

# LM IIIB Ceramic Regionalism and Chronological Correlations with LH IIIB–C Phases on the Greek Mainland

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*Jeremy B. Rutter*<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract:** Over the past quarter-century, the published evidence for variability in the nature and extent of ceramic regionalism within LM II–IIIB Crete (c. 1450–1180 BC) has increased dramatically. Assessing the implications of that evidence, however, has been hampered by the continuing failure of pottery specialists to agree upon criteria for defining ceramic phases that apply throughout the island, as well as by the lack of established metrics whereby varying degrees of ceramic uniformity or regionalism can be determined. By reviewing some results of a recent determined effort on the part of specialists to explore incremental ceramic change as well as regionalism during the 13<sup>th</sup> century in particular, the suggestion is made that the appearance of dark-surfaced Handmade and Burnished Ware (HMBW), agreed to be of south Italian ancestry, and its imitation in local pale-firing fine fabrics on Crete as well as on the southern and central Greek mainland can be used to correlate the ceramically based relative chronologies of these two Aegean regions. The short-lived LH IIIB2 Final through earliest IIIC destruction horizon of mainland palatial centers occurred during the phase termed LM IIIB2 (or LM IIIB Late) on Crete. Thus, mainland refugees from those destructions can be expected to be recognizable on Crete before LM IIIC begins. Indeed, their arrival may have played a significant role in the dramatic changes in settlement pattern that are observable throughout much of Crete during the later LM IIIB period.

**Keywords:** ceramic regionalism, Chania, Dimini, Handmade Burnished Ware, Late Minoan III

## Introduction

Two major international conferences in the early 1990s hosted respectively by the French School and the Danish Institute in Athens, a third such gathering in 2003 in the same city hosted by the Italian Archaeological School and, most recently, a fourth organized and hosted by the AEGIS research group at the Université catholique de Louvain (Belgium) late in 2013 have, in combination, had an enormous impact on our current understanding of Minoan Crete from the mid-15<sup>th</sup> to the early 12<sup>th</sup> centuries BC. Building upon Athanasia Kanta's pioneering 1980 monograph, the published proceedings of these conferences, and particularly those of the three most recent, have put special emphasis on the ceramically determined relative chronology of these 250–275 years, on the history and nature of ceramic regionalism during this era, and on the variability within it of connections between Crete and the Greek mainland.<sup>2</sup> Another major source of important contributions consists of the numerous site-specific final reports on ceramic sequences from a host of both settlements and cemeteries that have vastly increased the quantities of data at our disposal.<sup>3</sup> The most valuable contribution of all on the specific issue of regional variability within Crete from the collapse of Neopalatial culture to the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, however, is the detailed, synthetic analysis of the central and western portions of the island published by Charlotte Langohr in 2009.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Department of Classics, Dartmouth College, USA; e-mail: jeremy.rutter@dartmouth.edu.

<sup>2</sup> Kanta 1980; Driessen – Farnoux 1997; Hallager – Hallager 1997; D'Agata et al. 2005; Langohr 2017a.

<sup>3</sup> For listings of most of those published since 1980 see the bibliographies in Nezeri 2013, 267–318; Langohr 2017b, 29–35.

<sup>4</sup> Langohr 2009, esp. 175–239.

### LM II–IIIB Ceramic Regionalism

What can we say about the ups and downs of ceramic regionalism within Crete from c. 1450 to 1180 BC? Any response to this question should begin by acknowledging that the diversity of ‘expert opinions’ on this subject constitutes a scholarly minefield, the choosing of a specific path through which is necessarily a personal, and at times inevitably subjective, endeavor. What follows should therefore be understood as merely one person’s opinion rather than an indication of any widely held consensus.

The nature of ceramic regionalism during this 270-year-long era, one that encompasses what are on Crete a so-called Monopalatial period of some 75–110 years’ duration,<sup>5</sup> a Final Palatial period that may have lasted up to a century longer, and then the beginning of an even lengthier Post-palatial period, is certainly not a constant. That is, the degree to which individual regions differ from each other in their production and consumption of ceramic containers is not the same throughout, nor are the regions in question themselves always to be defined in the same way. For example, ceramic regionalism during LM II is almost impossible to discuss at present due to a lack of sufficient data from much of the island. By contrast, the immediately following LM IIIA1 phase witnesses a remarkable degree of uniformity, at least in the principal table wares, across much of the center and west of the island, while the far east (beyond the Bay of Mirabello) is quite different. As time goes on during LM IIIA2 and IIIB (roughly coeval with the Mycenaean palatial era), regional products and preferences in the center and west of Crete seem to become progressively more distinct all the way down to quite late in the LM IIIB phase, at which point a comparatively brief era of relatively uniform ceramic assemblages characterizing much of Crete has been claimed to exist in the terminal LM IIIB and early LM IIIC phases.<sup>6</sup>

Of course, such simple statements about changes in the nature of ceramic regionalism through time presuppose the existence of some objective methodology whereby various degrees of ceramic difference can be assessed or measured. Likewise, they require general agreement on how to draw the temporal boundaries of ceramic phasing during the periods in question. Consultation of the contributions to pan-Cretan conferences on ceramic phasing during such cultural stages as the terminal Neopalatial phase we call LM IB or the final literate phase we call LM IIIB Early or LM IIIB1 shows all too clearly that agreement on ceramic subphasing is often problematic.<sup>7</sup> Even the distinctions between major phases such as LM IIIA2 and LM IIIB may vary significantly from specialist to specialist.<sup>8</sup> As usual in our field, I would argue that the best response to such dissension is simply to be as explicit as possible about one’s criteria for whatever spatial, temporal, typological, functional, or methodological distinctions one is proposing to make.

A large number of different features, involving either shape or decoration or a combination of the two, have been explored, and sometimes utilized, in an attempt to define chronological horizons within the LM IIIA2–B ceramic continuum on Crete.<sup>9</sup> As far as shape morphology goes, the focus has understandably been on the most common open shapes, that is, deep rim-handled cups, deep bowls, kylikes, footed one-handled cups, and various forms of small handleless bowls (including the ubiquitous ‘conical cup’). The body and rim profiles of pattern-decorated cups and deep bowls and the handle placement on the latter shape have attracted a good deal of comment,

<sup>5</sup> The duration of this period in absolute years depends principally on when the major LM IIIA2 Early destruction of Knossos is to be dated, either comparatively early (c. 1375/1370) or as much as a full generation later (c. 1355/1340), the later date being based on the identification of a reference to a Sed festival on a scarab of the Egyptian pharaoh Amenophis III recovered from Sellopoulo Tomb 4 at Knossos (Wiener 2018).

<sup>6</sup> Brogan et al. 2002; Kanta 2003; Smith 2004; Smith 2005; Warren 2005; Langohr 2009, 200–204, 209–217, 220–221, 230–233; Smith 2010.

<sup>7</sup> Hallager – Hallager 1997 (LM III); Brogan – Hallager 2011 (LM IB).

<sup>8</sup> Hallager 2011a, 377–379.

<sup>9</sup> For overviews of and commentary on these features from various points of view see the papers in Hallager – Hallager 1997 and Langohr 2017a; see also Rutter 2006a, 517–518, 586–589, 610–630; Langohr 2009, 209–212, 219–227.

yet in my opinion have failed to yield any very useful chronological criteria. Similarly, the banding at the rim and below the decorated zone on patterned cups and bowls have repeatedly been targets of those seeking to generate rules for how to distinguish between LM IIIA2 and LM IIIB pieces. But the number of exceptions to any attempt to apply such rules strictly makes them essentially useless for discerning anything but very broad trends in decorative preferences.

Of greater value for dating purposes, although still incapable of being used as profitably as so many LH III dating criteria can be, are the foot profiles of one-handled footed cups, also known as champagne cups,<sup>10</sup> or the appearance of octopus decoration on Minoan transport stirrup jars,<sup>11</sup> both useful as criteria for distinguishing LM IIIB from LM IIIA2. An even more dependable clue to differentiating LM IIIB from LM IIIA2 is the adoption on Minoan vessels from many different parts of Crete of either individual patterns or specific decorative syntaxes characteristic of LH IIIB. Some of these become quite popular at individual Minoan sites, to such an extent that they are occasionally cited as evidence for the actual presence of Mycenaean mainlanders at the Minoan sites in question. A recently published example of such vessels and this kind of interpretation is a set of three high-stemmed kylikes from the pottery-manufacturing center of Gouves situated between Knossos and Malia and practically on the northern coast.<sup>12</sup> These have been identified as the local products of a single potter whom the excavator suggests was an immigrant from the Peloponnese, possibly from the area around Zygouries. Certainly, the decorative syntax of the Gouves kylikes is closely related to Mycenaean LH IIIB1 kylikes, except for the very sparse banding on the stems, and their solid rather than pierced stems are just as certainly more at home on the mainland than on LM IIIB Crete. Clay analyses, possibly supporting even if not proving their local manufacture at Gouves, would enhance the excavator's case that these drinking vessels are the works of a migrant mainland potter who came to Gouves at some point during the 13<sup>th</sup> century to work there. But whether or not their maker was a mainland potter, the early LH IIIB style of these kylikes furnishes only a *terminus post quem* for their date. Precisely *when* within LM IIIB such Minoan adaptations of Mycenaean patterns began or became truly popular is difficult to say, given the present state of publication of well-stratified LM IIIB contexts on the island. As a consequence, the usages of adopted Mycenaean patterns such as paneled patterns (FM 75) or antithetic spiral compositions (FM 50) are not presently as useful as they may become if subjected to more detailed study.<sup>13</sup>

Careful analyses of the impact of Mycenaean as well as regional Minoan decorative motifs on the output of particular Minoan 'workshops' have been undertaken in the case of the so-called Local Kydonian Workshop,<sup>14</sup> and also in the cases of the LM IIIA–B pottery from Mochlos<sup>15</sup> and

<sup>10</sup> Hallager 1997a, 30; Hallager 1997b, 408 (shape A6); Hallager 2011a, 378.

<sup>11</sup> Hatzaki 2017, 67, tab. 3.3.

<sup>12</sup> Chatzi-Vallianou 2017, 127–129, fig. 5.33.

<sup>13</sup> More detailed analyses of these imitations of Mycenaean decorative motifs form part of a 2013 PhD thesis by Katrin Bernhardt at the University of Vienna recently published in monograph form (Bernhardt 2021). But if an analytical program of research of this kind is to be undertaken (e.g. Bernhardt 2016 for a sample methodology), it will obviously be important to be sure that the patterns or shape features identified as imitations of Mycenaean LH IIIB date have been accurately identified as such. Multiple stem patterns (FM 19) need not be of Mycenaean origin or LM IIIA2–B date, since loosely comparable patterns on Crete exist already as early as LM IB in the form of multiple quirks (e.g. Rutter 2017a, 14 no. X1:3/3, fig. 2.7.X1:3/3; 104 no. X3N:3/10, fig. 2.102.X3N:3/10) that could have evolved on Crete into a pattern close to the mainland version of multiple stem cited by Bernhardt as an example of LM IIIB Cretan borrowing (Watrous 1992, 85 no. 1482, fig. 56, pl. 38 = Bernhardt 2016, fig. 8). An intermediate LM IIIB pattern that shows clearly enough how this evolution might have occurred without the need to invoke any Mycenaean influence appears on a pair of deep rim-handled cups also from Kommos (Watrous 1992, 72 no. 1201, fig. 45, pl. 28; 93–94 no. 1632, pl. 41). For the Mycenaean impact on Minoan ceramic production during the LM IIIA–B periods, see now Bernhardt 2021, 113–253.

<sup>14</sup> Hallager – Hallager 2000, 171–172, 203–205; Hallager – Hallager 2003, 261, 298–299; Hallager 2011a, 375–376, fig. 97 (= Hallager 2017, 47, fig. 2.13); Hallager 2011b, 449–450; Hallager – Hallager 2016, 287, 336–338, fig. 84.

<sup>15</sup> Smith 2010.

the contemporary local products from the Armenoi-Rethymno region of west-central Crete.<sup>16</sup> But sites within the orbit of Knossos in north- and south-central Crete like Archanes, Ayia Triada, and Kommos are more difficult to examine in this way, not least because these three sites in particular have yielded principally settlement finds rather than funerary assemblages, and so their pottery is decidedly more fragmentary.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, the actual production locales at LM III sites, marked by pottery kilns and associated workshop facilities, have been found only rarely, notably at Gouves and much further west at Chamalevri.<sup>18</sup> Fotini Nezeri has nevertheless suggested plausible criteria for the identification of at least eight LM IIIA2–B ‘workshop traditions’ and has proposed the existence of an additional five local or regional traditions, the latter more tentatively due to the far scantier bodies of relevant evidence for these. In this endeavor, she is following in the footsteps of Kanta, who in 1980 was arguably the first to make a systematic effort to identify local ceramic traditions within LM III Crete.<sup>19</sup>

How are we to agree on ceramic phasing and subphasing when we all recognize that regional identities are becoming progressively more disparate with time after the end of LM IIIA1 or very early in the LM IIIA2 phase? The answer is surely that we must depend on the existence of interregional exchanges of ceramics within Crete as well as on the importation of time-specific pottery types from outside the island to correlate the various site-specific ceramic chronologies with each other. The good news is that there is plenty of intra-island ceramic exchange during the 14<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, as well as considerable traffic in pottery both to and from culture zones outside of Minoan Crete. The bad news is that we have yet to quantify and otherwise evaluate such exchanges in sufficient detail to allow them to assist us much in firming up our definitions of both phases and regional identities.<sup>20</sup> We also have relied – as has also been the tradition on the Greek mainland – overwhelmingly on decorated table wares and failed until very recently to pay sufficient attention to storage and transport vessels or to cooking pottery. The best-known examples of intra-island ceramic exchange are fine decorated pottery produced in Chania (the output of the already cited Local Kydonia Workshop), Knossos,<sup>21</sup> and Palaikastro,<sup>22</sup> as well as large and for the most part coarse transport stirrup jars,<sup>23</sup> while the most widely published off-island imports are Mycenaean and Cypriot fine wares, although a fair amount of attention has also been paid to transport vessels such as Canaanite and Egyptian amphorae and Cypriot pithoi.<sup>24</sup>

Why is the issue of ceramic regionalism on Crete relevant to the issue of ‘Synchronizing the Destructions of the Mycenaean Palaces’? One answer to this question involves the interpretation of such regionalism and thus its potential implications, regardless of where it may appear. On Crete, as already noted, there is a fairly sudden change in the nature of ceramic regionalism at the end of LM IIIA1 or early in LM IIIA2. There appears to be universal agreement among specialists that the subsequent increase in the degree of regionalism in central and western Crete is a direct

<sup>16</sup> Nezeri 2013, 57–63, 161–185.

<sup>17</sup> For an overview of the relationships between the major excavated sites in the western Mesara (Ayia Triada, Kommos, and Phaistos) in Neopalatial and Post-palatial times see Shaw 2006, esp. 866–875, tab. 5.1. For the frequency of Knossian ceramic imports to Kommos relative to those from any other Cretan production centers see Watrous 1992, 149–154; Rutter 2017a, 174–175, 195–196, 218–230. For Ayia Triada, Kommos, and Phaistos in LM IIIB see Borgna 2017; D’Agata 2017; Rutter 2017b.

<sup>18</sup> Chatzi-Vallianou 2017 (Gouves, LM IIIB); Andreadaki-Vlazaki – Papadopoulou 2005, 361, figs. 2, 13–17 (Chamalevri, LM IIIC Early).

<sup>19</sup> Kanta 1980, 288–293.

<sup>20</sup> For a recent overview of the correlation of Minoan and Mycenaean ceramic phasing during the LM/LH IIIA–B periods, see Bernhardt 2021, 22–24, 319–325, 327–329.

<sup>21</sup> Watrous 1992, 150–152; Hallager – Hallager 2003, 246–248; Hallager 2011a, 360–363; Rutter 2017a, 218–230.

<sup>22</sup> Watrous 1992, 153; Hallager – Hallager 2003, 248; Smith 2005, 191–195, fig. 7; Rutter 2006a, 422–423, 439; Hallager 2011a, 363–364; Rutter 2017a, 419, s.v. ‘imported pottery: East Cretan’.

<sup>23</sup> Day et al. 2011; Haskell et al. 2011; Kardamaki et al. 2016; Pratt 2016; Knapp – Demesticha 2017.

<sup>24</sup> Watrous 1992, 153–169; Rutter 2006b; Karageorghis et al. 2014; Rutter 2014a; Rutter 2014b; Bernhardt 2016; Demesticha – Knapp 2016; Knapp – Demesticha 2017; Bernhardt 2021.

result of the major destruction by fire of the palace at Knossos, at that time the only identifiable palatial center on the island and the location of its only literate palatial administration.<sup>25</sup>

Three avenues of inquiry immediately suggest themselves. First, is there any indication on the Greek mainland of an immediate ripple effect stemming from the Knossian palatial destruction just cited, and if so, how extensive might it be? For example, how does the demise of the LH IIIA predecessor of the last palace at Pylos in Messenia line up chronologically with Mervyn Popham's LM IIIA2 Early date for the Knossian palace's principal Late Bronze Age destruction horizon?<sup>26</sup> Second, how comparable is the onset of ceramic regionalism as a cultural phenomenon on Crete after this Knossian destruction to what has repeatedly been observed since Vincent R. d'A. Desborough's 1964 publication of *The Last Mycenaean and Their Successors*, namely that *Mycenaean* pottery assemblages beginning not quite three centuries later become stylistically less homogeneous as time goes on during the mainland's Post-palatial era.<sup>27</sup> Addressing such a question presupposes a belief in what one might call *comparative regionalism* and would once again clearly require a careful consideration of methodology. But in addition, it draws attention to the problem of an excessive specialization and compartmentalization that has for some time now plagued Aegean prehistoric research. Simply put, how many ceramic specialists working on either Crete or the Greek mainland feel equally comfortable in both areas and thus would be prepared to undertake such a comparative analysis of the history of ceramic regionalism in the aftermath of palatial collapse at two different times in these two areas? Are there other culture zones in the Aegean that might supply useful comparative data in addressing this question? For example, what might be observable in the Cyclades or in the Dodecanese with respect to ceramic regionalism in the aftermath of either the LM IIIA2 Early destruction of Knossos or the LH IIIB2 Final to earliest LH IIIC palatial destructions on the Greek mainland?<sup>28</sup> And third, is the claim that LM IIIB Late and earliest LM IIIC pottery on Crete exhibits a return to greater ceramic uniformity<sup>29</sup> sustainable or not? If so, how should this reversal in the phenomenon of regionalization be interpreted, and how should the beginning of this tendency toward greater ceramic uniformity on Crete be dated in mainland Greek terms?

I would like to conclude this highly personal overview of LM III ceramic phasing and contemporary regionalism by drawing attention to a fundamental difference in determining the relative ceramic date of 14<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> century Minoan as opposed to Mycenaean excavation contexts. For the past 45 years, thanks principally to the well-known works of Arne Furumark, Elizabeth French, and Penelope Mountjoy, I have had no significant difficulty in assigning a relative date to the pottery from the mainland contexts that I have sorted through at a range of eight different sites, both major and minor. Well-established criteria for the determination of such dates have been in existence since I began such work in 1972, and although those have become progressively more refined over the ensuing decades, the original criteria are still extremely reliable. By contrast, confidently establishing relative dates for Minoan contexts has often been more problematic, for the simple reason that ceramic regionalism on Crete seems to have been more pervasive throughout

<sup>25</sup> Hence the term Monopalatial for the period from the collapse of the Polypalatial era of Neopalatial Crete at the end of LM IB (c. 1450 BC) to the destruction by fire of the lone remaining palace at Knossos early in LM IIIA2 (either as early as c. 1375 BC or as late as c. 1340 BC). A minority view that the palace at Knossos continued to function as a major administrative center until an advanced stage of LM IIIB has recently been restated by Hallager – Hallager 2015.

<sup>26</sup> See Vitale et al. and Shelmerdine, this volume. Note that there is now solid evidence from more than one Minoan site that LH IIIA2 had begun before LM IIIA1 ended on Crete (Hallager 1988, 181; Hallager 2005; Rutter 2006b, 670–671; Hallager 2007, 196, tab. 1; Hallager – Hallager 2016, 283; Rutter 2017a, 229). Thus, a date for the Knossian destruction in LM IIIA2 Early or even slightly before should be equivalent to a developed LH IIIA2 date, perhaps even later than what mainland specialists from Furumark onwards have been calling LH IIIA2 Early (Thomas 2011; Vitale 2011).

<sup>27</sup> Desborough 1964, 9–17; Desborough 1972, 15–25; Rutter 1977; Mountjoy 1999, 44–47, 50–51, 53–55.

<sup>28</sup> For an even broader comparative perspective see the paper by Jung, this volume.

<sup>29</sup> Langohr 2017b, 25–26.



the Bronze Age than in the Peloponnese and central Greece. I would therefore argue that the ceramic specialist working on Crete needs to become aware of a far larger series of typologies involving morphology, decoration and surface treatment, and fabric variability than would be true of a colleague working on the Greek mainland. In my opinion, it is fair to characterize Helladic pottery production as more disciplined than that of Crete, more rule-bound.<sup>30</sup> And because Minoan producers and consumers had a greater tolerance for variety and experimentation, the creation by archaeologists of reliable yet comparatively simple Minoan ceramic taxonomies is made much more difficult and complex. There is a good reason why no Minoan equivalents of Furumark's 1941 classification or Mountjoy's helpful 1986 handbook exist. The subject of Minoan ceramic variability is simply too complicated, even with the advent of digital databases, to be codified in a way that applies helpfully and usefully to all of Crete, even for periods of time much shorter than the full duration of the Late Bronze Age.

### LM IIIB2 and its Chronological Correlation with the LH III Sequence

In the remainder of this paper, I will focus on the comparatively short but in my opinion very significant stage of Minoan ceramic development that was convincingly isolated over two decades ago by Birgitta and Erik Hallager at Chania, where they christened this phase LM IIIB2, a phase that has, however, stubbornly resisted easy recognition at other sites. My goals are to draw attention to why this phase has been so difficult to identify elsewhere on Crete, to suggest how this Minoan phase should be dated in mainland Greek terms, and to show why the peculiarities of this phase are important in the context of a discussion of the major Mycenaean palatial collapses at the end of the LH IIIB period. The content of what follows has been greatly facilitated by the papers given at a workshop held in October 2013 at Louvain-la-Neuve, the proceedings of which were published at the very end of 2017.<sup>31</sup> The organizer, Charlotte Langohr, has provided an informative overview of the findings of that workshop in an introduction to these proceedings entitled, 'The Late Minoan IIIB Phase on Crete. The State of Play and Future Perspectives', exceptionally helpful for the accuracy, detail, and scope of its coverage.<sup>32</sup> The chronological conclusions for the subdivision and absolute dating of this period at eleven major sites on the island were summarized in a table that was jointly produced by the workshop's participants under Langohr's editorial supervision and that is reproduced here as Tab. 1.<sup>33</sup>

My ensuing comments on the LM IIIB2 or LM IIIB Late phase derive from two principal periods of research: first, the 15 years I spent from 1991 to 2005 in charge of the processing, analysis, and publication of Late Minoan pottery from Kommos;<sup>34</sup> and second, the half-dozen years from 2012 to the present during which I have had a similar responsibility for the LH IIIC pottery sequence recovered during the most recent excavations of the Austrian Archaeological Institute at Aigeira in eastern Achaia.<sup>35</sup>

The LM IIIB2 phase at Chania and the distinctive characteristics of its ceramic assemblage have been described in a number of different formats over the past twenty years.<sup>36</sup> The settlement of this phase in Ayia Aekaterini Square represents a partial reoccupation as well as an extension of a large residential structure (Building 1) destroyed in the fire that put an end to the preceding LM IIIB1 settlement.<sup>37</sup> There are compelling reasons in the form of figurine usage for seeing in

<sup>30</sup> Bernhardt 2016, 13–14.

<sup>31</sup> Langohr 2017a.

<sup>32</sup> Langohr 2017b.

<sup>33</sup> Langohr 2017a, 398. See also ns. 69 and 74 below.

<sup>34</sup> E.g. Rutter 2006a; Rutter 2017a; Rutter 2017b.

<sup>35</sup> Gauß et al. 2013; Gauß et al. 2015; Rutter in press.

<sup>36</sup> Hallager 2003, 105–116; Hallager – Hallager 2003; Hallager 2005; Hallager 2007; Hallager 2017.

<sup>37</sup> Hallager – Hallager 2003, 186–194, 263–265, 286–288; Hallager 2017, 37–40, fig. 2.1–2.

the occupants of this reconstructed and extended building personnel who behaved more like Mycenaean mainlanders than Minoans, although this cultural identification of its occupants may have been true of this building alone among those cleared in this sector of the larger settlement.<sup>38</sup> Ceramic hallmarks of this LM IIIB2 phase are linearly decorated cups with a single high-swung handle<sup>39</sup> and deep bowls of decidedly Mycenaeanizing type with bell-shaped profiles, lipless flaring rims, and two thin bands at the rim and just below on the interior.<sup>40</sup> Among the pattern-decorated deep bowls are the first examples of this shape decorated with antithetic spirals and a dramatic increase in those decorated with paneled patterns having exterior outlines elaborated with joining semicircle fringes or half-rosettes. Unlike most Minoan-style deep bowls of this period, those of LM IIIB2 Chania feature a highly variable number of bands or fine lines below the handle zone.<sup>41</sup> A couple of these LM IIIB2 deep bowls also feature a deep rim band similar to that characteristic of so-called Group B deep bowls on the mainland, although the Chaniote bowls in question bear typical Minoan rather than standard LH IIIB2 patterns.<sup>42</sup> The LM IIIB2 settlement once again came to an end in a widespread fire, but in the succeeding LM IIIC Early phase the same buildings were reused with the same floors.<sup>43</sup>

I have summarized what has been published about the LM IIIB2 settlement at Chania at some length for two reasons: first, for the clear increase its pottery reveals in what might be termed Helladic influence on local fine ware production;<sup>44</sup> and second, for the evidence it has yielded for a version of a Minoan LM IIIB1 house being converted into what the excavators imagine to have been the residence of ‘Mycenaean’. But the discovery of two complete dark-surfaced, handmade and burnished pots, part of a substantial floor deposit of 13 vessels found in Room A of this building, has also suggested the possibility that some of this building’s occupants may have been immigrants from southern Italy.<sup>45</sup>

Chania is thus far the only site on Crete to have yielded large quantities of the dark-surfaced handmade and burnished class of pottery (hereafter, HMBW) with clear southern Italian antecedents that is also a significant component of the ceramic assemblages at a substantial number of Peloponnesian sites in the earliest phases of the Post-palatial era.<sup>46</sup> In the cases of Chania as well as several sites in the Argolid, the earliest evidence for the presence of this Italianizing but evidently locally produced handmade pottery occurs in small quantities in the phase immediately preceding the phase when it appears in substantial quantities and as part of a significant change in the overall ceramic assemblage – that is, in LM IIIB1 at Chania and in LH IIIB2 at Mycenae, Tiryns, and Midea.<sup>47</sup> Very shortly after the beginning of the LH IIIC period on the mainland, one of the most distinctive HMBW shapes – a carinated cup known to Italian prehistorians as either a *tazza carenata* (if small) or a *ciotola carenata* (if larger) – begins to be imitated by Mycenaean potters in the form of a wheelmade carinated cup (FS 240), initially either solidly coated (as at

<sup>38</sup> Hallager – Hallager 2003, 191. For Mycenaean figurine usage see Vettors 2019.

<sup>39</sup> Hallager 2003, 106–108, fig. 1b–c; Hallager – Hallager 2003, 201, pl. 47; Hallager 2017, 45, fig. 2.10.

<sup>40</sup> Hallager 2003, 107–108, fig. 1e–h; Hallager – Hallager 2003, 208 n. 100–101, 109; Hallager 2017, 45–46, fig. 2.11.

<sup>41</sup> Hallager – Hallager 2003, 208, pl. 51; Hallager 2017, 45.

<sup>42</sup> Hallager 2003, 107–108, fig. 1j; Hallager – Hallager 2003, 32 no. 73-P1070, pls. 51, 92a.2; 143 no. 84-P0823, pls. 51, 121a.2; 208; Hallager 2017, 46.

<sup>43</sup> Hallager – Hallager 2003, 186–194; Langohr 2017a, 398.

<sup>44</sup> Hallager – Hallager 2003, 261–262.

<sup>45</sup> Hallager – Hallager 2003, 287–288; Bettelli 2009, 96; D’Agata et al. 2012, 299–307, figs. 4–5, tabs. II–IV.

<sup>46</sup> For other sites on Crete at which HMBW pottery of southern Italian derivation has been found see Hallager 2011a, 372 n. 1280; Rahmstorf 2011, fig. 6 (Ayia Pelayia, Knossos, Kastelli Pediada); Kanta – Kontopodi 2011, 130, 132, fig. 8g (Kastrokefala); D’Agata et al. 2012, 310–319, figs. 8–11, tab. VIII (Thronos Kefala); Jung 2018, 281–282. Aside from a thorough discussion of the evidence from LM IIIB Chania for pottery of this kind (above n. 45), D’Agata et al. 2012, 307–310, figs. 6–7, tabs. V–VII, provide the most detailed survey of that from LM IIIC contexts throughout the island (Ayia Pelayia, Kastelli Pediada, Kastrokefala and Knossos) before concentrating on the LM IIIC evidence from Thronos Kefala.

<sup>47</sup> Jung 2006, 21–47; Kilian 2007; Stockhammer 2008, 283–294; Lis 2009; Hallager 2011a, 371–372, pl. 128; Rahmstorf 2011; Romanos 2011; Stockhammer 2011, 228–236; D’Agata et al. 2012, 299–307, figs. 4–5, tabs. II–IV.

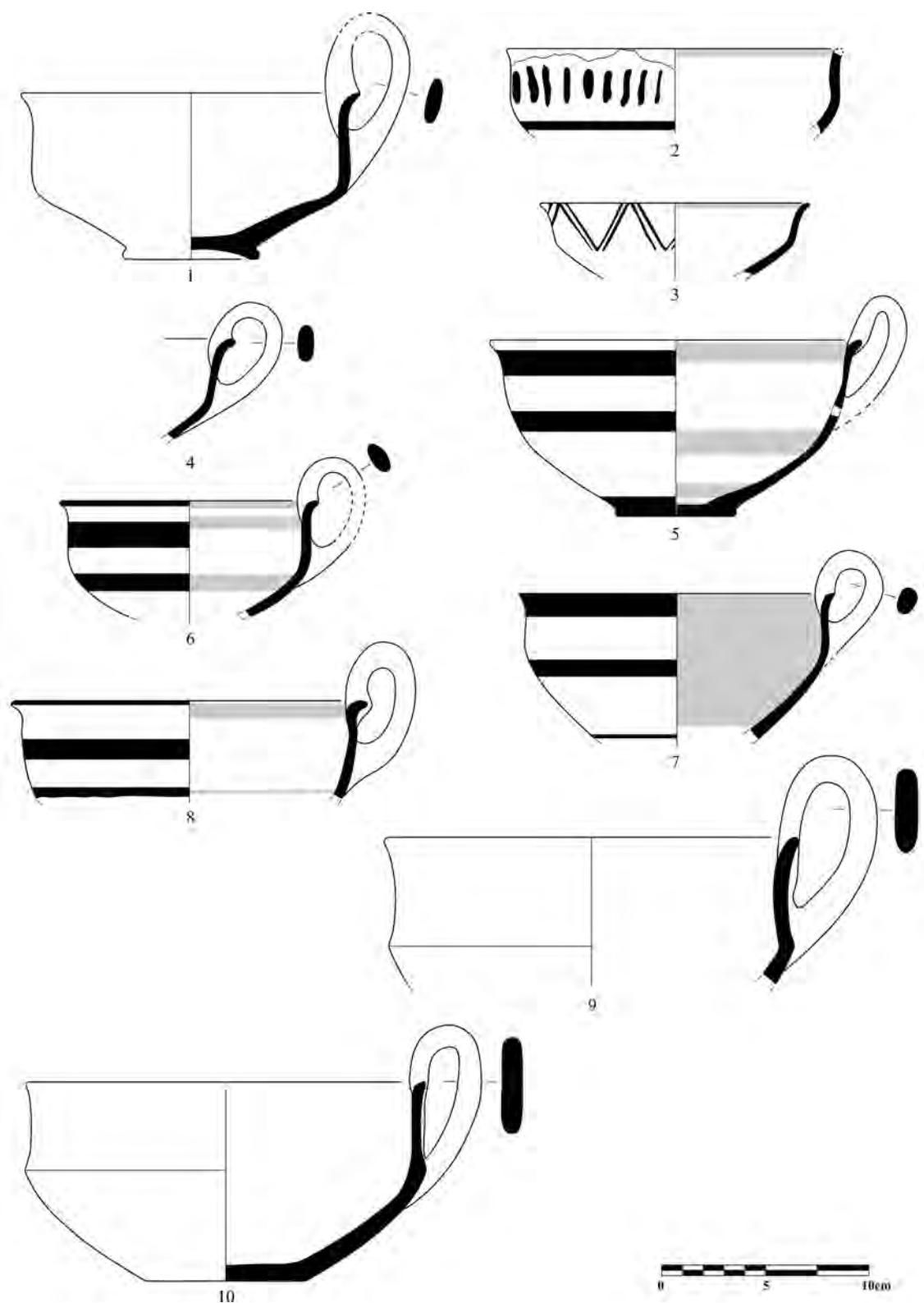


Fig. 1 Chania, Ayia Aekaterini Square, LM IIIB2 fine ware imitations of dark-surfaced HMBW carinated cups. Scale 1:3 (after Hallager – Hallager 2003, plates as cited in parentheses). 1. 80-P0457/1440 (+70-P0545/0547/0548) (pl. 69); 2. 01-P0101 (pl. 53); 3. 80-P0724/0774 (+84-P0917) (pl. 47); 4. 84-P0545 (pl. 47); 5. 83-P0369 (+80-P0465/83-P0312/0324) (pl. 47); 6. 84-P0553 (pl. 47); 7. 84-P0821 (pl. 47); 8. 71-P1389 (pl. 47); 9. 70-P0352/0802/0956 (pl. 85); 10. 71-P0182 (pl. 85).



Tiryns and Lefkandi) or bearing principally linear decoration (as at Korakou and Aigeira) – that is, banding. This wheelmade Mycenaean shape is, in fact, a principal diagnostic of the phase now known as LH IIIC phase 2 or LH IIIC Early 2.<sup>48</sup>

Let us return to Chania. In LM IIIB1, only a small number (12 pieces, or 0.53% of the total pieces inventoried) of HMBW fragments have been identified, including examples of both jars – *olle* – and carinated cups.<sup>49</sup> But in LM IIIB2 the amount of HMBW becomes substantially greater (90 pieces, or 4.62% of the 1947 total inventoried sherds),<sup>50</sup> and the first local wheelmade imitations of carinated cups appear in the form of a single plain example (Fig. 1.1),<sup>51</sup> one or two possible pattern-decorated specimens (Fig. 1.2–3),<sup>52</sup> but most strikingly in the form of the banded cups that are a particular hallmark of the LM IIIB2 phase (Fig. 1.4–8).<sup>53</sup> Most of these banded cups actually have rounded rather than markedly carinated body profiles and they can be quite large (rim diameters range between 12 and 18cm), but their high-swung handles differentiate them sharply from traditional LM III cup types and make their connection with the HMBW *tazze* and *ciotole carenate* (Fig. 1.9–10) clear. The parallelism between the appearance and subsequent impact of this HMBW vessel form at Chania and, say, Tiryns is striking, even if the local imitations of the Italian carinated cup form are rather different at Chania from those on the mainland, the mainland variety being as a rule smaller and provided with a far more distinct carination. The Chaniote imitations, in fact, appear to be rather atypical even for Crete, since a somewhat later solidly painted wheelmade imitation (Fig. 2.2) of a dark-surfaced HMBW model (Fig. 2.1), both vessels from contemporary LM IIIC Early contexts at Kastrokafala, looks very similar to the mainland type of imitation in both its profile and decoration.<sup>54</sup> Also noteworthy is the fact that the two pattern-decorated carinated open shapes from LM IIIB2 Chania cited above (Fig. 1.2–3) bear simple patterns just above their carinations that closely resemble the incised patterns (continuous vertical bars; opposed diagonals) that occur rarely at and above the carination of Italianizing HMBW carinated cups from LH IIIC Early contexts at Lefkandi, Dimini, Volos-Palia, and Korakou on the mainland.<sup>55</sup> Finally, it has become clear that the Gray Ware that appears at Chania in quantity for the first time in LM IIIB2 and that during that phase is most abundantly represented in the form of carinated high-handled cups suggestive of a southern Italian ancestry finds its closest parallels in the Aegean world at Dimini and perhaps also Tiryns, but that it is not as closely related to the Gray Ware of southern Italy as is that from LH IIIC Early 1 Dimini.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Rutter 1977; Deger-Jalkotzy 1982; Stockhammer 2008, 53–58; Rutter 2020, 213–215.

<sup>49</sup> Hallager 2011a, 371–372 n. 1273, pls. 128, 150c.3–4; Hallager 2011b, 434–437; D’Agata et al. 2012, 299–302, fig. 4, tabs. II–III.

<sup>50</sup> Hallager – Hallager 2003, 295–296, 298–299, tabs. 2, 5; Bettelli 2009, 96–99, figs. 1–2, 3.5–6; D’Agata et al. 2012, 303–307, fig. 5, tabs. II, IV; Hallager 2017, 48.

<sup>51</sup> Hallager – Hallager 2003, 157, 204, 236, pls. 69.80-P0457/1440 (+70-P0545/0547/0548); 129d.7.

<sup>52</sup> Hallager – Hallager 2003, 151, 212, pls. 53.01-P0101; 122f.4; 164, 261, pls. 47.80-P0724/0774 (+84-P0917); 130e.3.

<sup>53</sup> Hallager – Hallager 2003, 201 n. 37–44, pls. 47, 87; D’Agata et al. 2012, 305, fig. 3B; Rutter 2012, 84–86 n. 13, fig. 8.17–18; Hallager 2017, 45, fig. 2.10.

<sup>54</sup> Kanta – Kontopodi 2011, fig. 8g, i (from two different rooms within the same building complex).

<sup>55</sup> Jung 2006, 36–37, pl. 17.7; Bettelli 2009, 114, fig. 12.1, 6; Adrimi-Sismani 2014, 564, fig. [sherd no. 1]; Rutter 2020, figs. 1.1–3; 2. See also a shallow handleless bowl in dark-surfaced HMBW from Dimini with very similar decoration (Jung 2006, 36; Adrimi-Sismani 2013, 250 no. BE 2969, pl. 80a).

<sup>56</sup> For the Gray Ware from LM IIIB2 Chania see Hallager – Hallager 2003, 254–256, pl. 86; D’Agata et al. 2012, tabs. II–V. For the relationships of the various Gray Ware assemblages from Chania, Tiryns, and Dimini to each other see Jung 2006, 47–51. He repeats and agrees with Bettelli’s 1999 arguments that the Gray Ware cups from Chania should not be compared to southern Italian Gray Ware cups (Jung 2006, 50 n. 363), in marked contrast to the Gray Ware carinated cups from Dimini. For the Gray Ware from LH IIIC Early 1 contexts at Dimini see Adrimi-Sismani 2006; Adrimi-Sismani 2013, 248–249. Note Reinhard Jung’s reservations about the presence of Gray Ware carinated cups at Tiryns (Jung 2006, 48 n. 339–340). I am grateful to Bartek Lis for drawing Jung’s comments about this Tirynthian material to my attention.

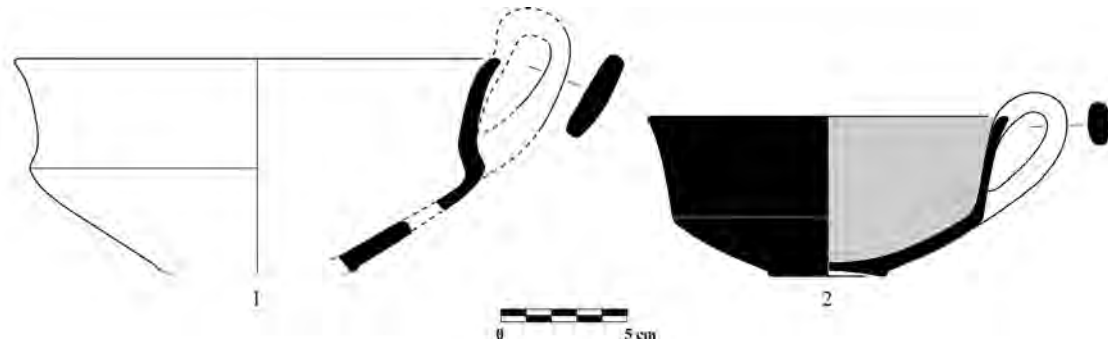


Fig. 2 Kastrokefala, LM IIIC Early carinated cups. Scale 1:3 (after Kanta – Kontopodi 2011, fig. 8g, i). 1. HMBW cup (Building complex 1, Room 11); 2. wheelmade and solidly painted cup (Building complex 1, Room 13).

The preceding review of the appearance of high-handled carinated cups at Chania in the local LM IIIB2 phase in both a dark-surfaced handmade and burnished ware as well as in a wheelmade fine Gray Ware, and the seemingly contemporary imitation of that shape, occasionally in plain as well as pattern-decorated local fabrics, but most commonly in a linearly decorated and more rounded form, when juxtaposed with the appearance of similar wheelmade Gray Ware (in LH IIIC Early 1) and HMBW (in LH IIIC Early 1–2) carinated cups on the Greek mainland, followed by their imitation there in solidly coated as well as linearly decorated versions in LH IIIC Early 2, raises the possibility that the introduction of this distinctive high-handled cup form was roughly contemporary in both areas, as opposed to being a phenomenon that occurred decades earlier on Crete than on the mainland. In other words, might Chaniote LM IIIB2 not be largely, perhaps even completely, contemporary with LH IIIC Early 1, and perhaps even part of Early 2, at Tiryns, Lefkandi, and Korakou?<sup>57</sup>

A number of additional considerations suggest that this could indeed be the case. For example, several other unusual pottery shapes appear in LM IIIB2 Chania that, though paralleled in LH IIIB2 contexts on the mainland, are in some cases better-paralleled in LH IIIC Early contexts: a pattern-decorated side-handled kalathos (FS 291) with a distinctly Helladic-looking profile (Fig. 3.1);<sup>58</sup> a very shallow bowl from the same context that resembles what would be called a tray (FS 322) on the mainland (Fig. 3.2);<sup>59</sup> a linear basin of typical Helladic type (FS 294) that is characteristic of both LH IIIB2 and LH IIIC Early contexts in the Peloponnese but that here features light-on-dark bar groups in added white on the flattened top of the lip (Fig. 3.3);<sup>60</sup> and a linearly decorated deep cup with a hollowed raised base (FS 215) from Post-Minoan strata at

<sup>57</sup> The argument that follows has been anticipated on somewhat different grounds by Jung in his review of the HMBW evidence from Chania (Jung 2006, 181–185).

<sup>58</sup> Hallager – Hallager 2003, 27, 225 n. 308, pls. 64.73-P0725; 90f.1. For this shape in mainland contexts, Mountjoy 1999, 1230, s.v. ‘Kalathos FS 291’; Popham et al. 2006, 195, fig. 2.27.5–6. Note the flattened top of the rim and the interior hollowing of the lip on the kalathos from Chania and compare LH IIIC Middle profiles on this shape (e.g. Mountjoy 2007, fig. 5 bottom); for the decoration on the Chania piece and especially its syntax, compare an example from the Menelaion in Laconia (Catling 2009, vol. 1, 220 no. AD 24; Catling 2009, vol. 2, 264, fig. 268. AD 24).

<sup>59</sup> Hallager – Hallager 2003, 27, 225, pls. 64.73-P0594; 90f.2. For this shape in mainland contexts see Popham et al. 2006, 195, fig. 2.26. An example of the type has been identified in a context of LH IIIC Early 2 at Aigeira, so it was introduced on the mainland earlier than its conventional LH IIIC Middle 2 date of appearance (Mountjoy 2007, 222, fig. 3).

<sup>60</sup> Hallager – Hallager 2003, 169 (with the mention of the light-on-dark motif), 209, pls. 53.84-P1338, 132f.4. For this shape in mainland contexts see Popham et al. 2006, 195, fig. 2.25.1–3; Catling 2009, vol. 1, 376–377 (esp. his Group [a]); Kardamaki 2009, 249–252. For the profile of the example from Chania, compare a plain basin from the Menelaion in Laconia (Catling 2009, vol. 1, 222 no. AD 89; Catling 2009, vol. 2, 267, fig. 271. AD 89).

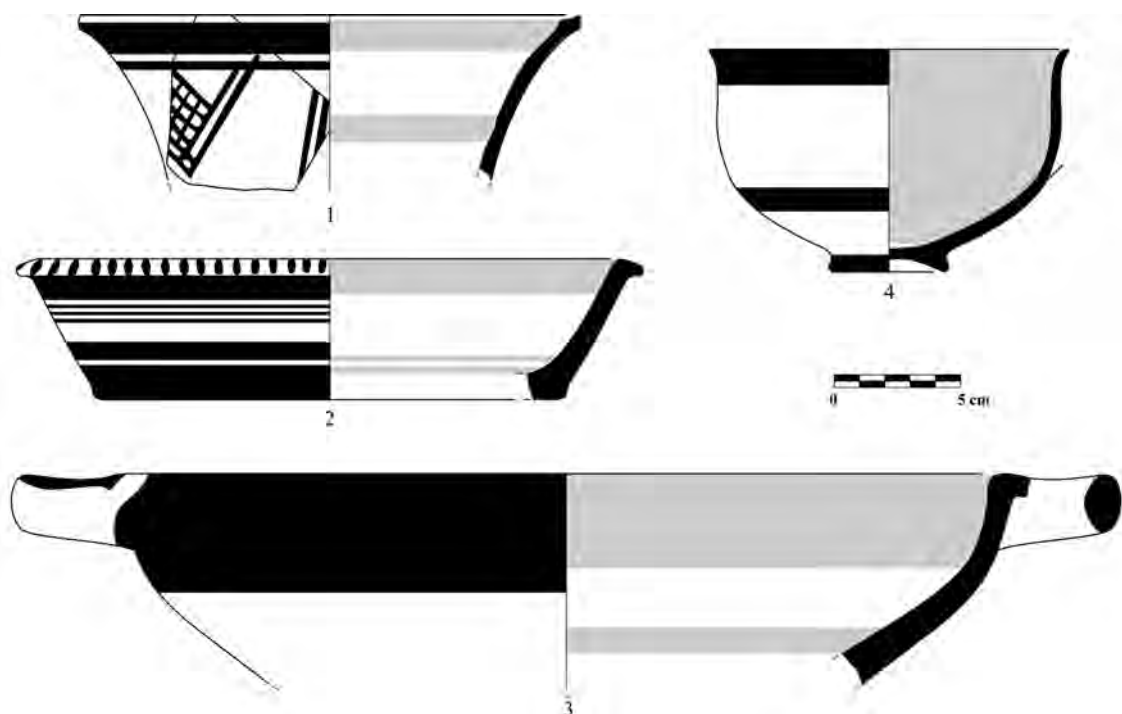


Fig. 3 Chania, Ayia Aekaterini Square, LM IIIB2 pottery with close parallels from LH IIIB2–IIIC Early parallels on the Greek mainland. Scale 1:3 (after Hallager – Hallager 2003, plates as cited in parentheses). 1. patterned kalathos 73-P0725 (pl. 64); 2. patterned tray 73-P0594 (pl. 64); 3. linear basin 84-P1338 (pl. 53); 4. linear deep semi-globular cup 77-P2154 (+77-P0212; 77-P0222; 77-P2149) (pl. 87).

Chania that is quintessentially characteristic of LH IIIC Early as well as of later LH IIIC phases (Fig. 3.4).<sup>61</sup>

On top of the above findings at Chania itself, one may note the discovery of two LM IIIB Chaniote vessels, a deep bowl<sup>62</sup> and a stirrup jar,<sup>63</sup> that have been found at the southern Italian site of Punta di Zambrone in contexts associated with late LH IIIB and LH IIIC Early 1 pottery.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Hallager – Hallager 2003, 183, 258, pls. 87.77-P2154; 137b.2. See also the linear rim 71-P0461 described and illustrated on Hallager – Hallager 2003, 182, 258, pl. 136a.1. For a full discussion of the still disputed date of appearance of such cups on the mainland see Kardamaki 2009, 241–245; for the shape during the full LH IIIC period see Popham et al. 2006, 181, fig. 2.15. Although the single exterior body band at the base of the handle zone on the cup from Chania can be paralleled only occasionally on mainland cups in the Argolid (Kardamaki 2009, 242 n. 556), not until LH IIIC Middle in Attica (Mountjoy 1999, 596 n. 755 no. 458, 597, fig. 222.458), and rarely if at all further north, this feature appears to be common in LH IIIC Early Laconia, both at the Menelaion (Catling 2009, vol. 1, 176 nos. PE 235, PE 238, PE 240, PE 244; 377–378; Catling 2009, vol. 2, 234, fig. 238. PE 235, PE 238, PE 240, PE 244) and Ayios Stephanos (Mountjoy 1999, 283 no. 192; 284, fig. 96.192), as well as at Koukounaries on Paros (Mountjoy 1999, 934 n. 436, no. 3; 936, fig. 381.3), at all three sites with a band at the exterior base as well. The Chania cup unfortunately comes from a Post-Minoan context, so that its attribution to LM IIIB2 by the excavators must be considered uncertain; but since LH IIIC ceramic imports identified in LM IIIC contexts on Crete are extremely unusual (Hallager – Hallager 2003, 252 n. 534), even at Chania, there is a very good chance that this piece has been appropriately attributed to the LM IIIB2 settlement there.

<sup>62</sup> Jung et al. 2015a, 70–71, 96 no. 6, fig. 13.6. As noted by Jung et al., this Chaniote import is closely paralleled in shape and decoration by a patterned deep bowl reused as a lamp from a relatively late LM IIIB context at Kommos (Rutter 2006a, 541 no. 59/6, pls. 3.67; 3.93a–b; for the date within LM IIIB of its context of discovery at Kommos, the destruction horizon of Building N in the Southern Area, see Langohr 2017a, 398; Rutter 2017b, 246).

<sup>63</sup> Jung et al. 2015a, 70–71, 75, 98 no. 26, fig. 14.15.

<sup>64</sup> For the NAA analyses that have confirmed these pieces as being of Chaniote origin see Jung et al. 2015b, 458–459, tab. 3, samples Zamb3 and Zamb9. I am extremely grateful to Reinhard Jung for drawing these two Chaniote exports to southern Italy and their analyses to my attention.

A couple of additional features of the LM III B2 pottery from Chania are worth noting: the first solid stirrup jar false necks appear at this time,<sup>65</sup> as do the first deep bowls with articulated bases, whether of genuine ring type or hollowed and raised.<sup>66</sup> The second of these two features links this phase at Chania with what has been termed LM III B Late at sites in central Crete such as Knossos, Kalamafka, and Kommos,<sup>67</sup> while the appearance at Kommos and also at Sissi of imported LH III C Early stirrup jars in LM III B Late contexts<sup>68</sup> supports the notion that the Post-palatial era on the mainland had begun well before the end of what we have been calling LM III B. But if Chaniote LM III B2 is contemporary with what is being called LM III B Late at these other sites,<sup>69</sup> why does its ceramic assemblage look so different?

The answer to this question lies in the local circumstances that affected different parts of Crete in very different ways at this time, as well as in the fairly advanced nature of the ceramic regionalism that had come to characterize the island generally by the last quarter of the 13<sup>th</sup> century BC. Knossos, Kommos, and Ayia Triada, to name just three major central Cretan sites, had been in gradual decline for some time by the latter part of LM III B. The Post-palatial town of Knossos was soon to be abandoned and relocated in LM III B Late, possibly after a brief hiatus in settlement, a good deal further to the west than during LM III A2 and LM III B Early times, in the process of which move its inhabitants evidently gave up writing and began living in a significantly different way.<sup>70</sup> Kommos and Ayia Triada were almost completely abandoned by the end of the LM III B period, their inhabitants probably relocating to the nascent center at Phaistos.<sup>71</sup> Both small and large settlements further east such as Mochlos and Palaikastro appear to have been abandoned even earlier within LM III B, and when reoccupied in LM III B Late witnessed similar relocations, in the case of Palaikastro to the more defensible summit of Kastri. The foundations of new settlements in the west-central region of Crete at the sites of Chamalevri (on the Tsikouriana ridge)<sup>72</sup> and Thronos Kefala (Sybrita)<sup>73</sup> show that such major moves were a feature of virtually all regions of Crete at one point or another during LM III B (Tab. 1).<sup>74</sup> What sets Chania apart is the presence of south Italian and possibly also some Mycenaean immigrants, the first showing up in small numbers in the local LM III B1 phase and both being well represented in what has been called LM III B2. As far as Mycenaean immigrants are concerned, Chania can boast of having received some 70% of all documented Mycenaean LH III A–B imports to Crete:<sup>75</sup> it is no real surprise that its own potters should have absorbed more in the way of Mycenaean ceramic influence by the end of the LM III B period than is detectable anywhere else on Crete by that time.

All of this evidence for movement of substantial numbers of widely dispersed, yet once firmly anchored local populations indicates that a high degree of turbulence as well as social mobility

<sup>65</sup> Hallager – Hallager 2003, 215–216 n. 208–209.

<sup>66</sup> Hallager – Hallager 2003, 29, 208 n. 113, 209 n. 118, 257, pls. 52.71-P0761; 91a; 205 n. 89, 93, pls. 49.71-P0813, 91b.

<sup>67</sup> Knossos: Hatzaki 2007, 245–248, fig. 6.35.1–2; Hatzaki 2017, 69, figs. 3.10.P585, P590; 3.11.P343, P344; Kalamafka: Kanta – Kontopodi 2017, 86–87, fig. 4.14a; Kommos: Watrous 1992, 101 no. 1743, pl. 44 (mislabelled ‘1742’); 109 nos. 1920–1922; 145, 147, pls. 26, 48–49; Rutter 2006a, 574 no. 78/16, 628–629, pl. 3.85.

<sup>68</sup> Kommos: Rutter 2017b, 246, 278, fig. 8.4.C2424; Sissi: Langohr 2017c, 216, 228–229, fig. 7.19e. See also Kanta – Kontopodi 2017, 92, fig. 4.25a–b (Kalamafka; the first of these two stirrup jars seems in several respects to be a close imitation of a mainland LH III C stirrup jar of FS 175 type). For the broader implications of LH III C Early imports in LM III B contexts see Langohr 2017b, 22–24.

<sup>69</sup> For a multiply authored attempt at assembling a relative chronology of significant ceramic deposits of the later LM III B period based upon findings at 11 different Minoan sites occupied during the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century BC, see Langohr 2017a, 398 (= Tab. 1 of the present article).

<sup>70</sup> Hatzaki 2005; Warren 2005; Warren 2007; Hatzaki 2017.

<sup>71</sup> Borgna 2017; D’Agata 2017; Langohr 2017b, 19–20, 25; Rutter 2017b.

<sup>72</sup> Andreadaki-Vlazaki – Papadopoulou 2005.

<sup>73</sup> D’Agata 2003; D’Agata 2007.

<sup>74</sup> Langohr 2017a, 398; Langohr 2017b, 17–20.

<sup>75</sup> Bernhardt 2016, 14.





Fig. 4 Aigeira, LH IIIC Early transport stirrup jar with post-firing incised mark on upper surface of false neck disc, inventory no. FGA 1975/365-1 (courtesy of Austrian Archaeological Institute's excavations at Aigeira, director Walter Gauß).

established workshops in the Palaikastro area even earlier. Thus, the localized ceramic traditions of the LM IIIA2–B periods identified by Kanta, Hallager, and Nezeri<sup>76</sup> presumably disappeared gradually because of the population movements that characterized different parts of Crete at rather different times during the course of the LM IIIB period. Only the tradition centered at Chania continued, and along with it the lengthier survival of a tradition of writing in the form of the Linear B inscriptions painted on transport stirrup jars, a practice that interestingly appears to have reached its peak during LM IIIB2, thus possibly accounting for the discovery of quite a few fragments as well as an occasional whole example of such large stirrup jars in LH IIIC Early levels at Tiryns.<sup>77</sup> Could it be that the population mix of LM IIIB2 Chania had been altered by the arrival of refugees from the destructions occurring at numerous locations throughout the Peloponnese at the very end of the LH IIIB period? Might the occupants of Building 1 in Ayia Aekaterini Square be a mixture of Mycenaean mainlanders and recently arrived south Italian immigrants similar to the mix seemingly attested by a very similar mixture of ceramic assemblages at LH IIIC Early 1 Dimini?

characterized this period, with the difference at Chania being that the population movement in question consisted of *immigration* rather than *emigration*. The relocation of south Italian and possibly also mainland Greek groups to Chania in LM IIIB2 times is surely reminiscent of what must have been happening during the earliest LH IIIC period in the immediate aftermath of the palatial destructions at sites such as Dimini and the Lower Town at Tiryns. But what is missing at almost all Minoan sites at the end of their respective LM IIIB stages of occupation are destruction horizons. Instead, abandonment is the rule, with Chania sticking out as a noteworthy exception.

One consequence of all the moving around in later or latest LM IIIB is that the ensuing LM IIIC Early phase becomes far more uniform in terms of its ceramic assemblages than had previously been the case. This increased homogeneity of ceramic production, distribution, and consumption is presumably due to the movement of both potters and their production facilities in addition to that of the populations that they served. The excavated production center at Gouves was abandoned *before* this LM IIIC Early phase, as must have been the long-

<sup>76</sup> Kanta 1980, 288–293; Hallager – Hallager 2000, 163–164, 171–172; Hallager – Hallager 2003, 246–248, 260; Hallager 2011a, 360–364, 375–376; Nezeri 2013, 161–185.

<sup>77</sup> Maran 2005; Kardamaki et al. 2016.



Tab. 1 The Late Minoan IIIB Phase (after Langohr 2017a, 398).

		THE LATE MINOAN IIIB PHASE										BEGINNING OF THE LATE MINOAN IIIC PHASE					
		1300	1290	1280	1270	1260	1250	1240	1230	1220	1210	1200	1190	1180			
WEST-CRETE	<b>KHANIA</b> Agia Aikaterini Square	LM IIIB1 occupation in Building 1 and Building 2										All the rooms of the LM IIIB2 building are cleared off and reused with new floors in LM IIIC Early (except the northeastern part of Room A and Room E)					
	<b>KNOSSOS</b>	LM IIIB Early occupation in palace, town (including MUM)				LM IIIB Early hiatus in occupation of MUM		Destruction by fire			The buildings are immediately rebuilt in LM IIIB2, partly reusing old rooms, partly constructing new rooms End: destruction by fire			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- LM IIIB Late LPN, Building 1 and Contexts 5.4.3, 5.6.1, 5.6.4, 5.6.6</li> <li>- MUM North Platform pits</li> </ul>			
NORTH-CENTRAL-CRETE	<b>KALAMAFKA</b> Aposelemis Valley	Occupation of the remote site of Kalamafka (started c. 1250 or 1240, lasted until c. 1220)															
	<b>KATO GOUVES</b> Potters' quarter and workshops	Main occupation of the Building Complexes A, B and C										Destruction and rapid reoccupation of Buildings A, B, C and Workshops			Destruction & Abandonment of building complexes & workshops		
SISSI	Possible hiatus in occupation	Construction and main occupation of Building CD Reinstallation in the east wing of the Neopalatial court-centered building										Abandonment of the site, possibly followed by an earthquake			Desertion of the site		
		Spatially limited reoccupation of Building CD															

Tab. 1 (continued).

		THE LATE MINOAN IIIB PHASE										BEGINNING OF THE LATE MINOAN IIIC PHASE		
		1300	1290	1280	1270	1260	1250	1240	1230	1220	1210	1200	1190	1180
SOUTH-CENTRAL CRETE	KOMMOS D. = Deposit G. = Group	Hilltop: North House, Room N17a [Watrous 1992: D. 55]  Southern Area: Primary earth floor in Building P, Gallery 3 [Rutter 2006a: G. 68]					Hilltop, North House, Room N17a [Watrous 1992:D. 81]	Southern Area: Fill below final floor in Rooms N12-13 [Rutter 2006a: G. 64]	Hilltop, Court 2 [Watrous 1992: D. 82]; Central Hill- side: Northeast Room; Room 21 [Watrous 1992: D. 47, 60] Southern Area: Abandonment of Building N [Rutter 2006a: G. 59-60, 65]	Southern Area: Intermediate floors in Build- ing P, Galleries P2, P3, P5, and P6 [Rutter 2006a: G. 67c-d, 69a-b, 70a-b, 72, 73a-b, 75]	Southern Area: -Usage of final floors in Building P, Galleries P1, P2, P3, P5, and P6 [Rutter 2006a: G. 66, 67a-b, 71a-b, 74, 76-77]; -Building and use of make- shift structure above Corri- dor N7 [Rutter 2006a: G. 79] Central Hillside, final oc- cupation: Room 19; House of the Snake Tube [Watrous 1992: D. 75, 91-95]			
		Latest material in ceramic group 1.2 LM IIIB Early ceramic groups 5.2; 6.9-10; 13.16; 13.19 [cf. Kommos, G. 68]						LM IIIB Advanced-to-Late ceramic groups 1.3; 6.11; 11.2-3; 13.21(?) [cf. Kommos, G. 59-60, 69]						
EAST CRETE	HAGHIA TRIADA Esp. North sector	Chalara, "Mansion", M1 (ca. 1300- 1270 BC)			Hiatus?			Casa a ovest del Piazzale I, Rooms 1-4 (Phases 1-2) (ca. 1250-1200 BC)						
EAST CRETE	MYRSINI-ASPROSPILIA  PALAIKASTRO	Sporadic presence testified by some sherds in the area of the LM I Villa						Acropolis Mediana: LM IIIB Late-LM IIIC activities	Main occupation of the shrines in rooms I, V, XV-XIX	Destruction & abandonment of the shrines				
		Tombs Delta, Epsilon, H					Tombs Gamma, Sigma Tau, IA							
		End of Period XV; abandon- ment of town site, 'final' deposits in Blocks G, D, B, P, X, M, House N, Buildings 3, 4, 5, 7		Hiatus		Building 1 'final' deposits; Kastri, KA floor 2; Koura- mentos	Hiatus ?	Kastri, KA floor 1						Kastri 'upper levels': House K; KA trench 4

Here, within a chronological table covering the 13<sup>th</sup> century BC, the different contributors tried to situate the occupational phase(s) of their respective LM IIIB sites and the related buildings/areas/context(s) or ceramic sequence/phasing/groups. This eventually contributes to our collaborative effort to better define our original question: "how long is a century?"

I will end this imaginative reconstruction of events on Crete with the observation that the LH III C Early population that settled Aigeira in eastern Achaea shortly after the beginning of the mainland's Post-palatial era (LH III C Early 2) made use of linear carinated cups in small numbers at the time of their arrival at the site, although there is no evidence whatsoever for either *tazze carenate* or *ciotole carenate* within the highly distinctive HMBW pottery repertoire from the site.<sup>78</sup> They also had access to a small number of transport stirrup jars, including one example with an incised and probably Cypriot post-firing mark centered on its false neck disc (Fig. 4).<sup>79</sup> Most of the attention traditionally devoted by archaeologists to Post-palatial Aegean population mobility has arguably been focused on the emigration of Minoan, Mycenaean, and island groups to regions outside of the Aegean, whether to the east (Cyprus, Cilicia, Syria, Philistia) or west (southern Italy). Perhaps it is time to devote a little more time and energy to investigating those who remained within the Aegean, even if they, too, had abandoned their former homes *en route* to settling into new locations and mingling with new neighbors.

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