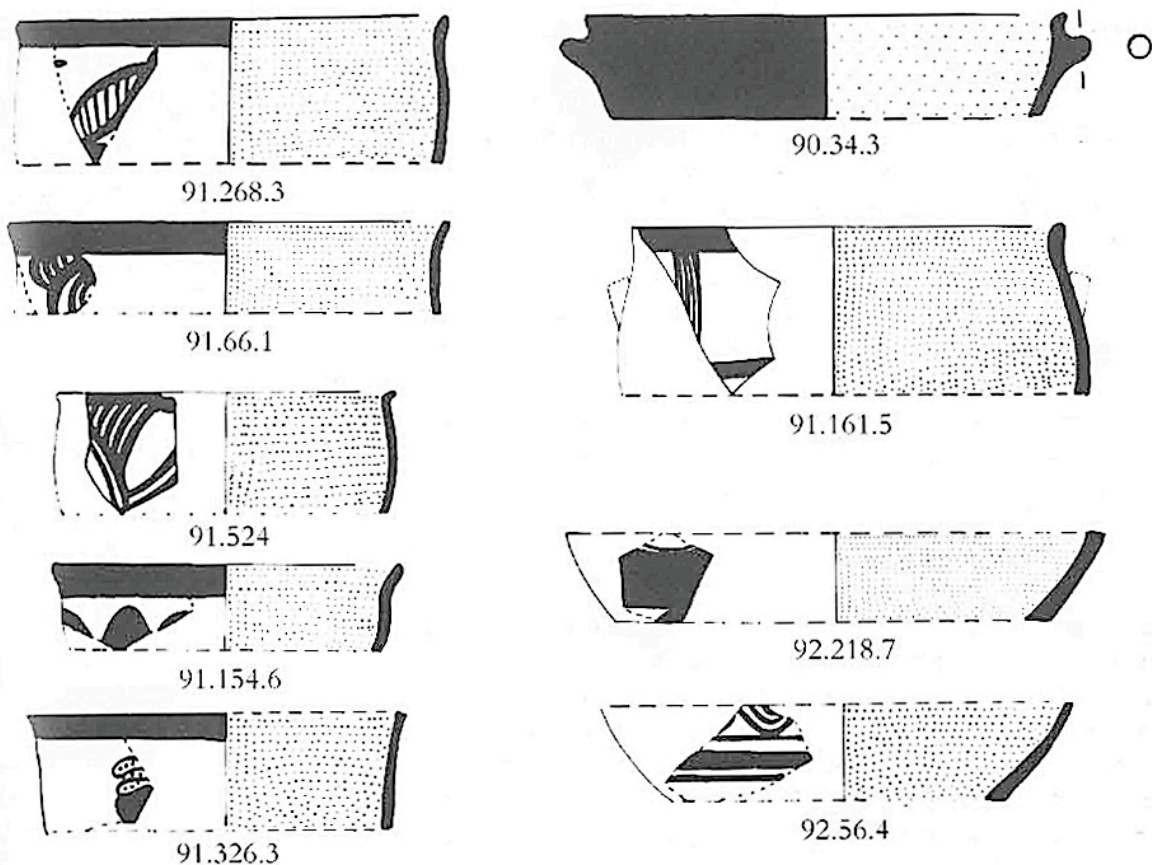


Fig. 27. Deep bowls.



Fig. 28. Body sherd from deep bowl 92.56.4.

sought from Berbati.⁶⁸ Kylikes from Kommos⁶⁹ and Knossos, of LH/LM IIIB date, are similarly decorated.⁷⁰ A deep bowl, a parallel to the Petras specimen in terms of shape and design, was found at Kastelli Khania and is thought to be an import.⁷¹ Exactly the same type of whorl shell with monochrome body appears on a further kylix from Knossos.⁷² A Knossian origin may thus be assigned to the Petras whorl shell deep bowl. An interesting comparison can be made with a whorl shell on the shoulder of a LM IIIA:2 to IIIB stirrup jar from Palaikastro.⁷³

91.268.3 (Fig. 25) and 91.154.6, belong to LM IIIB, and find good parallels in the material from Kommos⁷⁴ and Malia.⁷⁵

⁶⁸French 1965, 194, fig. 11.

⁶⁹Watrous 1992, 81, fig. 52, no. 1396, pl. 35.

⁷⁰Popham 1970, pl. 41g.

⁷¹Kanta 1980, fig. 90.10.

⁷²Popham et al. 1984, pl. 110e.

⁷³Smee 1966, 158, fig. 1, no. 1, pl. 34, underlining the close relationship of this motif to Mycenaean Greece.

⁷⁴Watrous 1992, 85, fig. 56, no. 1483, pl. 36, and no. 1482, pl. 38.

⁷⁵Deshayes & Desenne 1959, pl. XLVI.6, 10.

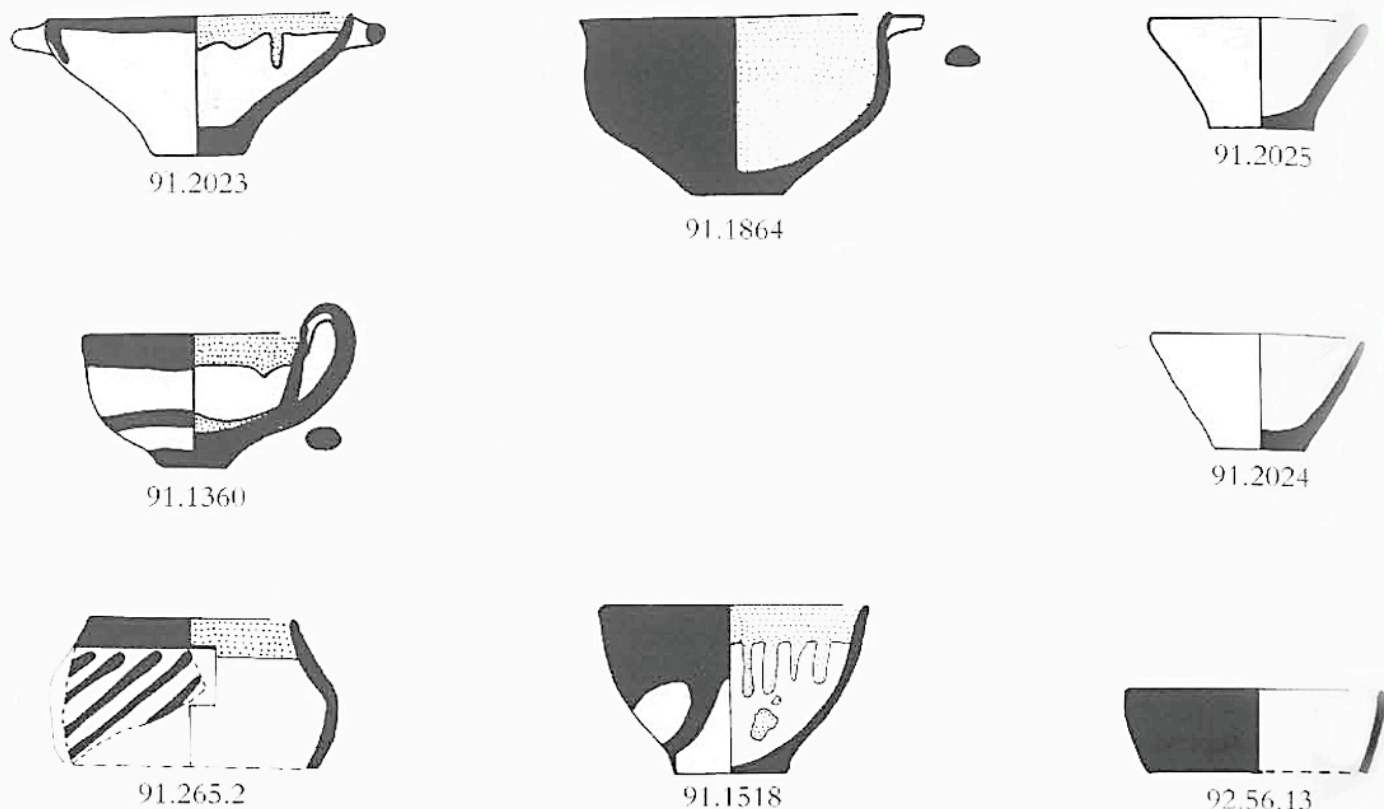


Fig. 29. Bowl with horizontal handle, one-handled cups and handleless cups.

Likewise 91.161.5 belongs to the common advanced IIIB type, again with comparanda from Kommos,⁷⁶ and Palaikastro-Kouremenos.⁷⁷

Interesting is also the LM IIIB monochrome deep bowl 90.34.3 from the West House, which appears to be from Central Crete. Viannos-Chondros,⁷⁸ Zafer Papoura, of LM IIIA:2 date,⁷⁹ Knossos-School Room,⁸⁰ and Kavrochori, IIIB⁸¹ offer relevant comparanda.

To a deep bowl may also be assigned one of the rare LM IIIC sherds recognized to date at Petras, 93.1212 (Figs. 21, 30), from the surface level on the south-western side of the plateau. Of fine buff clay, self-slipped, and, despite its worn state, clearly monochrome inside, it carries a decor of concentric circles, the outermost fringed. A similar decoration, also on a small sherd, is known from Palaikastro-Kastri.⁸²



Fig. 30. IIIC deep bowl sherd 93.1212.

⁷⁶Watrous 1992, 89, fig. 58, no. 1557, pl. 39.

⁷⁷Bosanquet 1901-1902b, fig. 2; Bosanquet & Dawkins 1923, 114, fig. 99.

⁷⁸Platon 1957b, pl. 69β, lower row, second from left.

⁷⁹Evans 1906, fig. 118.6k.

⁸⁰Popham 1964, pl. 2b.

⁸¹Rethemiotakis 1979, 242, fig. 16.

⁸²Sackett & Popham 1965, fig. 9u.

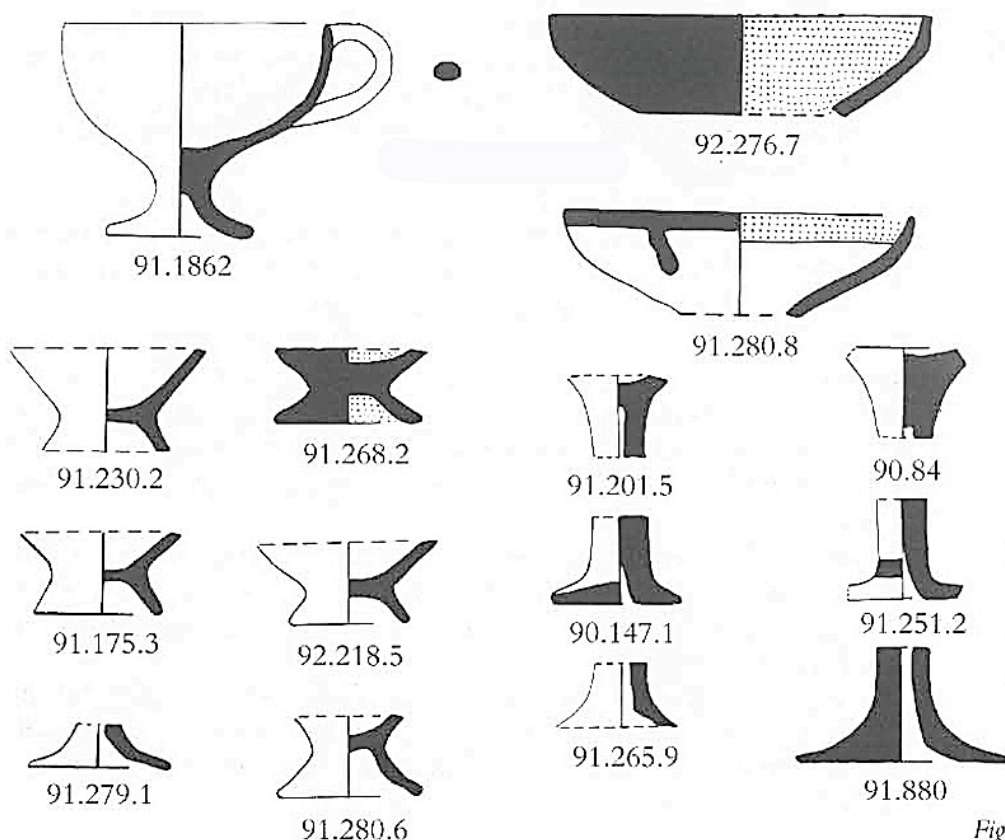


Fig. 33. Goblets and kylikes.

and dimensions.⁹⁵ The vertical rim of the Petras vase appears on a LM IIIB goblet from Kavrochori.⁹⁶ Comparanda for the base are provided by cups from the Makritikhos “kitchen” at Knossos,⁹⁷ for the base and the lower body by fragmentary individuals from Quartier E.⁹⁸

Kommos⁹⁹ and Gazi¹⁰⁰ offer LM IIIB parallels for the conical base of 91.230.2, 91.175.3, 91.268.2 and 92.218.5.

The distinctly concave foot of 91.279.1 has LM IIIA:2 to IIIB parallels from Kommos.¹⁰¹ The same site provides comparanda for the highstemmed goblet 91.280.6, with angular profile, and dated to LM IIIA:2 and B.¹⁰²

⁹⁵Vagnetti & Tsiopoulou 1995b, 115, figs. 87.3, 90.

⁹⁶Rethemiotakis 1979, 236, fig. 10.

⁹⁷Hood & De Jong 1958-1959, fig. 3, no. 4.

⁹⁸Pelon 1970, pl. XLIIe.

⁹⁹Watrous 1992, 59, fig. 41, no. 1005; 96, fig. 62, no. 1657, pl. 24; 98, fig. 64, no. 1680.

¹⁰⁰Alexiou 1972, 88, fig. 6, no. 18999.

¹⁰¹Watrous 1992, 73, fig. 45, no. 1231.

¹⁰²Watrous 1992, 56, fig. 39, no. 956; 85, fig. 55, no. 1470, pl. 22; 96, fig. 62, no. 1658.

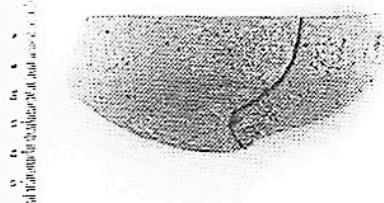


Fig. 34. Rim sherd from kylix 92.276.7.

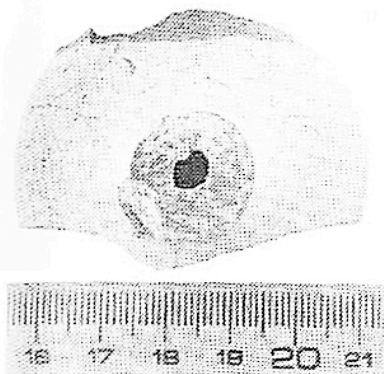


Fig. 35. Disk and lower stem from kylix 91.880.



Fig. 36. One handled cup 91.1864.



Fig. 37. One handled cup 91.1360.

Kylikes (Figs. 33-35)

Decorated kylikes remain to date unattested at Petras, not only in the two houses on the plateau, but also in the surface levels of Houses 1 and 2 in the township, buildings which have produced LM III pottery unconnected with architectural remains.

On the other hand, undecorated fragmentary specimens are rather common, all except one thrown in a very fine buff lustrous self-slipped ware. The exception, 91.280.8, is made from Palaikastro clay. The kylikes studied here come from both LM III houses.

Kylix feet pierced up to the base of the bowl, 91.201.5, 90.84, 91.265.9 and 91.880 (Fig. 35), are dated to LM IIIA:2, in a rather advanced stage, as illustrated by the relevant complete examples from Kommos,¹⁰³ from the Room to the South of the Shrine of the Double Axes,¹⁰⁴ from Sellopoulo,¹⁰⁵ and from the Apostoloi tomb, the last dated LM IIIB due to the octopus decor.¹⁰⁶

Kylikes of the second type, with a cavity in the lower part of the foot, 90.147.1 and 91.251.2, are somewhat later in date, early LM IIIB. Kommos once again provides complete profiles, dated to an advanced stage of LM IIIA:2.¹⁰⁷

The two better preserved examples from Petras, 92.276.7 (Fig. 34) and 91.280.8, belong, the former, to FS 258,¹⁰⁸ with a good decorated parallel from Kritsa,¹⁰⁹ the latter, to FS 266,¹¹⁰ both types dated to LM IIIA:2 and B.¹¹¹

One handled cups (Figs. 29, 36-37)

Both complete specimens of one-handled cups come from the early LM IIIB destruction level of the West House, and are products of the Palaikastro workshop.

The first one, 91.1360 (Fig. 37), decorated with bands inside and out, belongs to a very common Mycenaean type, resembling closely FS 222 and 238. The chronological range is wide, LH IIIA:1 to IIIC:1.¹¹² Very similar is a LM IIIB cup from Quartier E,¹¹³ exhibiting only small differences: a more pronounced outcurving rim, and a handle set slightly lower.

¹⁰³ Watrous, 76, fig. 47, no. 1299; 77, fig. 49, no. 1312, pl. 30.

¹⁰⁴ Popham 1964, 16, fig. 1a, no. 25, pl. 9.

¹⁰⁵ Popham et al. 1974, 204-208, fig. 7, no. 3, fig. 9, nos. 1-3, 14.

¹⁰⁶ Gavrilakis 1993, 44, fig. 11, photo 12.

¹⁰⁷ Watrous 1992, 56, fig. 39, no. 968, pl. 22; 58, fig. 41, no. 996, pl. 24.

¹⁰⁸ Furumark 1972, 628.

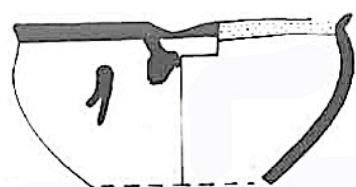
¹⁰⁹ Davaras s.a., fig. 60.

¹¹⁰ Furumark 1972, 630-631.

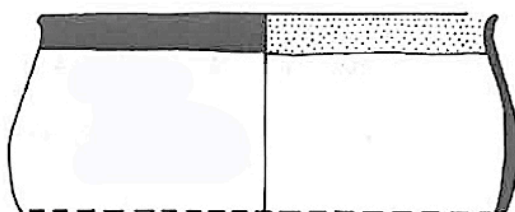
¹¹¹ Furumark 1972, 622, 631.

¹¹² Furumark 1972, fig. 15.

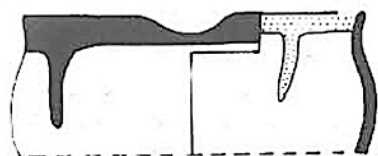
¹¹³ Pelon 1970, 118-119, pl. XXIII.1, no. 229.



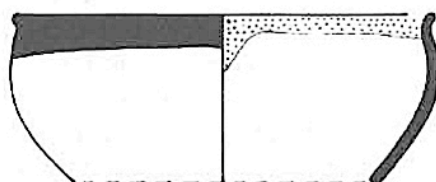
92.902



92.56.14



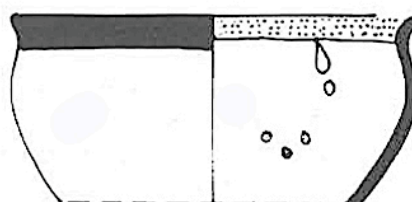
91.175.1



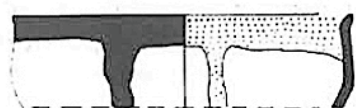
92.1089



91.265.1



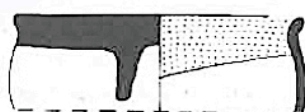
92.250.5



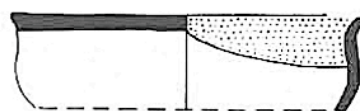
91.279.3



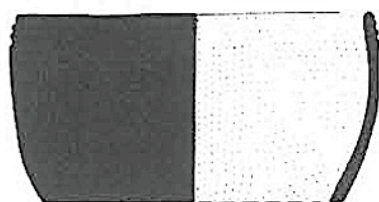
91.154.2



92.218.11



91.154.4



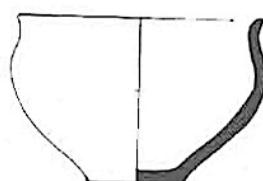
92.250.6



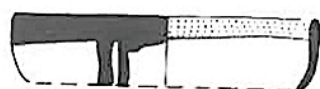
92.56



91.265.5



91.789



92.218.9

Fig. 38. Globular handleless cups.

The second, monochrome, semiglobular cup 91.1864 (Fig. 36), belongs to FS 214,¹¹⁴ and is dated to LH/LM IIIA:2 to IIIB.

Handleless globular cups (Figs. 29, 38, 39–40)

This is the most popular vessel type in all LM III levels at Petras, replacing the very common older handleless conical cup, the σκουτέλι. The shape is generally thought to continue, with minor changes in profile, the handleless semiglobular cup of the Neopalatial phase. All the Petras specimens studied here are made from Palaikastro clay, being thin-walled and well-fired. The orange or pink slip is lustrous, and the paint, employed for carelessly executed rim bands which tend to run, or for a monochrome treatment inside and out, is likewise lustrous, orange or reddish, sometimes turning to brown or reddish brown. A pulled-out spout is common on the rim, always more or less outcurving. The body has a curving upper part, and concave lower sides.

A few unpainted cups may be noted, always of Palaikastro clay.

It appears that the type is far more common in Eastern and Northern Crete, with many instances from Palaikastro, Myrsini, and the Mokhlos area, usually with blob decoration, and Amnisos and Episkopi-Pedia, ¹¹⁵ whereas it is entirely absent from Kommos. It is dated to LM IIIA and B. Palaikastro has produced some IIIA:2 to IIIB cups of this type with painted decoration.¹¹⁶

Concerning the examples from Petras studied here: 92.902 is identical to those of the Palaikastrian LM IIIA:1 early reoccupation levels;¹¹⁷ 92.1089 has, likewise, good parallels from IIIA Palaikastro;¹¹⁸ 91.154.2 has a formal twin at Palaikastro in a IIIA:2 cup with a careless band on the rim and upper part of the body, inside and out.¹¹⁹

Palaikastro also provides many comparanda, either undecorated, or with a rim band or blob decoration, for 91.789 (Fig. 39).¹²⁰ 92.218.9 is similar in shape and decoration to a complete IIIB specimen from Quartier E,¹²¹ while 91.279.3 finds its closest comparandum in Gournia, both in form and decor.¹²² Furthermore, it may be noted that two cups from Episkopi exhibit many similarities to the Petras material, also in terms of decoration.¹²³



Fig. 39. Globular handleless cup 91.789.

¹¹⁴Furumark 1972, 620.

¹¹⁵Kanta 1980, 268.

¹¹⁶MacGillivray et al. 1991, 133, fig. 9, upper row.

¹¹⁷MacGillivray et al. 1992, 140, fig. 17, nos. 3–4.

¹¹⁸Sackett & Popham 1970, fig. 22, no. 8.

¹¹⁹Smee 1966, 161, fig. 1.5, pl. 34.

¹²⁰Bosanquet & Dawkins 1923, 86, fig. 68.

¹²¹Pelon 1970, 119, pl. XXIII.2, no. 230.

¹²²Boyd-Hawes et al. 1914, pl. X, no. 4.

¹²³Xanthoudides 1920–1921, 161, fig. 9, second vase from left; fig. 12, second from left, LM IIIA:2–B.

The complete individual 91.1518 (Fig. 40) is the exact counterpart to a cup with blob decoration from Palaikastro, found in the Karpathos tomb.¹²⁴ A second parallel, somewhat shallower, and dated to LM IIIA:1 is provided by Palaikastro.¹²⁵

The two monochrome and one unpainted cups 92.56.13 (Fig. 29), 91.265.5, and 91.265.1 (Fig. 38) belong to a slightly different type with a profile tending towards conical and the rim outcurving. A similarity to LM IIIB tankards is apparent, but the Petras sherds exhibit no traces of a handle.¹²⁶

Related to the semiglobular handleless cup is, finally, a vase from the early LM IIIB West House, 91.265.2 (Figs. 29, 41), with a pronounced inward curve of the rim, and angular body, likewise of Palaikastrian clay, and with a simple linear decor.

Handleless conical cups (Figs. 29, 42)

As already mentioned, handleless conical cups, the notorious σκουτέλια, are very rare in the LM III ceramic material from Petras, having been essentially replaced by the handleless semiglobular cups. This situation reflects that of Palaikastro, the source for the two complete Petras specimens. They were found in the early LM IIIB destruction level on the floor of the West House. Made of medium orange clay and self-slipped, both exhibit slightly different proportions than the majority of LM III examples, which are usually shallower. This second, more shallow, type is not unknown in the Petras area, represented by three σκουτέλια in the LM IIIA:1 to IIIB tholos tomb at Akhladia, probably also of Palaikastrian clay.

The cup 91.2025 resembles strongly IIIA:1 σκουτέλια from Kommos.¹²⁷ The IIIB σκουτέλι from the Room to the South of the Shrine of the Double Axes, although similar, is, on the other hand, not so high, following the prevailing LM III pattern.¹²⁸ Σκουτέλια adhering to LM I models appear sporadically in early LM IIIB assemblages, as illustrated by an example from Gazi.¹²⁹ Very similar σκουτέλια in terms of dimensions and proportions have been found in the tombs of Kephala Episkopi–Pediada, and are dated to IIIA.¹³⁰ A comparandum from Palaikastro exhibits a similar profile and base, but is slightly shallower.¹³¹ The specimen from the Goudies tomb may also be mentioned in this context,¹³² particularly



Fig. 40. Globular handleless cup 91.1518.

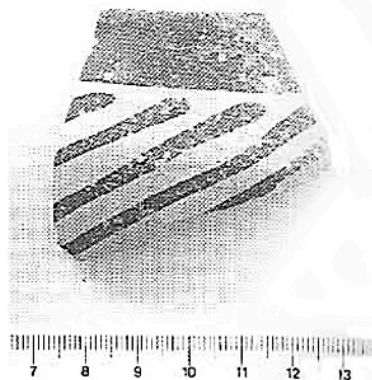


Fig. 41. Rim sherd from a small open vessel 91.265.2.

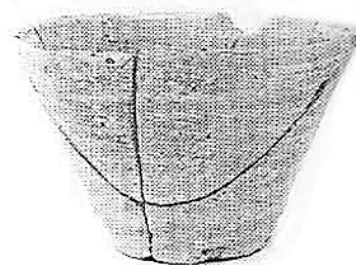


Fig. 42. Handleless conical cup 91.2024.

¹²⁴Charitonides 1961–1962, 56, fig. 10.

¹²⁵MacGillivray et al. 1992, 140, fig. 17, nos. 4, 8.

¹²⁶Popham 1964, pl. 7c.

¹²⁷Watrous 1992, 31, fig. 24, no. 524.

¹²⁸Popham 1964, 17, fig. 1b, no. 26, pl. 9a.

¹²⁹Alexiou 1972, 89, pl. 40γ, no. 19005.

¹³⁰Platon 1952c, fig. 3, upper row, first from left.

¹³¹Bosanquet & Dawkins 1923, 86, fig. 69.1.

¹³²Laviosa 1970, 116, pls. Θh, Zf.

since the second cup from Petras, 91.2024 (Fig. 42), has a parallel from the same source.¹³³ Further comparanda may be sought at Sellopoulo¹³⁴ and Palaikastro,¹³⁵ both IIIA:2 to IIIB in date.

LM III Petras in the wider context

Within the framework created for the present symposium, the Late Minoan III period at Petras may appear as a minor event on an island-wide scale. The material is limited in quantity, fragmentarily preserved, of lesser quality when compared to the production of the major centres, and it is mainly imported. As an assemblage, it may not attract the extended attention of scholars for its own sake. Yet LM III Petras is part of an overall image, that of a region having seen halcyon days in the preceding periods, and as such provides data for our understanding of Postpalatial Eastern Crete. In particular, it emphasises the radical changes to the administrative structure after the LM IB destruction of the palatial centres, and, as a consequence, to the economic system.

The wider view will comprise a concise recapitulation of the LM III evidential situation in the Siteia region, beginning at the coast and moving up the Stomion (or Pandelis) River, followed by a briefer discussion of the period as it is known to date in Eastern Crete.¹³⁶ The picture thus gained will exhibit many imperfections. The state of research prohibits any advanced degree of synthesis, the most serious obstacle being the complete absence of systematic excavations in settlements solely of LM III date. Moreover, wherever excavation, of whatever nature, has taken place, the results have not been published in a final form, and preliminary reports, where extant, frequently provide but meagre information. In addition, the wide-scale looting and/or destruction of archaeological sites, either periodically by grave robbers, or by developers to remove ancient remains threatening modern construction, has seriously hindered the study of the area in antiquity. This activity has caused, and still causes, irreparable loss of evidence, through outright destruction, incorporation of unprovenanced material into local private collections, and illegal exportation. Entire sites have been obliterated, such as the important cemeteries at Agios Georgios (Tourtoulou) and Pharmakokephalo-Sklavoi.

The town of Siteia and Petras; Hagia Photia and Roussa Ekklisia
What today is the Siteia plain, in the Neopalatial period, formed a bay of the sea, a situation which probably continued into Postpalatial times. Research on the north shore of the bay, that is, in the township of Siteia,

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¹³⁴Popham et al. 1974, fig. 9, no. 10.

¹³⁵MacGillivray et al. 1992, fig. 22, no. 2.

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has been sporadic, but it is probable that a settlement is to be sought under the modern town, given the series of LM IIIA and B tombs containing larnakes, uncovered during building activities and frequently destroyed before archaeological intervention could take place.¹³⁷

A review of the evidence would thus be restricted to a staccato enumeration of finds, reduced here to the more interesting instances. Unusual is the tomb found during construction of the road near the hospital, containing a tub-shaped larnax inverted over a skeleton in contracted position on the floor. A stirrup jar and a triton shell constituted the grave goods.¹³⁸ Chamber tombs were dug near the Itanion cinema, one of them producing a tub-shaped larnax decorated with spirals.¹³⁹

A short distance outside Siteia, at Xerokamara, a IIIB tomb was discovered and destroyed. Some vases and two larnakes were preserved. The tub-shaped larnax is decorated with octopi, and probably to be assigned to the Petras-Akhladia workshop.¹⁴⁰

The main LM III presence is centred on Petras, which, in the period, consists of four distinct loci of different size and nature. On the plateau of Hill I the two buildings referred to above attest to a partial reoccupation of the palatial site in LM IIIA and B. No IIIC has appeared in the context of these houses, but scattered sherds have been noted in unstratified deposits. A more extensive settlement was founded in IIIA on the summit and west slope of Hill II, looking towards Hill I and the harbour between them. A LM IIIA seal was collected during the intensive survey of 1986.¹⁴¹ Traces of LM III occupation were located on Hill IV during the 1990 fieldwork. LM IIIB larnakes, both tub- and chest-shaped, have been reported on various occasions since the beginning of the century from the wider area of Petras – whether from a single cemetery or several cannot be determined. Sporadic vases reputed to have been uncovered with larnakes, or single finds, date to the IIIA and B phases.¹⁴² One merits special attention: among the Early Minoan vases in the Agios Nikolaos Museum is exhibited a handmade miniature jug decorated with groups of vertical lines. Closer observation by Lucia Vagnetti has identified it as Mycenaean.¹⁴³ Three larnakes, one chest, two baths, which appeared on the art market and now in Geneva and Zurich, can be assigned to the Petras-Akhladia workshop. Their provenance was probably these tombs in the Petras area.¹⁴⁴

¹³⁷Platon 1953b, 485; 1958, 482.

¹³⁸Platon 1957a, 340.

¹³⁹Kanta 1980, 177.

¹⁴⁰Kanta 1980, 198; cf. Tsipopoulou & Vagnetti 1995b for the workshop; for a more extensive treatment including the present larnax see Tsipopoulou & Vagnetti 1996.

¹⁴¹Tsipopoulou 1990, 319–321.

¹⁴²Mavroidis 1936; Platon 1959a, 390; 1959b, 217–218.

¹⁴³Cf. Mountjoy 1986, 126, fig. 153.1 for a very similar hydria from Tiryns. See appendix below.

¹⁴⁴Mottier 1982; Sguaitamatti 1986; Tsipopoulou & Vagnetti 1995b.

The 1985 Hagia Photia survey located two LM IIIB and C sites, probably isolated farm-houses. One was situated on the plain, the other on the hill above the modern village.¹⁴⁵ A third location, probably a settlement, was discovered at Lagoudopatima, among the low hills between Hagia Photia and Roussa Ekklesia, and now a designated archaeological site. A tub-shaped larnax in the Agios Nikolaos Museum is said to come from Hagia Photia.¹⁴⁶

The Siteia-Piskokephalo plain

The 1990 Petras survey revealed the presence of habitation remains on the Anemomylia hill. At the base of the hill, chamber tombs, partially destroyed by cultivation or road construction, have been reported on various occasions.¹⁴⁷ A further settlement was located at Kato Episkopi-Agios Georgios.¹⁴⁸ At the site of Berati a burial cave was excavated, and although dating chiefly to the Protogeometric and Geometric periods, it was found also to contain a LM IIIC chest-shaped larnax decorated with spirals and wavy lines. The original inhumation had been placed outside the larnax to make room for a new occupant. Moreover, a large IIIC cylindrical pithos, and a spouted pithos, Minoan but not more exactly dated in the report, were also used for burial.¹⁴⁹

At Kato Episkopi-Hellenika a small excavation was undertaken in an area where larnakes had previously been found, uncovering a looted tomb containing fragments of two larnakes, one chest-, the other tub-shaped, as well as a bronze mirror.¹⁵⁰ A chamber tomb was destroyed during mechanical cultivation at Piskokephalo-Khalepa.¹⁵¹ Finally, a LM IIIA:2 stirrup jar from Piskokephalo in the Herakleion Museum is worthy of mention for the precision of its dating.¹⁵²

Akhladia and Kimouriotis

The Akhladia area receives extensive treatment elsewhere, making no more than a summary imperative here. The LM III evidence comprises four elements: the tholos tomb, a possible settlement, a potter's kiln attributed, on admittedly uncertain grounds and now lost, to the period, and a IIIB stirrup jar from an unspecified source in the area.¹⁵³ The tholos tomb, excavated in three campaigns over more than half a century, was construc-

¹⁴⁵Tsipopoulou 1989.

¹⁴⁶Davaras 1979, 410; it may be assigned to the Petras-Akhladia workshop, cf. the study referred to above.

¹⁴⁷Davaras 1972, 650.

¹⁴⁸Davaras 1972, 646-648.

¹⁴⁹Platon 1952b, 476.

¹⁵⁰Platon 1952b, 476-477.

¹⁵¹Fragments of a chest-shaped larnax and IIIB sherds were collected. Siteia Museum, unpublished.

¹⁵²Kanta 1980, 177.

¹⁵³Siteia Museum cat.no. 77.

ted in LM IIIA:1, and remained in use until IIIB. It had been opened in Late Geometric times, as the deposition of two vases attests, and partially looted – as the absence of precious finds would indicate.¹⁵⁴ The recent study for publication of this structure uncovered a pit in the floor of the chamber, containing remains of a 45 to 60 years old woman. Presumably the first occupant of the tomb, she survived to a very advanced age for the period, despite having endured serious stress during her earlier childhood, possibly caused, as suggested in the osteological report, by malnutrition.¹⁵⁵

A LM IIIB tomb at Kimouriotis near Chamaizi is worthy of mention since it contained two larnakes, one tub-, the other chest-shaped; the latter, decorated with double axes between horns of consecrations, can be recognized as a product of the Petras-Akhladia workshop.¹⁵⁶

Stavromenos and Sphakia

The area between and around Stavromenos and Sphakia is known from four loci, the chief being the Sphakia-Kastri “Sub-Minoan” acropolis with remains of fortification walls and buildings visible on the surface, and fragments of pithoi scattered on the slopes of the hill. It is dated to the end of the LM III period but has not been investigated.¹⁵⁷

Earlier LM III phases are known through fragments of IIIB larnakes from destroyed tombs at Sphakia-Stavros,¹⁵⁸ by the small circular tholos tomb with a short dromos at Sphakia-Patela, containing larnakes, a few small vases, a bronze knife, and a seal with a goddess between antithetic griffins,¹⁵⁹ as well as a stirrup jar from Sphakia-Kouri.¹⁶⁰

Maronia and Agios Georgios

The area is known chiefly from looted graves. At Agios Georgios-Volakas a cemetery of nine small, irregular chamber tombs was severely despoiled by illegal activities. Two larnakes and 15 vases were confiscated, and various small finds and some vases uncovered during cleaning and documentation.¹⁶¹ A LM III chamber tomb suffered a similar fate at Agios Georgios-Ammoudoplaka.¹⁶²

To the south-east of Agios Georgios, on the Profitis Ilias hill, a Neopalatial building complex termed “villa” by the excavator also produced some LM III sherds, probably indicating a limited reoccupation.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁴Vagnetti & Tsiopoulou 1995b.

¹⁵⁵Liston 1995.

¹⁵⁶Davaras 1979, 410; Tsiopoulou & Vagnetti 1995b.

¹⁵⁷Platon 1956, 413.

¹⁵⁸Davaras 1978, 393.

¹⁵⁹Platon 1955, 563.

¹⁶⁰Alexiou 1963a, 386; Kanta 1980, 187.

¹⁶¹Sakellarakis 1966, 414–416.

¹⁶²Kanta 1980, 179.

¹⁶³Kanta 1980, fig. 66 nos. 3–4, 8.

A stirrup jar and two conical cups have been found at Agios Georgios-Agios Antonios.¹⁶⁴ In addition, a small bronze dagger and a fragment of a larnax have been handed in, the provenance given as being Agios Georgios.¹⁶⁵ Further larnakes, tub-shaped, and various finds, including two finger rings have been collected in the area.¹⁶⁶

A LM III settlement has been located west of the road to Maronia, and some sherds collected.¹⁶⁷

Praisos

The Praisos region forms the southern limit of the Siteia Bay area and the gateway to the south coast of Crete. Its importance is manifest throughout antiquity, not the least in the LM III period. The evidence is primarily funerary, but a number of uninvestigated settlements have been noted.

Near the acropolis there is a "Sub-Minoan" homestead,¹⁶⁸ and a further late presence is attested to on the hill of Potistiria (between Nea Praisos and Katelionas), where a "Sub-Minoan" settlement with a retaining wall preserved to a length of 60 m is situated. On the Stavromenos hill, south of Potistiria, there is a small acropolis with many walls visible and numerous LM III surface sherds. On Plakalonia hill there are extensive LM III, "Sub-Minoan", and Protogeometric remains belonging to a probable "refuge settlement". Finally, in the mountainous area opposite Kalamafki there is a IIC acropolis, where exposed pithoi were noted when the location was first visited.¹⁶⁹ A bronze sickle, and a Karphi-Gazi type figurine, destroyed by the finder, are presumably from the same site.¹⁷⁰

Praisos is primarily known for a number of tholos tombs at and around the Postpalatial site. Tholos A produced only a few LM III sherds, inducing the excavator to suggest that the structure, which contained Early Orientalizing material, had been cleaned and reused at the later date.¹⁷¹ Tholos D, which has an almost horseshoe-shaped chamber, is the probable source of the LM IIIA seal embedded in a mudbrick from an adjoining Hellenistic building.¹⁷²

The rectangular-chambered Tholos B, at Praisos-Arfanoperivolia, produced significant finds, a IIIA:2 chest-shaped larnax with running spirals and rosettes, a IIIB tub-shaped larnax with octopus tentacles, as well as a

¹⁶⁴Alexiou 1963a, 386.

¹⁶⁵Platon 1954, 516; Alexiou 1963a, 386.

¹⁶⁶Platon 1965, 283.

¹⁶⁷Davaras 1972, 646-648.

¹⁶⁸Kanta 1980, 182.

¹⁶⁹Faure 1962, 36-41.

¹⁷⁰Platon 1952b, 481.

¹⁷¹Bosanquet 1901-1902a, 240-245.

¹⁷²Bosanquet 1901-1902a, 251-254.

gold ring, and other jewellery.¹⁷³ The rectangular chamber also appears in Tholos E, at Praisos-Riza, but no finds have been cited as found within the structure.¹⁷⁴

A rare unlooted tholos was excavated at Praisos-Photoula. The tomb, dated to the IIIC phase, has a rectangular low chamber and an unlined dromos. It held two burials, one in a tub-shaped larnax containing a cylindrical urn with burnt bones, gold jewellery, a large finger ring with granulation, a gold sheet with argonauts, a gold nail, an ivory fan handle with four gold rivets, a bronze spearhead, a bronze fibula, as well as a juglet, and two stirrup jars. The cylindrical wooden pail clad in bronze sheathing constitutes an unusual find. The second burial lay on the floor, accompanied by two stirrup jars.¹⁷⁵

A series of tombs are known from the general area of Praisos, frequently through investigations subsequent to looting and destruction. From Praisos-Sto Mavriki larnax fragments were collected and further destroyed larnakes noted.¹⁷⁶ Similarly, fragments of larnakes, and vases – including three early IIIC stirrup jars – were collected from rock-cut chamber tombs at Praisos-Tzani Metochi.¹⁷⁷ At Praisos-Kapsalos parts of the contents were collected from a chamber tomb with small dromos, being a chest-shaped larnax and IIIB vases.¹⁷⁸ A further tomb, having a rectangular chamber,¹⁷⁹ was found to have been looted, some sherds and fragments of a chest-shaped larnax remaining. Traces of more tombs were noted in the area. LM IIIA to C vases and a larnax fragment, which had been handed in some time earlier, probably originated from these tombs. Two stirrup jars, one IIIA in date and from the Palaikastro workshop, the other a LH IIIB Mycenaean import, are of particular interest in the present context. The IIIC material from the same group is early, and attests to connections with Palaikastro-Kastri, as does a larnax fragment of Palaikastro clay, dated IIIB or C.¹⁸⁰

At Praisos-Agios Constantinos two LM III tombs were looted, and further tombs noted but not excavated.¹⁸¹ Scattered fragments of LM III larnakes, a stirrup jar, and a bronze knife were recovered from Agios Spyridon-Agios Nikolaos. Subsequent excavation uncovered several LM III tombs, the only published chronological reference point being a IIIC stirrup jar.¹⁸² The Protogeometric to Early Orientalising burial cave at Agios

¹⁷³Bosanquet 1901-1902a, 245-248.

¹⁷⁴Bosanquet 1901-1902a, 254.

¹⁷⁵Platon & Davaras 1960, 514-515.

¹⁷⁶Bosanquet 1901-1902a, 237-238.

¹⁷⁷Platon 1960, 302, Kanta 1980, 181.

¹⁷⁸Kanta 1980, 179-180.

¹⁷⁹Whether tholos or chamber tomb is not clear from publication, Platon 1960.

¹⁸⁰Kanta 1980, 179-180.

¹⁸¹Bosanquet 1901-1902a, 254.

¹⁸²Platon 1950, 529, 534-535; 1951, 445.

Spyridon-Kalathiana (or Petrota) yielded, from a corner of the cave, seven LM IIIA:2 vases, but it is not known whether the site had a funerary use in this period.¹⁸³ The cave at Skales has produced LM IIIB sherds.¹⁸⁴

Sklavoi

Sklavoi-Pharmakokephalo is known from the extensive, and thoroughly looted, LM III cemetery of rock-cut chamber tombs, of which only two were properly excavated. Among the finds may be noted bronze finger rings, a bronze knife, a seal, and beads. The chief vase shape is the IIIA piriform jar, three being placed in each of the two excavated tombs. A further 28 such vases, products of a single workshop, were confiscated in 1966, along with 14 bronze objects and other vases, permitting the assignment of analogous jars in Greek private collections to this cemetery.¹⁸⁵ The complete absence of larnakes is highly unusual, and may be due to a direct Mycenaean influence, at least one of the piriform jars being a mainland import.¹⁸⁶ The small LM IIIA piriform jar in grey wheel-made ware, published by Lucia Vagnetti and the author¹⁸⁷ from Pharmakokephalo points in the same direction, particularly given the extreme rarity of this class of pottery in Eastern Crete.

The LM III period in the Siteia Bay area

The image projected by the LM III data of the Siteia Bay area may be summarized along the following lines.

The state of research prohibits extensive analyses for the region, but the distribution of reported finds indicates certain patterns here deemed more than fortuitous. Although the destruction of the Neopalatial palace of Petras removed a major centre from the map, the hills upon which had spread the township continued, it would seem, to support a local human presence of some consequence. A second such nucleus is to be situated at Praisos, where the concentration of tombs suggests the existence of more than one settlement.¹⁸⁸ Although the Postpalatial settlement at Akhladia remains unconfirmed, the tholos tomb, one of two Mycenaean tholoi in Crete (the second being that of Archanes), indisputably confers upon the site a definite significance – particularly in the current state of our knowledge. Whether a third centre, however the term should be defined in the LM III period, should be located here must remain open. It is, however,

¹⁸³Tsipopoulou 1983.

¹⁸⁴Bosanquet 1901–1902a, 235, Papadakis & Rutkowski 1986.

¹⁸⁵Alexiou & Davaras 1964, 442–443; Kanta 1980, 183–184, figs. 74–76 in the Metaxas Collection; Tsipopoulou 1987, 293–295, fig. 4: “28, 31, pls. IV.5, V.4 in the Mitsotakis Collection; Marangou 1985, 35–38, cat.nos. 12–17 in the Goulandris Collection.

¹⁸⁶Sakellarakis 1966, 419.

¹⁸⁷Tsipopoulou & Vagnetti 1994.

¹⁸⁸Kanta 1980, 182.

significant that the building of the tholos took place in LM IIIA:1, at a time when the evidence from the Neopalatial central place at Petras is restricted to a few sherds.

Topography and modern patterns of settlement have played an important role in the placing of dots on the distribution map. Most of the tombs and settlements enumerated above have come to light through construction, particularly along the axis formed by the river and the Siteia-Ierapetra road. The widening and paving of the road itself in the early 1950's had a significant impact in terms of reported finds, and of subsequent excavations.

Thus far the distribution in space. When time is factored in, a more subtle picture can be sketched. It is notable that whereas only a relatively short hiatus is evident at Petras, the reoccupation taking place chiefly in LM IIIA:2-B (on a different orientation to the palatial building), Praisos enters primarily in IIIB – although IIIA appears in graves. In this latter period, Petras is less well represented since floors are lacking in the small areas with Postpalatial remains. Lest the suggestion be made too quickly that the IIIB of Praisos could indicate a movement towards the southern part of the region discussed here, the puzzling IIIA cemetery at Pharmakokephalo should be recalled. Generally, in terms of chronology, the picture remains unfocused. Scattered finds from looted tombs which cannot be assigned to settlements do not contribute to a more detailed reconstruction.

On the basis of the available material, it is difficult to fashion a historical account. Nonetheless, work at Petras, Akhladia, and generally in graves throughout the area, when preliminary reports exist, indicate that a major change took place at an advanced stage of the LM IIIB period. Sites are abandoned; new ones, occupied into the IIIC phase and beyond, appear. The graves exhibit discontinuity, thus suggesting a significant rupture in human presence.

A final point to be made at the level of the Siteia Bay area concerns pottery production. It should be kept in mind that no efforts have been made to analyse petrographically the wares found in the area. Furthermore, the only known potter's kiln is that of Akhladia, whose date remains uncertain.¹⁸⁹ Identification of wares is made by macroscopic inspection, either comparing clays or decorative styles. Workshop assignments should, then, be treated with circumspection. Whenever observations concerning such matters have been published, a major role of pottery "made in Palaikastro" is evident.

The LM III period in Eastern Crete

The wider East Cretan context offers much the same picture, but with some significant variations. Discontinuity after the LM IB destructions is general, with the sole exception of Palaikastro. Reoccupation occurs at all the other key Neopalatial sites, governed by unknown factors strong

¹⁸⁹Platon 1952a, 646; 1952b, 476.

enough to cause some settlements to re-emerge at an earlier, IIIA:1 in the Mokhlos-Myrsini-Tourloti area, or later stage, at the beginning of IIIA:2 at Petras and Zakros, the situation at Diaskari being unknown.¹⁹⁰ In all instances, the Postpalatial presence is less extensive. In addition, the Neopalatial buildings may be abandoned, and new ones are constructed in the vicinity, as is the case at Zakros, where the community moves to Agios Antonios.¹⁹¹ At Palaikastro and Petras an additional settlement is founded, at Kouremenos¹⁹² and on Hill II, respectively.¹⁹³ The central Neopalatial site appears to break up, scattering the inhabitants into peripheral clusters. A similar phenomenon can be observed in the distribution of tombs: the concentration of graves in the one and the same place is restricted – isolated, or in twos and threes. Even though Palaikastro and Petras suggest comparable settlement patterns, the scale is different: the former constitutes the largest LM III township in Eastern Crete, the latter a modest – and to date mostly unexcavated – presence.

A vital distinction between Petras and Palaikastro is evident in the production of pottery. At Petras there is no evidence for local production of fine wares. The existence in the area of a workshop producing larnakes argues – along with practical considerations concerning transport – for regional manufacture of storage vessels and kitchen wares. However, it must be noted that the very characteristic yellowish clay employed in the Neopalatial period for both fine and coarse wares is not present in LM III ceramic assemblages at the site. This could indicate that the source had been exhausted. Other fabrics, less typical, may have continued. Palaikastro, on the other hand, is the chief producer of fine wares in Eastern Crete in the Postpalatial period, exporting to the entire area, as well as to the Dodecanese.

A major human presence is evident in the Mokhlos-Myrsini-Tourloti area, where large cemeteries are known from the mainland opposite Mokhlos, at Myrsini-Asprospilia,¹⁹⁴ and Tourloti-Plakalona.¹⁹⁵ The settlements to which these cemeteries are to be attached are as yet unstudied, although some have been located. There is reason to believe that a second pottery production centre was operating in the region. Topographical factors appear to have played a role: a series of mountains creates a defined unit, and an access to a good harbour provided a gateway to the wider context.

From LM IB to LM III and beyond

Towards an understanding of the LM III period in Eastern Crete, and particularly in the Sitia Bay area, three factors merit special attention: the im-

¹⁹⁰Tsipopoulou 1995.

¹⁹¹Hogarth 1900-1901.

¹⁹²Dawkins & Tod 1902-1903.

¹⁹³Tsipopoulou 1990.

¹⁹⁴Platon 1959a, 372-373; Kanta 1980, 163-172.

¹⁹⁵Platon 1959a, 388-389; Davaras n.d., pl. 71; Kanta 1980, 173.

fact of the destruction of the palatial centres at the end of LM IB, the rearrangements evident in the settlement patterns, and the extent of the Mycenaean presence. They require a more detailed treatment than possible here, but given that elements relative to all three are present in the archaeological evidence of the Siteia Bay area, a summary treatment will at least serve to open a discussion, which – although restricted in scope to a small geographical region – has a relevance to the Cretan situation in general.

The violent destruction of the palatial centres – the present study-case being Petras – which served as nuclei for the redistributive economy characterizing Neopalatial Crete,¹⁹⁶ entailed a substantial rupture in the daily existence. It may be hypothesised, in the absence of excavation data, that some highly specialized production – and therefore highly dependent – sites ceased to exist shortly after the enormity of the catastrophe became apparent. Other sites within the hierarchy may, on the contrary, have felt but fainter vibrations, being less tightly attached to the nucleus in terms of subsistence.

The central site itself suffered an abrupt loss of significance: the workings of the Neopalatial administrative system came to a sudden halt, goods no longer flowed into the now ruined storage areas, and, on the lower levels in the hierarchy, attention turned from surplus production to survival. The Postpalatial presence on the plateau itself at Petras is limited; at Zakros, the remains are even more restricted.¹⁹⁷ The LM IB destructions had an immediate decentralising effect.

The full impact of these events can only be imagined since demographic data are almost wholly absent. At Petras, the inhabitants were not surprised in their sleep, as it were, for the site attests to their efforts to increase storage. The monumental staircase, probably severely damaged in an earthquake in the LM IA phase, was closed off, and another room added to the North-Eastern Magazines. Pithoi were placed in the down-scaled central court. Several rooms, or spaces, in the ground floor were devoted to storage (whether they were thus employed in LM IA cannot be determined). This suggests that the economic climate had begun to deteriorate well before the end. When the destruction came, the inhabitants had time to leave with most of their belongings.

On the basis of the above reconstruction, a substantial food shortage may be postulated, not associated with wide scale ravaging of fields and orchards, but with the cessation of its redistributive activity by the central place. Large amounts of food stuffs were destroyed at Petras itself, depriving the palace and the township of its daily bread. Settlements highly dependent in terms of their nourishment had to scramble to feed their people. Although food surely existed, since the LM IB destructions did not attain biblical proportions, it may not have been where it was needed, and the system to distribute it no longer existed. Added to these woes, a serious refugee problem must have resulted from the end of Petras.

A first, although uncertain, glimpse at the difficult conditions which

¹⁹⁶Tsipopoulou & Papacostopoulou 1992.

¹⁹⁷Platon 1976, 432.

prevailed after the destruction may be offered by the osteological analysis of the bones found in the pit in the floor of the Akhladia tholos. The extreme stress suffered by the woman in her childhood may have been caused by malnutrition. Her age, and the date of the tholos, projects her birth backwards into the Neopalatial period, suggesting that she witnessed the destruction and suffered the resulting hardship. Her burial in the tholos indicates that she belonged to the élite, being, perhaps, a member of the ruling families at Petras. Her elevated status would have cushioned the impact of the devastation – as may be argued from the fact that there is no cultural discontinuity between LM I and LM(II)/III – whereas it may have been all the more brutal for the lower classes. Of this, the evidence does not speak.

The short term impact on the dependent sites within the now headless and unadministrated region of the old centralized economic system can only be reconstructed through the use of models. The effect over the longer duration is evident in the distribution of sites – with the usual caveat that little has been excavated. A test case is offered by Akhladia. An important – but to date unknown – settlement, indicating a local population increase, may be associated with the tholos tomb. The latter's immediate contiguity to the small LM I rural settlement excavated by the Greek-Italian expedition¹⁹⁸ speaks for the arrival of new settlers, unconnected with the previous inhabitants. Whereas the origin of the builders cannot be ascertained due to the direct contrast to the monumentality of the funerary architecture in which stand the extant offerings (and keeping in mind that the tomb was opened in the Iron Age), it may be argued that the settlement history of the Akhladia area mirrors developments elsewhere. Previous inhabitants moved in the first, most difficult years, and were later replaced by others, perhaps refugees from other areas, or newcomers from outside Crete moving into a vacuum.

This argument, if it does not manipulate the evidence too much, would then allow us to postulate different rates of recovery in LM III. As testing this hypothesis involves finely tuned local ceramic chronologies, it can only be undertaken when several sites of the period have been excavated and properly published. It would be interesting to know, for instance, whether successive layers of settlement took place up the valley to Praisos. As was noted above, the available – and in many respects leaving much to be desired – data are restricted to tombs, structures having a longer life than floors in a habitation site and thus less indicative of change over shorter time spans. It is clear, even from sporadic investigations, that old sites were abandoned when no longer viable, and new sites established – here the funerary bias is helpful as it is surely axiomatic that a tomb is always associated with a site, even when the latter remains invisible.

The variations manifest in the settlement pattern are hardly random, and would thus illustrate both a shifting economic base, as well as a general – and temporally fluctuating – insecurity compelling a movement away from the sea. The creation of surplus to support an administrative

¹⁹⁸Tsipopoulou & Vagnetti 1995, 17–24.

system being a thing of the past, a more regionalized economy resulted, directed by different needs, and towards other centres. When the influences from outside Crete, as attested for the Siteia Bay area by the Akhladia tholos, are factored into the reconstruction, a complex equation, resulting from readings of the past as it is written in the evidence, and considerations of the invisible imponderables, slowly emerges.

For Eastern Crete, it amounts to different degrees of rupture with the past. Key sites such as Petras and Zakros, equals in the Neopalatial hierarchy by virtue of their function as local administrative centres, decline, while previously subordinate settlements such as Akhladia and Palaikastro emerge. The latter is a good illustration for the reshuffling of the cards in the Postpalatial period: then, an important site under Zakrian rule, now, the most important settlement in Eastern Crete, the source of much of the decorated pottery in the Siteia Bay area, if the Petras evidence (probably some 85% of the painted fine wares), coupled to restricted observations concerning the inland sites, may be extrapolated upon pending more detailed investigations. Akhladia tells a similar story: the seat of two separate settlements, one with a so-called "villa" (according to the excavator) in LM I, it becomes that of a tholos – and, by extension, that of a local pontiff.¹⁹⁹

There are many aspects which still require treatment, such as the unknown cause of the fires which destroyed various sites in LM IIIB, the renewed population movements in the IIIC phase, much discussed at the present symposium, the local instances of continuity and discontinuity into subsequent phases as illustrated by the pottery. The discussion of the Siteia Bay area must content itself with a brief concluding summary of the LM III evidence.

Two sites indicate that life did not cease in the area following the LM IB economic collapse. The LM IIIA:1 phase is present at Akhladia and at Sklavoi-Pharmakokephalo, the latter being a single-phase cemetery, suggesting a transit station to elsewhere. Nothing argues against a short-term shift of people outside the Siteia Bay area. The phase is also known at Palaikastro, Episkopi, Myrsini, and Tournloti, with two major centres evident, the one at Mokhlos-Tournloti-Myrsini, the other at Palaikastro.

A negative effect ensuing from the destruction of the Mycenaean palace at Knossos during the transition from LM IIIA:1 to IIIA:2 cannot be identified in the East Cretan evidence. The phase saw a population increase, particularly towards the transition to IIIB. Whether it was caused by a higher birth rate, or by new arrivals from outside cannot be determined. The settlement around the old centre at Petras developed, and new sites were founded. A rather high population density is apparent for the wider area of Praios and the valley of Siteia.

In the LM IIIB period, Siteia continued a quiet existence in relative prosperity, the economic base being almost exclusively agricultural. The settlements are situated inland, on hills near fertile valleys. External relations are evident from numerous vases of Kydonian manufacture in tombs,

¹⁹⁹Platon 1959b.

brought into the area through a few coastal sites still occupied. Although far from the major centres of Knossos and Kydonia, the eastern part of the island was not a cultural backwater, the concept of the "Eteocretan" "wild country east of Dikte" therefore required substantial revision.²⁰⁰

A noticeable change takes place in the final phase of LM IIIB. Coastal settlements such as Petras – and, more significantly, Palaikastro – were abandoned. Changing conditions had rendered navigation unsafe, and the inhabitants sought the heights, a situation mirrored by the cemeteries.

This radical redistribution of sites continues into early LM IIIC. Settlements are – with some exceptions which, however, do not suffice to alter the general picture – moved to higher locations. A series of defensible hill top sites suggest a menace from the sea, although it must be stressed that there is no evidence in Eastern Crete, or elsewhere in the island, for armed invasion. Evolving economic structures should be argued. The change may have been imposed by increased difficulties affecting maritime movement, caused by the decline of the Mycenaean administrative system – thus stressing, once again, the capital role played by centralisation in the Aegean Bronze Age. It may also be surmised that the changes were less extensive in such areas, for instance the upper regions of the Stomion river valley, where geography provided fertile land. Cultivation and animal husbandry replaced trade and maritime transport as an economic base.

A major change took place at the end of the Bronze Age: in the Siteia Bay area not a single site exhibits proof of continuity between the LM IIIC and Protogeometric periods. Again, the mechanics of change cannot be established, but it is highly unlikely that the stratigraphical rupture in the sequence at individual settlements amounts to a wholesale replacement of the population by elements moving into the area from elsewhere. There was abandonment of the old, and creation of something new, probably by the same population groups induced to do so by interregionally active factors. Foreigners may well have entered, carrying with them new ideas; there may have been violence and the removal of ruling families, but, as so often in history, the substance of human presence in a region shows a basic continuity – as illustrated by pottery production.

Postscript

The above contribution was authored during the 1994 Petras season. During the process of writing, the situation regarding the LM III period at the site was changing in terms of number of finds, although the material was largely unstratified. However, it did not alter general conclusions, such as the provenance of the fine wares and the dribble decorated vessels being Palaikastrian. A rectangular cutting in the bedrock along the eastern flank of the plateau upon which stands the central building produced a large amount of IIIA:2 decorated and undecorated pottery, including a fine imported LH IIIA:2 stirrup jar with Mycenaean flowers (fig. 14k). The cutting itself is dated to the Protopalatial period, suggesting a reuse as

²⁰⁰Bennet 1987.

a dump. In the 1995 season work progressed down to Protopalatial levels. Additional data concerning the LM III occupation at Petras were provided by the 1995 campaign. A new sector was opened to the west of Sector I, which had produced one of the two completely excavated houses of the township. For the first time there are architectural remains in the settlement connected with LM IIIA:2 pottery. This would indicate that the LM III presence was more extensive than originally thought. Once again, the pottery is largely from Palaikastro, the significant exception being numerous fragments of kylikes, usually monochrome or unpainted. Further specification must await completion of the Sector III excavation, and study of the material.

Appendix

The permanent exhibition in the Agios Nikolaos Museum includes three vessels of LM III date with a recorded provenance as being "Petras, destroyed tombs, 1954". These chance finds were originally deposited in Herakleion, before being transferred to the newly constructed regional museum. In all probability, the entries for HNM 1096, 1097, and 1098 refer to the burials noted by N. Platon in the area of the Papoura Hill. As suggested above, these graves should be associated with the main LM III Petras settlement on Hill II.

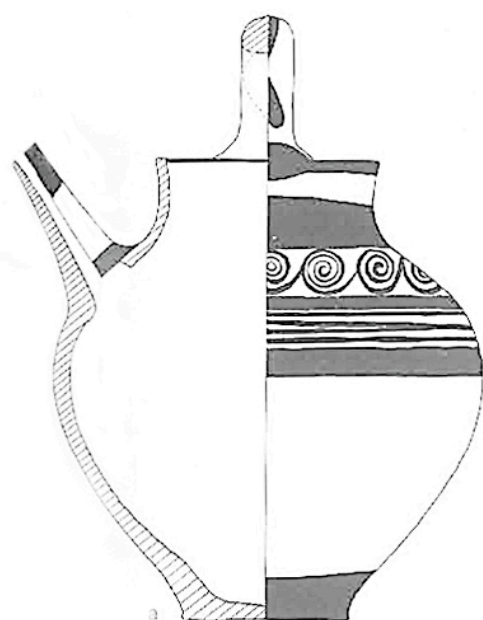
Although outside the nucleus of the present paper, their intrinsic interest, as well as the wider scope adopted in the discussion, justifies their inclusion here in the form of a preliminary presentation. A complete treatment will follow at a later date within the Petras publication.

The three vases, a thelastron (HNM 1096), a beaked jug (HNM 1097), and a juglet (HNM 1098), represent three different pottery traditions: a non-Palaikastrian product (Fig. 43a), the Palaikastro workshop (Fig. 43b), and the handmade miniature strain of mainland Mycenaean manufacture (Fig. 43c).

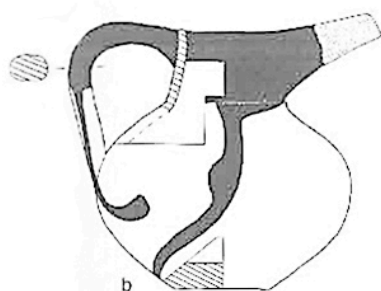
The thelastron is thrown in a fine, greenish-yellow clay with few inclusions, and covered with a white slip, upon which a simple decor of bands in a very dark brown paint is added. The main motif is a running spiral on the shoulder. The absence at Petras of a continuation into Postpalatial times of the local workshops employing the characteristic yellowish clay so dominant among the Neopalatial fabrics argues against seeing a local origin for this vessel. The clay resembles to a certain degree that of the krater fragment 91.144.2 found in the area of the West House, probably a Central Cretan import.

The beaked jug, of fine Palaikastrian clay with a grey core, is covered in reddish-brown to black lustrous paint on the upper third of the surface (neck, spout, and handle), from which run two substantial dribbles. This type of decoration is very common among both open and closed vessels produced by the Palaikastro workshop (see above under amphorae and handleless cups).

The miniature handmade juglet belongs to a class of pottery believed to be produced almost exclusively in the Peloponnese, and found primarily in settlements. The medium fabric and the slip are orange, the paint reddish and lustrous. The decoration consists of a band at the junction of neck and body, from which descend vertical strokes.²⁰¹ The thelastron and the jug can be dated to LM IIIA:2, whereas the juglet, according to the mainland data, belongs to the LH IIIB period.



HNM 1096



HNM 1097



HNM 1098

Fig. 43. a: Thelastron HNM 1096; b: Jug with horizontal spout HNM 1097; c: Handmade miniature Mycenaean juglet HNM 1098.

²⁰¹Identification by Dr L. Vagnetti. On this class, cf. Furumark 1972, 35 fig. 7, 604 FS 126; Mountjoy 1986, 101, 102 fig. 123, 126 and 126 fig. 153.

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Response and discussion

Borgna:

We can underline once more the different nature of the problems involving sites which can be compared on the basis of certain features, especially those concerning the Palatial and Post-Palatial traditions. In fact, according to the state of research at some sites such as Kommos, Arkhanes, Hagia Triada, and Phaistos, we can infer that the occupation was almost continuous through LM II-III A:1, although changes are noticeable in the layout of the inhabited areas and in the settlement patterns. I would like to ask whether it is possible to determine the precise chronological point inside III A for the beginning of the reoccupation at Petras – you spoke of late III A:1 – in order to establish chronological correlations on the basis of the pottery, as a few Petras sherds, mostly juglets, do not seem to exclude, with the events of discontinuity marked in pottery deposits of Central Crete in an early phase of III A:2, for example Phaistos, with the buildings at Khalara, some deposits at Kommos, some buildings at Hagia Triada. These are perhaps related to the early III A:2 destruction at Knossos. On the other hand, most of the decorated pottery published in your paper seems to suggest a more precise relationship with the later III A:2 phase represented at the same sites mentioned, and especially with groups usually defined as III A:2/B. In this context I found the suggestions of a Mycenaean presence in the Siteia area in LM III A to be very interesting and important. When you speak of “Mycenaean presence”, are you referring to some quasi behavioural cultural features such as burial customs? Or to a wider group of material elements, in particular a repertoire of pottery styles which distinguish the regional production from contemporary Cretan ones? Regarding the provenience of Mycenaean influence, mentioned in the conclusions, I ask if you do not think it possible that the patterns of influence in the successive chronological phases may be substantially different also in relation to the different trajectories of interconnection with mainland geographical areas. I am referring in particular to possible new trends in LH II B:2, when the peripheral areas of the Mycenaean world show an increase in local production with stronger interregional connections, while Argive production seem to suffer a major crisis and is less widespread throughout the Mediterranean. In this context, the link with the Peloponnese exhibited by some Aegean III A/B workshops – you mentioned the Myrsini one – could be the result of a pattern of connections absolutely different and no longer active in the later period when the presence of Mycenaean influence in pottery production could be explained by the transfer of models or people from different regions in the Mycenaean world, such as Western Peloponnese, on the one hand, or Dodecanese, on the other – the latter being particularly relevant to Palaikastro.

As to the latest occupation of Petras, I would like to know if you think that pottery evidence in LM III B:2 does not exist at all, especially concerning the krater which you have compared to the Knossian example attributed to the late phase of III B in the reoccupation of the Knossos palace, and the one you consider as announcing the Close Style. Finally, I would add a note about possible pottery relationships between Eastern Crete and the Mesara plain. In the Phaistos evidence I noticed a few sherds characterized by an unusual red or orange-reddish fine clay. Among these I mention in particular a LM III C octopus deep bowl in Fringe Style with burnished slip. The association of fabric and decoration could suggest an Eastern Cretan provenience.

Tsipopoulou:

The area of the West House has late III B material but it is unstratified due to the presence of a large 12th to 13th Cent. A.D. pit, which also tore out part of the Neopalatial

North Façade. These finds come from an open space to the north of the house, not from floors within the building. This would answer your third point. I believe I showed that the floor deposit was homogenous, and very early in IIIB, or of the phase you call IIIA:2/B. Concerning the Mycenaean influence: I did not claim – nor could anyone argue for it – a real Mycenaean presence. What we traditionally think of Eastern Crete is that the area was isolated from the Mycenaean sphere of influence – “the Wild Country east of Dikte” (Bennet) – and continued a different life with different settlement patterns etc. I tried to argue for the opposite: there were many similarities between this area and other areas of Crete. There was Mycenaean influence, and probably also a Mycenaean presence. The Neopalatial administrative system is replaced by something else. No ordinary person built the Akhladia tholos tomb. The probable first occupant of this tomb was a very old woman who had suffered from very serious stress, possibly malnutrition, in her childhood. Lucia Vagnetti, who studied – on the basis of the documentation kindly provided by Platon – the lost ceramic material from the tholos, placed the construction of the tomb in the LM IIIA:1 phase. If, as we suggest, the woman was born before the LM IB destruction of Petras, she – not I – forms the bridge; not only between two chronological periods, but, most significantly, between two different administrative systems (assuming that her difficult childhood was Cretan), the one that built the palatial building at Petras, the other the tholos tomb. The tomb and the change in the administrative system suggest that there is evidence for a Mycenaean presence both in the Siteia Bay area and the hinterlands. Returning to the pottery and burial customs, the Pharmakokephalo cemetery falls outside of the normal Minoan pattern in LM III due to the absence of larnakes, which, as we know, are rare on the Mycenaean mainland – the exception being Tanagra. The same cemetery has produced the grey wheel-made piriform jar, as well as at least one Mycenaean import. The same may be concluded from one of the tombs of Petras. It is an earlier find. Lucia Vagnetti discovered it accidentally in the Agios Nikolaos Museum. We thought it was Agios Onouphrios Ware. It is in the Early Minoan section of the Museum. Regarding a precision of the IIIA re-habitation at Petras: the main phase is IIIA:2, but, as I noted, there are some sherds from late IIIA:1. What must be underlined concerning the LM III period in Eastern Crete is the extremely poor state of publication. The museum storerooms are bursting with material either from old excavations, or from illicit digging. We are basing our reconstructions on the first publications from Palaikastro and the invaluable survey by Kanta. *The LM III Period in Crete* constitutes our ticket to a symposium such as this. A serious programme of systematic publication is indispensable if we want to advance towards a synthesis.

E.Hallager:

There are, in fact, two different parts to your paper. We have heard several papers on Eastern Crete so it would be a very good idea to have, in the final discussion, a session on the special role of Eastern Crete. So I suggest that, at this point, we concentrate on the pottery part of your paper.

Kanta:

Concerning the pottery first – about the Mycenaeans I will disagree later. Two minor points about the pottery. First the kraters you showed us from the area of the West House (Fig. 18): these kraters were a bit deceptive because I think that in your drawing the diameter is wrong. The kraters are larger. It was very obvious from the one of which you must have found further sherds after the drawing was completed. That krater is one of these large later kraters. The other one is much wider. The proportions look wrong.

- Tsipopoulou:** It is about 0.30 in diameter.
- Kanta:** I think it should be wider on the basis of the paneled pattern. (Fig. 18:91.144.2) You can see the curvature of the wide band. It is very big. This seems to be within IIIC, because it is so big. We do have earlier kraters, but they are not these enormous things. So I wonder whether you do not have later material. I would also like to say something that I think Vlasaki agrees with: the sherd you showed of a pithos with raised rope and incisions – your drawing did not reflect the quality of the sherd – must be IIIC. (Fig. 11)
- Tsipopoulou:** No, it is not. This is the usual LM III East Cretan type of decoration. This sherd comes from the floor. You agree that the floor is much earlier than IIIC. It is late IIIA:2 or early IIIB. Of course, I know that there are similar sherds from Vronda, Kavousi, Khalasmenos, and every site of the IIIC period.
- Coulson:** Concerning the krater, Gesell just pointed out that we have a similar one from Vronda, so it must be late IIIC.
- Tsipopoulou:** If the general consensus wants to place this krater in IIIC, then some activity on the plateau appears to be indicated, although I cannot connect it with architectural remains.
- Vlasaki:** Concerning West Crete, these pithoi are known from Khania, from Gribiliana-Kissamos, from Khamalevri, from Sybritos, but not earlier than the beginning of IIIC.
- Tsipopoulou:** What about IIIB?
- Vlasaki:** Not in IIIB. The relief band (Fig. 11) has not been found earlier than IIIC. Especially the herring-bone. LM III pithoi are mostly decorated with rope pattern and wavy lines.
- Tsipopoulou:** That is not the situation in Eastern Crete. Are there any LM III pithoi from Palaikastro?
- MacGillivray:** I can not state with certainty, but this type of raised band with the hatching on it is something that obviously one instantly identifies with IIIC. We discussed this last year with Krzysztof Nowicki because sherds of these things, fairly large fragments, do come in late levels of IIIB in Eastern Crete.
- Tsipopoulou:** The pithos fragment from the floor goes with the goblet, the cups etc., which are late IIIA:2 or early IIIB.
- Watrous:** I agree with MacGillivray. That sherd does not have to be IIIC. We also found them earlier in our survey.
- Tsipopoulou:** There are no rope decorations at Petras in LM III. Not even of the hasty type. This is a distinction between West and East Crete.
- Vlasaki:** Maybe the skyphos is also IIIC.
- Tsipopoulou:** They do not come from the floor deposit, but from a court outside the building.
- Macdonald:** I want to congratulate you on one thing: nobody until now has given such an enormous

amount of comparanda for their material. But at the same time, I would like to wonder about the value about some of the comparanda which, on the one hand, maybe with material which is not particularly valuable in itself anyway, and, on the other hand, vis-a-vis the pithos sherd – we can make comparanda but we cannot make chronological synchronisms on such material. It is a terrific job you have done, but only some of the comparanda will be the most valuable for the dating. Concerning the octopus kraters (here Fig. 18:91.322.1): these vessels intrigue me because you pointed out the parallel from Milatos. This was one of Furumark's groups for early IIC, because the tomb has a very good LM IIC stirrup jar in it. Perhaps it is more than one burial. Can anyone tell me whether this group is of value or not? Generally, how late can these octopus kraters go? They might look IIIB in style, but Furumark was quite convinced that the amphoroid krater did go into IIC. When did your champagne cups appear – are they from the West House?

- Tsipopoulou:** The complete specimen comes from the floor of the West House, whereas the others are from the general area of the West House.
- Macdonald:** It struck me as being slightly similar to Warren's situation in Trench W, where all the different kinds of bases are flung together.
- Vlasaki:** Is the krater from the floor deposit?
- Tsipopoulou:** No, the floor deposit had only two skoutelia, two cups, one goblet, one pithos in fragments, the larnax fragment, and the lekanis or bowl with horizontal handles.
- Vlasaki:** In my opinion, the kraters are later, IIC.
- Warren:** Can we perhaps for the moment leave the question of the West House? I really do not think there can be much doubt about the date of the West House, that it is, as Tsipopoulou says, IIIA:2 or IIIB. We have a complete champagne cup from the floor and these pithoi sherds with herring-bone – of course they can be IIC as well – but I am sure that a IIIB date is not excluded. Much more interesting, I think, is the question which we now are establishing, whether there is any IIC activity on the Petras site. We left the krater (Fig. 18:91.144.2) rather quickly to get to the pithos, which I think is less interesting. The krater is a fine large decorated vase, which is not a casual sherd on the site. If you have a vase of that size and quality on the site, then something is going on there.
- Tsipopoulou:** Could it not be earlier?
- Warren:** I would not have any hesitation, it would fall among my 30 or 40 decorated IIC kraters, without any difficulty. The question of IIC emerged from what Kanta said in support of a late date for it. The suggestion is now that you do actually have some IIC activity on the site. You do not have architectural remains. But it is not just casual activity. This was a magnificent vase.
- Tsipopoulou:** And it is probably imported.
- Kanta:** We also have the one that Macdonald pointed out. The one with the octopus tentacles, which is also IIC.

- Macdonald:** No, I was asking if the context of the Milatos krater and several others are really IIIC, as Furumark suggested.
- Tsipopoulou:** There is some IIIC in Milatos.
- Kanta:** I want to pick up another point made by B.Hallager, because it brings us to the IIIB:1/IIIB:2 puzzle again. I would like your opinions on that so that we can establish a few concrete facts. I am referring to the complete cup with the raised handle you showed from the floor (Fig. 29:91.1360). Hallager said that at Khania these are typical IIIB:2. She pointed out that I had it in the Kastelli 66 material – which yesterday she persuaded me was all IIIB:2. She said that this cannot be earlier.
- Tsipopoulou:** But they are complete and from the same floor.
- Kanta:** We need some clarification. What does the panel think on this particular point?
- Warren:** A very brief comment. When I was making my notes on that vase, I noticed that it is extremely close to a small ladle I showed you (Warren in this volume, fig. 22, P 646). The only difference is that ladle has a rather higher handle than this cup 1360. The context of the ladle was IIIB. Rather late in IIIB as indicated by a IIIB/IIIC deep bowl found near it.
- B.Hallager:** An answer to Macdonald. The two amphoroid kraters in Milatos must be IIIB – there could not be any doubt that they were produced in IIIB. Show me just one of these huge IIIB amphoroid kraters from a IIIC context in Crete. They are not there. If you find amphoroid kraters in IIIC contexts, they are much smaller, as in Phaistos, and the ones you find up in Karphi. The size shrinks to something which is very far away from these huge IIIB amphoroid kraters. The main part of the pottery from the Milatos tombs is IIIB, not IIIC.
- Kanta:** What about the cup?
- B.Hallager:** The cup (Fig. 29:91.1360) is typical IIIB:2 in Khania but here they are bigger than this one. In Khania the rim diameter range from about 12–16 cm. This one look like a miniature version of ours. There are strange things in LM III Eastern Crete which we do not have in the western (or central) part of the island as for example the amphorae with dribble decoration. (Fig. 20a-b) They are closer to MacGillivray's material. Something different is going on in LM III East Crete.
- Watrous:** I do not know why that nice krater (Fig. 18:91.144.2) can not be IIIB. In fact, I do not know why everything you have showed us can not be IIIB.
- Coulson:** Concerning the krater: we have one from Vronda, exactly the same, and it is IIIC.
- Tsipopoulou:** This is earlier. I mentioned a twin from Knossos, which we should discuss. LM IIIB, from the Palace.